TWO TEMPLES OF COMMODUS AT CORINTH

The two temples to be discussed here are situated in the middle of the row of foundations across the West Terrace of the lower Corinthian Agora,¹ and have hitherto been known as Temples H and J (see plan A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 256, fig. 1). They were almost completely cleared in the spring of 1935, and are described briefly in the excavation report of that year;² the clearing was completed in 1938, and during the same campaign a great number of architectural members belonging to the two structures were brought to light.³

The remains of the two buildings, in situ (Figs. 1, 2, 3),⁴ consist of the concrete beddings for the walls, and the cores intended to support the heavy floors, both made of rubble-concrete, a few blocks of poros from the foundation courses along the western ends and four blocks along the northern wall of Temple J. The front part of the foundations has been considerably cut up by mediaeval construction, including tombs; and other mediaeval excavations have to some extent mutilated even the rubble-concrete in the other parts of the building. However, this destruction is not serious except in the front, where it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the original edges of the structures, and hence the total length. But in general the foundation masses cover an area approximately 16.50 m. square.

Although there are obviously two buildings represented, the concrete of one is poured against that of the other so tightly that it has been impossible to trace a line of distinction. The actual outline of H, at least, can be determined from the poros blocks, but the concrete has been spread out and forced into the joints of J to such an extent that in the front parts of the buildings the joining is imperceptible. The kind of concrete, however, and the method of using it, seem different in each case. In J a deep trench was evidently sunk, and a concrete flooring poured in, about 1.10 m. wide on the flanks, 1.50 m. wide across the back. In front, the construction was carried out at the expense of the Fountain of Poseidon (Figs. 1 and 3), which originally

¹ Six other buildings in this area, although represented by sufficient remains to justify fairly accurate and complete restoration of most of them, cannot be published until it becomes possible to complete the drawings of the blocks concerned. I have already presented a very brief summary of the architectural development of the region at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1940 (summarized in A.J.A., XLV, 1941, p. 88), but to present the evidence for the restorations there suggested would be quite impossible without more drawings than have been prepared and brought to this country. Under these circumstances, it has been decided to publish in article form the discussion of some problems concerning the buildings, in a preliminary manner.

⁴ Drawings are by Wulf Schaefer, photographs by Hermann Wagner.
Fig. 1. The Foundations of Temples J and H, from the North

F, G, H, J: foundations of temples so designated. P: water basins of Fountain of Poseidon. X: drain. The L-shaped line of blocks at lower left center, the four blocks below the concrete core of H, the blocks lying along the front of the concrete core of H, the large block standing on the rear wall of H, the six blocks visible along the top of the rear wall of J, the single block with the rectangular cutting at the extreme right of the picture, and the ten blocks loosely fitted along the north wall of J in the right foreground, were arranged in these locations by the excavators and are not in situ.
Fig. 2. The Foundations for the Cella of Temple J from the South. In the Foreground, Poros Blocks of the Northwestern Corner of Temple H, Showing the Double-T Clamps

D, J, H: foundations of temples so designated. B: foundation of Babbias monument. The eleven loosely fitted blocks along the north wall of J, the two blocks adjoining them at the northwest corner and extending along the west wall, and the six blocks lying on the west wall behind the concrete core, are not in situ but were so arranged by the excavators.
occupied the site of J and part of that of H. Here, the much harder, finer concrete of the Fountain was cleared away, and particularly smoothed where blocks of the temple foundation were to be laid. The slightness of the concrete footing for the walls is indicated by the fact that it has completely disappeared throughout the eastern half of the northern flank. The poros blocks were then laid on this footing, and earth filled in below the top of the first course. Above this, a core of rather loose rubble-concrete was poured in a block ca. 5.50 m. by 5.90 m. The concrete includes large chunks of broken stone as well as small; the cement itself is rather soft and crumbly. The top is well and smoothly finished off with a sort of pavement of small irregular stones (Fig. 2). A special bedding ca. 1.00 m. wide was prepared for the wall of the pronaos,
to support a course of blocks level with the second foundation course around the cella. The level of the surface of the cella core is about 2.10 m. above that of the agora pavement in front, and the transition in level occurs between the pronaos wall and the stylobate. The latter, in fact, lies almost exactly on the line of the terrace wall which was the original boundary of the agora in this direction. Hence the surface of the footing of the stylobate foundation is ca. 1.68 m. below the pronaos floor, and must have supported three foundation courses of poros rather than one. The pronaos floor was supported by a mass of earth and loose concrete ca. 5.50 m. in width and 3.25 m. from front to back. Of this not a great deal was left, and some was removed in the process of studying the building and earlier structures, so that it is little evident in the photographs. The foundations for the steps in front of the stylobate are much disturbed by mediaeval construction, and the exact extent of the steps from front to back is uncertain. But what are apparently traces of the same kind of concrete as that used in the cella core are found up to the inner edge of a small brick-lined drain ca. 3.70 m. in front of the outer edge of the stylobate foundation, and it is likely that this indicates in some way the foot of the flight of steps. In fact, the best-preserved cover-slab for the drain, at the southern end of the temple front, has a bedding ca. 0.50 m. wide along the top, which may have received the bottom step. This would make the flight 4.00 m. from front to back, and would allow for a flight of ten treads of 0.40 m. and eleven risers ca. 0.22 m. high, bringing the top to a level approximately that suggested by the top of the cella core.

