

A NEW GROUP OF SCULPTURES FROM ANCIENT CORINTH

(PLATES 70-74)

FOUR fragmentary marble statues were recently recovered from a drain in the Roman Forum at Corinth, in the spring of 1971 and 1972.¹ The new statuary includes a life-size head wearing a winged cap, a small Aphrodite head, a fragmentary nude male statuette, and the base of an Apollo statuette. All four pieces are Roman in date, but probably reflect distinct earlier types, well known in Classical Greece. In all but the Aphrodite head, the quality of workmanship is excellent and the surfaces are carefully finished.

Excavation of the drain was referred to in the excavation report by C. K. Williams, II and J. E. Fisher, "Corinth, 1971: Forum Area," *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 174. The portion of the drain in question, which runs in a northeast-southwest direction, lies along the north side of Buildings I, II and III in the Southwest section of the Forum.² Two of the pieces, the large male head and the male torso, were discovered under Shop 5 of the Central Shops, counting from the west, and in Grid 58 L. The Aphrodite head and the Apollo base were discovered further to the east, north of Building I. The drain, built in Classical times of ashlar poros blocks, was filled in the Late

¹ The new sculptures were found in the course of excavations conducted by Mr. Charles K. Williams, II, Director of the Corinth Excavations, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies, and with the permission of the Greek Archaeological Service, under the Ephor of the Corinthia and Argolid, Mrs. Deilaki. Sincere thanks are extended to Mr. Williams for permission to publish this material and for the giving of his time and suggestions. I am also grateful to Dr. Nancy Bookidis, Secretary of the Excavations, for her help and encouragement. The photographs are the work of Misses Lenio Bartzioti and Ino Ioannidou. Miss Stella Bouzaki was in charge of restoration. Warm appreciation is also extended to Professor Brunilde S. Ridgway for her continued inspiration and thoughtful suggestions.

The following abbreviations will be used for the most frequent references:

A.R.V.² = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1963

Bieber = M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed., New York, 1961

Br.Br. = Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, Munich, 1897-

E.A. = P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, Munich, 1893-1912, 1925-1947

Fuchs = W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, Munich, 1969

Helbig⁴ = W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1963-72

Lippold = G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik, Handbuch der Archäologie*, VI, 3, 1, Munich, 1950

Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture*, Paris, 1935-1966

Ridgway = B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton, 1970

² See plans, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, figs. 3, 5. A portrait head found in the same drain will be published by Catherine de Grazia in her forthcoming volume on the Roman portraits at Corinth.

Hesperia, XLIV, 3

Roman period, as most of the associated pottery dated from the fifth to the sixth centuries after Christ.

Two additional heads possibly representing Hermes, one from the Roman Bath, the other from the Southwest Forum area, will also be presented here, as they have not previously received adequate publication and they display iconographical details similar to the male head from the drain.

1 HEAD OF PERSEUS OR HERMES

Pls. 70, 71.

S-72-4. Forum Southwest, from fill of large northeast-southwest drain, sandy stratum, *ca.* 0.48 m. below cover slab of drain at bottom of sherd-bearing level and under south wall of Shop 5 of Central Shops, counting from west, grid square 58 L. April 4, 1972; Corinth notebook 522, p. 74.

H. of head 0.246, H. of face, *ca.* 0.175, total P.H. 0.306, W. across temples, 0.13 m.

Head and neck preserved; broken at base of neck from a complete statue. The fragment is complete except for edge of cap and wings; hair, nose, chin and neck chipped; hair surfaces badly worn, crumbly, with traces of burning.

White, medium- to coarse-grained micaceous marble. Surface pitted, marble crumbly around hair and chin.

A life-size, idealized, male head, carved in the round, is shown wearing a smooth, winged, leather cap. The cap covers most of the head and begins to turn outward at the brim, most of which is chipped. A portion of the brim, which curves outward about two centimeters before the edge, is preserved at the back. The inference that only a small portion of the brim is missing from the rest of the hat is drawn from the way in which the hair surfaces, where preserved, and both ears are completely finished right up to the area where the brim is chipped, giving the impression that they were meant to be seen. Toward the top of the crown of the cap two wings are broken at or near the base. Indications of small struts for the wing tips, or portions of the tips themselves, survive further back on the cap. Thick, deeply

drilled hair appears to be arranged in loops in front, dividing over the center of the forehead and leaving the ears uncovered on the sides; short, less plastic, wavy locks are finely chiseled behind the ears, but only roughly worked at the back (Pl. 73).

The face, long with narrow cheeks and a squared chin, is very lightly modeled. The short forehead is creased beneath the heavy locks. Under the arching ridged eyebrows the eyes are large, almond-shaped and not deeply set. The upper lids are wide and sharply carved, while the lower are ridged and separated from the cheeks by shallow grooves; the surfaces of the eyeballs are flat and not incised. The left eye appears wider than the right because nearly half of the upper lid is missing, and the right eye is somewhat (2-3 mm.) longer than the left. The ends of the upper lids extend beyond the lower; small drill holes mark the inner corners. Deep drill holes mark the nostrils. The closed mouth is fleshy and turns down somewhat at the outer corners where the lips become quite narrow. Subtle furrows extend downward from the nostrils and the outer corners of the mouth. The chin is sharply set off from a thick muscular neck. The figure's left ear is completely outlined by a continuous drill channel. Originally this channel probably served to undercut the curl in front of the ear, as the outer surface of the curl is chipped. In its former state the lock probably resembled the parallel curl over the right ear. The swelling of the left sterno-mastoid muscle and the crease at the jaw suggest that the head was originally turned somewhat to proper right.

Rasp marks are lightly visible over most surfaces on the front of the piece, more heavily in back and over all of the cap. The running drill has been used heavily in the hair and around the ears, while the chisel was used for finer lines around the eyes and mouth.

It should be established first that the salient characteristics of the new Corinth head reflect the Severe style, a style which is generally dated 480–450 B.C.³ Such features in the Corinthian piece that can be described as Severe include the basic structural treatment of the head and face, the rather low, furrowed forehead, large eyes with heavy lids, large, fleshy lips that turn down at the corners into a moderate “pout,” the prominent chin and wide, flat expanse of cheeks. The low forehead is framed by thick locks, brushed down, away from the center in a manner similar to the hair of the Artemision bronze and the Omphalos Apollo. All these features are most prominent during the Severe period.

Comparison with the head of Apollo from the West pediment of the Olympia Temple brings out general similarities between the forms of various parts of the face, but it also serves to emphasize subtle differences.⁴ The exaggeration of certain features in the Corinth head, such as the size of the eye, the severe “pout,” and the broad expanse of the cheek reflect the hand of the copyist. The sharp, rather than rounded, edges of the eyelids are another well-known Roman feature and suggest that the original was of bronze. Though the occasional use of the drill is sometimes a Severe characteristic, the specific use of this tool in the forehead hair of the Corinth figure is non-Classical. The running drill is heavily used in a coloristic manner, and large, single drill holes are used to create a chiaroscuro effect and a feeling of depth. The mass of hair over the forehead and before the ear is much thicker than comparable hair on the Olympia figures or other Severe originals such as the Aegina sphinx, which is interesting for its plasticity.⁵ In the Corinth head the artist’s manner of using the drill has created not just a surface or linear pattern with a decorative effect as its ultimate aim; rather the “illusionistic” technique has created the impression of depth and three-dimensional form to a degree lacking in all pieces of the Severe period. Such a contrast effectively removes the Corinth head from the Severe *period* to a later time when the Severe *style* was again in vogue.

Analogous traits, such as the size and shape of the eyes and lips, are also shown by the metopes from Temple E at Selinus, most recently dated by Langlotz 470–450 B.C.⁶ Note particularly the marble head of Hera, which is perhaps closer in spirit

³ For a thorough discussion of the Severe style see V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil, Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik 480–450 v. Chr., Act. Arch.*, VIII, 1937; and most recently the excellent study by B. S. Ridgway (see note 1, above), which includes the latest bibliography.

⁴ B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia, The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus*, London, 1967, figs. 105–109.

⁵ Ridgway, p. 38, dates the sphinx before the Olympia sculptures. The lack of plastic qualities in many pieces of the Severe style is due to the fact that bronze was the more popular medium and strongly influenced even the marble works of the time; cf. Ridgway, p. 37 and note 6. Because the bronze technique was so prevalent, characteristics of marble sculpture, such as appear in the Blond Boy and the Aegina Sphinx, are found less frequently. Even when present in a work of art, the Severe brand of plasticity differs greatly from that found in the Corinth head.

⁶ E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen in Sizilien und Unteritalien*, Munich, 1963, p. 82, pl. 105.

to the Corinth head than many of the Olympia figures.⁷ Certain features, such as the eyes and lips, seem most closely paralleled by the Olympia and Selinus metopes, so that a prototype from the later part of the Severe period seems indicated, i.e. *ca.* 460–450 B.C. Stylistic differences, such as the sharp edges of the eyelids, notably flat cheeks, and the underlying difference in concept expressed by the treatment of the hair, place the execution of the Corinth head at a later time, somewhere in the Roman period.⁸

Since the Corinth figure wears a cap and his front locks are badly worn, his hair style is not immediately clear. The plasticity of the frontal hair in contrast with the short locks on the nape suggests that the hair was worn long and bound up in some form. Comparison with numerous male heads, both originals and copies, suggests that the hair was worn in the *krobilos*, a coiffure extremely popular among works of the Severe style.⁹ The fact that the locks brushed over the forehead are parted in the middle and pulled to either side points to affinities with the Omphalos Apollo group, rather than with the Blond Boy type. Such similarities are most evident in the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum,¹⁰ particularly in the way in which the hair frames the face, in the line of the brow and in the downward turn of the lips. The plasticity of the locks over the forehead of the Corinth piece has been developed to such an extent as to suggest that the hair was either derived from that of a marble statue or was at least conceived in a marble technique. The sharp, clearly defined facial forms on the other hand suggest a bronze antecedent, and when combined with the hair emphasize the eclectic nature of the work as well as salient characteristics of the Corinthian school of copyists. The conventional date given for the prototype of the Omphalos and Choiseul-Gouffier Apollos is *ca.* 460 B.C., which corresponds closely with the date of other stylistic parallels for the prototype of the Corinth head.

