This publication of the results of the excavations carried on at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens is in charge of the Publication Committee of the School. Opinions expressed are those of the individual contributors.

GEORGE H. CHASE
HAROLD N. FOWLER
DAVID M. ROBINSON

Publication Committee
PREFACE

A large number of Roman odeums and theatres are known to us and many of these are so well preserved and, consequently, can be studied with so much greater accuracy, that it may seem extravagant and unnecessary to devote a whole volume to the description of a building so largely destroyed as the Odeum in Corinth. The contribution to our knowledge of the ancient theatre which a study of such a building can give, may seem meager indeed, in consideration of the extensive literature on the subject already existing. A surprisingly large amount of this literature, however, is devoted to the promulgation, defense, and refutation of various theories, many of which would never have been proposed were it not for the fact that most ancient theatres are, after all, but inadequately known. A few Greek theatres, e.g. those at Ephesus, Priene, Syracuse, and Megalopolis have been carefully studied and published, but until recently, the others have been known only from incomplete descriptions, in many cases short preliminary reports of excavations. This lack is now being rapidly filled through the admirable monographs on Greek theatres prepared by E. R. Fiechter. To date five buildings have been published in this series.

Our knowledge of Roman theatres, in so far as it depends on published material, is pitifully inadequate. In fact, not a single strictly Roman theatre has as yet received anything like a thorough publication with detailed (steingerechte) plans and measurements.¹ Until this defect is remedied it seems precipitate to seek solution for the numerous problems which make the study of the Greek and Roman theatre a veritable labyrinth of controversy. The chief importance of the Odeum in Corinth lies in the fact that the periods of its history can be dated with fair accuracy, while from a purely structural point of view some of its features are important for the light they throw on Roman architecture in general.

The manuscript for this volume in a slightly abridged form was presented to the Faculty of the University of California in the summer of 1931 as dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

In the preparation of the work I have received assistance from many sources, some of which are specifically acknowledged in the footnotes. In addition to these I take pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to the Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Dr. Rhys Carpenter, and to the Chairman of the Managing Committee, Dr. Edward Capps, for offering me the opportunity and providing the means for carrying out the work, and for permitting me to use the manuscript as a dissertation. The funds for the main campaigns of excavations were procured for the School by the University of Cincinnati through the kindness and interest of Professor W. T. Semple. I am under

¹ The Odeum at Gortyna published by Luigi Pernier (Annuario della regia Scuola Arch. di Atene, VIII–IX, 1925–1926) is an exception, but this small building is hardly a fair example of a Roman theatre. The publication of the Theatre at Salona by Einar Dyggve is in the press but has not yet appeared.
obligation to the members of the Publication Committee and especially to the editor, Dr. Rhys Carpenter, who have added many corrections and offered valuable suggestions; to Dr. T. L. Shear, for the permission to include material from the excavations in the “Athena Trench”; to Richard Stillwell, Assistant Director of the American School, for valuable help, especially for the preparation of the drawings for figures 13, 20, 45, 83, 130, 131, 134–136; to Dr. Katherine Edwards for important information about the coins from the Odeum, which will be published by her in volume VI of this series, now in the process of printing; and to Mrs. Broneer for help in preparing the manuscript for the press and for reading the proof.

The drawing of the plans and of the text illustrations, except those mentioned above, are the work of the architect, Youri de Fomine, one-time member of the French School in Athens. Every detail of the drawings as well as all the problems of restoration have been discussed with him, and many observations of architectural minutiae are due to his insight and experience.

Mrs. Rhys Carpenter prepared the water color reproduction for the piece of mosaic in plate XIII, and Mrs. (Mary Wyckoff) Simpkin made the reproduction of the wall painting for plate XIV. The photographs with few exceptions were taken by Hermann Wagner. To all these who have contributed to the illustrative material of the book I am greatly indebted.

Grateful thanks, which can only be expressed in a general way, are due to the various members of the excavation staff in Corinth whose friendly co-operation and free discussion of the daily questions confronting the excavator constitute a very real and important contribution to this publication. The main part of the excavations in the Odeum was accomplished in two seasons, in 1927 and 1928. During the first season the work was in the charge of Professor B. D. Meritt, assisted by Dr. F. J. de Waele, Jotham Johnson, and the present writer, and for shorter periods by Miss Marian Akers and Mr. R. S. Darbishire. In 1928 and during the subsequent supplementary digging, when the writer superintended the work, valuable assistance was rendered at brief periods of his absence by Miss Agnes Newhall, Dr. F. J. de Waele, Dr. Charles Morgan, jr., and Mr. F. O. Waage.

The following abbreviations are used:

A.J.A. American Journal of Archaeology.
Μον. Ἐφ. Ἐρεχθιολογική Ἐφημερίς.
Art and Arch. Art and Archaeology.
Mon. Ant. Monumenti Antichi.

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Oscar Broneer
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THE ODEUM
INTRODUCTION

The Odeum at Corinth is referred to by two ancient writers, Pausanias and Philostratus. In the description of Corinth by the former the Odeum is mentioned in connection with several other buildings the identification of which is quite certain. After quitting the Agora by the road to Sicyon the periegete saw on his right the Temple of Apollo and at a short distance from it, the Fountain of Glauce. "Beyond this fountain (διπέρ ταύτην)," he continues, "has been built what is called the Odeum, beside which is the Tomb of Medea's children." After a digression on mythology he says further: "Not far from the Tomb is the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis," which in a later passage he locates close to the Theatre (πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ). Of the five buildings mentioned apart from the Odeum, three: the Temple of Apollo, the Fountain of Glauce, and the Theatre, have been identified, and according to our author the Odeum is located somewhere between the Fountain of Glauce and the Theatre and not very far from either. Concerning the location of these two buildings there can be no doubt, consequently the building under discussion can be none other than the "so-called Odeum" of Pausanias.

This brief mention of the Odeum is supplemented by a passage in Philostratus where he says that Herodes Atticus built for the Corinthians a covered theatre which is only less magnificent than the one he built for the Athenians. Though he gives no indication in which part of the city this theatre was located, the building to which Philostratus refers as a "roofed theatre" must be the same as the Odeum of Pausanias. In accordance with Philostratus' account it has naturally been supposed that the Odeum was first built by Herodes Atticus and is thus approximately of the same date as the Odeum in Athens. But the results of the excavations have shown that the original construction of the building belongs to the first century A.D. The evidence is briefly the following: The fill between the walls of the substructure for the support of the cavea, undisturbed since before the erection of the building, contained numerous lamps, fragments of pottery, and coins, which can be definitely dated before the end of the first century A.D., whereas objects from the second century A.D. were entirely lacking. The same is true of the accumulated earth south of the building. The number of sherds and whole lamps from this fill was

1 II, iii, 6.
2 II, iv, 1.
3 II, iv, 5.
4 Vitae Soph. II, 551.
so large and so definitely datable that there can be no doubt about the validity of this proof. Furthermore, several changes in the building are apparent, which date from the reconstruction by Herodes, and consequently point to the existence of the Odeum before his time.

In the description of the building the archaeological evidence for the different periods will be discussed at length; but for the sake of convenience the main periods are stated here, since it is impossible to describe the existing remains without constant reference to the chief reconstructions of the building.

Apart from minor changes and repairs three distinct periods can be distinguished. These are:

1. The Poros Period: the first construction, in the last third of the first century A.D.
2. The Marble Period: the reconstruction by Herodes Atticus, destroyed by fire in the early third century A.D.
3. The Arena Period: beginning ca. 225 A.D., when the stage was removed and the orchestra enlarged to be used as an arena.
INTRODUCTION

The discovery and identification of the building dates back to the year 1907,1 when exploratory trenches were made at different points of the building, and part of the cavea and the east stairway were laid bare (Fig. 1). In 1909 other trenches were dug in the orchestra and in the scene-building, and some pits were sunk on the north side of the modern road between the Odeum and the Theatre. The discovery was of the greatest importance because of its bearing upon the topography of Corinth; but the limited extent of the excavation, though sufficient for identifying the building, did not permit a systematic study of its parts. Furthermore, the earth from these early explorations, which was left in close proximity to the trenches, was continually being washed down, so that after twenty years but little of the building remained that could be seen.

The first systematic clearing of the site was undertaken in the spring of 1927, when the eastern half of the orchestra and the scene-building and all the extant seats were laid bare.2 In the following year the work was continued in the western half of the building and along the outer wall of the cavea on the south side.3 In addition to these two main campaigns, supplementary work was carried on in the summer of 1929 between the north wall of the scene-building and the modern road and also on the northwest side. Finally in the fall of 1929 a small area south of the cavea was excavated, chiefly in order to establish the nature and purpose of the broad foundation to the south of the auditorium (see p. 28), which was first discovered in one of the early trenches and was then thought to be part of the outer encircling wall of the cavea. At the same time a small area to the east of the Odeum was cleared, where traces of an early road were discovered.

As is the case with most ancient theatres in Greece, the Odeum is built on the slope of a hill.4 This is the same hill as that on which stands the Temple of Apollo; but the

1 The actual discovery was made by the former Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Dr. B. H. Hill, who, using Pausanias as his guide, explored the region in the neighborhood of Glauce, and came upon a rough piece of masonry projecting above the ground, which is now the highest preserved part of the cavea.

2 For an account of this work see B. D. Meritt, A.J.A. XXXI, 1927, pp. 454–461.


4 The fact is often pointed out that ancient theatres were commonly built in a place from which a good view is obtainable. This is in most cases accidental, because the nature of the building requires it to be built on a hillside. The Odeum at Corinth commands an admirable view—even finer than that from the Greek Theatre below—the fertile Corinthian plain, the Gulf of Corinth, and the mountains beyond; but nothing of that was visible to the spectators, for whom a three story scene-building shut out the view. Even in the Greek theatres, the most prominent spectators, who sat in the lowest rows of seats, could obtain no view beyond the scene-building. If the location was ever chosen with a view to natural scenery, this can be true only of Greek theatres before the development of the scene-building. In the case of some Greek theatres, e.g. those at Oropus and Mantinaea, it is easily demonstrable that the view was no factor in determining the location or orientation of the building. In a recent study of the Roman theatre at Dugga (Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome, IX, 1931, p. 152) Homer F. Pfeiffer states that the roof over the upper gallery of the cavea “formed a terrace walk (reached by stairs, outside the circular wall, on the main axis), from which the spectators enjoyed a magnificent view, while they promenaded before or after the performances.” Unfortunately I have been unable to verify this statement by a study of the theatre itself, and the author gives us very few hints about the actual remains on which his reconstruction is based. Vitruvius
configuration of this whole region was greatly altered in ancient times through extensive quarrying for building stone. As a result, the Fountain of Glaucus came to stand out as a conspicuous monument, whereas originally it must have been partly underground. In fact the hill was once higher than the present top of the fountain, as can be seen from the quarry marks on the roof. Because of this removal of the hill-top, only some of the lower tiers of seats in the Odeum could be cut out of rock; the whole upper section had to be built up artificially. Here the bottom of the quarry, which has been laid bare in a few places, is nearly 3 m. below the top of the foundations for the walls. The northernmost edge of the hill was not quarried away because the rock is there too soft for building material, and it is this narrow ledge that the builders of the Odeum utilized for the lower part of the auditorium.

Since the site of the Odeum was partly used as a quarry, it is not likely that it had ever before been occupied by any important building. But an examination of the rock in his detailed discussion about the importance of choosing a proper site for the theatre does not mention the view. Although he speaks in particular about the roof of the colonnade above the cavea with regard to its effect on the acoustics (V, vi, 4), he seems to have been unaware of its use as a promenade.
on which the seats once rested has led to the discovery of two roads which date back to the pre-Odean period. One of these is clearly visible on the north side of the east stairway (marked a', Plate III and Fig. 2) and under the western part of the cavea east of pier 18' (Plate III a and Fig. 3). Its continuation toward the west can be traced at the edge of the excavated area opposite pier 19 (Plates II and III), but toward the east it is still hidden by a later Roman road-bed at the very edge of which a wheel rut of the earlier road appears (Plate XII). That the road must have been of some importance is shown by the fact that it was partly cut artificially in the rock where the slope of the hill was too steep for the wagons to pass over. The course of the road changed slightly from time to time, so that gradually it ran lower down on the slope. Between the wheel ruts in the western part of the cavea a trench w (Plate III and Fig. 3), ca. 0.25 m. wide and ca. 0.18 m. deep, was cut in the rock, and through this trench passes a terracotta pipe u (Plate III and Fig. 3) with an inner diameter of 0.075 m. The pipe, which is made in sections, 0.30–0.33 m. long (Fig. 4), is of a type that was used in Corinth during a long period and does not differ much from the water pipes used in Greece today. No stamps have appeared on any of the sections, hence we have no definite clue to the date of

**Figure 3. Early Road in West Part of Cavea**
the pipe. Only this much is certain, that both the pipe and the road are earlier than the Odeum, and that both fell into disuse or took another direction when the building was constructed. Since the pipe lies in the middle of the road, too high to be concealed, it was probably laid after this part of the road had been abandoned or had changed its course.

On the east side of the Odeum another early road runs in a southeast to northwest direction. The earliest traces appear at the northeast corner of the Odeum, where the deep ruts, worn in the rock, are cut off by the foundation for the east wall of the scene-

![Figure 4. Water Pipes from Early Road](image)

building (Road b, Figs. 5 and 23; Plates II and III). Only about 0.75 m. of the road could be laid bare at this point, but slightly farther toward the northeast a well preserved part of the same road has been cleared for a distance of 10 m. (b', Fig. 6; Plates II and III). The road-bed was gradually moved toward the northeast, and the second stretch, which is at a higher level, belongs to a somewhat later period. It consists partly of packed earth and small stones, partly of well laid poros blocks which may be the remains of an earlier pavement. On the northeast side the rock has been worked down for the bedding of a wall which probably served as a fence or ἄναλημμα and, perhaps, as a retaining wall for the higher area above the road. Further excavation toward the east will be necessary for showing the exact interrelation of the two roads, but from the direction of the short
stretches already laid bare important conclusions for the topography of Corinth can be drawn. That they are roads of some importance appears from the fact that the rock has been cut down in order to make a smooth road-bed, while the deep wheel ruts bear witness to long and frequent use.

It is difficult to determine whether these two roads are Greek or Roman, but there is evidence for showing that the one on the east side, b, was in use until the building of

![Figure 5. Traces of Road at Northeast Corner of Odeum](image)

the Odeum. Two later periods of the same road can be distinguished. After the erection of the Odeum the ground level on the east side was raised and the road passed along the east façade of the building, following very nearly its old course and, turning at the corner of the scene-building, continued approximately in a westward direction. This road-bed is easily distinguishable where it makes the bend (Road c, Figs. 5, 6, and PLATES II, III), and its hard surface appears in the earth upon which rest the mosaics of room P (PLATES II and III). In the second period of the Odeum the road again changed its course. A large court surrounded by colonnades (see p. 67) then occupied the area between the Odeum and the Theatre, and the road, continuing its course due north, ran along the east side
of the Theatre, where it has been laid bare through the recent excavations of Dr. Shear.\footnote{1} Where it approaches the east \textit{parados} of the Theatre, it is paved with limestone blocks; but its upper portion near the Odeum seems never to have been paved. Here it consists of packed earth very hard and level, hence its course can easily be determined (Road \textit{d}, \textit{Plates II}, III, IX, XII, and Fig. 6). It continued toward the south as far as the stairway that led to the higher area south of the Odeum, where it turned eastward in the direction of the Agora; but beyond the stairway it is for the most part destroyed.

The direction of this late Roman road, \textit{d}, fits well Pausanias' route through the city. It is probable that the second period of the Odeum is later than Pausanias' visit, and that the earlier road, \textit{c}, was in use at that time. Still, it seems unlikely that Pausanias went between the Odeum and the Theatre and entered the latter from the west side.\footnote{2}

\footnote{1} See T. L. Shear, \textit{A.J.A.} XXXII, 1928, p. 483, fig. 6 and pl. VII. The name "Theatre Street" which Dr. Shear used is doubly appropriate, since it is now evident that both the Theatre and the Odeum were entered from this road. A stairway by which the Odeum Court could be reached from the Theatre Street at the northeast corner of the court will be mentioned in another connection (p. 72 and Fig. 45).

\footnote{2} The exact route of Pausanias in this vicinity needs further confirmation by the discovery of the Sanctuary of Athena and of the Monument of Medea's children; but I follow the commonly accepted view.
Hence we must assume that a road branched off from road c, perhaps where this turned toward the west, and extended in the direction of the Theatre along the line of the later road d. From Pausanias we know that this was the road to Sicyon.

Pausanias left the Agora by the Sicyonian road, and described the monuments which he saw until he came to the gymnasium and adjacent buildings. There he made a sudden break in his itinerary, and proceeded to tell about the monuments on the road to Acrocorinth. Whether he actually went up to the citadel or got his information from guides need not concern us in this connection; but the point at which he took up the description of Acrocorinth and the monuments on the way up is important. After he had finished this description he resumed his journey along the road to Sicyon outside the city walls of Corinth. We may, then, assume that he continued as far as the Sicyonian gate before stopping to describe Acrocorinth. This description is a digression from the itinerary: when he returned to it, he picked up the route exactly where he had left off. Thus it seems logical to infer from his description that somewhere along the road which he followed within the city he passed the place where the road to Acrocorinth branched off from the road to Sicyon, but instead of stopping at this point he continued his description as far as the gates. Then he retraced his steps until he came back to the road leading to the citadel.

Where the two roads parted is not clear from Pausanias’ account; but the nature of the ground indicates that it was somewhere between the Agora and the steep slope of the hill on which the Theatre is situated. This would lead us to believe that the forking of the road was somewhere in the region of Glauce and the Odeum. The information gleaned from Pausanias’ description is supplemented by a passage in Plutarch’s life of Aratus. In his account of Antigonus’ dramatic capture of Acrocorinth, the author relates how the aged king, using his son as a bait for Nicaea, widowed queen of Corinth, escorted her to a performance to be given in the Theatre in honor of the wedding. But “having arrived at the point in the road where the branch leading up (to the citadel) turned away” he parted company with the queen and the wedding party and hurried up to Acrocorinth. From this we learn that the road to the citadel turned off from the road leading to the Theatre. Unfortunately we cannot be certain from which direction the wedding party came, but we may confidently assume that it arrived at the Theatre through the main approach. That this was on the east side, at least in Roman times, has been made abundantly clear through the excavations in the Theatre area. The east parados is entered from a paved street coming from the direction of the Odeum, and a little below to the north is a large paved square of Roman date, into which another paved road leads from the east. On the west side of the Theatre traces of an unpaved road

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2 γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτοπισμὶ τήν ἕνω φέροντα, etc., Aratus, xvii, 4.
were discovered;¹ but this was apparently a secondary approach, which it is not likely that the royal party would use.

Plutarch describes the splendor of the party in terms which lead one to believe that the procession passed through the city before arriving at the Theatre. On such an occasion the party would doubtless assemble in, or at least pass through, the Agora, and would thus come by the same road that Pausanias took. Since all the monuments mentioned by Pausanias between the Agora and the Theatre, with the exception of the Odeum, existed in Greek times, we are justified in supposing that the roads of that period led approximately in the same direction as the roads of the Roman city, and since we have now discovered traces of an early road branching off toward the west from the road to the Theatre, it seems not unlikely that this was the road by which Antigonus reached the citadel. Its direction at this point may have been partly determined by the quarries.

Apart from the roads which crossed the site of the Odeum, the traces of previous occupation are few and unimportant. Under the floor of the north corridor, where the top of the rock was left undisturbed in places, there are two rectangular cuttings. The westernmost of these (Plate III λ) is partly covered by a piece of the fallen vault left where it was found. The cutting measures ca. 1.60 m. from east to west, and 1.20 m. from north to south, and has a depth varying between 0.10 m. and 0.15 m. This shallow levelling of the rock may have been made for the foundation of a small monument or statue. The same is probably true of the larger cutting farther east (Plate III µ). It is 1.56 m. wide and 2.60 m. long on the west side, but the south end was cut away when the foundations of the Odeum were laid. The depth is about the same as that of the smaller cutting. The size and shape of the larger cutting would fit the base of an equestrian statue. About 5.70 m. to the east of it (Plate III ν) are traces of a narrow drain, cut in the rock and filled up when the Odeum was built. Still farther east are two parallel cuttings (Plate III o and π), 1 m. long, 0.30 m. wide, and 0.05–0.15 m. deep, which seem to have no connection with the building.

Two early graves were discovered in the area of the Odeum, both of them destroyed and their contents removed at the time when the building was erected. When the trench for the outer wall of the cavea on the west side was made, one of the graves was cut through; but a corner is still to be seen in the scarp of rock opposite pier 20 (Plate III). It consisted of a rectangular cist (Fig. 7) cut in rock and covered with a single slab of hard conglomerate. The grave measured 1.40 m. in length, at least 0.60 m. in width, and 0.48 m. in depth. Nothing of its contents remained; but some soft black earth was found in the corner. The second grave was cut through by the man-hole in the north central porch. It is indicated in Section A–B, Plate IV. This grave measures 1.38 m. in length, 0.50 m. in width, and 0.67 m. in depth. About half the cover slab is preserved. In the

north end, which was not destroyed by the man-hole, were found a few pieces of bones. Both graves are oriented approximately north and south.

The absence of finds makes it difficult to determine the date of the graves; but the fact that they are found in a part of the city which both in Greek and Roman times was occupied by important buildings\(^1\) is an indication that they date back to a very early period. In the North Cemetery, where numerous graves of many different periods have been recently excavated, the type of grave which most resembles those in the Odeum is a transitional variety between the Geometric and Protocorinthian periods.\(^2\) The single cover slab of hard conglomerate is not found in any of the other kinds of graves from the cemetery.

The drains and water channels, some of which also antedate the Odeum, will be discussed in a separate chapter.

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\(^1\) Although no Greek buildings appear to have occupied the actual site of the Odeum, the proximity of important monuments makes it unlikely that there was a necropolis at this point in Greek times. A grave, dating from about 500 B.C., has recently been found some 100 m. west of Glauce, but this is of a different type from those in the Odeum.

\(^2\) This information I owe to the kindness of Dr. Shear.
THE CAVEA

The form of the building, as appears from the restored ground plan (Plate I), is that of a small Roman theatre with semicircular auditorium organically connected with the scene-building. The lower part of the cavea was divided into four sections by three aisles, slightly less than 1 m. in width. The middle and eastern aisles were partly cut in rock and have thus been preserved; but the western aisle, which was built artificially, has entirely disappeared.

On both sides of the middle aisle the natural rock was hard enough so that the lower seats could be cut out of it directly. But farther to the east and west it was necessary to cut away part of the soft rock and insert separate seat blocks. This explains the irregular lines of seats which appear on the plan (Plate II), chiefly in the easternmost section. Where the rock was too low or altogether too soft, the seat blocks were laid on a bedding of rough masonry (opus incertum). The seats, which are perfectly flat on top, have an average width of 0.66 m. and an average height of 0.367 m. The well preserved seats of the two middle sections have small cuttings near the outer edge (Plate II), in some of which leaded iron dowels still remain. These were for fastening the marble slabs, which in the second period covered the seats. The dowels are arranged by twos, which shows that each slab was dowelled in both front corners. The two sections (cunei) nearest the parodoi are narrower than the middle sections at the lower ends but wider at the upper ends, because of the fact that the south walls of the parodoi are not radii of the circle.

The substructure for the seats in the upper part of the cavea was built artificially in the customary Roman technique with radiating walls supporting concrete vaults. A vaulted corridor, varying in width between 2.90 m. and 3.10 m., surrounds the cavea, and from this corridor radiating walls extend toward the centre of the semicircle.

The outer wall of the cavea consisted of a series of large piers (Plate I), the spaces between which on the west side are closed by a thin screen wall. Each pier has on the outside a pilaster, ca. 0.75 m. wide and ca. 0.11 m. thick, placed in the exact middle of the pier. A similar system of piers with pilasters and screens was also used, as we shall see, on the north façade of the scene-building.

Beginning at the west parodos, I shall now describe the semicircular corridor and the two parallel walls supporting its vault. The better preservation of the corridor at the west side makes it convenient to proceed with the description from right to left rather than to follow the more natural order from left to right. On the key...
parodos has been removed down to the foundation; but we learn from the preserved part of the wall that the piers on the outside were approximately equidistant and that smaller piers in the inner wall corresponded to the outer piers. Thus we assume that the south wall of the west parodos ended in such a small pier corresponding to one of the large piers in the outer wall. No trace of either pier is left on the existing foundations, but

Figure 8. Odeum, Showing West Part of Cavea and Semicircular Corridor

their exact place can be calculated. The thin screen wall between this last outer pier, 22, and the next pier to the south, 21, exists (Plates II, III v, and Fig. 8 v) and shows that the distance was the same as that between the other piers in the same wall. It follows that pier 22 was not placed according to the direction of the parodos wall but, like the other piers, according to the radius of the orchestra circle. This is further shown at the east end of the semicircular corridor, where the corresponding piers 1 and 1' are preserved. The inner piers 1' and 22', however, were oriented with reference to the parodos wall (Plates I–III).

plan (Plate III) the piers of the outer wall are numbered 1–22, beginning at the east end of the semicircular corridor. The piers of which no traces remain are numbered within parentheses. The existing piers of the inner wall are numbered 1'–22' corresponding to the numbers of the outer piers.
The foundation for the outer wall is very massive, having a width of 3–3.50 m. The lower part is made of hard concrete, on which rests a single course of poros blocks with irregular jointing and without clamps. Below pier 22 all the poros blocks have been removed, leaving the concrete foundation exposed. The foundations of the scene-building (except that for the north façade, see p. 33), unlike those of the cavea, are made of poros blocks laid in mortar and resting directly on the rock without the concrete bedding. At pier 22 the two kinds of foundation come together. The exposed layer of concrete actually rests on at least two courses of poros blocks and was surmounted by three courses of similar blocks (see Section C–D, Plate IV, on the extreme right). In this way the two kinds of construction are firmly joined together.

