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Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 117, No. 2 (April 2013), pp. 207-246

Published by: Archaeological Institute of America

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764/aja.117.2.0207>

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Honorific Practices and the Politics of Space on Hellenistic Delos: Portrait Statue Monuments Along the Dromos

SHEILA DILLON AND ELIZABETH PALMER BALTES

Abstract

The statue landscape of Hellenistic cities and sanctuaries was constantly changing, but the process of the gradual accrual of statues is customarily elided on site plans, which tend to show—if they represent statue bases at all—the final phase of this long and complex process. Investigating the way statue landscapes developed over time can provide a better understanding of the political, social, and spatial dynamics at play in portrait dedication. This article takes as a case study for such an approach the portrait statue monuments set up along the dromos of the Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. Our aim is to unpack the processual dimension of this statuary display by representing this process visually through phase plans and a three-dimensional model of the dromos made in Trimble SketchUp. Parsing into phases the gradual accumulation of statues along the dromos reveals the historical dimension of statue dedication and exposes the tensions between individual and group identity that could be negotiated visually through the location, material, and size of a portrait monument. Finally, we argue that imaginative reconstruction can help us think through the implications of display context for sculptural style: the ever-increasing number of portrait statues in the Late Hellenistic period may have been a driving force behind the stylistic changes that occurred in Late Hellenistic portraiture.*

INTRODUCTION

The honorific statue landscape of Hellenistic cities and sanctuaries was constantly changing. A portrait

monument might initially stand in splendid isolation in an effort to occupy the most visible place: the *epi-phanestatos topos* of inscriptions. Once set up, portrait monuments tended to attract other statues, as subsequent dedications sought to share in the prestige of an already existing monument's location, the status of the portrait subject, or both. Over time, individual portrait statue monuments that were once isolated and prominent might become part of statue groups or even just one in a series of statues, and this gradual accumulation transformed relations among portrait monuments as it shaped the surrounding space. The status of a portrait monument—its visibility, its location in relation to other monuments, its impact on viewers—could change over time, as statues that were newer, shinier, larger, perhaps more cutting-edge stylistically, representing new subjects and different constituencies, were set beside or in front of these older monuments. As Pausanias' descriptions of sanctuaries make clear, the accumulation of statues from different time periods at a particular site profoundly shaped the ancient viewing experience.¹ These statues represented to their viewers, and can reveal to us, important aspects of local social and political history, as new actors sought to insert themselves into the existing honorific landscape. Studying the gradual accumulation of portrait

* While both authors are responsible for different parts of this article—Dillon wrote the introduction, the section on the dromos and its monuments, and the sections on sculptors' signatures, statues, and sculptural style, and Baltés wrote the section on the Portico of Antigonos, contributed to the section on the comparison between the two contexts, and produced all the phase plans and the Trimble SketchUp model—this was a truly collaborative project. Both authors together carried out the initial fieldwork on Delos in the summer of 2010 and together read and edited the entire text. Dillon would like to thank the audiences at Oxford University and the Institute of Classical Studies at the University of London (2011) for their helpful comments and suggestions. Dillon would also like to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement of John Ma and Bert Smith. Both authors are grateful to An-

drew Stewart and an anonymous reviewer for the *AJA* for their very helpful comments and suggestions, which improved the final product immeasurably. Any mistakes that remain are, of course, our own. All dates are B.C.E. unless otherwise noted. A short video presenting our Trimble SketchUp model of the dromos of the Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos can be found under this article's abstract on the *AJA* website, along with a free, downloadable table version of the appendix (www.ajaonline.org).

¹ E.g., at Messene, in the Sanctuary of Asklepios (Paus. 4.31.10–4.32.2); at Delphi, around the Temple of Apollo (10.14.4–10.19.1); at Olympia, in the Temple of Hera (5.17.1–5.20.3) and in the Altis (5.22.2–5.27.12, 6.1.1–6.18.7); and on the Athenian Acropolis (1.22.4–1.28.3).

monuments in a particular context may also open up another way to account for the changes that occurred in portrait styles in the Hellenistic period.

These statue landscapes are, however, difficult to reconstruct and to visualize for a variety of reasons: many statue bases are not found in situ, having been moved, recycled, or reinscribed, and statue and base are only very rarely preserved together. An additional impediment is that modern plans of urban or sanctuary spaces tend not to include the dense presence of portrait monuments, or if they do, it is the final phase that is represented, conflating what was a dynamic and additive process of change over time. The dromos of the Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos (fig. 1), therefore, offers a good opportunity to study the political, historical, and spatial dynamics of portrait statue monuments of the later Hellenistic period. The locations of the monuments or their foundations were clearly recorded in the state plan published by Vallois in 1923 (fig. 2), and many of the bases and/or their foundations are still in situ.² Vallois' restored plan of the dromos (figs. 3, 4) shows approximately 90 bases belonging to single figures, group monuments, equestrian statues, and multifigured exedras with benches for seating, for a total of perhaps about 130 statues. In fact, the dromos appears to have been second only to the Sanctuary of Apollo proper as the most popular place on Delos for the display of portrait statue monuments.³ Of the bases still in situ, 33 are well enough preserved so that either the subject of the statue or the dedicator of the monument—and in many cases both—can be identified. More than a third of these bases also include the name of the sculptor. Eleven additional inscribed bases were found in the area of the dromos, but their original display locations are not known. The monuments on the dromos were set up by individuals, both local and foreign, by families, and by civic and corporate groups. The statues represent a range of subjects: Hellenistic kings and royal friends, family members, and local officials. Many of the statues were dedicated to Apollo alone, to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto together, or to the gods.⁴ The relationships commemorated run the gamut of royal, familial, public, and private; the dromos provides a large representative sample of Hellenistic portrait honors, as shown in the appendix herein.

Because the original state plan of the dromos and the restored version present only the final phase of

what was in fact a long and complex process that took place over about two centuries, one aim of this article is to unpack the processual dimension of this statuary display and to represent this process visually. We offer phase plans of the bases that filter out later monuments and a Trimble SketchUp model of the dromos, which try to capture the dynamic and changing nature of this space over time and attempt to show the visual effect of the dense accumulation of portrait statue monuments. Although none of the statues that stood on these bases is preserved, the survival of a large group of very fine Late Hellenistic marble portraits from Delos provides us with an important body of comparative evidence with which to imagine what the monuments on the dromos looked like and to explore the possible impact such statue collocations had on the development of Hellenistic portrait styles. At least two opposing forces seem to be at work. On the one hand, the placement of the statue bases reveals a competitive jostling for prominence and visibility. On the other hand, their repetitive forms and mostly uniform heights, particularly in front of the Portico of Philip, as well as what appears to be the exclusive use of bronze for the statues themselves, suggest that particularly in the later phases the visual effect would have tended toward uniformity and homogeneity. These tensions surely affected the style and appearance of the portrait monuments themselves. A portrait statue monument was meant to be noticed, but how might a statue that is surrounded by others claim a viewer's attention? We argue that the dense accumulation of portrait monuments in a single context played an important role in the development of new portrait styles: physical context was a motivating factor of stylistic change.

First, however, a few caveats. Even though the dromos and its monuments are relatively well documented and published, there remain several unresolved issues that are useful to acknowledge up front. We have yet to find in either the *Inscriptiones graecae* or the *Inscriptiones de Delos* all the statue bases that are now standing on the dromos. Many of the inscriptions are difficult to make out on the stones themselves, and the excavation inventory numbers that were painted on the stones (and that are included in the entries in these epigraphic corpora) are in many cases no longer visible. A number of statue bases either currently standing on the dromos or recorded as having been found in the area

²See Vallois (1923) on the Portico of Philip and the monuments along the front and south sides.

³On the topography of honorific statues in the Sanctuary of Apollo, see Griesbach 2010, 4–5.

⁴For the 14 portrait statue monuments dedicated to Apol-

lo, see *IG* 11 4 1109, 1110, 1194; *ID* 1526, 1643, 1647, 1654, 1702, 1703, 1726, 1843, 1975, 1982, 2009. For the nine statues dedicated to the gods, see *IG* 11 4 1181, 1183–85, 1195, 1197, 1198; *ID* 1716, 2007. For the four statues dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, see *ID* 1547, 1548, 1700, 2012.

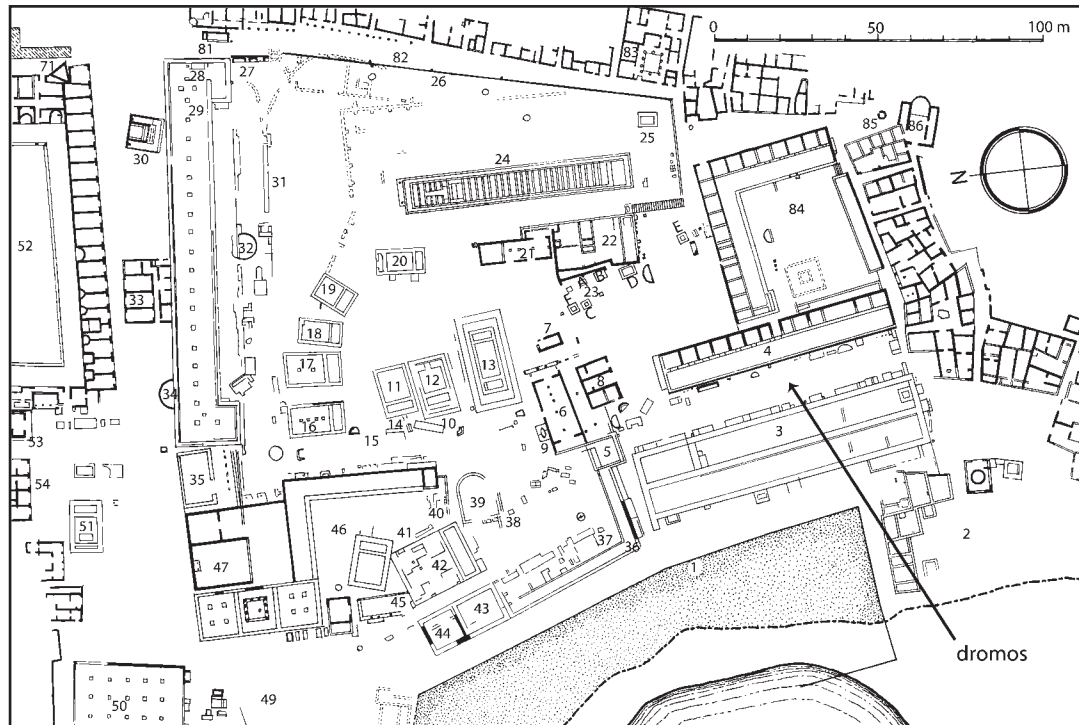


Fig. 1. Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo, Delos (after Bruneau and Ducat 1983, plan 1; © École Française d'Athènes/I. Athanassiadi, *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon et ses abords*, plan 4.083).

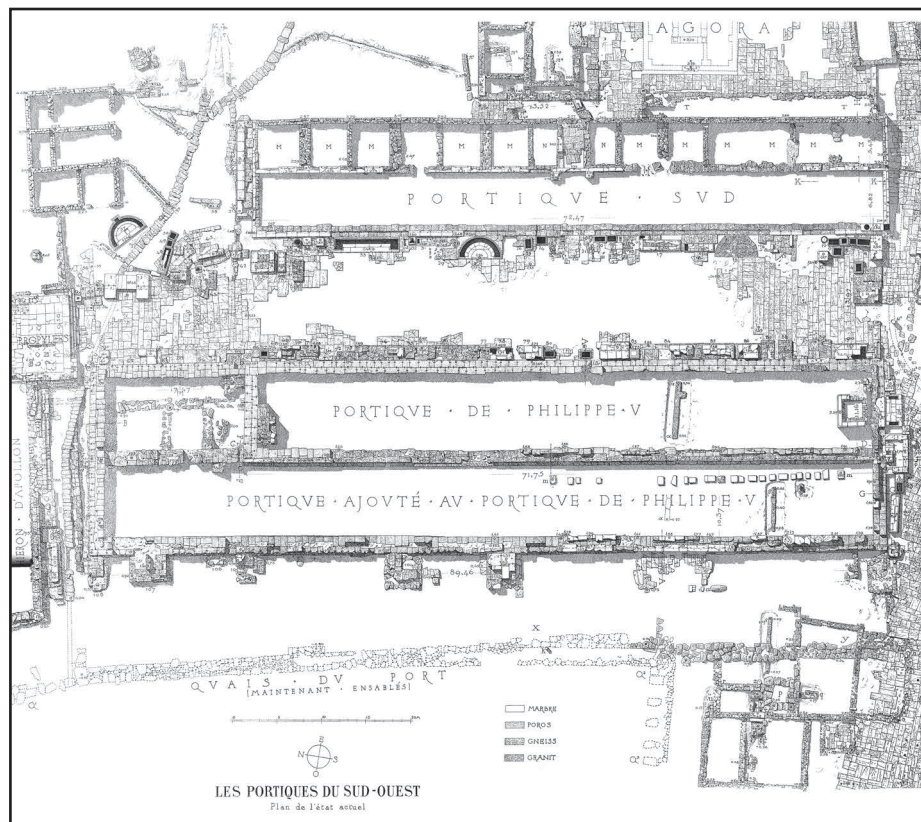


Fig. 2. State plan of the dromos area (Vallois 1923, plan 7; © École Française d'Athènes/A. Maar, *Les portiques au Sud du Hiéron*, plan 2.806).

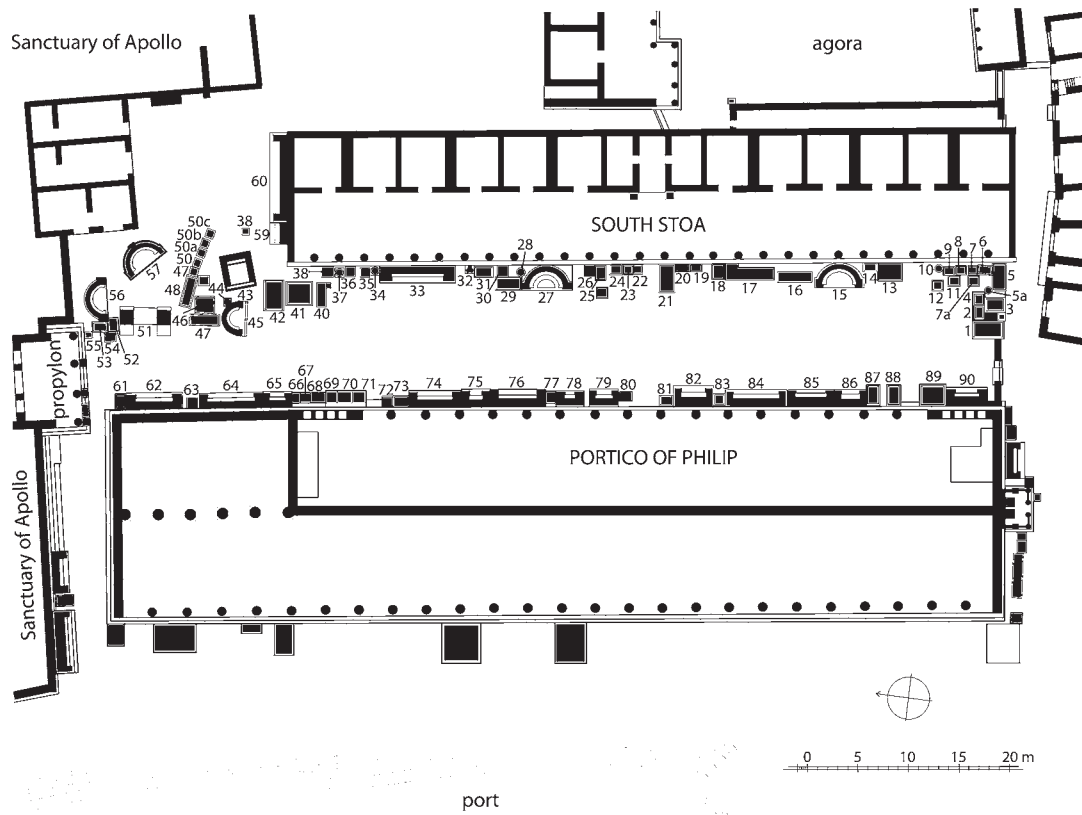


Fig. 3. Restored plan of the dromos area, showing the final phase of portrait monuments, ca. 50 B.C.E. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltes; modified from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

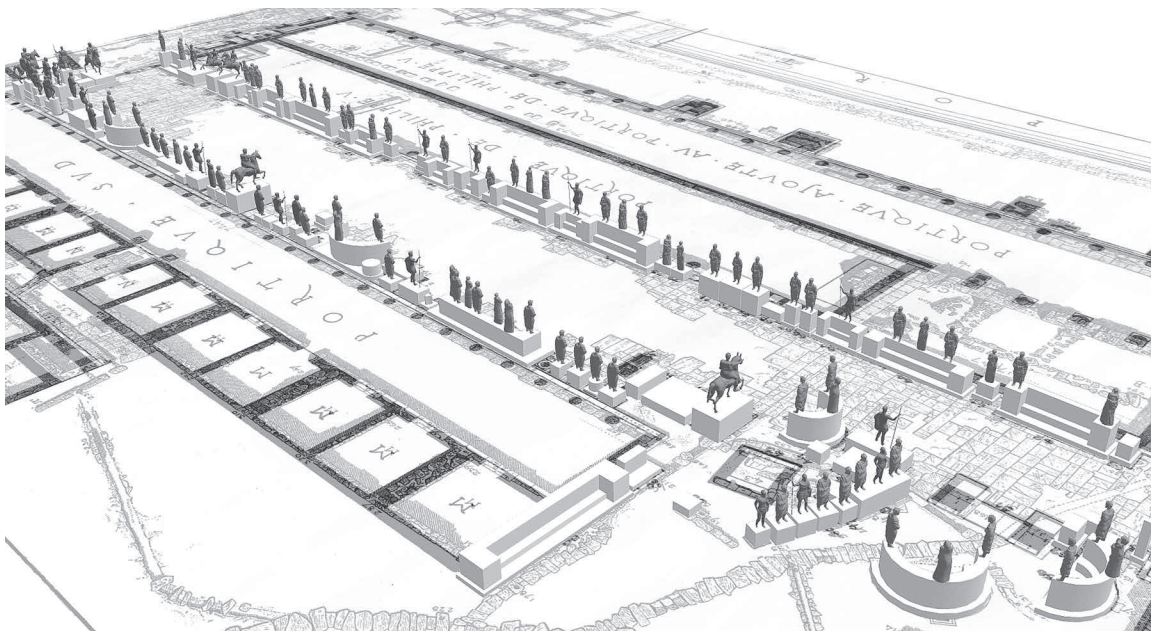


Fig. 4. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model of the dromos area, showing the final phase of portrait monuments, ca. 50 B.C.E. (E. Baltes).

are also absent from Vallois' otherwise detailed plan.⁵ These bases were likely set up along the dromos, but they cannot now be associated with specific locations or foundations. Furthermore, there is no published or publicly available concordance, as far as we know, that matches the inscription numbers with the base numbers on Vallois' plan. Currently lying inside the remains of the two porticoes are a large number of base crowning courses—whose attachment holes show they once supported bronze statues—that cannot be associated with particular bases or foundations. There are, however, many dromos bases that lack this crucial element to which these crowning courses might well belong. Finally, while the architecture of the Portico of Philip and the monuments set up in front of it were studied and published long ago by Vallois,⁶ the South Stoa and its monuments have not yet been published. Despite these unresolved issues, there is still much one can learn about honorific practices and portrait statues in the Hellenistic period from the bases set up along the dromos. To set the honorific activity along the dromos within a broader comparative context, we also briefly survey the portrait monuments set up in front of the Portico of Antigonos.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SOUTH STOA AND THE PORTICO OF PHILIP

The South Stoa was certainly under construction if not finished between 250 and 230, according to the dates of the earliest statue bases set up in front of it.⁷ Changes in the technique suggest the stoa took some time to complete. This approximately 70 m long Doric portico gave formal architectural definition to the entrance to the sanctuary and provided an elegant columnar backdrop to the shiny bronze portrait monuments

that stood before it. While the rooms along the back of the portico suggest that it was built with practical purposes in mind, the South Stoa was also clearly seen from the start as a prestigious place for the display of votive portrait monuments. Its orientation toward the port meant that the South Stoa would have been one of the first buildings people saw upon their arrival. It has been suggested that the building may have been a dedication of Attalos I, as some of the earliest portrait monuments are associated with him,⁸ but there is as yet no definitive architectural or epigraphic evidence that directly supports this attractive hypothesis.⁹

We do know who was responsible for the portico built on the opposite side of the dromos: Philip V of Macedon, according to the beautifully inscribed dedication on the portico's Doric architrave. The building was constructed between 221 and 201.¹⁰ Originally, the Portico of Philip was almost identical in length to the South Stoa, although the Portico of Philip was not quite as deep and lacked the back rooms of the South Stoa. While the elevation of the South Stoa has yet to be reconstructed, the smaller diameter of the columns suggests it was not as tall or as imposing as the Portico of Philip. The two porticoes are also made of different types of marble; the marble of the South Stoa is white, while the marble of the Portico of Philip is distinctly blue gray. Although the two porticoes were originally about equal in length (72.47 m for the South Stoa, 71.08 m for the Portico of Philip), in elevation the Portico of Philip must have dwarfed the South Stoa. With the construction of the Portico of Philip, the South Stoa was no longer visible as one approached Delos and the Sanctuary of Apollo—it was in fact completely obscured from view until one was very near the southern entrance to the dromos.

