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American School
of Classical Studies
at Athens

A SERIES OF SCULPTURES FROM CORINTH

II. A HELLENISTIC GIGANTOMACHY

THE sculptures discussed in my previous article (see pp. 158-169) are works of the Hellenic period, the latest of them, the maenad base, being a work of the fourth century. The Hellenistic period proper is represented, I believe, by a long relief of the gigantomachy, of which we have very considerable remains. They were discovered in the theatre, in a trench near the centre of the stage building, between May 15 and June 4, 1903. Their extremely fragmentary state and the fact that mixed in among them were found fragments of other sculptures quite incongruous in style and size, suggests that they had been collected to burn for lime. Hence the finding-place does not necessarily give a clue to their original position. The material at hand, though enough to offer a very clear notion of the style and technique, and a general idea of the subject, is too incoherent to permit any attempt at actual restoration. I shall therefore dispense with a description of each single fragment, and limit myself to an indication of the principal ones, with such discussion of their common characteristics as may help to determine their period and artistic value. The material is a coarse-grained marble of a creamy patina, but showing a bluish cast on the broken surfaces. It contains a good deal of mica, and tends to split away in long flakes. The relief was high, with arms and legs often worked free from the background. It was set on a plinth averaging 0.14 m. in depth (from the background to the front edge), but varying occasionally from 0.11 m. to 0.165 m.¹ The usual height of the front of the plinth was about 0.065 m., subject to variation from

¹ The variation was not attended by an inverse variation in the thickness of the relief-ground, but involved a change of actual thickness in the slabs employed from 0.14 m. to 0.22 m.

0.06 m. to 0.095 m. The height of the relief may be roughly calculated from the proportions of the existing figures. The heads average 0.14 m.; in one case at least,¹ the relief-ground is continued above the head to a distance of 0.06 m. before reaching the upper edge. Assuming that the figures measured seven heads, a proportion which, if we take into account the dimensions of the limbs which are preserved, does not seem improbable, we should have 0.98 m. for the average height of the figures, and 1.04 m. for the total distance from the plinth to the upper edge of the background. In a scene of violent combat it is of course possible that no figure stood drawn up to its full height. Yet even making allowance for this, the distance from the top to the bottom of the background can hardly have been less than a metre.

The finish of the background and the plinth presents certain interesting peculiarities. The reverse of the relief is quite smooth, with a dull polish. Along the lower edge of such places as are preserved to the base are traces of what seems to have been an offset or moulding of some sort, now roughly knocked away. In one case the roughened band whence the moulding had been knocked away is preserved in its full original breadth² and meets the lower surface of the plinth at a right angle. In this case the lower surface of the plinth is level, but roughly dressed. In most cases, however, the upper edge of the moulding alone remains, and the surface below has been rudely bevelled off, meeting the lower surface of the plinth at an obtuse angle. In such cases the bottom is often not dressed at all, but rudely hacked away. One piece³ shows the usual smooth back and the mutilated offset, but the depth of the offset is but 0.01 m. and the under side is finished with the same great care as the back. Another piece which presents an individual peculiarity is that to which the torso reproduced in Figure 11 is attached. The back is, as usual, smooth, but across it at a height of 0.16 m. from the bottom of the fragment runs a set-back of 0.01 m. to 0.02 m. in depth — a clean, horizontal cut.

¹ That of the bearded god, Fig. 8.

² Accession No. 469.

³ Not reproduced; inventory No. 660, fragment of background with back part of plinth on which rests a rather hastily executed foot.

The top of the relief-ground is dressed rough, and not even carefully levelled; it was evidently used under some sort of moulding or cornice. Only one piece remains with a vertical edge;¹ this is carefully cut on a straight line, but as the joint surface is roughly dressed, it can hardly have been intended that the joint should be visible. It must rather have come from an end, where it could have slipped under a moulding or pilaster. I have nowhere found traces of cramp or dowel holes.

These technical indications suggest that the relief had been used in different ways at two different epochs. The finish of the back shows that in its original state it must have been a parapet or barrier, intended to be visible from both sides; it was placed so that the lower edge of the plinth was hidden from view, probably to a depth of from one to two centimetres below the edge of the offset. The block with the finished under surface shows that at one point it must have crossed an open space (possibly a drainage canal), and also indicates the depth to which the other blocks were hidden from view. What the reason for the set-back on the block with the torso (Fig. 11) may have been, I cannot suggest, nor can I offer any sure explanation of the purpose of such a parapet. Certain details of finish — the flat and poorly executed tops of the heads and the flat finish of the drapery over Zeus's left shoulder² — indicate that the relief was intended to be seen from below. Could it have been a parapet along the top of one of the Greek terrace walls?³

At some subsequent time the offset was knocked away to the plane of the upper back surface, probably with the intent of setting up the relief against some vertical surface. It is possible that at the same time the mouldings which may have adorned the upper edge were knocked away to allow the relief

¹ The fragment with the hand brandishing a club, Fig. 5. ² See Fig. 3.

³ It is interesting to note that the Gigantomachy from Priene (Brit. Mus. Nos. 1165 to 1176) shows similar evidence of having been used as a parapet. The slabs are set into the wall, so that it is not easy to observe details of finish, but the bottom is rough like ours at Corinth, and Wolters, who has had opportunity to study the fragments in the storerooms of the Museum, says (*Jb. Arch. I. I.*, p. 56) that the top and the vertical joints were dressed rough. The back is, however, not smooth, but merely hacked out. See besides the article by Wolters, the British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 156.

to fit under a cornice, though it is also possible that a separate cornice was employed from the first. The later set of workmen were summary in their handling, and left the under side without even a rough dressing. This second use of the reliefs remains even more of a mystery than the first. They may possibly have formed a sculptured band across the front of the stage in the Roman theatre, though the evidence we have at present does not seem to point strongly in that direction.

