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LAST MEN STANDING

CHLAMYDATUS PORTRAITS AND PUBLIC LIFE IN LATE ANTIQUE CORINTH

ABSTRACT

Notable among the marble sculptures excavated at Corinth are seven portraits of men wearing the long chlamys of Late Antique imperial office. This unusual costume, contemporary portrait heads, and inscribed statue bases all help confirm that new public statuary was created and erected at Corinth during the 4th and 5th centuries. These chlamydatus portraits, published together here for the first time, are likely to represent the Governor of Achaia in his capital city, in the company of local benefactors. Among the last works of the ancient sculptural tradition, they form a valuable source of information on public life in Late Antique Corinth.

INTRODUCTION

Over a century's worth of archaeological research at Ancient Corinth has unearthed an unprecedented seven *chlamydatus* portrait statues: headless marble torsos of standing men, draped in the distinctive long cloak, or *chlamys*, of Late Antique imperial office.¹ The Corinthian *chlamydai* are

1. I extend my sincere thanks to Corinth Excavations Director Guy Sanders, for suggesting and aiding this project, as well as to Curator Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst and the staff and students at the Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I warmly appreciate permissions granted by the 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Patras and the 3rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Athens, both of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. Special thanks are due to Jennifer Palinkas for photographing the Kraneion *chlamydatus*, to Lenio Bartzioti and Ino Ioanidou for their skillful photographs of

the Lechaion Road and Epistyle *chlamydai*, and to James Herbst for the plans; all photographs and plans are courtesy of the Corinth Excavations. I warmly acknowledge the aid in Corinth research I received at the University of California, Berkeley, particularly from Susanna Elm, Ronald Stroud, Christopher Hallett, Maria Mavroudi, and the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology. I have benefited from discussions with many people while preparing this article, especially Amalia Avramidou, Olga Bakirtzi, Nancy Bookidis, Peter Brown, William Caraher, Slobodan Ćurčić, Georgios

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remarkable for several reasons, not least because more portraits of this type come from Corinth than from any other ancient city. These statues date broadly to the 4th through the 5th centuries, an era of diminishing production of all types of ancient sculpture. They wear a costume rarely depicted in three-dimensional art, and represent a wide range of carving styles. Finally, they were recovered in documented archaeological excavations, and are preserved as a group.

This article publishes all of the Corinthian chlamydati together for the first time. I explore in turn their costume, chronology, and display context, taking into account the evidence provided by Late Antique portrait heads, inscribed statue bases, and architectural remains from the Corinth Excavations.² Roughly contemporary chlamydati from sites outside Corinth add to our understanding of the broader context of these portraits. Although the Corinthian chlamydati themselves were all excavated from secondary deposits, this archaeological background, combined with literary sources, can help reconstruct the statue program of the forum and central area of Late Antique Corinth.³

These statues represent just a small part of a complex ancient cityscape, the last products of a centuries-old tradition of public sculpture.⁴ They are not merely headless stone images of seven dead men, but testaments to sculptors, poets, city councillors, and imperial officials active in Late Antique Corinth. These seven chlamydati shed light on shifting artistic and political priorities, and on the dynamic public life of a Late Roman provincial capital city.

THE KRANEION BASILICA CHLAMYDATUS

The most recently excavated chlamydatus from Corinth, published here in full for the first time, forms the threshold for the northern doorway of the narthex in the Kraneion Basilica, an Early Christian church located east of the forum, on the road from Corinth to its eastern port of Kenchreai, just outside the Late Roman city wall (Fig. 1).⁵ Pottery, lamps, coins, and

2. Unless otherwise noted, inventory numbers refer to Corinth Excavations numbers for finds of sculpture (S-) and inscriptions (I-). The terms “Late Roman” and “Late Antique” are used interchangeably below, and cover the era of the 3rd to 7th centuries A.D. All dates are A.D.

In 1931, Franklin Johnson compiled the first catalogue of ancient sculpture from the Corinth Excavations, and noted that “in figure sculpture of the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, the little building at Old Corinth has an assured place among the world’s great museums” (*Corinth IX*, p. viii). Roman portraits from Corinth have subsequently been collected in the unpublished dissertation of Catherine de Grazia (1973, now C. de Grazia

Vanderpool), with a few in Mary Sturgeon’s Corinth volume devoted to sculpture from the theater (*Corinth IX.3*). The importance of Corinth’s Late Antique portraits has been emphasized by de Grazia Vanderpool (1995, 2003), Sturgeon (2003), and B. S. Ridgway (1981, pp. 447–448), and I gratefully acknowledge their fundamental contributions to scholarship on sculpture at Corinth.

3. The recent work led by R. R. R. Smith at Aphrodisias (Smith 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2007; Smith et al. 2006) and the papers collected by Bauer and Witschel (2007) show a growing interest in the context of public sculpture in Late Antiquity and its potential as a historical source; their work has provided a foundation for this study.

4. For public portraiture in Greek cities before the Roman conquest, see Dillon 2006, pp. 99–126, and the papers collected in Schultz and von den Hoff 2007. For the important role that the erection of public portraiture played in Greek cities under the Roman Empire, see Smith 1998; Højte 2002; Stewart 2003.

5. Carpenter 1929; Shelley 1943; Pallas 1972, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1990. The name Kraneion comes from Pausanias’s description of the area, an ancient cemetery and cypress grove (Paus. 2.2.4); this church is also called the Kenchrean Gate or Early Christian Basilica. The grand triconch mausoleum on its south aisle is convincingly interpreted by Snively (1984) as a family tomb, and not a martyrium.

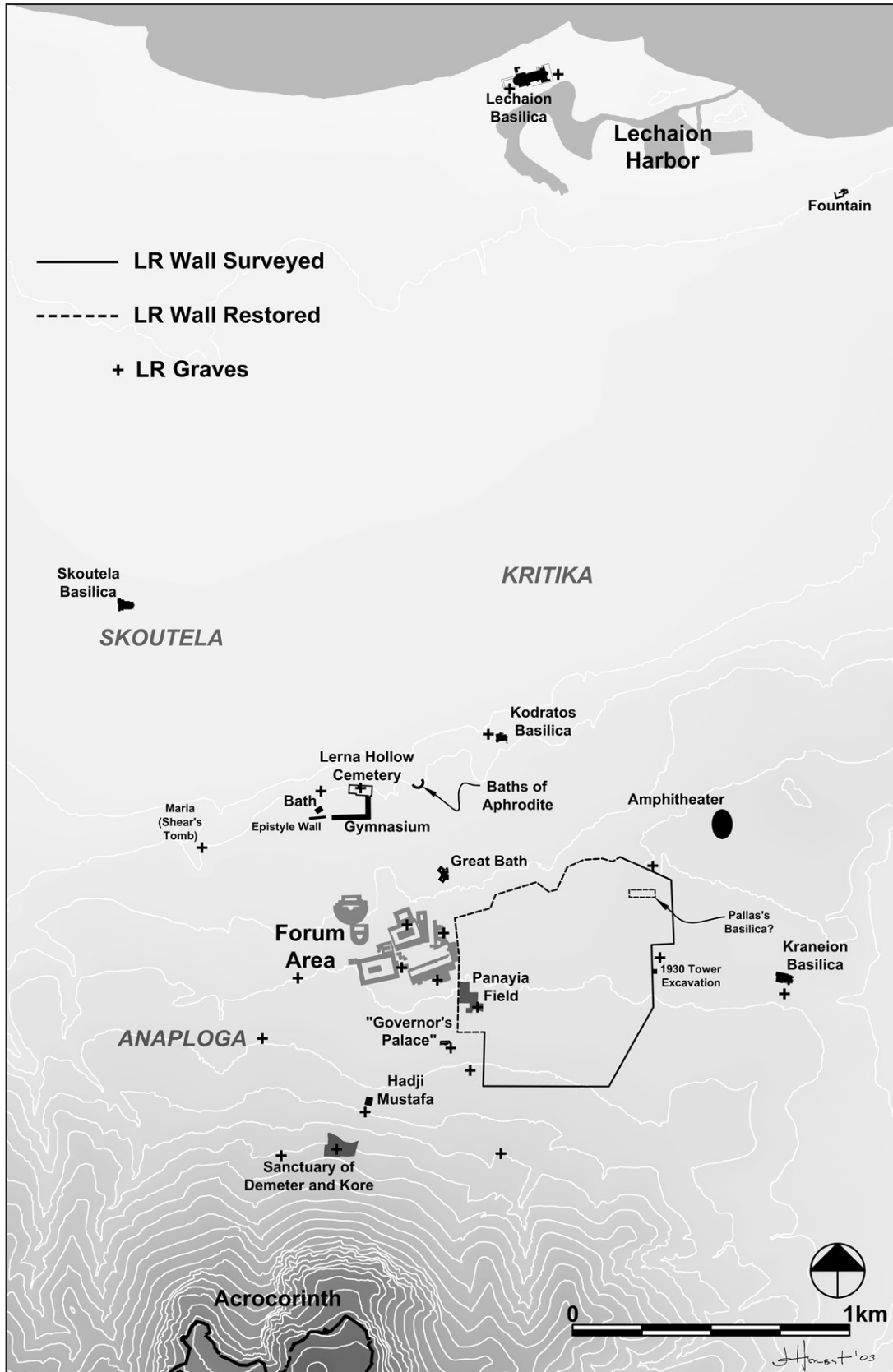


Figure 1. Plan of Late Roman (LR) Corinth.
J. A. Herbst

architectural sculpture date the initial construction of this church in the first half of the 6th century.⁶

When this church's last excavator, Demetrios I. Pallas, uncovered the northern doorway of the narthex in 1970, he recognized that its threshold was a reused statue. He published two small pictures of it in situ, and identified it as a military man wearing tunic, chlamys, belt, and shoes (Fig. 2).⁷ Pallas compared the statue broadly with the famous porphyry "tetrarchs" in Venice, although they wear cuirasses, and he rightly noted its close resemblance to a portrait in the Corinth Museum: the Scroll chlamydatus (S-822), which is larger in scale but wears the same costume carved in a similar way.⁸

The Kraneion chlamydatus (S-3788) remained in the doorway until 2005, when it was turned over briefly for fuller study, in the hope of placing this portrait into a wider sculptural and historical context.⁹ It remains recognizable as a portrait, despite the removal of its back, lower front, right arm, left side, and head (Figs. 3–6). The man is depicted life-size, standing on a plain rectangular plinth.¹⁰ Traces of the figure's upper right arm are visible against the torso; the right forearm was once held forward. The left arm hangs straight down at the side, with the bulge of a thumb just visible beneath the long, heavy chlamys (Figs. 4, 5). This chlamys, or thick cloak, is pinned at the man's right shoulder by a crossbow fibula with three terminal knobs, and worn over a knee-length long-sleeved tunic, gathered at the waist under a wide belt (Fig. 5). A thin-soled slipper shoe with a high squared-off back and tongue is visible on the right foot (Fig. 6). The figure leans forward slightly on an advanced right leg, and thus was probably once displayed above eye level on a high statue base.

The preserved surfaces of this portrait are all finished and finely polished, and the radiate folds of the chlamys pulled to the right shoulder provide some definition to the upper part of the chest. Otherwise, however, the carving is very shallow, the body tubular, and the posture stiffly erect and frontal. The thin, rectangular dimensions of the body, along with anathyrosis on the underside of the plinth, indicate that this block of marble was probably an architectural member before it was carved into a statue.

When it was no longer wanted for display, the statue was modified for use as a threshold, and its arms, head, and projecting drapery were carefully trimmed with a point (except by the right foot, where the break is rough). The back of the statue was cut flat, except for a narrow raised doorsill with

6. This date was established by Pallas (1972, pp. 109–110), and reaffirmed in his subsequent reports and posthumous final summary (1990), as well as by Sanders (2005, pp. 440–441).

7. Pallas excavated in the Kraneion Basilica under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Service, the Archaeological Society of Athens, and the University of Athens; he mentions the threshold statue in only one preliminary report: Pallas 1972, pp. 98–99, 102–104, 113, fig. 2, pls. 144:a, 145:b, 157:b.