⁵These include *IG* 11 4 1094 (statue of Aichmokritos), 1102 (statue of Philip V), 1178 (statue of Demeas), 1185 (statue of Demares); *ID* 1526 (statue of Lochos), 1654 (statue of Dionysios), 1658 (statue of Aropos, an *epimeletes*), 1666 (statue of an unknown *epimeletes*), 1700 (statue of Marcus Antonius), 1842 (statue of Scipio Aemilianus), 1853 (statue of Sulla), 1864 and 1865 (statues of Dionysios, son of Asklepiades, and Dionysios, son of Dionysios), 1867 (statue of Diphila), 1982 (statue of Zenon).

⁶Vallois 1923.

⁷The following account is based on Vallois 1923; 1944, 65–8; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, nos. 3, 4. According to Coulton (1976, 60), “the earliest bases in front of it provide a terminus ante quem of ca. 250–230 B.C. for the start of the work.” For the bases, see *IG* 11 4 1109 (Base 5), 1202 (Base 8), 1168 (Base 16), 1193 (Base 25), and 1110 (Base 41). Both Coulton (1976) and Vallois (1944) point out that the changes in building technique suggest the stoa was built over a long period of time.

⁸E.g., Bases 5 (*IG* 11 4 1109) and 41 (*IG* 11 4 1110). As Coulton (1976, 60 n. 3) and others have pointed out, however,

there are few clear connections with identifiably Pergamene design features in the architectural details of the South Stoa.

⁹Schalles (1985, 64–8) makes a strong case based on a variety of circumstantial evidence for the South Stoa as a victory monument of Attalos I; see also Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 477–78, cat. no. **415[A] (with earlier bibliography). Brogan (1999, 467, cat. no. 3.A.1) argues that there is no evidence to suggest that the building commemorated an Attalid victory. The French are similarly cautious: while Vallois (1923, 162–63) initially suggested that the South Stoa might be a dedication of Attalos I (following Durrbach 1977, 69), he later complicated this view and argued for an earlier start date for the construction of the stoa, suggesting an association with Philetairos and Eumenes I (Vallois 1944, 67). Bruneau and Ducat (2005, 168) date the construction of the South Stoa to around the middle of the third century and do not assign it to the Attalids.

¹⁰For this date, see Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, cat. no. 136[E]. Bruneau and Ducat (2005, no. 3) give a date of ca. 210. Vallois (1923, 154–63) suggests 216–210. Reger (1994, 61) says the stoa certainly belongs before 201.

By being bigger and more imposing, the portico built by Philip acted as an aggressive architectural response to the stoa sitting directly across from it. This sort of architectural one-upmanship, well known among the Hellenistic kings,¹¹ makes the attribution of the South Stoa to Attalos I even more attractive.

With the construction of the Portico of Philip, one now saw from the port not impressive portrait monuments in front of a white marble portico but the blank back wall of Philip's new blue-gray marble building. This situation seems to have been quickly deemed unsatisfactory, as another L-shaped portico was built onto the Portico of Philip so that a columnar facade once more faced the port. This new addition, built probably in the first decades of the second century, perhaps by one of Philip's successors, extended the Portico of Philip to the north so that it was quite close to the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo.¹² The dromos was now formally defined and enclosed architecturally. The two porticoes monumentalized the approach to and provided a visual frame for the entrance to the sanctuary, while creating covered space from which one could watch the sacred processions.¹³ The paving of the processional way, which seems to have happened in the 130s, gave the road itself a more elegant and formal appearance.¹⁴ The numerous bench exedras set up in front of both porticoes underscore the importance of the dromos as a focal point for ritual viewing. And the amphitheatrical nature of the space created by juxtaposing the two porticoes surely amplified the prestige of the dromos as a location for portrait monuments. People watching the sacred processions would also inevitably end up staring at these statues, just the kind of attentive audience that was intended for portrait statue monuments.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE STATUE BASES

South Stoa

Hellenistic kings and their friends, the demos of the Delians, and individuals from leading families

set up the earliest monuments in front of the South Stoa (figs. 5, 6). Public honorific and private monuments stood side by side from the very beginning in positions of equal prominence. Military victory, royal friendship, and familial relations were all celebrated there. Monuments with royal connections include an equestrian monument for Epigenes, which was set up by Attalos I ca. 238–223 on Base 5 in front of the southern corner;¹⁵ the large base for a monument probably erected to celebrate Attalos I's victory over the Gauls in the 230s, at the opposite end on Base 41;¹⁶ and three statues set up at the center of the stoa. Eumedes, minister and arbitrator of Antigonos Gonatas, set up a statue of his father, Philodemos, on Base 25;¹⁷ Autokles set up a statue of his father, who was a friend of King Demetrios II and proxenos between 239 and 229, on Base 20;¹⁸ and the Delians set up a statue of an unnamed daughter, perhaps a queen or other royal female, next to it on Base 19.¹⁹ Likely to belong in this royal group as well, although only their foundations are preserved, are two bases surely for equestrian statues: Base 42 (next to the Gallic victory monument) and Base 21 (at the very center of the portico). An Attalid *progonos* monument, which included statues of the dynasty's Teuthranian ancestors (the heroes of Mysia) and perhaps those of Attalos I and Eumenes I, was also set up on Delos, although the precise display location of this monument is not known.²⁰

Also part of this early phase of statue dedications was Base 16 (ca. 3.5 m long), on which Mennis, one of the leading men on Delos in the second half of the third century, set up statues of his father and brother. This family was very powerful, as is attested by the many members who held important offices on the island during the period of Delian independence.²¹ Also set up at this time was the bronze statue of Donax on Base 8. The statue is captioned with a simple nominative name label with no mention of who set it up or why. The brevity of the inscriptions suggests that

¹¹Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 135–40.

¹²Coulton 1976, 60, 233–34; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, nos. 3B, 3C (added by ca. 180).

¹³On the architectural embellishment of sacred space and its importance for ritual activities, see Mylonopoulos 2008.

¹⁴Vallois 1923, 136, 146–47.

¹⁵*IG* 11 4 1109; Durrbach 1977, 70, no. 53; Schalles 1985, 60–4; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.5; Brogan 1999, 229–30, cat. no. 2.A.6.

¹⁶*IG* 11 4 1110; Marcadé 1957, 141 (inscription restored as a dedication of Attalos I); Schalles 1985, 60–4; Brogan 1999, 230–32, cat. no. 2.A.7 (with further bibliography).

¹⁷*IG* 11 4 1193; Durrbach 1977, 54–7; Tréheux 1992, s.v. “Εὐμήδης Φιλοδήμου Κλαζομένιος.”

¹⁸*IG* 11 4 1194; Tréheux 1992, s.v. “Αὐτοκλήης Αἰνησιδήμου Χαλκιδεύς.”

¹⁹Suggested long ago by Marcadé (1969, 75–6).

²⁰Robert 1973, 478–85; Schalles 1985, 127–35; Gruen 2000, 21; Kuttner 2005, 144–45. The inscriptions were found in a variety of places on Delos, including northwest of the Temenos of Apollo (*IG* 11 4 1107), built into the wall of a guardhouse (*IG* 11 4 1108), south of the Agora of the Competaliasts (*IG* 11 4 1206), north of the Portico of Antigonos (*IG* 11 4 1207), and in the Artemision (*IG* 11 4 1208). The Attalid *progonos* monument may have stood near or even on the dromos, although the preserved foundations along the street seem a bit short to accommodate it.

²¹*IG* 11 4 1168. Mennis' father, Nikarchos, was *choregos* in 261 and 259 and author of a decree, and Mennis himself was secretary of the city in 240, archon in 236, and commissioner of the port in 219. See Vial's (1984, 266–67) stemma 22 and list of positions held by the various members of the family.

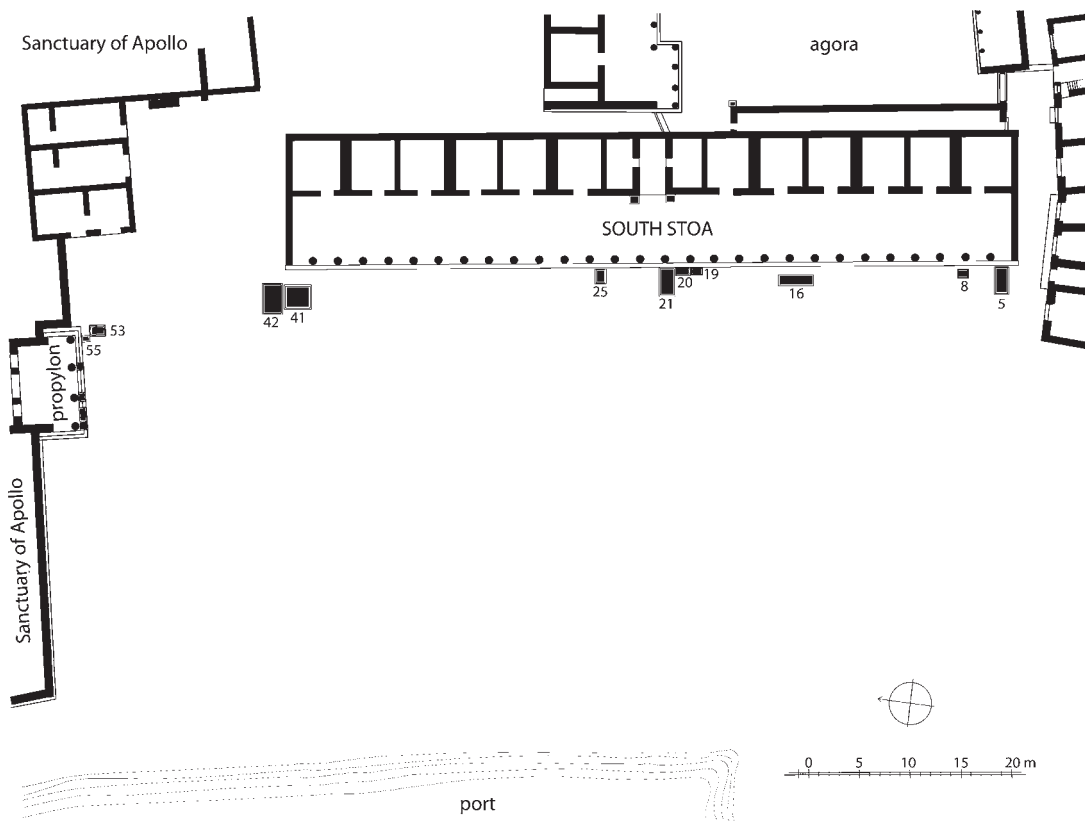


Fig. 5. Phase 1 (ca. 225 B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments in front of the South Stoa. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltes; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

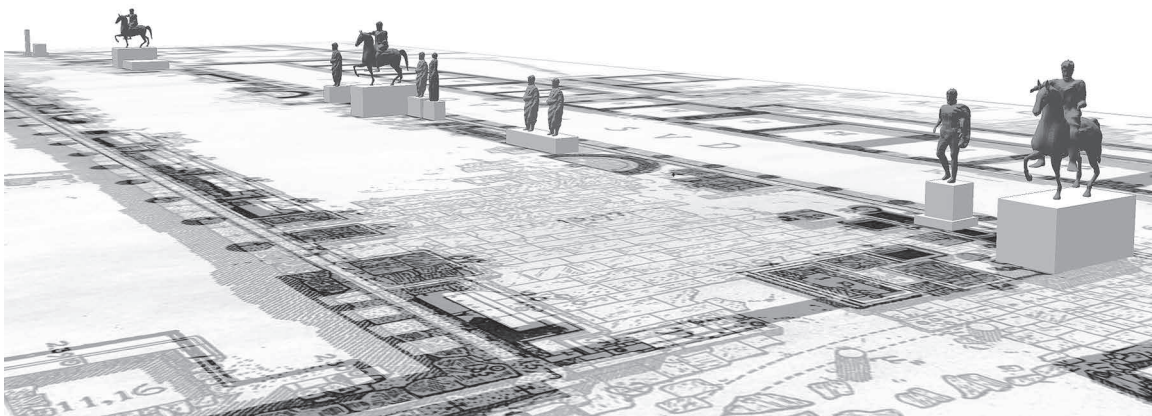


Fig. 6. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing phase 1 (ca. 225 B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments in front of the South Stoa (E. Baltes).

Donax must have been someone who was very well known, perhaps a victorious athlete.²² There was in fact a local festival known as the Donakeia that may have been named in his honor, or of which he may have been the founder.²³ Little is known, however, about the festival itself.

A series of massive bench exedras probably dates to the later third century (figs. 7, 8). Base 33 is a very long (ca. 7 m) and impressive rectangular exedra that supported at least seven bronze statues representing several generations of a family of wealthy Phoenician traders, including Iason; his wife, Eukleia; and their children and grandchildren.²⁴ Like the statue of Donax, these statues are captioned by nominative name labels, while the name of the dedicator is not preserved. Was this a private family dedication, which the prominence on the monument of women and children might lead us to suppose, or was it a public monument set up by the demos? After all, Iason was just the kind of person whom the demos might have honored with a statue. A well-respected inhabitant of the island, he was praised in a decree of the demos and the boule.²⁵ The large, semicircular Exedra 27, close to the center of the South Stoa, was dedicated by the demos of the Delians around the same time—that is, the last third of the third century, although we do not know to whom. Perhaps this exedra and the one for the family of Iason combined both public and private statue honors in the same monument.

We find just this sort of hybrid public-private monument in the beautifully preserved exedra of Soteles (Exedra 57), which was also set up in the later third century in what was then the large open space to the right of the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo (fig. 9).²⁶ This exedra supported three bronze statues: at left and center, respectively, were statues of Soteles' son (Telemnestos) and wife (Xenaino), both dedicated by Soteles; on the right was one of Soteles

himself, set up by the demos of the Delians. Precisely how such a hybrid dedication worked is not entirely clear; perhaps when the demos awarded him a public honorific statue, Soteles used the opportunity to set up a monumental exedra that included statues of his wife and son, which presumably he would have paid for himself. Soteles had been archon from 217 to 211 and president of the assembly.²⁷ Although the inscription does not specify—it simply says the demos of the Delians dedicated the portrait—it may have been for these services that he received this honorific statue. The portraits of Soteles' wife and son are votive statues dedicated to the gods, and as is typical in most portrait monument dedications, the name of the dedicator occupies the privileged first line of the inscription. This sort of hybrid or mixed honorific monument lets the other family members represented on the monument share in the public honor granted to the one, if only obliquely; this “familialization” of public honors is found elsewhere on Delos and is attested on Thasos as well.²⁸

A second semicircular exedra stood on Base 56. Little can be said about the exedra itself, since only the foundations are preserved, but its location and orientation suggest that it was set up before the exedra of Soteles, which partly obscures its view. Exedra 56 occupies a prominent and visible position parallel with and next to the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo and at a right angle to Base 53, which supported a trophy set up by the navarch Peisistratos and his companions in ca. 250.²⁹ The orientation of both exedras (56 and 57) toward the southern entrance to the dromos also shows that when these monuments were set up, the avenue was already defined spatially as a formal processional way; in other words, the positioning of the exedras (and the seating they provide) takes into account the construction of the Portico of Philip, the building that defined the dromos architecturally.³⁰

²² *IG* 11 4 1202 (broadly dated to the third century). On the nominative name label as an indicator of “great man” status, see Ma 2007, 207–8.

²³ Schulhof 1908, 111, 119, 491; Poulsen and Vallois 1914, 50 n. 1; Arnold 1933, 457.

²⁴ *IG* 11 4 1203. See the stemma in Tréheux 1992, 76 (second half of the third century). On the exedra, see von Thüngen 1994, 89–90, cat. no. 52, pl. 38 (last third of the third century). On the family, see Baslez 1987, 275–76.

²⁵ E.g., *IG* 11 4 776 (the inscribed decree of the boule and the demos that calls Iason an “aner agathos” and praises him for his *eusebeia* toward the gods).

²⁶ *IG* 11 4 1173–1174; von Thüngen 1994, 145–46, cat. no. 124, pl. 79, Beilage 53 (with a drawing of the top of the monument that clearly shows the placement of the statues).

²⁷ For the family, see Vial 1984, 84 (with relevant inscriptions).

²⁸ E.g., a roughly contemporary semicircular exedra set up near the Delian prytaneion, which has one statue dedicated by the demos to a son of Sosilos (his name is not preserved) and one of Pytho set up by her son Gorgias (*SEG* 52 756; von Thüngen 1994, 147–48, cat. no. 127, pl. 81.1). An interesting reversal of male-public/female-private occurs on Thasos in an exedra of the first century C.E. with statues of T. Claudius Kadmos set up by his wife, Komeis, whose own statue was dedicated by the polis (Béquignon and Devambe 1932, 238–46).

²⁹ *IG* 11 4 1135; Durrbach 1977, no. 40; Tréheux 1992, 71.

³⁰ Exedra 45, which is very poorly preserved, seems to have been set up much later. Not only does the exedra jut out onto the dromos, which suggests the preexistence of the monuments around it, but its foundations appear to rest on top of the paving, which suggests a date sometime after the 130s, when the dromos seems to have been paved.

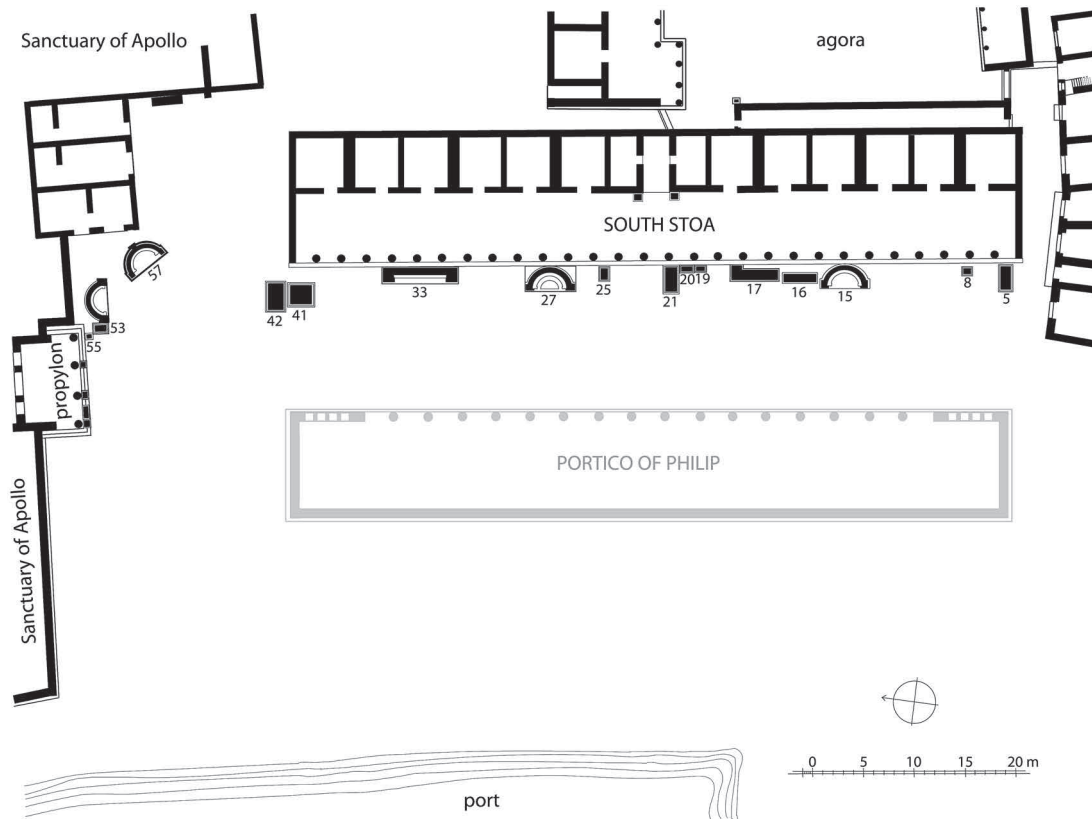


Fig. 7. Phase 2 (late third century B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments in front of the South Stoa and near the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo; the Portico of Philip was under construction during this phase. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltes; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).



