

THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAION ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE

(PLATES 57–75)

IT IS OFTEN SAID that Pausanias was not interested in the monuments of his own time, and, in general, that seems true. But during his tour of Corinth, Pausanias walked out through the arch over the Lechaion Road which was the northern entrance to the forum (Fig. 1, Pl. 57:a) and was impressed enough to record the presence of the arch and the statues that crowned its attic: two gilded chariot groups with Helios and Phaethon as drivers.¹ Only the heavy foundations of the arch are preserved (Fig. 2), yet it must have been a striking monument which rose above the colonnaded street and held shining quadrigas on top. I would like to think that the chariot of Helios faced the road, since the god would appear then with his sanctuary on Acrocorinth and the rising sun as a backdrop. Phaethon's chariot would be turned to the forum. Hesiod says Phaethon guards the temple of Aphrodite at night.² As his father seemed to be leaving the acropolis of Corinth in the morning, so Phaethon, with the evening, western sun behind, returned to Aphrodite's temple, where he served as the night watchman of the city goddess.

That the statues on top of the arch referred to the gods of Acrocorinth is all we can learn from Pausanias' words. The visible remains provide little to suggest a context in the history of Roman architecture for the monument, and in discussions of Roman arches, the arch over the Lechaion Road is relegated to a passing reference in a footnote, if that much. Over the years a good deal of evidence has accumulated at Corinth which gives a more substantial picture of the arch and its decorative sculpture. The present study began as an investigation of a group of marble fragments carved in low relief. It became clear that these fragments thematically constitute a series appropriate for the decoration of an arch, and the recorded findspots confirm that they belonged to a monument in the north-central

¹ Pausanias 2.3.2: 'Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαια ἔστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δρυματα ἐπίχρυσα, τὸ μὲν Φαέθοντα Ἡλίου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἡλίου αὐτὸν φέρον. See note 20 below.

Charles K. Williams, II suggested the relief sculptures attributed to the arch as a topic for study and offered encouragement and advice at every step. I am especially grateful to him for the new plans of the foundations of the arch and the reconstructions of its architectural phases (Figs. 2–4). Christopher Campbell drew the elevation, Figure 5. Help was also provided by Nancy Bookidis, John Camp, John Clarke, Evelyn Harrison, Fred Kleiner, Christopher Pfaff, Brunilde Ridgway, Kathleen Slane, and Orestes Zervos.

The following photographs are published courtesy of the Deutsches archäologische Institut, Rom:

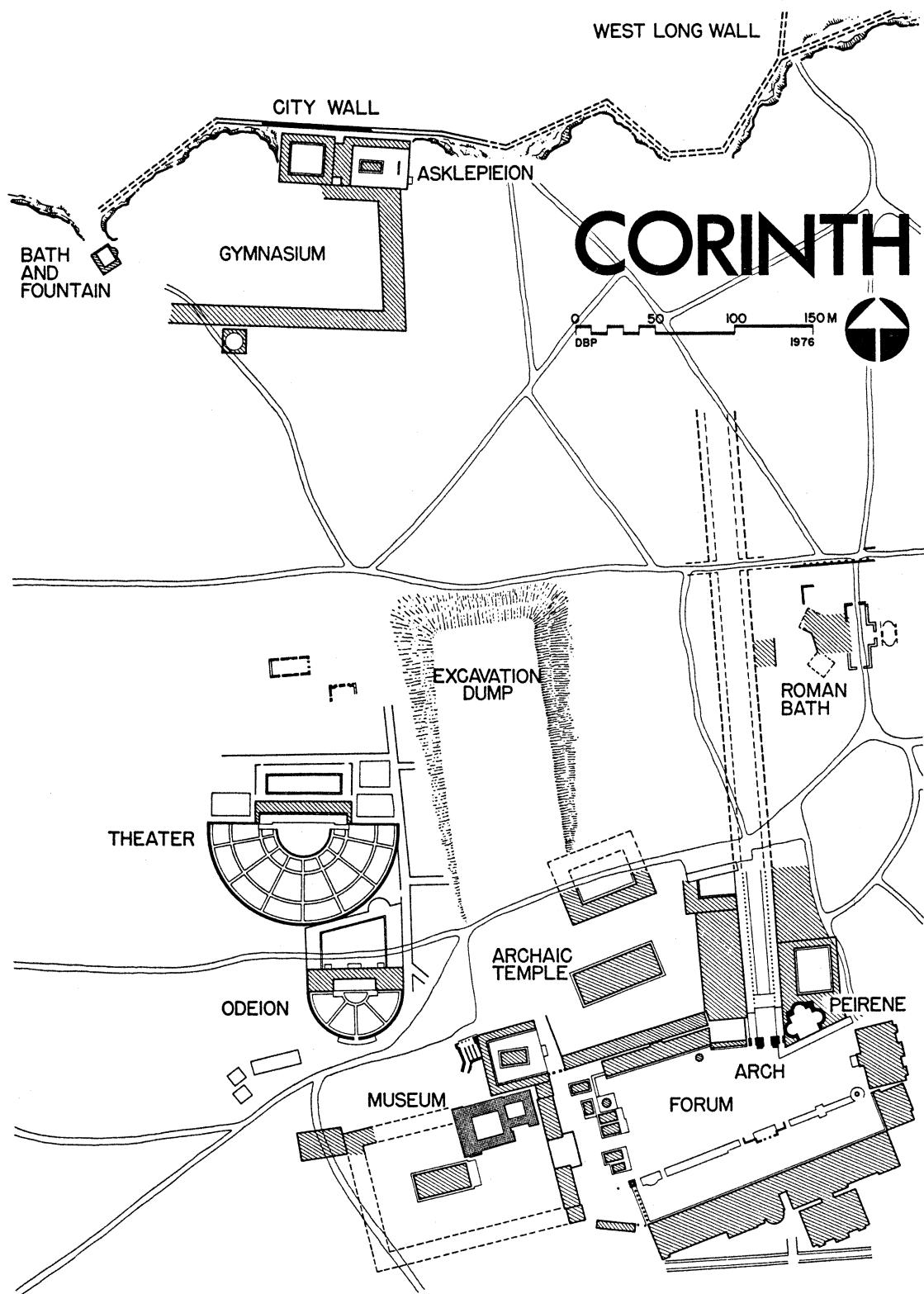
Plates 59:a (neg. no. 37.1356), 59:b (neg. no. 37.1358), 60:a (neg. no. 36.541), 61:b (neg. no. 41.1960), 61:c (neg. no. 29.480), 62:a (neg. no. 79.3375).

Permission to publish a photograph of the sarcophagus Belvedere 942 (Pl. 60:a) was kindly granted by the Vatican Museums (Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie).

[The author was notified of the acceptance of this paper but was unable to make the customary final corrections before his death. We are most grateful to Professor Evelyn B. Harrison and Dr. Charles K. Williams, II for assisting in the editing and proofreading.—Ed.]

² *Theog.* 985–991.



FIG. 1. Plan of Roman Corinth, *ca.* A.D. 150

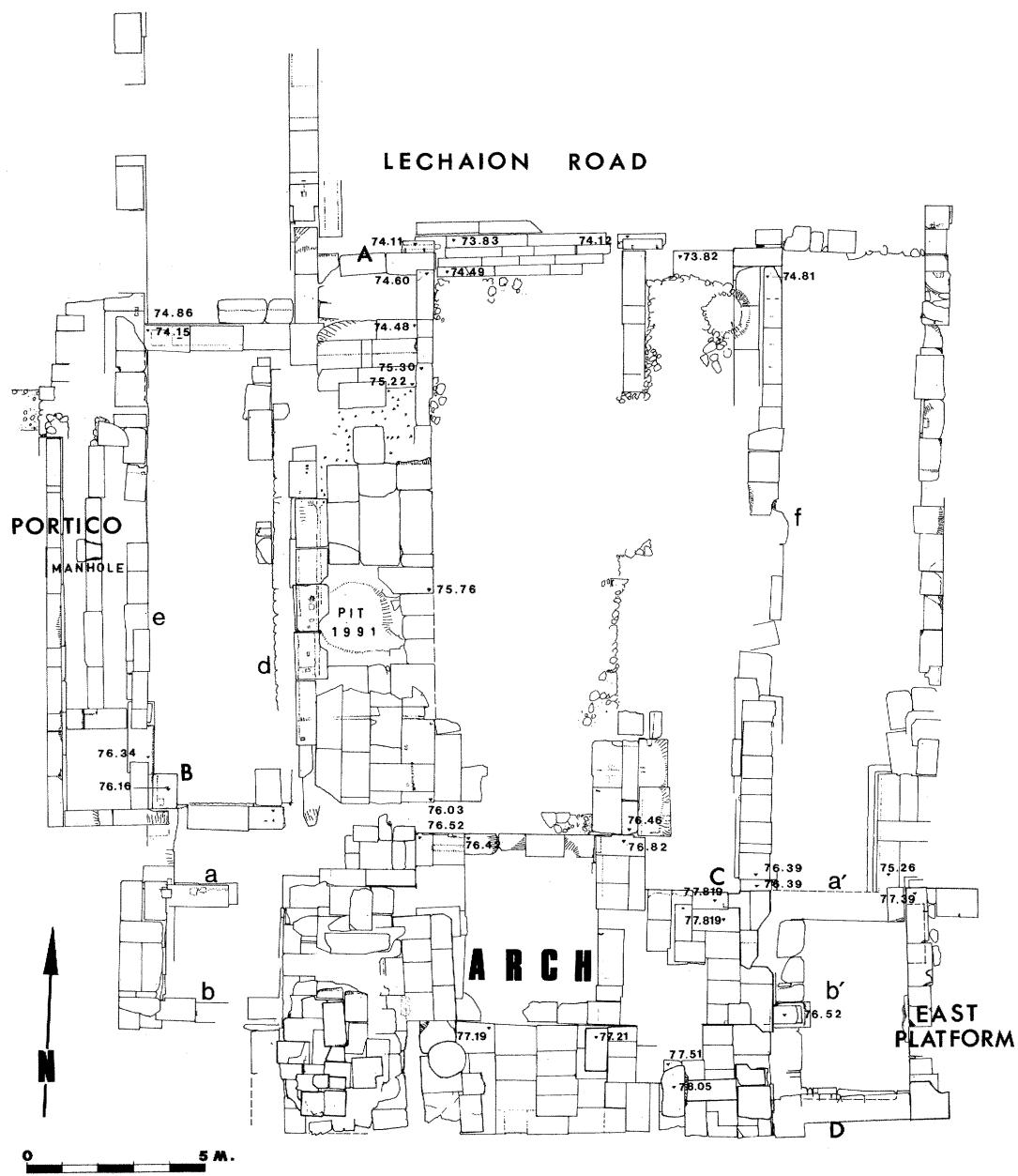


FIG. 2. Arch over the Lechaion Road: actual-state plan of the foundations and north platform, 1991

area of the forum. In order to test the attribution it was necessary to look closely at the arch over the Lechaion Road and to gather as much information about its chronology and reconstruction as the foundations allowed. In the following text, the results of the study of the architecture are presented first, since the interpretation of the physical remains affects

the reading of the sculpture. Next is a discussion of the individual reliefs and a reconstruction of the iconographic program. A catalogue of the sculptures with information on findspots, dimensions, and a brief description is included at the end. In the text the fragments are designated by their numbers in the catalogue.

THE ARCH

The foundations of the arch over the Lechaion Road at the north side of the Corinthian forum were excavated in 1899 and 1900 by Rufus Richardson and published two years later by Joshua Sears.³ The width of the foundations, which span the Lechaion Road and its porticos, measures 22.4 m., making it one of the largest civic arches in the Roman Empire. Preserved are the remains of the central bay with its flanking pylons (Fig. 3). At the sides of both pylons two walls run to the heavy constructions that border the entranceway (Fig. 2:a, b). The northern pair (a, a') are east-west retaining walls for the north end of the original platform of the arch. The southern walls (b, b'), which project from about the middle of the sides of the pylons, are difficult to interpret. Perhaps they supported thin walls that controlled access to the forum.⁴ Stretching north from the foundations are two retaining walls (d, f) that support a paved platform;⁵ at the north end of this platform, a flight of stairs descended to the Lechaion Road. The means of ascent to the side bays of the arch from the colonnaded walkways on either side of the road is unclear.⁶ On the south, the top of the foundations of the arch is level with the paving of the forum. (Note that the east wall a' has been robbed of stones through its bottom course. There is no question, however, that it originally formed part of the foundations.)

In the first volume of the *Corinth* series, published in 1932, Richard Stillwell devoted a detailed study to the foundations of the arch, analyzing the substructure and its relationship to the platform and stairs.⁷ Stillwell recognized five phases in the history of the arch and linked these phases to specific chronological periods, partly on the basis of depictions of an arch on Corinthian coins. These phases are as follows:

1. First Roman Period. Terrace walls provide an approach from the Lechaion Road to the forum. There is no arch. Date: soon after the refounding of the city in 44 B.C.

³ Sears 1902, pp. 439–454.

⁴ Stillwell (*Corinth* I, pp. 173–174) interpreted the walls to either side of the arch as evidence for additional bays, but this seems unlikely.

⁵ The platform is approximately 13 meters wide. Its length cannot be exactly determined because of the removal of step blocks and paving slabs at a later time; some slabs, for instance those on the west side adjacent to pit 1991, can be seen in Figure 2. It must have been at least 10 meters long. Two phases of the paving are clear. Along the west side of the platform are poros blocks. A marble veneer, of which the base molding is still preserved, is laid against the north face of the poros wall on the west side, flanking the stair (Fig. 2:A). The toichobate for the molding lies at an elevation of +74.11 m. Marble veneer laid over the poros blocks is preserved south of pit 1991; north of the pit the poros blocks are exposed. See note 18 below.

⁶ The areas between the retaining walls for the central platform and the walls running north from the east and west extremes of the foundations were cleared to Greek levels; no detailed accounts of their excavations were kept.

⁷ *Corinth* I, pp. 159–192.

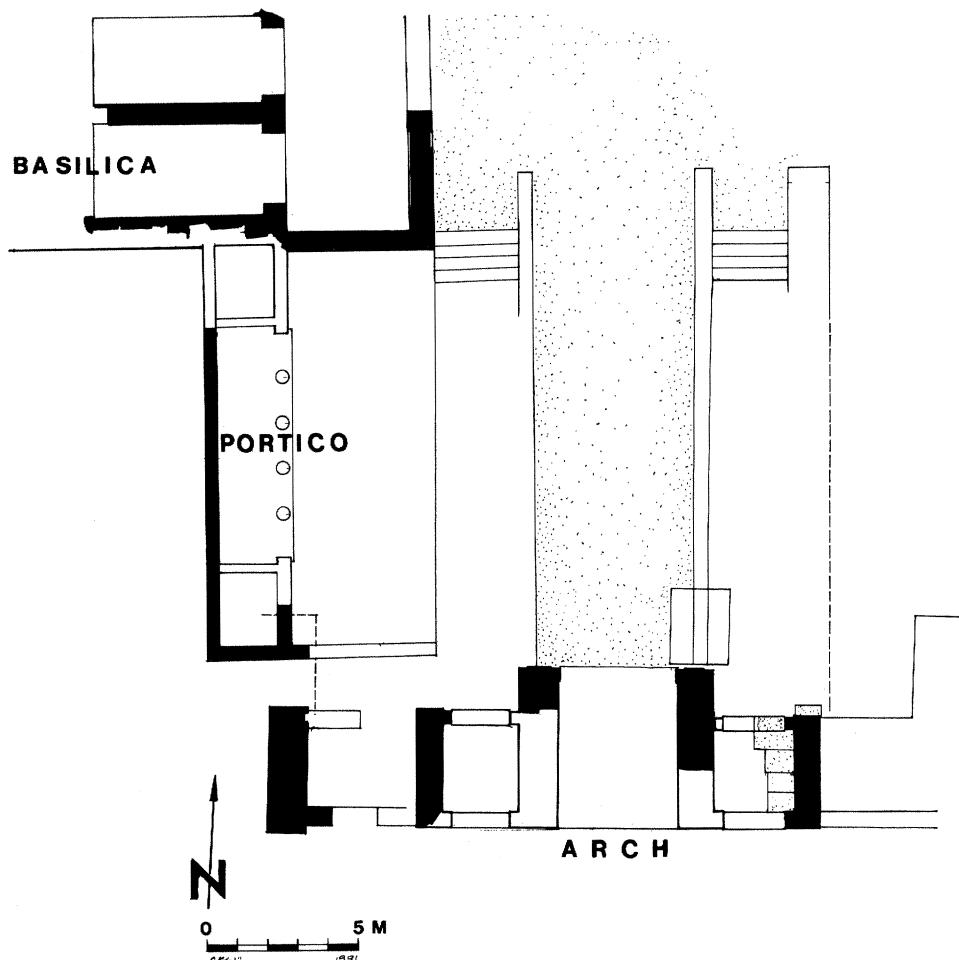


FIG. 3. Restored plan of Phase 1 of the arch and the area to the north

2. Second Roman Period. A triple-bayed arch, together with the central platform and a flight of steps, is constructed of poros. Date: Augustan?

3. Third Roman Period. The side bays of the arch are demolished and the depth of the central bay increased. The staircase and platform are revetted in marble. Date: post earthquake of A.D. 77. Domitianic? Corinthian coins of Domitian and Hadrian represent a single-bayed arch.

4. Fourth Roman Period. The side bay at the east, and possibly the one at the west, are reconstructed. Date: mid-2nd century, based on related constructions in Peirene and of the Captives Façade. Corinthian coins of Lucius Verus and Antoninus Pius show a triple-bayed arch.

5. Byzantine Period. The arch is partially destroyed in the 4th century. Final dismantlement takes place by the 10th century when a ramp containing material from the arch was

built on the Lechaion Road and over the Roman stairway. The 10th-century date is supplied by Byzantine coins found beneath the ramp.

Stillwell's reconstruction of the history of the arch is largely based on interpretations of the chronological relationships between a series of retaining walls and the foundations of the arch. Some of these relationships can be interpreted differently and lead to a reevaluation of his conclusions.

THE REMAINS

One area where a building sequence can be observed is located between the western north-south retaining wall of the central platform (Fig. 2:d) and the north-south foundation about four meters farther west (Fig. 2:e) that served as a retaining wall for the courtyard in front of the basilica (Fig. 3). Stillwell nicknamed the latter "the epistyle wall" because of four epistyle blocks "of good Greek workmanship" built into it.⁸ About two meters west of the epistyle wall and parallel to it runs a wall constructed on rubble foundations, its socle and three courses of regular poros blocks preserved. It was named "the good high wall". Between these two is an "intermediate" wall which is curtailed at its southern and probably its northern end by crosswalls built between the epistyle wall and the good high wall. These crosswalls suggest rectangular chambers at the north and south ends of the complex. The whole ensemble, epistyle wall, good high wall, and intermediate wall, forms the foundations and lower superstructure of a narrow building, probably to be restored, in its original phase, as a portico with end rooms (Figs. 3, 4).

At its southern end the epistyle wall intersects the heavy foundations of the western extremity of the arch (Fig. 2:B, Pl. 57:b). Of this intersection Stillwell writes, "It is evident from the manner in which the epistyle wall is cut by the west buttress foundation that it was in place before the buttress was built."⁹ That is in no way clear, and, in fact, the opposite is more likely. The blocks of the epistyle wall are laid against those of the foundation and do not bond with it. The second block from the top has been cut back in order to fit against the foundation. It follows that the construction of the epistyle wall is subsequent to that of the foundations of the arch.

The good high wall was also built after the foundations of the arch. At its southern end, the good high wall turns east and crosses over the foundations. A northern return lies partly on top of the foundations, the upper surface of which has been cut down to receive its socle, and partly on the epistyle wall. Both the epistyle wall and the foundations of the good high wall were built over a drain, which can be followed as far as the northwest forum; it crosses beneath the arch, turns northwest in front of the basilica, and runs underneath the platform in front of the Northwest Stoa.¹⁰ The fill from the drain dates to the mid-2nd century after Christ.¹¹ That the drain was in use when the good high wall was constructed is indicated by

⁸ Stillwell restored the epistyle blocks to the exterior colonnade of the old Greek stoa, the remains of which lie beneath the later Roman basilicas west of the Lechaion Road; *Corinth I*, pp. 221, 225.

⁹ *Corinth I*, p. 176.

¹⁰ For the drain, see *Corinth I*, ii, p. 92, pl. VIII. The construction of the drain belongs to the Hellenistic period: Williams 1969, p. 54.

¹¹ Deposit 1925-1. The latest dated material is a coin of Antoninus Pius, 25-90. The fill contained many lamps of Broneer type XXVII. See *Corinth IV*, ii, pp. 58-59.