8. On the porphyry "tetrarchs" of Constantinople (ca. 300), now built into a corner of the Basilica di San Marco in Venice, see Delbrueck 1932, p. 84, pls. 31–34; Firatli 1990, pp. 4–5, no. 1. The Scroll chlamydatus (S-822) is discussed below (see pp. 151–152).

9. The Kraneion chlamydatus was given its Corinth inventory number in 2005, and recorded in Corinth Excavations notebook 933, p. 84 (July 26, 2005).

10. The preserved dimensions of

the Kraneion chlamydatus are H. 1.50 (including attached plinth, H. 0.11 m), W. 0.48, D. 0.26 m. If we assume, by comparison with heads of appropriate scale in the Corinth Museum, that the missing head and neck added about 0.35 m in height, then the figure once stood about 1.74 m tall (5'7"), or roughly life-size. Skeletal studies suggest that in classical antiquity Greek and Italian men stood 1.65 m tall on average (Angel 1946; Giannecchini and Moggi-Cecchi 2008); I thank Maria Liston for these references.

Figure 2. Kraneion chlamydatus (S-3788), as excavated, viewed from the north



Figure 3. Kraneion chlamydatus, after turning, viewed from the southwest



Figure 4. Kraneion chlamydatus, viewed from the northwest





double socket holes along what had been the figure's left side (Fig. 2); this was placed on the narthex side of the threshold, so that the feet pointed toward the east, and the church itself, with the head to the west. Centuries of foot traffic between the narthex and the baptistry to its north then wore down the marble on the back of the statue even further.

The reuse of this portrait clearly indicates that its subject was no longer recognized or honored by the Corinthians who built the Kraneion Basilica in the early 6th century. Although both relatively recent and historical portraits were often used together as *spolia* in Late Antiquity, no other threshold or architectural member in the Kraneion Basilica—or any other excavated church at Corinth—is carved from a statue.¹¹ The closest parallel for this sort of trimming and reuse is an Athena statue from the Omega House on the north slope of the Areopagos in Athens, which was beheaded and reused in the 6th century as a threshold, when a number of other statues from the same house were thrown down its well.¹²

So, where was the Kraneion chlamydatus first erected, and whom did it represent? Two unexcavated ancient sites are known near the Kraneion

Figure 5 (*left*). Kraneion chlamydatus, torso

Figure 6 (*right*). Kraneion chlamydatus, right leg and foot with shoe

11. In *Cod. Theod.* 9.40.17 of 399, the emperor Arcadius orders the destruction of all statues, public and private, of his recently deposed Praetorian Prefect Eutropius. Further sources on the destruction, rededication, and reuse of old and new portraits in Late

Antiquity are collected in Stewart 1999 and Roueché 2006.

12. Athens, Agora S-2337. For the statue and context, see Shear 1973, p. 161; Camp 1989, p. 54, fig. 19; Lawton 2006, pp. 49–52, fig. 55.

Basilica: the Roman amphitheater to the north, and the Late Roman city wall to the west. At the amphitheater, he could have been honored as a benefactor of public spectacles, which continued to be celebrated at Corinth into the later 4th century.¹³ Alternatively, the Kenchrean Gate must have been located in the Late Roman city wall just west of the Kraneion Basilica, under the modern road; Corinth's Late Roman gates are likely to have been adorned with *spolia*, new statuary, and honorific inscriptions, as was the case at Isthmia and Aphrodisias.¹⁴ Epigraphic finds from this area include a regulation passed by the Greek cities meeting at Corinth under the Governor of Achaia in the early 5th century, and a column honoring construction work by 5th- or 6th-century imperial officials named Ianouarius and Paul.¹⁵ It would be unusual for a statue like the Kraneion chlamydatus to be a tomb marker, although the epitaph of a Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum buried at Corinth is known from the *Palatine Anthology*, and many Late Antique graves were found nearby.¹⁶

To better understand the Kraneion Basilica chlamydatus and its original context and identity, it is necessary to examine the six other chlamydatus from Corinth, as well as the broader literary and archaeological evidence for portraits wearing this distinctive Late Roman costume.

CHLAMYDATI FROM THE CENTRAL AREA OF CORINTH

Six full-length statues wearing the long chlamys of Late Antique imperial office were excavated in the early 20th century by the American School of Classical Studies excavations at Corinth around the Roman forum (Fig. 7). Although all six are headless, and were found in secondary contexts, they were concentrated in three specific areas: the theater, the Lechaion Road, and the northwest corner of the forum. Close study of each chlamydatus reveals important details of technique and costume, while literary and

13. For the Roman amphitheater at Corinth, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121; Lucian *Demon.* 57; Philostr. *VA* 4.22; Apul. *Met.* 10.18; Welch 1999, pp. 134–140; 2007, pp. 178–183, 255–259. A lost 2nd- or 3rd-century statue base was erected by wild-animal hunters for their doctor at Corinth near “the gates,” probably of the amphitheater (Robert [1940] 1971, pp. 117–118, no. 61). Under the emperor Constantius, ca. 359, Corinth's amphitheater was singled out for special praise in the anonymous geographical and economic itinerary known as *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52 (ed. Rougé 1966). Finally, although a letter in the collection of Julian (Julian. *Ep.* 198, [Bidez] = Julian. *Ep.* 28, trans. W. C. F.

Wright, Cambridge, Mass., 1923) may not be by his hand, the arguments of Spawforth (1994) for removing it entirely from Late Antiquity fail to convince me that it should cease to be considered as evidence for wild-animal hunts held at Corinth in the 4th century.

14. For Corinth's Late Roman city wall, excavated only partially on the eastern side and controversial in its course elsewhere, see the alternative reconstructions of Gregory (1979) and Sanders and Boyd (2008). For its gates, we may look to the Hexamilion Fortress at Isthmia with its reused Roman Arch (Gregory and Mills 1984) and newly cut 6th-century inscriptions built into the new southern gate (*IG* IV 204,

205; Bees 1941, pp. 1–5, nos. 1, 2; *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 168–169, no. 508), or farther afield to the *spolia*-built but newly inscribed gates in the mid-4th-century Late Roman city wall at Aphrodisias (De Staebler 2008).

15. Meeting of Greek cities: Sironen 1992, pp. 224–226, no. 2. Column of Ianouarius and Paul: *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 169, no. 509; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 294, no. 34.

16. *Anth. Pal.* 7.672; Robert 1948, p. 72; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 283, no. 20. For Late Antique gravestones from the Kraneion, see articles by Pallas cited in n. 5, above, and also *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 194–195, nos. 629–636; Pallas and Dantis 1979.

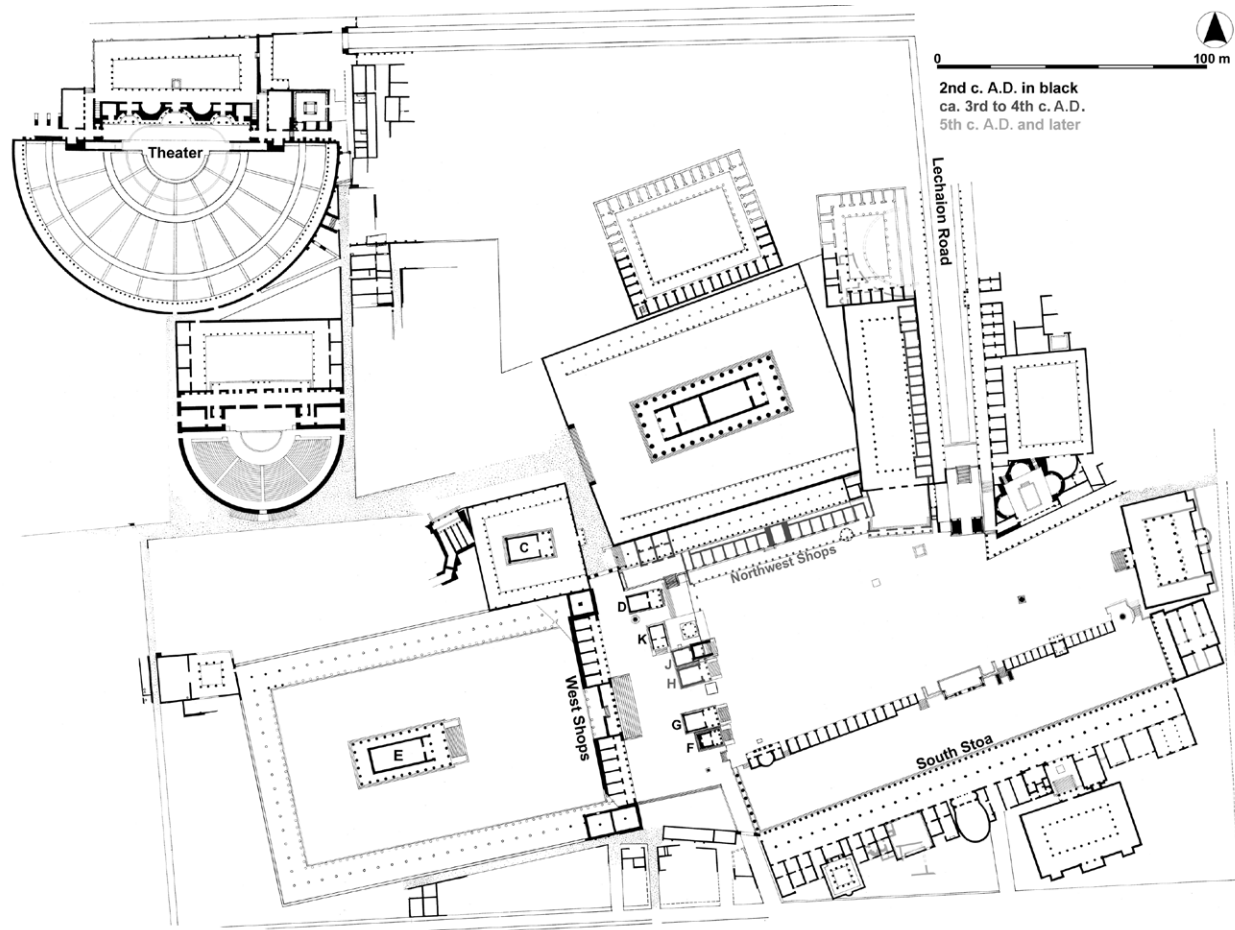


Figure 7. Plan of the Roman forum and central area of Corinth. J. A. Herbst, after C. K. Williams II

sculptural comparanda allow us to draw conclusions about their chronology, context, and presumed identities.

The Theater chlamydatus was excavated in the upper southwest cavea of the Corinthian theater, and repaired from four joining pieces; it lacks a lower body, right arm, left hand, and head (Figs. 8, 9).¹⁷ This portrait is unique among the chlamydai: it was over life-size, and it was carved from what seems to be newly quarried marble. The figure's draped left arm is very slightly bent, while its missing right arm was once held forward across his body; it may have been attached to the front of his chest by a marble strut, or held an object that was so attached. He wears a chlamys pinned at the right shoulder with a separately attached metal crossbow fibula, now lost, a baggy, long-sleeved tunic, and a wide belt. Pick marks make it clear that the statue was intentionally trimmed down into a blocky shape, and water damage has crazed the surfaces of the marble.

Closest in style to the Theater chlamydatus is a portrait found in 1901, just five years after the American School excavations began, and recorded by director R. B. Richardson as "half a Roman Senator" (Figs. 10–12).¹⁸ This is the Lechaion Road chlamydatus, named for its findspot inside the ruins of colonnaded shops on the west side of the Lechaion Road, which runs out of the northeast corner of the forum toward the Corinthian Gulf port of Lechaion.¹⁹ Only the left half of a life-size thin body with sloping

17. S-903: P.H. 0.94 m. See Johnson 1924, p. 253, no. 1, fig. 1; *Corinth IX*, p. 150, no. 325; Kollwitz 1941, p. 89, no. 13; de Grazia 1973, pp. 284–286, no. 89, pl. 95; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 213; *Corinth IX.3*, pp. 163–165, no. 54.

18. *Corinth Excavations notebook 10*, p. 26 (May 2, 1901).

19. S-314: P.H. 1.51 m. See *Corinth IX*, p. 149, no. 323; de Grazia 1973, pp. 283–284, no. 88, pl. 95; *Corinth IX.3*, p. 164.



