SCULPTURE FROM CORINTH

(Plates 91–97)

An overview of the sculptural production of ancient Corinth through Greek and Roman times is made difficult by two factors.1 The first is that the site was inhabited well into the Late Antique period, with lime kilns and invading barbarians responsible for much destruction of the statuary embellishment in the city. The second is that only limited and specialized areas of the ancient territory have been systematically excavated. The consequences are especially serious for our understanding of Greek Corinth, since I share the opinion of those who believe that the Corinthian Agora has yet to be found.2 As a result, our picture is severely limited, and the outline I shall attempt here is bound to have major gaps and faults; rather than as a true historical

1 The basic text of this article was presented in lecture form at the Centennial Celebration of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, June 19, 1981. I am grateful to the members of the Program Committee for inviting me to participate in this festive occasion. My research for this topic was made possible by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society and by a research grant from Bryn Mawr College. This financial support enabled me to spend several weeks at Corinth during the summer of 1980, working in direct contact with the stones and utilizing the bibliographical resources of the excavation house. My greatest indebtedness is to Charles K. Williams, II, Director of the American School Excavations at Corinth: not only did he grant me unlimited access to the Corinth material but he spent a great deal of his time initiating me into the intricacies of the site and giving me the benefit of his deep knowledge of the sculptural fragments. Equally helpful on this last count was Nancy Bookidis. To both scholars, as well as to the other archaeological visitors at Corinth, I am particularly grateful for much helpful discussion and for unstinting willingness to listen to my theories. The ideal setting at Corinth also contributed to make my summer one of the most profitable learning experiences of my academic career, and I wish to record here my deep gratitude.

While at Corinth, I had the opportunity to read several doctoral dissertations that have been written on Corinthian topics. Of these, most relevant to my specific task was the excellent work by Catherine de Grazia on portraits, which helped me a great deal. A useful gathering of Aphrodite types has been compiled by Mary Ellen Carre Soles for Yale University. Essential to fathom the intricacies of pre-Roman Corinth is the University of Pennsylvania dissertation by Charles Williams. I append below a list of abbreviations for the most frequently consulted and cited works.

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<th>Author</th>
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reconstruction, it should therefore be taken as a personal interpretation of the sculptural clues available at present, open to revision whenever new evidence suggests it. I shall also try to mention as many monuments as possible within the limits of my task, in order to call deserved attention to the abundant sculpture from Corinth which is, at the least, always interesting and, in many instances, outstanding.

**The Archaic Period**

Ancient sources suggest that Corinth may have been the birthplace of architectural decoration and of clay relief, and modern scholars have often hailed it as an important sculptural center where Greek monumental stone statuary may have originated. Corinthian influence at Thermon, Corfu, Syracuse, and on neighboring Peloponnesian territory is usually taken as proof of sculptural eminence at the site itself. Yet this theory is not supported by our present evidence, despite the fact that systematic excavations of two early sanctuaries, of Poseidon at Isthmia and of Apollo in the city itself, have given ample proof of Corinthian architectural skills. Lack of good local marble must have seriously hampered the development of a strong school of carving in hard stones, and marble, when imported, may have come already fashioned. This is suggested not only by the elegant Tenea “Apollo” with its Ionic component but also by the occasional fragment from Corinth itself. A life-sized knee in Naxian marble (Pl. 91:a) recalls some of the mid-6th-century kouroi in Delos, and a large horse’s muzzle, if not archaic, may have been imported from Athens, perhaps for the statue of a Dioskouros, if later evidence for Corinthian cults can be projected back in time. A large marble

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8I must claim complete responsibility for the dates given to the various monuments considered in this paper, unless a different source is explicitly cited. Not all important pieces from Corinth could be included in my survey, and my selection is inevitably subjective. I have attempted whenever possible, however, to correct erroneous statements in Johnson or to update the published accounts. Inventory numbers are those of the Corinth Museum unless otherwise stated.


5Early temple of Poseidon at Isthmia: O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, I, *Temple of Poseidon*, Princeton 1971; early temple of Apollo at Corinth: H. S. Robinson, *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 224–235. In my account I have concentrated primarily on the material from Corinth itself, eliminating, by and large, finds from Isthmia or from outlying areas. Occasional mentions of Isthmia are made inevitable by the connections between the two sites. A forthcoming volume in the Isthmia series, by Mary C. Sturgeon, will publish the sculpture from the Sanctuary of Poseidon; Steven Lattimore is working on the sculptural finds from other areas of the site.


7Marble right knee: S 614; from the excavations at the beginning of this century, catalogued together with a group of fragments of unknown provenience and mixed date. Unpublished. For the rendering cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 110, fig. 341 (Kourois A 4051, Delos Museum); no. 111, fig. 342 (Kourois A 4083, Delos Museum).

8Horse’s muzzle: S 2833, from manhole C in Gymnasium complex. J. Wiseman, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 421–422, pl. 89:b. Although most Archaic horses lack precisely that portion of the face, the two vertical
sphinx of mid-6th-century date, however, has been preliminarily described as made in local stone and may well be local work.9

Conversely, the abundance of good clay and soft, fine-grained limestone probably helped shape preferences and skills. An active school in poros sculpture, capitalizing on the architectural achievements of the previous two centuries, flourished during the 6th century B.C., and this type of carving can be documented into the late Roman period. Fragments of poros kouroi, both from Corinth and Isthmia, may represent local translation into the more fragile medium of the type of dedication being produced in marble by the islands, while poros sirens, sphinxes, and lions seem to reflect influence from Corinthian painting and metalwork.10 Schools of terracotta sculpture may have started by the late 7th century; certainly by 550 clay was widely exploited, and exported, for sizeable figures in the round: acroterial sphinxes and Nikai, pedimental compositions and votive “kouroi” of the draped variety, and this abundant production extends to the incisions between the nostrils of the Corinthian animal and the radiating lines on the upper lip occur, in comparable fashion, on horses from the Athenian Akropolis, although all incisions tend to follow curving patterns and the lip markings are rarer. See, however, the fragmentary horses attributed to the Rampin Horsemans and its companion: Ak. inv. 565 and 540, H. Schrader, E. Langlotz and W.-H. Schuchhardt, Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis, Frankfurt am Main 1939, no. 312, pl. 137 and fig. 229 on p. 220. That the Akropolis group depicted the Dioskouroi is advocated by some authors and may be significant in the light of the Corinthian connection. The rounded nostril, however, with upper overlap present in the Corinthian snout cannot be exactly matched in Archaic Athenian horses, while this apparent interruption in the flesh is emphasized in Hellenistic and Roman examples. Thus a later date for the Corinthian fragment cannot be excluded, given the importance of archaistic sculpture in Corinth and the fact that the snout was found together with a kore breast which is definitely archaistic: S 2832, Hesperia 36, 1967, p. 422, pl. 89c.

9The sphinx, on display in the Corinth Museum, is a chance find and has not yet been fully published; for preliminary notices see AAA 6, 1973, pp. 181–188; BCH 97, 1973, pp. 248–287, figs. 65–70; Δελττ. 29, 1973–1974, B’ 2 (1979), p. 200, pls. 141, 142. Note the labor-saving asymmetries in the rendering of the hair; the unusual position of the tail may suggest the sculptor was unfamiliar with, and therefore mistrustful of, the technical properties of marble. Lack of marble seems to have been felt, to some extent, even by Roman Corinth, when sculpture was recut to suit later styles or statuary was produced from architectural blocks. See below, footnote 79 and pp. 446–447 and 447–448.


Poros sphinx: S 2230; J. C. Wright, “A Poros Sphinx from Corinth,” Hesperia 46, 1977, pp. 245–254; cf. also for the terracotta sphinx SF-31-2. A fragmentary feline in poros may, according to C. Williams, be another Archaic sphinx, although not necessarily funerary or used as a stele crowning: S-1978-7, from the South East Building.

Poros lions: Bookidis, op. cit., p. 325, no. 12, pl. 79. A large lion head, S 3539 from a dump near the Theater, may already be post-Archaic. Although not strictly from Corinth, we should mention here the limestone lions from Perachora and Loutraki (Archaic Style, pp. 153 and note 6, 178) which, in the calligraphic treatment of the manes, the dots on the muzzles, and the decorative tufts of hair over the bodies, display their kinship to Corinthian vase painting and minor arts.

4th century. Fragments of poros and terracotta reliefs have been labeled metopes, but Corinth seems to lie outside the tradition of decorated friezes, at least on present evidence, and the plaques may represent votive pinakes or parts of relief altars. Pedimental embellishment may have been suggested, as I believe, by neighboring Athens, where the practice had strong roots, or by affiliated Corfu, where an Amazonomachy pediment in clay (Pl. 91:b), comparable to the one in Corinth although smaller, has been found.

Corinthian bronzes were famous in antiquity, but as vases and statuettes; nothing on a large scale has been preserved. Although the strongly limited nature of the evidence should once again be stressed, it is perhaps legitimate to suggest that Corinth excelled primarily in the softer materials and in the minor arts. This specialization may have contributed to establishing a taste for mixed media (inserted eyes, stucco, terracotta and metal additions to stonework) which seems to have resumed during the Roman period. Archaic Corinth gives a different impression from Archaic Athens, but if we do not attempt to enforce Athenian standards, the city appears as a prosperous center of highly skilled craftsmen and traders, made additionally wealthy by its control of the diolkos, capable of importing a few costly dedications and the occasional marble sculpture, while utilizing local talent and media for architectural embellishment and freestanding monuments. Corinth’s wealthy cemeteries are as yet unexcavated, so that our scant evidence for funerary art may be misleading.

THE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS (ca. 500–44 B.C.)

The Severe style at Corinth is represented by few but important examples. They are chance finds and tell us little about their original setting, but suggest that the pace of sculptural production may have quickened in keeping with increased activity at Olympia and elsewhere in the Peloponnesos. Particularly interesting is a small kouros head with a braided hairstyle, perhaps the earliest extant example of the so-called Blond Boy


Draped “kouroi”: N. Bookidis, “The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth,” Hesperia 41, 1972, p. 317; cf. Archaic Style, p. 75, note 32. Bookidis’ thorough publication of the material from the Akrokorinthos sanctuary (which comprises at least 30 statues dedicated to Demeter) has involved her in a restudy of all terracotta sculpture from Corinth, forthcoming. Also in preparation is the publication of the terracotta figurines from the Demeter sanctuary, by Jean MacIntosh Turfa (early period) and Gloria S. Merker (later periods).

12 See Pliny, N.H. xxxiv.5–7 and 48. Cf. also L. Adams, Orientalizing Sculpture in Soft Limestone (Brit ArchRep, Suppl. 42, 1978), p. 128. In addition, if the anecdotal Roman accounts can be credited, the famed Corinthian alloy for bronzes was produced accidentally at the time of the fiery destruction of the city in 146 B.C.: Pliny, N.H. xxxiv.3; Plutarch, de Pyth. orac. II.

13 For mixed-media techniques see below; cf. also the comments in B. S. Ridgway, “A Peplophoros in Corinth,” Hesperia 46, 1977, pp. 315–323, esp. note 12; for a poros head with terracotta additions see Bookidis, op. cit. (footnote 10 above), pp. 315–316, no. 2, pl. 77 (S 1402).

