PAGAN STATUETTES IN LATE ANTIQUE CORINTH

Sculpture from the Panayia Domus

ABSTRACT

Excavations in 1999 at the Panayia Domus at Corinth uncovered nine statuettes representing Artemis (twice), Asklepios (twice), Roma, Dionysos, Herakles, Europa/Sosandra, and Pan, the contents of a probable domestic shrine in a small, plain room. The statuettes range in date from the late 1st to the mid-3rd or early 4th century A.D. Four are late products of Attic sarcophagus workshops. The figure of Roma is a unique domestic example of this divinity and may refer to a local monument and to the status of the owner. Other statuettes are typical of domestic assemblages in Late Roman Greece.

INTRODUCTION

An extraordinary group of statuettes strewn over the floor of a Late Roman domus at Corinth was discovered in 1999 during excavations by the American School of Classical Studies (Figs. 1, 2).\(^1\) Most of the nine statuettes are well preserved, with paint and even gilding remaining on research. Jane Heinrichs ably drew reconstructions of the two highly fragmented statuettes of Artemis.

Several institutions have supported this research, and I gratefully acknowledge them. A University of Manitoba Research Grant made possible my initial reconnaissance of the pieces. The Solow Foundation supported a lengthy period of study in 2003. Funding from the Canada Research Chairs Program (through the Research Chair in Roman Archaeology) has provided invaluable aid throughout.

This article is dedicated to my grandmother Margaret Stirling, from whom I have learned so much about collections and heirlooms.

1. I wish first to thank Guy Sanders, director of the American School of Classical Studies excavations at Corinth, for offering me the opportunity to study this unique and fascinating assemblage. It is a pleasure to work with the Corinth Excavations staff, who have assisted me at every turn. Former assistant director and registrar Nancy Bookidis introduced me to Corinth and its statuary. I am indebted to her meticulous recording for measurements and details in the descriptions and conditions of the statuettes. Former conservator Stella Bouzaki cleaned the encrustation of centuries off these statuettes with astonishing care, preserving the paint and gilding. Current curator Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst assisted me in my more recent visits and unstintingly answered numerous follow-up questions. Architect James Herbst prepared the excellent plans in this article.

I have had insightful discussions with many people, especially Susan Alcock, Nancy Bookidis, Amelia Brown, Rory Egan, Jane Francis, Niels Hannestad, Craig Hardiman, Steven Hjimans, Troels Myrup Kristensen, Carol Lawton, Sarah Lepinski, Alex Nagel, Ana Panić, Guy Sanders, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Mary Sturgeon, and Orestes Zervos. The anonymous Hesperia referees provided valuable advice. Students Jane Heinrichs, Jody Gordon, and Megan MacKay aided in
Figure 1. Assemblage of statuettes found in the Panayia Domus, Corinth. Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations
several. Apparently the contents of a domestic shrine, they depict Artemis (4, 7), Asklepios (3, 9), Roma (6), Dionysos (8), Herakles (5), a heavily draped woman probably to be identified as Europa (1), and a head of Pan (2). The well-preserved, stratified finds from the Panayia Domus provide a remarkable opportunity to investigate the use of sculpture in the Late Antique home and the manufacture of sculpture in Greece in the later Roman period.

It is important to examine these statuettes in many scales of context, from the room in which they were found to regional and empire-wide patterns. In the following pages, I first evaluate the archaeological setting, considering the phasing, decor, and other features of the well-appointed Panayia Domus. There are several elements to investigate for the statuettes more specifically: their stratigraphic circumstances, the evidence that their
context provides for their final placement prior to destruction, and possibilities for display and usage of the statuary within the Panayia Domus. The statuettes were found tumbled on the floor of a small but central room within this domus; aspects of this particular location suggest that the room housed a domestic shrine at the time of their destruction.

I next investigate possible reasons for choosing these particular divinities for display in a household setting and identify unusual choices. Examination of other domestic collections in Late Roman Greece and, to an extent, elsewhere in the empire, provides a broader context for the choices made at the Panayia Domus. The Panayia assemblage accords with other Late Antique assemblages of the region in its interest in Asklepios and in recognizable cult statues, though it differs from Athenian groupings in that Cybele is not represented. Artemis was widely popular in Late Antique houses across the empire; the figure of Roma, however, is unusual in domestic statuary of any period or region.

After considering the context of the statuettes within the domus, I turn to their civic context, relating their iconography to the cults, coins, artwork, and architecture of Corinth as a city. Most of the divinities from the Panayia assemblage appear on the coinage of Corinth, often in the same poses. Though they represent major deities in the Greek pantheon, they do not especially resonate with the cults most visible in the built environment of Corinth, in the forum and on Acrocorinth. Although there is no evidence for a cult of Roma in Corinth, the Panayia Roma (6) resembles a figure on the pediment of Temple E in the forum. In the 4th century A.D., ideal sculpture may have remained on display in certain types of buildings, and it is clear that portraits continued to be dedicated. There are hints, however, of an increasingly polarized outlook on religious practices concerning statuary.

Several of the statuettes display stylistic characteristics matching the late products of Attic sculptural workshops, including the Varvakeion Athena and certain sarcophagi. However, closer evaluation of the criteria conventionally used to date this oeuvre shows that there is very little independently datable evidence to work with. The usual dating for the cessation of the sarcophagus workshops in the later 3rd century is principally based on historical arguments that are difficult to substantiate archaeologically. Thus, we can date the later statuettes of the Panayia assemblage to the mid-3rd century at the earliest, and quite possibly to the 4th century. The destruction fill over the statuary provides a terminus ante quem of the 360s for all the statuettes.

A final technical feature to evaluate is the evidence for paint and gilding surviving on several of the statuettes. The vivid red pigment on the statuettes served as adhesive for paint, showing which parts of the figures were accented in color. Five of the statuettes retain traces of gilding in the hair, eyes, and borders of the drapery.

Before turning to these broader issues of archaeological setting, iconographic and civic context, domestic collecting in late antiquity, and the latest Attic sculptural production, I present the individual statuettes found in the Panayia Domus (for findspots, see below, Figs. 26, 27). Details in color, as well as color versions of some of the figures in the catalogue, can be seen on pages 151–154.

2. In references to anatomy, “left” and “right” refer to the proper left and right of each statue. In discussions of composition, these terms refer to the viewer’s left and right. When found, the statues were covered with a hard, gritty encrustation, subsequently removed by conservator Stella Bouzakis. She preserved a square patch of this original accretion on most of the statuettes.

3. In the following catalogue, weights are provided for the statuettes that are essentially complete. The Roma and the seated Asklepios were weighed on a bathroom scale. A commercial scale accurate to three decimal points (max. 30 kg) was used to weigh the four smaller statuettes (Herakles, Europa, Dionysos, the standing Asklepios). In considering issues of trade and mobility, it is useful to know the weights of more mobile pieces.
CATALOGUE OF STATUARY

1 Draped, veiled woman

Type known as Europa, Sosandra, and, originally, Aspasia

S-1999-004. Room A9, just north of large pit, west of east pisé wall, face down (body). Early-13th-century dumped fill over northwest quadrant of domus (head).

H. 0.345, H. of figure 0.314, H. of plinth 0.035–0.044, W. of plinth 0.083, L. of plinth 0.121, H. of head 0.046, H. of face 0.030 m; Wt. 4.06 kg.

Three joining fragments. Statuette is essentially complete, missing the left hand and some chips. The conservator has left a squared patch of accretion by the right knee.

Fine/medium-grained white marble.

A veiled woman wears a heavy mantle over a chiton and holds out her left arm. She looks slightly to the left. Her face is oval, with large, heavy-lidded eyes and closed lips. The hair is parted in the center and pulled back, framing the face in three broad waves rendered by shallowly incised lines. A high bun shows at the back of the head, under the mantle. The woman stands with her weight on her left foot. The right leg is relaxed, with the foot turned out. The right arm is bent in to the breast, with the hand up near the shoulder, under the cloak. The left arm reaches forward and down. The long mantle passes over her right shoulder, then is thrown back in thick folds over the left shoulder. The tension of the cloth against her shoulders and her covered right hand forms a V-shaped fold.

On the lower body, two long folds running downward from the left shoulder are especially prominent, one running vertically from the shoulder, the other forming a crisp diagonal against the protruding right knee. The mantle covers the left arm to the wrist, then falls from the arm in a row of vertical folds. Framing the face, the mantle falls loosely below the ears and chin to just above the collarbone. It is cut away from the neck. At the back of the statuette, the overthrown ends of the mantle are rendered clearly, and a thick, raised V-fold falls over the upper back. Under the mantle is a floor-length chiton with narrow, shallow folds depicted with straight, sharp chisel lines. The woman wears thick-soled sandals, and her toes just protrude past the hem of the chiton. There is no drilling between the toes.

The base is roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. The top surface is smooth, perhaps lightly polished. All four sides show faint vertical point marks. The front of the base is more vertical and somewhat better smoothed than the other sides.

Reconstruction: The left hand is outstretched as if the figure were presenting an object.
1st or early 2nd century A.D.

This statuette depicts a highly recognizable statue type known in more than 30 examples from Roman times. While the facial features and dress clearly imitate art of the Severe style, and a date around 470–460 B.C. has been proposed for the creation of the original, the identity of that original has proven much more elusive.4 The original identification of this figure as Aspasia5 now finds little adherence, and scholars have since proposed Europa6 who was carried off to Crete by Zeus in the form of a bull, and the Aphrodite/Sosandra of Calamis.7 As discussed below, the Panayia statuette is one of four statuettes of this type found at Corinth.

The reserved drilling and light polishing of this piece accord with techniques of the 1st century A.D., and compare closely to a statuette of
Figure 3. Statuette of Europa (1), four views. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations
Aphrodite from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. The complete absence of tiny drill indents to accentuate any of the facial features is also notable. A statuette of a youth at an altar in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens has similarly sweet features and soft hair rendered exclusively with a chisel. Soft, rather indistinct facial features appear on a head of Serapis from Isthmia. Abrasion notwithstanding, the Europa head does not seem to have the same high polish as the Serapis, which is dated to the mid-2nd century, in part through comparison to the theater frieze at Corinthis.

A distinctive characteristic of the Panayia Europa is the incised vertical lines that depict the wrinkles of the chiton below the thick himation. This feature need not exclude a date in the 1st century, as we see from a statuette of Pan found in Sparta and dated to the 1st century A.D. The locks of Pan's beard are separated with deep channels, and thinner strands of hair are rendered with incised lines. The Pan wears a heavy mantle and muffles his right hand inside it. Some of the deeper folds of the mantle are shown with straight channels like those falling from the Europa's left arm. Other folds over the chest of the Sparta Pan appear crisper than those of the Europa, but this difference may be a function of scale (at 0.90 m tall, the Pan is about three times larger). As with the Europa, the facial features and tufts of hair over the face are rendered exclusively with the chisel. Both statuettes display light rasping over the surface. The style of the Europa is admittedly unlike that of the neoclassical reliefs of the 1st century, but again one must consider scale and intent.

2 Head of Pan

S-1999-014. Room A9, in destruction debris over floor of room.
Max. p.H. 0.144, H. of head 0.112, W. at temples 0.060 m.

Chip off tip of nose. Some chips and abrasions, discolored gray surface, blackening on left side of face and head. A rectangular patch of accretion left in place over the left ear.

Fine-grained white marble.

This piece comprises the head and neck of a male figure with pointed ears. The head is turned sharply to proper right, causing a left neck muscle to protrude. The face is broad and square-jawed with high cheekbones. The large eyes have heavy upper lids and thinner lower ones. The tear ducts are drilled. A thick horizontal ridge runs above the eyes. The nose has wide nostrils. The Pan smiles faintly with parted lips. Thick tousled curls run in three broad bands around his head. The curls over the crown of the head are flatter than the ones around the face. Above the forehead is a prominent pair of tall knobs. A pair of downsweplocks parts over the center of the forehead. The ears are long and pointy and are worked only with a chisel.

9. Inv. 3631: Katskas 2002, p. 316, no. 658. A small head wearing a chignon from Corinthis provides a parallel for crisp eyes within a sfumato face and blurrily chiseled waves emanating from a central chiseled part (S-1370, max. p.H. 0.055 m).
10. Isthmia VI, pp. 10–14, no. 4, pl. 4c, d.
At the back of the neck is a rough surface with point marks on it. This rough patch runs up into the lower part of the hair. The piece widens after the base of the neck, then tapers into a shallow wedge. The cut slopes down from back to front and from proper right to left. The bottom surface of the cut is scored with the point.

Reconstruction: An indentation running around the edge of the first row of curls evokes a fillet, perhaps added in another medium. The wedge of stone at the back and the rough surface below the neck indicate that the head was meant to be inserted into a separate body or perhaps bust. Detachable heads are more common on portraiture than mythological statuary, but parallels exist. No other body parts potentially belonging to this figure have been found in the domus.

Roman, possibly 2nd century.

With its pointed ears and the protrusions atop the head, this figure clearly represents Pan. The youthful and beardless face of the Panayia Pan differs from the more conventional renderings of this popular divinity, who is usually shown as bearded and more bestial in his facial features. Even so, some Roman renderings of Pan did have "fairly human or satyric faces." A head of Pan in the Villa Borghese at Rome provides a parallel for the stubby horns and the combing of the hair between them. The broadened nostrils and wide eyes lend an element of bestiality to the visage of the Panayia piece.

The modeled face, carefully outlined, wide eyes, and chiseled tufts of hair on the Corinth Pan find comparison in a small-scale head of a bearded

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12. A head of Serapis found at Corinth (S-2387) was evidently meant to be set into a draped body, though it is possible that the statue was acrolithic: Milleker 1985, pp. 128, 130. For a 3rd-century A.D. statue of Priapus with a detachable head found in a bath at Uthina (Oudna, Tunisia), see Landes and Ben Hassen 2001, pp. 132–133, no. 2.


satyr in the Thessaloniki Museum.\textsuperscript{15} This head has drilling in the tear ducts and between the lips, similar to the Corinth head. It is dated to the early 2nd century through comparison of the locks of hair with portraits. While absence of drilling or limited drilling is often considered an indicator of a date prior to the rule of Hadrian, Mary Sturgeon has pointed out the lesser use of the drill in Corinthian sculpture overall.\textsuperscript{16} Some heads from the theater reliefs show flat, rather impressionistic chiseling of hair akin to that of the Pan and flat eyes with minimal drilling for accentuation.\textsuperscript{17} These are dated to the A.D. 120s by the dedicatory inscription of the theater.\textsuperscript{18} On the Panayia head of Pan, a thin engraved line separates the face and hair; this is not found on the figures of the frieze.

A portrait head of an athlete from Isthmia, with a light engraved line separating the face and hair, and wide eyes with eyelids set off by shallow grooves, provides a further comparison.\textsuperscript{19} The chiseled, tufty hair on the athlete is somewhat more defined than that of the Pan. Sturgeon proposes a Hadrianic date for the Isthmian victor based on its hair. The thick eyelids of the Panayia Pan resemble those of three portraits with Hadrianic hairstyles found near the monument of Philopappos in Athens.\textsuperscript{20}

3 Asklepios enthroned

3a Asklepios enthroned

S-1999-008. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east wall, southwest of Roma (6) head a short distance away, facing east, in layer of fresco and mudbrick, embedded in tile layer.

H. 0.423, H. of figure 0.348, H. of base 0.075, L. of base 0.245, W. of base 0.224, H. of head and beard 0.060 m; Wt. 23 kg.

The statue is reconstructed from numerous fragments but is largely complete. Asklepios is missing the tip of the nose, left elbow, and right hand. Also missing are chips from the left leg, the head and upper portions of the snake, and parts of the latticework on the throne.

Asklepios sits on a high-backed throne with a large snake at the right side. He gazes forward and slightly to the right. His face is narrow, with prominent cheekbones and eyebrows, and a crease in his upper brow (see below, Fig. 36, detail). His eyes and upper eyelids are outlined with incision. The irises are painted red. The lower eyelashes of the left eye remain as delicate strokes in red paint. The long, slender eyebrows are indicated with a shallow incised line and red paint. There is drilling between the lips and at the tear ducts. Asklepios’s hair is parted in the center, then combed along the sides of the face in thickly curling masses. He wears a mustache and a thick curling beard. Some curls in the hair and beard have small drill dots in the center. A wide, undecorated fillet circles the head. The hair and beard are painted red. Traces of gilding remain in the hair and mustache.