The date for the prototype of the Corinth head has been deduced through stylistic parallels with Greek originals of the later Severe period and from the type of hairstyle probably worn by the figure. The year when the head was executed is a separate and very different question. The kind of drillwork sometimes found during the Severe period reappears and is elaborated upon by the Flavians, but such drillwork is extremely different in concept from that found in the Corinth piece. A heavy use of the running drill comes into fashion during the reign of Hadrian as seen in portraits of the Emperor himself, his favorite, Antinous, and in other portraits of the period.¹¹ Examination of portraits from Republican and Early Imperial times fails to reveal this predilection.¹²

⁷ Langlotz and Hirmer, *ibid.*, pls. 106, 108.

⁸ See below, this page.

⁹ Ridgway, figs. 72–102 and pp. 56–60, 62–70.

¹⁰ Ridgway, fig. 96, pp. 61, 64, note 8, 65; Fuchs, no. 60, p. 67; Lippold, p. 102, pl. 32, 1.

¹¹ M. Wegner, *Hadrian, Das römische Herrscherbild*, Abt. II, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1956; Ch. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, Neuchâtel, 1966. See also the portrait of Hadrian at Corinth (S 2505), where the hair around the front of the head is deeply carved, with short, unconnected runs of the drill.

¹² R. West, *Römische Porträt-Plastik*, Munich, 1933–1941; A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York, 1912.

Hence, it would seem likely that the Corinth head was made in the Hadrianic or Antonine periods. Drillwork exhibited by heads produced after the Antonine Age is much more coloristically devised and more deeply worked, so the head is not likely to have been made in a period later than the first half of the second century after Christ. The very classicizing “cold” treatment of the facial features also points strongly in the direction of a Hadrianic date.¹³ However, the extremely worn condition of the hair precludes a more precise chronological assessment.

IDENTIFICATION

Two figures from Greek mythology are known to wear a winged cap: Hermes and Perseus. The type of head covering usually connected with Hermes, in literature and artistic representations, is the *petasos*, a low, broad-brimmed hat designed to keep the sun out of the eyes of travelers and often associated with wayfarers of all types.¹⁴ When worn by Hermes it is sometimes, but not always, represented with wings.¹⁵ Hermes’ hat can also take the form of a Robin Hood type of cap, again occasionally with wings affixed.¹⁶ In addition, the god frequently wears a chlamys, and is further identified by his *kerykeion* or *caduceus*. As the wand-like staff seems to be a more fixed attribute, the hat is allowed to vary in shape, and, in fact, is not always included. The

¹³ Cf., e.g., the study by H. Lauter, *Zur Chronologie römischer Kopien nach Originalen des V. Jahrh.*, Erlangen, 1969.

¹⁴ *E.A.A.*, IV, Rome, 1961, s.v. Hermes, pp. 2–10 (H. Sichtermann); Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1887–1919, IV, 1, s.v. Petasus, pp. 421f.; *R.E.*, XIX, A, 37, cols. 1119–1124.

¹⁵ See, for example, the Ludovisi Hermes, from an original of ca. 440 B.C., Fuchs, fig. 73; Lippold, p. 179, pl. 63, 2; Helbig⁴, III, no. 2326; *E.A.*, no. 270, 271; S. Karusu, “ΕΡΜΗΣ ΨΥΧΟΠΙΟΜΙΟΣ?” *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVI, 1961, pp. 91–106, Beil. 64–65, 67–69. For representations on vases, see, e.g., a red-figure cup by Oltos in Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale, RC 6848, ca. 510 B.C., *A.R.V.*², p. 60, no. 66, P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1962, pl. 102, where Hermes, identified by an inscription, wears the broad-brimmed *petasos*, without wings, hanging behind his head by a string; a similar broad-brimmed hat without wings is worn by a bearded Hermes on a cup by Skythes in the Louvre, G 10, *A.R.V.*², p. 83, no. 3, E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1897–1922, pl. 89, and on a lekythos in New York, M.M.A. 25.78.2, from Gela, *A.R.V.*², p. 309, no. 12, G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, pls. 29, 30. Sometimes the hat is omitted and a pair of wings grows directly from the head, as in the head of “Hermes” in Berlin, Staatliche Museen K. 146, Picard, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 268, figs. 116–117; C. Blümel, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, IV, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1931, p. 17, pls. 28–29.

¹⁶ A cup by the Ambrosios Painter in Florence, M.A.73127, from Orvieto, *A.R.V.*², p. 173, no. 4, *C.V.A.*, Florence 3(30), 75(1339):1, shows a bearded Hermes wearing a Robin Hood type of cap without wings, as does a hydria in Leningrad, 627, by the Pan Painter, in A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford, 1953, fig. 200. However, a similarly shaped hat with wings added is worn by Hermes on the amphora by the Berlin Painter in Berlin, Staatliche Museen 2160, from Vulci, *A.R.V.*², p. 196, no. 1, Arias and Hirmer, pl. 151 and on the neck amphora in Copenhagen, N.M. 4978, *A.R.V.*², p. 553, no. 36, *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen 3(3), 131(133) also by the Pan Painter.

essential quality of his cap, however, seems to be its softness. It is never shown closely adhering to the head or covering most of the skull in the manner of a helmet, as does the hat worn by the Corinth head. One might argue that this helmet-like quality tends to exclude it for iconographical reasons from marking out the Corinth head as a head of Hermes. In addition, of the preserved sculptural examples of various Hermes types, none is seen to wear a comparable hat.¹⁷

The hero Perseus, son of Danaë and Zeus, is also regularly represented wearing a winged cap, in this case known as the Cap of Darkness (*ἄιδος κωνῆ*), which, along with his winged shoes and wallet, was given him by the Graiai to aid him in beheading Medusa.¹⁸ This cap had the added advantage of making him invisible, so that he could escape the outraged sisters of Medusa. The shape of the hat, as well as the presence of the wings, varies according to the whim of the artist. On vases, the identification of Perseus is generally made clear by the context of the scene.

Examples of Perseus on vases dating in the Severe period should give us an idea of the artistic tradition within which the prototype of the Corinth head was conceived. The most significant examples for our study probably comprise two scenes by the Pan Painter and one each by the Villa Giulia Painter, the Phiale Painter and Polygnotos.¹⁹ On these pieces the favorite style of hat seems to be that which resembles a Robin Hood cap, a cap on which the brim is turned up at the back but is pulled to a point at the front. Usually, but not always, a short pair of wings, which can face either forward

¹⁷ Compare, e.g., the numerous examples of Hermes Kriophoros, the Hermes Ludovisi, the bronze winged head in Berlin, the column base from Ephesos, the Hermes of Olympia type, Hermes of Andros, and reliefs showing the god with the nymphs or the graces. The god frequently appears as Hermes Psychopompos on marble funerary lekythoi, where he usually wears the wide-brimmed, traveller's *petasos*. See, e.g., those in Athens, N.M. 4502 (a marble base for a lekythos) and N.M. 4485, the lekythos of Myrrhine, where he wears no hat at all, but is easily identified by his *kerykeion*, a winged foot, and the context of the scene (S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture: Catalogue*, Athens, 1968, p. 48). Known sculptural examples of Perseus are much less frequent, no doubt partly because of the problem of identification.

¹⁸ *E.A.A.*, VI, Rome, 1965, pp. 66–69 (K. Schauenberg); see also K. Schauenberg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums*, Bonn, 1960, and J. Woodward, *Perseus, a Study in Greek Art and Legend*, Cambridge, 1937. The best rendering of the story is found in Pherecydes, quoted by the scholiast on the *Argonautica*, Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–7. More recently, see E. Phinney, Jr., “Perseus’ Battle with the Gorgons,” *T.A.P.A.*, CII, 1971, pp. 445–463.

¹⁹ Pan Painter: pelike in Munich, S.A. 8725, *A.R.V.*², p. 554, no. 85, *Arch. Anz.*, 1957, figs. on pp. 385–386, col. 380 (no wings); hydria in London, B.M. E 181, from Capua, *A.R.V.*², p. 555, no. 96, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, Munich, 1923, fig. 474, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 309, fig. 12 (with wings); Villa Giulia Painter, bell krater in Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 11010, *A.R.V.*², p. 619, no. 19, *C.V.A.*, Madrid 2(2), 17(74): 1a, 18(75) (with wings); almost identical to the latter is a fragmentary bell krater in the British Museum, E 493, also by the Villa Giulia Painter, *A.R.V.*², p. 619, no. 18, Woodward, *op. cit.* (above, note 18), fig. 23; Phiale Painter, bell krater fragment in Delos, *A.R.V.*², p. 1019, no. 81, *B.C.H.*, LXXI–LXXII, 1947–1948, p. 462 (with wings); Polygnotos, pelike in New York, M.M.A. 45.11.1, *A.R.V.*², p. 1032, no. 55, Schauenberg, *op. cit.* (above, note 18), pl. 6, 1 (with wings).

or backward, are fastened to the sides of the brim (on the Polygnotan pelike in New York they seem not to have turned with the head).