Let us turn now to the single fragments and see what we can glean from them as to the *dramatis personae*. To the party of the giants we can attribute at least six principal fragments.

1. (Fig. 1.) Inventory No. 469. Fragment of plinth and background on which rests a right leg from thigh to knee, ending below the knee in a

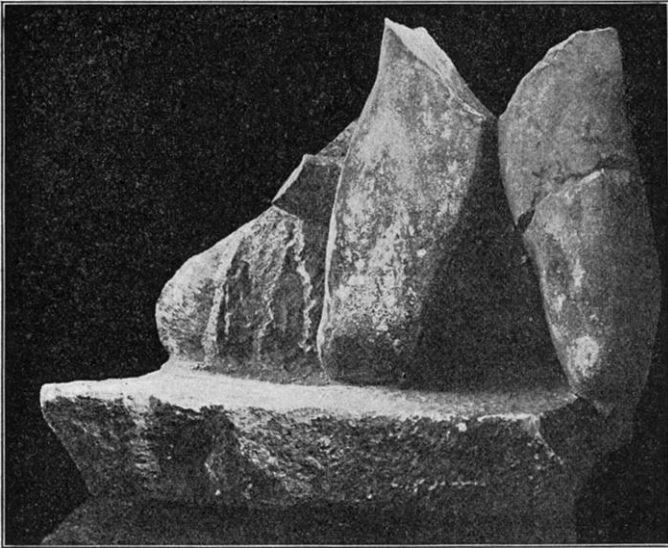


FIGURE 1.—FRAGMENT OF GIANT FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

serpent coil. Length of thigh from plinth to top of fragment 0.27 m. Fitting this fragment by direct contact, both at plinth and crotch is a left leg from thigh to knee (inventory Nos. 472 and 649), at the lower end of the back, hollowed out a little, as if to allow for the passage of some rounding object, an opponent's foot or a serpent coil; higher up, on front, remains of a square protuberance whence a serpent's head or some other attachment had been broken away.

2. (Fig. 2.) Inventory Nos. 571 and 470. Piece of plinth with background broken away except at the right end of 470. On this rests left leg



FIGURE 2.—FRAGMENT OF GIANT FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

ending in serpent; serpent's head, large, blunt-nosed, bearded, rests against outside of thigh. On rock behind coil lies a roughly sketched left hand

with a bit of wrist bent at right angles to the hand; rather large in proportion to the rest of the figure, but evidently belongs to it.



FIGURE 3.—HEAD OF GIANT FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

2 *a.* (Fig. 3.) Inventory No. 530. Bearded head with neck turned sharply to the right and upward; hair thick and disordered; eyebrows contracted as if in pain; nose of irregular shape appropriate to giants, satyrs, and centaurs. Length of head to bottom of beard 0.135 m. May easily have belonged to foregoing fragment, which was kneeling with weight thrown back and supported on the left hand, probably with right arm raised in a last effort at defence and gaze strained upward toward opponent at his right. A similar pose is seen in the giant Parnthenios on the Pergamon frieze.

3. Inventory No. 521. (Not illustrated.) Lower portion of torso, figure lying on right side, trying to raise itself, and bending up the left leg sharply at thigh. Part of a defeated giant, since no god could be represented fallen. Length of fragment 0.15 m.

4. (Fig. 4.) Inventory No. 657. Piece of background to which is attached a youthful head turned slightly to the spectator's right; asymmetrical; less carefully worked on the left. Thick hair in disordered locks, brows slightly contracted, nose irregular,

mouth set too far to the left. Length of head 0.133 m. The type is rather that of a giant than that of a god. The face is turned to the spectator's right, and, so far as one can infer from what is left of the neck-muscles, has the same direction as the missing torso. The head then probably did not belong

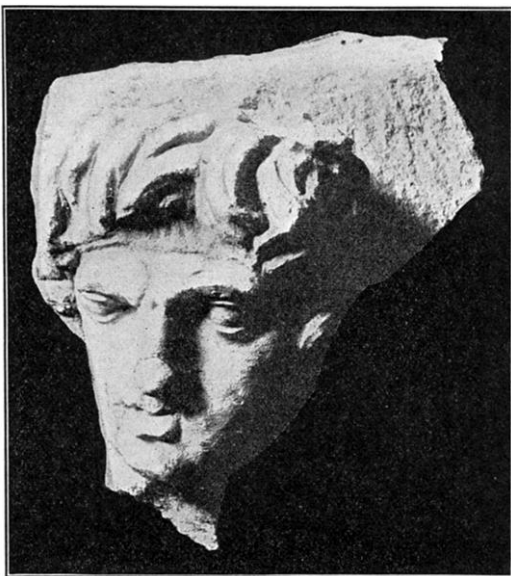


FIGURE 4. — HEAD OF GIANT FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

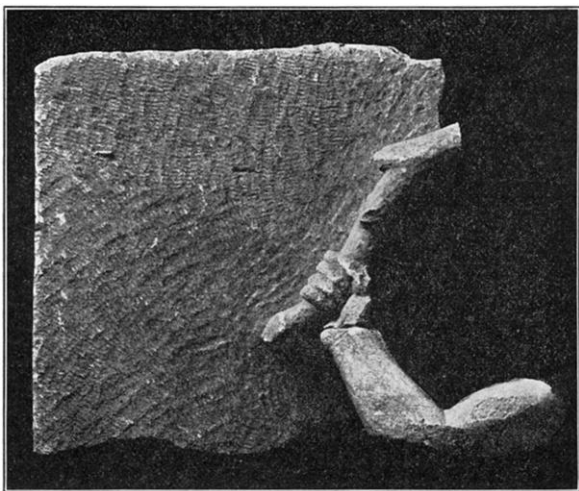


FIGURE 5. — FRAGMENT FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

to No. 1, which turns to the left, nor to No. 2, whose head would have been more sharply in profile.

