

CORINTHIAN TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE AND THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

To Henry S. Robinson

ABSTRACT

Excavations around the Archaic Temple of Apollo in Corinth in the 1960s and 1970s uncovered forty-eight fragments of large-scale terracotta sphinxes.¹ Possibly from acroteria of the temple roof, the fragments date from the 6th to at least the mid-5th century B.C. The publication of these pieces provides an opportunity to review the corpus of sphinxes, together with their stylistic development, and to discuss how they were made. The latest and best-preserved statue shows that this tradition did not end in the Archaic period. A small appendix of fragments from earlier excavations of Corinth completes the picture of Corinth's productivity in terracotta sphinxes.

It has long been acknowledged that Corinth was a major center for the production of terracotta sculpture. Statues made in its workshops are known from Olympia, Delphi, Thebes, Halai, Athens, Kerkyra, and possibly from Samos and from Sane-Ouranoupolis in the Khalkidike.² In addition,

1. This article was to have formed one chapter in a volume on the excavations carried out by Henry S. Robinson on Temple Hill in Corinth. To facilitate publication, the planned chapters will now appear as a series of articles in *Hesperia*. I would like to dedicate this article to Mr. Robinson in thanks for his giving me this material to publish and for his assistance with an earlier and far rougher draft. But more than that, I would like to thank him on behalf of all of us working at Corinth for the interest he showed in Corinth when director of the School and for his revitalization of the excavations after the war.

I would also like to thank Charles K. Williams II for discussing numerous points with me; Nancy Winter for her architectural advice; Elizabeth G. Pemberton, Aliko Moustaka, and Peter

Danner, all of whom read earlier drafts; and Guy Sanders, who translated into a computerized version the original drawing in Figure 1 by Donald Sanders. I am grateful to Nikos Kaltsas for permission to measure the sphinxes in the National Museum. The photographs are the work of Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bartziotou. Finally, I wish to thank the anonymous readers for their useful comments and, in particular, Molly Richardson for her perceptive editing.

2. Bibliographical citations for most of this material can be found in Weinberg 1957, Billot 1977, and *OIForsch* XXII. The colossal sphinx from Samos, first published by Buschor (1957, pp. 3–4, Beil. 2), is now being restudied by Aliko Moustaka. For the material from Sane-Ouranoupolis, see preliminary reports in Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida

1993, 1995, 1997, and especially the report by Tsigarida (1997, pp. 335–336), who tentatively suggests that the statues might be Corinthian. The Kerkyrean sculptures are presented by Dontas (1997, pp. 87–88); among them, a head from Mon Repos, MR-818, which Dontas attributes to a Nike acroterion, may be an antefix, as suggested by P. G. Kalligas (1968, p. 307).

Billot (1977, p. 387) states that except for the sphinxes from Athens and Kalapodhi, all terracotta sphinxes were made in Corinth. To her exceptions I would add sphinx I from Olympia; possibly sphinx II (*OIForsch* XXII, pp. 104–115); and the sphinx from Colonna Hill, Aigina (*Alt-Ägina* II, 4, pp. 13–15, figs. 3–4, pl. 9:a–c), if the inclusions are indeed volcanic, as stated in that publication.

terracotta sphinxes from Kalydon, if not made locally by Corinthians, were probably made under Corinthian inspiration. All of this exported material was apparently designed as architectural decoration for temples, treasuries, and stoas.³ With the exception of several pedimental groups from Corinth, and perhaps one from Kerkyra,⁴ the remaining pieces are acroteria and take the form of animals, chiefly sphinxes, nikai, or combatant figures.

In 1957 Saul S. Weinberg published his important work on the terracotta sculpture from Corinth, cataloguing forty-eight pieces that had derived from the excavations up to that time.⁵ That corpus has now been expanded by two groups of more recent discoveries. The first of these consists of a substantial body of large, freestanding dedications of the late 7th to 4th centuries B.C. from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth.⁶ The second, and the subject of this article, is a smaller set of architectural sculpture that was excavated around the Temple of Apollo between the years 1968 and 1976 under the direction of Henry S. Robinson.⁷ Forty-eight fragments of terracotta sculpture were found on Temple Hill, thirty-eight of which have been numbered 1 to 15.⁸ The remaining ten pieces, considered too small or amorphous to be included in the catalogue, have been cited in footnotes where relevant. Only one set of fragments, 11a-c, was not found in the modern excavations but in late debris just to the east of Temple Hill. With three exceptions all belong to sphinxes. The exceptions are a wing of a possible Nike (12), a human foot (13), and a possible disc (15).⁹ A fourth piece, a large strut (14), may or may not have belonged to a sphinx.

All of the newly excavated fragments but one (13) were recovered from the east end of Temple Hill in the filling of the limestone quarry that cut across the entire east side of the temenos (Fig. 1).¹⁰ Filled in during the first third of the 1st century A.C., the quarry contained abundant pottery and small finds, roof tiles, and discarded blocks of the 7th-century Temple of Apollo that had been thrown in with the successive tipped fills of earth.¹¹

3. According to Nicholls (1970), both the Royal Stoa and South Stoa I in the Athenian Agora were decorated with terracotta acroteria.

4. Weinberg 1957, nos. 8-12 and possibly no. 13, pp. 306-309, pls. 65-67. Also perhaps Williams and Russell 1981, no. 11 (SF-80-1), pp. 31-33, pl. 9; the head was stolen in 1990 and recovered in 1999. The inventory numbers in parentheses, accompanied by the letters "SF" (sculpture fictile), refer to a new inventory system reserved for terracotta sculpture in the Corinth collection. As for the Kerkyrean amazonomachy, Dontas (1997, p. 88) attributes the group to acroteria, but it would be more suitable in the pediment of a small building.

5. Weinberg 1957. Objects published therein will be cited by his catalogue number, preceded by "Weinberg."

6. These will be the subject of a separate volume in the series of *Corinth* XVIII. See also Bookidis 1988.

7. Preliminary excavation reports can be found in Robinson 1976a and 1976b.

8. Numbers in bold print refer to the catalogue below.

9. An additional fragment, SF-77-5, may preserve drapery arranged in zigzag stacked folds, but it is too small to provide much information and has therefore been omitted. With it can be associated SF-88-1 from the area east of the Theater.

10. It is no longer clear where the quarried stone was used. Still visible within the quarry are the partially cut outlines of relatively small blocks.

11. Pottery context lots 72-175, 74-89, 74-178, 74-181, 75-184, 76-177, 76-178, 77-233. Robinson 1976a, p. 237; Robinson 1976b, p. 254.

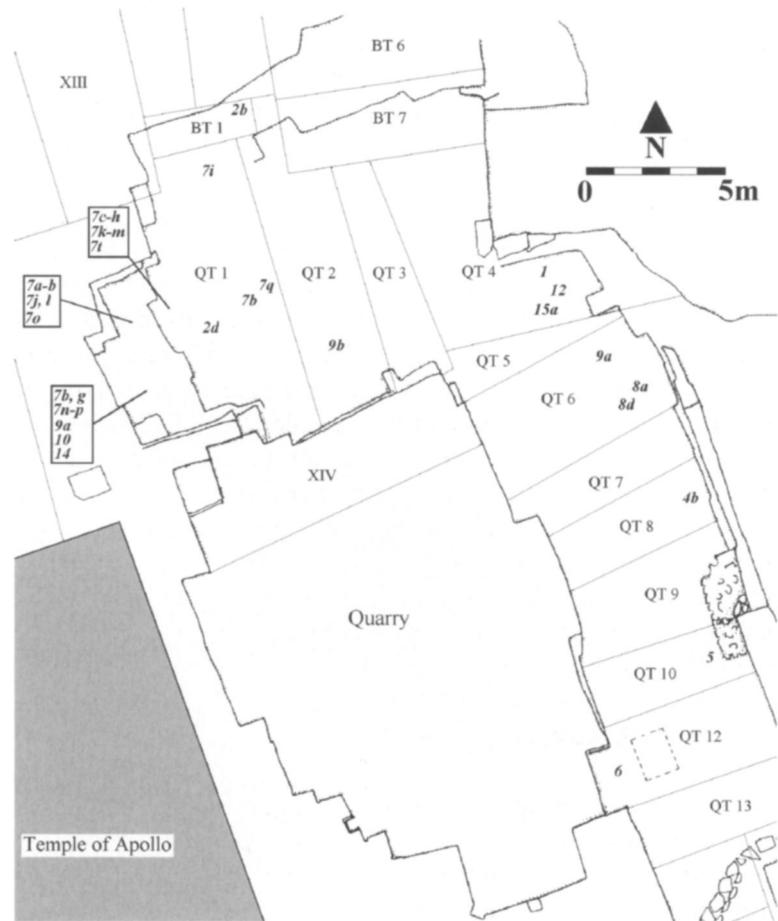


Figure 1. Plan of east end, Temple Hill, with findspots of statues

12. For a discussion of the Athena Trench, named for the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis once presumed to have stood there, see Shear 1925, pp. 388–391; Shear 1926, pp. 444–449; and Williams and Zervos 1984, p. 83. The area of the Athena Trench excavations falls along the east side of Williams' Terraced Building, shown in his figures 3 and 4. It is now clear that the numerous fragments of terracotta sculpture from the Athena Trench were all part of a general cleanup of the city in Roman times. Among those fragments published by Weinberg (1957), nos. 4, 20, 21, 32, and 36 come from the Athena Trench.

13. Milchhoefer (1879, p. 70, no. 5) mentions a sphinx from Corinth, its discovery preceding the earliest excavations on Temple Hill by Dörpfeld in 1886. It is regrettable that we do not know which fragment this was.

Most of the fragments of terracotta sculpture came from the northwest corner of the quarry, but a few were discovered farther to the southeast. Although pieces of the same sphinx, joining and nonjoining, were sometimes found in the same stratum, this was not always the case. The numerous pieces of sphinx 7 lay in different parts of the northwest corner as well as in different layers. Three fragments of wing 9 were scattered from the northwest corner to the east side of the quarry. In a few cases the fragments were found in Byzantine or modern disturbances of the quarry fill. Only 13 came to light further west, along the north edge of the temenos, roughly on line with the middle of the temple.

Some associations are made here between the newly excavated material and fragments published by Weinberg. Of these earlier finds, 4a had been recovered from the southwest edge of the Hill, behind the west end of the Northwest Stoa, in Late Roman or Byzantine fill; 2a was discovered in the so-called Athena Trench northwest of Temple Hill and east of the Theater.¹² Four more, 2c, 8b, 8c, and a joining piece of 7h, are of unknown provenience but could have derived from earlier excavations around Temple Hill.¹³

In addition to the fifteen entries from Temple Hill presented in part I of the catalogue, eleven more pieces have been included as 16 to 21 in part II of the catalogue. Five of these, 16, 18a–c, and 19, are unpublished frag-

ments of sphinxes that derive from the early excavations of Corinth. Although their specific provenience is not known, some, if not all of these, could have come from the Sanctuary of Apollo. 18a–c may perhaps be from Temple E, while the four fragments of the sea monster 20a–d were found in the Athena Trench and its modern extension, known as the area east of the Theater. In view of the clear association of some finds from the theater area with those from Temple Hill, I have included them here, although it is equally possible that they once belonged to the decoration of buildings elsewhere. With the publication of these examples, the corpus of sphinxes found at Corinth is complete, excepting any recent finds from the excavations in the Forum area.

The sphinxes that are discussed here and in the catalogue that follows are extremely fragmentary, and one might ask why they should all be published. There are several reasons. Terracotta is consistently overlooked as a medium of sculpture. And yet for a city like Corinth, it was the medium in which much or most of its pre-Roman sculpture was made. It must be considered. Over the centuries, the multitudinous occupants of the site of Corinth have not been kind to the city's Greek art. With the exception of two stone sphinxes—a poros sphinx from the Forum and a second sphinx from the North Cemetery¹⁴—the Greek sculpture from the site is extremely fragmentary. But no matter how small the pieces, they give us valuable glimpses, if not whole views, of Corinthian workmanship. With regard to the sphinxes, in particular, the fragments published here also help to fill the enormous chronological gap that has separated the existing Archaic corpus from the Late Classical sphinx found at Thermon.

FUNCTION AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE FRAGMENTS FROM TEMPLE HILL

The fragments from the excavations around the Temple of Apollo represent parts of no fewer than nine, and perhaps as many as eleven, statues of sphinxes, no two of which are alike.¹⁵ This is a considerable number and raises the question of their function in the sanctuary—that is, whether they are architectural or votive. Marie-Françoise Billot has discussed this issue with respect to the Louvre sphinx, which was probably found in a cemetery near the Temple of Apollo Ismenios.¹⁶ Although the majority of terracotta sphinxes that have been found were once mounted on roofs, two terracotta sphinxes might have been votive—namely, a small sphinx from the Colonna Hill on Aigina,¹⁷ and a colossal sphinx from the Heraion on Samos.¹⁸

The Corinth fragments offer no assistance in gauging their functions, for they are too fragmentary. No evidence for votive offerings exists *in situ* on Temple Hill in the form of bases or rock cuttings for bases. At the same time, the 6th-century B.C. Temple of Apollo apparently had acroteria, for an unpublished fragment of a terracotta sima preserves part of the box for one, including a small portion of the floor on which the acroterion rested (Fig. 2).¹⁹ Unfortunately, neither the height of the tympanum nor that of the temple as a whole is known, from which the probable height of its

14. Poros sphinx from the Forum: Wright 1977. Stone sphinx from the North Cemetery: Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973 and *Alt-Agina* II, 2, p. 55, figs. 64–65.

15. It is possible, of course, that fragments attributed to a single statue are actually from a larger number of statues which were identical.

16. Billot 1977, pp. 419–420. Goldberg (1977, p. 172) suggests that one criterion for distinguishing acroteria from votive sphinxes may be the turn of the head. Sphinx acroteria, she argues, tend to turn their heads only slightly, an arrangement that would suit our 7. The exceptions she notes are the sphinxes from the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, which turn their heads 90 degrees. But the two terracotta sphinxes from Olympia, which are probably acroteria, also turn their heads 90 degrees. So do those from the Temple of Artemis on Paros and the Temple of Apollo on Aigina, according to P. Danner (1989, pp. 46–47 and note 184). See also *Alt-Agina* II, 2, p. 76.

17. *Alt-Agina* II, 4, pp. 13–15, figs. 3–4, pl. 9:a–c.

18. Buschor 1957, pp. 3–4, Beil. 2; *OIForsch* XXII, p. 108. Aliko Moustaka, who is working on this statue, informs me that it is probably a votive statue rather than an acroterion.

19. FS-23. P.H. 0.116, p.W. 0.155 m; single fragment preserving upper part of torus and crowning astragal moldings; it is decorated with a lotus-palmette chain in dark-on-light style. The top of the sima is cut down 0.018 m to hold the plinth of an acroterion. For the type see Roebuck 1990, p. 56, fig. 2 and pl. 6.

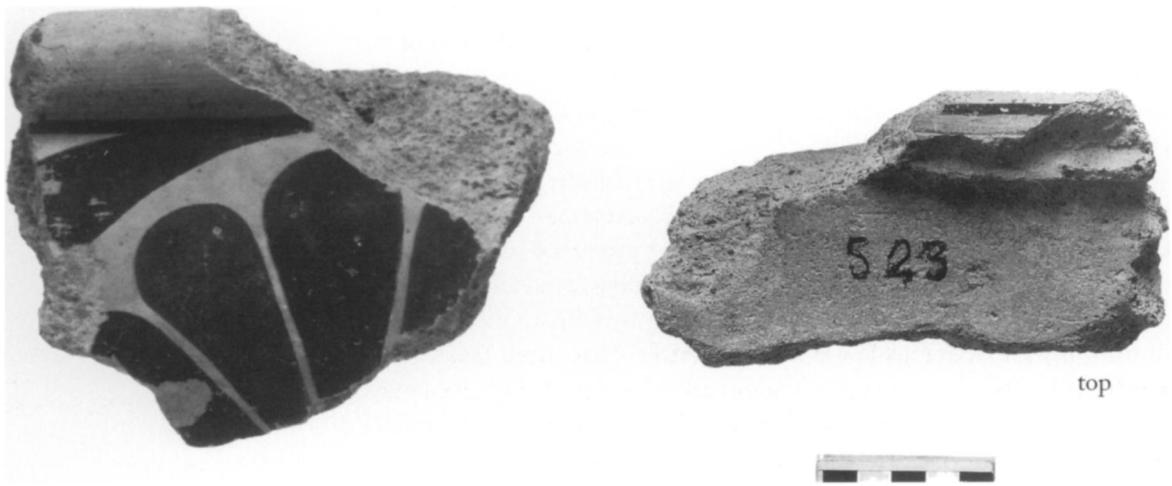


Figure 2. Box for an acroterion, Temple of Apollo, FS-23

acroteria could be determined, if indeed there was a common ratio at this early date.²⁰ But since the temple was large, it must have had large acroteria.

Of the sphinxes, only one, 7, is sufficiently well preserved to be reconstructed (Fig. 8). Its height is estimated to have been 0.94 m. As for the remaining fragments, one can say only that their sizes are not incompatible with that of 7.²¹ At that size the sphinxes are considerably larger than the well-preserved terracotta sphinx published by Weinberg, which is about 0.63 m high (Fig. 33),²² and the poros sphinx from immediately south of the South Stoa, which is 0.77 m high.²³ The scale of the sphinxes published here, then, could argue for their association with the temple. In addition, the fired colors of the clay and paint used in the wing 9 and disc 15 are identical to those of a ridge palmette attributed to a Classical or Late Classical repair of the temple's roof.²⁴ Given the statues' scale and the similarities among 9, 15, and the temple ridge palmette, it is possible that all of the statues once decorated the roof.

20. Danner (1989, pp. 69–70) argues that from ca. 530 B.C., there is a relation between the height of the acroterion and the total height of the building on which it stood. Regrettably, there are very few Archaic buildings for which both of those dimensions are known.

21. The only possible exception might be the fragmentary leg 6. But because it is an unusual piece, its scale cannot be clearly determined.

22. Weinberg 1957, no. 33 (SF-31-2), pp. 314–315, pls. 71–72. The statue has been newly mounted. A comparison with old and new photographs will show that the legs have been shortened, the body tipped forward somewhat.

A considerable amount of the terracotta sculpture published by Wein-

berg was found in the region of the Roman Temple E. Fifteen to nineteen statues were recovered from a Late Archaic well beside the temple and found joins with fragments from the immediate area. Initially also assigned to the well, Weinberg's sphinx no. 33 was actually found to the northeast of Temple E below the modern museum. For the correction see *Hesperia* 27, 1958, p. 79. Weinberg concluded that all of this material derived from a coroplast's workshop in the area, based on the discovery of kiln props and the assumed unfinished state of the amazonomachy pediment no. 8. It is more likely that the pieces designated as kiln props are simply internal supports from the statues; as for the unfinished—that

is, unpainted—state of the pediment, I would argue that it was originally covered with white slip that has now been lost. It is unlikely that a workshop with a kiln large enough to fire statues would have existed so close to the Temple of Apollo. But if this material once decorated buildings in the area of Temple E, no evidence of those buildings has been found.

23. Wright 1977.

24. For the ridge palmette see Robinson 1976a, p. 236, pl. 53:c (FR-101A). The clay of all three has fired a distinctive yellow at surface and bright pink at the core; in addition, a light red color that does not appear elsewhere is used for their painted decoration.

Unless some of the pieces assigned to one sphinx are really part of a second, identical one, no two of the statues were alike.²⁵ Their number and stylistic variations may therefore mean that these statues, if architectural, were replaced with relative frequency. For those who have experienced a typical Corinthian winter with strong winds from the north, this should not be surprising.

As will be clear from the catalogue below, the majority of the terracotta fragments are small and difficult to date. If these statues are correctly associated with the temple, however, then the earliest pieces are no earlier than the first decorated roof associated with that building. Since the 6th-century temple will be the subject of a separate study by Christopher Pfaff,²⁶ I will limit myself here to a few comments on its date, based on existing published works.

Scholars have placed the construction of the temple variously in the first half of the 6th century,²⁷ 570–560,²⁸ ca. 550,²⁹ the early third quarter of the 6th century,³⁰ and 560–540 B.C.³¹ Of these dates, the early third quarter of the 6th century B.C. is perhaps the most objective, based as it is on sherds of both Late Corinthian I and II styles that were recovered from the layer of poros working chips associated with the construction of the 6th-century temple. Whether one follows the traditional dates of 570 B.C. for the beginning of LCI, and 550 B.C. for LCII, or the more recent lowering of the beginning of LCI to ca. 560–555 B.C.,³² it is difficult, based on the pottery, to defend a date earlier than 550 for the building of the temple. Sphinx 2, virtually the only terracotta statue of the 6th century catalogued below for which some sort of independent stylistic date can be suggested, would suit a roof laid down early in the third quarter of the century. Not all of the fragments considered below, however, belong to this period. Some, such as 4, 5, and 7, very clearly were made in the 5th century B.C.; wing 9 could even be later. Again, if all of these fragments are correctly identified as architectural rather than votive sculpture, then clearly the decoration of the roof underwent more than one remodeling.

25. How similar the terracotta acroteria were on a building is difficult to assess, given the relatively small number that are known from the same site. Danner (1989, pp. 64–65) states that in the Archaic period the acroteria of both façades of a building represented the same subject but that the individual statues could differ in size and modeling. He would, for example, put all four sphinxes from Kalydon on Temple A, placing the larger sphinxes on the east façade, the smaller ones on the west. Others would divide them between Temples A and B. Differences in execution can be seen among them. On the other hand, the corner Nikai acroteria from ancient Sane-Ouranoupolis in the Khalkidike, now mounted in the museum at

Polygiros, are virtually identical, even to the point of both having their right hand raised; variations are confined to the painted decoration.

26. For a preliminary discussion of the temple, see Pfaff, forthcoming, in *Corinth XX*. The attribution to Apollo is discussed in Bookidis, forthcoming, in *Corinth XX*.

27. *Corinth I*, i, p. 124.

28. Robinson 1976a, p. 218. See also Roebuck (1990, p. 55), who favors a date around 560 B.C.

29. Williams 1984, pp. 69, 71.

30. Weinberg 1939.

31. Winter 1993, p. 24, 550–540 B.C., but possibly begun in 560 B.C.

32. Compare Amyx 1988, pp. 397–434, esp. p. 428, and Tiverios 1985–1986.

TECHNIQUE

All of the statues presented below were made locally. The clays used are fairly homogeneous in their fired colors and in the kinds and sizes of inclusions added as temper. The fired colors of the clays are pale, and fit what one traditionally thinks of as Corinthian, that is, buff to off-white to pale yellow-green;³³ rarely are they as dark as pale brown.³⁴ Firing is seldom consistent throughout the thickness of a piece, and shades of light pink to darker pink and of light gray are common for the interior surfaces and cores.³⁵ Sphinx 7, which fired pale buff for almost all of its surface, shows patches of tan on its posterior that may reflect the statue's position in the kiln and an uneven exposure to heat. There are no fragments in darker reddish-tan clays such as appear among the freestanding statues from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth.³⁶ If those darker clays are also Corinthian, then the absence of sphinxes in such clays may be of interest and could reflect a conscious preference for certain clays for certain kinds of sculpture or the availability of specific clay beds to specific workshops.³⁷

One further observation may be made on the clay. In at least two examples, 7 and 9, individual, unblended pellets of white and red clays could be discerned within the fabric. Superficially resembling harder inclusions, these can be distinguished by their very smooth texture and streaked outline. Their presence indicates that two different clays were mixed.³⁸ Why clays were mixed is not entirely clear: perhaps for purposes of fired color, added durability, or plasticity. The practice, however, may invalidate, or at least complicate, conclusions drawn from chemical or mineral analyses of the clays.

In all of the statues, two consistencies of clay have been used (cf. breaks visible in Figs. 3, 5, 6). The basic outlines of the figures are modeled in clay to which temper has been added. This temper is most commonly mudstone,³⁹ the color of which is affected by firing conditions. Where the clay has fired yellow to buff, the mudstone is black; where the clays are pink to reddish, the mudstone is red. In 10 and 17, a few red particles occur along with the black. The inclusions vary in size from less than 0.001 to 0.002–0.003 m and are only rarely larger. In shape they are angular to subangular, spherical, platy, and tabular, and sometimes their edges can be quite sharp,

33. Translated into the colors of the Munsell charts 1975, these range from 5Y 7–8/2–3 (four statues) to 2.5Y 7–8/2–5 (seven statues).

34. Or, 10YR 7–7.5/3–4 (three statues).

35. These range from 5Y 7/2 to 7.5YR 7/5 and to 5YR 6/6.

36. Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pl. 65:a–b, from 5YR 5/6 to 7.5YR 6/6.

37. A sphinx from Olympia is modeled in clay that is redder in color, or 5YR 7/6. See *Olympia* III, pp. 40–

41, pl. VIII:4; Kunze 1941, pp. 120–121, fig. 103; *OIForsch* XXII, group II, pp. 106–112. Most recently, Alikí Moustaka (*OIForsch* XXII, p. 102) has attributed this sphinx to the northeast Peloponnese. It does not resemble the existing corpus of Corinthian sphinxes, however.

38. See Whitbread 1995, pp. 298–299.

39. This identification was verified by the late George Viele of the University of Missouri. A petrologic

analysis of a fragment of terracotta sculpture from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore produced the following results: mudstone 76%, monocrystalline quartz 11%, polycrystalline quartz 5%, limestone 3%, feldspar 1%, unidentified 1%. See results listed by Whitbread (1995, p. 298, fig. 5:9), who carried out this analysis. The firing color of the inclusions is also affected by the presence of iron oxide in the mudstone.

producing hackly fractures.⁴⁰ In general, the inclusions are well mixed, but exceptions occur. As Weinberg observed, the inclusions used in the sphinx wings 2c (see section showing break in Fig. 6) and 11 are “stratified” by size of particle, for a central layer of clay mixed with coarser particles is sandwiched between layers with fine inclusions.⁴¹ This method was not widely used, and it offered no apparent advantage.