The foundations of H (Figs. 1 and 3) are much more massive and solid; so much so in fact, that it is more difficult to discover the exact method of laying. It would seem, however, that for the main part of the building a solid bed of concrete was poured. On this, around the outer edges, the poros blocks were laid in a hollow rectangle, and a solid mass of concrete poured in as the walls rose, forming a core ca. 5.70 m. wide and 7.30 m. long. The ultimate level was ca. 0.70 m. higher than the surface of the cella core in J. Lines are easily perceptible in the face of the concrete core, as well as blocky hollows, which apparently represent the outlines of the blocks against which the concrete was poured, but which have subsequently been removed. The bedding for the south wall, 2.00 m. in width, is just twice that for the north wall. The explanation for this is not entirely clear, but will be discussed briefly below. In front of the foundation for the pronaos wall, which is ca. 1.25 m. wide, the core supporting the pronaos floor still stands fairly complete and quite solid, ca. 1.25 m. from front to back. The stylobate bedding, some 2.00 m. below the core of the cella, is also ca. 1.25 m. wide. The steps again provide an even more elusive problem of dimension. Their foundations were laid over various earlier structures—part of the Fountain, an early drain, and the edge of a monument base on the southern face (discussion of these must be deferred until the final publication)—and are mutilated by mediaeval construction and despoilment. As indicated on the plan (Fig. 3), there
seem to be slight traces of concrete lying beyond the tile-lined drain mentioned above, suggesting an extension of the steps of between 4.90 m. and 5.30 m. As the cella core stands ca. 2.80 m. above the agora level (to which must be added 0.10-0.25 m. for the floor slabs), a flight of fourteen risers ca. 0.22 m. high would be needed; and with thirteen treads of 0.40 m., the extent would be 5.20 m., which agrees with the suggestion of the slight remains. Traces of the foundation suggest that the steps were flanked by paratids ca. 1.00 m. wide.

In the slight remains of the poros foundations, more significant information is to be found. Nothing remains above some scattered blocks of the first foundation course in J, excepting half a dozen blocks of the second course at the southwestern corner. The narrow margin by which even these are left to us is indicated by the interesting situation in which one of them was found when discovered. It had already been pried slightly out of position with bars, and lifted to rest on a roller cut out of a piece of marble. The blocks of this course are neatly cut and finished on the exposed and joining surfaces (Fig. 3 and the illustration cited in note 5, infra). They were probably almost completely, if not entirely, exposed in the original state of the building. Those along the rear face are laid as stretchers, measuring ca. 1.55 m. in length; those along the southern face were more chunky in proportion, and measured ca. 0.65-0.70 m. across the face. The outer corner of the block at the southwestern corner has been considerably damaged, whether from wear while exposed in situ, or as a result of damage in later construction.

The poros foundation walls of H are rather more imposing than those of J; in fact, the large blocks and rather careful workmanship are still admirable. Three courses are preserved, contiguous with those of J. The lowest course was evidently never meant to be seen, for the blocks are laid haphazardly, although tightly, and their exterior face was never brought to an even surface. The second course is well laid, although the outer surface is not precisely even. On the north flank, adjoining Temple J, the blocks of this course become smaller and less well cut. The third, or top course, is worthy of special comment. There are three blocks laid as stretchers on the western face, 1.60 m. in length, 0.77 m. in height, and ca. 0.50 m. to 0.60 m. in width. Behind them are backers bonding into the concrete. At the northwestern corner is a heavier block, 1.25 by 0.88 m. in plan. They are carefully aligned, withdrawn ca. 0.25 m. from the (slightly irregular) face of the second course.

The most remarkable feature of these blocks is that they are bonded together with double-T clamps, some of which are still in position (Fig. 2). The clamps are ca. 0.20 m. long, with crossbars ca. 0.07 m. long, and seem to have been well made and carefully set. They are used rather irregularly; the corner block has four binding it to its neighbors; the two next the corner on the west are fastened with one, but the

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5 *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 26, fig. 5.
third is completely free except for one clamp binding it to its backer. In addition to
the clamp cuttings, there are two pry-holes on the corner block, 1.00 m. from the
western edge. It is perhaps surprising, in view of this equipment of classical cuttings,
that there are no dowel holes. The clamps are certainly original with the temple, and
are noteworthy as rare examples of such clamps in Roman construction.6

From a survey of the remains described above, we may form a few general con-
cclusions regarding the buildings. In the first place, J is evidently the earlier. This
follows first from the fact that the poros foundation blocks of H on the side next J
are smaller and more carelessly laid than on visible faces. In the second place, the
breaking and wearing of the southwestern corner of J could not have occurred if the
adjoining block was laid, for the corner of H is fresh and clean, and would have pro-
tected the J corner. Finally, the unusual protuberance of the concrete mass beyond the
poros walls of H on the south, with the contrasting tight accommodation of the poros
blocks on the southern foundation, indicates that there was more leeway on the south
than on the north when H was built.

As to the plans of the structures, we observe that J (assuming some recession of
the upper courses of blocks within the outline of the preserved foundations) would
have measured ca. 6.80 m. in width, ca. 12.00 m. in length (excluding the steps, which
may have added some 4.00 m. to the total length). The cella would have measured
c. 6.00 m. in length, and 5.50 m. in width, on the inside; the pronaos would have been
some 3.40 m. deep.

Temple H, on the other hand, would have measured ca. 7.60 m. in width on its
foundation, by 12.00 m. in length (plus ca. 5.20 m. for the steps). Although approxi-
mately similar in general dimensions, the proportions of the two buildings were quite
different, for the cella of H would have measured ca. 7.60 m. by 5.80 m. on its interior,
and the pronaos would have been only ca. 1.50 m. deep.

For the restoration of the superstructures of the two temples we are in possession
of a gratifying amount of material, but there are two factors which complicate the
situation in general. The first of these is that the workmanship on the temples is
extremely careless in detail; the width of a particular moulding may vary in some

6 The sole parallels for the use of double-T clamps in Roman times are apparently those in the
Pompeion by the Dipylon at Athens, and the structure in the middle of the court of the Library of
Hadrian at Athens (Küßler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 179). Of these, the former is said to be
Hadrianic; the date of the latter is in dispute. The clamps occur in large marble blocks which have
evidently been reused from some earlier structure, although the clamps themselves were certainly
functional, and perhaps original, in the building as it stands. This building was erected over the
remains of a pool or formal enclosure in the middle of the court of the library; hence it is probably
not contemporary with the first construction of the library, and may therefore not be Hadrianic.
But whether it is as late as the fourth century, and was designed as a church as some think (M. A.
Sisson, “Stoa of Hadrian at Athens,” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. xi, 1929, pp. 50-72,
especially 66-72) is also debatable. So the structure may also belong to the latter part of the
second century.
cases as much as a centimeter in the length of one block alone; joint surfaces are not
carefully prepared; corners are not always true. In view of this lack of precision in
the workmanship of the original building, it is difficult to estimate the nicety with
which any two blocks may be expected to fit, or to calculate from any particular
member the size of other members of the same category. In the second place, as we
shall see below, the two temples were so similar in many details that it is in some cases
a matter of real doubt as to whether a certain block belonged to the one or the other. For
the most part the latter problem is of little significance, for when corresponding
elements of the two buildings are thus indistinguishable, it must be in general a more
or less academic problem to assign any individual piece to either building. The former
difficulty will of course prevent an absolutely exact restoration, but it will nevertheless
be possible to be fairly confident of dimensions within a few centimeters.