5. (Fig. 5.) Inventory No. 547. Piece of background with hand grasping branch, to which can be fitted an arm bent at the elbow (inventory No. 547 *a*). On background 0.07 m. from the upper edge and 0.15 m. from the left are two letters Σ |.¹ The arm is very short, only 0.116 m. from wrist to elbow, whereas the giants' heads are over 0.13 m. long; hence the first impulse was to interpret the arm as belonging to Heracles. The weapon, however, is not the knotty club of Heracles; it is a rough tree-branch, such



FIGURE 6. — FRAGMENTS FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

as is regularly used by giants and centaurs. Therefore the arm must be attributed to one of the giants. It could not be connected with No. 1, because of the greater thickness of the background (its minimum thickness is 0.04 m., while that of the ground of No. 1 is 0.025 m.). In pose it is out of the question for No. 3 and is unlikely for No. 2, while it seems hardly probable that so small a hand could be connected with No. 4, the larger of the two heads. Hence it probably belonged to a separate personage. Thus the fragments discussed must belong to at least three giants, and admitting the probability that Nos. 4 and 5 belonged to separate individuals and the possibility that No. 2 *a* did, they may represent six.

¹ These may possibly be explained as mason's marks. The slab probably occupied a position at an end or natural division of the composition, where the letters would be inconspicuous, and when the other marks were chiselled away, these were overlooked.

Of the Olympians we can trace a larger number, and identify several.

1. (Fig. 6.) Athena. Inventory No. 465. Piece of relief with left hand over which falls plumed aegis with three serpents along the edge. Hand grasps one of the serpents. Across the fingers from the first joint of the thumb to the outside of the little finger measures 0.057 m. With this may not improbably be connected the legs of a draped figure from almost the upper end of the thighs to the ankles. (Fig. 7.) In three pieces, inventory Nos. 466, 468, and 478. The figure moves rapidly toward the spectator's right, the left knee bent, the drapery sweeping back in ordered folds. The garment

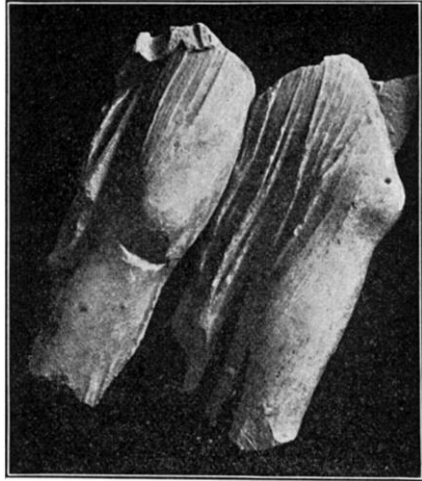


FIGURE 7. — FRAGMENT OF ATHENA (?) FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

would appear to be a Doric peplos open on the right side and belted over the *apotygmata* — the regular costume of Athena, and the motive, both in

the pose and the general lines of the drapery, suggests the Athena on the Pergamon frieze. It seems, then, quite possible that the legs as well as the hand may be given to Athena.¹



FIGURE 8. — HEAD OF ZEUS (?) FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

2. (Fig. 8.) Zeus (?). Piece of slab with head and shoulders of bearded god, put together from inventory Nos. 516 and 528. The shoulders are turned slightly to the spectator's right, with the left arm, over which falls a bit of drapery, extended at shoulder height and the right apparently (from the position of the collar-bone) raised above the head. The head has been broken away along a line slanting from the upper part of the nose back to the lower edge of the jaw, so that lips, chin, and the lower part of the beard have been lost. The contact surfaces are

¹ A similar motive is seen in the robe of the Adrasteia and of the Asteria of the altar at Pergamon.

preserved, however, at the back of the neck and on the slab. The right eye and the hair have been bruised. The face on the left side is merely sketched in, but the light and shade masses in the eye are suggested with a good deal of sensitiveness. The hair is full, confined by a fillet around which the long locks at the back are rolled. The locks on top of the head are merely blocked out, and the upper side of the drapery is not modelled at all, but cut back level to the background. Measures from crown of head to base of nose 0.125 m., and allowing for a mouth and chin slightly less than one-half the length of the upper part of the face, the whole head must have measured 0.17 m. to 0.18 m. To the same figure seems to belong a slab put together

from inventory Nos. 526, 527, 531, and 570. (Fig. 9.) It represents the lower part of a draped figure from the thighs to a point well above the ankles, moving to the spectator's right. The whole front of the right thigh has been broken off, and many of the folds have been chipped. The chief reason for combining the head and shoulders with the lower part is the size, for both are larger than any of the remaining fragments. But there is also a kinship between the breadth and dignity of the folds, so different from the feminine delicacy of Athena's robe, and the quiet majesty of the head. It is these spiritual traits as well as the actual dominance in size which incline one to see in the figure a Zeus. It must be admitted that a Poseidon or an Asclepius

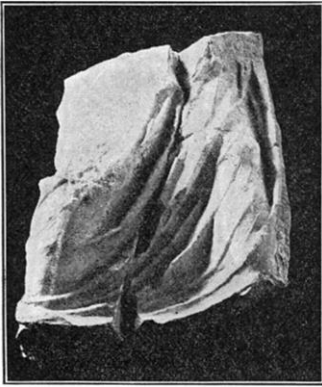


FIGURE 9.—FRAGMENT OF ZEUS (?) FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

would also be likely to wear a cloak wrapped around the lower limbs and caught up over one shoulder. Yet Asclepius is not among the usual figures of a Gigantomachy, while, other things being equal, the great size of the figure is more appropriate to the king of gods and men than to his brother.