A second layer of the same clay, but without added temper, masks the coarse core (Figs. 3, 6, 33). The thickness of this layer varies from statue to statue and from part to part. While averaging 0.001–0.003 m in thickness, it occasionally reaches a thickness of 0.017 m or more. Generally speaking, it is the medium in which the finer modeling was executed. In places the layer is so thin that it looks as if it had been smeared or brushed on like a slip.⁴²

Weinberg has discussed the way in which statues were modeled, insofar as his material permitted. An ever-growing corpus of sculpture allows for additional observations to be made, most of which will be discussed in conjunction with the more abundant material from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Here it will suffice to concentrate on the making of sphinxes on the Greek mainland, as exemplified primarily by the statues from Corinth.⁴³

Today clay sculpture is generally modeled solidly over a wire armature. By contrast, ancient statues were hollow and lacked such a unified armature, for the figure was built in parts that were then joined.⁴⁴ Where necessary, sticks and props were used for individual parts such as arms and legs (Figs. 4, 22). Such supports were generally removed before firing, however, to provide ventilation channels for the circulation of air during firing and to prevent the drying clay from cracking. Ancient statues were modeled freehand, in molds, or by a combination of both methods. In her recent study of the Louvre sphinx from Thebes, Marie-Françoise Billot counted five molds for the head alone as well as at least one mold for each wing.⁴⁵ While Billot’s proposed number of molds may be excessive,⁴⁶ the

40. I would like to thank Guy Sanders for assisting me in standardizing the descriptions of the clay and the inclusions. He has done considerable experimentation with the firing of local clays, which will, it is hoped, be the subject of a future study. See Sanders 1999, pp. 477–478 for useful charts and for the terminology used here in the description of fabrics.

41. Weinberg 1957, p. 294, no. 34B and C, pl. 75.

42. It is this fine outer layer of varying thickness that is absent in Etruscan terracottas. See Lulof 1991, pp. 130–131.

43. For recent important discussions of the technical aspects of modeling, in conjunction with the architectural terracottas from Satricum in Latium, see Lulof 1991, pp. 115–136 and Lulof 1996, pp. 11–24, 175–182. As Lulof

herself observes, however, the techniques used there are different from those used on the Greek mainland. One small but important detail is the multiplicity of vent holes used in Etruscan statues that do not appear on Greek mainland pieces.

44. According to Lulof (1996, p. 20), lower arms and hands were sometimes not only modeled separately but also fired separately and joined thereafter. I know of no such practice among the mainland pieces. Separate firing always raised the possibility of different colors and different rates of shrinkage.

45. Billot 1977, p. 392.

46. I have not had the opportunity to corroborate Billot’s observations. I would have thought, however, that the frontal masses of hair could have been formed in the same mold as the face.

finds from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore show that faces were definitely made in molds. For bodies the evidence is less clear.

Various criteria can be used to determine whether a mold has been used. One such criterion is the mechanical or dull appearance that the use of a mold is said to give to a surface. But in large statues, subsequent re-touching can effectively modify that impression. Deep fingerprints on the interior, particularly behind noses and chins where clay has been pushed into a cavity, are a second criterion. A third might be lengthy joints such as appear between the front and back of moldmade figurines.

Less clear as criteria for molds are two other features, namely, a smooth interior surface combined with a consistent thickness of the statue wall, and the use of fine surface clay over coarse core clay for modeled details, which is characteristic primarily of Archaic sculpture. It has been argued that only the layering of fine clay in a mold can have produced such a relatively thin surface (as seen in the break shown in Fig. 6).⁴⁷ There may be some evidence to suggest that it is not always so. The fine surface clay of the sea creature 20c has flaked away to reveal a very thin fine undercoat that covers the coarse core to act as a binder. A similar arrangement is observable on the back of an Archaic draped statue from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.⁴⁸ Occasionally, too, fingerprints can be seen on the surface of the coarse core, where the fine clay is missing. These details suggest that in those pieces the layering progressed from core to surface.

A mold for a sphinx wing of the late 5th or 4th century B.C. was found in the Tile Works of Corinth.⁴⁹ Although smaller in scale and stylistically more elaborate than the sphinxes from Temple Hill, the mold nevertheless suggests that a mold could have been used for the wings of the sphinxes here. A mold offers several advantages. It facilitates the even reproduction of the feathers while maintaining a fairly consistent thickness (or thinness) for the wing as a whole. It must also help in the process of consolidating the clay over such a large area. A sign that some of the wings from Corinth were made in molds is the absence of cutting marks at the junctures between successive feathers executed in relief. But making a wing with a mold does not require that the coroplast simply rolled out a slab of clay and pressed it into the mold, cutting off the excess. The broken surfaces on the Temple Hill wings suggest that the clay was laid down in a variety of ways. Some wings, such as 2c (Fig. 6) and 17 (Fig. 29), appear to be formed of a well-compacted horizontal layer or layers of coarse clay beneath the fine surface layer. Wing 2d is modeled in alternating layers of fine and coarse clays (Fig. 5). Other wings, such as 1b, 7g, and 7h (cf. Figs. 16, 17), show evidence of having been built up by means of wads or snakes of clay. See below in conjunction with 7h.

Molds may have been used for more than wings. As Billot has observed, the wings of a sphinx give the statue its maximum width. Viewed from the front, the shoulders and humeri align with and appear to be of about the same thickness as the wings (Fig. 33). Therefore, the wings, shoulders, and humeri could have been made in one piece. The shoulders are sharply offset from the chest, the juncture often reinforced on the exterior with a strip of clay made into a fillet (see Fig. 33). While the interior of the sphinx Weinberg 33 does not show any joint in the clay at this juncture, the fragmentary breast, Weinberg 37, does.⁵⁰

47. Weinberg (1957, p. 298) cites the layering of different textures of clay in the statue Weinberg 34 as evidence of the use of a mold.

48. SF-64-12, for which see Stroud 1968, pl. 95:e; the pigtail has flaked away in the same way.

49. MF-8778, to be published by Gloria Merker with the other finds from the Tile Works. Merker suggests, however, that the mold may have been intended for a bronze wing rather than a terracotta one (pers. comm.). Billot (1977, p. 392) states that the Louvre sphinx wing was made in a mold.

50. Weinberg 1957, pp. 315–316, pl. 72; the piece should be turned so that the scales are horizontal.

Further evidence that Weinberg 37 was made in a mold is the consistent thickness of the wall in section and the smoothness of the interior surface, mentioned above. Despite the heavy reinforcement of the interior of Weinberg 33, it is still possible to see an irregular joint running down the length of the belly and extending roughly from the forelegs toward the hindquarters (Fig. 33). Presumably, the two sides of the statue were united here and reinforced. The body thickness confirms this presumption, being thinner through the side (0.019 m), thicker through the underside (0.032 m), where clay was added by hand to reinforce the joint and to fill out the form. The interior surface of the back is rougher, an indication of modeling by hand. This would suggest the possibility that in the 6th century, at least, each wing and shoulder was built up as a unit in one or more molds; the breast was either made in another mold or was built by hand; while the belly and back were surely modeled by hand. At the same time, it is useful to observe the front of Weinberg 33, where the overlying fine clay has broken away (Fig. 33). Where this has occurred, the exposed surface of the coarse core is quite rough. It seems unlikely that it would have been so rough had it been pressed into a mold lined with fine clay, for surely its surface would have been smoothed by the act of pressing.

As for the legs, those of the Classical sphinxes such as 7 and 8 were probably modeled by hand (Figs. 20, 21, 22). Their forms are fairly simple, and their surfaces not well finished. The Archaic legs such as 1a (Figs. 3, 4), which are quite different, may also have been modeled free-hand. They are far more complex in shape, having a variety of ribs and grooves; there are few traces of tooling, and the surface finish is superb. If these had been made in a two-part mold, however, there would have been two vertical seams, and there are no traces of such joints on these legs. For support the legs were built up around round sticks or rods (Figs. 4, 22), which continued up through the shoulders to the exterior surface, as in sphinxes D and G from Kalydon.⁵¹ It is not clear whether the upper ends were subsequently masked. Presumably, these sticks were removed after the clay had become firm but before final drying and firing, to prevent cracking as the clay contracted.

While it is possible—and I emphasize “possible”—that molds were used extensively in the 6th century, they were probably used far less in the 5th century. Our best 5th-century example, 7, dated to the middle of the century, shows little evidence of the use of molds. Unfortunately, the head is missing, but among the remaining anatomical parts—namely, neck, shoulder, breast, belly, back, hindquarters, and legs—the treatment of both interior and exterior surfaces and the varying wall thicknesses suggest the use of modeling by hand. In contrast to the interior surfaces of Weinberg 33, which seem to be fairly uniformly smooth, these parts of 7 vary considerably in the treatment of their surfaces. Around the neck and shoulders (Figs. 10, 12) large wads of clay, which were added to reinforce the juncture between the two, have been left rough. Further down, the inside of the breast shows deep diagonal furrows, where the modeler’s fingers consolidated wads of clay while the clay was still pliable (Fig. 12). The interior surface of the back 7j is extremely uneven, the wall thick, probably because support was needed to counter the weight of the wings. Within the belly,

51. Dyggve 1948, pl. XXII:D, G.

7e, the surface has been smoothed, and the clay is well consolidated. The wall is thinner at the top, to lighten the weight, and thicker at the bottom, where the greater thrust must have fallen. The broken surfaces of the right humerus, 7c, show a series of cracks along vertical joints where clay was added in layers (Fig. 13, upper right), but this need not mean that a mold was used. The outer layer of fine clay is basically paper-thin, but it thickens where necessary to fill out irregularities in the underlying coarse core. This suggests that the fine clay was applied to a preexisting core.

As for the wings of 7, the broken surfaces show that in some places the clay fabric was well consolidated. Elsewhere, such as at the break on 7h (Fig. 17), snakes of clay seem to have been pressed together for the core of the wing, then faced top and bottom with a thin layer of coarse clay, succeeded by a paper-thin layer of fine clay on the surface. This fine clay surface coat is quite different from that on the Archaic wing 2c. The latter (Fig. 6) forms a thick crust on top of the coarse core, while the fine surface on the wings of 7 is so thin that irregularities are visible through it (Fig. 16). The outer edges of the wing fragments 7g and 7h are quite carelessly trimmed, and cutting marks are visible along parts of the feathers, in particular along the lowest primary feathers on 7e (Fig. 15). In general, more tooling is apparent on the surfaces of 7 than is customary in Archaic statues. These details of surface treatments on the various anatomical parts of 7 suggest that the statue was built up largely, perhaps entirely, by hand.

Sphinx 7 is especially tantalizing because of the numerous preserved strut holes, described in the catalogue below (see the holes labeled H1–H6 in Figs. 11, 14, 15, 16, 18). Because the exact relation among the fragments of 7 cannot always be determined, the system and purpose of the struts remain unclear. In some cases, at least, sticks seem to have been used to strengthen the joint between two parts, such as the juncture between the left shoulder and the base of the left wing. Other preserved holes on 7 may have facilitated ventilation during firing. Although no evidence of external vent holes is preserved, one may have existed in the crown of the head. It is not entirely clear what purpose was served by the two holes that pierced the wing on 7g (Fig. 16). Weinberg identified similar holes on statue no. 33 as parts of lead mends.⁵² Indeed, lead is preserved in one but it simply ends against the surface of the wing and doesn't appear to extend across a break. Perhaps the holes helped to reduce the pressure of the wind against the statue in its position high up on the roof.

A feature that appears in the two sea creatures, 20 and 21, as well as in several Archaic and Classical standing figures from Corinth and elsewhere, is a vertical interior partition, or internal wall.⁵³ In the case of 20, and also of 21 (Fig. 32), the partition runs down the long axis of the statue from top to bottom, giving support to the dorsal fins. No such interior support appears in the sphinxes, presumably because the greatest pressure was exerted by the head and wings.

All of the statues were painted to some degree. Hair, facial features, scales, wings, and, in some cases, claws, were regularly painted, while the hindquarters were left plain. The fragments document the use of a simple three-color system of matt red, black, and the natural clay color, or, as in the instance of 7, a four-color system that included two shades of red.

52. Weinberg 1957, p. 314. The edges of the holes, on both Weinberg's statue and 7, are chipped, and there is no preserved evidence of metal in them apart from the single hole on the right wing of Weinberg 33. In one case, at least, on 7g, the hole was cut through when the clay was fairly firm, for shallow rings on the sides of the channel have been left from the tool that was used.

53. Such partitions occur in the terracotta warrior from Olympia (Kunze 1941, p. 126, fig. 104) and in several statues from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth.

Contrary to the view of J. V. Noble, the black was not simply the result of conditions of reducing in the kiln, but was without doubt made with manganese.⁵⁴ These colors were applied before firing and were fired with the statue, but whether in one or two firings is not known.

Marked differences between the Archaic and Classical statues are apparent in their finish. On the former a thicker layer of fine clay is used to mask the coarse core, and surfaces are carefully smoothed and burnished. The leg **1a** exemplifies the finest Corinthian workmanship in this respect; tool marks are virtually eradicated, and the surface shines like polished metal. Moreover, the Archaic statues are more carefully painted, and, in the case of wing **1b**, faint guide lines were incised before paint was applied. The Classical sphinx **7**, by contrast, is thinly masked with fine clay; its surface preserves very little polish, while fragments such as **16** have none. It is possible that these differences may be of some use in distinguishing Archaic sculptures from Classical.

Finally, with regard to size, it is likely that most terracotta sphinxes were under 1.00 m in height. The complications of firing a figure much larger than that would have been considerable. Exceptions exist here too, however, most notably the colossal sphinx from Samos now under study by Alikı Moustaka, and possibly **17** below.

CHRONOLOGY OF TERRACOTTA SPHINXES

In recent years several general works on terracotta sphinxes have appeared. Among these are Marilyn Goldberg's synopsis of her dissertation on Archaic acroteria (1982); Peter Danner's studies of acroteria on the Greek mainland (1989), in Western Greece (1997), and in Etruria (1993); and Alikı Moustaka's publication of the terracotta sculptures from Olympia (*Olforsch* XXII, 1993). In addition, Marie-Françoise Billot's lengthy publication (1977) of the Corinthian sphinx from Thebes, now in the Louvre, provides a wealth of information on the subject. It therefore seems to be a fitting time to review the subject in general with the Corinthian material in mind and to examine certain aspects of chronology.

Both Billot and Goldberg provide readers with lists of known terracotta sphinxes together with the relevant bibliography. Only a few additions need to be made to these lists. A paw found in the early excavations of the Aphaia Sanctuary was attributed by Furtwängler to the Propylon.⁵⁵ The headless body of a small sphinx from the Colonna Hill excavations on Aigina has now been published.⁵⁶ To the wing and the knee from Kalapodhi can be added a face.⁵⁷ A similar face was found at Rhamnous in the area

54. See Bothmer and Noble 1961, pp. 20–22. Tests to determine what pigments were used as coloring agents were not performed on the Temple Hill pieces, but manganese was identified on one black-painted fragment from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, SF-69–21.

55. Furtwängler 1906, p. 385,

no. 123, fig. 318. Also published by Van Buren (1926, p. 175, no. 21).

56. *Alt-Agina* II, 4, pp. 13–15, figs. 3–4, pl. 9:a–c.

57. For the wing and knee, see Felsch and Kienast 1975, p. 21, fig. 30. The face appears in Felsch, Kienast, and Schuler 1980, p. 114, fig. 103. See also Hübner 1990.

around the temples.⁵⁸ Its similarity to the Kalapodhi face makes likely its identification as a sphinx. From the Heraion at Samos come fragments of a colossal terracotta sphinx, mentioned above.⁵⁹

Despite this growing corpus, the number of terracotta sphinxes that can be dated on grounds other than style is relatively small. The reasons are several. In most cases the statues are extremely fragmentary, like those from Temple Hill. Virtually none come from a datable context, and only a few can be assigned to specific buildings as acroteria, thereby gaining some chronological reinforcement from the date of the architecture. In the case of Athens, of Delphi, and, to a considerable extent, of Corinth, the fragments derive from late secondary fills.

According to the evidence preserved thus far, the earliest sphinx acroteria have not been found in Greece but in Etruria, and date to ca. 600 B.C.⁶⁰ On the Greek mainland, the earliest terracotta sphinx acroterion is apparently one from Olympia that was tentatively associated by Aliko Moustaka with the so-called "frühe blattstab" roof and dated on stylistic grounds to ca. 580 B.C.⁶¹ That roof has now been attributed to the Treasury of Syracuse.⁶² More important for our purpose is the *terminus ante quem* provided by the discovery of one fragment of that roof in a context dating no later than 560 B.C. It is tempting to see the Corinthians as the transporters of the type from Etruria to Syracuse and back to Greece.⁶³ But although Aliko Moustaka attributes the Olympia sphinx to a Corinthian or northeast Peloponnesian workshop, the roofing system is strictly Sicilian.

Apart from the Olympia sphinx, and the items catalogued below that are attributed to the Temple of Apollo at Corinth, perhaps the only other terracotta sphinxes that can be assigned with some security to the roofs of specific mainland buildings are those from Kalapodhi⁶⁴ and Kalydon.⁶⁵ The two temples at Kalapodhi were initially assigned to ca. 580 B.C., based on the discovery of Middle Corinthian sherds in the construction fill. More recently, that construction date has been lowered to the second quarter of the 6th century because of the discovery of Late Corinthian sherds in the terracing.⁶⁶ The presence of Late Corinthian sherds brings those temples closer in time to the Temple of Apollo at Corinth, whether the higher or lower chronology for Late Corinthian is followed.

58. For the most recent illustration see Petrakos 1987, pp. 300–301, pl. 55:a. Yet another sphinx face from Syracuse has much in common with the faces from Rhamnous and Kalapodhi; see Danner 1997, A73, pp. 34–35, pl. 9:2.

59. Buschor 1957 and *OIForsch* XXII, p. 108. A head from Dyrrachium (Durrës), Albania, may also belong to a sphinx, but its resemblance to two antefixes from Apollonia throws this identification into question. See Eggebrecht et al. 1988, no. 109, p. 240, Durrës AM 4861; Homann-Wedeking 1942, col. 370, fig. 44. The date of ca. 580–570 B.C. for the head from

Dyrrachium, given by Eggebrecht and by Holtzmann (1991, p. 149, note 95), seems too high. I would agree with Moustaka (*OIForsch* XXII, p. 109), who places it in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.

60. Danner 1993, pp. 99–100, fig. 14, the ridge acroterion from Murlo.

61. *OIForsch* XXII, group I, pp. 104–108, 159.

62. *OIForsch* XXIV, room 37, pp. 83–87, especially p. 86, where Heiden questions whether a roof with a continuous sima would have had corner acroteria.

63. See Williams 1980.

64. The sphinx from Kalapodhi is preliminarily presented in Felsch and Kienast 1975, p. 21, fig. 30; Felsch, Kienast, and Schuler 1980, p. 114, fig. 103.

65. Danner (1989, pp. 20–22) disassociates a number of stone sphinxes from temples to which they had previously been assigned.

66. See *Kalapodi* I, pp. xvi, 232–235; Hübner 1990, p. 168. Hübner suggests that the sphinx may have been reused from an earlier building, dated to the 7th century B.C., but since that roof was of reeds, it is difficult to imagine how a terracotta sphinx could have been mounted on it.

From Kalydon there are remnants of three or four terracotta sphinxes in at least two different sizes.⁶⁷ These have been assigned to one or to two temples.⁶⁸ Relying on the evidence of the well-known sphinx head H from Kalydon, now in the National Museum at Athens, scholars have regularly dated these sphinxes on stylistic grounds without regard for their architectural context. The torso G can be securely associated with the so-called lion-sima roof, the profile of which is closer to the sima on the Temple of Apollo at Corinth than to the cavetto simas of the 580s, the date commonly assigned to the head. Statues G and H show stylistic similarities to each other, at least in comparison of the same anatomical portions. The face of H also has certain elements in common with the sphinxes from Spata and from the Kerameikos, the latter dated ca. 550 B.C. by Harrison,⁶⁹ and with the stone sphinx found in the North Cemetery of Corinth.⁷⁰ While the profiles are different, the overall structure of the faces, the integration of the features, and the modeling of the ears seem similar. I would therefore place all of the above examples near the middle of the 6th century. Such a date would also agree with Nancy Winter's placement of the lion-sima roof at ca. 550–540 B.C.⁷¹

STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF SPHINXES

Lacking the assistance of architecture, one must turn to style as a criterion for determining the chronology of terracotta sphinxes. In so doing, one must also consider the more abundant and better-preserved stone examples, while keeping in mind the differences between the two media. One example may serve to illustrate this point. A consistent convention in terracotta sphinxes of the 6th century is the sharp definition of the chest from both shoulder and humerus, with the chest recessed from the shoulders and the joint generally emphasized by a raised band (Fig. 33). This sharp definition does not appear in stone.⁷² It may begin to disappear in clay in the late 6th century, as exemplified by the sphinx from Halai,⁷³ and is certainly gone by the later 5th century, as is illustrated by sphinx 7 (Fig.

67. Sphinx G (Dyggve 1948, pl. XXII) is the smallest; the torso D–E is larger. According to Dyggve (1948, p. 177), the breast F is about the size of D, although its preserved dimensions are smaller; but according to Rhomaïos (1951, p. 40) it is smaller than D. While Dyggve states that the head H is the size of D, Rhomaïos notes that its neck is 0.02–0.03 m larger than that of D. At present, H is mounted on F, which seems too small for it. Two more fragments—hair and ear A1 and breast B1—are problematic, both having been assigned to a sphinx or a kore. In support of the latter attribution, made by Dyggve, are the extensive painted borders around the neck, which would be unique for a sphinx.
Recently, Joachim Heiden (1987,

pp. 66–67) has reassessed the fragments. He divides them into two sizes, G and F being smaller, D–E larger. According to him, the head H fits onto the body F “break for break.”

68. In favor of a single temple are Rhomaïos (1951, p. 45), Stucchi (1952–1954, p. 36), and Danner (1989, p. 48). In favor of two buildings are Dyggve (1948, pp. 222–224, 235–236) and Winter (1993, pp. 128–130).

69. *Agora* XI, p. 12. For the two sphinxes see Richter 1961, no. 12, p. 16, figs. 40–41, and no. 16, p. 17, figs. 54–57.

70. Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973 and *Alt-Ägina* II, 2, p. 55, figs. 64–65.

71. Winter 1993, pp. 125–130. Winter places the Kalydon roofs into a separate northwest Greek system.

72. Only a few stone sphinxes display a feature resembling the articulating band: an early one from the Metropolitan Museum, Richter 1961, no. 2, p. 10, figs. 8–9; that from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Richter 1961, no. 3, pp. 10–11, figs. 10–15; the Kerameikos sphinx, Richter 1961, no. 11, pp. 15–16, figs. 34–39; the later limestone sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum, Richter 1961, no. 14, pp. 16–17, figs. 46–49. But in all cases, these bands or incised lines are merely decorative, because there is no distinction in modeling between chest and shoulder. Neither of the stone sphinxes from Corinth preserves this feature.

73. Goldman 1940, no. 5, p. 443, fig. 115, torso with incipient breasts, if this is indeed a sphinx.

10), but previously it was the rule. Undoubtedly, the reason behind this band is a technical one, as has been described above. One cannot, however, ignore the evidence of stone, particularly since stone statues are more abundant and better preserved than clay ones.

Although statues of animals are extremely difficult to assign to a date, certain basic changes can be observed to have occurred in the course of the 6th century. These changes can be seen, in both terracotta and stone sphinxes, in the profile of the shoulders and chest and in the angle of the body and wings.

A quick review of the stone sphinxes depicted in Richter's *Archaic Gravestones of Attica* shows the following changes in features. The earliest Attic sphinxes have large and very round chests, the maximum projection tending to be low. Legs are massive and strictly vertical, the body lies nearly parallel to the ground, and the wings stretch out horizontally before curving upward.⁷⁴ By the time of the Kerameikos sphinx in the middle of the 6th century, the profile of the chest has flattened somewhat, although the general outline is still large.⁷⁵ At the same time, the position of the body has become more upright—here because the sphinx is crouching with its hindquarters off the ground—and the wings rise at a slightly sharper angle before turning up. This steeper angle is apparent in the stone Corinthian sphinxes from the North Cemetery and the Forum area,⁷⁶ but the chest is still round, the legs massive. Change occurring in the third quarter of the 6th century is exemplified by the Metropolitan sphinx, which is associated with the boy-and-girl stele, as well as by the Boston sphinx.⁷⁷ In both cases the chest is round but the curvature is more compressed, the maximum projection higher; the legs now angle back somewhat from the vertical, and they are more slender and somewhat longer, especially between the carpals and the paw. In addition, the angle of the wing is steeper. By the late 6th century, the wings are steeper yet, as evidenced by the marble sphinx from Colonna Hill, Aigina.⁷⁸ The chest has flattened out, becoming deeper once again and making way for the next stage, as incipient breasts begin to break the otherwise smooth contours of the chest.

How do terracotta sphinxes fit into this progression? The chests of Kalydon statues G and D are relatively boxy, their profiles describing a flattened curve that is in keeping with the first half of the 6th century. This profile is quite different from the tightly curved chest of Weinberg 33, whose figure fits better within the third quarter of the 6th century than within the last quarter of the century, as Weinberg had dated it. A profile similar to that of Weinberg 33 can be found in sphinx II from Olympia.⁷⁹ Halai torso no. 5 from the late 6th century also has a boxy chest with the suggestion of breasts.⁸⁰ That of sphinx 7 below has a relatively straight profile with a slight compound curve that again suggests incipient breasts.

Another aspect to be investigated as an indicator of the chronology of the sphinxes is that of relative proportions. A very rough proportion that appears to apply to 6th-century sphinxes is an approximate equivalence between the height of the head without the neck, the height of the chest from shoulders to the top of the leg, and the length of the leg from top to metacarpal joint. These proportions hold for the Corinth stone sphinx from the North Cemetery, and also for the marble sphinx from Spata,⁸¹ if one includes the full height of her polos. In addition, this canon works for the sphinx from Piraeus,⁸² from the Themistoklean wall,⁸³ and also for

74. Richter 1961, nos. 1–3, pp. 10–11, figs. 1–15.

75. Richter 1961, no. 11, pp. 15–16, figs. 34–39.

76. Compare the photograph in Richter 1961, fig. 51, with Wright 1977, pl. 57. In the latter photograph the legs have been lengthened slightly, and there is a corresponding rise in the angle of the body to the ground.

77. Richter 1961, no. 37, pp. 27–29, figs. 96–103 and no. 38, p. 29, figs. 110–114.

78. Raepsaet 1982; Trianti 1975.

79. *OIForsch* XXII, J12–16, pp. 108–109, 113–114, pls. 89–92.

80. Goldman 1940, p. 443, fig. 115.

81. See Richter 1961, no. 12, p. 16, figs. 40–41, Athens NM 28; its head from the top of its polos to the chin is 0.205 m high; the breast is 0.198 m high and 0.202 m wide.