For reasons which will be apparent later, we may begin our examination of the
superstructure with Temple H, rather than J, although the latter is actually earlier
in date.

From the walls of Temple H we have three poros blocks, of which one is from a
corner, and of which all three belong to the lowest course, as indicated by the base
mould which they carry on their outer faces (Fig. 4). They are associated with the
temple by the location of their finding, near the southwestern corner of the building,
by their appropriate scale, and by the fact that they were bonded together with double-
T clamps, like the upper course of the foundation. The material is the same poros
of the foundation, finished on the exposed surface with careful tooling with the claw
chisel. The inner surface is less well finished, evidently either to be sheathed with
marble or covered with plaster. No trace remains to prove either suggestion. The
joint surfaces are supplied with anathyrosis of 0.06 to 0.08 m. in width along both
inner and outer edge. The effective width of the wall, exclusive of the base mould, is
0.60 m., and the height of these lower blocks, probably orthostates, is 0.85 m. The
base mould consists of a plain vertical band, corresponding to a plinth, 0.095 m. in
height, surmounted by a torus, scotia, and torus in the Attic-Ionic form, 0.22 m. high.
This moulding is badly battered and is in fact preserved complete only in a small
section, but the restoration is certain. The corner is cut with a plain anta on each face,
projecting 0.05 m. and 0.60 m. wide. In addition to the clamp cuttings on the top,
there are also some pry holes and a lewis hole on two of the blocks. The lewis holes

7 Twin temples are known elsewhere; the most appropriate published examples are at 'Atil in
the Hauran, dated A.D. 151, which are even more alike than our two, being identical in plan: H. C.
Butler, in Publications of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900, Part II,
Architecture and Other Arts in Northern Central Syria and Djebel Hauran (New York, 1903),
pp. 342-6. Cf. Robertson, Greek and Roman Architecture (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 230, 345, 375,
where the date of ca. A.D. 211 is accepted. Cf. similarities in the work of the "Theseum Architect":
Dinsmoor, Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 44-47.
measure 0.05 m. by 0.12 m. at the top, and are 0.08 m. deep. They are of the type which is larger at both ends at the bottom. The three blocks which are preserved probably come from the southwestern corner near which they were found; the corner actually joined, in all probability, with the smaller block drawn beside it on the western face; the larger block placed on the southern flank may possibly have occupied that very position, although the clamp cuttings do not coincide precisely on one side.

Fig. 4. Poros Blocks with Base Moulding, from the Wall of Temple H
Most of the other preserved fragments from the building belong to the entablature. Some step blocks have been tentatively assigned to the structure, but no drawings or photographs of them are at present available, nor are they of any particular interest. Some column bases of white marble were found in the vicinity; these consist of a square plinth surmounted by an Attic-Ionic base, with a profile just like that of the

poros wall-base moulding, but again no illustrative material is available. Some smooth shafts of a dark syenite have been suggested as columns, but they cannot be illustrated now. The discussion of these members must be deferred until the final publication, but fortunately they are of no great significance in restoring the general appearance of the building.

The capitals for the columns can be quite certainly identified, although it seems impossible to determine which of a series of quite similar capitals belongs to Temple J, and which to Temple H (Fig. 5, cf. below, pp. 343 f.). There are three nearly whole examples, and a number of smaller fragments. They are 0.60 m. in height, 0.44 m.
in lower diameter, 1.04 m. diagonally across the (restored) volutes on top, and have a rectangular bearing-surface on their tops ca. 0.45 m. square. On the bottom surface is a small square dowel hole, carefully centered on diametric lines; on the top of each are two dowel holes, ca. 0.06 m. square, with pour-channels roughly cut. The design of the capital is conservative and uninspired; the most significant characteristic is, perhaps, the tendency to blocky forms of the leaves and tendrils, with deep hollows, giving a near-coloristic effect. On each side, against the abacus, is a rosette, which varies among the different preserved specimens. Some of them have numerous rather small petals, others have fewer, broader petals. But these differences do not seem significant, for each capital has other peculiarities of workmanship, and no two are exact duplicates.

Of the architrave blocks, the most interesting is that for the southern front inter-columniation, which bears the inscription with the name of Commodus erased (Figs. 6, 7, 28). The restoration and significance of the inscription will be discussed below, and for the moment we may confine our attention to the architectural features of the block. It is 2.28 m. in length, measured on the lower surface, and ca. 2.37 m. on the top, the difference, of course, accounting for the projection of fasciae and mouldings. It is 0.695 m. in height, 0.465 m. wide across the bottom, and 0.64 m. wide across the top. In profile, it has two fasciae on the architrave, a moulding consisting of a small roundel, a larger quarter round, then an equivalent concave moulding, and a taenia at the top. The frieze band is plain, and is surmounted by a roundel, a cyma reversa, and a taenia. The execution of these mouldings is plain to an extreme, and there is, as has been mentioned, a good deal of inequality and irregularity in the workmanship. Most of the tooling seems to have been done with a claw chisel, and visible surfaces
Fig. 7. Drawing of Inscribed Architrave from Temple H
Fig. 8. Blocks from the Entablatures of Temples H and J. All of the Cornices Belong to H; the Architraves (A) and Tympana (T) Belonging to Temple H Are Marked H; Those Belonging to J Are Marked J
are fairly well finished. On hidden surfaces, such as the tops of the mouldings, the stone is left quite rough. On the top of the block is an elaborate array of cuttings. In the center is a lewis hole measuring 0.10 by 0.11 m., otherwise like those observed on the poros wall blocks. There are two groups of pry-holes; the first is ca. 0.62-0.65 m. from the corner, the second is 1.20 m. farther in, and is accompanied by two dowel holes 0.04 by 0.07 m., without pour-channels. There are four clamps, two at each end; three are for ordinary Roman hook clamps, one seems to have been for a more strap-like clamp. The manner in which the corner is prepared is significant; from the inner corner the block is cut into diagonally some 0.45 m., thence outward at right angles to the end face of the block. On the lower surface are dowel cuttings for attachment to the columns.