A male head in poros has occasionally been dated to the early 6th century; Bookidis lowers it to the end of the 6th and I would bring it down further, into the 5th century. The regularity of the arching eyebrows, the shelf-like rendering of the lids, and the softness of the lips are features of the Severe style, and the head recalls some marble works at Olympia occasionally attributed to a Spartan school. Since the poros head belongs to a high relief, it is tempting to infer that it is architectural and that the practice of carved metopes was introduced at Corinth together with the Severe style, but no building can be plausibly suggested to which it might be assigned. A third piece is important not only for its unusual technical feature of metal curls scattered over the shoulders but also because it is stylistically close to two female statues from Pergamon, which have therefore been convincingly identified as booty from Corinth. A taste for this sober style returns to the city through several “Severizing” monuments of the Roman period, although a different motivation may be responsible for this trend.

Much less remains from the Classical period proper, perhaps because at Corinth, as elsewhere, the typical dedication was in bronze, and the style appealed more strongly to the Hellenistic and Roman looters. Bases from the Forum area carry the signatures of 4th-century sculptors including Lysippos, and it has been suggested that the latter may have made the monument celebrating Timoleon’s victory in Sicily, of which part of the base has been found. Another impressive 4th-century platform held a quadriga, and the total evidence suggests that many monuments lined the Classical race tracks, perhaps for display purposes as well as for athletic commemoration.

15“Blond Boy” head: BE 35, K. Krystalli-Votsi, “Ἀντίστροφος ἔθεσεν καταστροφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Κόρινθον,” Ἀρχιτεχνική 1976, pp. 182–193, ca. 490–480 B.C.; the article is a major compendium of early Corinthian sculpture. On the head type see Severe Style, pp. 56–60. The Corinth example comes from the northeast corner of the city, where Pausanias saw several sanctuaries; graves may also lie not far away. See also below, footnote 63.

16Poros head: S 3523; Bookidis, op. cit. (footnote 10 above), pp. 323–324, no. 9, pl. 79. For the Olympia parallels see the “Phormis” and its companion, BrBr, nos. 779, 780, as well as the Leonidas from Sparta, BrBr, nos. 776–778.

17Statue with metal hair: S 1577; cf. Ridgway, op. cit. (footnote 13 above). It is unlikely to be acrotelial, as at times suggested, because of the finish of the back and the metal additions. The booty in Pergamon is discussed by W.-H. Schuchhardt, “Korinthische Beute in Pergamon,” Mélanges Mansel, Ankara 1974, pp. 13–24. A marble head (S-70-10) was recovered from a lime kiln during excavation of the gymnasium complex: J. Wiseman, Hesperia 41, 1972, p. 24, no. 18, pl. 9. The fragment has inserted eyes and hair treated as a smooth calotte; it has therefore been considered “an early Greek work, perhaps Archaic,” and it recalls in fact some heads from the temple of Zeus at Olympia. But the strongly tapering face, the slight chin, and the small mouth would be unusual for the Severe period. Given the interest at Corinth in reviving that style in later times, the piece could be considered Severizing. Its findspot offers no help for a proper dating. A fragment from the top of a male head has also been compared to the Olympia pedimental sculpture: S 2390, AJA 43, 1939, pp. 266, fig. 10, p. 267; it is apparently accepted as Severe by Krystalli-Votsi, op. cit. (footnote 15 above), pp. 182, note 3, 187, note 4, and pl. 67a. But a braid framing the forehead directly, without incorporating curls or bangs, is unknown to me within the Severe period and suggests a much later date.

In marble there are only tantalizing fragments, mostly from reliefs which emphasize hero cults and seem to belong largely to the 4th century and to the Hellenistic period. Once again, the area excavated may be responsible for the selective evidence.\textsuperscript{19}

Fragments of approximately 27 stone reliefs have been found in and around the Forum. Great quantities of votive offerings come from the Asklepieion; most of these are in clay, stressing the healing power of the god by showing parts of human anatomy.\textsuperscript{20} Other reliefs, in marble and of varied provenience, repeat the common Attic type of the three Nymphs dancing around an altar (S 1441; Pl. 91:c). One small fragment (S 2567; Pl. 91:d) shows the interior of a sanctuary, with a relief plaque erected on a pier; its importance lies in documenting archaistic renderings in the pre-Roman period, perhaps to enhance the venerability of the locale.\textsuperscript{21}

The predominant relief type is that of the Funerary Banquet, with the reclining Hero in various guises (beardless, bearded, fully or semi-draped, wearing a polos, holding a rhyton or a phiale), so that a multiplicity of purposes and various honorands may be surmised. Since the type has wide distribution throughout the Greek world, it was

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J. H. Kent ("The Victory Monument of Timoleon at Corinth," \textit{Hesperia} 21, 1952, pp. 9–18) who suggests that the Poseidon commissioned by Corinth from Lysippos (according to Lucian) may have stood on that base and have been of the Lateran type. E. Walde, however, has now argued that the original of the Lateran type stood on the east quay of the Kenchreai harbor: "Die Aufstellung des Aufgestützen Poseidon," \textit{AthMitt} 93, 1978, pp. 99–107. For the signature of the sculptor Eukleides see Williams, \textit{Hesperia} 43, 1974, pp. 25–29 (on re-used 4th-century bases).

\textsuperscript{19}Among the original fragments see the small marble head S 2556. It was found in Well XX, below the South Stoa, with coins of Sikyon dated 323–251 B.C.: \textit{Hesperia} 16, 1947, p. 242, pl. 63:24. The flat break at the back suggests that it may come from a late 4th-century relief.

\textsuperscript{20}Stone reliefs: for numbers, finds, and various comments see Williams, \textit{Cults}, p. 30, note 30 and \textit{passim}. Cf. also De Grazia, \textit{Hesperia} 46, 74, note 34.


\textsuperscript{21}Fragment with archaistic panel: S 2567; M. A. Zagdoun, \textit{FdlD} IV, vi, 1977, p. 26, note 5, fig. 16. The divinities shown on the pinax are Apollo, Leto, and Artemis. A relief from the Athenian Asklepieion (Athens N.M. 2557; J. N. Svoronos, \textit{Das Athener Nationalmuseum}, Athens 1908, pl. 171) depicts a similar volute capital bridging the transition from shaft to pinax. The piece in Athens is severely weathered so that the three figures on the pinax are no longer identifiable, but the capital although deprived of detail still retains the distinctive contours that permit comparison with the Corinth fragment. The hand resting on the shaft of the relief in Athens is held at a different angle and at a lower level than the one in Corinth, so that no complete correspondence between the two votives can be claimed. If, however, the Athenian version can still provide a guideline for the composition of the Corinthian, we could restore a seated Asklepios to the left, a standing Hygieia to the right, leaning on the pillar. In the Athenian relief the pier stands on a stepped base on which a snake coils. If this integration is correct, the Corinthian fragment would provide the interesting information that pinakes to the Apolline triad were set up in sanctuaries of Asklepios. S. Karouzou, in her \textit{Catalogue of the National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture} (Greek edition, Athens 1967, p. 143), dates the Athenian relief to the mid-4th century B.C., but a later date seems possible. Another pinax on an elaborate volute capital is preserved on a fragment in the Museo Nazionale, Rome; it is illustrated in E. Schmidt, \textit{Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom}, Munich 1922, pl. 19:3. Although nothing is preserved of the surrounding figures, a tripod next to the pinax suggests that the context is still related to Apollo. The archaistic figures depicted on the pinax have been identified as the Three Graces: Schmidt, p. 62, note 19.
undoubtedly adapted for local intentions and beliefs. The Corinthian examples (some of which attained considerable size) seem largely Attic in typology and marble; one inscribed name, Zeuxippos (S 1024bis; Pl. 91:f), occurs also on a relief from Athens. The funerary/divine character is emphasized by the unique occurrence of a clearly identified deity (Hermes standing behind the couch with his kerykeion) in one example (S 1200; Pl. 91:e), while the presence of smaller worshipers with sacrificial animals, albeit common for the 4th-century type, stresses the votive nature of the Corinthian plaques.\(^{22}\)

A fragmentary relief (S 2690; Pl. 92:a) with a standing man holding pantherskin and lagobolon and accompanied by a dog was first reported as a depiction of Herakles, but Charles Williams has more convincingly suggested Pan. On the basis of scale, medium, and rocky frame, Williams has attributed to the same panel a non-joining fragment with the partially preserved figure of a bearded, draped man. Since Pan is preceded by a peplophoros, the total composition may have been an unusual type of Nymph relief.\(^{23}\)

This relatively large number of votive reliefs is particularly interesting in light of the apparent lack of carved gravestones at Corinth. Stelai have been recovered from the North Cemetery, but they are in poros and decorated, if at all, with painted stucco.\(^{24}\) An occasional grave relief may have been imported from Athens, but one peculiar poros object suggests a connection with the Cyclades and Cyrène; it is a faceless head with a 4th-century hairstyle, recovered from a mid-2nd-century B.C. level in an Anaploga cistern.\(^{25}\) That Greek Corinth had contacts with North Africa and Egypt may also

\(^{22}\)Funerary Banquet reliefs: in general, see Williams, _Cults_. For a partial list of examples, which includes several from Corinth, see R. N. Thonges-Stringaris, “Die griechische Totenmahl,” _AthMitt_ 80, 1965, pp. 1–99.

Zeuxippos relief: S 1024bis, _Corinth_, VIII, iii, _The Inscriptions 1923–1950_, Princeton 1966, no. 34, pl. 4; Thonges-Stringaris, _op. cit._, no. 185; cf. also her no. 42, in Trieste, and p. 57.

Relief with Hermes: S 1200; Δέλτατ 4, 1918, Παραπτ. 1, p. 1, fig. 1; Thonges-Stringaris, _op. cit._, no. 183; cf. also her p. 26.

\(^{23}\)Pan relief: S 2690; H. Robinson, Δέλτατ 19, 1964, B’ 1 [1966], p. 100, pl. 104, with identification as Herakles. Williams, _Cults_, p. 29 and note 24, with identification as Pan and attribution of fragment S 2708. I had originally doubted that Pan would be represented with human legs and in the Doryphoros pose; the long tail of the dog had also encouraged me to think in terms of Kerberos, perhaps being returned to Hades. Charles Williams, however, has called my attention to a 4th-century clay relief from the Kabeiron at Thebes: R. Herbig, _Pan_, Frankfurt 1949, pl. 20:1. There Pan, unmistakable because of his horns, is shown in equally human form with lagobolon and dog. I therefore withdraw my suggestion, stressing, however, the possible significance of such a rare, Herakles-like depiction of the goat-dog.

\(^{24}\)Faceless poros head: H. Robinson, _op. cit._ (footnote 23 above), p. 101, pl. 106; _Hesperia_ 38, 1969, p. 20, no. 38, pl. 8: S 2714. On comparable busts from the Greek islands see M. Sturgeon, “Greek Funerary Busts,” _Archaeologia_ 28, 1975, pp. 230–237; on the Cyrene busts, extensively, L. Beschi, “Divinità funerarie cirenaiche,” _ASAtene_, n.s. 31–32, 1969–70, pp. 133–341. The 1981 excavation season has added another such head, which was displayed for the participants in the Centennial Symposium. The poros “knob” is completely covered by a mass of curly locks, bound by a red-painted fillet at the “neck” level. Below this fillet, two diminutive human ears have been carved, strengthening the identification of the strange piece as a faceless head. The shape of the new find links it to the “symbolic cippus” in poros, which had been found together with the first faceless example and was considered a marker because of its smooth surface: _Hesperia_ 38, 1969, pp. 20–21, no. 39, pl. 8.
be inferred from an Egyptian faience amulet found in a poros sarcophagus, a few fragmentary Egyptian statues in Egyptian stones, and Corinthian artifacts in the shape of negro boys. One remarkable steatite piece in Boston alludes to Egypt not only in its subject matter but also in its format, which imitates the so-called block statues; its provenience from Corinth is not proven, but finds some confirmation in its sole, albeit later, parallel, a clay rattle from a child’s grave in Corinth.26

Artistic contacts with Asia Minor, specifically with Pergamon, have been postulated for a large cuirassed statue which in the Roman period was transformed into a trophy.27 Its original pose, with outstretched right and slanting left arm, advanced left thigh, and probably twisted head, is more lively than the standard Roman figure in armor and recalls the type of the Hellenistic Ruler; the corselet itself has been compared to renderings of Pergamene cuirasses from the time of Eumenes II and Attalos II. That it was reused as a victory monument is suggested by the peculiar hollowing out of the thigh area and the removal of scabbard and left arm, as well as of the separately carved head. Roman Corinth may have favored trophies, since many appear on its coins and reliefs, and this Hellenistic survivor would have had particular appeal as a full-scale example in the round convenient both for its medium and its historical implications.