82. For the Piraeus sphinx see Richter 1961, no. 19, p. 18, figs. 64–65, Athens NM 76; its head height is 0.25, the chest proper 0.196, chest width 0.24 m; regrettably, I do not have the height of the chest to the elbow.

83. Richter 1961, no. 16, p. 17, figs. 54–57, Athens NM 2891; head, and breast to the elbow, are 0.19 m high, while the breast alone is 0.156 m high.

Thermon sphinx D,⁸⁴ if one measures the chest to the elbow joint at the base of the covert feathers. These proportions do not apply to the 5th-century marble sphinx from Aigina: the height of the chest here equals the combined height of head and neck, hence the apparent enormity of its chest.⁸⁵ It is unfortunate that the head and complete legs are not preserved on 7 from Corinth to provide a point of comparison.

Marilyn Goldberg suggested several technical criteria for sorting Archaic from Classical sphinxes.⁸⁶ In the former, the holes for rods in the legs are large, the claws are rendered only in paint, and the inside surfaces of the wings are unpainted. In the latter, the holes are narrow, the claws plastic, and the insides of the wings are painted. These distinctions are maintained in 7 and in Weinberg 33, where the holes left by the rods are, respectively, 0.006 and 0.015 m thick, but they are not so clear in the case of 8. If correctly assembled, statue 8 combines a large hole (Diam. 0.02 m) with plastic claws. Moreover, the inner faces of the wings of the Kalydon sphinxes, which Goldberg was unable to see, are painted.

An interesting feature of many Corinthian sphinxes is the treatment of the wing. The Corinthian sphinx wing is upright, its outline making a fan-shaped curve (Fig. 33). In contrast to many Attic sphinxes, whose wings have a smooth lower edge,⁸⁷ the Corinthian feathered wing has a scalloped outline, starting from the body and continuing to the tip. This form is apparent in the poros sphinx from Corinth, a small bronze sphinx from Perachora,⁸⁸ Weinberg 33, and statue 7. It can be found as well on a limestone sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum that is said to have come from Attica, but which is stylistically closer to Corinthian examples.⁸⁹ That this feature appears on the locally made terracotta sphinx from Colonna Hill, Aigina, may be a sign of Corinthian influence.

CONCLUSIONS

A few years ago, in attempting to characterize Archaic Corinthian sculpture from the very fragmentary material that has survived, I concluded that it could best be described as conservative.⁹⁰ This conclusion also applies to the sphinxes considered here. Despite the poor condition of many of these fragments, it is possible to see that naturalism was often sacrificed for pattern. Sphinx 7, made in the third quarter of the 5th century, looks back to Archaic models, despite its more developed anatomy. Whether this conservatism is an indication of stylistic preference or of conscious adaptation of the statue to its Archaic setting is difficult to assess without more material of this date. Our uncertainty notwithstanding, this conservatism led to the creation of very satisfying sculpture in which a pleasing balance was struck between the body and the large, fan-shaped wings, between form and decoration. This balance is apparent in the poros sphinx from Corinth, which differs dramatically from contemporary Attic statues.⁹¹ It is perhaps best expressed in the small terracotta sphinx, Weinberg 33 (Fig. 33), which seems to hang in the air. Together with technical excellence, this is what Corinth could offer to the Greek world. That these qualities were appreciated is shown by the predominance of Corinthian terracotta sculpture in cities outside of Corinth.

84. Dyggve 1948, pl. XXII.

85. *Alt-Ägina* II, 2, no. 52, pp. 80, 118–120, pls. 35, 38–40.

86. Goldberg 1977, p. viii.

87. See, for example, the Kerameikos sphinx, Richter 1961, no. 11, pp. 15–16, figs. 34–39.

88. Payne et al. 1940, p. 135, pl. 43:1–2; *Alt-Ägina* II, 2, p. 58, figs. 66–67.

89. Richter 1961, no. 14, pp. 16–17, figs. 46–49.

90. Bookidis 1995.

91. Wright 1977; Richter 1961, figs. 50–53.

CATALOGUE

I. FINDS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS ON TEMPLE HILL

The catalogue of the fragments is organized as follows.⁹² Fragments attributed to the same statue have been grouped together under one catalogue entry. Those fragments that are less securely associated have been assigned consecutive catalogue numbers.⁹³ Dimensions, given in meters, are primarily intended as an indication of the size of a given piece. The size of a sphinx cannot be restored from the proportions established by the width of its breast or the length of a feather.

An attempt has been made to approach something like a consistent nomenclature for the various parts of a sphinx. Given the fact that the sphinx was a mythological beast and that the author is not a zoologist, the results are undoubtedly far from correct. Terms used here include: shoulders; humeri for the upper part of the forelegs that are, in a sense, "encased" in the body; radius and ulna for front and back bones of the forelegs; carpals for the joint at the base of the radius and ulna; metacarpals for the section between the carpals and the toes; dew-claw for the vestigial fifth toe; thigh for the fleshy upper part of the leg; and hock for the joint between upper and lower leg bones. In addition, scapulars denote the short feathers on the body, coverts the feathers at the base of the wing, primaries the long flight feathers.⁹⁴ Where possible, the catalogued entries are reproduced at 1:2 in order to make clear their relative sizes; reproductions of a few details are included at a smaller scale.

1 Left front leg, wing of sphinx

Figs. 3–4

a. SF-74-1a. P.H. 0.138, W. at top 0.043, D. at top 0.068, W. at bottom 0.032, D. at bottom 0.053, Diam. hole 0.006. Three joining fragments, upper part of left foreleg, broken at top and bottom.

b. SF-74-1b. P.H. 0.058, W. feather 0.034, p.Th. 0.043. Wing, preserving front face and lower edge of primary feathers, broken at back.

Early Roman quarry fill with Turkish intrusions, quarry trench 4, lot 74-178.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.002–0.008, fired gray-buff 2.5Y 7.5/2; core: few small black inclusions (chiefly 0.002), rare fine white inclusions, fired to a pinker gray-buff 10YR 7/2. Paint: red-brown, now faded; black.

92. Since the mudstone inclusions which were added to the clay have been described in some detail above, we will not repeat the descriptions here. In addition, the values of the Munsell soil color chart have been translated into words commonly employed for Corinthian clay, since the Munsell words are less graphic for one who hasn't the book in hand.

93. When the year of discovery is known, its final two digits are cited after the identifying letters, and are followed by a serial number, e.g., SF-76-1. Where the year of discovery is not known, a simple serial number is used. In addition, a few fragments of 7, too small to inventory, have been given numbers within their storage context, e.g., lot 72-240-8.

94. See Ryder 1969, fig. 1, skeleton of a dog (mammal).

1a derives from the left foreleg above the carpals. The anatomical rendering of the leg is highly stylized. In addition to the broad horizontal curve of the radius and the constricted curve of the ulna, a series of rounded and sharp ridges along either side seem to have no basis in feline anatomy. On either side, a rounded protrusion runs the length of the leg and gives it a diamond-shaped plan in horizontal section. On the outside of the leg (Fig. 3) a narrow rib sets this off from the ulna; on the inside of the leg (Fig. 3) two sharp ridges separate the protrusion from the ulna. Nearly solid, the leg was built around a square rod 0.006 m thick (Fig. 4). A highly lustrous layer of very fine clay 0.002–0.008 m thick masks the coarse core.

1b preserves a small portion of a rather large and extremely thick wing, namely, parts of two stepped primary feathers and the bottom

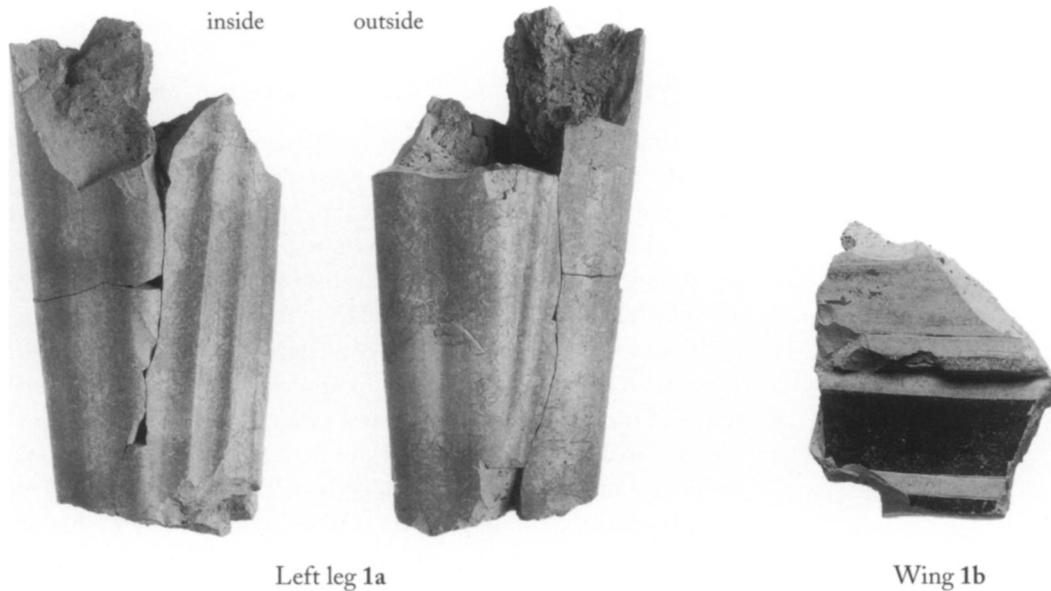


Figure 3. Sphinx 1. Scale 1:2

edge of the wing (Fig. 3). This edge is not wholly straight but flares slightly toward the left break, suggesting that the fragment may have lain near the body. If so, then the wing belonged to the left side. Surrounded by a reserved stripe, the centers of the feathers are painted alternately matt black and red-brown, beginning at the bottom with black. Along the outer edge of each feather is a stripe in the same color as the center. Only the outer edge of the wing is not painted. Faint guide lines, incised before firing, delineate the various painted stripes. The one complete feather is 0.033 m wide. Wads of coarse clay form the core of the wing, while the feathers are executed entirely in fine clay, the thickness of which varies from 0.003–0.006 m. A thick layer of fine clay masks the outer edge of the wing.

These two fragments have been associated on the basis of the distinctive color of their clay. They are considerably larger than corresponding fragments of Weinberg 33. Little can be said about the wing, apart from the careful execution of the primary feathers, but parallels for the leg can be found within the Corinth collection. Two sets of legs published by Weinberg as 33b⁹⁵ and 39 (see Fig. 4)⁹⁶ are virtually identical to 1a in modeling and execution.⁹⁷ All three sets of legs exhibit the same stylized anatomy and highly lustrous finish, representing Corinthian work at its very best. In addition, Weinberg 33b–c and 1a are very close in composition of clay and fired color. That they are not from the same statue is shown by the difference in execution of the ridges that run down the inside of each leg. In addition, the fine clay surface of Weinberg 33b–c is far thinner than that of 1a and does not completely cover the coarse core. Whereas 1a is built up around a square rod, a round rod was used in the modeling of Weinberg 33b. Of the three, 1a is the largest, and Weinberg 39 the smallest, though the differences are not very great. More important is the fact that there were three such sphinxes at Corinth.

95. Weinberg 1957, pp. 314–315, pl. 72, SF-31-2b–c.

96. Weinberg 1957, p. 316, pl. 72, SF-32-12.

97. The light tan surface of Weinberg 39a–b lies roughly between 10YR 7.5/4 and 7.5YR 7.5/4 on the Munsell chart.

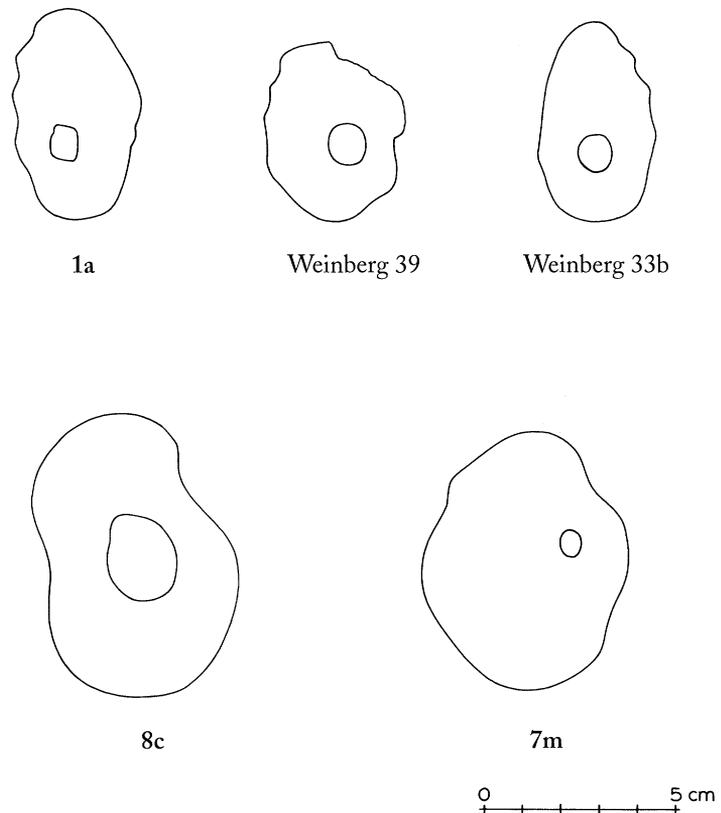


Figure 4. Rods used in modeling sphinx legs (in cross-section)

98. The field notebook records the discovery of the torso, wing fragments, and front right paw in the area to the northeast of Temple E, roughly beneath the present entrance hall to the Museum, but no mention is made of legs. On the other hand, the notebook account of the well near Temple E, which produced much of the sculpture published by Weinberg, mentions at least two sphinx legs. One of these is Weinberg 39; it is tempting to identify Weinberg 33b, c as fragments of the second. Indeed, in fired color, and size and color of inclusions they closely resemble the chest of a sphinx from that same well, Weinberg 37 (1957, pp. 315–316, pl. 72, SF-32-11). This second chest is larger in scale than Weinberg 33a, its preserved width being 0.089 in contrast to 0.055 m for the latter.

99. For the date of Weinberg 33, see above, p. 395.

Weinberg associated the legs 33b and 33c with the torso and wings, 33a, on the assumption that they were found together, but they were not.⁹⁸ Moreover, the legs are slightly grayer (5Y 7.5/2) in fired color than the body (near 2.5Y 6/4), and are larger in scale; furthermore, the stumps of the legs preserved on 33a do not suggest a lower leg with the contours of 33b or 33c. If the legs are disassociated from the body, they are then free to move in date,⁹⁹ but how much or, indeed, whether at all cannot be determined. Regrettably, we know very little about the evolution of sphinx legs because relatively few have survived either in stone or clay. The legs of sphinx D from Kalydon (Dyggve 1948, pp. 176–177, pl. XXII; Rhomaios 1951, pp. 40–41, figs. 23–24) and the earliest sphinx at Olympia, sphinx I (*OIForsch* XXII, J8, J9, p. 112, pls. 87:b, 88:c, 92:a), both sphinxes dating to the first half of the 6th century, are more simply modeled than ours are. A better parallel is the later sphinx II from Olympia (*OIForsch* XXII, J13, pp. 113–114, pls. 91:c–d, 92:d), assigned to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. Although not as stylized as ours, it is leaner and bonier than its predecessor at Olympia, has multiple ridges running down the inside, and is similar to 1 in horizontal section. If we are correct in associating our sphinx with the Temple of Apollo, then the Olympia parallel corroborates a date in the mid- to third quarter of the century.

Mid- to third quarter 6th century B.C.?

2 Head, right and left wings of sphinx

Figs. 5–6

a. SF-26-1. P.H. 0.073, Th. 0.026. Right half of forehead. From the Athena Trench, in Roman fill north of Building 5.

b. SF-74-3. Max. p.dim. 0.073, Th. 0.026–0.028. Hair over the forehead, broken on all sides. Medieval fill overlying quarry, basilica trench 1, lot 74-149.

c. SF-6. Max. p.dim. 0.25–0.26, Th. 0.045 (lower tip)–0.064 (top right). Right wing, from the scapulars to the base of the primary feathers. Exact provenience within Corinth unknown, but found prior to 1915.

d. SF-74-2. P.H. 0.063, Th. 0.030–0.032. Tip of right wing. Early Roman quarry fill with Byzantine intrusions, quarry trench 1, lot 74-88.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.004–0.017; core: common fine black inclusions (< 0.001). On thick wings, central layer with coarser temper (to 0.002) between layers of fine temper; fired tan 10YR 7/4 throughout, except for light pink core of **b** where very thick, and 10YR 7/5 surface of skin (**a**, **b**). Paint: black near 10R 2.8/1; red-brown scapulars 10R 4/4, primaries 2.5YR 4/4.

Published: a, c: *Corinth* IV, i, p. 113, M1, and fig. 46:a; Koch 1915, no. 6, p. 82, fig. 38; Weinberg 1957, nos. 4, 34a, pp. 305, 315, pls. 64, 72.

These four fragments have been grouped as part of one sphinx because of their fired color, painted decoration, and distinctive use of very fine temper. Together they preserve a very small portion of the head and parts of one wing of a large-scale sphinx. Two of these fragments (**b**, **d**) belong to the recent excavations on Temple Hill, and two (**a**, **c**) were catalogued by Weinberg.

As Weinberg has described it, **a** preserves the forehead, crowned by four wavy locks, just to proper right of the center of the head (Fig. 5). The locks are rendered as parallel strands that are round in section. They frame a forehead that is relatively high and triangular. A broad brown-painted stripe demarcates the eyebrow. Below, the fragment breaks at the line of the eyeball. As the break indicates, the eyeball curved in more deeply at the inner corner, coming closer to the surface at the outer corner. If we assume that the center of the head's height fell through the center of the eyes, then we can estimate that its full height was roughly 0.17–0.18 m, or nearly twice that of the head of the Louvre sphinx (Billot 1977, p. 405).

Fragment **b** preserves seven rows of parallel, wavy strands of hair (Fig. 5). A tiny patch of skin is visible in one indentation, indicating that this piece, too, lined the forehead. Although the exact relation of **b** to **a** is uncertain, the greater number of locks of hair on **b** place it closer to the left ear. On both fragments, the skin is reserved and lustrous, while the hair is painted matt purplish black. The head is hollow. Somewhat perplexing for the relative placement of these two fragments is the fact that the interior of **a** is irregular, with clearly superimposed wads, while that of **b** is far flatter. This flatness may be a further indication of the position of **b** on the side of the forehead. The hair is worked entirely in fine clay, which varies in thickness from 0.004 to 0.01 m.

Fragment **c** preserves part of the right wing from the scapulars up to the base of the primary feathers (Fig. 6). Behind the scapulars is a

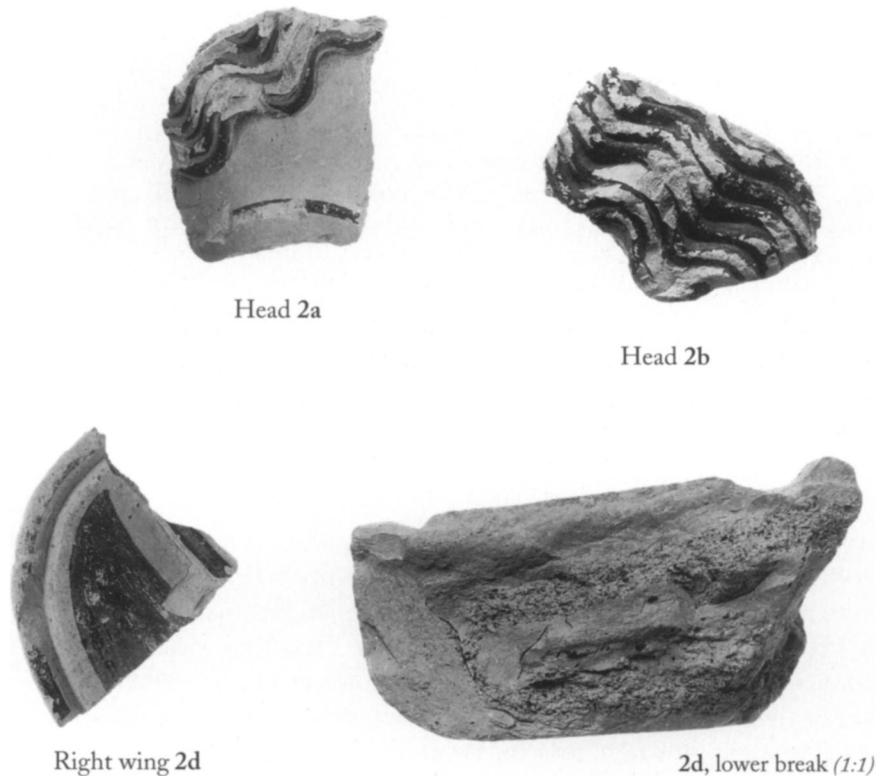


Figure 5. Sphinx 2. Scale 1:2 except as noted

narrow portion of the shoulder, which is plain except for a single drop of black paint from the hair. The scapular feathers consist of vertical rows of scales, alternately dark red-brown and black, each outlined by a reserved band and a black stripe. A plastic border divides the scapulars from the coverts. This border consists of a red band that is decorated with a row of conical depressions and is framed by deep, unpainted grooves and two black ribs. These depressions, left the reserved color of the clay, were never filled with any substance. A broad V-shaped groove and a narrow plastic black band articulate the outer edge of the coverts. At present the surface of the coverts is unpainted and lustrous but it was once covered by a matt cream-colored paint that appears to overlie a thin wash of white slip. If this is indeed white slip, then we have the earliest attested use of this substance as a base for overpainting. Modeled like the coverts, with deep groove and raised framing band, the primary feathers are cut back slightly from them. Moreover, while the coverts are all on the same plane, the primaries project in low relief, one above the other. Their centers are painted alternately lighter red-brown and matt black within the usual borders of reserved and black stripes, beginning with black at the lower break. The wing has probably broken near its bottom edge, for the fine clay used for the surface turns down at the end, much as on 1b and 2d.

Viewed from the back, c breaks at left, at the wing's juncture to the body (Fig. 6). Just above this is a projecting mass of clay that was built up around a circular rod (Diam. 0.017), no longer there. About 0.04 m

deep, the hole left by the rod cuts midway through the thickness of the wing; its sides are smooth and its floor consists of a plug of clay (Fig. 6). The remainder of the back of *c* is smoothed, but toward its lower tip can be seen a bit of lustrous slip, better preserved on the back and outside of *d*.

The feathers of *c* are modeled in fine clay and are 0.004–0.012 m thick. Since no sharp cut marks are visible in the grooves that define the various feathers, the wing was probably made in a mold, with coarse clay then pressed in behind it.

Fragment 2*d* (Figs. 5, 6) derives from the tip of the wing and preserves the end of one red primary feather as well as the black outline of the next one. The outer edge of the wing is flat, the transition to the flat back rounded. Both the edge and back are unpainted but somewhat lustrous.

When Weinberg published *c* (Fig. 6; Weinberg 1957, no. 34*b*, pl. 75), he associated with it two more fragments of a left wing (Weinberg 1957, no. 34*b*–*c*, p. 315, pl. 72), on which the primary feathers were rendered only in paint. All three fragments show the same use of temper: a layer of clay with very fine temper on either side of a central layer with coarser temper. Weinberg attributed *c* to the main, right side of the sphinx, the other two to the secondary left side. Weinberg is undoubtedly correct in associating *c* with the right side, for the absence of hair on the preserved shoulder suggests that the head was turned to proper right. But a comparison of the two fragments of the left wing shows that their painted feathers taper in opposite directions. Thus, unless the flight feathers tapered toward both their bases and their tips, we must assume that these fragments preserve both a right and a left wing. They differ slightly from the molded wing in fired colors and are somewhat thinner. We have thus disassociated them from this statue, despite the similar arrangement of the temper. Having now associated yet a third fragment with them, we have included them below as 11*a*, *c*.

For the dating of this statue, there is little, apart from the hairstyle, that can usefully be compared to other works. Characteristic of the hair is the steeply descending wave that creates a high, triangular forehead. The wave is typical of Corinthian protomes on pottery from the Middle Corinthian phase and on, and in particular, Middle Corinthian III (see Amyx 1943 for a survey). A relatively close parallel can be found in the sphinx from Thebes, now in the Louvre, as Weinberg had observed. But there are also differences. Fewer waves frame the forehead of 2*a* because they are larger and looser in format. Moreover, they do not impinge as closely on the eyebrow as do the waves of the Louvre head. Weinberg had placed 2*a* after the Louvre sphinx, presumably on the assumption that the stylistic trend moved from tighter to looser waves, but the opposite seems more likely. Nor is the high triangular forehead a feature of Late Archaic style. At the lower end of the chronological spectrum are pieces such as the head of a terracotta Nike from Delphi, dated to the early 5th century B.C. by Ducat (*FdD* II, pp. 235–236, Nike I,1, pl. 87). Here the waves are very tightly crimped, standing out in slight relief from the head. A central

part is no longer used, and the hair instead forms a continuous band circling the forehead. At the opposite end of the chronological spectrum are pieces like the Wix head in Copenhagen, most recently attached to a sphinx body and dated ca. 570–560 (Holtzmann 1991, esp. p. 142). A marble head of a kore from Rhodes, now in Copenhagen (Richter 1968, no. 77, p. 53, figs. 244–247), is of about the same date. On both of these heads the descending waves are pulled out in a more horizontal direction to create a rounder forehead. Marie-Françoise Billot has proposed that the date of the Louvre sphinx be lowered to ca. 525 B.C. (Billot 1977, pp. 406–418).¹⁰⁰ Our head should then fall somewhere between it and the earlier pieces. A date early in the third quarter of the 6th century is suggested for 2a.

Weinberg, however, attributed the right wing to the first half of the 6th century on the plausible grounds that such careful work and stylization of the feathers with the relief bands and dotted border should be earlier rather than later. Dotted borders are paralleled elsewhere in clay. There are three fragments from Delphi, two of which are only painted (*FdD* II, no. 37, p. 256, pl. 93; no. 39, p. 257, pl. 93; no. 44, pp. 259–260, pl. 94). A dotted border appears on Kalydon sphinx D, with the difference that the holes pierce the left wing as if something had been pinned there. Yet another example is the small terracotta sphinx from the Sanctuary of Apollo on Aigina (*Alt-Ägina* II, 4, pp. 13–15, figs. 3–4, pl. 9:a). While in general avoiding dates for the more fragmentary material from Delphi, Ducat supported Weinberg's tenets, putting relief work before simple painting (*FdD* II, p. 263). Both Kalydon D and the sphinx from Aigina are dated ca. 560 or 560–550 B.C. Yet, if the Corinth wing is correctly associated with the head, then its date must be lowered.

