

Exedrae as a tool of social visibility¹

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The article is focused on the public presentation of (not only) influential persons – the aristocracy, high-ranking citizens (euergetes and benefactors) in ancient Greece in the period from the end of the 5th century BC to the 2nd century AD – through structures known as *exedrae*. These architectural features, located on sites that are part of the cultural heritage, can still be found *in situ* in the entire Eastern Mediterranean region. Presented will be case examples of *exedrae* and their connection to social presentation as well as the issue of the primary purpose of their construction. In conclusion, two cases of these type of structures and its fate will be mentioned in connection with its removal from the original findspot in effort to present it in a museum.

Keywords: exedrae, scholae, social situation, euergetism, benefactorism, social visibility

1. Introduction

Exedrae represents a so-called small architecture that can be implemented as part of the musealization process. Apart from their form and primary purpose, these structures mainly carry the information that provide insight into the social situation. For this reason, the exedrae can represent link between archaeology and museology with both successful and unsuccessful musealization process, which can be delicate matter in the context of preserving the valuable information which these structures carried.

As part of the reciprocal link between archaeology and museology, the focus is primarily laid on the preservation and presentation of archaeological finds, which, based on their nature, can be stored in a depot, and occasionally (or permanently) displayed in temporary or permanent exhibitions. The theoretical foundations of these scientific disciplines and their mutual relationship within the framework of archaeological and prehistoric museology were summarized by Kirsch² in his inaugural dissertation, where he also addressed the concept of the most important representatives from Czechoslovakia. Within the formation of the archaeological phenomenon as part of museology as a science, it is, above all, necessary to

¹ The article is an output of the project: Specifický výzkum MUNI/A/1329/2022 “Muzejní prezentace II – moderní přístupy a trendy v muzejní prezentaci”.

² KIRSCH, Otakar. *Mezi teorií, praxí a ideologií. K vývoji speciálních muzeologií v českých zemích v letech 1948–1989*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, habilitační práce. 2020, pp. 127–129.

mention in this context the works of archaeologists Jiří Neustupný³ and Karel Sklenář,⁴ even though they primarily paid attention to objects of movable material culture. Their ideas and works laid the foundations for the formation of the relationship between archaeology and museology, especially in the field of prehistoric and historical archaeology in the Central European region. The museologist Zbyněk Zbyslav Stránský⁵ has described in his publication classical archaeology in the context of architecture. He paid his attention to fragmentary and often schematic descriptions of buildings, which, according to him, were related to a form of presentation and preservation of various objects. On the example of his text on Delphi, in which he describes individual shrines standing in close proximity to the *exedrae* of Argos mentioned in the text below, we can see the way of choosing and describing “representative” buildings without considering the wider context. In the case of classical archaeology, however, it is often necessary to approach the problem specifically, i.e. based on the type of material culture – movable and immovable, but above all considering the written sources and the whole social context. Within (not only) classical archaeology, it is necessary to see the differences between objects of material culture that can be removed from the original place of discovery and transported to a museum or memory institution within the musealisation process, and objects that do not allow this process due to their nature, such as, for example, architecture.



Fig. 1: Benches from the eastern end of the Stoa at the Amphitheatre of Oropos, Attica. CC: Athanasios Sideris

The article will discuss the form of social and historical presentation related to architectural structures called *exedrae*. From the point of view of mobility, it is possible to place *exedrae* on a

³ NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří. *Otázky dnešního muzejnictví. Příspěvky k obecné a speciální museologii*. Praha: Orbis, 1950.

⁴ SKLENÁŘ, Karel. K úkolům archeologie v muzeích v 7. pětiletce. In: *Muzejní a vlastivědná práce*. Praha: Národní muzeum, 1982, no. 2, pp. 65–127.

⁵ STRÁNSKÝ, Zbyněk Z. *Archeologie a muzeologie*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2005, pp.137–145.

certain boundary, since they represent the so-called “small architecture”. Their removal from the original place is not impossible but this act of separation from the original context may or may not cause damage or deterioration of this type of structures as will be described below.