Fig. 8. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing phase 2 (late third century B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments in front of the South Stoa and near the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo (E. Baltes).

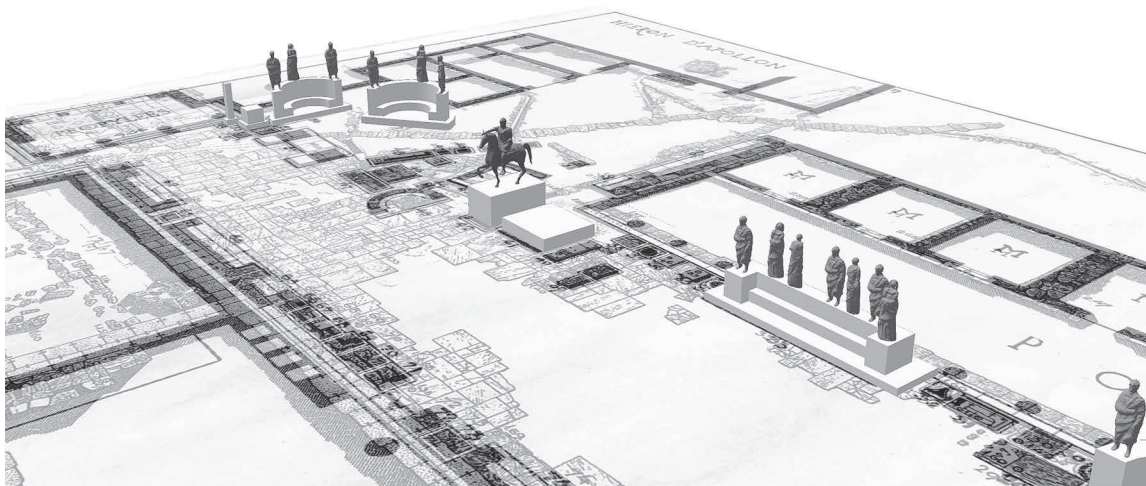


Fig. 9. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing the exedras and other portrait monuments from phase 2 in the open space at the northern end of the dromos near the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo (E. Baltes).

Finally, the placement of these large exedras in what was then the large open space between the propylon and the South Stoa also suggests that the area right in front of this stoa was already getting somewhat crowded (see figs. 7, 8). We might imagine, for example, that the large semicircular exedra on Base 15 and the long (ca. 4.5 m) rectangular Base 17 were set up before the end of the third century, either shortly before or after Mennis set up his portrait monument on Base 16. There would then have been little room for monuments of significant size to be set up directly in front of the South Stoa without seriously impeding access to its interior, which necessitated the placement of large exedras like Soteles' in the open space at the northern end of the dromos.

By the beginning of the second century, there was still some room for single statue monuments in front of the South Stoa, although visibility does seem to have been a concern in their placement (figs. 10, 11). At the southern end of the dromos, for example, Theon of Chios set up a bronze statue of a woman named Nikokleia in ca. 200 (Base 5a).³¹ The location of the base, strategically placed next to the front right corner of the equestrian statue of Epigenes, suggests it was positioned to take advantage of the main site line one

now had when approaching the entrance to the processional way. In fact, the base for Nikokleia's statue had been pushed so close to Epigenes' that it slightly overlapped the foundation course for the equestrian statue. If Nikokleia's statue had been placed directly in front of the South Stoa rather than set out away from the facade, it would not have been visible until one entered the dromos itself and walked past the equestrian statue of Epigenes. Theon clearly wanted to benefit from proximity to such an imposing monument as an equestrian statue and at the same time to avoid having his dedication completely overshadowed by it.

By the end of the first quarter of the second century, the front of the South Stoa must have been almost completely filled with portrait monuments, as additional bases are parked in the open area opposite the exedra of Soteles (figs. 12, 13). While this area is now very overgrown and difficult to understand on the ground, and while the foundations for Bases 43–47 are very poorly preserved, one can clearly see from Vallois' state plan (see fig. 2) and from the in situ remains that there is a large rectangular foundation course directly opposite and on the same orientation as the exedra of Soteles. Set on top of this foundation course, but not aligned with it, is the long and impressive Base 48, an orthostate

³¹ *IG* 11 4 1195. The nature of their relationship and the reason for the honor are not spelled out in the inscription on the statue base. The date of the statue is based on the fact that Theon dedicated a phiale during the archonship of Apollodoros in 195 (*ID* 442, line 45). The statue of Nikokleia was made by Agoralios or Agorallos (the spelling is unclear in the inscription), son of Sarpedon of Delos, and dedicated to the gods. For this sculptor, see Marcadé 1957, 12. This sculptor made several portrait monuments on the island and is discussed in more detail below.

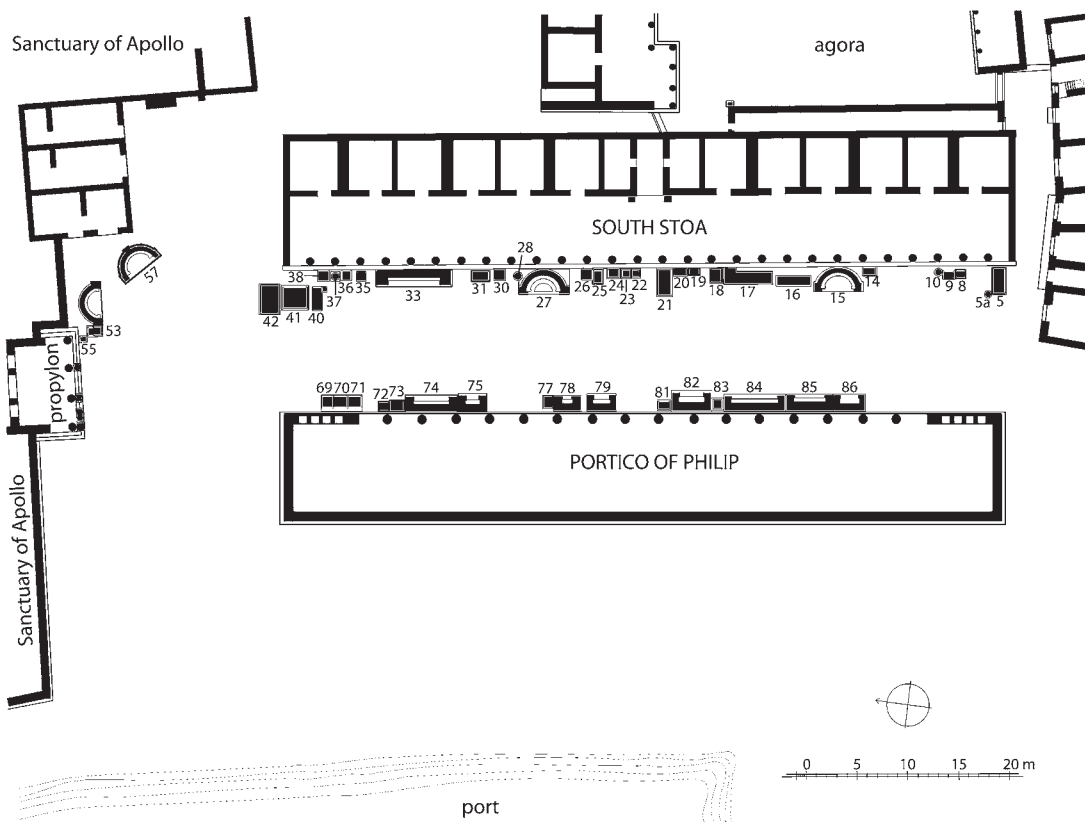


Fig. 10. Phase 3 (ca. 200 B.C.E.) of the portico monuments along the dromos. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltes; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

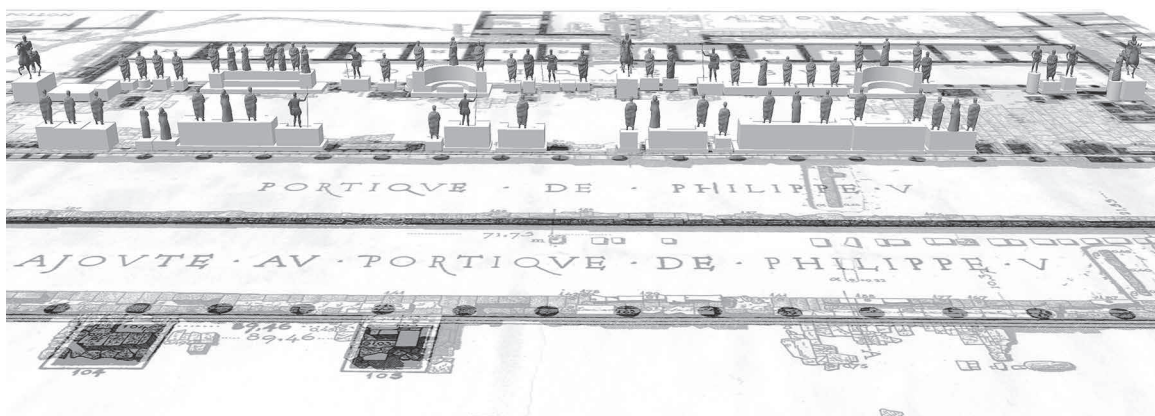


Fig. 11. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing phase 3 (ca. 200 B.C.E.) of the portico monuments along the dromos (E. Baltes).

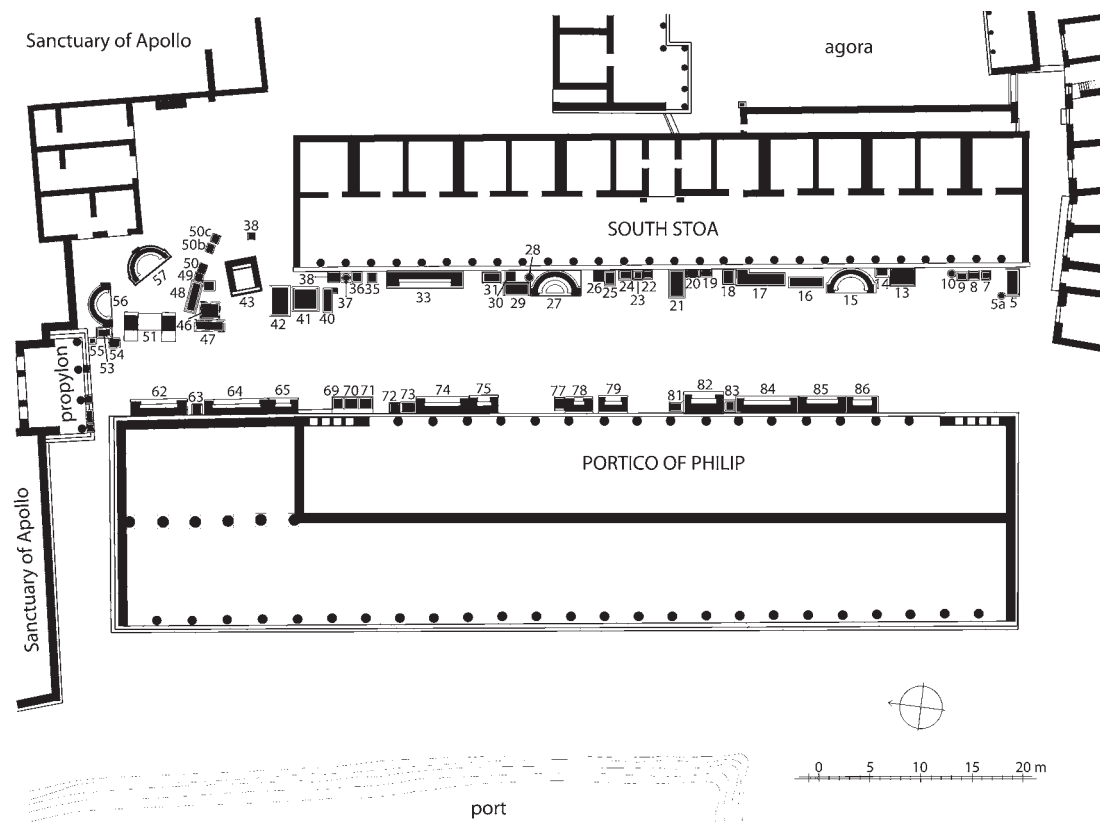


Fig. 12. Phase 4 (ca. 180–150 B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments along the dromos. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltes; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

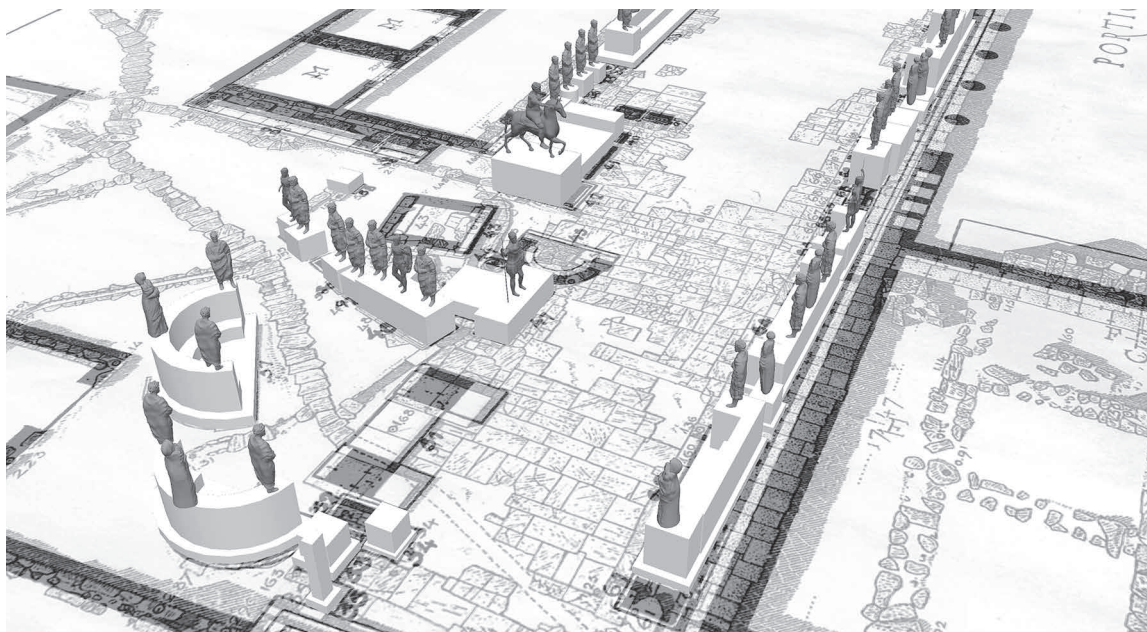


Fig. 13. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing the phase 4 monuments set up opposite the exedra of Soteles at the northern end of the dromos (E. Baltes).

monument. The inscriptions on the base are very fragmentary and difficult to read, but their placement—one at the left corner and a second in the middle (the right-hand orthostate is missing)—suggests that the base originally supported three statues. The left-hand inscription names a brother (only “ἀδελφόν” is preserved) in the accusative, and the middle inscription honors one Charopos, son of Aristoxenos (perhaps of Naxos). Charopos’ statue was dedicated by Theodoros, son of Lysandros.³² Both statues were dedicated to the gods. Next to this monument and set directly against it is Base 49, which supported a statue of Phokritos set up by his mother, Prexion, and his son, Demeas, who was president of the assembly.³³ On Base 50 stood the statue of Timokrates, a member of one of the leading families of independent Delos.³⁴ Timokrates’ mother, Aristoxene, set up the statue, together with three of his nephews and three male cousins. At least three additional statue bases from the period of Delian independence were found near the exedra of Soteles. The bases are now set up in a line to the east of Base 50, although they appear not to be in situ and are not marked on Vallois’ plan. These include the base for a statue of Aichmokritos (Base 50c) dedicated by the demos of the Delians perhaps in the mid to later third century³⁵ and the base for a statue of Demares (Base 50b) set up by his biological parents and his adoptive father.³⁶ In addition, according to the entry in *Inscriptiones graecae*, a base for a statue of Demeas was found in this general area, although we have not been able to locate it on-site.³⁷ The statue was set up by Demeas’ brother and was made by Agoralios (or Agorallos) of Delos, the same sculptor who made the statue of Nikokleia. This Demeas is surely the same Demeas who, along with his grandmother, set up the statue of his father, Phokritos, on Base 49.

The location and orientation of Bases 48–50, those facing Soteles’ exedra with their backs to the dromos, suggest that they were placed so as to take advantage of traffic moving east–west from the propylon of the

Sanctuary of Apollo (see fig. 1[5]) to the Agora of the Delians (see fig. 1[84]), the prytaneion (see fig. 1[22]), and the gateway into the area of the sanctuary where the grand ship monument, the so-called Monument of the Bulls (see fig. 1[24]), was located. The reorientation of this area should perhaps be associated with the construction of what appears to be a gateway at Base 51.³⁸ This gateway is roughly aligned with the eastern corner of the propylon, and Bases 48–50 and the foundation course underneath them look as if they have been placed in relation to it. In addition, the gateway would have partly obscured the view of Base 52 and Exedra 56 from the dromos and so must postdate these monuments. Finally, the paving slabs go up to but not under the foundation for Base 51, so this base must have been in place when the dromos was paved in the 130s. With the construction of the gate on Base 51, the area around the exedra of Soteles was in fact no longer part of the dromos proper, although some of the monuments would have been partly visible from it.

Portico of Philip

By the early second century, when the area around the exedra of Soteles was being filled with statues, the Portico of Philip had already been standing for a few decades, and the extension to the portico was newly completed. Portrait monuments were placed in front of the Portico of Philip as soon as it was finished (see figs. 10, 11), just as they had been at the South Stoa. Along this side of the dromos, however, it seems that the statuary landscape developed somewhat differently. With the South Stoa, single statue monuments came first, and the few exedras, semicircular as well as rectangular, were slotted in between those bases or placed in the open space to the north. With the Portico of Philip, the dominant monument type is the exedra—all rectangular in shape and similar in height, but varying in length—whose design and placement seem to have been more carefully planned, particularly when compared with the variety of monuments and

³² *IG* 11 4, 1199; Tréheux 1992, s.v. “[X]άρωπος Ἀριστοξένου Νάξιτος?” (beginning of the second century).

³³ *IG* 11 4 1183; Vial 1984, 259 n. 13. We thank John Ma for sorting out the grammar of this inscription. The inscription had previously been understood as honors for Phokritos and his grandson, Prexios, the son of Demeas (most recently by Vial 2008, 147). Prexion, however, is a nominative neuter female name, not the accusative case of Prexios; the base itself can clearly accommodate only a single statue.

³⁴ *IG* 11 4 1181. See Vial’s (1984, 305) stemma 29 (Timokrates I).

³⁵ *IG* 11 4 1094 (with a very fragmentary epigram of great interest inscribed on the base). For the restoration by Peek, see *SEG* 19, 521. There was an Aichmokritos, son of Agatharchos,

who was president of the Delian assembly (the oldest known), *choregos* at the time of the Apollonia in 268, and *epimeletes* in 246, but we do not know if this is the same Aichmokritos (Vial 2008, 15).

³⁶ *IG* 11 4 1185; Vial 1984, 66–7, stemma 10. Biological parents: Eudemos, son of Diaktoridos, and Epaino, daughter of Mnesikleidos. Adoptive father: Theorylos, son of Eudemos, who Vial speculates was probably the father’s first cousin.

³⁷ *IG* 11 4 1178; Marcadé 1957, 13. The base is said to have been found northeast of the Portico of Philip in 1879 and to have been left where it was found.

³⁸ Or perhaps some sort of arch, as suggested in Griesbach 2010, 8.

their haphazard accumulation in front of the South Stoa.³⁹ For example, the entrances into the Portico of Philip appear to have been defined from the start. There are clear points of access symmetrically placed at either end of the portico between the end wall and the first column, which were later marked by marble threshold blocks, and at the very center of the portico at the ninth intercolumniation. These entrances were kept free of monuments. There are five exedras to the south of this central entrance and five to the north. Once the northern extension to the portico was finished ca. 180, exedras also occupied most of the available wall space that the extension created (see figs. 12–14).