When Perseus appears together with Hermes, however, the reference to the "Cap of Darkness" becomes more specific. On the bell krater by the Villa Giulia Painter in Madrid²⁰ we are presented with a four-figured scene: Medusa lying down asleep, Perseus about to behead her, the pair flanked by Hermes at left and Athena at right. If there were no other means of pointing them out, the identities of both Hermes and Perseus would be perfectly clear from their hats alone. The god wears a *petasos* with a low crown and a wide, floppy brim minus wings, whereas the hero wears a close-fitting cap which has a large crown and a very narrow brim with a short pair of wings at the back. The two types are very distinct. Perhaps Perseus' cap here is similar to the Robin Hood variety which has in this case been pulled down further onto the head, making the brim practically negligible. This type, and *not* the *petasos*, closely resembles the hat worn by the Corinth head and should help establish the identity of that figure.²¹

LITERARY REFERENCES

Several ancient literary sources refer to sculptural representations of Perseus. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 34, 57) notes that the sculptor Myron of Eleutherai, pupil of Ageladas, made a statue of *Perseum et pristis*.²² Pausanias also describes a statue of Perseus made by Myron (I, 23, 7). This statue was erected on the Acropolis in Athens and showed *καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον*. If Pausanias and Pliny can be taken literally, they seem to refer to two distinct statues of Perseus, one depicting the hero being chased by the gorgons, the second showing him alone with the head of Medusa, perhaps standing at rest, staring away from the head to avoid turning to stone. But there is no way of knowing if Pliny refers to two or only one work by Myron.

A later source, Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 37, 10), also refers to a "winged" statue of Perseus from the Severe period, made by Myron's rival Pythagoras. As this source is late, the reference may be somewhat confused. Since this is the only source to mention Pythagoras in this connection, Dio may actually be mistaking one well-known

²⁰ See above, note 19.

²¹ It should be noted that the edge of the brim of the Corinth "Perseus" hat is partially preserved in back, and elsewhere the hair is finished up to the broken edge, so there is no possibility that the rim might have extended to form the soft, wide flaps suitable for the *petasos*. Unlike that of the Ludovisi Hermes (*E.A.*, 270, 271), the Corinth hat covers practically the whole head.

²² It is possible that the two words are meant to refer to two different works of art. The word *pristas* literally means sawfish or sawyer, but could be used to suggest a kind of sea monster, or perhaps the sisters of Medusa, who live across the sea, rather than merely a suggestion of locale. A sea dragon might also be implied, hence relating this to the Andromeda exploit. Cf. K. Phillips, "Perseus and Andromeda," *A.J.A.*, LXXII, 1968, 1-23.

Severe artist for his better known contemporary, Myron. Or the inference from the reference in Dio could be that two statues of Perseus were known from the early fifth century B.C.: the famous Athenian statue by Myron, and another, less well known, by his contemporary and competitor. As the Corinth head is in the Severe style, it seems logical to suggest that it is a copy of a well-known statue of the Severe period, but the literary sources alone are not specific enough to suggest an attribution.

STYLISTIC COMPARISONS

The style of the Corinth head finds its closest parallels in two heads long identified as Perseus, one in the British Museum, the other in the Conservatori in Rome, both of which have been connected with the Myronian Perseus of *ca.* 460–450 B.C.²³ A number of stylistic traits suggest that the Corinth “Perseus” belongs to the same generic type. All three figures wear a winged cap which adheres closely to the skull and covers most of it. The general shape of the face and the relative size and shape of the features are quite close, particularly in the Conservatori head, which displays the same medium-sized forehead and wide, accented brows over large, thickly rimmed and wide-opened eyes. In each of the three pieces the thick fleshy lips are closed and turn down at the corners. The wide, rather flatly planed cheeks are unlined and form smooth transitions to the strong, prominent chin. The neck muscles in each work are powerfully modeled, impart a feeling of strength and determination, and also exhibit a slight torsion. The affinities are most noticeable between the Corinth “Perseus” and the head in the Conservatori where the similar rendering of the eyes and the great width of the cheeks alone serve to link the two pieces to the same artistic tradition. The British Museum Perseus, although its eyes are not so large nor its lips so fleshy, seems to possess enough general similarities to be considered a reflection of the same original.

The major difference between the Corinth Perseus and the other two lies in the hairstyle, the very feature which ultimately links the British Museum and Conservatori

²³ The bibliography on the two “Perseus” heads is extensive. For the most recent discussion, see Ridgway, p. 84, and figs. 120–121. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, London, 1895, pp. 197–202, first attributed the Conservatori head to Myron’s Perseus and dated its prototype *ca.* 450 B.C. by style; see also Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, Roma, 1939, p. 122, pl. 78, M.M. 1866; W. Fuchs in Helbig⁴, no. 1771; Br.Br., 603, 604 B with commentary by L. Curtius; Lippold, pp. 139f., pl. 50, 2. Picard, *Manuel*, p. 248, note 3, observes that both heads could equally well be called Hermes; he also prefers a date somewhat after the period of Myron, *ca.* 440 B.C. See further Schauenburg, *op. cit.* (above, note 18), p. 107, note 749; R. Carpenter, “Observations on Familiar Statuary in Rome,” *Mem. Am. Ac. Rome*, XVIII, 1941, pp. 18–25, pls. 7A, 8A, who denies its Myronian character and dates it after an original of *ca.* 400 B.C. For the British Museum head see Br.Br., 602, 604 A, text figs. 3–5, 7; A. S. Murray, “Bust of Perseus,” *J.H.S.*, II, 1881, pp. 55–56, pl. IX, who first identified the head as Perseus because of the feather-like incisions on the cap and the holes for an attachment such as an eagle’s head on the top of the cap; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture, British Museum*, London, 1904, III, p. 98, no. 1743. A third, unpublished head reflecting the same type has recently been acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum: Jiri Frel, “Some New Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum,” paper read at the 75th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 28–30, 1973, abstract in *A.J.A.*, LXXVIII, 1974, p. 165.

heads. The hair of the Corinth head is thicker, much more plastic, and represents a different style entirely (the *krobylos*), while the other two pieces wear short, rather ill-defined curls over the brow, which assume more substance at the temples; their hair is shorter, is not worn in the *krobylos*, and the individual locks are narrower and much more finely detailed, while lacking the tubular, independent quality found in the Corinth hair. As the hair-styles of the Conservatori and British Museum heads are so similar, it would seem logical to suggest that the thicker, more sculptural locks of the Corinth head are a variation of the copyist who may have felt a need to relieve the severity in the facial features which resulted from copying a bronze.

Recently W. Fuchs²⁴ has questioned the identification of the Conservatori head as Perseus, because of its stylistic affinities rather than its iconographical associations. Fuchs attributes the Conservatori piece to Pheidias, because of its similarity to the Kassel Apollo.²⁵ As Pheidias is not known to have made a Perseus, the work is further connected with the figure of Hermes made by Pheidias for Thebes.²⁶ The Corinth head itself, however, seems to bear no relationship to heads of the Kassel Apollo type, and is quite different from later Pheidian creations;²⁷ its lack of affinity with the Kassel Apollo should effectively refute Fuchs' theory regarding the Conservatori head. In addition, both the Corinth and the Conservatori heads in question appear to resist close comparison with established Myronian types.²⁸

On the basis of stylistic affinities with other works a date of *ca.* 450 B.C., proposed by both Furtwängler and Fuchs for the Rome-London heads, seems most judicious. Carpenter advocated a later date for the Conservatori head based on a comparison with the Palatine head and the Hope Hygeia type,²⁹ and hence his dating of the Conservatori head to the first decade of the fourth century B.C. seems untenable. Surely the strongly projecting upper eyelids which he sees as a common trait betray the hand of the Roman copyist rather than the Classical master. The shape of the faces, the size of their features, and the underlying concepts of modeling are poles apart. Indeed, the differences that Carpenter notes, but seems to consider irrelevant, as, for instance, the much shorter mouth, the narrower, more oval face, smaller chin and much more rounded forms of the Palatine head, seem particularly important.

²⁴ Helbig⁴, no. 1771 and Fuchs, p. 558 and figs. 666–667, where it was described as a copy of a bronze original of *ca.* 450 B.C.

²⁵ Fuchs, fig. 72, p. 80; Lippold, p. 142, pl. 51, 1. The Conservatori head had previously been associated with the Kassel Apollo (Furtwängler, *op. cit.* [above, note 23], pp. 190–197), but at that time the latter was thought to derive from a statue by Myron.

²⁶ Obviously the question of identification revolves quite closely around the problem of chronology and the persistent desire of most writers to attribute every classicizing piece to a great artist.

²⁷ G. Becatti, *Problemi fidiaci*, Milan, 1951; *E.A.A.*, III, Rome, 1960, pp. 649–660.

²⁸ P. E. Arias, "Mirone," no. 2 in *Quaderni per lo studio dell' archeologia*, ed. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Florence, 1940; *E.A.A.*, V, Rome, 1963, pp. 111–115 (Arias), where the Conservatori head is reproduced, fig. 142.

²⁹ B. Ashmole, "Hygeia on Acropolis and Palatine," *P.B.S.R.*, X, 1927, pp. 1–11, pls. 1–5.

The new Corinth head bears close resemblance stylistically to a head in the Corinth Museum, found in the theater, and said to be a copy of a statue by Myron.³⁰ The latter has similar large eyes with finely chiseled lids, a long nose, thick lips, and broad, flat cheeks. Like the "Perseus," the head twists visibly to the side. The "Perseus" head, however, displays a lower, more triangular forehead and maintains its width throughout the lower part of the face. The hair of the head from the theater is worn in a different style, recalling a somewhat later type than that of the "Perseus," later even than the face with which it is associated, but the close similarity in the faces and in the overall treatment suggests that the two were carved by the same hand.

Both Johnson and Ridgway note the comparison between the head from the theater and a head in Cleveland, and Ridgway, in addition, links the two to the Monteverde statue in the Terme.³¹ The type represented by the last two mentioned pieces has been attributed by Picard³² to Myron's son, Lykios. It seems rather bold, however, to attribute the Corinth head from the theater to the little-known son of Myron, when Myron himself is so poorly known. Perhaps it would be safer to suggest that the head from the theater and its companion piece from the Roman drain show strong influence from the artistic ambience of Myron, while the two pieces together exhibit common stylistic traits which result from the hand of a particular copyist, rather than from that of his model.