Asklepios is bare-chested, with polished surfaces and smooth transitions. He reaches forward and down with his muscular right arm. His left upper arm extends horizontally to the side and faintly forward. A mantle hangs forward over Asklepios’s left shoulder, then passes behind him to cross over his lap and legs. The end is tucked under his left thigh, then falls beside him in zigzag folds. The mantle gathers in thick horizontal folds across his lap. Its edges have a band of red on which many traces of gold leaf remain. He sits with right leg forward, left leg back, both feet placed flat on a stool. Asklepios wears ankle-high latticed sandals that expose the first three toes. A thin band runs up the center. The lacing of the left foot is rendered in red. Drill dots separate the toes.
The back of the cushioned throne rises to shoulder height. Each leg is decorated with a double palmette crowned by a volute, all outlined with red paint. A horizontal slat runs between the front and back legs on either side of the throne. A rectangular pillar with beveled moldings top and bottom supports the seat of the chair. A large snake rises in four loops against the proper right side of the chair. The surface of the snake is finished with the rasp, then painted red. The god rests his feet on a broad, rectangular footrest with low, spreading feet, possibly animal claws.

The molding of the statuette’s base consists of a rounded channel at the center flanked by two narrower channels with a triangular profile. There is a fascia at the top and bottom. The molding appears on the front and sides and is well smoothed, though some rasp traces remain. The features of the back of the throne are modeled in low relief, but the back of the base is not modeled at all. The back of the statuette is fully smoothed.

3b, c  Left forearm and hand

Fig. 7

S-1999-022 (forearm, 3b), joined to S-2000-003 (hand, 3c). Room A9 (forearm) and the robbing trench north of the octagonal fountain court (hand; found with the left upper arm of the larger Artemis [7h]).

Max. L. 0.092, W. 0.018 (wrist)–0.027 m (below elbow).
Figure 6. Statuette of Asklepios enthroned (3a): left side and back. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations

Figure 7. Fragments from enthroned Asklepios: left forearm (3b) and hand (3c). Scale 1:1. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations
Arm is broken below elbow. Thumb, index finger, surface of third finger are missing. Burning on surface toward elbow.

The wrist bends slightly inward and the fingers curve around a central drilled hole. The rectangular, blunt fingernails are outlined with the chisel. The left arm is slightly thicker than the right arm.

3a–c: Fine-grained white marble.


Reconstruction: Asklepios reaches to the side and forward with his left arm, holding his staff. The staff must have been added in another medium. The right hand probably reached down to feed the snake.

Second half of the 2nd century.

Statuary of Asklepios enthroned is usually linked to the renowned gold and ivory cult statue in the sanctuary at Epidauros, made by Thrasyandes of Paros and later described by Pausanias (2.27.2). A coin issued by Epidauros in the second half of the 4th century B.C. is thought to represent the statue, and a few sculpted versions survive as well, all with variations in pose and drapery.21 Like the coin from Epidauros, the Panayia statuette shows Asklepios holding a staff in his left arm, and reaching out with his right hand toward a coiled snake, though there are small differences in the drapery and positioning of the feet. Nevertheless, the Panayia statuette must have evoked the famous Epidauros statue.

The careful detailing of features on the throne of the Panayia statuette may suggest that the artist was thinking of a particular Classical prototype. The design of the throne and its palmette decoration closely echo a throne type popular in art of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. The decorated legs of a 4th-century throne from a chamber tomb in Eretria provide a good parallel for the design of the legs of the throne of the Panayia Asklepios.22 The carved elaboration on the Eretria throne is similar to the designs painted in red on the statuette. A Hellenistic relief from Epidauros shows Asklepios in a throne whose profile and back are quite similar to the Corinth statuette.23

The gleaming, hard polish on the arm and drapery of this statuette sets it in the Roman period, and brings to mind the high polish on statuary of Antinous and Polydeukion.24 High polish is often considered a feature of Antonine times and later, though several scholars have noted that the introduction and popularity of high polish varied by region.25 This finish also appears on some Severan and 3rd-century portraits, as well as works of the 4th century.26

Similarly, incised eyebrows appear on figures on sarcophagi in the later 2nd century, although the incision is so slight in the Panayia Asklepios that

21. The coin is LIMC II, 1984, p. 874, no. 84, pl. 641, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); other enthroned statues and statuettes (found in Pergamon, Italy, and North Africa): LIMC II, 1984, pp. 871–872, nos. 44–51, pls. 636, 637; s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann).

22. Richter 1966, p. 27, fig. 116; for the type in general, see pp. 23–28.


24. For examples of these portraits at Ithmia, see Isthmia IV, pp. 132–135, no. 57, pls. 62–65 (Antinous); Isthmia VI, pp. 5–10, nos. 1, 2, pls. 1–3 (Polydeukion).


it may fall quite early in this development. The drill is used to create depth in the drapery folds between Asklepios's knees and in the drapery on his left side. In some places, such as the folds falling outside the left knee, and below the left arm, this rendering is quite plastic. In others, such as the three deepest folds between the knees, the roll of drapery around the waist, and the Vs over the left shoulder, the drill creates a blockier, more linear effect. A statuette of Serapis found in Gortyn provides a good comparison. The folds between the knees are particularly similar to those of the Asklepios, as is the attention to detail in the footwear. This piece is considered Antonine, possibly Late Antonine, on the basis of drilling and simplified style. This coexistence of plastically rendered drapery with more abstract passages finds general parallels in the later 2nd century.

Shallow channels separate the locks of hair, whose clusters take on a rounded shape. Small drill indents and fine incision lines provide the detail in the hair. In the nodular beard and reserved drilling for accentuation, the Panayia Asklepios shares in miniature some features of a life-size head of Asklepios from Gortyn, dated to the Antonine era. Similar tufts and nodules appear on the bearded figure on a sarcophagus of the Calydonian boar hunt dated around the middle of the 2nd century.

The molded base of the statuette aligns with a general trend, beginning around the time of Hadrian, for creating ideal statuary in a single block with a molded plinth (as opposed to setting a statuette into a separately carved base). In Attica, this taste is demonstrated on the series of decorated table supports (trapezophora), which were manufactured from about the 140s to about the 260s. None of the Attic trapezophora provides a close comparison for the molded base of the Panayia Asklepios. The bases of the trapezophora are more rectilinear, with incision lines to mark transitions within the profile. Most are also more carelessly made than the base of the Asklepios. However, the squared support under the throne of the Asklepios, with its more rectangular moldings and incision lines marking points of transition, better matches the aesthetic of the bases of the trapezophora and even finds fairly close parallels in a trapezophoron of Herakles from Thessaloniki and one of Ganymede from Athens.

4 Smaller Artemis
Adaptation of the Artemis Rospigliosi type
4a Plinth and base with two feet, boar, and tree
S-1999-009. Room A9, in destruction debris covering floor of room, under the Roma (6).

28. For instance, a torso of a youth from Gortyn: Ghedini 1989, pp. 76–81, no. 4, fig. 7. Milleker (1985, p. 132) suggests that Greek sculptors of the Antonine period used the running drill to "open spaces" rather than to create a pattern of light and dark.
29. Antonine works in Greece generally display less use of the drill for accentuation in the hair than do contemporary sculptures in Rome: Milleker 1985, p. 132.
32. Muthmann 1951, pp. 120–128.
Max. H. of statue resting on base 0.153, H. of base 0.056, L. of base 0.18, W. of base 0.134, H. of plinth 0.032, L. of plinth 0.142, W. of plinth 0.080, L. of right foot 0.036 m.

Right foot broken at ankle. Only toes remain of left foot. Tree trunk behind right foot broken at height of knee. Boar is missing muzzle, front knees, section of rear right leg. Blackening at top and front of base. A squared patch of accretion is preserved on the tree trunk.

As preserved, the sculpture comprises two feet, a boar, and a tree trunk on their own plinth, set into a separately carved base. On one side of the base (viewer’s left), a booted right foot is placed flat, pointing out to the viewer’s left. The toes of the left foot are preserved, angled in a three-quarter view toward the viewer’s right. The heel was raised and partially supported on a thin wedge of stone. A tree trunk behind the right leg is preserved to what would have been knee height on the figure, and there is no sign of attachment to the leg. The tree is painted red, front and back, and the front is polished. A boar sits next to the left foot, with one hoof placed against the toes of the left foot (the boar’s right front hoof is not shown in the reconstruction drawing, Fig. 12, below). The boar is recognizable by the bristles along his spine and the shaggy fur (three rows) around his neck. Visible rasp marks add to the effect of coarse fur. The boar turns its head toward the central figure, with its ears flattened back. The eye is not drilled. The stomach is undercut and the slender forelegs are cut away from the body. The boar is painted red, front and back. The top of the plinth is painted red.

The base into which the plinth is set is roughly oval in shape, with a more curved contour at the front. The edges are rounded, and the whole surface is left rough to produce a rusticated look. Red coloring remains at the front and back.

4b  Billow of drapery and left arm  
S-1999-017A, S-1999-017B. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pise wall.

Max. W. 0.172, L. of forearm 0.059, H. of central billow 0.065 m.

Arm is broken below armpit and above wrist. A central billow of drapery is largely preserved, as are two side flares. About 10 joining fragments. Frequent chips at edges. Some burning on surfaces. Squared patches of encrustation remain on the flare at viewer’s left.

This fragment preserves billowing drapery and the upper portion of the left arm. The arm reaches out to the side. A central billow of drapery passes in a flaring arc behind the now-missing figure. Four parallel curving ridges on the front of this arc indicate shallow folds of drapery. This area is polished. At the figure’s left the
mantle passed under the upper arm near the shoulder, then flared upward in front of the arm and out to the left in four deeply drilled folds. At the right the drapery was cinched in, then flared off the side in three deeply drilled folds. Raspings is visible on some folds. There is high polish on arm and side flares, and lighter polish on the central arc of drapery. The surface is finished smoothly at the back. There are traces of red adhesive and gilding on the borders of the flares.

### 4c Right arm

S-1999-018. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall. L. 0.095, H. 0.042, W. at wrist 0.014 m.

Two joining fragments, comprising full right arm and hand from just below shoulder, where the edge is cut flat for attaching the arm separately. Breaks in the marble, surface cracks, and dark staining are all results of the corrosion and swelling of an iron dowel. Missing chips from upper arm, little finger, tips of first two fingers. Burning at ends of fingers. A squared patch of encrustation has been left on the forearm.

The arm reaches out with the elbow bent at about 110°. The hand extends straight out, with the forefinger and middle finger pointing out straight. The fourth finger circles around to touch the tip of the thumb. A slight ridge running right around the upper arm at the position of the break shows the edge of a sleeve. The edge of the upper arm is cut flat and smoothed with a rasp for joining with a dowel. A square dowel hole measuring 6 mm across remains in this surface. The surface is polished, though a series of light rasp or chisel marks remain on the back of the upper arm.

### 4d Fragment of drapery from skirt

S-1999-17D. Room A9.

Max. p.H. 0.020, max. p.W. 0.032, max. p.D. 0.018 m.

The flare of drapery is broken on one side. There is a broken strut. Small root discolorations.

This fragment shows the hem of a flare of drapery. The piece is finished at the front, back, and bottom, and therefore represents a small flare of drapery with two folds coming off the figure's left side (rather than drapery making up part of the figure's torso or running over the legs). The front is very smooth. A narrow black band runs along the hem and must indicate where paint once decorated it. The folds are crisp and angular. The back of the piece is well smoothed, with some rasp marks showing. Traces of red pigment show at the hem on the back. On the outermost edge of the flare of drapery is a small broken strut (5 × 6 mm). The bottom of the flare is concave, with a thin drill groove forming the center.
4a–d: Fine-grained white marble. Micaceous vein shows on the bottom of the base of 4a.


Reconstruction (Fig. 12): Artemis runs to the viewer’s left, drapery swirling. Her right foot is planted firmly on the ground, angled at about 45° to the viewer and further forward than the left foot. The toes of the left foot touch the ground; the heel is raised, partially supported on a wedge of stone (not illustrated), as the goddess is about to take another stride.

A broad arc of drapery billows behind and above Artemis's head. The light polish on the front surface of the central arc suggests that the head must have been separately carved and attached to the statuette. On the figure’s left side, the end of the drapery runs under the upper arm and flares up and out to the left in deep, crisp folds. On the right side, it flutters out in a scallop-shaped flare.

The goddess reaches out to the side with her left arm. Positioning this arm so that it reaches out and slightly downward, a reconstruction that allows for a fairly even curve in the back arc of drapery, the cinching of the drapery on the other side.
would appear beside Artemis's upper torso. It was probably attached to a high strap running under her breasts. A dip in the edge of the drapery flare above the cinching at the viewer's left must account for the placement of the outstretched right arm (4c). Given that the surfaces of the drapery that would lie behind the right arm are finished, this arm was clearly planned as a separate attachment from the beginning. The small flare of drapery (4d) must belong to the fluttering hem of the skirt at the figure's left side. When this piece is angled to hide the coarse bottom surface, the strut angles up and to the viewer's right. It may attach to the left arm, or possibly a bow (unless a bow was a separate attachment). The tree trunk strut at the Artemis's right leg did not continue behind the billowing drapery.

2nd or 3rd century.

With the fluttering drapery, striding legs, animal companion, and the movement to the left, this statuette reflects the “Rospigliosi” type and its adaptations. A relief of Artemis in the museum at Montmartini (ACEA) in Rome provides a good comparison for the feet and drapery of the smaller Corinth Artemis. An unusual aspect of the smaller Corinth Artemis is the nearly straight angle of the right arm. Possibly this figure held both arms out in a straighter positioning, displaying her attributes rather than using them, in a pose similar to a late-4th-century A.D. statuette of Diana found in the Gallic villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne. Several other examples of the Artemis Rospigliosi appear at Corinth, in varying scales.

The glassy polish on the arm and drapery of this statuette accords with practices of the 2nd and 3rd century, as discussed above (3). The light rasping visible on some finished surfaces also accords with Roman practices. The absence of the head and body removes some of the most useful dating criteria. Although the folds of the flaring drapery appear crisper than those of the Roma (dated to the mid-3rd century at the earliest, see below), this apparent difference may be a function of scale. The flares of drapery on the smaller Artemis have rounded profiles and thin diagonal scoring lines adding texture to individual folds. Similar diagonal microfolds and angular bending appear on some Attic sarcophagi stylistically dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century, such as the Meleager sarcophagus at Eleusis (see Fig. 32, below), and one in Thessaloniki showing an Amazonomachy (see below for discussion of later chronology for Attic workshops).

As discussed above, parts of this statue were carved separately and pieced together. Piecing appears in works at Corinth in many periods.


38. An over-life-size example, S-2392, was built into a Byzantine wall over the central shops: *Corinth* I, 3, p. 70, pl. 27:1; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 646, no. 277, pl. 469, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). Three statuettes ranging up to one-third life-size were found in different parts of the forum: S-1594 (Ridgway 1981, p. 446): *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 649, no. 325, pl. 472, s.v. Artemis [L. Kahil]; S-1628; and S-2408. A small-scale version of the Artemis of Versailles type was excavated in the Odeon: S-1313. Sturgeon (2003, p. 363) observes the long popularity of the running Artemis at Corinth.


Resting Herakles “Farnese” with Telephos and deer  

S-1999-002. Early-13th-century dumped fill over northwest quadrant of Roman domus (torso); removal of mid-19th-century wall over northwest quadrant of domus (support); room A9 in mudbrick debris along south edge of pit (shoulders); stone pit (base).

P.H. 0.308, W. at shoulders 0.103, L. of plinth 0.220, W. of plinth 0.15, H. of plinth 0.035–0.07 m; Wt. 5.76 kg.

Seven joining fragments. Herakles is missing head, neck, right elbow, right hand, left arm from the elbow, both lower legs. Telephos is missing head, arms, upper body, though outline of chest remains. Upper body is missing from the deer. Front portion of lion skin, drapery, and club have chipped away. Part of the front of the plinth is missing. Numerous chips and abrasions. Some surfaces blackened. Cracks at back of base.


Fine-grained white marble.

The statuette shows a heavily muscled, weary Herakles leaning to his left on his club and lion skin, with Telephos and the deer at his feet. The club is tucked under his left armpit and rests on a rocky outcrop. His left arm hangs down vertically beside the club. Herakles holds his right arm behind his back, with the hand on his right buttock, palm out. The outline of the hand is visible on the buttock even though the hand is broken off. On the left pectoral is a squared pointing boss (7 × 7 mm) with a drilled center. Herakles leans to the left, throwing out his muscular right hip and resting his weight on his right leg. The right leg is placed farther back with the foot splayed out a little. The relaxed left leg is placed forward. Above the left knee is another squared pointing boss (0.011 × 0.011 m). The drilled center on this boss is deeper than that of the other boss. Deep channels on the base outline the Herakles’ feet, Telephos, and the deer. There is heavy rasping on the back and inner surfaces.

Drapery covers the top of the club and frames it at the sides, with folds visible at the top and back. The folds of drapery over the club are roughed out at the back but not deeply cut. A deep drill channel outlines the club. The lion skin overlies the drapery, with the lion’s head facing out to the side.

In front of Herakles’ club, next to his left foot, are a naked Telephos and a deer. The child’s head faces out toward the viewer, though most of it is broken off. Telephos leans back on the deer, his left leg extended on the ground with the knee bent toward the right side, and his right leg flexed, in the “temple boy” pose. The deer rests on her belly, in profile to the viewer, with her front hooves facing away from Herakles and Telephos.