The foundation projects on the outside ca. 1 m. beyond the face of the piers, but only ca. 0.30 m. on the inside. On this broad foundation the piers are built of large poros blocks, which are joined by dove-tail clamps laid in mortar. The clamp holes have a length of ca. 0.32 m. and a width of ca. 0.09 m. at the ends and ca. 0.07 m. at the middle. In the numerous holes of this kind which are visible throughout the building (Plates II, IX, X, and Figs. 14, 22, 23, and 32) there is no trace of metal. The holes, if undisturbed, are filled with mortar which is hollow in the middle. On the bottom of the hollow space is found some soft black matter from a decayed piece of wood. Iron clamps were used at important junctions of walls (see p. 44), and for fastening the marble blocks; but the common variety in the walls is the wooden dove-tail clamp embedded in mortar. It must have been evident to the architects that clamps of that kind could be of no lasting value for holding the blocks together, hence they were probably intended to be of use only until the mortar, in which the blocks were laid, should become hardened.

The thin screen walls, which on the west side are not joined to the piers by clamps, are set flush with the outer face of the piers, thus leaving deep niches on the inside. The single block which formed the lowest course of the screen between piers 21 and 22 has a rounded surface on the inside (Plates II, III v, and Fig. 34). This indicates that some object stood in the niche, perhaps a bench or a statue with a circular base. The screen between piers 19 and 20 has been disturbed, giving it the appearance of having been set back from the outer face of the piers. Pier 18 is set against the face of the rock, which at this point rises considerably above the floor of the corridor (Plate I and Fig. 9). Where pier 17 should come the rock is high enough for the vault to rest directly on it, and the wall blocks have here been entirely removed. The thin screen walls are found only from piers 22 to 18. On the south side the spaces between the piers were filled to the full thickness of the wall (Plate I), and the blocks used for this filling were joined to the piers by wooden clamps.

The blocks of the piers have drafted edges (Fig. 9), which seems to show that the poros was intended from the beginning to be left exposed, but at some period the walls were covered on the inside with white stucco (traces of the stucco appear on piers 19
and 19', Fig. 9). A similar stucco also covers the exposed surface of a large voussoir lying close to the west stairway (Fig. 55, p. 81, No. 7).

From the southeast corner of pier 19 a low wall extends half-way across the vaulted corridor (Plate III x, and Figs. 8 x and 9 x). Whether it extended to the inner wall of the corridor is not evident; but a rough anathyrosis at the east end of the wall shows that it extended farther east. It is not bonded to the pier; but in the corner between the pier and the cross-wall are traces of stucco. Since both piers 19 and 19' are drafted at the corners in the usual way, the wall was probably added after the piers were already finished but before they received their coat of stucco. The floor of the corridor at this point inclines considerably toward the south (see levels, Plate III), and one might take the existing cross-wall to be part of a low stairway leading from the lower to a higher floor level. But the floor of the corridor slopes gradually, and there are no traces of a higher floor level on the south side of the wall, nor are there any indications of steps. The wall was originally higher than now, but how high it is impossible to determine. Apparently the semicircular corridor was at one time closed at this point, so that the spectators were not allowed into it beyond the stairway leading up to the cavea.
Beginning with pier 18' and extending toward the south as far as pier 14' the rock rises to such a height that the vault rested directly on it (Plate III and Fig. 9). Here the corridor is cut through the solid rock; but the sides were left very rough and uneven. The vault as it now stands rests on very thin walls, only about 0.30 m. thick at the springing. But on either side of this concrete vault was a massive poros wall which received the thrust. The outer wall at this height is ca. 1.85 m. wide and the inner wall ca. 1.35 m.

Figure 10. Quarry, Southeast Side, Seen from Above

Between piers 17 and 16 there is a vertical cut in the rock, measuring ca. 5 m. in height (in figure 11 the rock appears in the upper left corner and at the bottom of the picture). This cut extends in a nearly straight line toward the east (Plate I). To the south of it the rock was quarried away previously to the building of the Odeum (Fig. 10); and the whole south side of the cavea was, therefore, built artificially. The quarry extends from the vertical cut in the Odeum some 65 m. toward the south, and on the east it begins near the Temple of Apollo and continues westward beyond the group of modern houses to the west of the excavations. The original depth of the quarry at its deepest point cannot be determined; but it is evident from the quarry marks on the roof of Glauce that the rock was once higher than the top of the fountain. Near the Odeum,
where pits have been dug in a few places down to the bottom of the quarry, the fill has a depth of nearly 8 m.

The way in which the foundations were laid shows that the quarry was already filled up at the time of the building of the Odeum. The two parallel walls and the piers on which rested the vault over the semicircular corridor have foundations extending down to the bottom of the quarry, but the floor of the corridor rests on earth (see Section A-B, Plate IV). When the foundations were laid, the ground level was considerably higher than the top of the foundations. Through this fill, which contains potsherds of many different periods from Early Helladic times to the first century A.D., separate trenches were dug for each wall, and in them the concrete foundations were laid. Because of the looseness of the fill the sides of the trenches would tend to fall in, making the trenches narrower toward the bottom. To obviate this, a framework of planks and upright posts was constructed, having the width of the foundation. The upright posts are all on the inside with reference to the wall, so that the framework was not a form into which the concrete was poured. Moreover, the horizontal planks were not set close enough together to hold the wet concrete. In several places where a side of the foundation has been laid bare there are only two planks, one above the other, with an interval between the two greater than the width of the planks (see Figs. 11, 12, and Section M–N, Plate V). The two planks were used near the top of the foundation; for the lower part, the walls of the trench were sufficient to hold the concrete. The framework has, of course, rotted away; but the concrete poured around it has preserved the hollow spaces, with actual splinters of the wood in some cases still adhering to the sides (Figs. 11, 12, and 21). The grain of the wood was so well preserved on the face of the concrete, when the Odeum was first excavated, that it was possible to determine that pine wood had been used. In one instance, even some letters written on the plank had left legible marks.1 The planks have

1 See A.J.A. XXXII, 1928, p. 449. The first letter is a phi, the second a mu or an eta. The red color of the letters was well preserved when the Odeum was excavated but has since faded so as to be nearly invisible.
a thickness of ca. 0.45 m. The upright posts are of two kinds, either semicircular or square in cross section. The former must have been made by splitting a tree trunk in halves, whereas the square kind were hewn on all four sides. In some instances it is evident that both the planks and the posts were hewn, though it is not impossible that for some of the planks the saw was used. The planks were fastened to the supports by heavy iron spikes. The planks and posts thus fastened together may have been further held in place by cross braces; but no trace of these has been found, since they would

![Foundation for Outer Wall of Cavea, Southeast Side](image)

Figure 12. Foundation for Outer Wall of Cavea, Southeast Side

naturally be concealed within the concrete foundation. After this framework was finished, the earth would be filled in on the sides to keep the concrete from spreading beyond the planks. It is likely that the concrete was poured at the same time that the earth was filled in outside, since the framework was hardly tight enough to resist the pressure of either one, but would merely serve to establish a fairly regular dividing line between the two. The method employed in making the foundation is illustrated in figure 13.

Above the concrete, and while this was still wet, was laid a course of poros stones without clamps but with concrete filling the joints. The stones are squared blocks, but of different sizes and irregularly laid, so that the joints do not always come at right angles to the line of the wall (Plates II, III). This top course of the foundation on the south side juts out beyond the face of the concrete (Sections A–B, Plate IV and M–N, Plate V, Figs. 11, 14 and 21) and in it holes were cut from the edge, through which the wooden posts projected as shown in figures 10 r, 13, and 14 r. This indicates that the posts
were needed after the foundation was finished, otherwise the lesser labor of sawing off the posts would have been preferred to that of cutting holes in the sides of the stones. They may have been used as supports for the scaffolds, which thus would be firmly anchored at the bottom. The projecting poros course forms the toechobate and corresponds to the euthynteria of a Greek building, with this difference that in the Odeum the corner is not dressed off but only the upper surface, on which setting lines were scratched for the first course of wall blocks. The outer edge was often not dressed down to the same level as the rest of the foundation. In some places it is as much as 0.14 m. higher, showing how much the rest of the block was worked down after it had been placed.

The outer wall on the south side has an average thickness of 2.10 m., exclusive of the thickness of the pilasters. It was made in a series of piers like those on the west side, but the space between the piers was filled with a solid wall (Plates I and II), and the piers are not carried above the bottom course. They are rectangular in cross section and almost square. The wall blocks between the piers are joined by clamps to the blocks of the piers, but are not otherwise bonded into them. Since this system of piers was used only in the lowest course of the wall, it was evidently made chiefly as a guide to the masons; that is to say, the piers do not here serve any structural purpose in the building. After the topping course of the foundation was levelled, the piers were first laid with pilasters on the outside (Fig. 14) and then, before the second course was laid, the intervening spaces were filled and the blocks joined to those of the piers. After the pilasters

Figure 13. Foundation for Outer Wall of Cavea, Showing Method of Construction
had thus been marked on the first course, the second course was laid without any reference to the piers; and the same is true of the third course, which is the highest preserved in any part of the south side. The pilasters, however, were carried up to the top of the first story. It is not impossible that in the original plan thin screen-walls were intended between the piers as on the west side. Setting lines for the blocks (marked by dotted lines in Plates II and III, cf. Fig. 14) are found on all the preserved courses of the outer wall. On Plates II and III two of the piers only (13 and 14) on the south side, are visible, since here only the lowest course is preserved. Of piers 15 and 16, where the second course is also preserved, only the pilasters show on the plan, but the piers are visible in the bottom course on both faces of the wall.

The pilasters on the face of the wall have a width of 0.75 m., and the distance between them is approximately 3.60 m. Adding to this the width of the pilaster, we get an average interval of ca. 4.35 m. If we begin at the missing pilaster opposite the south wall of the west parados and measure the distance around the cavea, there is room for just twenty-two pilasters on the whole semicircle. Nine of these are preserved in the lower courses (1, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 21, Plate III), and traces of three more (9, 10, 11) are preserved on the concrete foundation south of the cavea, which will be discussed below. Thus the axis of the Odeum comes between two pilasters (11 and 12), a fact of great importance for the restoration of the south façade.

There is a slight variation in the distance between the several piers, and the interval through which the axis passes was about 0.22 m. larger than the average distance. As will be pointed out elsewhere, the axis of the cavea is not exactly the same as that of the scene-building. This can be observed by sighting along the median line, marked on the foundation for the scaenae frons (see p. 42, Fig. 28 m–m and Plates II, III m–m). An extension of this line toward the south passes through the cavea near the west edge of the central aisle. The axis of the cavea is also marked on the poros course of the foundation for the outer wall on the south side and is indicated in plans II and III m’–m’. This line passes through the centre of the half-circle. The axis of the scene-building and that of the cavea, if extended, would intersect at the south edge of the foundation for the scaenae frons.

The poros course which forms part of the foundation on the south side is preserved as far as pier 11, and a few blocks of the same course remain in situ farther east. With the exception of these, there remains nothing of the foundation for the outer wall in the east half of the south side except the concrete. It has been possible to study these sub-foundations here more carefully than elsewhere, and to obtain the evidence for the description given above. Several of the holes for the upright posts as well as for the planks used in the construction have come to light in this part of the building. These are visible in Plates II, III r, and in figures 10 r, 12, and 14 r.

The inner wall of the semicircular corridor is made in much the same way as the outer wall. On the west side it consisted of separate piers from which walls extended
like radii in the direction toward the orchestra. On these rested slanting vaults of concrete which formed the substructure for the seats where these could not be cut out of rock. The walls on the south side, which are farther apart than those on the west side, are not true radii of the semicircle. The reason may be that the rooms under the vaults were here intended to be used as storerooms. In the third room from east to west (see Plates I and III) the two walls are perfectly parallel, and in the fourth room the scarp of rock, which was left very uneven from the quarrying, was made smooth when the walls were built. Furthermore, the face of the walls is well finished, and the joints are touched up with mortar as if intended to be visible. The two small chambers on the extreme east and west sides were probably not used, since here the early fill was found at a level higher than the floor of the corridor.\(^1\) The inner wall of the semicircular corridor is destroyed on the south side; but the rooms must have been accessible from the corridor in some such way as is indicated on the restored plan (Plate I).\(^2\) Since the radiating walls on the south side are not spaced according to the outer piers, it seems likely that no piers were here indicated in the inner wall. Between piers 13' and 14' there is a niche, 1.95 m. wide and 0.90 m. deep, surmounted by a stone vault (Fig. 15).

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\(^1\) See *A.J.A.* XXXII, 1928, p. 454.

\(^2\) The openings into the chambers are conjecturally placed, and it is open to doubt whether in the case of the westernmost chamber any such opening existed.
The floor of the niche was sunk ca. 0.20 m. below the floor of the corridor. In the fill of this sunken area and in the corridor close to the niche numerous coins were found, dating from the fourth century A.D. Whatever business may have been transacted here, it is now fairly certain that the niche cannot have served as a ticket office,\(^1\) since there was no entrance into the semicircular passage on the south side. On one of the blocks of the inner wall slightly west of the niche are scratched some lines which seem to have been used as a sundial (p. 141, Fig. 137).

The floor of the semicircular corridor on the west side is partly made of hard earth and lime mortar and partly cut in rock. Opposite the missing pier 17 close to the outer wall (Plates II, III) there is a rectangular cutting in the floor, 1.68 m. long, 1.05 m. wide, and varying in depth between 0.50 m. at the south end and 0.75 m. at the north end. The purpose of this cutting is not clear. South of the line which marks the edge of the quarry, the floor of the corridor rests on the undisturbed fill left between the two parallel walls. About 4.50 m. east of the niche in the inner wall an irregular hollow, ca. 0.40 m. deep, was found in the floor of the corridor, and from the bottom of the hollow a slanting hole ca. 0.75 m. in diameter extends down into the fill under the floor. Round this narrow hole the earth was solidly packed. The hole was filled with black earth and débris such as filled the whole corridor. Because of the narrowness of the hole, it was impossible, without destroying it, to remove the earth for more than about 0.50 m. How far down the hole extended cannot be determined, and it is difficult to see what purpose it can have served. That it was filled with some destructible object which, when decayed, left the hole in the ground seems likely. But it was not merely a piece of wood left accidentally in the earth, as is shown by the fact that the walls around the hole were hard and compact.

A little to the east of the main axis (Plates II, III) a block of limestone, 1.20 X 0.65 m., is embedded in the floor of the corridor. In the centre of the block is a cutting 0.18 m. long, 0.15 m. wide, and 0.16 m. deep. Several blocks of a similar nature are found in different parts of the scene-building (cf. pp. 46, 68). Most of them were probably used for supporting upright posts during the course of construction or during later repairs. Six and a half metres east of the block just mentioned, there is a large poros block of irregular shape, ca. 1.40 X 1.10 m., with a hole in the centre, ca. 0.20 m. square and 0.31 m. deep. This block when found was covered over with the mortar which constituted the floor. At a point farther east opposite the missing piers 5 and 6 (Plates II, III) we cut through the floor for a distance of ca. 5 m. in order to investigate the nature of the fill. The inside of the outer foundation which was here laid bare is shown in figure 12. The fill contained numerous sherds of Arretine ware,\(^2\) as well as fragments of earlier pottery. Still more important for the dating are the fragments of lamps, most of which belong to

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\(^1\) This is the view which I expressed in the excavation report, *A.J.A.* XXXII, 1928, p. 454, before the area on the south side of the Odeum had been excavated.

three distinct classes. Most numerous are the sherds of relief lamps, an Italian product\textsuperscript{1} dating from the time of Augustus till about the time of Nero. Another very common type from the same fill is the coarse wheel-made type of local manufacture,\textsuperscript{2} which was in use during the same period. Fragments of the so-called Ephesus type,\textsuperscript{3} which was common in Corinth during the Augustan period, were also fairly numerous. A few earlier types were represented in small numbers. Among the datable objects from the fill there was nothing later than the first century A.D., and the same is true of the objects from the other places where the undisturbed pre-Odean deposit was investigated. Such a place is the cut discussed on p. 16. Similar investigations were made in the vaulted chamber VI (Plate III) close to the inner wall of the semicircular corridor; between piers 11 and 12 (see p. 31); opposite piers 9 and A (Plates II, III); and in the southeast corner between piers 3 and 4 (p. 16, Fig. 10). In each of these places the solid rock was laid bare, and the contents of the fill minutely examined. The results of these investigations showed that the entire area occupied by the quarry had been used for dumping; and various periods from the beginning of the bronze age to Roman times were represented by the contents.

East of the cut opposite piers 5 and 6 (cf. p. 22) the rock again rises to such a height that the semicircular corridor was cut through it and the vault rested directly on the rock. Here again, as on the west side, the floor of the corridor, which is cut in rock, slopes considerably toward the north. In the outer wall of the corridor opposite pier 3 is a small niche, 0.74 m. long, 0.25 m. high in the middle and 0.27 m. deep. This can be seen in Sections C–D and E–F, Plate IV. Opposite the east stairway is a cutting in the floor 1.30 m. long, 0.33 m. wide, and ca. 0.25 m. deep; and slightly farther north is a smaller cutting of irregular shape, only about 0.06 m. deep. What purpose the larger cutting served is not clear. The smaller one probably held an upright post for the support of the vault during construction.

The vault over the semicircular corridor was naturally destroyed at the time when the walls of the building were demolished, and large pieces of it were found all along the corridor. But a small stretch of the walls on which the vault rested has been left on the west side, and here the vault still remains intact for a distance of about 4 m. It is made of small poros slabs of irregular shape set on edge and filled around with lime mortar and rubble (Figs. 9 and 14). Its construction is, as it were, a combination of opus incertum and real stone work. The slabs are so small and irregular that without the mortar they

\textsuperscript{1} Broneer, \textit{Corinth}, IV, ii, \textit{Terracotta Lamps}, Types XXI–XXIV, pp. 73–83 and cf. \textit{A.J.A.} XXXII, 1928, p. 452, fig. 4, Nos. 2, 5, 6. The lamps shown there are from the cut mentioned on p. 16, where the fill was similar to that under the floor of the corridor.  


could not support their own weight, much less carry any superimposed structure; but there is no doubt that, embedded in the mortar, they add strength to the construction. Marks of the boards for the wooden framework on which the vault was laid are visible on the under side of the vault (cf. vault over chamber VI, shown in figure 19). The form was made in short sections, 1–1.70 m. long, and supported by upright posts, the shallow cuttings for which are visible at intervals on the floor. At the east and west ends of the corridor, bricks were also used in the vault. Just south of the east stairway a large piece of the fallen vault has been left where found (visible in PLATES IX and XI), and on the northernmost end of this piece are a few tesserae of a mosaic that covered this part of the vault. But the mosaic did not extend around the whole corridor. Where the vault remains intact and on the numerous fallen pieces on the south side there are no traces of mosaics, nor were tesserae found in the fill below. The vault was probably decorated only at the two ends where the east and west stairways led up to the cavea. The walls of the corridor at these points were also finished more smoothly than elsewhere and were at one period covered with stucco.

From the semicircular corridor two stairways led up to the upper seats. The east stairway owes its good preservation to the fact that it is partly cut in rock. From the floor of the corridor two steps lead through a doorway 1.83–1.95 m. wide to a platform 5.35 m. in length and varying in width from 2.65 m. at the east end to 1.95 m. at the west end (see Sections C–D and E–F, PLATE IV, and Fig. 16; cf. PLATES II and III). The western half of the platform is raised one step above the level of the eastern half (Fig. 2, left side). From this higher level two steps lead to a landing on the left, from which a short flight of steps ascends toward the east. The topmost step to the landing was inserted separately, the setting line being indicated on the rock. Between the lower platform and the ascending flight of steps there is a newell wall, ca. 0.80 m. wide, cut in rock. The stairway had a vaulted ceiling, which at the springing of the vault has traces of plaster. The slope of the vault appears in Section E–F, PLATE IV. The vault was made of the rough masonry which served as support for the seats. The main flight of steps was partly cut in rock, partly built of masonry. The steps have a rise of 0.30 m. and a tread of 0.25 m. The stairway probably led into a gallery corresponding to the semicircular corridor below (cf. p. 28).

On the west side was a stairway similar to the one on the east side; but here the whole substructure for the seats, which was built artificially, is less well preserved (Section C–D, PLATE IV, and Fig. 8). Of the stairway itself very little remains, but enough to show that it corresponded in the main to the east stairway. From the semicircular corridor two steps led up to the first platform, which was also divided into a lower western half and a higher eastern half; but the difference in level was apparently made up by two steps, not by one step as in the east stairway (PLATE I). From this higher level two

1 The size of the bricks is: L. 0.60; W. 0.295; Th. 0.053.
steps led to the landing, from which a run of steps ascended in a westerly direction. This was supported by a slanting vault of opus incertum (visible in Section C–D, Plate IV, in Plates VI and VII, and in Figs. 8 and 9), which in turn rests on two parallel walls, each ending in a massive pier (19' and 20', Plate III, and Figs. 8 and 9) toward the vaulted passage. Over the piers no vault is preserved; but it is evident that a stone arch here took the place of the opus incertum. The latter ends in a straight line where it abutted against the stone arch, and several large voussoirs of poros were found in this vicinity.

Directly in line with the easternmost aisle and about level with the top of the semicircular corridor is a level place in the cavea over two metres wide and some four metres long (Plates II, III, VI, VIII and XI). At the inner edge of this platform is a hole in the concrete, measuring 0.20 × 0.15 m. in section, and 0.22 m. in depth, and a somewhat similar but smaller hole is found on the ninth seat from below, slightly east of the middle aisle. The platform can only be the floor of a vomitorium through which the cavea was entered from an upper gallery directly above the semicircular corridor. The upper part of the cavea is completely destroyed, and it is impossible to determine exactly what the arrangement was. One would expect a diazoma at the same level as the vomitorium; but
the foundations for the seat blocks east of the platform show definitely that no diazoma could have existed at this level. Apparently the stairway terminated in the vomitorium, but the seats continued on both sides for some distance. These seats would have to be entered without stairs, unless we suppose that there were stairways in the upper section rising from the level of the vomitoria but without a diazoma, which is most unlikely. The most probable solution is to assume that the upper part of the cavea was separated from the lower part by a wall, some two metres high, and that the seats continued on both sides of the vomitorium as far as this wall. The diazoma, if there was one, must then have been above the wall and below the first row of seats of the upper section. Such an arrangement is common in Roman theatres\(^1\) (Fig. 17). Corresponding to the vomitorium over the east aisle there must have been one vomitorium over each of the other two aisles.

\(^1\) The best example is the Theatre at Fiesole (fig. 17) where there were at least four seats on each side of the vomitoria. A similar arrangement is found in the Theatre at Herculaneum, the small Theatre at Taormina, and the Amphitheatre at Pompeii. Cf. J. R. Mélida, ‘The Roman Theatre of Merida,’ *Art and Arch.* XXV, 1928, p. 31.
The vomitoria above the central and western aisles are not preserved; but it is possible to show that they existed. The southernmost part of the cavea, as we have seen, is built up artificially by means of slanting vaults of opus incertum, resting on radiating walls. The inclination of the vaults is approximately the same as that of the cavea itself, making an angle with the horizontal of somewhat less than $30^\circ$. But the vault which supported

The vomitorium at the east aisle is perfectly level (Section A–B, Plate IV, and Plate XI), and the same is true of the corresponding vault under the west aisle. Here the top of the vault which formed the floor of the vomitorium is broken away except for a small portion at the springing, which suffices to show that here, too, the vault was horizontal (part of this vault appears in Section C–D, Plate IV, and in figures 8 and 18). Under the central aisle above chamber V (Plate III) the vault starts from a lower level. It is not perfectly horizontal but makes an angle of about $11^\circ$ (this vault appears in Section A–B, Plate IV, in Plate XI, and in figure 19). Yet this is a much gentler inclination than that of the other vaults, whose mean angle is $28^\circ$ (not counting the first vault east of the central aisle, which is too poorly preserved to be measured). A section of one of these
vaults is shown in Plate V, Section M–N. This difference in the slope of the vaults can only mean that there was a horizontal floor above the vaults at the three aisles and that each aisle terminated in a *vomitorium* at a point level with the floor over the semicircular corridor. Thus the existence of a gallery at this level is made reasonably certain. The gallery was entered from the south side (p. 32) and from the east and west stairways of the cavea.

![Figure 19. Vaults over Chambers V and VI, Showing Difference in Slope](image)

The above description of the outer wall of the cavea with its regularly spaced pilasters would naturally lead one to suppose that the wall was exposed down to its foundation; but this was not the case. Only on the east and west sides were these pilasters partly visible, whereas on the south side the entire first story of the wall was below the ground level.