2. The term *exedra* and its definition

The term *exedra* comes from the ancient Greek phrase *ex hedra*⁶. However, the interpretation of this term is variable, as it could refer to any niche equipped with benches,⁷ whether in private houses or public spaces or a social room.⁸ Within ancient sources, this term is also diversified to single-standing benches,⁹ *exedrae* in the form of niches in buildings equipped with benches¹⁰ or monumental halls or parlours.¹¹ Due to the wide scope that this term represents within architecture, it is necessary to define this issue structurally. The attention will therefore be focused primarily on free-standing and publicly accessible stone benches. In terms of dating, the article will describe *exedrae* from the period of their early appearance, i.e. from the classical period (5th century BC) to the Roman period – in this case the 2nd century AD. From a geographical point of view, *exedrae* were found throughout the Eastern Mediterranean with parallel examples of structures identical in design and purpose from Pompeii, called *scholae*¹² based on a preserved inscription.

The issue of *exedrae* of the type defined in this article was previously comprehensively and comparatively treated in a single publication by Susanne Freifrau von Thüngen in the form of a catalogue monograph.¹³ The periods that preceded and followed the publication of the

⁶ ἐξ-ἔδρα. LIDDEL, H. G. – SCOTT, R. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940, accessed November 31st 2023, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aalp_habetic+letter%3D*e%3Aentry+group%3D144%3Aentry%3De%29ce%2Fdra

⁷ Exedra. BAHNÍK, Václav (ed.). *Slovník antické kultury*. Praha: Svoboda, 1974, p. 206.

⁸ Exedra. KRAUS, Jiří (ed.). *Slovník cudzích slov (akademický)*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2008, p. 275.

⁹ As, for example, described by SCHICHE, Th., CICERO, Marcus Tullius. *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1915, 5.2.4, accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0474.phi048.perseus-lat1:5.4>; NIESE, B., FLAVIUS Josephus. *De Bello Judaico Libri VII*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895, 1.422 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0526.tlg004.perseus-grc1:1.422>; MEINEKE, A., STRABÓN. *Geografika*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1877, 13.4.5 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-grc1:13.4.5>; Ibidem, 17.1.8 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-grc1:17.1.8>

¹⁰ Niches that open into free space on at least one side are described by PLASBERG, O., CICERO, Marcus Tullius. *De Natura Deorum*. Leipzig: Teubner 1917, 1.15 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0474.phi050.perseus-lat1:1.15> or KIRSOPP, Lake – OULTON, J. E. L. – LAWLOR, H. J., EUSEBIUS. *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1–2. London, New York, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1926–1932, 10.4.45 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg2018.tlg002.perseus-grc1:10.4.45>

¹¹ OATES, Whitney, J. – O'Neill, Eugen, Jr., EURIPIDES. *The Complete Greek Drama*. New York: Random House, 1938, 1449 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0006.tlg016.perseus-eng1:1425-1472>; KROHN, F., VITRUVIUS, Pollio. *De Architectura*. Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1912, 5.11.2 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1056.phi001.perseus-lat1:5.11>; Ibidem, 6.3.8 accessed October 21st, 2023, <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1056.phi001.perseus-lat1:6.3.8>

¹² MOLNÁROVÁ, Míriam. Štruktúry typu schola v Pompejách – symbol a ukážka moci príslušníkov pompejskej aristokracie na príklade štruktúr určených na odpočinok. In: *Studia archaeologica Brunensia*. Brno: Masaryk University Press, 25(2), 2020, pp. 5–34, ISSN 2336-4505 (Online). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5817/SAB2020-2-1>

¹³ THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von. *Die frei stehende griechische Exedra*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994. ISBN 3-8053-1471-X

above-mentioned work are characterized above all by the brief inclusion of *exedrae* within studies of either an architectural or epigraphic nature, mostly with a focus on one specific site. The author's ambition is to focus primarily on the *exedrae* as a place of social function within the social visibility of the donors or people connected through the inscriptions to these *exedrae*. Secondary two case studies will be briefly presented as the examples concerning the issue of transporting such small architecture within the musealisation process and its pros and cons.