In contrast, then, to the development of honorific monuments in front of the South Stoa, one gets a strong sense that the setting up of monuments on this side of the processional way must have been carefully regulated, guided by an overarching plan or a general set of rules. Both the height of the exedras and the extent to which they project out from the front of the portico are roughly the same along the entire length of the facade, and the exedras themselves are strikingly homogeneous in their design. Surely this could not have happened by chance and suggests that civic control was reasserted over this public space in an attempt to give the monuments a coherence and order that those in front of the South Stoa lacked. This standardization and the absence of impressive semicircular exedras may have also been a way to ensure that no particular monument was given undue prominence, so that the individual or the individual family represented was subordinated in favor of the civic collective. The lack of “double-parked” monuments on this side of the dromos is also noteworthy and suggests a concerted effort to keep the thoroughfare as open as possible for the easy passage of the processions that made their way along the dromos to the Sanctuary of Apollo. For example, a decree from the Asklepieion on Rhodes prevented individuals from setting up portrait monuments or other votive offerings where they would interfere with visitor circulation;⁴⁰ the arrangement of monuments along

the dromos suggests that similar oversight was taking place on Delos as well.

The chronology of the monuments set up in front of the Portico of Philip can be reconstructed, at least in broad terms, from a range of evidence: inscriptions, technical details such as molding profiles, and the position of monument foundations in relation to the portico, to the paving, and to one another. One of the earliest monuments, whose original display location is not known, was undoubtedly the statue of Philip V set up by the *koinon* of the Macedonians. The base, preserved in fragments, was found northeast of the portico and is dated to the end of the third century.⁴¹ Two other bases (69 and 70) for single statues also appear to date to the late third century; Vallois reasoned that as they share a foundation course that is made of the same material and is at the same level as the foundation course of the original portico, they must have been set in place shortly after it was finished (see fig. 10). Only the foundations of these bases, however, are preserved.⁴² Epigraphic evidence dates Exedra 62 to the early second century, between 180 and 166; this exedra supported statues of Dexios of Chios and his wife, Parmo of Attica, dedicated by their sons (see figs. 12, 14).⁴³ According to Vallois’ study, six additional exedras—74, 75, 79, 82, 84, and 85—belong to the period of Delian independence, given their technical details and the position of their foundations.⁴⁴ Exedras 64 and 65, set up in front of the extension of the portico, are dated to sometime after 180, when the extension is believed to have been finished; they, too, may date to before 167/6, but we cannot be sure. The other monuments that certainly belong to the first half of the second century based on epigraphic evidence include, in roughly chronological order: the portrait statue of Aristokrateia set up in the first quarter of the second century by her father, Lykomedes, and her husband, Charistios, on Foundation 63;⁴⁵ the statue of the wealthy banker Herakleides of Tarentum set up by his impressively large family—his wife, five sons, and two daughters—between 166 and 160 next to the central entrance to the portico at Base 81;⁴⁶ and Exedra 78, on which

³⁹ The homogeneity of the portrait monuments in front of the Portico of Philip has also been observed in Griesbach 2010, 8–9.

⁴⁰ Sokolowski 1962, no. 107; Dillon 2010, 36–7, esp. n. 133 (for further bibliography).

⁴¹ *JG* 11 4 1102; Durrbach 1977, no. 55; Kotsidu 2000, 199–200, cat. no. 125, figs. 37, 38.

⁴² Vallois 1923, 129–30.

⁴³ *JG* 11 4 1197, 1198; von Thüngen 1994, 94–5, cat. no. 56, pl. 41.2, Beilage 26 (with further bibliography).

⁴⁴ Vallois 1923, 136–37. The euthynteria of Exedra 75 overlaps that of its neighbor, Exedra 74, and so must have been built after it. The order of construction according to Vallois is as follows: Exedras 74, 75, 84, and 85.

⁴⁵ *JG* 11 4 1184; Dillon 2010, 43–4, 191 n. 168. According to Vallois (1923, 134–35), Base 63 was already in place when the two neighboring exedras were added, as it is clear that the base was shifted slightly by their addition.

⁴⁶ *ID* 1716. The statue was set up between 166/5 and 161, according to Tréheux 1992, 49.

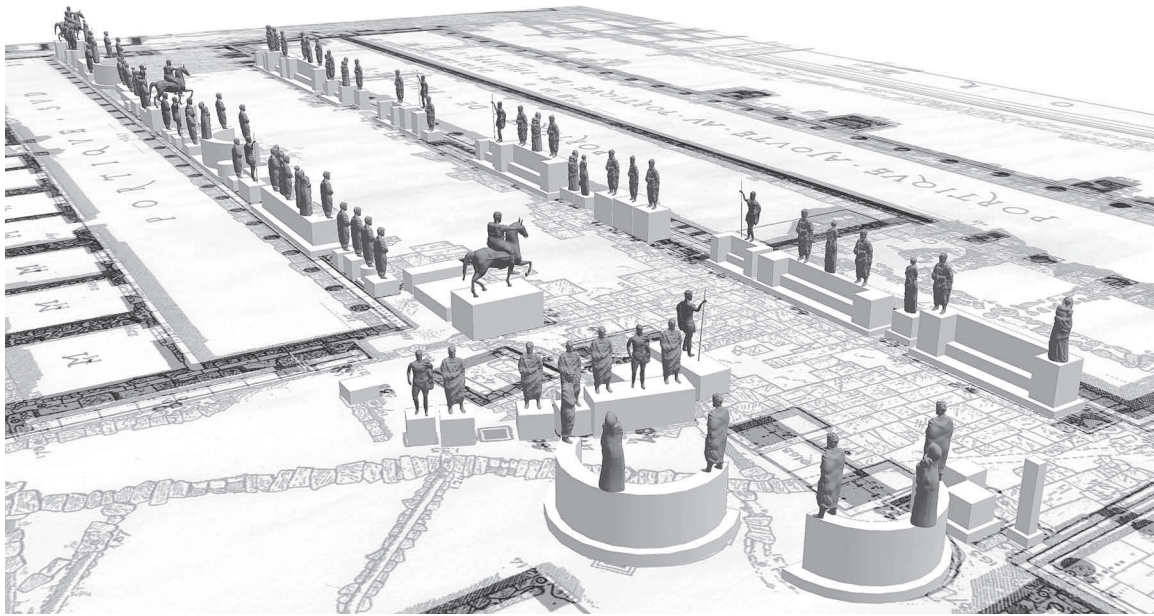


Fig. 14. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model from the north, showing the monuments set up by ca. 180 B.C.E. (E. Baltes).

stood a statue of Menochares, “Friend of the First Rank” and secretary of King Demetrios I of Syria, set up between 162 and 150 by a private association active on Delos.⁴⁷

Monuments to Romans made their first appearance on the dromos early in the second half of the second century. One of the earliest (on all of Delos) was the portrait statue of Scipio Africanus set up between 141 and 139 by his friend Lucius Babilius and dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.⁴⁸ Also early is the base for the statue of an *epimeletes* (perhaps named Apelles); the base preserves the left sandaled foot of the bronze statue and is tentatively dated to the mid second century.⁴⁹ Both monuments document the arrival of two new and important groups that transformed the honorific landscape of Delos after 167/6: powerful Romans and the Athenian officials who now governed the island. Honorific activity along the dromos picked

up noticeably in the 130s (as it did elsewhere on the island—the 130s mark the beginning of the period of greatest prosperity), when the street appears to have been paved with large and regularly cut slabs, giving the dromos a very formal and elegant appearance (the *in situ* remains of the paving are recorded on fig. 2). The statues set up in the 130s and later also document the changing landscape of political control.⁵⁰ The Athenian cleruchs now shared in governing the island and in dedicating statues with other groups: Romans, merchants, shipowners, and other foreigners or Greeks either living or simply present on the island. Two statues of Epigenes, who served as *epimeletes* of Delos before 126/5, were set up next to each other at the northern end of the portico’s facade on Bases 66 and 67 (see figs. 3, 4). Each was dedicated by a different combination of these groups: one by the Athenians resident and the Romans present on Delos,

⁴⁷ *ID* 1543; Durrbach 1977, no. 88; Habicht 1997, 252. For Menochares, see Habicht 1988, 214. An inscription was added in the second half of the first century for a Roman official, but on the back of the exedra (*ID* 1702). For restoration of the inscription and this interpretation, see Baslez 1994, 30–1 n. 25; von Thüngen 1994, 98–9, cat. no. 64, pl. 45, Beilage 28.3. No evidence is preserved for attachment of a statue. Von Thüngen (1994) suggests that there were two statues on the base because of the two inscriptions, but this seems unlikely. The relationship between this later inscription and the statue of

Menochares is unclear, since the original inscription was not effaced.

⁴⁸ *ID* 1842; Durrbach 1977, no. 94; Payne 1984, 216–17. The base was found in front of the Portico of Philip but is now in front of the Archaeological Museum of Delos.

⁴⁹ *ID* 1666; Roussel 1908, 416–17, no. 6; 1987, 27, nos. 3, 103. Reportedly found in a trench across the Portico of Philip, it is now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Delos.

⁵⁰ Habicht 1997, 250–51.

the other by the merchants and the shipowners.⁵¹ A few years later, in 124/3, these groups together dedicated a statue of Menophilos, the *epimeletes* of the *emporion*, and set it up at the very northern end of the Portico of Philip.⁵² Roman shipowners and merchants also set up a statue of Lochos (Base 50a), governor of the Thebaid in Egypt in 127 and “kinsman” of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Queen Kleopatra, somewhere near the exedra of Soteles.⁵³

While single statues were the most common type of monument set up on the dromos in the period of Athenian control, multifigured family dedications continued to be made. Two of the exedras directly in front of the Portico of Philip date to the later second century. The large and impressive Exedra 76 was set up ca. 130 in honor of an Athenian family: Theodoros, his wife (and cousin) Myro, and their daughter Myro, all from the Attic deme Myrrhinous.⁵⁴ Exedra 90 at the very southern end of the Portico of Philip appears to have been set up after the paving of the dromos (in the 130s), given that part of its euthynteria sits on top of the paving. This exedra may also have supported a family group, as the cuttings for the attachment of statues preserved on the crowning course suggest at least two standing figures, one male and one female.⁵⁵ There were fragments of two other family monuments found in front of the Portico of Philip, but they can-

not now be associated with particular foundations.⁵⁶ All the inscribed monuments commemorate Athenian families; family monuments seem not to have been popular with the Roman-Italian community on Delos.⁵⁷

Three large monument foundations (Bases 89, 88, and 87) on either side of the southern doorway into the Portico of Philip all appear to rest on top of the dromos paving; they all, therefore, must have been set up after the 130s. Bases 87 and 88 are thought to have supported equestrian statues, although they are a bit shorter than the base for the equestrian statue of Epigenes set up across the way, where the horse was in a striding pose.⁵⁸ Two crowning courses for equestrian statues in which the horse was in the more dramatic rearing pose have been found along the dromos; they may belong to these foundations.⁵⁹ Three additional crowning courses for equestrian statues in which the horse was in a striding pose have also been found in the area; perhaps these belonged to Bases 25 and 42.⁶⁰ Equestrian statues were clearly prominent and eye-catching features of the dromos. Also impressive are the remains of the foundations for Bases 13 and 89; these may have supported imposing orthostate monuments, perhaps for single statues, as they are similar in size to the grand base for the statue of Billienus that stood inside the Portico of Antigonos.⁶¹

⁵¹ For the dedication on Base 66, see *ID* 1643; Marcadé 1957, 58; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.42. For the dedication on Base 67, see *ID* 1703; Marcadé 1957, 32; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.43. On Epigenes, see Durrbach 1977, 164. Epigenes also received a third statue, which was set up in the Sanctuary of Apollo proper by the Athenians(?) and foreigners (*ID* 1644).

⁵² *ID* 1647; Marcadé 1957, 59; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.54.

⁵³ *ID* 1526; Durrbach 1977, no. 105; Sherk 1984, 49, no. 47. According to the entry in *Inscriptions de Délos*, the base was found ca. 10 m southeast of the propylon to the sanctuary; it now stands next to Base 50. Lochos' name and patronymic is inscribed in *rasura*. For Lochos, see Peremans and van't Dack 1953, 40–5.

⁵⁴ *ID* 1975 (with family stemma). This family was very well known and active both on Delos and in Athens. Theodoros' father, Philon, was the brother of Dioskourides, the husband of Kleopatra. Myro, his wife, was also Dioskourides' niece; this pattern of marriage was common among the Athenian elite at Delos. At about the same time, a Kleopatra from another branch of the family in Attika dedicated bronze statues of her father, her brother, and her husband in the Athenian Agora (Dillon 2010, 50).

⁵⁵ Vallois 1923, 123, 136, 147 (one standing male, one seated female[?], and another statue); von Thüngen 1994, 101–2, cat. no. 68 (two standing statues and cuttings for an undetermined third); Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 9.6 (one male and one female, with room for a third statue). Exedra 45 may have been set up toward the end of the second century as well, as the (exceedingly fragmentary) remains of its foundation appear to sit on top of the dromos paving.

⁵⁶ The fragments belonged to an orthostate monument with statues of a father and son (Dionysios, son of Asklepiades from Athens, and Dionysios, son of Dionysios, who was priest of Apollo) (*ID* 1864, 1865) and a large base of which only one inscription is preserved, the one belonging to the statue of Diphila set up by her father, Timodemos of the deme Melite, commemorating his daughter's tenure as subpriestess of Artemis ca. 125 (*ID* 1867; Dillon 2010, 55, 195 n. 235, appx. 3, no. 4). Perhaps a statue of Timodemos himself, who had been priest of the Romaia in 127/6, was also part of this monument (*ID* 2596, line 13).

⁵⁷ Trümper (forthcoming), 18 n. 81. We thank the author for graciously giving us a copy of this article in advance of publication.

⁵⁸ Vallois 1923, 124; Siedentopf 1968, 118, nos. 88, 89. According to Vallois (1923), Base 88 was set up before Base 87, and the small exedra that stood on Base 86 was set in place after Base 87, as its foundation course shows no sign of trimming or cutting on its southern side.

⁵⁹ Siedentopf 1968, 119, cat. nos. 90, 91. Both courses were set up in the remains of the South Portico.

⁶⁰ Siedentopf 1968, 118, cat. nos. 86, 88, 89 (foundations); 119–20, cat. nos. 92–4 (crowning courses with hoofprints for bronze equestrian statues). Siedentopf's (1968) cat. nos. 92 and 93 are set up in the remains of the South Stoa; cat. no. 94 is in the Portico of Philip.

⁶¹ Tuchelt 1979, 96–8, fig. 7 (reconstruction drawing of the monument); Marcadé et al. 1996, 196, cat. no. 88 (Queyrel) (with additional bibliography).

In the last quarter of the second century, honorific activity was concentrated at the southern end of the South Stoa, completely transforming the entrance to the dromos (figs. 15, 16). Here, in ca. 125, Sosistratos of Samos set up statues of Krateros, the tutor of Prince Antiochos Philopator (the future King Antiochos IX), and of Antiochos Philopator himself.⁶² The statues stood on a rectangular orthostate base (Base 6), which was set on two thick foundation courses to elevate it above the adjacent monuments (fig. 17). The new monument also needed to be set at a slight angle, as it was shoehorned into a spot between two preexisting statues (Bases 5 and 7) that was really too small to accommodate it properly. Sosistratos must have been very keen to have this particular spot right next to the old equestrian statue of Epigenes, as he was willing not only to set the monument at a slight angle but also to make do with a base that was clearly not as wide as it ideally should have been to accommodate two statues. The base is only about 1.5 m across, which is small for a double statue monument of the Late Hellenistic period.⁶³ The less than ideal size also affected the inscription: the left-hand inscription for the statue of Krateros is squeezed onto an orthostate that is only about 67 cm wide; the letters are tightly spaced and not as well shaped as those in the right-hand inscription for the statue of Antiochos. This inscription, which is much shorter (five lines instead of nine), has well-spaced and more nicely formed letters on a much wider orthostate of 88 cm. Because the crowning course of the monument is not preserved, we cannot know whether the statues were also slightly different in scale—that is, whether Antiochos' statue was larger than Krateros'—but the inscriptions themselves suggest the subjects' relative importance.

Next to Sosistratos' double statue monument on Base 7 stood the statue of Zeuxis from Smyrna.⁶⁴ While this base was tentatively dated in the *Inscriptions de Délos* to the beginning of the first century on prosopographical grounds, the archaeological evidence clearly shows that it must predate the monument to Krateros and Antiochos of ca. 125, as the molded base for this double statue monument was cut so that it could be placed over the bottom molded course of the base for Zeuxis' statue (fig. 18). Not only was Zeuxis' statue overshadowed by the monument for Krateros and Antiochos, it was then further obscured by the double-

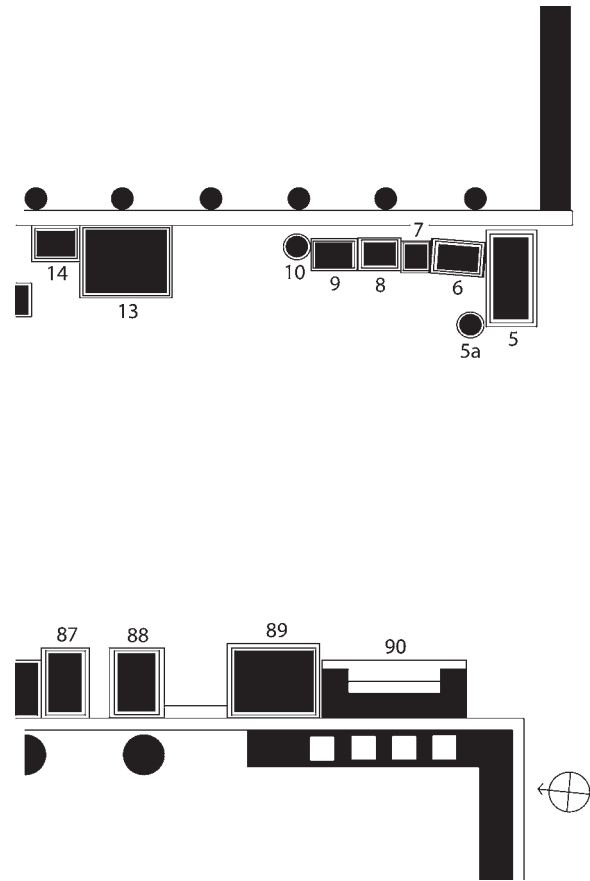


Fig. 15. Detail of the portrait monuments at the southern corner of the South Stoa, ca. 125 B.C.E. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltes; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

parking of an even taller base in front of it, the base for a statue of Apollodoros of Marathon (Base 7a) (figs. 19, 20).⁶⁵ Finally, in an effort to accommodate even more portrait monuments in this prime location, a large platform was built on top of the dromos paving that blocked off half the southern entrance into the processional avenue; this base also obscured the statues standing in front of the southern corner of the South Stoa (figs. 21, 22). Vallois has reconstructed four statue bases on this large foundation, although only one (Base 4) is preserved (fig. 23): a base for a bronze statue of the great Roman orator Marcus An-

⁶² *ID* 1547, 1548; Durrbach 1977, nos. 109, 110.

⁶³ The base for the roughly contemporary statues of Kleopatra and Dioskourides is 1.63 m wide; double statue bases from the Amphiareion at Oropos measure ca. 2.50 m wide.

⁶⁴ *ID* 2012; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.26.

⁶⁵ *ID* 2007; Marcadé 1957, 61; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.80. The statue was made by Hephaistion of Athens (Marcadé 1957, 58–62; Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Hephaistion (III)" [with further bibliography]).