Early third quarter 6th century B.C.

3 Right foreleg of sphinx

Fig. 7

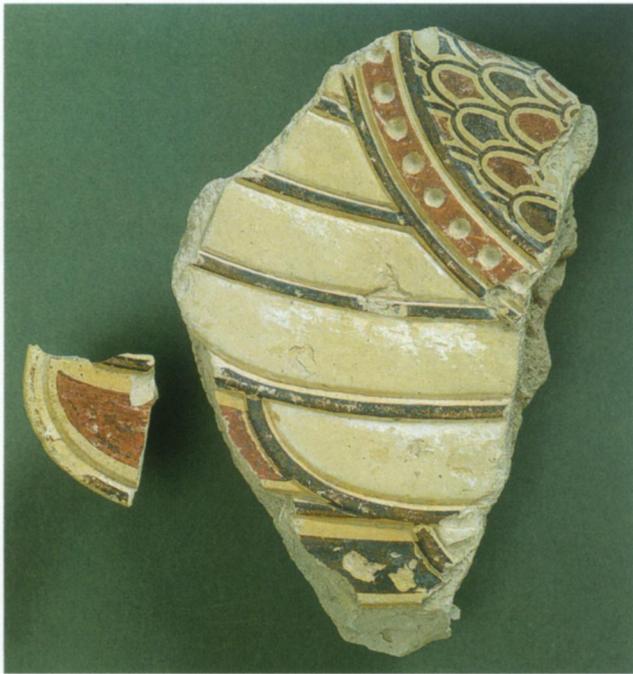
SF-76-5. P.H. 0.063, p.W. 0.042, Th. wall 0.012–0.018. Nearly half the circumference of the right leg with dew-claw, broken top and bottom. Early Roman quarry fill, quarry trench 12, lot 1976-180.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.002–0.007, fired yellow-green 5Y 7.5/3; core: common fine to medium black inclusions (0.001–0.003), fired gray-green, near 5Y 7/2.5. Paint: black.

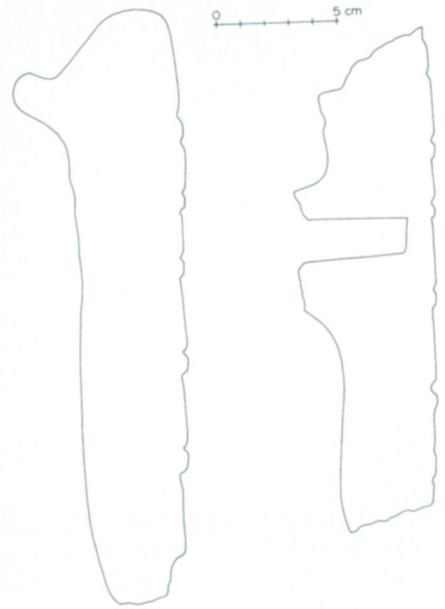
A small fragment derives from the inside and back of a right foreleg. At the lower break is preserved the dew-claw, which is modeled in relief and painted matt black; a single black line is painted above the claw. Although the leg is basically cylindrical, the back is lightly faceted to create a faint ridge down the axis. The leg is hollow and was built up around a rod 0.012 m in diameter. Over the coarse core is a thick layer of fine clay that varies in thickness from 0.002–0.007 m and is lustrous. It is this clay from which the claw is modeled.

This is a perplexing piece, for its scale cannot be easily estimated. Its circumference appears small and suggests that the leg was considerably smaller than would be suitable for 7. At the same time, both the carpals and the bone that normally projects at the back of the carpals are missing. If Weinberg 33b is used as a parallel, then this bone should appear just

100. Although I accept the general parallels Billot draws to Acropolis 679 (Peplon kore), I do not agree that the profiles of the two heads are close. Characteristic of the two is the way in which the cheeks are defined from the lower half of the face by a slight concavity that extends from the nose to nearly the ears. But the rendering of the sphinx's eye, the shape of her forehead, and the painted lotus chain on her stephane seem to be more conservative elements. I would therefore place the Louvre head before the Acropolis head, in the 530s.



2d and 2c



Section through shoulder

Section through strut



left break (2:5)

Figure 6. Sphinx 2. Right wing 2c.



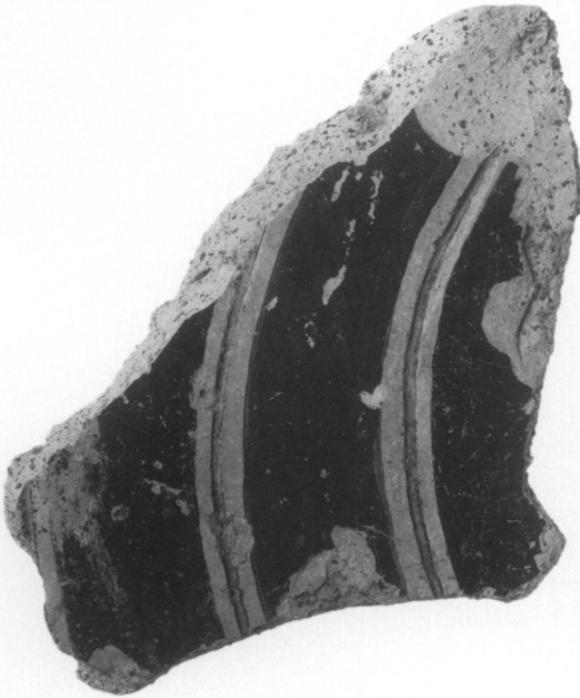
Right foreleg 3



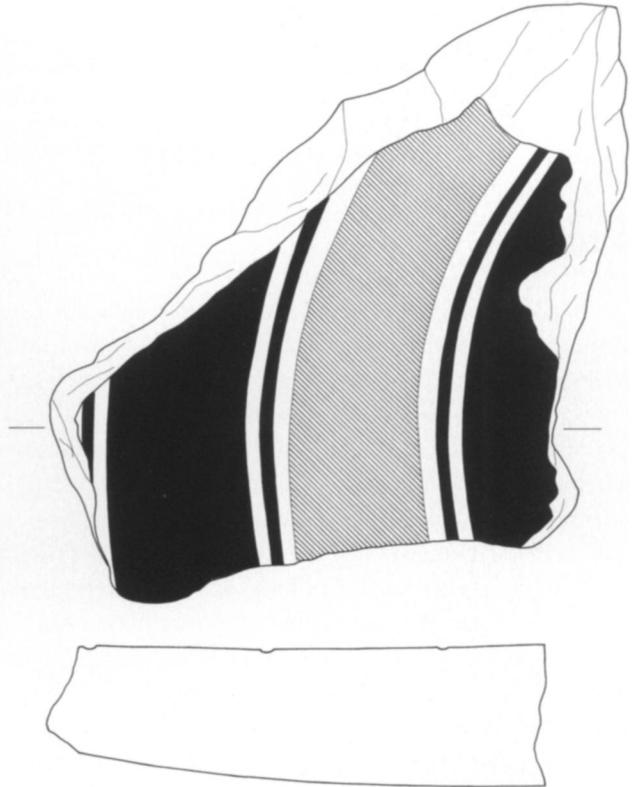
Stephane 4a



Stephane 4b



Right wing tip 5



Right hock 6

Figure 7. Sphinxes 3–6. Scale 1:2

above and behind the dew-claw, while the carpals should be just above it. On Weinberg 33b the carpals lie 0.02 m above the dew-claw, but on **3** the leg continues 0.04 m above the dew-claw, with only the faintest flare to indicate a possible thickening of the leg. The leg may therefore either have been larger than it appears or have been very simply modeled. A date in the 6th century is suggested by the surface treatment and the use of black paint on the dew-claw.

6th century B.C.

4 Stephane, forehead of sphinx

Fig. 7

a. SF-33-1. P.H. 0.067, H. stephane 0.03, Th. through forehead 0.018. Stephane and hair over forehead; upper half of stephane badly chipped. Found in 1933 in Late Roman or Byzantine fill along the southwest edge of Temple Hill.

b. SF-75-5. P.H. 0.045, p.W. 0.064. Front and top of stephane, broken all around; upper half of stephane broken. Early Roman fill,

quarry trench 8, lot 75-184.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.002, fired pale yellow 2.5Y 8/3; core: frequent fine to small (to 0.002) well-mixed black inclusions, fired to a gray-white, or slightly greener than 5Y 7.5/1.5. Paint: brown-black 7.5YR 4/2; light red hair, near 5YR 6/5.

Published: a: Weinberg 1957, no. 42, p. 316, pl. 72.

Both fragments derive from a female head wearing a stephane. In addition, **a** preserves a bit of the forehead and two rows of wavy locks. Although too little remains of the head for a reconstruction of its height, it appears to be similar in scale to **2a**. Weinberg assigned **a** to the left side of the face above the left cheek, but it better fits the right side. In that way the locks of hair are pulled nearly horizontally from the slightly indented central part (largely missing) before bending into two deeply folded waves. The forehead then becomes low; the framing hair descends in continuous crimped locks at a very slight angle toward the missing right ear. A deep channel divides the two rows, and the surface of each is lightly scored to simulate fine strands. The hair is covered with a pale red paint. A low stephane with straight flaring profile sits on top of the head. At its top inner break, a very faint lip may mark the start of the projecting crown of the head such as occurs on the Louvre sphinx. The stephane is decorated as follows. A lotus-palmette chain, of which only the bottom half is preserved, and two bands below it are painted in a matt brown-black on a reserved, slipped ground. The palmette is formed of seven petals, the tips of which are round and slightly drooping. The top of the stephane is very thinly slipped and unpainted.

The relative positions of the two pieces are uncertain. **4b**, which shows a slight asymmetry in horizontal section not apparent in **a**, could have lain to the right or left of **a**. Furthermore, the painted bands and the lines of floral chain are much thicker on **b** than on **a**. One cannot reject the possibility therefore that the two fragments derive from very similar but separate statues.

As fragment **a** better reveals, the head is hollow, its preserved wall thickness varying from 0.018 m through the forehead, 0.040 m through the stephane, to 0.017 m at the top back break. A clear joint is visible between the wads that form the forehead and hair and those of the

stephane and top of the head. This suggests that the two sections were made separately and were joined. Strips of fine clay were used for the hair. Given the very deep and irregular channels that separate the two waves, the hair was probably added by hand and scored. For this procedure, the clay must have been soft, because the locks look as if they had been squeezed out of a serrated pastry tube. A fine skin-like slip masks the stephane. It is possible that the head broke and was repaired in antiquity, for a small, horizontal hole 0.005 m in diameter pierces the stephane of **b** at the right break, on line with the upper painted band.

Weinberg placed **a** in the second quarter of the 5th century because of the form of the palmettes which decorate the stephane. A similar lotus-palmette chain appears on the stephane of statue **7**, with the difference that the palmette of statue **4** has seven rather than eleven petals. Parallels are discussed in conjunction with **7**, and a date around the middle of the 5th century is suggested for that statue's modeling. Such a date also suits better the hairstyle of **4**. Parallel rows of crimped wavy locks are relatively common on sculptures and terracottas of the first half of the 5th century. See, for example, the terracotta half-figures published by Poulsen (1937, pp. 50–52) or the Attic figurine head found in Ithaca and now in the British Museum (Higgins 1954, no. 680, p. 181, pl. 89). But if we compare our piece with a typical example of the Severe style—the head of Athena on the Olympia metope that depicts the garden of the Hesperides (Ashmole and Yalouris 1967, pls. 188, 191)—there is a difference. On the latter, the evenly sized waves are crimped but rigidly parallel. On Corinth sphinx **4**, the strands are of uneven thickness and relief height, and the waves make large loops that virtually bend back on themselves. A good parallel in a small-scale, Attic figurine, now in the Louvre, has been dated variously to 450 or 450–440 B.C. (Mollard-Besques 1954, nos. C10–11, p. 83, pl. 56; Charbonneaux 1943, pl. 42).

The identification of this piece as a sphinx is largely based on the similarities of its clay color and of its composition to the wing, **5**, which follows, and, less certainly, to the hock, **6**.

Ca. 450 B.C.

5 Right wing tip of sphinx

Fig. 7

SF-76-4. Max. p.dim. 0.200, Th. 0.030 (tip)–0.038 (top right). Parts of four feathers, including parts of three tips, surface chipped. Upper edge somewhat weathered. Early Roman fill, quarry trench 10, lot 1976–177.

Clay: thin fine surface layer,

Th. 0.001 m or less, fired pale yellow, nearly 2.5Y 7/4; core: common and well-mixed, fine to medium, black mudstone inclusions (0.001–0.003), fired gray-green 5Y 7/2. Paint: black 10YR 3/1; red-brown 10R 4/4.

Parts of three primary feathers remain from a large-scale right wing. The surface of the wing is flat, with successive feathers defined by a broad groove that has a rounded section. From groove to groove, the feathers are roughly 0.044–0.046 m wide. They curl up to the rounded tips, which are cut into a scalloped edge. The feathers are painted alternately matt black and dark red-brown and each is outlined by a very

narrow reserved stripe. Black paint is applied to the grooves. The unpainted outer face and back of the wing are either covered by a very thin slip or simply wiped, so that although the inclusions still show, these surfaces have a faint luster. Although no certain association is possible, the wing closely resembles the stephane, 4, in fabric and color.

In section the wing is essentially a flat slab of well-compacted clay that is thicker toward its base, thinner toward the tip, and rounded at the juncture of edge to back. In front, the coarse core is masked by a thin layer of fine clay no thicker than 0.001 m. This simply provides a good base for the painted decoration, and it is the layer through which the defining grooves are cut.

A very close parallel can be found in sphinx no. 46 from Delphi (*FdD* II, no. 46, p. 261, pl. 94), with the difference that those feathers are simply divided by a black painted line rather than by a groove. The Delphi wing is also apparently thinner than ours. Difficult to date in its own right, our wing, if correctly associated with 4, would fall roughly in the middle of the 5th century.

Ca. 450 B.C.

6 Right hock of sphinx

Fig. 7

SF-77-4. P.L. 0.112, Th. 0.062.
Hock, broken all around. Early
Roman fill, quarry trench 12, lot
1977-233.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th.
0.001–0.003, fired yellow-green 5Y
7.5/3; core: abundant fine to medium
well-mixed black inclusions (0.001 to
0.003), fired gray-green 5Y 7/3.

Preserved is the right hock, with part of the adhering thigh, of a crouching sphinx. A sphinx from Halai, which has all of its thigh, upper leg, and part of the rump (Goldman 1940, no. 1, p. 443, fig. 106), better illustrates the exact position of our piece. The Corinth fragment comes at the joint between the upper part of the leg, which is pressed against the thigh, and the lower part, which bends downward free of the body. In so far as the leg is preserved, the bones are well articulated. The outer surface of the leg is lustrous while the existing portion of the thigh is not.

The leg is solid but the body is hollow, the body wall averaging 0.03 m in thickness. Because the fine clay covers the surface incompletely, inclusions show through in places. Paring marks are apparent, and in general the quality of workmanship is not as good as that of 1 and 2.

In fired color and clay composition, the hock is similar, but not identical, to 4 and 5, for the surface of the leg has fired to a greener shade. While this difference in firing can be explained by placement of the pieces at opposite ends of the same statue, it is also possible that the fragments are from different statues. Too little remains to permit a dating of this piece independent of 4. At the same time, the careless finishing of the surface is more in keeping with the 5th century than with the 4th.

5th century B.C.?

7 Sphinx

Figs. 8–21

- a. SF-72-3a. P.H. 0.079, p.W. 0.153, est. Diam. 0.21. Stephane, broken at either end, in back, and below; top heavily weathered. Early Roman fill, west quarry trench, lot 72-175.
- b. SF-72-3b. P.H. 0.325, p.H. chest to sternal notch 0.20, max. p.L. ca. 0.222, est. W. neck 0.10, est. W. mid-chest 0.20–0.22, Th. wall 0.035–0.052. Six joining fragments, preserving two-thirds of circumference of neck with hair; most of chest, left shoulder, and humerus; and upper part of left side. Paint worn. Partly restored in plaster. Early Roman fill in west quarry trench and quarry trench 1, lot 72-175; and Early Roman fill with Byzantine intrusions, lot 74-88.
- c. SF-72-3d. P.H. 0.212, p.W. 0.092, Th. 0.046–0.065. Three joining fragments from outside of right humerus and right leg, surface of leg badly chipped. Early Roman fill in west quarry trench, lot 72-175; and Byzantine disturbance, lot 72-192.
- d. SF-72-3e. P.H. 0.108, p.W. 0.138, Th. 0.030–0.045. Two joining fragments, left side, part of scapulars and three covert feathers; paint nearly gone. Finding as a.
- e. SF-72-3f. P.H. 0.102, p.W. 0.14, Th. 0.037–0.050. Two joining fragments, left side and belly, base of wing with parts of four coverts; partly restored in plaster. Finding as a.
- f. SF-72-3j. Max. p.dim. 0.10, Th. 0.027. Single fragment, upper edge of left wing, parts of three coverts, base of one primary feather, broken at back and at three edges. Finding as a.
- g. SF-72-3g. P.H. 0.252, p.W. 0.16, Th. 0.018–0.052. Three joining fragments, left wing, parts of seven primary feathers, including three tips. Finding as a.
- h. SF-72-3i + SF-5. P.H. 0.22, p.W. 0.23, Th. 0.026–0.04. Three joining fragments, upper part of left wing, five primary feathers, including three tips; top of wing heavily weathered. Finding as a; early excavations, provenience unknown.
- i. SF-72-3k. Max. p.dim. 0.106, Th. 0.023–0.033. Right wing, three primary feathers with part of one tip. Early Roman fill, quarry trench 1, lot 74-89.
- j. SF-72-3p. Max. p.dim. 0.153, Th. 0.025–0.050. Back, broken all around. Finding as a.
- k. SF-72-3u. Max. p.dim. 0.091, Th. 0.018–0.035. Flank, broken all around; surface worn. Finding as a.
- l. SF-72-3r. Max. p.dim. 0.12, Th. 0.022–0.034. Two joining fragments, hind end(?), broken all around. Early Roman fill, west quarry trench, lot 72-175; 19th-century intrusion, no lot.
- m. SF-72-3l. P.L. 0.143, W. top 0.074, W. bottom 0.064. Upper part of left foreleg, broken below at carpals. Finding as a.
- n. SF-72-3m. P.L. 0.150, W. bottom (side to side) 0.047. Three joining fragments, right foreleg from above and below carpals, preserving dew-claw and back bone of leg. Finding as a.
- o. SF-72-3q. P.L. 0.145, p.W. ca. 0.11, Th. 0.028–0.05. Two joining fragments, left haunch. Finding as a.
- p. SF-72-3n. P.L. 0.103, p.H. 0.037, W. across toes 0.067, W. leg behind paw 0.048. Hind paw and bit of leg. Finding as a.
- q. SF-72-3s. P.H. 0.059, p.W. 0.124; p.L. 0.138. Plinth, preserving bottom, back edge, and bottom of sphinx. Early Roman fill, quarry trench 1, lot 74-88.
- r. SF-72-3t. P.L. 0.08, Diam. 0.046. Strut for wing support, broken at either end. Finding as a.
- Clay: fine surface layer varying in thickness from less than 0.001–0.004; core: common fine to medium black mudstone inclusions, rare white, chiefly 0.001–0.002, to 0.004 maximum, and at least one piece of unmaximised red clay. Clay fired buff throughout, ca. 10YR 7.5/3; where wall thicker, fired to grades of pink at core; on l, o, q, surface mottled to a darker tan, 5Y 8/2.5–5Y 7.6/2.5. Paint: light red 2.5YR 3/6; dark red 10R 4/4; black.
- Published:* Robinson 1976a, p. 236, pl. 54:a, b. For part of 7h, see *Corinth* IV, i, p. 113, M5 (SF-5).



Sphinx 7 is the both the latest sphinx from the area of Temple Hill and the best preserved or, perhaps one should say, represented by the greatest number of fragments. Eighteen pieces are catalogued herein; another ten were considered too small or too unimportant for full description but have been cited where useful. Despite the number of fragments, however, reconstruction of the sphinx has been extremely problematic, and the drawing by Roxanna Doxan, shown in Figure 8, should be regarded as a suggestion rather than as a definitive restoration.

All of the pieces were found in that part of the quarry that lies immediately northeast of the Temple. While they were not all found together in one spot, they occurred in successive tips of the same Early Roman filling. Only joining fragments of **b**, **c**, and **l** were recovered from later disturbances of that filling, while part of **7h** derives from early excavations.

Half again as large as Weinberg 33 (H. 0.627 m), our sphinx is estimated to have been roughly 0.94 m high. She crouches with her head turned very slightly to proper left, the torsion apparent in the muscles of her neck. Whether this torsion was carried down into the chest or shoulders cannot now be determined.

The sphinx wears a stephane, **a**, that is decorated with a floral chain described below (Fig. 9). The top of the stephane projects freely from the crown of the head and is scalloped to reflect the painted ornament. Beneath the stephane is a smooth surface (partly reserved and partly painted brown) which follows the curvature of the head. It does not resemble hair and is therefore either a band along the bottom of the stephane or a separate fillet.

The shoulder-length hair is preserved only from the height of the neck and down on **b** (Figs. 10–12). In Figure 11, it can be seen to viewer's right of the neck. It is arranged in a modified version of the traditional Archaic *etagenperücke*. In place of the usual stylized waves that frame the face are long loose curling locks, modeled in high relief, that are preserved only on the proper left side. The locks continue onto the neck in paint. In back the hair abruptly changes to smooth horizontal waves. As these curve around to the right side of the head, the otherwise smooth, wavy surface is broken by parallel vertical incisions to indicate individual strands of hair. Whether there were loose curls framing the right side of the face is no longer clear.

The neck, **b**, is well modeled. Somewhat irrationally, the prominent sternal notch is pulled to proper left of center as a reflection of the head's position. A shallow concavity, the axis of which falls just to proper right of the sternal notch, marks the center of the chest. The subtleties of the chest and shoulders are best appreciated when compared to Weinberg 33. The chest of the latter sphinx (Fig. 33) is narrow and without modeling; a ridge separates the chest from either shoulder. In profile the chest and the front of the humeri make a continuous convex curve, and the overall impression is bird-like. Our Temple Hill sphinx has a broad, rather square chest, with parallels better drawn to felines. In addition to the concavity that runs down the center of the chest, a further concavity, in place of the sharp ridges of Weinberg 33, marks the

Figure 8 (*opposite*). Sphinx 7.
Restored drawing. R. Doxan

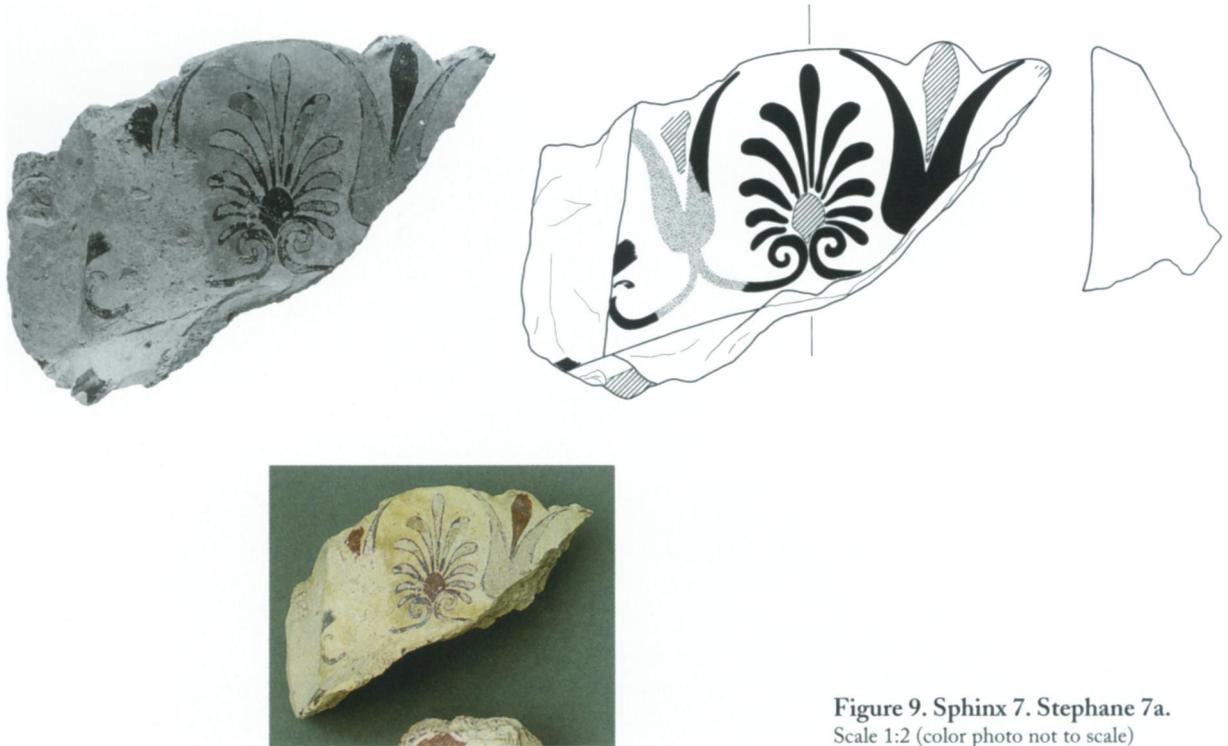


Figure 9. Sphinx 7. Stephane 7a.
Scale 1:2 (color photo not to scale)

transition to either humerus. In profile, the shoulder and humerus form a compound curve. At a later stage in the development of the sphinx, the upper part of the chest will develop into breasts, as on the late sphinx from Thermon (Koch 1915, p. 67, figs. 28–29).