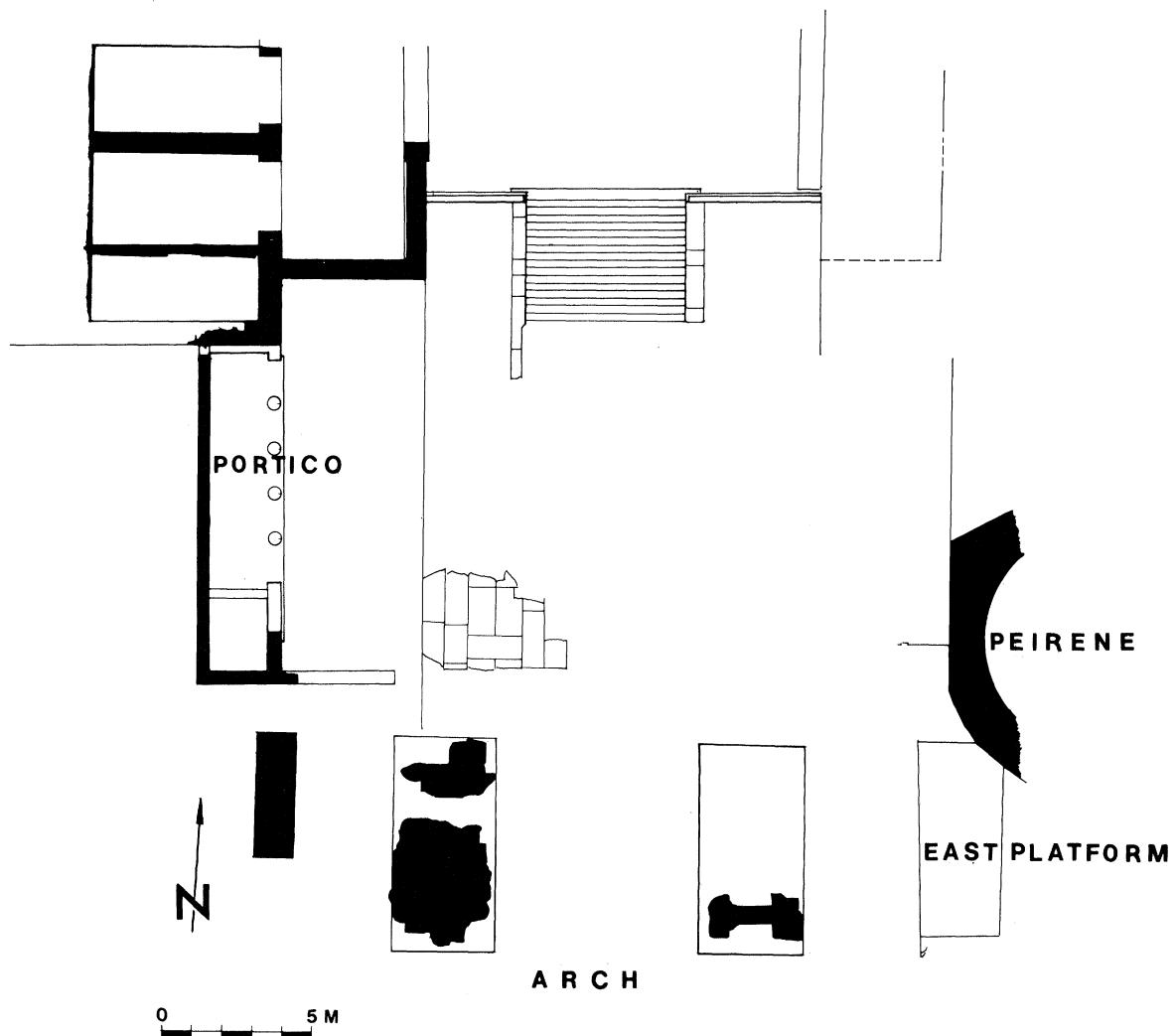


FIG. 4. Restored plan of Phase 2 of the arch and the area to the north

a manhole cut through the intermediate wall (Fig. 2). Therefore, the general chronological framework for this complex is to be placed after the construction of the foundations for the arch and before the mid-2nd century after Christ.

Most of the hard limestone steps which led up from the Lechaion Road to the central platform were removed in the Byzantine period, leaving only the concrete foundations below.¹² Stillwell suggested a flight of ten steps ascending in two stages with a landing

¹² The individual step blocks had been reused in a drain underneath the Byzantine ramp. See *Corinth I*, p. 182. The blocks were later replaced on the foundations by the excavators. The original line of the blue limestone staircase can be determined by wear on the foundations and by the line of the pavement which breaks off in front of the first step.

between. The steps are bordered on the east and on the west by spurs which project north from the central platform, maintaining its orientation; Stillwell called these spurs *paratids*.¹³ Beneath the west spur is a flight of four poros steps (Fig. 2:A, Pl. 57:c). Clear evidence thus exists for two phases of the stairway. Stillwell did not comment on the fact that the poros steps are not laid perpendicular to the walls of the spurs but are angled slightly to the southwest.

Two phases of construction are also apparent in the connection between the east wall of the platform and the foundations of the arch itself (Fig. 2:C, Pl. 58:a). Projecting from the eastern edge of the east pylon is a shallow buttress; its foundations descend in five courses, about 1.8 m. total, and rest on earth fill. Blocks of the buttress bond into the foundations of the arch and must be contemporary with it. Extending north from the buttress but not bonding with it is the east wall of the central platform (Fig. 2:f). The foundations of this wall descend three courses, about 1.3 m., and rest on heavy rubble laid over earth fill. The foundations of this platform wall do not meet the blocks of the buttress evenly but are slightly displaced to the west. As a result, the buttress projects 0.19 m. east of the line of the east platform wall.

The top of the buttress has been worked down 0.10 m., except on the east where the original height is preserved. The reworked surface is level with the top of the platform wall. Stillwell thought this surface suggested that a freestanding column stood at the corner of the pylon, rather than an engaged column or a pilaster.¹⁴ He also found it "a little strange that the foundation for an element that was in itself an integral portion of the gateway should be formed in part by an abutting wall." That difficulty is removed if we accept the buttress as belonging to a phase of the arch earlier than the east platform wall, as the remains suggest.

The foundations of the arch also give evidence for two phases of construction.¹⁵ In its earlier stage the pylons were pierced by rectangular chambers (Fig. 3). The clearest evidence for this arrangement is the disposition of the blocks of the foundations themselves (Pl. 58:b). Later, the side bays were filled with poros blocks, and the width of the central bay was increased to approximately seven meters (Fig. 4). At the same time, the depth of the arch was increased: solid foundations of poros were laid across the south side, increasing the depth by 3.10 m. and projecting the arch into the area of the forum.

Subsequent to the increase in depth of the central bay, construction took place east of the arch. A large, rectangular platform was built which closed off the staircase leading down to Peirene (Fig. 2: East Platform). New foundations for this heavy construction were laid on top of the foundations of the east retaining wall. To lay these new foundations required

¹³ *Corinth I*, p. 160.

¹⁴ *Corinth I*, p. 174. Because Stillwell accepted the walls of the platform as contemporary with the foundations of the arch, he was faced with a freestanding column on an Augustan arch.

¹⁵ Stillwell (*Corinth I*, pp. 173–174) interpreted breaks on the front edges of blocks of the north foundation wall of the east pylon as the result of wear and indicative of a wide opening. He detected similar wear on the west pylon. His reconstruction based on these observations was a five-bayed arch. The broken edges on the blocks of the east pylon were not caused by traffic but by the breaking off of the lower surfaces of blocks from the course above. There is no wear visible on the western pylon.

removal of some of the upper coursing of the foundations of the north retaining wall; it was replaced with irregular blocks and rubble fill.¹⁶

At the time of construction of the east platform, a crosswall was built connecting its southern face and the east corner of the southern extension of the central bay (Fig. 2:D). This crosswall turns north, lying against the whole east side of the foundations of the arch in its enlarged state. The construction of this wall and that of the east platform are contemporaneous and subsequent to the southern extension of the central bay.

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE PHASES OF CONSTRUCTION

The foundations of the arch proper preceded the construction of the epistyle wall which formed the east foundation wall of the portico west of the central platform. Stillwell said the epistyle wall "is unquestionably contemporary with the (west) shops" of the Lechaion Road.¹⁷ But, as Stillwell himself noted, the epistyle wall does not rest on the foundations of the wall of the shops, and its construction is very different from that of the west shops. The construction of the portico is therefore subsequent to that of the foundations of the arch and is apparently contemporary with the first Lechaion Road Basilica.¹⁸

¹⁶ See *Corinth I*, p. 169, fig. 119.

¹⁷ *Corinth I*, p. 177.

¹⁸ I quote from a letter dated October 28, 1991, written to me by Charles K. Williams, II after emergency excavations in the summer of 1991:

By freeing a segment of the west side of the Pit 1991 [Fig. 2], three phases were able to be distinguished in the west foundation wall of the step platform. The first phase is attested by a single course of long poros capping blocks set on the rough stone foundation of the west side of the platform. All of this is part of the first phase. The vertical face of the poros capping course is well finished. The east face of each block is also flush with the next; the blocks themselves, however, are of unequal depth from front to back, which produces an uneven back or west face to the course. In other words, this course was designed to have its east face exposed, apparently as a step or curb running along the west side of the west sidewalk of the propylaea in its first phase. This step was later overlaid by a new course that can go architecturally, and by elevations, with the stoa along the west side of the platform. This is phase 2. The portico thus was built after the initial design of the area, apparently to make a court-like space at the top of the step platform on the north side of the arch. The construction date of the stoa can be related to the construction of the first Lechaion Road Basilica. Thereafter the later, second course of poros that caps the west foundation of the platform was trimmed along its eastern side for a pavement of marble that represents the resurfacing of the stair platform, and that must go with the second arch.

The toichobate that carries the orthostates of the back wall of the portico lies at an elevation that is appropriate to the level of the early door sills in the two side passageways of the first arch. The floor level of the first basilica to the west of the portico is at least 0.60 m. higher, however, and without the portico between arch and basilica, a transition of steps or retaining wall must be restored to make the change of level feasible. If, however, you look at the back wall (good high wall) of the portico, the course above the toichobate is beautifully finished on its east face. The blocks are uneven on their west side, protruding one from the other and out from the course above by as much as 0.11 m. The course above that is smooth on both sides. This indicates, to me, that the first course above the toichobate was designed to be buried on its west side, while the course above was to be visible on both its east and its west face. How tall is the first course above the toichobate? 0.77 m. tall, of course, allowing a very nice adaptation to the differences of level between the arch and the basilica.

The joint between the foundations of the arch and the southern half of the east wall of the central platform indicates that the foundations of the arch were in place first. Finally, the poros steps are angled slightly more to the southwest than the walls of the spurs and the blue limestone steps. We can be sure that the poros steps belong to a phase which preceded the construction of the spurs. It is tempting, therefore, to associate the construction of the foundations of the arch with that of the poros steps and the west shops of the Lechaion Road (Fig. 3).

At a later time the platform and staircases in front of the arch were redesigned and slightly realigned (Fig. 4). The filling in of the pylons, the southward increase in depth of the central bay and the adjacent pylons, and the widening of the central bay were also subsequent alterations. In this case, no physical evidence ties the redesign of the staircase and platform to the rebuilding of the arch proper. They do seem to be related constructions, since in its new form the spurs of the platform closed off the direct approach to what had been the side bays of the arch.

Finally, a large, rectangular platform was built east of the arch. The platform abuts the back face of the west apse wall of the court of Peirene. The crosswall that connects the platform to the central bay was laid subsequent to the southern extension of the arch. Since blocks of this crosswall bond into the foundations of the east platform, the latter as well is later than the southern extension.

The remains provide evidence for three phases of the arch over the Lechaion Road. Phase 1 is a triple-bayed arch (Fig. 3). It was approached by a central ramp and flanking steps.¹⁹ Phase 2 is a single-bayed arch (Fig. 4). The depth of the central bay and pylons was considerably increased to the south. The earlier ramp and flanking steps had been, or were at this time, replaced by a central flight of stairs flanked by spurs running north from the platform. Phase 3 is the construction of a platform to the east of the arch and its connection to the arch by a crosswall.

THE DATE

Tying these phases to specific chronological periods is another matter. Stillwell used numismatic evidence both for his reconstruction of the form of the arch and for dating its phases. But since the representations of arches on the coins differ not only in the number of entrances but also in details, the relevance of all coins used is suspect. Only if the arch over the Lechaion Road can be shown to have had a particular architectural form at a specific time should coins representing a Corinthian arch be brought into the discussion.²⁰

¹⁹ Access to the side bays of the arch is unclear. Sears (1902, p. 448) suggested that they were approached by ramps. He thought that three poros blocks, which remain *in situ* between the west spur and the epistyle wall, were steps and gave access to a ramp. Stillwell (*Corinth I*, p. 176) does not mention these blocks. Presumably he considered them part of a wall that blocked access to the western bay. Stillwell did not think approaches from the Lechaion Road to the side bays of the arch ever existed. He says, "The disposition of the side walls of the platform in front of the Propylaia seems to indicate that the space between them and the prolonged lines of shop fronts, both east and west, was filled up to the level of the main platform and on the east slightly higher." It is now apparent that on the west there was a level pavement in front of the portico (see note 18 above). The arrangement east of the platform is harder to determine and may have been somewhat different from that to the west in order to provide access to Peirene at a stage before the East Shops were built on the Lechaion Road.

²⁰ Stillwell accepted Imhoof-Blumer's identification of the arch on coins with that of the Lechaion Road. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, no. 22, p. 71, pl. LII:xcvii, xcvi, xcix, c. Although Pausanias explicitly

The alignment of the poros steps corresponds with evidence for the first Roman phase of the Lechaion Road. Significant is the orientation of the west shops of the Lechaion Road and of a large poros foundation which interrupts the later colonnade.²¹ Their orientations are at right angles to the poros steps. There is no external evidence for the date of the original alignment of the Lechaion Road. Recent excavation beneath the platform north of the arch has unearthed pottery datable to the 1st century after Christ.²² A date early in that century would fit with other constructions at Corinth, and the form and proportions of the triple-bayed arch find Augustan parallels.²³

The redesign of the central platform is related to the construction of the colonnades along the sides of the Lechaion Road. The walls of the central platform continue the line of the colonnades exactly and like the colonnades converge slightly to the south. Stillwell noted that “the construction at the point of junction of the stylobate of the East Colonnade and the east wall of the platform shows either that they are contemporary, or that the colonnade is earlier.”²⁴ Likewise the east retaining wall, which also serves as the west wall of Peirene in the third architectural phase of the fountain, continues the line of the front wall of the East Shops. The construction of the East Shops and the paving of the Lechaion Road have recently been dated not before the late third quarter or early fourth quarter of the 1st century after Christ.²⁵ The alteration in the size and shape of the arch, which constitutes its second phase, is either contemporary with or subsequent to the construction of the new platform.

Construction east of the arch constitutes its third phase. Stillwell and Hill connected the east platform with the fifth Roman phase of Peirene, which they dated to the time of Herodes Atticus.²⁶ Stillwell noted that the east platform is not actually contemporary with the “Herodean” phase of Peirene, since its blocks do not bond with the western apse of the fountain. On the plans which accompany Hill’s volume, the east platform is not part of

states that there were two chariots crowning the arch, all the coins show only one. This is, however, not a valid reason for rejecting the coins as representations of the arch. Some simplifications of the form of the arch must have taken place in the design of the coins. Pallottino (*EAA I*, p. 597, *s.v.* Arco onorario e trionfale) and Kähler (*RE VIIA*, 1939, col. 446, *s.v.* Triumphbogen) have questioned the validity of the coins as depictions of the Lechaion Road arch.

²¹ *Corinth I*, p. 158. See also Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, pp. 25–33.

²² I quote from the same letter from Williams cited in note 18 above:

In the summer of 1991 an emergency excavation was undertaken on the step platform north of the propylaea. A segment of the sidewalk on the west side of the platform had collapsed into a Roman drain which passes under the platform. . . . The original fill within the core of the step platform should be dated within the first century after Christ, but neither earlier nor later. Unfortunately much of the material from the construction fill is body sherds from coarse wares and amphoras. Fine wares form a very low percentage of the total assemblage. The identifiable material is late enough, however, to exclude a construction date in the first century before Christ. The pottery is stored in Corinth lot 1991-93. I thank both Dr. N. Bookidis and Prof. K. Slane for their examination of the excavation pottery. I thank Dr. Bookidis, as well, for her help in the excavation of the propylaea pit.

²³ For Augustan building at Corinth, see *Corinth VIII*, iii, pp. 20–21; also Wiseman 1979, pp. 509–521. For the form of the arch, compare the so-called Parthian arch in the Roman Forum; see, most recently, Nedergaard 1988, pp. 224–239.

²⁴ *Corinth I*, p. 177.

²⁵ Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, pp. 32–33.

²⁶ *Corinth I*, p. 185. *Corinth I*, vi, p. 96.

the "Herodean" period and is labeled "Late Roman-Byzantine". Because of the rubble-filled construction of the crosswalls the later date is preferable.

Differences in details suggest that the single-bayed arches depicted on the coins of Domitian and Hadrian, which Stillwell used as evidence for his Phase 3, represent monuments unrelated to the arch over the Lechaion Road. The arch on the Domitianic coin has wide pylons framed by columns or pilasters and is possibly decorated with sculpture.²⁷ The rather flat vault springs directly from the tall supports at the corners of the passageway. Roundels decorate the pylons to either side of the vault. Coins of Hadrian depict an arch with two columns standing close together on a podium in front of each pylon (Pl. 58:c, d).²⁸ The tall vault springs from low columns or pilasters that frame the passageway. Stairs appear to cross in front of the arch. The triple-bayed arches on the coins of Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, and Commodus do not correspond to the architectural form of the arch during the second half of the 2nd century after Christ; they represent a different monument. A triple-bayed arch also marked the entrance to the forum at the northwest, over the road to Sikyon, and another at Isthmia has recently been published.²⁹ There may have been others elsewhere in the city.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DESIGN

Not one architectural member has been securely associated with the arch over the Lechaion Road, so that a graphic elevation of the monument can only be based on the plan of the foundations and reasonable guesses. In its first phase the relatively modest arch had a central bay (3.9 m. wide) flanked by narrower (*ca.* 2 m.) and presumably shorter archways (Fig. 3). The foundations indicate that on the north the architectural framework around the central bay projected approximately 1.5 m. in front of the façade. Certainly columns on podia flanked the central bay. These columns could have supported a pediment or a projection of the architrave. To what extent the first phase of the arch was further decorated is impossible to say. Statues may have crowned the attic, but the available space would not have been enough for the two quadrigas seen by Pausanias. Decorative friezes like those on the arches at Pola and Pisidian Antioch³⁰ or reliefs like those on the arch at Glanum³¹ cannot be excluded, but there is no evidence for them. The whole may have been a rather sober structure.

With the length of the archway practically doubled, the span of the central vault increased from 3.5 m. to 7 m., and the side bays filled, the second phase of the arch fulfilled an entirely different concept of the purpose of a monument in this particular spot (Figs. 4, 5). The ground plan became a simple rectangle. To judge from the increased span of the vault, Phase 2 was a much taller arch. The foundations which projected north from the corners of the central bay of the first arch were covered in the second phase, so that the passageway must have been reached by a relatively steep flight of stairs. All in all, the form of Phase 2

²⁷ See note 20 above and Sears 1902, p. 450, fig. 4.

²⁸ Corinth VI, no. 129, p. 30: Peribolos, July 16, 1926, weight 14.61 gr., axis ←. North of School-VI-4-34-Coin 2: weight 8.45 gr., axis ↑.

²⁹ Arch at northwest forum: Corinth I, ii, p. 109. Isthmian arch: Gregory and Mills 1984, pp. 407–445.

³⁰ Pola: Traversari 1971; Pisidian Antioch: D. M. Robinson 1926, figs. 31–54.

³¹ See most recently F. S. Kleiner 1985b, pp. 73–83.

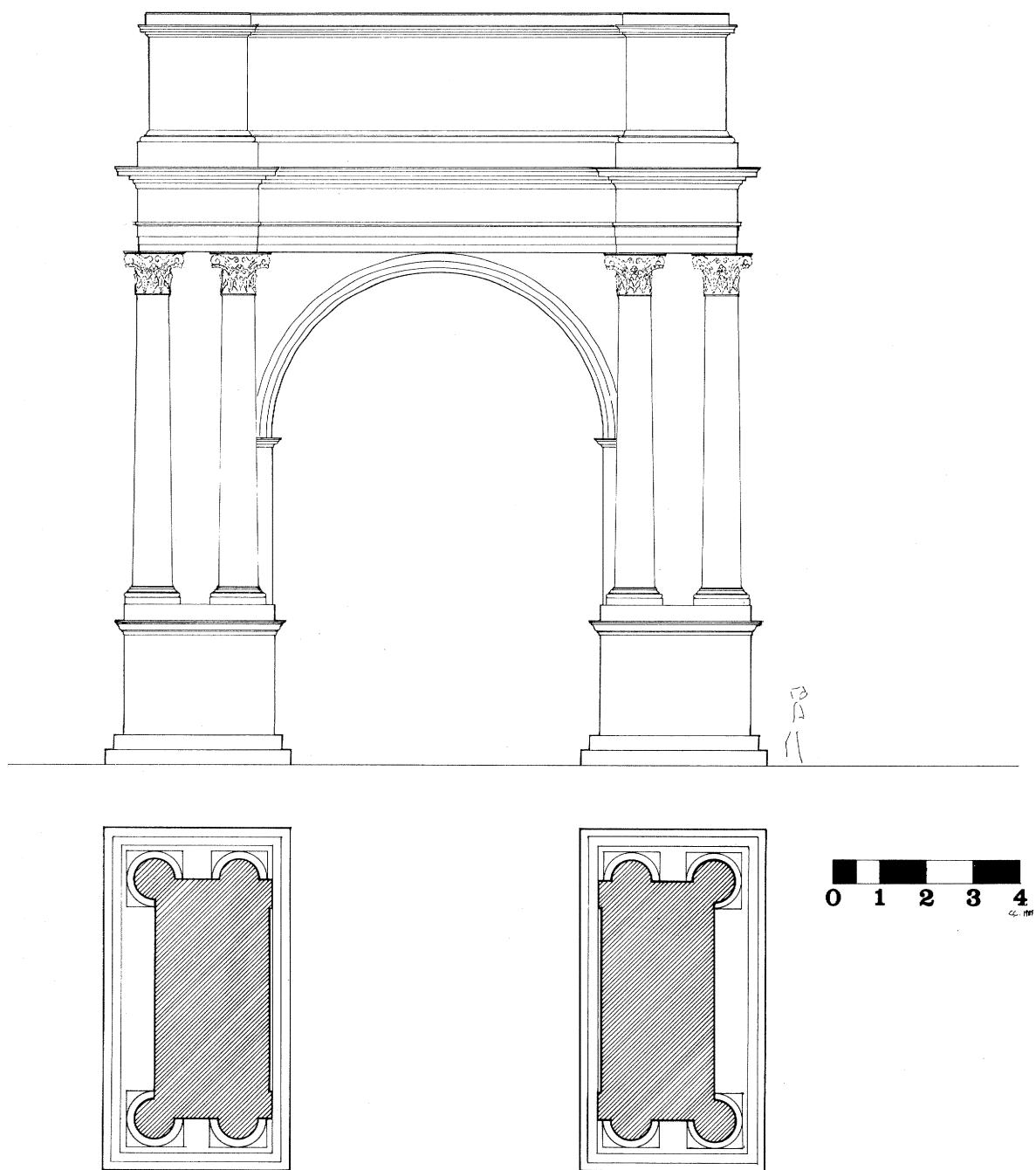


FIG. 5. Restored plan and elevation of Phase 2 of the arch

of the arch over the Lechaion Road, as far as the foundations permit us to envision it, matches the arch depicted on the coins of Hadrian, which consequently may well represent our monument.