3. Occurrence and use of *exedrae*

The occurrence of public *exedrae* can be observed on various types of sites. In the necropolises, they had a double purpose – when placed on the main road, they were pure rest areas, when placed in tombs, they had a dual function. Firstly, they were used as a place for rest and gathering of the family of the deceased during commemoration ceremonies. At the same time, however, they served as base on which the sarcophagus with the remains (burial) of the deceased was placed. Within the cities, they were found along the main roads, but also in the buildings of public life areas, such as the agora and the acropolis. In sacred precincts, they were



Fig. 2: *The Exedra of Pamphylidas.* CC: Miriam Molnárová (archive of the author)

often built again along the main roads, and in this case also processional route, in the vicinity of temples or in the areas of stoas. A special example is the *exedrae* in the vicinity of temples, which were not freely accessible to the general public. The last specific issue associated with *exedrae* is the threefold type of funding, including the construction of the *exedrae* themselves, statues and

dedicatory inscriptions, or a combination of all three, at public, private and combined expenses. Individual cases will be outlined in the text below.

In connection with the accumulation of *exedrae* at individual types of sites, sometimes numbering up to dozens of specimens, and their specific location, a question arises of the primary purpose of their construction. Were they primarily a place for rest or a display of individuals? In some cases, there are specimens whose function as a place for rest can be determined with certainty. Such type of benches can be found, for example, in the sacred precinct of Amphiareion at the site of Oropos in Attica, dated to the 4th century BC. These simple rectangular stone benches, which stood on legs resembling lion's paws, surrounded both of the terminal rooms of the stoa located on the north-eastern and south-western sides of the building, leaving a gap for the door.¹⁴ In this case, the benches represented a place intended for *enkoimesis*, i.e. ritual sleeping or incubation of pilgrims who visited this sanctuary¹⁵ to obtain advice, oracular response or healing (not only) from the ancient Greek hero Amphiaraos (Fig. 1).

In certain cases of specific *exedrae*, on the other hand, it is questionable whether their primary purpose was to serve as a resting place. This question arises due to their overall inaccessibility, even in a publicly available place, where the given *exedra* could not be used for sitting. An example can be the *Exedra* of Pamhylidas, which is located directly under the Propylaea of the Temple of Athena Lindia, on the acropolis above the city of Lindos on the island of Rhodes. The inaccessibility of this *exedra* as a place for rest is due to its placement on a platform with an average height of up to 150 cm (Fig. 2).

4. Honorific and commemorative presentation in the context of *exedrae*

As it was already indicated in the introduction to the article, *exedrae* in Antiquity were not used only for the purpose of rest, but also presentation, as the bases or pedestals for statues and dedicatory inscriptions. Unfortunately, the statues, mostly made of bronze or local types of stone, have not survived to this day. However, traces of the placement of the statues can still be seen on the *exedrae* in the form of depressions left by the small bases of the statues or footprints. The absence of these statues is mainly due to the material they were made of, in most cases bronze, which was often remelted and recycled. Stone statues also did not escape the fate of being damaged or completely removed from their original place for the purpose of "recycling" a specific *exedra*, and in later periods they were destroyed as a result of the rise of monotheistic religions (mainly Christianity and then Islam). Within this issue, it is possible to gain an insight into the social situation based on preserved inscriptions that connect the existence of the statues with specific persons. The portraits or inscriptions that the *exedrae* bore were by no means uniform or strictly tied to one specific social class. For this reason, considering the high number of *exedrae* that can be found in the Eastern Mediterranean¹⁶, this chapter will outline examples of *exedrae* that are related to representatives of various social classes. Two ancient sites will serve as case studies. Delphi, specifically the sanctuary

