

# **Economic and Commercial Aspects of Portrait Statuary from the City of Epidauros and the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios (146 BC–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)\***

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## **The Late Hellenistic Period (from the Battle of Leukopetra to Actium 146–31 BC)**

As the rest of southern Greece, the city of Epidauros fell irrevocably under Roman rule in 146 BC, after the battle of Leukopetra, fought between the Roman army, led by the consul L. Mummius and the Greek army of the Achaean Confederacy, led by general Diaios.<sup>1</sup> The Epidaurians participated in the battle under Diaios and suffered significant casualties.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, the late Hellenistic period is characterized by a relative inactivity towards a steadfast economic decline. Roman rule is inaugurated in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios with the reuse by the general L. Mummius of an older monument in the shape of a ship's prow, erected by the Achaean Confederacy, commemorating a naval victory. The statue of a bronze Nike standing on top of it was replaced with a bronze statue of the general.<sup>3</sup> The appropriation of a victory monument of the Confederacy by the victor of Leukopetra points eloquently to the transfer of power in the region after 146 BC and the selection of this particular monument must not have been random.

Between the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the Antonine period no new buildings were erected in the sanctuary of Apollo and Asklepios, while in the city only the reconstruction of an aqueduct and fountain-house is epigraphically attested (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1 26). Recent excavations in the area northwest of the city's theater have unearthed a monumental fountain-house dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, with a later Roman construction phase.<sup>4</sup> In addition, relics of the pillars of an aqueduct headed in the direction of the theater have survived next to the modern road.

Contrary to building activity, portrait statuary continued to be erected in the sanctuary during this transitional period.

Although the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC was a flourishing period for the sanctuary, the number of surviving monuments is limited. Furthermore, the attribution of monuments specifically to the second half of the century, based solely on epigraphic criteria proves extremely difficult, sometimes even impossible. Only eight monuments can be tentatively dated after the battle of Leukopetra until the turn of the century. Despite of these restrictions, some general observations can be made. The economic state of the city remains relatively healthy. Prominent local families are still able to commission votive

portrait statues of members of their family,<sup>5</sup> while five statues were commissioned by the city and paid by public funds. The Panhellenic popularity of the cult and the games of the *Asklepieia* remained strong as attested by the erection of portrait statues of foreign rulers displayed in prominent areas of the sanctuary by Epidaurian citizens, such as Arcestratos, son of Arcestratos, a *philos* of the king Nikomedes III of Bithynia (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 591, 128/6–94 BC).<sup>6</sup> The Epidaurians honor an ambassador to Rome (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 63, 115/4 BC), and, probably owing to their participation to the local games, an Athenian comedic poet (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 626, 106–97 BC?),<sup>7</sup> and a native professional athlete with a significant career abroad (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 629).<sup>8</sup>

As far as the artistic output of the city is concerned, there seems to be a predilection for bronze statues, while, in continuance with earlier tradition, itinerant artists come almost exclusively from the Peloponnese and Attica. During the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC only four sculptors are epigraphically attested to have worked at Epidauros, Eunous, son of Eunomos, and the Argives Xenophilos, son of Straton, Straton, son of Xenophilos (who sometimes worked in collaboration), and Toron, son of Apellion, who had also worked in neighboring Troizen.<sup>9</sup> As is known, marble is absent from the geology of the region,<sup>10</sup> so all commissions must be either executed on the spot in imported marble (predominantly Pentelic, and to a lesser extent Parian), or imported ready-made. The latter is probably true for the only surviving portrait statue of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. from the sanctuary and the city, that of a priestess in Parian marble, dressed in typical Hellenistic fashion (fig. 1).<sup>11</sup>