THE SCULPTURED RELIEFS

Since excavations began in the forum of ancient Corinth, fragments of relief sculpture have appeared which are distinctive enough to have earned from the excavators the name of the "historical frieze". The name derives from depictions on the reliefs of arms and armor and of bearded heads resembling figures on Roman historical reliefs. Pieces on which the representations are too fragmentary to be identified can be associated by marble type and thickness, as well as by stylistic and technical similarities. The material is a fine-grained white marble, in general not very sparkling. Some fragments have heavy mica streaks.³² The relief is low, but its height varies from slab to slab. The thickness of the background is more consistent, ranging between 0.02 m. and 0.045 m. The largest preserved fragments, **1** and **4**, show that the background was thicker at the bottom and at the top of some reliefs. **17** shows an increased thickness at the right side. On the backs the fragments are finished in two ways: most pieces are sawn with no traces of tool marks; a few are rough picked.³³

There are 88 fragments of the "historical frieze" found between 1896 and 1990. Forty-two pieces are from a marble pile dismantled in 1970 by Mary Sturgeon.³⁴ On twenty-nine, the words "Lechaion Road" are written in ink. The validity of this label can be checked in one case: **40**, which came from the museum marble pile and carries the "Lechaion Road" label, was drawn in an excavation notebook of 1902 and recorded as having been found in front of the Captives Façade, that is, in the area above the Sacred Spring, not in the Lechaion Road.³⁵ It is likely that in the early years of excavation, before the topography of the forum area was clear and its architectural monuments named, the designation "Lechaion Road" referred to the area around the arch and distinguished it from Peirene and "Boudromai" (now recognized as the central vaulted chamber of the Northwest Shops), two other landmarks used by the excavators as topographic indicators.

Seven fragments of the frieze were found in modern fill in the area southwest of the Propylaia (**9**, **15**, **19**, **26**, **40**, **54**, **87**). **17** was found in a marble pile northeast of the arch. Four pieces came from the shops in the Northwest Stoa (**16**, **25**, **38**, **58**). Three fragments

³² The marble differs from that of the theater reliefs at Corinth by being slightly larger grained; also the mica streaks are less frequent and larger. *Corinth IX*, ii, p. 4.

³³ The reliefs from the theater frieze display a similar duality of finish. It probably reflects the sawing into thin slabs of large blocks brought from the quarry. The reliefs with rough backs are from the ends of the quarry stones.

³⁴ *Corinth IX*, ii, p. v. The marble pile contained many fragments of the reliefs which decorated the *scaenae frons* of the 2nd-century theater. Sturgeon writes, "The contents of this marble pile are likely to derive from excavations conducted by Mr. Shear," i.e., in the area of the Theater. Since several pieces from the museum marble pile join fragments from the forum, it would be better to say that the fragments come from the early years of excavations.

³⁵ *Corinth Notebook* 14, pp. 24–25.

were found along the Lechaion Road: **50** from the area of the Peribolos of Apollo, **6** and **11** from the Roman hemicycle. **1** comes from an area just east of the early excavations, south of the modern plateia. A few fragments have findspots outside the northeast forum. **2** was found in 1898 near the South Basilica. **24** comes from the northwest forum, **29**, **34**, and **83** from the west end of the forum, behind Temple F. All are from modern levels. These findspots do not discourage an association with the “historical frieze”; they are probably irrelevant. A lime kiln of the 10th century operated in the west forum, so that many of the broken sculptures found there could have been brought from elsewhere.

The name “historical frieze” was justly conferred as a convenient way to isolate this group of reliefs. But when one collects all the fragments and looks at them side by side, it is clear that they fall into two easily distinguished groups, one characterized by life-size human figures and the other without figures. The figures suggest two scenes: (1) imperial sacrifice and (2) possibly a submission scene. The non-figural fragments belong to (3) a weapons frieze.

THE FIGURED SCENES

The best preserved piece, **1**, shows the head and arms of a bearded male, the arms raised and bent back with the left hand grasping a shaft (Pl. 63). **2** preserves the figure’s right hand and **3**, part of his torso. The broken forms at the left edge of **3** can be read as the handle of a knife and bunched folds at the top of a skirt.³⁶ **4**, which preserves a bovine leg and two human feet facing right (Pl. 64), should be associated with these fragments. The scene must have depicted a sacrifice at the moment when the *popa* raises the axe over his head.³⁷ The position of the feet on **4** is not well suited for the wide stance usually taken by the *popa* on Roman historical reliefs. Rather, the pose matches those of men who lead animals to sacrifice.³⁸ Another bovine hoof, **5**, in profile to the left (Pl. 63), belongs with this group. On most examples of sacrifice scenes, the *popa* stands behind the bull’s head when he swings the axe, so that we would not expect the animal facing left to receive the blow; the animal represented by the leg on **4** should be the victim. Compositionally the scene would resemble the sacrifice on the Altar of Manlius in the Vatican³⁹ or that in the panel beneath the figures of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna on the Arch of the Argentarii.⁴⁰ On both, an attendant stands behind the animal.

³⁶ Compare the costumes and knives of the *popa* and *victimarius* on Trajan’s Column, e.g., scene LXXXVI, Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 39, and on the sacrifice panel on Trajan’s arch at Beneventum (Pl. 61:c), Rotili 1972, pl. LV.

³⁷ The basic study of the scene is Brendel 1930, pp. 196–226. For an example in which the *popa* raises both arms over his head, see an early Imperial altar from Mérida in Spain: Ryberg 1955, pp. 95–96, pl. XXX, fig. 45:d.

³⁸ Compare the *victimarius* and bull on a relief in the Vatican, inv. no. 539: Amelung 1908, no. 415, pp. 647–649; Ryberg 1955, p. 96, pl. XXIX, fig. 45:e; Helbig⁴ I, 148 (Simon), dated to the Claudian period; Koeppel 1986, no. 21, pp. 8, 43–45, fig. 25, dated Hadrianic-Antonine.

³⁹ Vatican, inv. no. 9964: Ryberg 1955, pp. 84–87, pl. XXV, fig. 39:a; Hermann 1961, no. 31, pp. 95–97; Helbig⁴ I, 1058 (Simon); Torelli 1982, pp. 16–20, pl. I:6.

⁴⁰ Pallottino 1946, pl. VIII; Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, p. 71, fig. 64.

6 depicts a metal hydria which would be appropriate for a scene of sacrifice (Pl. 63).⁴¹ Part of a curved trumpet, **7**, suggests a procession, and the heel of a foot wearing a soft leather shoe with a strap hanging at the side (*calceus*), **8**, belongs to an official or a high-ranking officer (Pl. 64).⁴² The weathered male head, **9**, is veiled (Pl. 64), possibly indicating a priestly function. The fragmentary head of a bald man, **10**, must have been a strikingly realistic depiction (Pl. 65). The bearded male head, **11**, so closely resembles the heads of *victimarii* on Trajan's Column that one would like to associate him with the scene (Pl. 65), possibly as the head of the figure whose legs are preserved on **4**.⁴³ He could also be a soldier.

The feet wearing *caligae* identify soldiers (**12**, **13**, **14**), and profile legs (**15**, **16**) may be associated with them (Pls. 65, 66).⁴⁴ On **18** the jeweled pendent straps ending in floral forms, which hang over folds of drapery, are from the attire of a Roman soldier (Pl. 66); the best parallels show that they are the ends of leather straps that hung from the *cingulum* over the belly and sometimes as low as the legs.⁴⁵ The soldier wearing this garment stood close to a second figure, since the folds of another tunic at right are divided from those with the straps by a narrow ridge.⁴⁶ A helmet with a horsehair crest, **17**, probably was worn by a soldier (Pl. 66). The style of carving and the size of the helmet find parallels among the other fragments of the reliefs, and the joint surface at the right edge together with the inward slope of the relief surface could indicate a figure at the right edge of a panel.

14 shows a foot turned right with the heel raised (Pl. 65). The narrow band on which the toes rest is problematic. The band cannot represent the lower border of the relief: that border as it appears on **4**, **5**, **8**, and **23** is smooth and tall. The resting surface on **14** is prepared for attachment to another slab. The relief is hard to explain. It finds a parallel in a late Republican or early Imperial funerary relief from Amiternum on which some musicians and mourners in the procession are placed on narrow groundlines at a higher level than the cortege.⁴⁷ Similar groundlines occur on the Decursio reliefs on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius, on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and on the panel reliefs on the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum.⁴⁸ But on these examples the groundlines have a rocky texture unlike those on the Amiternum relief or **14**. It may well be that some of

⁴¹ The hydria on **6** does not have the pitcher shape of the Roman *guttus* or *urceus*, but it probably served the same purpose. Was the old-fashioned form of the hydria more familiar in Greece as a sacrificial vessel than the Roman pitcher? See Diehl 1964, pp. 171–173.

⁴² Junkelmann 1986, p. 158; Goette 1988, pp. 449–459. Whether the shoe on **8** is part of a *calceus patricius* or *calceus senatorius* is difficult to determine from what is preserved. That the end of the tie falls near the heel might indicate the former.

⁴³ Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, no. LIII, pl. 26.

⁴⁴ For *caligae*, see Junkelmann 1986, pp. 158–161.

⁴⁵ Junkelmann 1986, p. 161; also Leander Touati 1987, p. 43, and p. 102, note 551, where the author states that the standard number for pendent straps is either three or five. **18** preserves traces of five. Compare a gravestone of a soldier in Mayence: Espérandieu 1907–1981, VII, no. 5840, p. 346; Sander 1963, pp. 144–166, pl. III.

⁴⁶ Parallels for the interpretation of **18** are found among the skirts of marching and fighting soldiers on Trajan's Column. See, for example, the fighting soldiers with their backs to a Dacian prisoner in scene XLI: Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 22.

⁴⁷ Ryberg 1955, p. 36, note 76, pl. IX, fig. 19:b; Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, p. 59, figs. 60, 61.

⁴⁸ Column of Antoninus Pius: Vogel 1973, figs. 9–17. Column of Marcus Aurelius: for example, see scene VIII, Caprino *et al.* 1955, pl. VII, fig. 15. Arch of Septimius Severus: Brilliant 1967, pls. 68, 87.

the figures were placed on artificial groundlines higher than the lower edge of the relief but not necessarily over the heads of other figures. Scenes from Trajan's Column show how figures on independent groundlines could be arranged at different levels.⁴⁹

Once we accept that figures in the reliefs appeared at different levels, we can better understand the puzzling fragment **19** (Pl. 66). Close-set, stiff lines spread from a cylindrical base. This is likely to be the crest and crest holder of a helmet viewed from the front.⁵⁰ The narrow lines suggest a horsehair crest.⁵¹ At left, behind the crest, is a convex surface with a forking ridge on top, possibly a lower arm. At right is a fold of cloth. We should imagine the top of a soldier's helmed head with the right side of the torso of a figure at a higher level behind.

That another figure was elevated above the rest is confirmed by **20** and **21** (Pl. 66). These two fragments, which depict feet on a base with a crowning molding, belong to the same figure. A heavy mica streak runs vertically through the middle of **20** and, at the same depth, caused the splitting off of the back of **21**. A fragment of curving folds, **22**, can be associated with these fragments for the same reasons. Both **21** and **22** preserve the right edge of the slab. Fragments of the sculptures from the Augustan arch and the 3rd-century propylon at Pisidian Antioch show Nikai and Genii standing on pillars.⁵² These figures were placed in the spandrels of triple-bayed arches. Our fragments are in such low relief that they should not be assigned a position high up on a structure. The sandaled feet suggest a female, and the molded base indicates that a statue of a deity is represented.⁵³ The appearance of deities in the scene can be assumed from **23** (Pl. 66). This fragment shows the toes of a left foot beside the paw of an animal skin. The figure is more likely Hercules than a Roman *signifer*, who would wear his lionskin over his head with the paws tied around his neck.⁵⁴

24 has attracted attention because of its similarity to the Demeter on the Great Eleusinian Relief (Pl. 67). Schneider, who thoroughly studied the relief and its copies, concluded that although the general appearance of the head and its dimensions match those of the Eleusinian relief and the New York copy, differences in details (the frontal eye and the wrinkle running from the inner corner of the eye across the cheek) relate the fragment to pieces like **1**.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Scenes XCIX/XCIX, Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 45, and scene CXXXVII, pl. 63.

⁵⁰ It would be a helmet of the Montefortino type which had a cylindrical crest holder. See H. R. Robinson 1975, pp. 13–25; Junkelmann 1986, pp. 170–172.

⁵¹ Parallels for this type of helmet in art have a loose, flowing crest: Rolland 1969, pl. 29. The height and stiffness of the forms on **19** resemble the feathers or hairs that emerge from a crest in the shape of a low box; see H. R. Robinson 1975, pp. 142–143, figs. 154–157.

⁵² D. M. Robinson 1926, figs. 31–37, 74–79.

⁵³ Compare a fragmentary relief in the Vatican: Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1937, no. 417, p. 189, pl. 77; Helbig⁴ I, 1122 (Simon); Hafner 1987, pp. 242–248. Simon dates the relief to the first half of the 1st century B.C. Hafner's date of the 3rd century B.C. is far too early.

⁵⁴ Note depictions of *signiferi* on the Great Trajanic Frieze: Leander Touati 1987, pl. 11; Trajan's Column: e.g., scenes III, IV, V, Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 6; and the Aurelian panel reliefs: Ryberg 1967, pl. XXVII, fig. 27; pl. XXXVI, fig. 37:a. For Hercules at a sacrifice, compare the scene of sacrifice to the Genii Augustorum on the arch at Leptis Magna, Ryberg 1955, p. 135, pl. XLVIII, fig. 73:a.

⁵⁵ L. Schneider 1973, p. 117; Ridgway 1981a, p. 138, note 19; and Ridgway 1984, p. 75. Ridgway (1981b, pp. 437–438, note 65) believes that **24** is a replica of the Great Eleusinian Relief and suggests that the similarities between it and the other reliefs at Corinth are due to a common workshop. Nevertheless,

He rightly associated **24** with our series of reliefs. When compared to the other heads (**1**, **9**, **10**, **11**), the more regular features of **24** suggest a classicizing image that would, in this context, be appropriate for a goddess.

Although **25**, showing a three-quarter face, is less strikingly like the other heads, it probably also belongs to this series (Pl. 67). It may represent Minerva.⁵⁶ The dimensions of the whole and of details closely match those of the other heads. The height of the relief and the thickness of the slab conform to the group. The goddess' head seems to be worked in greater detail than the other heads, but that may not be a fair criterion for her attribution, since no other heads of comparable pose or requiring by their nature such elaboration have been preserved. The separation of the locks of hair into short S-shaped sections, each of which is engraved with lines, is found also on the hair and beard of **11** and the beard of **1**. The more formalized patterns and the greater amount of drillwork on **25** should not surprise. The stylistic relationship between the head of Minerva and the other heads is like that between the deities and mortals on the Cancelleria reliefs.⁵⁷ The form of the Attic helmet and some details of carving are paralleled on **62** and **64** (Pl. 73), two pieces labeled "Lechaion Road". Compare also the helmet on **17** (Pl. 66), which was found in a marble pile near the arch.

Difficult to interpret convincingly is the torso **26** (Pl. 67). The figure wears a tunic belted at the waist. The right arm stretches across the body; the elbow is bent and the lower arm reaches up. Just above the left shoulder the background is engraved with blade-shaped patterns. The patterns represent the leaves of a branch which was probably held in the figure's left hand and crossed its shoulder. The pose and the branch recall images of Victoria,⁵⁸ but the lack of breasts suggests that the figure is male. Also, the blade shapes of the leaves are hard to see as those of a palm. It may be a laurel branch, like those carried by attendants on the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus or on one of the silver cups from Boscoreale.⁵⁹

A similar problem of interpretation is posed by the figures on **27** (Pl. 67). The fragment preserves the lower chest and upper stomach muscles of a male along whose left side drapery falls. At bottom, the innermost fold begins to curve to the left; an edge of cloth falls beside it. The figure appears to be wrapped in a Greek himation. The left arm of a second figure crosses the chest at the top. This arm seems to be at a slightly larger scale than the torso. Like **18**, **27** shows the type of overlapping figures found in the fragments.

The costume might mark the figure on **27** as a deity or a personification. But on some sacrifice scenes in the east the attire of attendants does not conform to the western tradition.

the technical similarities are too strong to deny the connection between **24** and the "historical frieze". Note that the measurement for the thickness of the relief given in *Corinth IX*, [1], p. 135 and repeated by Schneider (1973, p. 117, note 126) is incorrect; the thickness of **24** agrees with that of other pieces from the "historical frieze". Ridgway's argument that a difference in dimensions allows for the interpretation of **24** as a copy of the Eleusinian Relief and its separation from the other Corinth fragments is based on erroneous information.

⁵⁶ Ridgway 1981b, p. 438. Since the helmet is very different from that of the Athena Parthenos, it cannot be considered a direct reflection.

⁵⁷ Magi 1945; for example, compare pls. XIII and XIV.

⁵⁸ Hölscher 1967, *passim*.

⁵⁹ Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus: most recently, see Torelli 1982, pp. 5–16, pl. I:4, c, d. Boscoreale cup: Baratte 1986, pp. 72–75; Zanker 1987, pp. 229–230, ill. 181 (= 1988, pp. 228–229, fig. 181).

One can compare the clothes of the men who lead bulls on the Parthian monument from Ephesos and on the sacrificial frieze from Perge in the Antalya Museum.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to make any identification sure.

28 shows a barbarian captive beside a tree trunk (Pl. 68). His arms are bound behind his back, and the positions of his thighs suggest that he knelt on his right knee facing to the right.⁶¹ His torso is frontal, and he turns his head back to the left. The figure wears a long-sleeved tunic, tied at the waist by twisted cloth, and pants; he is probably a Parthian.⁶²

The barbarian captive is smaller than the other figures, but that does not exclude him from the group. A change in scale may have been required by the height of the composition. **29** shows a helmet on top of a pole (Pl. 68), only the very top of which is preserved, but enough to show that trophies were represented on the reliefs. This allows for the interpretation of the tree on **28** as the lower part of a trophy. It also indicates that the armor hanging on the tree would be life-size. Given these clues, the total height of the trophy represented by **28** can be estimated to be between 1.64 m. and 2.00 m. A reconstructed height for the scene of the sacrifice of the bull is 1.4 m., but since some figures were represented at a slightly higher level than others, we can take 2 meters as the probable height of the composition. There was simply not enough room to carve the armor on the trophy and the barbarian captive at the same scale.⁶³

Other barbarians are indicated by fragments of a sleeved arm (**34**) and trousered legs (**30–33**). Long cloaks appear to the right of the thigh on **31** and between the legs on **33**. The top of a skirt is preserved on **32** (Pl. 68).⁶⁴ **35** shows catenary folds falling over an upper right leg (Pl. 69). Looser drapery falls diagonally above, and a single straight fold runs vertically down the left edge of the fragment. The piece may represent the loose-fitting leggings worn by Parthians, as, for example, in the famous bronze statue of a chieftain from Shami.⁶⁵ The folds at top might be the lower edge of a tunic, the vertical fold at left the edge of a mantle.

The border pattern of a spiraling vine with leaves and flowers on **36** recalls the decorative designs on clothes and cushions in Palmyrene sculpture (Pl. 69).⁶⁶ The sculptor may have been intentionally recalling the elaborate and sumptuous effects of eastern textiles. Below the lower edge of the cloth on **36** are three shafts, and above the edge at top are spade-shaped forms that overlap. Whether the latter represent leaves, feathers, or scales is difficult

⁶⁰ Parthian monument: Oberleitner *et al.* 1978, p. 63, fig. 59; Vermeule 1968, p. 113, fig. 43; Eichler 1971, pp. 116–117, fig. 16. Perge frieze: Özgen and Özgen 1988, p. 99, fig. 115, and p. 209.

⁶¹ For a comparable pose, see the captive to the left of a trophy on a cuirassed statue from the victory monument at St. Bertrand de Comminges. Picard 1957, pl. 16; Stemmer 1978, pp. 23–24, pl. 11:1.

⁶² For the dress of eastern barbarians, see R. M. Schneider 1986, p. 19. For the twisted cloth at the waist, see a figure from the Parthian monument at Ephesos: Vermeule 1968, p. 104, fig. 36; Eichler 1971, p. 110, fig. 7.

⁶³ Compare the captives beside a trophy on a Severan relief in the Terme Museum, no. 8640: Helbig⁴ III, 2357 (Simon); Giuliano 1983, no. 83, pp. 195–198; Koeppel 1986, no. 44, pp. 85–86, ill. 50.

⁶⁴ The best comparison for the fragments is a relief from Hallado in Tarragona, which shows a frontal, bound captive: Balil 1985, no. 156, pp. 217–218, pl. VII.

⁶⁵ Seyrig 1939, pp. 177–183, pl. XXV; Kraus 1967, no. 392, p. 291; Colledge 1977, p. 86, fig. 12.

⁶⁶ Note the border pattern on the cloak and tunic of the reclining Malku on a funerary plaque in Copenhagen (Colledge 1976, fig. 98) or on the pants of a statue in Palmyra (Colledge 1976, fig. 112). Virtually identical to the floral scroll on **36** is that on a fragment of the cushion of a couch from a funerary relief in Palmyra: Michalowski 1964, no. 46, p. 109, fig. 147.

to determine, as is the interpretation of the fragment as a whole. Either a trophy or overlapping banners might be suggested by the falling cloth and the shafts, but it is hard to visualize either.