A trial trench, dug in 1907 south of the Odeum, revealed a broad foundation which at the time was thought to be the outer wall of the cavea. But when the building was excavated in 1927 and 1928 it became evident that this foundation was outside the semicircle of the cavea, and in the autumn of 1929 a small area south of the Odeum was excavated in order to discover the nature and purpose of the south foundation (Plate XI). The result was more illuminating than could have been expected. The area immediately south of the Odeum proved never to have been occupied by any
THE CAVEA

building since Roman times, hence the deposit could here be studied through its superimposed strata, dating from the first period of the Odeum to the present day. As usual there was a top layer—here about 0.50 m. deep—the contents of which were chiefly Turkish and modern Greek. Below this layer was a strosis so even and well packed that it could hardly have been anything but a road level. Immediately below this strosis were found glazed Byzantine potsherds as well as coins of the Byzantine period. This kind of fill continued for about one metre, and at the bottom was another strosis still harder and more level than the one above. Immediately above the lower strosis were discovered numerous late Roman coins, mostly of the fourth century. By cutting through the second strosis we discovered a series of well packed floors, only a few centimetres apart, until a perfectly definite floor level was reached. These different floors, the combined depth of which is not more than about 0.25 m., contained sherds and coins of late Roman times. Below the lowest strosis, which was cut through in a few places, there was nothing later than the first century A.D. Hence there can be no doubt that this strosis marks the Roman ground level south of the Odeum. This level is approximately the same as that of the floor over the concrete vault and of the vomitorium in the southeast part of the cavea (see levels, Plate III, and Section A–B, Plate IV), which certainly represent the floor level of the second story. But it is only ca. 3.50 m. higher than the top of the foundation for the outer wall of the cavea, which is about level with the floor of the semicircular corridor. Naturally 3.50 m. is too little for the height of the first story; but the top of the foundation on the south side does not represent the floor level of the building. The toechobate of the north wall, which is preserved for more than half its length, is ca. 5.35 m. lower than the floor level on the south side. This, then, is the height of the first story of the building. On the north, east, and west sides of the scene-building it was visible in its entire height, but on the south side of the cavea it was entirely hidden because of the difference in ground level. In this hidden part of the outer wall only the corners of the pilasters were carefully finished, the rest of the wall was left rough (Fig. 14). But it was necessary for the masons to have at intervals straight vertical lines to guide the setting of the wall blocks, and such lines could most easily be obtained by continuing the pilasters around the whole cavea.

Directly south of the cavea a foundation, ca. 27 m. long and ca. 3 m. wide, follows the outer semicircular wall (Plates II, III, and XI). It is made of opus incertum, but the mortar is poorer than that used elsewhere in the Odeum, and the foundation does not extend down to rock except at one point (see p. 32), but rests on the fill of the quarry. It has a depth of ca. 2 m., and the fill below is almost 4 m. deep. Only the eastern end is preserved to its original height. Here are foundations for two piers (A and B, Plates III and XI), each measuring ca. 2.50 m. from east to west, and having originally the total width of the foundation, 3 m. They are made of opus incertum, topped with a single course of poros blocks. The interaxial distance between the piers is ca. 4.50 m. The space between the two piers is filled with rubble masonry level with
the top of the poros blocks. The rubble foundation was laid directly against the wall of the cavea and has on its north face shallow depressions made by the pilasters of the wall. Three such depressions (of piers 9, 10, 11, Plate III) are preserved from pilasters of which all the stones have been removed (two impressions are shown in Section A–B, Plate IV). These show that the outer piers A and B came directly opposite piers 9 and 10 respectively. West of pier B the concrete is preserved to its full height for a distance of 1.75 m., which is only slightly less than the space between piers A and B. Farther west the preserved top of the foundation is much lower (Plate XI), but it seems likely that the piers continued, one opposite each pilaster of the cavea wall. The westernmost end of the foundation is still unexcavated for a distance of about 4 m.; but the north side appears in the scarp of earth, and its extent is shown by dotted lines in Plates II and III. We may assume that there was a pier at this end of the foundation opposite pier 14 and corresponding to pier A at the eastern end. This leaves room for six piers along the whole foundation (see Plate III, where the piers are numbered A–F from east to west, and cf. restored plan, Plate I).

It has already been pointed out that the pilasters on the cavea wall were so arranged that the axis of the building comes in the middle between two pilasters. Since piers

1 The garden wall of the excavation house, which was built before the extent of this outer foundation was known, prevented this piece from being cleared.
A–F were also spaced with reference to these pilasters, there was an equal number of piers on each side of the axis. South of the broad foundation for the piers, embedded in the floor is a poros block, measuring $1 \times 0.70$ m., through which the axis of the building passes (Plates II, IIIy, XIy, and Section A–B, Plate IV). This is so small that it can hardly have served any permanent purpose but was probably used as a point of measurement by the builders. It was apparently higher at one time and was later cut down level with the pavement.

The south foundation, though obviously belonging to the Odeum, is not in any way joined to the outer wall of the cavea. It was certainly laid after the wall was already built to the height of the first story. Still it cannot have been built much later than the rest of the building, as is indicated by the fill around it. One piece of evidence for its date is given by a lamp which was found clinging to the mortar of the foundation. Between piers C and D, a narrow trench was cut across the foundation in order to obtain evidence for its date. The mortar was here so soft that the stones could be picked out with the hands, and in this masonry the fragments of the lamp shown in figure 138 were discovered. The lamp belongs to a type which was in use in Corinth about the middle of the first century A.D. (see p. 141).

The trench in which the lamp was discovered is important enough to justify a detailed description. A cross section of the fill a little to the east of this point is shown in figure 20. The trench was dug in the exact axis of the cavea through the south foundation down to the bottom of the quarry, which at this point is 2.80 m. below the top of the foundation for the outer wall. The south foundation rests on a fill of earth, nearly 4 m. deep, in which were found numerous sherds of Early Helladic pottery, and one layer consisting almost exclusively of broken archaic terracotta figurines. The Roman pottery of the first century A.D., which was found at all levels, gives the lower limit for the date of the fill.

The south side of the foundation for the outer wall of the cavea was also exposed in this trench (Fig. 21 and Section A–B, Plate IV). It here presents a different appearance from that shown at other points where it has been laid bare (see p. 17, and cf. figures 11 and 12). The horizontal planks were here set so close together that they must have served as a form for the pouring of the concrete. The upright posts, however, are on the inside, consequently the form must have been held in place by earth packed against it on the outside.
Immediately to the east of the trench the south foundation for a short distance was laid directly on the rock (Fig. 20). This cannot have been done in order to add strength at this point, for in that case one would expect the same kind of foundation farther east at the bases for the piers. It will be remembered that the trench was dug exactly in the axis of the cavea, hence the point where the foundation extends down to the rock is slightly east of the axis. The explanation seems to be that when the foundation for the outer wall of the cavea was laid, a cross trench was dug at this point extending from the cavea wall toward the south, in order to facilitate the hauling of materials used for the foundation. Since the existing ground level was more than six metres above the bottom of the foundation the necessity for such a cross trench is apparent. The trench was left open until the south foundation was laid and was then filled with concrete. This shows that the south foundation, though certainly laid after the outer wall of the cavea was finished up to the top of the first story, must have been made while the rest of the building was still under construction and may be an indication that the original plan was altered before the building was finished.

The poor material of which the south foundation is made and the fact that it rests on earth show that no very heavy superstructure can have been built upon it. That it had something to do with an entrance into the cavea is highly probable, and from the analogy of other Roman theatres\(^1\) it is possible to determine in the main the nature of the entrance. The piers undoubtedly supported a row of arches on which rested a large stairway, with flights of steps from either side, opening into the topmost part of the cavea (the stairway is indicated by dotted lines in PLATE I). The six piers allow for five arches, the middle of which was probably the highest, the other arches decreasing in height to east and west according to the slope of the stairs. Through the middle arch there was probably an entrance into the gallery, the floor of which would be approximately level with the ground on the south side of the building. The poor state of preservation of the south foundation makes it difficult to determine whether there was one grand stairway with the entrance into the gallery through the arches, or two smaller stairways with this lower entrance between the two. In the second instance only four piers would be required. The length of the foundation gives room for two stairways, but the fact that there is no break in the foundation seems to indicate that there was one grand stairway with a flight of steps on either side.

\(^1\) The unpublished Theatre at Nicopolis has several small stairways on the outside of the cavea, and similar approaches are common in other Roman theatres. In more elaborate buildings like the Colosseum in Rome the stairways are on the inside. A good parallel to the Odeum in Corinth is afforded by the Amphitheatre at Pompeii, which had four outside stairways in addition to the main entrances at either end (Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, figs. 91 and 95, and cf. the Pompeian wall painting representing the Amphitheatre, *ibid.*, fig. 96, and Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 579). The Theatre at Salona, which is about to be published, had a stairway at the back of the cavea similar to the one in the Odeum in Corinth. I am indebted to the architect, Einar Dyggve, for kindly sending me a copy of his unpublished plan and several photographs of the Theatre at Salona.
THE SCENE-BUILDING

Of the scene-building not much remains above the foundations, and in some places these, too, have been removed, with only the cuttings in the rock left to indicate the directions of the walls. Nevertheless, the general plan and the disposition of the rooms can be accurately determined. On the north side a long hall with an inner width of 4.60 m. extended through the whole length of the building. This will henceforth be referred to as the north hall (Plate III).

The north wall of the building has a thickness corresponding roughly to that of the outer wall of the cavea, which it resembles also in construction. For the foundation a trench, 3.20 m. wide and of varying depth, was sunk into the soft rock. But for some reason the width of the foundation was later decreased to 2 m. leaving a trench, 1.20 m. wide, on the south side, which was filled with loose earth and rubble (the trench is visible in Plates II, III, IX, and in Sections A–B, Plate IV and I–J, Plate V). The foundation is made of concrete, topped with a single course of poros on which the wall rested. But originally the intention seems to have been to lay the whole foundation of poros blocks, for near the north end of the wall where the trench was very deep the concrete rests on at least one course of poros which extends across the entire width of the original trench (Plates II and III). The width of the trench is the same as the width of the foundation for the outer wall of the cavea, and the architect doubtless intended to make the foundations for all the outer walls of the building of equal thickness. Had this plan been followed the north hall would have been ca. 1 m. narrower than it is, since the foundation for the north wall would then have projected beyond the face of the wall as on the other sides of the building. As it is, the foundation has approximately the same thickness as the wall. The change was probably made because according to the first plan the north hall was too narrow, and since the foundation on the north side did not have the same depth as elsewhere the wide projection was considered unnecessary. This furnishes another indication that the original plan of the architect was in some details modified during the course of construction. In the northeast corner for a distance of 1.10 m. the foundation has the full width of the trench (Fig. 22), and the same seems to have been the case in the northwest corner, but here the blocks have been removed far below floor level.

It has already been pointed out (p. 14) that the foundations for the scene-building, except that for the north wall, are made of stone extending down to solid rock. In Section K–L (Plate V) is shown how the two kinds of material are joined together. On the left is a cross section of the foundation for the west wall, consisting of six courses,
on the topmost of which rests the first course of wall blocks at the very corner of the building. The two upper courses of the foundation and the wall block are shown in elevation. Here the poros blocks of the foundation rest directly on rock and bonded into them is the concrete foundation of the north wall, which is seen in longitudinal section.

The top course of the foundation for the north wall is preserved from its east end to some seven metres west of the axis, whereas in the western part only the concrete subfoundation exists (Plates II, III, VII, and IX). This poros course, on which the superstructure rested, was levelled off smoothly on top, and the setting lines for the first wall blocks were scratched in the soft poros. These lines, which in some places appear to have been accentuated by a dark pigment, are indicated in Plates II and III, so far as they can be determined. They reveal a system of piers, 1.20 × 1.48 m. in section, connected by screens 0.45 m. thick. Near the east end of the wall, four of these piers and one of the screens are preserved in their lowest courses (Plates IX and XII, and Fig. 23). The piers, together with their screen walls, formed on the inside a series of niches, 0.70 m. deep and 1.45 m. wide. Perhaps there was a low bench in each niche; for such a bench, though from a very late period, is preserved near the east end of the wall. Each pier had on the outside a pilaster 0.75 m. in width, projecting ca. 0.13 m. from the face of the pier. The pilasters are of about the same size as those on the outer wall of the auditorium, but on the north wall they come much closer together and the piers are smaller. The screens were not set flush with the outer face of the piers but formed niches on the outside, ca. 0.30 m. deep. At the very east end of the wall the setting lines do not show the same system of piers and screens, and the arrangement is not easily determined (Figs. 22 and 23, Plates II and III). It is not unlikely that the wall was solid from the east corner as far as the easternmost pier preserved, a distance of 4.85 m. Such a solid stretch of wall would give strength to the construction in the corner and would be architecturally permissible. But the setting lines show that there was a large pilaster, 0.90 m. wide, 1.20 m. from the corner of the building; and there seems to have been a corresponding pilaster on the east wall at the same distance from the corner (Plates I and II). Exactly how these terminated above and how they connected with the architectural features on the rest of the north wall is a matter of conjecture.
The east wall of the scene-building shows some peculiarities which can be explained only on the basis of a change in plan. In the northeast corner the coursing of the north wall does not fit that of the east wall. The outer face of the east wall is shown in figures 5 and 23, the inner face in figure 24 and in Section I–J, Plate V. In figure 23
the change in coursing is clearly visible. Not only is there a change where the east wall abuts against the north wall, but at the pilaster farther south the coursing again changes. The north wall was pierced by three entrances, a larger one in the centre and a smaller one on either side. The middle door had a width of 2.60 m. as measured by the length of the threshold. The latter is not preserved, but a rough cutting in the foundation shows its place and size. Thus the spacing of the piers was here different from that in the rest of the wall, the space which formed the door having a width of 2.60 m. as compared with 1.45 m. elsewhere.

Of the two smaller entrances the eastern one is the better preserved, where part of the threshold is still left in situ (Fig. 25). The total width of the door was 2.09 m., hence considerably less than that of the main door but again wider than one of the regular spaces between the piers. The threshold, like those in the doors of the east wall (p. 45), was made of a hard cream-colored limestone. On the wall itself is a door jamb, 0.46 m. wide and projecting 0.11 m. Corresponding in width to the jamb was a raised part of the threshold, made of separate blocks. It projects 0.04 m. above the top of the wider blocks which covered the rest of the doorway. This lower part of the threshold had a width of 1 m. On the preserved block is a pivot hole in the corner and a smaller cutting near the west end of the block. The second cutting was made for fastening the
vertical bar by which the door was locked. Of the two blocks that remain, the narrow one is 0.77 m. long and the wider one 1.30 m. long. Two other blocks, one 0.46 m. wide and 1.10 m. long, and another, 1 m. wide and 0.79 m. long, are needed to complete the threshold. Thus the length of the narrow blocks plus twice the projection of the door jamb \((0.77 + 1.10 + 2 \times 0.11 = 2.09 \text{ m.})\) is the same as the length of the wider blocks \((1.30 + 0.79 = 2.09 \text{ m.})\).

Of the corresponding doorway on the west side all traces have disappeared, but the foundation for a porch, to be discussed later, shows that it was symmetrical with the northeast doorway.

The remains of the north wall, scanty as they are, leave little room for doubt as to the main features of the façade in its lower story. The piers were undoubtedly surmounted by arches, with the pilasters projecting above and supporting horizontal members. This is a characteristic feature of Roman architecture, particularly common in theatres and amphitheatres. It is hardly to be supposed that the screens between the piers extended to the top of the arches, for the north hall would have to be lighted from the north side. Hence the arches in their upper parts were probably open windows and are thus indicated in the restored plan (Plate I).

But this description of the façade applies only to the earliest period of the Odeum. In the second period the whole appearance of the wall was altered. On the outside the shallow niches between the piers were filled up with rubble masonry and the face of the wall revetted with marble. A few fragments of the marble slabs and a great deal of the rubble masonry are preserved to the east of the central doorway (Plates II, VII, VIII, IX, and Fig. 26). In the first space to the east of the northeast doorway brick was used instead of rubble for filling up the niche.

The north façade was further enriched by an ornamental porch in front of each doorway. The north central porch had a total width of 7.50 m. and projected from the face of the wall 2.50 m. Only the stylobate is preserved (Fig. 26), but on it are setting marks which reveal the nature of the superstructure (Plates II and III). The porch consisted in its lower story of four piers (or columns with square plinths) ca. 1.10 × 0.95 m. in section. Apart from the setting lines, two dowel holes with pour channels indicate the position of each pier. The opening between the two middle piers measures 1.85 m. in width, the other two spaces are 0.80 m. wide. These three openings were probably surmounted by arches. But whether this was the case or architraves were used, the piers must have been connected with the north wall of the building in the same way as they were connected with one another. One would expect that the piers of the porch,

1 Cf. the Theatre of Marcellus (Bieber, Denkm. zum Theaterwesen im Altertum, pl. 26); the Theatre at Orange (ibid., pl. 33); the Odeum at Catania (Cesareo, Memorie archeologiche di Catania, opp. p. 52); the Theatre at Ostia (Calza, Teatro Rom. d. Ostia, p. 27); the Colosseum (Rivoira, Roman Architecture, p. 90, fig. 95); Amphitheatreum Castrense, Rome (Noack, Baukunst d. Altertums, pl. 139); the Amphitheatre at Pola, etc. In many of these buildings half columns take the place of pilasters.
CORINTH: THE ODEUM

at least those at the corners, would correspond to pilasters on the wall and that the connecting members, whether horizontal or arched, would thus come directly above two pilasters. But the setting lines show that the outer piers of the porch come between two piers in the north wall. This is so unexpected a feature that one is immediately tempted to date the porch in the second period, when the architectural features of the facade were altered; but from other considerations that is unlikely. Although not bonded into the north wall of the scene-building, the porch is made of the same kind of material and built in the same technique as the rest of the walls. Particularly characteristic is the use of wooden clamps laid in mortar. But more important is the nature of the wall behind the porch. In the second period the outer niches were filled with rubble masonry and the wall, in its lower part at least, was made smooth. The wall blocks have all been removed down to the toechobate; but part of the rubble masonry which filled the niches in the second period remains to the east of the north central porch and preserves impressions of the piers with the intervening niches (Plates II and III). The pilasters were roughly cut away before the rubble masonry and mortar were added on the outside. Impressions of three of the outer niches are clearly visible between the north central

Figure 26. The Odeum from the North, Showing Foundation for the North Central Porch
porch and the northwest porch. But where the first niche should come, between the first and second piers east of the central doorway, there is no such impression, but a straight piece of masonry which shows that the wall here continued in a straight line between the piers. Since this comes exactly opposite the easternmost pier (or column) of the porch, it is evident that the arch (or architrave) rested on this straight piece of wall; consequently, the porch must have been there from the beginning.

On the other hand, it is not likely that the porches formed part of the original building plan. If that had been the case, the piers of the north central porch would undoubtedly have been arranged so as to come opposite the piers in the wall. Besides, the spacing of the piers of the north wall indicates that no porches were intended from the beginning. After the north façade was built, in whole or in part, it was not easy to plan porches that would fit the architecture of the wall. Had the north central porch been made to extend to the second pier on either side of the doorway, it would have been too wide. The solution adopted by the architect can hardly be called a happy one, but it may have been the best that the conditions allowed. Our total ignorance of the superstructure of the porch prevents us from passing judgment on its architectural effect.

Between the two middle piers of the north central porch there is a hole, ca. 0.60 m. square, through which entrance is gained into the underground passage to be described below.

The northeast porch has disappeared but for one block of the foundation, which appears to be in situ (visible in figure 25 to the left of the threshold). The poros blocks were here laid in mortar on the rock, which was dressed down for this purpose. The cuttings show that the porch had a width of ca. 4 m. and a depth of ca. 2.30 m. The total width of the foundation is thus a little more than the distance between the outer corners of the middle pair of piers in the central porch. Of the west porch the concrete foundation remains, and this has approximately the same size as the rock dressing for the east porch. One would expect the northeast and northwest porches to have had only two piers each, spaced according to the width of the doorways; but the effect of these smaller porches having wider span than the middle span of the north central porch is most unhappy, and it is possible that some other solution was found. Since nothing has been discovered which can with certainty be assigned to the porches themselves, it would be futile to attempt a reconstruction based on the foundations alone.

In the second period, when the north wall was revetted with marble, the porches doubtless also underwent alteration. In the north central porch are traces of mortar in which the marble floor slabs were laid, and in all probability the whole porch was rebuilt in marble. At this time, when the entire façade was altered, the architectural features of the wall were probably brought more into harmony with the porches. But, since only the face of the wall was changed, the windows must have remained where they were. Between the three porches the floor level was raised ca. 0.50 m. above the floor of the Odeum court (see p. 69), and the raised area was probably approached by two steps.
In the first period the ground level on the north side appears to have been higher, probably ca. 0.20 m. lower than this later raised area between the porches.

The north hall had a vaulted ceiling, of which large fragments were found in the fill above the floor. The vault was made of hard mortar, small stones, fragments of tiles, etc., forming a kind of opus incertum. The tiles, many of which are stamped, are of the same kind as those used for the water channel in the orchestra (see pp. 53 and 138).

The vault was decorated with mosaics in bright colors, of which only a few pieces are preserved, too small to show what patterns were used except for borders. A small piece found at the east end of the corridor is shown on Plate XIII from a water color reproduction by Mrs. Rhys Carpenter. It shows the edges of two panels, separated by a broad band of guilloche pattern. The ground is white; for the guilloche pattern black, light blue, yellow, grayish brown, light gray, and white are used; on each side of this pattern and separated from it by two rows of white is a single row of dark red. Of the panel enclosed by this border only one corner is preserved. Green, black, dark brown, and blue were used for the pattern; but too little remains to show the full design. Another fragment from the east end of the corridor has a floral pattern on white ground with borders of dark red and black on each side. This piece happened to fall with the mosaic up, and through the action of water and earth from above it has become so encrusted
with lime that its colors cannot be clearly determined. Slightly farther west was found a third piece which also has a guilloche pattern much like that of the first fragment and also part of a floral design on white ground. A fourth fragment (Fig. 27), from near the west end of the corridor, has a guilloche pattern surrounding a circular field. Parts of two other fields with designs are preserved, but in neither case is the nature of the design evident. The colors used in this fragment are: white (for the ground), dark blue, light blue, dark brown, light brown, yellow, dark green, and light green.

The mosaics are set in a matrix of lime which has oozed out between the tesserae. The white marble pieces are ca. 0.012 m. square; the colored tesserae, which are all made of glass, are smaller. The shape of the tesserae is very irregular and the work is careless. Yet the rich variety of colors and the clearness of the designs on the white ground must have given a striking effect to the whole ceiling.

Parallel to the north wall, and 4.60 m. distant from it, is a second wall which forms the south side of the north hall and separates it from the stage. Its middle section, for a distance of 30.30 m., has the enormous thickness of 4.60 m. In addition, the foundation on the south side projects ca. 1.00 m. beyond the face of the wall, making the total
thickness over 5.50 m. The foundation for this wall from the very bottom is built of large poros blocks, which only in the upper courses were joined with wooden clamps. The foundation extends to a depth of ca. 3 m. below the orchestra floor and over 4 m. below the floor of the north hall. On this broad foundation rested the scaenae frons. On the top course of the foundation, in the exact axis of the scene-building, is a scratched line across the entire width of the foundation (Plates II, III, and Fig. 28 m–m), and in the scarp of rock to the north of the wall is a small cutting (Fig. 28 n) directly above the line. Careful measurements show that this line if extended toward the north divides the scene-building exactly in the middle. The cavea, on the other hand, was less carefully laid out. If the same line is extended toward the south, it cuts the middle aisle not in the centre but close to its west edge. The axis of the cavea is marked on the top course of the foundation for the outer wall (Plates II, III). The direction of the two lines, as has been pointed out above, is not the same. The difference is probably due to inaccuracy.

At a distance of ca. 15 m. to the east and west of the median line the broad wall is divided, leaving two small rooms, L and L', measuring 2.75 × 2 m., in the middle of the wall. These rooms, which were filled up to stage level with poros chips and earth, seem to have been entered from the north hall. They are too small to have been used as rooms in a strict sense, being apparently intended merely to give direct access from the north hall to rooms N and N'. By this means the actors leaving the scene through one of the doors in the back wall of the stage could return to the scene through the doors of the versurae without leaving the building.

The foundation for the broad wall extended under rooms L and L' (Plates II and III). Between room L' and the next room to the west (M') the distance is more than 3.50 m., which is too great for the thickness of a single wall in the interior of the building. In the north hall, 0.85 m. west of room L', is a rectangular piece of opus incertum built directly against the south wall (Plates II, III z, VIII z, and Fig. 29 z). It measures 1.60 × 0.60 m., and its top is ca. 0.10 m. above the floor level of the north hall. From this structure two parallel walls of concrete extended toward the south. These walls were only 0.30 m. thick, and the distance between them is ca. 0.85 m. Between the walls near their north end are two shallow cuttings in the poros blocks. This puzzling construction of concrete, resting on the poros wall, was at first thought to be a modern wine press; but a more careful study shows that it must belong to the first period of the Odeum. The mortar is exactly of the same kind as that used for the foundation of the building; and the

1 The distance toward the west is 15.05 m., toward the east 15.25 m.; but in the latter instance the measurement as shown in the plan (Plate II) is taken one course lower than on the west side. In the case of foundations, as here, such inaccuracies are not uncommon.

2 It was so interpreted at the time of the excavation, and a small part of it was removed before it became clear that it belonged to the Odeum. The house of Kannelopoulos, destroyed by the earthquake of 1858, occupied the west end of the scene-building, and it appears that the structure in question had actually been converted into a wine press by the modern owner of the site.
way in which the poros blocks on the west side have been broken away (Plate II and Fig. 29) shows that at the time of their removal the concrete structure was already there and prevented further demolition of the walls at this point.

The two parallel walls are too thin to be partitions for a small room or closet, and the fact that they are of concrete indicates that they served some special purpose. They can only be the supporting walls for a stairway leading from the north hall to the second story of the scene-building. The two shallow cuttings at the north end of the walls were made for holding in place the wooden beams supporting the form into which the concrete was poured. Similar cuttings are found in the floor of the semicircular corridor (see p. 24). The stairway must have extended from the north hall to the north wall of room N', where it opened into the second story; and in order not to make it too steep, an outside landing was made in the north hall so that the stairway could begin at the north face of the wall. This landing is the rectangular piece of concrete, on the top of which are traces of mortar bedding for a marble slab covering the concrete.