During the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC a considerable decline in artistic activity is observed in the sanctuary and the city, attributed to specific historical circumstances. The Mithridatic Wars, the Roman Civil Wars, piracy, and the destruction of the free port of Delos for a second time in 69 BC led to the decline and disruption of trade in the eastern Mediterranean, resulting in a considerable economical ineptness of public finances of Greek cities at the last quarter of the century. No renovation works or new constructions are undertaken in the city or the sanctuary, while literary sources inform us of two instances of pillaging of the sanctuary. In 86 BC Sulla, during the first Mithridatic War, removed a large number of statues from the *temenos* in order to further finance his campaign, while later damages in the sanctuary documented by excavations have been attributed to a raid of Cilician pirates around 67 BC, mentioned by Plutarch.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Marcus Antonius Creticus, during his campaign against Crete, stationed a Roman guard in the city, forcing the Epidaurians to pay for its sustenance (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 66, 74 BC).<sup>13</sup> This considerable decline is mirrored in the production of portrait sculpture. Only a small number of fourteen inscribed bases and sculptures have survived, while the reuse of earlier monuments is prominently attested. The number of dedications made by prominent families considerably declined, with only six attested examples of bronze statuary, erected upon bases and already existing *exedrae*, now re-inscribed.<sup>14</sup> The pillaging of Sulla had probably left a lot of monuments free of their bronze statuary, now available for reuse.



Fig. 1: Epidauros Museum, without inv. no. Portrait statue of a priestess in Parian marble from the city of Epidauros.

Public dedications are almost equal in number to private ones with only eight securely dated examples. Not surprising is the fact that from them at least three can be placed with certainty to the first half of the century. Prominent male and female citizens continue to receive public honors.<sup>15</sup> Surviving sculptures are rare but of high quality (all in Pentelic marble). A characteristic example is the cuirassed statue of a general unknown to us (later reused).<sup>16</sup> Special cases are, on the one hand, the erection of a bronze statue of the historian Philipp from Pergamon (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 687),<sup>17</sup> who probably toured Greek cities, reciting his work in local festivals, and, on the other hand, the erection of the bronze equestrian statue of Aristoboulos, son of Xenodokos (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 630), the only one ever attested in the sanctuary, work of the Athenian Timodamos, son of Demetrios.<sup>18</sup> During this period only one other sculptor is epigraphically attested to have worked in Epidauros, Dion, son of Damophilos from Argos.<sup>19</sup>

### 31 BC – 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD

During the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD the economic revival of the city is mirrored in the overall forty-four portrait statues commissioned in both the city and the sanctuary. Surviving portraits fall into two main categories. Honors bestowed on members of the Julio-Claudian Imperial family,<sup>20</sup> and honors bestowed on members of the two most prominent local families, the Statilii, and the Claudii – Corneli.<sup>21</sup> As attested by their names, their members were Roman citizens and can be tentatively identified with some at least of the five portrait statues of *togati* unearthed so far in the sanctuary and the city.<sup>22</sup> Not surprisingly, there are case when members of these two elite families commissioned portrait statues of the Imperial family. For one of the statues of Agrippina the Younger, an older base of the portrait statue of Thearidas, the son of Lycortas, brother of Polybios, was reused, while the same base was later recycled for the third time for a portrait statue of Statilia Messalina, the third wife of Nero, paid by Statilia Timosthenis, a member of the Epidaurian branch of the Statilii family (fig. 2).<sup>23</sup> The non-removal of the older inscriptions indicates that the statue was positioned appropriately so that they would not be visible. To the reign of Nero is also dated an impressive female portrait statue in Pentelic marble,<sup>24</sup> while to the reign of Caligula or Claudius can be dated two other surviving sculptures from the city of Epidauros, a fragmentary female portrait statue (fig. 3),<sup>25</sup> and a probably funerary relief of a youth in the ‘Hermes Richelieu’ type (fig. 4).<sup>26</sup>

To sum up, although no artists’ signatures have come down to us dating from this period, the prevailing use of Pentelic marble in the sanctuary and the city probably points to Athenian artists working in the area.

(P. K.)