The base has a curving back and a shallowly convex front. It slopes down from back to front, with rough chiseling on the edges, side surfaces, and back. The back of the base appears rougher than the front, but it is also more damaged by fire.

There are numerous indications that the statuette was unfinished. Most notable are the two pointing bosses. The sculptor had shaped the musculature of the chest and shoulders using a chisel, the marks of which are clearly visible, and he had begun roughly rasping parts of the legs. Rasp marks appear over the entire body of Telephos and the deer. The top of the base is unevenly worked, with strokes from a broad chisel remaining. Near Telephos and the deer, a narrower chisel has more or less leveled the surface with parallel strokes. The most finished part of the base is a smoothed and rasped section between and behind Herakles’ feet. A broad chisel furrow outlining the right foot shows that work was continuing in this
**Figure 13. Statuette of resting Heraclles with Telephos and deer (5): front and back.** Scale 1:3. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations

This statue is a version of the highly recognizable resting Herakles ("Farnese") type. This statue type is attributed to Lysippos, and was originally developed in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. The most famous exemplar is a colossal statue found in the central hall of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome and now housed in the Archaeological Museum in Naples. The Panayia statuette displays the main diagnostic characteristics in the ponderation and pose of the legs, the left shoulder leaning heavily on the club, the right hand placed at the small of the back, the apparent downward gaze, and the heavy musculature. The torso of a second statuette of the Herakles Farnese survives at Corinth. The Herakles Farnese was enormously popular in all media throughout the Roman period.

The Herakles in the Panayia Domus differs from the eponymous Herakles Farnese in Naples in that the Panayia statuette does not appear to hold the apples of the Hesperides behind his back. The size of the break for
Herakles’ right hand implies that it was open. The addition of Telephos and the
deer transforms this statuette into a scene of Herakles’ discovery of his
son being suckled by a deer rather than a cameo of his weariness after his
final labor. Moreover, while the grove of the Hesperides was located in
the west, the discovery of Telephos occurred in Arcadia, and the child was
later reunited with his mother in Mysia. The myths of Pergamon connected
Telephos’s descendants to the founders of Rome (Plut. Rom. 2). Thus, for
Greek viewers, this interpretation of the Herakles Farnese type could serve
as a reminder of the Hellenic antecedents of the ruling power and the virility
of the great Greek hero. Groups of the resting Herakles and Telephos
appear in varying sizes in Greek art of the Roman period, for example, the
frieze of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, trapezophora in Thessaloniki and
Belgrade, a statuette in the Belgrade National Museum, and a Severan coin
from the city of Germe in Asia Minor. There is not, however, a strict
regional division in the iconography of the weary Herakles.

The apparently unfinished state of the statuette complicates the ques-
tion of date. The use of the drill to outline the spots where the figures con-
tact the base accords with practices of the 2nd and 3rd centuries in Greece,
as seen on Attic sarcophagi and on some of the other Panayia statuettes.
The emphatic drilled outlines on the Panayia piece accord best with a date
in the later 2nd or 3rd century.

6 Roma

S-1999-007. Room A9, in mudbrick layer under fallen plaster. Lying on back,
head to northwest.
Max. p.H. 0.592, H. of figure 0.542, H. of head to base of crest 0.095, H.
of face 0.055, H. of plinth 0.050, L. of plinth 0.255, W. of plinth 0.213 m;
Wt. 30 kg.

Figure is essentially complete, composed of numerous joining pieces. Missing
are the tips of the fingers on the right hand, and the right ear flap of the helmet.
Numerous small cracks from exposure to fire. Blackening and discoloration in places
from fire. Large orange patch on left wrist may reflect exposure to iron.

Fine-grained white marble with micaceous veins.

Roma is seated on a backless stool. She gazes upward and somewhat to her
left. She wears a helmet with three crests, a shallow visor, and earflaps folded up.
Roma has a heavy face and squared jaw, with almond-shaped eyes (Fig. 37, detail).
Seen frontally, the face is asymmetrical, with the left eye more deeply cut than the
right. Incised lines define each eye and upper eyelid. Red adhesive and flecks of

44. An important thematic inspira-
tion for depictions of Herakles with
Telephos and the deer was a painting
by Lysippus’s contemporary Apelles, a
masterpiece assumed to be reflected in
a painting from the basilica at
Herculaneum: Naples, Museo Archeo-
lógico Nazionale 9008: LIMC II, 1984,
p. 608, no. 1, pl. 437, s.v. Arkadia
(E. Simon).

45. Removal of the apples also
diminishes the three-dimensionality
of the sculpture.

46. Aphrodisias: LIMC VII, 1994,
p. 864, no. 29, pl. 597, s.v. Telephos
(H. Heres and M. Strauss). Trapezo-
phorion in Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki,
Archaeological Museum 846: LIMC
IV, 1988, p. 762, no. 677, pl. 491, s.v.
Herakles (O. Palagia); LIMC VII,
1994, p. 864, no. 28a, s.v. Telephos
(H. Heres and M. Strauss). Trapezo-
phorion in Belgrade: Belgrade, National
Museum 2069: LIMC IV, 1988, p. 762,
no. 671, pl. 490, s.v. Herakles (O. Pal-
agia); LIMC VII, 1994, p. 864, no. 28b,
s.v. Telephos (H. Heres and M. Strauss).

47. A Herakles Farnese in Argos
holds apples, for instance: Moreno
1982, pp. 419, 493, fig. 34.

48. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993b,
p. 155.
gold define the iris. Deep drill dots (2.5–3.0 mm) mark the tear ducts. A shallowly incised line marks the bottom of the eyebrow, which is rendered as a long shallow curve in low relief. A delicate line of red is painted above the eyebrow. The nose is long and straight with squared edges along the sides. Drill dots render the nostrils and the depression below the nose. A narrow drilled channel separates the lips, and the teeth are faintly indicated. Wavy locks of hair are drawn away from the sides of the face, then fall on either shoulder in loose, wavy locks separated by light drill channels. A “Venus-ring” is incised on the neck.

Roma raises her left arm to head height, with her fingers curled loosely around a vertically oriented cavity. A squared strut with an incised row of Vs as decoration connects the left wrist to drapery on the left shoulder. The right arm extends forward and downward, with the palm sloping downward and the fingers held straight. Breaks remain from a minute strut that once attached the thumb and index finger. A small, drilled hole in the center of the palm must have held an attribute. A squared strut decorated with Vs connects the right hand to the corner of the seat.

Roma's peplos covers the left shoulder and is belted under the breasts, with the overfall falling into her lap. The right breast is bare and has a thick roll of drapery looping under it. A mantle thickly gathered over the left shoulder passes around the back to the lap, crossing it from right to left, then loops back to fall in a swathe between the knees. A strap passes over the right shoulder and crosses the chest, attaching to a scabbard and sword lying against her left thigh. Breaks show that the strap was undercut where it passed from the body to the scabbard. The peplos covers the left thigh and the right leg to mid-calf, while the left knee, rather swollen, is bare. Roma's left foot is pulled beneath the seat, while the right leg is planted vertically in front of the seat, with the toe protruding over the edge of the base. She wears shin-high boots whose trim is decorated with diagonal hatching and red coloration.

Red adhesive outlines the edges of the mantle, the sleeve and neck of the peplos, and the trim on the boots. Where preserved, the surfaces are polished, with high polish on areas of exposed flesh. Drilling outlines some of the pieces touching the base of the statue (one foot of the seat, the support for the seat, the drapery falling between the knees).

Roma sits on a cushioned backless seat with four legs shaped like lion's feet. The cushion and upper legs are indistinctly rendered. A thick squared strut appears underneath the stool. Its rusticated surface is decorated with a scallop pattern in red on the goddess's left side (Fig. 15, left). The base for the statuette is rectangular. A molding consisting of a broad curved groove flanked by narrow fasciae appears on the front and sides but the back is vertical and rather rough. The surface of the base is faintly uneven, with partially smoothed chisel marks remaining on it. The back of the figure is less well worked than the front, but red adhesive appears at the back on the borders of the mantle and on the hair on the shoulder. A drilled line demarcates Roma's boots and the feet of the stool along the base and separates the drapery of the torso from the drapery falling behind the left shoulder.

Reconstruction: The drilled hole in the right hand shows that the hand once held an attribute. The sloped position of the hand is suitable for a patera (whereas a globe is usually held in a horizontal palm). The hollowed-out space inside the left hand also probably held a spear or staff. The statue base is smooth, with no notch or abrasion to show where a spear butt might have rested.

Mid-3rd century or later (see discussion of chronology below).

The iconography of Roma draws largely from two sources: the war-like Amazon, with short hunting attire and boots, and the stately Athena
Parthenos in her long robes.49 By and large, Athena-like renderings of Roma predominated in the coinage of the Greek East, though occasional examples of the “semiamazon,” or “draped Amazon Roma,” group are known.50 With the short chiton, bare breast, and high boots, however, the Corinth Roma belongs to Amazonian iconography. The presence of the himation covering part of the shoulder, right knee, and lap identifies the statuette with the semiamazon, or draped Amazon Roma, group.51

Many aspects of the Panayia figure find good parallels in statues, reliefs, and coins of Neronian and Trajanic times. Similar composition and

51. Loreti 1985, p. 175.
Figure 15. Statuette of Roma (6): left side and back. Scale 1:4. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations


53. Vermeule 1959, pp. 96–97; see also LIMC VIII, 1997, pp. 279–281, s.v. Virtus (T. Ganschow). Roma and Virtus have many Amazonian characteristics in common. The parazonium, especially when held in the crook of the arm, is considered particularly characteristic of Virtus (LIMC VIII, 1997, p. 281, s.v. Virtus [T. Ganschow]), though it does appear in occasional labeled coins of Roma: LIMC VIII, 1997, p. 1054, no. 82, pl. 703, s.v. Roma (E. Balestrazzi) and p. 1056, no. 102, pl. 706, s.v. Virtus (E. Balestrazzi). The relief of the Haterii, dated to Trajanic times, shows an Amazonian figure seated on armor and carrying a spear and parazonium inside an arch (Kleiner 1992, p. 197, fig. 165). There was no cult statue of Roma in Rome at the time; thus, this depiction is best identified with a temple of Virtus at the Porta Capena, dedicated initially in 205 B.C.
of the Panayia Roma is posed appropriately for holding the parazonium (and certainly not in the crook of the arm), so the identification as Roma remains valid.

Ersilia Maria Loreti argues that the image of the semidraped Amazon was a western creation that introduced Roman weapons and helmet to the Greek Amazon type, replacing Greek armaments and a Phrygian cap. Amazon Romas were sometimes shown seated on a pile of weaponry, but it was only in the early 1st century A.D. that a chair or throne was introduced for a seated Roma in semiamazon garb. A temple pediment depicted on the so-called Ara Pietatis of Claudian date shows a seated Roma in this configuration; this temple is usually identified as the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus. The transformation of Roma’s seat from a pile of weapons to a chair may have stemmed from a desire to emphasize peaceable aspects of Roman rule. The semiaazon Roma appears principally in the west.

In the eastern Mediterranean, the only sculpted examples of the seated semiamazon Roma appear in cities with unusual ties to Rome: Aphrodisias and Corinth. In the Zoilos frieze of the mid-1st century A.D. at Aphrodisias, Roma is depicted according to this type. This city was at pains to stress its connection to Rome and to Aphrodite’s descendants in the form of the Augustan dynasty. Thus, sculptors at Aphrodisias may have consciously chosen an image seen on prominent monuments of the capital.

At Corinth, a seated semiamazon figure appeared prominently in the pediment of Temple E in the forum (Fig. 16). This temple was rebuilt in the Flavian period over a smaller temple of post-Augustan date. It is usually equated with the “Temple of Octavia” reported by Pausanias in the mid-2nd century, and Charles Williams has proposed that it housed the imperial cult more broadly. The pediment displayed a life-size marble statue of a woman in Amazonian dress and a himation seated on a rock surrounded by armor. The configuration of drapery resembles that of the Panayia statuette, though with a parazonium cradled in the crook of her right arm, this figure may be Virtus. The four other figures in the pediment include a possible river god, Aphrodite, an unidentified youth, and the Omphalos Apollo. These pedimental sculptures date to the late 1st or 2nd century and have not been closely investigated.

The choice of this iconography at Corinth must reflect the city’s western connections as a colony and the seat of Roman government for the province of Achaia. The pedimental sculpture from Temple E was a highly visible public monument, initially erected at a time when this iconography

55. E.g., Loreti 1985, p. 178; Kleiner 1992, pp. 141–145, fig. 120.
56. A fragment of a seated Amazon figure on the Actium monument may belong to a Roma: Zachos 2003, pp. 83–84.
58. Williams 1987, p. 29.
59. Corinth I.2, pp. 210–230. Williams 1987, p. 31 (pre-Hadrianic); Walbank 2003, p. 347 (Late Hadrianic or Antonine). Mary Sturgeon has undertaken the study of this pedimental group.
of Roma was also being used in the capital (see above). The pose and clothing of the pedimental statue are similar to those of the Panayia statuette, though the sword and pile of armor lend a more warlike aspect to the larger sculpture, as does the parazonium. Stylistically, the Panayia statuette does not accord with any of the proposed dates for the pedimental statues of Temple E, and it must postdate them (see discussion of chronology below).

Statues of Roma are attested elsewhere in Greece, for instance, at Olympia, Delos (Athena-like), and Thessaloniki (Amazonian). A round temple to Augustus and Roma was built on the Athenian Acropolis, but there is no epigraphic evidence to indicate the appearance of a cult statue or even whether there was one.

7 Larger Artemis
Adaptation of the Artemis Rospigliosi type
Figs. 17–19, 38

S-1999-010. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall.
Max. p.H. 0.121, H. of head 0.80, H. of face, chin to hairline 0.064, max. W. of face 0.088, W. of face at temples 0.050, max. D. of head 0.117 m.
Diagonal break toward bottom of neck slopes down from proper left to right.

This female head is turned to proper left and is slightly tilted. It has an oval face with a long straight nose and parted bow-shaped lips with drill dots at the corners. The upper teeth are slightly indicated. The slender, almond-shaped eyes are outlined with incision. Deeper incision lines demarcate the upper eyelids and extend well past the eye. Pronounced drill dots appear at the tear ducts (2–2.5 mm deep), with smaller ones at the nostrils, and below the nose. The irises are indicated with red adhesive; gold leaf remains on the left side. The eyebrows are incised as long lines filled with red. The hair is parted at center, and its flat chiseled waves are drawn into a two-lobed chignon in back and topknot at front. A line of drilling outlines the topknot against the rest of the hair. The back of the chignon is only roughly finished. Hair trailed under the chignon onto the neck. Red adhesive survives over all the hair, with traces of gold leaf. An unpainted flat band encircling the head may indicate that the Artemis originally had a ribbon in another medium. Earlobes show under the hair but are not drilled. The modeled crease of a Venus-ring on the neck is interrupted by the break.

7b  Base with two feet and tree trunk

Fig. 18

S-1999-013 (base with stump, right foot); S-1999-021 (left lower leg and foot). Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall (leg); in destruction debris over floor of room (base).

Max. p.H. (base to top of left shin) 0.239, H. of base 0.083 (back), H. of base 0.067 (front), W. of base 0.27, D. of base 0.182, L. of right foot 0.092, p.L. of left leg 0.16, W. at calf 0.042, W. at ankle 0.022 m.

Numerous joining pieces make up the base. The left leg is broken at the knee. The right foot is broken at the ankle and the tree trunk behind it is broken at mid-shin height. A section of the front of the base under the figure's left foot is missing, as are the left toes. Burning and accretion are apparent at the front of base. Numerous chips missing at joins.

This base has two feet and a tree trunk on it. The feet are placed at 90° to one another, the right foot further forward and placed flat, the left leg further back, with the heel raised on a tapering wedge. The heel is undercut. Next to the right heel is a tree trunk, which is painted red. The figure wears closed, shin-high boots with a roll at the top. Surfaces are well smoothed, with polish remaining at the front and outside of the leg. Light rasp shows under the polish. A sample of original accretion has been preserved just below the knee on the left.

The base has a rounded back and relatively straight front. The top surface slopes down from back to front and is smoothed, with light rasp marks showing. Red lines in a large scallop pattern decorate the top surface of the base and lines continue over the corner to the front surface, where accretion and burning obscure the appearance. All sides of the base are left rough in a rusticated treatment. There is red paint over the back surface.

7c  Left knee

Fig. 18


P.H. 0.065, max. W. at thigh 0.54, W. below knee 0.039 m.

Broken just above and below the knee. Surfaces very abraded.