Four other pieces of architrave from Temple H can be identified, all from along the wall of the cella. But before considering them and their problems, we may perhaps better proceed with the elements of the entablature along the front, considering their association with the architrave block already described, and the information to be derived therefrom. We have two corner cornice blocks, with both horizontal and raking cornice on the same block; one piece of the horizontal cornice, two of the raking cornice, and the peak block (Fig. 8).

Considering first the section of horizontal cornice (Figs. 8, 9), we observe that its workmanship, material, and general proportions are in all respects comparable to that of the architrave. Its length, 1.20 m., is appropriate to the spacing of the pry-holes on the top of the architrave, although the preserved block cannot have occupied the space between the pry-holes on the preserved architrave, but might have been doweled rather at its left end (which has traces of dowel holes) to the cuttings at the right end of the architrave. The most significant feature of the block is its profile, which we shall find characteristic of the Temple H cornices, and which is singularly unimaginative, although it has a certain impressiveness of scale. The dentil range is ca. 0.095 m. in height, the dentils are ca. 0.055 m. wide, and 0.04 m. deep, but vary somewhat, and are spaced ca. 0.03-0.035 m. apart. Most noteworthy is the absence of any moulding whatsoever between the
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SECTION A-B

Fig. 10. Drawing of Corner Cornice Block from Left End of the Gable of Temple H

Fig. 11. Drawing of Corner Cornice Block from Right End of the Gable of Temple H
dentils and the overhang; the transition is only through a graceless curve from a flat surface.

The corner block (Figs. 8, 10) is much more interesting, although no more finely executed. The space at the corner of the dentil range is occupied by a rounded knob, possibly representing a pomegranate. The dentil range of the raking cornice is uncut, and indeed narrower than normal. Along the side sima are three roughly carved lion's heads, without arrangements for water to escape through their mouths. On the top is a roughly prepared platform, on which might have been erected an akroterion, although there is no trace of it. Apart from the lewis hole, the only cuttings on the top are two clamp cuttings, of which one may be unfinished, and never used. The
inner corner is cut out, possibly for the reception of a rafter in the pronaos roof. A much battered block from the corresponding position at the other end of the cornice is preserved (Fig. 11), but so damaged as to add no significant information. It may be noted that the width of the under surface of the cornice, less the projection of the dentil, is 0.60 m., or approximately corresponding to the pry-holes at the end of the architrave which supported it.

Of the two blocks from the raking cornice (Figs. 8, 12), the larger may well have fitted against the better preserved of the corner blocks. At its lower end, on the upper surface, are two clamp cuttings with one unfinished, corresponding in position to those of the corner block. The end surface of each is somewhat damaged, so that it is difficult to determine how well they would fit. But the most careful examination seems to suggest that if they were juxtaposed, the joint must have been rather poor. Of course, this would have been invisible from the ground, or mostly so, because of the projection of the horizontal cornice. But it still seems extraordinary carelessness, and it may be, after all, that the block in question came from the rear gable, although if this were the case, the coincidences with the corner block are remarkable. The smaller of the two raking cornice blocks has no indications sufficiently well preserved to prove its position, but there is no objection to its having come between the block just discussed and the peak.

This last is the most interesting of the lot (Figs. 8, 13). Its top surface is elaborately prepared to receive an akroterion, with a well-cut bedding 0.07 m. deep, 0.50 m. wide, and 0.70 m. in extreme length. It is not quadrangular, but of irregular shape evidently intended to support something like a small statue or group. A man (or woman) or gorgon running to the left, with the right foot stretching behind, would be one possible restoration. Apart from this, the most important fact about this cornice block is that the overhang and dentil range diminish in size; the dentils at the lower end are ca. 0.095 m. in height (compared with ca. 0.10 m. on the block we presume to adjoin it) and 0.09 m. at the peak. The
overhang extends 0.14 m. at the lower end, and only 0.13 m. at the peak (compared
with 0.155 m. in the section illustrated of the adjoining block; but the diminution
begins even on the latter).

Finally we have at least one block from the tympanum of this pediment (Figs.
8, 14). Its thickness, 0.60 m., is appropriate to the cornice bearing it and those it
supports; it is equipped with the normal lewis hole, and three clamps. The slope, more-
over, 1 in 2½, is equivalent to that approximated from the angles of the corner and
peak cornices (here the workmanship is uneven enough to permit slight variation).

Considering these elements of the entablature as a whole, then, we may draw
certain conclusions regarding the building. If there
were three architrave blocks of exactly the same
length, the façade would measure 3 × 2.28 or 6.84
m. across the bottom of the architrave, 3 × 2.37 m.,
or 7.11 m. across the top of the architrave. Re-
aining the gable from the cornices, however, we
get a length along the dentil range of ca. 7.40 m.
From this must be subtracted ca. 0.10 m. for the
projection of the dentils, giving 7.30 m. for the top
of the architrave, or 0.19 m. too much. In view of
the lack of precision in the workmanship, we can
hardly expect to arrive at any certainty in this
matter, but it is pretty certain that the truth will
lie somewhere between, and we may adopt for con-
venience a figure of ca. 7.20 m. for the width of the
building across the top of the architrave, ca. 7.02 m.
across the bottom, and 7.30 m. for the length of the
dentil range. The gable will be approximately 1.25
m. in height (floor to dentil range).

The inter-axial distance between the southeast
corner column and its neighbor to the north, de-
duced from the corner architrave block, would be ca. 2.05 m. (2.28 m., the lower
length of the architrave, less 0.23 m. or half its lower thickness, to account for the
distance between the center of the corner column and the end of the block). The
central interaxial space would be, therefore, ca. 2.46 m. Whether the porch was tetra-
style prostyle, or distyle in antis, probably cannot be settled definitely. A side inter-
columniation equivalent to the front corner intercolumniation would fit nicely on the
foundations, and all things considered, this is probably to be preferred, although there
seems to be no way of proving it.