These are meager remains for a lengthy period, and none of them can be connected with a specific architectural program in the town. But in 146 B.C. Mummius destroyed the city and opened it to wholesale looting. Clarification of the evidence and new excavations have revealed that the site was not totally abandoned, and continuity of cults is attested in some areas. The artistic treasures of the city, however, seem entirely lost.28

44 B.C. — ca. A.D. 100

In 44 B.C. Corinth was refounded by Julius Caesar as Colonia Laus Julia Corinthiensis and peopled by freedmen and veterans. Some of them came from the Eastern colonies but most came from Italy and the West, although they may have been of


27Hellenistic cuirassed statue: S 3356; the Pergamene similarities are pointed out by C. de Grazia in Williams, Hesperia 46, 1977, pp. 73–77, no. 30, pl. 27. On trophies at Corinth see below, p. 435.


Another piece probably indicative of Hellenistic contacts between Corinth and Athens is a fine statuette in Pentelic marble, headless, seemingly a variant of the Athena Velletri type: S 2609. This piece is fully discussed by M. Sturgeon in a forthcoming article in AJA and has already been presented by her at the 97th Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (“A Classicizing Corinthian,” Paper Abstracts, Dec. 1976, p. 9) as an eclectic-classicizing creation of early Roman date. While agreeing with this assessment in stylistic terms, I would date the piece still within the Hellenistic period, perhaps even before 146 B.C.
Greek extraction. The official language of the new city was Latin, and strong ties with Italy have been postulated for the monuments from this early period, despite limited evidence. It is even logical to surmise that not much sculpture was set up at first, and whatever was deemed necessary was imported from Italy. Perhaps the most interesting piece is a veristic Republican portrait of a priest(?) in small scale (Pl. 92:d), which was probably brought in by one of the colonists as part of his ancestral gallery. A portrait of Caesar, which may have been re-used in the 3rd century by adding an engraved beard, remains a doubtful case and, at any rate, is likely to be posthumous.

The Augustan period seems to have been as important for Corinth as it was for Athens and the rest of Greece. The Emperor laid great stress on religion and tradition, and Corinth was a city where the past had been virtually wiped out with the destruction of its buildings. The Roman Forum was laid out, new structures were erected, cults were re-established (some perhaps with an Eastern cast due to the composition of the new population), and sculptural embellishment added. It is perhaps from a desire to give the city respectability and a semblance of continuous traditions that we witness the introduction of archaistic sculpture and even architecture. A sofa capital, originally thought to have come from a 4th-century B.C. context, has now been placed within the Augustan period; an Augustan column(?) base imitates moldings typical of the 6th century B.C. In the same spirit, two large rectangular pedestals of uncertain function.


32Eastern cults: e.g., Artemis Ephesia, Apollo Klarios. See Pausanias, u.2.5–7. His account refers to the 2nd century, the time of his visit, but the cults are likely to have been established in the early years of the new city. For a possible identification of the various shrines see Wiseman, pp. 540–541, Table 4, and Williams, Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 25–29, esp. note 38 with previous interpretations of the excavated remains. Other foreign cults were undoubtedly introduced by the sizeable contingent of Corinthian Jews. For the Egyptian cults see D. E. Smith, "The Egyptian Cults at Corinth," HThR 70, 1977, pp. 200–231, esp. 225–226.

33Anta sofa capital with lotus and palmette decoration: A-355; AFA 39, 1935, p. 66, fig. 9; cf. also AFA 37, 1933, p. 570, fig. 15. Cf. E. B. Harrison, The Athenian Agora, XI, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, Princeton 1965, p. 82, note 96. C. Williams informs me that two joining fragments (A-75-7 and A-75-11) found in 1975 indicate that at least two such anta capitals existed. The tooling of the later finds supports a Roman date. Two fragments from circular capitals (A-373 and A-374) have palmette and lotus decoration similar, although not identical, to the sofa capitals and could tentatively be associated with the same (large) building.

were decorated on three sides with images of divinities in archaistic style.\textsuperscript{35} A small plinth beneath each figure suggests that actual statues were meant, as if replacing the many cult images looted or destroyed in the final sack of the city. In the round, a Hermes kriophoros (Pl. 92:c) appears at first glance ugly and disproportioned, but its damaged condition is responsible for this false impression. The work is good and must have had some meaning, since a replica is known in an English collection.\textsuperscript{36}

The majority of these works come from the Forum area, some from in front of the West Shops; many others, however, must have been scattered at crossroads or in domestic contexts. Corinth has produced a variety of archaistic Hekataia in all scales, some as large as life-size, some mere statuettes. These are difficult to date, especially because of their fragmentary conditions, but several are likely to belong to the Augustan period (e.g., S 2302; Pl. 92:b).\textsuperscript{37}

Other embellishments for the Julio-Claudian city were fountains, with their corollary of sculpture. Some rocky bases have been tentatively attributed to a fountain of Poseidon of Tiberian times, perhaps surmounted by a nymph; and if the Gn. Babbius Philinus who donated a round monument has been correctly identified as an early 1st-century man, some dolphins carrying an inscription with his name may be part of a


\textsuperscript{36}Hermes kriophoros: Johnson, no. 21; the head was recovered later, from in front of the West Shops: \textit{AJA} 39, 1935, p. 68, fig. 10 (S 686 + S 1793 + S 2051); for the parallel piece in Wilton House, England, I only know the photograph in C. C. Vermeule, \textit{AJA} 60, 1956, p. 347, pl. 105:6 (no. 144 at Wilton House). Cf. also the unfinished piece, Harrison, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 33 above), no. 110, p. 68 and note 3.

\textsuperscript{37}Hekataia: the largest preserved, S 1211, Johnson, no. 60, seems larger than anything at present known from Athens (height from top of head to neck: 0.25 m.). If these monuments are copying the original by Alkamenes in that city, the variety in scale, including a possible magnification, is worth noting; but, given the variety in forms of Hekataia, it is likely that different models were followed at different periods and for different needs. The Corinthian monument may well represent a specific commission and variant. For general discussion of Hekataia see Harrison, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 33 above), pp. 86–98. More representative of a possible household image or one meant for a small crossroad shrine is Corinth S 2302 (unpublished).

Other archaistic pieces in Corinth deserving mention are the large head of a kore with inserted eyes: S 1077, Johnson, no. 133, and a large statuette of a headless kore, S 2411, now on display in the Museum but found outside regular excavations and still unpublished. See also below, pp. 445–446, for the Karyatids from the Odeion.

A large wellhead decorated in archaistic style, the so-called Dodwell Puteal, was seen and drawn by the British traveler in 1805–1806. It was then taken to England before 1830 and was subsequently lost, so that only the drawing now remains: \textit{JHS} 6, 1885, pp. 46–49, pls. 56, 57. The relief depicted the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, for a total of ten deities. See also \textit{Hesperia} 45, 1976, p. 220. Less obviously archaistic, but certainly Neo-Attic, is another relief fragment with Herakles: S 829, Johnson, no. 287; it may go with S 843 (fragment of leg) and, more tentatively, with S 801, Johnson, no. 301 (the photograph there published should perhaps be turned counterclockwise 90°, so that the tip of the club rests on the thigh(?) and the foreshortening of the forearm becomes plausible).
fountain complex of the same date.\textsuperscript{38} The allusions to Isthmia are frequent in the rendering of Palaimon on his aquatic mount, but dolphins as symbol of sea power are also appropriate for Corinth with its two harbors and commercial prowess.

More spectacular are the portraits, of which Corinth has yielded a remarkable series extending into the Late Antique period. Several may belong to the Julio-Claudian phase, but their chronology is not without problems. The two large statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar from Corinth have so far formed the basis for all iconographic studies of these two princes;\textsuperscript{39} although not inscribed, their youthful appearance and their alleged connection with a statue of Augustus \textit{capite velato}, as well as their provenience from a building which yielded several other imperial figures, assure identification.

The excavation report, however, makes clear that the two princes were not found with the Augustus, nor even together at the same level, and the Julian Basilica, which has received its name from a belief in its early date, is now being restudied, since some excavational evidence may support a later chronology, possibly Neronian or Domitianic.\textsuperscript{40} The two statues, although forming a pair, are not mirror images, since they both rest their weight on the right leg; only their heads turn in opposite directions; these are stock bodies in Polykleitan tradition to which “portrait” heads have been added. The workmanship is surprisingly careless: not only are puntelli and tool marks visible but the backs are clearly unfinished, and the more complete of the two statues exhibits a large rear cavity perhaps produced by a flaw in the marble. The faces themselves are flat and almost mask-like; they were probably carved by two different hands but they are both so idealized as to qualify only marginally as portraits. Had the statues been made during Augustus’ lifetime, honor to the recently deceased members of his family would be understandable; at a later date, and given the indifferent careers of the two princes, these portraits per se are hard to explain and do not seem to copy a specific physiognomy. It is tempting to suggest that the two statues were erected to recall not so much the Julian princes themselves but the Dioskouroi, as Gaius and Lucius were called.

\textsuperscript{38}Fountains: for the rocky bases see R. L. Scranton, \textit{Corinth}, I, iii, \textit{Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple}, Princeton 1951, pl. 14:2 and fig. 20 on p. 35; for the dolphins with the inscription by Gn. Babbius Philinus see his pl. 15, and fig. 21 on p. 36. Cf. also Wiseman, p. 518 and, on other fountains, pp. 510–512. For Palaimon on two dolphins see, e.g., Johnson, no. 72.


\textsuperscript{40}For the earliest account see E. H. Swift, “A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth, III, Gaius and Lucius Caesar,” \textit{AJA} 25, 1921, pp. 337–338, and cf. the findspot of the Augustus, Swift, “A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth,” \textit{AJA} 25, p. 144. That the statues came from opposite corners and that the youths probably flanked a statue of Hadrian has already been pointed out by S. S. Weinberg, \textit{Corinth}, I, v, \textit{The Southeast Building, The Twin Basilicas, and the Mosaic House}, Princeton 1960, pp. 53–54, pls. 32–35. The twin basilicas are dated by Weinberg \textit{ca.} A.D. 40, but C. Williams tells me that a different date is possible.
The Augustus is instead a definite portrait, of much better quality than the other two statues but also posthumous; a Claudian date has been suggested for its carving. Monuments previously set up elsewhere could have been given a different location after the disastrous earthquake of 77, in the rebuilding which required massive help from Vespasian; it is also possible, however, to assume that the statues as we now have them were hastily made to replace earlier pieces destroyed in the catastrophe.41

Among the portraits from the Julian Basilica the best in quality is a veiled head of difficult identification (S 1088; Pl. 93:a). Published by Johnson as Nero son of Germanicus (died A.D. 31), this identification has been highly debated and most recently upheld by comparison with a head from Ephesus which resembles it in iconography though not in style.42 In the Corinthis head the unusual rendering of the covering deserves special attention: the cloth does not lie flat over the hair, but, leaving the ears quite visible, it rises in three distinct layers, each clearly separated from the other and from the head itself, the topmost describing a mannered omega fold on axis. This niche-like arrangement is known from "provincial" togati of alleged Claudian date and is expedient for the separate insertion of a portrait head;43 but in the Corinthian sculpture this is certainly not the case. The flamboyant effect recalls the wind-blown mantles of celestial divinities and may be a hint of heroization. Coupled with the over-life-sized statue in Jupiter guise,44 this sequence of imperial sculptures suggests a gallery of divinized personages, all erected after their deaths in Neronian or Domitianic times, if not later, presumably as propaganda for the supreme office.