3. (Fig. 6.) Ares (?). Inventory No. 536. Right shoulder armed with a cuirass. Maximum length of fragment 0.165 m. Two layers of leather (?) flaps, under which appears tunic sleeve, caught up to pass through arm-hole at back of shoulder. Front side of shoulder roughly finished, back worked out carefully. This fact, taken with the tiny bit of background remaining, leads one to infer a figure seen from three-quarters back view, retreating into the background and toward the spectator's right. It does not seem likely that the corselet was worn by a giant. In that case one must assume that here, as at Pergamon, some of the giants were represented as entirely human and armed. But there is no other evidence that the giants were here represented in the variety of the Pergamene composition; we have found no traces of wings and no sure traces of a giant in entirely human form. Moreover, one of our giants carries the tree-branch, a regular attribute of the wild tribe

on the later red-figured vases, but not used at Pergamon, where the giants are either weaponless, or wield human armor. Altogether, it seems rather more probable that our giants were consistently of the monster type, and that the armed shoulder belonged to an Ares¹ or armed hero.

4. (Fig. 10.) Youthful god. Inventory No. 572. Youthful torso from neck to pubes (length to top of pubes 0.29 m.); legs broken off at thighs; a small piece of relief-ground clinging between shoulders. The weight must have been thrown on the left side more than on the right; left leg probably bent at hip, and left side inclined slightly forward, with right arm raised, so that the figure was rushing forward to the spectator's right, brandishing a lifted weapon. The figure wears a chlamys, caught on the breast with a round clasp. The action brings out the modelling of the ribs and the muscles of the upper abdomen, but without overemphasis or display of scientific anatomy.



FIGURE 10.—TORSO OF YOUTHFUL GOD FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

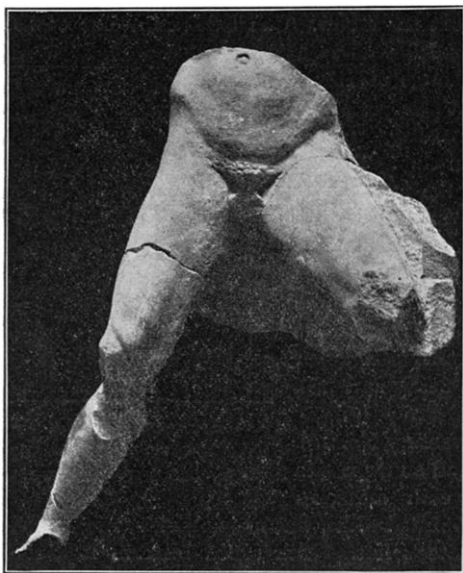


FIGURE 11.—FRAGMENT FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH. YOUTHFUL GOD.

5. (Fig. 11.) Piece of relief-ground with torso and thighs of youthful god, put together from inventory Nos. 379, 489, and 532. Broken above navel and below knees. With this may be joined a right lower leg from knee to front part of foot, put together from inventory Nos. 520 and 528.² The figure, like Nos. 1, 2, and 4, was moving rapidly toward the right, with the

¹ In the Pergamene Gigantomachy there is no instance of an armed god, but Ares is lost.

² There is only one point of actual contact, at the right side and back of the knee, but pose and finish correspond exactly.

weight on the left foot, and the left knee bent. The body was turned to the left, presenting itself in three-quarters view. The right leg was worked free from the lower half of the thigh to a point just above the ankle, and, while finished highly in front, was cut away behind the knee and calf in the roughest possible manner. Back of the ankle there was a small projection,



FIGURE 12.—HEAD OF HERACLES FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

7. Goddess. Inventory No. 658. Fragment of relief-ground, with right upper arm extended from shoulder height and seen from back. Wears Ionic chiton, two buttons of which appear on upper arm, hence belonged to female figure. Workmanship rather more lax on the upper side than on the lower; good modelling about the elbow. Can belong to none of the foregoing, for Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 were seen from the front, while No. 3, though also seen from the back, was itself a right arm.

8. (Fig. 12.) Heracles. Inventory No. 661. Fragment of head wearing lion skin. Broken along the temples and across the root of the nose. No relief-ground left, but quality of marble, finding-place, technique, and proportions all indicate that the head belongs to the group. From top of lion's head to root of nose measures 0.095 m. Head seen full front; eyes set very level, widely open; under and upper lids of equal thickness; brows fleshy and full, though not overhanging.

9. (Fig. 13.) Goddess. Inventory No. 500. Head broken across the brows and on right side of neck. From forehead to chin measures 0.062 m. Halves of face are finished alike, but unsymmetrical in modelling; turned toward the spectator's left. Hair rolled back in full, soft masses from the temple and over the ears. Eyes droop at the outer corners; upper lid casts noticeable shadow; lower almost indistinguishable from the

background. It was dressed to a roughly concave surface on each side as if to make room for some rounded object, possibly a serpent. The working of the pubes, in this case, as in the preceding, suggests that the figure was youthful; we have, however, among the fragments no unmistakably adult figure for comparison. Length of the right leg from upper end of the thigh to knee-cap 0.25 m.; knee-cap to outer ankle-bone 0.23 m.

6. Part of a left arm holding shield, fitted together from inventory Nos. 522 and 523. Arm from elbow to wrist measures 0.12 m. It cannot be combined with any of the preceding.



FIGURE 13.—HEAD OF A GODDESS FROM THE GIGANTOMACHY, CORINTH.

ball near the inner end. Delicate modelling about lips; nose actually shorter than lips and chin (0.029 m., while lips and chin are 0.032 m.). The whole is unusually sensitive and refined in conception and workmanship.

10. Armed god. Inventory No. 677. Small leg from below knees to above ankle, seen directly in front. Wears greave. Cannot belong to Ares, though it was seen from three-quarters back, or to any of the other preceding figures except Heracles or No. 6, for they are all unarmed. As for Heracles, he is not likely to be represented in any other armor than his lion skin, and the fragment seems anyway too small either for our Heracles head or for No. 6. Hence it is almost certain that it belonged to a second armed god.