RECONSTRUCTION

The pose and style of the entire statue can best be visualized through comparison with other sculptural representations of the scene. E. Langlotz has collected the majority of such representations,³³ which suggest that the newly found Corinth statue might

³⁰ F. P. Johnson, *Corinth, IX: Sculpture, 1896-1923*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, no. 4, inv. no. S 425. Although Johnson's attribution might be questioned, it points out the severizing tenor of the piece.

³¹ Johnson, *op. cit.* (above, note 30), pp. 7-9; Ridgway, p. 71.

³² Picard, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 250, suggests that Lykios' supposed floruit of ca. 440-430 B.C. might suggest that he worked under the influence of Pheidias.

³³ E. Langlotz, *Perseus*, Heidelberg, 1951, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, pls. 1, 2, 3, and the Boboli torso in Rome, which he connects with the British Museum head of Perseus, pls. 5-6, where, as in the majority of later depictions, the figure is shown striding to his right, but twisting his head to look behind him to the left. Langlotz distinguished four types among the later representations (p. 12, note 13). See also by the same author, *Der triumphierende Perseus*, Köln/Opladen, 1960. However, the *ἄιδος κωνή* worn by the Athena Albani head, in this case a wolf skin, is of a different type from ours, as is the style of the head, although it also derives from the mid-fifth century B.C. Langlotz disassociated this head from Athena and attributed it to a Perseus of the mid-fifth century B.C. by Pythagoras of Samos. Tobias Dohrn, "Zwei etruskische Kandelaber," *Röm. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1959, pp. 45-64, contributes two small bronzes to the collection of Perseus representations, one on top of a candelabra in the Vatican, Museo Gregoriano 12409, *ibid.*, pls. 22; 23, 1, and a statuette in Hamburg, Mus. f. Kunst u. Gewerbe, *ibid.*, pls. 24, 1; 25 (also Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, 2), nearly complete, which holds the severed head up in his left hand and his *harpe* down in his right, facing right. Dohrn suggests that the Hamburg bronze derives from a statuary prototype and also explores the possibility of a Myronian attribution. Cf. also E.

indicate the helmeted Perseus striding to his right, turning his head back to the left to keep an eye on the pursuing gorgons, which were probably not represented, but left to the viewer's imagination. In his outstretched left hand he probably carries the severed head, the sickle or *harpe* in his right. The gorgon's head, with its eyes closed, no longer represents a fearful aspect able to turn a person to stone, but probably a Medusa of the "beautiful" type.³⁴ The sculptural representation would probably have dispensed with the sack, used on numerous vases to carry the severed head, as too cumbersome. The figure of Perseus is likely to have been constructed as a silhouette, a two-dimensional figure in motion, much like the well-known Artemision bronze or the reconstructed figure of Myron's Diskobolos.

CONCLUSIONS

The Hadrianic artist who executed the Perseus statue was strongly influenced by the Severe style of sculpture. His rather eclectic taste is revealed in the mixture of facial types with hairstyles either of a somewhat different period or deriving from different materials. Such eclectic characteristics are far from unusual in the Roman period, but the comparatively successful blend of these traits might suggest an itinerant artist who received his major training in Athens where a far greater number of Greek originals were on hand for inspiration.

2 HEAD OF HERMES (POLYKLEITAN)

Pl. 71.

S 2755. Roman Bath. South section, from room 2, plunge bath, grid square 2-31. May 13, 1965; Corinth notebook 287, pp. 38-39.

P.H. 0.305, P.W. 0.202, L. chin to hair, 0.182, W. outer eye to outer eye, 0.092 m.

Most of head, portions of right side and back of head preserved; slice missing from proper left; broken near left side of cheek through to back of head; portion also broken vertically from back of crown. Most surfaces chipped

and worn; nose, most of left cheek, lips and chin missing.

White, medium-grained marble with micaceous veins.

A male head from a life-size statue in the round wears a winged hat. The hair lies close to the scalp and is carved in loosely waving locks which are arranged in patterns very similar to those of the Doryphoros by Polykleitos. Chisel strokes subdivide thick locks to suggest individual strands and recall the fine finishing touches of bronze originals. The leather cap is worn back on the

Langlotz, "Eine neue Replik des triumphierenden Perseus," *Röm. Mitt.*, LXX, 1963, pp. 20-23, pls. 10-12; A. Linfert, "Noch ein triumphierender Perseus," *Arch. Anz.*, LXXXIII, 1968, pp. 424-427; A. Delivorrias, "Zum Motif des triumphierenden Perseus," *Antike Kunst*, XII, 1969, pp. 22-24.

³⁴ E. A. Gardiner once attributed the Medusa Rondanini in Munich to Myron's group, "Notes on Greek Sculpture, I. Myron's Perseus and Medusa," *J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 140-142; the Conservatori "Perseus" head, pl. V, was called the Myronian Perseus, after Furtwängler. He further suggested that the famous Canova statue might have been influenced by the ancient type. However, Picard, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 248, and Carpenter, *op. cit.* (above, note 23), p. 24, discard the Medusa Rondanini as Myronian; see also E. Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini*, Stuttgart, 1958.

head; the edge or brim is not preserved. The hat seems to have broken along the line where a brim curved away from the crown of the cap and from the line of the scalp itself. The line of the breaks (one along the front, one down the right side) suggests that the brim had front and side flaps. The lack of surface finish in the hair within two centimeters of the preserved edge of the hat supports the view that the hat had flaps which extended forward and to the sides partially obscuring some of the locks from view. Judging from the lack of finish in the curls preserved toward the nape of the neck, a flap must have extended over the back as well as on sides and front. This suggests that the figure wore the *petasos* with a broad, floppy brim. A long, curving stump of an object, probably the base of a wing, is preserved on the upper right side of the cap; presumably it would have been matched by a second on the left.

The figure's youthful face is long and rectangular with large, hefty features which give him an athletic

appearance. The forehead locks frame the face with crayfish-like tips, pointing toward the center. Beneath a beetling brow large eyes are rather closely set. Though most of their surface is abraded, the lids appear to be wide and sharply carved. The nose is entirely chipped; only the outline and hole of the proper right nostril are preserved. Although the surface of the lips is all chipped, the center line of the mouth remains and indicates that the lips were slightly parted and turned down very slightly at the corners. The area around the mouth and nose appears to be carved with a sensitive hand; the remaining broad expanse of the wide cheeks is smoothly carved and unmodeled. The juncture of right jaw and neck is sharply accented; this feature combined with the swelling in the neck suggests that the head turned right. The ear is carved deeply into the head. A portion of the neck is preserved at the back.

Bibliography: G. Daux, "Chroniques de Fouilles," *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, p. 756, fig. 9.

This head, which was found in the Roman Bath at Corinth in 1965, has been identified as Hermes. Only the top portion of the figure's cap remains; however, the hair is not completely finished in the areas immediately adjacent to the line where the brim breaks off, which suggests that a broad, floppy brim curved out on all sides from the crown, thus representing the *petasos*.³⁵ A base for the right wing is preserved near the top of the crown. The type of hat by itself is not conclusive evidence for the identification of the piece, but if the vase-painting parallels are any indication, it should point in the direction of Hermes.

The type of the face and style of the hair are unmistakably Polykleitan. Compare, particularly, the pattern formed by the locks with other Polykleitan heads.³⁶ A number of such heads fall into a group identified as the Hermes of Polykleitos and are connected with a statement by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 34, 56), which lists a Hermes among the works of Polykleitos. The best representatives of this type seem to be a head in Boston³⁷

³⁵ See discussion, above, pp. 284–286.

³⁶ P. E. Arias, *Policleto*, Italy, 1964.

³⁷ Arias, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18, pl. 11, and L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1925, no. 68, pp. 140–142, who dates the head to a transitional phase between the Doryphoros and the Diadoumenos. According to Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 142, the *petasos*, which was added as a separate piece to the Boston head, was an attribute added by the copyist, as a number of other examples are typified as Hermes simply by the pair of wings emerging from the head. Compare, e.g., the Hermes Boboli in Florence, *E.A.*, pls. 103–105, Arias, *op. cit.*, pl. 13; a head of Hermes in Petrograd, Hermitage

and a statuette from Annecy in the Petit Palais in Paris.³⁸ Viewed from the side, the Boston head is quite close to the head in Corinth, in the size and proportions of the facial features and the patterns created by the waves in the hair. The Boston piece, however, is more strongly imitative of bronze-working techniques. The Annecy statuette is thought to reproduce the original as a whole with the greatest fidelity; however, it wears neither the *petasos* nor wings. As the Corinth "Hermes" seems to derive from the same prototype, variously represented with wings or *petasos*, and as Polykleitos is recorded as having made a statue of Hermes and not one of Perseus, it seems fairly safe to retain the identification as Hermes for the head from the Roman Bath and to suggest a date of about 440–430 B.C. for the original.³⁹

3 FRAGMENTARY HEAD OF HERMES

(OR PERSEUS)

Pl. 72.

S 1934 A, B. Agora Southwest. October 25, 1934; Corinth notebook 144, p. 122.

Fragment A: P.L. 0.184, P.W. 0.131, Th. 0.050 m.

Fragment B: P.L. 0.103, P.W. 0.089, Th. 0.036 m.

Fragment A: Portion of proper left side of face, hair and cap.

Fragment B: Smaller fragment of cap, curls and cheek; surface chipped and worn; hat rim chipped.

White, coarse-grained marble.

Two non-joining fragments. Fragment A: A portion of the left side of a life-size head remains, preserving part of a cap (or himation?) which appears to curve outward somewhat near the rim. Although the original surface of the rim is not preserved, very little appears to be missing,

as the hair immediately adjacent to it bears finished surfaces. Below the cap curly hair is arranged in two rows which appear to be brushed away from the center. Heavy drill work outlines the direction of longer curls and marks the center of short, spiral curls. Most of the left eye remains, set beneath a brow which protrudes at the outer side. The upper lid appears sharply defined and extends beyond the lower at the outer corner. Only a small portion of the smooth cheek remains.