This stairway and a corresponding one on the east side were probably used by the occupants of the tribunalia which, on the analogy of other Roman theatres, may be restored above the two parodoi. Such tribunalia were usually not accessible from the

![Figure 29. Traces of Stairs, West of Stage](image)
cavea,\(^1\) and there are no other traces of stairs by which they could be reached. On the east side the wall on which the stairway rested has disappeared; but the arrangement was doubtless the same on both sides. It is probable that the two stairways also gave access to the rooms of the second story. Since the disposition of these rooms is unknown, except in so far as it can be inferred from the ground plan, no attempt has been made to restore that part of the building. West of the stairway on the west side, a cross wall extended from the north hall to the north wall of the *parodos*, forming the east wall of room M'. This and room M on the east side measured ca. 6.50 m. from north to south and ca. 8.50 m. from east to west. Room M is the better preserved. Its north wall is an extension of the broad wall, though here only 0.92 m. wide. The stones are joined by wooden clamps, but in the northeast corner of the room, where this wall is bonded into the east wall of the building, a few stones are fastened with leaded iron clamps (Fig. 24 and Plate II). In room M the broad wall continues under the floor almost as far as the east wall (Plates II, III, and Section I-J, Plate V). Only two courses were laid, and on top of these is a fill of earth, 2 m. deep. The explanation for this apparent waste of material was given by the discovery of an early reservoir under the floor of the room (see p. 73).

Room M had at one time a marble floor, some pieces of which remain along the east side. A narrow strip of marble close to the wall is preserved for more than half the width of the room. It can be seen in figure 30 that the strip widens toward the north, and traces left in the mortar beyond the point where the marble has disappeared show clearly that the widening continued up to the north wall of the room. This may at first sight appear to be of no importance; but it is possible to prove that the difference in width is not due to carelessness on the part of those who laid the marble floor. The east and west walls of the scene-building converge slightly toward the south, and to

\(^1\) At Pompeii in the Large Theatre the *tribunalia* were reached through small stairs from the *parodoi*, and in the Small Theatre they were approached by steps from the stage. In the Theatre at Dugga the *tribunalia* were reached by stairs in the scene-building arranged as in the Odeum, Pfeiffer, *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, IX, 1931, p. 156.
make up for this difference the floor slabs close to the wall had to taper. The marble floor, which belongs to the second period, was probably made of rectangular slabs laid in rows from west to east, thus leaving a narrow strip of unequal width on the east side to be inserted at the end. A conjectural restoration of the floor is shown in Plate I, right, but the arrangement of the square slabs in the middle with a border of longer slabs is quite uncertain. Below the marble floor and the mortar in which the slabs were laid, another floor of a hard, dark clay is discernible. This is probably the floor of the first period.

A doorway in the east wall of room M, originally slightly over 2.50 m. wide, led from the outside into the room. Part of the threshold, of hard, cream-colored limestone like that used for the east door of the north façade, is preserved in situ at the north side of the doorway (Figs. 23, 30, 31, 32). Along the east side is a raised band, 0.23 m. wide, and 0.04 m. high, against which the doors closed. A cutting at the north end of this raised band was for fastening a door jamb, probably of marble. The end of the wall toward the door is perfectly straight, hence the jamb must have been added in this way. The pivot hole is in the lower part of the threshold. In a later period, probably that of the arena, the door was made smaller by means of a poros block inserted on the north
side of the door (Figs. 30–32). The width of the door was then reduced to ca. 1.80 m. When this block was laid the old threshold was partly removed, but the part behind the block was left in its position.

Another doorway, ca. 2.30 m. wide, opens from the outside into the parodos at the east end of the semicircular corridor. This, too, had a threshold of hard limestone (Fig. 32, lower right corner), some pieces of which still remain in situ. In the southwest corner of room M three steps lead down into the parodos (Fig. 33 o), and small fragments of the marble veneer of a door jamb on the east side of the steps are preserved. But the steps were not made in the earliest period of the building. They are cut roughly through the stones in such a way as to show that they were not intended from the beginning.

In room M are two poros blocks, set into the floor (Plates II, III, IX, and XII), each with a small hole in the middle. The westernmost of these blocks, with a hole measuring 0.20 m. square and 0.28 m. deep, is slightly lower than the floor and on it are traces of the mortar in which the marble floor slabs were laid. This shows that the block was inserted before the marble period. The second block, farther east, the hole in which measures 0.14 × 0.17 m. in section, and 0.42 m. in depth, was placed there at a later period. Its top is too high to have been covered by the marble floor, and in the fill round the
block were some marble fragments, parts of a cornice (Fig. 77) and of a column capital, as well as bits of veneer, all of which must have come from the material discarded after the fire (p. 59). Both stones were probably used for anchoring temporary wooden supports during the construction or reconstruction of the building.

Room $M'$ on the west side is similar to room $M$, but none of its walls is preserved above the floor level. The original floor was made of a thick layer of hard, dark gray clay, into which were set several earthen jars, later removed or broken off flush with the floor and the holes filled with clay (Fig. 34 j). In the fill under this early floor is a layer of marble chips and burned matter. This seems to date from a fire which partly destroyed the building while still under construction, and it also proves that marble was used to some extent in the first period. Above the clay floor are traces of the mortar bedding for the marble slabs, which here, too, in the second period covered the floor. Near the east wall of the room is a large poros block with a square cutting roughly corresponding to the westernmost of the two blocks in room $M$. There is another hole in the floor farther west, but this seems to have been made in the clay by one of the earthen jars already mentioned.
Rooms M and M’ are the only large rooms on the first floor of the building, apart from the long north hall. They were probably intended originally to be used for rehearsals and for the assembling of the performers. Room M, as we have seen, was accessible directly from the outside, and the same was probably the case with room M’. The latter certainly had a door opening into the smaller room N’ which gave access to the stage, and a corresponding door may be postulated for the east room. The purpose of the water jars in the floor of room M’ is not evident. The western part of the north hall had a floor made of the same kind of dark clay, and there, too, the water jars are present (Fig. 34 j). Whatever their purpose they can have been of no permanent use, since they were destroyed when the floor was made. Apparently they were used only during construction, perhaps for making mortar or for the painting of the walls.

The two rooms, N and N’, to which reference has already been made, measure ca. 4.80 m. from east to west and 2.75 m. from north to south. No floor is preserved, but this is due to the fact that their floor level was lowered after the removal of the stage in the arena period. Originally the floor must have been level with that of rooms M

**Figure 34. Floors of Room M’ and of North Hall, West End, Showing Depressions from Water Jars**
Figure 35. Traces of the Door between Room N and the Arena

Figure 36. Traces of the Door between Room N' and the Arena
and M’, between which and the stage the communication led through rooms N and N’. Hence there must have been a door at each end of the stage (the \textit{versurae}) which led into these small rooms. In the last period the thresholds of these doors were lowered and strong doors opening directly into the arena were inserted, the pivot holes and bolt holes of which can still be seen (Figs. 35 and 36). At the same time the floor level was lowered, but this was done in a rough way leaving it higher round the edges (see Section G–H, \textit{Plate IV}). In room N the floor at this period consisted of the natural soft rock hollowed out in the middle in a cave-like fashion. Since these rooms opened directly on to the arena, from which they could be closed off by strong doors, and since there are no other rooms that could be used as cages for the wild beasts employed in the performances, we may assume that rooms N and N’ were so used.
THE PARODOI

As is commonly the case in Roman theatres, two covered passages, the parodoi, lead from the outside into the orchestra between the auditorium and the scene-building. On the east side a long marble stairway led from the higher area to the east down to the upper level of the parodos (Section I–J, Plate V, and Figs. 32 and 33). The stairway consists of five steps, which end unevenly at the north end, the longest measuring ca. 10 m. in length. The width of the steps varies between 0.30 m. and 0.35 m. and their approximate height is 0.20 m. A few of the blocks near the top are made of hard, cream-colored limestone, the rest are of marble. Most of them are well cut, but only a few were intended for their present position. Some of them are turned with the rough side out, and their unequal dimensions show that they are here used for the second time. Several blocks show traces of burning, which is an indication that they were taken from the ruined Odeum of the second period and used in their present position in the arena period. Still it is not unlikely that the present stairway was made to replace an earlier one which was damaged by the fire. Room M was certainly destroyed, and it is probable that the outside stairs at this point also suffered damage. Thus some of the steps still existing may have been used in the same stairway during the second period. The doorways leading from the east side into room M and into the east parodos existed from the first construction of the building, and the abrupt rise of ground demanded a stairway at this point.

From the top of the long marble steps, another stairway at right angles to the marble stairs led up to the higher level south of the Odeum. Of this second stairway only the rubble masonry on which some of the lower steps rested is preserved (Plates II, III, and Section C–D, Plate IV, extreme left). The steps themselves were probably of marble like those of the lower stairs. The upper stairway may have consisted of only those few steps whose foundation exists, and from there a ramp may have continued toward the south. The area at this point was disturbed in Byzantine times, and the earlier arrangement is not evident.

From the doorway below the long marble steps (see p. 46 and Fig. 32, right) a low step leads down to the semicircular corridor, which here has the same level as the floor of room M. From this level there are three more steps (Plate III and Fig. 33 p) down to the lower level of the parodos. At the inner ends of the parodoi are foundations for an ornamental doorway (Plates I–III) with an inner width of ca. 1.30 m. Between this doorway and the semicircular corridor the parodoi were vaulted over, and the seats and
the tribunalia must have extended over them, making the upper part of the cavea a complete semicircle. From the inner doorway to the edge of the orchestra the parodoi were originally open; and in the arena period, when the lower seats were cut away, this open section became part of the orchestra.

The approach on the west side is less well preserved. Here the ground outside the Odeum was practically level with the floor of room $M'$. There is evidence to show that a road came down on this side from the south, hence it is highly probable that there was access from the outside into room $M'$ and into the west parodos, corresponding to the two doorways on the east side. The west parodos resembles in all essential details the east one. Close to the inner doorway the earth was at one time dug away, leaving a square depression 0.40 m. deep (indicated on the plan, Plate II) across the whole width of the parodos. The walls on the north and south sides consisted of the walls of the parados, whereas the other two sides were of earth. The whole inside, bottom and sides alike, were covered with a very thin coat of white lime. The purpose of this shallow basin was made clear through the observation of a discarded modern lime pit filled with earth. The thin coating of lime is what was left on its sides after the pit in the parodos had been emptied. Here, then, the builders, or rebuilders, of the Odeum prepared the lime for use in the construction; and it is not unlikely that the water jars which we have observed in the floor of room $M'$ were used for bringing water to this pit. On the south wall of the parodos, a little to the west of the lime pit are some fragments of marble plaques which covered the walls.
THE ORCHESTRA

The radius of the orchestra in its latest form is ca. 12.80 m., but originally it was only 7.75 m. This early orchestra is marked by a channel, ca. 0.20 m. wide and ca. 0.17 m. deep, in which the slabs of a surrounding parapet were placed. Opposite the central aisle of the cavea the channel is not continuous. At this point there was probably an opening for communication between the cavea and the orchestra, and similar openings must be assumed for each of the other two aisles (Plate I). Toward the side of the stage there is a narrow gutter, 0.31–0.43 m. deep and ca. 0.28 m. wide, built of roof tiles, most of which are stamped on the top surface (p. 138). The gutter slopes perceptibly from the two ends toward the middle, where a hole leads down into the large drain (pp. 56 ff.).

The floor of the orchestra consists mainly of rock, artificially levelled and at one time covered with thin marble slabs. Only a few fragments of these slabs are preserved in situ (Plate II), but enough to show that marble of different colors was used, arranged so as to form a pattern. Two small pieces are preserved on the west side near the semicircular channel (visible in Plates VII and X) and the lines of two adjacent slabs are preserved in the mortar in which they were laid. The two slabs toward the east were rectangular in shape, but the other two have a curved side toward the west. This curved line is concentric with the semicircular channel, the distance between the two being about 0.70 m., which is the same as the width of the rectangular slabs. The two preserved pieces are both of the same kind of marble, a conglomerate variety of many colors. Loose pieces of white marble were also found on the floor, and near the two parodoi a few fragments remain in situ. The pattern was apparently formed by alternating bands of white and colored marble, running parallel to the stage; but a border of the same width as one of these bands surrounded the orchestra close to the parapet (Plate I).

The larger half-circle of the orchestra belongs to the period of the arena. The lower seats of the cavea were then cut away, with the result that a vertical scarp of rock enclosed the orchestra on the side toward the cavea. The distance between the semicircular channel, which marks the edge of the earlier orchestra, and the vertical scarp of rock varies between 4.60 and 5.10 m. This added area is not so well levelled as the earlier orchestra and was never covered with marble. The scarp of rock round the arena, which has a height of ca. 2 m., was covered with stucco only small pieces of which remain. Directly under the central aisle a small niche-like cave is cut in the rock, with its opening toward the orchestra (Sections A–B, and C–D, Plate IV, and Plates II, III, VII, and Fig. 26). The cave is oval in plan, measuring 2.10 m. in length and 1.40 m. in width, not
counting the depth of the doorway. The latter is 1 m. wide and ca. 0.60 m. deep. From the rock-cut floor to the roof the cave measures 2 m. Over the doorway the rock is broken away so that the height of the door is not certain, but it was probably somewhat less than that of the cave itself. The cave was probably intended as a place of refuge for the umpires of the games.1

About 2.50 m. to the south of the gutter are three small cuttings in the floor of the orchestra (Plates II, III, VII and X). The middle and the eastern holes, measuring ca. 0.50 m. square and 0.38 m. in depth, are cut in large poros blocks fitted into the floor. The westernmost hole, which is irregular in shape, is made in the rock and mortar of the orchestra floor. One of the poros blocks has on one side a clamp cutting similar to those in the walls, and bits of columns and other marble fragments were used in the fill round the blocks. Hence the blocks were probably taken from the building itself during one of its reconstructions. Near the east parados is another poros block with a similar but smaller cutting.

In my preliminary report of the excavations2 I assumed that these cuttings had something to do with the roofing of the building; but in the light of further study this seems less likely. Whatever constituted the roofing (specifically mentioned by Philostratus, see p. 145), the cuttings in the orchestra, which seem to date from the third period, were more probably made for the fastening of the apparatus used in the shows. A late Roman lamp (Fig. 37a) from the Athenian Ceramicus shows a man engaged in a bear fight.3

The apparatus, a kind of rack somewhat resembling that used in pole vaulting, consists of two upright posts with one cross piece at the top and one lower down. A man is hanging, back down, on the topmost bar, to which he holds on with hands and feet, while a

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1 I formerly thought that the cave was used as a cage for the wild animals employed in the performances (A.J.A. XXXII, 1928, p. 464), but the size seems too small for such a purpose (see further p. 50).
3 Cf. Deubner, Ath. Mitt. XXVII, 1902, p. 259, fig. 3; and Delbrück, Die Consulardiptychen, p. 77, and pl. 12.
bear, standing upright, is leaning against the lower bar. It is not easy to determine exactly what motions of the game the figure is meant to represent, but the nature of the frame or rack is clear enough. The two holes cut in stones in the orchestra could well have been used for such a frame. The distance between them is 2.50 m. Another lamp, discovered in the Odeum,\(^1\) represents a man standing on one side of an apparatus resembling a turnstile or revolving door. The left side of the discus is missing; but on fragments of similar lamps from the Athenian Ceramicus\(^2\) (Fig. 37 b) a bear is standing on the other side. For such an apparatus a single socket would be needed; but the top of the pole on which the apparatus revolved must have been fastened in some way. Many other kinds of apparatus were used in the Roman arena,\(^3\) and it seems likely that the cuttings in the orchestra of the Odeum served some purpose in connection with these.

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\(^1\) This lamp was discovered too late to be included in my publication of the Corinth lamps. Cf. Delbrück, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 77, and pls. 9, 12, 21.

\(^2\) I am indebted to Dr. Karl Kübler for the photograph of the two lamps shown in figure 37.

\(^3\) See Daremberg-Saglio, \textit{Dictionnaire des Antiquités}, V, 703 ff. and Delbrück, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 77 ff.
THE UNDERGROUND PASSAGE

Beginning under the orchestra and extending toward the north is a large underground passage, cut through solid rock. (Its course is indicated by dotted lines in Plates II and III; see also Sections A–B and C–D, Plate IV.) Its upper part has a width of somewhat over a metre, but at the bottom it is only about 0.60 m. in width (see cross section of passage in Section C–D). The difference is due to a “bench,” ca. 0.20 m. wide, on either side. It is probable that the top of these “benches” was originally the floor of the passage and that the narrow channel in the middle was made later. In the section under the Odeum, from the south end of the passage to the north central porch, the bottom of the narrow channel slopes ca. 1 m., whereas the “benches” are horizontal. The total height of the passage at the north porch is 2.70 m., or ca. 1 m. higher than would be necessary for allowing a man of average height to pass through. From the top of the “benches” the height is ca. 1.30 m. Access to the passage was gained through an opening between the curtain channel and the scaenae frons, consequently under the stage. There is another opening from the narrow water channel in front of the stage, but this was made for the water only, since it is too narrow for a man to pass through.

In the north central porch, between the two middle piers (see p. 39) a square hole leads into a circular well which extends down to the passage. At the time when the porch was in use the square hole must have been covered, since it was placed exactly where the people had to walk. The stones surrounding the square hole are one course lower than the stylobate of the porch. Their orientation, which is not the same as that of the building, shows that they were not laid at the time when the porch was made. The block which forms the east side of the man-hole had to be worked off on the outside in order to fit the slightly different orientation of the porch. This indicates that the hole was already made before the foundation for the porch was laid; and since we have already seen that the porch, though hardly a part of the original design, antedates the first reconstruction, the well, and, therefore, the whole passage, certainly belongs to the first period. That the passage is part of the original construction is further shown where it passes through the foundation for the broad wall of the scaenae frons. The bottom of the foundation is approximately level with the top of the “benches.” The first course has straight sides, but the second is corbelled and the third forms the roof over the passage. The manner in which this is done leaves no doubt that the two were made contemporaneously. (See longitudinal section of the passage in Section A–B, Plate IV.)
From the well under the north central porch a drain leads toward the northeast, carrying off the water from the orchestra. This drain, as indicated on the plan (Plates II and III), winds about considerably and has some very abrupt changes of level. About 7.50 m. from the well under the porch, both the bottom and the top of the drain rise abruptly about 1 m. Some seven metres farther the bottom drops again 0.60 m., and about 12 m. beyond that point it rises in a series of high steps until it becomes an open drain. Farther toward the north the drain has not been excavated. Thus in the stretch between the north central porch and the point where the drain emerges above the rock it has two deep parts separated by a high section about 7 m. in length. The first deep section is reached by the man-hole in the porch. In the other deep section there is also a man-hole which can be seen from below, but since it comes under the modern road it has not been opened from above. Its mouth, like that of the other man-hole, was lined with poros blocks and is carefully covered over with a large slab.

At first it was thought that the changes of level in the drain were merely accidental, caused by the fact that work in making the passage was carried on from different man-holes without making perfect connection between the different sections. This may explain the winding course of the channel, but the changes in level were probably intentional. By means of these the rain water from the building would be partly dammed up in the two deep sections, each reached by a well-hole. Thus during the rainy season water was obtainable in the two wells most of the time, while an overflow was provided for by the small open drain toward the north. To excavators of Corinth, familiar with the complicated water system by which both rain and ground water were assiduously collected, this explanation will not seem unreasonable. In fact, the supply of water thus obtained may have been intended to compensate for the destruction of a large reservoir caused by the erection of the Odeum (see p. 72).

In view of these considerations it is indisputable that the channel to the north of the north central porch was intended from the beginning as a drain, with the additional purpose of collecting the water. But this drain, as we have seen, differs materially from the passage between the north central porch and the orchestra. It is much lower and lacks the "benches" at the sides. If the section under the Odeum was intended as nothing but a drain there is no explanation for these "benches," nor for the fact that the passage extends under the orchestra over two metres beyond the point where the water flows into it. It is significant, too, that it runs roughly in the axis of the building. For these reasons it is highly probable that this part of the passage was intended for use in the performances of the Odeum. Such underground passages for the use of the actors are known both in Greek and Roman theatres, and in several cases they served the double

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1 This explanation was offered by B. D. Meritt, *A.J.A.* XXXI, 1927, p. 458. See also my report in *A.J.A.* XXXII, 1928, p. 456, where I accepted his explanation but assumed that the channel was left half finished.
purpose of drain and secret entrance for the actors. But the passage in the Odeum, though undoubtedly so intended, seems never to have been completed except as a drain. At the point where the exit into the orchestra ought to have been made the passage stops dead in the rock. The opening north of the curtain channel, which was under the stage, cannot have been used for the sudden appearances of the actors. There was enough space under the stage for actors to appear from below without the use of an underground passage. It is true that the orchestra in a Roman theatre was not ordinarily used by the actors; but the opening here would have come very close to the front of the stage and other instances of a similar arrangement are known.\footnote{The underground passage in the Theatre at Sicyon was apparently not used for actors before the Roman period. At that time the steps leading down to the passage were made, and the door in the late wall of the hypokhenion was moved toward the west in order to leave the opening into the passage accessible (cf. Bulle, Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern, pp. 194 f., and Earle, A.J.A. VIII, 1893, p. 404, note 10). Brownson and Young, however, assumed that the passage was used by the actors from the first period of the building and that the stone steps merely replaced an earlier stairway of wood (A.J.A. VIII, 1893, p. 404). In the Theatre at Syracuse the underground passage used in Greek times by the actors was converted into a drain by the Romans (Rizzo, Il teatro greco di Siracusa, pp. 58–62, 143). Other examples of subterranean passages used for actors are found in the theatres at Eretria (Dörpfeld und Reisch, Das gr. Theater, p. 116), Magnesia (ibid., p. 156), and Segesta (Bulle, op. cit., pp. 114 f., and pl. 19). In the Theatre at Dugga there were vaulted chambers under the stage and trap doors in the floor of the stage permitting the sudden appearance of actors from below.\textit{Cf.} Pfeiffer, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, IX, 1931, p. 153.}

To the several indications, already mentioned, of a change in plan during the construction of the building, one more is thus added by the underground channel.

From the structure of the channel itself we have learned that it belongs to the first period of the Odeum; the nature of the fill both in the channel and in the man-holes shows why and when the channel fell into disuse. The man-hole in the north central porch first led to the discovery of the passage. It contained great quantities of marble fragments: thin slabs of plain veneer, fragments of capitals and cornices, and a large number of pieces of fluted pilasters and base mouldings. The fragments of lamps found in the upper part of the man-hole are for the most part early specimens of type XXVIII.\footnote{See Bronner, \textit{Corinth}, IV, ii, Terracotta Lamps, pp. 102 ff. and 212 ff., Nos. 1242, 1245, on pl. XXIX.} With them were found a few coins, but none later than the time of Hadrian. At the depth of 5.10 m. the contents of the man-hole changed. Almost no marble fragments were found below this depth, and the fragments of lamps from the lower fill are of a distinctly earlier character.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 81, fig. 39, No. 486.} No trace of fire was observed in this man-hole, either among the marble fragments or in the earlier fill below.

The opening between the curtain channel and the broad foundation of the scaenae frons was entirely covered over by the well packed floor of the arena, so that its contents all antedate the arena period. Here, too, were discovered great quantities of marble fragments of the same varieties as those found in the man-hole in the north central porch, but nearly all of them showed signs of having suffered from fire. Mixed with them was a
vast amount of ash and carbonized wood. The coins, of which no less than 44 could be identified, belong chiefly to the second century A.D.\textsuperscript{1} Ten are earlier than the second century, seven are coins of Hadrian, nineteen belong to the Antonine period, and six are later, the latest being a coin of Alexander Severus. The lamp sherds from the same fill agree with the coins in date. A few sherds of the first century A.D. were found, but the great majority belong to the second century and the early part of the third.\textsuperscript{2} The contents of this fill, which are of the same nature as the fill of the curtain channel, show the approximate date and the cause of the destruction of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. The interior of the building was apparently all destroyed by fire near the beginning of the third century A.D. Since there were no coins later than that of Alexander Severus, the destruction probably took place during his reign (222–235). That the fire was not confined to the stage and the orchestra is shown by the marble slabs on the floor of room M. These slabs, which remain \textit{in situ}, were apparently protected by fallen plaster, but at the edges they show clear traces of fire, as do also some of the long marble steps on the east side (see p. 51). The north façade, on the other hand, was apparently not ruined by the fire, as is shown by the marble fragments found in this vicinity and by the contents of the man-hole under the north central porch. The fill there, except near the bottom, was of a distinctly later date than that from the man-hole under the stage and did not show any signs of burning. The numerous marble fragments from this fill in all probability belonged to the north façade, which with its three porches seems to have been left untouched by the fire. To judge from the lamp sherds it remained intact until the beginning of the fourth century, when the whole building probably fell into disrepair.