This piece shows a slim, flexed knee. Surfaces are well smoothed. Abrasion has removed any polish once on it. Squared chips at either break could be tool marks from deliberate destruction. This piece fits well against the piece of left lower leg and foot (7b), although the abraded surface of the knee prevents an exact fit or a mend.
Figure 18 (opposite). Fragments from the larger Artemis (7): base with two feet and tree trunk (7b); right arm (7d); left knee (7c); right hand (7e); left lower arm? (7g); left upper arm (7h); left hand (7f); flares of drapery (7i, 7j). Scales 1:3 (7b–7d, 7g, 7h); 1:1 (7e, 7f, 7i, 7j). Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations

7d, e Right arm and hand Fig. 18
S-99-19A (7d), S-99-19B (7e). Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall.
Max. p.L. 0.132, L. of forearm from inner crease 0.093, W. of arm at wrist 0.022, thickness of arm at elbow 0.031–0.35, L. of strut 0.107, thickness of strut 0.14 x 0.19; L. of hand 0.039, W. of hand 0.037 m.
Arm is composed of three fragments, with breaks at the elbow and wrist. Large chip on forearm. A small sample area of the original encrustation has been left at the elbow. The hand is burned and has small cracks all over the surface. The palm is darkened, and much of the little finger is eroded. Burning at the break of the hand has left the marble crumbling.
The lower arm stretches away from the body and has a bend at the elbow. A curving strut extends from the lower part of the wrist, then breaks off. The hand forms a loose fist, with the fingers curled around a rounded hollow space (Diam. 6 mm), and the thumb tucked over the fingers. The fingernails are squared and blunt. High polish remains on surfaces not eroded by burning. Rasp marks show under the polish, especially at the back.

7f Left hand Fig. 18
S-1999-020. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall.
P.L. 0.038, W. 0.33 m.
Broken off at wrist. Patches of blackening on surface.
The fingers curl loosely around an empty space with the thumb resting on the forefinger. The space inside this hand (0.010 m at its widest point) is larger than that of the right hand. The middle finger sits higher than the others. The fingernails are blunt. The surface is polished.

7g Left lower arm? Fig. 18
S-2000-001. Fill on top of white floor south of east–west robbing trench.
Max. p.L. 0.083, W. 0.027–0.041 m.
Piece of limb broken at both ends. Extensively weathered and chipped at both ends. Occasional brown accretions.
This fragment is shaped like a truncated cone. A flatter section near the wider end of the piece designates the inner elbow. Cuttings for dowels appear in each end. At the wider end, the dowel hole is 6 mm wide and 22 mm deep. At the wrist, the hole is 5 mm wide and 21 mm deep. On the wider end, the surface has been deliberately cut flat, with the surface roughly picked. The narrow end is too chipped to recognize a flattened plane. The surface is well smoothed all over.
Comment: This left forearm probably belongs with the larger Artemis, as it is approximately the right scale, and the Panayia assemblage contains no other statuette to which it could belong.

7h Left upper arm Fig. 18
S-2000-004. Robbing trench north of room A8 (octagonal fountain court); found with hand (3c) of seated Asklepios.
Max. p.L. 0.051, D. 0.039–0.043, W. 0.035 m.
Small section of a limb, broken at both ends. Brown accretions on break, some on surface.
This is a small, tapering fragment of limb, approximately egg-shaped in cross-section. A triangular break ending just before the lower break remains from something attached to the back of the arm. The surfaces are highly polished, with some rasp marks showing under the polish at the front.
Comment: This fragment is grouped with the larger Artemis because the marble and scale are compatible and it has rasp marks showing under the polish as can be seen on the right arm (7d) and the left leg (7b). The triangular break at the back must relate to drapery behind the figure.

7i Flare of drapery, larger fragment

S-1999-017B. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall.
P.L. 0.056, p.W. 0.043 m.
Two joining pieces. Burning on surfaces.
This flare of drapery is gathered at one end, with three preserved folds radiating out from it. A strip of adhesive and gilding runs along the finished edge on the inner curve. This side is smoothed, with light rasp marks showing. Deeper rasp marks show on the concave side, where two folds are shallowly rendered.

7j Flare of drapery, smaller fragment

S-1999-017C. Room A9, west of robbing trench for east pisé wall.
P.L. 0.034, p.W. 0.029 m.
One finished edge is preserved.
This small fragment of drapery has a finished edge with diagonal creases showing in it. Red adhesive and gilding show on the edge of the drapery. Light rasp shows on the back, which is smooth.
Comment: Fragments 7i and 7j have a surface treatment consistent with the larger Artemis in that rasp marks show through surface smoothing or polishing. On the polished, convex side, the folds are not as crisp or thin as those on the drapery flare of the smaller Artemis (4), while on the concave, rasped side the folds are more deeply rendered than the smooth, puffy back of the drapery flare.

7a-j: Fine-grained white marble. A small piece of mica shows in the break on 7h.

Reconstruction (Fig. 19): Artemis runs toward the viewer’s left while looking back to the viewer’s right. The right foot is planted firmly on the ground, angled at about 45° to the viewer and further forward than the other foot. The left foot faces forward, also flexed, with the heel raised off the ground and supported on a small stone strut. She holds her bow and arrow out and down at the sides. The curving strut supporting the outstretched right arm (7d) would add a circular accent to the composition. A similar strut probably appeared on the left forearm if fragment 7g indeed belongs to this statuette.
The right hand (7e) holds a narrow, round object in a fist. The left hand (7f) forms a looser fist with a larger cavity. On the basis of the different sizes of cavity inside the fists, I propose that the figure held a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right. Though reversed in the direction of movement, the Atalanta on the Meleager sarcophagus at Eleusis (see below, Fig. 32) gives some impression of the overall appearance of the larger Artemis from the Panayia Domus.61 This statuette is reasonably well finished at the back and was evidently intended for viewing in the round: there is gilding on the back of the hair, the backs of the preserved leg and hands are finished and polished, and the backs of the base and tree have red adhesive.

Mid-3rd century or later (see discussion of chronology below).

This figure was a rendering of the Artemis Rospigliosi type, similar to the smaller Artemis (4) in the Panayia assemblage. The position of the curving strut on the right arm suggests that the larger Corinth Artemis

may likewise have held both arms outstretched to the sides with bow and arrow. Both hands are held in fists with holes through them for attributes; thus, it too probably resembled a late-4th-century A.D. statuette of Diana found in the Gallic villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne. A Diana from the sanctuary of Jupiter Doliochenus on the Aventine has a similar configuration.62

8 Dionysos and panther

8a Dionysos and panther

Figs. 20–22; 39, left

S-1999-11A. Room A9, lying face down. Broken but articulated.

H. 0.345, H. of figure 0.315, H. of head 0.056, H. of face 0.041, H. of plinth 0.025–0.033, L. of plinth 0.187, W. of plinth 0.104 m; Wt. 4.08 kg (including hand fragment).

Numerous joining fragments. Missing from the main statuette (8a) are the following: small slice of left elbow, right arm from below the shoulder, most of the left hand, numerous chips at joins. Muzzle of panther is missing, also a large chip out of the rear quarters. Several small pieces missing from base. Blackened

Figure 19. Reconstruction drawing of the larger Artemis statuette (7).

Drawing J. Heinrichs

in places. Squared patches of the original archaeological accretion are left in place on top of the head, chest, and right knee.

Dionysos stands languidly pouring out wine from a kantharos to a panther at his right and resting his left forearm on a tree trunk. He looks to the right. He has a heart-shaped, asymmetrical face with puffy eyes, the left eye higher and more deeply cut than the right (Fig. 21). Ridged arches mark his eyebrows and continue down the bridge of his nose. A very faint incision marks the eyebrow. Tiny drill dots signal the tear ducts, nostrils, and corners of the mouth. A ribbon runs across his forehead at the hairline, below waves of hair running horizontally above it. Above this he wears a wreath with four tall clusters above his face. Rendered with the chisel, Dionysos’s long hair is pulled back into a chignon, from which wavy strands emerge, falling on his back and shoulders. There is red coloration on the hair. A channel from a running drill separates his hair from his neck.

Dionysos rests his left arm loosely on a tree trunk at hip height. The break below the right shoulder shows that Dionysos held this arm down (8b). His chest is soft and smooth, with little muscular definition. A fawn skin (nebris) running over the right shoulder and covering the middle section of his chest is entirely rendered in red (either paint or adhesive for paint). He rests on his left leg, with the relaxed right leg drawn further back. Breaks from squared struts appear on the mid- and upper right thigh. The right heel is raised off the ground, supported on a solid wedge of stone. Dionysos wears open-toed boots with a rolled top decorated with diagonal lines. Sketchily rendered lion’s muzzles hang below these. Drapery
Figure 21. Statuette of Dionysos and panther (8a): detail of face.
Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations

covers the top of the tree trunk, with a cluster of grapes midway up and a trailer of ivy hanging below it. The drapery, trunk, and ivy are painted red, including the back. A deep drill channel runs between the god and the tree trunk, front and back. Dionysos’s skin is lightly polished front and back, though light rasp marks appear beneath the polish.

On the plinth at the viewer’s left, the panther rests its haunches and left forepaw on the ground and raises its right forepaw, supported by a solid block of stone. The panther looks upward with an open mouth. The rear of the panther is flush with the back of the base and is little defined.

The plinth of the statuette has straight vertical sides showing pronounced horizontal rasp marks. The top surface slopes down from the back to the front and is smoothed with chisel strokes. The plinth is roughly rectangular, with convex sides and front. The back of the base has coarse horizontal claw marks on it (Fig. 20, right). Above the plinth, the back of the statuette is finished fairly smoothly, though with marks of both chisel and rasp remaining.

8b Right hand with kantharos
S-1999-11B. Room A9, lying face down. Broken but articulated.
Max. L. 0.095, L. of forearm 0.040, W. at wrist 0.016, H. of kantharos 0.045 m.

Four joining fragments. Arm is broken below the elbow. Some chips missing at breaks. Thumb, inner rim of kantharos missing.

This right hand holds a two-handled kantharos angled downward, with the middle two fingers through one handle and the index and little fingers outstretched along the surface of the cup. The kantharos has a squat, bulbous body, tall neck, flaring rim, and long handles. Squared breaks for struts appear on the inside of the kantharos and the wrist.

8a, b: Fine-grained white marble.
Reconstruction: Two broken struts on the wrist and the kantharos must have attached to the two broken struts on the right thigh. A rough break at the bottom
of the rim of the kantharos probably attached to a stream of wine flowing into
the mouth of the panther. The triangular break at the top of the tree trunk could
retain the outline of a cluster of grapes held in Dionysos's left hand.

Mid-3rd century at the earliest (see discussion of chronology below).

The basic schema of a nude or nearly nude Dionysos leaning languidly
on a tree trunk reaching elbow height, sometimes with attributes such as a
panther, kantharos, or thyrsos, was immensely popular in Roman times
and appears in many different configurations. Some types for these statues
of Dionysos have been proposed, based on ponderation, pose, or degree
of curvature, and have even been attributed to the influence of different
Late Classical masters. Indeed, most aspects of the Panayia Dionysos
have numerous comparanda: the Praxitelean thrust of the hip, the tree
trunk covered with ivy, and the panther drinking from the kantharos.
The particular combination of features, such as Dionysos gazing away
over his free leg and the positioning of his subsidiary figure next to the
free leg, does not accord with any of these proposed original types, how-
ever. Instead, the artist used typical aspects of Dionysos's iconography
to create a figure that is clearly Classically inspired without being linkable to
one particular prototype. On a similar scale to the Panayia Dionysos are
several trapezophora showing scenes of Dionysos pouring out wine to a
panther or leaning on a tree trunk covered with grapes and ivy. Several
fragmentary trapezophora found at Corinth show Dionysos.

The nebris is a less common iconographic choice. A statuette of Dio-
ysos wearing a nebris (both sculpted and painted) over the opposite should-
der was found in the theater. Another example is a statue in Rethymnon. The
use of paint alone without any sculpted indicators for rendering the
nebris on the Panayia statuette suggests that this attribute may have been
more widespread than previously realized.

9 Asklepios and Telesphoros with snake
9a Asklepios and Telesphoros
Figs. 23–25; 39, right
S-1999–012A. Room A9, west of the east pisé wall, north of large pit, beside
the Dionysos (8a), west of the seated Asklepios (3a), lying face down.
H. 0.207, H. of figure 0.189, H. of plinth 0.012, L. of plinth 0.103, W. of
plinth 0.051, H. of head, including beard 0.034, H. of Telesphoros 0.071 m; Wt.
0.84 kg (including forearm fragment).
Six joining fragments. Right elbow, parts of snake and staff, ribbons from
crown are missing. Some surfaces blackened (right hand, snake). Two squares of
accretion are left in place on the lower back.

63. See, e.g., Pochmarsi 1974. For
further bibliography, see LIMC III,
1986, pp. 435–436, 511, nos. 119–124,
pls. 305–308, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gas-
parri).
64. See, e.g., LIMC III, 1986,
p. 436, nos. 119–124, pls. 305–308, s.v.
Dionysos (C. Gasparri).
65. For statues configured similarly
to the Panayia example, see Bartman
2002; see also n. 64, above.
66. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993b,
pp. 232–236, nos. 1, 3, 6, 10–14, pls. 1,
3–6.
67. Inv. S-762, S-1600, S-2470,
S-71–32, S-1469. These are included
in Stefanidou-Tiveriou's (1993b) study
of trapezophora, respectively, as no. 69,
pp. 256–257, pl. 34; no. 39, p. 244,
pl. 16; no. 11, pp. 235–236, pl. 5; no. 40,
p. 244; for S-1469, see p. 157. See also
Ajoontian 2000.
68. Inv. S–673: Corinth IX.3,
p. 153–154, no. 44, pl. 51c.
69. Rethymnon Museum 43: Poch-
marsi 1974, pp. 101–103, pl. 24c. Like
the Panayia Dionysos, this statue has
the weight leg next to the tree trunk,
not a conventional arrangement. Poch-
marsi proposes as a Roman Umbildung
a nebris-wearing type with the weight
leg next to the strut, perhaps normally
with a panther next to the tree trunk.
Figure 23. Statuette of Asklepios and Telesphoros (9a), four views. Scale 1:2. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations.
Asklepios stands with a snake and staff at his right and Telesphoros at his left. His head and upper torso angle toward the right. He has an oval face with a pronounced furrow in the brow (Fig. 24). The shallow, slanting eyes have prominent eyelids outlined above and below by thin incision lines. Tiny drill dots appear in the tear ducts, nostrils, and corners of the mouth. Arching ridges that continue into the bridge of the nose form the eyebrows. Fine incised lines underscore the ridges. Parted in the middle, Asklepios's thick hair frames his face with clusters of scalloped curls at the front and wavier hair at the back. Over the hair is a thick fillet with incised diagonal lines. Two wide ribbons fall from it onto either shoulder. The figure has a thick mustache and a short beard that leaves the neck bare. The hair and beard have red pigment with traces of preserved gilding. The tufts of hair, beard, and mustache are all rendered with thin incision lines.

Tucked under Asklepios's right shoulder is a slender, knotted staff, whose base rests on the ground by his right foot. The staff is cut fully away from the body and from the lower arm. Asklepios's upper chest is bare. An ankle-length mantle passes under his right arm and over the left shoulder from back to front, covering the arm completely with linear vertical folds that become V-shaped below the level of the elbow. The mantle crosses the chest below the pectorals in a thick, twisted roll. This roll passes over the left elbow to the back. Shallow V-shaped folds appear over the belly and linear folds with little modeling run in long diagonals from the left hip to the right ankle. Red coloration remains on the border of the mantle and there is a small trace of gilding near the Telesphoros. There is a small broken strut on Asklepios's right thigh. Asklepios stands with his weight on his left leg, the right leg relaxed, with the heel slightly raised.
Telesphoros stands frontally on a low platform at Asklepios’s left, tucked under the overfall of drapery from Asklepios’s left arm. He has a wide, pear-shaped face with closed eyes and a broad nose. Telesphoros wears a hooded, ankle-length mantle that covers his hands and falls in two sharp Vs over his front.

The base is rounded at the front and fairly straight at the back. It has plain vertical sides and is thicker at Asklepios’s left side. The front is better finished than the sides or back, where heavy rasp marks appear. The front surfaces of the statuette are highly polished. At the back of the statuette, the folds of the mantle are less crisp but polished. Overall, the workmanship on this piece is strikingly linear and angular.

9b Right forearm with snake head and staff

Max. p.L. 0.070, L. of arm and hand 0.047, L. of hand 0.026 m.
Four joining fragments. Arm is broken below elbow. Break below snake’s head, breaks at top and bottom of the preserved section of staff. Blackened surface on hand and staff.

The right hand holds an egg between the thumb and extended index and middle fingers. The remaining fingers are curled into the palm. A tiny strut on their knuckles must have attached to the staff. The snake’s nose reaches up to the egg. The eyes are rendered as tiny chiseled circles with slits extending back from them. The outside of the arm and the back of the snake are well polished; the opposite surfaces are reasonably modeled but hatched with thin chisel lines. A slim strut runs from the neck of the snake to a section of the staff.

9a, b: Fine-grained white marble.