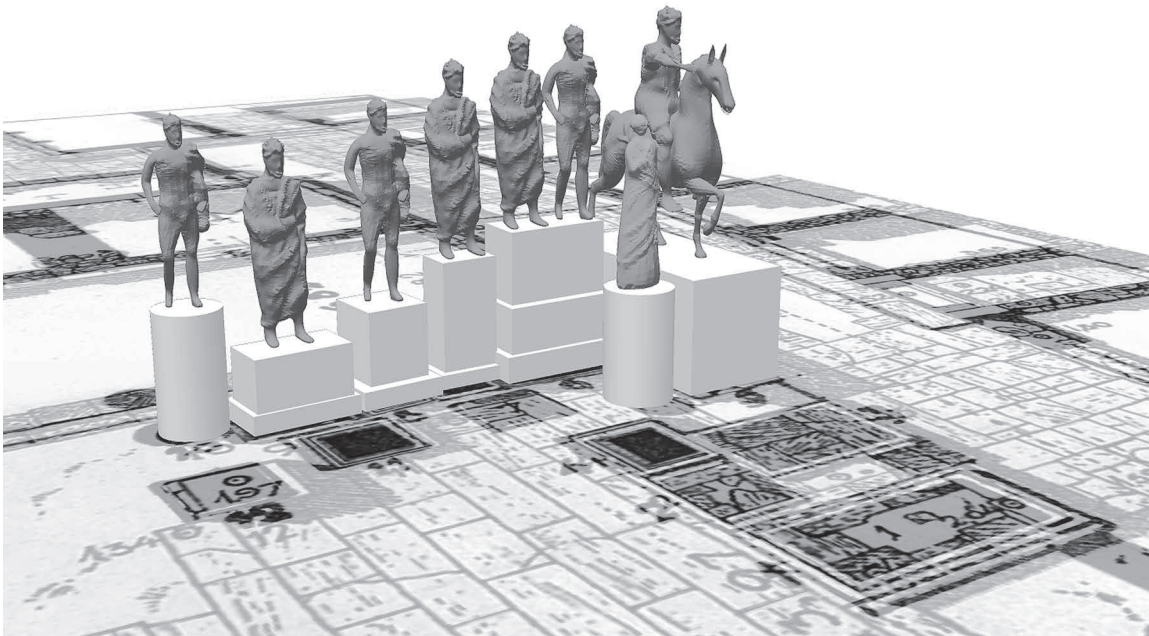


Fig. 16. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing the portrait monuments at the southern corner of the South Stoa, ca. 125 B.C.E. (E. Baltès).

tonius, grandfather of Mark Antony.⁶⁶ The monument was dedicated by the demos of Prostaenna in Pisidia ca. 113, providing a terminus ante quem for the construction of the foundation.

Honorific activity on the dromos tapered off precipitously in the early first century, as it did elsewhere on Delos. Two brothers from Melos set up a statue of Gaius Fabius Hadrianus at the center of the Portico of Philip on Base 80; the only bilingual inscription from the dromos appears on this statue base.⁶⁷ A monumental orthostate base set up inside the Portico of Philip at its southern end supported a statue of Sulla perhaps made of marble like the statue of Billienus.⁶⁸ Its size, its isolated and covered position, and the large letters of the Latin inscription mark the monument and its subject as exceptional. A second bronze statue of

Sulla was set up at the southern end of the dromos, perhaps on the large foundation; the crowning course of this large base preserves the footprints of a bronze statue and an epigram in Greek praising Sulla for his interest in the children left as orphans in the wake of the massacre of 88.⁶⁹ Both monuments likely date to around the time of Sulla's presumed visit to Delos on his way to Athens in 84.

Summary

Before turning to the monuments set up in front of the Portico of Antigonos, let us briefly summarize the approximately 200-year history of honorific activity on the dromos, highlighting the accumulation of monuments and their spatial arrangement, the different status groups that were represented both in the

⁶⁶ *ID* 1603; Durrbach 1977, no. 123. Other bases found in the area may well have originally stood here, including an over-life-sized bronze statue of Marius Gerillanus, the great banker of early first-century Delos, set up by the Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on Delos, together with the merchants and shipowners (*ID* 1726); a statue for the *epimeletes* Dionysios set up in 110/9 by the Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on the island (*ID* 1654); a second statue of Marcus Antonius, this one dedicated by the Delians in 97 (*ID* 1700; Durrbach 1977, no. 139); and a statue of the *epimeletes*

Aropos set up by the Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on Delos, together with the merchants and shipowners in 94/3 (*ID* 1658; Roussel 1987, 107, 113). Aropos came from a family of *epimeletai*, and this family was allied with the powerful Meidios clan (Tracy 1982, 159–68).

⁶⁷ *ID* 2009; Durrbach 1977, no. 161; see also Adams 2002.

⁶⁸ *ID* 1851; Vallois 1923, 149–52, figs. 221–23; Durrbach 1977, no. 147b.

⁶⁹ *ID* 1853; Ferguson 1974, 453 n. 5; Durrbach 1977, no. 149; Roussel 1987, 328–29.

subjects of the statues and their dedicators, and the changing language and layout of the statue base inscriptions. The earliest portrait monuments in front of the South Stoa were set up at either end of the portico and at its center. At that early stage, those were clearly the most prestigious locations. Additional monuments, most of which were bases for single statues or group monuments, quickly filled up the open space in between. The accumulation of monuments between the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo and the northern end of the South Stoa was particularly dense and haphazard, with some monuments eventually encroaching onto the dromos itself. In comparison with the arrangement of monuments in front of the Portico of Philip, there was significant double-parking of monuments on the eastern side of the processional avenue. There were also fewer bench exedras there, and the favored shape was semicircular. On the opposite side of the dromos, rectangular-shaped exedras occupied most of the available space in front of the Portico of Philip from the very beginning,⁷⁰ with single statue monuments either slotted in between them or concentrated at either end of the original portico. By the time the dromos was paved in the 130s, the space in front of both porticoes seems to have been almost completely filled with statues, as the paving slabs appear to go up to but not under most of the monument foundations. The double-parking of bases at the southern corner of the South Stoa and the construction of the platform for additional monuments across the southern entrance to the dromos by ca. 113 also support this hypothesis. The strategy of double-parking seems never to have been used in front of the Portico of Philip, perhaps because of the necessity of keeping the area in front of the bench exedras clear for the viewing of processions. In fact, in front of the South Stoa, statues seem to have been double-parked only in front of other statues: even there, the bench exedras appear to have been kept clear to preserve their utility.

Many of the earliest monuments set up in front of the South Stoa have royal associations, which suggests the building was a royal dedication, perhaps of the Attalids. A statue of Philip V, dedicated by the *koinon* of the Macedonians, was set up probably shortly after the construction of the Portico of Philip. Monuments set up by the Delian demos, both single statues and family groups, were also an important part of the statue landscape in the period leading up to 167/6, particularly on the eastern side of the dromos, as were private dedications made by families for other family



Fig. 17. Orthostate base for the statues of Krateros and Prince Antiochos Philopator. The statues were made by Philotechnos of Samos (S. Dillon).



Fig. 18. Detail of the foundation course of the orthostate base for the statues of Krateros and Prince Antiochos Philopator, showing where the orthostate base overlaps the square base for the statue of Zeuxis of Smyrna (*foreground*) (S. Dillon).

⁷⁰ If we follow Vallois' chronology, most of the exedras belong to the period of Delian independence. They are, in numerical order, Exedras 62, 64, 65, 74, 75, 79, 82, 84, and 85.

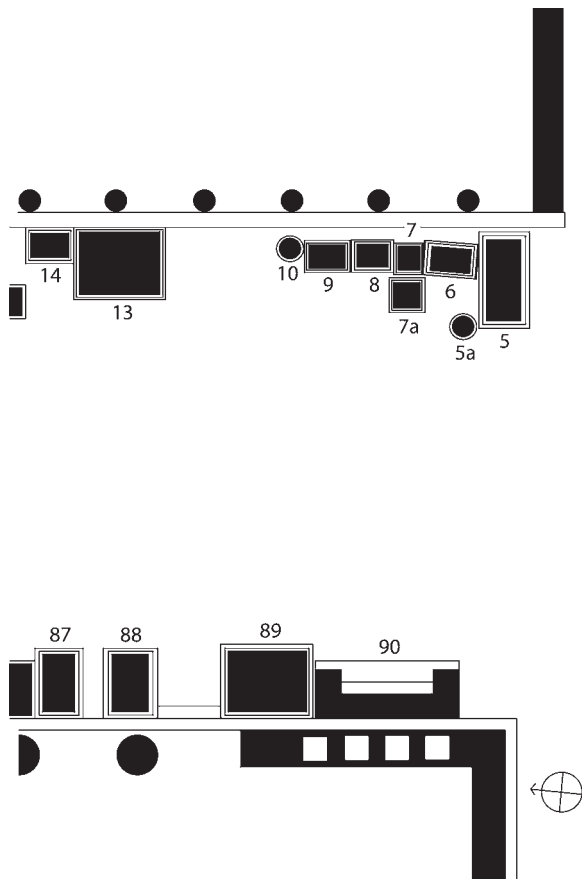


Fig. 19. Detail of the portrait monuments at the southern corner of the South Stoa, showing the addition of the base (7a) for a statue of Apollodoros of Marathon. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltès; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

members. After 167/6, private family monuments regularly commemorated Athenian families, and monuments for Athenian *epimeletai* and Romans became an important part of the honorific statue landscape, documenting the changed political landscape of the island. These dedications record the participation of international and occupational groups in the governance of the island; by the 130s, Romans, either residing or simply present on Delos, other Greeks living on Delos, and merchants and shipowners joined the Athenian cleruchs in making statue dedications.⁷¹

The language and organization of the statue base inscriptions also changed over time; this change provides further evidence of the shifting landscape of patronage and power after Delos became a free port under Athenian control. The dedications from the period of Delian independence tend to follow the simple honorific formula of “X dedicates (a statue of) Y to Z,” with the name of the dedicator mentioned first, after which comes the name of the honorand. Typically, no mention is made of the reason for the statue honor. After 167/6, the inscriptions increasingly included some mention of why the subject had received the statue. Menochares (Base 78), for example, is praised by the private association that set up his statue for his *philotimia* and *eunoia*,⁷² while Lochos (Base 50a) is thanked by the Roman shipowners and merchants for his arete and *euergesia*.⁷³ *Epimeletai* tend to be honored on account of their arete and *dikaio-sune*; the latter suggests perhaps some intervention in legal matters on behalf of the groups who dedicated their statues.⁷⁴ From this period we also find inscriptions in which the honorand gets “top billing”: the subject of the statue is named (in the accusative case) before the person or group that dedicated the statue. Scipio Aemilianus’ name, for example, comes first on the base of the statue set up by his friend Lucius Babillius,⁷⁵ as does the name of Marcus Antonius on the statue dedicated by the Delians.⁷⁶ The same arrangement occurs on the base for the statue of Marius Gerillanus set up by the Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on Delos as well as the merchants and shipowners.⁷⁷ Not all Romans got top billing, nor was it only Romans who were so honored: the *epimeletes* Dionysios of Pallene is named before the group that set up his statue,⁷⁸ and the name of the Tarentine banker Herakleides comes first on the statue set up by his family (Base 81),⁷⁹ while the inscription for the other statue of Marcus Antonius set up by the demos of Prostaenna names the demos first.⁸⁰ Although it is difficult to discern a pattern here, some notion of hierarchy is surely being expressed in the arrangement of names; perhaps putting the name of the subject first was a way to intensify or amplify the honor of the statue. Such a hierarchy is certainly expressed both visually and spatially in the sculptors’ “signatures,” which are discussed in more detail below.

⁷¹ For the changing composition of the inhabitants of the island and the effect on honorific activity, see Habicht 1997, 249–54, 257–58.

⁷² *ID* 1543.

⁷³ *ID* 1526.

⁷⁴ *ID* 1643, 1647, 1658, 1703.

⁷⁵ *ID* 1842.

⁷⁶ *ID* 1700.

⁷⁷ *ID* 1726.

⁷⁸ *ID* 1654.

⁷⁹ *ID* 1716.

⁸⁰ *ID* 1603.



Fig. 20. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing the portrait monuments at the southern corner of the South Stoa, with the addition of the statue of Apollodoros of Marathon placed in front of the statue of Zeuxis of Smyrna (E. Baltes).

THE PORTICO OF ANTIGONOS

The statue dedications along the dromos did not, of course, occur in a vacuum—they took place within the broader context of statue dedications on Delos itself. To bring the honorific activity along the dromos into sharper focus, we briefly consider the development of portrait statue monuments set up in front of the nearby Portico of Antigonos, a royal building project that appears to have been finished around the same time as the South Stoa.

The Portico of Antigonos (see figs. 1[29], 24) was built in the mid third century⁸¹ in a large open space north of the treasuries (see fig. 1[16–20]) and the so-called Monument of the Bulls (see fig. 1[24]). At 120 m long—twice the length of the South Stoa—the Portico of Antigonos was the largest stoa on Delos, longer than the later so-called Agora of the Italians and even longer than the monumental Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora.⁸² This imposing structure was further enhanced by unusual projecting wings on either end, and while it lacked the row of rooms found on the

South Stoa, the Portico of Antigonos was nevertheless nearly 14 m deep at its narrowest point and 20 m deep at its wings.⁸³ The new portico was both highly visible and accessible, and it functioned as a new focal point in the landscape. Its elegant columnar facade would also seem to have been an ideal location for statue dedications. According to the best-preserved bases found in the area, however, it was not until ca. 130 that monuments began to be set up in large numbers in the area in front of the portico. While the monuments from the Portico of Antigonos are not as well preserved as those along the dromos, the following observations can be made.

Despite the gradual northeastern expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo,⁸⁴ the space eventually occupied by the Portico of Antigonos had long remained open, save for a Mycenaean tomb (see fig. 1[32]) that was still visible in the landscape of the Hellenistic sanctuary.⁸⁵ While the dromos would perhaps have been a more prestigious location for Antigonos' building project, the location he chose allowed him to construct a

⁸¹ Although the portico's dedicatory inscription is fragmentary, it was almost certainly dedicated by Antigonos Gonatas (Courby 1912, 37–40). Courby (1912) argues based on epigraphic evidence (*IG* 11 2 219) that construction of the portico was most likely begun just before 260 and completed by

248.

⁸² Coulton 1976, 219.

⁸³ Courby 1912, 13–14; Coulton 1976, 59–60.

⁸⁴ Étienne 2002, 286–88.

⁸⁵ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 197–98.

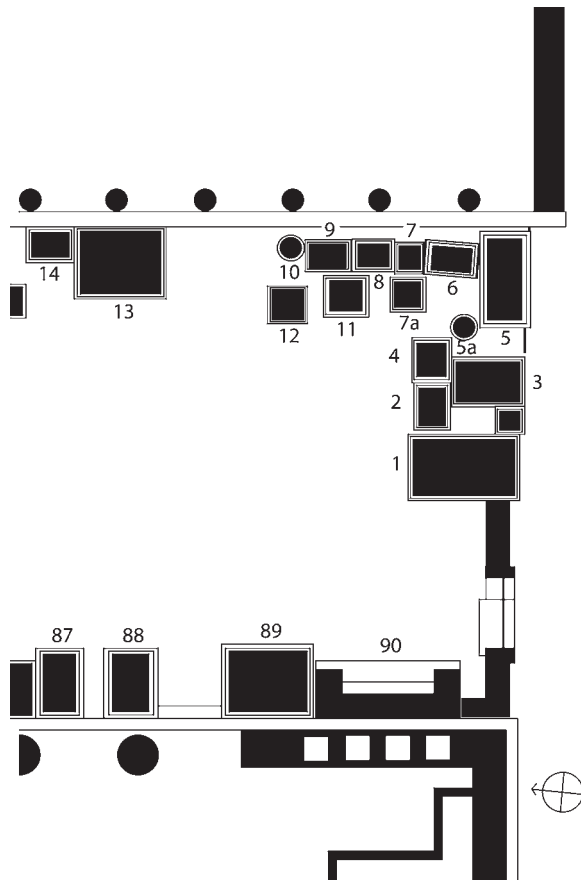


Fig. 21. Final phase (after 113 B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments at the southern end of the dromos. Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltès; adapted from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

portico much larger than the dromos could possibly have accommodated. The grand size and slightly canted orientation of the Portico of Antigonos capitalize on

the available space between the sixth-century “Minoan fountain” (see fig. 1[30]) and the small late fifth- or early fourth-century marble building called the Graphé (see fig. 1[35]).⁸⁶ Moreover, the center of the portico is almost exactly aligned with the Mycenaean tomb, taking advantage of what must have been its continued historical and cultural cachet. In positioning his building project this way, Antigonos was not only taking advantage of the available space but also appropriating the history of the site to lend authority and legitimacy to his new addition to the landscape. At the same time, it seems that the tomb was defined by the addition of an enclosure visually linking it to the newly built portico.⁸⁷ Near the Mycenaean tomb and parallel to his portico, Antigonos dedicated a spectacular family monument: the Monument of the Progonoi.⁸⁸ The 21 m long statue base supported bronze portraits of about 20 of his ancestors, representing his lineage back perhaps to the sixth century or even to its heroic or divine progenitors.⁸⁹

Except for this impressive monument, the space in front of the portico appears to have remained mostly empty of other honorific dedications for more than 100 years. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that most of the portrait monuments with preserved inscriptions found in the area of the portico are dated to between ca. 130 and 90. It follows that the monument landscape we see now and that is recorded in Courby’s plan did not develop until much later.⁹⁰ That is, from the time the portico was finished until the second half of the second century, the portico and the Monument of the Progonoi appear to have stood in splendid isolation. The absence of statue dedications in front of the Portico of Antigonos is probably not due to external political factors, such as Antigonid control of the space, but is more likely a result of local preferences on the part of those dedicating the statues.⁹¹ In the

⁸⁶ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 196 (“Minoan fountain”); 199 (Graphé).

⁸⁷ For a detailed discussion of the Mycenaean tomb, see Courby 1912, 63–74.

⁸⁸ Courby 1912, 74–83.

⁸⁹ Courby 1912, 81; Edson 1934; Smith 1988, 24–5.

⁹⁰ Courby 1912, 83–96. The monuments include, in roughly chronological order: (1) *ID* 1968; Courby 1912, pl. 2, Base 44 (second half of second century); (2) *ID* 1965; Courby 1912, pl. 2, Base 3 (second half of second century); (3) *ID* 1528 (after 127); (4) Courby 1912, 87, pl. 2, Base 1; Dittenberger 1986, no. 259 (ca. 125–96); (5) *ID* 1984 (last quarter of second century); (6) *ID* 1980 (last quarter of second century); (7) *ID* 1966 (last quarter of second century); (8) *ID* 2501 (last quarter of second century); (9) *ID* 1656; Courby 1912, 5, 90, 93 n. 2, pl. 2, Base 50 (102/1); (10) *ID* 1962; Courby 1913, pl. 2, Base A (end of second century); (11) *ID* 1967; Courby 1912, pl. 2, Base D (end of second century); (12) *ID* 1870 (early first

century).

⁹¹ The Portico of Antigonos was located within the Sanctuary of Apollo, so the space was probably administered by some combination of local political and religious authorities. While there may have been some notion of royal prerogative over the portico and its immediate vicinity, it is unlikely that the Antigonids would have had exclusive control. A late third-century inscription from Delphi indicates that local authorities, not external political powers, controlled dedications within sacred space—even the space inside a royal portico. This Amphictyonic decree (Lefèvre et al. 2002, no. 85) forbade dedications inside the Stoa of Attalos I, except those of the king, and it authorized the removal of any unsanctioned dedications. While this decree may suggest the desire for royal prerogative over the space within the stoa, the necessity for regulation makes clear that dedicators did not always acknowledge royal prerogative without explicit direction from local authorities (and did not always with it, either). Further-

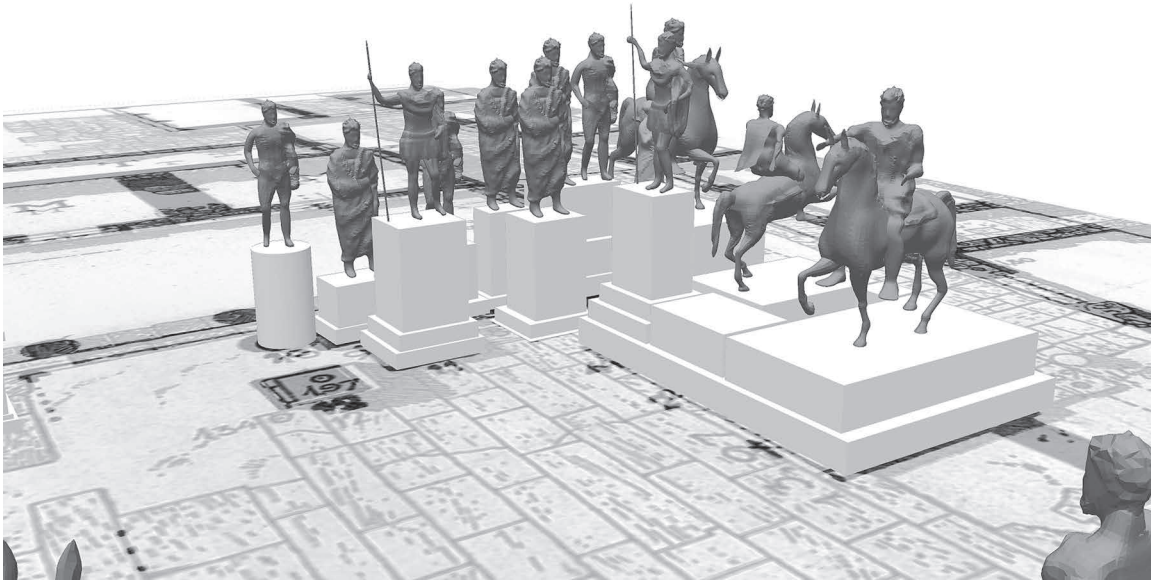


Fig. 22. Screenshot of Trimble SketchUp model, showing the final phase (after 113 B.C.E.) of the portrait monuments at the southern end of the dromos (E. Baltes).