Figure 8 (*left*). Theater chlamydatus (S-903), front



Figure 9 (*right*). Theater chlamydatus, left side

shoulders now remains, joined from two pieces, and also missing its whole head, left fingers and toes, and the lower part of the plinth. The Lechaion Road chlamydatus wears a body-hugging chlamys, which falls to the ground in a long series of rippling folds, over a long-sleeved tunic.

The figure's tunic is visible at the left wrist, where the hand extends out from under the drapery, probably to grasp a consular staff. Two holes are drilled one above the other on the outer face of the lower left arm, apparently for the attachment of a vertically held object like a staff, now lost but possibly made of metal or wood (Fig. 11). This could be the staff of office of the Governor of Achaia, like the one carried by Flavius Palmatus, late-5th-century Governor of Caria, from his seat at Aphrodisias, or those held by several portraits of Governors of Asia from Ephesos, a provincial capital city like Corinth.²⁰

During a study of materials in the inner courtyard of the Corinth Museum, I discovered the uninventoried, unpublished lower section of the Lechaion Road chlamydatus and was able to connect it to the upper body. Thus was restored this figure's left leg and foot, a slipper shoe with semicircular tongue, an unadorned rectangular plinth, and a bundle of scrolls behind his left leg (Fig. 12). The bundle of scrolls was a traditional symbol of erudition and office in portraits, and it frequently accompanied images of imperial civil officials. It is the most common chlamydatus support at

20. Foss [1984] 1990; Smith 1999, p. 168.



Figure 10 (*left*). Lechaion Road chlamydatus (S-314), front

Figure 11 (*right, top*). Lechaion Road chlamydatus, left arm

Figure 12 (*right, bottom*). Lechaion Road chlamydatus, left shoe, with scroll

Aphrodisias, and there is also an example known from Constantinople.²¹ The scrolls may signify a civil rather than a military office for the honorand, and perhaps an official duty that needed to be discharged with the education and diligence frequently advertised in poems on Late Antique statue bases (discussed further below).

Finally, four chlamydai were recovered in the northwest corner of the Corinthian forum itself, mainly from post-Antique walls built between the Northwest and West Shops. In technique, these four chlamydai appear inferior to the theater and Lechaion Road statues just discussed, and the Kraneion chlamydatus finds its closest parallels among them.

The best preserved of all the Corinthian chlamydai is the Mappa chlamydatus, which was recarved from a female statue, the toes of which are still visible below the crinkly vertical folds of a chiton, just above the plinth (Figs. 13, 14).²² The Mappa chlamydatus is life-size, missing its head and the corners of the plinth, and joined at the knees from two pieces found in neighboring post-Antique walls.²³ The figure wears a floor-length chlamys, knee-length tunic, and belt, and a three-knobbed crossbow fibula is carved in high relief upon the right shoulder. On the right side, the marble is cut back between the front and rear of the chlamys to reveal the right foot, wearing the same slipper shoe with high back and tongue worn by

21. Smith 1999, pp. 177–178.

22. S-819: P.H. 1.80 m. See Johnson 1924, pp. 254–256, no. 3, figs. 3:a, b; *Corinth IX*, p. 151, no. 327; Kollwitz 1941, p. 90, no. 15, pl. 33; Grabar 1967, p. 223, fig. 248; de Grazia 1973, pp. 286–288, no. 90, pl. 96 (who identifies the earlier costume as “a high-girt long chiton,” and gives parallels); Sande 1975, pp. 84–85; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 213; *Corinth IX.3*, p. 164.

23. *Corinth Excavations notebook 35*, p. 28, and notebook 32C, p. 50 (June 27–29, 1907).



Figure 13 (*left*). Mappa chlamydatus (S-819), front



Figure 14 (*right*). Mappa chlamydatus, right side, showing right leg and shoe

the Kraneion chlamydatus (Fig. 14). The left arm extends down the side under the chlamys, while the right arm is folded tightly across the chest, grasping what seems to be a rolled-up handkerchief, or mappa.

Ostentatious display of a mappa was connected in Late Antiquity with the role of ἀγωνοθέτης (*agonothetes*, president of the games), so perhaps this man once served as a benefactor of contests at Corinth, or at the nearby sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Menander, the father of the sophist Aristophanes of Corinth, served for his son as patron of Poseidon's festival in the 330s, and this is likely to have earned him the right to drop the mappa to begin the races.²⁴

The Mappa chlamydatus is currently displayed in the Corinth Museum alongside the Scroll chlamydatus, which has an almost identical pose and costume, but appears to be grasping a scroll instead of a mappa (Figs. 15, 16).²⁵ The life-size Scroll chlamydatus is missing the head and whole lower body from the waist down. The left arm is down at the side,

24. For Menander of Corinth, see Lib. *Or.* 14.8. For the use of the mappa to start circus races, see Cassiod. *Var.* 3.51. Compare the portrait of Stephanos from Ephesos, probably Provincial Governor

of Asia, with mappa held overhead (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1966, pp. 157–158, no. 202, pls. 178:4, 186:4, 5; Foss [1984] 1990, pp. 196–215).

25. S-822: P.H. 0.63 m. See Johnson 1924, pp. 253–254, no. 2, fig. 2;

Corinth IX, p. 150, no. 326; Kollwitz 1941, pp. 89–90, no. 14; de Grazia 1973, pp. 288–290, no. 91, pl. 96; Sande 1975, p. 85; Ridgway 1981, p. 448; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 213; *Corinth* IX.3, p. 164.



and the right arm is folded across his chest, grasping the upper end of a scroll, or a short rod. The chlamys is again pinned at the right shoulder with a carved crossbow fibula, and is worn over a long-sleeved tunic belted at the waist. The very baggy tunic is articulated by deep vertical grooves on the outer face of the right biceps, in contrast to the horizontal folds of the tunic on the *Mappa chlamydatus*. The *Scroll chlamydatus*, as Pallas rightly noted, closely matches the type of the *Kraneion* statue;²⁶ certainly some stylistic features are shared, such as the tunic bunched above and below the belt in vertical folds (cf. Figs. 2, 3, 5, 16).

The chlamys of the *Scroll chlamydatus* is worked unevenly with a point to make a textured, almost woolly surface, except on the outside of the left arm. The rough surface suggests that this portrait was hurriedly or not completely finished. Contributing to this impression is the right arm, which is oversized and carved in shallow relief across the front of the chest rather than separated out, with an especially unfinished surface behind the right elbow (Fig. 16). A horizontal cutting across the lower back of the *Scroll chlamydatus* may date to before or after its portrait phase; the uneven surface and awkward proportions certainly suggest recarving from previously used marble.²⁷

The *Right Side chlamydatus*, so called because it has only the right side of the life-size torso preserved, is broken at the neck and knees, with the outer face of the bent right arm shaved down just like the arm of the

Figure 15 (*left*). *Scroll chlamydatus* (S-822), front

Figure 16 (*right*). *Scroll chlamydatus*, right side

26. Pallas 1972, p. 113, n. 4.

27. Johnson 1924, p. 254.



Figure 17 (*left*). Right Side chlamydatus (S-2046), front



Figure 18 (*right*). Right Side chlamydatus, right side, with cutting across back

Kraneion chlamydatus (Figs. 17, 18).²⁸ Its body is very blocky under the chlamys and the sketchily carved long-sleeved tunic. The tunic is really only a set of diagonal, then vertical grooves on the figure's side, rather than a garment with a form beneath it as on the other chlamydai. The chlamys was pinned at the right shoulder in two thick tongues of fabric, under a carved crossbow fibula with three terminal knobs. A horizontal cutting across the upper back of this figure may be from its secondary use, or may indicate that this portrait was made from a reused piece of marble (Fig. 18).

The Epistyle chlamydatus, the seventh and final example from Corinth, was shallowly carved from an upended epistyle-frieze block, with the original surface of the block still remaining on the front of the plinth under the feet (Figs. 19, 20).²⁹ Although the molding above the frieze has been cut back, the triple fascia is intact, along with part of a carved decoration (or inscription?) on the first fascia. Because the figure's upper body is missing, it is not possible to determine its gender, although its unique ankle-length tunic suggests it could depict a woman.³⁰ The figure was life-size, and wore

28. S-2046: P.H. 0.90 m. See de Grazia 1973, pp. 290–291, no. 92, pl. 96; *Corinth* IX.3, p. 164.

29. S-925: P.H. 1.15 m. See Johnson 1924, p. 256, no. 4, fig. 4; *Corinth* IX, pp. 153–154, no. 328 (probably female); Kollwitz 1941, pp. 90–91,

no. 16; de Grazia 1973, pp. 291–292, no. 93, pl. 97; Sande 1975, p. 85; Ridgway 1981, p. 448; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 213; *Corinth* IX.3, p. 164.

30. For empresses wearing floor-length long-sleeved tunic and chlamys, see the Ariadne diptych (Volbach 1976,

no. 52) or Theodora in the San Vitale Ravenna mosaics (Beckwith 1970, pp. 114–115; Barber 1990). For men also wearing floor-length tunics, see the Probianus diptych (Volbach 1976, no. 62, pl. 18).



Figure 19 (*left*). Epistyle chlamydatus (S-925), front

Figure 20 (*below*). Epistyle chlamydatus, detail: right side, feet, and base



a long chlamys over an ankle-length tunic, along with the usual slipper shoe with high back and tongue (Fig. 20).³¹

The toes peek out from the front of the chlamys, which otherwise falls all the way down to the plinth; it is the length of both chlamys and tunic that supports Johnson's arguments that this figure represents a woman rather than a modest man. The proportions of the epistyle block indicate that it was originally about 2 m long, and came from a small Ionic or Corinthian structure; it is closest in scale to blocks from Temple D, but does not exactly match them, or any blocks from the other West Temples.

THE CHLAMYDATUS COSTUME

Before considering the chronology and context of the Corinthian chlamydati any further, it is useful to examine literary sources and sculptural comparanda for the costume of the long chlamys, long-sleeved tunic, and belt, and the people who wore this costume in Late Antiquity. This ensemble was first worn by Tetrarchic military and civil officials, but it does not seem to appear widely in art until the time of the emperor Theodosius I (379–395) and afterward.³²

31. Johnson concluded that this figure was female (*Corinth IX*, pp. 153–154), but Kollwitz (1941, pp. 90–91) and subsequent scholars have grouped it with the other chlamydati and called it male.

32. *Chlamys* appears as the term for a long cloak with curved edge in both the Latin and Greek versions of Diocletian's Price Edict. The chlamys (sometimes called *paludamentum* in Latin) had long been a Roman uniform

for the emperor, military commanders, and proconsular magistrates in their provinces; in Late Antiquity, however, the chlamys was longer, lacked fringe, and was newly paired with the long-sleeved tunic and belt (see Delbrueck

From the later 4th century, then, the long chlamys over a long-sleeved tunic joined the other two conventional costumes for public honorific portraits of men: the formal toga and the informal himation (or Latin *pallium*), both worn over a tunic. While the toga evoked Rome and the legacy of Roman senatorial offices and prerogatives, the himation retained associations of Hellenic culture, everyday dress, and local benefaction.³³ Few chlamydatus statues survive, however, as the toga and himation both continued to be popular to carve, and apparently to wear, while many (perhaps the majority of) existing stone portrait bodies were given new portrait heads in Late Antiquity. These three types of portraits in the round all appear to have coexisted until three-dimensional portraiture came to an end in the early 7th century.³⁴

The long chlamys originated in the Roman army and always had strong military associations; it thus became the customary costume for military saints in Christian iconography.³⁵ Moreover, the chlamys imbued the wearer with a certain aura of status and duty, particularly when exercising imperial office, or *militia*, whether strictly military or civil in nature. The historian Procopius noted that few men wearing the chlamys, and hence responsible imperial officials, were seen on the streets of Constantinople during the Justinianic plague of 542; instead, he says, they stayed at home wearing the himation of private life.³⁶

Yet the long chlamys was clearly also worn outside of imperial officialdom in Late Antiquity, by city dwellers and even by the emperor himself. In the 6th-century apse mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna, the emperor Justinian wears a long purple chlamys with gold-embroidered *tablion* and jeweled brooch over a long-sleeved tunic, while his three attendants wear simpler white chlamydes and tunics with crossbow fibulae at the right shoulder; in the facing panel, the empress Theodora also wears a purple chlamys, with a long-sleeved, floor-length tunic underneath it, similar to the tunic worn by the Epistyle chlamydatus at Corinth.³⁷

The office and rank of all men who wore the chlamys would have been marked—in reality, and probably also on their statues—by the color of their chlamys, tunic, and shoes, as well as by the wide belt of office (*cingulum* or

1929, pp. 36–39; Croom 2000, pp. 52–54). On the widespread adoption of the chlamys under Theodosius, see Mitchell 2007, p. 184. For the depiction of this costume throughout Late Antiquity, see the reliefs from the Arch of Constantine in Rome (Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, pp. 77–78, fig. 69; Holloway 2004); the Stilicho ivory diptych of ca. 395 at Monza (Volbach 1976, p. 55, no. 63, pls. 19, 35 [Stilicho]; Kiilerich and Torp 1989); the Obelisk Base of Theodosius in the Hippodrome of Constantinople (Bruns 1935; Balty 1982; Kiilerich 1998); the 6th-century mosaic of Justinian and his entourage from San Vitale in Ravenna (Beckwith 1970, pp. 114–115; Deliyannis 2010, pp. 238–243); and chlamydatus officials

in the consular diptychs (Olovsson 2005, pp. 92–97).