Reconstruction: Asklepios reaches down with his right arm to offer an egg to the snake twisted around his staff. A broken strut emerging from Asklepios’s right thigh must have attached to the staff.

Comment: Asklepios’s pose is a version of the type known as the Asklepios Giustini. This is a widespread and popular pose for the god of healing, attested in several other examples at Corinth.70 When Asklepios and Telesphoros are shown together, it is frequently the Giustini pose that is chosen for Asklepios. Marble representations of Asklepios with Telesphoros are found in various places in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.71 The Panayia Asklepios feeds an egg to the snake entwined around his staff. This version of the Asklepios Giustini emerged in the second half of the 2nd century a.d. and is found particularly in the eastern Mediterranean.72 3rd or 4th century.73

The most arresting stylistic features of this Panayia statuette are the schematic, linear cutting of the folds on the figures’ cloaks and the sharp facial features, though these may relate to scale as much as to chronology.74

70. E.g., S-828, S-1389, S-2486, S-74-4 (all found in redeposited contexts).
73. As noted above (p. 92), the destruction fill over the statuary provides a terminus ante quem of the 360s.
74. For instance, a similarly sized statuette of Telesphoros found in the Corinth theater also has sketchy, linear folds: Corinth IX.3, pp. 158–159, no. 49, pl. 52g.
The statuette resembles relief figures carved at the top of an Athenian honorific stele of the kosmetes Aurelius Dositheos, dated epigraphically to A.D. 212/13.\(^7\) The taut drapery lines between the right knee and left hip are fairly perfunctory and appear to cut into the figure. Although Aurelius Dositheos has straight hair, there is a similar use of tiny straight incised lines to create texture. Another example of this technique on the stele appears on the fronds of the palm branch held by one of the flanking figures. The overall appearance of the figures on the stele is somewhat more naturalistically modeled, but they do not have the high polish and careful finish of the Panayia Asklepios.

Despite her more rounded, perfunctory contours, the Nike in the hand of the Vravkeion Athena displays similar linear drapery (see Fig. 29, below). The Nike is headless, but the sphinx on the helmet of the Athena (Fig. 29, upper right) shares some general facial details with the Asklepios, including finely incised lines for locks of hair. The Gorgoneion on the shield has incised eyebrows. Comparison of the face of the sphinx and the body of the Nike with those of Athena conveys the contrast that scale can create in figures that are obviously contemporary. Figures on a Pelop sarcophagus in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens have shallow, linear cuttings for the folds on their drapery.\(^7\) Citing the stiff drapery and awkward body construction, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou considers this one of the very latest Attic pieces, with a date around 250–260. Sharp facial features and crude, linear carvings for folds appear on seated figures carved in relief on two taurobolic reliefs, one dated epigraphically to 387, the other dating to the reign of Julian.\(^7\) These reliefs do not have the gleaming polish of the Asklepios.

The high polish, flat surfaces, and angular cutting, along with the overall thinness of the statuette, bring to mind ivory carvings of the Roman and Late Roman period. These comparanda, too, span a long time frame, and the angular drapery that one finds frequently on ivory plaques seems to relate to scale, exigencies of the medium, and perhaps speed or quality. Folds in a \(V\)-shape under the chin of a genius of Autumn dated to the 2nd or 3rd century resemble those on the Telesphoros.\(^7\) Slashing diagonal folds that seem to cut into the figure appear on a plaque showing a seated Achilles, dated to the 4th century.\(^7\) Carved bone plaques from Roman and Late Roman Egypt (spanning approximately the 3rd through 6th centuries) provide comparanda for slashing folds that are more decorative than organic.\(^8\) Dating of these items is notoriously difficult and subjective. By and large, the facial features on these pieces are much vaguer and sketchier than the sharp features of the Asklepios.


\(^7\) NM 1176: Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993a, p. 133. An Asklepios statuette from Epidaurus has linear drapery folds and is very thin in profile: Kataki 2002, pp. 15–16, no. 12, dating it to the last third of the 3rd century.


\(^7\) Randall 1985, pp. 68–69, no. 68.

\(^7\) Randall 1985, pp. 72–73, no. 87.

\(^8\) See, e.g., Marangou 1976, pp. 90, 98–99, 105, 121–123, 134–135, nos. 16, 65, 102, 104, 194, 201, 290, pls. 7d, 21b, 32a, 33a, 58a, 59a, 63d. Most of these are female figures whose drapery is intended to be more fluttery than that of Asklepios’s mantle.
**ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT**

**Findspot and Condition**

The Panayia Domus was a large, well-appointed dwelling located just southeast of the Roman forum (Figs. 2, 26). It had at least two peristyles (A1, A10) and an outdoor space with a long decorative pool or “Euripus” (in space A16; later robbing trenches and construction impede detailed knowledge of this area). The building shows considerable affluence, with geometric mosaic floors in some rooms (A2, A3) and marble paving in another (A8). Two rooms had fountains (A2, A8). Fragments of nonfigural painted decoration are preserved in several rooms. Frescoes of two Nikes, perhaps flanking the north door, appeared in room A12, located north of peristyle A10. The west wall of room A5 depicted a maenad. The walls of the domus were extensively robbed in later times, leaving the painted decoration in tumbled fragments.82

Preliminary analysis of ceramics sealed under the Euripus and other contemporary plumbing of the domus indicates that the building was constructed sometime in the Tetrarchic or possibly Constantinian period.83 It was destroyed in a conflagration sometime after A.D. 360 (dated by coins in the destruction levels). Burned debris overlay the entire building. This fire may have resulted from an unrecorded earthquake; the second half of

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81. For the mosaics, see Sweetman and Sanders 2005. They conclude (p. 365), “At best it could be said that the mosaics would fit in well with the repertoire of the 3rd century A.D.”
82. The Nike is illustrated in Sanders 2005, p. 423, fig. 16.3. The frescoes from the villa are under study as part of a Bryn Mawr doctoral thesis by Sarah Lepinski.
83. Although the latest coin (inv. 99-200) sealed under the domus (in a well) belongs to Valerian I (A.D. 253–260), the ceramics date to Tetrarchic or even Constantinian times (Sanders 2005, pp. 420–426).
the 4th century seems to have been seismically active. Robbing of the walls of the domus occurred in the 5th and 6th centuries and later. A robbing trench despoiling the east pisé wall of the room where the statuettes were found (room A9, adjacent to fountain court A8 and frescoed room A5) disturbed the floor and the statuary lying atop it. It must have been this disturbance that removed pieces of the Europa (1), Herakles (5), and larger Artemis (7c) that were found in 13th-century dumped debris and in a 19th-century wall. The domus has not been fully excavated. A Byzantine bath sits over part of the structure and other parts run under modern construction.

The nine fragmented statuettes were found strewn over an earthen floor in room A9 (Fig. 27). Most of the statuettes were essentially complete, if broken. They lay within a layer of fallen wall plaster, fresco, and burned roof tiles. The painted stucco had bands of red and white, parts

86. These fragments and the burned debris lay on the floor, not in a pit cut into it.
of a floral frieze on a white ground, and a fragmented red garland. This room probably served as a domestic shrine at the time of the building's destruction (see below).

Before further evaluation of the use of this room and its statuary, we must consider aspects of the condition of the statuettes themselves at the time of discovery. First, the red adhesive and gilding preserved on several of the statuettes indicate a high level of care right up to the time of their deposition under burned layers. Second, in several cases there are joins between burned and unburned fragments (Dionysos [8] and the standing Asklepios [9]). From this it is evident that the statues were already broken by the time they were burned. The fact that the statuette of Dionysos lay shattered but still articulated suggests that the fire occurred more or less immediately after the breakage of the statuary. Perhaps the same event caused the statuettes to fall from shelving or niches higher in the wall and the fire to begin in the building. An earthquake, as suggested above, is certainly consistent with such a scenario.

Third, most of the statuettes are essentially complete: both statuettes of Asklepios (3, 9), the Roma (6), and the Dionysos (8). Joining fragments recovered from later contexts completed two further statuettes, the Herakles (5) and the Europa (1). No trace of body parts suitable for the head of Pan (2) has appeared in any context, strengthening the likelihood that this head was used in a bust or herm at the time of the destruction of the domus. The two statuettes of Artemis (4, 7) stand apart from the rest of the assemblage with respect to completeness. Only the extremities are preserved: bases, arms, legs, one head. There is evidence of ancient piecework on both of these (see catalogue entries). Because of these ancient joins, the two statuettes may have broken more readily and their pieces may have scattered further in the impact of a fall, allowing the torsos to fall or roll into the path of the future robber pit.

Finally, even though several of the statuettes have cuttings to add attributes, no separately formed attributes were found, despite careful sieving. Thus, there is no bow or arrow for the two statuettes of Artemis (4, 7), no spear for the Roma (6), no staff for the seated Asklepios (3). The statuettes were discovered in a location where destruction evidently overtook them swiftly. In these circumstances, one could expect metal attachments to be preserved in some fashion. Possibly the attributes were wooden and were destroyed in the fire, or perhaps they had already been removed.

The broken condition of the statuary as discovered could lead to speculation about intentional breakage, perhaps by Christian fanatics. There is no evidence, however, for deliberate mutilation (for instance, on the faces or genitalia). The statues appear to have broken not long before the entire building burned down; as discussed above, an earthquake is a plausible explanation for the sequence of damage to the building overall.

87. For a view of the statuettes before conservation, see Sweetman and Sanders 2005, p. 369, fig. 8.
88. The fact that marble fragments of skirt drapery were found for both statuettes (4d, 7i, 7j) indicates that the torsos were carved from stone, not wood.
89. Two oblong iron nail heads (7 x 14 mm; 9 x 16 mm) with squared shafts were uncovered.
The Domestic Context: A Possible Shrine?

In interpreting the use of the statuettes at the time of the villa's destruction, we should consider both their condition and their findspot, although these factors seem to point in different directions. The statuettes lay on the floor of a fairly central, if restricted space, located near many of the important peristyles and reception rooms. The earthen floor implies a low status for the room and its activities, while the polychrome if rather undistinguished fresco suggests a somewhat higher prestige for the room's activities. The statuettes themselves constitute valuable luxury goods that would normally be displayed in showy spaces accessible to visitors, spaces decorated with other expensive items such as mosaics, paintings, architectural decoration, and the like.91 Such spaces did exist elsewhere in the Panayia Domus, yet the domus's final owner chose to place the statuary in this less-than–glamorous room instead. Taken together, the centrality of the room, the faintly sacral air of its painted decoration (in the form of the garland), and the presence of the exquisite miniature statuary itself all combine to suggest that this room housed a domestic shrine.92 No architectural elements for a shrine or mobile cult objects were found in the debris of this room, however.93

The very small scale of all the statuettes, with the exception of the head of Pan, supports the interpretation of the group as the contents of a household shrine, though this was by no means the exclusive use for small-scale statuary. Statuettes in shrines, especially lararia (shrines to the lares and other household gods), were more typically fashioned in bronze, as in the case of a cluster of statuettes found together on the floor of a house in Clermont-Ferrand, evidently fallen from a niche in the wall.94 A cluster of bronze statuettes from a 4th-century pit in Athens may have been the contents of a shrine.95 Thus, one might expect to find bronzes alongside the marble statuettes at the Panayia Domus. Marble statuettes did appear in household shrines, as in the case of an extensive sculptural arrangement interpreted as a private shrine to Isis in a Late Antique house in Rome.96 The Panayia assemblage does not include a lar, a divinity that would firmly identify a lararium group.

Domestic shrines were often placed in highly visible locations. For instance, in Ostia, shrines appeared in courtyards, porticoes, and “accentuated rooms.”97 In the later buildings at this site (post a.d. 250), shrines in accentuated rooms were placed axially in the center of a wall. By contrast, room A9 seems less accessible and the standard of the other decor does not match the caliber of the statuary itself.

At the time of the building's destruction sometime after the a.d. 360s, the Panayia statuettes were gathered in a small room that may have served as a domestic shrine. Nonetheless, the variety in their date, scale (though all are small), and degree of completion suggests that this grouping was a late phenomenon. The Herakles statuette (5) was visibly unfinished (puntelli for pointing remain) and yet was found with other highly finished pieces.

In the context of Roman social competition, it is probable that at an earlier time these high-quality statuettes were displayed in other rooms with a level of affluence more in keeping with the display of fine marble statuary (for instance, rooms A2, A3, A5, A7, or A12).98 It is particularly

92. There are other possible explanations for the accumulation of the statuettes in this small room. Perhaps the taste or religion of the owner had changed and the statuettes were removed from sight. Perhaps the room was a transitional location as the statuettes were on their way to being discarded or even hidden for protection.
93. By contrast, statuettes, lamps, rackets, and a miniature column were found in a cultic room on East Theater Street (Williams 2005). Painted decor there included a lar. For discussion of indicators of worship, see Bakker 1994, p. 15; Stirling 2005, pp. 22–25.
95. Daux 1968, pp. 741–748.
tempting to envisage the Roma (6) in the same room (A12) as the painted Nikes, another image drawn from imperial iconography. Perhaps the patron of the house, seated in a similarly magisterial fashion, received clients or peers here. The combination of Roma and Nike would clearly advertise adherence to imperial ideology and imply the owner’s participation in it through military or civilian office. The good condition of the surfaces of the statuettes indicates that they were always displayed indoors.

SOCIAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Most of the statuettes in this grouping depict typical subjects and configurations found frequently in the domestic statuary of Roman Greece and, indeed, other provinces. The Dionysos (8) and Pan (2) could have reminded viewers of the pleasures of banqueting and freedom from care, and the two figures of Artemis (4, 7) probably brought to mind the aristocratic pleasures of hunting. Statues of Herakles are often associated with the gymnasium and the ideals of the active life. Asklepios was a ubiquitous divinity in domestic statuary, though seated versions are generally rare in sculpture in the round. The gilding in the hair and beard as well as the high polish on the chest of the Corinthish statuette (3) undoubtedly called to mind the famous chryselephantine statue at Ephesus.

In contrast to the other figures, it is unique to find a marble statuette of Roma in a domestic context; this is the only example known to me. As discussed above, the Panayia Roma (6) finds a strong visual parallel in the public statuary of the city, namely, the pedimental decoration of Temple E in the forum (Fig. 16).\(^9\) Apparently, the patron of the Panayia Domus, in choosing to have a personal statuette of the goddess Roma, wanted one that would not only provide an allegorical symbol of the city of Rome and its rule over Greece, but would also evoke a major monument in the forum of Corinth.

Isolated examples of similar state divinities are known in domestic contexts. A marble statuette of the Tyche of Constantinople was found above a Late Antique villa at Ptolemais in Libya, but in unstratified fill.\(^1\) Statuettes of the Capitoline triad appear twice in houses, one in a peristyle lararium in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati in Pompeii, the other from a wealthy 3rd-century home outside Rome.\(^11\)

A few paintings found in domestic contexts may represent Roma. A fresco of a woman wearing a purple Amazonian tunic and holding a globe on the walls of the Casa dell’Attore Tragico at Sabratha is interpreted as Roma. The decor of this house probably belongs in the Severan period.\(^12\) At Rome, the painting of a regal, enthroned female figure known as the Dea Barberina was found in a Constantinian palace near the Lateran.\(^13\) This figure holds a Victory with a globe in one hand and a staff (possibly a spear) in the other. She has attributes of both Roma (helmet, shield propped against the throne, winged Victory) and Venus (erotes, slipping drapery on the left shoulder). Other paintings in this room showed imperial figures, one holding a lar.\(^14\) Painted decoration in a niche of a nymphaion on the Caelian hill includes an over-life-size Roma, evidently receiving gifts
from two flanking individuals, one of them probably an emperor. This painting is dated in the 4th or 5th century and its configuration probably reflects the cult statue in the early-4th-century Maxentian temple of Venus and Roma. It is not clear what kind of building housed the nymphaion. One suggestion for this structure is that it was a cult chamber inside a house. If so, it could provide a grander parallel for the domestic shrine of the Panayia Domus. From these scarce examples, we see clearly that Roma is an unusual choice for the decor of Roman houses, but those examples that do exist are mainly from late antiquity.

Given the small scale and relative portability of the Panayia statuettes, it is also relevant to compare other luxury goods decorated with images of Roma. The Esquiline treasure includes gilded silver statuettes of Roma and the city Tyches of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, dated to the second half of the 4th century. Attachments on these figures show that they were used as furniture fittings, perhaps on a chair or litter for a consul. A gold belt buckle found in the Seine River shows Roma enthroned, receiving the fruits of the earth. François Baratte dates the buckle to the late 4th or early 5th century and notes that decorated belts were part of the insignia of certain offices, with gold examples reserved for very high positions. A bronze relief found in a grave in Budapest shows Roma at the center receiving gifts from four other cities, all labeled. This piece dates to the second half of the 4th century and was a decoration for a wooden chest. Some diptychs of the early 5th century include personifications of Roma and Constantinople as part of the setting for the depiction of the consul himself. Consuls gave out diptychs to announce and celebrate the commencement of their office. The presence of the Roma at the Panayia Domus may indicate that the patron of the Panayia statuette had also held high office, or at the very least had aspirations to join the governing classes. Corinth was the seat of the proconsul of Achaia, and other important government officials must have resided there as well.