230s, for example, Eumedes, minister and arbitrator of Antigonos Gonatas, set up a portrait statue of his father along the dromos (Base 25) rather than in front of the Portico of Antigonos. His choice suggests that, despite his political ties to Antigonos, the dromos was the more prestigious and desirable location in which to set up the statue. The shift, then, in honorific activity to the Portico of Antigonos in the 130s is likely due to the lack of available space along the dromos.

The inscribed monuments and preserved foundation courses suggest the following patterns of dedication. As on the dromos, the exedra appears to have been a popular monument type; about 20 are reconstructed on Courby's plan (see fig. 24). There are also foundations for long monument bases that would have accommodated multiple statues (e.g., fig. 24[5, 15, 37]), for large and impressive orthostate bases (e.g., fig. 24[1, 26, 46, 47]), and for pedestal-type bases for single statues (e.g., fig. 24[49, 50, C]). Based on the array of spatial strategies employed, as well as the occasionally haphazard positioning of monuments, space does not seem to have been as tightly controlled

here as it was along the dromos. The orientation and placement of these later monuments seem to have been loosely organized around the Monument of the Progonoi and, in particular, the Mycenaean tomb. A statue of King Antiochos VIII Euergetes, for example, was set up after 127 on a large base (Base 1) right next to the Monument of the Progonoi,⁹² while a series of monument bases (Bases 2–5) follow the same line established by the Progonoi and cluster closely around the Mycenaean tomb. Base 26, which was adorned with a Doric entablature and would have supported a large and particularly fine monument (perhaps a royal equestrian statue), is oriented along the same line as the Mycenaean tomb. Also in line with this venerable monument is the semicircular exedra (Base 44) that supported statues of the family of Nikion of Marathon; this monument was set up sometime in the second half of the second century.⁹³ The placement of other monument foundations suggests a jockeying for space in a rapidly expanding and increasingly crowded statue landscape. Base 4, for example, is wedged between Base 5 and the large square platform originally

more, royal prerogative over space in front of the Portico of Antigonos does not explain the lag in dedicatory activity after the collapse of the Antigonid dynasty in 168. While most of the nonroyal statues dedicated at the portico were set up after this point, the increase in dedicatory activity began only ca.

130—i.e., when space on the dromos was limited.

⁹² Courby 1912, 87, pl. 2, Base 1; Dittenberger 1986, no. 259; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 7.15.

⁹³ *ID* 1968; Courby 1912, pl. 2, Base 44; von Thüngen 1994, no. 88.



Fig. 23. Base 4 for the bronze statue of Marcus Antonius, set up by the demos of Prostaenna in Pisidia (S. Dillon).

thought to have supported the Exedra of Thrasydeios.⁹⁴ Exedra 36 takes advantage of the small but prestigious space available between the Mycenaean tomb and Base 37. Exedra 7 and Base 6, which may have faced the portico, were likewise attempting to draw on the prestige of the Mycenaean tomb through their location. But since location would also ideally be chosen with regard to greatest visibility, they were most likely set up prior to the row containing Bases 31–35, which would have blocked their sight lines and restricted the flow of traffic between the portico and these bases. The placement of statues against the facade of the portico wings, which restricted access to

the portico, most likely happened only when there was no more available space in the northern line of monuments facing the portico. Of these monuments, the base for the statue of the priest Ammonios (Base 50) alone is preserved; it is dated to 102/1.⁹⁵ Also set up at the end of the second century was the series of exedras (Bases A–D) built against the temenos wall, at the southeastern end of the portico. These include a family exedra of Artemidoros of Melite (Base A)⁹⁶ and one of Titos of Herakleia (Base D).⁹⁷ Finally, Bases 12–15 were clearly some of the last to be set up in the vicinity of the portico, as their awkward, angled position indicates. These statue bases, like Bases 1–4 on the southeastern end of the dromos (see fig. 21), were supported as a group by a massive platform. Like the platform on the dromos, this late addition to the monument landscape severely restricted the flow of traffic at one end of the portico. The angled position of the platform maximizes the available space, while the skewed orientation of the monuments makes them stand out, creating, in effect, a new *epiphaneistatos topos*.

A COMPARISON OF STATUE DEDICATIONS ALONG THE DROMOS AND IN FRONT OF THE PORTICO OF ANTIGONOS

The same kinds of statue dedications that were taking place along the dromos also occurred in front of the Portico of Antigonos, although the spatial dynamics of dedication played out quite differently in the two contexts. The two spaces also appear to have developed somewhat differently over time. The tendency along the dromos was, when possible, to set up statues directly in front of the buildings and facing toward the processional way, thereby defining and formalizing a single, open thoroughfare leading from the port to the main propylon of the Sanctuary of Apollo. Admittedly, the placement of statues is not so tidy at the southern and northern ends of the dromos, where both atypical orientation and double-parking may have been employed as strategies of visibility, distinction, and association once space adjacent to the porticoes was limited. These same tactics of dedication are visible at the Portico of Antigonos, although competing strategies caused the space as a whole to develop quite differently from the dromos. By the beginning of the first century, many of the monuments in front of the

⁹⁴ Recent observations made by Étienne (2007, 1010–11) call into question the mid second-century date for Exedras 3 (the Exedra of Thrasydeios) and 7, as well as the original location of Exedra 3 and the orientation of Exedra 7. Although Courby's (1912, fig. 24) plan indicates that Exedra 7 faced south, Étienne (2007) proposes that it would have actually faced north.

⁹⁵ *ID* 1656; Courby 1912, 85, 90, 93 n. 2, pl. 2, Base 50; Marcadé 1957, 38; Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.76.

⁹⁶ *ID* 1962; Courby 1912, pl. 2, Base A; von Thüngen 1994, no. 74.

⁹⁷ *ID* 1967; Courby 1912, pl. 2, Base D; von Thüngen 1994, no. 76.

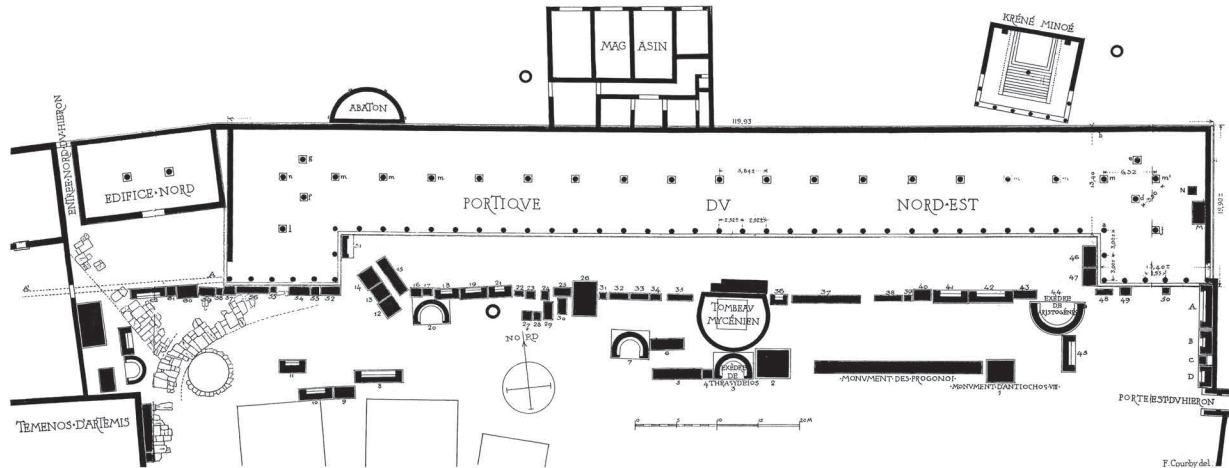


Fig. 24. Plan of the Portico of Antigonos and nearby constructions, ca. 50 B.C.E. (Courby 1912, pl. 2).

Portico of Antigonos were organized into two roughly parallel lines. The northern row of monuments faced toward the portico and was aligned with the Mycenaean tomb enclosure and the front of the projecting wings. The southern row of monuments was aligned with the Monument of the Progonoi, and the statues faced south, their backs toward the portico. Several monuments were set up adjacent to the wings of the portico—some oriented toward the center of the portico, others facing south. The main body of the building was left conspicuously open; thus, in contrast to the South Stoa and the Portico of Philip, the Portico of Antigonos could be entered at almost any point along its length. Still other monuments seem to eschew direct association with the main rows of monuments, banking on some degree of splendid isolation through an odd or askew orientation. Rather than creating one large thoroughfare, the spatial strategies employed in the placement of the statues in front of the Portico of Antigonos divided the space into separate pathways and distinct lanes of viewing. As a result, visibility in this space was not as controlled or as standardized as it was along the dromos, and the choice of location as well as orientation within this particular landscape must have been a crucial part of the dedication process: here, there were simply more options. The variety in the placement and orientation of the monuments in front of the Portico of Antigonos also underscores the complexity of circulation through this space; in contrast to the dromos, the portico area provided many ways to proceed to a wider variety of destinations.

A brief examination of these two contexts in chronological relation to each other further underscores the priority of location, in a broader sense, in the dedication

of portrait monuments on Delos. Despite the Portico of Antigonos' grander size, more elaborate decoration, and proximity to the sacred buildings of the sanctuary, the dromos seems to have been the favored location for statue dedication from the second half of the third century until sometime in the third quarter of the second century. As mentioned above, Eumenes, who had a clear connection to Antigonos, chose to set up the statue of his father on the dromos in front of the South Stoa (Base 25) instead of in front of the Portico of Antigonos. And rather than taking advantage of the more open space in front of the Portico of Antigonos, Sosistratos chose to set up his two-figure monument (Base 6) on the dromos, wedging it into a cramped spot between two existing statue dedications. The entire buildup of the southern end of the dromos toward the end of the second century, with the dense double-parking of statues and the construction of a large foundation on which to set up more monuments, indicates a clear preference on the part of the dedicators to locate their statues in this space. It is surely not coincidental that portrait monuments began to be set up in front of the Portico of Antigonos in significant numbers only in about the 130s, when space on the dromos was nearly filled. The attractiveness of the dromos for statue dedications, even when it was crowded with monuments, was undoubtedly due to the fact that anyone arriving on the island would likely have first passed through this space, and any formal religious procession, with all the attendant fanfare and crowds, would have proceeded along the so-called Avenue of the Processions.

The inscribed bases from the Portico of Antigonos show that some of the same kinds of subjects we find on the dromos were honored with statues on the por-

tico as well. Family monuments are common and represent individuals from both Athens and more distant places, such as Velia and Herakleia.⁹⁸ In addition to the Monument of the Progonoi, the bases for King Antiochos VIII Epiphanes and for Krokos, navarch and strategos of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, show the presence of royal subjects and those with close royal connections.⁹⁹ Based on the available evidence, however, two differences do emerge—the absence at the Portico of Antigonos of statues of local officials, such as *epimeletai*, and the presence there of priestly honours (the statues of Ammonios, priest of Apollo, and of Sosandra, *kanephoros* at the Lenaia and Dionysia and subpriestess of Artemis).¹⁰⁰ Both statues were “signed” by the sculptors who made them: Demonstratos, son of Demonstratos, of Athens and Hephaistion, son of Myron, of Athens, respectively. Hephaistion also made several statues on the dromos, and it is to the sculptors on the dromos that we now turn.

SCULPTORS ON THE DROMOS

Delos is well known as an important center of sculptural production and as a site that has produced a large number of sculptors’ “signatures.”¹⁰¹ On the dromos, 13 of the approximately 33 portrait statue monuments that are preserved—almost 40%—include the name of the sculptor who made the statue (fig. 25; see appx.). This is an impressive concentration of sculptors’ signatures: the only other context to have produced more signed portrait statue bases is the Sanctuary of Apollo.¹⁰² The names of eight different sculptors are preserved; three of them made more than one statue. They are, in roughly chronological order: Thoinias, son of Teisikrates, of Sikyon (ca. 240–180); Aristophilos, son of Eusthenes, of Corinth (late third century); Agoralios (or Agorallos), son of Sarpedon, of Delos (ca. 200); Polianthes, son of Sokrates, of Cyrene (first half of second century);

Hephaistion, son of Myron, of Athens (last third of second century); Boethos and Theodosios (120s); and Philotechnos, son of Herodos, of Samos (last quarter of second century). Eight of the signed bases belong to the period between 250 and 150;¹⁰³ the other five date to between 150 and 100.¹⁰⁴ All the sculptors specialized in making portrait statues. Most seem to have worked only on Delos; two are known from signed bases found elsewhere. After a brief overview of the evidence for each sculptor, we consider what the practice of signing may have meant.

Three of the sculptors’ names—Aristophilos, Boethos, and Theodosios—are known only from a single signature. Aristophilos’ name appears beneath the inscription for the statue of Telemnestos on the exedra of Soteles (Base 57), although Aristophilos was surely responsible for all three of the bronze statues that stood on this monument.¹⁰⁵ Aristophilos’ hometown of Corinth was a center of bronze production whose products were highly sought after and prized in antiquity.¹⁰⁶ Boethos and Theodosios both signed the statue of the *epimeletes* Epigenes (Base 67).¹⁰⁷ Neither name includes a patronymic or ethnic, which might suggest that the sculptors were well known; Boethos is certainly a very famous artist’s name. In fact, the format reads like a “great-man” style nominative,¹⁰⁸ but it seems unlikely (because of difficulties of chronology) that this Boethos is the famous Boethos of Chalcedon, a silversmith who also produced high-quality bronzes in the first half of the second century. Perhaps this Boethos is a relative of the more famous Boethos—a nephew or grandson.¹⁰⁹ Nothing can be either said or surmised about his partner, Theodosios.

We have more evidence for the other sculptors. Two of them—Thoinias of Sikyon and Philotechnos of Samos—made only one monument each on Delos, but both are known from signed bases found elsewhere. Thoinias was one of the last sculptors of the Sikyonian

⁹⁸ *ID* 1968 (family exedra of Nikion of Marathon), 1965 (exedra for the brothers Thrasydeios and Agathokles of Velia), 1962 (family exedra of Artemidoros of Melite), 1967 (family exedra of Titos of Herakleia).

⁹⁹ *ID* 1528 (statue of Krokos); Dittenberger 1986, no. 259 (statue of King Antiochos VIII Epiphanes).

¹⁰⁰ *ID* 1656 (statue of Ammonios of the deme Pamboutadai), 1870 (statue of Sosandra, daughter of Sarapion of the deme Melite).

¹⁰¹ Marcadé (1957) and Stewart (1979) are still the best sources.

¹⁰² This is suggested by the signatures collected by Marcadé (1957), who lists 31 signed bases from the Sanctuary of Apollo: *IG* 11 4 1077, 1089, 1098, 1105, 1129, 1128, 1131, 1182, 1211, 1212; *ID* 1, 9, 47, 52, 1540, 1631, 1644, 1648, 1649, 1656, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1969, 2010,

2501, 2502.

¹⁰³ *IG* 11 4 1088, 1173, 1178, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1195, 1716.

¹⁰⁴ *ID* 1547, 1548 (single statue base for two statues), 1643, 1647, 1703, 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Vollkommer 2007, s.v. “Aristophilos.”

¹⁰⁶ Mattusch 1977.

¹⁰⁷ *ID* 1703; Marcadé 1957, 32–33; Stewart 1990, 305–306; Vollkommer 2007, s.v. “Boethos (III),” “Theodosios (I).” Sculptural collaboration was not common on Delos; this base is only one of four from the whole of the Hellenistic period (Goodlett 1989, 199–205).

¹⁰⁸ For the concept of the “great-man” style nominative, which typically leaves out patronymic and ethnic, see Ma 2007, 207.

¹⁰⁹ Linfert 1994, 833, 836 (with stemma); Vollkommer 2007, s.v. “Boethos (II).”

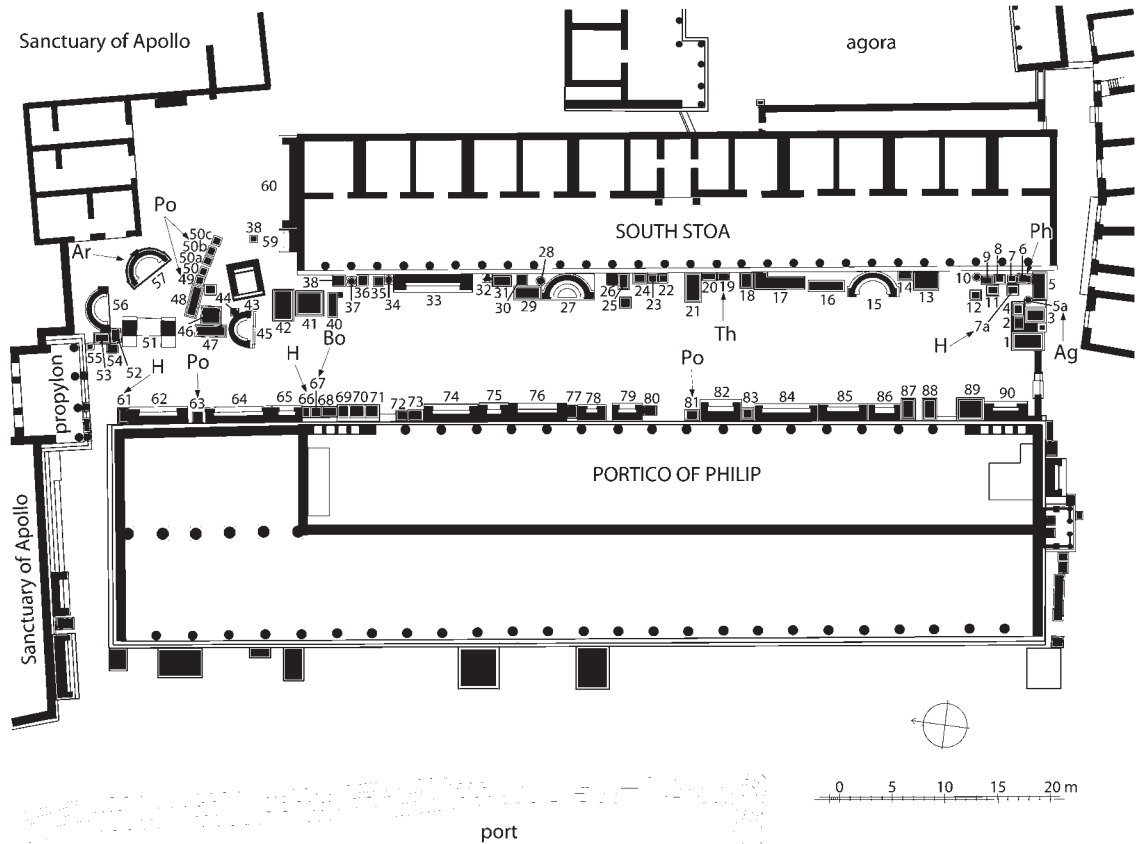


Fig. 25. Locations of statue bases along the dromos “signed” by their sculptors (Ag = Agoralios of Delos; Ar = Aristophilos of Corinth; Bo = Boethos and Theodosios; H = Hephaestion of Athens; Ph = Philotechnos of Samos; Po = Polianthes of Cyrene; Th = Thoinias of Sikyon). Numerals indicate base numbers (drawing by E. Baltès; modified from Vallois 1923, pl. 9).

school who would have been able to claim a distant connection to the great Lysippos; his father, Teisikrates, was said to have made statues barely distinguishable from those of the great master.¹¹⁰ While Thoinias may have been less distinguished and less celebrated than his father, who is mentioned by Pliny, he, too, received commissions from high-class clientele in several cities. And like his father before him, Thoinias seems to have done much of his work around Boeotia.¹¹¹ In addition to the base on Delos (Base 19), the only occurrence of his signature on the island, six others

are known: two from the sculptor’s native Sikyon, two from the Amphiareion at Oropos, one from Tanagra, and one from Pergamon. The subjects of Thoinias’ statues were quite varied, although most were portraits: at Sikyon, statues of Philip V¹¹² and a very successful young boxer and *pankratist* named Kallistratos;¹¹³ at Oropos, a portrait of Herakleitos of Halicarnassos, the renowned poet and a friend of Kallimachos,¹¹⁴ and an equestrian statue that was reused in the first century to honor Caesar’s assassin, Brutus;¹¹⁵ at Pergamon, a statue of a dancing satyr;¹¹⁶ and on Delos, the statue

¹¹⁰ Stewart 1990, 200–1; Vollkommer 2007, s.v. “Thoinias.”