Equally mysterious is the object represented on 37 (Pl. 69). A series of concentric bands surrounds a wide shaft. The lower(?) bands are compressed by a curved form that runs behind the shaft. The top of the shaft opens into a wide oval, and a broken form crosses the opening at the upper left. Although no close parallels can be found, the object is best related to laminated arm and leg guards worn by Roman gladiators and soldiers, which were first used in the 2nd century after Christ.⁶⁷ They were used by Parthian riders as well; at least the famous graffito of a Parthian clibanarius from Dura Europos and the stucco reliefs from Khaltchayan suggest it.⁶⁸ Might the forms represented on 37 be a segmented guard on the arm of a trophy? The curved object behind could be the rim of a shield whose edge pushes the lower rings together.

Fragments with life-size hands holding (38) or near (39, 40) some object (Pl. 69), an inner wrist with drapery falling over it (41), a lower arm in front of cloth (42), a draped upper arm and shoulder (43), tasseled corners of vertically falling cloth (44, 45), and overlapping folds (46–49) all belong to this series (Pl. 70). Their significance beyond this cannot be determined.

The Sacrifice Scene

Even though so little is left, the preserved fragments provide enough clues to identify the subject matter. The sacrifice of a bull with at least one other victim in readiness is recognizable. Over sixty years ago Otto Brendel investigated this theme of the “Stiertötung” in Roman art and noted its formulaic components but also its compositional variety.⁶⁹ Without knowing how the other components were arranged, we can still name who and what were present. There must have been an altar and a priest, in all likelihood the emperor himself. A flute player would have stood beside the altar and a *camillus* nearby. The bull being sacrificed required a servant who would hold down the head and perhaps cut the animal’s throat. It has already been shown that a servant could have stood behind one of the bulls, and there must have been at least one other to accompany the second victim. The deities who can be named are Minerva and Hercules. They should be the recipients of the sacrifice.

Soldiers at a sacrifice are familiar from many examples, but the presence of barbarian captives and especially of trophies is unusual. This raises the real possibility that the fragments from this group originally belonged to two different scenes: a scene of sacrifice and perhaps a scene of submission.⁷⁰ If that is the case, it becomes impossible to tell to which of the two scenes many of the fragments belonged, and that makes an attempt at a graphic reconstruction of either scene very difficult. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to try to

⁶⁷ H. R. Robinson 1975, p. 186.

⁶⁸ Dura Europos clibanarius: Ghirshman 1962, p. 52, fig. 63:c; H. R. Robinson 1975, p. 189. Khaltchayan stucco reliefs: Colledge 1977, p. 96, fig. 27:a. Laminated arm guards distinguish Parthians on the Sassanian rock carvings at Firuzabad: Ghirshman 1962, pp. 127–130.

⁶⁹ Brendel 1930. See also Ryberg 1955, pp. 196–200 and Hölscher 1987, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁰ On submission scenes in historical reliefs, see most recently Gabelmann 1984, pp. 169–177.



FIG. 6. Reconstruction of the sacrifice scene from Phase 2 of the arch (author's drawing)

visualize at least the sacrifice scene but, at the same time, to make no claims that the results can give more than a rough approximation of the original. The reconstruction presented here (Fig. 6) is simply one possibility among many, and it is hoped that with new discoveries, and with reinterpretations of the less securely identified fragments, the picture will become more firmly fixed. Meanwhile, by forcing ourselves to make choices for the reconstruction, we can gain insight into the possibilities of meaning and composition.

The direction and pose of the *popa*, as it can be reconstructed from 1, 2, and 3, suggested that the sacrificial victim faced right. That makes the animal represented on 4 a likely candidate, although the human feet on the fragment should belong to an attending *victimarius*. Possibly the attendant held the plate (*lanx*) with the *mola salsa*, as does the attendant on the Altar of Manlius in the Vatican.⁷¹ The Altar of Manlius shows two *victimarii* holding down the victim's head. The number of attendants who perform this function on Roman historical reliefs can vary, but there must have been at least one on the Corinth relief. Whether the attendant (*culturarius*) cut the bull's throat we cannot know. Nor is there evidence as to whether the *popa* used a mallet (*malleus*), with which to stun the victim, or an axe.⁷² But even with these uncertainties the image of the sacrifice of the bull is comprehensible in its main outlines.

On most examples in Roman art the sacrificial victim faces the altar.⁷³ It is reasonable to conclude that this was the case for the Corinth relief and to place the sacrifice of the bull at the left of the composition and the altar at the right. The male head, 9, being *capite velato*, must have stood by the altar but should not be the *pontifex*, who would not turn his back to the

⁷¹ See note 39 above.

⁷² On many examples, the *victimarius* carries the *malleus*, e.g., on the altar of the magistrates from the Vicus Aesclepi in the Conservatori Museum: Ryberg 1955, pl. XVI, fig. 30; Helbig⁴ II, 1741 (Simon); Hölscher 1988, no. 217, pp. 390–391. A fragmentary frieze from Cosa: Ryberg 1955, p. 106, pl. XXXV, fig. 53. Scenes from Trajan's Column, scene XCI, Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 42; scene CIII, Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 48. I know of no examples, however, on which the *popa* swings the blunt *malleus* over his head, rather than the sharp-edged blade of the axe.

⁷³ An exception is the sacrifice scene on Trajan's arch at Beneventum (Pl. 61:c): Rotili 1972, pl. LIII.

sacrifice. Certainly the balding head, **10**, suggests a portrait, although pseudo-portraits are common for bystanders in imperial reliefs, to lend an effect of actuality. In the reconstruction I have placed this figure behind and slightly above the veiled man represented on **9**. That draped figures stood at a higher level than others is suggested by the folds of cloth that hang behind the *papa's* left arm on **1**. Since the figure on **10** is not veiled, he may not have been so intimately associated with the group around the altar. I have given his feet an artificial groundline, like that on **14**. Formulaic components of the sacrifice that had to be present are a flute player (*tibicen*) and a *camillus* who holds the incense box (*acerra*). Not one fragment can be securely associated with these figures, but they were certainly there.

24, like **9** and **10**, preserves a face in profile to the right. The height of the relief is lower on **24**, so that it might be from a figure in the background. It has been noted that the classicizing features of **24** suggest a goddess; Victoria would be appropriate for the scene.⁷⁴ She could have appeared in the upper background and crowned the emperor. The possibility that the torso **26** represented Victoria has been considered and rejected, but even if it does, **26** cannot belong with **24**. The height of the relief of **26** suggests a figure in the foreground. Since the interpretation of **26** is unclear, I have omitted it from the reconstruction of the sacrifice scene, although it may belong. For the emperor, I have chosen a standard pose of a *togatus* pouring a libation. The *calceus* on **8** should belong to a *togatus*,⁷⁵ and I have used it for the right foot of the emperor. Since the emperor would have poured a libation over the altar, the metal hydria, **6**, may have stood beside him.

Three figures faced left and therefore are placed in the right half of the composition, turned toward the sacrifice. The sandaled feet on the molded base, **20** and **21**, have been interpreted as the feet of a statue. The sandals and drapery, **22**, suggest a goddess. It is tempting to associate the head of Minerva, **25**, with this figure.⁷⁶ Such an image should not be far from the altar. The foot of Hercules rests on the lower border of the relief, so that the god appears to be physically present and not a statue. In the reconstruction, the god's pose is derived from depictions on coins and medallions of Hercules at a sacrifice, where he has wrapped his lionskin around his left arm and holds the club in his right hand. He should be Hercules Invictus.⁷⁷

5 preserves a bovine hoof turned left and must belong to a second victim. This victim would have been led by a *victimarius*.⁷⁸ I have given this second animal the *dorsuale* worn by victims in sacrificial processions.⁷⁹ If the two victims were for the two gods, then the one

⁷⁴ For examples, see the round base in Civita Castellana: Ryberg 1955, p. 27, pl. VII, fig. 16; Hölscher 1988, no. 213, pp. 382–383; a fragmentary relief in the Louvre, Koeppel 1986, no. 22, pp. 46–47, fig. 26; and the sacrifice scene from the Decennalia base in the Roman Forum, Kähler 1964, pls. 3, 4.

⁷⁵ See note 42 above.

⁷⁶ The fragment **25** is roughly finished on the back, while the back surface of **20** is smooth. But since the scene was composed of slabs joined horizontally as well as vertically (compare **14**), the finish of the back does not prove or disprove an association in this case.

⁷⁷ LIMC IV, 1988, p. 826, no. 1579:d, e, l, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman). For Hercules Invictus at a sacrifice, see an altar in the Villa Borghese: Ryberg 1955, pp. 23–27, pl. VII, fig. 15:a, b; Helbig⁴ II, 1958 (Simon), pp. 718–720.

⁷⁸ Compare a fragmentary relief in Narbonne: Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 571, p. 369.

⁷⁹ See the reliefs, generally attributed to the Ara Pietatis, in the Villa Medici: Torelli 1982, pp. 63–82, pls. III.20, III.21; Koeppel 1983a, nos. 12, 13, pp. 98–103, figs. 13–17.

being sacrificed should be a heifer for Minerva and the other a bull for Hercules.⁸⁰ It is tempting to think that the representation of a statue of Minerva localizes the event in the Corinthian forum, in the center of which Pausanias (2.3.1) saw such a statue.

The Submission Scene

The reconstruction presented above has the virtue that no figure is wholly invented without either physical or iconographic evidence. A reconstruction of the second relief would be otherwise. The only element which can be visualized with any chance of reliability is the trophy with the captive barbarian on 28. The presence of other captives and of Roman soldiers suggests that the scene might be a submission. Submission scenes are best known from the magnificent depictions of the theme on Trajan's Column.⁸¹ Indeed, submission scenes first appear on historical reliefs during the Trajanic period, but the theme is found in art as early as the silver cups from Boscoreale and may have Greek artistic prototypes.⁸² The essential element around which variable components are arranged is the emperor, who, either standing or seated on the *sella curulis*, extends his right hand to a kneeling barbarian. The captive, presumably a royal personage, either stretches out his arms to the emperor in a gesture of supplication, presents a child to him, or, most rarely, is bound and prostrated by a soldier. Around this central unit are grouped Roman soldiers and captives, male and female.⁸³

In addition to the depictions on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, scenes of submission are preserved on a relief dated to the early Antonine period in the Museo Torlonia, on one of the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, and on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki.⁸⁴ Drawings of the sculptured base of the Aurelian column show a submission scene (Pl. 59:a) which appears to be comparable in scale to the type of depiction that could be imagined for the relief at Corinth.⁸⁵ On Antonine and later sarcophagi, the theme is taken over to the private sphere. The sarcophagi, particularly examples in the Terme and Vatican Museums (Pl. 60:a) with standing barbarians, soldiers, and trophies, give an idea of the composition of the submission scene at Corinth.⁸⁶

That a submission scene is a meaningful counterpart to a sacrifice is indicated by one group of the "Marriage Sarcophagi" on which the submission is combined with a sacrifice and the wedding of the deceased.⁸⁷ Long ago, Rodenwaldt pointed out that these sarcophagi should not be read as biographical narratives but rather as illustrations of the cardinal virtues of the Roman military commander as enshrined in the inscription on the shield placed by the

⁸⁰ A similar composition is found on one of the attic reliefs from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna: Ryberg 1955, pl. LVII, fig. 89:a, b.

⁸¹ E.g., scene LXXV, Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pl. 35.

⁸² Brilliant 1963, pp. 122–125, 150–161, 189–195. For the Greek antecedent, see Adriani 1960, pp. 111–125, pls. 34–36; Giuliano 1985a, no. VI, 7, pp. 273–279.

⁸³ See Gabelmann 1984, pp. 132–138.

⁸⁴ Museo Torlonia relief: Cianfarani 1949–1950, pp. 235–254, pl. 1. Marcus Aurelius panel reliefs: Ryberg 1967, pl. XLIII, fig. 44. Arch of Septimius Severus: Brilliant 1967, panel II, pls. 68, 72:a; panel III, pls. 77, 79:c. Arch of Galerius: Laubscher 1975, pls. 25, 34.

⁸⁵ Becatti 1960, pl. 5.

⁸⁶ Koch and Sichtermann 1982, pp. 106–107, pls. 95, 96; for the sarcophagus in the Terme Museum, see Giuliano 1985a, VI, 7, pp. 273–279; for the sarcophagus in the Vatican, see Brilliant 1963, p. 160, fig. 3:140.

⁸⁷ Koch and Sichtermann 1982, pp. 99–101, pls. 93, 94.

Senate in the Curia in honor of Augustus.⁸⁸ The sacrifice represents the deceased's *pietas*, the submission his *clementia*, and his wedding *concordia*. Hölscher recognized these three themes together with the fourth virtue, *virtus*, on the two silver cups from Boscoreale.⁸⁹ The two panel reliefs from Corinth could be read as counterparts celebrating the *pietas* and *clementia* of the emperor. The quality of *virtus* is illustrated by the second group of reliefs isolated from the fragments of the "historical frieze".

THE WEAPONS FRIEZE

The second group of fragments depicts arms and armor. Empty helmets and cuirasses, together with spears, swords, bows, and arrows, lean against each other or rest upright on the lower edge of the relief. Enough pieces are well enough preserved to show that the weapons were not simply the accoutrements of the soldiers on the panel reliefs but form an independent group. For the most fragmentary examples the possibility exists that they could belong to either group. Technical and physical characteristics do not offer much help in that respect. On the whole, the fragments of the weapons frieze are less carefully finished than those of the figure reliefs. Backgrounds are rough, and relief surfaces are simply carved with flat and toothed chisels. But that same finish is found on some fragments of the figure reliefs. The ranges of thickness and height of relief are more or less the same for the fragments of the figure reliefs and the weapons frieze, and the edges preserved on fragments from both groups are finished with a small chisel. But unless there is some good reason to attribute a fragmentary representation of armor to the figure reliefs, it is better to include it in the weapons frieze. Examples with cuirasses illustrate the problem.

50 is the best preserved of the fragments from the weapons frieze (Pl. 71). It depicts a muscle cuirass (*thorax*) with shoulder straps (*humeralia*) and a *cingulum* tied below the chest.⁹⁰ A studded baldric (*balteus*) crosses from the right shoulder to the left side. Fringed straps (*pteryges*) emerge from the armholes. At the lower left, the shafts of two spears pass behind the cuirass. The cuirass leaned to the right, as indicated by the different angles at which the *pteryges* fall: those at right stick straight out, those at left curve down and fall close to the side.⁹¹ **51**, **52**, and **53**, which represent the lower edge of a cuirass and the short flaps below, as well as the longer *pteryges* and their fringed lower edges, can be associated with **50** on the basis of scale and technique (Pl. 71). The backs of all four fragments are rough picked.⁹² **54** preserves the *pteryges* from the sleeves of either a similar muscle cuirass or a *lorica*

⁸⁸ Rodenwaldt 1935, pp. 5–17. On the shield (*Res gestae Divi Augusti* 34.2), see Hölscher 1967, pp. 102–112.

⁸⁹ Hölscher 1980a, pp. 281–290. See also Gabelmann 1984, pp. 132–141. For submission scenes, Rodenwaldt (1935, p. 17) distinguished between representations in which the commander sits, which he thought represented *iustitia*, and those on which the leader stands, *clementia*. See also Angelicouassis 1984, pp. 148–149. Hölscher and Gabelmann agree that this distinction is not valid.

⁹⁰ H. R. Robinson 1975, pp. 147–152; Junkelmann 1986, pp. 162–163.

⁹¹ Compare the position of a cuirass on the weapons frieze of the Arch of the Sergi at Pola: Traversari 1971, fig. 48. Cuirasses on a fragmentary relief in Langres (Espérandieu 1907–1981, IV, no. 3319, p. 312) and on the Altar of Domitian in Ephesos (Alzinger 1972, p. 22, fig. 14) are especially good parallels in this respect.

⁹² H. R. Robinson (1975, p. 149) argues that the short flaps and the long *pteryges* belong to a single leather garment worn underneath the cuirass. Junkelmann (1986, p. 162) thinks the flaps were attached separately

segmentata.⁹³ The preserved left edge of the fragment gives its proper alignment. If the cuirass leaned to the left, it is difficult to imagine why the *pteryges* do not hang straight down. But the amount and angle of curve to the straps are too great to reconstruct a cuirass leaning right. The other possibility is that the fragment preserves armor covering the upper right arm of a soldier from one of the figure reliefs.⁹⁴

55, 56, and 57 (Pl. 72) are fragments of a single cuirass made of overlapping scales (*lorica squamata*).⁹⁵ **56** preserves the short and long *pteryges* which fall beneath the scales and a part of the hilt and shaft of a sword at lower right. A trace of the *balteus* appears at the upper right. The badly worn **57** gives the *pteryges* and the rim of a shield at left. **55** preserves the empty armhole with the lower row of scales falling back.⁹⁶ This last indicates that the cuirass leaned to the right. **58** also shows a scale cuirass which leans to the right (Pl. 72); the alignment is made sure by the edge preserved at right. Because the back of **58** is rough picked it must belong to a different cuirass from the one represented by **55**. Two rows of scales are preserved on **59** (Pl. 72). It is impossible to know whether it comes from a third scale cuirass or was part of the attire of a soldier from the panel reliefs.

The roughly worked *pteryges* of **60** belong to a cuirass of undetermined type (Pl. 72), which leaned sharply to the right. Whether or not the *pteryges* on **61** also belonged to the weapons frieze is hard to decide (Pl. 72). The thickness of the relief, although not unparalleled by pieces from the frieze, fits better with fragments from the figure reliefs.

Parts of at least two possibly Attic helmets are preserved: **62**, in profile to the left, and **63**, viewed from the front (Pl. 73). **64** represents the front hairs of a crest (Pl. 73), probably from the helmet **62**.⁹⁷ A feather is attached to the side of **63**. The decoration recalls the feathers attached by plume tubes to helmets on the Great Trajanic Frieze.⁹⁸ But on **63**, the feather is fastened farther out, at the side of the helmet, and that form is close to Hellenistic types.⁹⁹

Five fragments preserve the tips of spears (*pila*; Pl. 73).¹⁰⁰ The ribbed spearpoints are either angular (**65–67**) or rounded (**68, 69**). **66** and **68** show the connection between the wooden shafts and the bronze points. Beside the three shafts on **66** is the curving edge of a shield in three-quarter view. More difficult to understand is the form beside the spearpoint

to the lower edge of the armor. The quality of carving on the Corinth fragments is not such as to inspire confidence in literal depictions of the details of armor.

⁹³ H. R. Robinson 1975, pp. 174–186; Junkelmann 1986, p. 168.

⁹⁴ Compare, for example, the *pteryges* that fall over the upper right arm of the figure, possibly Honos, who presents the recruit to Trajan on one of the panel reliefs from the Arch at Beneventum: Rotili 1972, pl. XC. On the difficulty of naming this figure, see Simon 1981, p. 7.

⁹⁵ H. R. Robinson 1975, pp. 153–161; Junkelmann 1986, pp. 168–169. Although frequently represented in Roman sculpture, *lorica squamata* are unusual on weapons friezes. In addition to the Corinth examples, the only other that I know is from the 3rd-century propylon at Pisidian Antioch: D. M. Robinson 1926, p. 54, fig. 87.

⁹⁶ Compare the loose scales which fall back on the raised right arm of the gladiator on a relief in Munich: Froning 1981, p. 80, pl. 21.

⁹⁷ Compare the crest of Minerva on **25**.

⁹⁸ Leander Touati 1987, pl. 29, figs. 1, 5; H. R. Robinson 1975, p. 141.

⁹⁹ Compare a helmet painted in the background on the Alexander Sarcophagus: Schefold 1968, pl. 5; Dintsis 1986, no. 193:b, p. 268, pl. 46, fig. 3.

¹⁰⁰ For this weapon, see Junkelmann 1986, pp. 186–189.

on **65**. It may represent a greave at the knee. A parallel for the representation is found in a fragment of a weapons frieze from Narbonne.¹⁰¹ The axe on **70** (Pl. 74) also finds comparisons on reliefs from southern Gaul (Pl. 60:b, c).¹⁰²

The round objects on **71**, **72**, and **73** are the spherical pommels on the hilts of swords (Pl. 74).¹⁰³ On **74** a pommel of one sword overlaps the curved blade of another (Pl. 74).¹⁰⁴ A sheath for a curved sword leans against a bow on **75** (Pl. 74). The three points on **76** are arrowheads (Pl. 74). Bows and arrows are not common among the arms and armor on weapons friezes.¹⁰⁵ A fragmentary statue base from the Corinthian forum provides another example (Pl. 61:a).¹⁰⁶ In both cases, it is possible that the reference is to the fame of Parthian archers.¹⁰⁷

It is surprising that it has not been possible to identify more shields from the “historical frieze”, since on most examples of weapons friezes, shields appear more frequently than any other type of armor. **77** preserves the head of a griffin on top of a flat, smooth surface (Pl. 74). The fragment should be read as part of a griffin pelta. Similar peltae occur on reliefs from southern France and on the 3rd-century propylon at Pisidian Antioch.¹⁰⁸ The griffin-head pelta may also have contributed to the oriental flavor of the weapons on the frieze.

There is little evidence for the height of the weapons frieze. A restored height for the cuirass, **50**, should be about 0.60 m., but since the armor leans to the right, its height as depicted might have been somewhat less. Nevertheless, a frieze height of around 0.60 m. would seem to be the minimum necessary if the spear shafts on **66** were depicted with any degree of realism. There is no indication that the weapons were piled on top of each

¹⁰¹ Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 723, p. 437.

¹⁰² Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 688, p. 422; no. 698, pp. 426–427; no. 715, pp. 433–434.

¹⁰³ Junkelmann 1986, pp. 180–184.

¹⁰⁴ Compare the daggers on friezes in Narbonne (Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 688, p. 422; no. 711, p. 432) and on the Arch of the Sergi at Pola (Traversari 1971, fig. 47).

¹⁰⁵ Another example of bows and arrows on a weapons frieze is from the Council House at Miletos: Knackfuss *et al.* 1908, pp. 80–87; see also a relief in the Villa Albani: Bol 1989, no. 126, pp. 394–397, pl. 226.