**Domestic Statuary in Late Antique Greece**

Although the Panayia statuettes range in date from the 1st to the 3rd or 4th centuries, they were assembled as a collection in a house that remained in use through most of the 4th century and suffered destruction sometime after A.D. 360. A growing number of Late Antique assemblages of domestic statuary are known from Greece. There are several from Athens, dating to the 4th century and later, and one from Messene. In the following pages, the 2nd and 3rd centuries from houses on Kos (Albertocchi 1997; Sirano 2004), Ephesos (Aurenhammer 2003; Rathmayr 2005), Dion (Pandermalis 1991), and Eleutherna (Themelis 2003, pp. 73–75; Stampolidis 2004, pp. 58–62, 184, no. 82). Asklepios, Artemis, Herakles, Aphrodite, and Dionysos recur in these collections.
I emphasize comparanda within Greece for close examination, in order to view ways in which the Corinth assemblage does and does not participate in a regional koine of taste, but I also evaluate the Panayia finds within international trends.\textsuperscript{113}

In Corinth itself, there are two other potential examples of Late Antique domestic statuary. A smaller cluster of statuettes was found in a poorly constructed building, possibly a house or shop, just north of the Panayia Domus.\textsuperscript{114} A miniature marble version of the Aphrodite of Capua reflects the cult statue of the armed Aphrodite on Acrocorinth. Despite the fame of this cult statue and its frequent appearance on Corinthian coins, this statuette (discovered in 1947) is still the only sculpted version of this statue type found at Corinth. In the same room were two terracotta figurines: an infant Dionysos and a bearded, half-draped, mature man. Like the more extensive and valuable Panayia assemblage, this collection reveals an interest in versions of cult statues, Dionysos, and possibly Asklepios. This building was destroyed around the same time as the Panayia Domus. Still more nebulous as domestic statuary is another statuette of the Europa type found (partially) in the destruction level over the Mosaic House next to the South Basilica.\textsuperscript{115} The latest coin in this fill dates to the reign of Theodosius. Thus, the statuette may have been part of the decoration of this house in its Late Antique phase; if so, there were two 4th-century patrons at Corinth who chose to display this highly distinctive statue.

Certain houses in Athens are roughly or partially contemporary with the usage of the Panayia assemblage.\textsuperscript{116} In the 1880s when the National Gardens and their internal structures were being built, work crews revealed some villas and other buildings, several of which were reexposed and further explored by archaeologists in salvage excavations during the extension of the Athens Metro in the 1990s. One villa in the northeast corner of the garden had private baths and was decorated with wall painting, mosaic, and statuary.\textsuperscript{117} The building was first constructed in the late 3rd or early 4th century, then considerably renovated in the 5th or 6th century. An apsidal room contained a Hygieia and two enthroned statuettes of Cybele.\textsuperscript{118} There were also reused votive reliefs of Cybele and Asklepios in the building. Further statuary was found in the baths of this villa. A statuette of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, dating to the later 4th century A.D., was

\textsuperscript{113} For statuary in Late Antique villas across the empire, see Stirling 2005, pp. 165–227.


\textsuperscript{115} Fragment S-1897, showing the upper torso, was found above the Erotes Mosaic. Another fragment of this statue type, composed of joining pieces S-1904 and S-2446, shows the lower half of the statue. Though they do not physically join with S-1897 (the intervening piece is missing), the marble and scale match.

\textsuperscript{116} Other finds of statuary from Late Antique houses in Athens are less helpful for the present study because some of the statuary was used as building materials rather than displayed in the house. For a house near the Zappeion, see Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 135–137; Stirling 2005, pp. 208–209. Remains of Late Antique houses were excavated at the Acropolis metro station: Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 34–37, 88–91. Building Chi on the south slope of the Acropolis dates to the 5th century and is thus later than the Panayia villa. See Melides 1955; Agora XXIV, pp. 42–44; Karivieri 1994; Baumer 2001.

\textsuperscript{117} The following description is based on Spathari and Chatzioti 1989; Karivieri 1994; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000. Although Parlama and Stampolidis identify this building as a bath, the statuary assemblage accords better with a house than a bath: Stirling 2005, p. 208.

\textsuperscript{118} A photograph of the statuette has appeared only in the popular press thus far: Kiosse 1984, cited by Karivieri 1994.
imported from Asia Minor. There were also a statuette of Asklepios and one of a priestess of Isis.

Two houses on the north slope of the Areopagus had sculptural collections. These houses were built around the mid-4th century and occupied until the early 6th century, at which time both buildings were renovated and nearly all the statuary from them was thrown down wells. The sculptures, all heirloom pieces, were mostly life-size or close to it. The majority of the statuary was found in the wells of House C. There were five portraits, including one of the emperor Antoninus Pius. There were also a Herakles, a head of Helios, and two reused Late Classical reliefs, one of Artemis, the other of Hermes and the infant Dionysos. A statue of Athena became a threshold block in the renovations of the early 6th century. In House B, a statuette of Hermes, a headless statuette of a seated man, and a head of Nemesis were found cast down a well. Several scholars have proposed that these houses belonged to philosophers, but the contents of the statuary collections are essentially in keeping with other contemporary ones in the eastern Mediterranean.

A collection of small-scale, reused statuary appeared in a less lavish house in Plaka, northeast of the Acropolis. It included a wreathed female head, a Harpocrates, a bust of Isis, and a steatite statuette of an enthroned goddess. There were also three reused Classical reliefs: two of Cybele, and one of a horseman next to a horse. An interest in mystery cults is clear from this collection. Numerous terracotta statuettes, including a bust of a philosopher, were also found. The house was probably destroyed in Alaric's sack in 396. With its unassuming contents and variety of media, this collection is reminiscent of the materials found with the statuette of the Aphrodite of Capua at Corinth.

The famous Varvakeion Athena (Fig. 29, below) was found in a house at the northern edge of the city, just inside the city wall, along with a statuette of Asklepios and a small female head. The Athena lay face down beneath a brick arch, which the excavators suggest may have been a deliberate protection for it, but which alternatively could have been the niche or naiskos where it was displayed. No datable material is mentioned in the early reports, but the house is usually considered to be “Late Antique.” Like the Panayia collection, this one possesses both an elaborate and detailed statuette modeled after a cult statue and an Asklepios.

Moving outside of Athens, an urban domus at Messene demonstrates a rather different pattern of Late Antique decor, with much larger statues

122. For specific arguments in favor of philosophers, see Agora XXIV, pp. 37–48; Camp 1989; Karivieri 1994; Athanasiadi 1999. For arguments against this attribution, see Fowden 1990; Sodini 1997, p. 464; Stirling 2005, pp. 204–206 (with comparison to contemporary assemblages).
123. Alexandri 1970; also discussed by Karivieri 1994, p. 137.
124. Lange (1880) is the most detailed publication of the Athena. Schuchhardt (1963) lists additional bibliography. Only the torso was preserved from the Asklepios statuette. The statuette is described as bare-chested, with drapery below and over the shoulder and a staff under the left arm, thus broadly corresponding to the Giustini type seen in the Corinth standing Asklepios.
and a contemporary portrait. Built in the late 2nd or early 3rd century, and subsequently renovated, this house was destroyed sometime after the 360s, a similar destruction date to that of the Panayia Domus. Statues of Artemis, Hermes, and an emperor were found in the debris of a large, long dining room with an opus sectile floor, and they evidently had been displayed in niches along the north wall. The statues are all about three-quarters life-size. The Artemis Laphria is an earlier piece (possibly Antonine), but the other two are products of a local workshop operating in the early 4th century. Both were recarved from earlier statues. A beardless man wearing a tunic must represent an emperor because he holds a globe. Using stylistic and historical arguments, Georgios Deligiannakis proposes that the statue represents Constantine and falls sometime within the latter portion of his reign. This statue constitutes a very rare example of a contemporary imperial portrait (and full length at that) in a Late Antique domestic context.

The head of Hermes has a more classical profile than does the emperor, but otherwise is carved in the same distinctive style, with nodular hair, deeply drilled pupils, and incised irises. Thus, it must be contemporary. The Messene house is a very apt comparison for the Panayia Domus because an early-4th-century patron clearly went to some effort to procure fresh statuary as well as an antique to display prominently in the house. The latest material in the Panayia assemblage dates to the mid-3rd century at the earliest, and may well belong to the early 4th century. Other pieces were antiques or heirlooms. The Panayia collection is much smaller in scale, and by the time of its destruction was displayed much less prominently than was the Messene collection.

Comparing the Panayia assemblage as it existed by the later 4th century with other collections of that approximate date, we observe the steady recurrence of Asklepios and Hygieia. Indeed, these divinities were popular throughout the Greek East in late antiquity, and were less prominent in western collections. The Athenian collections display a taste for reused votive reliefs and statuary of Cybele, but these do not appear in the Panayia collection. Assemblages of the 4th century in Greece exhibit a penchant for enthroned divinities or pieces otherwise evoking cult statues: the Asklepios (3) and Roma (6) in Corinth, the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias in Athens, the enthroned Cybeles, and possibly the Varvakeion Athena (though we do not know the date of that house). The hunting Artemis, seen in Greece also at Messene and in a relief panel at House C on the Areopagus, was popular in Late Antique collections throughout the empire. Dionysos was another universally popular figure in Late Antique homes. The third widely popular

126. This account of the building and its statuary is drawn from Deligiannakis 2005.
127. Imperial portraits in Late Antique domestic assemblages are more typically of earlier emperors, such as the Antoninus Pius at House C in the Agora (Agora XXIV, p. 41). A recent survey of Late Antique domestic assemblages found no imperial portrait later than the tetrarchs: Stirling 2005, pp. 220–221. The vast majority of private portraits in Late Antique villas were likewise heirlooms.
129. Elsewhere in the empire, enthroned figures and evident cult statues do not figure as prominently.
divinity, Aphrodite, does not appear at the Panayia Domus. Many Late Antique collections throughout the empire included portraiture, although this taste was less evident in the Greek East. If the Panayia pieces indeed belonged to a domestic shrine, however, the absence of portraiture is less surprising. In many ways, then, the Panayia assemblage fits well with Late Antique collections in Greece or the Greek East.

**The Corinthian Context**

As we have seen in the catalogue discussions above, many of the Panayia statuettes reflect popular sculptural configurations of divinities: the Artemis Rospiglioni, the Herakles Farnese, the Asklepios Giustini, and the languid Dionysos. More unusual choices are the enthroned Asklepios, the Roma, the beardless Pan, and the Europa. Examining some of these statuettes within their particular cultural context allows us to suggest meanings they may have carried for their owners. We thus turn to the Corinthian numismatic, cultural, religious, and artistic environment of the Panayia statuettes.

Most of the divinities found in the Panayia Domus also appear in the numismatic imagery of Roman Corinth, often depicted in the same configurations. Several coins of Corinth show Artemis running to the viewer’s left, skirts aflutter, carrying attributes described as a bow and torch.  

130. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1964, p. 18, no. 12, fig. D:LXVI, LXVII.


133. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1964, pp. 19–20, no. 16, pl. E: LXXXVII.

134. *Corinth* VI, p. 24, nos. 68–70.


136. See Bookidis 2005 for a survey of the cults of Corinth in the 1st century.
marble statues of Asklepios and Hygieia there, though he does not describe them.\footnote{137} A small temple at the north end of the forum may have housed Artemis or Bacchus, either of which accords with finds in the Panayia Domus. There is no evidence for a cult of Roma at Corinth, but Roma or Virtus adorned the pediment of Temple E in the forum, as discussed above (Fig. 16).\footnote{138} There may have been two further depictions of Roma in the monumental decoration of Corinth. A broken Hadrianic statue base found built into a Byzantine wall near the Lechaion Road may have supported another statue of Roma, depicted as seated among the seven hills of Rome.\footnote{139} More speculatively, a sculpted fragment showing a bare female shoulder with a loop of drapery over it may have belonged to a colossal statue of Roma.\footnote{140}

As discussed in the catalogue entry, there is unresolved debate over the identity of the heavily draped female figure (1) in the Panayia assemblage, and scholars have favored Europa or Aphrodite Sosandra for it. The Panayia sculpture is one of four statuettes of this type found in Corinth. Two statuettes were found in medieval layers in the forum area, one over the Julian Basilica, the other in 4th-century fills over the Mosaic House built next to the South Basilica.\footnote{141} Another came from the theater.\footnote{142} The four Corinthian statuettes form an unparalleled concentration of this statue type in one city. Can this concentration shed light on the vexed question of her identity? Europa is often equated with Hellotis (Ath. Epit. 15.22; Etym. Magn., s.v. Hellotia), a goddess who was worshipped at Corinth.\footnote{143} Perhaps, then, these Corinthian figures represent Europa-Hellotis. A votive statuette at Epidauros and a life-size statue in the baths at Argos add to a Peloponnesian concentration.\footnote{144}

The mid-4th-century owner of the Panayia Domus at Corinth thus curated and probably worshipped an exquisite collection of small-scale gilded marble statues. What other statuary might the owner have seen on a regular basis? Baths, other buildings, and colonnaded streets of the high Roman period are likely to have still displayed their original collections of statuary, as was the case in other cities such as Rome and Constantinople.\footnote{145} A display of sculpture seems to have been planned if not fully executed in renovations of the Peirene fountain that probably took place in the second half of the 4th century, that is, around the time of the destruction of the Panayia Domus.\footnote{146}

Although the last owner of the Panayia Domus, like many others in the eastern Mediterranean, does not appear to have displayed portraiture

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137. *Corinth* XIV; Paus. 2.4.5.  
143. *KIPauly* V, pp. 326–327, s.v. Hellotis (F. Graf). I thank Guy Sanders for these references.  
in his or her house, contemporary portraiture was certainly visible in
the city. About two dozen Late Antique portraits survive from Corinth,
a greater number than in most other cities. These portraits mostly
postdate the destruction of the Panayia Domus in the 360s or later, but
nonetheless attest Corinthians' continuing engagement with public statu-
ary. Findspots or inscriptions attest that 4th-century statues decorated
the theater and stood in the city center. Certain portraits display sty-
listic influence from Constantinople. One head shows the same man
as the well-known “subtle style” portrait in the Thessaloniki Museum,
and Catherine de Grazia Vanderpool suggests that this late-4th-century
individual, who was commemorated in both Achaia and Macedonia, may
have been a prominent Roman general. Rather abstractly rendered
statues of magistrates wearing the chlamys were made starting in the
later 4th century.

The imported portraits and styles mentioned above indicate continu-
ing artistic contact with other centers by the elite of 4th-century Corinth.
Nonetheless, Corinth does not seem to have imported two other distinctive
later 4th-century genres of statuary associated with Asia Minor. In the
surviving record there are no late mythical statuettes of Asian origins
and no fragments of Tischplatten, tables with figural borders.

In a speech to the emperor Julian, the orator Libanius (Oratio 14)
depicts Corinth as a city harshly divided on religious lines, with pagan
cult waning in influence and under attack by Christian partisans. In the
polarized environment that Libanius describes, the owner of the Panayia
Domus may have felt uneasy about openly displaying a domestic shrine.
A chilly climate toward pagan worship may account for the apparent con-
tradictions in the decor of the shrine. Elsewhere at Corinth, some statues,
such as a large Artemis Rospigliosi, were inscribed with crosses at an
unknown date. Scholars dispute the meaning of adding a cross. Is it a de-
facement? Or a form of baptism? A destruction of powers? Whatever
the exact intention, this kind of action clearly suggests an arena of religious
polarization.

Another hint of a changing sculptural environment around the time of
the domus's destruction is a table leg (trapezophoron) of the Good Shep-

147. See de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, p. 379.
148. Corinuth IX.3, pp. 143–144, no. 33; 163–166, nos. 54, 55.
149. See de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, pp. 379–382. On the creation
and diffusion of a Constantinopolitan court style, see Kührich 1993; Bergmann
1999.
the subtle style, see L'Orange 1973.
151. Brown 2005. One statue found
in the theater (Corinuth IX.3, pp. 163–
165, no. 54, pl. 55c, f) must date before
the theater’s destruction in the late 4th
century; the other examples come from
unstratified contexts.
152. For late mythological statu-
ettes, see Gazda 1981; Hannestad 1994;
Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005. For
decorated tables, see Dresken-Weiland
153. S-2392: LIMC II, 1984, p. 646,
drilled details, including the iris, resemble the aesthetic of Theodosian court art and late mythological statuettes from Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{156} The face, arms, and legs are lightly polished. The round molded base differs from the squared style seen on some other trapezophora of the Good Shepherd and, despite its cruder treatment, has some general similarity to those of late mythological statuettes.\textsuperscript{157} However, the coarser marble (with medium-sized crystals), the chiseled treatment of the shepherd’s hair and the sheep’s fur, and the lack of undercutting and decorative drilling all distance this piece from court art and the other statuary (both portraits and ideal sculpture) associated with it. The facial features of the Corinth trapezophoron suggest a date in the last quarter of the 4th century, or perhaps the early 5th century. No specific findspot for this piece within Corinth is recorded; it seems appropriate for a liturgical, funerary, or domestic setting. Perhaps local aristocrats came to favor Christian statuary like this piece, which is so far a unique find at the site.