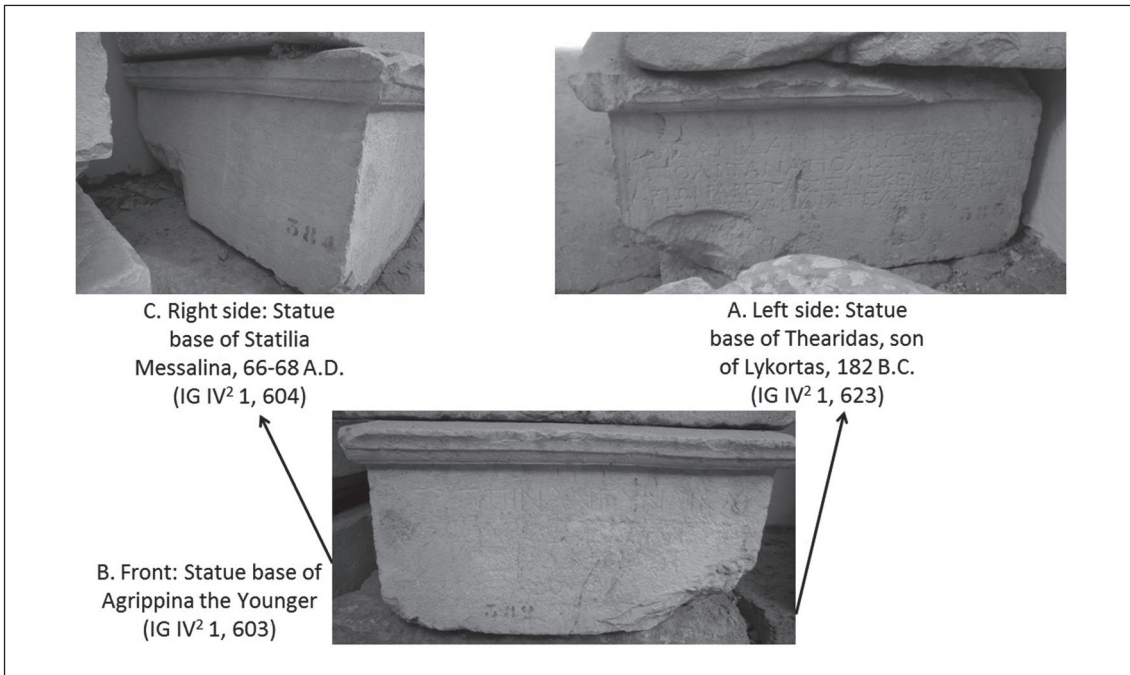


Fig. 2: Epidauros Museum. Base for the portrait statues of Thearidas, son of Lycortas (inv. no. 385), Agrippina the Younger (inv. no. 382) and Statilia Messalina (inv. no. 384).



Fig. 3: Epidauros Museum, without inv. no. Female portrait statue from the city of Epidauros.





Fig. 4: Epidauros Museum, without inv. no. Funerary relief of a youth in the “Hermes Richelieu” type.

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Century AD

Hadrian visited the Asklepieion of Epidauros during his first trip to the Peloponnese in 124 AD.<sup>27</sup> The only documentation that remains from his visit is a reform of the calendar system, according to which the day of the Imperial visit marked the beginning of a new calculation of dating. It is also possible that on this occasion Hadrian made a reform of religious offices in the sanctuary.<sup>28</sup> During these years there was not much building activity. However, statues were consecrated in honor of the emperor, greeted him emphatically as *σωτήρ* and *οἰκιστής*.<sup>29</sup>

A fragmented portrait of Hadrian (fig. 5), of Rollockenfrisur type, probably was part of a statue that commissioned on the occasion of Hadrian's visit in 124 AD (or a little later, considering the engraved pupil and iris).<sup>30</sup> Wegner believed that it was created in Rome, though it is more likely to be a product of a Corinthian or a local workshop. Comparing the Epidaurian head to other Rollockenfrisur portraits of Hadrian from Greece, as those from Piraeus<sup>31</sup> and Chania,<sup>32</sup> we observe that it lacks in quality (fewer details in hair arrangement, low relief in beard, fleshy cheeks), while it is more differentiated from the Roman models.



Fig. 5: Epidauros Museum inv. no. 22. Portrait of Hadrian.