\textsuperscript{1} For a complete list see \textit{A.J.A.} XXXII, 1928, p. 458.
\textsuperscript{2} See Broneer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 96.
THE STAGE AND THE SCAENAE FRONS

At the time when the orchestra was enlarged and made into an arena, the stage of the former period was also removed and the arena extended up to the south face of the wall on which the scaenae frons rested. Thus all traces of the former stage were hidden. But during the course of the excavation it became evident that the arena floor concealed much that belonged to this former stage. The most important part is the curtain channel, 23.40 m. long and 0.85–0.88 m. wide, continuing the line of the north walls of the two parodoi (Sections A–B and C–D, Plate IV, and Fig. 38). The walls of the channel, which are preserved only in their lower course, rest directly on the earth or soft rock. In the edge of the wall toward the orchestra are eight vertical cuttings, 0.24–0.27 m. wide and continued some 80 cm. into the rock below the bottom of the channel. The mean distance between the cuttings is 2.91 m., not counting the two spaces at the ends. The

Figure 38. Curtain Channel from the East
variation is very slight. At the west end are two shallow cuttings in the upper edge of the walls, directly opposite each other, probably made for the insertion of a cross piece of wood. At a distance of 0.65 m. from the west end, an opening 0.80 m. wide in the north wall of the channel leads into a small rectangular room measuring 3.20 × 2.70 m. (marked O on Plate III and in Fig. 39), the floor of which is level with the bottom of the channel. When the stage was in use, its height above the orchestra—which, as we shall see later, was ca. 1.25 m.—afforded sufficient space for a man to walk upright in the curtain channel and in the adjoining room O. A poros block, measuring 1.25 × 0.60 m., with a square cutting in the middle, is sunk into the floor. The cutting, which is ca. 0.23 m. square and 0.42 m. deep, is very nearly in the centre of the room.¹

¹ The best parallel for the curtain channel with the adjoining room is found in the Theatre at Syracuse (Rizzo, Il teatro greco di Siracusa, p. 149, figs. 32, 67, and pl. V). There the small room and the channel are both cut in rock. In the former is a rectangular cutting with a hole in the middle; but the room was entered from the end of the channel and not, as in the Odeum, from the side. In the Small Theatre at Pompeii the curtain channel, which has no visible holes for curtain posts, opens into a small room (J. Overbeck, Pompeji, p. 147, fig. 95); but the addition of the stairways leading to the tribunalia made it difficult to pass from the channel to the room. Whatever was the exact use of the small room, it is probably more than a coincidence that in these three cases,—the Odeum at Corinth, the Theatre at Syracuse, and the Small Theatre at Pompeii,—the room was entered from the curtain channel at the right end of the stage,
All the material of which the curtain channel is made has been re-used from elsewhere. It has been impossible to examine all the blocks on all sides, because this would involve the destruction of much of the orchestra floor and of the channel itself; but one of the blocks on the north side, the back of which accidentally came into view, proved to have been covered with stucco on which were traces of a painting (Plate XIV and Fig. 40). The figure is that of Athena, in front view; but only the lower part from the knees down remains. The drapery, which reaches to her feet, is painted in dark red, with stripes of white indicating the folds. Below is a fringe of green, carelessly daubed on, which gives the effect of shadow. A broad stripe of light blue comes down on the right side of the figure. This must be part of the same garment which elsewhere is rendered in dark red; but the blue color blends so badly with the red that it gives the effect of a broad ribbon or sash. The feet, seen straight from the front, are painted pink, but the outlines are rendered in broad lines of dark red. On her left side is a large shield, seen on its convex side in half profile. The shield is yellow, but brown is used for setting off the convex part from the flat rim and also to give the effect of shadow, and a stripe of white sets off the shield from the drapery. A circular boss in the centre is indicated in brown and white. The painted side of the block measures 1.20 × 0.51 m., but the figure occupies only about one fourth of this space, the rest being plain white. The coat of stucco which carries the painting has a thickness of 0.005 m., but underneath is another coat of very thin hard stucco, which appears not to have been painted. Several of the other blocks in the channel have a similar thin coating, but only a few have the thicker layer. After the block with the Athena figure had been discovered, a search for others was made, but with little success. Only one other block farther west from the actors' point of view. The Large Theatre at Pompeii has a very elaborate curtain channel with two sets of post holes, one at the edge of the channel and one in the middle (A. Mau, Röm. Mitt. XXI, 1906, p. 3, fig. 1, and pl. 1; cf. the excellent photograph in Rizzo, op. cit., p. 147, fig. 65). Below the curtain channel proper is a narrow vaulted passage into which the posts extended. At the bottom of the post holes the iron bands by which the posts were trimmed at the ends are still preserved. (I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Della Corte for the privilege of clearing part of the channel in order to study the post holes, and for lending me one of his workmen for the purpose.) The bands are so much smaller than the holes that there must have been considerable play. The holes measure ca. 0.36 × 0.36 m. in section, but the posts, as measured by the iron bands, were only ca. 0.23 × 0.23 m. in section. The widely accepted theory that the posts telescoped (and could thus be made to disappear when the curtain was not used) is convenient; but the remains of the posts in the Large Theatre at Pompeii, which constitute the chief evidence for the theory, are not easily thus interpreted. In the two holes which I was able to examine there is only one iron band, measuring ca. 0.23 × 0.23 m., in each hole. The two sets of posts must have been in use at the same time. In both rows of holes are iron bands and carbonized wood, showing that both had their posts in place at the time when the city was destroyed. The Large Theatre at Taormina has a vaulted passage into which the curtain posts extended (Bulle, Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern, pp. 206 ff., pl. 45). The holes for the posts there measure 0.40 × 0.41 m. in section. Above the vaulted passage was the curtain channel, the floor of which alone remains. The Theatre at Salona has a double row of holes for curtain posts, but no channel. For further discussion of the subject see Fiechter, Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters, pp. 119–123 and figs. 119–122. For the Small Theatre at Pompeii see also Kelsey, A.J.A., VI, 1902, p 389.
on the same side of the channel has traces of paintings. There, on a band of red which serves as a frame for a white field, is painted an Ionic column in yellow. The painting is very fragmentary and the colors are poorly preserved. This block also has the two kinds of stucco.

An exact dating for these paintings would be highly important for the study of the Odeum, but unfortunately this has not been possible. Too little remains for a stylistic study of the figure of Athena.¹ But the other fragment with the painted column is most closely related to the fourth style of Pompeian wall painting. On the other hand, the kind of stucco used, as well as the tooling, shows beyond doubt that the material was first used in a Greek building. The hard, thin coat of stucco found on many of the blocks is typically Greek, whereas the thick coat on which the paintings were executed is Roman.² These two kinds of stucco are found in other Greek buildings in Corinth

¹ I have consulted Dr. F. Wirt, who kindly examined the figure during a visit to Corinth in 1929, but did not think that a definite date could be given on the basis of such small remains.

² In my study of the re-used material of the curtain channel I am indebted to Dr. B. H. Hill for many valuable suggestions.
which were restored in Roman times, notably in the Temple of Apollo. Many of the blocks have a taenia, 0.14–0.09 m. wide and ca. 0.005 m. thick, at the upper edge. This is cut with an exactness unknown in Roman buildings in Corinth, and the tooling is totally different from that of Roman work. All the blocks in the channel have been worked with a straight chisel, which leaves a smooth surface. In all the rest of the building the poros blocks have been finished with a toothed chisel, except in places where the surface was not intended to be seen. There a straight chisel was sometimes used, which left a smooth mark but rendered each blow of the tool plainly visible. Several of the blocks in the channel also show cuttings which have no meaning in their present position. But the best proof that the blocks are Greek is furnished by the masons' marks, some of which are upside down. These marks, found on three of the blocks, are shown in figure 134. The second mark (b) is in all probability a sigma, but whether a sigma or a mu it cannot be as late as the Roman occupation of Corinth. In view of these facts we may regard it as certain that the material in the curtain channel was used twice before being placed in its present position, once in a Greek and once in a Roman building.

This gives rise to the most difficult problem in connection with the dating of the Odeum. It seems natural to suppose that the re-used material in the channel was taken from the scaenae frons of the first period at the time when the building was remodelled by Herodes Atticus, and that the paintings belonged to the decoration of the earlier stage. But it is difficult to explain why all these blocks should have been taken from a Greek building, since very little other re-used material has been found in the existing remains of the first period. And to assume that the channel in its present form belongs to the first period does not simplify matters. It looks decidedly like a work of repair. The walls differ totally from the other walls in the building. The blocks were not laid in mortar, nor are they joined by clamps of any kind. The fill between the curtain channel and the small drain is extremely hard and well packed, and it seems highly probable that the drain and the channel were made at the same time. But the drain seems to belong to the reconstruction by Herodes. The tiles of which it is made are of the same kind as those used in the vault over the north hall and are marked with the same stamps (see p. 138). This vault appears to have been remade or at least repaired in the second period. It differs greatly from the vault over the semicircular corridor, which certainly belongs to the original construction. The tiles in the drain of the orchestra and in the vault over the north hall are roof tiles, most of them fragments. No such tiles have been found in any of the vaults under the auditorium, although brick was used for the vault of the semicircular passage at its two extremities. If the broken roof tiles had been available when this vault was made, some pieces would doubtless have found their way into its construction. In all probability the tiles were first used in the roof of the original building, and since this can hardly have been left undisturbed at the thorough remodelling done by Herodes, the removed and broken tiles were then
THE STAGE AND THE SCAENAE FRONS

used wherever convenient. Hence it is highly probable that the curtain channel belongs to the second period and that the material was taken from the earlier building. The first scaenae frons was completely removed by Herodes, and it seems natural that its material would have been used as much as possible in the new construction. The paintings found on these re-used blocks can well have been part of the early stage decorations.

Another re-used block lying near the east end of the curtain channel also seems to have belonged to the first construction (Fig. 58). It is a Doric architrave and frieze in one block, but when it was re-used both the taeniae and the triglyphs were chiselled off. A few bits of stucco, which still remain, show that the metopes were painted white with a border of red round the edges. On the architrave was a dedicatory inscription (see p. 83). The stucco is much like the outer thick coat on the blocks from the curtain channel, but there is no sign of an earlier stucco underneath. The tooling was made by a toothed chisel like that used for the other Roman blocks of the building. It seems likely that this block, too, was taken from the early stage and that the inscription, of which only the last three letters remain, recorded the first construction of the building. If this is correct we must suppose that the early stage front was constructed chiefly of poros covered with stucco and decorated with color. But the question still remains why the material for the curtain channel was taken from a Greek building by the builders of the first Odeum. I can offer no adequate explanation. One other re-used block was found in situ in the northeast corner, used in the foundation for the north wall (see Fig. 23, lower right corner). It is a large block with a raised band, perhaps an anathyrosis, round the edges. It is not impossible that more of the Greek material was used for the superstructure and that this has all been destroyed together with the rest of the walls, with the exception of the blocks hidden in the curtain channel under the floor of the arena and the single block in the foundation at the northeast corner.

The channel when discovered was filled with burned pieces of marble, ash, and earth. Among the marble pieces were several fragments of a statue wearing a cuirass (pp. 125 ff.), and numerous architectural fragments, some of which will be discussed in connection with the other architectural members found loose in the building.

Most important for the purpose of dating are the coins found together with the burnt débris in the channel. These coins,\(^1\) agreeing in date with those found in the underground passage (p. 59), furnish ample proof for the date of the fill and give us the terminus post quem for the arena period.

The destruction by fire, of which this fill gives evidence, must have been considerable, for numerous pieces of columns with their capitals are among the débris. Apparently

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\(^1\) The coins, like the other objects from the channel, were so badly burned that only six could be identified with certainty. They are: Hellenistic 1, Hadrian 1, Marcus Aurelius 1, Faustina the Younger 1, Julia Domna 1, Caracalla 1.
the entire scaenae frons was ruined and with it the marble decoration of the whole interior. The broken and burned fragments used for filling the man-hole to the drain, the curtain channel, and the adjoining room O, took only a small part of the débris from the fire. The rest was removed and dumped on the hillside to the northeast of the Odeum. Part of it was found in the excavations for the Sanctuary of Athena conducted by Dr. Shear in 1925 and 1926, and was then thought to be broken-up pieces made ready for the lime pit.¹ But the similarity of this material to the fragments from the Odeum indicates that they came from the same building. Many of the marble pieces from the Athena trench, too, show signs of having been in fire. (For a discussion of some of these fragments see pp. 111 ff.)

THE ODEUM COURT

The chief approach into the scene-building was from the north, where the three doorways already described (p. 36) gave access to the north hall. The porches, too, which adorned the façade have been discussed in the same connection. It remains to describe in brier the space immediately to the north, the architectural features of which were laid out with reference to the Odeum.

At a distance of about 10 m. from the north wall there is a much used modern road which limits the excavated area toward the north; but the space between the road and the Odeum has been excavated down to the Roman level. At the east end of this area were found two mosaic floors, P and Q, of which large parts are preserved (Plates I–III and Fig. 41). The easternmost of these (marked P on Plate III) belongs to a room

Figure 41. Mosaics of Colonnade on East Side of Odeum Court
measuring 7.30 m. from north to south and 4.60 m. from east to west. On the south side it abuts against the north wall of the Odeum, and its east wall is a northward extension of the east wall of the Odeum. The north wall of the room has been completely removed, but the line of its foundation can be determined and is indicated on the plan (Plate II). On the west side, two marble steps, the lower of which alone remains (Fig. 41, left), led down to the second mosaic floor, Q. The marble step is 0.24 m. high and the total difference in level between the two floors is ca. 0.49 m. The level of floor Q is only about 0.05 m. lower than the floor of room M, measured on top of the marble veneer. The marble step between the two floors P and Q apparently served as the threshold of a broad doorway in the middle of a partition wall. By calculating the width of the white border all around floor Q it is possible to ascertain the width of the floor, which was the same as that of floor P. Floor Q belongs to a long colonnade extending toward the north at right angles to the north wall of the scene-building. At the north edge of the excavated area, immediately west of floor Q, two blocks of a marble gutter were found; a cutting in the rock shows that this gutter extended to the north wall of the Odeum (Plate II). A tunnel (Fig. 42), dug northward along the line of the gutter, has revealed five more gutter blocks, making a total length of 10.22 m. preserved in situ (Section I–J, Plate V). No floor is preserved north of room P; but it is evident that this is the southernmost of a row of rooms opening into a long colonnade facing the west.

At a late period the mosaics of floor Q were destroyed, and two large poros blocks, each with a square cutting in the middle, were sunk into the floor. Perhaps the walls and the ceiling of the colonnade were damaged and had to be propped up by wooden posts fitted into the holes of the blocks.

Corresponding to floor P on the east side, there is a similar floor S (Fig. 43 and Plates I–III) at the west end of the north façade. Its width, as shown by the remaining parts of the walls, was approximately the same as the width of floor P. But floor S, which has the same pattern as that of P, has a broader border of white round the edges, leaving space for only eight rows of squares in the panel as compared with nine rows in floor P.

1 In the joint between the third and the fourth blocks from the south end is a bronze coin which cannot be removed without raising one of the two blocks.
The mosaic of the colonnade R on the west side is destroyed except for a small piece of the southwest corner (Fig. 44), but this is sufficient to show the design both of the border and of the panel. The pattern is unlike those of the other floors. The level of floor S is ca. 0.09 m. higher than that of the adjoining colonnade and roughly the same as the floor level of room M', if the thickness of the marble veneer in the latter is added to its present level.

The other details of the colonnade and of room S cannot be determined from the scanty remains that exist, but it may be assumed that the arrangement was the same as that on the east side. The area between the two colonnades Q and R had a flooring of marble slabs laid in mortar. Of the marble itself only tiny bits are left in place; but the marks of the slabs in the mortar are so well preserved that the size of many of the slabs can be accurately measured (Plates II, III, VII, IX, and cf. Plate I). In the western part of the area, where the modern deposit above this floor level was only about 1 m. deep, the floor is largely destroyed, but enough remains to show that it extended to the colonnade on the west side.

Between the north central porch and the northeast and northwest porches respectively, the floor is about level with the stylobate of the porches and about 0.45 m. higher than the paved area to the north (Fig. 26 and Plates VII, IX). The northern edge of this raised floor is very rough, showing that something has here been torn away. This may

Figure 43. Mosaic in Room S, West of Odeum Court
have been a low wall of the same height as the raised area, or, more probably, two steps. But in the first period, before the court had been built, the ground level on the north was ca. 0.25 m. higher than the later floor of the court and ca. 0.20 m. lower than the floor of the porches. This early floor, made of hard, dark clay like that used for the floors of the north hall and of rooms M and M', is preserved under the later floor in the raised area between the three porches. Under the early floor are numerous chips of marble, and in the bedding for the later marble floor is a fragment of a column of variegated marble, probably from the early building. Other pieces of similar marble were found in the fill of the curtain channel.

With the help of these remains it is possible to determine with a fair degree of certainty the main features of the court. In the middle was a large paved area, measuring 39.40 m. from east to west. On the south side it was bounded by the north façade of the Odeum with its three porches and a raised floor probably approached by two steps. On the east and west sides it had open colonnades from which entrance was gained into a series of rooms. Both the colonnades and the rooms had mosaic floors, and in front of the colonnades was a marble gutter. Only the arrangement on the north side remains uncertain. Here several pits were sunk between the modern road and the Theatre, the
Figure 45. Odeum and Theatre, Showing Probable Shape of Odeum Court
results of which show that the east side of the court extended more than 30 m. northward from the façade of the Odeum. The floor level is preserved only in a few places and it is impossible to tell exactly how far it extended toward the north. But even if we assume that its northernmost limit is preserved, it cannot have been equally wide on the west side without cutting into the cavea of the Theatre. In all probability the north side of the court did not run parallel to the façade of the Odeum, but made the angle at the northeast corner smaller and that at the northwest corner greater than a right angle. The result is a trapezoidal plan with the narrow end toward the west.

The relative position of the Theatre and the Odeum and the probable shape of the court are shown in figure 45. That the court did not enter into the original plan is apparent; but the location of the Odeum seems to have been determined to some extent by the Theatre. The orientation of the two buildings is very nearly the same, so much so that the discrepancy may easily be due to inaccuracy, and the east wall of the Odeum, if extended toward the north, runs approximately tangent to the outer circle of the Theatre. This is probably more than a coincidence; but it was not until the second period of the Odeum that the two buildings were united into a single complex by the addition of the Odeum court. In the excavations southeast of the Theatre were discovered traces of a broad stairway or ramp (Fig. 45), leading from the Theatre Street to the higher area toward the west. It is highly probable that this was one of the approaches to the Odeum court from the east.\footnote{The whole stairway has not been laid bare, and further investigation in this area will be necessary before the interrelation of the Theatre, the court, and the Odeum can be definitely determined. For an account of the work already done here cf. Shear, \textit{A.J.A.} XXXII, 1928, pp. 483 f.} In figure 45 another entrance to the court is indicated farther south and a corresponding entrance on the west side. Such an arrangement would make it possible to pass from one side of the court to the other without walking around the Odeum or the Theatre.
DRAINS AND WATER CHANNELS

It would be difficult to find in Old Corinth an area as large as that of the Odeum where no underground channels for water supply or drainage could be found, and it is therefore not surprising that many such channels have been discovered in the excavation of the building. One of these, which belongs to the building itself, has already been described in connection with the orchestra (pp. 56 ff.).

The earliest and largest of the underground water systems was not discovered until 1929, after the whole building had been cleared. At a spot directly north of the east porch and ca. 5 m. distant from the north façade of the scene-building, the mortar bedding for the marble floor slabs of the Odeum court appeared to have been broken through, and the late fill extended below the floor level. Upon investigation it was found that the opening led down to a narrow drain running approximately southeast to northwest (Plate III a). It has a width of ca. 0.60 m. and its bottom is ca. 3.30 m. below the floor level of the Odeum court. At a point just north of the opening, another drain (Plate III b) branches off toward the north, but neither drain has been cleared more than a short distance beyond the opening. Toward the southeast the first drain opens into a large reservoir measuring 1.90 m. in width and ca. 2.20 m. in height. It was entirely underground from the time of its construction. The top layer of rock, which at this point is only about 1 m. thick, serves as the roof of the reservoir, whereas the sides were cut out of the softer stratum of clayey earth underneath. At a distance of ca. 4 m. from the southeast end of drain a, the concrete foundation for the north wall of the Odeum passes over the reservoir, but the foundation rests on a rough wall of poros stones that fills the reservoir at this point (Plate III). A new opening was made close to the foundation for the north wall of room M, and the reservoir has been partly cleared where it passes under the floor of the north corridor. A third hole made in the floor of room M (Plates II, III, IX, and XII) revealed traces of the southeast end of the reservoir; but here the foundation for the north wall of the room in its two lowest courses has a thickness of ca. 5 m. (see p. 44), so that this part of the reservoir has been largely destroyed. It appears to have had an apse at the very end. Slightly farther north, a water channel (Plate III γ) from the southeast emptied into it and probably supplied it with water.

The total length of the reservoir from the hole made in room M to the point where the drain leaves it on the north side of the scene-building measures approximately 18 m. The floor and the lower part of the sides are covered with a thick water-tight stucco.
At its northeast end (Section s–t, Fig. 46) there was originally a niche 0.60 m. deep and 0.70 m. wide, which is also covered with stucco. Its floor is ca. 0.22 m. higher than the floor of the reservoir, which in turn is 0.13 m. higher than the bottom of drain α. A hole close to the floor of the reservoir and a smaller hole at the bottom of the niche open into the drain (Fig. 46). These holes must have been used when the reservoir was emptied for cleaning, and most likely there was a third opening higher up for the overflow. But at a late period the whole rear wall of the niche was broken through, so that the reservoir could be entered from the drain. This was probably done when the reservoir was destroyed through the foundations for the Odeum. To the west of the opening from the drain (Section s–t, Fig. 46 left) there is another niche of about the same size as the one described. Its floor is ca. 0.30 m. above the bottom of the reservoir. Through this niche there was originally access from above by means of steps cut in rock and covered with stucco. The steps were later cut off by a wall of brick and stones, but an opening was left directly above the niche. Finally this opening, too, was closed with a large poros block, probably at the time when the reservoir fell into disuse.
The water channel \( \gamma \), through which the reservoir received its supply of water, could be followed only for a short distance toward the southeast, because it is blocked by the east wall of room M. But ca. 3 m. east of the long marble steps another man-hole was found (Plate III), through which the same channel was reached. Here it runs approximately east and west and has been followed for a distance of 9 m. to still another man-hole close to the east edge of the excavated area. Between the two man-holes the channel is cut in rock on all sides, but beyond the second man-hole it is built artificially. Here no cover is preserved and the channel is filled to the top with earth; consequently it could not be cleared without extensive excavations. The source of the water supply cannot at present be determined, but it was probably nothing but rain water collected from some of the buildings to the east and brought down to the reservoir. To judge from the stucco the reservoir appears to be Greek; but it was probably also used in early Roman times until the Odeum was built.

The rain water conducted through channel \( \gamma \) flowed into the reservoir at its south end and was drawn at the north end some 18 m. away, where it would always be clear. Any sand and dirt brought with the rain water into the reservoir would collect on the bottom, hence the necessity for the holes at the north end through which the water could all be let out when the reservoir was cleaned.

When the reservoir was destroyed, the water which originally flowed into it had to be diverted, and for this purpose a channel \( \delta \) was dug from the man-hole east of the long marble steps toward the north. A second man-hole, 4 m. east of the northeast corner of the scene-building, opens into the same drain. The distance between the two man-holes is 11.50 m., and here the channel is mostly cut in rock; but the northward extension is covered with slabs. The channel \( \delta \) slopes perceptibly toward the north; but at its south end, where the two channels join, the bottom of \( \delta \) is considerably higher than the bottom of \( \gamma \). Nevertheless the water from \( \gamma \) was certainly intended to drain off toward the north through \( \delta \). It is not unlikely that the water continued to be utilized and that the difference in level between the two channels was made purposely in order to let the sand and mud settle in channel \( \gamma \) so that clear water would flow from there toward the north.

A narrow channel \( \epsilon \), from the south, empties into the man-hole east of the long marble steps, and a small drain \( \theta \) is intercepted by the channel \( \delta \) some seven metres farther north.

At the northeast corner of room P and close to its outer wall another man-hole was discovered, which when found was covered with a poros slab. The man-hole gives access to a drain \( \zeta \), the bottom of which is 3.75 m. below the top of the man-hole. Close to the man-hole is a well which was filled up with large stones and earth, probably at the time when the man-hole was made. The well, which is deeper than the man-hole, seems to have no connection with the drain. The fill on the bottom of the man-hole contained several large sherds of early Corinthian ware and, mixed with them, some pieces of Arretine pottery. The drain \( \zeta \), which runs approximately due north, has been followed from the man-hole some 16 m. toward the north, where it is filled with earth. At the
end is built an arch, which seems to indicate that at this point the drain emerged from under the ledge of rock and had to be covered artificially. Toward the south it has been followed for about 60 m. Not far from the man-hole it is crossed by another drain \( \eta \), and at a point farther south it makes a bend toward the east. It seems to extend in the general direction of Glauce and may have been made to take some of the overflow from the fountain.\(^1\) So far as can be determined at present it has no connection with the reservoir or with the channels \( \gamma \) and \( \delta \).

\(^1\) The early channel for carrying away the excess water, which is preserved on the east side of the fountain, went out of use in Greek times when a tunnel was cut through the platform on the north side (Elderkin, *A.J. A.* XIV, 1910, p. 28).
ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS NOT IN SITU

The architectural members from the Odeum found loose in the excavated area are comparatively numerous, but most of them are too small to be of importance. The following list includes most of the larger pieces and some small fragments whose shape is sufficiently characteristic to give a clue to their use in the building.

1. Fig. 47. Fragment of Ionic column base of poros with parts of two flutes preserved. Only one side was fluted, on the other side were flat planes. The fragment has traces of a thin, very fine stucco, apparently Greek. It was found in the south part of the cavea at a high level. If it was used in the Odeum, which is doubtful, it must have been taken from an earlier building.