¹⁴ COULTON, J. J. The Stoa at the Amphiaraion, Oropos. In: *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. 63, 1968, p. 169, ISSN 2045-2403 (Online). DOI: 10.1017/S0068245400014313

¹⁵ LUPU, E. Sacrifice at the Amphiareion and a Fragmentary Sacred Law from Oropos. In: *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. 72, 2003, No. 3, pp. 321–340, ISSN 1553-5622 (Online). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3182024>

¹⁶ The number of *exedrae* so far represents around 200 specimens from the entire Eastern Mediterranean region. The number of these structures is based on the author's own research during the preparation of her dissertation.

of Apollo and the famous oracle, and the area of the acropolis of Athena Lindia in the city of Lindos on Rhodes. The selected sites have yielded large numbers of *exedrae*, among them specimens intertwining different social strata, forms of funding, but also individual conceptual and presentational rarities in the context of decoration and presentation, on the basis of which they were chosen for this article.

4.1 Delphi

Considering the number of preserved *exedrae*, Delphi is a rich site. There are specimens of individual Greek *poleis*, city-state leagues, slaves, and influential benefactors. Despite this, in Delphi there are rare examples of honorific monuments of Hellenistic kings, who, with the exception of mainly the dynasty of Pergamon, did not pay much attention to this place.¹⁷ The presentation of royal power and benefactorism can be seen in the example of an *exedra* with honorific statues, which Attalus I had built near the *opisthodomos* of the Temple of Apollo¹⁸ after the victory of the Aetolian League over the Gauls in the 3rd century BC.¹⁹

In Delphi, it is possible to find *exedrae* at the south-eastern end of the Sacred Way, but also in the area called *Aire*²⁰ or *Halos*²¹, located along the Sacred Way in the open space between treasuries and the Stoa of the Athenians. This area represented a place without monumental buildings but with numerous honorific statues, where the Delphic annual festivities and processions were taking place.²² During the aforementioned festivities, the *exedrae* placed here could have served primarily as thrones for priests and cult initiates, but also for important and high-ranking citizens – judges, archons and other officials.²³

Slaves represented the lowest class of people in ancient Greece without civil rights. Despite this fact, it is possible to find dedications left by slaves on two selected *exedrae* that were located in the *Halos* area. These semicircular *exedrae* bore templated inscriptions dedicated to Apollo. According to the inscriptions, which, based on the list of ruling archons, can be dated to the 3rd century BC, we are informed that the act of paying 5 silver coins for a given inscription helped each slave to gain his freedom.²⁴

Other *exedrae* that can be found right at the beginning of the Sacred Way are monumental bases built by the city of Argos, used for the commemorative and honorific presentation of

¹⁷ GRZESIK, Dominika. *Honorific Culture at Delphi in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2021, p. 95. ISBN 978-90-04-50247-5

¹⁸ THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von. Die frei stehende griechische Exedra..., pp. 53–56; PARTIDA, Elena, C. Architectural Elements and Historic Circumstances that Shaped the Sanctuary of Delphi During the So-called ‘Age of the Warriors’. In: COURTILS, Jacques des (ed.). *L’architecture monumentale grecque au IIIe siècle a.C.* Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2015, p. 39. ISBN 978-2-35613-144-7

¹⁹ STILLWELL, Richard, MACDONALD, William L., MCALLISTER, Marian Holland (eds.). *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017, p. 265. ISBN: 9780691654201

²⁰ SCOTT, Michael. *Delphi: A History of the Center of the Ancient World*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014, p. 294. ISBN: 978-0-691-15081-9

²¹ THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von..Die frei stehende griechische Exedra..., pp. 53–57.

²² GRZESIK, Dominika. The Power of Space and Memory: The Honorific Statuescape of Delphi. In: *Antichton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 29.