11. Inventory No. 660. Plinth, finished smooth on bottom, and bit of background. On the plinth, turned to the spectator's right, is a foot, rather hastily sketched, but full of life. Length along the inner side, heel to great toe, about 0.147. Foot planted firmly, but does not seem to have borne much weight. Is too large to belong to the head No. 9, and no other head is turned to the spectator's left.

12. Inventory No. 551. Left shoulder with bit of corselet; evidently wrought to be seen three-quarters view, turned to the spectator's left. Delicacy of the workmanship is equal to that of No. 9, but since the corselet is inappropriate to a goddess, the two fragments could not have belonged together. It is not right in scale to be connected with No. 11; all other fragments of which we have remains are turned to the right. Maximum length of the fragment 0.114 m.

13. Inventory No. 558. Fragment of relief-ground on which are represented in very low relief hoof and lower part of leg of small animal (length of bottom of hoof 0.04 m.), and claws of lion or panther skin. The hoof is too small to belong to a horse of the same scale as the rest of the figures. Its place in the composition cannot in any way be determined, for none of the edges of the slab are preserved intact. On the analogy of an amphora now in Naples¹ where a satyr fighting on the side of the gods wears a *nebris*, this might be interpreted as a part of the fawn skin worn by Dionysus or one of his attendants. The panther skin, as in the majority of the representations on vases² and on the relief from Pergamon, would have formed the cloak of one of the giants.

We have thus more or less surely identified Athena, Zeus, Heracles, Dionysus (or one of his attendants), two youthful unarmed gods, three armed gods, a god bearing a shield, a god whose foot alone remains, and two unnamed goddesses. There are then, besides the three or five (or six) giants, parts of at least thirteen separate gods. Of the remaining fragments it is

¹ *Mon.* IX, pl. VI. Found at Ruvo.

² For references to the vases with representations of the Gigantomachy, see below, p. 319.

impossible to say in any individual case whether they might or might not belong to one of the figures already listed. But in all probability some of them at least belong to figures of which we have no other trace. Hence the number of combatants may safely be assumed to be over sixteen, and indeed, as the contending armies were in all likelihood approximately equal, was probably at least twenty-six.

We have found absolutely no clue, however, to the relation of the figures one to another, no single pair of combatants even, and unless more fragments come to light in subsequent excavations, the composition must remain unknown.

But enough is left to make possible an estimate of the style and period. The first impression of the excavators was "good work of early Roman times."¹ One reason which inclined them to this was probably the thickness of the slabs (about one-sixth of the total height of the relief). Another may have been the wavering proportions. We have seen how the Zeus head must have measured at least 0.17 m., while that of the smaller giant, beard and all, was but 0.135 m. Moreover, of the existing forearms, none measures more from elbow to wrist than 0.13 m., whereas all the heads, excepting perhaps that of the goddess (No. 9), measure 0.13 m. or over; yet the forearm is normally somewhat longer. This shortening of the limbs in proportion to the head is distinctly a Roman trait. Another ground for assuming that the work was Roman may possibly have been the negligence of finish. Parts not actually visible to one who stood in front and a little below were in most instances blocked out with the fewest possible touches, and often even left rough as if they had been broken with a pick (see especially the right leg of the young god, No. 5). Portions near the background and partially hidden were rendered in hasty fashion, rather suggested than actually worked out (arm of giant No. 2; foot of god No. 11). In short, the execution was everywhere done with the greatest possible economy of labor.

But of these motives for placing the relief late, only the second need be considered seriously. The tendency of Greek

¹ *A. J. A.* 1903, p. 350. The statement that the figures are "more than life size" is of course a misprint.

relief from the days of the Parthenon to the Hellenistic age had been to deepen steadily. The thickness of the slabs in the great altar at Pergamon in relation to their height is as one to five, even greater than in the Corinthian relief. Moreover, leaving the actual depth out of the question, the laws of relief composition were applied by the Corinthian artists in a manner essentially Greek, and opposed to the Roman practice. So far as we can judge from what remains, the figures developed themselves freely against the background, overlapping but little, and leaving a certain amount of free space behind and about them. The composition would have been more like the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike or of the Theseum than that of Pergamon, to say nothing of Roman work.

As for the irregularities of proportion, and specifically the shortening of legs and arms in relation to the heads, it is, as has been said, a Roman trait. But it is also found in the less carefully worked Greek reliefs throughout the best period. Take two examples, selected at random from the purest Hellenic work of the finest epoch, the Attic grave-reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries. Of the two—Conze 115 and 410—neither is by any means on the lowest level of work reached by the stelae; 410 is even wrought with a good deal of expressive power. Yet both show the very fault common in the Gigantomachy—a forearm as short as, or shorter than, the head. And in the Gigantomachy the fault is offset by other qualities foreign to Roman mythological sculpture. The treatment throughout is full of freshness and life. Even where hasty, it shows a grasp on the essentials of a given form and a sensitiveness to artistic effect that characterize the sketches of a master. In the description of the individual pieces we have already touched on this quality. It is enough to recall the Zeus head, the foot No. 11, or the left hand of the giant No. 2, which, though disproportionately large, has caught just the uncomfortable sprawl and flattening that results when one falls back hastily and throws out the arm for support. Such work may be careless; it is not mechanical.