A Cuirassed torso possibly belongs to an honorific statue of Hadrian that was dedicated at the sanctuary in the 130s (fig. 6).<sup>33</sup> It is made of Pentelic marble and presents the emperor with a paludamentum and a breastplate decorated with a Gorgon's head and two panthers on both sides of a floral motive integrating an old man's head with horns (Rankengottheit). The rear view of the torso is summarily executed, while some details have been rendered coarsely. A similar statue at Athens,<sup>34</sup> which is considered as the model for the Epidaurian torso, has a thoroughly executed front side and relief decoration on the back (consisting of two griffins on both sides of a candelabra). Its superior quality is evident, which leads us to the supposition that the Athenian statue has been copied by a less skilled sculptor, possibly related to a local workshop.

The above-mentioned statues indicate that local workshops were active in Epidauros from Hadrian's time onwards, possibly occasionally staffed by sculptors trained in other sculptural centers of the Peloponnese (Corinth, Argos). A sculptor named Theophilos was probably active during this period, as indicates the inscribed base for the statue of Pythokles, an executive cult official of Asklepios.<sup>35</sup> Theophilos must have been a local artist, since there is no evidence of his activity in other areas. Unfortunately, no other inscription from the sanctuary or the city mentions either a local or a foreign artist. However, the activity of local workshops is indicated by the existence of unfinished and re-worked statues, like the statuette of Apollo<sup>36</sup> that was created during Hadrian's reign (or shortly thereafter) and repaired in a later period. The activity of local workshops during the Antonine period did not exclude imports from Athens, like the table support with a marble statue of Eros,<sup>37</sup> while commercial relations are evidenced by the fact that the vast majority of Epidaurian sculptures were carved in Pentelic marble.

After the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Pausanias refers to a Roman senator, Antoninus, who made in his own day a bath of Asklepios and a sanctuary of the gods they call Epidotai. Antoninus is to be identified with Sextus Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, a wealthy notable from Nysa on the Meander, in Asia Minor. His interventions in Epidauros suggest the existence of a well-concerted plan of reconstruction of buildings, rituals and religious practices.<sup>38</sup> No portrait can be safely associated with this donor, though a limestone inscribed base (where he is called *ἐὐεργέτης*) shows that he was honored with statues.<sup>39</sup>

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Century AD

The activity of Epidaurian workshops continued uninterrupted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, as shown by a fragmented unfinished male head (rear side with part of the nape is preserved).<sup>40</sup> This fragment confirms that large-scale works were included in the products of local workshops. Dedication of incomplete works (perhaps due to financial hardships) is confirmed in other instances, like an unfinished statuette of Asklepios, which is dated at the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>41</sup>. A little earlier (198 AD), as epigraphic data





Fig. 6: Epidauros Museum inv. no. 15. Cuirassed torso of an emperor.

shows, bronze statues of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Caracalla were erected at the sanctuary,<sup>42</sup> while a pedestal of the latter was reused subsequently for a statue of Severus Alexander.<sup>43</sup>

An important work of the late Severan era is a portrait of a mature bearded man, made of Pentelic marble, that possibly represents an intellectual (fig. 7).<sup>44</sup> Its high quality and the absence of provincial traits suggest a connection with an Attic workshop.<sup>45</sup> The facial features recall the characteristics of the so-called Macrinus in Copenhagen,<sup>46</sup> while the closely cropped hair is comparable to that of some late portraits of Caracalla.<sup>47</sup> On the contrary, a product of a local workshop should be considered the marble bust of a mature bearded man wearing chiton and himation, from the City of Epidauros, which is dated at the early Severan era (fig. 8).<sup>48</sup> This work integrates stylistic patterns from contemporary Attic works, though the execution of specific characteristics (eye asymmetries, sagging earlobes, indistinct outline of the lips) reveals its provincial origins.

In the majority of cases, money for the erection of honorary statues for emperors and individuals were offered by the *ἱερά τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων πόλις*, sometimes in return for their substantiated virtue and support (*ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας*).<sup>49</sup> The use of sacred funds for the financing of civic honors<sup>50</sup> is attested in Epidauros in three honorary inscriptions for Severus Alexander, Furia Sabina Tranquillina, and Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>51</sup> In these cases the statues were paid *ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων*, while the above-mentioned statues of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Caracalla were paid *ἐκ τῶν ἱερομνημονικῶν πόρων*.<sup>52</sup> Officials called *hieromnemes* are attested in various Greek cities, where they were involved in the administration of sanctuaries, managing the sacred properties and collecting taxes and fines. Moreover, they could take charge of the execution of honorary decrees as long as the expenses were covered by the *hieromnemonikoi poroi* (special funds administered by these sacred officials). Finally, honorific statues were erected also by private individuals, occasionally with the approval of the Epidaurian *βουλή* and *δῆμος*.<sup>53</sup>