²³ PARTIDA, Elena, C. Architectural Elements and Historic Circumstances..., p. 39.

²⁴ After THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von..Die frei stehende griechische Exedra..., pp. 56–57.

influential citizens and legendary heroes in the form of bronze statues.²⁵ The first one dates to the 5th century BC. In this period, Delphi became a spectacular place for the presentation of heroic and monumental Greek history. On the semicircular *exedra* of Argos, called the *Exedra* of the Epigones,²⁶ the story of the Seven against Thebes²⁷ was retold. The second *exedra*, standing exactly opposite the *Exedra* of the Epigones, is the *Exedra* of the Kings (or Heroes) of Argos. However, the interesting thing about this *exedra* is the way it was placed, right next to the Spartan stoa, which commemorated the victory over Athens. This *exedra*, with its location, thus directly hindered access to the mentioned stoa.²⁸ In the case of this *exedra*, it is evident that these structures did not have to represent only tools of a certain form of social presentation, but also a kind of political expression of a certain disagreement or rivalry between individual city-states. In the context of the *exedrae* recycling phenomenon, the aforementioned *exedra* was still used to bear another statue in the 2nd century AD, under the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius. Centuries after the original construction of the *exedra* itself and the statues, the city of Argos had a statue of Marcus Aurelius Ptolemaios – a poet who won the Pythian Musical Games – erected on this *exedra*.²⁹

One of the most interesting persons of his time linked to the site of Delphi, not only in the context of *exedrae*, is Herodes Atticus. This influential benefactor from the 2nd century AD was known primarily for his building activities in various locations of ancient Greece. One of his most monumental achievements – the Odeon of Herodes Atticus – can still be found in excellent condition in Athens today, also due to extensive reconstruction in the 1950s, which enabled the use of this “Herodeon” for various, especially musical, performances to this day.³⁰ A prominent *exedra* was built at Delphi by the Delphic *polis* to honour Herodes for his rich donations. The structure was located in the *Halos* area near the *exedrae* which bore the inscriptions from slaves. In the case of this *exedra*, a combined type of funding is known, in which the basic structure, together with the statue of Herodes, his son and his wife, was paid for from public funds, and then, after its completion, Herodes Atticus had statues erected on this *exedra* for his other descendants.³¹

4.2 Lindos

The second selected location, which is important in the context of the occurrence of *exedrae*, is Lindos in the south-eastern part of the island of Rhodes. This city, built on a rocky

²⁵ PARTIDA, Elena, C.: I DIADOKHI POLITIKON DINAMEON STIS DELPHIS KAI I EPIRRI TIS STIN ARKHITTEKTONIKI DIAMORPHOSI TI IERATIKI TOPII [The Succession of Political Forces in the Bulletins and their Influence on the Architectural Configuration of the Priestly Landscape]. In: *ARKHAIOLYKO ERGO THESSALIAS KAI STEREAS ELLADAS* 4, Bolos: IDEA & I.I.D., I.D. and TYPOS, 2015, p. 877. ISSN: 1790-7039 [Greek]

²⁶ GRZESIK, Dominika. *Honorific Culture at Delphi...*, p. 152.

²⁷ SCOTT, Michael. *Delphi...*, p.133; The story of the *Seven against Thebes*, see SMYTH, Herbert. *AESCHYLUS. Seven Against Thebes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926, accessed October 28th, 2023 <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0085.tlg004.perseus-eng1:1-38>.

²⁸ SCOTT, Michael. *Delphi...*, p. 146.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 362; BOURGUET, Émile: *Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie. Fasc. 1, Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*. Paris: Boccard, 1929, ID 1 89.