And where the execution is careful, it is worthy of the best period. The anatomy is rendered with first-hand knowledge, sometimes with little fleeting touches of emphasis, as in the

throat and breast of the Zeus (or on the armored shoulder); or with illusive play of surface, as in the head of a goddess or in one or two arm and knee fragments not illustrated. Again, though less surprisingly lovely, there is the suggestion of firm muscle under elastic flesh (the torso of the youthful god, the legs of Athena, the thighs of the giants). Nowhere (except possibly in one or two arm fragments) is the work characterless, and nowhere does it show the elaborate dissecting-room anatomy of the Pergamene sculptures. The same quiet yet sensitive rendering marks the drapery. We have already noticed the power of characterization in the dainty feminine stuff of Athena's peplos, with its long folds that are keen-edged even where they cling closest to the form, and in the heavier mantle of Zeus, swung by the forward motion into broader, more rounded masses. But in his delight in texture the artist never loses his self-restraint. The design is clear and simple, with no perplexing cross-directions, no complicated minor motives, such as one finds often in Hellenistic work. Even the giants' heads, where tradition would naturally have allowed the artist most freedom in heightening effects of pain or fear, reveal the same sense of restraint. The type is fiercer and more unkempt than that of the gods, the brows are knit in effort or drawn up in pain, but there is nothing of the tense agony of the Laocoön or the over-heightened pathos of some of the giants on the Pergamene frieze.

This combination, then, of spontaneity and restraint which runs through conception and execution is so characteristically Greek as to outweigh, in my opinion, any doubts raised by the irregular proportions. But if Greek, to what period does the work belong and what is its relation to the great frieze from Pergamon which has become the Gigantomachy *par excellence*? That frieze has seemed to mark a distinct epoch in the representations of the Gigantomachy. In the earlier sculptured examples, that from the Acropolis at Athens, from the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia, from Selinus, and in the vases of the fifth century, the giants are rendered as purely human in form. True it is that whereas in the sculpture and earlier black-figured vases they usually wear armor and are in every respect like Greek warriors, the later vases show a growing

tendency to represent them as savages, clad in panther skins and wielding tree-branches. In two vases in the late severe style in the British Museum¹ armored and skin-clad giants appear side by side. In only one vase-painting which I have been able to discover, an Apulian amphora from Canosa, has there been a representation of a monster with serpent feet,² and that one has features which make it uncertain whether it is to be regarded as an episode in the Gigantomachy at all. For the period after the Pergamene frieze I have discovered but one relief of the Gigantomachy in which the lower parts of the giants are still intact—the sarcophagus in the Vatican published by Robert in *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. III, 94, and in that one the giants are consistently figured as serpent-footed monsters. One feels inclined, then, to attribute the innovation to the artists of the great frieze, and would naturally use the fact that the Corinthian relief has the serpent coils as a proof of its post-Pergamene origin.

Yet our relief is clearly uninfluenced by the frieze of Pergamon. So far as I can decipher the composition and the motives of the single figures, there is but one which strongly suggests the larger work, the pose which I have given to giant No. 2, which resembles that of Parthenios. The Athena, though in both cases moving forward toward the right, wears in our relief the broad, cape-like aegis instead of the narrower scarf, and certainly was not contending with Alcyoneus in any scheme resembling that at Pergamon. The Zeus is turned in the opposite direction in our relief. One of the giants defends himself with the branch of a tree, a motive not used at Pergamon. And in style the differences are as clearly marked. The Pergamene frieze is the logical outcome of that search for elaboration in design and theatrical grace or power in action which came into Greek work at the beginning of the third century—at the period of the Nike of Samothrace and the Artemis of Versailles.

¹ Hydria, Lenormant and Dewitte, pl. III; stamnos, Gerhard, *A. V.* 64. The same mixture of conceptions occurs in a crater from Tanagra (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883, pl. VII) and in a crater “à colonnettes” from the Campana collection, now in the Hermitage (see Reinach, *Répertoire*, I, p. 467), and in a vase from Ruvo, *Mon. d. Ist.* IX, pl. VI.

² Heydemann, *Erstes Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm, Zeus im Gigantenkampf.*

The ground is filled with a complicated network of figures that cross and recross; the broad lines of the drapery are broken up by minor motives¹; the drapery has also a tendency to twist itself into thick rolls, as in the mantle of the Artemis of Versailles. Textures of all sorts are rendered not by simple differences of surface, but by an elaboration of detail; carefully wrought curls for the hair, crapy texture for stuffs, ribs for feathers—in short, the work is simply brimming over with a lavish wealth of minutiae, the very opposite of the dignified restraint of design and simplicity of execution in the Corinthian production. The smaller work is certainly the successor of the older Greek tradition, and judging from style alone one would like to place it in the third century, not even as late as the quieter first Pergamene school.

Yet, if the use of serpent legs for the giants was first introduced by the second Pergamene school, this early dating cannot stand. The dilemma could be solved if one could find evidence more sure than Heydemann's Canosa vase for the use of the serpent-footed giants at a period antedating the Pergamene school. Such evidence is, perhaps, furnished by another vase mentioned by Heydemann in the same article and published in the *Monumenti*, Vol. V, pl. XII. It is a Campanian amphora from Ruvo, on the handles of which are stamped medallions of Athena combating in one case with a wingless, serpent-footed giant who defends himself with a tree-branch, in the other with a monster similar but for the addition of wings. In the latter case she is dragging back her opponent's head, while he reaches up and grasps her arm, in precisely the scheme of the Alcyoneus on the Pergamene frieze. The motive is so characteristic and unusual that one is forced to assume some relation other than a mere chance resemblance. Heydemann's dating, which he published before the discovery of the sculptures at Pergamon, was the late third century or possibly the early second. Since his day, a strong tendency has set in for an earlier dating, and if we follow the assumption, now general, that the manufacture of this class of vases practically ceased by the end of the third century, it seems hardly possible that the terra-cotta relief was imitated from the frieze; and since, of course, the artists of the

¹ See especially the Dionysus and the Nyx.

frieze would not have drawn their inspiration from a more or less insignificant piece of minor art, one is driven to assume a common type for the two, familiarly adopted and varied as were the types of the Amazonomachia or the Centauromachia. Just what the type was and when it originated need not concern us here. The main point is that the use of serpent-footed giants, if it already existed in the third century, would be no longer a compelling reason for dating the Corinth relief in the second century.