On the sides, *b* and *c*, the body flattens unnaturally to make the transition to the wings, *d*. It is unfortunate that this part of the sphinx's body is poorly preserved for, as a result, certain questions about the form of the wings and their attachment to the body must remain problematic. The wings begin just behind the humeri and are recessed slightly from that surface. *7d* (Fig. 14) preserves the offset as well as part of the covert feathers of the left wing, while *c* (Fig. 13), from the right side, breaks off just short of the offset. As is shown by *g* (Fig. 16), *h* (Figs. 17–18), and *i* (Fig. 19)—together with lot 72-240-8, an uncatalogued fragment of the right wing tip—both wings are modeled in exactly the same way. On both fragments *c* and *d*, covert and primary feathers are worked in relief. On *e* (Fig. 15), the coverts appear to begin just behind the foreleg. Although the lowest feathers are not preserved, the outline of a tip appears on *e* along the left break, where it overlaps the second and third primary feathers. *7e* probably lay close to *d*. Because the length of the coverts is unknown, the length of the wings cannot be determined with certainty. It is clear, however, that the upper edge of the wing did not form a continuous line from shoulder to tip, as is customary and clearly preserved on Weinberg 33, but was articulated at the juncture of the coverts and primary feathers. Evidence for this is provided by *f* (Figs. 15, 18), which preserves the tips of the uppermost three covert feathers and the base of a primary one. The tips of the first, and half of the second



Figure 10. Sphinx 7. Neck, chest,
and left side 7b. Photo scale 1:2



**Figure 11. Sphinx 7. Neck, chest,
and left side 7b, left profile.**
Photo scale 1:2



Figure 12. Sphinx 7. Neck, chest, and left side 7b, back view. Scale 1:2

covert, are finished, and therefore curled out from the wing, while a primary feather continues upward from the rest of the second and third coverts.

In Figure 8 an attempt has been made to render the relative positions of the wing fragments *f*, *g*, and *h* based on the diminishing widths of the feathers and on their alternating colors, which are described below. Further assistance comes from the supposition that the top of the wing was probably at least as high as the top of the head. On the back of *g*, a broken line along its bottom edge undoubtedly represents the point of attachment of the wing to the side of the body. Above this point there were eleven primary feathers, the uppermost of which is missing but can be restored from *f*. But the exact distance between the wing *g* and belly *e* is uncertain. The primary feathers step out in relief in the conventional fashion, their rounded tips creating a scalloped outline. They widen from

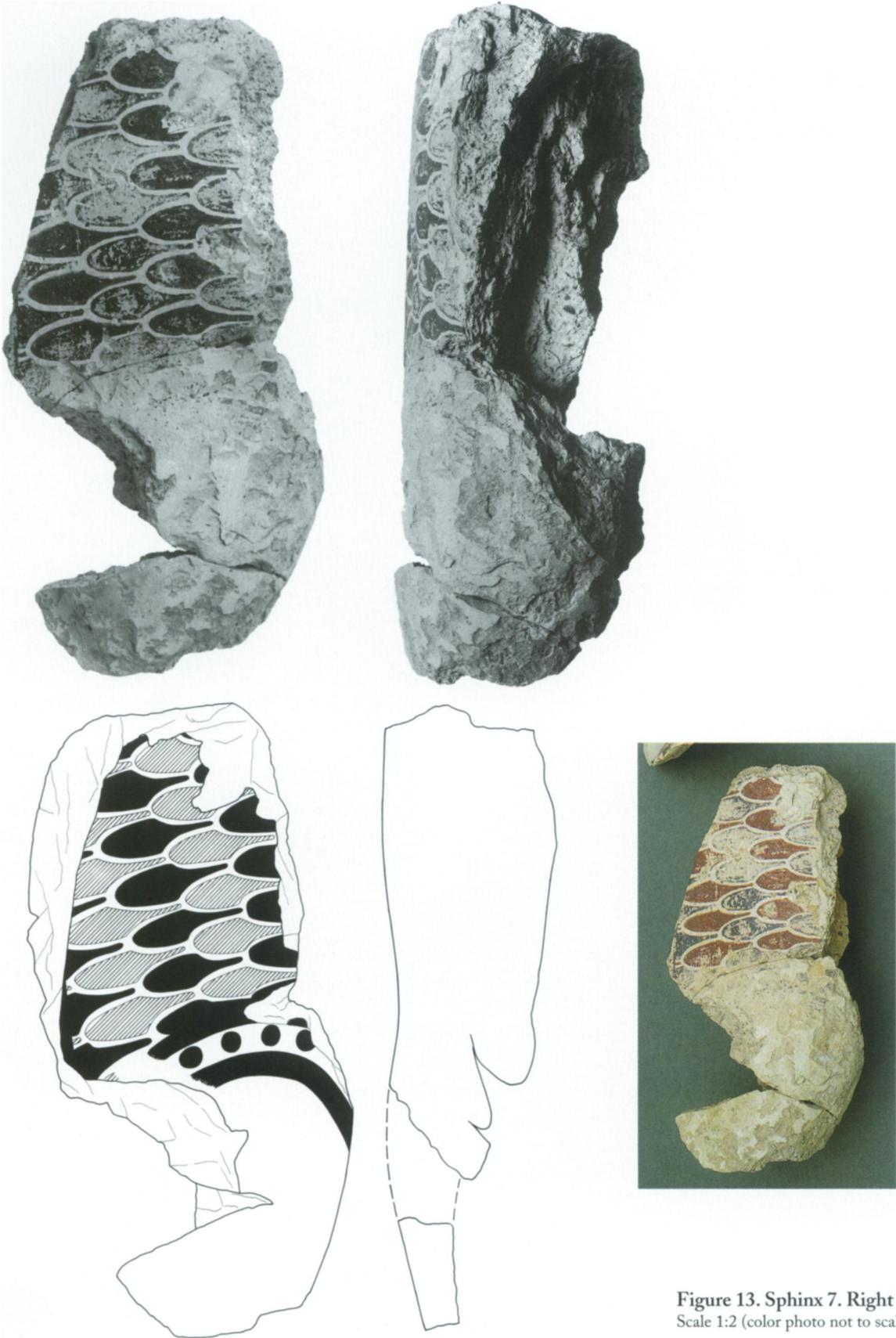


Figure 13. Sphinx 7. Right leg 7c.
Scale 1:2 (color photo not to scale)

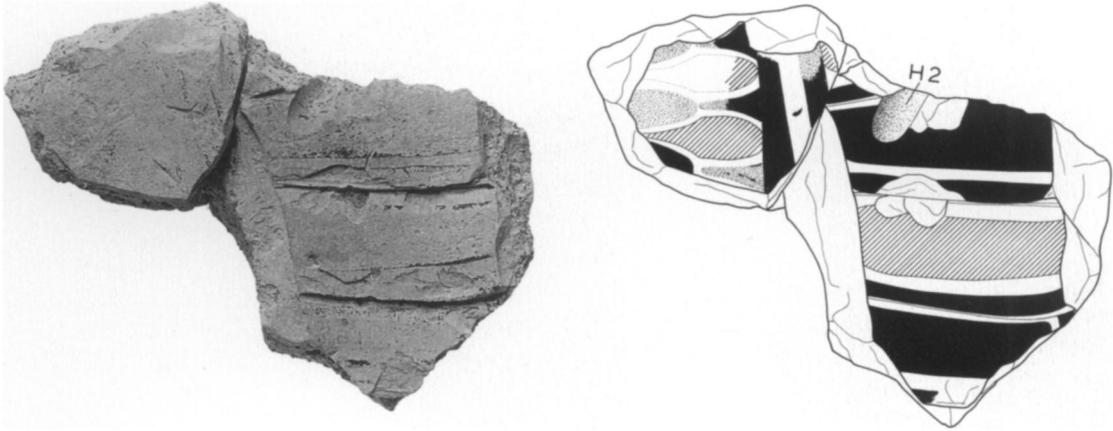


Figure 14. Sphinx 7. Left wing 7d.
Scale 1:2

narrow bases toward the tips. In section, the wings are thicker toward the body and thinner toward all edges, and the back face is rather carelessly finished.

One or more struts served to prop apart the wings. One such strut, *r* (Fig. 21), is a solid cylinder of clay, roughly finished and painted like the back of the wing. At mid-length, a narrow hole 0.01 m in diameter cuts from the surface obliquely into the strut to pierce one end. On the back face of the wing *h* (Fig. 17) is a roughly circular break and a central hole that cuts into the thickness of the wing. Although the strut *r* does not join *h*, it may have belonged close to it.

Of the body of the sphinx beyond the wings, only odd fragments survive. These are the lower back *j* (Fig. 19), the left rib cage *e* (Fig. 15), and the flank *k* (Fig. 19). From these one can see that the ribs are rendered as soft ripples, and the flank is tautly concave as if the body were being stretched. A fourth body fragment, *l* (Fig. 19), is problematic. It consists of a gently rounded portion of anatomy, the surface of which breaks in a roughly straight line along one preserved edge. To one side of this edge is a large broken surface with curved outline that is pierced obliquely by a hole. Around the hole the surface is fired tan. Wall thickness and firing color suggest that the piece should belong to the hindquarters of the sphinx. It is tempting to attach a tail to the curved break and run it up the back along the straight broken line, but the back then does not seem to be sufficiently rounded.

Just below the primary feathers on the belly, *e*, is a projecting broken surface that may have to do with the attachment of the left foreleg. Parts of both forelegs, *m* (Figs. 4, 20) and *n* (Fig. 20), are preserved down to the carpals. Two other fragments, not included here (SF-72-30 and lot 72-240-1), may be from the upper part of the foreleg. Although the legs are well modeled, they show some lingering of the Archaic in that each seems to consist of four bones rather than two: front, back, and two sides. The dew-claw is rendered as a flat and slightly undercut flap, as is the projecting bone of the carpals. On the outside of the right leg, at the upper break, is a small conical depression, presumably some sort of decorative element like the conical depressions on 2c. The haunch, *o*, is problematic. As oriented in Figure 21, it is the thigh of a bent hind leg,



Left wing 7f



Wing and belly 7e

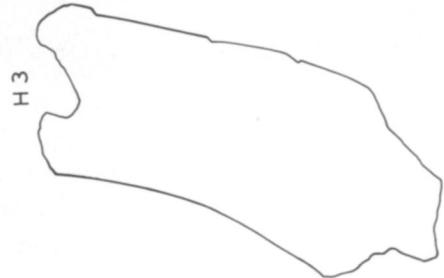
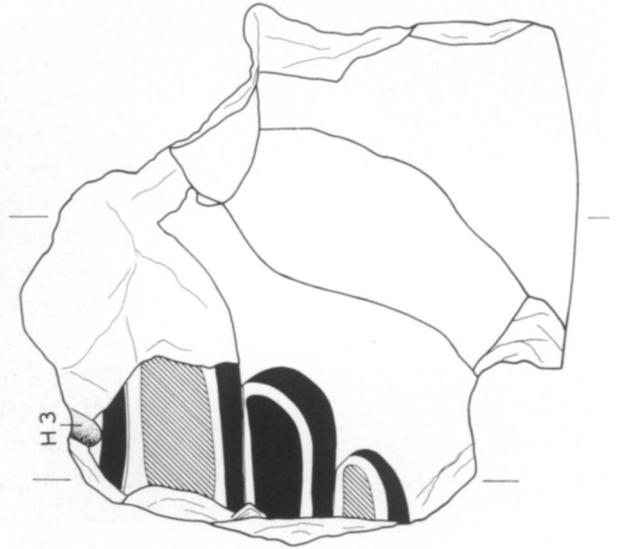
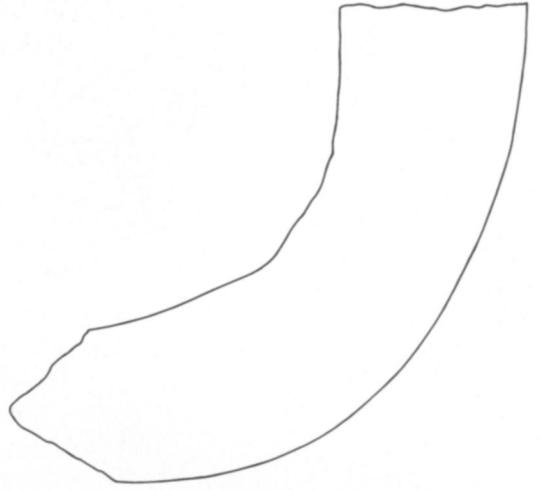


Figure 15. Sphinx 7. Scale 1:2

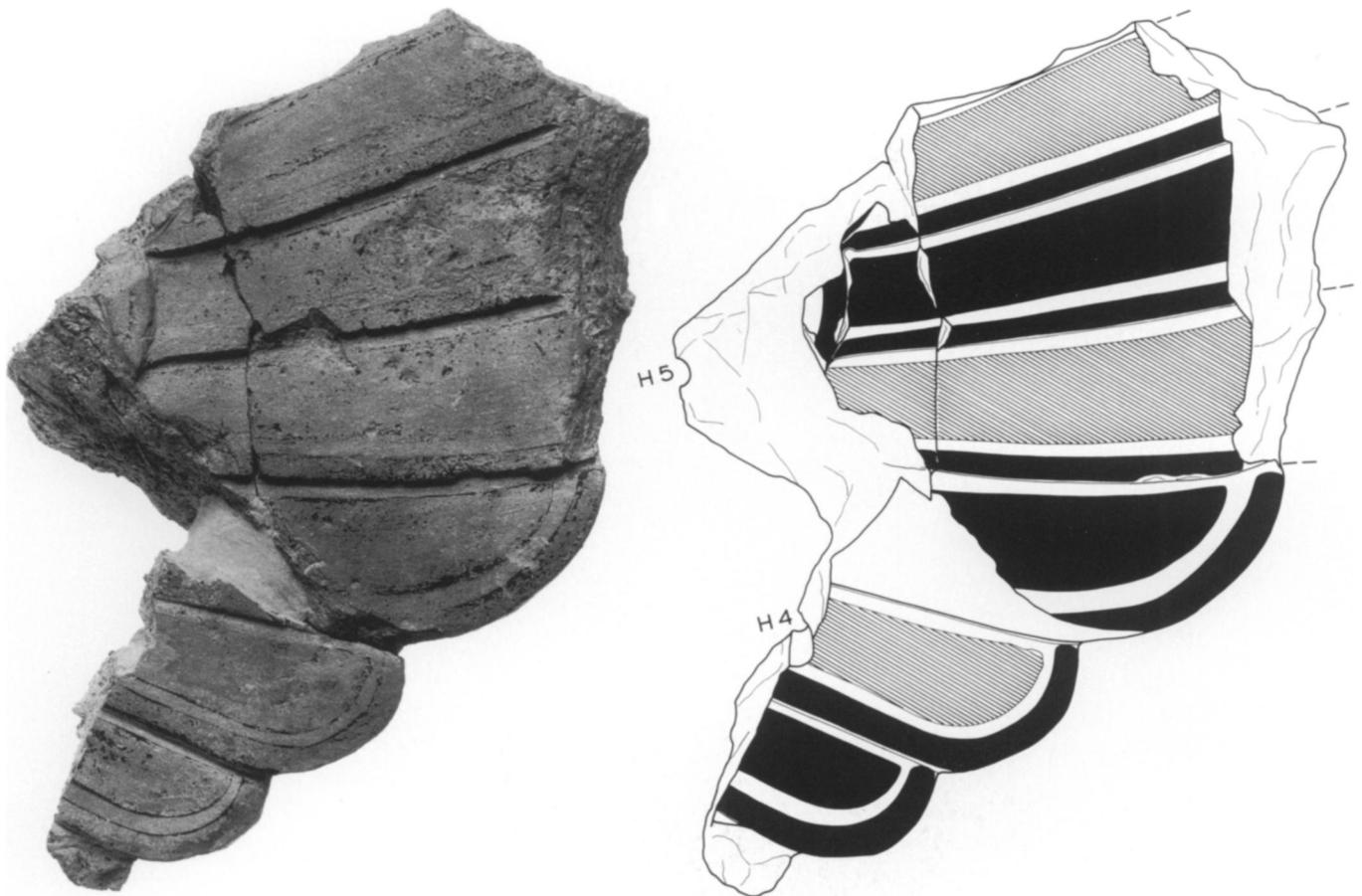


Figure 16. Sphinx 7. Left wing 7g.
Scale 1:2 except as noted



the line of which is restored from the lower break. But turned upside down, the piece could also represent the lower leg pressed against the missing thigh. Since such a lower leg seems too large for the forelegs, we have preferred the first interpretation. The one surviving paw, *p* (Fig. 21), a hind one, has long, well-separated claws with fat pads and projecting nails worked in the round.

Finally, a fragment of what must be the plinth, *q* (Fig. 21), is flat and smoothed on the bottom. One vertical edge is preserved, possibly

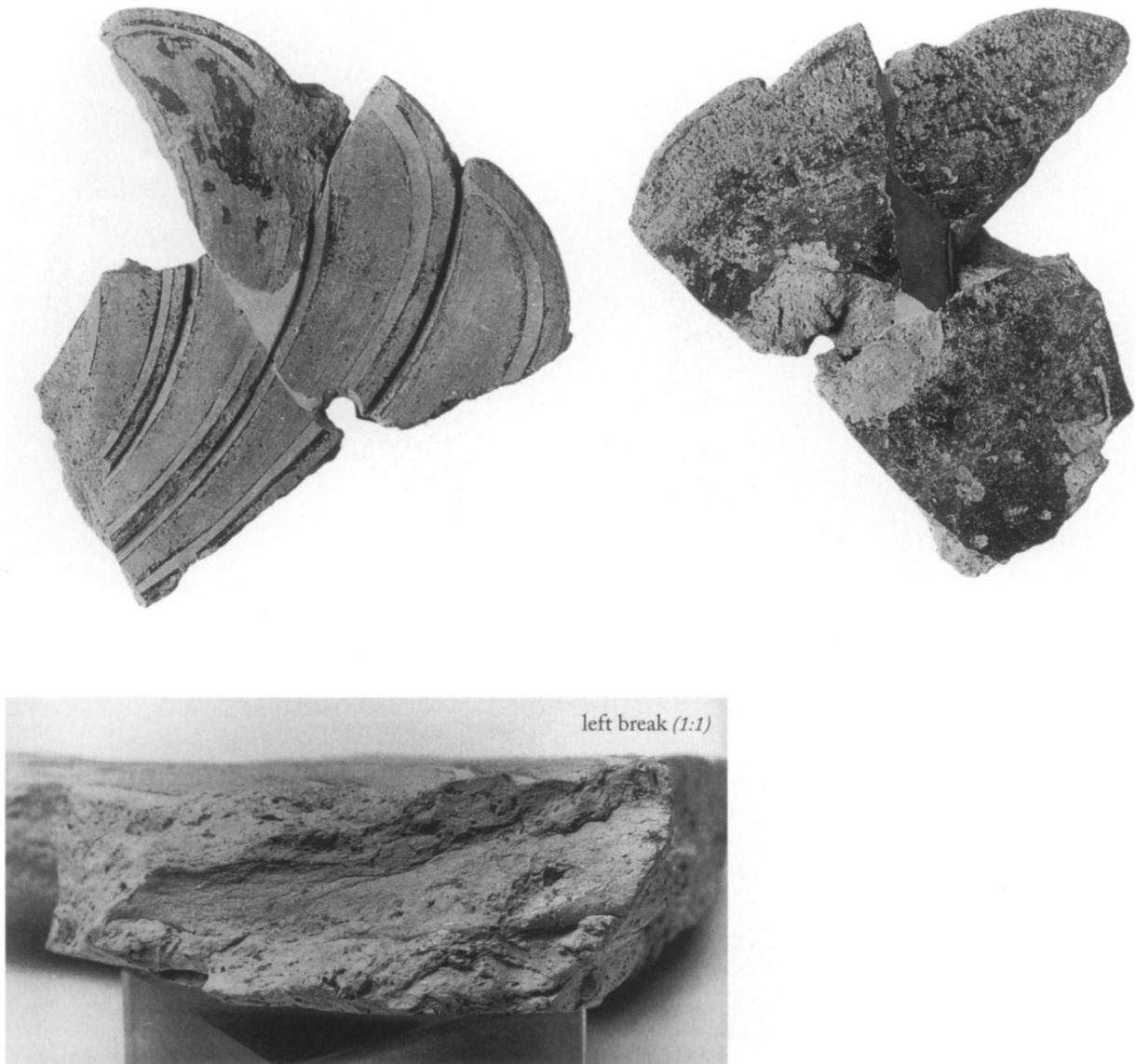


Figure 17. Sphinx 7. Left wing 7h.
Scale 1:3 except as noted

the back one, for a thickness of 0.025 m. Worked in one with it may be the bottom of the sphinx, represented by a sloping finished surface that slants up from the plinth toward the back and breaks off 0.08 m from the back edge. This surface displays the same pinkish-tan discoloration of the surface as do several fragments from the hindquarters. If correctly understood, this piece indicates that the sphinx was sitting on its hind end, supported by its front legs.

The sphinx is painted as follows, in the typical three-color system of matt black, red-brown in varying shades, and reserved clay. On the reserved face of the stéphane is a lotus-palmette chain composed of an eleven-petal palmette in black over a light red heart and simple black scroll. The petals are long and slender, the tips full and drooping. The black calyx of the lotus is also attenuated, with flaring tips and a light

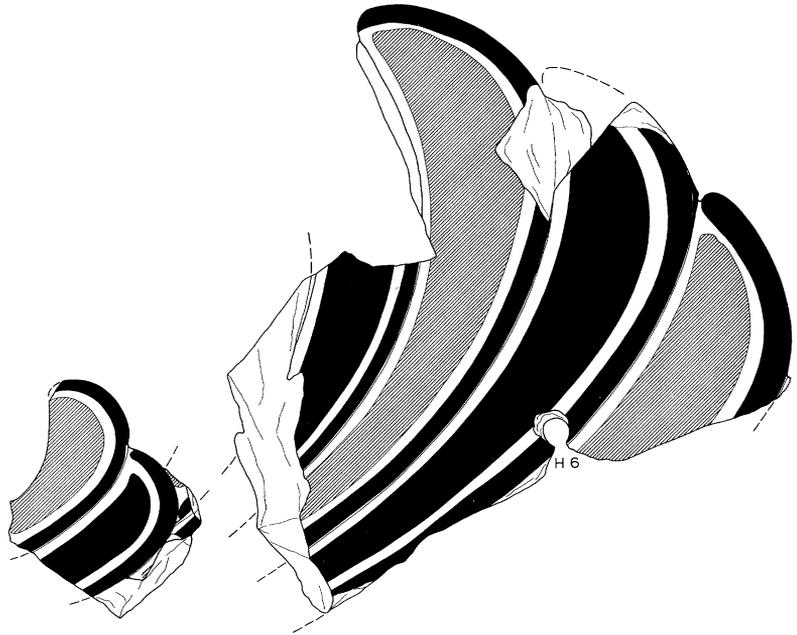


Figure 18. Sphinx 7. Left wings 7f, 7h, restored.

red bud. To the left of the first lotus is a broad black stripe above a curling tendril where palmette petals should be. Possibly, therefore, the floral chain was confined to the front half of the stephane or else the painting here was simply careless. Above, the scalloped edge of the stephane is painted light red while the badly weathered inner face appears to be reserved. The sphinx's hair is a brown-black with wispy curls painted onto the neck. Around the base of the neck is a decorative collar, consisting of a row of large black dots, framed above and below by a broad black stripe. Similar borders, running vertically, separate the chest from shoulder and humerus, and the shoulders from the wing. The chest, shoulders, and humeri are covered with long-stemmed, scaly feathers, arranged in rows of light red, alternating with black within a reserved outline. Over the chest, only the red feathers are further ornamented with reserved diamond centers. Whereas the scales of the chest point downward, those on the shoulder are turned sideways or tilt slightly downward, depending on the angle of the chest. All of the scales appear to have been painted free-hand. No two are identical in size, and they grow or contract according to the anatomy. Above the forelegs, the scales are interrupted by another border of dots and bands that makes an arc above the outside of the leg and curves down sharply inside it.

Both covert and primary feathers are painted with alternating red or black centers, surrounded by a reserved stripe, and by a black stripe along only the outer edge of each feather. The black coverts overlap red primaries and vice versa. Two shades of red are used, a darker one for the primary feathers and backs of the wings, a lighter shade for the coverts and scales. In addition, the scalloped outer face of the wing is painted black or red in agreement with each feather. The body parts are left in the natural clay color and are virtually without luster. A very faint polish

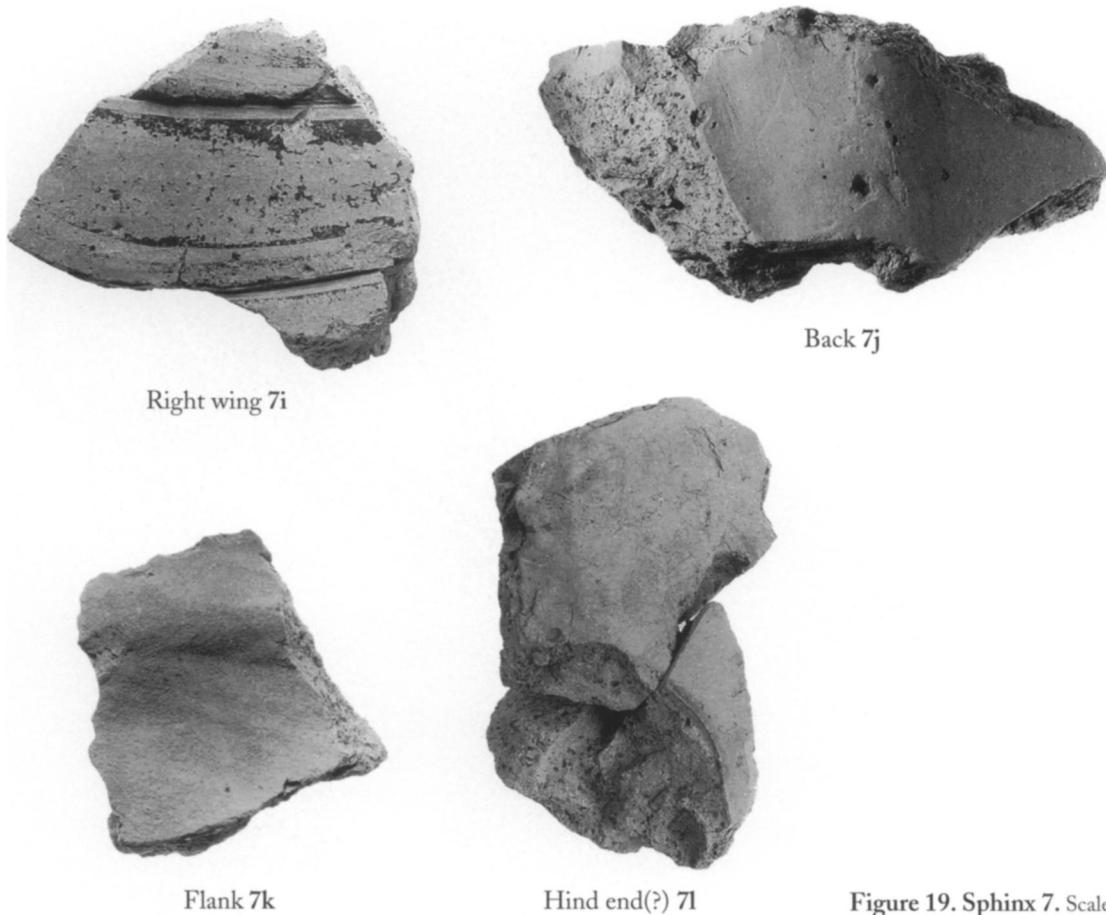


Figure 19. Sphinx 7. Scale 1:2

can be seen on a few parts such as the forelegs, but in no way does this correspond to the high luster of the Archaic sphinxes.