³⁰ VASSILANTONOPOULOS, Stamatīs, L. – MOURJOPOULOS, John. The Acoustics of Roofed Ancient Odeia: The Case of Herodes Atticus Odeion. In: *Acta Acustica United with Acustica*, vol. 95, 2009, no. 2, p. 291. ISSN: 2681-4617. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3813/AAA.918151>

³¹ GRZESIK, Dominika. The Power of Space and Memory..., p. 29.; GRZESIK, Dominika. *Honorific Culture at Delphi...*, p. 154.

promontory directly above the bay, was patronized by Athena Lindia, whose temple was located on the acropolis overlooking the modern town.³² Considering the number of *exedrae* at this place and their fragmentary state of preservation, three specimens representing different forms of presentation and commemoration – personal and historical – will be described in the following text.



Fig. 3: *The Exedra with Trireme.* CC: Miriam Molnárová (archive of the author)

The first, perhaps the most famous *exedra* and the only one of its kind can be found at the northern foot of the acropolis, directly under the fortification wall and the stairway leading to the Dioiketerion, dating to the 14th–15th centuries AD.³³ The originality of this *exedra* lies primarily in its design. The *exedra* itself, dated to 180 BC, consisted of stone blocks smoothly transitioning into the decorative motif of a *trireme*, carved into the rocky massif on which the entire acropolis was situated (Fig. 3). From the preserved inscription we learn that the city of Lindos had it built in honour of Hagesander, son of Mikion, for his good will towards the inhabitants of Lindos. The dedication also mentions other honours that the city paid him besides the *exedra*, namely a golden crown, a portrait (made of bronze, which has not been preserved to this day) and the so-called *proedria*,³⁴ i.e. the privilege of a “seat of honour”. On this *exedra*, there is also a preserved inscription of the author who made this work – Pythokritos,

³² PAPACHRISTODOULOU, Ioannis, Ch. *Lindos: Brief History – the Monuments.* Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Archaeological Receipts Fund, Directorate of Publications, 2006, p. 9. ISBN: 960-214-505-6

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

³⁴ *Proedria.* BAHNÍK, Václav (ed). *Slovník antické kultury...*, p. 507.

son of Timochares.³⁵ It was Pythokritos, a native of Rhodes, who made the famous Victory of Samothrace – a monumental statue of the winged goddess, who is also associated with the Rhodian fleet by being positioned as the figurehead at the bow of ships. In relation to the decorative design of this *exedra*, it is possible to connect Hagesander with the navy. Despite the non-preserved sources, we can infer that he must have had a high rank in the Lindian navy because of his status, which was granted to him based on his actions.³⁶

Another *exedra*, which is still located in close vicinity of the Propylaea on the acropolis, is the *Exedra* of Pamphyliadas. This *exedra* is unique due to its height, which does not enable to use it as a place for rest, as was already mentioned in the opening chapter, but also due to its long presentation history. The origins of this *exedra* go back to the end of the 3rd century BC, when a statue of Pamphyliadas, son of Telesarchos, was erected here by Phyles of Halikarnassos.³⁷ According to the preserved inscription,³⁸ this *exedra* originally presented only Pamphyliadas, who was a priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus.³⁹ However, considering the numerous

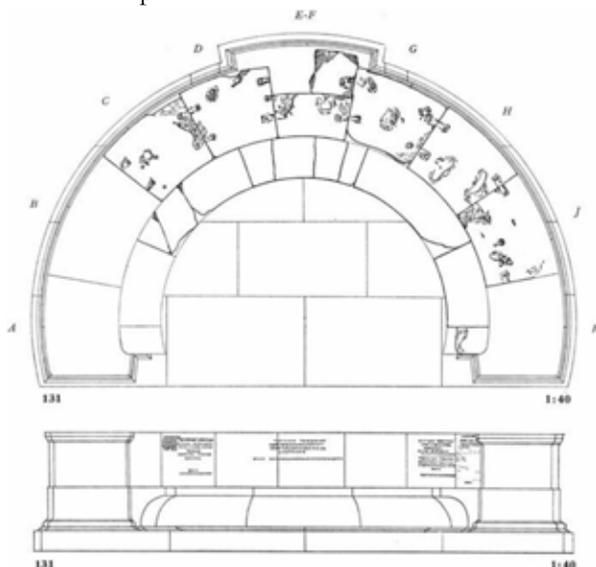


Fig. 4: Drawing of the *Exedra* of Pamphyliadas. CC: Keesing, Catherine, M. 2022.