¹¹¹ Plin., *HN* 34.66–7. For a list of works by Teisikrates, see Skalet 1928, 123–25; Griffin 1982, 144 n. 6. In addition to those sculptures mentioned in the literary sources, there are inscribed bases from Eretria, Oropos, Thebes, and Mount Ptoion. For the dates of Teisikrates’ career, see Müller 1989.

¹¹² *IG* 4 427.

¹¹³ *IG* 4 428.

¹¹⁴ *IG* 7 431; see also Swinnen 1970, esp. 47–8.

¹¹⁵ For the signature, see *IG* 7 384. For the reinscription for Brutus, see *IG* 7 383. For a drawing of the monument, see Petrakos 1997, 363–65, no. 451.

¹¹⁶ *SEG* 39 1334; Müller 1989, 518–19. On the statue of the dancing satyr, dedicated to Dionysos and King Attalos I, see Moreno 1994.

perhaps depicting a Hellenistic queen.¹¹⁷ We have only three bases with Philotechnos' signature:¹¹⁸ one from his native Samos, for a statue of a high-ranking Roman official set up by the Samian demos; one from Tralles, for a statue of a victorious athlete; and the one from Delos, for the statues of Krateros and Prince Antiochos Philopator (Base 6).¹¹⁹

Agoralios,¹²⁰ Polianthes,¹²¹ and Hephaistion,¹²² in contrast, appear to have worked almost exclusively on Delos. Agoralios, who was active ca. 200, is known for four statue bases: two from the dromos, for the statues of Nikokleia (Base 5a) and Demeas;¹²³ and two from the Sanctuary of Apollo, whose subjects' names are not preserved.¹²⁴ Polianthes made no less than four portrait monuments that stood on the dromos—Aristokrateia (Base 63), Phokritos (Base 49), Demares (Base 50b), and Herakleides of Tarentum (Base 81)—and an additional two portrait monuments that stood elsewhere on the island.¹²⁵ Polianthes' commissions were mostly from private individuals—close friends or family members of the honorand—and he made primarily portrait monuments, although of varied subjects. His portrait monument of the banker

Herakleides, which he made in the 160s, may well have been his last commission on the island. The only other statue known to have been made by him after this is a bronze Roma set up by the demos of the Melians on Melos in ca. 15.¹²⁶ Hephaistion made three statues on the dromos: one of the *epimeletes* Epigenes;¹²⁷ another of Menophilos, the *epimeletes* of the *emporion*;¹²⁸ and a third of Apollodoros, son of Kroisos, of Marathon, set up by Menophilos of Naxos.¹²⁹ Hephaistion's signature is found on five additional bases from Delos, all portrait statues for mostly Athenian clients, three of which come from the Portico of Antigonos.¹³⁰ These include the portrait of Sosandra and a double portrait monument that depicted the Athenians Asklepiades and Diokles (father and son).¹³¹

The decade of the 120s was clearly a very busy time for Hephaistion, as it was for his son Eutyichides, who was also making bronze portrait statues on Delos—many for Athenian clients—during this same period.¹³² Eutyichides' career appears to have been much longer than his father's, and his signature is preserved on almost twice as many bases from the island. At the Portico of Antigonos, he collaborated with Agasias of

¹¹⁷ *IG* 11 4 1088. Thoinias seems mostly to have worked on high-profile private projects, although he did on occasion have public commissions; in addition to the Delian statue, his equestrian statue at Oropos was also probably a dedication of the demos. Of the eight equestrian portrait monuments from Oropos that still preserve their inscriptions, all were dedicated by the demos. These monuments, most of which were originally from the third century, were reused in the first century to honor Roman officers. The original statues were undoubtedly simply reused, with new inscriptions added to the bases. In most cases, the name of the original sculptor was preserved; he was, after all, still the maker of the statue (Siedentopf 1968, 127–32).

¹¹⁸ Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Philotechnos."

¹¹⁹ For the statues from Samos and Tralles, see Marcadé 1957, 87–8. For the statues from Delos, see *ID* 1547, 1548; Durbach 1977, nos. 109, 110.

¹²⁰ Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Agoralios oder Agorallos."

¹²¹ Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Polianthes."

¹²² Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Hephaistion (III)."

¹²³ *IG* 11 4 1195 (Nikokleia), 1178 (Demeas).

¹²⁴ *IG* 11 4 1089 (in situ south of the prytaneion), 1211 (southeast of Hypostyle Hall).

¹²⁵ The sculptor's two other Delian commissions were for a statue of the Numidian King Manissa set up by his friend Hermon (*IG* 11 4 1115 [found in 1878 at an unrecorded find-spot]) and for a statue of Theaios (*IG* 11 4 1182) dedicated by both the male and female members of the honorand's family and set up near the prytaneion. While the inscription on this base is fragmentary, the base itself is beautifully preserved, with a delicately modeled relief representation of a laurel crown in an inset box beneath the inscription and with the fittings for a bronze statue on the crowning course. See Marcadé (1957, 104) for a photograph.

¹²⁶ *IG* 12 3 1097; *SEG* 18 327; 48 1085, 2050.

¹²⁷ *ID* 1643; Marcadé 1957, 58–9.

¹²⁸ *ID* 1647 (during the archonship of Nikias and Isigenes and so closely dated).

¹²⁹ *ID* 2007. This portrait monument, which represented the subject in bronze standing with both feet flat on the ground, was placed directly in front of a slightly earlier statue—a statue of Zeuxis from Smyrna set up by Hephaistion from Acharnae between 150 and 130 (*ID* 2012)—effectively blocking it from view.

¹³⁰ *ID* 1870 (a statue of Sosandra set up by her father, Sarapion of the Athenian deme Melite, near the Portico of Antigonos), 2076 (a statue of the priest Neon, of the deme Leukonoion, set up in 123/2 in Sarapieion C), 1966 (a family monument with statues of an Athenian father and brother, Asklepiades and Diokles, set up near the Portico of Antigonos), 2500 (a base from Sarapieion C with only the sculptor's signature preserved), 2008 (a base for Amyntas of Knidos set up by Aphrodisios of Soleus, which is now in the Leeds City Museum [the original provenance is not known]). The only one that can be precisely dated is the statue of Neon set up in the priesthood of Demophilos, son of Polykleos, of the deme Alopeke. Neon actually held the priesthood himself in 130/29 (*ID* 2043; 2610, line 12).

¹³¹ For the portrait of Sosandra, see *ID* 1870; Dillon 2010, 42, 44, 55, appx. 3, no. 11. For Asklepiades and Diokles, see *ID* 1966. The third base for a single statue is very poorly preserved, and only part of Hephaistion's name is visible (*ID* 2501).

¹³² Eutyichides, son of Hephaistion, signed 16 bases on Delos; his working dates are ca. 126/5–89/8. He seems to have made mostly portraits and to have worked for many of the same patrons as his father (Marcadé 1957, 46–55; Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Eutyichides [III]").

Ephesos on a family exedra that included three bronze statues: Eutychides made the statue of Theodora, while Agasias was responsible for the statue of Theodora's son, Satyros.¹³³ The inscription for the third statue, perhaps of Titos, father of Satyros and husband of Theodora, is not preserved. Both these sculptors were exceedingly well known and were the two most active sculptors on the island in the late second to early first centuries. Agasias worked in both bronze and marble, frequently collaborated with other sculptors, and seems to have been a favorite of the Italians on Delos. Eutychides seems to have worked only in bronze and to have made statues mostly for Athenians. Also from Athens was the only other sculptor whose signature is preserved on bases from the Portico of Antigonos: Demostratos, son of Demostratos, of Athens made a bronze portrait of Ammonios, priest of Apollo, that stood dead center in front of the portico's east wing, in close proximity to the exedra signed by Eutychides and Agasias.¹³⁴ Like Eutychides, Demostratos came from a family of sculptors; the signature of his brother Zoilos appears on a base for a bronze statue in the Agora of the Competaliasts.¹³⁵

Why did these sculptors "sign" the bases of the portrait monuments they made, while most sculptors—the majority actually—did not? For even on Delos, where we have a large number of sculptors' signatures, most portraits went unsigned; from the period between 166 and the end of the first century, only about 20%

of portrait monument bases record the name of the sculptor.¹³⁶ Can any patterns be discerned? What conclusions can we draw? First, some observations. On the one hand, it is clear that the sculptor was not as important as either the dedicator of the statue or the subject of the portrait: the sculptor's signature is always cut in smaller letters and placed on a separate line, usually at some distance below the main dedicatory text.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the inclusion of the sculptor's name on a statue base suggests that it must have carried some importance and prestige. Otherwise, it would not have been included in the first place, and in most cases it was not. The sculptor's signature, which acts as a supplement to the dedicatory text, draws attention to the fact that the statue is an object made by a specific, named individual, whose contribution to the monument is explicitly recorded and communicated to the viewer by the statement that "so and so made it." But is the inclusion of the sculptor's name primarily an expression of the sculptor's status—his claim to artistic pride and originality—as is sometimes argued, or might something else be at work?¹³⁸ Viviers has recently argued that in trying to understand artists' signatures and the work that they were meant to do, it might be useful to shift our focus away from the producer and/or workshop to the client; he suggests that the inclusion of an artist's signature may have less to do with the name of the specific artist and more to do with the fact of the signature itself.¹³⁹ That is, the name

¹³³ Agasias was active in the first decade of the first century, and his signature is preserved on 14 bases or fragments on Delos. Six of his statues were displayed in the Agora of the Italians; three of these were made in association with Aristandros, son of Skopas, of Paros. For the statues Agasias made on Delos, see *ID* 1657 (a statue of Aropos, dedicated by the Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks), 1696 (a portrait of L. Munatius Plancus), 1699 (a large marble base from the Agora of the Italians with a fragmentary Latin inscription and Agasias' signature), 1710 (a portrait of Billienus made in association with Aristandros, displayed in the Agora of the Italians), 1725 (a portrait of Marius Gerillanus), 1849 (a base fragment preserving the artist's signature), 1967 (a portrait of Satyros on Exedra D near the Portico of Antigonos [see also von Thüngen 1994, 109–10, cat. no. 76, pl. 53, Beilage 33.1]), 2001 (a portrait of L. Orbius), 2489 (a molding in the form of an ionic column base from the Hypostyle Hall, on which only the sculptor's signature is preserved), 2491 (a base fragment preserving the artist's signature), 2492 (base fragments preserving the artist's signature), 2493 (a fine but fragmentary base molding preserving only the artist's signature), 2494 (a block of marble from the Agora of the Italians, preserving the signatures of both Agasias and Aristandros), 2495 (a base fragment preserving part of the artist's name); see also Marcadé 1957, 4–11.

¹³⁴ *ID* 1656; Marcadé 1957, 38–9; Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Demostratos (I)." Demostratos is known for only one other

portrait (also on Delos), a statue of L. Cornelius Lentulus dedicated by Romans, Italians, and Greeks (*ID* 1694).

¹³⁵ *ID* 2499; Marcadé 1957, 135; Vollkommer 2007, s.v. "Zoilos (V)."

¹³⁶ Numbers derived from Stewart 1979, 66 (179 unsigned portraits between 166 and 0 vs. 40 signed portraits over the same period). The number of sculptors' signatures cited by Osborne (2010, 242, table 3; see also Marcadé 1957) appears impressive (150 signed bases between 275 and 75), but it needs to be placed within this larger context. The percentage of signed bases is quite low compared with, e.g., the 60% of fifth-century victor statues at Olympia that were signed (Smith 2007, 101, appx.).

¹³⁷ While we cannot claim to have carried out a systematic and detailed study of the style and technique of the letter cutting, the impression we have is that the main dedicatory text and the sculptor's signature were cut by the same hand. We follow Tanner (1999, 161), therefore, in interpreting the small size of the sculptor's name as indicating the "relatively small importance attributed to the artist in the communicative process accomplished in setting up a work of art."

¹³⁸ For a summary of previous scholarship on the status of artists in ancient Greece, see Tanner 1999.

¹³⁹ Viviers 2006, esp. 150–54. See also Tanner (1999, 142) for the argument that "the practice of signing however, has no intrinsic meaning but must rather be embedded in a broader context of social relations."

gives additional prestige to the object, and it is the client who is the principal beneficiary of that surplus prestige. In Viviers' words, "the client is king."¹⁴⁰ While he is focusing mostly on Greek ceramics (although he does briefly discuss sculptors), Viviers' move toward a more diverse approach, which includes exploring the social aspects of signing and what signatures might say about the client's role in commissions, is a helpful one for scholars trying to understand what is going on with sculptors' signatures on Delos.¹⁴¹

We suggest, therefore, that there are perhaps three social hierarchies being expressed in these inscriptions. One hierarchy is that between patron and honorand, in which the emphasis could shift from one to the other depending on the particular circumstances of the dedication and the individuals involved. In most cases, the name of the dedicator comes first, but sometimes the name of the honorand is positioned at the top of the inscription. Another social hierarchy is that of patron, honorand, and sculptor, in which the sculptor always occupies the position of least importance, clearly expressed by the smaller size of the lettering and the placement of the signature lower down on the base. The third is the hierarchy of value among the sculptors themselves—those sculptors whose signatures are included on the bases of the statues they made have a higher position in this hierarchy than those whose names are not. As Schultz has recently argued in an important article on sculptors at Epidaurus, "certain sculptors seem to have been considered to be master artists or master craftsmen by their peers and within their communities."¹⁴² At Epidaurus, this hierarchy of value was expressed through the differing amounts that sculptors were paid, which were directly connected to the differing skills, techniques, and styles of their work. Although we lack the physical evidence (inscribed contracts and sculptures) found at Epidaurus, we might imagine a similar hierarchy of value at work on Delos—one in which the sculptors whose names were included on a statue's base were recognized as master artists whose work was in high demand and who were probably paid accordingly. Hephaestion and his son Eutychides certainly fit this profile: Hephaestion made at least nine bronze statues on Delos during the last few decades of the second

century, while Eutychides made at least 18.¹⁴³ This family constituted a real sculptural powerhouse on the island: between the two of them, we have bases for 27 statues, which suggests that originally there must have been many more. Theirs was clearly not only a very busy but also a very large workshop. With this high density of production, we should think of Hephaestion and Eutychides as workshop owners who were also successful entrepreneurs. Being able to commission either of these sculptors to make a statue must have been a real coup, a mark of surplus status that the patron would want to advertise on the monument itself. Agasias of Ephesos must also belong in this group; given the large number of his commissions, he was clearly a sculptor whose work was in high demand, particularly by the Roman-Italian community. By contrast, a sculptor might be brought in from afar specifically for a single commission, as in the cases of Thoinias of Sikyon, Aristophilos of Corinth, and Philotechnos of Samos. With these sculptors, it may have been the very rarity of their work on Delos that was a mark of status, hence their signatures on the statue bases.

There may also have been something locational about sculptors' signatures. By mapping the occurrence of signatures on the dromos, we can see that they tend to cluster in the middle and at the ends of each portico (see fig. 25). These are the locations that initially tended to be the most favored in the case of the South Stoa; monuments were set up here first, and later ones were added in between. Because of patterns of circulation, these locations would probably have continued to be the most prestigious even after statues began to fill in the available space in front of both facades. The dense accumulation and double-parking of statues at either end of the South Stoa would seem to suggest that this was indeed the case. Statues by master artists could claim prestige locations; or, to put it another way that may better reflect ancient realities, those patrons who could commission master artists to make their monuments also had the power to negotiate the best locations for them. In fact, we would argue that it was surely the person or group who commissioned the statue that decided whether to include the sculptor's name on the base, and not the sculptor himself.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰Viviers 2006, 154.

¹⁴¹This is also explored in Tanner 1999.

¹⁴²Schultz 2009, 75. See also Tanner 1999, 142: "inscribed 'signatures' . . . set artists apart from other classical craftsmen who were asserting comparable pride in their accomplishment."

¹⁴³Numbers from Marcadé 1957; Vollkommer 2007.

¹⁴⁴Cf. Viviers (1992), who argues that master sculptors of

the Archaic period would have had the privilege of signing their own names to sculptural works or would have assigned another sculptor in their workshop to do so. The notion that sculptors decided whether to sign is usually implied rather than explicitly stated in discussions of sculptors' signatures (e.g., Osborne 2010). We would agree with Tanner (1999, 158) that "control of the inscription as a framing device was in the hands of the people who commissioned the work of art."

The competition for the best sculptors and the best locations must have been fierce, particularly during the last quarter of the second century, when sculptural production on the island seems to have been at its height and available space along the dromos at a premium. We can glimpse something of this contest of monuments in the two statues of the *epimeletes* Epigenes set up in 127/6. Two different groups commissioned these statues: the merchants and the shipowners set up one;¹⁴⁵ the Athenians resident and Romans present on Delos set up the other.¹⁴⁶ The statues appear to have stood next to each other in front of the northern wall of the original Portico of Philip, directly opposite the earlier Attalid royal dedications. Both statues stood on bases of the same size and type: a block of blue-gray stone for the shaft, with thick, white-marble molded courses both above and below (fig. 26). Both inscriptions are beautifully cut with well-spaced letters; both name the dedicators first and then the subject of the statue; both praise the subject for his arete and his *dikaiousune*; both statues are dedicated to Apollo; and both are signed by the sculptors who made them. The merchants and shipowners commissioned Boethos and Theodosios; the Athenians and Romans commissioned Hephaistion, son of Myron, of Athens. The letter size of the sculptors' signatures are the same on both, although Hephaistion's name appears 18 cm below the main text, while Boethos and Theodosios' signature is separated from the main text by 26 cm. This is Boethos and Theodosios' only statue on Delos; the statue made by Hephaistion appears to be his first. The names of both Boethos and Hephaistion evoke impeccable artistic pedigrees. One would very much like to know what these statues looked like—how similar were they in appearance? The only thing we know for sure is that both statues were made of bronze and stood in contrapposto, with the weight on the left leg and the right set quite a bit back on the plinth.¹⁴⁷ Both statues therefore stood in a pose that suggested vigorous movement, which would have set them apart from those that stood in a much quieter, more relaxed pose with both feet flat on the base, such as the base with sandaled foot for a statue of an *epimeletes* now in the Archaeological Museum of Delos.¹⁴⁸ Both were dressed probably in civic costume of himation and tunic, as *epimeletai* were civic (or reli-



Fig. 26. Base for the statue of the *epimeletes* Epigenes set up by the Athenians resident and Romans present on Delos. The statue was made by Hephaistion, son of Myron, of Athens (S. Dillon).

gious) officials. The following section explores what more can be said about the appearance of the other statues that stood on the dromos and the possible effects that such a large crowd of portrait monuments may have had on sculptural style.

STATUES AND SCULPTURAL STYLE

With about 90 statue bases supporting about 130 bronze statues in a space approximately 10 m wide x 80 m long, the Delian dromos arguably had more portrait statues per square meter than any other context in Delos or elsewhere in the Hellenistic period. Did this large number of monuments affect the

¹⁴⁵ *ID* 1703 (Base 67).

¹⁴⁶ *ID* 1643 (Base 66).

¹⁴⁷ The placement of the feet is clearest in the well-preserved crowning course for the statue made by Hephaistion. For an illustration of the top, see Marcadé 1957, 58. The crowning course for the statue made by Boethos and Theodosios is only

partly preserved but seems to show a similar stance. For an illustration of the top, see Marcadé 1957, 32.

¹⁴⁸ Delos, Archaeological Museum of Delos, inv. no. A 7767 (*ID* 1666 [with inv. no. given as A 1003]). The fragment was found in the Portico of Philip.

appearance of individual statues? Because the aim of a portrait statue was to be visible, to make the subject stand out as special—someone to be recognized and celebrated—how might patrons and sculptors have reclaimed prominence and visibility for their monuments in this crowded statue landscape? Standing out would, of course, have been easier during the earliest phases of statue dedications, when the number of monuments was fewer, but by the last quarter of the second century much of the dromos was filled with statues, and standing out must have become exceedingly difficult. When placement alone was no longer sufficient to guarantee visibility, what other strategies might have been used to call attention to a portrait monument, to make it stand out from the crowd?