A surprising feature of the group is the lack of female figures. Livia, so prominent elsewhere, is conspicuous by her absence, and Octavia, to whom Pausanias ascribes an

41 Augustus: Johnson, no. 134 (S 1116); De Grazia, no. 10, dated Claudian. Vermeule, p. 174, fig. 106, p. 380, no. 7. The rendering of both toga and tunic is peculiar, especially the tight sleeve of the latter and the lack of folds between the feet. A hasty execution and at least definite knowledge of the intended setting are suggested by the various degrees of finish of the backs of all three figures. For the finish of the Augustus see Swift, op. cit., pp. 147–148; the excavator also comments on the extensive traces of red, perhaps for gilding, on the statue when first found. It is worth noting that a strong propaganda emphasis on the Julio-Claudian dynasty was promoted by the Flavians; moreover, at Corinth one would expect to find that the earlier the statue, the closer its dependence on Rome-city prototypes, which is not the case with the Basilica sculptures.

42 Veiled head: S 1088, Johnson, no. 137; De Grazia, no. 13; Vermeule, p. 194, fig. 123. For the latest discussion see Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, op. cit. (footnote 39 above), in a comparison with their no. 19, pl. 16, a head found in Ephesus, near the cryptoprticus of the Temple of Domitian.

43 For the three-layered toga see, e.g., some Claudian(?) statues from Aquileia and Aenona: H. G. Niemeyer, Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7), Berlin 1968, pl. 4; also the Tiberius(?) in Eleusis, Vermeule, p. 183 and fig. 113, p. 384. None of these statues, however, has the omega fold, which seems more common on veiled female figures, beginning in the Hellenistic period. That the niche-like rendering continues to the time of Nero is shown by that emperor's portrait in the Terme: cf. U. W. Hiesinger, AJA 79, 1975, pl. 23:37, 38; cf. his p. 118, where the Terme head is dated between 55 and 59; see also his notes 26 (Corinth head) and 31 (Aenona statue, "not Claudius").

44 Statue in Jupiter guise: S 1098, Johnson, no. 138; De Grazia, no. 107.
entire temple, could perhaps be represented by a fragmentary head, which, however, may more comfortably fit a much later date, when the nodus hairstyle was revived, for instance, by Constantine’s mother.45 Only one headless cuirassed statue has been dated to the Tiberian period,46 and, despite all Flavian help in rebuilding the city, only one head and one cuirassed statue from the Odeion may represent Domitian (Pl. 93:b).47 Since numerous other heads and headless bodies can be attributed to the time span under consideration, the impression is inevitable that Corinth may have been more concerned with honoring local figures than with portraying the ruling family, although some private individuals may have been given vague Julio-Claudian traits.48

Conversely, some athletic monuments, which probably stood around the Gymnasium and near the Lerna fountain, may erroneously be taken for portraits. Rather than depicting specific victors, they may simply represent ideal types, some of them quite young, perhaps for boys’ competitions.49 That standard Greek originals were also copied is suggested by a romanticized head of the Doryphoros, a work whose influence is obvious in many Corinthian monuments.50 Heavy red coloring is used for the hair of this and other figures, and traces appear also on mantles; one headless male statue from the Theater51 gives the impression that its “hip mantle” has been added impromptu to a stock naked body, since the covering is effective only from the front, while the left leg

46 Tiberian cuirassed statue: S 1125; Johnson, no. 141, De Grazia, no. 99 (dated Claudian); Stemmer, no. 220 (dated Tiberian).
47 Head of Domitian: S 2272; De Grazia, no. 15; cf. AA (Jdl 52), 1937, col. 135. Cuirassed statue from the Odeion: S 1430; Stemmer, no. 221, and III:21, pl. 25:1 (dated Flavian).
48 For statues of private individuals, besides those listed by De Grazia, see also the inscribed base for a bronze statue of Caius Julius Laco, son of C. J. Eurykles, a contemporary and friend of Augustus: Hesperia 31, 1962, p. 116.
49 Heads from the Gymnasium area, with Julio-Claudian traits: see, e.g. S-70-13 (De Grazia, no. 9; dated Claudian) and S-71-15; Wiseman, Hesperia 41, 1972, pl. 8:14, p. 21. For relief heads resembling Augustus see also S 2834, Hesperia 36, 1967, p. 422, pl. 89:a.
50 Doryphoros head: T 386; AJA 30, 1926, p. 462, fig. 15. Both legs from the knee down and the left foot to above the ankle were also found. Other heads influenced by the Doryphoros rendering are, e.g., S-69-19, S 2755; M. Sturgeon, Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 290–292, no. 2, pl. 71; S 2655; this is only a slice from the top of a head, but the crowns of true portraits do not show quite the same whirligig; Vermeule, however (p. 383, no. 4), considers it another replica of Gaius Caesar.
51 Statue with hip mantle from the Theater: Th. 389 Sc. 54, De Grazia, no. 105 (dated Tiberian?). The type is discussed by Niemeyer (op. cit., footnote 43 above) as a restricted form particularly liked for post-humous portraits and used with possible heroizing intent. Several came from theaters. For imperial uses the type may not have extended beyond the Julio-Claudians (pp. 57–59). The best example for the distinctive rendering of the Corinthian figure is the so-called Navarch in Aquileia: V. Santa Maria Scrinari, Catalogo delle sculture romane, Museo Archeologico di Aquileia, Rome 1972, no. 81, dated late 1st century B.C. Several pieces in Aquileia provide comparisons with Corinthian pieces: beside the Augustus (cat. no. 82) and the Navarch, see also below, footnotes 60 and 81. Niemeyer believes that the group of statues with hip mantle is homogeneous, not a pastiche created by applying a modest covering to a Classical prototype. The reason for the addition may not be modesty, however; other statues at Corinth seem to show unfamiliarity with Roman/Hellenistic costumes: note the peculiar combination of chlamys and mantle on S 1051, Johnson, no. 140, from the Julian Basilica, De Grazia, no. 108, and Th. 380 Sc. 54, from the Theater, AJA 33, 1929, p. 531, fig. 13; De Grazia, no. 109.
appears fully exposed from the side. Whether the workshop which produced this piece and the Doryphoros replica should be considered local is a matter of conjecture, but the surmise may be justified by the need for sculptural decoration in the Theater, the Odeion and the Gymnasium.  

**SECOND CENTURY AFTER CHRIST (TRAJANIC THROUGH ANTONINE)**

The Trajanic period seems to have left few sculptural remains, but the Hadrianic and the following Antonine periods are among the most productive for Corinthian statuary.

Although portraits are numerous, imperial statues are still relatively few. One fragmentary head of Trajan is recognizable despite the damage, another portrait is probably of Hadrian (or at least a member of his family), an oversized head of Antoninus Pius (S 1798; Pl. 93:c) continues the tradition of inserted eyes mentioned earlier.  

There are definite gaps in the imperial sequence (no Marcus Aurelius, for instance), but some might be filled with a few surviving cuirassed statues, although now headless. A very fragmentary example from the Odeion deserves special mention because of the superb quality of its workmanship and the iconography of its high-relief decoration on the pteryges; it has been dated to the Hadrianic period. Another torso from the Julian Basilica wears a corselet decorated with two Victories setting up a trophy (Pl. 93:d). It has been suggested that a Victory in the round from the South Basilica and a matching piece, of which the lower portion has now been identified, may have been engaged in a similar action, in a three-dimensional tableau set up within the building. Corinth may have particularly enjoyed military monuments involving trophies, as previously mentioned.

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52 Another type of building which undoubtedly used extensive sculptural decoration is the baths, but little can be assigned with certainty to the various thermal establishments found at Corinth. See, however, the two large reliefs with quadrigae, one of which is illustrated in *BCH* 94, 1970, p. 953, fig. 137.

53 Fragmentary Trajan: S 72-22.

Hadrian: S 2505, from Solomo, near Corinth; Vermeule (p. 249, fig. 142, and pp. 263–264) calls it a portrait of Aelius Caesar, the father of Lucius Verus. De Grazia, no. 30, considers this a posthumous portrait of Hadrian; Vermeule, fig. 134 is not Hadrianic, as stated on p. 259, but considerably later: cf. De Grazia, no. 54, S 1454.


54 Even more surprising perhaps is the lack of portraits of Commodus, who was very active in Corinth and dedicated two temples in the Forum: Wiseman, p. 522, no. 337; Scranton, *op. cit.* (footnote 38 above), pp. 36–51.

55 Cuirass from the Odeion: S 1456, O. Bromeer, *Corinth, X, The Odeum*, Vienna 1932, pp. 125–133, no. 6, figs. 118–126; De Grazia, no. 101 (Hadrianic); Stemmer, no. 222, IV:11, pl. 31:3.

56 Cuirass with Victories and Trophy: S 1081, Johnson, no. 143; De Grazia, no. 103; Stemmer, no. 219. De Grazia dates it to Late Hadrianic/Early Antonine.

57 Victory S 1932; *AJA* 39, 1935, p. 68, pl. 20:c; Weinberg, *Corinth I*, v, 1960, pp. 73–74, pl. 46:1. The matching piece has been recognized by Charles Edwards, who points out that the position of the arms makes it unlikely that the figures are acroterial, as usually assumed. Dated by Weinberg to the 1st century, they probably belong to the 2nd. For monuments depicting trophies see, e.g., the bases of the Captives from the Colossal Façade (Johnson, no. 225) and fragments of a large relief, Johnson, nos. 272–274, to which also no. 290 may belong. Other pieces exist in the storerooms of the Museum.
Other sculptures depicted private citizens. Two outstanding heads of young girls have come to light in the Demeter sanctuary on Akrokorinthos (e.g. S 2666; Pl. 94:a) and recall similarly dated votives from a sanctuary of the same goddess at Cyrene.\(^{58}\) One *imago clipeata* shows a bearded man with a wreath and a Trajanic hairstyle, but supposedly of Hadrianic date. It formed the centerpiece of a small pediment, perhaps from a gate or shrine in the Forum. It is surprising to find a private individual, even if a priest, honored by erection to a pedimental position, which usually signifies epiphany and apotheosis. Either Corinth was still more focused on its own citizens than on the Emperor, or the rendering of the face is so removed from a true portrait that we fail to recognize the ruler.\(^{59}\) Headless statues of women and togati probably belonged to members of Herodes Atticus’ family and served for the embellishment of the Peribolos of Apollo or of the fountain of Peirene. The links with the wealthy benefactor, and even with his father, explain the similarity of these stock bodies to those found at Olympia, where they also decorated a fountain from the same donor.\(^{60}\)

Besides fountains, other public buildings were now rich in sculptural decoration, not only in the round but also in relief. One of the most impressive had approximately

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\(^{58}\) Heads of girls from Akrokorinthos: S 2666 and S 2667: *Hesperia* 34, 1965, p. 21, pl. 10:b; De Grazia, nos. 26, 27. For the Cyrene portraits, comparable in terms of their youthfulness to the Corinth pieces, see D. White, *OpusRom* 1973, pp. 207–215. In terms of heads of young girls in general see also, from Cyrene, a 4th-century B.C. example, D. White et al., *Expedition* 18, 1976, pp. 20–21, fig. 2 and cover photo. stylistically closer is a head of a Trajanic girl “from Corinth” in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 96.698, Comstock and Vermeule (footnote 26 above), no. 353. The entry points out African traits in the girl’s features, but assumes a Corinthian workshop, thus suggesting that “Graeco-Romans from Cyrene were among the workshop’s customers.” For other heads of young girls from Greek soil, now in the Athens National Museum, see A. Datsoulis-Stavrides, *AAA* 12, 1979, pp. 109–127, figs. 1–8 (dated to the early Severan period).