Fragment B: A small portion of the cap is preserved, which begins to curve out near the rim, all of which is chipped. Beneath the cap are portions of four curls, deeply carved with the drill. The direction taken by the curls suggests that the piece belonged to the right side of the head. Only a miniscule portion of flesh surface survives. The scale, type of marble, technique, and the style of the curls indicate that the piece should be assigned to the same head as Fragment A.

These two portions of a marble head wearing a leather cap, which were found during previous excavations at Corinth, are extremely fragmentary and therefore the head's significance is not immediately obvious. The hair style as preserved differs

179; a head in the Museo Torlonia, no. 475; a head in the Palazzo Riccardi, Florence, *E.A.*, pl. 300. Also related to the type are a statue of Hermes in Boston, Caskey, *op. cit.*, no. 70, p. 143, Arias, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, a statue of Hermes wearing a winged *petasos* in Rome, Conservatori 2056, Arias, *op. cit.*, pl. 15, Mustilli, *op. cit.* (above, note 23), 139, note 3.

³⁸ Formerly in the Dutuit Collection, Arias, *op. cit.* (above, note 36), pl. IV, Picard, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 286, Lippold, p. 166. See also Sieveking, "Hermes des Polyklet," *Jahrb.*, XXIV, 1909, pp. 1–7.

³⁹ Compare also the recent article by D. K. Hill, "Polykleitos: Diadoumenos, Doryphoros and Hermes," *A.J.A.*, LXXIV, 1970, pp. 21–24.

considerably from the coiffures of the two previously discussed Corinthian heads. The hair appears to have been arranged in two rows of spiral curls brushed toward the sides, away from a central part. The curls are similar in type but more loosely arranged than those of the Pheidias Hermes Ludovisi of *ca.* 440 B.C.⁴⁰ The direction in which the curls are brushed recalls the Kassel Apollo of *ca.* 450 B.C., another work related to the style of Pheidias.⁴¹ The fact that the two closest parallels are copies of works by Pheidias might link this fragmentary head also to that great artist. The prototype for the head, perhaps the same as that of the Hermes Ludovisi, could also derive from *ca.* 450–440 B.C.⁴² The date of the actual carving of the piece is much later than the two Corinthian heads previously discussed; such a coloristic use of the drill could point to the advanced Antonine period, or perhaps even later.

4 HEAD OF APHRODITE Pl. 73.

S-72-18. Forum Southwest, from great north-east-southwest drain fill from area north of Building I up to northeast corner of Building II. October, 1972; Corinth notebook 522, p. 81.

Max. P.H. 0.164, Max. W. 0.106, H. face 0.093, W. face at temples 0.073 m.

Head, most of neck, small portion of hanging lock or possibly the proper right shoulder preserved; surface of hair and lower half of face badly abraded.

White marble, coarse grained with a bluish tint; traces of gold leaf remain in the hair; portions of face yellowed by chemical composition of drain soil.

A half-life-size female head of a familiar Aphrodite type is preserved to and including the base of the neck. In its original state the head appears to have turned in three-quarter view to proper right with its chin jutting forward. The

hair, rendered in loose, regular waves, is parted in the center, with a small portion pulled up from the temples and tied in a bow on the crown. A fillet, around which the hair is rolled, encircles the head and is visible only on the proper right. Although the hair is badly abraded or missing entirely at the back, it was probably also rolled up and fastened by the fillet, with a loose curl escaping to fall down over the figure's right shoulder. In front of the left ear a curl was roughly blocked out as part of the artist's original intention, but it was never worked in detail and was nearly obliterated during the finishing process.

The short, expressionless face displays little modeling over the preserved surface. The brow protrudes somewhat over small, roughly worked eyes; the upper lid projects some distance beyond the lower on the right eye, but not at all on the left. The nose, which continues in a straight line from the forehead, is mostly missing; only a single drill hole for the left nostril and a trace of the outline of its border remain. Both lips are

⁴⁰ *E.A.*, pls. 270, 271; Fuchs, p. 80, fig. 73; a similar arrangement of the curls is found in the Hermes in the Villa Albani, *E.A.*, pls. 1102–1104.

⁴¹ Fuchs, p. 80, fig. 72; Lippold, p. 142, pl. 51, 1; E. Schmidt, "Der Kasseler Apollon und seine Repliken," *Antike Plastik*, V, 1966, pls. 7–10.

⁴² For the most recent discussion of this type, see J. Inan, "Three Statues from Side," *Antike Kunst*, XIII, 1970, pp. 17–33, where a head of Hermes, Side Museum 252, pls. 17; 18, 2–4; 19, 1, is defined as superior in workmanship and quality to the Ludovisi Hermes and more representative of the type from which they both derive, which the author attributes to Pheidias, *ca.* 450. While the Corinth piece is extremely fragmentary, the style and direction of the curls are quite similar to the Side Hermes head as well as the Hermes head in the Schweizer Collection in Arlesheim illustrated by Inan (pl. 19, 3–4). The technique of the Corinth piece, however, is quite different.

missing, but a straight chisel line terminating in two small drill holes gives the position of the mouth. Although the outer surface of the open mouth is missing, some of the inner surface remains where two small, concave chisel lines immediately above the horizontal mouth line indicate the lower border of the upper lip and suggest that the lips were parted and the upper lip took the form of the popular "M"-shaped pout. The narrow cheeks appear to curve evenly into a small, full chin. The ears are largely covered by the hair, but the visible portions are sketchily rendered. On the left ear the central cavity is rendered by a short running-drill channel. The lower border of the left lobe, which is given more detailed treatment than the right, and a portion of the back of the ear are also defined by a running-drill channel.

The neck, separated from the chin by a shallow groove, juts sharply forward and must have turned somewhat to the right. The sketchy work on the

figure's right adds to the impression that the head was meant to be seen in three-quarter view from proper left. The neck is carved in a smooth regular curve, with no modeling to render the tendons or muscles and no "Venus rings" or other suggestion of a fleshy throat appropriate for the seductive goddess.

The workmanship throughout is cursory and not of the highest quality. Preserved portions of the skin have been well smoothed, leaving no visible tool marks. The even, regular waves of the hair are carved in very shallow relief with the chisel. The drill is used sparingly except in the area of the top-knot where the running drill has been pushed in a heavy-handed and somewhat confused manner in order to define the direction in which the strands are pulled. A small bit of metal, perhaps from a meniskos, remains fixed in a hole on top of the head, immediately behind the bow.

This head, with the hair tied in a top-knot and turned to one side, is reminiscent of a number of Aphrodite types. The Medici type,⁴³ sometimes dated to the early third century B.C., may perhaps be the earliest to pull the front strands of hair into a top-knot, but the knot is quite small and almost indistinguishable compared to the soft impressionistic treatment of the rest of the hair. It is also worn quite far back on the crown. In this figure a fillet is wrapped once around the head and binds the hair up into a knot at the back. The Capitoline type,⁴⁴ which probably is derived from the second century B.C., wears a much larger, more prominent knot. Her hair is also bound once by a fillet and falls in two thick strands from a large knot at the back, down onto her shoulders. Her head is turned in three-quarter view to her left.

Although it is turned in the opposite direction, the new Corinth head shows general similarities to both the Medici and Capitoline types; however, the bulge on the right side of her neck may suggest that the twist of her neck was more pronounced, almost as though she were looking back over her shoulder. Such a pose would bring to mind the celebrated type of the Aphrodite Kallipygos, best known through

⁴³ W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, Munich, 1897, pp. 46f., no. 67; Br.Br. 374; W. Klein, *Praxiteles*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 276f., fig. 41; Bieber, p. 20, figs. 30-31.

⁴⁴ Bieber, p. 20, figs. 34-35; Fuchs, p. 239, fig. 257; Lippold, p. 291, pl. 104, 1; Br.Br. 373; Helbig⁴, II, no. 1277 (H.v. Steuben); *E.A.A.*, I, p. 125, fig. 182; H. S. Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 182f., inv. no. 409, Gabinetto della Venere I, pl. 45; B. Felletti-Maj, "Aphrodite pudica," *Archeologia classica*, III, no. 1, 1951, pp. 33-65; C. M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, London, 1971, no. 90, p. 124, who dates the original ca. 250 B.C.

a marble copy in Naples,⁴⁵ which is thought to be derived from a prototype of ca. 100 B.C. The fleshy bulge in the neck is perhaps even more closely paralleled by a copy of the well-known crouching Aphrodite, formerly ascribed to Doidalsas, of ca. 240–230 B.C.⁴⁶ Except for the fillet, which is only partially visible in the Corinth piece, the style of the hair over the forehead is particularly close to another copy of the same type, now in the Louvre.⁴⁷ The hairstyle with the top-knot is also found in the Anadyomene type as in the Landolina Venus in Syracuse, and was also used on occasion for representations of Artemis and Apollo.⁴⁸

Whether the Roman copyist followed the Capitoline, Kallipygos, or crouching type is difficult to determine from the amount preserved. In any case the statue must have been reminiscent of one of the voluptuous, Hellenistic versions of Aphrodite. One of the most popular deities at Corinth, approximately 70 identifiable fragments of Aphrodite statues of various sizes and types have so far come to light during the course of excavations. The Corinth head S 2638,⁴⁹ which is closest to our head, resembles it in the motif of the top-knot and in the pattern formed by the wavy hair. However, the hair is fastened differently in back, the head does not exhibit the same twist of the neck, and the carving is of a much higher quality. The new, rather rough version of the popular goddess might have been produced in the middle to second half of the second century after Christ.

5 NUDE MALE TORSO	Pl. 74.	P.H. 0.295, W. shoulders 0.151, W. hips 0.094, Max. Th. 0.08 m.
S-72-1. Forum Southwest, from fill of large northeast-southwest drain, sandy stratum, ca. 0.30–0.40 m. above drain bed, in second stratum of fills under fifth-from-west shop of Central Shops, east of Dionysion. April 3, 1972. Corinth notebook 522, pp. 74, 81.		Torso broken at base of neck, through left biceps, above right elbow (where forearm was attached by a dowel), below both knees. Two small struts broken from right thigh, base of one strut on left thigh. Surface of genitals chipped.