One component of the monument that would have affected visibility and prominence was the base. Exedras, particularly the large semicircular ones, were like small buildings. The bases themselves were massive; the statues stood at a high level; and the functional aspect of exedras meant that other monuments tended not to be set up right in front of them. The seats of an exedra, semicircular or otherwise, guaranteed close physical interaction with the monument. For a single statue, one could choose a base that was larger, taller, or more striking than those of the monuments around it to call attention to the statue. The bases for Epigenes' statues, for example, are noteworthy for their striking combination of a blue-marble shaft with white-marble molded courses (see fig. 26). Both these bases are about 1.25 m tall, much taller than some of the earliest bases set up in front of the South Stoa: Base 19 for the statue of a Hellenistic queen, for example, was slightly more than 40 cm in height. Taller still are the late second-century bases double-parked at the southern end of the South Stoa: the statue of Apollodoros, which stood on a base slightly more than 1.50 m, towered over those immediately around it, while the base for the statue of Marcus Antonius set up by the demos of Prostaenna tops out at an impressive 1.75 m (see fig. 23). One could also go for bulky monumentality rather than slender verticality. Foundations 13 and 89 may have accommodated monumental orthostate bases like the one in the Portico of Antigonos for the single statue of the proconsul Billienus. At slightly more than 1 m high and nearly 3 m wide, the base for

Billienus' statue was clearly much larger than necessary for a single figure, which made the monument a major attention getter. Billienus' statue was also placed inside and at the end of the Portico of Antigonos: its isolated placement added to the monument's visual impact. Both Bases 13 and 89 are next to the southernmost entrance into their respective porticoes, a location that would have secured their visibility and enhanced their prestige.¹⁴⁹

What about the statues themselves? How might their appearance have enhanced their visual impact and made them standouts in the crowd? Here, of course, we are entering the realm of the mostly hypothetical, since none of the statues that stood on these bases is preserved. So what can we say? The evidence from preserved crowning blocks shows that the statues along the dromos were made of bronze, and the size of the footprints indicates that they were mostly life-sized, although there were several that were clearly larger (fig. 27).¹⁵⁰ The size and shape of some of the bases suggest that equestrian statues were prominent; in addition to the certain equestrian monument for Epigenes at the entrance to the dromos, Bases 21, 29, 40, 42, 87, and 88 may also have supported equestrian statues. While Epigenes' horse was shown in a calm trot, the crowning courses now standing about the area show that some of the equestrian statues were in the more dramatic rearing pose, or levade. The equestrian statues surely depicted their riders dressed in tunic and cuirass, such as the fragmentary marble equestrian statue of the Late Hellenistic period from the Agora of the Italians¹⁵¹ or the better-preserved example from the nearby island of Melos, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.¹⁵²

Most of the statues along the dromos from both single monuments and exedras were standing figures, the bodies of which are easy to visualize. The women, who were well in the minority (we have evidence for only about 12 female portrait statues), were surely represented in heavily draped statue formats. One can get a good idea of the possibilities from the preserved marble statues from Delos—for example, Kleopatra is represented in the *pudicitia* format, while the female portrait monument from the Maison du Lac is a Small Herculaneum Woman type.¹⁵³ Even if only these two formats were used for the female statues on the

¹⁴⁹The dynamics of attention getting that played out in the portrait statue monuments set up in the Agora of the Italians has recently been studied by Trümper (forthcoming).

¹⁵⁰E.g., it is evident from the size of the footprints on the base that the statue of Marius Gerillanus was over-life-sized (Schmidt 1995, cat. no. 4.1.94); there are also several crowning courses from bases for over-life-sized bronze statues set

up in the remains of the Portico of Philip and the South Stoa.

¹⁵¹Delos, Archaeological Museum of Delos, inv. no. A2229 (Marcadé et al. 1996, 200, cat. no. 90).

¹⁵²Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2715 (Kaltsas 2002, cat. no. 619 [with further bibliography]).

¹⁵³Marcadé et al. 1996, 88, cat. no. 34 (Small Herculaneum Woman); 208, cat. no. 94 (Kleopatra).

dromos, visual variety could still be achieved through a slight shift in pose or the addition of a veil. The female portrait statues were in any case so few and part of such different groupings that the visual impression was undoubtedly not one of sameness, even for statues in the same format. A *pudicitia* or Small Herculaneum Woman statue standing next to an equestrian statue (e.g., the statue of Nikokleia near that of Epigenes) probably looked quite different from either of these female statue types surrounded by standing male statues on an exedra (e.g., the female statues on the family exedra of Iason). The male statues were most likely civic himation types for the family groups and *epimel-etai*; there were also perhaps a few cuirassed figures for military types, such as Marcus Antoninus (who is called “strategos” in his base inscription), and some standing nude statues for the few Hellenistic royal figures and the statue of Donax.

Even though Greek portrait monuments employed a rather restricted language of dress and format, there was still a great deal of space for creative variation; small differences were clearly important. Figures on Hellenistic grave reliefs, preserved groups like the Daochos monument from Delphi, and the marble portrait monuments from Delos itself give us a good idea of the kind of visual variety that might easily be achieved, even in a series of standing figures. Format, pose, slight differences in costume and draping, diverse surface textures, details such as gilding, and the addition of special fringes and tassels would all have helped differentiate one statue from the next. This careful differentiation in clothing and pose suggests the real cultural value of stylistic novelty—it was a means to achieve and maintain status and identity, to stand out from the crowd. The quality of the statue itself surely also affected its visual impact. The difference between a magnificent top-of-the-line bronze statue (perhaps by a named sculptor) and one that was more run-of-the-mill was likely to have been striking. One can get some idea of the technical and aesthetic impact of a top-quality statue by comparing the bravura bronze statue of a draped woman in the Miho Museum in Japan with the adequate—but admittedly still impressive—bronze lady from Kalymnos.¹⁵⁴

Of course, the male portrait heads from Late Hellenistic Delos show an astonishing range of expressive



Fig. 27. View of the top of the base for a bronze statue of Apollodoros of Marathon, showing the empty footprints. The statue was made by Hephaisstos, son of Myron, of Athens (S. Dillon).

presentation. While the portraits share some aspects of outward appearance and sculptural style, such as close-cropped hair, deep-set eyes, full lips, and the sensuous modeling of the flesh, each is carefully and sensitively differentiated from the others. This diversity is a hallmark of Late Hellenistic/Late Republican portraiture in places other than Delos,¹⁵⁵ and it is surely due in part to the increasing number of portrait monuments set up throughout the Greek East beginning in the second century. On tiny Delos, the sheer density of portrait monuments and the influx of outsiders after 167/6 created both the conditions and the need for stylistic innovation on the local level. In other words, the large number of portrait monuments already standing on Late Hellenistic Delos called for an increasingly differentiated portrait style as a way for these new faces

¹⁵⁴For the Miho Museum statue, see Inagaki et al. 2002, 56–7, 236, cat. no. 41; Dillon 2010, 23, 198 n. 277. For the Kalymnos statue, see Dillon 2010, 14, 23, 62, 65, 110–11. On the importance of the difference between an “adequate” bronze statue and a “magnificent” one, see Smith 2007, 101. Perhaps the lack of signatures on many of the statue bases suggests that these patrons did not want to bring attention to the fact

that they had not been able to hire the best, most well-known sculptors but had to settle for second- or even third-rate talent (we thank Andrew Stewart for this suggestion).

¹⁵⁵The recent exhibition at the Capitoline Museum in Rome and the accompanying beautifully illustrated catalogue (La Rocca et al. 2011) clearly demonstrate the stylistic diversity of Hellenistic portraiture from both Italy and Greece.

to stand out from the crowd. Being Roman or Italian may have had something to do with the new portrait style¹⁵⁶—Romans and Italians were, after all, many of the new patrons and subjects of the statues set up on Delos in the later second to early first centuries—but the desire for one's portrait to be noticed in this crowded statue landscape must have been an important driving force as well. Schultz has keenly observed for fourth-century Epidauros that "changes in style . . . might be partly understood as material evidence for fierce competition among individual artists seeking to elevate themselves within the shifting hierarchies of Greek society by way of individual acts of technical virtuosity."¹⁵⁷ Similarly, we might understand the changing styles of Late Hellenistic portraiture in general, and that on Delos in particular, as material evidence for fierce competition among individual patrons. By commissioning portrait monuments made in a brash, hard-hitting style, they aimed to grab the viewer's attention and to amplify the visual prominence and standout quality of their monuments. These stylistic changes also serve as material evidence for the inventiveness and virtuosity of the individual sculptors who fulfilled these commissions.

Of course, if one desired to be noticed—and splendid isolation was the best way to achieve such attention—then there were places on Delos other than the dromos to set up a portrait monument. The facade of the Portico of Philip facing the port, for example, had only a few large monument bases standing in front of it (see fig. 3), and the Agora of the Delians just behind the South Stoa was sparsely populated with portrait monuments. But perhaps being part of the crowd on the dromos was also part of the point. We would argue that, by the late second century, the individual portrait monuments set up along the dromos had become an important ensemble, a status group—the dromos itself an *epiphanestatos topos*. The figures, some of which would now have been more than 100 years old, were part of monumental time, part of the narrative history of the Sanctuary of Apollo, a medium through which its past could be recalled and remembered. The processional way invited walking, and the many spots to sit along the dromos provided places to read and to re-

flect on this monumental past. The statues themselves multiplied the audience present to witness the sacred processions as they made their way to the Sanctuary of Apollo—with viewers seated on the benches of the exedras and perhaps perched on the other bases, the statues were like a second tier of attendees watching in rapt attention. If the visual effects of such serialization and statue crowding were sameness, homogeneity, and a loss of individuality, then new portrait styles may have developed as a reaction to these normative forces, a way to reassert elite claims.¹⁵⁸ Hellenistic sculptors were mostly an itinerant group, but they also worked in particular places and made statues for particular contexts. While sculpture tends to be studied in discrete chronological periods, with examples drawn from throughout the Greek world, there was in fact an inherent "situatedness" to sculpture making and therefore, we would argue, to sculptural style. During the considerable time they spent fulfilling these commissions, sculptors had opportunities both to observe and to respond to the statues on display around them.¹⁵⁹ Even though the evidence for reconstructing such statue assemblages is mostly very fragmentary and exceedingly difficult to piece together, detailed investigations of particular display contexts, like the dromos at Delos, might help us to move beyond the diachronic and decontextualized analysis of sculptural styles, to consider the implications—historical, spatial, artistic—of ancient sculptural assemblages.

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¹⁵⁶ Although recent scholarly opinion, particularly German scholarly opinion, has tended to argue against the idea that the style of the Delian portraits had anything to do with ethnic identity (e.g., Papini 2004, 486–91; Vorster 2007, 276, 279–80; Trümper 2008, 211–13; La Rocca et al. 2011; cf. Smith 1988, 125–28; Stewart 1990, 228.

¹⁵⁷ Schultz 2009, 76.

¹⁵⁸ Our thinking about the possible effects of statue collocations has been greatly influenced and inspired by Ma (forthcoming). The author very kindly allowed us to read the

manuscript in advance of its publication.

¹⁵⁹ The evidence for the local nature of the process of making a bronze statue is set out fully in Zimmer 1990, 2004. It is, of course, always possible that some bronze statues were made elsewhere and then shipped to their display destinations; the evidence of the Antikythera and Mahdia shipwrecks and the many bronze statues recovered from the sea show that completed bronze statues were easily transportable. Perhaps this was the case with the statues on the dromos made by out-of-town sculptors?

Appendix: Monuments on the Dromos of the
Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos

Base numbers follow Vallois 1923 (see fig. 3). Bases without numbers were recorded as having been found in the area but were not marked on Vallois' plan.

BASES SET UP CA. 250–200

Base Number: 5.
Monument Type: Equestrian statue.
Honorand: Epigenes, son of Andron, the Pergamene general.
Dedicator: King Attalos I.
Dedicated to: Apollo.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1109*.

Base Number: 8.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Donax, son of Apollonios.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1202*.

Base Number: 16.
Monument Type: Group monument.
Honorands: Aischylo(. . .) and his father, Nikarchos.
Dedicator: Mennis, son of Nikarchos.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1168*.

Base Number: 19.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Female, Hellenistic queen(?).
Dedicator: Delians.
Sculptor: Thoinias.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1088*.

Base Number: 20.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Autokles, son of Ainesidemos, from Chalcidia.
Dedicator: Autokles, his son.
Dedicated to: Apollo.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1194*.

Base Number: 25.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Phildemos, son of Pythermos of Chalcedon.
Dedicator: Eumedes, his son.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1193*.

Base Number: 27.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorand: Family group.
Dedicator: Demos of the Delians.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1090*.

Base Number: 33.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorands: Family group of Iason, Eukleia, Timokleia, Straton, Timokleia, Sillis.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1203*.

Base Number: 41.
Monument Type: Victory monument.
Honorand: Gallic dedication.
Dedicator: Attalos I(?).
Reason for Honor: Victory over Gauls.
Dedicated to: Apollo.
Sculptor: (. . .)epoiei.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1110*.

Base Number: 50c.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Aichmokritos.
Dedicator: Demos of the Delians.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1094*.

Base Number: 53.
Monument Type: Victory monument.
Dedicators: The navarch Peisistratos, son of Aristolochos of Rhodes, and his companions.
Dedicated to: Apollo.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1135*.

Base Number: 57.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorand: Soteles (right).
Dedicator: Demos of the Delians.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1086*.

Base Number: 57.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorand: Xenaino (center).
Dedicator: Soteles, son of Telemnestos, her husband.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1174*.

Base Number: 57.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorand: Telemnestos (left).
Dedicator: Soteles, son of Telemnestos, his father.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Sculptor: Aristophilos.
Reference: *IG 11 4 1173*.

Base Number: n/a.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: King Philip, son of King Demetrios.
Dedicator: *Koinon* of the Macedonians.
Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *eunoia*.

Dedicated to: Apollo(?).
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1102.

BASES SET UP CA. 200–167/6

Base Number: 5a.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Nikokleia, daughter of Aristodemos.
Dedicator: Theon, son of Stratonos of Chios.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Sculptor: Agoralios.
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1195.

Base Number: 48.
Monument Type: Group monument.
Honorands: A brother; Charopos, son of Aristoxenos of Naxos(?); third person unknown.
Dedicators: Charopos' statue dedicated by one person whose name is not preserved and Theodoros, son of Lysandros.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1199.

Base Number: 49.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Phokritos.
Dedicators: Demeas, son of Phokritos, and Prexion, mother of Phokritos.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Sculptor: Polianthes of Cyrene.
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1183.

Base Number: 50.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Timokrates.
Dedicators: His mother, Aristoxene, daughter of Timokrates; (. . .)onos, Aristokles, and Timokrates; and his cousins Euelthon, Aristodemos, and Aristophon.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1181.

Base Number: 50b.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Demares, son of Eudemos.
Dedicators: His biological parents, Eudemos and Epaino; his adoptive father, Theorylos, son of Eudemos.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Sculptor: Polianthes of Cyrene.
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1185.

Base Number: 62.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorands: Dexios, son of Philon of Chios; Parmo of Attica.
Dedicators: Philon and Biottos, their sons.

Dedicated to: The gods.
References: *IG* 11 4 1197, 1198.

Base Number: 63.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Aristokrateia.
Dedicators: Her father, Lykomedes, son of Kritias; her husband, Charistios, son of Antigonos.
Dedicated to: The gods.
Sculptor: Polianthes of Cyrene.
Reference: *IG* 11 4 1184.

BASES SET UP CA. 167/6–150

Base Number: 78.
Monument Type: Exedra.
Honorand: Menochares, son of Dionysios, friend of first rank and epistolographer of King Demetrios I of Syria.
Dedicator: Private association on Delos.
Reasons for Honor: On account of his *philotimia* and *eunoia* toward the king and the association.
Reference: *ID* 1543.

Base Number: 81.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Herakleides, son of Aristion of Tarentum.
Dedicators: His wife, Myrallis, daughter of Menekrates of Syracuse; their sons, Aristion, Aischrion, Herakleides, Menekrates, and Aristakos; and their daughters, Nikaso and Kleano.
Sculptor: Polianthes of Cyrene.
Reference: *ID* 1716.

BASES SET UP CA. 150–100

Base Number: n/a.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, consul.
Dedicator: Lucius Babillius, his friend.
Reasons for Honor: On account of his *euergesia* and *kalokagathia* toward him.
Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.
Reference: *ID* 1842.

Base Number: n/a.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Apel(. . .), *epimeletes* of Delos.
Dedicators: Athenians and other groups(?) living on Delos.
Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *eunoia*.
Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.
Reference: *ID* 1666.

Base Number: n/a.
Monument Type: Single statue.
Honorand: Menophilos, son of Lykophron of Sounion,

epimeletes of the *emporion*.

Dedicators: Athenians resident and Romans present on Delos; merchants and shipowners.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *dikaiosune*.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Sculptor: Hephaestion, son of Myron of Athens.

Reference: *ID* 1647.

Base Number: n/a.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Dionysios, son of Nikon of Pallene, *epimeletes* of Delos.

Dedicators: Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on Delos.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *dikaiosune*.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Reference: *ID* 1654.

Base Number: 4.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Marcus Antonius, *quaestor pro praetore*.

Dedicator: Demos of Prostaenna of Pisidia.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *eunoia* toward the demos.

Reference: *ID* 1603.

Base Number: 6.

Monument Type: Orthostate monument.

Honorand: Krateros, son of Krateros, of Antioch (left).

Dedicator: Sosistratos, son of Sosistratos, from Samos.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete, *eunoia*, and *philostorgia* toward him.

Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

Sculptor: Philotechnos from Samos.

Reference: *ID* 1547.

Base Number: 6.

Monument Type: Orthostate monument.

Honorand: Antiochos Philopator (right).

Dedicator: Sosistratos, son of Sosistratos, from Samos.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *eunoia* toward him.

Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

Sculptor: Philotechnos from Samos.

Reference: *ID* 1548.

Base Number: 7.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Zeuxis, son of Herodotos, from Smyrna.

Dedicator: Hephaestion, son of Aristomenos, of Acharnae.

Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

Reference: *ID* 2012.

Base Number: 7a.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Apollodoros, son of Kroisos, of Marathon.

Dedicator: Menophilos, son of Apollodoros, of Naxos.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his *kalokagathia* toward him.

Dedicated to: The gods.

Sculptor: Hephaestion, son of Myron, of Athens.

Reference: *ID* 2007.

Base Number: 50a.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Lochos, son of Kallimedes, kinsman of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Queen Kleopatra.

Dedicators: Roman merchants and shipowners who, in the capture of Alexandria, were treated kindly by King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, god.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *euergesia* toward them.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Reference: *ID* 1526.

Base Number: 66.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Epigenes, son of Dios of the deme Melite, *epimeletes* of Delos.

Dedicators: Athenians resident and Romans present on Delos.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *dikaiosune*.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Sculptor: Hephaestion, son of Myron of Athens.

Reference: *ID* 1643.

Base Number: 67.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Epigenes, son of Dios of the deme Melite, *epimeletes* of Delos.

Dedicators: Merchants and shipowners.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *dikaiosune*.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Sculptors: Boethos and Theodosios.

Reference: *ID* 1703.

Base Number: 76.

Monument Type: Exedra.

Honorands: Myro, daughter of Lykon, from the deme Myrrhinous; Myro, daughter of Theodoros.

Dedicator: Theodoros, son of Philon from Myrrhinous.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Reference: *ID* 1975.

BASES SET UP AFTER CA. 100

Base Number: n/a.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Aropos, son of Glaukon of Piraeus, *epimeletes* of Delos.

Dedicators: Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on Delos; merchants and shipowners.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *eunoia* toward them.

Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

Reference: *ID* 1658.

Base Number: n/a.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: M. Antoninus, son of Marcus, consul and censor.

Dedicator: Delians.

Reasons for Honor: Their patron.

Dedicated to: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

Reference: *ID* 1700.

Base Number: n/a.

Monument Type: Orthostate monument.

Honorand: Sulla, proconsul.

Reference: *ID* 1851.

Base Number: n/a.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: Marius Gerillanus, banker on Delos.

Dedicators: Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks living on Delos; merchants and ship owners.

Reasons for Honor: On account of his arete and *kalokagathia*.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Reference: *ID* 1726.

Base Number: 80.

Monument Type: Single statue.

Honorand: C. Fabius C.f. Hadrianus.

Dedicators: Hermolykos and Apollonios, the sons of Apollonios of Melos.

Reasons for Honor: Their benefactor.

Dedicated to: Apollo.

Reference: *ID* 2009.

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