\(^{59}\) “Hadrianic” bust in medallion: S 890, Johnson, no. 173; De Grazia, no. 21; R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago*, Bonn 1969, pp. 68–71, 175–176. Our problems in identification may stem from a wrong chronology. The Trajanic bangs return to favor during the 4th century, with a cap-like effect over the forehead; short beards can also be found in that period, together with the high drilling of the pupils; see, e.g., R. Delbrueck, *Späantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin and Leipzig 1933, pl. 121. I suspect that many of the “early” pieces in our museums may warrant reconsideration and redating. For a redating to Late Antique times of the “Marcus Aurelius” from Avence see J. Ch. Balty, “Le prétendu Marc-Aurèle d’Avenches,” *Eikones: Festschrift H. Jucker, AntK*, Beihet 12, Bern 1980, pp. 57–63. For comments on *imagines clipeatae* on pediments see Winkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68; cf. also Johnson, nos. 174–176, Winkes, pp. 176–178, for a series of other medallions from Corinth dated to the Antonine period.

\(^{60}\) For female figures see, e.g., S 55 + S 1180, Johnson, no. 9, the so-called Small Herculaneensis type; besides Olympia (where it portrayed Faustina the Younger), the type has been found in so many other sites that a true connection cannot be proven on only these grounds. For the distribution see, e.g., M. Bieber, “The Copies of the Herculaneum Women,” *ProcPhilSoc* 106, 1962, pp. 111–134; the Olympia statue is fig. 14 on p. 119. Cf. also her figs. 25 and 27, from Cyrene. At Corinth, other examples of the type are S 1455, from the Asklepieion (*Corinth* XIV, p. 145, no. 11, pl. 58), and S 1400. Johnson, no. 10, S 813, a rarer type of draped figure, has also been found at Olympia and in linear, provincial form at Aquileia (see above, footnote 51, cat. nos. 101, 102). For the remodeling of Peirene and the Peribolos of Apollo see Wiseman, p. 526.

life-sized figures, of which several fragments have been recovered and others still await recognition. An almost complete slab showing a man with a dog had usually been considered a gravestone. Its provenience from the Forum and the uneven spacing of background and frame suggest that it may instead belong to a large architectural complex.61 A second panel, with a veiled woman, has the same empty background; the iconography suggests a personification or a deity, the style recalls the 4th century B.C.62 One fragmentary beardless head has the typical Severe rendering of the eyes, and the forehead bangs resemble the Apollo from the West pediment at Olympia; asymmetries in the features leave no doubt that the head belongs to a relief, and the Roman workmanship suggests a date within the 2nd century but I know of no Severe prototype that this head could copy, and the scale invites association with the slabs mentioned above.63 One visualizes a series of panels with divinities and personifications in various Classical styles, perhaps as decoration for the piers of an elaborate archway like the propylon over the Lechaion Road. In this case, the man with the dog could be a rustic god or even an image of Antinoos in divine guise.

Another major Hadrianic project was the decoration of the scaenae frons in the Theater.64 Three sets of reliefs with differing dimensions and subjects have been convincingly attributed to the three storeys of the stage building, thus making the structure one of the most elaborate known. The Labors of Herakles, the Amazonomachy and the Gigantomachy depicted in these reliefs are very “Greek” in style and conception, although no immediate correspondence can be established with Classical prototypes. Influences, and perhaps workmen, may have come from Athens, but such extensive carving requires a local workshop.

Connections with Neo-Attic workshops in Athens are, however, suggested by the unusual number of sculptures which copy famous Classical originals. Corinth is the only site on the mainland of Greece to have yielded fragments of the Great Eleusinian Relief,65 the

61Man and dog panel: S 187 + S 196, Johnson, no. 247. The most recent study, by Stephanidou-Tiveriou (op. cit.) properly criticizes the gravestone identification, but suggests that it is a votive relief with heroizing connotations set up by Herodes Atticus for one of his three pupils and patterned probably after a statue of Antinoos.

62Female figure: S 91 + S 91A, Johnson no. 248. One more fragment has been joined: S 1078, listed by Johnson together with other pieces under his no. 158.

With the same monument may belong also a male figure, S 2479 + S 2414, another fragment, S 323 (Johnson, no. 249), and probably SS W 19.

63Fragmentary male head: S 1575; AA (JdI 46), 1931, cols. 240–241 and fig. 15 on col. 238; considered Archaic.

For a relief in apparent Severe style but probably of Roman date, with peplophoroi widely spaced against the background (MK 1632), see Δελτ 28, 1973, B’ 1 [1977], p. 81, pl. 78:α; 'ΑΠΧ'ΕΦ, 1976, p. 188, pl. 67. The Roman date is suggested by G. Neumann, Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs, Tübingen 1979, p. 43 and note 5. The relief comes from the same general area where the “Blond Boy” head was found; it is said to be in Pentelic marble.

64A complete discussion of the relief decoration of the stage building has been given by Sturgeon (Corinth IX, ii, The Reliefs from the Theater), on which my comments are based. A volume on all the sculpture from the Theater, by the same author, is projected.

65Great Eleusinian relief: S 856, Johnson, no. 282. L. Schneider (“Das grosse eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien,” AntP 12, 1973) describes the Corinth fragment on p. 117 (fig. 13) but decides against it
rare Peliad panel in the Three-Figure Relief series, the so-called Kallimachos’ Maenads. Another relief pedestal with dancing Maenads (S 193, Pl. 94:d) cannot be connected with other replicas or with a definite prototype. But it belongs with the same Neo-Attic production, in the Antonine period. The style exhibits late 5th and 4th-century traits combined with Hellenistic proportions and, if a non-joining fragment (S 2384, Pl. 94:c) truly belongs with it, hairstyles.

Other Neo-Attic reliefs are more strictly connected with the Parthenon and its cult image. A large fragment preserves the head of the Parthenos (Pl. 94:b); another, with a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, repeats the same god of the Madrid Puteal and the Del Drago relief and may reflect the East pediment of the Athenian temple (Pl. 95:a). The same workshop active on the Akropolis may have produced the two copies of the Erechtheion Karyatids that represent the sole exact replicas of the type known from being a true copy because of some technical details which occur also on other relief fragments from Corinth. The dimensions he publishes in his final table, however, are so close as to make attribution convincing, and the reliefs which he groups with S 856 in note 128 may be from the same workshop, but they do not have the same thickness and clearly do not go together; one of them belongs to the Theater decoration.

Peliad relief: S 60 and re-entry S 279: Johnson, no. 246; O. Broneer (Hesperia 20, 1951, p. 298) called the figure a Maenad, but it is actually the central daughter in the Peliads Relief, as stated by E. B. Harrison, “Hesperides and Heroes: A Note on the Three-Figure Reliefs,” Hesperia 33, 1964, pp. 76–82 and note 1. A relief fragment showing the upper torso of a woman (S 704, Johnson, no. 245) strongly recalls the general style of the Three-Figure Reliefs or the Myrrha lekythos, but I have been unable to identify the prototype. It is certainly Neo-Attic, not Classical in date. For the latest discussion on the Three-Figure Reliefs see H. Meyer, Medeia und die Peliaden, Rome 1980, appendix, pp. 133–139.

Kallimachos’ Maenads: S 2597, Hesperia 20, 1951, pp. 297–299, pl. 94:b, a second, joining fragment: Hesperia 44, 1975, p. 24, note 37, pl. 7 (dated to the Antonine period by Werner Fuchs); cf. BCH 90, 1966, p. 765, fig. 25. The latest discussion of these Maenads is in connection with the Piraeus reliefs: Th. Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Νεοαττικά. Οἱ ἀνάγλυφοι πίνακες ἀπὸ τὸ λείματος τοῦ Πειραιά, Athens 1979, nos. 54, 55. The same workshop, of course, made the reliefs from the shield of the Athena Parthenos. Another relief fragment, Corinth S 785, Johnson, no. 288, may be an adaptation of a satyr on the so-called Borghez Krater: cf. W. Fuchs, Die Vorbilder der neo-attischen Reliefs, JdI-EH 20, 1959, pp. 113–114, pl. 26, and Fuchs, Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia, Tübingen 1963, pp. 44–45, pl. 73.


Possible additional fragment: S 2384, AJA 42, 1938, p. 367 and fig. 5, from a mediaeval pit near manhole G in the Peirene system. It corresponds in scale, marble, workmanship, and place of find, but does not join. The coiffure is a form of the top knot.

I know of no parallel for the Maenads, but the presence of a fillet near the top edge may suggest an action comparable to that of the more sedate ladies on a Hellenistic altar in Delphi: Zagdoun (op. cit., footnote 21 above), no. 24 (dated to the last third of the 2nd century B.C.).

Parthenos relief: S 821, Johnson, no. 278. It is not individually listed by N. Leipen (Athena Parthenos, Toronto 1971) in her review of copies, but her reference (p. 9) to its publication in AJA 15, 1911, pp. 495–498 implies that she accepts it as a replica.

Zeus/Hera relief: S 1449; Roebuck, op. cit. (footnote 20 above), p. 145, no. 13; pl. 60, from the curb of a Byzantine well in the Asklepieion. F. Brommer (Die Skulpturen der Parthenongiebel, Mainz 1963, p. 109, no. 19) lists it among the works related to the Parthenon East pediment.

The female head S 1520, although found in the “plateia S. of the new Museum” in 1932, could tentatively be connected with this relief (perhaps from a third figure), but it would then lower the date of the prototype to the 4th century.
Greece. They belonged to an architectural complex of yet undetermined nature and location and, because of their careful execution, provide no true clues as to their date beyond that of their prototype. The excavators have preliminarily assigned the Corinthian Karyatids to the Neronian period; I am inclined, however, to place them in the Antonine, which witnessed extensive repairs on the Akropolis and perhaps the first reproduction of Parthenonian sculpture to scale.

A statue of more difficult classification may also suggest connections with Athens. Among the most impressive pieces from Corinth, this draped female figure (Pl. 95:b) has usually been considered a copy of a mid-5th-century representation of Demeter or her daughter Kore. Few replicas of it are known, but some of the Baiae casts have now been identified as belonging to the same statue; although not absolute proof, this discovery may imply that the original stood in Athens where a replica has also been found. The precise dating of the prototype, however, is still open to question. The so-

71 Corinth Karyatids: one, almost entirely preserved (S-74-26), copies the sixth, most damaged, Erechtheion kore; its finding in 1974 permitted identification of fragments of a second Karyatid from the Forum Southwest found in 1934: head S 1768. See Williams, Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 22–23, nos. 26, 27, pls. 7, 8.