After von Thüngen, Beil. 24.

Source: researchgate https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-Pamphyliadas-exedra-in-the-sanctuary-of-Athena-Lindia-on-the-Acropolis-of-Lindos_fig4_361784502 [accessed November 7th, 2023]

depressions after small statue bases and footprints and the entire group of inscriptions located on the back rest, it is clear that this *exedra* was also used for other family members even two centuries after the statue of Pamphyliadas⁴⁰ was erected (Fig. 4). On this *exedra*, thanks to the extensive inscriptions, we can recognize the family relationships – biological, marital and adoptive ties within a wider family, whose members continuously held priestly positions, just as the central figure of Pamphyliadas. Apart from the male members of the family, a female statue with an inscription from this family was also placed on this *exedra*.⁴¹ A dedicatory inscription was thus placed under each statue of a family member, helping to understand their family relationship with other depicted family members as well as their functions within the city. An exceptional

³⁵ MA, John. *Statues and Cities. Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 31. ISBN: 978-0-19-966891-5; BLINKENBERG, Christian. *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902-1914*. Vol. II. Inscriptions. Copenhagen Berlin: De Gruyter, 1941, ID 169-171.

³⁶ PAPACHRISTODOULOU, Ioannis, Ch. *Lindos...*, p. 22.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

³⁸ BLINKENBERG, Christian. *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches...*, ID 131.

³⁹ KEESING, Catherine, M. *Ἀνεπίγραφτοι*. The Pragmatics of Unnamed Portraits. In: DIETRICH, Nikolaus – FOUQUET Johannes (eds.): *Image, Text, Stone: Intermedial Perspectives on Graeco-Roman Sculpture*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, p. 99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110775761-004> ISBN 9783110775761

⁴⁰ THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von. *Die frei stehende griechische Exedra...*, p. 91; BLINKENBERG, Christian. *Lindos...*, ID 131a-f.

⁴¹ BLINKENBERG, Christian. *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches...*, ID 131d.

and perhaps even more interesting feature, untypical of the Hellenistic period, is the depiction and placement of three children's statues on this *exedra*, which stood next to the central figure of Pamphyliadas.⁴² Unfortunately, inscriptions that would shed light on the personalities of the mentioned children and their identification were never added to this *exedra*.

The last selected *exedra* from the area of the acropolis of Lindos that is described in this article is the votive *exedra* of Emperor Tiberius, dated to AD 17–19. To this day, this *exedra* has been preserved in a fragmentary state. Individual stone blocks were found in the vicinity of the place where the “reconstructed” *exedra* stands today.⁴³ However, it is still possible, on the basis of fragmentary inscriptions and massive depressions in the form of footprints, to identify the dedication and to place this *exedra* in a social and historical context. An inscription, which is still preserved on the *exedra* in its entirety, shows that this *exedra* was dedicated to Emperor Tiberius by the city of Lindos.⁴⁴ Along with his larger-than-life-size statue, which was placed at the centre of the *exedra*, there also were three other statues of members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Based on the inscriptions, we can identify a larger-than-life-size statue of Tiberius' adoptive father and predecessor Augustus, as well as his biological son Drusus the Younger (also Drusus Minor). The last person, although quite disputable, might be Germanicus – Tiberius' adopted son, who died under mysterious circumstances in AD 19, during his stay in Antioch.⁴⁵ The dedication and construction of this votive *exedra* are not surprising given the relationship that Tiberius had with Rhodes. At the turn of the eras, after the exposure of various scandals and love affairs of his wife Julia, he partly withdrew from his official duties and retired to the island. The political and private situation of Tiberius in this period are unclear, primarily due to contradictory and hazy contemporary testimonies by ancient authors. It is for the mentioned reason that Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes is still a subject of debate.⁴⁶ However, Emperor Tiberius visibly had a positive affection for the island, which is evidenced (not only) by the *exedra*, dedicated to him by the city of Lindos.