2. Figs. 48 and 49. Ionic column capital of poros, found in the semicircular corridor close to the niche between piers 13′ and 14′. The carving is deep but carelessly done, and over it was a thick coat of white stucco. The capital is certainly Roman, but it is difficult to assign it to the Odeum. The large size (see dimensions in Fig. 49) makes it impossible to connect it with an inner colonnade round the upper part of the cavea, and it is improbable that it was used in connection with the stairway on the south side. A pit dug south of the modern road revealed part of a foundation for a large building, ca. 15 m. south of the Odeum. This was probably a stoa, and it is not unlikely that the capital belonged to it.
**Figure 48. Ionic Capital of Poros (2)**

**Figure 49. Ionic Capital of Poros (2), Restored**
3. Figs. 50 and 51. Unfluted Doric capital of poros, found on the south side of the cavea in the surface soil. From the sides two consoles project at slightly more than right angles to each other, and the abacus appears to have been trapezoidal, having two right angles and the consoles at right angles to their respective sides. In the bottom is a square hole for a wooden plug. The top is badly chipped;

![Figure 50. Doric Capital with Consoles (3), Actual State](image1)

the grooves indicated in the drawing were scratched by the plough while the capital lay buried in the ground, top side up. The echinus is narrow, and in the corner between the two consoles it does not follow the circle. The shape indicates that the column supported a stone architrave from which two wooden beams extended at slightly more than right angles to each other. If it were certain that this capital belonged to the Odeum it might be of great importance; but it is difficult to see how it could have been left so close to the surface at the time when the building was demolished.

4. Fig. 52. Poros block of horizontal arch found at the west end of the foundation for the scaenae frons. The four sides given in the drawing show the important details of the block. The top side, a, as the block is now lying, is almost square and has at one edge two cuttings for wooden clamps and a smaller cutting near the middle. Face b was the top in the arch. It has a clamp cutting on the left side, corresponding to the two similar cuttings on face a. Face c has two small but deep holes, and face d has drafted edges with a projecting surface in the middle. The two faces c and d are trapezoidal, their two shorter sides being parallel to each other. This makes it impossible to fit the block into a true arch, even if it might be supposed that stucco made up the curvature. Consequently it can only have belonged to a horizontal arch; yet it is not easy to explain all the cuttings. The clamps seem to show that the block did not extend through the whole arch; but if another block fitted against

![Figure 51. Doric Capital with Consoles (3), Restored](image2)
face c there seems to be no reason for the smaller cuttings, unless the block has been used twice. Face d was certainly exposed. The place of finding indicates that the block belonged to an arch over one of the doors or windows of the *scaenae frons*.

5. Fig. 53. *Poros* block of the same general shape as 4, found at the west end of the stage. Face a, which was the top in the arch, has two clamp cuttings on one side and one on the other. Face b, which has four small cuttings, is badly chipped round the edges. Face c has three small cuttings and traces of mortar. These two sides, b and c, must have been exposed, hence the block represents the whole thickness of the wall. The smaller cuttings on b and c were probably for iron dowels by which slabs of marble veneer were fastened in the second period. The place of finding indicates that the block was used above a door or window in the west versura, the wall of which has approximately the same thickness as the length of the block.
6. Figs. 54 and 59. Voussoir of poros found near the east end of the scaenae frons. Only two sides are shown in the drawing. Face a, which represents the thickness of the wall, is bevelled at the upper left corner, but the plane of the bevelled surface is not at right angles to face a. At the middle of face a is a cross, perhaps a mason's mark, and lower down is a small hole. Face b, which shows the profile from the other side, has no cuttings of any kind. The place of finding seems to indicate that the block came from the scaenae frons; but it is difficult to explain the bevelled corner in such a position. It is more likely that it came from the east parodos, the vault of which must have slanted; the corner may have been cut off by the seats of the cavea, which probably extended across the parodoi above the tribunalia.

7. Fig. 55. Large voussoir of poros, found in the semicircular corridor close to the west stairway. Face a gives the thickness of the arch, and face b shows the profile of the smaller end. On the bottom of the block, which was the inside of the arch, are traces of white stucco. Since the block is higher at one end than at the other, it seems to have belonged to an arch with a gentle slant. In the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens, the windows on the south side have slanting arches, the purpose of which was to admit the maximum of sunlight into the interior of the building. Since the Odeum in Corinth was also roofed, the same device may have been used there. The block is 0.35 m. shorter than the thickness of the outer piers at ground level; but the wall must have been thinner toward the top. It is not unlikely that the cavea was surrounded by a row of arched
windows or open arches\(^1\) through which the light was admitted from the south, east, and west, and that the block belonged to one of the arches on the west side.

8. Fig. 56. Poros block with base moulding, found in the semicircular corridor, near the west stairway. On the top, face \(a\), are two clamp cuttings. Face \(b\) shows the profile of the base moulding, and face \(c\) shows the same moulding in front view. The end opposite the moulding is broken off. This block must have belonged to the top of a socle on the outer wall of the cavea, probably in the second story, which was the first story visible above ground on the south side.

9. Fig. 57. Poros fragment found in one of the early trial trenches at the northeast corner of the scene-building. It is the upper part of an Ionic cornice, probably from the second or third story of the north façade in its first period. It was common in Roman buildings of this kind to have the Doric order in the first story, the Ionic in the second, the profile of the base moulding, and face \(c\) shows the same moulding in front view. The end opposite the moulding is broken off. This block must have belonged to the top of a socle on the outer wall of the cavea, probably in the second story, which was the first story visible above ground on the south side.

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\(^1\) Cf. the Theatre at Aspendus, Anderson-Spiers-Ashby, *The Architecture of Ancient Rome*, p. 90, fig. 22; Bieber, *Theaterwesen im Altertum*, p. 69, fig. 74, and pls. 36, 38.
and the Corinthian in the third, and we may assume that the Odeum was built in this way; but our evidence is too scanty for a restoration beyond mere conjecture.

10. Fig. 58. Doric architrave and frieze of poros, found at the east end of the scaenae frons. It was lying under a large marble block (infra, No. 11), which had fallen upon it and broken it to pieces. The triglyphs and taeniae were chiselled off at the time of its second use, and the lower left corner was cut away, probably at the same time. The stucco which once covered the surface has mostly disappeared, but enough remains to show that the metopes were white with a border of red round the edges. The surface is so badly preserved that the dimensions are very uncertain, hence no measurements of the details are given in the restored drawing. On the architrave was an inscription of which the last three abbreviated words, S(ua) P(ecunia) F(ecit), remain. The height of the letters is ca. 0.15 m. There is no trace of letters after the F. Since the block was re-used, its place of finding gives us no clue to its original position, but the inscription indicates that it occupied a place of prominence. The only likely place is somewhere in the scaenae frons; but it must remain uncertain whether its first use was in the Odeum or not (see p. 65). A similar but better preserved block of approximately the same dimensions was found in the area north of the Basilica.

The first of the marble pieces to be considered is a group of large blocks, most of them found on the foundation for the scaenae frons and in the adjoining part of the orchestra (Fig. 59, and PLATES VII, VIII, IX, X).

11. Figs. 59 and 60. Ionic architrave and frieze in one block, of white marble, found at the east end of the foundation for the scaenae frons. The architrave has on the front, face a, three fasciae above which is a cymatium and a plain taenia separating the architrave from the frieze. The latter consists of a cyma recta surmounted by an astragal and a torus at the top. The profile of the back is

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1 Several smaller blocks with similarly decorated metopes are found in the foundations for the Second Roman Basilica west of the Lechaeum Road.
Figure 59. Building Blocks from Late Scaenae Frons

Figure 60. Ionic Frieze and Architrave Block (11)
the same as that of the front except for the smaller mouldings, which are less elaborately carved (see profile in Fig. 60 c). On the top (Fig. 60 b) are several cuttings which show that the block was used at least twice. At the right end, which has anathyrosis, are two cuttings for clamps running lengthwise with the block and one similar but larger cutting at the front for a clamp at right angles to the block. Traces of mortar at the back show that the right end for a distance of 0.54 m. was hidden in a wall. Four large cuttings of irregular shape with pour channels are for dowelling superimposed blocks. In the middle is a lewis hole with both sides slanting. The left end of the block has been cut away at the back to receive another block, the two being joined by a clamp extending diagonally from the back. The end of the block has three very roughly cut fasciae (Fig. 60 c) which do not fit those in front and in back. Those at the end were evidently cut at the time when the block was re-used, but the cutting at the back for the other block seems to belong to the first use. The width of this cutting is exactly the same as the total width of the block at the top; but it is unlikely that a similar block was fitted into it. If that had been the case, a diagonal cutting would be more likely; while, if a square cutting was used, it ought to be half as wide as the block or certainly
not wider than the narrowest part of it, *i.e.* the under side (cf. block 15 below). At the very end of the cutting, where the other block was fitted to it, there is trace of an *anathyrosis* which was mostly cut away when the profile was carved at the end. No *anathyrosis* is found at the other side of the cutting, where the back side of the two blocks would be fitted together (Fig. 60 c). The clamp seems to show that the cutting was originally diagonal (cf. block 14 below). The clamp at the right end, which ran at right angles to the block, belonged to the second use; but the other two clamps at the same end and the diagonal clamp at the back close to the left end are earlier. There are also two dowel holes and
one round cutting near the right end of the block. In the bottom surface near the left end is a dowel hole (Fig. 60 a, c).

12. Figs. 59, 61 and 62. Architrave and frieze of white marble, found slightly west of block 11. The profile both of the front and of the back is similar to that of the preceding block. On the top (Fig. 61 face b) are two large square cuttings for dowels and three smaller cuttings, probably pry holes. Near the right end are two Latin letters, RV, perhaps masons’ marks. At each end the back is cut away through nearly half the thickness of the block, showing that two blocks extended toward the rear at right angles to the block under discussion (Fig. 61 b, c, d, e). For the fastening of these two blocks there is a clamp cutting at each end at right angles to the block. The two ends have been recut so as to receive a profile which somewhat resembles that of the front face but is very carelessly worked. Here again, as in block 11, the fasciae at the ends do not fit those on the front face and the mouldings are quite different. The right end of the block is shown in figure 62, where the inferior carving at the end is clearly contrasted with that of the front. At each end is a second cutting for a clamp, running lengthwise with the block. These cuttings, which are close to the end, show that the block was originally somewhat longer. They are near the front, and at the left end the edge of another clamp cutting is visible. The corresponding cutting at the right end was removed when the back was cut away for the adjoining blocks. If we assume that 0.10 m. was cut away at each end—and this would give the right length to the clamps—the original length of the block was ca. 2.95 m. In its original position it appears to have had no cuttings in the back for other blocks.

13. Figs. 59, 63 and 64. Architrave and frieze of white marble, found near the middle of the foundation for the scaenae frons. The profile is the same as that of the preceding two blocks. The top was cut down 0.04 m. at the time when the block was re-used, but the original surface was left in a narrow strip along the back and at the right end (Fig. 63 a, c, and Fig. 64). On the lower surface are two square dowel holes with pour channels, and a narrow dowel hole which, however, must have belonged to the first period of the block, since in its present form it is too shallow to be of use. At each end are two cuttings for clamps running lengthwise with the block. The left end had a third clamp at right angles to the block. A larger clamp cutting, 0.25 m. from the same end, is later than the others. The back is shown in figure 64. Here the face has been cut back at both ends to the plane of the lowest fascia. The cutting at the right end, as seen in figure 63 b, is more than twice as long as that at the left end and appears to have been cut back twice (see Fig. 64, where the left end of the block is the same as the right end in Fig. 63). Near the inner end of the cutting is a hole for a clamp at right angles to the block. These later cuttings are so badly executed as to be all but
Figure 63. Ionic Frieze and Architrave Block (13)

Figure 64. Rear Face of Block 13
useless as hints for the placing of the block in the building. The clamp cuttings at the ends and the anathyrosis seem to show that the block is preserved in its original length, which is 2.615 m., measured on the front face.

14. Figs. 59 and 65. Architrave and frieze of white marble found on the floor of the north corridor not far from block 13. As appears from the dimensions and the profile, shown in figure 65, this block differs from blocks 11–13 both in size and shape. The front face of the architrave (Fig. 65 a, and see Fig. 26) has only two fasciae, the upper one being more than twice as wide as the lower one, and

![Figure 65. Ionic Frieze and Architrave Block (14)](image)

the mouldings between the architrave and frieze are wider than those of the other blocks. At the left end the front face has been dressed back to be fitted against another block, to which block 14 was joined by two clamps, one set at right angles and the other diagonally. At the right end the surface has been cut away, apparently to receive a similar block there. But this cutting, which is very rough, is 0.30 m. from the end of the block. It has, however, the approximate width of the block itself and is wider at the top than at the bottom to fit the profile of the block that abutted against it. On the top (Fig. 65 b) are two large rectangular dowel holes with pour channels and two pry holes. A large oblong cutting near the left end resembles a lewis hole, but the sides are nearly straight. At the right end the rear corner is bevelled off, and a diagonal clamp here shows that it fitted into another block. There is also a clamp running lengthwise to the block, ca. 0.17 m. from the front face. This is of the same kind as the original clamp holes in the other blocks, hence we may assume that there was a second clamp near the rear face of the right end. The left end has no clamps parallel to the block, but the top is here roughly cut off, which accounts for the disappearance of the earlier cuttings.
15. Figs. 44 and 66. Fragment of architrave and frieze block of white marble, found at the northwest corner of the building. Only part of the right end is preserved, but this is sufficient to show that the block is of the same kind as Nos. 11–13. The bottom surface has a deep dowel hole near the right end (cf. block 11).

The back has been cut back to receive another block, and at the end are roughly cut fasciae which do not fit those at the front. Although not found with the other blocks, No. 15 doubtless belongs to the same structure. Several other blocks of the same kind must have been broken up and removed when the building was demolished in mediaeval times. Another smaller fragment of a similar block was found at the east side of the orchestra.

16. Figs. 59 and 67. Architrave and frieze block of white marble found at the east end of the stage. One end is finished on all three sides, the other end is left rough. It is somewhat higher than blocks 11–13, and the profile is different.
The architrave has only two fasciae, above which is a small cyma reversa between two flat bands. The frieze consists of a large cyma recta, above which is a smaller cyma recta and a plain taenia. The profile was intended to be the same on all three sides, but the block is so badly cut that no two sides are exactly alike. The width at the top is the same as at the bottom (Fig. 67 c), whereas in block 11, for example, the two dimensions differ as much as 0.13 m. In the bottom is a deep dowel hole, 0.30 m. from the end (shown in dotted lines in figure 67 a–c). At the top are two large dowel holes with pour channels and one lewis hole. This block has no indications of having been re-used, and the careless and inexact work resembles that of the end profiles of blocks 11, 12, and 15, which were cut for the last use of these blocks.

17. Fig. 68. Architrave and frieze block of white marble, found at the west end of the east parodos. This block resembles No. 16 in the careless cutting of the finished surfaces. The profile, though obviously intended to be the same as that of the preceding block, is flatter. At the end the mouldings are merely indicated by shallow grooves. The dowel holes at top and bottom correspond to those of block 16. The top is bevelled at the unfinished end. The dimensions are: height 0.645 m.; width 0.58 m.; length of exposed surface 0.68–0.77 m.; total length 1.38 m.
18. Figs. 69 and 70. Architrave and frieze block of white marble, found at the east end of the west parados. The profile resembles that of blocks 16 and 17, but the moulding above the frieze consists of a simple astragal between two flat bands, corresponding to the small cyma recta of the other two blocks, and the whole block is more carefully cut. Face a is finished from the left end for a distance of 0.80 m. at the top and ca. 0.70 m. at the bottom. Beyond this finished surface the whole face of the block is divided into five fasciae, and close to the end is a vertical groove continued by a similar groove in the top. The finished face is straight, but the part with the five fasciae is convex. The opposite side, shown in figure 70, has a uniform curve parallel to the curve on the other side (Fig. 69 b). At the left end the face has been roughly cut back in such a way as to show that the profile originally extended farther toward the left. The top has two lewis holes, ca. 0.20 m. apart, one square dowel hole with pour channel, and one oblong dowel hole. At the bottom is a deep dowel hole 0.12 m. from the finished end of the block. The duplication of cuttings in the top shows that the block has been used twice, and the comparatively careful work indicates that it was not made at the same time as blocks 16 and 17.

19. Figs. 59 and 71. Ionic cornice block of white marble found near the east end of the stage. The size fits the architrave and frieze blocks (11–13) with which it was discovered and the workmanship is similar. In the middle of the top is a shallow dowel hole, and the ends have anathyrosis (Fig. 71 c).

20. Figs. 68 and 72. Block of white marble found at the west end of the east parados. At the bottom are small dentils, which are not properly separated but merely indicated at the surface. Above the dentils is a cyma recta, which is flatter at the end than at the two sides (see profiles in Fig. 72 a and c), then a torus, and
FIGURE 70. ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS FOUND NEAR WEST PARODOS

FIGURE 71. IONIC CORNICE BLOCK (19)
above it a broad flat band. In the top (Fig. 72 b) are a lewis hole and two square dowel holes, one with a pour channel. At the right end the corners are cut back so as to make the block of approximately the same width as block 17. The two were found close together, and block 20 has now been placed on block 17 as shown in figure 68. It is obvious that block 20 was not originally intended as a cornice: the profile indicates that it was used at the base of an engaged pier or pilaster. In the last reconstruction of the Odeum, the dentils were carved at the edge and the block was turned upside down and used as a cornice. Both its dimensions and the place of finding seem to show that it was used with block 17; but the cuttings in the two blocks do not agree.

21. Fig. 73. Ionic cornice block of bluish marble found near the east end of the west parodos. At the bottom are two iron dowels which still remain in their holes. At the top are a lewis hole in the middle, a small square dowel hole at the left end, and a clamp hole at the right end. The right rear corner has been cut away as shown in figure 73 b, probably for a late use of the block. The front face is very carefully cut, and the contrast between this block and those discussed above is most striking. The profile resembles that of block 19, but the dentils are larger and the carving is more careful. These differences, added to the fact that the marble is also different, show that the two blocks cannot originally have come from the same part of the building.

22. Figs. 70 and 74. Corinthian capital of white marble found at the east end of the west parodos. The lower part has a single row of acanthus leaves, and above is
a series of pointed leaves covering the bell. Only one half is properly finished (Fig. 74 a and b, and Fig. 70); on the other side the leaves are merely indicated on the surface. The finished half cuts the abacus diagonally as indicated in figure 74 a, which shows that the capital was intended to be seen from the corner. Further-

more, the projection of the abacus was greater on the two sides that were visible than on the other sides. On the top (Fig. 74 c) are five cuttings. Near the bottom edge as seen in the figure is a large dowel hole with pour channel, and nearer the middle is an oblong dowel hole. Close to the top is a circular cutting, apparently also for a dowel, and at the left side, which was intended to be seen, are holes for two clamps by which the capital was attached to some part of the building. On the side which has the clamps there is no top moulding of the abacus. If the clamps belong to the original use of the capital, we must assume that the column

1 This type of capital was particularly common in Corinth in late Roman times.
stood somewhere in a corner with another column so close to it that the two capitals could be joined by clamps. Only in this way is it possible to explain the fact that the clamps are on the side from which the column was visible.

23. Fig. 70. Shaft of a granite column, found near the east end of the west parados. The lower part is missing and the top is broken away, but the broken end was found with the column. The diameter at the top measures 0.46 m. including the moulding, below the moulding 0.41 m., and at the broken lower end 0.46 m.

![Figure 75. Fragment of Cornice (24)](image)

The length of the fragment is 2.60 m. The column fits the Corinthian capital described above, and it is highly probable that they belong together. This is the only large piece of column found in the Odeum.

The pieces numbered 11–23, which were all, with the exception of No. 15, found at or near the stage, form a group by themselves. They must have been used to decorate the interior façade in the last period of the building, i.e. after the stage had been removed and the orchestra enlarged and turned into an arena. The end of the second period, immediately preceding the arena period, is definitely determined by the contents of the fill under the arena floor as not earlier and, in all probability, not much later than 222 A.D. But it is not credible that the extraordinarily poor work of carving and fitting these
marble blocks together could have been done as early as the beginning of the third century. The impetus given to art in all its branches under Hadrian and the first Antonines was still strongly felt in the time of the Severi. The decline in the third century was rapid, but it was not until the fourth century that the last stage in the decline was reached and to that period, I feel certain, we must assign the recutting and final use of the large marble blocks. The inner façade may have been rebuilt or repaired at the time when the Odeum court and the porches were demolished, and it is not impossible that some of the blocks used for the façade were taken from the court. Whether these last changes were necessitated by some violent destruction of the building, such as an earthquake, or by a gradual falling into disrepair cannot be determined.

The small fragments of architectural material found at various parts of the building are so numerous that only a limited selection seems worthy of discussion. Most of these fragments were found in the fill of the curtain channel, in the underground passage under the orchestra, and in the man-hole to the same passage in the north central porch.

24. Fig. 75. Fragment of marble cornice found near the northeast porch. Total height 0.36 m.; width 0.68 m.; length of fragment 0.70 m.; projection of corona from dentils 0.194 m.; total projection from dentils to topmost taenia 0.258 m. The upper part of the via is not cut back to the full depth of the dentils. The carving is carefully done.

25. Fig. 76. Upper part of Ionic cornice with the corner preserved, found on the north side of the scene-building. Height of fragment 0.207 m.; length 0.48 m.

26. Fig. 77. Fragment of Ionic cornice with large dentils. At the corner is a bud. Length of fragment 0.62 m.

27. Fig. 78. Elaborately carved fragment of cornice found at the north side of the scene-building. Above the dentils runs a Lesbian leaf. The under side of the
Figure 78. Fragment of Cornice (27)

Figure 79. Fragment of Cornice (28)
corona is decorated with a tongue-and-dart pattern, and the cyma recta at the top has a design of pointed leaves above an astragal with a cable pattern. The carving is poor. Length of fragment 0.38 m.; width 0.57 m.; total height 0.277 m.; total projection from dentils to topmost band 0.225 m.

28. Fig. 79. Small corner fragment of cornice found in the curtain channel. The front face of the corona is decorated with rosettes enclosed within the loops of interconnected S-shaped designs; on the under surface there is a pattern of broad tongues. The carving is very deep. The place of finding and the fact that the fragment has suffered badly from fire, show that it belonged to the scaenae frons of the second period (see p. 59). Length of fragment 0.98 m.

29. Fig. 80. Fragment of cornice found at the north side of the orchestra. The dentils are very low. Above the corona is a bead-and-reel moulding and above that a cable pattern. The carving is shallow and carelessly done. On the top is an iron clamp. The poor carving and the place of finding indicate that the fragment dates from the last repairs in the fourth century. Total height 0.205 m.; projection of corona beyond dentils 0.115 m.; total projection from dentils to topmost taenia 0.23 m.

30. Fig. 81. Thin slab of revetment with a cornice carved on it, found near the north central porch. At the top is a hole for the clamp by which the slab was attached to the wall. The place of finding and the shape of the slab seem to show that it was used on the north façade in the second period (cf. p. 37).
31. Fig. 82. Slab of revetment found on the north side of the scene-building. Its dimensions are the same as those of the preceding slab.

32. Fig. 83. Marble fragment of applied frieze found near the northeast porch. It probably belonged to the north façade in the second period. At the top is a clamp cutting.

33. Fig. 84. Small capital of the same general type as No. 22, figure 74, found near the northeast porch. Lower diameter 0.195 m.; width of abacus 0.305 m.; total height 0.235 m.

34. Fig. 85. Corner volute of Corinthian capital from the débris of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.
Figure 84. Small Corinthian Capital (33)

Figure 85. Fragment of Corinthian Capital (34)

Figure 86. Fragments of Capitals (35 and 36)
Figure 87. Fragment of Pilaster Capital (37)

Figure 88. Fragment of Pilaster Capital (38)
35. Fig. 86. Corner volute of marble capital from the débris of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.

36. Fig. 86. Acanthus leaf of Corinthian capital from the débris of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.

37. Fig. 87. Fragment of large pilaster capital. Width of fragment 0.36 m.; height of fragment 0.33 m.; greatest thickness ca. 0.14 m.

38. Fig. 88. Upper part of pilaster capital found in fill about poros block in floor Q (p. 68). Width of fragment 0.315 m.; height 0.23 m.; greatest thickness ca. 0.04 m.

39. Fig. 89. Lower part of pilaster capital found below the long marble steps east side of the building. Width at the bottom 0.26 m.; height of fragment 0.13 m.; greatest thickness 0.022 m.

40. Fig. 89. Upper part of pilaster capital found with No. 38, figure 88. Width at the top 0.285 m.; height of fragment 0.075 m.; greatest thickness 0.048 m.
Figure 90. Fragments of Pilasters and Frame Moulding

Figure 91. Marble Fragments (45-51)
Figure 92. Fragments of Archivolts (53-58)

Figure 93. Base Mouldings (59-72)
41-44. Fig. 90. Four fragments of applied pilasters of various sizes from the lower parts where the flutes were not cut back to their full depth. No. 41 shows the change in fluting between the lower and the upper parts.

45-50. Fig. 91. Six fragments of applied pilasters. The flutes show that the fragments belong to the upper part of the pilasters.

51. Fig. 91. Fragment of moulding from the corner of a door or window.

52. Fig. 90. Two fragments of a large moulding, perhaps of a door frame.

53-58. Fig. 92. Six fragments of applied archivolts, probably from the arches on the north façade of the scene-building.

59-72. Fig. 93. Fragments of base mouldings of various sizes. Large numbers of similar mouldings were found in various parts of the building, most of them in the man-hole under the north central porch.
73. Fig. 94. Corner piece of meander moulding. Height 0.195 m.; thickness 0.072 m.; length of fragment 0.325 m.