The closest parallel to our relief of which I know is a little torso with bearded head in the Wörlitz collection, published by Robert.¹ It formed part of a sarcophagus decoration, and represented, Robert thinks, one of the gods from a Gigantomachy. In rendering of hair, form of head, and treatment of the nude, it might, so far as I can judge from a photograph, have formed part of our frieze. Robert's dating is the early second century, but in this he seems to be influenced by a wish to class it with the Vatican sarcophagus, which he considers post-Pergamene. I see no reason why both the Wörlitz fragment and our relief should not be attributed to the pre-Pergamene period, or at the latest to the time of the first Pergamene school.

If I am correct in this conclusion, the Corinthian relief will be of interest not only as one more original Greek work of the Hellenistic period, but as the first known case in which the serpent-footed giants are used in sculpture.

III. ROMAN SCULPTURE

Of original Greek work Corinth has no more at present to offer. From the Roman period we find here, as elsewhere, copies of Greek statues, decorative work, and portraits. The best work of this class discovered in previous years has been published by Mr. Richardson and Mr. Tucker.² Among the finds of 1907 and 1908 there are several worthy of mention.

The class of Roman copies from Greek originals is represented by two important examples.

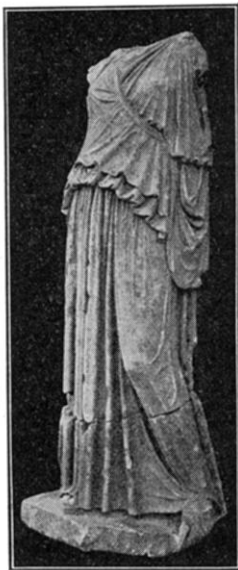
1. (Figs. 14, 15.) A life-size statue of Artemis, found in two pieces: (a) Inventory No. 812, found June 21, 1907, 1 m. north of the Byzantine

¹ *Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 96.

² *A.J.A.* 1902, pp. 7 ff. and 422 ff

foundation wall of St. John's. Plinth with feet and lower part of drapery. Plinth broken away from centre of front diagonally back to left foot, and thence to point where drapery touches it in rear; left foot lacks all the toes except the first.

(b) Inventory No. 820, found June 27, built into Roman wall continuing line of the "Boudroumi shops," at a depth of about 1.40 m. above virgin soil. Rest of torso, fitting directly the broken surface of *a*. Lacks head and neck, right arm from just below shoulder, left arm from point of



FIGURES 14, 15.—STATUE OF ARTEMIS AT CORINTH.

shoulder; a large piece flaked away from the back on left side. Marble of even, medium grain; takes yellowish patina. Surface on the whole well preserved; backs of folds chipped away in places; right shoulder found broken off, but has been replaced. The figure has the following traces where attributes have been broken away: on the right shoulder and on the left side just where girdle passes under fold, small square marble supports; on back, reaching diagonally from right shoulder to break, a scar, 0.175 m. long and 0.05 m. to 0.055 m. wide; on left side at level of girdle near back a triangular scar 0.08 m. long, on same side, half-way down thigh, reaching diagonally across the folds of the *apoptygma* a scar 0.14 m. long, whence some long narrow object had been broken away; scar not continuous, showing that at one point folds were worked free under the object. Folds on the left side above the girdle worked flatter and in less detail than elsewhere. Finish careful; flesh-parts show polish, especially well preserved on feet; garments roughened by long, fine chisel marks.

The figure stands erect, weight firmly planted on the right foot, the left drawn well back. So far as can be judged from what remains of the neck-muscles, the head was turned a little toward the left. The costume is a Doric peplos with *apoptygma* girdled to form a *kolpos*; it falls on the right in long folds, and is drawn back over the free leg in quiet, unbroken curves. The fall of the stuff on the right side is less rich than usual, for instead of presenting two free edges with the accustomed serpentine curves, it is

sewn together, and hangs in the same straight, channeled lines as in front. The fall of the *apoptygma* over the breast is broken by a quiver-strap that passes over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The position of the arms can be interpreted partly by the aid of the quiver-strap, partly by the marks of attachment. The right was bent at the elbow, bringing the hand to shoulder height, where the wrist was probably joined to the shoulder by the marble support, of which traces still remain. The goddess was just lifting her arm, ready to pull out an arrow from the quiver, whose existence is shown in the diagonal break on the back. The left arm was slightly bent at the elbow, and held some long object, doubtless a bow, which slanted back from the upper marble support by the girdle along the line of the break across the folds of the *apoptygma*.

The original statue occupies a place midway between two well-known types of the long-robed Artemis with bow and quiver. The first is represented by a statue in Holkham Hall,¹ which stands in the reverse attitude from our figure, weight on left leg and right drawn back. The right arm is raised higher than in our figure, and the hand has reached well back toward the quiver; the left arm carries a bow as ours would have done. The figure wears the Doric peplos, with *apoptygma* and *kolpos* held in by the diagonal quiver-strap, but unlike our Artemis is girded also over the *apoptygma*. The result is that the drapery instead of breaking in abrupt, naturalistic folds, falls in two more or less symmetrical systems from breast to belt, hardly disturbed by the passage of the quiver-strap. The effect is thus a certain deliberate, well-ordered stateliness, with lines which suggest those of the fifth-century Athenas. A variant of the type with an Ionic chiton under the peplos and no *kolpos* is found at Landsdowne house; ² another, nearer our type, resting the weight on the right leg, but without the *kolpos*, is in the Vatican.³ Amelung places it in the fourth century, but my own inclination would be to date it in the late fifth century. The girding of the Doric peplos over the *apoptygma* and the resulting symmetry is distinctly a trait of the earlier, severer time.

¹ Reinach, *Répertoire*, Vol. I, p. 300, Clarac 1203 A.

² Reinach, *Répertoire*, Vol. I, p. 301, Clarac 1213 A.

³ See the Amelung catalogue, Braccio Nuovo 38.