⁴⁵ Fuchs, figs. 265–266, p. 245; Lippold, p. 347, note 9; L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik*, IV, Berlin, 1957, p. 222; Br.Br. 578; Bieber, p. 133, note 63; L. Laurenzi, “Rilievo della ‘Callipigia’,” *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, pp. 112–120, fig. 78; Athenaeus, XII, 554c; and G. Säflund, *Aphrodite Kallipygos*, Uppsala, 1963.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., H. Lauter, “Neues zum Mädchen von Antium,” *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXVI, 1971, pp. 147–161, especially pls. 74, 2; 75, 2; 76 for the replica in the Terme; Fuchs, p. 301, fig. 334; Lippold, p. 319, pl. 112, 1; Helbig⁴, III, no. 2292; R. Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, Munich, 1954; A. Linfert, “Der Meister der ‘Kauernden Aphrodite’,” *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXIV, 1969, pp. 158–164, through a re-examination of the text of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 36, 35, has effectively negated the traditional attribution.

⁴⁷ Formerly in the Borghese Collection; see Bieber, fig. 293.

⁴⁸ For the Landolina Venus in Syracuse, see A. della Seta, *Il nudo nell' arte*, Milan, 1930, p. 451, fig. 151; see also, as an example of the widespread popularity of this hairstyle in connection with Aphrodite, an example from Perge, E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, 3rd ed., Istanbul, 1973, pl. 97.

⁴⁹ H. S. Robinson, “Excavations at Corinth, 1960,” *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 115, pl. 42, b.

White, fine-grained marble with highly polished surface; surface somewhat yellowed, with dark, spotty discoloration caused by chemical composition of drain soil. Small surface scratches all over.

A nude male stands quietly in a frontal, chiastic pose. As the figure bears its weight on its right leg, the right hip is raised and contrasts with the raised position of the left shoulder. The break curving in the direction of its right shoulder bears a slight ridge which could well represent a small surviving portion of the lower border of a full beard. In addition, the indentation between the clavicles, which curves upward to proper right, indicates that the head faced right, that is, in the direction of the weight leg.

The dry, taut musculature is accurately rendered. The pectorals are strongly modeled, the dividing line between them vertical. A low swelling delineates the epigastric arch. The median line (*linea alba*) of the upper abdomen, though straight, lies at an oblique angle to the vertical established between the pectorals. Digitations are rendered by shallow grooves, while the indentations for the waist are more pronounced, that on the proper right being higher than on the left. The bulge over the iliac crest is moderate and not harshly carved. Shallow furrows outline the gently curving lower abdomen. In the pubic hair, a few curls with drilled centers remain; the outer surface of the penis is missing.

The problems of identification and chronology are complicated by the fact that the torso is missing its head and attributes. Characteristics that would help to define the type or group to which this piece belongs are its stance and the treatment of its musculature. The figure is supported by its right leg and turns its head in the direction of the weight leg, a characteristic prominent in numerous fifth-century statues. He probably leaned against a support, such as a club, held in his right hand, while a second support, perhaps a tree trunk, was probably fastened against his left thigh. Furthermore, the figure wears a heavy beard which adheres to the upper surface of the shoulder, and is further characterized as a mature male with relatively powerful musculature.

Such a figure immediately brings to mind the well-known marble statuette of

The rendering of the arms suggests a powerful figure; veins are prominent in both upper arms. On the right upper arm, a peculiar bulge representing the contracted triceps appears, in such a position as to suggest that the figure was pushing down or leaning on something.

The proper right leg, the weight leg, is straight, while the left, free leg is turned somewhat to the left. The left knee is lower than the right, indicating that the left lower leg stood in a relaxed position to one side.

The strong inclination of the figure to his left is given greater emphasis in the dynamic musculature of the back. The *erectores spinae* are rendered as a continuous S-curve and are prominently modeled, particularly in the area near the waist. The shoulder blades and deltoid muscles are depicted in a less emphatic manner. The displacement of weight is brought out with equal understanding in the back. The buttocks are well rendered, the trochanteric depressions softly modeled.

Traces of struts remain on both sides of the figure. The upper strut on the proper right thigh probably served to attach the upper portion of an object against which the hero was leaning. The lower strut on the right thigh occurs just above the knee and probably secured the support further down. As the strut on the left occurs some distance below the bottom of the buttock, it may have served to attach a tree-trunk support over which an additional attribute may have been draped.

Herakles in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,⁵⁰ which is taken by some to be a copy of a bronze original by Myron of ca. 460–450 B.C., showing Herakles resting from his labors. In the Boston figure, the pose is reversed, like a mirror image, with the bearded figure facing left toward the weight leg and leaning on his club with his right hand, holding his lion skin in his left. In addition, the Boston Herakles reveals an interesting similarity in the treatment of the abdomen. In both figures the upper horizontal division of the abdomen is considerably wider than that of the lower, and the treatment of the musculature in both examples displays a similar tautness. Yet the Corinth figure leans further out of the vertical, a fact implied by the awkward juxtaposition of the axes of the chest and the abdomen.

The comparison of the two figures is particularly interesting because both are conceived on approximately the same scale. The Boston Herakles (H. 0.57 m.) was probably somewhat taller than the Corinth statuette (P.H. 0.295 m.) when whole. Further similarities are noted in the general musculature of the two torsos, particularly in the area of the pectorals, the thickness of the rib cage and somewhat shortened proportions of the torso, and in the musculature of the back, which is heavily accented for this period.

A final point of comparison, which may prove to be the most significant, is the rendering of the bulging triceps in the right upper arm of the Corinth statuette, which might have gone unexplained were it not for the appearance of the same feature in the right arm of the Boston Herakles. In the latter the contraction of the triceps is explained by the pose, since Herakles is leaning on his club. Indeed, a leaning pose could offer the only explanation for the bulging triceps in the Corinth figure's right arm, when it is held slightly back and out from the body. The position of the fragmentary left arm is also similar to that of the Boston statuette and may suggest that the figure once held a lion skin, probably at a slight distance from the body.

Other copies reminiscent of the Boston statuette⁵¹ seem to bear a similar relationship to the Corinth torso, although the Corinth sculptor paid considerably more attention to the development of individual muscles than to giving the figure merely a feeling of breadth and corporeality. Such details are especially noticeable in the right triceps, the vein on the left arm, and in the dramatic rendering of the *erectores spinae*,

⁵⁰ M.F.A. 64; Fuchs, p. 73, fig. 67; Br.Br. 569, 570; Lippold, p. 139, pl. 49, 2; Picard, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 247, fig. 110; Ridgway, pp. 130–131, 146, figs. 161–162, who includes this as an example of "Severizing" and suggests that various pictorial touches in the lion skin and spring water betray a Hellenistic date at the earliest. Others, however, would see these features as later, free additions of the copyist.

⁵¹ Oxford, Ashmolean 1928.829 (H. 0.53 m.), in G. Hafner, "Zwei Meisterwerke der Vorklassik," *Arch. Anz.*, LXVII, 1952, col. 92, figs. 13–15; Madrid (P.H. 0.39 m.), G. Lippold, "Herakles des Myron," *Antike Plastik, W. Amelung*, Berlin, 1928, pp. 127–131, figs. 1, 2, A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 1949, p. 93, no. 76, pl. 67.; Göttingen (?), G. Fuchs, "Zweihundert Jahre Göttinger archäologische Sammlungen, II. Aus den Sammlungen," *Arch. Anz.*, 1967, pp. 407–414, figs. 9–12.

which flank the vertebral column and assume their greatest proportions just above the waist. The deltoid and shoulder blades are also more subtly executed. Conversely, the Corinth artist has disregarded the veins depicted over the lower abdomen in the other examples.

As the sizes of the recognized examples of this type are all roughly the same, L. D. Caskey⁵² suggests that the prototype may originally have been designed on a similar scale. Although this might explain, as he points out, the attention to detail in the statuettes, it would eliminate the possibility that the Myronian figure reflected by these works could be that of the group, probably originally over life size, which Myron is reported to have created for the Samians.⁵³

In fact, the attribution of such a statuette or type to the famous master is purely conjectural, and a reflection of the Samian group is certainly doubtful. However, the posture and treatment of musculature do seem to point to a prototype of the period around 460–450 B.C. The reversal of the pose in the Corinth piece is possibly due to the whim of the Roman artist, who, in addition to creating a mirror-image of a familiar statue, has also caused his figure to lean somewhat further out of the vertical, a trait possibly influenced by the later “Canon” of Polykleitos. A comparison with the torso at one time thought to be from the Hephaisteion pediment might also be drawn.⁵⁴ However, the difficulty of dating nude male torsos after the Archaic period is abruptly shown by Morgan, who compares the “ex-Hephaisteion” torso with the figure of Agias in Delphi.

Very little in the Corinth torso could suggest the period in which the copy was made. The use of drill holes in the pubic hair combined with the moderately high polish given to the surface might suggest a date in the second century after Christ, but such indications alone are hardly conclusive. As the Corinth torso derives from the same period as the “Perseus” head, the two pieces might have been made in the same school or workshop to which the style of the mid-fifth century was particularly appealing.

The Corinth Herakles torso would also form an additional indication of the popularity of the Peloponnesian hero at Corinth in Roman times. An active cult of Herakles

⁵² Caskey, *op. cit.* (above, note 37), p. 135, as also Fuchs, *op. cit.* (above, note 51).

⁵³ Strabo, XIV, 637 b. E. Berger, “Die Hauptwerke des Basler Antikenmuseums zwischen 460 und 430 v. Chr.: II. Skulpturen,” *Antike Kunst*, XI, 1968, pp. 64–65; p. 137, pl. 38; for further bibliography on the Boston-Madrid-Oxford Herakles type see *ibid.*, p. 65, note 37, and E. Berger, “Zum samischen Zeus des Myron in Rom,” *Röm. Mitt.*, LXXVI, 1969, pp. 66–92.