The study of Epidaurian portrait statuary so far reveals the absence of stylistic homogeneity, so despite the fact that the majority of statues are carved in Pentelic marble, only few of them can be attributed to an Attic workshop. The relations between the artists who worked at Epidauros and workshops of neighboring areas remain unclear, however it is certain that local workshops were active in the area of the Asklepieion as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, as unfinished and repaired works imply. Extensive was the recycling of material throughout the Roman period, especially concerning statue bases that were rededicated with the addition of a new inscription. Doubtless, several issues regarding the activity of local workshops remain unsolved or pose additional questions, so further research is needed to clarify these matters.

(M. M.)



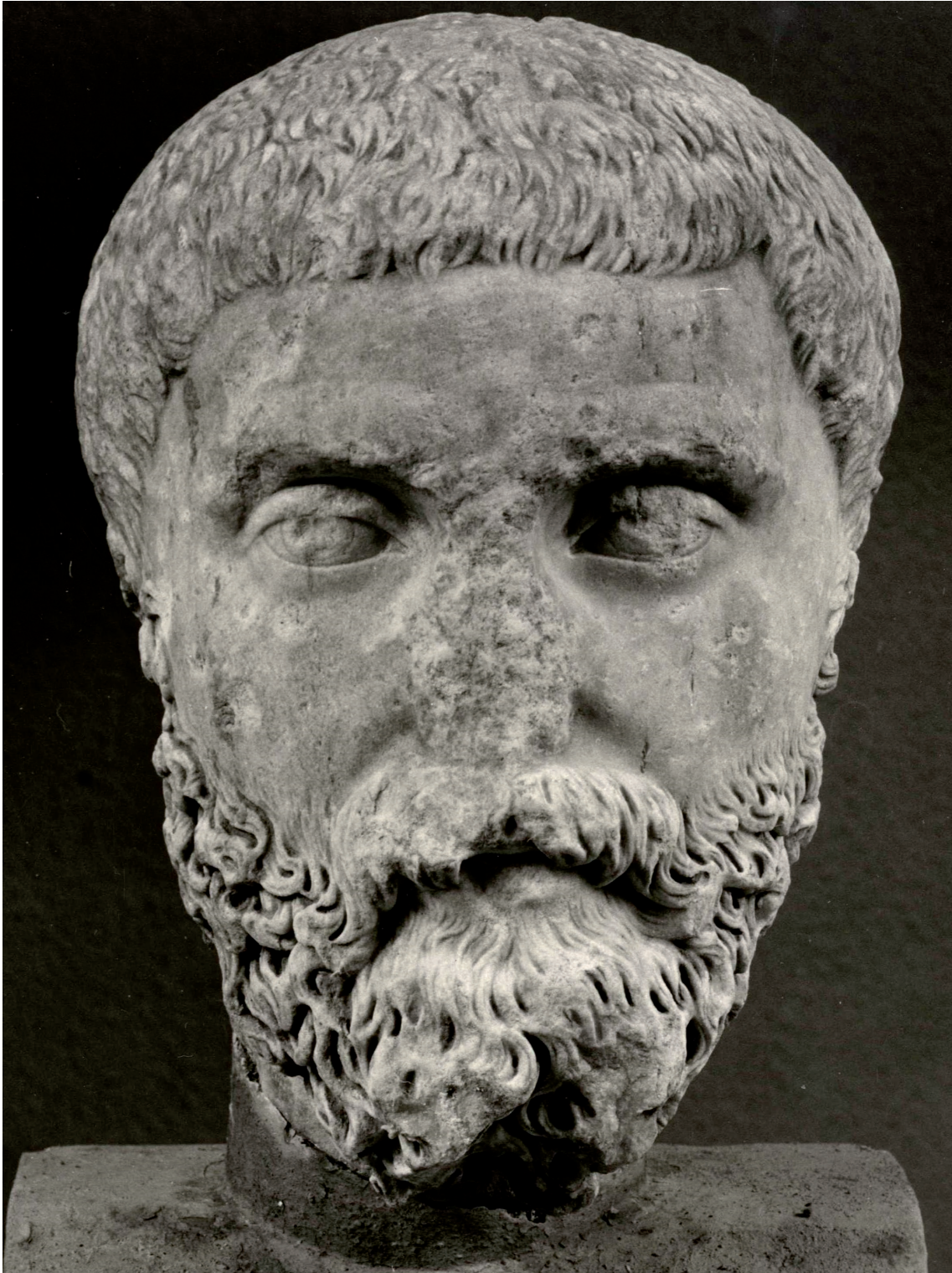


Fig. 7: Epidauros Museum inv. no. 21. Portrait of a mature bearded man.



Fig. 8: Epidauros Museum inv. no. 546. Bust of a mature bearded man.



## Notes

\* This article stems from the ongoing research project of the University of Athens concerning the study of sculpture from the city of Epidauros and the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios, led by Associate Professor in Classical Archaeology S. Katakis.

<sup>1</sup> Nottmeyer 1995, 146–160; Kralli 2017, 369–398.

<sup>2</sup> Casualties list: IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 28; Proskynitopoulou 2011, 57.

<sup>3</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 306A–D; Griesbach 2014, 59. 60, pl. 10a–b.

<sup>4</sup> Lambrinouidakis et al. 2016.

<sup>5</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 227, 229, 231 (?).

<sup>6</sup> Vitucci 1953, 97. 98; Fernoux 2004, 62. 64.

<sup>7</sup> Austin 1974, 210, no. 93.

<sup>8</sup> Also IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 637; Peek 1972, no. 85.