The fourth-century translation of the same motive is found in a group of statues represented by the Dresden Artemis and a replica in Berlin (Catalogue No. 70). Here the goddess stands, as in the above-mentioned group, with the weight on the left foot and the right drawn back, raising the right hand to the quiver, and holding a bow in the left. The difference lies in the fact that the peplos has a deep *apoptygma* caught back only by the quiver-strap. It is thus thrown into long, carelessly graceful folds, which, instead of grouping themselves into neat systems conditioned by the rise and fall of the figure beneath, flow directly across it and find their continuation in the lines of the skirt. This apparent waywardness really reveals a different principle of arrangement; the garment has become of interest in itself as an independent part of the design. This type has been attributed to Praxiteles; it is certainly characteristic of his century.

The Corinth figure differs equally from the somewhat conventional stateliness of the first type, and the deliberately careless grace of the second. The *apoptygma* is ungirt at the waist, but the drapery has not the independent flow of the Dresden type; its function is still to enhance the lines of the figure. The general lines of the pose in its dignified amplitude suggest the caryatids of the Erechtheum or the Munich Eirene, and, were it not for the quiver-strap, the flow toward the right of the drapery below the breast would have been similar. But the artist seems to have laid the strap across and copied the resulting folds as they lay, a little spare and abrupt, with no trace of artificial arrangement. The same unpretending naturalism is seen in the rendering of the quiver-strap with its creased edge under the left breast, and in the careful reproduction of the seam on the right side, in which right and wrong side of the garment are painstakingly distinguished.

The traces of timidity and stiffness in the treatment would seem due to the experiment of the artist in placing the quiver-strap over the ungirt *apoptygma* and *kolpos*. The figure considered as a whole points to an origin in the period when the old stateliness was giving way to a greater freedom and spontaneity; that is, in the later years of the fifth century.

2. (Figs. 16, 17.) Torso of a satyr wearing *nebris*, inventory No. 765. Found April 22, 1907, north of St. John's, 7 m. east of the bridge, at a depth of 3 m. Found in three fragments: the torso proper, lacking head, arms from just below the shoulders, and legs from a little above the knees; and two small bits numbered 675 *a* and 675 *b*, consisting of the right knee and a piece of the right leg reaching from the break on the thigh to the middle of the knee-cap; also an unnumbered fragment of the lower end of the *nebris* from the right side. The contact surfaces are preserved, so that the fragments could be restored as indicated by the sketch. Length, including the fragment of knee, 0.775 m. Marble Pentelic, discolored, but surface fairly well preserved. Workmanship on the whole conscientious, but a little flaccid and characterless. Attempt to distinguish between the smooth, but not highly polished, flesh and the slightly roughened *nebris*; the roughening produced not by fine chisel lines, as in the case of the Artemis, but by leaving surface a little granular. Raw edge of the leather suggested by a series of little nicks cut along the bottom edge of the garment. Folds over breast worked flat, with slight detail; left side from thigh down very rough in finish; back modelled fully in round, but less careful in finish than front. Traces of square marble supports on right hip, and on drapery just below left arm-pit.



FIGURE 16.—TORSO OF YOUTHFUL SATYR AT CORINTH.



FIGURE 17.—TORSO OF SATYR, WITH FRAGMENTS ADDED.

The statue was evidently a copy of one of the variations of the Praxitelean satyr. The type is represented by a fairly numerous series of replicas, of which those in Berlin¹ and in the British Museum² are fair examples. It represented a young satyr leaning the left elbow on a support, with the weight on the right leg and the left crossed easily in front. The head and forearms in the Berlin copy (as well as in the Vatican and Albani examples) are restored,

¹ No. 261; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, 136, 2.

² The Dionysus from Tralles; British Museum, 1626.

as is also the flute. In the British Museum copy, where the hands are original, they hold a bunch of grapes. But the general analogy of the type with the resting satyr of the Louvre,¹ of which it is a variant, makes the pipe the most probable accessory. In our figure the supports on the right hip and below the left arm-pit would have connected with the torso the right and left wrists respectively, and the pipe held between the two hands would have concealed the rather careless working of the folds of the *nebris*. To judge from the working of the left side, the support extended to about the level of the hip. Its form varied in the other replicas; in the Albani one it was a plain tree-trunk; in Berlin it was



FIGURE 18. — ROMAN SUPPORT, CORINTH.

bored for a water-pipe and draped with a garment at the upper end, just below the edge of which was a small lion's mask, for discharging the water, while still lower a syrinx was carved hanging on a broken branch. The exact form it took in our instance cannot be determined.

Among the Roman decorative fragments, one, at least, deserves mention — inventory No. 810. It is a support in the form of a tree-trunk, around which twines a very realistically rendered grape-vine (Fig. 18). The modelling shows the close observation and love of all the nuances of form in the vegetable world that characterized the Roman art of Augustan days. The bark of the tree, split open near the base and curling back its scarred lips, the vine-stem with its rind torn in long parallel shreds, the yielding surface of the leaves, now blown back and clinging to the tree-trunk, now folding itself about the clusters of grapes, are not unworthy of the chisel that copied plane-tree-branches on the sides of the Ara Pacis or olive sprays on a certain little round altar in the Museo delle Terme; while the design shows in a cruder form that thoughtful balance of light and shade that makes the pilasters from the tombs of the Haterii² in the Lateran such masterpieces. It is in

¹ See for a discussion of this type and its replicas, Klein, *Praxiteles*, pp. 213 ff.

² Illustrated, Wickoff, *Roman Art*, pls. VII and VIII.

these decorative bits rather than in copies or in cult statues or even in portraiture that the Roman artist surprises us with touches of unlooked-for poetry. And in that heritage from "gli antichi," which did so much to mould Italian sculpture in its new manifestations, Roman love of the world of plant and flower had as true a share as Hellenic mastery of the human form.

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