⁵⁴ C. H. Morgan, “The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion, III. The Pediments,” *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 92, 96–97, pl. 33; H. A. Thompson, “The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion,” *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 233, 238–39, 258, pls. 49, 50, 63, dated the torso *ca.* 440 B.C. But this torso displays proportions which are more slender and elongated than those of the new Corinth torso, and the digitations are more pronounced than is generally the case in figures from the fifth century. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton, 1972, p. 148, note 152, remark that E. B. Harrison, in her forthcoming publication on the architectural sculpture from the Athenian Agora, will disassociate the torso from the pedimental sculptures.

in Roman Corinth is attested by ancient sources,⁵⁵ and Temple H is identified as a "Temple of Herakles" by Professor Scranton.⁵⁶ The hero is also possibly referred to in a series of elegiac couplets on a Roman inscription at Corinth.⁵⁷ B. D. Meritt dates a dedication to Herakles on a cylindrical pedestal of poros to the first century after Christ.⁵⁸ In addition, the new torso immediately calls to mind the series of reliefs showing the Labors of Herakles which were designed for the Corinth theater, particularly the weary Herakles leaning on his club in the Labor of the Erymanthian Boar.⁵⁹ Apart from the theater reliefs, approximately fifteen other sculptural examples, mostly unpublished, are identifiable at Corinth. The other examples, both in relief and in the round, derive from a wide range of dates, but none are as well preserved nor as finely carved as this example.

6 FRAGMENTARY STATUETTE OF ASKLEPIOS OR APOLLO Pl. 72.

Skirt fragment: S 2704, Forum Southwest, section H, June 10, 1963. Corinth notebook 264, p. 54.

Base including feet: S-71-3, Forum Southwest, Grid 57 L, Roman fill in Classical drain; found with large quantities of pottery from the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. June 1, 1971. Corinth notebooks 516, pp. 37-38; 522, p. 74.

M.P.H. 0.146, Max. P.W. drapery 0.103, Th. drapery 0.054, L. base 0.178, W. base 0.109, Max. H. base 0.030 m.

Figure broken just below both knees; surface chipped, worn, encrusted, omphalos and base whole; dowel hole in center of base; remains of iron dowel through lower garment and right leg, probably from an ancient repair; a rough cutting from the top of the omphalos to the dowel may represent a pour channel.

White, fine-grained marble. Yellow surface patina and dark discoloration on lower fragment, similar to that of S-72-1. All surfaces of the drapery have a shiny appearance, probably due to overcleaning with acid.

The lower portion of a marble statuette remains, standing on a small, oblong base. Identification as Asklepios or Apollo is suggested by the omphalos at the right of the figure and the remains of a snake coiling around a cylindrical object at proper left. The god was represented wearing a long cloak and, if Apollo, may have held a kithara. The figure appears to have been in a walking position, for the left leg is held back and bent at the knee; the toes turn outward, the heel is raised, and the entire foot is supported by a "cushion" of marble left between it and the base. The forward right leg was the weight leg. Both feet are delicately rendered. The garment, which falls only to the ankles, is pulled diagonally upward across the right leg and hangs down over the left leg where it is most deeply undercut.

⁵⁵ See the unpublished dissertation by R. Lisle, *The Cults of Corinth*, Johns Hopkins University, 1955, p. 155.

⁵⁶ R. L. Scranton, *Corinth*, I, iii, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 51, 67; however, the identification of the temple, dated to A.D. 191, is based solely on the affection of Commodus for Herakles, p. 70.

⁵⁷ J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, *The Inscriptions, 1926-1950*, Princeton, 1966, no. 65, p. 36.

⁵⁸ B. D. Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, no. 69, p. 53.

⁵⁹ See E. Capps, Jr., "The Labors of Herakles from Corinth," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, Princeton, 1936, pp. 46-57, and my forthcoming volume on the theater reliefs, *Corinth*, IX, ii, *Sculpture, The Reliefs from the Theater*.

The surface of the long hanging fold is broken off at the left. The drapery falls in regular, shallow folds which curve diagonally across the front and around the right leg. The bottom of the himation rises highest above the left ankle, where it is moderately undercut. The back of the garment, which is longer, has fewer, more sketchily treated folds.

The omphalos is small, rising only to the figure's mid-calf, and lacks the usual decoration of fillets or garlands in low relief. The snake rises about a broken column, tree trunk, club or staff at proper left, which may have served partly as a support and was probably fastened to the figure higher up.

The Corinth fragment as preserved is readily identified as a depiction of Asklepios or Apollo by the omphalos and the snake, both of which are common attributes of these related deities. A draped Asklepios is represented in a number of replicas known as the "Giuntini-Uffizi-Venice" type.⁶⁰ In the copies in Florence and Naples he wears a himation which hangs to the ankles and sandals, and leans against a club or staff at his right with a small omphalos on the opposite side, with the left the weight leg. In the Corinth statuette the position of the staff, and correspondingly the omphalos and weight leg, have been reversed, but this is a common variation in copies of this type. Several additional distinctions are also apparent. For instance, the Corinth piece does not wear the sandals so typical of Asklepios, but is barefoot. Secondly, the Corinth figure is not in a stationary position with both feet flat and in a parallel position on the plinth, in the manner of the Asklepios type. That the figure is in a walking position is suggested by the left foot, which is pulled back and posed on the ball of the foot. The arrangement of the feet suggests that the figure was depicted moving forward as though in a slow, continuous motion, a pose quite unlike the stance typical of Asklepios.

The snake curving up the tree trunk is also paralleled by representations of Apollo, such as the Apollo Belvedere, thought to reflect a statue by Leochares.⁶¹ The long skirt and walking position would narrow the identification of the Corinth statuette to the aspect of the god as kitharoidos.⁶²

⁶⁰ A number of examples of this type are known. Compare, e.g., the statue in Florence, Uffizi, *E.A.A.*, I, p. 721, fig. 910 and A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, London, 1895, fig. XXX, p. 205, and the copy in Naples, *E.A.A.*, I, p. 720, fig. 908.

⁶¹ Fuchs, p. 120, fig. 112; Lippold, p. 269, pl. 98, 3; Helbig⁴, I, no. 226 (W. Fuchs); *E.A.A.*, I, p. 474, fig. 642; Bieber, figs. 199–200, p. 63; Havelock, *op. cit.* (above, note 44), no. 91, who dates the original 200–150 B.C.

⁶² Ch. Daremberg, *op. cit.* (above, note 14), I, 2, *s.v.* Citharoedus, pp. 1216f., describes the type of standing Apollo Kitharoidos wearing a long garment. But see also a seated, semi-draped Apollo Kitharoidos on a fresco from the Palatine in Rome, now in the Museo del Palatino, *E.A.A.*, I, p. 473, fig. 641, and the Kitharoidos type of ca. 150 B.C. connected with the artist Timarchides, Bieber, figs. 679–681, p. 160.

Rasp marks are visible across all drapery surfaces along with scratches added after the time of carving. The remaining surfaces have been well smoothed. No drill holes or channels are visible in the drapery folds which appear to have been worked with the chisel. Traces of red paint are visible in the crevices of the folds. The ancient repair suggests that the statuette was valued in antiquity. The hole in the base served as a means of attachment to the floor of a niche either in a house or sanctuary. The unusual shape of the base, a rounded oblong, was designed to contain the deity and his attributes.

There are three, well-known, draped Apollo Kitharoidos types, all of which have been connected with the names of major artists: Euphranor, Scopas and Bryaxis. The depiction referred to by Pausanias in the Athenian Agora has been connected with the colossal fourth-century B.C. original found near the Temple of Apollo Patroos.⁶³ This statue is very heavily draped and shown in a standing position, so it could not be reflected by the Corinth piece. Two statues by Scopas of Apollo playing the lyre are described by Propertius.⁶⁴ Although any attribution to either of these types is tenuous at best, a replica in Geneva,⁶⁵ which is shown hurrying forward, is generally associated with one of the Scopasian Apollos. Much motion is expressed by the swirling and deep undercutting of the drapery. A striding version of Apollo Kitharoidos at Corinth may be a variation of this type,⁶⁶ but the new, fragmentary statuette does not exhibit sufficient motion in the drapery to be related to it.

The statue related to the artist Bryaxis, however, may be the closest link to the Corinth statuette. The Bryaxis Apollo, which seems to have been the most famous work of that artist, was erected in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphneos at Daphne, near Antioch, probably shortly after 300 B.C., and is described by both Libanios and Cedrenus.⁶⁷ Reflected on coins of Antiochos Epiphanes,⁶⁸ the statue seems to be standing with his right foot back, or walking slowly, while playing the lyre. As the motion expressed is very slight, this piece is the closest known parallel to the Corinth statuette among representations of Apollo, and may in fact have been the prototype for the Corinth piece. If the statuette indeed represents the Bryaxis Apollo, the presence of the omphalos and snake may be additions of the copyist. However, the fragmentary nature of the piece leaves open the final question of a secure attribution until the upper part of the piece is found.

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⁶³ Pausanias, I, 3, 4. G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., New Haven, 1970, fig. 785, p. 222; H. A. Thompson, "The Apollo Patroos of Euphranor," *Volumes in Memory of Oikonomos*, III, 1953-1954, pp. 30f.; Thompson and Wycherley, *op. cit.* (above, note 54), p. 139, pl. 69; H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide*, 2nd ed., Athens, 1962, p. 120.