<sup>9</sup> See Kansteiner et al. 2014, nos. 3769–3772, 3779, 3780, 3787 and 3774–3777 respectively. The career of Philokles, son of Kallikrates from Megalopolis (Kansteiner et al. 2014, no. 3792) cannot be placed with certainty in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.

<sup>10</sup> Kokkorou Alevra et al. 2014, nos. 570–592.

<sup>11</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch Pompey 24; Melfi 2007, 67–70. 81. 82; Proskynitopoulou 2011, 57–58.

<sup>13</sup> Melfi 2007, 68–70.

<sup>14</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup>, 212. 220. 223. 224. 232 (in the early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, the signature of the sculptor Dion, son of Damophilos, was added to the exedra – see Kansteiner et al. 2014, no. 3773). 234; Melfi 2007, 67.

<sup>15</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup>, 65/630 (see also note 18), 66/657 (see also note 13), 631. 646. 647–649. 658. Also note 16 (cuirassed statue).

<sup>16</sup> Katakis 2002, 114–115. no. 124. pls. 137–139.

<sup>17</sup> Katsagani 2015, 252–256, no. E65.

<sup>18</sup> Kansteiner et al. 2014, no. 3725 (early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC).

<sup>19</sup> See note 14.

<sup>20</sup> Melfi 2007, 73–74; Konstantinidis 2016, nos. A.β.16. 17, H.β.4, Z.β.6. 7, ΛE.β.8 (female members of the imperial family). See also note 23.

<sup>21</sup> Melfi 2007, 74–82 passim; Proskynitopoulou 2011, 58, n. 289. Also Rizakis 2001.

<sup>22</sup> Katakis 2002, nos. 118. 119. 121. 123; Havé Nikolaus 1998, 116, no. 15.

<sup>23</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 623 (182 BC); Konstantinidis 2016, nos. Z.β.8 (reign of Claudius) and IB.β.2 (66–68 AD), respectively.

<sup>24</sup> Katakis 2002, 104. 105, no. 111, pls. 114–116.

<sup>25</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>26</sup> Maderna Lauter 1988, 229–230, no. H6; Sporn 2012/2013, 283. 284, fig. 24.

<sup>27</sup> Kornemann 1905, 48–49; Melfi 2007, 83; Lo Monaco 2014, 29.