\textsuperscript{156} For instance, the figures on the Theodosian obelisk (Küblerich 1993, pp. 318–325, figs. 12–24), a statuette of Christ in Rome (Stirling 2005, p. 100), and other statuettes (Stirling 2005, pp. 35, 101); see also Gazda 1981.

\textsuperscript{157} For instance, the Diana and Venus of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne: Stirling 2005, pp. 31–34, figs. 4–7.
CHRONOLOGICAL ISSUES AND COMPARANDA

The Roma, larger Artemis, and Dionysos (6, 7, 8) stand out within the Panayia assemblage for a number of common features: the heavy incision around the eyes, the drilled details in the face, the inorganic and somewhat disproportionate body, the doughy drapery, and the use of the drill to outline features. Broadly speaking, these features find their best parallels in Attic sarcophagi, trapezophora, and statuettes that are conventionally dated around the mid-3rd century.\footnote{158} The Panayia trio forms a cluster with several classicizing statuettes such as the Varvakeion Athena (Fig. 29); this constellation finds parallels (not always as close) among certain sarcophagi, votive statuettes from Epidauros, and, to a lesser extent, trapezophora. The chronology of the later products of Attic workshops is largely grounded in stylistic groupings and historical assumptions about the devastating impact of the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267.

There are, in fact, very few independently datable pieces on which to hang this stylistic sequence or cluster: three sarcophagi with Gallienic indicators and two controversial statuettes with Constantinian inscriptions from Epidauros. On this evidence, tenuous though some of it is, the Panayia pieces can be dated to the mid-3rd century at the earliest, and may well belong in the early 4th century with the Epidauros pieces. The Panayia statuettes provide a platform from which to evaluate the features of later Attic sculpture and to reconsider the question of the longevity of the Attic workshops.

The Panayia statuettes thus land squarely into important stylistic debates. Leaving aside temporarily the particular questions of chronology, I first identify important stylistic comparanda among statuettes, sarcophagi, and trapezophora. After establishing clusters of works with shared features, I will focus on issues of chronology and longevity for the Attic sarcophagus workshops.

THE PANAYIA CLUSTER

The closest comparanda for the Panayia pieces is a small cluster of statuettes stylistically linked to Attic sarcophagus workshops.\footnote{159} The Varvakeion Athena (Fig. 29), statuettes of Artemis and Niobe found at Inatos on Crete (Fig. 30), and a head of Athena Parthenos from the Acropolis (Fig. 31) all share characteristics with the Panayia statuettes. I refer to these as the Panayia cluster.

The Varvakeion Athena is a key comparative piece for the Panayia Roma (6).\footnote{160} Both statuettes have classicizing facial features and a squared chin. The technical treatment of the faces is similar. On both, there is close attention to painted detail in the eyes, hair, and clothes, as well as gilding in the hair. The flattened, rather globular locks of hair along the sides of the faces and falling over the shoulders are similar. Although the drapery is rendered with greater crispness and detail overall on the Athena, deep drill channels with a squared profile are evident on both. The Athena uses extensive struts to hold together subsidiary figures.

\footnote{158. Restrictions of space allow only a selection of comparanda to be illustrated here, but the bibliographic citations include references to published illustrations.}

\footnote{159. Koch 1978; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993a.}

\footnote{160. Karanastassi (1987, pp. 408-410, no. BE12, pl. 35:1) compares the drapery on the Varvakeion Athena to examples on sarcophagi of the first quarter of the 3rd century and considers it less heavily drilled and stiff than drapery on later sarcophagi. Nick (2002, p. 240, no. A15, pl. 19:1, 2) dates it to 220-230. For additional photographs, see Schuchhardt 1963.}
Figure 29. Varvakeion Athena, with details of face and Nike. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 129. Photos E.-M. Czakó, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. NM 5146, 5154, 5160)
Statuettes of Artemis and Niobe found together as surface finds at Inatos on Crete (Fig. 30) have conspicuous similarities to the Panayia pieces.161 The Niobe clasps a dying daughter who collapses against her knees. The Artemis from Inatos is shown drawing her bow, aiming low.

The eyes, raised eyebrow, and softly pursed lips of the Niobe (Fig. 30, right) provide strong parallels to the Roma (6). The blurred, chiseled waves of hair on this statuette resemble those on the Corinth Roma and the larger Artemis (7). The Roma and Niobe share anatomical similarities, with squared, fleshy faces, broad necks, and flaccid anatomy. The ribbonlike folds of cloth on the Roma’s navel resemble those on the torso of the daughter in their abstract flatness. Like the Corinth pieces, the Niobe retains traces of painted decoration.

The facial treatment of the Inatos Artemis (Fig. 30, left), including painted details, is closely akin to that of the Panayia Roma. The chiseled waves of hair resemble those on the Roma and the Panayia Artemis. The upper body and head of the Inatos Artemis are too small for the lower body, giving her an awkward, disproportionate appearance. The indistinct musculature, long fingers, and thick wrists on the Inatos statuettes also resemble those of the Corinth pieces. Red adhesive remains in the eyes and hair, as well as on the plinth and tree trunk.

161. Marinatos 1934–1935. The Artemis is LIMC II, 1984, p. 727, no. 1359, pl. 558, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). These statuettes are variously dated from the mid-3rd to the early 4th century.
Since the Inatos statuettes work so well as a narrative pair and are modeled after elements of a famous statuary group, they must have been purchased at the same time and place. Notwithstanding the more graceful appearance and pose of the Niobe, we have seen that there are important commonalities in their facial details, surface finish, painted decoration, and other technical details. The Inatos statuettes provide an instructive example of the differences possible in works from the same origin. The Corinth Roma, Artemis, and Dionysos (6, 7, 8) likewise give different overall impressions but share many stylistic and technical features.

With details painted in red and incised eyebrows with a faint ridge above them, a small head of Athena Parthenos found on the Acropolis (Fig. 31) shows similarities to the larger Panayia Artemis (7). The heavy lids, deep eyebrow crease, and square jaw link it to both the Artemis and the Roma (6). The loops of hair at the temples are not as flatly rendered as the hair of the Panayia Roma, Artemis, and Dionysos.

A further assortment of plainer statuettes, most of which were found at the sanctuary of Epidaurus, share some generally similar technical and stylistic features with the Panayia cluster. In particular, a statuette of Asklepios dedicated there in A.D. 308/9 exhibits the disproportionate appearance, drilled outlines, and incised eyebrows of the later Attic pieces.

163. Katakis 2002, pp. 38–39, no. 19, pl. 23 (Asklepios); pp. 31–32, no. 29, pl. 35 (Hygieia); pp. 80–81, pl. 92, no. 76 (dancing Dionysos and satyr); pp. 89–90, no. 87, pl. 102 (enthroned woman); pp. 90–91, pl. 103, no. 88 (seated woman with billowing drapery).
(see below, Fig. 35, left). With its large head and hands, this statuette offers a broad comparison for the Roma (6) and Dionysos (8), although the hair and other features are more heavily drilled on the Asklepios (see further discussion below). A statuette of a lunging Athena is also of interest because it appears to reflect an Athena on the Parthenon pediments.\footnote{Katakis 2002, pp. 70–73, no. 69, pls. 86, 87 (dating to the mid-3rd century).} If so, it presents a parallel for the Panayia Roma, which is possibly inspired by a pedimental figure from Temple E in the forum (Fig. 16). It also joins with the Varvakeion Athena (Fig. 29) and the head from the Acropolis (Fig. 31) in showing an interest specifically in the artwork of the Parthenon.

Thus, the Panayia Roma, Artemis, and Dionysos share facial features, proportions, aspects of drapery, and the striking use of color with the Varvakeion Athena, the Parthenos head from the Acropolis, and the Inatos Niobe and Artemis (the Panayia cluster). The treatment of the hair in flatly chiseled undulations with virtually no drilling between locks is distinctive and appears on all these statuettes. Most of the statuettes in the Panayia cluster directly follow cult statues or other very recognizable works. We have seen above that there was a particularly Late Antique taste in Greece for such subjects in domestic statuary. None of the statuettes in the Panayia cluster can be independently dated, and the Panayia statuettes, found under a destruction level with coins of the 360s, are the only ones with a stratigraphic context. Scholars have usually dated the statuettes in the Panayia cluster to the early or mid-3rd century through comparison with sarcophagi, themselves mostly dated through stylistic comparanda, as there are very few with an independent date.\footnote{Marinatos 1934–1935, p. 8; Koch 1975, p. 76; 1978, p. 125; Despini, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, p. 178. These technical features are not used in portraits; thus comparison with portraits is not a helpful methodology for dating.}

**Sarcophagi and Trapezophora**

Several of the common features of the Panayia trio appear on Attic sarcophagi and trapezophora conventionally assigned to the 3rd century. Especially noteworthy are the use of thin, incised lines for eyebrows echoed by an incised line marking the upper eyelid, and the use of the drill to outline features or separate adjacent masses.\footnote{Marinatos 1934–1935, p. 8; Koch 1975, p. 76; 1978, p. 125; Despini, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, p. 178. These technical features are not used in portraits; thus comparison with portraits is not a helpful methodology for dating.} Inorganic forms, disproportionate body parts, and overly large hands, feet, and heads are also cited as features of the later products of Attic workshops.\footnote{Despini, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, p. 178. These technical features are not used in portraits; thus comparison with portraits is not a helpful methodology for dating.}

Several sarcophagi stand out as good comparisons for the Panayia Roma and Artemis (6, 7). We begin with a Meleager sarcophagus in Eleusis (Fig. 32).\footnote{Eleusis Museum 5243: Koch 1975, pp. 76, 142–143, no. 170, pl. 136a–c.} The sarcophagus features drilled outlines, drilled details at the tear ducts, nostrils, mouth, and naso-labial line, and incised eyebrows. The face of Atalanta (Fig. 32, right) strongly resembles that of both the Roma and the larger Artemis in its squared jaw and remote expression. The chiseled furrows of hair, deeply drilled tear ducts, and incised Venus ring are especially striking in their similarity. The stiffly posed figures have
proportionately large heads and big chunky hands like the Panayia pieces. The hunting boots of the Eleusis figures, the Roma, and the Artemis are all topped with a rounded band that constricts the leg a little.\textsuperscript{169} Guntram Koch dates the Eleusis sarcophagus to the first quarter of the 3rd century on the basis of the use of drilling, the incised eyebrows, and the composition that extends over the edges of the frame.\textsuperscript{170}

On the Pelops sarcophagus in Athens dated to around 250–260 by Stefanidou-Tiveriou, the tufty, chiseled hair brings to mind the non-drilled treatment of hair on the Panayia figures, though the linear, almost incised drapery folds differ from the rounded, doughy treatment on the Panayia pieces.\textsuperscript{171} The proportions, stiff movement, chiseled hair and flat drapery on an Amazon sarcophagus in Thessaloniki compare well to aspects of the Roma and Artemis (6, 7).\textsuperscript{172}

A sarcophagus found in Tyre and now housed in the National Museum of Beirut is dated to A.D. 250–260 on the basis of the hairstyles of the reclining portrait figures on the lid (Fig. 33).\textsuperscript{173} This is one of the very few independently datable Attic sarcophagi. In a tableau of Achilles among the maidens on Skyros on one of the short sides, the figures have the same square jaws and puffy features as the Corinth Roma (6). A reclining woman at Achilles’ feet has blurry chiseled locks of hair pulled away from the part, like the Roma and Dionysos (8). Overall, there is somewhat more drillwork in the hair on the Beirut figures. In these figures, exaggerated incised lines mark the lower edge of the eyebrows, with a narrow raised band above the channel. Helmets on this sarcophagus have visors with the same profile as that of the Roma.

\textsuperscript{169} The Panayia Roma further resembles the Eleusis figures in the diagonal hatching that decorates the trim of the boots.
\textsuperscript{170} Koch 1975, pp. 76, 142–143.
\textsuperscript{171} Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1176: Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993a, p. 133. The incised folds, however, match those of the standing Asklepios (9) fairly well.
\textsuperscript{172} Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 1245: Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993a, p. 133, pl. 58:2. She dates it to the mid-3rd century.
\textsuperscript{173} Note that the sarcophagus and lid were found together during excavation of the cemetery: Chéhab 1984, pp. 72–75, pls. 18–21; Rogge 1995, pp. 18, 49, 126–127, no. 6, pls. 52:2, 54:2.
Moreover, the Beirut Achilles sarcophagus and others linked to it also offer parallels for Roma’s backless, armless stool. Although chairs with lion’s legs are commonplace in ancient art, the lumpy cushion and absence of a back or arms on the Panayia example are difficult to match in Graeco-Roman iconography. Attic sarcophagi provide the best parallels for this backless seat with lion-paw legs. On the short end of a Hippolytos sarcophagus found in Apollonia (Libya) and dated to the mid-3rd century, Theseus sits on a backless chair supported by rather shapeless lion’s legs. 174 A fairly similar seat appears under Theseus on a Hippolytos sarcophagus found in Arles and dated to A.D. 250–260 by comparison to the Beirut one and others. 175 This seat has lion’s heads at the top, unlike that of the Roma. Male figures seated on backless chairs with lion’s legs also appear on another sarcophagus from Tyre, one in the Louvre, and one in the Capitoline Museum. 176 The Capitoline sarcophagus is dated to the mid-3rd century by the portrait busts on the lid. It is significant that comparanda for the Roma’s seat, which is otherwise difficult to match in Graeco-Roman iconography, should come from sarcophagi that are stylistically grouped on other grounds. All are dated to the mid-3rd century, mainly through comparison to the portrait-bearing Beirut and Capitoline examples.

Related to sarcophagi as products of Attic workshops are trapezophora, decorated table legs, whose small scale and higher relief make them appropriate comparanda for the Panayia statuettes. Dating for these pieces has been established wholly by stylistic means, as none is associated with inscriptions or portraits, and excavation finds, where recorded, tend to be late fills. Some trapezophora exhibit asymmetry, large-headed proportions, and rather rubbery anatomy, comparable to that of the Panayia statuettes. 177 A hunting Artemis found at Mérida in Spain (Fig. 34) and assigned to the period 250–260 provides a parallel for the rather linear

177. Stefanidou-Tiveriou (1993b) places a number of classicizing trapezophora in the mid-3rd century: pp. 165, 169, 261, no. 80; pp. 167, 185, 277, no. 121; p. 260, no. 77; p. 277, no. 120. Interestingly, several of these later pieces were found in Thessaloniki. For a general discussion of mid-3rd-century examples, see Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993b, pp. 169–170.
modeling on the folds of the standing Asklepios (9) and a thematic comparison for the larger Artemis (7) from Corinth.178

Although many of the trapezophora have molded bases, I have not found close comparanda for the base moldings on the Roma (6) and the seated Asklepios (3) in this assemblage. The Panayia Dionysos (8), with its more noticeable facial dissection and inorganic anatomical rendering, fits with a trapezophorion of Dionysos with a satyr from Megara, dated stylistically to the third quarter of the 3rd century.179

**Seeking a Chronology**

The foregoing discussions have identified a corpus of statuettes, sarcophagi, and trapezophora that exhibit common features in the rendering of hair, faces, drapery, and other details. Among them is a cluster of elaborately painted and gilded statuettes, several of which imitate famous statue types. While one may convincingly link these statuettes with each other and with certain sarcophagi or trapezophora, establishing their absolute date is more difficult. Stratigraphy, portraits, and inscriptions are the best sources of evidence for independent dates, but only the merest handful of artworks in this group are associated with portraits or inscriptions.

Few of the works discussed here have a well-dated stratigraphic context. The late-4th-century destruction of the Panayia Domus provides only a very broad terminus ante quem for the Panayia statuettes; statuary could remain in use over generations. Portraits on the lid of the Beirut sarcophagus indicate a Gallienic date for the sarcophagus. As noted above, the lid of the Attic sarcophagus of Achilles in the Capitoline Museum likewise has portraits of the mid-3rd century.180 One Attic sarcophagus in Thessaloniki has a long inscription on its base molding dating to the sole reign of Gallienus (260–268).181 Stylistically, the rather stiff bodies and chunky proportions of the figures on this sarcophagus fit well with the group described above, but there is more drillwork evident. The Asklepios dedicated at Epidaurus in 308/9 (Fig. 35, left) compares broadly with the Panayia statuettes and raises the possibility of an early-4th-century date. Let us consider it more closely.