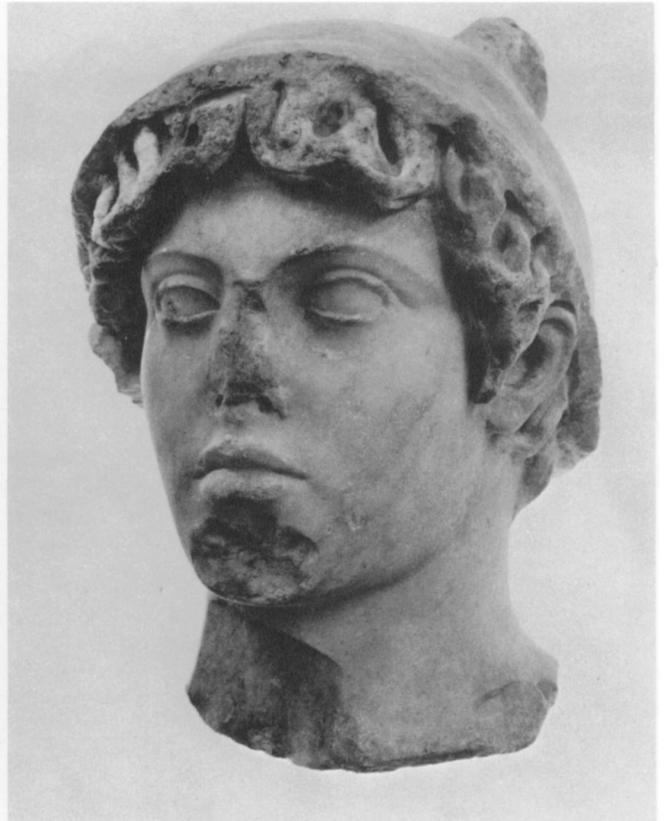
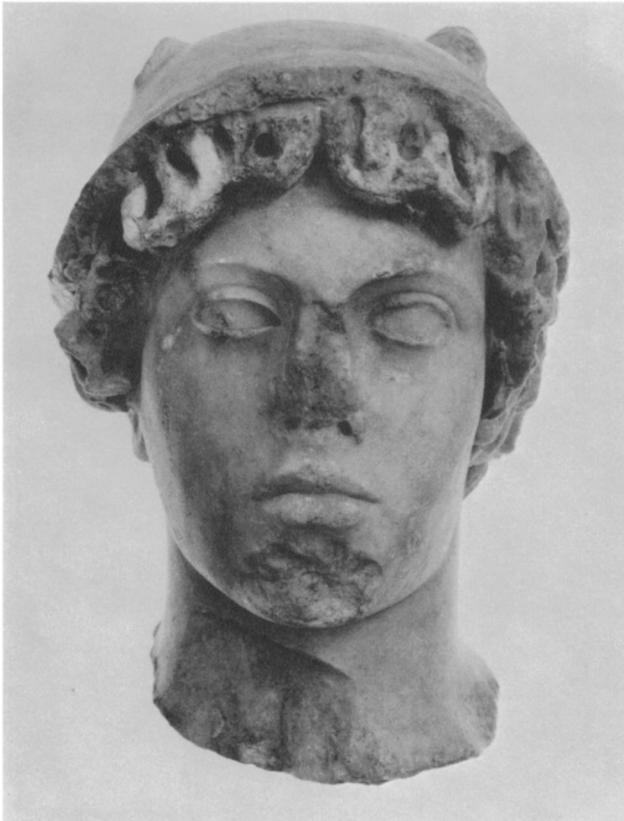
⁶⁴ II, 31.

⁶⁵ Richter, *op. cit.* (above, note 63), fig. 752, p. 212; W. Deonna, *Catalogue des sculptures antiques au Musée d'art et d'histoire en Genève*, Geneva, 1924, no. 61. See also the Sorrento base, which differs somewhat from the Geneva Apollo, illustrated by Picard, *Manuel*, III, p. 302, fig. 140.

⁶⁶ Johnson, *op. cit.* (above, note 30), no. 12, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁷ Libanios, *Orat.*, 61; Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, 306 B; J. J. Pollitt, *Sources and Documents: The Art of Greece, 1400-31*, Englewood Cliffs (N.J.), 1965, p. 137.

⁶⁸ Richter, *op. cit.* (above, note 63), figs. 778-779, p. 219; Picard, *Manuel*, IV, 2, p. 857, fig. 357, who dates the statue ca. 300 B.C. (p. 858, note 2); J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, Leipzig, 1868, nos. 1321ff.; L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*, Liège, 1949, p. 320, pl. 28, 7. Bieber, p. 84, suggests that the statue reflected in the copies was carved not by the well-known Bryaxis, but by Bryaxis the Younger, because of the post-300 B.C. date.

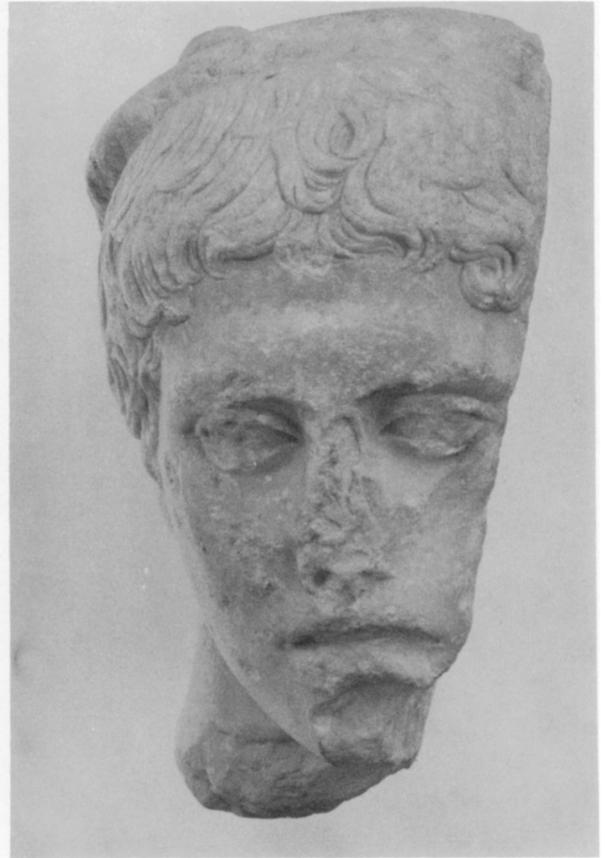


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3A



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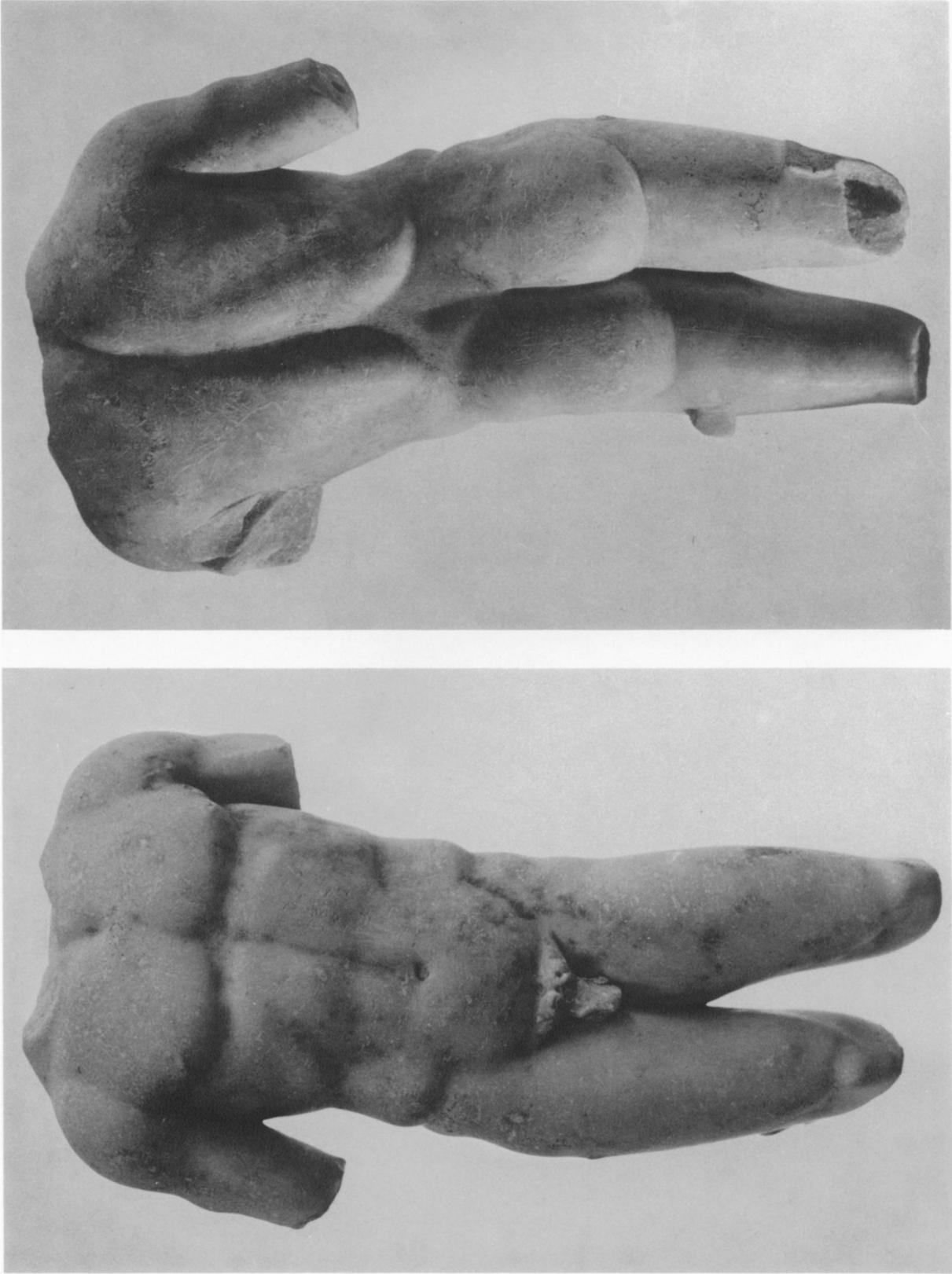


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Scale 1:2

5

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