<sup>28</sup> Melfi 2007, 83–85; Melfi 2010, 331. 332.

<sup>29</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 606. Cf. IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 607; Peek 1972, 42. 43 no. 77.



- <sup>30</sup> Epidauros Museum 22. Wegner 1956, 96; Vermeule 1959, 56–57 no. 196; Vermeule 1968, 391 no. 5; Zoridis 1982, 121–122 figs. 5, 6; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 50 no. 16; Evers 1994, 108, 109 no. 36, 233, 237, 239; Katakis 2002, 97, 98 no. 99 pl. 108e–f, 155–156.
- <sup>31</sup> Piraeus Museum 1197–1199. Vermeule 1968, 391 no. 3; Zoridis 1982, 115–121 figs. 1–5; Evers 1994, 153 no. 92 fig. 16; Karanastasi 2013, 327, 328, 365, 366 no. 23 pl. 7.
- <sup>32</sup> Chania Museum 82. Wegner 1956, 40, 62, 95; Vermeule 1968, 391 no. 7 fig. 136; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 49–51 no. 15; Evers 1994, 98, 99 no. 24 fig. 6.
- <sup>33</sup> Epidauros Museum 15. Hekler 1919, 225–226 fig. 152; Stemmer 1978, 123–124 note 349, 171 no. 146; Katakis 2002, 116–117 no. 125 pls. 140–142, 157–158, 283–286, 315; Laube 2006, 125 pls. 53.3–5, 54.1.
- <sup>34</sup> Athens, National Museum 1667. Kastriotis 1908, 295–296; Hekler 1919, 226 fig. 153; Katakis 2002, 284–286 no. 6 pls. 143–145; Laube 2006, 125 pl. 53, 1, 2.
- <sup>35</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 460. Schörner 2003, 356 no. 497; Kansteiner et al. 2014, 588 no 4193.
- <sup>36</sup> Athens, National Museum 305. Kastriotis 1908, 69; Schmidt 1966, 34, 35 pls. 50a–b, 51a–b; Katakis 2002, 44 no. 41 pl. 49, 163, 230–231, 316.
- <sup>37</sup> Epidauros Museum 226a, 226, 315. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993, 114, 115, 271, 272 no. 110 pl. 58; Katakis 2002, 125, 126 no. 138 pls. 153, 154, 164, 165, 246, 247, 291, 292, 317.
- <sup>38</sup> Paus. 2, 27, 6, 7. Cf. Melfi 2007, 99–101; Melfi 2010, 334–339.
- <sup>39</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 684. Peek 1969, 298.
- <sup>40</sup> Epidauros Museum 576. Katakis 2002, 103, 104 no 110 pl. 110d–e, 313, 314.
- <sup>41</sup> Athens, National Museum 296. Cavvadias 1891, 22 pl. 9.24; Kastriotis 1908, 68; Meyer 1988, 141, 142 no. LE7 pl. 19.4; Katakis 2002, 8, 9 no 5 pl. 6, 183, 184, 314, 315.
- <sup>42</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 610. Cf. Peek 1969, 262.
- <sup>43</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 612. Cf. Peek 1969, 264 I (211–217 AD), II (222–235 AD).
- <sup>44</sup> Epidauros Museum 21. Katakis 2002, 99, 100 no 103 pl. 111, 180, 274, 306, 307, 326.
- <sup>45</sup> For the resemblance of Attic portraits of this period with metropolitan (Roman) works, cf. Fittschen 1969, 236.
- <sup>46</sup> Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 820. Poulsen 1974, 138–140 no. 138 pls. 220, 221; Johansen 1995, 44, 45 no. 13.
- <sup>47</sup> Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 110, 111 no. 94 pls. 115, 116 Beil. 78–80.
- <sup>48</sup> Epidauros Museum 546. Doga-Toli 1992/1993, 324–336 figs. 1–4.
- <sup>49</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 660, 688. Peek 1972, 80, 87.
- <sup>50</sup> Camia 2017, 109–146 (esp. 126–128 with table 4.2).
- <sup>51</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 612, 613, SEG 31, 329.
- <sup>52</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 610. Cf. Peek 1969, 262.
- <sup>53</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 686, 692.

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