33. Fejfer 2008, pp. 196–197; Smith et al. 2006, pp. 35–38.

34. For the almost total end of sculpture in the round in the later 6th or early 7th century, see Sande 1975; Breckenridge 1979, pp. 2–7; Coates-Stephens 2007.

35. For the military associations of the chlamys, see *Cod. Theod.* 14.10.1; Smith 2002, pp. 142–143. For the military saints, see, e.g., the early-7th-century mosaics with St. Demetrius, St. Sergius, and St. George in the Basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki (Bakirtzis 1988).

36. Procop. *De bellis* 2.23.20.

37. The most recent description of

these mosaics and their iconography is Deliyannis 2010, pp. 238–243; for Theodora's costume, see n. 30, above.

No certain portraits of emperors survive from Late Antique Corinth. A garland altar was used upside down as a statue base for Constans (I-2143), with cuttings for the feet of a lost full-length bronze portrait: Kent 1950; *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 169, no. 510; *Corinth* I.3, p. 147, pl. 67:3; Rothaus 2000, p. 125, n. 64. There is also a dedication on a thick marble plaque to Theodosius and his sons, I-228 (with joining fragments), which may have accompanied a lost portrait group: *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 167, no. 506, pl. 41; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 275–276, no. 10; Rizakis 2001, p. 248, Corinthia 4.

ζώνη) and the crossbow fibula worn prominently on the right shoulder.³⁸ The four chlamydati from Corinth with feet (Kraneion, Lechaion Road, Mappa, Epistyle) all wear distinctive Late Antique leather slipper shoes with high back and tongue. These shoes are worn by some subsidiary figures on Late Antique ivory diptychs, but are quite unlike the tied-on latchet shoes worn by prominent mosaic and diptych chlamydati.³⁹ Every figure with a right shoulder preserved at Corinth also has a large crossbow fibula pin fastening the chlamys (Kraneion, Theater, Mappa, Scroll, Right Side). Thus, the chlamydati belong to a tradition of Roman portraiture that emphasized the identity of the person depicted over the style of the carving: the details of imperial rank are carefully delineated, down to the belt, fibula, and shoes, even in the most summarily finished of the Corinthian chlamydati.⁴⁰

CHLAMYDATI OUTSIDE CORINTH

The distribution and identity of sculpted chlamydati that are found outside Corinth—at Megara, Aphrodisias, Constantinople, and a few other sites—can provide helpful comparanda for reconstructing the chronology, original placement, and identity of the seven Corinthian chlamydati.

It would appear that the only non-Corinthian chlamydati from Greece come from Megara, Corinth's immediate neighbor to the north. The example published by Johnson in 1925 is of white marble, just over life-size, very worn by water, headless, and lacking a right arm, but otherwise intact: a standing man with his left arm at his side, and right arm bent, right leg slightly advanced, wearing a long chlamys, knee-length tunic, and belt.⁴¹ The proportions and pose suggest that, like the similar full-length Mappa chlamydatus from Corinth, this example was carved down from a monumental female statue. Although nothing is published about the statue's precise findspot, the figure may plausibly be connected with two Late Antique honorific inscriptions from Megara of the 5th century: Herculus, Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum, was honored for repairing the city walls and aqueduct between 408 and 410, and Comes (Count) Diogenes, son of Archelaus, Hegoumen of the Hellenes, was honored for spending money on the city walls and a bath in 472.⁴² I have restudied this statue, and have obtained permission to study a second similar, but more fragmentary, chlamydatus from Megara.

At Aphrodisias, we find the largest assemblage of chlamydati after Corinth, and the only chlamydatus anywhere with a head and statue base. The portrait of Oecumenius is securely identified as a Governor of Caria from the epigram on his associated statue base. He is also the most closely dated of all known chlamydati, placed in the early 5th century by the combined style of statue, base, and head, with the corroborating evidence of a second portrait of this same man, from Cyprus.⁴³ Oecumenius was originally set up in the north portico of the North Agora at Aphrodisias, in front of the Bouleuterion, where he is likely to have exercised his office as Governor of Caria in his capital city.

Diagonally across the agora, the five other published chlamydati from Aphrodisias were all found in the Hadrianic baths, and originally displayed

38. For the wearing of this uniform and its symbols of rank, see *Cod. Theod.* 6.27.17; Delbrueck 1929, pp. 36–39; 1932, p. 5; Croom 2000, pp. 34–39, 47, 52–54, 73. For the belt, see Baratte 1979, p. 84 (a 4th- or 5th-century golden buckle from the Seine showing Roma enthroned). For the significance of clothing and accessories in Late Antiquity, see Parani 2007.

39. For men wearing both chlamys and shoes like the Corinthian chlamydati, see the diptych of Probianus, Vicar of Rome ca. 400 (Volbach 1976, p. 54, no. 62, pls. 18, 34 [Probianus]). For actual shoes with high back and tongue that closely resemble those worn by the Corinthian chlamydati, see Forrer 1942, pp. 122–125, pl. 25:E.

40. For subject over style in Roman portraiture, see Ridgway 1984, p. 101; Hölscher 2004, p. 74.

41. Johnson 1925, p. 34, figs. 1:A, 1:B; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 214.

42. *IG VII 93*; *IG VII 26* = *IG IV² 1131*.

43. Oecumenius: Roueché [1989] 2004, no. 31 (base); Smith 1999, pp. 162–165, fig. 6; 2002.

there in the later 4th through 6th centuries. The pair known as the Elder and Younger Magistrates, now in Istanbul, are also likely to have been Governors of Caria, and are dated to the 5th century on the basis of their hairstyles and dress.⁴⁴ Also from these baths, which were clearly a major venue for the display of honorific portraits in Late Antique Aphrodisias, we have a man wearing the chlamys and standing between two small children, probably a local rather than an imperial benefactor, and the lower bodies of two other chlamydati, one linked to a base honoring “the wise Eupeithius” in 4th-century script.⁴⁵

Thus, one of the Aphrodisian chlamydati, Oecumenius, certainly represents a Governor of Caria set up in the capital city of that province, his seat, while the others are likely governors or local benefactors of the 4th or 5th centuries. The Bouleuterion portico and Hadrianic baths, along with the theater, were the most popular places at Aphrodisias for display of Late Antique portraits, along with other statues wearing toga or himation, and bases mainly in reuse, as is typical at Corinth.⁴⁶ A distinctive feature of the Aphrodisian chlamydati is that they were very finely carved in freshly quarried, local stone, in contrast to the many recut bases and reused togate and palliate bodies set up there in Late Antiquity.⁴⁷

Outside of Aphrodisias, there is a single, very battered chlamydatus torso from Cyrene, another from the theater at Ephesos, and several chlamydatus busts of the later 4th or early 5th centuries, mostly from the cities of Asia Minor.⁴⁸ Notable is the male chlamydatus bust found with a female bust near the city gate of Stratonicea: the figure is draped in a chlamys pinned with a carved crossbow fibula much like the Corinth examples, and is dated to the 5th century by its hairstyle.⁴⁹

At least three full-length chlamydati have been found in Istanbul, although all are very fragmentary and lack clear contextual or stylistic dates. Two battered alabaster chlamydati were recovered from the Court House excavations on the northwest side of the Hippodrome; they probably represent 4th- or 5th-century imperial officials, judging by their costume and

44. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2265 T, 2266 T. Smith (1999, p. 165) once dated them to the early 5th century, but most recently (2007) dates them more generally to the 5th century, and identifies them as governors; the catalogue of Firatli (1990, pp. 10–12, nos. 12, 13) gives full bibliography for each, with stylistic dates suggested in print for every decade, quarter century, and half century between the late 4th and third quarter of the 5th century. Neither figure has been successfully linked with a statue base, though the Elder Magistrate has been identified as Tatian III, Governor of Caria 450–452 (Demougeot 1982, p. 977, n. 42), while the Younger Magistrate is connected by his hairstyle with the Aphrodisian togatus statue of Fl. Palmatus, Governor of Caria ca. 460–470 (Özgan and Stutzinger

1985, pp. 242–271). Smith (1999, p. 165; 2007, pp. 218–219), following Mendel (1912–1914, vol. 2, pp. 202–205, nos. 507, 508), places the excavation of the Elder and Younger Magistrates in the east gallery of the Hadrianic baths in 1904–1905.

45. For the context of these statues, see Smith 2007. Chlamydatus with children: Manderscheid 1981, p. 98, no. 240, pl. 33; Smith 2007, pp. 217, 227, no. A28, fig. 27. Eupeithius: Roueché [1989] 2004, no. 33 (base); Smith 1999, p. 177 (suggests he was a local sophist, who held no formal office); 2007, pp. 219, 228, 230, nos. A29, B36 (and possibly base elements B35, B37). Fragmentary lower body of the fifth chlamydatus from the baths: Smith 2007, p. 228, no. A30.

46. Smith 1999, pp. 167, 172, figs. 7, 11.

47. Smith 1999, pp. 174 (bases), 178–182 (togati, palliati). For Late Antique statue bases at Aphrodisias, see also Roueché [1989] 2004, nos. 36–52, 62–65.

48. Cyrene: Paribeni 1959, p. 158, no. 461 (I thank Lea Stirling for this reference). Ephesos: Bammer, Fleischer, and Knibbe 1974, p. 179; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 210, n. 54 (early 5th century, praetorian prefect or proconsul with military rank). Bust from Tokat (Sebastopolis, Pontus): Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1966, pp. 106–107, no. 107, pls. 183:1, 2, 184:1. Bust from Tabai, near Aphrodisias, now in Geneva: Kranz 1979, p. 86, fig. 6.

49. Bodrum Museum 4.4.78: Fejfer 2008, pp. 252, 320, fig. 172, pl. 38:d; Özgan and Stutzinger 1985.

style.⁵⁰ A fine marble lower body of a *chlamydatus*, with a bundle of scrolls beside the leg, probably represents another 4th-century official, and comes from the area of the Old Post Office by Sirkeci Railway Station on the north side of the city.⁵¹ This was the area of the ancient *Strategion*, where warehouses, markets, houses, and shops stretched uphill from the harbors of the Golden Horn.⁵² Nearby, excavation for the Istanbul Archaeological Museum Annex also uncovered a small porphyry *chlamydatus* bust from a domestic context, probably an emperor in purple stone.⁵³

Three full-length porphyry *chlamydati* are known to me, all identified as emperors of the mid-4th to 5th century by the use of this royal stone. Two of these portraits wear a sword on their left hip: one in the Archbishop's Museum at Ravenna, and one from Alexandria now in Berlin; a porphyry figure without a sword also comes from Alexandria, but is now in Vienna.⁵⁴

A recently discovered marble *chlamydatus* from Caesarea Maritima also wears a sword, but nevertheless has a bundle of scrolls at his feet, and thus probably represents another imperial official.⁵⁵ A few portraits from Istanbul, such as the Venice "tetrarchs," wear a *chlamys* over a military cuirass, rather than the belted long-sleeved tunics of our Corinthian *chlamydati*; these explicitly military portraits convey a different message.⁵⁶ Thus, besides the Megarian example, *chlamydati* in the round come almost exclusively from provincial capital cities of Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean; these other *chlamydatus* portraits are likely to represent imperial governors or, if carved from porphyry, emperors.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CORINTHIAN CHLAMYDATI

All known *chlamydati* from Corinth and elsewhere are thus currently dated by costume, style, and context to the broad span of the 4th to early 6th centuries. None has a securely associated statue base, and hence identity, except for Oecumenius of Aphrodisias. He is not attested outside of sculpture and epigraphy, so his exact dates of office in Caria and Cyprus are not known. Thus, we may date *chlamydati* firmly to Late Antiquity by their costume, but struggle to date them precisely without hairstyles

50. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 5158: Firatli 1990, p. 9, no. 10; 5077T: Firatli 1990, pp. 8–9, no. 9. For this area of Constantinople in the 4th and 5th centuries, see Naumann 1965, p. 147, fig. 5; Mango [1986] 1993; Bardill 1997.

51. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4051: Firatli 1990, p. 13, no. 16.

52. For this area of Constantinople in the 4th to 5th centuries, see Mango 2000.

53. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 73.27: Firatli 1990, p. 8, no. 8. I thank the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer for noting the find context.

54. Ravenna porphyry *chlamydatus*: Conway 1912; Johnson 1925, pp. 35–36; Delbrueck 1932, p. 114; Kollwitz 1941, pp. 92–93, no. 20. Conway (1912, p. 153) linked the porphyry *Carmagnola* Head built into San Marco, Venice, with this *chlamydatus*, but Johnson (1925) rejected the connection on the basis of style, and Delbrueck (1932, p. 114) on the dimensions. For identification of this head as Justinian, see Breckenridge 1981. Berlin porphyry *chlamydatus*: L'Orange 1984, pp. 129–130, fig. 46:c. Vienna porphyry *chlamydatus*: L'Orange 1984, p. 139, fig. 47:b. These Alexandrian porphyry *chlamydati* are both identified by L'Orange as

sons of Constantine, though the Berlin and Ravenna figures are illustrated by Grabar (1967, pp. 223–224, figs. 250, 251) as 5th- or 6th-century sculptures.

55. See Gersht (1996, pp. 103–108) on the statue, and the articles collected in Eliav, Friedland, and Herbert 2008 for the context of this and other public portraits in Late Antique Caesarea and other cities of the Near East.

56. On the Venice "tetrarchs," see n. 8, above. For military portraits now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, probably from Constantinople, wearing a *chlamys* over a cuirass like the "tetrarchs," see Firatli 1990, p. 5, no. 2 (inv. 1094), pp. 9–10, no. 11 (inv. 5673).

or assumptions of straightforward decline in technical ability and naturalistic style.

In the absence of such external dating criteria, well-carved and naturalistically posed portraits are commonly given an earlier date than schematic, badly finished figures are. It is unclear, however, whether sculpture carving, in Corinth at least, followed such a linear path from Hellenistic naturalism to Byzantine abstraction. It is also uncertain what forces guided the stylistic change and loss of technique, or even how many stone carvers were working in a city like Corinth.

The seven Corinthian chlamydai are remarkably consistent in their costume and pose, down to their crossbow fibulae and slipper shoes, frontal pose, slack left arms, and bent right arms grasping insignia of office. Yet their style of execution varies enormously, and there is no way to tell whether they span centuries of production or only a single decade. Within their range of styles, however, are two broad groups, which can be matched up with contextual dates.

The first group includes the Theater chlamydatus and the statue from the Lechaion Road. The Theater chlamydatus is by far the most technically accomplished and naturalistic of all the Corinthian chlamydai, over life-size with a sense of a powerful body moving under the thick folds of drapery. The closest parallels in style and costume are the late-4th and early-5th-century chlamydai of Aphrodisias. Although previous scholarship had agreed on a 5th-century date for the Theater chlamydatus, Mary Sturgeon placed its manufacture in the 330s–360s, citing its stylistic sophistication and the destruction of the theater in the later 4th century by an earthquake.⁵⁷ The architectural elements of the theater were robbed out in the early to mid-5th century, according to ceramic evidence.⁵⁸ It thus seems reasonable to date the Theater chlamydatus earliest among the Corinthian chlamydai, sometime in the second half of the 4th century.

The context of the Lechaion Road chlamydatus was not dated by the early excavators, but it probably belongs to the later 4th century as well.⁵⁹ In its slim proportions the figure is similar to the Kraneion chlamydatus, but the sinuous folds of the drapery are much more deeply carved and clearly articulated, as is the surviving foot with its dainty shoe, uniquely with a round tongue. I would thus put the Lechaion Road chlamydatus after the Theater chlamydatus in date, but still before the Kraneion or forum chlamydai.

The second group includes the Kraneion and forum chlamydai. Pallas dated the Kraneion chlamydatus both to the 4th century and close in time to the Scroll chlamydatus, even though Johnson had long before published the latter portrait as dating to the early 6th century.⁶⁰ Based on his own excavations, Pallas also set a terminus ante quem of the first half of the 6th century for the date of the Kraneion chlamydatus, as the statue was cut into a threshold to be used in the first construction phase of the Kraneion Basilica. I agree with Pallas's terminus ante quem of circa 500–550 for the creation of this statue, but would argue, based on comparisons with the other chlamydai from Corinth and elsewhere, that the Kraneion chlamydatus was probably carved in the early 5th century, and thus about a century old when reused.

The recarving of a female statue for the Mappa chlamydatus has seemed a desperate measure, and therefore has been thought to point to the

57. Johnson 1924, p. 264; *Corinth IX*, p. 150 (late 5th century); de Grazia 1973, p. 285 (mid-5th century); *Corinth IX.3*, p. 164 (middle third of the 4th century, based on the destruction date of the theater given in Williams and Zervos 1987, p. 31).

58. Shear 1926, p. 454; *Corinth II*, pp. 140–141; Williams and Zervos 1987, p. 31; Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 249–265, 292.

59. *Corinth IX*, p. 149 (4th century or later); de Grazia 1973, p. 283, followed by Sturgeon in *Corinth IX.3*, p. 164 (mid-5th century).

60. *Corinth IX*, p. 150, no. 326.

6th century; yet the similarity of the figure's shoe to that of the Kraneion chlamydatus makes me prefer a 5th-century date.⁶¹ The Scroll chlamydatus has also been assigned to the first half of the 6th century, on account of the reuse of marble, awkward proportions, and lack of uniform finish on the torso.⁶² Yet the very close similarities between the Scroll and Kraneion chlamydati suggest a date in the 5th century for both of them.

Although only part of the torso survives, the Right Side chlamydatus is the closest in scale, pose, and style to the Kraneion figure. The carved crossbow fibula and double fold of drapery around the neck are very similar, as is the outline of the cut-away bent right arm. The Right Side chlamydatus was dated to the first half of the 6th century by de Grazia and Sturgeon,⁶³ but if it is close in date to the Kraneion chlamydatus, as it is close in style, then both are likely to belong in the 5th century. Finally, the shallow carving, linear style, and poorly concealed origin of the Epistyle chlamydatus must place it at the end of our continuum, which is likely to be not the 6th- or even early 7th-century dating previously suggested, but rather the later 5th or early 6th century.⁶⁴

The Kraneion figure is the only chlamydatus still in context, in its position of Late Antique reuse. It is worth emphasizing, however, that all of the chlamydati were beheaded and cut down into blocklike forms, and three were discovered built into post-Antique walls.⁶⁵ These "late" walls disassembled in the early Corinth excavations also contained cut-up large- and small-scale sculptures of pagan gods, as well as earlier Roman portraits; this suggests that chlamydatus portraits and monumental sculpture of the goddess Artemis, for example, shared a common civic context in Late Antique Corinth, and were deemed fit only for building material around the same time.⁶⁶ A similar combination of Late Antique portraits and pagan statuary is found in many walls in Rome that are now said to belong to the 5th or 6th century.⁶⁷ At Heraclea Lyncestis in Macedonia, a portrait statue of the priest Titus Flavius Orestes was reused face-down in a later-4th- or 5th-century phase of the stoa where it had once been displayed.⁶⁸

In conclusion, the dating of Late Antique portraiture by reference to a model of inexorable decline, away from naturalism and toward abstraction, is a legacy of Winckelmann's biological model of ancient art, and has lately been much critiqued, although not replaced.⁶⁹ In the face of wider

61. *Corinth IX*, p. 151 (latter part of 6th century); de Grazia 1973, p. 286 (first half of 6th century).

62. *Corinth IX*, p. 150 (earlier 6th century); de Grazia 1973, p. 288 (first half of 6th century).

63. De Grazia 1973, p. 290 (first half of 6th century); *Corinth IX.3*, p. 164, n. 188 (follows de Grazia).

64. Johnson 1924, p. 256 (late 6th or early 7th century); *Corinth IX*, pp. 153–154 (latter part of 6th century); de Grazia 1973, p. 291 (first half of 6th century).

65. The two parts of the Mappa chlamydatus, the Epistyle chlamydatus, and the Right Side chlamydatus were

all found built into walls; the other chlamydati of Corinth, given their cut-down state, are likely to have been used once as Byzantine building material, but the early excavators did not make any associations with standing architecture. For "late" walls built of statues in Rome, see Coates-Stephens 2007, where they are dated to the 6th or 7th century.

66. The upper body of a monumental cult statue of Artemis was found in the same wall as the lower body of the Mappa chlamydatus, while its lower body was in an adjacent wall along with other pagan statuary. For Artemis (S-220, S-812, and S-820 joined), see

Corinth IX, pp. 15–19, no. 8; Ridgway 1981, p. 440.

67. Coates-Stephens 2001, 2007.

68. Tomasevic 1965, pp. 32–34, pl. 7; Mikulcic 2007, pp. 73–77. The statue of Orestes was reused in a wall right in front of its statue base, but not otherwise damaged, while all the mythological sculpture once displayed to either side was beheaded and embedded in the floor. I thank S. Ćurčić for this reference.

69. For critique of the current system of dating of Late Antique sculpture, see Hölscher 1971, pp. 12–23; Stewart 1990, pp. 29–32, 78–81; Elsner 1995, 2000; Smith 2002; Kourelis 2007.

debates over the dating even of Late Antique imperial portraits, it is best at Corinth to acknowledge the technical diversity of the chlamydati, and their contextual dates as they currently stand.⁷⁰ Thus, we may place the first group of two Corinthian chlamydati in the 4th century, before the destruction of the theater, and the second group of five in the later 4th or 5th century, before the reuse of the Kraneion chlamydatus in the early 6th century, and the building of the “late” walls probably in the 6th or 7th century.

CORINTHIAN DISPLAY CONTEXT

The Corinthian chlamydatus portraits can now be restored with some certainty to their original architectural environment: the theater, Lechaion Road, and the forum of the 4th and 5th centuries, the Theodosian era (Fig. 7).⁷¹ These must have been well-trafficked areas, the *celebri loci* that inscriptions specify for the placement of portraits of civic benefactors elsewhere.⁷² Although the honor of a sculpted portrait was granted less commonly in the Roman Empire of Late Antiquity than in previous generations, the tradition continued, and such portraits, whether of civic benefactors or emperors, were generally erected in the open air, in colonnades, or in the public baths. Only in the 6th century did the Christian church replace the forum as the preferred place for (strictly two-dimensional) honorific images, as new portraits in the round largely ceased to be created.⁷³

At Corinth, the theater formed part of an entertainment complex, together with the odeum and flanking colonnaded courtyards on the sloping ground northwest of the forum. The theater and odeum alike were equipped with arenas in the 3rd century, and were used for wild-animal hunts, public gatherings, and dramatic performances, probably into the late 4th century.⁷⁴

The Theater chlamydatus was found on the western periphery of the theater, and thus was more likely to have been set up in the adjoining courtyards than right by the stage.⁷⁵ The right hand and wrist from what probably was a second life-size chlamydatus was found in the western parodos

70. Ongoing projects at both Oxford and Aarhus seek to establish a clearer relative and absolute chronology for the stylistic dating of Late Antique sculpture. Oxford: <http://www.oxla.ox.ac.uk/statues/index.shtml>. Aarhus: <http://www.lateantiquity.dk/project-description>.