We have spoken earlier of the interior of this statue. It exhibits considerable variety, which probably is the result of modeling by hand. Regrettably, the very fragmentary state of the statue does not allow us to reconstruct the way in which the various parts went together. The thickest and most irregular sections are those around the base of the neck and chest. In the neck, large wads of clay are pressed one against another. At the base of the neck and juncture with the body, the wads are left rough rather than smoothed, perhaps because the sculptor could not get his hand in to consolidate the clay. By contrast, the inner surface of the breast shows deep vertical furrows that were probably made by the fingers. The surface of these furrows is finely striated. It is not clear whether this is simply the result of stroking coarse clay and pulling up inclusions or whether something textured like a rough cloth or sponge was used. Whereas the chest and shoulders are quite thick, the belly and hindquarters are thinner. Although finger strokes are also visible within the belly, the body wall is more consistent in thickness, the inner surface smoother. These variations in wall thickness from one part of the statue to another, as well as the irregular finish of the interior, are characteristic of post-Archaic work.

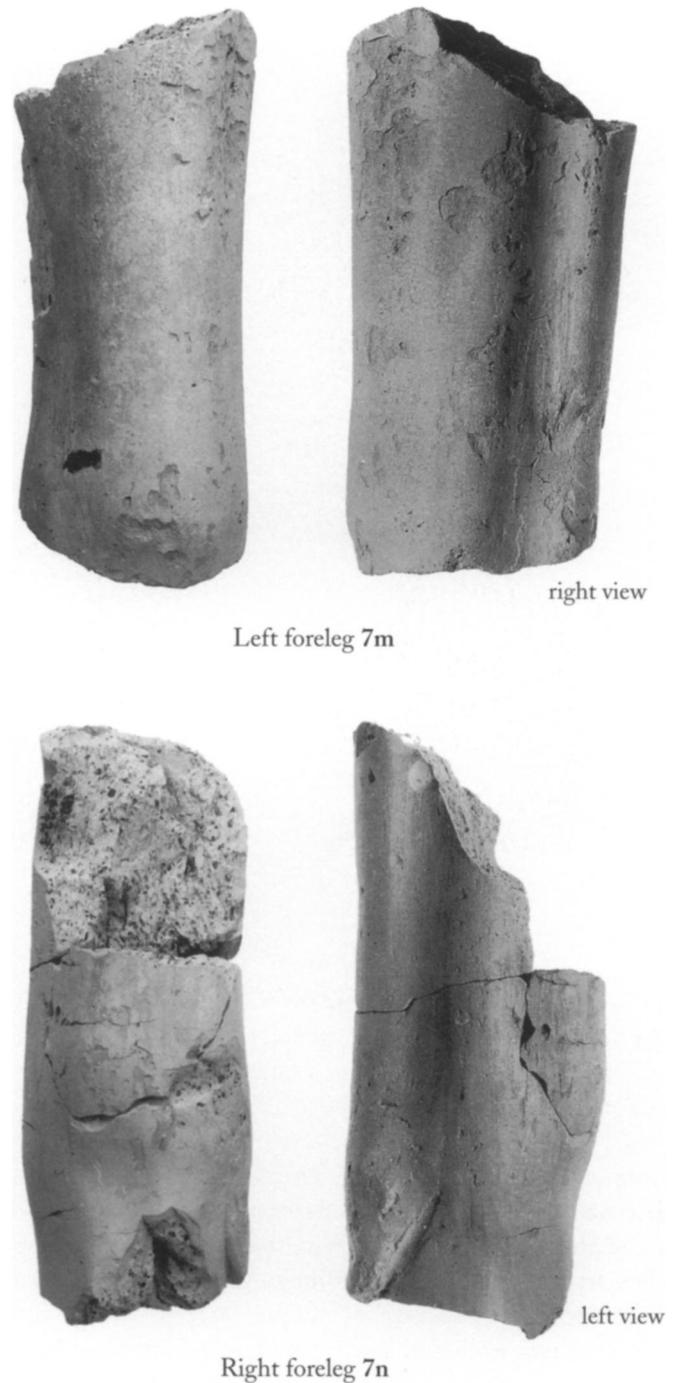


Figure 20. Sphinx 7. Scale 1:2

A number of fragments preserve impressions of rods or sticks used during modeling to hold the various segments together. Because the exact position of any one fragment in relation to another is uncertain, the system behind the rods cannot be restored, and each hole is described individually, below.

A long hole (Diam. 0.01 m) passes obliquely through the left shoulder, **b**, to the back of the left side of the head (Fig. 11: H1). It breaks through the surface in front but possibly not in back. There

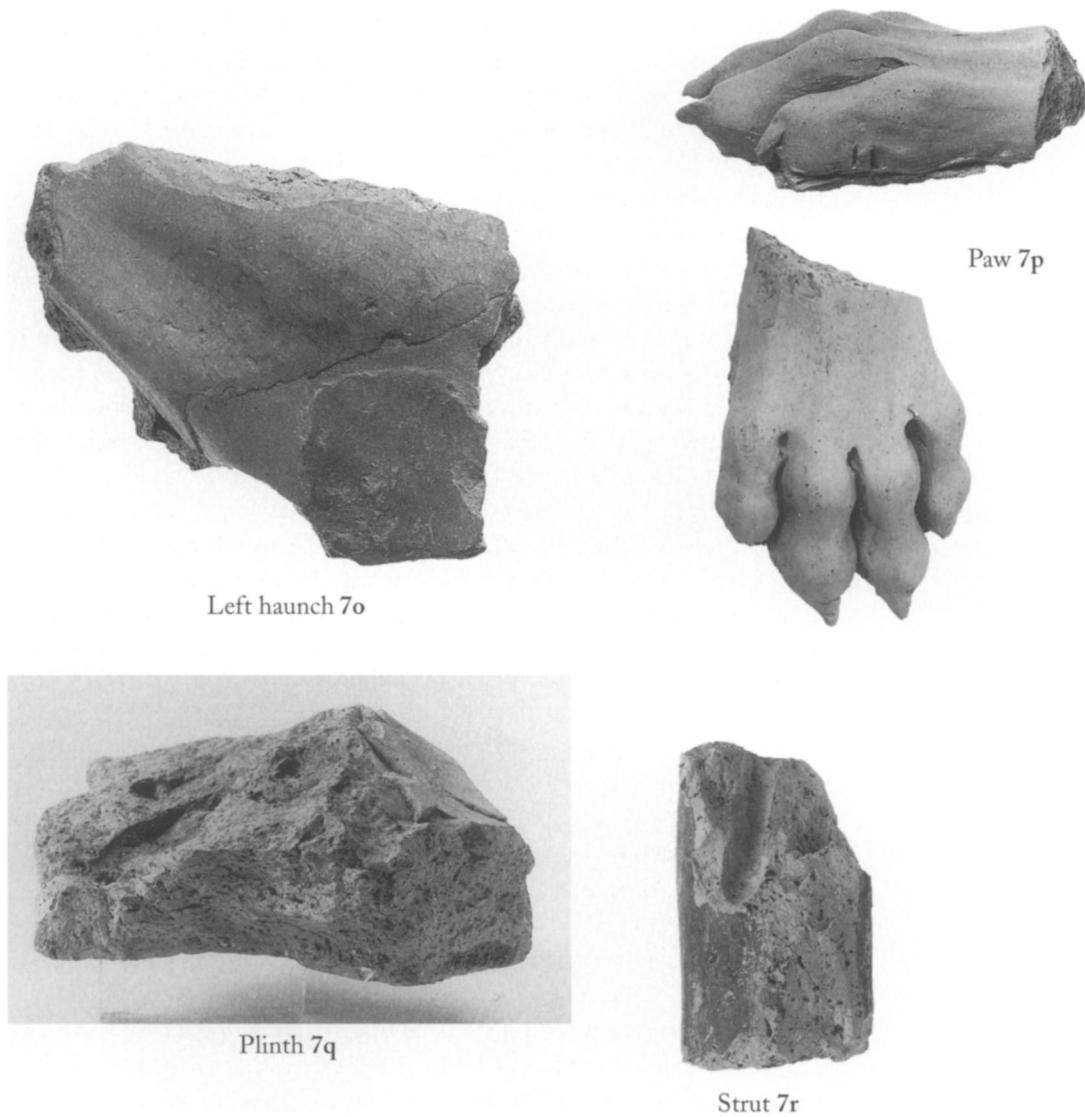


Figure 21. Sphinx 7. Scale 1:2

appear to be two separate drillings with slightly different angles. A single small hole (Diam. 0.005–0.006 m) runs up either leg—c and n; m (Fig. 4)—presumably from the plinth or paw to the top of the leg, and ends below the body cavity. In this hole the impression of a stick is clearly preserved.

The left wing preserves a number of holes, described here beginning at the base and working upward. One cuts obliquely through the surface of the top covert on d near its base (Diam. 0.008–0.009 m; Fig. 14: H2). A second hole enters the wing, e, horizontally through the fourth primary feather from the bottom, to a depth of 0.019 m but does not go through it (Fig. 15: H3). The bottom of this impression is smoothly concave. Two more holes pierce g through the third and sixth primary feathers (Fig. 16: H4, H5); although these pierce the wing completely, they do not appear to coincide with any strut on the back face. By contrast, a sixth hole in the second primary feather of h not only pierces

the wing but continues into the strut in back (Figs. 17, 18: H6). The outer surface, however, is broken here and it is not clear whether the opening was masked or exposed. Finally, a hole (Diam. 0.011 m) passes obliquely through the thickness of the anatomical fragment 1, visible in Figure 19 at lower left. Around this hole, the surface is broken as if something had once been pinned here.

These holes do not seem to form an armature, in the modern sense of the word, around which the sphinx was built. Rather, sticks or rods were either used to pin two parts together during modeling and drying or, perhaps, to prop the sphinx from the outside, as on e—otherwise, it is difficult to understand why holes such as that on e did not pass entirely through the body wall. It is interesting that there are no ventilation holes which communicate with the hollow body chamber and the exterior, the only possible exception being the incompletely preserved hole in d. As for the holes on the left wing that are unrelated to struts, these can be paralleled on Weinberg 33. We suggested in the introduction that these could have been for mends with lead, although the absence of abrasion on the surface surrounding them makes this questionable. Alternatively, they might have served some sort of aerodynamic purpose to reduce the thrust of wind.

Sphinx 7 is unquestionably post-Archaic in style. The plastic modeling of the hair, neck, and chest is ample testimony of a later date. At the same time, the very fragmentary state of preservation of the statue and the lack of later comparanda in terracotta make close dating of the piece somewhat difficult. As noted above, the structure of the chest differs from that of 6th-century animals, and the primary feathers of these wings are blunter than theirs. But perhaps the most useful criterion is the palmette-lotus ornament on the stephane.

Within the realm of architectural terracottas, some comparison can be drawn between painted ornaments on simas and our stephane. The critical elements are the form of the lotus, the use of an eleven-petal palmette, the slight droop in the petals of the palmette, and, to a lesser degree, the direction of the spirals beneath the palmette. In looking for parallels, it soon becomes clear that a lotus of our type, with two flaring petals and a single bud, drops out of the repertory of architectural terracottas by about the middle of the 5th century. A sima from Corinth, FS-6 (Roebuck 1991, p. 40, pl. 9:C), dated by Mary C. Roebuck as being from the second quarter of the 5th century to ca. 450 B.C., has a similar lotus, though with more exaggerated petals, and an eleven-petal palmette. But the form of the palmette differs from ours. It makes a semi-circle in outline and has shorter and fuller petals. A second sima from Corinth, FS-876 (Roebuck 1991, p. 43, pl. 10:D), is decorated with petals that droop more like those on the stephane, but again the palmette is fuller, the central petal short, the heart triangular, and the lotus more complex in form. Dated to ca. 430 B.C. by Roebuck, this piece probably gives a rough *terminus ante quem* for our statue. Parallels in vase painting are less satisfactory, perhaps because the floral ornamentation is affected by the space and contours which define it. Of special interest, however, is a bronze couch appliqué in Berlin (Jacobsthal

1927, p. 149, pl. 117:B), which consists of four antithetic palmettes. Each palmette has eleven petals, its central leaf is elongated, and the general outline of the palmette is slightly higher than it is wide. In addition, the heart is rounded and sits above two scrolls that curl in toward the center. Dated ca. 460 B.C. by Jacobsthal, it provides a close parallel for our piece. If any differences are to be cited, it is perhaps the greater droop of our petals, which may point to a slightly later date for our sphinx. Although Pernice (1904, p. 30) suggested that the appliqué had come from Boiotia, one cannot help but wonder if it had not been made in Corinth. Based on these parallels, our sphinx should probably be dated around the middle of the 5th century or just slightly earlier.

At that date, there are few pieces with which it can be compared. Perhaps the most prominent example is the well-known marble sphinx from the Sanctuary of Apollo on Aigina (*Alt-Agina* II, 2, no. 52, pp. 80, 118–120, pls. 35, 38–40). Both sphinxes turn their heads slightly to one side but there the similarities stop. The hairstyle of the Aiginetan sphinx is elaborate and unusual, while that of the Corinthian statue is a kind of modern variation on an Archaic theme. In profile, the chest of the Aiginetan sphinx is heavy and blockish, while the Corinthian one shows the beginnings of breasts. In contrast to the massiveness of the chest of the Aiginetan sphinx, the lower part of its torso is slender and bony, especially in the haunches. The torso of the Corinthian sphinx is less exaggerated. Walter-Karydi calls the Aiginetan sphinx the first to abandon the traditional sickle-shaped wing, whereas the wings of the Corinthian sphinx are absolutely conventional and follow local traditions established in the 6th century. It is possible that these differences are owing to the materials in which the animals were modeled. The differences may also be the result of the differing functions of the two sphinxes. As a freestanding votive, the marble sphinx could have been carved in the style of the period in which it was dedicated. But an acroterion that was designed for a pre-existing Archaic temple may have had to keep more of the flavor of the original structure.

Ca. 460–450 B.C.

8 Legs, paw of sphinx

Figs. 4, 22

a. SF-75-3. P.H. 0.069, W. top 0.066, Th. wall 0.022–0.033. Half or quarter of the circumference of lower leg, broken top and bottom. Early Roman filling with Byzantine intrusions, quarry trench 6, lot 75-182.

b. SF-1b. P.H. 0.115; p.W. 0.071 (top)–0.057 (bottom). Lower part of left foreleg, broken at top, bottom, side. Early excavations, exact provenience unknown.

c. SF-1a (Weinberg 38). P.H. 0.118, D. top (front to back) 0.075, Diam. rod 0.02. Lower part of left foreleg, preserving carpals and part of metacarpals. Finding as b.

d. SF-75-4. P.H. 0.042, p.L. front to back 0.068, p.Th. 0.024. Paw, broken all around, preserving two toes. Finding as b but with Byzantine intrusions, lot 75-181.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.002–0.005, fired yellow, near 2.5Y 8/5 to 2.5Y 7/5 (d); core: abundant fine to medium black inclusions (to 0.003), fired pink 7.5YR 7/5.

Published: c: Weinberg 1957, no. 38, p. 316, pls. 72, 75.

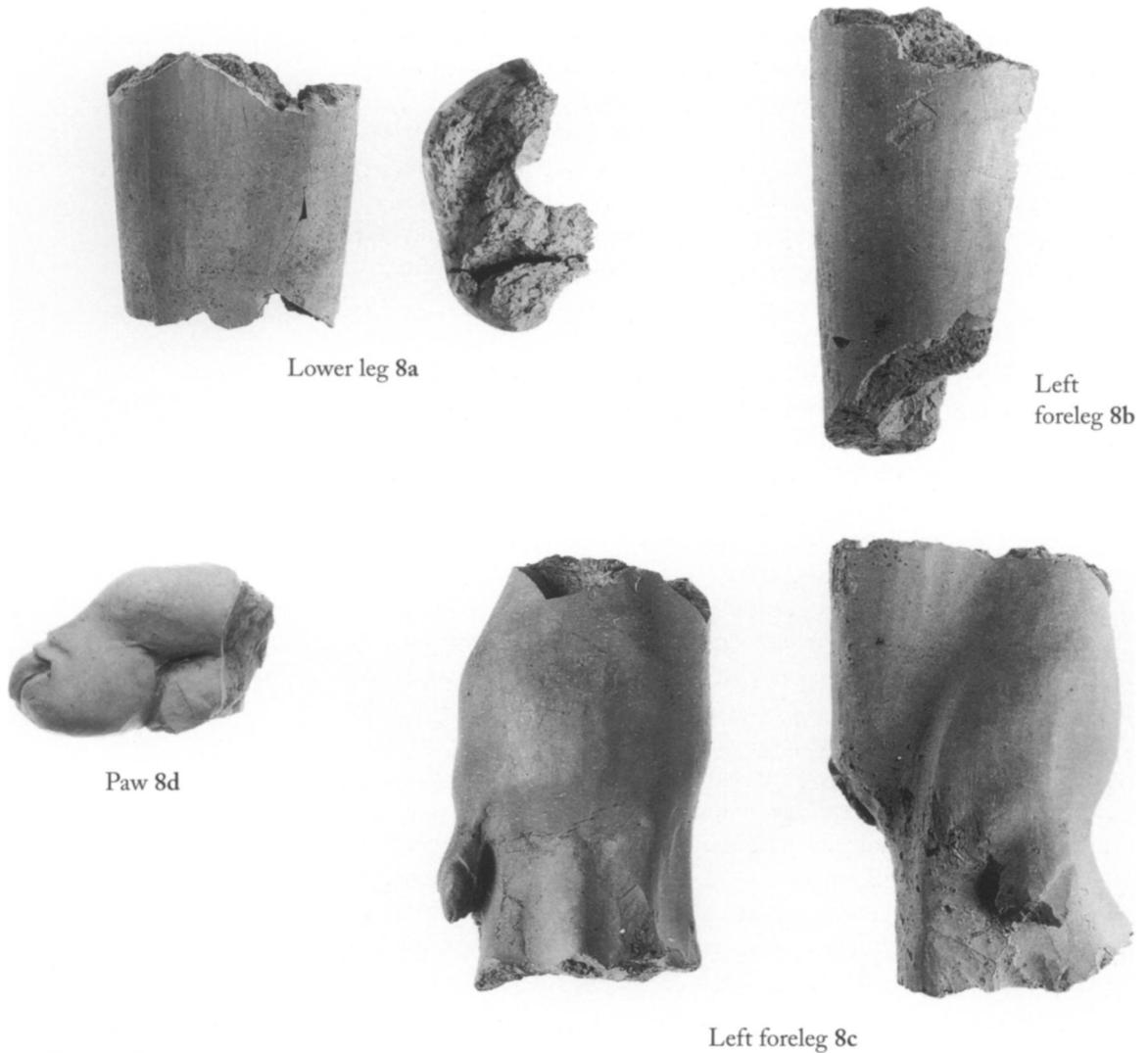


Figure 22. Sphinx 8. Scale 1:2

8a (Fig. 22) preserves either half the circumference of a leg from radius to ulna, or, as the scale of **c** suggests, the front quarter from the inside of a large, right leg. The fragment tapers slightly from top to bottom. In horizontal section, the inside is flattened but makes a wide curve around the radius, which is offset toward the front by a shallow concavity. A much deeper concave channel offsets the radius toward the back of the leg. Presumably, the ulna began just behind this. The surface is well polished. A large hole 0.018 m in diameter runs down the axis of the leg.

Not included by Weinberg, although an early find, **b** (Fig. 22) preserves the back quarter of the inside of the left leg immediately above the carpals **c** (Figs. 4, 22). That **b** and **c** go together is suggested by two technical details. On both, inclusions show through to the surface on the back of the leg, and a roughened surface, which runs down one side of the central hole made by the supporting rod in **b**, can be aligned with a similar surface in **c**.

Already published by Weinberg, *c* preserves the left leg at the carpals and top of the metacarpals. As with *a*, the bones of the leg are separated by concave channels, one on either side of the radius. At the back of the carpals is the large projecting bone, partly broken and painted black. On the inside of the leg toward the front is the dew-claw. This is undercut to stand out from the leg, and the claw proper is cut back from the surrounding flesh. Below the joint, the ridges of the metacarpals are marked and curve outward rather sharply. A central hole 0.02 m in diameter remains from the structural rod around which the leg was built (Fig. 4).

8d (Fig. 22) derives from a very large front paw that is larger in scale than the hind paw of 7. Whether it is a left or right paw is uncertain. Preserved are one of the middle toes and part of an outer one, set well back from the first. In profile the toes are quite high, the pads fat and round. The claw is outlined by fairly deep incisions but is not cut free of the pad. A shallow groove delineates the skin above the claw. Another groove sets off the small claw from the larger one. Paring marks are apparent on the slightly lustrous surface.

The four fragments are distinguished by their very large scale and by their color. They have been fired at a high temperature, which has turned the core clay a bright pink and the fine surface slip a deep yellow, especially on *b* (2.5Y 7/5). The high temperature has also made the fragments somewhat brittle. If we compare these legs with 1 and with its Weinberg parallels, we find here none of the schematic renderings of anatomy of the earlier pieces. The elements are simplified, and there is more reliance on rounded forms than on sharp ridges. In this respect, **8a–d** more closely resemble 7, while in scale they appear to be slightly larger than the fragments of that sphinx. The legs may be tentatively associated with the two wing fragments catalogued below as **9a–b**.

Classical.

9 Right wing of sphinx

Fig. 23

a. SF-72-14a + c. Max. p.W. 0.17, Th. 0.022–0.028. Two joining fragments from tip of wing, preserving two feathers. Early Roman fill with Byzantine intrusions, quarry trench 6, lot 75-182; and Early Roman fill, west quarry trench, lot 72-175.

b. SF-72-14b. P.H. 0.10, p.W. 0.142, Th. 0.023–0.025. Two feathers, including one tip, and edge of third. Early Roman fill with

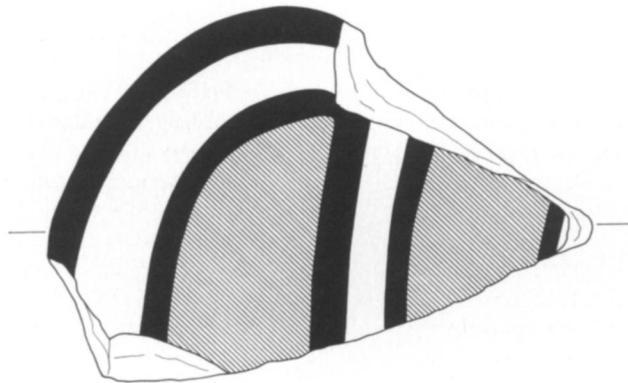
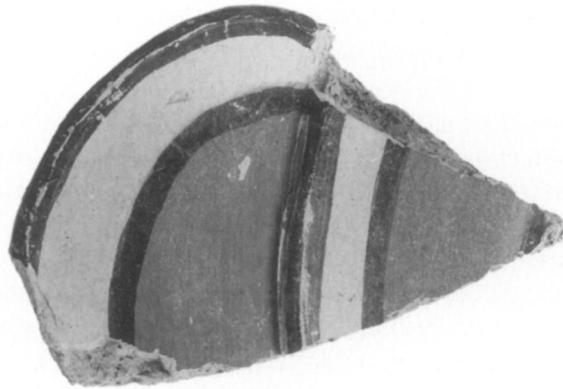
modern disturbance, quarry trench 2, lot 74-87.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.001–0.005, fired yellow, or slightly more yellow than 5Y 8/3, to buff 10YR 7.5/4 on back; core: moderate amount of well-mixed red and black fine to small inclusions (to 0.002), with small, unmixed pellets of red and white clay, fired pink, ca. 7.5YR 6.5/6. Paint: red-brown, ca. 5YR 5.5/4.

Two nonjoining fragments of a large right wing preserve the uppermost two primary feathers and three more primary feathers from the edge. The feathers overlap in steps that are not neatly and sharply cut but somewhat carelessly beveled. The uppermost primary feather



Right wing 9a



Right wing 9b

Figure 23. Sphinx 9. Scale 1:2

curls in and is bent out somewhat. A small projection of the coarse core at the base of this feather probably marks the start of the topmost covert feather, much as on 7. Complete feathers measure respectively 0.063–0.066 (b) and 0.067 m wide (a). The outer contour of the wing is not sharply cut but somewhat irregularly finished. The back is quite flat, with the result that the wing is fairly uniform in thickness, increasing slightly toward the outer edge.

Painted uniformly light red-brown, the centers of the feathers are outlined by a broad reserved band between matt black stripes. A very dilute red-brown paint is applied to the edge of the wing, while the back face is both unslipped and undecorated.

In section, the coarse core of b, 0.02–0.023 m thick, is clearly distinguishable from the fine clay in which the feathers are modeled. This fine layer tapers in thickness from 0.005 m at the outer edge of each feather to a thin skin at the inner edge. Irregularities are more marked on a. For example, the uppermost feather is thicker (to 0.028 m) than the others. Furthermore, a curious feature is visible on the side break of fragment a. A thin line of fine slip, lying 0.003 m below the surface, appears to outline a thinner and shorter wing that ends 0.038 m from the present wing tip. The adjoining feather, which has broken just beyond this point, has also broken along a joining surface, as if the original wing had been thickened and lengthened. Whether the main part of the wing was made in a mold or handmade is unclear.