As the back of the architrave is completely worked, and the back of the cornice
is not, the ceiling of the pronaos evidently came between. No substantial workings
Fig. 15. Drawing of Architrave from the Cella Wall of Temple H, at Junction with Pronaos Wall

Fig. 16. Drawings of Architraves from the Walls of Temple H. The Block at the Lower Right, HA1, Comes from the Pronaos Wall at the Junction with the Cella Wall
were prepared for this, but thin slabs could have rested on the top of the inner mouldings of the architrave, which projected *ca.* 0.09 m. behind the cornice.

From the rest of the building we have four more pieces of architrave (Figs. 8, 15, 16), and one side cornice block, of marble. The architraves come from positions resting on the wall, for none is finished on the back face. The profiles, workmanship, and technical characteristics of the blocks are in all respects identical with those of the inscribed architrave from the front, although the prevailing carelessness of workmanship results in differences of detail and dimension that are painfully obvious on close inspection, but must have been negligible to the casual observer while they were in position. The ceiling of the cella must have come below the level of the architraves, for they are quite rough on the back, and show no signs of attachment for any sheathing.

Two of the blocks are particularly interesting in that their position can be determined exactly. One, the larger, now broken in two pieces, has a triangular section cut out of its back at one end (Fig. 15); the other is cut in such a way that its back side is longer than its front, so that it could fit into the notch of the first (Fig. 16, HA 1). On the top of the second, the greater part of the surface is slightly higher than the upper surface of the part that would fit into the notch of the first. The moulding along the front is beveled off at the end, abutting against the longer block. Evidently the smaller block rested on the south end of the pronaos wall, while the larger was located at the end of the south cella wall at the corner of the pronaos. The (missing) architrave block from the side of the pronaos fitted against the end of the longer preserved block, and evidently had a projecting angle at the back, bearing the beveled extension of the inner mouldings to fit against those of the pronaos wall architrave. A clamp cutting on the end of the latter corresponds to the slight remains of another clamp cutting in the longer block, so that these could be bonded together, although otherwise the fit seems remarkably inexact.

Corresponding to these architrave blocks, a complete but somewhat battered side cornice block was found buried in the earth exactly below this position (Figs. 17, 18). A noteworthy feature of this block is that on the top there are three cuttings for beams or rafters. One is cut quite close to the eastern end; the second lies 0.80 m. to the west; the third only 0.30 m. west of the second. This uneven spacing finds a ready explanation if we suppose that the cornice in question rested on the long, side architrave just
at the point of juncture, overlapping just a few centimeters at each end. Then the lone beam cutting at the east would lie outside the pronao wall, and be a part of the pronao roof system; the others would lie inside, and be a part of the cella roof system.

Apart from this coincidence, the cornice in question is of interest for two other reasons; in the first place, it still bears the battered remains of four lion's head spouts on the sima, all pierced so that water could pour through. Behind them, on the upper surface, is a roughly carved gutter ca. 0.10 m. wide, and 0.06 m. deep. Along the inner edge the gutter is cut at an angle, evidently adapted to the slope of the roof, although there is no indication of how the roof tiles were attached. The other note-

Fig. 18. Drawing of Side Cornice Block from Temple H

worthy feature of the cornice is the striking example of carelessness in carving the dentil range. Some of the dentils are cut as high as the overhang, with not even an intervening taenia; others have the customary taenia of the other cornices found, although here there is no transitional curve to the overhang.

By no means the least interesting feature of Temple H is the fact that there are several examples of cornice and architrave blocks definitely belonging to the same system, but cut out of poros instead of marble. At least two architrave blocks, and three cornice blocks (cf. Fig. 19) or substantially large fragments of them, have been identified. These are recognizable by the profiles, scale, and approximately equivalent measurement of details, although the poros blocks, particularly, exhibit the characteristic irregularity of workmanship. One of the architrave blocks lacks the topmost cyma; two of the cornice blocks are ca. 0.50 m. in thickness, one is ca. 0.40 m., while the marble cornice blocks (from the side and raking cornice) are ca. 0.46 m. thick. These poros blocks are too battered to photograph well, and unfortunately there are
no drawings of them available. However, there can be no question but that they belong to the same system, for all their irregularities.

The question from what part of the building they come then arises. It might be a plausible suggestion that they belong to the rear of the building, for it would not be unreasonable for a temple of this period and quality to have marble only on the façade and most important flank. But if there was marble on the flank, as there was, the transition to poros on the rear would be difficult, and it is much more probable that the poros blocks came from the north side, where they would have been practically invisible because of the fact that Temple J was so close, and completely concealed anything on this flank except from some remote position such as the hills to the west or north.8

One final important block remains to be considered in the study of Temple H. This is the lintel, of which two fragments remain (Figs. 20, 21). These fragments, of which one is ca. 1.30 m. in length, the other ca. 1.10 m., represent the two ends of the original block. They do not make actual contact on the broken surfaces, and how great a section of the center is missing cannot be exactly determined. It can, however, be approximated as follows. On the back of each fragment of the block, which is unfinished, there are two slot-like cuttings across the top, evidently intended for the attachment of some wooden or metal sheathing. These are spaced ca. 0.45 m. apart. Presumably there was a series of these slots extending all along the face of the original block, and there is no reason to doubt but that they were all equidistant. Thus if the original block had five slots, it would have measured overall ca. 2.57 m.; if there had been six, 2.95 m., if seven, 3.39 m. On the under surface, the exposed soffit is easily distinguishable from the surface which rested on the door jamb, because the soffit is smoothly finished, and the bearing surface is less smoothly picked flat. From this we may determine that the face of the door jamb came ca. 0.72 m. from the extreme end of the block. Hence the effective opening of the door would have been 1.44 m. less than the total length of the block. Of the possibilities for the total length of the block noted above, this would give the shortest

8 A third suggestion might be that the poros blocks belong to an earlier phase of the building, which was at some time built of marble. But in our consideration of the chronology, we shall see that the period between the laying of the foundations and the carving of the inscription could have been no more than six years at the most, which is scarcely time to allow for two complete buildings to be carried through.
Fig. 20. Drawings of the Two Fragments of the Lintel from Temple H
length a door passage of only 1.13 m.; the second, 1.51 m., the third, 1.95 m. Of these
the last corresponds fairly well to the central intercolumniation deduced above. The
interaxial distance of 2.46 m. would mean an intercolumniation of about 2.00 m.; the
diameter of the column at the base is uncertain, but must have been between 0.55 m.
and 0.60 m., for the upper diameter of the capitals is 0.46 m. Thus 1.95 m. may be
taken as the width of the door at the top. At the bottom, of course, it would be some-
what wider, although the exact figure cannot, naturally, be determined.