71. De Grazia (1973, pp. 341–347) first noted the concentration of Late Antique portrait findspots along the Lechaion Road and on the western side of the Roman forum. Iverson (1996, p. 104) dismisses the chlamydati as evidence for “use of the forum as a public square” in the 5th or 6th centuries, since the four he knew of were “not *in situ*” when found. He fails, however, to take account of all the chlamydati,

portrait heads, and relevant inscriptions, and their pattern of concentration in specific areas. For a general, but now outdated, overview of the architecture of the forum and central area in Late Antiquity, see *Corinth* XVI, pp. 1–26.

72. This phrase is found in a 4th-century inscription from Puteoli (*AE* 1976, no. 141; Camodeca 1980–1981, pp. 119–121). For inscriptions specifying *celeberrimi loci*, and literary sources on the effort to place statues in popular locations in Late Antiquity, see Witschel 2007, pp. 122–124.

73. Ward-Perkins 1984, pp. 78–84; Smith 1999, 2007; Roueché 2006.

74. For Corinth’s theater in the 3rd to 5th centuries, including its

conversion into an arena and paintings of 3rd- to 4th-century hunts, see Shear 1925, pp. 384–388; 1926, pp. 449–463; 1928, pp. 474–488; 1929, pp. 515–536; 1931; Capps 1949; *Corinth* II, pp. 84–98, 140; Robert [1940] 1971, p. 117, no. 60; Williams and Zervos 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986; 1987, pp. 5–32; 1988, pp. 108–120; 1989, pp. 19–36; Welch 1999, 2007; *Corinth* IX.3. For the odeum in Late Antiquity, see Philostr. *VS* 2.1.9 (551); *Corinth* X, pp. 146–148; Williams and Zervos 1984, pp. 88–89, 92–95; 1987, pp. 27–32; Tobin 1997, pp. 296–302, 311–314. For bibliography on the robbing out of the theater in the early to mid-5th century, see n. 58, above.

75. *Corinth* IX.3, p. 164.



Figure 21. Hand and wrist from a Late Roman portrait, found in the theater (T-863/Sc62)

of the theater (Fig. 21).⁷⁶ The wrist bears the cuff of a long-sleeved tunic, while the hand's blocky fingers grip the central cylinder of a now-missing item, the ends of which were doweled on, as was the hand itself to the body.⁷⁷ The missing item should be the consular staff, or scepter of the office of the Governor of Achaia, like that carried by the Lechaion Road *chlamydatus* and similar examples from Asia Minor. The fragmentary heads of a 3rd-century woman and a 4th-century man also came from the theater, and probably belonged to portraits once displayed there or nearby.⁷⁸

Sturgeon has drawn an apt comparison with the placement of Late Antique portraits at Aphrodisias, where dedications to Julian and Theodosius stood just outside the theater, on one side of a colonnaded tetra-stoon courtyard behind the stage building.⁷⁹ At Corinth, a similar public courtyard behind the stage building has been partly excavated, along with paved spaces to the northeast and south; their steady use throughout the 4th century is suggested by constant architectural repair and the discovery of thousands of 4th-century coins in these areas.⁸⁰

The sidewalks of the Lechaion Road as it approached the forum were also a prime venue for portrait display, public business, and commerce in Late Antique Corinth. Public buildings, including at least two baths, the Peirene fountain, and colonnaded shops, once flanked this marble-paved road. Excavation of these buildings, the drains underneath, and a post-Antique ramp, which once covered the stairs connecting the Lechaion Road to the forum, uncovered large numbers of Late Antique portrait heads and statue bases, all near the findspot of the Lechaion Road *chlamydatus*.

The portrait head of a woman with covered hair dates to about the year 400, while some seven male heads have clearly Late Antique hairstyles; a few are cut around the neck for insertion into separate, probably reused, portrait bodies.⁸¹ Several 2nd- or 3rd-century portrait bodies in

76. T-863/Sc62: *Corinth IX.3*, pp. 165–166, no. 55.

77. Sturgeon (*Corinth IX.3*, p. 166) remarks on the common use of piecing in sculpture at Corinth from the 2nd century onward, and the unusual nature of this tenon, perhaps a sign of a decline in marble carving in 4th-century Corinth; she identifies the object held as a *mappa* or a symbol of rank.

78. Female head S-3317: de Grazia 1973, pp. 176–178, no. 36, pl. 52;

Corinth IX.3, pp. 142–143, no. 32 (dated ca. 215–235). Male head S-3320: de Grazia 1973, pp. 184–185, no. 39, pl. 52; *Corinth IX.3*, pp. 143–144, no. 33 (4th century).

79. *Corinth IX.3*, p. 165; Smith and Erim 1991; Smith 1999, pp. 170–171; 2001.

80. MacIsaac 1987, and see the successive reports of Williams and Zervos (1983–1989).

81. Female head S-986: *Corinth IX*, p. 87, no. 164; de Grazia 1973, pp. 238–

242, no. 63, pls. 77, 78; Ridgway 1981, p. 448, n. 106; Jesse 1992, pls. 1, 2 (ca. 400). Male heads S-2771: de Grazia 1973, pp. 77–80, no. 7, pls. 10, 11; Datsoulis-Stavridès 1970; Ridgway 1981, p. 430, n. 31 (3rd century); S-2749: de Grazia 1973, pp. 204–205, no. 48, pl. 62 (Tetrarchic); S-1047: *Corinth IX*, p. 91, no. 179; de Grazia 1973, pp. 205–206, no. 49, pl. 62 (Tetrarchic); S-1073: *Corinth IX*, p. 84, no. 154; de Grazia 1973, pp. 211–212, no. 51, pl. 65 (first half of 4th century); S-2496: de Grazia

toga or himation with deeply cut neck holes were also found in this area, and would have been reused throughout Late Antiquity.⁸² An interesting pair of male heads found together represent a 4th-century bearded pagan priest (or *agonothetes*) wearing a wreath, and a 5th-century clean-shaven civic honorand who was marked on his forehead with a Christian cross before his disposal.⁸³

Among the many statue bases found along the Lechaion Road, two provide important clues about the people honored with public portraits in Late Antique Corinth, and how their statues were presented to passersby.⁸⁴ Cuttings on the top of each base show that a bronze statue was replaced in Late Antiquity by a marble statue, with its own marble plinth held down by tangs on the sides, like the plinths under the Lechaion Road, Kraneion, Mappa, and Epistyle chlamydati. Dedications inscribed over older, erased texts on the front of each base celebrate the identity and form of the new marble portrait in poetry. One honors an Athenian (Fig. 22), while the other was set up for the Governor of Achaia; in both cases the name of the dedicator is also given:

Ἀτθίδος εἰμὶ πάτρης Περικλήϊον
αἶμα λελογχῶς,
Ἑρμολάου δ' υἱὸς οὔνομα
Διογένης.
στῆσε δὲ μ' εἰν Ἐφύρ[η]
Πιρηνίδος ἀγχ[όθι πηγῆς?]
τῆδε Σεκου[δεῖνος]
εἰκόνι λαμπρομέν[η].
vacat
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλής)

I am the man allotted a portion of Periclean blood from an Attic father, the son of Hermolaos, by name Diogenes; Secoun[deinos?] set me up in Ephyre ne[ar the spring?] of Peirene as a shining image. *Passed by a vote of the Council.*⁸⁵

1973, pp. 185–187, no. 40, pl. 52 (second quarter of 4th century); S-909: *Corinth IX*, p. 92, no. 183; de Grazia 1973, pp. 234–235, no. 59, pl. 75 (second half of 5th century); S-1454: Vermeule 1968, p. 246, no. 134; de Grazia 1973, pp. 223–226, no. 54, pl. 71 (second half of 5th century).

82. Himation/palliatu S-47: *Corinth IX*, p. 97, no. 202; de Grazia 1973, pp. 277–278, no. 86, pl. 93 (dated 3rd century). Togatus S-180: *Corinth IX*, p. 94, no. 195; de Grazia 1973, pp. 258–260, no. 73, pl. 85; Havé-Nikolaus 1998, pp. 132–133, no. 23 (dated Antonine). An unpublished marble left hand holding a scroll from the north side of the forum (S-817) closely matches the hand of the Lechaion Road chlamydatus in size and style.

83. Wreathed bearded head S-920:

Corinth IX, pp. 148–149, no. 321; de Grazia 1973, pp. 217–223, no. 53, pls. 69, 70; Ridgway 1981, p. 448, n. 105, pl. 97:d; de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, pp. 380–381, n. 59, fig. 22:14 (dated last third of 4th century). Clean-shaven male head with cross S-919: *Corinth IX*, p. 91, no. 178; de Grazia 1973, pp. 229–234, no. 58, pl. 74 (dated second half of 5th century). The forehead is the part of portrait heads most commonly marked with a cross in Late Antiquity. At least three other pieces of sculpture from Corinth were marked with crosses before the modern era: an Artemis, on the thigh (S-2392); a togatus, on the right arm (S-3361); and an unfinished portrait head, on the top of the head (S-697, see n. 99, below). There is also some evidence for Late Antique defacement of statuary at

Corinth, besides its use as *spolia*; Rothaus's theory (2000, pp. 119–125) that continued pagan cult encouraged Christian destruction of statuary is defensible, but his use of archaeological evidence from Corinth is uneven. For more balanced accounts, see Sanders 2005; Stirling 2008, p. 138.

84. Besides I-17 joined with I-18, and I-19, both quoted below, other probable Late Antique but unreadable bases from the Lechaion Road include I-12 (mostly erased, *Corinth VIII.1*, pp. 74–75, no. 108) and I-21 (mostly abraded, *Corinth VIII.1*, p. 73, no. 105).

85. Trans. author. I-17 joined with I-18: *IG IV 1602, 1604; Corinth VIII.1*, pp. 65–66, no. 88 (photo upside down); Dow 1951, pp. 96–97; see also Robinson 2011, p. 282, n. 178.



Figure 22. Diogenes statue base (I-17 joined with I-18)

[Τ]ίς τύπον εἰμερόεντα Ἰούνωρος ἀνθυπάτιο
 ἦρπασε, τίς μορφήν τῆδ' ἐνέγλυψε λίθῳ;
 μορφήν λαοτόμος μὲν ἔῃ μειμήσατο τέχνη
 Ἑλλάδι κόσμον ὅλον μητρὶ χαριζόμενος,
 [σ]τήσε δ' ἀγασσάμενός μιν ἀμύμων Εὐτυχιανός
 [ἀ]ντὶ κασιγνήτου εὐ διεπὼν Ἐφύρην.

vacat

ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλήσ).

Who has captured the pleasing figure of the proconsul Junior, who has carved his form in stone? The stonemason has imitated his form with his craft, freely bestowing the whole ornament on mother Greece, and blameless Eutyichianos, admiring him, set him up, administering Ephyre well in the place of his relative. *Passed by a vote of the Council.*⁸⁶

These flowery, archaizing epigrams honor the Athenian Diogenes and the provincial governor Junior in late-3rd- or 4th-century lettering, and are typical of honorific inscriptions from throughout Greece and Asia Minor in Late Antiquity.⁸⁷ The bases are reused to support new statues and bear new texts, although the abbreviation for the customary conclusion *Passed by a vote of the Council* is left from the original use of these bases, probably in the 2nd century.

86. Trans. author. I-19: *IG IV* 1603; Wilhelm 1905, p. 415; *Corinth VIII.1*, p. 66, no. 89; Groag 1946, pp. 97–98, 111; Rizakis 2001, pp. 271–272, *Corinthia* no. 102.

87. Ševčenko (1968) first pointed out that most of these epigrams, and thus the chlamydati found near them, honored provincial governors rather than civic magistrates. On archaizing epigrams as the preferred texts for honorific portraits through the later 6th century, see Robert 1948. Mango ([1986] 1993) points out that such honorific texts were composed for an increasing number of now-lost painted portraits, as well as for portrait statues.