These two fragments differ stylistically and in quality of workmanship from all of the other wings. The feathers are much wider and yet, given the scale, the wing is extremely thin. This thinness is especially striking when we compare the piece with 16, which has feathers of similar width but over twice the thickness. Also noticeable is the rather poor quality of workmanship. The surface of a is rough, the slip unevenly applied or smoothed; inclusions show through to its surface. The tip of its uppermost feather turns outward toward the viewer, as if the piece had warped in firing. Moreover, the black stripes are quite carelessly painted. The quality of finish and drawing would suggest a date in the 5th century, at the earliest, rather than in the 6th. In his preliminary work on the temple's roof tiles, Henry Robinson identified a fragment of the roof that might reflect a Hellenistic repair.¹⁰¹ Our wing is identical to that fragment in both clay color and surface treatment and may well belong to the same remodeling. Whether this took place as late as the Hellenistic period is not clear, but it was surely no earlier than the 5th century.

5th century B.C. or later.

10 Anatomical part of sphinx?

Fig. 24

SF-72-15. Max. p.dim. 0.021, Th. 0.071–0.082. Anatomical part, broken on all edges, preserving outer and inner surfaces. Early Roman fill, west quarry trench, lot 72-175.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.008, fired light yellow 2.5Y 8/3;

core: well-mixed common fine inclusions with rare small to medium ones (0.001–0.003), all of which are black where clay is buff, red where clay fired pink, fired salmon pink 5YR 6/6 or slightly redder.

101. See above, note 24, and 15, below.



Figure 24. Anatomical part of sphinx(?) 10. Scale 1:2

Anatomical part of a very large animal having very little modeling so far as preserved. The fragment is relatively flat, with a slight compound curve along the long axis, from concave at the thinner end to slightly convex toward the thicker end as if from the side of an animal. The surface is plain but lustrous, with inclusions coming through to the surface in a few places. The interior surface is roughly smoothed. There are traces of what may have been two holes for supports. One runs vertically to the surface but breaks off 0.02 m below it, while a second, at the opposite end of the piece, lies horizontally 0.05 m below the surface.

The great scale of this piece is attested by its wall thickness, greater than that of any other terracotta found at Corinth. Because of its size and lack of features, its identification must remain uncertain. Its scale is close to that of the horse published by Weinberg (1957, no. 7, SF-39-3, pp. 305–306, pls. 65, 75), although it is clearly not a part of that composition.

Late 6th to 5th century B.C.

11 Wings of a sphinx

Fig. 25

a. SF-7a. Max. p.dim. 0.15, Th. 0.035–0.041. Left wing, broken on all edges. Found before 1929.

b. SF-28-3. P.L. 0.115, Th. 0.030. Left wing, preserving upper edge. From the Athena Trench southeast of the Theater.

c. SF-7b. Max. p.dim. 0.092, Th. 0.026–0.031. Right wing, preserving outer edge. Found in 1925 in late levels over the hemicycle just northeast of Temple Hill and west of the Lechaion Road.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.001–0.003, fired pale yellow 2.5Y 7/4; core: abundant fine to small black inclusions, fired slightly gray. Paint: dark red-brown 10R 3/3; black 5YR 3/1.

Published: a, c: *Corinth IV*, i, pp. 113–114, M2, M9, fig. 46:b; Koch 1915, p. 83, fig. 38; Weinberg 1957, no. 34b–c, p. 315, pl. 72.

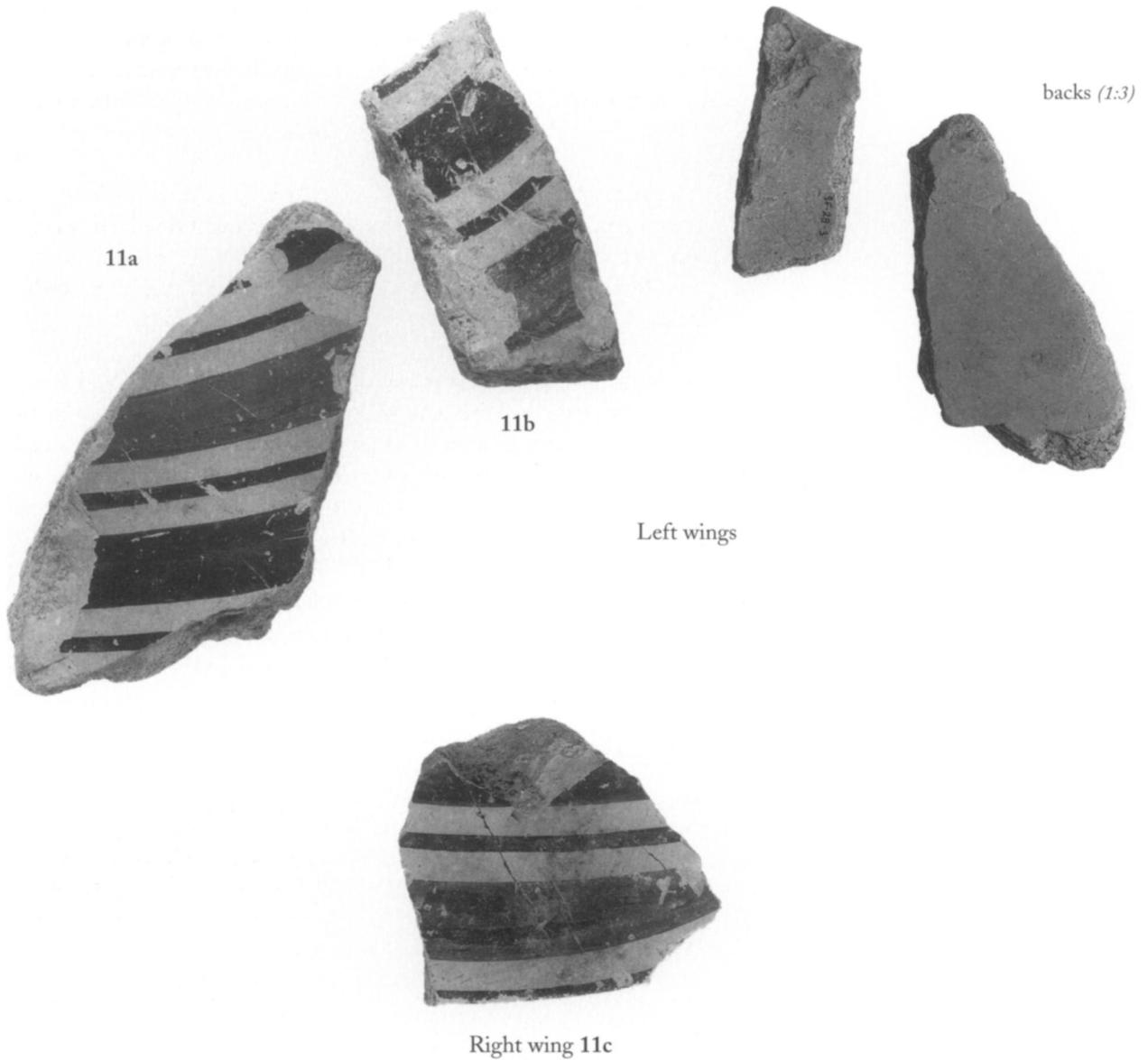


Figure 25. Sphinx 11. Scale 1:2 except as noted

Three fragments preserve parts of two wings of a sphinx. **11a** (Fig. 25) preserves three primary feathers of the left wing from a point near their base. Rendered in paint only, these consist of alternating red-brown and black centers, flanked by reserved stripes and outlined in a thin black stripe; those feathers which are preserved here are, from top to bottom, black, red-brown, and black. The feathers average 0.04–0.042 m wide. **11b** (Fig. 25) gives the upper edge of the same wing, as well as two primary feathers, black (upper feather) and red-brown (lower). The feathers on **b** are the wider of those on the two fragments, and **b** stood roughly 0.03–0.04 m to the right of **a**.

11c (Fig. 25) derives from the right wing, and preserves part of the outer or lower edge, followed by one red and one black primary feather.

Since these feathers are equal in width to those on **a**, fragment **c** must also have lain near the base of the wing, though it is somewhat thinner than **a**. The better-preserved left wing appears to have tapered in thickness from bottom to top. Both top and bottom edges of the wings are cut quite sharply and left unpainted, while the back surfaces are slipped and left plain.

The wings consist of flat slabs of clay. As with **2c**, the clay is layered. Beneath the fine surface is a thick layer with abundant fine inclusions (< 0.001 m), then a layer with small inclusions (to 0.002 m). The fine clay that forms the surface reaches a thickness of 0.002–0.003 m on the outer face, but measures less than 0.001 m on the back face.

As we stated in our discussion of statue **2**, fragments **a** and **c** were originally associated by Weinberg with the wing published here as **2c**. But because the feathers on **11a** and **11c** taper in opposite directions, they should belong to similar points on opposite wings. We have therefore separated them from **2c** and have added a third piece, **11b**, which was recently found with context pottery from the Athena Trench. Given the find-place of **c**, the sphinx undoubtedly once stood on Temple Hill, and for that reason has been included in Part I. If we are correct in assigning both wings to the same sphinx, as similar firing and painting suggest, then both wings were rendered in the same way. With so little preserved, however, it is not possible to assign a date to this group.

12 Wing of a Nike(?)

Fig. 26

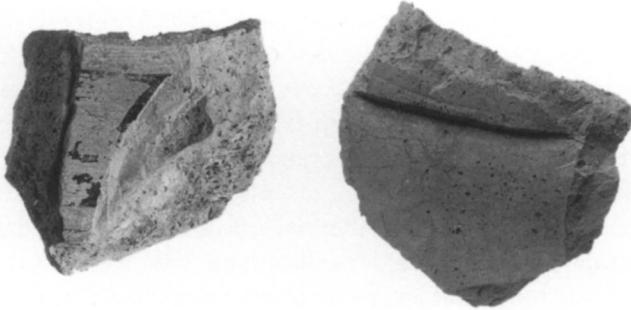
SF-74-4. P.L. 0.074; p.W. 0.065; Th. 0.022–0.024. Wing, preserving both faces, broken on all edges. Early Roman fill, quarry trench 4, lot 74-178.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.001–0.003, fired buff 2.5Y 7.5/2; core: frequent fine black inclusions (0.001 or less), fired pale pinkish buff, or slightly pinker than 10YR 7/3.

A fragmentary wing, possibly the left, is modeled on both faces. On the front face (Fig. 26) is part of one feather, below which is the edge of a second feather that is set back from the first. Above, the fragment has broken along the joint with the next feather, giving a width of ca. 0.05 for the extant one. At the upper right, the fragment has broken along a V-shaped joint.

On the back (Fig. 26) are parts of two overlapping feathers, the lines of which do not precisely correspond with those on the front face. The surface of the lower feather thickens slightly to the right, where the surface breaks along a regular curving line, presumably at the juncture with another projecting surface such as the coverts.

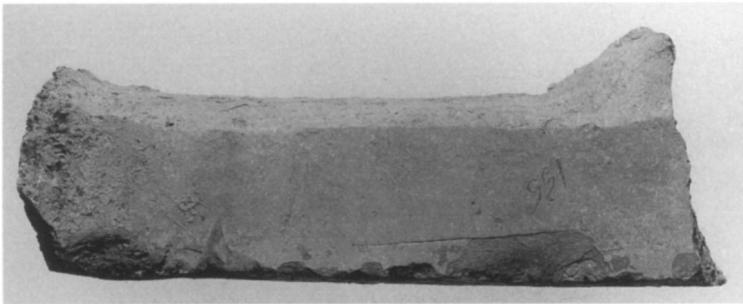
The single preserved front feather is painted according to the usual convention: red-brown center, now largely peeled, offset by narrow reserved bands and a red-brown band over the step. The back face is modeled but not painted, and inclusions appear on the surface. The wing is executed largely in coarse clay that is masked on both faces by a thin layer of fine slip.



Wing of a Nike(?) 12



Human left foot 13



Strut(?) 14

On the principle that sphinx wings are modeled on the outer face only,¹⁰² our piece should not belong to a sphinx but to a Nike. It certainly finds no parallels among the other fragments published herein. It is generally thinner than those, smaller in scale, and with a more pronounced curve to the feathers. If we compare it with the Nike published by Weinberg as no. 28 (1957, SF-34-1, p. 313, pl. 70), however, there are several noticeable differences. Although the two pieces are similar in thickness, the feathers of Weinberg 28 are worked in relief only on the front face; in back they are painted. Moreover, the feathers of Weinberg 28 are approximately half the width of those on our piece, suggesting that our Nike may have been the substantially larger of the two. Despite these differences, no other interpretation for our wing comes to mind.

Late 6th century B.C. or later?

13 Human left foot

SF-69-8. P.H. 0.022, p.L. 0.051, W. 0.058. Left foot from ball to toe tips, broken at attachment to plinth. North edge of Temple Hill, roughly north of center of temple, in 13th-century fill, no lot.

Clay: fine thin surface layer, fired buff 10YR 8/3; core: rare small black mudstone inclusions, fired pink 7.5YR 7/5.

Fig. 26

Figure 26. Miscellaneous pieces.

Scale 1:2

102. Goldberg 1977, pp. 174, 239. At Halai, wing no. 4 of sphinx I (Goldman 1940, figs. 112–113) appears to present painted feathers on both faces. But that fragment is also unusual in preserving outlined scales that continue down the body, beyond the wing. For similar scales see Weinberg 1957, no. 36 (SF-27-1), p. 315, pl. 72, now 20c below; this is no longer maintained to belong to a sphinx, but to a sea creature.

A bare left foot of a human, roughly half life-size, which originally projected from beneath the hem of a long garment, the scar from which runs across the top of the foot at the ball. The toes rest flat on the missing plinth but are skewed slightly to proper left. The longest toe is the second toe, which extends well beyond the big toe; from it the other toes diminish in size to the little one, which curls in against the fourth toe. In profile the toes are relatively flat; they are long, first and second toes are separated, and the nails are square in outline, cut straight across the tips. Somewhat hastily modeled, the surface of the foot preserves numerous paring marks, and it is not polished. There are traces of black paint on the preserved edge of the plinth that surrounded the foot.

The foot is solid. From the underside it appears to have originally been shorter, its toes closer together, and the first two toes the same length. Additional clay was apparently added to change the form. The underside of the foot is rough where it separated from its plinth. A slight projecting ridge of clay below the ball may mark the edge of a ventilation hole.

Too little remains to help determine whether the fragment belonged to an acroterion or a freestanding figure. That it doesn't belong with the wing, 12, is shown by the considerable difference in fired colors of the two clays. A foot of a Nike from Olympia (*OIForsch* XXII, F6, p. 87, pl. 60:f, g), dated to the beginning of the 5th century B.C., provides a useful comparison. The first two toes of the Olympia foot are equal in length, and all five, including the little toe, are straight. In profile the toes slant downward. A similar foot belongs to one of the striding figures on the Amazonomachy pediment from Corinth (Weinberg 1957, pp. 306–307, no. 8, SF-32-3, pl. 65), also dated to the early 5th century. The differing lengths of the first two toes of our foot, the curling little toe, the flatter profile, and the hasty finish of the surface argue for a date no earlier than the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.

5th century B.C.

14 Strut?

Fig. 26

SF-72-16. P.L. 0.17, W. 0.055, p.H. 0.048–0.070. Strut, broken at either end. Early Roman fill, west quarry trench, lot 72-175.

Clay: thin fine layer on one side; surface and core: common fine black inclusions, rare small (chiefly 0.002 but ranging from < 0.001 to 0.003), fired yellow throughout, 5Y 8/2–8/3.

A massive bar, modeled solidly of clay; approximately rectangular in section, its upper surface slightly rounded. At one end, the upper surface rises at an angle toward the broken end; at the other end, both sides and the upper surface begin to flare. The bottom is smoothly flat but in no way finished. One long side is carefully masked with a fine slip which extends partly onto the top. The rest of the top, and the back faces, are both irregular and without a surface slip.

This piece has been included for purely technical reasons. Tentatively identified as a large strut, it differs from the lighter cylindrical struts, such

as 7r and 18c, which generally prop apart sphinx wings. While it too may have been a prop for wings, the finish of the bottom suggests that the piece originally rested on something equally flat, such as a plinth. The one smoothed face was clearly what was to be seen. Where this strut might have been used is unclear; perhaps, in some way, it braced the legs of a sphinx. That sphinx legs were not always completely free is shown by Weinberg 39 (Fig. 4; Weinberg 1957, SF-32-12, p. 316, pl. 72), which preserves a thin partition down its length. At the same time, an alternate interpretation cannot be overlooked, namely, that the fragment derives from the back leg of a large, seated sphinx or lion like one from Olympia (Moustaka 1984, especially pl. 31:2; *OIForsch* XXII, L11, p. 124, pl. 101:a). In accordance with that parallel, the angled end (Fig. 26, at right) might mark the beginning of the “elbow,” while the other end might be widening to form a paw. There is, however, no evidence of anatomical modeling of the bones of the legs such as appears on the Olympia example. Moreover, the lack of slip over the entire leg becomes problematic. For these reasons the identification of the fragment as a strut seems preferable. The piece does not precisely resemble any of the other fragments from Temple Hill. Whereas its surface color is closest to 3 and 4, that of its core is yellow rather than gray-green. With so little preserved, a date cannot be assigned to this piece.

15 Disc(?)

Fig. 27

a. SF-74-5a. P.H. 0.060, p.W. 0.028, max. Th. 0.037. Broken on all edges, preserving part of two faces and intermediate strut. Early Roman fill, quarry trench 4, lot 74-181.

b. SF-74-5b. P.H. 0.080, p.W. 0.067, Th. 0.015. Broken on all edges, preserving decorated face. Modern surface find on Temple Hill, 1972.

Clay: fine thin surface slip, Th. < 0.001, fired buff 10YR 8/4; core: frequent fine to small (to 0.002) red and black inclusions, fired pink 6.5YR 7/6. Paint: red-brown 5YR 6.5/4.

These two nonjoining fragments are problematic and do not fit in with the other pieces described thus far. **15a** consists of two flat and parallel surfaces, one decorated, the other plain, which are joined by a strut 0.013 m thick; an airspace of ca. 0.01 m is left between them. The surface of the plain face was smoothed while the clay was moist; inclusions are apparent. More of the decorated surface is preserved on **b**. This consists of a roughly flat surface, the center of which is framed by a broad groove that, on **a**, flattens into an angular offset. The groove on **b** appears to form a curving line, and as such would outline a central tondo, but too little is preserved for certainty. The interior surfaces of both pieces are irregular and clearly were not seen.

Although carelessly drawn, the decorated face on **15b** is painted with what could be the face of an owl or a Gorgon, in so far as it is preserved. Parts of two large round eyes, closely set, are drawn in a thick black outline on the buff ground and are fringed along the inner circumference with black lashes. The small, solid black pupil is also fringed

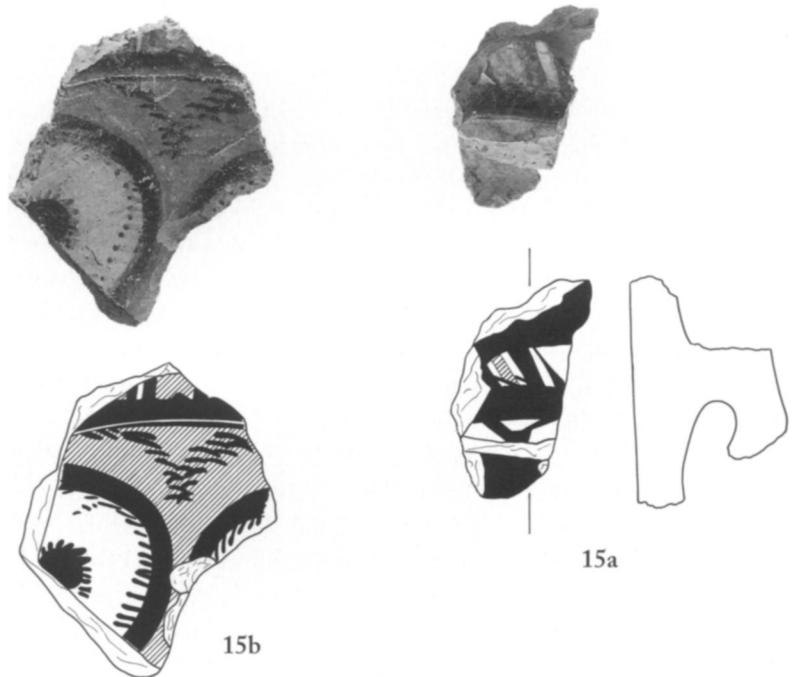


Figure 27. Disc(?). Scale 1:2

with black lashes. A dull light reddish brown is used for the face. Above and between the eyes is a triangle, drawn in short horizontal strokes of black, which might represent the ruff of feathers that surrounds the eye of an owl. At the same time, it must be admitted that the drawing of the lashes makes more sense if the fragment is turned 90 degrees in either direction so that one eye lies above the other, for the lashes within the better preserved eye then fall more naturally.¹⁰³ The shallow groove that frames the face is painted black. Above this are the tips of possibly vertical stripes, in red and reserved colors, outlined in black. Continued onto fragment a are both the stripes and the framing band, below which is a much smaller triangle outlined in black.

The strut that separates the two surfaces of 15a lies beneath the stripes at a right angle to them and therefore outside the central tondo. No trace of such a strut exists on b. This could mean that the strut was not continuous but only occurred at intervals, or that the two fragments derive from two distinct but similar objects.

Both the function and the subject matter of the fragments are unclear. Clay color, inclusions, and painted colors are virtually identical to those of wing 9, and yet it is unlikely that they could have derived from the same statue. The walls are relatively thin, indeed extremely so, and yet the total thickness of a is greater than that of 9. The back face of a is clearly a finished surface, much like the backs of sphinx wings; it is impossible, therefore, that, like an aegis, the piece could have decorated the front of a human statue. It is also unlikely that it was part of a shield. The shield carried by the terracotta warrior at Olympia (*OIForsch* XXII, B20–21, pp. 38–40, pls. 25–30) is, in fact, modeled like a bronze one. As such it is convex on the exterior, not flat like our piece. In addition, it is a single

103. My thanks to Roxanna Doxan for this observation.

thickness, not double like the Corinth disc. We have cited the similarities that exist among 15, 9, and a ridge palmette from the temple in terms of the fired colors of both clay and paint (above, note 24), which are unparalleled among the other terracottas. These parallels suggest an architectural function for 15. For want of a better identification, we have called it a disc because of its circular design. But we have avoided the term disc acroterion, since this form of architectural decoration is alien to the Corinthian tradition. The scale of our piece is also too small for that function.

With regard to the image, the eyes could belong to either an owl or a Gorgon. That it is a Gorgon seems unlikely for the following reasons. The eyes are entirely circular, whereas Gorgons have large circular pupils within a human-shaped eye; the fringing of both the pupil and the outline of the eye is not human but seems more suited to an animal. Finally, the deep V or triangle created by the shaggy eyebrows recalls the feathered ruff that surrounds an owl's eyes. Compare it, for example, with the head of an owl on an Early Corinthian aryballos, the name piece of the Painter of Delos 330 (Amyx 1988, p. 89, pl. 38:c). By contrast, the outline of the nose would generally be drawn between the eyes of a Gorgon.

The date of 15 is unknown. Stylization of the representation suggests an Archaic date; at the same time, the carelessness of the workmanship is unusual for that period. In keeping with 9, it should date no earlier than the 5th century B.C.

5th century B.C. or later.

II. PIECES FOUND OUTSIDE OF TEMPLE HILL OR OF UNKNOWN PROVENIENCE

16 Shoulder of a sphinx

Fig. 28

SF-18. P.H. 0.120, p.W. 0.055, Th. 0.027–0.045. Shoulder, broken on all edges. Provenience unknown.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.005, fired tan 10YR 7/5; core:

abundant fine black and rare red and white inclusions (to 0.001), fired pale yellow 2.5Y 7/2. Paint: purplish-brown 10R 4/3; black 5YR 3/1.

Part of the shoulder of a sphinx that is close in scale to Weinberg 33, broken at or near the juncture to the chest (Fig. 28). Although the piece may derive from either shoulder, the left seems more likely. So placed, the fragment preserves the front of the shoulder as it breaks before the side. A slight contraction of the curve of the shoulder is apparent at the lower break, presumably as it tapers to the start of the leg. On the interior (Fig. 28) can be seen a spear-shaped impression of two flattened surfaces, at acute angles to each other, that may have been made by sticks used for support during modeling.

Scaly feathers, painted on the shoulder, are arranged in rows that rise slightly toward the upper side. Carefully drawn but not quite uniform in size, the scales have short stems, are arranged in vertical rows of purplish red, then black, and have reserved and heavy black outlines.

The fragment very much resembles Weinberg 33 and may well date from about the same time, in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Third quarter of 6th century B.C.?

Figure 28. Sphinx shoulder 16.
Scale 1:2



17 Right wing of a sphinx

Fig. 29

SF-24. P.L. 0.183, p.H. 0.185,
Th. 0.055 (top)–0.073 (bottom).
Front and back faces of wing, broken
on all edges. Early excavations,
provenience unknown, found by
1915.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th.
0.005–0.01, fired pale yellow, ca. 2.5Y
7/3; core: abundant fine to small
inclusions (to 0.002), black where

clay fired yellow, red where clay fired
pink, fired pale pink. Paint: red-
brown 5YR 5/4 to 2.5YR 4/2 to 10R
3/3.

*Published: Corinth IV, i, p. 113,
M7; Koch 1915, p. 82, no. 1.*

A small portion of an enormous right wing preserves parts of three primary feathers and the tip of one covert feather. The primaries are stepped up in relief, the single complete feather having a width of 0.075 m. Each center is painted brown, shading to red-brown where more dilute, and each is set off by a broad reserved stripe with a red-brown stripe along the outer edge. Unlike the modeled primary feathers, the single covert feather is simply painted in a brown outline with reserved center. A measure of the piece's large scale is shown by the fact that the feathers show only a very slight curve. In terms of technique, the feathers are modeled entirely in fine clay, varying in thickness from 0.005–0.01 m, while the flat back is finished with a paper-thin slip that is mottled from firing but not painted.

In execution, the wing is not equal to 2c, but it represents the largest terracotta sphinx that has survived in Corinth. From the thickness of the fragment and its weight (2.25 kg) we can conclude that the making of the whole figure was a technological accomplishment of the highest order.