The other technical details of the lintel will be apparent in the drawing, and are
similar in all respects to those described above in connection with other blocks from
Temple H. A noteworthy difference is the presence of two lewis holes, one at each
end of the block, in contrast to the otherwise universal practice of using only one. This divergence in method
is probably due to the unusual length of the lintel
which renders it somewhat more unwieldy than any
of the other blocks.

A few more details of the structure of the temple
may be deduced from a consideration of the inferences
already made. Taking the width along the bottom of
the architrave of the façade at 7.02 m., this would
also represent the external width of the cella at this
level. The poros wall blocks would thus necessarily
rest along the extreme inner edge of the poros founda-
tion course and there would be a step-like projection
of the euthynteria of about 0.25 m. beyond the base
moulding, or slightly less, if the wall had any batter.
Whether there was any batter to the wall is, of course,
unknown, so the exact width at the bottom is uncer-
tain to this extent. At the corners, the antae, which
project 0.05 m., would lie only 0.20 m. behind the edge
of the foundation. On the interior, the cella would then measure ca. 5.82 m. in width,
less the thickness of whatever facing there was to the wall. Assuming that the pronaos
wall rested on the center of the foundation prepared for it, the cella would have an
interior length of ca. 7.25 m., and the pronaos, from the pronaos wall to the outer
dge of the stylobate, would be about 2.80 m.

Adding to these observations about the size of the cella, we may review briefly
the main facts about the façade, which we have already suggested. The porch was
tetrastyle prostyle; the side intercolumniation cannot be determined, but was probably
the same as the two end intercolumniations on the front. Across the front, the central
interaxial distance was 2.46 m., the two end interaxial distances, 2.05 m. The columns
were, according to the tentative restoration, smooth syenite shafts supporting marble
Corinthian capitals, and resting on Attic-Ionic bases with plinths. In front there were thirteen steps, flanked by massive paratids. Above, there was a massively designed pediment with simple mouldings; at the peak of the gable was a fairly elaborate akroterion, apparently some sculptured figure or group. Behind the columns could have been seen a monumental doorway, also simple and massive in style. Altogether, in spite of the carelessness of detail, the temple must have had a rather imposing appearance.

Temple J offers much less opportunity for restoration, since there are far fewer blocks preserved from it. It is, moreover, unfortunate that with two exceptions no drawings are available for the material which is actually preserved. The lack is not critical, however, in that there can be no question of restoration with even such approximation as we have achieved for Temple H.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of these two temples is that in many respects they are identical twins. The most important difference is in plan, where the variation in proportion between cela and pronaos is obvious. But the formal and structural details of most of the superstructure are so similar that for a long time all of the blocks were thought to have come from the same building, and even now it is difficult in some cases to decide whether a particular block goes with H or J. The profiles of the architraves, for example, are identical, and the important dimensions vary no more than might be allowed in a single building with the lack of precision in workmanship which we have observed in H. It did not become completely apparent that there were two buildings represented among the fragments until the discovery of a corner cornice block which certainly belongs to J (Fig. 22). Even this block, which is badly mutilated, resembles the blocks of Temple H so generally that except for one detail it might be assigned to H unless carefully compared. The essential difference, which is actually incontrovertible, is that there is a rounded moulding between the dentils and the overhang, whereas in the H cornice there is no moulding at all. Detailed comparisons are impossible, because of the mu-
tilation of the J cornice, except in the dentil range itself. Here the dentils are ca. 0.08 m. high, 0.08 m. deep, 0.055 m. wide, 0.035 m. apart. The H dentils, it will be recalled, are 0.10 m. high, 0.05 m. deep, 0.05 to 0.06 m. wide, and 0.03 to 0.04 m. apart. Aside from these measured differences, and the moulding, the general workmanship, appearance, and conception are quite the same.

Fig. 23. Drawing of the Inscribed Architrave Block from Temple J

The other important block from J is an inscribed architrave block from the right hand (of the observer) intercolumniation of the front, bearing part of the name of Commodus (Figs. 23, 24, 25) like the left-hand corner architrave block from Temple H (Figs. 6, 7, 28). The epigraphic considerations will be discussed below, but it may be noted here that this coincidence of architecture and text, combined with the near-identity of profile and other matters, scarcely included any obvious suggestion that they came from different buildings. There are many differences however: the J architrave block measured 2.16 m. long on its lower surface (against 2.28 for the H architrave block); 2.25 m. along the top, compared to 2.37 m.; in width across the bottom and top they are identical, 0.465 m. and 0.635 m. respectively. The difference in height is negligible: the J block measures 0.70 m. with variations, for the top is quite rough; the H block measures ca. 0.695. The differences in the technical details on the top, however, are more striking. The J block has only one lewis hole
Fig. 24. Inscribed Architrave Block from Temple J

Fig. 25. Inscribed Architrave from Temple J, Showing Cuttings on the Top and Back
not significantly different from those used in Temple H, and only two clamps, one at each end. This contrasts with the use of four clamps in the H architrave. Most significant, perhaps, is the adaptation for setting the side architrave. A comparison of the drawings will show the difference better than it can be explained; in general, the cutting on the J block is much neater and more workmanlike, and suggests a careful fit.

The under surface of the J block presents an interesting phenomenon, unrelated to the comparison with the H architrave. Two cuttings, one rectangular, the other triangular, evidently represent patches repairing damage to the edge and surface while they were being worked. The rectangular cutting is 0.33 m. long, 0.087 m. wide, 0.045 m. deep on the outer edge, 0.03 m. at the inner edge. The triangular cutting is 0.30 m. along the edge, 0.39 m. on the hypotenuse, and 0.23 m. on the other side. It is only 0.016 m. deep.