These poems testify not just to stonemasons but also to poets working in Ephyre, the epic name for Corinth plucked from the *Iliad* long before Late Antiquity to give Corinth a greater share in the Greek heroic past.⁸⁸ The poets of these texts flattered not only the subject of the statue and the patron who paid for it, but also educated viewers who might enjoy the allusions to myth, classical history, and nearby Corinthian monuments like the Peirene fountain.

These epigrams also remark upon the sculptor's skill, and the long tradition of image making for public display in "mother Greece." Although the chlamydati appear crudely carved next to 2nd-century togate and himation-clad bodies, the poetry of their bases takes pains to praise them, and draws attention to their stone material, in the first case "shining," like the rank, *clarissimus* (λαμπρότατος), of the imperial officials whom these statues honor.⁸⁹ This shine may be in contrast to older bronze or stone statues, and perhaps also points to paint applied to the chlamydati. Literary sources also persist in praising Late Antique artists as they did their predecessors, primarily for the naturalism and realism of their works.⁹⁰ Thus, statue bases at Corinth, as elsewhere, and literary texts use the same vocabulary for sculpture that had been in use for centuries, often with a deliberately archaic or epic tone.

As the Lechaion Road neared the forum, colonnades on both sides provided entry to shops, baths, shrines, the Peribolos of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias, and the venerable Peirene fountainhouse into the 6th century.⁹¹ A Jewish synagogue and a Christian church are both likely to have stood in the vicinity by the middle of the 6th century.⁹² Corinth's Late Antique Lechaion Road thus resembled contemporary monumentalized avenues in other provincial capital cities such as Ephesos or Sardis, wide colonnaded streets echoing Constantinople's grand *Mese*.⁹³ Statues looked down from high bases on traffic flowing in and out of the forum, while texts announced the identity of the images, along with the business of the local and imperial governments, to all who could read. Here the Governor of Achaia made his *adventus* coming up the long, straight road from the harbor at Lechaion, flanked by his predecessors set in stone. When he reached the top of the road and turned right into the forum, he is likely to have confronted another forest of statues, new and old, in front of its buildings, particularly in the northwest corner.

Given the density of their findspots in that northwest corner, the four chlamydati found in the forum were probably originally set up there. This

88. For Corinth in the Catalogue of Ships, as a city subject to Agamemnon, see *Il.* 2.569–577; for the Corinthian epic poet Eumelus as the adopter of Homeric Ephyre as a synonym for Corinth to expand the city's epic presence, see Huxley 1969, p. 61; and for the use of Ephyre in Late Antiquity, see Innes 2001.

89. The specific connections between ancient portrait statues and their inscriptions are well explored for Roman Aphrodisias by Smith et al. (2006, pp. 19–26). I thank the

anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer for this reference.

90. Stewart 2007.

91. Sears 1902; *Corinth* I.2, pp. 1–54; *Corinth* XVI, pp. 14–23, 37–40; *Corinth* I.6, pp. 1–115; Robinson 2011, pp. 274–284.

92. Although in 1957 Scranton (*Corinth* XVI, pp. 9–10, 25) placed Corinth's synagogue near the theater and a 6th-century cathedral in the Julian Basilica, the exact location of both of these buildings remains unclear, despite quantities of inscriptions

and architectural members, mainly recovered from the Lechaion Road excavations, that clearly demonstrate their presence.

93. Ephesos: Foss 1979, pp. 47–95; [1984] 1990; Feissel 1999; Roueché 1999. The famous later-5th-century portrait head of Eutropius from Ephesos now in Vienna belonged to a road-building local official (Breckenridge 1979, p. 58, no. 55). Sardis: Hanfmann 1969; Crawford 1990. Constantinople: Berger 2000.

area of the forum was bounded in Late Antiquity on the west side by the colonnade of the West Shops, restored by the Governor of Achaia in the later 4th century; stairs on the west also led up to the road to Sikyon, the odeum, and the theater.⁹⁴ Along the north side of the forum, the Northwest Shops stood in front of Temple Hill. Both the West Shops and the Northwest Shops were given their names by the early excavators of Corinth, and it is unclear to what extent they actually served a commercial function, especially in Late Antiquity. Both complexes were certainly repaired and renovated into the 6th century, apparently for commercial use, but perhaps also for political or even religious functions.

Statue bases and inscribed marble plaques from the northwest corner of the forum support not only the dedication of statues here, but also the official use of this area by the Governor of Achaia and local officials. Among several inscribed bases found here, the most complete was erected in honor of Memmius Pontius Ptolemaeus Parnasius by Eutyichianos, perhaps the same man who honored Junior on the Lechaion Road.

Μέμμιον Πόντιον
 Πτολεμῆον τὸν κὲ
 Παρνάσιον τὸν λαμ(πρότατον)
 καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς λαμ(προτάτης)
 Κορινθίων πόλεως.
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Εὐτυχιανὸς ἀποστρά(τηγος?)
vacat
 ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλή).

Memmius Pontius Ptolemaeus, also (named) Parnasius, *vir clarissimus*, and patron of the *clarissima* city of the Corinthians. Aurelius Eutyichianos, *praetorius*, (set up the monument) with the approval of the city council.⁹⁵

Parnasius is honored as “patron of the city of the Corinthians,” and the city is unusually given the same title as he bears, λαμπρότατος (Latin *clarissimus*), “most splendid,” the lowest rank of the senatorial aristocracy in Late Antiquity.⁹⁶ As with Diogenes’ statue, this adjective may also be connected with the “shining” quality of the statue’s material. It is also worth noting that although this base is a reused block with clamps on the face, the reference to the council’s decision was carved at the same time as the rest of the inscription.

This Parnasius is likely to be the same Parnasius of Corinth and Patras who was prefect of Egypt between 357 and 359 under the emperor Constantius, before being exiled, along with his colleague Aristophanes of Corinth of the *agentes in rebus* (couriers), for consulting an astrologer. Both Corinthian men were then reinstated under the emperor Julian (361–363) by the good offices of the orator Libanius, and both returned to Corinth and their estates there in the 360s.⁹⁷ Thus, in the later 4th century, this was an appropriate place for Parnasius to receive a statue, but the lack of detail concerning the exact reason for the dedication—beyond his patronage of the city—is frustratingly typical. Other epigraphic fragments from this area include statue bases with late lettering as well as public

94. *Corinth* VIII.1, p. 79, no. 113; *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 165–166, no. 504; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 273, no. 6; Rizakis 2001, pp. 316–317, *Corinthia* 270.1; Sanders 2003, p. 395, n. 35.

95. Trans. after J.H. Kent. I-1115: Groag 1946, pp. 98, 111; *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 163–164, no. 502, pl. 42; *PLRE* 1, pp. 667–668, s.v. Parnasius 1; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 291–292, no. 31; Rizakis 1995, p. 69, no. 20; 2001, p. 353, *Corinthia* no. 422. See these references for the debate over the expansion of the abbreviation ΑΠΙΟΣΤΡΑ.

96. I thank Stephen Tracy for making this connection (pers. comm.).

97. *Amm. Marc.* 19.20.10; *Lib. Ep.* 822, *Or.* 14.

documents on plaques, apparently posted for local consultation into the 6th century.⁹⁸

Late Antique heads were also found in the northwest corner of the forum, along with a few traditional portrait bodies; one odd unfinished Late Antique head marked with a cross on the top was set into a palliatus body half its size and built into a “late” wall.⁹⁹ This head and other unfinished portraits from this area certainly locate Corinth’s Late Antique statue production in the city itself, and maybe even in this general area of the forum.¹⁰⁰

The east side of the Roman forum, the Julian Basilica, and the Southeast Building were apparently little used for new public statuary in Late Antiquity.¹⁰¹ A headless bust found in the Southeast Building might be wearing a chlamys, and has a neck hole cut for the insertion of successive heads—perhaps of emperors, if that building was used by the Governor of Achaia when holding court.¹⁰² It has been identified as the *tabularium*, or colonial archives, of Corinth, the site of a notable literary portrait dedication in the 2nd century.¹⁰³

Despite the damage to the South Stoa in the later 4th century, a recut portrait body and fragments of 5th-century heads from the area suggest that the southern side of the Roman forum was as well maintained and frequented as the north side in Late Antiquity.¹⁰⁴ At least two other portrait

98. I-193 and many joining fragments from plaques in honor of Diocletian and Galerius: *Corinth* VIII.2, pp. 20–23, nos. 23–25; *PLRE* 1, p. 685, s.v. Lucius Sul Paulus 11; Rizakis 2001, p. 385, *Corinthia* 578. Hesychius base I-146: *Corinth* VIII.1, p. 67, no. 92; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932 (see also base fragments I-1905 and I-2149, probably fragments of the same base, in *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 171, no. 516). Plaque I-276: *Corinth* VIII.1, p. 141, no. 245; Sanders 2003, p. 395, n. 35. I-344 and joining plaque fragments: *Corinth* VIII.1, pp. 75–76, no. 109; *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 122–123, no. 309. I-817 and joining plaque fragments of the years 394–408: *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 167–168, no. 507; Feissel and Philippides-Braat 1985, p. 276, no. 11. Plaque with city names I-1998: *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 205, no. 689; Rizakis 2001, p. 248, *Corinthia* 4.

99. Female head S-2474: de Grazia 1973, pp. 242–244, no. 64, pl. 76. Male heads: S-1181A: de Grazia 1973, pp. 178–183, no. 37, pl. 50 (Alexander Severus); S-1802: Broneer 1935, p. 69, fig. 11; de Grazia 1973, pp. 194–196, no. 45, pls. 58, 59; Ridgway 1981, p. 447 (mid-3rd century); S-1974-30: Williams and Fisher 1975, p. 14, n. 28; Koehler 1977; Ridgway 1981, pp. 438–

446; de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, p. 370, n. 7, fig. 22:3 (second half of 3rd century); S-1155: *Corinth* IX, p. 85, no. 159; de Grazia 1973, pp. 65–69, no. 3, pls. 4, 5; Ridgway 1981, p. 447, n. 99 (Tetrarchic). Portrait bodies: S-722 and joining fragments: *Corinth* IX, p. 97, no. 200; de Grazia 1973, pp. 268–270, no. 78, pl. 87. S-1977-8 is a very linear lower part of a draped figure, possibly a chlamydatus. The only portrait-head-and-body combination to have been excavated intact at Corinth has largely been dismissed as a unit, because it formed the end of a “late” wall, the head is clearly unfinished, and the body is much too small for it. Nevertheless, the fact that the body is dated to the 3rd century and the head to the second half of the 5th suggests that it may indeed form a Late Antique portrait ensemble: S-696 (body): *Corinth* IX, p. 96, no. 198; de Grazia 1973, pp. 279–280, no. 87, pl. 94; S-697 (head): *Corinth* IX, pp. 88–89, no. 170; L’Orange 1933, p. 89; de Grazia 1973, pp. 226–227, no. 55, pl. 72; Sturgeon 2003, p. 362, n. 42; de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, p. 375, n. 33, fig. 22:7.

100. S-1182: de Grazia 1973, pp. 183–184, no. 38, pl. 51 (Alexander Severus); S-1972-5: de Grazia Vander-

pool 2003, p. 370, n. 7, fig. 22:4 (second quarter of 3rd century); S-1610: de Grazia 1973, pp. 227–228, no. 56, pl. 73; Sturgeon 2003, p. 362, n. 42 (second half of 5th century).

101. For this area: *Corinth* I.5, pp. 3–57; Scotton 1997, pp. 67–106 (a monograph with revised dating is in preparation).

102. Bust S-1141: *Corinth* IX, p. 149, no. 322 (4th century); de Grazia 1973, pp. 339–340, no. 113, pl. 112 (5th–6th century); Ridgway 1981, p. 448, n. 103. A second headless bust (S-1991-2) was at first interpreted as a small-scale chlamydatus, but close examination suggests that either the figure had long hair, or this fragment is not from a bust.

103. In Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37 (attributed to Favorinus, a Hadrianic sophist), the orator complains about the removal of a statue of himself from the Corinthian forum’s “library” (line 8: τὰ βιβλία), where it had been erected previously at public expense (König 2001; White 2005).

104. Male heads: S-2186: de Grazia 1973, pp. 235–236, no. 60, pl. 75 (5th century); S-2195: de Grazia 1973, pp. 228–229, no. 57, pl. 73 (second half of 5th century).