For Antonine repairs to the Akropolis and copies to scale see H. A. Thompson, AJA 19, 1950, pp. 103–124, esp. p. 123; J. Travlos, Δελτ. 16, 1960, B’ 1 [1962], pp. 55–60; J. Binder, “Acropolis Acroterion Fragments,” Festschrift für F. Brommer, Mainz 1977, pp. 29–31. Nothing is known of Roman repairs to the Erechtheion itself beyond those of ca. 25 b.c., but no information is available for the long span between that date and the conversion of the building into a Byzantine church. If the occasion for the Antonine repairs to the Parthenon was, as is plausible, an earthquake, comparable damage could have occurred to the Erechtheion. I am uncertain what significance may be attached, if any, to the fact that the sixth Karyatid in Athens is the most extensively damaged of the group.

72 Corinth S 68, Johnson, no. 7. The latest discussion of the type, on the basis of the Baiae casts, is by H. van Hees (“Antike Gipsabgisse antiker Statuen,” AntK 21, 1978, pp. 108–110); to her list of copies in note 12 a seventh replica should be added, Delos A 1731, more openly archaistic in its rendering of curls following the line of buttons (?) on the chiton sleeves. Cf. J. Marcadé, Au Musée de Délos, Paris 1969, pl. 54; in his list of plates on p. 510, A 1731 is grouped with “art archaïsant et classicisant” and is called a statuette. In Severe Style (pp. 71–72, no. 5) I had expressed the opinion that the prototype was truly Severe, despite the many difficulties with parts of the rendering (for instance, the rich cascade of folds over the left side, typical of the advanced 5th century). The shape of the sandals, the connection with other classicizing works, the similarity with archaistic karyatids on sarcophagi, and especially the dress, have now convinced me that a classicizing date is closer to the mark for the prototype. E. B. Harrison had clearly identified the costume as a mantle and not a peplos (op. cit. [footnote 33 above], p. 54, note 35); the classical parallels on Attic vases, however, cited by her and by Erika Simon (AJA 67, 1963, p. 58 and note 75) show a short peplos, not a long mantle with the overlap. For the Cherchel/Tralles Karyatids see H. P. Laubscher, “Sculpturen aus Tralles,” IstMitt 16, 1966, pp. 115–129, esp. pp. 128–129, where a prototype from Athens is advocated. For Karyatids on Attic sarcophagi and for the type in general see A. Schmidt-Colinet, Antike Stützfiguren, Frankfurt 1977, pp. 40–41, nos. W 62, 66–69.

For the sandals see R. R. Holloway, Hesperia 35, 1966, pp. 84–85, pl. 29. Simpler forms of the same footwear with side loops occur on the bronze Athena from the Piraeus and on the smaller Artemis from the same cache; in marble they are found on the late 4th-century stele Athens N.M. 1005. To be sure, copyists of the Roman period may have felt free to render footwear at will, while adhering faithfully to the original model for the total statue, thus producing possibly anachronistic juxtapositions. Since the side loops, however, demand time and skill to be rendered in marble, their presence may have been required by the prototype, and their evidence seems in keeping with our stylistic evaluation of the entire statue.
called peplos should be more properly seen as an archaic version of the diagonal (long) mantle, and in fact the costume appears on undoubted archaic pieces, the Cherchel/Tralles Karyatids. The type is also rendered on Attic sarcophagi of Hadrianic-Antonine date, which may nonetheless reproduce an earlier (Augustan?) creation. The specific Corinthian replica has been given a cubic outline and a smooth drapery which enhance its Severe appearance, but the feet, in one piece with the body, wear a Hellenistic type of sandal and have a porcelain finish which contrasts with the matte surface of the draped areas and is typical of mid-2nd-century sculpture. The wide cavity for the insertion of the (portrait?) head and the separately attached arms suggest that all the naked parts would have had similar finish.

The same type of sandals and highly polished feet occur on a second monumental sculpture, from the same find spot as the first and often called a Demeter. A recent analysis of the type suggests that its prototype dates from the Late Hellenistic/Early Imperial period, since it combines a late 4th-century body and a Severe head with classicizing curls and general severizing traits. This definition applies also to the previous figure and it is likely that both Corinthian replicas were produced in Antonine times in the same Neo-Attic workshop after Athenian monuments of Augustan date.

A third piece with similar sandals and finish is a more traditional peplophoros figure turned into an Artemis by the addition of a quiver (Pl. 95:c); it comes from a different area but its technical peculiarities suggest that it was made in the same atelier as the previous two, probably at the same time. A fourth fragmentary statue has been identified as Nemesis/Tyche because traces of a wheel remain near the right foot, but a full though headless replica of the same type recently found at Cyrene is inscribed as "a statue of the Kore who looks after the wheat." The Cyrene find has the elongated proportions and elaborate costume typical of the Classical period, but the treatment of the mantle retains a certain Severe squareness, also shared by the Corinth replica. This preference for severizing pastiches may be significant in terms of Corinthian aims and tastes.

One more monument remains in such fragmentary state that I mention it only because of interesting features. Identified at first as a head of Hephaistos, it can instead be recognized as one of the Dioskouroi because of its resemblance to two statues, again

73 Corinth S 67, Johnson, no. 5; Severe Style, p. 72, no. 6. The recent analysis is by J. Raeder, "Eine kllassizistische Frauenfigur in Rom," JdI 93, 1978, pp. 252–276.

74 Artemis peplophoros: S 812 + S 820, Johnson, no. 8. By contrast, another peplophoros which also seems to be a pastiche of various stylistic traits, S 1818 (AJA 39, 1935, pl. 20), does not have the same finish and its shoes are more traditional. It should therefore be disassociated from the previous group, although belonging to the same eclectic stylistic current. For other examples of Hadrianic eclecticism at Corinth see M. Sturgeon, "A New Group of Sculptures from Ancient Corinth," Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 280–290. For severizing bodies used in connection with portrait heads see, e.g., a figure on the Great Antonine Altar at Ephesus, discussed by Inan and Rosenbaum, op. cit. (footnote 30 above), no. 42, pl. 30.

75 Corinth "Nemesis": S 427; Johnson, no. 6, from west of the South Stoa. Cf. Severe Style, pp. 72–73, no. 7. Johnson attributes this fragment to the same workshop as the Demeter, S 67 (his no. 5; footnote 73 above), but the finish of its feet and the type of sandals are different. For the Cyrene Kore, dedicated by Helvia Teimaretia and inscribed with letters of the second half of the 2nd century after Christ, see D. White, AJA 85, 1981, p. 23 and note 37. I am indebted to Susan Kane for discussing this statue with me.
from Cyrene, dedicated by one Cocceianus, presumably during the Hadrianic period.\textsuperscript{76} A horse-protome support at Corinth corresponds to a similar strut in the Cyrene group. Stylistic inspiration comes in general from the early Classical period, but in this case too we may be dealing with classicizing prototypes copied in Athens for distribution to other Roman cities. Besides the Dioskouroi and the Nemesis/Kore, Roman Cyrenaica shares with Corinth the Kallimachean Maenads and the Herculaneensis types. Thus this relatively small fragment attests to the continuing cult of the Dioskouroi at Corinth as well as to the city’s contacts with North Africa, albeit via intermediaries.

An Attic workshop produced also the large sarcophagus with scenes of the Seven against Thebes and the death of Archemoros,\textsuperscript{77} but the subject seems so closely related to near-by Nemea that a specific commission from a Corinthian citizen is plausible. Classicizing tendencies and styles are at work in the superb pedimental sculptures from Temple E (Pl. 95:d) which has now been redated to the Antonine period in its second phase. Although the composition of the gable has not yet been discussed in detail, the very use of freestanding sculptural embellishment of outstanding quality on a Roman pediment is unusual and bespeaks strong Classical influence.\textsuperscript{78}

Finally, this may be the place to mention the many replicas and adaptations of standard famous monuments of the Greek era, ranging in size from diminutive to colossal: the Knidia, the crouching Aphrodite, the Frejus Aphrodite type, the Leaning Satyr usually attributed to Praxiteles (the Anapauomenos), the Lysippian Herakles and many others. Their execution cannot be precisely dated, but many should fall during

\textsuperscript{76}Corinth Dioskouroi: S 1139, Johnson, no. 24 (“Hephaistos?”); Cyrene Dioskouroi: the most extensive discussion is by G. Traversari in \textit{Sculture greche e romane di Cirene}, Padua 1959, pp. 183–208: Hadrianic, after a mid-5th-century b.c. prototype, with some copyist’s additions, such as the pilos, which he considers a late 4th-century attribute (p. 195). Note, however, that a similar head cover is already present in the so-called Sikyonian metope of the Cattle Raid in Delphi (\textit{ca. 550, Archaic Style}, p. 235, pl. 59), although poorly visible because of the fragmentary state of the relief. To me the statues seem classicizing/eclectic. Another set of similar statues of the Dioskouroi has been found at Perge: A. M. Mansel, \textit{AA} (\textit{JdI} 71), 1956 [1958], cols. 106–108, figs. 56, 58. See also Santa Maria Scrinari, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 51 above), nos. 19, 20, with parallels cited as possible renderings of the same type.

Corinth, horse protome: S 815, Johnson, no. 203. The line of the leg along the horse’s neck makes it clear that the support accompanied a male, not a female figure; connection with the head S 1139, however, is not assured and may be unlikely in terms of scale.

The cult of the Dioskouroi at or near Corinth continued through Roman times, as attested by several reliefs: see, e.g., S 1533, S 2022, S 2542, S 2803 and S-72-16, although S 1533 is of uncertain identification and S 2803 comes from Dervenaki.

\textsuperscript{77}Sarcophagus: Johnson, no. 241 (several inv. nos.); see, most recently, E. Simon, \textit{AA} (\textit{JdI} 94), 1979, pp. 31–45, esp. 38–43, and figs. 7–9, dated before 160. See also Michèle Daumas, “L’amphore de Panaguristi et les Sept contre Thebes,” \textit{AntK} 21, 1978, pp. 24–32.


For the acroterion of a Nereid with a dolphin see A. Delivorrias, \textit{Attische Gebelskulpturen und Akrotere des 5 Jahrhundert v. Ch.}, Tübingen 1974, p. 130, note 563; S. Lattimore, \textit{The Marine Thiasos}, Los Angeles 1976, p. 67, note 32. For the more traditional form of Roman pedimental decoration, and for the discussion of possible exceptions, see S. Lattimore, “A Greek Pediment on a Roman Temple,” \textit{AIA} 78, 1974, pp. 55–61, esp. p. 56 and note 21, pp. 57–58 with notes.
the Antonine period.\textsuperscript{79} Two items deserve individual mention: a large head of Dionysos of the so-called Sardanapalos type, which can be most closely compared to the copy in Athens,\textsuperscript{80} and two fragmentary but unmistakable reproductions, at statuette scale, of the veiled “Aspasia” type in which some scholars wish to recognize the Sosandra by Kalamis. Not many replicas of this impressive sculpture are known, but a large unfinished copy comes from Baiae, again suggesting connections with Athens and its copyists’ workshops. The two Corinthian figurines were found in the Julian and South Basilicas respectively, which could strengthen identification of the type as Aphrodite, a major divinity at Corinth.\textsuperscript{81}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{79} Knidia: Johnson, nos. 39–41, other fragments in storerooms.

Frejus Aphrodite: S 1459; it has been conjectured that Johnson, no. 324, S 367, one of the Late Antique draped figures, has been recut from a statue of the Frejus type: see De Grazia, no. 95. For Aphrodite figures in general see the dissertation by Mary Ellen Carre Soles (footnote 1 above).