¹⁰⁶ S 3744. Found August 12, 1937, in modern fill north of the Bema. Height 0.391 m.; restored diameter, slightly over 1.00 m. Fine-grained white marble with heavy mica streaks. Fascia and torus molding at bottom. Resting surface smoothed with chisel. Top surface extremely weathered. Two cuttings 0.20 m. apart on top near edge; the larger cutting is roughly rectangular and the smaller, square. Both reach a depth of 0.085 m. below the top. Bottoms of cuttings rough picked. Since these cuttings appear close to the edge, it is likely that the large base supported more than one statue. Compare the composite-circle base from the forum, *Corinth I*, iii, pp. 146–147, pl. 67:2.

Carved on the side of the base, from left to right: tipped rectangular shield, partly covered by quiver and bow; second shield above; two more shields by the first, with quiver above the second; cuirass tipped to left; rectangular shield on side with diamond-shaped panel and helmet with crest below; standard behind shield; pelta beside standard; circular shield decorated with wreath; above, rectangular shield decorated with thunderbolt; beside circular shield, cuirass tipped left; beneath cuirass, conical helmet; female figure seated on cuirass; four rectangular shields oriented in different directions; axe(?) above; circular shield at edge.

The lack of drill work and the precise carving of details suggest a date in the 1st century after Christ. A monument in honor of Nero's victories against the Parthians provides an explanation for the size and iconography of the base.

¹⁰⁷ Rausing 1967, pp. 103–107.

¹⁰⁸ Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 745, p. 448; D. M. Robinson 1926, pp. 52–55, figs. 82, 84. On the griffin pelta, see Thompson 1968, pp. 47–58.

other as they are, for example, on the reliefs on the arch at Orange or the base of Trajan's Column.¹⁰⁹ If 0.60 m. is a minimum height for the weapons frieze, a maximum height should not be much more, perhaps approximately 0.70 m. These calculations agree well with the heights of the frieze blocks from the Augustan arch and the 3rd-century propylon at Pisidian Antioch and with fragments of weapons friezes from Narbonne.¹¹⁰ As far as we can judge the composition of the Corinth frieze, the examples from Narbonne provide the best parallels: objects distributed at regular intervals, with some overlapping, but in general clearly distinguished from each other (Pl. 60:b, c).

The tradition of weapons friezes as depictions of booty reaches back at least to the balustrade of the precinct of Athena built by Eumenes II at Pergamon.¹¹¹ Certainly the ultimate inspirations were monuments erected from real booty, although the apparent disorder on the Pergamene frieze suggests weapons heaped together after battle.¹¹² The earliest evidence for such an image in art is the statue of Aitolia at Delphi, dedicated soon after 278 B.C., where the personification sits on a pile of arms and armor.¹¹³ The weapons frieze on the Arch of the Sergi at Pola and reliefs probably from private funerary monuments in Parma, Turin, and Scafa of the early Imperial period show the continuation of the tradition and its spread to Italy.¹¹⁴

Alongside this "Pergamene" tradition of "arms artistically disordered", there exists a second type of weapons frieze in which the arms and armor are paratactically and carefully placed, often appearing to be either attached to a background or sitting on a shallow ledge.¹¹⁵ The earliest examples, probably inspired by displays of weapons hung on walls,¹¹⁶ are not carved but painted. Paintings on the walls of the Tomba Giglioli in Tarquinia give a Hellenistic example of the early 3rd century B.C.; those in the lunettes of the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles in Macedonia another dated around 200 B.C.¹¹⁷ Weapons in relief from the east gate at Side, dated by Mansel to the 2nd century B.C., recall both these painted tombs.¹¹⁸ Note particularly the swords and baldrics illusionistically suspended from nails. Similar reliefs with shields and cuirasses from one of the city gates at Selge have been dated after the mid-2nd century B.C.¹¹⁹ Cristofani thinks the tradition is Macedonian and came

¹⁰⁹ Amy 1962, pls. 75–77. Gamber 1964, pp. 7–34.

¹¹⁰ D. M. Robinson 1926, pp. 37–41, 52–56; Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 688, p. 422; no. 694, p. 425; nos. 711–713, pp. 432–433.

¹¹¹ Droysen 1935, pls. XLIII–L; Löwy 1928, pp. 5–6; Picard 1957, pp. 83–84. See also Jaeckel 1965, pp. 94–122.

¹¹² Picard (1957, pp. 19–21) argues that the heaping up of enemy weapons to form a trophy does not occur before the Hellenistic period.

¹¹³ Reinach 1911, pp. 177–240; Courby 1927, pp. 288–291.

¹¹⁴ Arch of the Sergi: Traversari 1971, pp. 73–78, figs. 45–50. Parma: Löwy 1928, pl. III. Turin: Löwy 1928, pl. II. For the dates of the latter two, see Coarelli 1972, p. 434. Scafa: Russo 1981, pp. 30–43, figs. 1–3.

¹¹⁵ Mansel 1966, pp. 367–375, figs. 2–44.

¹¹⁶ As a good example, note the dedication by the Aitolians of arms taken from the Gauls in 279 B.C. These apparently hung on the back wall of the West Stoa at Delphi. Amandry 1978, pp. 571–581.

¹¹⁷ Tomba Giglioli: Cristofani 1967, pp. 288–303, pls. 1–17. Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: Makaronas and Miller 1974, pp. 248–259, illustrations on p. 257. Miller 1993, pls. II, III, nos. 9, 12, 13; pp. 47–58 on the weapons, p. 92 on the date.

¹¹⁸ Mansel 1966; see also Mansel 1968, pp. 239–279.

¹¹⁹ Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, pp. 42–46, Abb. 17.

to Etruria by way of Taranto.¹²⁰ In this context is found a tradition for the weapons depicted on the Republican frieze slabs in the Conservatori, identified by Hölscher as part of the socle of the monument erected by Bocchus for Sulla in 91 B.C.¹²¹

Gilbert-Charles Picard suggested that the elaborate compositions of arms and armor on the arch at Orange represent booty as it might have been suspended on an arch.¹²² He divorced the reliefs at Orange from the Greek Hellenistic tradition and thought that the designer imposed his own order on the suspended weapons so as to make the individual objects legible. One could also imagine that the artist adapted "Pergamene" weapons piles to the architectural framework of the arch, flattening out what was essentially an illusionistic design. Weapons friezes, either from public monuments or private tombs, in southern Gaul show a preference for flat compositions, as if the weapons were laid together on a narrow shelf rather than piled in a heap (Pl. 60:b, c).¹²³ The Corinth fragments have more in common with the pieces in southern Gaul than with friezes from Asia Minor, where the Pergamene tradition dominates. The similarity can be attributed partly to the poor quality of the works being considered but also to the fact that both the Gallic and Corinthian friezes seem to be provincial imitations of Roman monuments.¹²⁴

The weapons painted on the walls of Macedonian and Etruscan tombs are not booty but represent the armor of the deceased. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, private funerary monuments in the east and west continued to use isolated weapons as indicative of the deceased's career as a soldier.¹²⁵ But when a pile of weapons is represented on a funerary monument, the arms and armor mean something different. Not only is the deceased understood to be a military man, but the emphasis lies in his role as a victor.

¹²⁰ Cristofani 1967, p. 298.

¹²¹ Hölscher 1980b, pp. 359–371, pl. 69. Most recently, Hölscher 1988, pp. 384–386.

¹²² Picard in Amy 1962, p. 78.

¹²³ For example, Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 693, p. 425; no. 697, p. 426; no. 700, pp. 427–428; no. 735, p. 443; XV, no. 8705, pp. 23–24, pl. XXI.

¹²⁴ The weapons friezes from the Council House at Miletos and at Pisidian Antioch have a similar flavor of imitation, but in those cases the thing being imitated may be of Greek rather than Roman origin. For the Roman date of the frieze at Miletos, see G. Kleiner 1968, p. 87. Although Löwy (1928, p. 6) dated the frieze at Miletos to the 2nd century B.C., his reasons for considering it a derivation from a Pergamene prototype are still worth considering. For example, the parallels for the weapons cited by Hermann Winnefeld in Knackfuss *et al.* 1908 are mostly Hellenistic. Note especially the distinctive helmet type with the forward-turned crest. This is a Macedonian infantry helmet as seen in the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles (Markle 1982, p. 96) and on the Alexander Sarcophagus (Schefold 1968, pls. 23–25). The weapons on the Miletos frieze recall those suspended in air on the friezes from Pisidian Antioch (D. M. Robinson 1926). That a certain "weightlessness" is common to the weapons on Roman friezes in Asia Minor is also seen on the Altar of Domitian at Ephesus (Alzinger 1972, p. 22, fig. 14, p. 46). This characteristic and the similarity of types of armor (helmets, shields, cuirasses) suggest a date for the frieze from Miletos contemporary with the Altar, most recently placed in the mid-2nd century after Christ: Bammer 1988, p. 156.

¹²⁵ Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. 2267, p. 546, pl. 320; nos. 2269, 2270, p. 547, pl. 320; no. 2275, p. 548, pl. 321; no. 2276, p. 549, pl. 321. Giuliano 1985b, no. X, 18, pp. 531–534. In this connection, note the arms and armor which appear either hanging or sitting on a ledge above the deceased on banqueting-hero reliefs: for example, Dentzer 1982, R 286, p. 601, pl. 88, fig. 536; R 316, p. 605, pl. 93, fig. 565; R 321, p. 606, pl. 94, fig. 570; Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. 1900, p. 456, pl. 273.

Funerary urns in Anagni and Bologna give evidence of the use of elaborate heaps of booty on private monuments.¹²⁶ If Russo is correct in her identification of fragmentary weapons friezes in the Abruzzi as deriving from funerary monuments, the practice can be traced back at least as far as the first half of the 1st century after Christ.¹²⁷ Many of the weapons friezes in Gaul may come from similar monuments.

Legends on coins showing scenes of *adventus*, *profectio*, and the emperor victorious in combat or in a lion hunt read INVICT VIRTUS or VIRT AVG.¹²⁸ Rodenwaldt showed how on the so-called Marriage Sarcophagi, scenes of victory or hunt were joined to submission scenes and underlined the link between the deceased's *virtus* and his *clementia*.¹²⁹ Because coins of the 3rd century represent the emperor's triumph with a personified Virtus, Hölscher interpreted the triumph of Tiberius on one of the silver cups from Boscoreale as indicative of that quality.¹³⁰ More significant for the purpose of this paper is the representation of the armed Trajan crowned by Victory in the relief at the top of the coffered ceiling of the archway at Beneventum (Pl. 61:b).¹³¹ The scene is framed by a rich and detailed weapons frieze. Nothing could be stronger testimony to the connection between the weapons frieze and the victorious emperor. Fittschen has given good reasons to think that the concept represented in this scene is the *virtus* of Trajan.¹³²

Picard excluded weapons friezes and representations of piles of weapons from his discussion of Roman trophies because he did not think Romans would have called them *tropaea*.¹³³ But his observation that, at least beginning with Nerva, the image of the trophy is linked with the concept of *virtus* is applicable to weapons friezes as well.¹³⁴ Indeed, the emperor's *virtus* is the theme that unifies the two figure reliefs (p. 282 above) and the weapons frieze on the arch at Corinth. The two gods honored by the sacrifice are probably Minerva Victrix and Hercules Invictus. Hercules' association with the emperor exemplifies the imperial *virtus*, and the hero's physical presence makes it emphatic.¹³⁵ The emperor honors the gods and demonstrates his *pietas*, but the victory achieved was by means of his *virtus*. We have already seen how the theme of *clementia* is another manifestation of the emperor's *virtus*. Even if good reasons can be found to reconstruct the fragments in Corinth in a different way, the components of that reconstruction will still relate to each other so as to express this very Roman theme.

¹²⁶ Anagni urn: Lovatelli 1900, pp. 241–265, pls. XIV, XV; Löwy 1928, pp. 28–29, ills. 63–66. Bologna urn: Picard 1957, pp. 355–356, pl. XV; Brizzolara 1986, no. 32, pp. 75–76, pls. 65–67.

¹²⁷ Russo 1981.

¹²⁸ Koeppel 1969, pp. 150–151; Hölscher 1980a, pp. 289–290.

¹²⁹ Rodenwaldt 1935, pp. 6–8.

¹³⁰ Hölscher 1980a, pp. 286–287.

¹³¹ Rotili 1972, pl. XXI:2.

¹³² Fittschen 1972, p. 783.

¹³³ Picard 1957, pp. 19–21.

¹³⁴ Picard 1957, pp. 371–388. A temple decorated with a weapons frieze and with weapons piled in the pediment appears on the right-hand attic relief on the city side of the arch at Beneventum. It is interesting to note Erika Simon's suggestion (1981, p. 10) that the building is the Temple of Honos and Virtus, built by Claudius Marcellus from booty captured at Syracuse.

¹³⁵ Picard 1957, pp. 376–378.

ATTRIBUTION AND DATE

The findspots of the fragments and their iconographic content suggest the attribution of the reliefs to the arch over the Lechaion Road. Stillwell states that the arch was revetted with marble after the earthquake of A.D. 77.¹³⁶ He does not document the reasoning behind his statement, and one assumes it is because in this period the staircase and its flanking walls were revetted with marble slabs. At the same time the central bay of the arch was widened and the passageway was extended to the south. The fragments of marble reliefs would be appropriate for such a refurbishment.

The Arch of the Sergi at Pola (20–10 B.C.) and both the Augustan arch and the 3rd-century propylon, the design of which is based on the earlier monument, in Pisidian Antioch, preserve weapons friezes.¹³⁷ They provide a means of visualizing the placement of the weapons frieze atop the arch at Corinth. Some of the weapons friezes in southern France have been attributed to arches, but none of the monuments is preserved.¹³⁸ An arch in honor of Gaius Caesar at Pisa is recorded in a decree of A.D. 4, and its decoration in the form of *spolia* specified.¹³⁹ Frederick Kleiner thinks the Pisan arch testifies to an interchange of ideas between the Gallic provinces and northern Italy.¹⁴⁰ Given their appearance at Corinth and the fact that *spolia* were depicted on an arch as early as the Augustan period in Pisidian Antioch, we are justified in considering the possibility of a Roman source for the idea of decorating an arch with arms and armor. Friezes with weapons are recorded as found in the Roman Forum in 1547, together with fragments of the *Fasti Capitolini*.¹⁴¹ This led some to think that the “Parthian” arch of Augustus was decorated with *tropaea*.¹⁴² Unfortunately there is no way of knowing if that is so or, if it is, what place the decoration might have taken on the monument. Still, it suggests that we look to the capital city for the inspiration for weapons friezes.

There is no evidence for frames, which might prove that two panel reliefs are represented by the fragments from the figure reliefs. That there were two scenes was suggested by the difficulty of finding parallels for a sacrifice scene with trophies and captive barbarians (p. 282 above). If we wish to reconstruct a single panel with contiguous scenes, the best comparison is the Great Trajanic Frieze.¹⁴³ That possibility cannot be completely excluded. The reasons for thinking it less likely than two panel reliefs are (1) the lack of any monument in the area of the Lechaion Road suitable for such a frieze and (2) the association of the fragments with those of the weapons frieze which fit best on the arch.

If we accept the reconstruction of the sacrifice as a rough approximation of the composition, the dimensions of the scene should be two meters in height and between four and

¹³⁶ Corinth I, p. 184.

¹³⁷ Arches at Pisidian Antioch: D. M. Robinson 1926; Arch of the Sergi: Traversari 1971.

¹³⁸ See Espérandieu 1907–1981, I, no. 234, pp. 170–171, and p. 428, commentary to no. 702. F. S. Kleiner 1985b, p. 49.

¹³⁹ F. S. Kleiner 1985a, pp. 156–164. Kleiner thinks these arms were more likely to have been similar to the great piles of weapons on the arch at Orange than to the frieze on the arch at Pola.

¹⁴⁰ F. S. Kleiner 1985a, p. 164.

¹⁴¹ Degrassi 1946, pp. 90–100; Coarelli 1985, pp. 274–275.

¹⁴² Gualandi 1979, pp. 110–111.

¹⁴³ See Leander Touati 1987, pp. 31–34.

five meters in width. The width excludes the exteriors of the pylons as a possible location for the reliefs. An attic relief, like those on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, is possible, but the low relief of the fragments is not suitable for an elevated position. Panel reliefs on either side of the interior passageway are the best possibility. The passageway of the arch is eight meters deep; if the two reliefs were between four and five meters wide, that would allow for an architectural framework.

Claudius' Britannic arch dedicated in A.D. 51/52 is probably the earliest example of an arch in Rome covered with relief sculpture;¹⁴⁴ it is possible that panel reliefs decorated the passageway. The Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum is the earliest preserved arch with panel reliefs in the passageway. The designer of Trajan's arch at Beneventum imitated that feature,¹⁴⁵ and the use of the Great Trajanic Frieze for reliefs in the passageway on the Arch of Constantine may have been inspired by its neighbor, the Arch of Titus. As was the case for the weapons frieze, one has the impression that the figure reliefs at Corinth are, at least in their placement on the arch, also inspired by monuments in Rome.

Two reliefs, one showing a sacrifice, the other a submission, recall the interior panels on Trajan's arch at Beneventum, although there the sacrifice is paired with a scene of *alimentatio* (Pl. 61:c), and the two scenes have been interpreted together as showing the emperor's *pietas erga deos* and *pietas erga homines*.¹⁴⁶ The reliefs at Corinth also stress two of the emperor's cardinal virtues but in a more military context than do the reliefs at Beneventum. Likewise the attic reliefs from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna represent the virtues of the Severan family, with a special emphasis on *concordia* but without neglecting *virtus* and *pietas*.¹⁴⁷ All in all, the fragments of sculpture from Corinth find their best explanation, both physically and iconographically, as panel reliefs which decorated the passageway of the arch over the Lechaion Road.

To some readers it may seem that in terms of chronology I have ranged too freely in searching for parallels for interpretations of individual pieces and for the reconstruction and that the stylistic date of the reliefs should have been established first. But before assessing the fragments on the basis of style, it was necessary to study their content in order to know to what types of monuments they should be compared. For the scene of sacrifice I made use of monuments dating over a span of more than two hundred years because, as Brendel showed, the components of sacrifice scenes do not change in an appreciable manner, nor is there any linear development in their compositions.¹⁴⁸ That fact indicates how little the thematic elements and the hypothetical composition can contribute to learning the date of the sculptures. The attribution of the fragments to the second phase of the arch over the Lechaion Road suggests a date after the third quarter of the 1st century after Christ. But that attribution will not hold if the sculptures cannot be dated stylistically to the same time.

There is nothing in mainland Greece comparable to the Corinth fragments nor does Asia Minor provide good parallels. Comparisons for individual pieces and for larger units

¹⁴⁴ Laubscher 1976, pp. 69–108; Koeppel 1983b, pp. 103–109, pls. 40–43; F. S. Kleiner 1985b, pp. 59–62.

¹⁴⁵ On the close relationship between the Arch of Titus in Rome and the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, see Hassel 1966, pp. 23–30.

¹⁴⁶ Fittschen 1972, pp. 747–750.

¹⁴⁷ Bartoccini 1931, pp. 32–152; Townsend 1938, pp. 512–524, pls. XVIII–XX.

¹⁴⁸ Brendel 1930.

come mostly from Italy, primarily Rome, and from southern Gaul. It is more likely that the monuments in France and the one in Corinth were inspired by works in the capital city than that there was some special relationship between Gallia Narbonensis and Achaia. That hypothesis makes more cogent the comparison of the fragments at Corinth with dated monuments from Rome itself.

The male head, 11, is best paralleled by figures on Trajan's Column and on the panels of Trajan's arch at Beneventum.¹⁴⁹ Furrowed foreheads, frontal eyes with arching eyebrows, full, slightly parted lips, hair which falls low on the nape of the neck and is brushed forward in curving strands, and the loose wavy locks of beards are characteristics common to figures on all three monuments. 10, a bald old man, is particularly well paired with a background figure from the arch at Beneventum (Pl. 62:a) and with the relief portrait of Caltilius Hila[rus], dated to the Trajanic period, in the Vatican.¹⁵⁰ The hairstyle of the *pope* (1), with long strands combed forward from the back of the head and ending in pincers-shaped patterns, is like the hairstyle of Trajan himself and is common during the Trajanic period.¹⁵¹ The same hairstyle appears on 9. On all the male heads from the reliefs the lower brow bulges strongly. A similar, "serious" facial expression appears on the Great Trajanic Frieze.¹⁵² The beard, with long hairs over the chin, of the captive, 28, is worn by Dacians on the Frieze.¹⁵³

Ridgway dated the head of Minerva, 25, to the 2nd century after Christ.¹⁵⁴ The restrained drillwork, used only for emphasis and not for outlining forms, suggests a date in the first half of that century. The floral scroll on the visor of her helmet and the thunderbolts on the cheekpieces find good parallels among the helmets on the Great Trajanic Frieze.¹⁵⁵

Johnson dated the fragments published in *Corinth IX*, i, "Trajanic to Hadrianic", and Schneider accepted that date for 24.¹⁵⁶ A Trajanic date is preferable because of the subject matter. It is hard to imagine a Hadrianic monument which celebrated a victory over Parthians, since that emperor's policy toward eastern barbarians was pacific to an almost embarrassing degree. On the other hand, Trajan's Parthian campaign (A.D. 113–117) was successful and popular; it earned the emperor the title "Parthicus". For that reason, in the reconstruction I have restored the emperor's features as those of Trajan. There is some evidence that Trajan passed through Corinth on his way to Athens in 113; at least public

¹⁴⁹ For example, figures in scenes LIII and CIII on the column: Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, pls. 26 and 48; there are good photographs in Ryberg 1955, pl. 37, fig. 56, and pl. 38, fig. 57. Compare also a bearded head from the arch at Beneventum: Rotili 1972, pl. LXXV. Especially close to 11 in terms of hairstyle, structure of the brow, and forms of the eye and lids is an unbearded head from the arch (Rotili 1972, pl. LXXVII, figure at far right in the background); there is a good detail in Pfanner 1983, Beilage 9:8.

¹⁵⁰ Beneventum: Rotili 1972, pl. LXXVI; Pfanner 1983, Beilage 9:7. Relief portrait: Licordari 1972, pl. LXI:a.