Figure 23. Bouleuterion palliatus (S-2224)

bodies from Corinth besides the Mappa chlamydatus underwent similar gender transformations, and were found in the southern area of the forum. A Large Herculaneum-style female portrait body was recarved into a male palliatus, with a slot for the insertion of a new portrait head (Fig. 23); it was discovered in the semicircular benched chamber of the South Stoa interpreted as Corinth's Bouleuterion.¹⁰⁵ The body of a statuette of Aphrodite from this area was also reworked, perhaps into a chlamydatus intended to take a new (very small) portrait head.¹⁰⁶

RECARVING CORINTHIAN CHLAMYDATI

A significant proportion of the Late Antique portraits at Corinth were recarved from earlier statues or architectural members, and set atop reused statue bases cut or painted with new inscriptions. The placement of new heads on old bodies was widespread in Greece under the Roman Empire, but wholly recarved statues are less often identified.¹⁰⁷ Recarved portraits of the god Hermes and an emperor from Ancient Messene were recently dated to the middle of the 4th century; they were once exhibited in an elegant urban villa with a finely carved new statue of Artemis.¹⁰⁸ A 3rd-century

105. S-2224: de Grazia 1973, pp. 292–294, no. 94, pl. 98; Ridgway 1981, p. 448 (first half of 6th century).

106. S-367: *Corinth* IX, pp. 149–

150, no. 324 (3rd–4th century); de Grazia 1973, pp. 294–295, no. 95, pl. 98;

Ridgway 1981, p. 448, n. 102.

107. Varner 2004, pp. 4–5.

108. See Deligiannakis 2005, who identifies the emperor as Constantine.

portrait bust from the Cryptoporticus in the Agora of Thessaloniki was also recarved, to wear a 4th- or 5th-century-style toga.¹⁰⁹ Funerary portrait busts at Cyrene, a city poor in marble like Corinth, were widely recarved throughout Roman times, both from architectural members and from pagan statuary.¹¹⁰

Already in the 1st century, Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 31) chided the Rhodians for their reuse of both statues and statue bases, although Roueché has pointed out that at Lindos a decree was passed authorizing the reuse of statues with illegible inscriptions, and this practice was probably common outside of Rhodes.¹¹¹ Statue bases in particular were widely reused in Greek cities already in Roman Imperial times, through recarving or the use of paint, and this process accelerated in Late Antiquity, when very few newly carved bases are found. The Corinthian chlamydai are therefore part of a broader Late Antique tendency in Greece and in marble-poor cities to recut earlier statuary into new forms; at Corinth they stand out from High Imperial Roman statuary because of their obvious signs of recarving.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence of costume, sculptural comparanda, statue bases, and context all strongly supports the idea that the Corinthian chlamydai were imperial officials—either Governors of Achaia based at Corinth, or, like Parnasius, local civic benefactors who held imperial office outside Achaia and came back home to fund their cities, and to be depicted in their professional attire. In studies of chlamydai at Ephesos and Aphrodisias, Foss and Smith have both concluded that the figures generally represent provincial governors.¹¹²

The Governors of Achaia, as mentioned above, remained active in their provincial capital of Corinth in Late Antiquity, rebuilding the West Shops and South Stoa in the later 4th century and holding meetings of cities. Inscriptions from Corinth also honor 4th-century Governors of Achaia for restoring the harbor at Lechaion and judging local court cases.¹¹³ Governors of Achaia, as of other provinces, had a high turnover rate in Late Antiquity, rarely serving more than a few years. Thus, the chlamydai, although numerous, may mostly represent Governors of Achaia from a relatively short period of time, in the later 4th and early 5th centuries.

Further up the hierarchy of Late Roman imperial officials, we find other possibilities for the honorands represented by the chlamydai. The Vicar of Macedonia and, above him, the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum were also responsible for the southern Balkans and thus provincial Achaia

109. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 6100: Despinis, Stephanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutyras 2003, pp. 219–223, no. 308, pls. 979–982.

110. The practice of recarving was most common in the 2nd–4th centuries: Rosenbaum 1960, nos. 251, 255, 282; Bonanno 1976, pp. 43–44, nos. 4–6.

111. *ILindos* 419, in Roueché 2006, pp. 245–249, also citing the examples

of reuse collected in Blanck 1969. Shear (2007) has also recently explored the basis for reuse of both statues and inscriptions in Roman Athens.

112. Foss [1984] 1990; Smith 1999, 2002.

113. Lechaion Harbor restoration, I-1391: *IG IV* 209; Groag 1946, pp. 36–38; *Corinth VIII.3*, p. 164, no. 503, pl. 42; Shaw 1969; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 285, no. 23.

Local court case, I-902: *IG IV* 364; *Syll.*³ 904; *Corinth VIII.1*, pp. 9–10, no. 10; Bees 1941, pp. 13–15, no. 5; Groag 1946, pp. 58–59; *PLRE* 1, p. 525, s.v. Fl. Ulpus Macarius 6; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 290–291, no. 30, pl. 4:2; Rizakis 2001, p. 318, *Corinthia* no. 275. For provincial governors in Late Antiquity, see Slootjes 2006.

in Late Antiquity. Praetorian Prefects could wear the chlamys or toga as a sign of office. A single full-length portrait from the Agora in Athens wears a Late Antique toga, and most likely depicts the patron of the “Palace of the Giants” in which it was found, perhaps the Praetorian Prefect Herculius (408–410), honored upon an inscribed statue base from the Agora.¹¹⁴

Military officials such as the *Magister Militum* of Illyricum are also an option; imperial forces were based near Corinth throughout Late Antiquity, although they are mentioned only rarely in literary or epigraphic sources. Vanderpool has suggested that two heads from Corinth represent Late Antique generals. She identifies a head found in a Lechaion Road drain near the Great Baths on the Lechaion Road as a Theodosian general of barbarian origin, noting that its hairstyle echoes those of figures on the base of the Theodosian obelisk in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.¹¹⁵ The second portrait is only the front half of a head found in the southwest corner of the forum, but, like Oecumenius of Aphrodisias, it is one of the few Late Antique private portraits known from finds in the two cities. The man represented was probably a general or other high official active in both Corinth and Thessaloniki under Theodosius, since another copy of his portrait comes from western Macedonia, where it was dated by the hairstyle of his wife’s bust to the second half of the 4th century.¹¹⁶ Thus, the combined evidence of statue bases and comparanda indicates that the Corinthian chlamydati represent imperial rather than local officials, with the possibilities ranging from the Governor of Achaia and his superiors to generals or locals in imperial service.

The importance that the erecting of these statues held for Late Antique Corinthians cannot be overstressed. In the 4th century, the chlamydati co-exist with a small number of other sculptures created, or at least collected, in Corinth.¹¹⁷ For the 5th century, however, these chlamydati and a few portrait heads are the last examples of sculpture in the round carved at Ancient Corinth. The shallow, schematic carving and the reuse of marble for most of them surely reflect not only a decline in the availability or affordability of fresh marble, but also the lengths to which the city council and local elite were willing to go in order to continue to erect honorific portraits.

While the elite had a vested interest in continuing the tradition of having their service publicly honored, the Corinthian people of lower classes

114. This headless statue, Athens Agora S-657, is the only togatus from Greece that I know of who wears the distinctive, narrow Late Antique toga: Shear 1936, pp. 198–200, fig. 18; *Agora* I, p. 79, pls. 41, 42; Foss [1984] 1990, p. 215. For the statue as Herculius, see Frantz 1965, p. 192; for Herculius as patron of the Palace of the Giants in the Athenian Agora, see Frantz 1969, 1979; for the Herculius statue base, see *IG II/III² pars V* 13284 = 4225; and for the architecture of the Palace of the Giants, see Travlos, *Athens*, p. 233, fig. 37; *Agora* XXIV, pp. 21–23.

115. S-1199: de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, p. 381, nn. 60, 61, fig. 22:15; see also *Corinth* IX, p. 88, no. 168; de Grazia 1973, pp. 212–217, no. 52, pls. 66–68; Ridgway 1981, p. 448, n. 104, pl. 97:c; Meischner 1988, p. 381, pl. 6; 1990, p. 308, pl. 10; Jesse 1992, pls. 3, 4.

116. S-1977-13, identified by de Grazia Vanderpool (2003, pp. 379–380, nn. 55–58, fig. 22:13) as a Pentelic marble portrait of a Roman general who served under the newly minted emperor Theodosius when he was based in Thessaloniki in 379–380 (Croke 1981).

The Macedonian pair of busts are in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum (inv. nos. 1060, 1061), and were brought in together from the village of Kopanos, near Naoussa on the western side of Macedonia in the foothills north of Mt. Olympus between Edessa and Veria; they are published as archetypes of the Theodosian “subtle style” group: L’Orange 1961, pl. 27:1, 3; Kiilerich 1993, pp. 210–211.

117. See the Panayia Field Villa mythological sculpture group in Stirling 2008.

may also have benefited from public festivals financed by local honorands upon the dedication of their statues. Elsewhere, such statues were even designated as locations for the distribution of civic endowments left by their honorands.¹¹⁸ Provincial governors and other imperial officials worked toward receiving a statue at the end of their term, and were encouraged to emulate the achievements of those who had received statues before them, possibly helping the residents of their province in the process.¹¹⁹

It is worth considering the wider network of artisans' workshops and government functionaries that is reflected in each and every new civic statue, as well as the planning and manpower necessary to create these statues and their bases, and to put them into position. Today, even without heads and legs, the life-size marble chlamydati cannot be carried by fewer than six people; their erection on top of bases typically more than a meter high would have required wheeled transport, a crane with block and tackle, and several workmen at the very least.¹²⁰ As was the case in 4th-century Rome, Corinth is likely to have had a public official charged with the care of the city's statues; such an official would have been given access to money, men, and expertise to maintain old statues and erect new ones.¹²¹

The Corinthian urban elite, like those in other cities, was no doubt under increasing financial and social pressure from both above and below in Late Antiquity, and eventually this elite was completely replaced by the Christian clergy and petty officials who cut up and reused their statues as *spolia*. Long into Late Antiquity, however, at least some Corinthians clung tenaciously to traditional activities such as the giving and receiving of honorific portraits on poem-adorned bases in public places. I close, therefore, where I began, with the chlamydatus from Kraneion, which seems not only to mirror contemporary styles in costume, but also to reinforce contemporary desires and limitations. In the end, this figure and the other chlamydati constitute some of the best evidence still surviving for the 4th- to 6th-century city center of Corinth, where they were created, displayed, and eventually reused.

118. See the epigraphic testimonia for the feast given by Archippe of Kyme upon the dedication of her statue in the 2nd century (Engelmann 1976, p. 13; Malay 1983; *SEG* XXXIII 1035–1041) and the ceremonies supposedly marking the dedication of statues of Justinian and Theodora in Constantinople in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 81 (Cameron and Herrin 1984). For a 3rd-century text from Aphrodisias specifying a statue as the place for yearly distribution of endowed largesse by lottery, see Reynolds, Roueché, and Bodard 2007, *LPh*2007 11.110, with text, translation, and

earlier bibliography. Roueché (2006, p. 244) and Pont (2008) give further helpful references for civic use of statues in Late Antiquity.

119. For the public statue in the late 4th century as a lasting memorial, an inspiration to copy the deeds of the man depicted, and a cause for disputes over civic authority, see Symmachus *Relat.* 12; *Ep.* 2.36.2. I thank Peter Brown for these references.

120. It took three men merely to turn the Kraneion chlamydatus over. At a modern building site, a forklift is required to move a marble base, and a small crane to set a marble statue atop

it, as well as at least four men to guide the statue into place. For documentation of the practicalities and manpower of carving, transporting, and raising solid marble statues up onto high marble bases, see Stewart 1990, pp. 38–42; Korres 1995; Smith et al. 2006, pp. 29–34.

121. In Rome the *curator statuarum* was among the magistrates in charge of statue maintenance, and probably reuse: Chastagnol 1960, pp. 33–42, 363–368; Alchermes 1994, p. 171. For care of old statues in Italy and North Africa under Theodosius, see Lepelley 1994; Witschel 2007.

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