Anapauomenos: head, S 451; Johnson, no. 18 (“Apollo?”, but note pointed ears); body, in reduced scale, S 918, Johnson, no. 63.

The lower part of a small statuette in limestone(?), S 2550, shows a draped figure (probably male, since the mantle reaches only down to the ankles) flanked by a small animal with long, thin tail and large ears. If the creature could be identified as a mouse, albeit poorly rendered, this could be a representation, in approximate form, of the Apollo Smintheus, which has so far defied visualization.

A fragment from the chest area of a peplophoros Athena with a diagonal aegis, S 1436, has been connected by O. Bronner (\textit{op. cit.} [footnote 55 above], p. 124, no. 3 and fig. 115) with “the so-called Lemnian Athena type.” The lower edge of the aegis, however, is still visible on the fragment and precludes comparison with the much larger skin worn by the “Lemnia”. The Corinth piece should rather be compared with the bronze Athena from the Piraeus, of which only one replica seems to be known: the so-called Mattei Athena in the Louvre. See G. B. Waywell, \textit{BSA} 66, 1971, pp. 373–382; given Corinthian history, a pré-Sullan date for our fragment is unlikely and may weaken his argument for dating the statue in Paris. That the Piraeus Athena is itself a copy has been argued by P. Bol (\textit{Grossplastik aus Bronze in Olympia} [\textit{Olforsch} 9, 1978], p. 45, note 4), who raises important questions about this complex issue and accepts Schefold’s Antonine date for the Mattei Athena in the Louvre (\textit{AntK} 14, 1971, p. 41). Professor Bronner informs me that the “pit dug to the south of the Odeion,” from which the Corinth Athena came, was a test trench sunk into the fill near the Shear House.

Fragments of arms and feet at colossal scale could belong to standard types, but they can hardly be recognized in their present state. Some fragments exhibit unique features for which I know no parallels. The dating of copies is made more difficult by the apparent conservatism of Corinthian workshops, which do not employ the drill as extensively, or as characteristically, as the Italic and North African/Asiatic workshops. Sculpture at Corinth, throughout the Roman period, retains a certain Classical appearance.

\textsuperscript{80} Dionysos/Sardanapalos: S 987, Johnson, no. 27; see E. Pochmarski (“Neue Beobachtungen zum Typus Sardanapal,” \textit{ÖJh} 50, 1972/73, pp. 41–67) for a discussion of the prototype, which is dated \textit{ca.} 310, and for a list of replicas. The Corinthian piece is discussed on pp. 43 and 60–61 and placed early in the Antonine period; it is considered closest to the 1st-century B.C. replica in Athens from the Theater of Dionysos, N.M. 1656.

\textsuperscript{81} Aspasia type: S 1897 + S 1904, from the South Basilica.

S 1051, from the Julian Basilica. Among the latest discussions of the type see \textit{Severe Style}, pp. 65–69, figs. 105–108.


A new list of replicas at statuette scale could be usefully compiled; among those comparable to the Corinth pieces in size see one in the Metropolitan Museum, G. M. A. Richter, \textit{Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture}, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, no. 30, pl. 29; one in Aquileia, Santa Maria Scrinari (footnote 51 above), no. 45, and one in Venice, G. Traversari, \textit{Sculture del v° e iv° Secolo A.C. del Museo Archeologico di}
Casting a general glance over the statuary production of Corinth so far examined, one is struck by the fact that stock bodies, or statuary used for portraits, are better preserved than the outright copies of famous Greek originals. Even the severizing group of types discussed above, which enjoyed some diffusion into the rest of the Roman world, is likely to be in imitation of some Augustan prototypes in Athens. The picture seems so different from that of a typical Roman town in Italy or Turkey that it is legitimate to ask whether the copying of famous Greek originals in Corinth was limited to specific purposes, perhaps primarily religious or personal, which resulted in more thorough elimination by the Christians or in display within areas yet to be found. Another possible explanation is, however, that the “pure” Greeks, who lived close to many Classical originals even during Imperial times, rejected the world of copies so beloved by those Roman citizens more removed from the source. A hint of this attitude may be gleaned from the fact that Pausanias tends to emphasize early works, while downplaying the importance of the Roman monuments. This consideration applies also to his approach to Corinth, in his eyes virtually a young colony.

Pausanias visited the city during the early Antonine period, and his account does not readily coincide with ours. The traveler placed emphasis on monuments we can no longer visualize, while omitting to describe features we would consider of great interest. Both viewpoints agree in picturing Corinth as a prosperous city with many cults and civic buildings, but, to judge from sculptural clues, reality may have been more impressive than Pausanias’ concise description may lead us to believe.82

THE THIRD CENTURY

Corinth under the Severans has received relatively little attention, yet this is likely to have been one of the most impressive phases in the architectural and sculptural development of the city. One historically attested event, the expected visit of Caracalla in 214–217, did not in fact materialize, and some of the hasty preparations for this imperial inspection may suggest a relatively inexpensive program of shifting statues from one location to another and of rededicating earlier monuments. One statuary group, at least, was being carved for the occasion, to cater to Caracalla’s megalomaniac identification with Achilles: a fragmentary horse in a sitting position has been convincingly integrated by Robinson as the Centaur Chiron instructing his pupil.83 Under Sep-

82 An interesting monument assigned to the first half of the 2nd century is a Dea Roma, apparently executed in bronze, sitting on a rocky base reproducing the Seven Hills of Rome, each inscribed: H. Robinson, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 470–480, pls. 101–106. Another Dea Roma could perhaps be visualized in a fragment of a draped female figure who wears a mantle in male fashion, looped over the left shoulder: S 158, Johnson, no. 116.

83 Chiron: S 2804, H. Robinson, *AJA* 73, 1969, pp. 193–197; for the shifting of statues (also discussed by Robinson) see, e.g., the feet found in the Peribolos of Apollo which joined a togatus body from the Theater: *BCH* 91, 1967, p. 635, fig. 3.

timius Severus, however, more extensive projects must have been carried out, to judge from the archaeological evidence.

Today the most impressive of them is the so-called Captives’ Façade. Originally dated to the mid-2nd century, this elaborate two-storeyed structure has now been correctly placed within the Severan period, on the basis of its relationship to other monuments in the Forum. This chronology can be confirmed on sculptural evidence: not only the stumpy figures decorating the bases of the colossal prisoners, which celebrate Severus’ Parthian victories, but also such details as the wind-blown rosette in one of the coffers, a Severan motif. The Captives themselves are in more traditional Hellenistic style, without the excessive drilling typical of much Severan sculpture, but the carving of their hair and the very concept expressed by them are well in keeping with this higher chronology. The busts of Sol and Luna decorating two more coffers find parallels in similar panels recently excavated at Aphrodisias.84

Connections between Corinth and Aphrodisias can be argued on other grounds. A remarkable group of three figures (Pl. 96:a–c) displays a peculiar mannerism in the fragmented rendering of digitations over the ribs, which can be paralleled in some sculptures from the Carian city. Another Aphrodisian trait is the carving of a stomach vein which bifurcates near the groin. Combined with the high polish and the unfamiliar white marble with bluish impurities, these features may suggest that these statues were imported from Asia Minor or, more likely, that some Aphrodisian masters were brought to Corinth together with some of their customary material. The statues in question (a seminude Apollo citharode [S 774, Pl. 96:b], a nude male torso [S 2336, Pl. 96:a] and a man in a chitoniskos [S 2337, Pl. 96:c], to which another, more heavily draped Apollo citharode can be added on the basis of findspot, material, and finish) have a roughly worked back and were meant to be seen from a set viewpoint, but it is impossible to say whether they belonged to a pediment.85 The man in chitoniskos recalls

84Captives’ Façade: R. Stillwell, Corinth, I, ii, Architecture, Cambridge, Mass. 1941; the coffers are illustrated on p. 72, fig. 48, and cf. fig. 56 on p. 81 for the wind-blown rosette. See also Johnson, nos. 217–226 (the coffers with Sol and Luna, S 195, are Johnson, no. 226). Johnson, no. 97 (S 709) is probably an arm to the elbow, rather than a thigh and knee, and belongs to a Captive (it was rightly rejected as a Hellenistic Gaul by R. Wenning, Die Galateranatheme Attalos I, Berlin 1978, p. 30, note 178, pl. 13:4). Both Johnson and Stillwell dated the structure to the mid-2nd century, a date followed by A. Schmidt-Colinet (footnote 72 above) in her catalogue of the Captives (nos. W 20, M 56). Wiseman, p. 523, dates “late in the second century,” but his caption to fig. 13 reads “ca. A.D. 200.” Vermeule (pp. 83–88, figs. 27–30) attributed the sculptures to the Severan period; see also JHS-AR 1963–64, p. 7. For additional relief figures from a balustrade see Hesperia 38, 1969, p. 45, note 12 and pl. 15:b.

For wind-blown acanthus in the Severan period see the propylon at Cyrene, D. Strong, Society for Libyan Studies, 4th Annual Report, 1972/73, pp. 27–35. The Aphrodisias coffers have not yet been published, but see M. J. Mellink, AJA 84, 1980, p. 511.

85Aphrodisian group: Seminude Apollo citharode: S 774 and other fragments, Johnson, nos. 16 and 19. Male torso (with bifurcated vein): S 2336.
Man with chitoniskos: S 2337 (including S 790).
Draped Apollo Citharode: S 773, Johnson, no. 115 (plus other fragments).

This group of statues, with others, is discussed by E. Capps, Jr., Hesperia 7, 1938, pp. 551–556; the man with chitoniskos (figs. 9, 10) is described as wearing two costumes, but it is only one, belted. Other
a figure from Baiae in the Odysseus/Polyphemus saga;\textsuperscript{86} interestingly, a Corinthian coin of Septimius Severus shows a Skylla fountain within a rectangular building, and it is tempting to reconstruct some Odyssean tableau within the city.\textsuperscript{87} The only piece that can be associated with a fountain at present, however, is a female head wearing a spirally fluted kalathos and pierced by a waterpipe. Although patterned after 5th-century styles, the high polish of the face combined with the rougher carving of the hair strands suggests a 3rd-century date.\textsuperscript{88}

If the Severans are responsible for contacts between Corinth and Aphrodisias, they may also have strengthened those with Africa, specifically Leptis Magna. A colossal Skylla-like bust with a pattern of fins or seaweed on its cheeks formed the centerpiece of a medallion from the Theater.\textsuperscript{89} Fragments of another creature with similar “growth” display a monstrous nose different from that of the Skylla figure, so that at least two types, one beautiful and one ugly, alternated in the series of frames. This arrangement recalls that of the Severan Forum at Leptis Magna, with Skylla and Medusa.\textsuperscript{90} Other African links are suggested by puzzling marble rods which may represent elephant tusks; they have been found in the cult building of the Demeter sanctuary on Akrokoro nthos and recall (at much larger scale) the elephant heads on the pteryges of some earlier cuirassed statues.