74. Fig. 95. End piece of moulding with a simple guilloche pattern; above a bead-and-reel. Total height 0.14 m.; thickness at the bottom 0.17 m.; length of fragment 0.31 m. The cutting at the bottom seems to be a repair.

75. Fig. 96. Fragment of console or modillion with broad acanthus leaf underneath. Original width ca. 0.095 m.; original length ca. 0.135 m.

76. Figs. 97 and 98. Top piece of pedestal, one half found near the west end of the curtain channel, the other half in room O. It is much damaged by fire and cracked in several places. The material is white marble. On three sides are
carefully cut mouldings, but the fourth side is merely bevelled off at the bottom. In the centre of the bottom (Fig. 97) is a circular dowel hole. The top (Fig. 98) has two oval cuttings, ca. 0.05 m. deep. Round one of these cuttings the surface of the stone has been cut down in the shape of a human foot. There is no corresponding cutting for the other foot, which must have rested directly on the top of the block. The cutting for the foot is 0.30 m. long. The statue supported by the base was of bronze with the weight on the right foot, the left knee bent, and the left foot dowelled to, but not set into, the base.\(^1\) Length 0.59 m.; width 0.518 m.; height 0.17 m.

77. Figs. 97 and 98. Top block of pedestal found in room O. The material is limestone, like that used for the thresholds of the building. It has suffered less from the fire than the preceding block. It is finished with a profile on all four sides. In the centre of the bottom (Fig. 97) is a circular dowel hole. The top (Fig. 98) has two sets of dowel holes, indicating that the base was used twice. The three smaller holes which are almost circular belong to the original use of the base. In front of the two holes near the middle, the surface has been slightly cut down. The holes are for two dowels from the heels of a bronze statue which was further supported by a staff or some other object held in the right hand. The right foot was slightly advanced, but both feet rested flat on the base. The cuttings would fit a statue having the pose of the Herakles statuette in Boston.\(^2\) The two larger cuttings near the edges must belong to a later use of the base. Length 0.545 m.; width 0.47 m.; height 0.225 m.

78. Fig. 99. Small fragment of garland of white marble. Rather poor, careless carving. Length of fragment 0.32 m.

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\(^1\) Cf. the pose of the Doryphorus, in the marble copies of which the left foot rests on a cleat of marble, whereas in the bronze original it touched the base only at the toes.

\(^2\) Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, No. 64.
79 and 80. Fig. 100. Two fragments of marble roof slabs with shingle imitation on the top. Both slabs taper in such a way as to show that they were used for the roofing of a circular or semicircular structure. The ends are broken off so that the size of the roof cannot be calculated. Thickness of slabs ca. 0.85 m.; length of large slab 0.97 m.; length of small slab 0.36 m. It is difficult to find a place where they could have been used in the Odeum, and it is not unlikely that they belong to some small circular monument in the vicinity.

81. Fig. 101. Marble slab carved on two sides and on the top. One side, as seen in section a–b, is curved, the other straight. The carving is most carefully done and the surface has been highly polished. It is probably part of a balustrade, but the curvature is puzzling. It was found at the northwest corner of the Odeum, and it is not certain whether it belongs to the building.

82. Fig. 102. Part of a lion's paw of cream-colored marble found in the orchestra. It probably belonged to the supports for one of the seats in the proedria.
Figure 101. Fragment of Carved Marble Slab (81)

Figure 102. Fragment of Lion's Paw (82)
Reference has already been made (p. 66) to a great number of marble fragments from the “Athena Trench,” which seem to have been removed from the Odeum after the fire in the early third century A.D. My reasons for assigning them to the Odeum are: the close similarity in workmanship between these fragments and those found in the Odeum itself; the fact that both the fragments from the Odeum and those from the “Athena Trench” show definitely that they were taken from a building destroyed by fire; and the close proximity of the dump to the Odeum. Unless we assume that there was a general destruction of Corinth in the third century A.D., of which we have no other information, it seems unlikely that two buildings having the same kind of marble decoration should have been destroyed in the same vicinity about the same time. Moreover, the fire which destroyed the Odeum did not come from without, for the north façade and the Odeum court were certainly not destroyed at the same time. Hence it seems highly probable that the fragments from the “Athena Trench” and those used as fill under the floor of the arena were taken from the same building. Only a limited area has been excavated in the search for the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis and numerous marble fragments are

Figure 103. Marble Fragments from the “Athena Trench”
still left in the earth, as can be seen from the sides of the trench. A few of the fragments found by Dr. Shear are here included.

83–88. Fig. 103. Fragment 83 has on the front face the head of a bull in relief, perhaps the decoration on the middle piece of an arch; No. 84 is part of a pilaster capital (cf. Fig. 89); No. 85 has a melon-shaped decoration resembling that on No. 26 (Fig. 77); Nos. 86 and 87 are fragments of mouldings on thin slabs; and No. 88 is the lower part of a table support.

87a–90. Fig. 104. Fragments 87a and 88a are parts of Ionic capitals with leaves carved on the cushion; No. 89 is the end piece of a base moulding; and No. 90 is part of a large pilaster capital (cf. Fig. 87).

91–94. Fig. 105. Fragments 91 and 92 are probably parts of pilaster capitals; Nos. 93 and 94 are rosettes from Corinthian column capitals.
Figure 105. Marble Fragments from the "Athena Trench"

Figure 106. Slab with the Head of Helios from the "Athena Trench" (95)
95–105. Figs. 106–110. Eleven fragments of reliefs with mask-like figures of Helios. There is little attempt at modelling; the features are merely carved in outline on the flat surface, and the background is cut back 0.02–0.03 m. The rays, which extend around the entire face, do not taper, but seem to have been connected to each other at the outer ends (Fig. 107). There is great variation among the heads both in the hair and in the other features. No original edge is preserved on any of the slabs. Total thickness of the slabs 0.07–0.09 m. The heads measure ca. 0.16 m. in length and ca. 0.14 m. in width.

These queer figures probably decorated some part of the stage or the scaenae frons, but exactly what part is difficult to determine. One might suppose that they belonged to the decoration of a ceiling; but if that were the case, some fragment of the frames round the figures would doubtless be preserved. It is more likely that the slabs were used as decorations on the socle below the first row of columns. No slabs of this kind were found in the Odeum itself. The work is very careless, and it is evident that the architect did not treat these slabs as sculptured reliefs, but used the faces merely as patterns for the decoration of architectural members. The carving is not unlike that on some of the pilaster capitals (Figs. 88 and 89).
Figure 109. Slabs with the Head of Helios from the "Athena Trench"
Figure 110. Slabs with the Head of Helios from the "Athena Trench"
SCULPTURE

The sculpture of Corinth, published by Franklin P. Johnson,\(^1\) includes only statues and fragments discovered up to 1923. Since all the main excavations in the Odeum were carried on subsequently to that date, it seems advisable to include the important pieces with the publication of the building. Moreover, in the case of a Roman theatre like the Odeum, the sculpture formed so important a part of the architectural decoration that it seems preferable to publish the material together.\(^2\)

1. PLATES XV–XVI, Figs. 111–113. Inv. No. 1368. Statue of Athena with the owl, found April 5, 1928, in the northwest corner of the orchestra ca. 1.50 m. above the floor. It was lying front down in the débris from the wrecked building. A smaller piece (Inv. No. 1365), consisting of the right hand holding the drapery, was discovered June 3, 1927, in the same vicinity. With the statue were found also a few pieces of the hair and neck. All these smaller fragments have been fitted to the statue.

Although unquestionably a work of Roman date, the type goes back to the late sixth century B.C. The head, which was carved in the same piece with the body, is missing, but the arrangement of the hair is evident. On the back, it falls in a solid mass, 0.23 m. wide at the bottom, the single strands being indicated by shallow grooves; in front, two curly locks hang down over each shoulder. The lower part of the statue from above the knees is also broken away.\(^3\)

The marble is a fine-grained white variety, probably Pentelic. At the back was a slight flaw which has caused the left side of the hair to break away. The surface at the back is chipped in a few places. In front are some slight signs of chipping at the left shoulder, and the beak of the owl is broken off. With these exceptions the surface is well preserved; but a coat of lime accretion, which covers the greater part of the front, is so hard that hitherto it has been impossible to clean the statue. The lime is gradually dissolving, however, and in course of time the ugly black cover will probably disappear entirely.

\(^1\) Corinth, IX, Sculpture.

\(^2\) Small pieces which cannot be assigned to any larger fragments are omitted, as are also the numerous small pieces from the dump in the Athena Trench.

\(^3\) Measurements: Total length of torso 1.40 m.; greatest width (at elbows) ca. 0.80 m.
The drapery consists of an outer garment (peplos) and a chiton with sleeves. The peplos forms a diplois which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm, leaving the chiton exposed on the right side both in front and in back. Below the diplois, three broad folds hang down in front,\(^1\) one under the left arm, and one in the back. On the right side is a small fold, visible only in front, which apparently was doubled below and is held in the right hand. Behind the right arm this fold does not appear, whereas the corresponding fold on the left side extends up to the shoulder on both sides of the arm. From the middle fold in the back, the peplos appears to be stretched on both sides toward the front; but this arrangement is independent of the folds in front and under the

arms. On the left side in front, the folds of the *peplos* are turned toward the side as if the drapery were intended to be held in the left hand. In the archaic original it was probably so held, as is commonly the case in archaic statues of this kind;¹ but for some reason the copyist had to reverse the sides. It would be interesting to know how he achieved his task, for it is difficult to reconcile the folds on the left side with the present pose. The fold under the left arm is very heavy at the lower part, and it seems likely that the drapery which was gathered up on the left side was simply doubled up below the break and the end tucked under the left arm. This is plainly an arrangement invented by the Roman sculptor for which no precedent is found in archaic art.

The nude parts are polished; the texture of the *peplos* is rendered by a smoothly finished but unpolished surface, showing clear traces of the rasp; the crinkled texture of the *chiton* is indicated by shallow wavy grooves. Round the neck is a smooth border, 0.04 m. wide, which may have been decorated with painted designs. This border disappears on the shoulders under the locks of hair. At the back, the *chiton* is indicated only on the right side, where it extends up to the hair in disregard of the border in front. The left shoulder, on the other hand, is bare above the *diplois*. This shows that the Roman sculptor had no conception of the type of garment which he attempted to copy. Over each arm the *chiton* is fastened by six circular clasps or buttons.

Apart from the confused rendering of the drapery, the statue has many serious faults. The left breast, for example, is much larger than the right, and the folds above the bent left arm are not cut back as far as below the arm. When looked at straight from the front, the effect is most unpleasing. Doubtless the effect would be better if the statue were seen from below, as was probably intended, but the position cannot explain all the mistakes. Viewed from the back, the whole figure is lopsided. The right shoulder is higher than the left, and the right elbow is much too high. The bent elbow should by nature be slightly higher than the straight one, whereas in our statue it is actually about 0.15 m. lower. The hands, too, especially the right, are very poorly modelled, and the owl is hastily done without proper attention to details.

In technique the statue differs greatly from most Roman sculpture at Corinth. The drill appears to have been all but unknown to the sculptor. In two places only is there some indication that it may have been used. The zig-zag folds of the drapery were plainly all made with a chisel. The marble was not cut back under the folds (Fig. 113), as was commonly done by sculptors accustomed to work with the drill.

The dating of archaizing sculpture is always beset with difficulties, inasmuch as the artists purposely imitated a style not in vogue in their own day. In this case, however, several factors combined enable us to limit the date within a comparatively short period.

There are two Roman periods during which imitations of Greek sculpture were produced on a large scale, the Augustan and the Hadrianic. But the foregoing analysis of the statue shows that it cannot belong to either of those periods. By reason of the poor workmanship alone, it is out of the question to date it in the time of Augustus and his immediate successors. The high degree of excellence to which sculpture could attain at this period is attested by the well known group of portraits of Augustus and other members of the imperial family discovered in

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SCULPTURE

Corinth some years ago.\(^1\) In this group, as in all Augustan sculpture, the drill was used to a considerable extent.

The period of Hadrian is even less likely. This was a time when classical works of art were imitated to a great extent, and at no other time did the imitator approach so nearly the spirit and style of the great art of Greece.\(^2\) But one of the factors in distinguishing the Hadrianic sculpture from the Greek originals is the use of the drill. Consequently both style and technique of the Athena statue show that it cannot be dated in the time of Hadrian.

In the Antonine period the use of the drill became more and more common and led to the peculiar style in vogue at the end of the second century and during the period of the Severi, when hair and drapery were rendered chiefly by the drill. This technique, which continued throughout the first quarter of the third century, was followed by a time of reaction against the use of the drill. This, then, is the first period after the Roman colonization of Corinth, in which a consideration of workmanship and technique permit us to date the statue of Athena.\(^3\)

To these indications of date furnished by the statue itself can be added the external evidence from the history of the building in which the statue was discovered. Any date prior to the construction of the Odeum may be excluded from consideration, since it is highly probable that the Athena, as well as the sister statue (No. 2), was made as decoration for the Odeum during one of its building periods. The sculpture in vogue at the time of the first construction has little in common with the Athena. This was a period of strong realistic tendencies, during which imitations of classical work were not in favor.\(^4\) The first reconstruction took place in the time of the Antonines, but the technique of the statue makes it impossible to date it in that period. The most conclusive proof, however, for its late date is the fact that the Odeum was destroyed by fire in the early part of the third century and with it the sculptural decoration of the scaenae frons (see below under No. 6). The Athena statue shows no trace


\(^2\) E. A. Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 518 f. A good example from Corinth is the grave stele in the east room of the Museum (Inv. No. 196), which for a long time was considered to be a fourth century original but has now been shown to be of Roman date, probably Hadrianic (Rhys Carpenter, *A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum of Ancient Corinth*, p. 71, No. 6, and F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, No. 247.

\(^3\) Very little sculpture of this period has been found in Corinth, but two sarcophagi in the vestibule of the Museum and the medallion with the portrait head to the left of the entrance, though vastly inferior to the Athena in workmanship, are examples of the same technique. The two sarcophagi probably belong later in the third century. Cf. F. P. Johnson, *op. cit.*, Nos. 238 and 239. For the medallion Johnson (*op. cit.*, No. 173) favors an earlier date.

of fire, and the place of finding indicates that it was standing in the building at the final destruction near the end of the fourth century. Consequently the only period during which it could have been set up in the Odeum is between the first quarter of the third century and the end of the fourth century A.D. Since we have already seen that the technique points to the third century, it is most natural to suppose that the statue was made for the reconstruction which took place about 225 A.D. The combined evidence from workmanship and technique and from the history of the building point to such a date.

The owl held in the left hand is the only attribute preserved to show that the statue is that of Athena. Although figures of the goddess holding the owl in the hand are not uncommon, the type of our statue is unique. Apparently the sculptor took as his model a figure of the sixth century type of Kore with a votive object such as a dove in the right hand and the drapery held in the left. By reversing the sides and substituting the owl for the dove he created a type of Athena which appears otherwise never to have existed in ancient art. Whether the owl held in the hand was intended as a specific attribute of Athena Archegetis, as one is led to believe from a Scholiast on Aristophanes, is a matter of uncertainty.

1 S. Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire, II, pp. 280, 281.
2 Aves, 515. Cf. A.J.A. XXXII, 1928, p. 468, where other references are given.
Since no other attribute appears to have been represented, it is not unlikely that
the owl was merely used as the most convenient means of labelling the statue
as a representation of Athena.

2. Fig. 114. Inv. No. 1348 a and b. Left hand of archaistic statue holding drapery,
found May 14, 1927. White marble, probably Pentelic.

The hand is held in exactly the same way as is the right hand of the preceding
statue, the folds of the drapery in the two hands are identical, and the size is the
same. The discovery of this fragment gives the clue to the peculiar pose of the
Athena. The two statues were doubtless set up in close proximity, and the
position of the hands of one had to be reversed in order to create a symmetrical
arrangement.¹ From the place of finding it seems likely that both statues formed

¹ Cf. the two figures from the east ridge acroterion of the Temple of Aphaia, Furtwängler, Aigina,
pls. 98 and 107.
part of the decoration for the inner façade after the stage had been removed. They may have been approximately identical, differentiated only through their attributes. It seems not unlikely that the second statue was one of Aphrodite, who is often represented with a pose similar to that of the Athena. Aphrodite and Athena were the chief goddesses of Corinth and might well have had statues set up together in the Odeum.

3. Fig. 115. Inv. No. 1436. Fragment of a statue of Athena, approximately life size, found Nov. 21, 1930, in a pit dug to the south of the Odeum (p. 77). White coarse-grained marble. Only the left breast and part of the aegis with the gorgoneion are preserved in one piece, but several smaller fragments of the statue were found in the same place, including the upper part of an arm with a dowel hole. Both the head and the arms were set in separately. The aegis is worn transversely as on the so-called Lemnian Athena,1 with a small gorgoneion under the left breast. The scales of the aegis are carefully rendered. At the upper edge is a serpent. The texture of the drapery is indicated by fine marks of the rasp, whereas the nude parts were highly polished.

4. Fig. 116. Inv. No. 1330. Front part of a right foot wearing sandal, life size, found May 3, 1927, in the east part of the cavea. White coarse-grained marble resembling that of the preceding fragment. The foot belongs to a statue with the drapery reaching to the ground and the right foot protruding from below. It shows no break, but is cut off obliquely at the instep and was added as a separate piece. It had no dowel, but was held in place by being partly sunk into the plinth or base. Only the upper edge of the sandal is carefully finished, since the lower part was hidden. The modelling is careful and the surface is highly polished. Though found at some distance from the preceding fragment, it is not unlikely that it belongs to the same statue. The marble, which is not a very common variety in Corinth, is similar in the two pieces; both belong to a statue of about life size; the highly polished surface and the careful workmanship are common to both; and the attached foot protruding from under the long drapery could belong

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to a statue like the “Athena Lemnia” of which the preceding fragment seems to have been a part.

5. Fig. 117. Inv. No. 1363. Fragment of relief with the figure of Heracles, found May 26, 1927 near the northeast corner of the orchestra. White fine-grained marble. Only the head and the breast are preserved. The lion’s skin hangs over the head and is tied in front. Both hands were extended to his left, holding some object, perhaps the club, a piece of which remains on the left side of the head. The eye balls have deep, double incisions made with the drill.1 The figure is slightly less than half life size.

6. Figs. 118–126. Inv. No. 1456. Fragments of a statua loricata discovered June 14 and 15, 1928 among the débris that filled the curtain channel. White fine-grained marble, probably Pentelic. Most of the statue was destroyed by the fire which ruined the building in the early part of the third century, and the fragments which remain are badly burned. It has been possible to join some of the best fragments from the right side of the torso about the waistline (Fig. 118). Two rows of lappets with figures in relief were fastened to the lower edge of the cuirass, and below was a kilt of leather straps with fringes.

The arrangement of the reliefs on the lappets of the upper row can be determined with certainty. In the middle was a head of Zeus Ammon in front view (Fig. 119). The hair is parted in the middle, and at the temples small horns curve around to the corners of the eyes. The chin and most of the beard are missing. All the features of the head are modelled with the greatest care, and the artist has succeeded in creating an expression of dignity and grandeur seldom attained in miniature reliefs of this kind.

Next to the head of Zeus was an eagle in high relief. Only the head, the two wings, and the right foot are preserved. The following lappet was decorated

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1 This is a characteristic feature of the sculpture from the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century A.D. Dr. Rhys Carpenter, who has kindly called my attention to this fact, thinks it likely that the relief was meant to represent Commodus, who was often portrayed in the guise of Heracles.
with a gorgoneion of the "good looking type" in high relief (Fig. 120). The head is turned to the right in half profile. Round the neck are two serpents tied in a knot, and on the head are two small wings. The rendering of the hair, which falls in heavy, deeply separated locks, is reminiscent of some of the Alexander heads and shows that the artist even in small details was influenced by existing types. There is a striking similarity, particularly in the rendering of the hair, between this gorgoneion and the head of Apollo from the relief found in the Theatre at Corinth.\footnote{Cf. Shear, \textit{A.J.A.} XXX, 1926, p. 460, fig. 13.} Next to the gorgoneion follow a ram's head and an
SCULPTURE 127

elephant's head, both in rather low relief. The elephant's head is the last relief on the right side. The next lappet and apparently all those on the back were undecorated. A small fragment of the first plain lappet is preserved with the large piece (Fig. 118), and another fragment from the back shows that both rows of lappets there were plain. The upper row partly overlaps the lower, hence the reliefs on the lower row are small. The lower lappet between the eagle and the gorgoneion has an Amazon's shield with a small gorgoneion in the middle, the next has a pair of greaves, and the next a crescent-shaped tassel, apparently from a military standard.1 Between the elephant's head and the first plain lappet of the upper row a small fragment of the lower lappet is preserved with traces of a relief, probably a helmet. Another small fragment, badly injured by fire, on which is a helmet turned in the opposite direction, probably belongs to the corresponding lappet on the left side. Some small fragments of the decoration on the cuirass itself came to light (Fig. 121), among them two crossed shields, part of a helmet, and a small piece of drapery, probably from one of the Nikes

FIGURE 119. MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF ZEUS AMMON

FIGURE 120. MEDALLION WITH GORGONEION

FIGURE 121. FRAGMENTS OF CUIRASS DECORATION

FIGURE 122. FRAGMENT OF LEATHER KILT
which flanked the trophy, but the pieces are too small to show the whole design.¹

Of the leather kilt several large fragments are preserved (Fig. 122), but none that shows the whole length of the straps. The separate straps are undercut so deeply that they appear to hang loose, and the texture of the leather is indicated by fine incisions. There were two rows of similar but smaller straps round the shoulders (Fig. 123). The head was made in a separate piece as is indicated on some fragments of the paludamentum which was thrown about the neck. One of the arms also was made separately, and the same seems to have been the case with the legs below the kilt. A fragment of the right leg (Fig. 124), broken below the knee, preserves the boot made of a panther’s skin. A garter consisting of two serpents with a link in their mouths holds up the boot. The support on

¹ It is not impossible that the fragments with the helmet and with the two shields belong to the lower row of lappets, but the fact that no rim is preserved with either fragment and also the comparatively large size of the figures make it more likely that they belong to the design on the breast. For this type of Palladium cf. S. Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire, 11, 2, p. 584, 3.
Figure 125. Fragments of Support

Figure 126. Fragments of Fringe, Showing Drill Holes
the side, only small fragments of which remain (Fig. 125), consisted of a palm trunk with clusters of dates.1

The quality of the work, as revealed by the small fragments that escaped the fire, gives the impression that we are dealing with a masterpiece of Roman sculpture. The minutest details are rendered with extraordinary care and accuracy. The nude parts are highly polished (Fig. 127), but the drapery and the cuirass—even the heads on the lappets—show the marks of the rasp. The drill was used extensively, in fact it would have been impossible to undercut the leather straps as deeply as was done without the drill. At the ends of the fringe the drill holes were left undisguised (Fig. 126).

Although but small fragments of the cuirass are preserved, the arrangement of the figures on the lappets enables us to define the type. Several statues, less mutilated than ours, have the same arrangement or very nearly so. The best preserved are the statue of Hadrian from Hierapytna in Crete, now in the Museum in Constantinople,2


and the well known statue of the same emperor, found in the exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia.\footnote{Treu, \textit{Olympia}, III, p. 271, pl. LXV, 1; W. Wroth, \textit{l. cit.}; A. Hekler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 231, fig. 159; Bernoulli, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 110.} Other statues, with the heads missing, have been assigned to Hadrian from the similarity of the cuirass decoration.\footnote{(a) Statue from Kisamos, Crete (Savignoni, \textit{Mon. Ant. XI}, 1901, pp. 304 ff., pl. XXV, 1); A. Hekler \textit{op. cit.}, p. 233, fig. 161); (b) statue from Gortyna (Savignoni, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 308, fig. 10; Hekler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 232); (c) statue from Cyrene in the British Museum (Wroth, \textit{op. cit.}; Smith, \textit{Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum}, No. 1466) and three statues in Athens (Hekler, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 232, 233, Nos. 6–8), etc. All these except the statue from Cyrene have been found in Greek soil. To these should be added the new statue from the excavations in the Athenian Agora, Shear, \textit{Art and Arch. XXXII}, 1931, pp. 91 f.; de Waele, \textit{Gnomon}, VII, 1931, p. 552.} It is a striking fact that those which most nearly resemble the statues from Olympia and Hierapytna have been discovered in Greece.

![Fragment of Statua Lorica](image)

**Figure 128. Fragment of Statua Lorica**

In view of the close similarity between these two known statues of Hadrian and the fragments from the Odeum, it is highly probable that all three represented...
the same emperor. But none of the works referred to can compare with the Corinth fragments in artistic merit. The medallions on the statue at Olympia and on that in Constantinople are carelessly carved in rather low relief and the leather straps are rendered without the fine incisions found on the pieces from Corinth. Too little is known about the centres of art which flourished in Greece under the benevolent patronage of the emperor Hadrian; but I feel convinced that material exists both in Athens and in many of the provincial museums which, if properly studied and collated, would go far to modify and correct some of the prevailing opinions of Roman imperial sculpture.

7. Fig. 128. Inv. No. 1430. Fragment of a statua loricata found built into a late wall at the northwest corner of the Odeum. White fine-grained marble. Part of the cuirass is preserved with the figure of a winged Nike to the right. The end of the right epaulet appears above the Nike. A fragment of a support in the form of a tree trunk found in the same wall probably belongs to it. The carving of these pieces is vastly inferior to that of No. 6, and the statue was probably smaller.