This appears to be the piece published without illustration in *Corinth IV, i, p. 113*, as M7. It does not belong with M5, however, as suggested therein, since the latter piece has now been joined to 7h and is quite different both in scale and treatment. Nor is Koch's observation (1915, p. 82, note 6) correct, that it derived from a large circular acroterion, for the

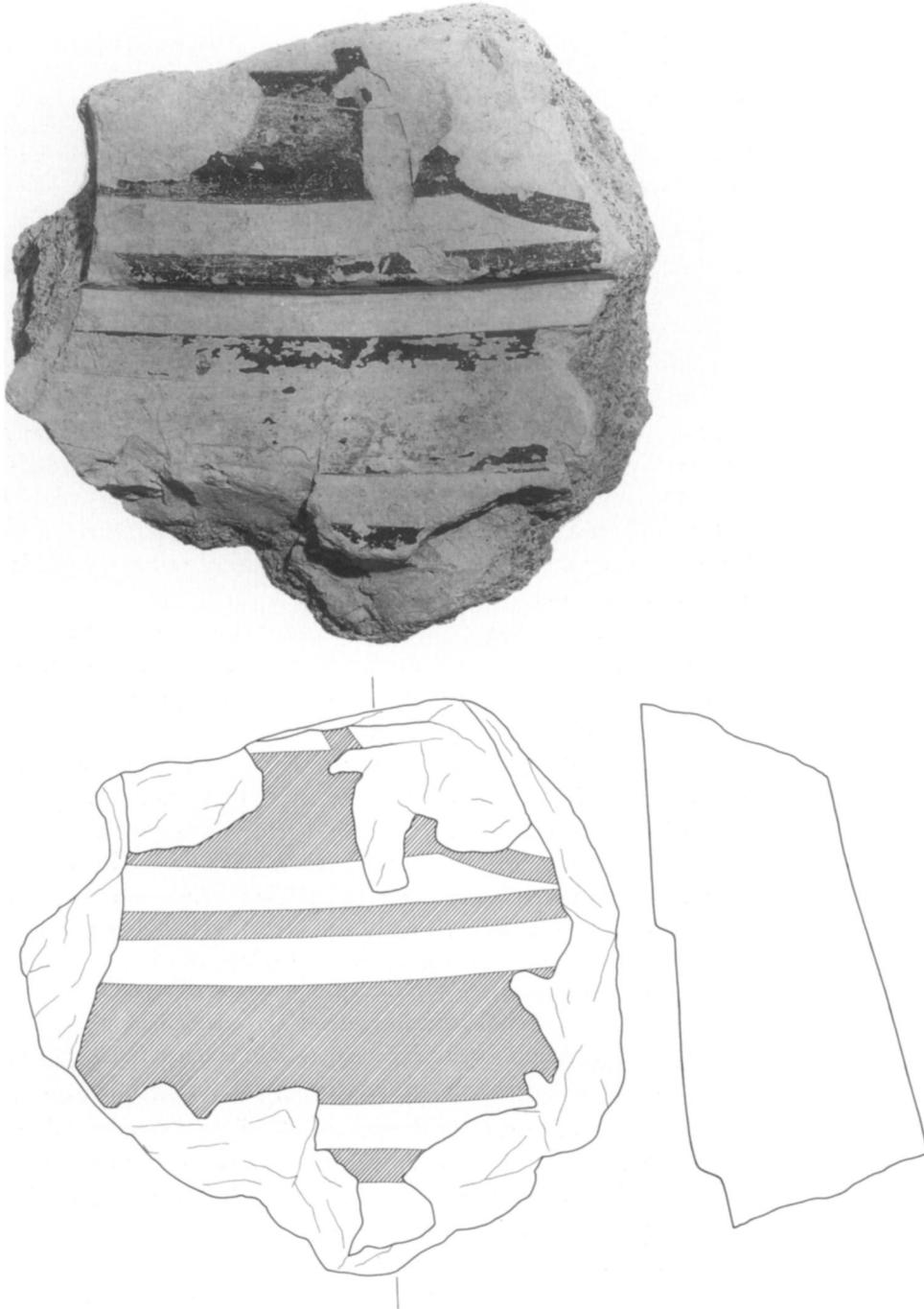


Figure 29. Sphinx right wing 17.
Scale 1:2

feathers of the sphinx wing are quite clear. Its date is uncertain, but to judge from the abundant fine inclusions and the thick layer of fine surface clay, a 6th-century date is likely.

6th century B.C.?

18 Leg, tail, strut of sphinx

Fig. 30

a. SF-28b. P.H. 0.097, p.W. 0.050, Th. wall 0.014–0.045. Back half of foreleg, surface chipped.

b. SF-28a. P.H. 0.105, Diam. tail 0.024–0.032. Tail, broken at attachment to rump and before tip.

c. SF-28c. L. 0.124; Diam. 0.033–0.036. Strut, complete, broken at attachment to wings.

Early excavations, provenience unknown.

Clay: thin fine surface layer, Th. < 0.001, fired unevenly at surface, buff to tan, 2.5Y 8/3 to 7.5YR 7.5/8; core: frequent fine black inclusions (to ca. 0.001), fired pale buff, ca. 10YR 8/3.

Three nonjoining fragments are grouped on the basis of clay color and mottled firing. **18a** (Fig. 30) preserves the back half of the foreleg of a sphinx that may have been the size of 7. It differs somewhat from other legs in that it is not rounded or oval in back but virtually triangular, the sides thinning to a very narrow, flattened ulna. The ulna ends just above the carpals in a pronounced bump, the tip of which is broken. Of further interest is the fact that the leg may have been modeled free-hand, as is suggested by the generous central cavity, rather than built up around a central rod.

The tail, **b**, which tapers in thickness from rump end to tip, makes a complete loop, then crosses to the left of the thicker end before breaking off. It is broken along a joint, which preserves the impression of a rounded surface, presumably the back of the sphinx.

Finally, the strut, **c**, which originally must have propped apart the wings, is round in section like **7r**. It is pierced from end to end by a narrow hole 0.01 m in diameter and flares at either end where it was attached to either wing. The strut is more carefully finished than **7r**, was not painted, and exhibits the same mottled firing that characterizes **18a** and **b**. All of the fragments are finished with a very thin layer of fine clay that is unpolished and that does not completely cover the underlying inclusions.

The pieces described here have been catalogued from a box of fragments from early excavations that lack specific provenience. Among these were a torso that may belong to the Amazonomachy published by Weinberg, and a mold for an ornamental disc,¹⁰⁴ both of which may have come from the well by Temple E. Therefore it is possible, but by no means certain, that this sphinx also came from that area.

Comparison with the better preserved marble sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Richter 1961, no. 37, pp. 27–29, figs. 97, 100) clarifies the exact position of our tail. It formed a figure eight, turning up from the rump against the hindquarters before making a loop and ending against the flank. The crossing of the tip apparently occurs on the side toward which the sphinx is looking. Therefore, our sphinx must have faced left. The thickness of the tail and the size of the loop suggest a sphinx larger than Weinberg 33. The surface finish, which closely resembles that of sphinx 7, argues for a date in the 5th century B.C.

It may be of interest to note here a difference between at least two of the Kalydon sphinxes and those from Corinth in terms of technique. The

104. The mold may be that described in *Corinth XV*, i, p. 112, as coming from Temple E.



Figure 30. Sphinx 18. Scale 1:2

wings of sphinxes D and G from Kalydon are reinforced at their base in the following manner: a solid shelf-like wall projects from the upper back for an estimated 0.05–0.06 m, running from wing to wing to give them support and to reinforce their juncture with the body. The “wall” is preserved on sphinx D, and can be restored on G on the evidence of the broken surface on the back. This system does not appear on Weinberg 33 nor on statue 7, above. The circular struts used in Corinth are not attested at Kalydon; however, the wings of the Kalydon sphinxes may not be preserved to a sufficient height to display this feature. It would be interesting to know whether the difference is chronological or regional.

5th century B.C.

19 Scaly body, sphinx(?)

Fig. 31

SF-19. P.H. 0.104, p.W. 0.106, Th. 0.024–0.034. Body, broken all around. Provenience unknown but apparently found before 1915.

Clay: thin fine surface layer, Th. 0.002–0.005, fired yellow-green 5Y

7/3; core: frequent fine to small angular red and rare white inclusions, fired bright pink 5YR 6.5/6. Paint: red-brown 2.5YR 4/4 where thickest; black.

An anatomical fragment, with a pronounced convex curve in vertical section, thickens at the bottom right as the interior surface of the body turns inward. A portion of smooth body surface runs along the lower third of the fragment. As the fragment is oriented in Figure 31, this

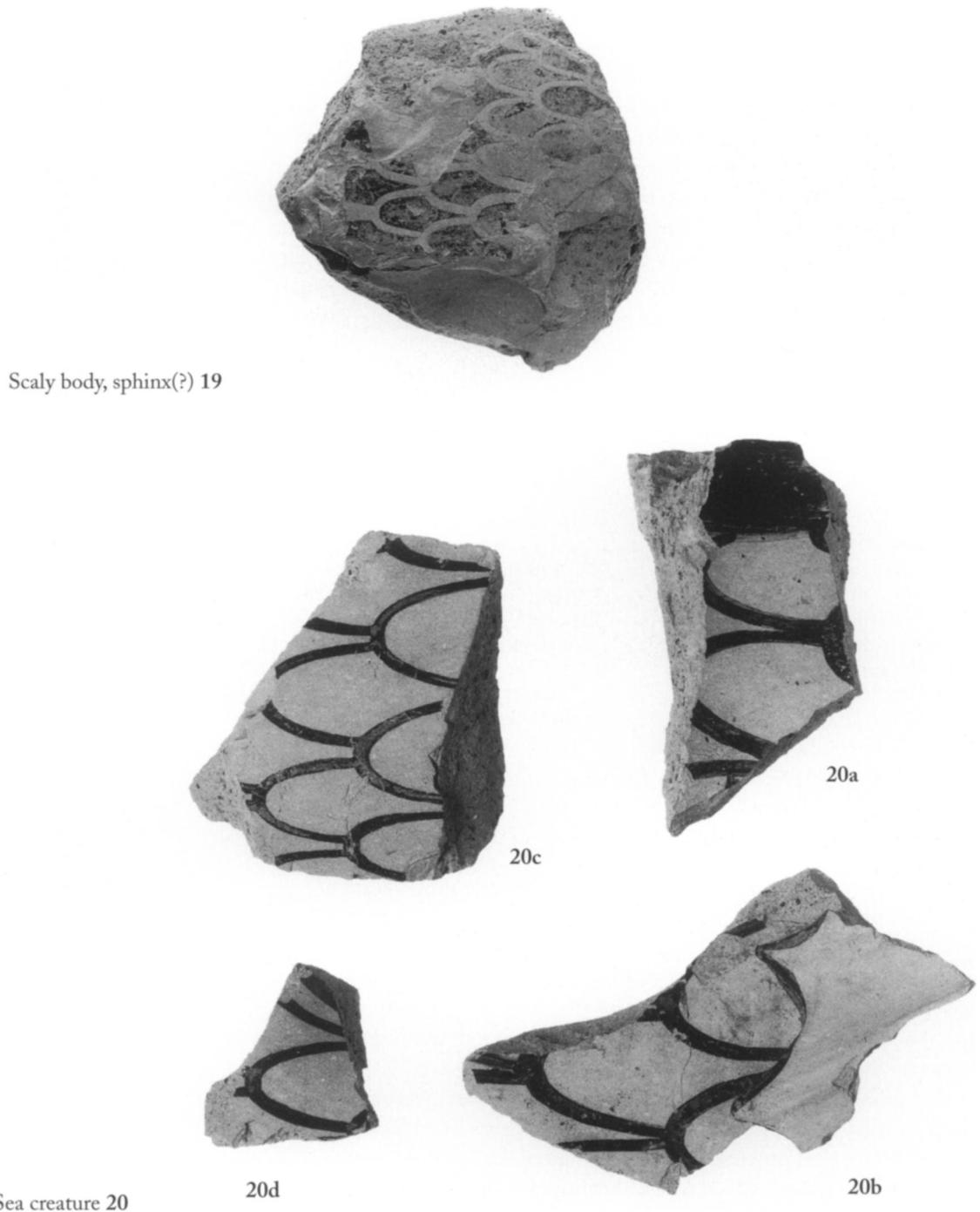


Figure 31. 19 and 20. Scale 1:2

smooth surface is broken only at the left edge by a single recessed scale. The body is otherwise unpainted and lightly polished. From this body, a surface projects in low relief (ca. 8 mm); its lower edge is scalloped to form at least two sharp points or lobes. This surface is decorated with scales running horizontally. They are painted in vertical rows of black, alternating with rows of red-brown, within a reserved outline, and are of a uniform size. The statue is hollow, its interior surface smooth.

What animal this represents is not clear. Although the scales suggest a sphinx, parallels are lacking for a sphinx with lobed wing or for one with scales extending so far along the side. Nor is it clear that the orientation shown in Figure 31 is correct. That we have chosen this position is owing to the vertical curvature as contrasted with the flatness of the piece in horizontal section. If the piece is turned 180 degrees so that the smooth body falls at the top rather than the bottom, its interpretation becomes even more perplexing, for the vertical curvature is too steep for a shoulder. As for a date, the color scheme of the scales and the lightly polished surface treatment of the body suggest that it was made in the 6th century B.C., but probably no earlier than the second half, given its relatively complex form.

Second half 6th century B.C.

20 Sea creature

Fig. 31

a. SF-87-1b. Max. p.dim. 0.114, Th. 0.022–0.029. Part of body and dorsal spine. East of the Theater, east of Building 3, in surface fill.

b. SF-87-1a. Max. p.dim. 0.147, Th. 0.02–0.042. Two joining fragments, part of body and fin. East of the Theater, east of Building 1, in surface fill.

c. SF-27-1 (Weinberg 36). P.H. 0.092, p.W. 0.099, Th. 0.03–0.032. Body, broken on all edges. Athena Trench, east of Building 3, in surface fill.

d. SF-26-4. P.W. 0.061, Th. 0.013–0.018. Finding as c.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. 0.001–0.002, fired yellow 2.5Y 7.5/4.5; core: frequent fine inclusions, chiefly black and a few red, and rare small inclusions, fired pale pink 10YR 6.5/4. Paint: black 7.5YR 3/1.

Published: c. Weinberg 1957, no. 36, p. 315, pl. 72.

Four tantalizing fragments belonging to a sizable sea creature of some sort, preserving only a small part. The animal to which they belong has a body that is round and covered with scales, in so far as the body is preserved. These scales are simply outlined in a broad black line against the yellow clay of the surface, but, given that they should point away from the head, they help to establish the orientation of the fragments. Described individually, the fragments are as follows.

20a probably belongs to the upper right side of the creature, for it preserves what may be the dorsal spine. This consists of a black-painted sloping surface that runs the length of the piece. Beneath this are the scales, of which are preserved part of one row (W. 0.035 m) and the tips of a second. A black cross-line cutting through the bottommost scale may be the remnant of some further decoration. In horizontal section the fragment is slightly concave.

20b preserves the largest scales, of which parts of three rows are preserved. Slightly concave along the long axis of the scales, the body is partly covered by a large fin, of which two pointed lobes remain. The fin stands out in relief from the body, and plastic ribs extend to the tip of each lobe; the upper lobe presses down against the body while the lower one projects more freely. The surface of the fin is reserved, but a black

stripe outlines its edge. The scales of **b** diminish in size both from presumed top to bottom and from right to left. Since the largest scales (0.04 m wide) lie just beneath the fin, and since the remaining scales decline in width from 0.04 to 0.036 m, the fin should lie near the base of the fish's head. Because of the way in which the lower lobe opens out from the body, we assume that the fin is a ventral one.

Two vertical rows of scales and the tip of a third are preserved on **c**. These diminish in size both from top to bottom and from right to left (W. 0.031–0.024 m). Slightly convex both horizontally and vertically, the piece in vertical section does not make an even curve but is fuller toward the bottom and flatter toward the top.

Finally, **d**, the smallest, preserves one row of scales and the base of a second. Within the uppermost scale is a second black stroke, the purpose of which is unclear. This piece too is very slightly concave along the axis of the scales.

The statue is hollow. Its wall is not of a consistent thickness: **c** is the thickest, **a** is close in thickness to **c**, and the bottoms of **b** and **d** are the thinnest. A vertical partition 0.013 m thick runs the length of the body beneath the dorsal spine, **20a**, presumably to give the spine support. The body is worked chiefly in coarse clay, including the core of the fin and spine. On **c**, the fine surface clay has broken away, exposing a second, thin fine skin directly over the coarse, as if the outer layer had been added to a figure that had already been blocked out.

105. Weinberg 1957, no. 36, p. 315, pl. 72; Goldman 1940, p. 443, nos. 4–5, figs. 112–115. There is much about this statue that is unusual, such as the scales that continue over the lower body and the square torso with incipient breasts. One wonders if it could have been a siren rather than a sphinx.

106. A useful chart with fish terminology can be found in McPhee and Trendall 1987, p. 171, fig. 2.

107. A possible exception is the terracotta Melian relief, depicting a Triton holding a youth, where a fin of a different form is visible along the bottom of his body. See Jacobsthal 1931, no. 3, p. 17, pl. 3. For an Etruscan ivory from Corneto, now in the Louvre, on which is a fish-tailed monster with numerous fins, see Shepard 1940, p. 32, pl. VI:45. A useful survey of sea monsters in vase-painting is in Ahlberg-Cornell 1984.

108. For the Agrigento pyxis C948 now in Würzburg, see Boehringer 1929, p. 84, figs. 9:a–c, especially c, and McPhee and Trendall 1987, p. 60, pl. 12:A. A drawing of the vase from Selinos appears in Kekulé von Stradonitz 1884, pl. 57 and p. 83.

One of these fragments, **c**, was known to Weinberg, who assigned it to a sphinx on the analogy of the unusual sphinx from Halai.¹⁰⁵ Clearly that interpretation cannot be correct, for when we put these few pieces together, we have a sea creature whose body is round, not quite cylindrical, and roughly 0.16–0.17 m in diameter. The few existing fragments suggest that the body was flexed but to what extent cannot be determined. Presumably, the body tapered from one end to the other, as the diminishing scales indicate. It apparently had a dorsal spine that may have supported one or more dorsal fins. In addition, it had a large web-like fin, which we tentatively place behind the head, on the belly.¹⁰⁶

It may be easier to say what **20** certainly isn't. It isn't a dolphin, for a dolphin's skin is not scaly, as the acroterion of a dolphin from Olympia makes clear (*OIForsch* XXII, O1, pp. 140–145, pls. 110–111). It also differs from the possible dolphin published by Weinberg (1957, no. 32, p. 314, pl. 70). It probably is not part of a fish-tailed monster like Typhon, for he is generally shown without fins like this.¹⁰⁷ But the fragments could have belonged to some other kind of sea creature, such as a ketos or a seahorse. That sea creatures were modeled in clay is shown by two fragments from Kalydon (Dyggve 1948, pp. 185–188, fig. 197), although neither is quite like ours. A Boiotian red-figure pyxis in Würzburg and a relief vase from Selinos provide glimpses of what such an animal might have been,¹⁰⁸ namely, a creature with a horse-like head, serpentine body, numerous dorsal fins, and fewer ventral ones. Even better parallels for the flipper-like fin, here placed on the belly, can be found in representations of a ketos in Scythian art. Among the examples are a gold appliqué of the late 4th century B.C.

from Kul' Oba (Michel 1995, p. 87, fig. 26) and a Hellenistic gold plate from Alexandropol (Minns 1913, pp. 154–155, fig. 42).¹⁰⁹ While the Corinthian piece is not as late as these examples, it may well depict the same kind of animal.

The function of this piece is by no means clear. If it was as big as its circumference suggests, it was probably too large for an acroterion.¹¹⁰ It might, however, have filled the corner of a small pediment. Scales of this sort appear on the sphinx from Halai, cited above and dated to the end of the 6th century B.C. They also decorate the breast of a sphinx from Olympia (*OIForsch* XXII, J18, pp. 109–110, 114–115, pl. 93:b). The careful plastic rendering of the fin may suggest a date in the 5th century B.C.

End of 6th to 5th century B.C.

21 Sea creature(?)

Fig. 32

SF-25. P.L. ca. 0.16, p.W. 0.12, Th. 0.015–0.05. Back of an animal, with part of dorsal fin, tips of which are broken away, surface chipped. Provenience unknown.

Clay: fine surface layer, Th. < 0.001, fired pale yellow, ca. 2.5Y 8/3; core: frequent fine to small black and red inclusions, at least one large red inclusion (0.007), fired pale pink 7.5YR 7/4.

A single fragment may be further evidence of the use of sea creatures as architectural decoration at Corinth. Preserved is the rounded back of an animal, from which projects a heavy fin (Fig. 32). Both ends of the fin are preserved, as well as the stumps of three projecting lobes. On each of these is painted a single spine in black. At the base of the fin are horizontal rows of parallel zigzags in relief that extend both along and down the body; at least four rows are preserved on the right side and two on the left. These zigzags are quite angular near the spine but gradually flatten out into the surface of the back. They are painted a matt black against a reserved ground. Where the relief zigzags flatten out, the solid black paint breaks into wispy streaks that curl, much like the ends of locks of hair.

If the piece is viewed from the front—in cross-section (Fig. 32)—the following is apparent. The fin is a slab of clay, 0.016 m thick, which, at its base, curves out on either side to form a body of the same thickness. Onto this structure at the base of the fin has been added a mass of clay as much as 0.038 m thick, in which is modeled the zigzag pattern. If one looks at the animal from its right side and, more particularly, at the broken surface that runs along the present base of the right side, the addition of this clay to the fish body becomes even more apparent. Here the wall tapers in thickness from 0.047 m, at right, to 0.017 m at left. In the thicker right half, two distinct layers can be distinguished. The underlying body consists of a layer of coarse clay, covered by a thin surface of fine clay, the whole 0.018 m thick. Over this is a second layer of coarse clay, finished with fine clay that forms the skin of the fish. At the right edge, the lower layer of fine clay preserves a small patch of black paint. If this lower fine surface represents the body of the fish, then the rest may be thought of as an added element. Modeled like 20, the fish is hollow but has a vertical partition 0.01 m thick that supports the dorsal fin.

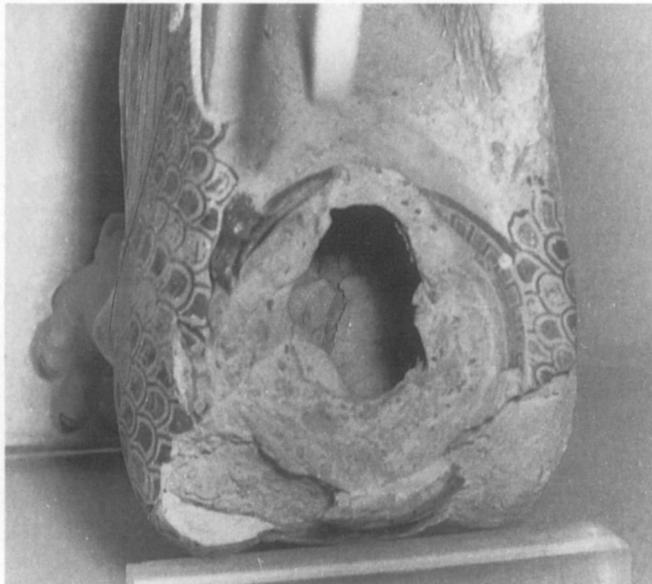
109. See also Boardman 1987 for useful representations of the ketos.

110. I regret that Eva Rystedt's dissertation on the early cut-out acroteria from Murlo and Acquarossa was not available to me here in Athens in order to compare the Corinth piece with a possible marine acroterion from there.



Figure 32. Sea creature(?) 21. Scale 1:2

Once again, that we are dealing with an aquatic animal seems likely from the dorsal fin with its painted spines. What is not clear is whether the body of the fish is the part that is the pale clay color and that all of the black is something applied to it, or whether the body is in some way mottled. The relief zigzags and wispy paint further obscure the identification. Zig-



View of interior through neck

Figure 33. Weinberg 33 (SF-31-2)

zags are a common convention for hair and the wispy finish to the black bands is also quite reminiscent of hair. But a hairy fish is unlikely. Nor is it easy to imagine how a human figure, riding a fish, could have its hair extended along the fish's back. Zigzags could also be a convention for waves and it is possible that what is represented is a fish rising from or swimming in the sea. A fish with zigzags on its back occurs in the pebble mosaic floor that decorated the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (L'Orange and Nordhagen 1966, pl. V). Although upright waves form the upper border of the fish panel, possibly the zigzags on the fish are a further reference to water. The wispy lines of dilute paint on our statue might then represent water as the waves thin against the fish's body. But if this is the case, it seems strange that the water should have been added as a thick mass of clay to the upper front half of the fish, where it should be thinnest. The dolphin acroterion from Olympia reflects the more conventional way of depicting a fish in water, leaping above a spray of water, there represented by curling sprays.

The interpretation of this piece must remain problematic, as is its date. It should be no earlier than the late 6th century and possibly as late as the 5th century B.C. Like 20, it could also have decorated the façade of a small building.

Late 6th–5th century B.C.

CONCORDANCE

INV. NO.	CAT. NO.	INV. NO.	CAT. NO.
SF-1a	8c	SF-72-3m	7n
SF-1b	8b	SF-72-3n	7p
SF-5	7h	SF-72-3p	7j
SF-6	2c	SF-72-3q	7o
SF-7a	11a	SF-72-3r	7l
SF-7b	11c	SF-72-3s	7q
SF-18	16	SF-72-3t	7r
SF-19	19	SF-72-3u	7k
SF-24	17	SF-72-14a	9a
SF-25	21	SF-72-14b	9b
SF-26-1	2a	SF-72-14c	9a
SF-26-4	20d	SF-72-15	10
SF-27-1	20c	SF-72-16	14
SF-28a	18b	SF-74-1a	1a
SF-28b	18a	SF-74-1b	1b
SF-28c	18c	SF-74-2	2d
SF-28-3	11b	SF-74-3	2b
SF-33-1	4a	SF-74-4	12
SF-69-8	13	SF-74-5a	15a
SF-72-3a	7a	SF-74-5b	15b
SF-72-3b	7b	SF-75-3	8a
SF-72-3d	7c	SF-75-4	8d
SF-72-3e	7d	SF-75-5	4b
SF-72-3f	7e	SF-76-4	5
SF-72-3g	7g	SF-76-5	3
SF-72-3i	7h	SF-77-4	6
SF-72-3j	7f	SF-87-1a	20b
SF-72-3k	7i	SF-87-1b	20a
SF-72-3l	7m		

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