Other monuments can be dated to the 3rd century, but more tentatively. A large floral capital with four kneeling captives at the corners may repeat the same concept of Parthian victories as the Colossal Façade, while also repeating a motif (the acanthus column) from the previous century.\textsuperscript{91} Two over-life-sized archaistic statues have been dated around 225 in connection with a refurbishing of the Odeion where they probably

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{86} Figure from Baiae: B. Andreae, \textit{AntP} 14, 1974, p. 74, fig. 22.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Skylla fountain on coins: K. M. Edwards, \textit{Corinth}, VI, \textit{Coins 1896–1929}, Cambridge, Mass. 1933, no. 192 and pl. V. For another fragment which recalls the Sperlonga Hellenistic renderings see S 688 a, b, Johnson, no. 83. S. Lattimore agrees with Lippold that it is a replica of the Ares Ludovisi: \textit{AJA} 83, 1979, pp. 72–73, no. 9 and note 25, pl. 6, fig. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{88} Female head from fountain: S 2639 (from a 12th-century fill at the north end of a Byzantine construction): \textit{Hesperia} 31, 1962, pp. 114–115, pl. 42:a.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Female bust from Theater: S 431 plus other fragments; Johnson, no. 228. My identification is undoubtedly colored by the knowledge that a Skylla fountain existed at Corinth; other interpretations could perhaps be suggested.
\item \textsuperscript{90} Nose from companion piece: S 421, Johnson, no. 229; cf. no. 228.
\item \textsuperscript{91} Captives’ Capital: O. Broneer, \textit{AJA} 39, 1935, p. 66, pl. 19:A; the head S 694, Johnson, no. 91, has now been joined to one of the figures on the capital. For two acanthus columns, probably Antonine, see \textit{Hesperia} 45, 1976, pp. 129–131, fig. 4 and pl. 16. A cruder block retains the figure of a captive on one side, acanthus vegetation on the other: \textit{AJA} 40, 1936, p. 473.
\end{footnotes}
functioned as Karyatids since they are rendered in mirror image.\textsuperscript{92} Their brand of archaistic is quite different from the stilted imitations of the Augustan period, but further removed from true Archaic renderings.

Copies of Greek works continue to be made, but no longer as faithfully as before. A spectacular head in veristic style looks almost like a contemporary portrait, but it has been correctly identified as a replica of the Athenian Menander carved with such extreme realism that all Classical appearance is lost. Among the many copies of that famous monument, the Corinthian piece seems closest to a replica in Athens, once again pointing out the continuing links between the two cities.\textsuperscript{93} Statuette versions of large-scale prototypes from Classical times can be remarkably flat and elongated, almost relief-like, perhaps because marble for private purposes is expensive and was being reused. Particularly interesting are a small replica of the Artemis Rospiglòsi type\textsuperscript{94} and an Aphrodite primarily known from Rhodian copies (S 429, Pl. 96:d), so that a Rhodian cult image has been suggested as prototype, perhaps representing Artemis/Hekate. The Corinthian piece retains the schematic legs of an Eros perched on the back of the figure, so that at least this replica can be identified as Aphrodite. A colossal rendering of the same type is also known from Athens, so that it is difficult to say whether the statuette links Corinth with the island or with the near-by city.\textsuperscript{95}

Portraits continue to be produced in abundance, although no cuirassed statues and togati have been identified. None of the Severans has been convincingly recognized among the heads, and a possible “young Caracalla” may simply be a contemporary youth or even somebody from an earlier era.\textsuperscript{96} A beautiful head of Gordian III may be the only imperial portrait recovered from this century.\textsuperscript{97} A striking head in marble had beard and hair added in stucco, in an Egyptianizing technique; other male faces seem

\textsuperscript{92}Archaistic Karyatids: S 1365 and S 1368; see Broneer, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 55 above), pp. 117–124, nos. 1, 2, pls. 15, 16, figs. 111–114; also \textit{Archaic Style}, pp. 109, 118 and figs. 64, 65.


\textsuperscript{94}Artemis Rospiglòsi statue: S 1594. A large replica of the same type, of much better workmanship, is also known from Corinth (S 2392): \textit{AJA} 43, 1939, pp. 266–267 and fig. 9; Scranton, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 38 above), p. 70, pl. 27:1. For a discussion of the type and a list of replicas see L. Beschi in \textit{Sculture greche e romane di Cirene}, Padua 1959, pp. 255–297; the Corinth piece is no. 26 on p. 268.

\textsuperscript{95}“Rhodian” Aphrodite at Corinth: S 429, Johnson, no. 53; another replica, also flat but better: S 2491. The type has been most recently discussed by G. S. Merker (\textit{The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes}, \textit{SIMA} 40, 1973, pp. 27–28, nos. 19–35), who also evaluates the colossal version from the Athenian Agora. For a variant of the type which includes a bird and a tree, from Cyprus, see K. Nicolau, \textit{AJA} 84, 1980, pl. 11:12. The Rhodian examples from the Italian excavations are now published by G. Gualandi, “Sculture di Rodi,” \textit{ASatene} 54, n.s. 38, 1976 [1979], pp. 130–137, nos. 88–103.

\textsuperscript{96}Young Caracalla: S 1470, E. Askew, \textit{AJA} 35, 1931, pp. 442–447, figs. 1, 3; H. von Heintze, \textit{RömMitt} 73–74, 1966–67, p. 205, note 83; De Grazia, no. 34; Vermeule, p. 305, fig. 159. Although the hairstyle recalls African coiffures and the curls over the forehead imitate the Serapis type, something in the face reminds me of the Athenian portrait of Lucius Verus, Athens N.M. 350, \textit{JdI} 86, 1971, p. 219, figs. 9, 10.

\textsuperscript{97}Gordian III (a.d. 238–244): S 74–30; \textit{BCH}, 1975, p. 604, fig. 39; see also C. G. Koehler, \textit{Paper Abstracts}, 78th General Meeting of the AIA, p. 10, where the classicizing character of the head is stressed.
recut from Julio-Claudian portraits, as has been suggested for the Julius Caesar.98 One more striking head (S 1155, Pl. 97:a) deserves special mention. Considered Flavian by Johnson and early Augustan by De Grazia, it could perhaps be as late as Caracalla’s or even the Tetrarchic period because of its slanting forehead and prominent frown; its Classical traits, on the other hand, could be explained as part of that Greek tradition that is ever present at Corinth through the various Roman phases.99 Whatever the head’s true date, it is certainly one of the best pieces of carving from the city. Other works of high quality, however, can be assigned to this period with confidence, and outstanding portraits come even from the following centuries, usually considered periods of decline elsewhere. Rather than a backwater city with limited cultural activity, 3rd-century Corinth seems to have been an active and progressive center, in touch with the rest of the Roman world. The active marble trade made possible on a large scale by the wide Roman network of communications more than compensated for any local deficiency.

THE 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH CENTURIES

This picture of sculptural productivity can surprisingly be extended into the following three centuries which mark the end of our review. Corinthian carving is represented largely by portraits because they can be more readily identified, but building activities continue and structures may still be given relief decoration, although some appear stylistically primitive.100 Christian basilicas are erected within this period, the great baths are still in use, and Corinth has a reputation for juridical skills.101 The great earthquakes of 365 and 375 may have prompted a refurbishing of statues: some draped bodies in late style have in fact been recut from earlier sculptures or from architectural

98 Egyptianizing head: S 1181; De Grazia, no. 37, dated to the period of Alexander Severus.
   For a possible Julio-Claudian head recut in the 3rd century see S 1802, De Grazia, no. 45. For the Julius Caesar see footnote 31 above. A return to early Imperial forms, for a variety of reasons, is undeniable.

99 Head S 1155, Johnson, no. 159; De Grazia, no. 3. The sharply receding forehead, noticeable only in profile view, is unparalleled in Julio-Claudian monuments. Although not compelling as proof of late date, the context from which this head came contained only 3rd- and 6th-century pieces, either built into late walls or from the vicinity, as listed by De Grazia in her Table of Distribution. Head S 1155 would represent the only exception. The cutting on its back may also be indicative of late date.
   For outstanding heads from this period see, e.g., the so-called philosopher from Isthmia, S 2415, De Grazia, no. 46; Harrison, op. cit. (footnote 30 above), pl. 47:b; most recently discussed by Inan and Alftöldi Rosenbaum, op. cit. (footnote 39 above), no. 108, p. 157 and note 5.

100 For such late carvings see, e.g., Johnson, no. 310 (S 26, probably showing a knotted column), no. 320 (S 204), and perhaps also no. 300 (S 210), not a draped figure but a head with wings, as is clear when the figure in Johnson is turned clockwise 90°. The right eye of the face is almost entirely preserved. For other late reliefs see also Broneer, op. cit. (footnote 55 above), figs. 106–110.

members (Pl. 97:b).\textsuperscript{102} They rank, however, among the latest known from Greek soil. Limestone is still being used, and a headless bust from the Julian Basilica may be as late as the 5th or 6th century.\textsuperscript{103} The sack and destruction by Alaric in 395 may have caused more drastic damage, but 5th- and 6th-century portraits indicate that life in Corinth continued at a high level, perhaps at this time with complete sculptural independence from Athens.

Three heads may therefore close our review: the striking head of a bearded man from the 4th century (Pl. 97:c),\textsuperscript{104} the portrait of a bearded priest from the 5th (Pl. 97:d),\textsuperscript{105} and a female face with such Classical traits that Johnson could date her to the 1st century after Christ, but which, as De Grazia has seen, is more likely to belong to the 6th.\textsuperscript{106} She is a fitting epitome of the great tradition so consistently kept alive in the outstanding sculpture from Corinth.

\textbf{BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY}

\textbf{BRYN MAWR COLLEGE}
Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology
Bryn Mawr, PA 19010

\textsuperscript{102}See footnote 79 above (S 367) and Johnson, no. 326 (S 822, from an architectural block) and no. 328 (S 925, probably from a beam). De Grazia suggests that S 2224 (her no. 94) has been recut from a female figure, during the first half of the 6th century.

\textsuperscript{103}Limestone bust: S 1141, Johnson, no. 322; De Grazia, no. 113.

\textsuperscript{104}Fourth century man: S 1199, Johnson, no. 168; De Grazia, no. 52.

\textsuperscript{105}Fifth century priest: S 920, Johnson, no. 321; De Grazia, no. 53.

\textsuperscript{106}Sixth century woman: S 986, Johnson, no. 164; De Grazia, no. 63.
a. S 614. Archaic marble right knee

b. SF-32-1. Terracotta Amazonomachy pediment

c. S 1441. Dancing nymphs relief

d. S 2567. Votive relief

e. S 1200. Funerary banquet relief

f. S 1024bis. Zeuxippos relief

BRUNILDE S. RIDGWAY: SCULPTURE FROM CORINTH
a. S 2690. Pan relief

b. A 2302. Hekataion

c. S 686. Archaistic Hermes kriophoros

d. S 1445A. Portrait of priest

BRUNILDE S. RIDGWAY: SCULPTURE FROM CORINTH
a. S 1088. Portrait of Nero son of Germanicus(?)
b. S 2272. Portrait of Domitian
c. S 1798. Portrait of Antoninus Pius
d. S 1081. Cuirassed statue: Victories and a trophy

BRUNILDE S. RIDGWAY: SCULPTURE FROM CORINTH
a. S 2666. Head of a girl from Akrokorinthos

b. S 821. Relief: head of the Athena Parthenos

c. S 2384. Head from pedestal S 193 (?)

d. S 193. Relief pedestal: dancing Maenads

Brunilde S. Ridgway: Sculpture from Corinth
a. S 1449. Neo-Attic relief: Hera and Zeus

b. S 68. Demeter or Kore (?)

c. S 812 + S 820. Artemis peplophoros

d. Pedimental figure from Temple E

Brunilde S. Ridgway: Sculpture from Corinth
a. S 2336. Nude male torso

b. S 774. Seminude Apollo citharode

c. S 2337. Torso of man in chitoniskos

d. S 429. Statuette: “Rhodian” Aphrodite

Brunilde S. Ridgway: Sculpture from Corinth
a. S 1155. Roman head of a man

b. S 819. Draped male figure, 6th century after Christ


Fifth century after Christ

BRUNILDE S. RIDGWAY: SCULPTURE FROM CORINTH