¹⁵¹ For private portraits with similar hairstyles, see Zanker 1980, pp. 196–202; also the relief portrait of Caltilius Celer in the Vatican: Licordari 1972, pl. LXI:c. Examples too numerous to mention occur on Trajan's Column, the arch at Beneventum, and the Great Frieze.

¹⁵² E.g., Leander Touati 1987, pl. 26:5, 9; pl. 28:7, 8.

¹⁵³ Leander Touati 1987, pl. 34:7; pl. 48:1, 3.

¹⁵⁴ Ridgway 1981b, p. 438.

¹⁵⁵ Leander Touati 1987, pl. 29:4, pl. 30:2, 3.

¹⁵⁶ *Corinth IX*, i, p. 135; L. Schneider 1973, p. 117, note 129.

dedications to him have been interpreted as occasioned by a visit.¹⁵⁷ The subject matter of the reliefs suggests a monument erected after victories in the east. Possibly the arch was built in anticipation of the emperor's return after the war. Trajan died in Cilicia on his way back to Rome in 117.

A date *ca.* 117 agrees with the date for the second phase of the arch. Whether the first arch remained in a dilapidated condition after the earthquake of A.D. 77 and was not rebuilt until the time of Trajan or whether it had not been seriously damaged and stood more or less intact until it was redesigned we cannot know. An arch built at the end of Trajan's reign would have been appropriate as a symbol of Corinth on coins minted under the following emperor, especially since Hadrian needed to legitimize his claim. In its new form, with much sculptural decoration, the arch served several purposes. It marked the entrance to the civic center and was crowned by statues of Helios and Phaethon, whose home loomed over the forum; it was an honorary arch extolling the *virtus* of the emperor; and it was a triumphal arch celebrating a victory of that *virtus*. When later the Captives Façade was built adjacent to the arch, the triumphal iconography was literally extended into the forum.

CONCLUSIONS

Studying the fragments of relief and the problems of reconstruction and attribution has led us to wonder about the apparently unique status of the arch in the art of Roman Greece. A comparable monument has yet to be found in mainland Greece before the Arch of Galerius, erected sometime around the turn from the 3rd to the 4th century after Christ. In 1967, Cornelius Vermeule wrote that "before A.D. 300 the great Antonine altar at Ephesus was practically the only monument in the Greek world that paralleled the state reliefs of imperial Rome."¹⁵⁸ The arch over the Lechaion Road can be added to the list, but one hesitates to attribute much significance to it. To what extent Corinth, as a Roman colony, was atypical artistically in the context of Greece is something not yet known. It is not surprising that Athens has yet to yield a comparable monument, but something similar might be expected in Patras.

Other "historical" reliefs have been found at Corinth. From the southwest forum come two poorly preserved fragments which probably derive from a scene of sacrifice. S 1626 (Pl. 62:b) shows two men, the one at right holding a knife in his right hand, the one at left shouldering the *fascies*.¹⁵⁹ To be associated with this fragment is the relief S 2518 (Pl. 62:c), which preserves at right the legs of a male figure and at left the legs and belly of an animal with a figure standing behind.¹⁶⁰ There is no evidence for the type of monument these

¹⁵⁷ *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 99, pp. 45–47.

¹⁵⁸ Vermeule 1968, p. 3. See now, Smith 1988, pp. 50–77 and *idem* 1990, pp. 89–100.

¹⁵⁹ Six joining fragments. Upper part from southwest forum. Fragments at lower left found between Temple F and the West Shops on April 6, 1973, in Byzantine levels, and on June 8, 1973, in a Byzantine pit. P.H. 0.785, p.W. 0.46, max. Th. 0.085 m. Fine-grained white sparkling marble; some streaks of mica. Left and right edges preserved. Back rough picked. Cursory work. Marks of flat chisel on background. Deeper channels between folds drilled.

¹⁶⁰ Two joining fragments. Fragment at left found May 20, 1960, near the south tower of the West Shops. Fragment at right recorded as "found at third gate of Akrocorinth". P.H. 0.26, p.W. 0.79, max. Th. 0.10 m.

reliefs decorated. Other reliefs preserving *fascies* (S 3622 and A-74-29) could come from a decorative design or, less likely, from a procession. All these sculptures find a broad context in the city of Corinth, the "Roman spirit" of which has long been noted in terms of architecture and religion. But to what extent they represent a geographically limited phenomenon and testify to close ties between Corinth and Rome are questions we can only ask. Certainly in the Hadrianic period and later, Corinthians participated linguistically and artistically in a prevailing spirit of classicism.¹⁶¹ If the arch over the Lechaion Road does date to the final years of Trajan's reign, it may well have been the last monument erected in the forum which gave witness to the special *Romanitas* of ancient Corinth.

CATALOGUE OF RELIEF FRAGMENTS

1. S 6

Pl. 63

One fragment found north of the Peribolos of Apollo.
P.H. 0.535, p.W. 0.31, max. Th. 0.06, Th. of background 0.03 m.

Three joining fragments. Finished edge at right. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Bearded male head in profile to right. Both arms raised. Elbow and part of upper right arm. Shoulder and inside of upper left arm, below which hangs a cloth with three vertical divisions. Above head, inside of left arm and hand which grasps a shaft.

Corinth IX, i, no. 280, p. 135.

2. S 41

Pl. 63

Found March 20, 1898, near or in the center-east end of the South Stoa.
P.H. 0.18, p.W. 0.15, Th. of background 0.03 m.
Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.
Right hand holding shaft.

Fine-grained white sparkling marble. Mica streaks. Broken at top and right sides. Left edge rough picked. Lower surface and back smooth. All forms outlined with drilled channels. Surfaces of drapery and limbs shaped with flat chisel. Marks of flat chisel on background.

¹⁶¹ For the evidence from inscriptions of the change in the prevailing language of texts from Latin to Greek at the time of Hadrian, see *Corinth VIII*, iii, p. 19. The choice of themes (Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, and Deeds of Herakles) for the decoration of the stage building of the Hadrianic theater seems a part of this same phenomenon; see *Corinth IX*, ii. It is not just that these specific mythological themes were used but that the reliefs formally recalled Classical and Hellenistic prototypes which indicates a particular spirit of classicism, essentially different from that of previous periods. The copies of the Erechtheion Caryatids found in the southwest part of the forum have been dated by the excavator to the 1st century after Christ: Williams and Fisher 1975, nos. 26, 27, pp. 22–23, pls. 7, 8. Such Classical quotations seem to have been the exception rather than the rule in Corinth before the Hadrianic period.

3. S 297

Pl. 63

No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.245, p.W. 0.125, max. Th. 0.055 m.
Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth.
Torso preserving armpit of raised right arm, right pectoral, ribs, and curving line of diaphragm. Traces of objects at left edge.

4. S 79

Pl. 64

No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.52, p.W. 0.45, max. Th. 0.065, Th. of background 0.035 m.
Three joining fragments. Finished edge at left. Smooth lower border 0.09 m. high. Resting surface smooth. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Preserved from left to right: right foot and ankle in three-quarter view, hoof and lower leg of a bovine, left profile foot of a male.

Corinth IX, i, no. 297, p. 141.

- 5. S 876** Pl. 63
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.30, p.W. 0.23, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.035–0.04 m.
Single fragment, broken at top and sides. Smooth lower border, 0.093 m. high. Resting surface smooth. Back smooth. Marks of flat and toothed chisels on background.
Hoof of bovine facing left.
- 6. S 83** Pl. 63
Lower fragment found May 21, 1927, in the Roman hemicycle on the Lechaion Road.
P.H. 0.425, p.W. 0.21, max. Th. 0.039, Th. of background 0.03–0.01 m.
Two joining fragments, broken at top, bottom, and left side. Finished edge at right; small hole 0.01 m. deep at upper end. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background. Rasp marks on drapery at left.
Hydria with high curving handle. Decorative curve at top of handle. Egg and dart on mouth. Tongue pattern on body of vase. Horizontal handle. At left, fold of drapery with incised edge.
Corinth IX, i, no. 289, p. 138.
- 7. S 285** Pl. 64
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.203, p.W. 0.15, max. Th. 0.06, Th. of background 0.045–0.04 m.
Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.
Upper left section of a curved horn.
- 8. S 155** Pl. 64
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.145, p.W. 0.18, max. Th. 0.06, Th. of background 0.035 m.
Single fragment, broken at top and sides. Smooth lower border 0.055 m. high. Resting surface smooth. Back smooth.
Heel of foot wearing shoe, facing left.
- 9. S 413** Pl. 64
Found April 4, 1902, at the east end of the Northwest Stoa in the area of the Sacred Spring.
P.H. 0.28, p.W. 0.173, max. Th. 0.06, Th. of background 0.025 m.
Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface badly weathered.
Profile face turned right. Veil crosses head and falls at side of face. Locks of hair brushed forward.
- Furrowed brow. Drilled hole at inner corner of eye. Chiseled line marks jaw.
Corinth IX, i, no. 281, p. 135.
- 10. S 82** Pl. 65
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.18, p.W. 0.19, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.025–0.027 m.
Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left side. Finished edge at right. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.
Profile face turned right. Short locks of hair combed forward on top of head. Furrowed brow. Inner corner of eye marked with drilled hole.
- 11. S 764** Pl. 65
Found April, 1907, in the Roman hemicycle on the Lechaion Road.
P.H. 0.275, p.W. 0.175, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.025 m.
Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth.
Bearded head in profile to the right. Curly locks brushed forward on top of head and across back of neck. Furrowed brow.
Corinth IX, i, no. 297, p. 134.
- 12. S 280** Pl. 65
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.332, p.W. 0.245, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.03–0.035 m.
Three joining fragments, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of chisel on surface and background.
Lower right leg and sandaled foot, turned left.
- 13. S 630** Pl. 65
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.133, p.W. 0.101, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.03 m.
Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface and background.
Right leg from mid-calf to top of sandal. Leg turned to left.
- 14. S 875** Pl. 65
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.225, p.W. 0.35, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.02–0.035 m.
Single fragment, broken at top and sides. Finished surface below. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Sandaled foot turned right. Heel raised. Toes rest on horizontal projecting band. At lower left, trace of another foot.

15. S 81 Pl. 65

Upper fragment found April, 1902; lower fragment found April 4, 1902, in the area of the Sacred Spring.

P.H. 0.327, p.W. 0.143, max. Th. 0.042, Th. of background 0.018–0.024 m.

Two joining fragments, broken at top, bottom, right, and most of left sides. At lower left, trace of finished edge. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Right leg, from below knee to above ankle, in profile to right.

16. S 315 Pl. 66

Found May 5, 1901, in a cutting under the pavement of the central shop of the Northwest Shops.

P.H. 0.245, p.W. 0.166, max. Th. 0.037, Th. of background 0.015–0.024 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface badly weathered.

Calf and lower part of right leg turned left. Trace of skirt at upper left.

17. S 3633 Pl. 66

Found in 1990 in a marble pile northeast of the arch over the Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.273, p.W. 0.131, p.Th. 0.102 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left. Back broken off. Finished surface at right, with vertical edge projecting 0.035 m. from relief surface. Surface weathered.

Back of helmet turned left. Horsehair crest at top; plumes behind.

18. S 90 Pl. 66

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.21, p.W. 0.409, max. Th. 0.045 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left. Finished edge at right. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface.

Two overlapping cloths with catenary folds. At upper edge of cloth at left, floral pendants hang from jeweled straps.

19. S 303

Pl. 66

Upper fragment found May 3, 1968, immediately southwest of the western foundations of the arch over the Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.195, p.W. 0.175, max. Th. 0.065 m.

Two joining fragments, broken all around. Back rough picked. Rasp marks over surface. Drilled channel outlines folds of drapery at right.

Crest holder and flaring horsehair crest in center. Folds of drapery at right. Lower arm of figure at left.

20. S 629

Pl. 66

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.136, p.W. 0.13, max. Th. 0.07, Th. of background 0.04 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth.

Toes and instep of a sandaled right foot turned left. Foot stands on a molded base consisting of a tall fascia and top of a cyma recta.

21. S 3440

Pl. 66

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.31, p.W. 0.15, p.Th. 0.057, p.Th. of background 0.033 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left. Finished edge at right. Back broken off. Heavy mica streak down back surface.

Left foot in three-quarter view to left. Heel raised. Toes rest on a molded base consisting of a tall fascia, a cyma recta, and an ovolo. Rectangular pillar or base below.

22. S 3454

Pl. 66

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.31, p.W. 0.11, p.Th. 0.056, p.Th. of background 0.033 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left. Finished edge at right. Back broken off. Heavy mica streak down back surface. Marks of drill in channels between folds.

Folds of drapery curving right.

23. S 3507

Pl. 66

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.195, p.W. 0.225, max. Th. 0.06, Th. of background 0.035 m.

Single fragment, broken at top and left side. Finished edge at right. Resting surface finished. Back smooth. Smooth lower border 0.095 m. high.

Four toes of male left foot facing left. Foot overlapped by paw of animal skin.

- 24. S 856** Pl. 67
 No exact findspot recorded; probably the north-west forum.
 P.H. 0.16, p.W. 0.09, max. Th. 0.034, Th. of background 0.025 m.
 Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on face.
 Profile face turned right. Waves of hair at top.
Corinth IX, i, no. 282, p. 135 (incorrect dimensions); L. Schneider 1973, p. 117, fig. 13; Ridgway 1981b, p. 438.
- 25. S 821** Pl. 67
 Found June 25, 1907, at the west end of the Northwest Shops.
 P.H. 0.43, p.W. 0.40, Th. 0.045, Th. of background 0.025–0.035 m.
 Single fragment, broken at bottom and left side. Finished edges at top and right. Back rough picked. Drilled channel outlines left side of crest holder. Drilled holes in curls across forehead and at corners of mouth.
 Head of Minerva turned in three-quarter view to left. Attic helmet with horsehair crest. Visor decorated with spiral pattern; turned-up cheekpieces with stylized thunderbolts. Griffin on helmet above visor.
 D. M. Robinson 1911, pp. 495–498; *Corinth IX*, i, no. 278, p. 134; Leipen 1971, p. 9; Ridgway 1981b, p. 438.
- 26. S 87** Pl. 67
 One fragment found May 24, 1899, in the area of the Sacred Spring.
 P.H. 0.36, p.W. 0.38, max. Th. 0.065, Th. of background 0.02–0.027 m.
 Four joining fragments, broken all around. Back smooth. Rasp marks on surface.
 Torso of draped figure in three-quarter view to right. Figure wears a sleeveless tunic belted at the waist. Right arm across chest. Over left shoulder, spade-shaped forms.
Corinth IX, i, no. 290, p. 138.
- 27. S 168** Pl. 67
 No findspot recorded.
 P.H. 0.245, p.W. 0.25, max. Th. 0.046, Th. of background 0.017 m.
 Two joining fragments, broken all around. Back smooth.
- 28. S 218** Pl. 68
 No findspot recorded.
 P.H. 0.528, p.W. 0.345, max. Th. 0.07, Th. of background 0.03–0.04 m.
 Two joining fragments, broken at top, bottom, and left. Finished edge at right. Back rough picked. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.
 Bound captive. Face turned left, chest frontal, legs in profile to right. Captive wears a long-sleeved garment, with pants. Rolled cloth at waist. Figure has shoulder-length hair and a beard. At left, trunk of a knotty tree.
Corinth IX, i, no. 302, p. 142.
- 29. S 2059** Pl. 68
 Found April 11, 1935, at the west side of the forum, in the area of the Babbius Monument.
 P.H. 0.19, p.W. 0.25, max. Th. 0.045, Th. of background 0.025 m.
 Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface.
 Frontal helmet on a shaft. Traces of holders for feathers at either edge.
- 30. S 76** Pl. 68
 No findspot recorded.
 P.H. 0.211, p.W. 0.16, max. Th. 0.05, Th. of background 0.026 m.
 Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.
 Leg from knee to mid-calf. Curving folds across surface. Edge of mantle(?) at upper left break.
- 31. S 631** Pl. 68
 No findspot recorded.
 P.H. 0.20, p.W. 0.17, max. Th. 0.061 m.
 Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface. Drilled channel beside fold at right.
 Draped leg. Above lower edge, round form, possibly knee. Fold of cloth at right.
- 32. S 3447** Pl. 68
 Lechaion Road.
 P.H. 0.173, p.W. 0.139, max. Th. 0.045 m.

- Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of chisel on surface.
- Thigh of leg wearing pants. Edge of skirt at top.
- 33. S 3503** Pl. 69
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.155, p.W. 0.26, max. Th. 0.045 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface very weathered.
- Thigh of leg with curving folds of pants. At left, folds of mantle (?). At right, possibly edge of shield.
- 34. S 73-3** Pl. 69
Found April 2, 1973, between Temple F and the West Shops. Reused as floor pavement in a Byzantine house.
P.H. 0.089, p.W. 0.099, max. Th. 0.042, Th. of background 0.021 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface.
- Sleeved arm (?).
- 35. S 75** Pl. 69
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.61, p.W. 0.198, max. Th. 0.055 m.
- Two joining fragments, broken at top, bottom, and right. Finished edge at left. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface.
- Draped leg of barbarian. At top, folds of cloth. At left, long fold of mantle(?).
- 36. S 3439** Pl. 69
Lechaion Road.
P.H. 0.35, p.W. 0.145, max. Th. 0.054, Th. of background 0.027 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface. Rough tool marks at lower left where something appears to have been removed.
- Folds of cloth over three staffs. At top, spiraling vine with flowers and buds. Above, tips of leaves (?). Trace of form at lower left.
- 37. S 3453** Pl. 69
Lechaion Road.
P.H. 0.29, p.W. 0.194, max. Th. 0.036, Th. of background 0.012–0.023 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface of relief and background.
- Wide shaft surrounded by narrow rings. Lower rings compressed. Below lowest ring and to either side of shaft, curving edges. Top ring opens into a wide oval. At upper left, broken form crosses shaft and ring.
- 38. S 2716** Pl. 69
Found in a marble pile in the Northwest Shops (room X or XI) in 1963.
P.H. 0.081, p.W. 0.075, max. Th. 0.038, Th. of background 0.025 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface weathered.
- Index finger and thumb of right hand. Tapering form between finger and thumb.
- 39. S 3475** Pl. 69
Lechaion Road.
P.H. 0.10, p.W. 0.15, max. Th. 0.041, Th. of background 0.025–0.03 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface.
- Thumb and knuckles of index and middle fingers of right hand. Cylindrical staff at right.
- 40. S 3452** Pl. 69
Found April 10, 1902, immediately south of the Captives Façade, in the area of the Sacred Spring.
P.H. 0.196, p.W. 0.198, max. Th. 0.056 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface.
- Bent index finger above square object with circle in the middle. Flaring form at left. Cloth between forms.
- 41. S 3499** Pl. 70
No findspot recorded.
P.H. 0.15, p.W. 0.085, max. Th. 0.035, Th. of background 0.017 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Drilled channel between background and drapery at left. Marks of chisel on background. Rasp marks on wrist.
- Inside of left arm from wrist to base of hand. Fold of drapery across and below wrist.
- 42. S 3500** Pl. 70
Lechaion Road.
P.H. 0.226, p.W. 0.145, max. Th. 0.06 m.
- Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel across surface.
- Forearm from below elbow to above wrist. Folds of drapery behind arm.

43. S 627	Pl. 70	48. S 3445	Pl. 70
No findspot recorded. P.H. 0.257, p.W. 0.144, max. Th. 0.036, Th. of background 0.017 m. Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left. Finished edge at right. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface and background. Draped left shoulder and upper arm.		Lechaion Road. P.H. 0.24, p.W. 0.124, max. Th. 0.55 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface weathered. Marks of flat chisel on surface. Drapery folds. One salient fold in center. Edge of cloth at left.	
44. S 3436	Pl. 70	49. S 3441	Pl. 70
Lechaion Road. P.H. 0.156, p.W. 0.77, max. Th. 0.031, Th. of background 0.014–0.025 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel. Vertical fall of drapery. Tassel at corner.		Lechaion Road. P.H. 0.19, p.W. 0.124, max. Th. 0.06 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface extremely weathered. Rasp marks on some surfaces. Drapery folds.	
45. S 213	Pl. 70	50. S 89	Pl. 71
No findspot recorded. P.H. 0.28, p.W. 0.125, Th. 0.055 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Stationary drillwork between folds. Some rasp marks on surface. Drapery folds. Diagonal fall of drapery at right. Tassel at corner of fold; edge of fold outlined with incised line. At left, curving folds over smooth surface.		One fragment recorded as found May 16, 1901, in the Peribolos of Apollo. P.H. 0.297, p.W. 0.545, max. Th. 0.046, Th. of background 0.033–0.03 m. Two joining fragments, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of flat chisel on surface. Muscle cuirass (<i>thorax</i>) with baldric and <i>cingulum</i> . Shafts of spears at lower left. <i>Corinth IX</i> , i, no. 272, p. 130.	
46. S 214	Pl. 70	51. S 3491	Pl. 71
No findspot recorded. P.H. 0.185, p.W. 0.225, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.022 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface and background. Folds of drapery carved in low relief at left; heavier folds at right. Edge of fold in center falls vertically; diagonal folds with wide furrows between them at right.		No findspot recorded. P.H. 0.097, p.W. 0.17, max. Th. 0.05 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Lower edge of fringed <i>pteryges</i> from a cuirass.	
47. S 628	Pl. 70	52. S 3493	Pl. 71
No findspot recorded. P.H. 0.22, p.W. 0.15, max. Th. 0.06 m. Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left. Finished edge at right. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface. Heavy folds of cloth. Wavy lower edge. Below, broad, vertical folds. At either side more salient folds or staffs.		Lechaion Road. P.H. 0.20, p.W. 0.248, max. Th. 0.05, Th. of background 0.033–0.03 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of flat and toothed chisels on background. <i>Pteryges</i> from left side of a cuirass.	
		53. S 3497	Pl. 71
		Lechaion Road. P.H. 0.11, p.W. 0.26, max. Th. 0.05 m. Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of flat chisel on surface. Right side and center of cuirass. Lower edge of muscle cuirass (<i>thorax</i>) and upper row of <i>pteryges</i> .	