The Asklepios was part of a group of some 30 statuettes discovered in 1886 in a Roman bath north of the Temple of Apollo.182 Also important is a statuette of a lunging Athena dedicated in A.D. 304/5 (Fig. 35, right).183 The Athena does not especially resemble the Panayia pieces except perhaps in its minimal use of drilling. The question that arises

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180. Rogge (1995, pp. 16–18) discusses questions of chronology for sarcophagi, giving examples with inscriptions or portraits. She lists Achilles and Hippolytus sarcophagi with datable portraits on the lids (p. 18, n. 32), though she cautions that lids and sarcophagi may not be contemporary. A sarcophagus in Damascus showing a sea battle has a portrait on the lid and is variously dated in the second quarter of the 3rd century: Kintrup 2000.


183. Katakis 2002, pp. 73–75, no. 70.
immediately for the dating of the two Constantinian dedications at Epidauros is whether donors Marcus Iunius and Plutarchos offered new statuettes at the sanctuary or reused older artworks. The inscriptions on both pieces are written over the moldings of the base, which implies that that they were an afterthought.

Though dedicated only four years apart, the two statuettes do not especially resemble one another in style or technique.\textsuperscript{184} The drapery of the Athena is more plastic and her body more fluid and natural. The lighter, almost sfumato rendering of the folds on the Athena contrasts with the harder, more tubular folds of the Asklepios. Similarily, drill channels demarcating locks of hair and nodes of the beard dominate his facial features. Nevertheless, contemporary pieces do sometimes create different impressions, as we have seen with the Niobid pair from Inatos and the Panayia Artemis and Roma. With its large head and hands, the Asklepios from Epidauros has general similarities to the Panayia Roma or Dionysos, although individual features are more heavily drilled on the Asklepios. The Athena does not especially resemble the Panayia pieces.

Stylianos Katakis has defended the Asklepios and Athena from Epidauros as works of the early 4th century, citing the classicism of Constantine’s early rule as a general stylistic context for these artworks.\textsuperscript{185} He argues

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\linewidth]{figure35.png}
\caption{Statuettes from Epidauros: Asklepios (left) and lunging Athena (right). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 264, 274. Photos E.-M. Czakó, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. NM 5413, 4721)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{184} Emphasizing their disparate appearance and citing specific alternative comparanda, Stefanidou-Tiveriou (1993a, pp. 134–135) instead proposes a date around 150 for the Athena and one around 260 for the Asklepios.

\textsuperscript{185} Katakis 2002, pp. 201–204.
that the absence of drilling is the only difference between them, and is not a major dissimilarity. Because there are no dated works of this period in southern Greece, Katakis looks to the building program of Galerius in Thessaloniki and more broadly to monuments in Rome and Asia Minor for comparanda. Many of his comparisons draw on a general aesthetic or formal commonality rather than specific stylistic or technical traits. The monuments of Galerius do not seem to me to provide strong similarities with the Epidauros material (or, more importantly for the present study, for the Panayia statuettes). It is difficult to find further comparative material of the early 4th century to triangulate against the Epidauros statuettes as stylistic confirmation for their date; thus the Constantinian date of the dedication remains the strongest evidence for possible Constantinian manufacture, though it cannot be proven.

Some scholars object to a Constantinian date for the Epidauros statuettes, using the historical argument that sculptural production in Attica could not have continued past the Herulian invasion of 267. Stefanidou-Tiveriou has argued strenuously from stylistic and historical grounds that the Herulian invasion indeed dealt a fatal blow to an artistic industry that was already faltering. The output of the Attic workshops was already declining by the mid-3rd century. She suggests that economic hard times after the invasion meant that fewer people could afford sarcophagi or statuettes, and notes that the latest examples of Attic grave stelai as well seem to date to the middle third of the 3rd century. Problems of piracy would have made transport difficult. She further points out that the sarcophagus industry at Dokimeion, another exporter of luxury goods, shows the same decline and cessation around 260. Dokimeion was able to retain some activity through manufacturing goods for local use, and workshops of Asia Minor returned to importance in the 4th century. This, argues Stefanidou-Tiveriou, was not the case for Attica, where the Herulian invasion not only irreparably damaged the sculpture industry, but also impoverished the classes of people who formed its local clientele.

Other indicators, however, suggest that the Herulian invasions did not have such a decisive and lasting impact on the economic history of Athens. Ceramic production, for instance, recovered rapidly and some buildings were quickly restored. Verse inscriptions recording the construction of the post-Herulian wall constitute further indication of vigor on the part of the educated, ruling classes. Moreover, as studies in the last two decades have shown, production of statuary of mythological figures elsewhere in the Roman empire continued in the 4th and even early 5th centuries. A complete cessation of Attic artistic production as a result of the Herulian invasion is not substantiated.

How then do we date the Panayia trio, the cluster of closely related statuettes, and the constellation of more broadly linked pieces? The most conservative reading would put them around A.D. 250–260 (that is, just before the Herulian invasion), privileging the sarcophagi with Gallicien portraits as the finest comparanda, disregarding the Epidauros pieces as reused, and following the historical argument that the Herulian invasion ended Attic output. The statuettes would thus belong in the more classicizing stream of late Attic work, as identified by Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

191. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993b, pp. 174–176. One feature that distinguishes this group is restrained drill-work so that surfaces of hair and drapery are not broken up with decorative drill channels. Bodies also remain somewhat more proportionate.
Given the scarcity of independently datable pieces, however, as well as the Constantinian inscriptions on the Epidaurus pieces and the positive evidence for post-Herulian recovery in other industries, it is reasonable to posit continued activity by Attic workshops. The cluster of statuettes most closely linked to the Panayia trio (the Varvakeion Athena, the Inatos pair, and the Acropolis head; Figs. 29–31) show distinctive characteristics that do not appear together as consistently on other Attic works. These include the chiseled hair, the strip of paint or slight ridge above the eyebrow, and the rich polychromy more generally. Thus, they form a distinctive group within Attic works.

Moreover, this subgroup of statuettes also stands out for its focus on copying specific famous existing statues, including cult statues: the Athena Parthenos, the Niobid group, and (somewhat more speculatively) the pediment of Temple E at Corinth (Fig. 16). As we have seen, collectors of domestic statuary in Greece in the 4th century A.D. show a distinctive predilection for versions of cult statues, more so than do collectors during the high empire; it would be reasonable for sculptors to cater to this taste among the wealthy. More generally, the style and subject matter of the statuettes suits the “classicism” of the reign of Constantine, as Katakis argued for the Epidaurus pair. These two factors provide further circumstantial support for a date later than the mid-3rd century. Current analysis of ceramic evidence indicates that the Panayia Domus was built in the Tetrarchic or even Constantinian period. The construction of a new and lavish home certainly creates a fitting moment to purchase new statuary to complement the antiques in the assemblage. At Messene, also in the Peloponnese, a roughly contemporary patron clearly commissioned new sculptural works for the dining room of his home.

For all these reasons, then, the Roma, larger Artemis, and Dionysos from the Panayia Domus date to the mid-3rd century at the earliest, and more probably belong in the early 4th century. They and the rest of the Panayia cluster clearly belong with the “late output” of the Attic workshops, but it is not currently well established when that late output ceased.

PAINT AND GILDING ON THE PANAYIA ASSEMBLAGE

One of the most striking features of the Panayia statuettes as a group is their surviving polychromy (see Figs. 1, 36–39). Vivid red pigment remains on six of the nine statuettes. This presumably served as an adhesive (bole) over which paint or gilding would be laid. Flakes of gilding appear over the adhesive on five of the statuettes. Other colors of paint atop this red adhesive are not visible to the naked eye. While this aspect of the statuary merits in-depth study on its own, some preliminary observations may be made here.

I begin by summarizing the remains of red adhesive on these statuettes. The two figures of Artemis (4, 7), Asklepios (3, 9), and the Roma (6) reveal traces of adhesive and gilding, while the Dionysos (8) has red adhesive alone. Red appears on the hair, irises, and eyebrows. Stripes of red appear at the borders of garments. On the fragments belonging to

192. Statuary of enthroned divinities and direct versions of easily recognizable cult statues do not feature as prominently in the 2nd- and 3rd-century collections mentioned earlier (see n. 112, above).

the larger Artemis, the colored stripes on the clothing (7i, 7j) are lighter, more of a yellow color. In places the yellow color comes from traces of gilding remaining atop the pigment, but the underlying material is lighter than that in the hair (7a) of the Artemis (Fig. 38). The trim on the Roma’s boots is red (Fig. 37). The Dionysos wears a red nebris (Fig. 39, left). Thin red lines decorate the front of the throne of the seated Asklepios (3) with palmettes (Fig. 36).

The bases for both Artemis figures are red; there is a pattern of scallops on the top surface of the base for the larger Artemis (7). Similar scallops appear on the throne support for the Roma. The tree trunks with the Dionysos (Fig. 39, left) and the Artemis statuettes are red, as is the boar with the smaller Artemis (4) and the snake with the seated Asklepios (3). There is no paint on Dionysos’s panther or on the snake with the standing
Asklepios. With the exception of the vestiges of gilding (see below) and the yellowish trim on the drapery of the larger Artemis (7i, 7j), red is the only color visible to the naked eye. There is no green or blue paint and no evidence for shading.

Traces of gilding survive on five of the statues. It appears on the drapery edges for both figures of Artemis (4, 7), and on the hair and irises of the larger Artemis (Fig. 38). On the seated Asklepios (3), the hair, beard, and drapery trim have gilding (Fig. 36). The standing Asklepios (9) retains gold in his beard and the edge of his mantle (Fig. 39, right). The irises of the Roma (6) have flecks of gold (Fig. 37). Thus, the prime locations for gilding are hair, beards, eyes, and drapery edging. In these locations, then, the red pigment evidently served as adhesive for the gilding and imparted a warmer tone to the gold.194

194. For scientific analysis of the adhesive for gilding on a statue of Hygieia from Antioch, see Artal-Ibrand, Becker, and Wypyski 2002. The adhesive comprised a roughly equal mixture of a lead product and burned bone.
Figure 38. Head of the larger Artemis (7a). Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations
No red adhesive has survived on the other Panayia statuettes: Europa (1), Pan (2), and Herakles (5). Since all the statuettes shared the same deposition history, it seems these three were not originally painted.

The Panayia statuettes forcefully remind us of the polychromy of ancient statuary, which was widespread even if the pigment itself is not always well preserved (or well served by conservation practices).\textsuperscript{195} New methods for detecting traces of paint, including ultraviolet fluorescence, have vastly increased the ability to reconstruct and study color.\textsuperscript{196} At Corinth, both T. L. Shear and Mary Sturgeon have documented and discussed the intense polychromy of the sculpture and marble of the facade of the Corinth theater.\textsuperscript{197} Many other traces of color survive on statuary at the site.\textsuperscript{198}

The gilding is a more infrequent and expensive phenomenon. Associated with both gods and emperors, it emphasizes the importance and even

\textsuperscript{195} Reuterswärd 1960; Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004.

\textsuperscript{196} Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004. Examination of polychromy on the Panayia statuettes constitutes part of ongoing doctoral research.

\textsuperscript{197} Shear 1928; Corinth IX.3, pp. 20–22. See also Nagel 2006.

\textsuperscript{198} For instance, red stripes at the edging of the drapery on the statuette of the armed Aphrodite: S-2548 (see n. 114, above).
holiness of a piece.\textsuperscript{199} Along with highly polished skin surfaces, it would create the effect of chryselephantine statuary, most strikingly in the case of the two seated figures from the Panayia Domus. Delicate, gilded statuary evidently appealed to Late Roman patrons. Traces of gold survive in the hair of the Varvakeion Athena, which has yellow and red coloring elsewhere (Fig. 29).\textsuperscript{200} A statuette of Cybele found with an Asklepios in a domestic shrine at Aphrodisias had highly polished surfaces and "gold paint."\textsuperscript{201} Facial features place this statuette in the late 4th or 5th century. Gilding underscored divinity and imperial power in other media as well. Ivory diptychs of Asklepios and Hygieia dating to about A.D. 400 (now in Liverpool) show the divinities in green mantles against gilded backgrounds.\textsuperscript{202} Other diptychs of the period also had varied color on them.

The surviving adhesive and gilding on the Panayia statuettes raise further questions. It would be interesting to know the composition of the adhesive itself and whether it is the same on all the statuettes despite their different dates. Scientific analysis could detect traces of other colors of paint atop the adhesive, traces that are not visible to the naked eye.

CONCLUSIONS

The excellent preservation and stratigraphic context of the nine Panayia statuettes make them one of the most important assemblages of domestic statuary from Roman and Late Roman Greece. Both factors make it possible to consider context with more refinement than usual. The statuettes range over at least two centuries in date. The Europa (1) belongs in the late 1st century and the head of Pan (2) in the early 2nd century. The enthroned Asklepios (3) dates to the later 2nd century, while the smaller Artemis (4) dates to the later 2nd or 3rd century and the unfinished resting Herakles (5) could belong to the later 2nd or 3rd century. The latest pieces in the group—the Roma (6), the larger Artemis (7), the Dionysos (8), and the standing Asklepios (9)—belong in the mid-3rd century at the earliest.

All the statuettes were in good condition (with preserved pigment and gilding, if not attributes) at the time of the demise of the domus sometime during or after the late 360s. At the time of the fire they were located in a small, central room with painted decor (A9), which probably served as a domestic shrine. Such exquisite statuettes may not always have been housed in a small room with rather plain painting; in earlier times they may have adorned the villa's larger rooms with mosaic floors and frescoed walls. It

\textsuperscript{199} On gilding techniques, see Artal-Isbrand, Becker, and Wypyski 2002; Abbe 2006. Two Serapis heads with gilding have been found at Corinth, S-1457, S-2387: Milleker 1985, pp. 125, 128 (discussion of gilding). Sturgeon proposes that an over-life-size male figure (possibly Augustus) from the Corinth theater had yellow paint resembling gold over its hip-mantle: \textit{Corinth} IX.3, pp. 66–68, no. 2. Red adhesive remains over the entire surface of the garment. For an Artemis from Cyrene with gilded hair, see Beschi 1959, p. 257.

\textsuperscript{200} Schuchhardt (1963) provides a detailed description; see also Reuterswärd 1960, p. 201. As we have seen above, extensive red pigment also appears on the Inatos pair and the Parthenos head from the Acropolis, the statuettes most closely linked in style to the Panayia Roma, Artemis, and Dionysos.

\textsuperscript{201} Erim 1990, p. 27. For traces of polychromy on mythological statuettes of the later 4th century, see Stirling 2005, pp. 108–109.

is particularly tempting to imagine the Roma displayed in the same room as the Nike (A12).

The divinities Artemis, Asklepios, Dionysos, and Herakles were widely popular in domestic assemblages of Roman Greece in the High and Late Empire. Much more unusual is the statuette of Roma. I have not found a direct parallel for this divinity represented in marble in any domestic collection anywhere in the empire at any time. This statuette may simultaneously have referred to the pedimental sculpture of Temple E in the forum and indicated high service or status on the part of the owner. The Panayia array of statuettes is like others of Late Antique Greece in exhibiting a taste for seated divinities. Portraits have not been recovered at the Panayia Domus, and seem rare in Greek domestic collections generally.

Although the divinities in the collection at the Panayia Domus do not especially mirror the cults known from the forum of Corinth, most appear in the city’s coinage, often in the same configurations. By the later 4th century A.D., the time of the destruction of the domus, Libanius depicts Corinth as polarized between polytheism and Christianity. It is not clear what other religious statuary or other ideal sculpture may have remained on public display, though inscriptions make it clear that dedications of portraiture continued through this time.

The Panayia Roma, larger Artemis, Dionysos, and the standing Asklepios compare well stylistically to the latest sarcophagi and statuettes of Attic workshops. Important comparanda include sarcophagi in Beirut, Arles, Thessaloniki, Athens, and Eleusis (although the last of these is conventionally dated earlier in the 3rd century than the others). Few of these works are associated with independently datable features such as portraits or inscriptions. Although the output of the Attic workshops is usually considered to have ended after the Herulian invasion of 267, there is positive evidence for recovery in other industries and two statuettes in Epidauros carry dedicatory inscriptions dated to A.D. 304/5 and 308/9. Thus, the end date for the Attic workshops is not firmly established, and manufacture may well have continued into at least the early 4th century.

The Panayia Roma and the larger Artemis in particular, with their gilding and careful attention to detail, join a group of high-quality statuettes that imitate very specific prototypes (the Panayia cluster). These include the Varvakeion Athena, the Niobe and Artemis from Inatos on Crete, and a head of Athena Parthenos from the Acropolis (Figs. 29–31). Although close dating is not possible, as just discussed, these statuettes are in keeping with the 4th-century taste for statues reminiscent of cult statues, as seen in domestic assemblages of that era.

The well-preserved Panayia collection, with its many layers of context, sheds light on issues of chronology, iconography, and social history in Roman and Late Roman Greece. Taken with the rest of the decor in the domus, they enable us to envision the colorful, complex world of the Late Antique home and to evaluate the tastes of a particular patron in a specific domestic, urban, and regional context.
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