A closer examination of the blocks will reveal certain smaller differences that may be even more significant. Most important is a slight difference in marble. The J block has a bluish tinge, and veins of the bluish material on which the stone may tend to split. The H block has more of a rusty, reddish color. These differences are not obvious, and do not produce a noticeable difference in the color of the finished block, but are visible to close inspection in broken places. They suggest that the blocks came from different sections of one extensive quarry. Another difference may be seen in the tooling. That in the H block seems to have been accomplished with a fine claw chisel, whereas in the J block a fine point seems to have been used throughout. Other slighter differences in tooling may be observed, but none which might not be due to the peculiarities of individual workmen doing up different blocks.

Even the differences noted above need not be decisive in themselves in separating the two inscribed blocks, but they may be observed on other architrave blocks, blocks of the tympanum, and the cornice blocks, usually coinciding with other peculiarities which accentuate the different assignment. For example, these criteria distinguish from the architrave blocks assigned to H another architrave block from the wall of the building, which must have come from the pronaos wall, and the mouldings of which are beveled off to effect an inner corner (Fig. 8, J A 1). But the method of fitting is distinctively different from that used in the blocks already assigned to H. Instead of having the whole end of the block sliced off at an angle, the J block is finished off square, with a joint surface beside the beveled mouldings, so that the adjoining block from the pronaos architrave would have fit squarely against it. In view of this fundamentally different way of making the corner, the block would most naturally go with J rather than H, quite apart from the differences in marble and tooling.

9 Most of these were pointed out to me by H. A. Thompson.
On the basis of marble and tooling alone, however, it seems probable that four tympanum blocks, and two other mutilated wall architrave blocks (Fig. 8) must be assigned to J rather than H.

It is probable that two square pilaster capitals should be assigned to J (Figs. 26, 27). These would most naturally go on the ends of antae, and it would seem almost certain that J must have fairly long parastades with antae. From the front of the stylobate to the pronaos wall must have been almost 4.50 m.; this would have been deep enough for a prostyle porch with one column on each flank, but it may be questioned whether Temple H would have been built so far forward as to warrant an open porch like this, if there had been one. It would have been just as reasonable a plan to have parastades stretching half the length of the pronaos, terminating in pilasters with the capitals in question, and one intercolumniation beyond that. It is
true, of course, that Temple H must also have had antae with capitals, but the distance is short enough as it is for a single intercolumniation, and it is perhaps more probable that the antae of H were much shallower and did not project a full column diameter. This is only speculation, it must be confessed, and in the last analysis the only reason for assigning the pier caps to J must be the evident desirability of long parastades for that building, in which the antae capitals would more appropriately have the form and proportion of the column capitals.

In any case, there seems to be no definitive evidence for dividing up the available capitals, either for antae or columns, between H and J, but there is every reason to suppose that the preserved capitals were originally so divided. In view of the similarity of architraves, it is only reasonable to suppose that the capitals were similar, and it would be perhaps unreasonable to suppose that all the capitals from one building are preserved, none from the other.

Under the circumstances, it would be futile to attempt to go into any more detail in the restoration of Temple J. Its approximate dimensions, as deduced from the foundations, have already been given (p. 321). In its external appearance, it may have been much like Temple H: tetrastyle, Corinthian, with about ten steps, probably between narrow paratids. Its principal difference, as mentioned before, would be the deep pronaos, flanked by antae reaching to the second columnar position.

We may turn now to a consideration of the inscriptions on the two architrave blocks. It will be noted that in general the style of lettering is the same on each, and both obviously refer to the emperor Commodus, the son of M. Antoninus Pius (Marcus Aurelius) and the nominal great-great-great grandson of Nerva. In each, the names of the royal line are well preserved, but the name (in the one) and the titles (in the other) of Commodus himself have been erased.

There are, however, a number of differences. On the block assigned to H (Figs. 6, 7, 28), the normal letters, such as N, I, etc., of the first line, on the frieze, are ca. 0.10 m. in height; on the other (Figs. 23, 24), they are between 0.08 m. and 0.09 m. The same relative difference is perceptible in the second line. In the H block, the letters are ca. 0.09 m. in height; on the J block, as nearly as can be determined from the traces left after the erasure, they are only ca. 0.08 m. In the second place, the marks of punctuation on the H block are deeper and somewhat different in shape; in this connection, it will also be noted that there is a punctuation between the components of “abnepos” on the J inscription, none between those of “adnepos” in the H block. A third difference lies in the erasures. On the H block, the surface is roughly
hacked away, but the letters are still easily legible, even in the photograph. The erasure on the J architrave is much more thorough and careful, so that it requires the most exacting observation to distinguish the original letters. Again, both of the first two lines of the H inscription begin at the extreme left hand of the blocks, whereas on the other stone, the second line ends some 0.60 m. from the right-hand end. If the inscription was centered, as the style of cutting would suggest, the second line of the H inscription would have extended quite to the end of its architrave, but that of the

![Fig. 28. Inscription on the Architrave from Temple H](image)

J inscription must have begun some 0.60 m. from the left-hand end. Finally, the H inscription has a third line of text, but the J block does not. These considerations could not in themselves prove conclusively that the two blocks represent two distinct inscriptions, but when we view them in relation to the architectural indications, we can remain in little doubt but that in fact they should be assigned to different buildings.

In spite of this, it would appear that the first two lines of the inscriptions must have read the same. If we restore the H inscription to the length indicated by the conclusions drawn from the architectural evidence concerning the width of the building, i.e., to *ca.* 7.02 m., the most probable restoration would be:
The J inscription must have read almost exactly the same (with the exception of the dates, as we shall see below). Since we do not know the exact length of the J façade, we could not even attempt to construct a scale restoration of the text, as was possible with the Temple H inscription, but since the Temple J letters are only a little smaller than those of Temple H, and the façade was also only a little shorter, the proportions would be the same. In any case, although there would be enough freedom in dealing with abbreviations and titles to permit numerous variations of text within the limits approximately known, none of these variations could be proven, nor could any be significant.