54. S-70-2

Pl. 71

Found May 30, 1970, in the area of the Sacred Spring.

P.H. 0.225, p.W. 0.135, max. Th. 0.068, Th. of background 0.038 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and right side. At top of left edge, round hole 0.013 m. deep. Back rough picked.

Pteryges from sleeve of a cuirass.

55. S 3438

Pl. 72

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.24, p.W. 0.185, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.025 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel and rasp over surface.

Sleeve of scale cuirass (*lorica squamata*).

56. S 3446

Pl. 72

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.24, p.W. 0.22, max. p.Th. 0.04 m.

Single fragment, broken all around and on back. Marks of flat chisel on surfaces.

Scales and *pteryges* from scale cuirass (*lorica squamata*). Trace of baldric at upper right. Hilt of sword at lower right.

57. S 3509

Pl. 72

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.277, p.W. 0.17, max. Th. 0.055 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface badly weathered. Marks of flat chisel.

Pteryges from left side of cuirass. Rim of shield at left.

58. S 2718

Pl. 72

Found October, 1963, in a marble pile in the Northwest Shops.

P.H. 0.32, p.W. 0.244, max. Th. 0.059, Th. of background 0.045 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left side. Finished edge at right. Near bottom of right edge, round hole 0.02 m. deep. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background. Top of fragment hacked off.

Top left side of scale cuirass (*lorica squamata*).

59. S 85

Pl. 72

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.118, p.W. 0.18, Th. 0.039 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface.

Overlapping scales from scale cuirass (*lorica squamata*).

60. S 3451

Pl. 72

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.127, p.W. 0.221, max. Th. 0.037, Th. of background 0.025 m.

Single fragment, broken across top, bottom, and right side. Finished edge at left. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Ends of fringed *pteryges* from cuirass.

61. S 3492

Pl. 72

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.14, p.W. 0.105, max. Th. 0.035 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Traces of flat chisel.

Pteryges from cuirass.

62. S 3444

Pl. 73

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.174, p.W. 0.269, max. Th. 0.063, Th. of background 0.021–0.03 m.

Two joining fragments, broken at top, bottom, and left side. Finished edge at right. Back smooth. Marks of toothed chisel on surface of relief and background.

Side and lower back of Attic(?) helmet turned left.

Lower strands of horsehair crest at right.

63. S 373

Pl. 73

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.257, p.W. 0.255, max. Th. 0.065, Th. of background 0.035–0.045 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface and background.

Frontal helmet. Feather attached on right.

Corinth IX, i, no. 273, p. 131.

64. S 3437

Pl. 73

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.083, p.W. 0.062, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.025–0.03 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth.

Front of horsehair crest of helmet.

65. S 77

Pl. 73

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.435, p.W. 0.101, max. Th. 0.038, Th. of background 0.019–0.026 m.

Two joining fragments, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat and toothed chisels on surface and background.

On lower half, spearpoint, the tip of which overlaps the curved edge of a flat object. On top of the latter, a greave(?). At upper left edge, greave overlapped by a curved form.

66. S 131

Pl. 73

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.309, p.W. 0.235, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.018–0.023 m.

Single fragment broken at top, bottom, and right side. Finished edge at left. Marks of flat and toothed chisels on surface and background.

Tops of three spears. Curved rim of shield at lower left.

Corinth IX, i, no. 303, p. 142.**67.** S 242

Pl. 73

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.132, p.W. 0.106, max. Th. 0.032, Th. of background 0.023 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.

Spearpoint.

68. S 3468

Pl. 73

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.235, p.W. 0.132, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.023–0.03 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth, recut with rectilinear pattern. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.

At right, spearpoint and upper shaft. At left, shaft of weapon, possibly axe.

69. S 3471

Pl. 73

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.105, p.W. 0.223, max. Th. 0.044, Th. of background 0.031–0.028 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of flat and toothed chisels on surface and background.

Spearpoint.

70. S 3450

Pl. 74

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.24, p.W. 0.17, max. Th. 0.048, Th. of background 0.04 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on relief surfaces and background. Head and shaft of axe.

71. S 3472

Pl. 74

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.15, p.W. 0.113, max. Th. 0.059, Th. of background 0.029–0.035 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background. Roughly drilled channel outlines relief.

Pommel of sword.

72. S 3495

Pl. 74

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.10, p.W. 0.095, max. Th. 0.04, Th. of background 0.027 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.

Pommel of sword.

73. S 3496

Pl. 74

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.148, p.W. 0.182, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.025 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Pommel of sword.

74. S 3467

Pl. 74

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.162, p.W. 0.129, max. Th. 0.055, Th. of background 0.026 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth, recarved with rectilinear pattern. Marks of flat chisel on surface.

Pommel of sword overlapping curved blade.

75. S 287

Pl. 74

No finds recorded.

Max. p.H. 0.264, p.W. 0.423, max. Th. 0.065, Th. of background 0.024–0.035 m.

Three joining pieces, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background. Some rough drillwork outlining forms.

Strung bow at left. Between bow and string, tip of spear. At right, scabbard of curved sword leans against bow.

76. S 80 Pl. 74

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.119, p.W. 0.16, max. Th. 0.038, Th. of background 0.033–0.029 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left side. Right edge smoothed with flat chisel. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.

Three tips of arrows pointing up to left.

77. S 1032 Pl. 74

Found in 1910 or 1911, probably in the Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.155, p.W. 0.12, max. Th. 0.048, Th. of background 0.026–0.03 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Head of griffin from shield.

UNDETERMINED FRAGMENTS

78. S 3506 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.08, p.W. 0.194, max. Th. 0.043, Th. of background 0.029–0.025 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on background.

Spreading form crossed diagonally by narrow band. At right, band in higher relief curves down.

79. S 3449 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.23, p.W. 0.133, max. Th. 0.054, Th. of background 0.03 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Very weathered.

Wide shaft crossed diagonally by narrow band in low relief. At right, shaft crossed by curving band.

80. S 3505 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.11, p.W. 0.163, max. Th. 0.045, Th. of background 0.033 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back rough picked. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.

Uneven surface with curving left side.

81. S 3502 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.175, p.W. 0.11, max. Th. 0.05, Th. of background 0.024 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface of relief and background.

Object with horizontal lower edge. Height of relief increases from bottom to top.

82. S 3443 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.20, p.W. 0.075, max. Th. 0.038, Th. of background 0.029 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and right sides. Left edge finished with flat chisel. Back rough picked. Marks of chisel on background.

Flat, rectangular form bordered by narrow bands, crossed at right by vertical band.

83. S-73-29 Pl. 75

Found May 4, 1973, in a Byzantine pit in the southwest forum, context of 6th century after Christ.

P.H. 0.157, p.W. 0.166, max. Th. 0.051, Th. of background 0.035–0.031 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of chisel on surface and background.

At left, two rounded shafts. At right, form with straight left edge, which angles away from shafts.

84. S 300 Pl. 75

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.11, p.W. 0.094, max. Th. 0.03, Th. of background 0.023 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on background.

Shaft.

85. S 3460 Pl. 75

No findspot recorded.

P.H. 0.182, p.W. 0.178, max. Th. 0.067, Th. of background 0.055 m.

Single fragment, broken all around. Back smooth. Surface very weathered.

In center, shaft with stepped panel at top. Shaft at left. Broken forms at lower right and left edges.

86. S 3476 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.172, p.W. 0.074, max. Th. 0.035, Th. of background 0.023 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and one side. Other side smoothed. Round hole 0.014 m. deep on side. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface and background.

Curving form.

87. S-72-7 Pl. 75

Found June 5, 1972, in the vicinity of the Sacred Spring.

P.H. 0.21, p.W. 0.22, max. Th. 0.031, Th. of background 0.023–0.02 m.

Single fragment, broken diagonally to left and right at top, and across bottom. Right edge smooth. Back smooth. Marks of flat and toothed chisels on background.

Curving form, bordered with narrow, flat band.

88. S 3466 Pl. 75

Lechaion Road.

P.H. 0.125, p.W. 0.12, max. Th. 0.05 m.

Single fragment, broken at top, bottom, and left sides. Right side smooth. Back smooth. Marks of flat chisel on surface of relief.

Folds of drapery. Rectangular form at lower right.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adriani, A. 1960. "Il vaso argenteo di Ingolstadt e un suo modell Alessandrino," *RM* 67, pp. 111–125
- Alzinger, W. 1972. *Die Ruinen von Ephesos*, Berlin/Vienna
- Amandry, P. 1978. "Consécration d'armes galates à Delphes," *BCH* 102, pp. 571–581
- Amelung, W. 1908. *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums II*, Berlin
- Amy, R. 1962. *L'arc d'Orange (Gallia Supplement 15)*, Paris
- Angelicoussis, E. 1984. "The Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius," *RM* 91, pp. 141–205
- Balil, A. 1985. "Esculturas romanas de la Península Ibérica," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 51, pp. 187–230
- Bammer, A. 1988. *Ephesos, Stadt an Fluss und Meer*, Graz
- Baratte, F. 1986. *Le trésor d'orfèvrerie romaine de Boscoreale*, Paris
- Bartoccini, R. 1931. "L'arco quadrifronte dei Severi a Lepcis (Leptis Magna)," *AfrIt* 4, pp. 32–152
- Becatti, G. 1960. *La colonna coclide istoriata (Studi e materiali del museo della civiltà romana 6)*, Rome
- Bianchi Bandinelli, R. 1970. *Rome, The Centre of Power: Roman Art to A.D. 200*, London
- . 1971. *Rome, The Late Empire: Roman Art, A.D. 200–400*, New York
- Bol, P. C. 1989. *Forschungen zur Villa Albani, Katalog der antiken Bildwerke I*, Berlin
- Brendel, O. 1930. "Immolatio Boum," *RM* 45, pp. 196–226
- Brilliant, R. 1963. *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven
- . 1967. *The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum (MAAR 29)*, Rome
- Brizzolara, A. M. 1986. *Le sculture del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna, La Collezione Marsili*, Bologna
- Caprino, C., G. Gatti, A. M. Collini, M. Pallottino, and P. Romanelli. 1955. *La colonna di Marco Aurelio (Studi e materiali del Museo dell'impero romano 5)*, Rome
- Cianfarani, V. 1949–1950. "Rilievo romano di Villa Torlonia," *BullCom* 73, pp. 235–254
- Coarelli, F. 1972. Rev. of G. Traversari, *L'Arco dei Sergi*, in *DialArch* 6, pp. 426–435
- . 1985. *Il foro romano II*, Rome
- Colledge, M. A. R. 1976. *The Art of Palmyra*, London
- . 1977. *Parthian Art*, London
- Corinth I* = H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Introduction, Topography, Architecture (Corinth I, [i])*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932
- Corinth I, ii* = R. Stillwell, R. L. Scranton, and S. E. Freeman, *Architecture (Corinth I, ii)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1941
- Corinth I, iii* = R. L. Scranton, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple (Corinth I, iii)*, Princeton 1951

- Corinth I*, vi = B. H. Hill, *The Springs: Peirene, Sacred Spring, Glauke (Corinth I, vi)*, Princeton 1964
Corinth IV, ii = O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps (Corinth IV, ii)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1930
Corinth VI = K. M. Edwards, *Coins 1986–1929 (Corinth VI)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1933
Corinth VIII, iii = J. H. Kent, *The Inscriptions, 1926–1950 (Corinth VIII, iii)*, Princeton 1966
Corinth IX, i = F. P. Johnson, *Sculpture 1896–1923 (Corinth IX, [i])*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931
Corinth IX, ii = M. C. Sturgeon, *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater (Corinth IX, ii)*, Princeton 1977
Courby, M. F. 1927. *La terrasse du temple (FdD II, ii, Le sanctuaire d'Apollon)*, Paris
Cristofani, M. 1967. "Il fregio d'armi della Tomba Giglioli di Tarquinia," *DialArch* 1, pp. 288–303
Degrassi, A. 1946. "L'edificio dei Fasti Capitolini," *RendPontAcc* 21, pp. 90–100
Dentzer, J.-M. 1982. *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Rome
Diehl, E. 1964. *Die Hydria: Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums*, Mainz am Rhein
Dintsis, P. 1986. *Hellenistische Helme*, Rome
Droysen, H. 1935. "Die Balustradenreliefs," in R. Bohn, *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros (AvP II)*, Berlin, pp. 95–138
Eichler, F. 1971. "Zum Partherdenkmal von Ephesos," *ÖJh* 49, Beihefte 2, pp. 102–135
Espérandieu, E. 1907–1981. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, vols. 1–16, Paris
Fittschen, K. 1972. "Das Bildprogramm des Trajansbogen zu Benevent," *AA [JdI 87]*, pp. 742–788
Froning, H. 1981. *Marmor-Schmuckreliefs mit griechischen Mythen im 1. Jh. v. Chr.: Untersuchungen zu Chronologie und Funktion*, Mainz am Rhein
Gabelmann, H. 1984. *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, Darmstadt
Gamber, O. 1964. "Dakische und saramatische Waffen auf den Reliefs der Traianssäule," *JKS*W 60, pp. 7–34
Ghirshman, R. 1962. *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians*, London
Giuliano 1983 = *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I*, 5, A. Giuliano, ed., Rome
——— 1985a = *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I*, 8, 1, A. Giuliano, ed., Rome
——— 1985b = *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I*, 8, 2, A. Giuliano, ed., Rome
Goette, H. R. 1988. "Mullus-Embas-Calceus," *JdI* 103, pp. 401–464
Gregory, T. E., and H. Mills. 1984. "The Roman Arch at Isthmia," *Hesperia* 53, pp. 407–445
Gualandi, G. 1979. "L'apparato figurativo negli archi augustei," *Studi sull'arco onorario romano (StArch* 21), pp. 93–141
Hafner, G. 1987. "Drei Gemälde im Tempel der Bellona," *RM* 94, pp. 241–265
Hassel, F. J. 1966. *Der Trajansbogen in Benevent: Ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates*, Mainz am Rhein
Hermann, W. 1961. *Römische Götteraltäre*, Kallmunz über Regensburg
Hölscher, T. 1967. *Victoria Romana: Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 2. Jhrs. n. Chr.*, Mainz am Rhein
———. 1980a. "Geschichtsauffassung in römischer Repräsentationskunst," *JdI* 95, pp. 265–321
———. 1980b. "Römische Siegesdenkmäler der späten Republik," *Tainia. Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag am 2. Dezember 1978*, H. A. Cahn and E. Simon, eds., Mainz am Rhein, pp. 351–371
———. 1987. *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System (AbhHeid. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Jhg. 1987, 2)*, Heidelberg
———. 1988. "Historische Reliefs," in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik. Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 7. Juni–14. August 1988*, Berlin, pp. 351–400
Imhoof-Blumer, F., and P. Gardner. 1885. "Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias I," *JHS* 6, pp. 50–101
Jaeckel, P. 1965. "Pergamenische Waffenreliefs," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, Munich/Berlin, pp. 94–122
Junkelmann, M. 1986. *Die Legionen des Augustus: Der römische Soldat im archäologischen Experiment (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt* 33), Mainz am Rhein
Kähler, H., *RE VIIA*, 1939, col. 373–493 (Triumphbogen)
———. 1964. *Das Fuenfsaeulendenkmal fuer die Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum (Monumenti artis romanae* 3), Cologne

- Kaschnitz-Weinberg, G. 1937. *Sculpture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano (Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte 4)*, Rome
- Kleiner, F. S. 1985a. "The Arch of Gaius Caesar at Pisa (*CIL*, XI, 1421)," *Latomus* 44, pp. 156–164
- . 1985b. *The Arch of Nero in Rome. A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch before and under Nero*, Rome
- Kleiner, G. 1968. *Die Ruinen von Milet*, Berlin
- Knackfuss, H., C. Fredrich, T. Wiegand, and H. Winnefeld. 1908. *Das Rathaus von Milet (Milet I, ii)*, Berlin
- Koch, G., and H. Sichtermann. 1982. *Römische Sarkophage (HdA)*, Munich
- Koeppel, G. M. 1969. "Profectio und Adventus," *BonnJbb* 169, pp. 130–194
- . 1983a. "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit I," *BonnJbb* 183, pp. 61–144
- . 1983b. "Two Reliefs from the Arch of Claudius in Rome," *RM* 90, pp. 103–109
- . 1986. "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit IV," *BonnJbb* 186, pp. 1–90
- Kraus, T. 1967. *Das römische Weltreich (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 2)*, Berlin
- Laubscher, H. P. 1975. *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki (Archäologische Forschungen 1)*, Berlin
- . 1976. "Arcus Novus und Arcus Claudi, zwei Triumphbogen an der Via Lata in Rom," *NAkG*, pp. 69–108
- Leander Touati, A.-M. 1987. *The Great Trajanic Frieze (SkrRom 40)*, Stockholm
- Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 1926. *Die Trajanssäule: Ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike*, Berlin/Leipzig
- Leipen, N. 1971. *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction*, Toronto
- Licordari, A. 1972. "Il rilievo funerario di *Caltilia Moschis*," in L. Guerrini, F. Carinci, T. Botticelli, L. de Vita, and A. Licordari, *Sculpture di Palazzo Mattei (StMisc 20)*, Rome, pp. 61–64
- Lovatelli, E. C. 1900. "Urna marmorea con rappresentanze di trofei" *BullCom* 28, pp. 241–265
- Löwy, E. 1928. *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens (Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien n.F. Sonderheft 11)*, Vienna
- Machatschek, A., and M. Schwarz. 1981. *Bauforschungen in Selge (Denkschriften, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 152 = Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 9)*, Vienna
- Magi, F. 1945. *I Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria (Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte 6)*, Rome
- Makaronas, C. I., and Stella G. Miller. 1974. "The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Hellenistic Tomb," *Archaeology* 27, pp. 248–259
- Mansel, A. M. 1966. "Side'nin Doğu Şehir Kapısında Bulunan Silâh Kabartmaları," *Bulleten* 30, pp. 351–375
- . 1968. "Ottor und Waffenreliefs von Side (Pamphylien)," *AA [JdI 83]*, pp. 239–279
- Markle, M., III. 1982. "Macedonian Arms and Tactics under Alexander the Great," in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times (Studies in the History of Art 10)*, B. Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza, eds., pp. 87–111
- Michałowski, K. 1964. *Palmyre, Fouilles polonaises 1962*, Warsaw
- Miller, Stella G. 1993. *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb*, Mainz am Rhein
- Nedergaard, E. 1988. "Zur Problematik der Augustusbogen auf dem Forum Romanum," in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik. Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 7. Juni–14. August 1988*, Berlin, pp. 224–239
- Oberleitner, W., E. Lessing, A. Bammer, K. Gschwantler, A. Bernhard-Walcher. 1978. *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake (Katalog der Antikensammlung 2)*, Vienna
- Özgen and Özgen 1988 = *Antalya Museum*, E. and I. Özgen, eds., Ankara
- Pallottino, M. 1946. *L'arco degli Argentari (I monumenti romani, a cura del R. Istituto di studi romani 2)*, Rome
- . *EAA I*, 1958, pp. 588–599 (Arco onorario e trionfale)
- Pfanner, M. 1983. *Der Titusbogen (Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 2)*, Mainz am Rhein
- Pfuhl, E., and H. Möbius. 1979. *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs II*, Mainz am Rhein
- Picard, G. C. 1957. *Les trophées romains: Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 187)*, Paris
- Rausing, G. 1967. *The Bow: Some Notes on Its Origin and Development (Acta archaeologica Lundensia 80, 6)*, Lund/Bonn