1 The figure of Nike strongly resembles that on a similar statue from Corinth; Johnson, Corinth, IX, Sculpture, No. 143.
INSCRIPTIONS

Very few inscriptions were discovered in the Odeum, and most of those are small pieces which have no connection with the building.1 A few of those found, however, are cut on some part of the building now in situ or on blocks which seem to have belonged to it. Only these are listed below.

1. Fig. 58. Inv. No. 1063. For a discussion see p. 83.

2. Fig. 129. Inv. No. 886.

Fragment of poros altar found near the north central porch. Only the upper left corner of the front face and most of the left side are preserved. Below the projecting top, which has been partly chiselled away, parts of the first three lines of letters are preserved. Whether the altar was set up in or near the Odeum must remain uncertain. Height of letters: first line 0.06 m., second line 0.043 m.

Footnote: 1 See Meritt, Corinth, VIII, i, Greek Inscriptions, Nos. 118, 322, 324, 327.
3. Fig. 130. Inv. No. 1062.

\[KENΩΚΓΕ\]

**Figure 130. Inscription No. 3**

The inscription is scratched on the drafted surface of the topmost course of pier 20', west face. The surface of the stone was once covered with thin stucco of which faint traces remain. The letters may have been scratched at a performance by one of the ushers to help him remember which sections of the cavea had not been occupied, or perhaps it is mere meaningless scribbling. Height of letters 0.025–0.035 m.

4. Fig. 131. Inv. No. 1064.

\[ΕΥΣ[Γης\]

**Figure 131. Inscription No. 4**

The inscription was written in the stucco, while still wet, which once covered the scarp of rock surrounding the arena in the third period, east of the central aisle. Height of letters 0.04–0.05 m.

5. Fig. 132. Inv. No. 1065.

**Figure 132. Inscription No. 5**

The letters are cut in the rough surface of the scarp of rock, directly above the wall between chambers IV and V on the south side. When the wall was preserved
to its full height the letters were not visible, hence they were probably cut at the
time when the stone quarry was worked. Height of letters 0.18 m.

6. Fig. 133. Inv. No. 1066.

Roman numerals scratched on the surface of a piece of concrete vaulting near the
west stairway in the cavea. As the piece is now lying, the letters are upside down;
but in figure 133 they are shown right side up. Height of numerals ca. 0.10 m.

7. Fig. 134.
Masons' marks on the re-used blocks in the curtain channel.

a. On the south side of the channel, third block from the east end. Probably
   not a letter. Height 0.12 m.

b. ε or M. Close to a on the same block. Height 0.10 m.

c. I. On the north side of the channel, sixth block from the east end. Height 0.09 m.

d. N. On the north side of the channel, third block from the west end. Height
   0.095 m.

e. E. Close to d on the same block. Height 0.10 m.

For a discussion of these marks and their bearing on the chronology of the
Odeum see p. 64.

8. Fig. 135. A large number of stamped roof tiles were found at various points in the
building. One of the most common stamps is shown in figure 135 a. It gives the
official title of the Roman colony of Corinth: COLonia Laus IVLia CORinthus.
The letters AC at the end are probably the initials of the maker.¹ Two fragments

¹ In some other tiles of the same kind found at Corinth AL occurs instead of AC.
with this stamp and some smaller pieces of the same variety were found in the area to the east of the Odeum, but they can in no way be connected with the building. They doubtless antedate the Odeum, but their exact date is uncertain. The fact that the Latin letters are used is an indication of relatively early date.

A fragment with the stamp shown in figure 135 b was discovered at the north end of the reservoir (p. 73). It is not a common stamp in Corinth, and its date is difficult to determine. Very few datable objects were found in the fill of the reservoir; but close to the stamped tile was found a small lampsherd from the second century A.D.¹ This seems to show that the north end of the reservoir was filled in at the time when the Odeum court was made.

The stamps c–h (Fig. 135) all belong together. Fragments of tiles bearing these stamps were found in large numbers throughout the building, particularly in a fallen piece of the vault over the north hall (p. 40) and in the narrow gutter along the north edge of the orchestra (p. 53). The walls of the gutter are made of broken tiles, and the floor is made of whole tiles laid end to end with the top up. A few of the tiles have no stamps; but the others are stamped twice, always with

¹ Broneer, Corinth, IV, ii, Terracotta Lamps, Type XXVII, pp. 90 ff.
The two stamps on each tile were impressed separately. The stamps with the same letters differ in the different tiles both in size and in the spacing of the letters. Of the twenty-four tiles which constitute the gutter, six have no stamps, two have stamps c and d, seven c and e, two c and f, six c and g, and one c and h.

Since two stamps are found on each tile, one is doubtless an official stamp and the other the name of the maker. Stamp c can hardly be anything but the Greek transliteration of the Latin name for the colony, Κ(όλονεία) ΛΑΛ(α) Ἰ(οίλμα). This would correspond to stamp a with this difference, that in a the name of the colony and the maker's name were made in a single stamp whereas in the other variety the two names were stamped separately. The advantage of having two stamps instead of one is obvious.

Stamp d is of particular interest. The unnamed maker who stamped his tiles Πλωτίου πατήρ, probably had something to gain by giving his son's name rather than his own. Perhaps the son held some important office in the city or had distinguished himself in some other way. Stamps e to h probably give the first three letters of each name rather than the initials, since there is no punctuation between them. The pi in stamp h is of unusual form.

1 The name Plotius does not occur in any of the Greek or Latin inscriptions from Corinth.
The tiles measure ca. 0.69 × 0.60 m. They are practically flat, but the edges are turned up on the sides, and at the upper end of the top is a ridge which fits into a groove at the lower end of the reverse.

The date of these tiles is in all probability the same as the original construction of the Odeum (pp. 1 and 23).¹

The letter forms, especially the form of omega, show late tendencies, and the very fact that the stamps are in Greek letters is an indication of late date. The language of Corinth for the first hundred years after the establishment of the Roman colony was preponderantly Latin; but toward the end of the first century, Greek became more and more common both in official documents and in inscriptions of a more private nature.²

¹ Similar tiles with the same stamps, discovered in a columbarium at Cheliotomylos in 1930, will be published by Dr. Homer Thompson in the near future. The contents of the tomb indicate that the tiles belong to the first century A.D.

² The new type of lamps which developed in Corinth about the beginning of the second century A.D. has only Greek signatures (Broneer, op. cit., p. 96).
MISCELLANEOUS

The miscellaneous objects, vases, lamps, terracottas, etc., discovered in the excavation of the Odeum will not be included in this volume. These have either been published or will be published together with similar finds from other parts of the Corinth excavations. A few of the more important objects have been included in the preliminary reports already referred to. But some objects which cannot be classified under any of the headings above are of interest in connection with the building, and these are included here.

1. Fig. 136 a. Mark scratched on the outer face of pier 18, lowest course of blocks. It was probably not intended as a letter.

2. Fig. 136 b. Mark scratched on the outer face of the same wall, ca. 0.50 m. south of pier 18, lowest course. It was probably not intended as a letter but as a point of measurement.

3. Fig. 137. Sundial scratched on the inner wall of the semicircular corridor 2.30 m. north of the niche (p. 22). While the building was intact, the sun can never have shone on the wall of the corridor at this point; hence the sundial must have been scratched after the outer wall of the cavea was partly demolished, during the time that the ruined building was being used for private dwellings (p. 147).

4. Fig. 138. Roman lamp found embedded in the mortar of the foundation for the south stairway (p. 31). On the discus is the figure of Aphrodite, holding up the drapery, behind her in her left hand. The lower part of the drapery is wound around her
covering her right leg. One Eros on each side holds a wreath toward her. The lamp is covered with red glaze. Its date is the second half of the first century A.D. ¹

**Figure 137. Sundial on Wall of Semicircular Corridor**

**Figure 138. Lamp from Foundation of South Stairway**

5. Fig. 139. Theatre ticket ² of ivory with the numbers IIII, Δ incised on the back, which probably refer to one of the four sections (*kerkides*) of the cavea.

¹ It belongs to Type XXIII (Broner, *Corinth*, IV, ii, Terracotta Lamps, pp. 78 f.), Loeschcke’s Type IV (*Lampen aus Vindonissa*, p. 37) which is comparatively rare in Corinth. The lamp under discussion is probably a late specimen of the type. The same figure of Aphrodite occurs on lamps of the second century A.D. (cf. Broner, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 44, No. 591).

² This is much like some of the tickets found in the Theatre at Herculaneum and now in the National Museum at Naples, especially Nos. 542, 2236, 6570, 115533. One ticket of the same type, found in the Odeum of Pericles (Kastriotes, Ἀθην. Ἐφ., 1915, p. 153, fig. 13) has the name Ἀθηνάκλοιος and the number 13 written twice, once in Greek and once in Latin numerals. Usually the tickets have a relief on the obverse. For a discussion of the subject see Kastriotes, *l. cit.*; and M. Bieber, *Theaterwesen im Altertum*, pp. 84, 86, 184, where numerous references to other articles are given.
SUMMARY

In the foregoing description of the separate parts of the building, various problems connected with reconstruction and chronology have been discussed and suggestions have been offered for their solution. It remains to consider the building as a whole in each of the three main periods of construction which can be observed in the existing remains, and to discuss to some extent the archaeological data in the light of other sources of information apart from the building itself. The poor state of preservation makes it unsafe to evolve any theories about the specific type of theatre to which the Odeum belonged. Of the scaenae frons, which chiefly determines the type, only the broad foundation is left, and the fragmentary remains of the architectural decoration are in such a condition as to discourage any attempt at reconstruction.

The earliest trace of occupation of the site where the Odeum is now located is furnished by two graves which, though emptied of their contents by the Romans, may with great probability be dated in the late geometric period. At this time the site was probably outside the limits of the city. In the Greek and Hellenistic periods two important roads crossed the area. One, coming from the direction of the recently discovered Stoa north of the Temple of Apollo, may have been the main road to Acrocorinth, the other, coming from the Agora and extending toward the northwest, was in all likelihood the road to Sicyon. Both roads were in use during a long period of time and seem to have existed until the construction of the Odeum necessitated a change in their direction. The road toward Acrocorinth then appears to have passed south of the Odeum. The Sicyonian road at first rounded the northeast corner of the scene-building and continued in its original course, but after the construction of the Odeum court it was made to run due north in the direction of the Theatre. A Greek or Hellenistic reservoir under the northeast part of the Odeum indicates that the site was not void of habitations; but whatever buildings existed in the vicinity must have been located toward the north in the area later occupied by the Odeum court. Here the fill is very deep, and some pits sunk north of the modern road have revealed parts of walls which antedate the Odeum.

South of the road which crossed the cavea from east to west, extensive quarrying, carried on both in Greek and Roman times, considerably altered the original aspect of

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1 This may be the same road as that discovered north of the Temple of Apollo, de Waele, A.J.A., XXXV, 1931, p. 399.
the site. The contents of the fill from this area indicate that the quarry continued to be worked until the Odeum was constructed. The stamped Arretine sherds, the fragments of lamps, and the coins from this fill give adequate proof that the building was erected toward the end of the first century A.D.¹

The first structure was chiefly of poros, but vaults and subfoundations were made of concrete and opus incertum. Marble, and perhaps other kinds of finer stone, were used to some extent for the interior; but the walls appear to have been either stuccoed or left undecorated. While the building was under construction, a fire seems to have caused considerable damage, and several alterations from the original plan are discernible. The first story of the north façade had a series of piers probably supporting stone arches. Between the piers were low screen walls at the bottom, while higher up there seem to have been windows admitting light into the long north hall which extended along the entire building from east to west. The wall was pierced by three doorways, each with an ornamental porch in front. From the north hall, which was entered through these doorways, there was access to every part of the building with the possible exception of the cavea. Three doors must have opened on the stage, one passage led to each of the versurae and the adjoining rooms, and two stairs gave access to the second story and probably also to the tribunalia which may be assumed to have existed over the parodoi.²

The scene-building and the parodoi could also be entered from the east and west. The scaenae frons appears to have been decorated with paintings; but marble columns of different colors probably formed part of the façade. An underground passage with an opening in the orchestra was planned to be used by the actors, but was converted into a drain in which the water from the building was collected for use.

The cavea, which had a seating capacity of about 3000, was divided into four sections by means of three aisles, each terminating in a vomitorium at the floor level of the second story. The vomitoria opened into the cavea from an upper gallery which was entered directly from the higher ground level on the south side and was reached at the two extremities by stairways partly cut in rock and partly built. Access to the topmost tiers of seats was given by a large stairway on the south side. Below the gallery a semicircular corridor made it possible to pass between the east and west parodoi without going through the orchestra. The seats were either cut in rock or made of separate poros blocks resting on opus incertum. The whole south side of the cavea was supported by a series of vaults, the rooms under which may have been used as storerooms. On the south side the ground level was so much higher than on the north that the whole first story was buried, and the gallery of the second story could be entered directly without stairs. Because of this difference in ground level, there was a stairway on the east side leading

¹ It was about this time that the Large Theatre was changed into an amphitheatre (Shear, A.J.A. XXXIII, 1929, p. 528).
² For the two stairways, one on either side of the stage, leading to the second story cf. the Theatre at Herculaneum, Fiechter, Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters, fig. 73.
to the higher level. The corresponding area on the west side has not been excavated; but it may be assumed that there was a similar stairway or a ramp to facilitate communication between the ground levels on the north and south sides of the building. The second and third stories of the scene-building and the upper part of the cavea, which have disappeared completely, cannot be restored except on the analogy of other Roman theatres. The general plan of the building, with a narrow hall extending from one end of the scene-building to the other and with smaller rooms on either side of the stage, is one of the most common types, the best examples of which are the two theatres at Pompeii,\(^1\) the theatres at Salona,\(^2\) Taormina,\(^3\) Ferentum,\(^4\) Aspendus,\(^5\) Bosra,\(^6\) Es Suhba,\(^7\) Gerasa,\(^8\) and the Odeums at Gortyna\(^9\) and Epidaurus.\(^10\) Of these, the theatres at Es Suhba and Gerasa furnish the closest parallels for the Odeum at Corinth. The Theatre at Philippi\(^11\) and the Odeum at Ephesus\(^12\) are variations of the same type. The semicircular corridor under the cavea is also found in the theatres at Herculaneum,\(^13\) Smyrna,\(^14\) Ferentinum,\(^15\) and in several others. Unfortunately the state of preservation of the Odeum at Corinth is such that a further comparison of its elements with those of other buildings is impossible.

The Odeum erected toward the end of the first century A.D. continued in use without any important alterations, so far as can be determined, for somewhat less than a hundred years. Probably in the time of Hadrian a statue of the emperor in military dress was set up on the stage; and in the second half of the century the whole building underwent a thorough reconstruction at the expense of Herodes Atticus. The north façade was revetted with marble. Fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals surmounted by an architrave, a frieze, and a cornice, all made of thin slabs which were held in place by mortar and iron dowels, formed part of the architectural decoration. The three porches seem to have been rebuilt at the same time and the floor between them raised to the level of the stylobates. A large open court, with colonnades on the east and west sides

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1. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompei, Its Life and Art*, pp. 147, 151, figs. 61 and 66; Bieber, *Theaterwesen im Altertum*, p. 52, fig. 56; Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*, figs. 66, 68.

2. To be published shortly by Einar Dyggve.

3. Bieber, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62, figs. 63, 64; Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 76.

4. E. Galli, *Bollettino d’Arte*, V, 1911, p. 218, fig. 5; Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 75.

5. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 69, fig. 74; Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 91.

6. Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 93.

7. Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 94.

8. Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 94.


13. Fiechter, *op. cit.*, fig. 73.


and probably also on the north side, was built between the Odeum and the Theatre. This court united the two buildings into a single theatre complex such as existed in many Roman cities.\(^1\) The colonnades of the court and the rooms behind them had mosaic floors with simple geometric patterns.

The interior was also thoroughly remodelled. The existing walls were covered with marble veneer, the vault over the north hall was partly restored and decorated with mosaics, the seats in the cavea and the floor of the orchestra were revetted with marble, and the stage and \textit{scaenae frons} were completely rebuilt. Along the front of the stage a channel for the curtain was made, and a square room under the west end of the stage was constructed for the use of the stage hands detailed to manipulate the curtain during performances. The \textit{scaenae frons} was elaborately decorated with columns of various kinds of marble, panels with designs in \textit{opus sectile}, carved marble slabs, and statuary. The orchestra was surrounded with a parapet, and a gutter was made of roof tiles (probably taken from the first building), to carry off the water into the large rock-cut drain. The two large rooms on the ground floor were made accessible from the \textit{parodoi} by means of stairs cut through the walls, and the floors of the rooms were laid with marble slabs. The vault over the semicircular corridor was decorated with mosaics at the two ends where it was visible to spectators who entered the cavea by the east and west stairways. From Philostratus' account we learn that the Odeum was roofed (\textit{\epsilon\nu\rho\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu}). Whether the roof was part of Herodes' reconstruction or existed in the first period is impossible to determine. Furthermore, Philostratus' reference is our only evidence for the roof, so that we are left in the dark as to what part of the building was covered. The problems connected with the roofing of a building of such size are many, and no satisfactory solutions have been offered. Neither in the Odeum at Corinth nor in the still larger Odeum of Herodes and Regilla in Athens are there any certain indications of interior supports, and the more commonly accepted view is that the roof was carried by means of trusses anchored in the rear wall of the cavea.\(^2\) If the roof consisted of tiles of ordinary weight, such a construction seems impossible. However the problem is to be solved, the Odeum at Corinth will hardly contribute anything toward its solution.

The exact date of the reconstruction of Herodes Atticus is not known, but there is some indication that it post-dates Pausanias' visit to Corinth and even his description of

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\(^1\) Statius (\textit{Silvae}, III, v, 91) in extolling the attractions of Naples, his native city, sings of the \textit{geminam molem nudi tectique theatri}. Cf. also the two theatres at Pompeii, which form a striking parallel to the arrangement at Corinth. The earliest example of such a "twin structure of one open and one covered theatre" is the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens which, with the long stoa behind, the Temple of Dionysus, and the Odeum of Pericles, formed a single complex devoted chiefly to dramatic festivals in honor of Dionysus (cf. Vitruvius, \textit{De architectura}, V, ix, 1).

\(^2\) W. P. Tuckermann, \textit{Das Odeum des Herodes Atticus und der Regilla}, p. 6, pls. 3 and 4. Others refer the \textit{\epsilon\nu\rho\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu} to the roof over the stage only (Versakis, \textit{'Αγχ. 'Ερ.,} 1912, p. 173; Fiechter, op. cit., p. 124).
Patras in book VII. Pausanias does not refer to any of Herodes' activities in Corinth, although it is fairly certain that both Peirene and the Odeum were rebuilt and embellished by his munificence. It is not very likely that Pausanias should have omitted to mention the great benefactor when he spoke of the Odeum, if the reconstruction had already been made. In an earlier chapter of the same book he says that Herodes dedicated several statues in the Temple of Poseidon at the Isthmia, and in speaking about the Odeum at Patras he tells of the new Odeum in Athens built by Herodes in memory of his wife after the time of Pausanias' visit to Athens. In one of these passages one would expect to find a reference to the work in the Odeum at Corinth done at the expense of Herodes Atticus, unless that work was done after Pausanias visited the place. The date of the separate books of Pausanias' work and the order of their publication are subjects of dispute, and it would be hazardous to base any chronology on the silence of Pausanias concerning the buildings in question. The theory that the second book was written before the death of Hadrian is based on the assumption that the Senator Antoninus, who erected some buildings in the Asclepieum at Epidaurus, was the later emperor Antoninus Pius; but this theory has been convincingly combatted by Kavvadias, who excavated the site. There is no good reason for supposing that all the books were not written in the same order in which they now appear. The first book was written before 161 and the fifth was written in the year 174. The seventh book, in which the reference to the Odeum at Athens occurs, was, therefore, probably written after 174, and it is not impossible that the rebuilding of the Odeum at Corinth belongs to a still later period. But these are speculations which will not greatly aid us in establishing the date of the building. The actual remains constitute a safer criterion; and the carving of certain fragments which unquestionably belong to the restored building (cf. Figs. 84–86, 87–89) points to the late Antonine period. In view of these facts it seems likely that the restoration took place near the end of Herodes Atticus' life, perhaps about the year 175 A.D.

The second period of the building lasted about fifty years, and then the interior was totally destroyed by fire. The thin revetment of marble was easily turned to lime by the action of the heat, and the elaborate scaenae frons together with the statues with which it was adorned fell victim to the flames. Only the north façade and the adjoining court escaped. When the building was later restored about 225 A.D. it was not as a theatre or

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1 II, i, 7.
2 VII, xx, 3.
4 Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece, I, p. xvii, 5.
5 Cf. Pausanias VII, xx, 3.
6 Ibid. V, i, 2.
7 He died about the year 179 A.D.
music-hall but as an arena for gladiatorial shows and fights with wild beasts. For such performances the stage was no longer needed, and the orchestra was made to extend up to the *scaenae frons*. Additional space was gained by cutting away some of the seats of the cavea, and by the same means the spectators were protected by the resulting vertical wall, ca. 2 m. high, below the lowest row of seats. The *scaenae frons* was decorated with statues; but to what extent its architectural features were rebuilt is uncertain, for the large marble blocks found along the north side of the arena belong in their last use to a later period. Different kinds of apparatus were constructed in the arena; two small rooms, one on either side of the area formerly occupied by the stage, seem to have been turned into cages for the beasts; and under the cavea a small cave-like space was made in the scarp of rock probably intended as a place of refuge for the umpires, or, possibly, as a temporary dépôt for bodies of beasts and gladiators killed in the shows. Doubtless many other alterations were made in order to adapt the Odeum to the new kind of performances for which it was used. The doorway through which room M was entered from the outside was probably narrowed at this time and the long marble steps on the east side relaid.

The north façade and the Odeum court appear not to have been damaged by the fire early in the third century. They were apparently left unchanged at the time of the second reconstruction; but at some later time, probably as late as the early part of the fourth century, both the façade and the court were destroyed. Some of the material which they contained seems to have been used in a late reconstruction of the *scaenae frons*. The reworking of the blocks for this last reconstruction gives evidence of a decline such as Greece suffered in the fourth century A.D. Toward the end of that century, perhaps during the invasion of the Goths under Alaric, came the final destruction of the Odeum. Again a fire swept the building and apparently left it completely ruined. It was never again used as a theatre or arena; but for some time after its destruction parts of it were occupied, perhaps as private dwellings. Numerous coins from the beginning of the fifth century, walls of sundried bricks in the east *parodos* (Fig. 33 q), and a sundial cut on the inner wall of the semicircular corridor, all point to such an occupation of the building. The large stairway on the south side was partly removed and direct access

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1 Perhaps it was about this time that the Large Theatre was changed back from an amphitheatre to a common Roman theatre, and the new amphitheatre to the east of the city built for the more elaborate shows of the arena. Since the Large Theatre would now answer all the needs of the performances given on the stage, the Odeum, which had been laid in ruins by the fire, was restored to be used for gladiatorial shows of a less elaborate nature than those performed in the Amphitheatre. The interrelation of these three buildings in their various periods of construction needs further confirmation through excavation of the Amphitheatre and a final study and publication of the Theatre.

2 Cf. de Waele, *Theater en Amphitheater te oud Korinthe*, pp. 18, 19, 42; Franz Miltner, *Das zweite Amphitheater von Carnuntum*, p. 11.

3 A well known example of similar work is the Phaedrus stage in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, which probably dates from approximately the same period. Cf. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern*, p. 16.
afforded to the semi-circular corridor from the south. But the squatters who then took
possession of the ruined building soon abandoned it to be used by later generations
as a quarry for building material. The destruction probably continued for centuries
with the result that few pieces of the walls are left above the foundations, and in many
cases the foundations, too, where they consisted of poros blocks, were extracted down to
the rock-cut beddings. Finally, about the middle of the nineteenth century, a house was
built over the west end of the scene-building, and this, in turn, was destroyed by the
devastating earthquake of 1858. When the site of Old Corinth was chosen for excavation
by the American School, nothing of the Odeum except an unrecognizable piece of
rubble masonry was visible above the ground; and it was not until some years later
that this piece of masonry and Pausanias' description of Corinth led to the discovery
of the building.

ADDENDUM

I regret that I was unable to obtain the recent work of Paul Graindor, Héraode Atticus
et Sa Famille, before the page proof had been sent to the printer. Graindor's attempt
to connect the archaizing statue of Athena with the reconstruction of Herodes Atticus,
inasmuch as it is not based on a stylistic study of the statue itself, can hardly carry
much weight. Nor is there any good reason for assuming that the statue of Hadrian (?)
from the Odeum was made at Athens or by an Athenian sculptor, as a comparison of
the newly discovered statue of the Emperor in Athens with the Corinth fragments would
show. The author further objects to my conclusion that the underground passage was
originally intended for the use of actors, because he can see no reason for deepening
the passage in order to use it as a water channel. The reason is evidently that the
water was intended to be collected for use as I have explained on page 57. My original
suggestion that the water could escape through the porous rock sufficiently fast during a
heavy rain I consider incorrect in view of the more likely explanation given above. That
the contribution of Herodes to the building consisted of a thorough remodelling rather
than a complete rebuilding has been sufficiently discussed in the preceding chapters. To
determine the nature of this reconstruction from Philostratus’ use of the word ἐδείπνεον
which contradicts the obvious facts of the existing remains, is paying too high a tribute
to the accuracy of an ancient writer. For my explanation see A. J. A. XXXII, 1928, p. 462.
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RESTORED GROUND PLAN.

CORINTH

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SECOND PERIOD

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ODEUM
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ODEUM FROM THE SOUTHEAST
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ARCHAISTIC STATUE OF ATHENA, FRONT VIEW
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