The date of Temple J can be determined exactly by deciphering the rasura as follows:

\[\text{PONTIF MAX TRIB P X IMP VII COS IIII P P}\]

The tenth tribunician power of Commodus extended from Dec. 10, A.D. 184, to Dec. 10, A.D. 185, so that the completion of the building must have fallen within that period. The date of Temple H can be approximated very closely, although perhaps not within the year. After A.D. 191, Commodus gave his name as L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, so that the designation M. Aurelius Commodus must fall before that time. However, the broken and worn corner of Temple J against the wall of Temple H (supra, p. 320) would urge us to assume the greatest possible time lapse between the two buildings, so that it would be preferable to put the date as near 190 A.D. as possible. Moreover, in the scale restoration of the Temple H inscription, it is necessary to keep the cursus as short as possible to fit into the space available; i.e., of the tribunician powers between X (185 A.D.) and XV (190 A.D.), the eleventh or fifteenth would be preferable because of their brevity. On Jan. 1, 190, Commodus became Consul for the sixth time, but the choice between V and VI is of less consequence than that between XIII and XV. Hence the cursus of Temple H must have read: \[\text{PONTIF MAX TRIB P XV IMP VIII COS VI P P}\], and the building may be dated in 190 A.D.

The restoration of the third line of the Temple H inscription is of course quite impossible. Any number of expressions could be appropriate to this line, and there is far too little to suggest even the general tenor of what was to follow.

Apart from the interest of the inscriptions in dating the buildings so precisely, the principal importance lies in the fact that they would seem to be the only extant inscriptions in which Commodus gives himself credit for the construction of a temple. In the Life of Commodus (Scr. Hist. Aug., “Commodus Antoninus,” by Aelius Lampridius, XVII) it is said that he built no buildings himself, but affixed his names
to the buildings of others. A number of inscriptions are known in which Commodus appears as the sole or joint builder of bridges or fortifications, and there are several buildings which were dedicated to him. But there seems to be no straightforward example of a temple erected by him, with the possible exception of some fragmentary inscriptions that may be restored to this effect. Hence our temples would seem to be the best, perhaps the only, illustrations of the accusation made in the Life, for Temple H, at least, would seem certainly to have been financed from the will of Cornelia Baebia, whose name was considerably subordinated to that of the emperor.

If it should be desired to improve the bad name of the emperor in this regard, two hypotheses are possible. The first is, that Cornelia Baebia desired to honor the emperor, and herself had his name inscribed so prominently. Normally, however, the practice would be to put the name in the dative or genitive, although it is possible that for any of various reasons she preferred the nominative. In the second place, it is possible that she willed the money to the emperor for the purpose of erecting the temple. For this, however, it would be almost necessary to assume some sort of connection between the emperor and the Corinthian woman; that is, she must have been fairly prominent, perhaps acquainted with the emperor, to have bequeathed him an estate with provisos.

This possibility is, indeed, hinted at in another direction. Cornelia Baebia is apparently not otherwise known than in Corinth. But the name suggests some sort of union between the Cornelii and the Baebii, of which there are other tenuous indications elsewhere. The Cornelii were apparently an important family in Corinth; several inscriptions there bear their names. One of the most important mentions Cornelius Maecianus, who is thought perhaps to have been the same as D. Cornelius Maecianus, known to have had a fairly important career in Spain in the fourth quarter of the first century after Christ. M. Cornelius A. f. Novatus Baebius Balbus was also active in the army in Spain at about that time. If we recall an inscription

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12 But cf. also, Life of Commodus, V, 14 (Loeb), where it is said that some provincials were accused for not making Commodus their heir.

13 Zena Baebia Cornelia is named in an inscription from the Via Appia (C.I.L., VI, 2, 9250), but she seems to have been a person of no consequence, although there may, of course, have been a connection with our Cornelia Baebia somewhere.


bearing the name of C. Baebius Corinthus, also from Spain, but undated,\textsuperscript{17} we may infer that there was a Baebius family in Corinth, and the combination of “Cornelius” and “Baebius” in the dated inscription may suggest that they had already been united by then. A similar but less complete coincidence is seen in the presence of C. Cornelius Corinthus and L. Baebius Caecilianus in the same part of Pannonia, possibly together at the end of the second century after Christ.\textsuperscript{18} Hence the existence of connection between Corinthian Cornelii and Baebii is hinted more than once, and there is some basis for speculation that they continued on good terms, at some level of prominence.

In his discussion of Cornelius Maecianus, West points out that Maecianus is an unusual cognomen, and rests his tentative identification of the Corinthian and the Spanish bearers of that name on this fact. It is, then, a further interesting coincidence that a Baebius Maecianus was a kinsman of Clodius Albinus, a favored general of Commodus and holder of the empire for a brief period in 196. Our Baebius Maecianus is mentioned only briefly in the Life of Albinus, VI, 1 (Scr. Hist. Aug.), and nothing further is known about him. The suggestion is that he did not live in Corinth, for it is implied that he was a good friend of Albinus while the latter still lived in Africa. But if the Cornelii and Baebii of Corinth were closely associated, the rare cognomen might well have been shared, and Baebius Maecianus might have acquired his cognomen from the line of the Baebii. It is neither possible nor desirable to press these coincidences into proof that Cornelia Baebia was related to Baebius Maecianus, friend of Albinus, friend of the emperor, and hence was close enough to the imperial house to intrust funds to the emperor for the construction of a temple. It seems preferable to suppose that she left the money for the temple, and its dedication was usurped by the throne. But the above discussion will have indicated a bare possibility, at least, that something more honorable may be seen in the emperor’s name on the temple.

A final question relates to the divinities to whom the temples were dedicated. This, however, there is little hope of discovering. Obviously Pausanias could be of no assistance, for they were built long after his time. For Temple J we may hazard a guess that it was dedicated to Poseidon, for two reasons. In the first place, it was erected on the remains of a fountain dedicated to Poseidon, demolished expressly for the purpose of building the temple.\textsuperscript{19} It would not be unnatural for the divinity thus injured to be honored by receiving the dedication of the temple in place of the fountain. In the second place, it would appear that Poseidon was particularly in the minds of the Corinthians at that period, to judge from the frequency of his appearance on the local coinage under the reign of Commodus.\textsuperscript{20} For the dedication of Temple H, however, there is at present no clue whatsoever.

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\textsuperscript{17} C.I.L., II, 4614. \textsuperscript{18} C.I.L., III, 1, 3579, and C.I.L., III, 1, 3706.
\textsuperscript{19} The identification and description of the fountain must be deferred until the final publication.
\textsuperscript{20} British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Corinth, pp. 81-82.