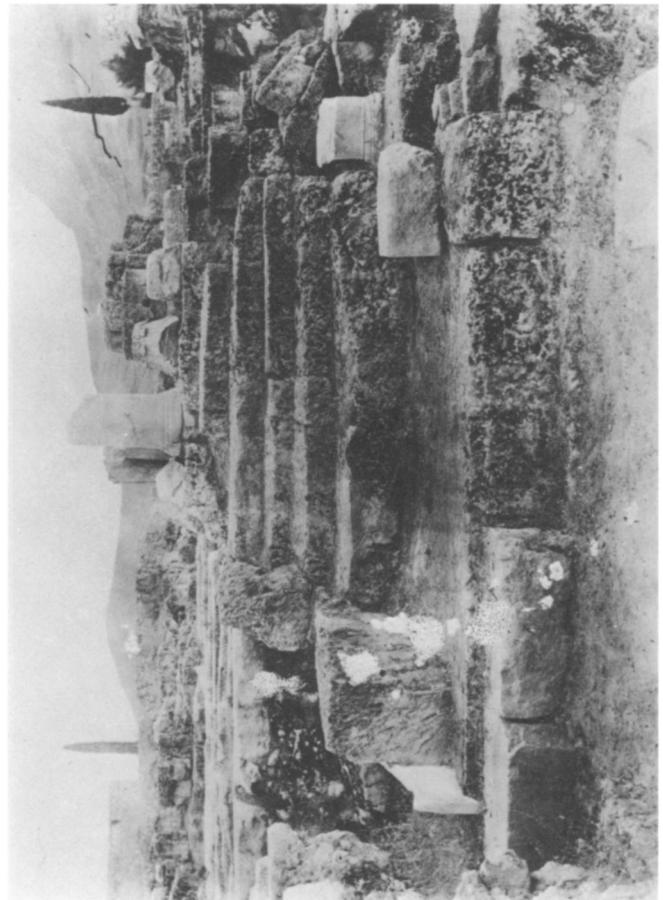
- Reinach, A. J. 1911. "Un monument delphien. L'Étolie sur les trophées gaulois de Kallion," *JIA* 13, pp. 177–240
- Ridgway, B. S. 1981a. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton
- . 1981b. "Sculpture from Corinth," *Hesperia* 50, pp. 422–448
- . 1984. *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals* (Jerome Lectures 15), Ann Arbor
- Robinson, D. M. 1911. "Two Corinthian Copies of the Head of Athena Parthenos," *AJA* 15, pp. 482–498
- . 1926. "Roman Sculptures from Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch)," *ArtB* 9, pp. 5–69
- Robinson, H. R. 1975. *The Armour of Imperial Rome*, London
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1935. *Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst* (AbhBerl, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Jhrg. 1935, 3), Berlin
- Rolland, H. 1969. *La mausolée de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence)* (Gallia Supplement 21), Paris
- Rotili, M. 1972. *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Rome
- Russo, S. 1981. "Fregi d'armi in monumenti funerari romani dell' Abruzzo," *RdA* 5, 1981, pp. 30–43
- Ryberg, I. S. 1955. *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22), Rome
- . 1967. *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius* (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts 14), New York
- Sander, E. 1963. "Die Kleidung des römischen Soldaten," *Historia* 12, pp. 144–166
- Schefold, K. 1968. *Der Alexander-Sarkophag*, Berlin
- Schneider, L. 1973. "Das grosse eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien," *AntP* 12, pp. 103–122
- Schneider, R. M. 1986. *Bunte Barbaren: Orientalenstatuen aus farbigem Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst*, Worms
- Sears, J. M. 1902. "The Lechaeum Road and the Propylaea at Corinth," *AJA* 6, pp. 439–454
- Seyrig, H. 1939. "La grande statue parthe de Shami et la sculpture palmyrenienne," *Syria* 20, pp. 177–183
- Simon, E. 1981. "Die Götter am Trajansbogen zu Benevent," *TrWPr* 1/2 1979/1980 [1981], pp. 1–15
- Smith, R. R. R. 1988. "Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 78, pp. 50–77
- . 1990. "Myth and Allegory in the Sébasteion," in *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture* (JRA Supplement 1), C. Roueche and K. T. Erim, eds., Ann Arbor, pp. 89–100
- Stemmer, K. 1978. *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Archäologische Forschungen 4), Berlin/Mann
- Thompson, F. H. 1968. "The Zoomorphic Pelta in Romano-British Art," *AntJ* 48, pp. 47–58
- Torelli, M. 1982. *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Jerome Lectures 14), Ann Arbor
- Townsend, P. 1938. "The Significance of the Arch of the Severi at Lepcis," *AJA* 42, pp. 512–524
- Traversari, G. 1971. *L'arco dei Sergi* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Padova 8), Padua
- Vermeule, C. 1968. *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Vogel, L. 1973. *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Williams, C. K., II. 1969. "Excavations at Corinth, 1968," *Hesperia* 38, pp. 36–63
- Williams, C. K., II and J. E. Fisher. 1975. "Corinth, 1974: Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 44, pp. 1–50
- Williams, C. K., II, J. MacIntosh, and J. E. Fisher. 1974. "Excavations at Corinth, 1973," *Hesperia* 43, pp. 1–76
- Wiseman, J. 1979. "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.–A.D. 267," *ANRW* 2.7.1, pp. 438–548
- Zanker, P. 1980. "Ein höher Offizier Trajans," *Eikones. Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis. Hans Jucker zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (AntK Beiheft 12), Bern, pp. 196–202
- . 1987. *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Munich = 1988. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Jerome Lectures 16), Ann Arbor

CHARLES M. EDWARDS

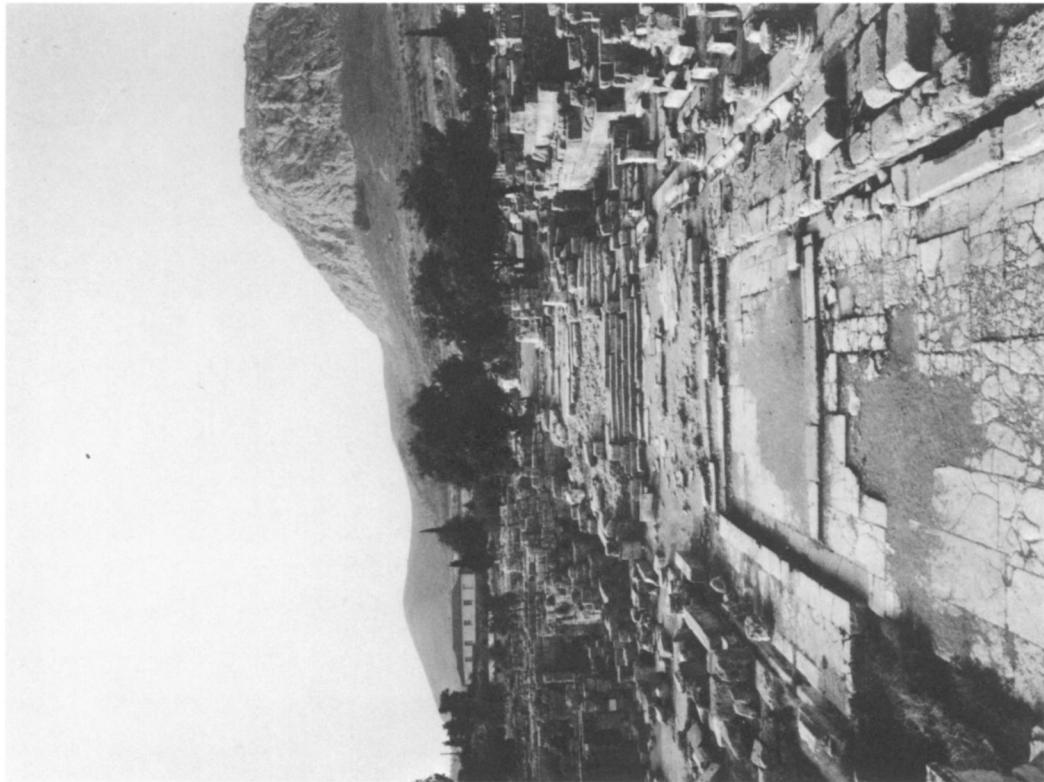
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
 Department of Art and Art History
 Austin, Texas 78712



b. Intersection of the west foundation of the arch and the epistyle wall. From northeast



c. Poros steps beneath the west spur wall of the central platform at the time of excavation. From north



a. Southern end of the Lechaion Road with the foundations of the arch.
From north

PLATE 58



b. East pylon of the arch. From west



a. Intersection of the foundations of the east pylon of the arch and the east retaining wall of the central platform. From northwest



c. Hadrianic coin
(*Corinth VI*, no. 129),
reverse



d. Hadrianic coin
(North of
School-VI-4-
34-Coin 2),
reverse



a. Base of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, engraving by Piranesi



b. Base of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, engraving by Enea Vico ca. 1540, detail

PLATE 60



a. Sarcophagus with submission scene, Vatican, Belvedere 942



b. Weapons frieze, Narbonne (Espérandieu I, no. 715)



c. Weapons frieze, Narbonne (Espérandieu I, no. 726)

CHARLES M. EDWARDS: THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAION ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE



a. Base with weapons frieze, Corinth S 3744

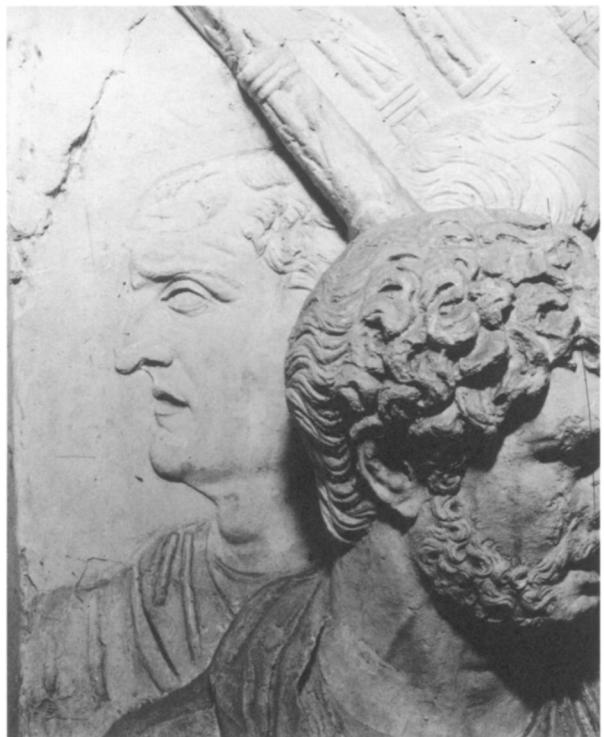


b. Relief from the ceiling, arch at Beneventum



c. Sacrifice scene, arch at Beneventum

PLATE 62



a. Profile face, arch at Beneventum, detail



b. Relief with attendants, Corinth S 1626



c. Relief with animal and two men, Corinth S 2518



1



2



3



5



6

Scale 1:4

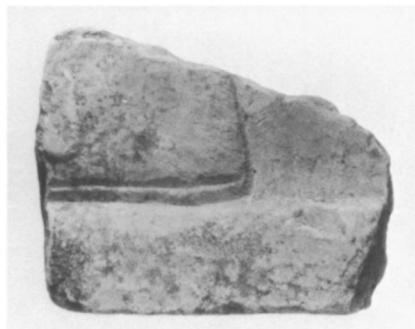
PLATE 64



4



7



8



9

Scale 1:4

CHARLES M. EDWARDS: THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAION ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE



10



11



12



13



14



15

Scale 1:4

PLATE 66



16



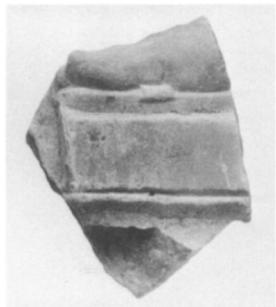
18



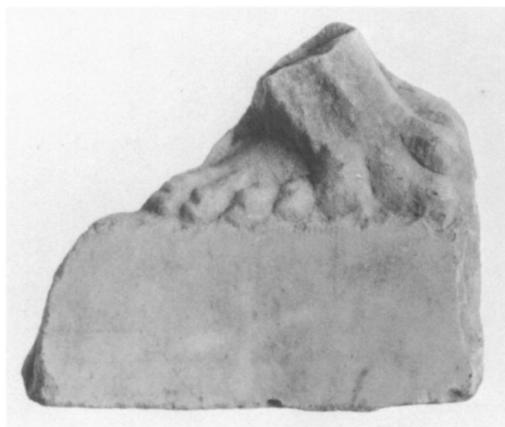
17



19



20



23



21



22

Scale 1:4

Scale 1:4

CHARLES M. EDWARDS: THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAION ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE



24



27



25

PLATE 68



28



29



30

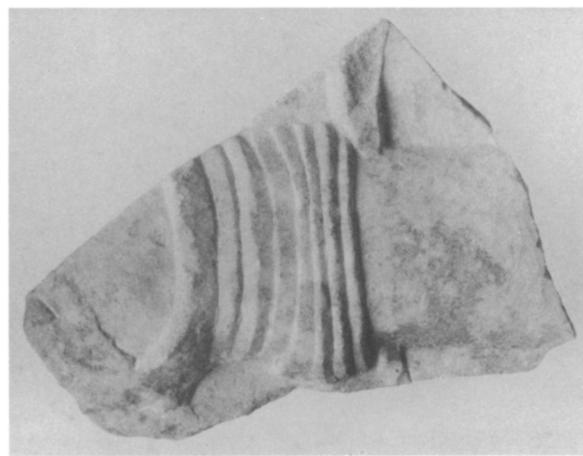


31



32

Scale 1:4



34



37



34



39



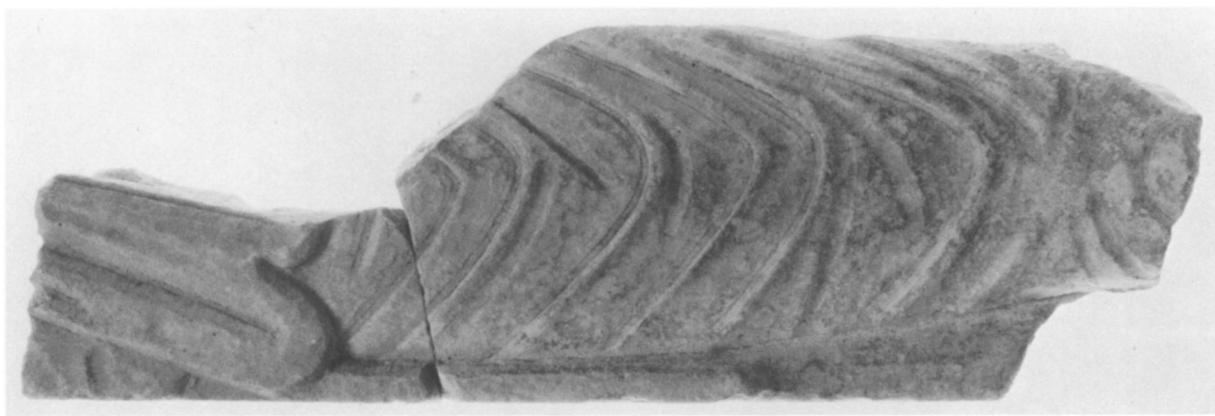
38



33



36

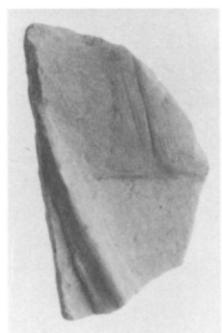


40

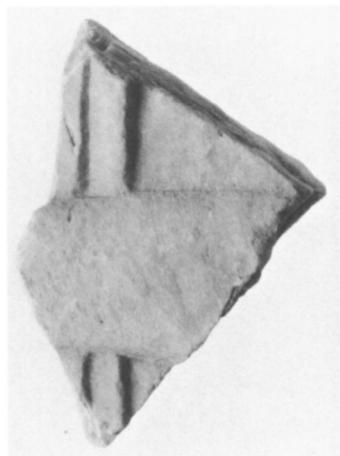
CHARLES M. EDWARDS: THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAION ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE

Scale 1:4

PLATE 70



41



42



43



44



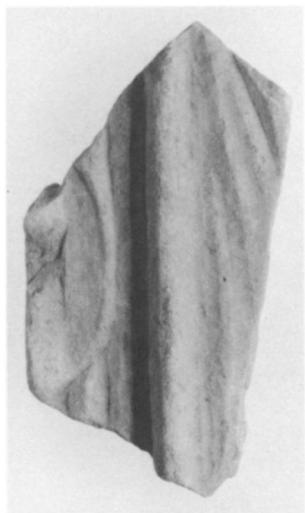
45



46



47



48



49

Scale 1:4

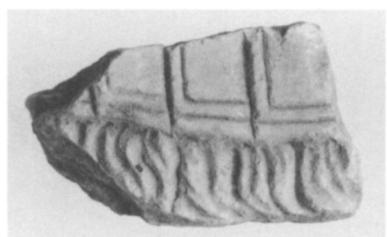
CHARLES M. EDWARDS: THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAION ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE



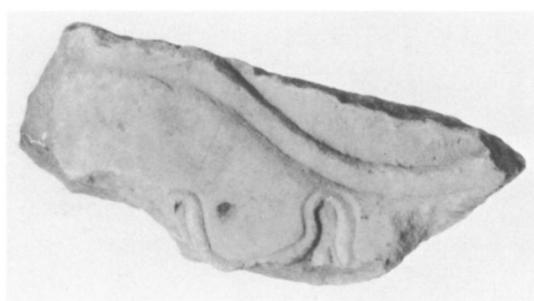
50



52



51



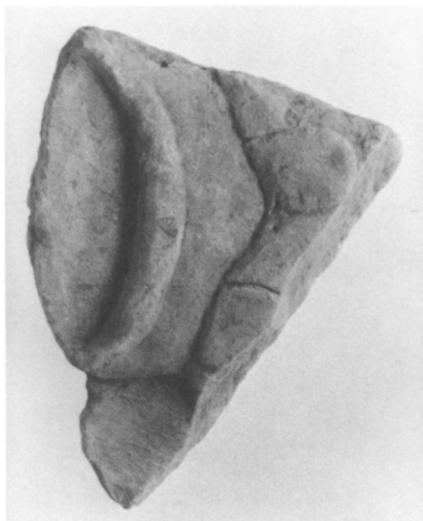
53



54

Scale 1:4

PLATE 72



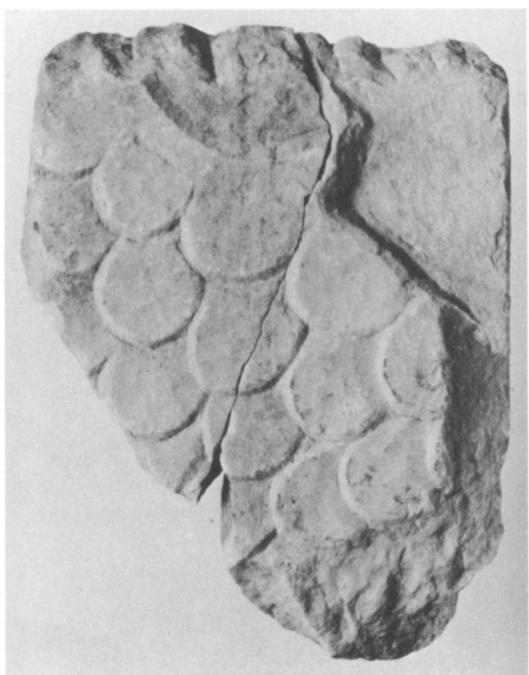
55



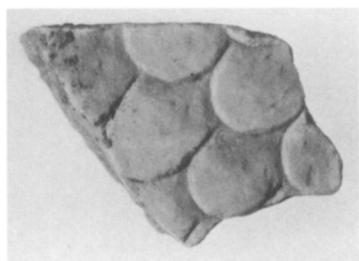
56



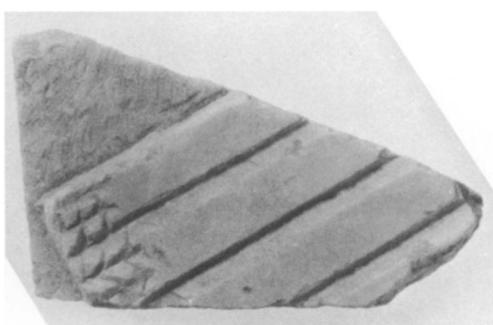
57



58



59



60



61

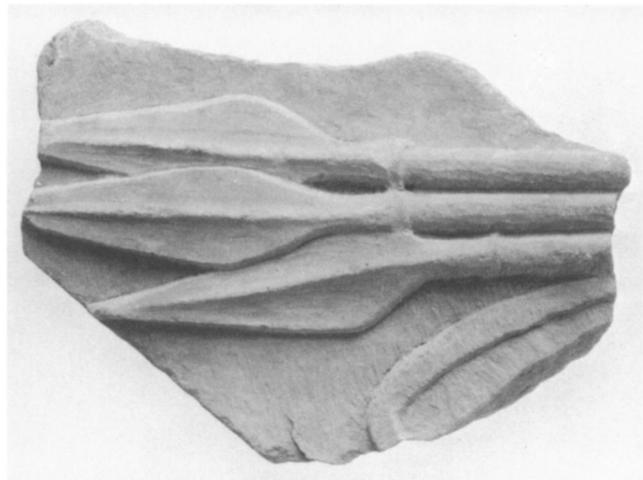
Scale 1:4

Scale 1:4

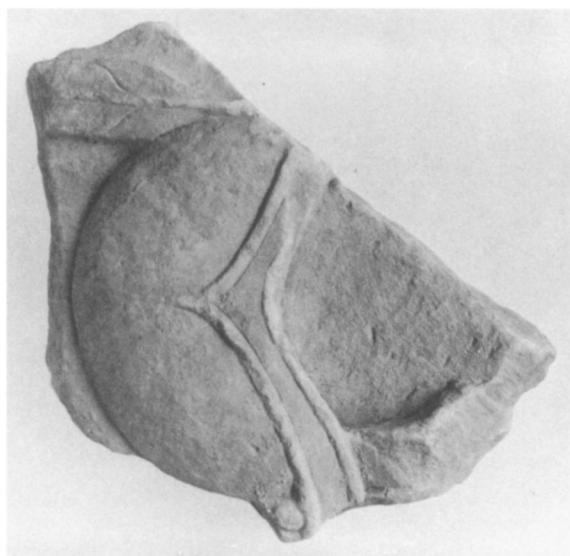
CHARLES M. EDWARDS: THE ARCH OVER THE LECHAIOS ROAD AT CORINTH AND ITS SCULPTURE



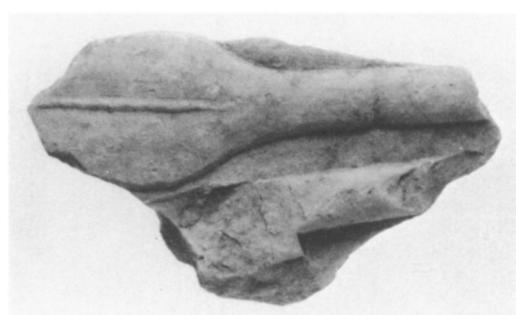
69



66



63



64



65



62



68

PLATE 74



70



71



72



73



74



75

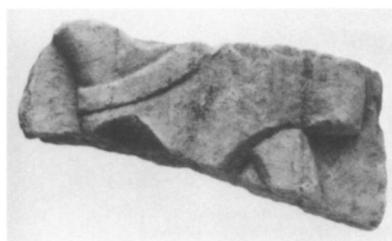


76

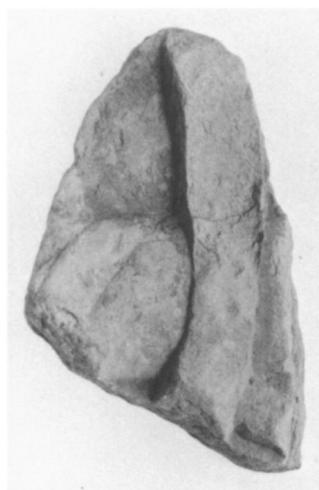


77

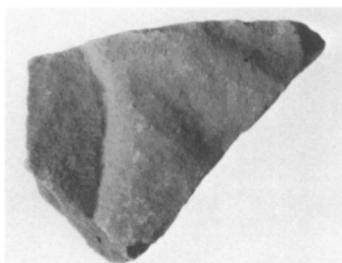
Scale 1:4



78



79



80



81



83



82



84



85



86



87



88

Scale 1:4