5. *Exedrae* and musealisation – case studies of the *Schola* of Mamia in Pompeii and the bench of Gaios Kreperios in Eleusis

A rare examples of an effort to transport and then display this type of archaeological structures in a museum is known from Pompeii and Eleusis. A *schola*, dedicated to the priestess Mamia,⁴⁷ was shortly after its discovery in 1763 transported to the museum in Portici, where it was displayed in the courtyard. After less than two decades, in 1784, it was again dismantled in parts and transported back to Pompeii, where it was positioned in its original place. Unfortunately, this act resulted in extensive damage and structural changes to this *schola*. The fundamental change was the destruction of a massive stone block that bore the dedicatory inscription. The process of transportation thus damaged the inscription, on which two letters are missing to this day.⁴⁸ At the same time, the side arm rest, decorated in the shape of a lion's

⁴² KEESING, Catherine, M.: *Ἀνεπίγραφτοι...*, p.100.

⁴³ THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von. *Die frei stehende griechische Exedra...*, pp. 128–129.

⁴⁴ [A]ί[ν]δ[ιο]ι τ[ο]ῦ[δ]ε εὐ[ε]ργέ[τ]α[ς]. The whole inscription is recorded in BLINKENBERG, Christian. *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches...*, ID 414.

⁴⁵ THÜNGEN, Susanne F. von. *Die frei stehende griechische Exedra...*, p. 129.

⁴⁶ LEVICK, Barbara M. Tiberius' Retirement to Rhodes in 6 B.C. In: *Latomus*, vol. 31, 1972, No. 3, pp. 779–813. ISSN 0023-8856.

⁴⁷ MOLNÁROVÁ, Miriam. *Štruktúry typu schola v Pompejách...* p. 23.

⁴⁸ M[am?]miae P(ubli) f(iliae) sacerdoti publicae locus sepultur(ae) datus decurionum decreto. MOMMSEN, Theodor. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XI: Inscriptiones Bruttorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae*. Berolini: G. Remeirum, 1883, ID 998



Fig. 5: Detail of the damage to the *Schola* of Mamia, Pompeii. CC: Jörn Kobes.

Source: db.edcs [https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder/\\$J_D_06369_1.jpg](https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder/$J_D_06369_1.jpg) [accessed November 7th, 2023]

claw, has been moved significantly (Fig. 5).⁴⁹ As mentioned at the beginning of the article, the *exedrae*, or in the case of Pompeii, *scholae*, do not represent structures that are impossible to move and incorporate into the museological process. But, unfortunately, the case of the *Schola* of Mamia adequately proves that even in the case of movable architecture, the likely result is a lesser or greater damage, which directly affects the evidence related to the social situation, as was the (although only partial) damage to the inscription on this *schola*.

The bench from Eleusis is a contrary example. A marble bench of simple rectangular shape standing on four pairs of lion's claws, bearing the dedicatory inscription of the businessman of Gaius Kreperios, son of Gaios dated to the 1st century BC⁵⁰, which was originally located elsewhere within the sanctuary.⁵¹ Today this bench is housed in the Eleusis Archaeological Museum in a practically undamaged state (fig. 6).

⁴⁹ KOCKEL, Valentin. *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1983, pp. 57–59. ISBN 978-3805304801; CAMPBELL, Virginia. L. *The Tombs of Pompeii: Organization, Space and Society*. New York and London: Routledge, 2015, pp. 157–158. ISBN 9781317611394. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315750187>

⁵⁰ CLINTON, K. The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B.C. to A.D. 267. In HAASE, W. (ed.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW) / Rise and Decline of the Roman World. Band 18/2. Teilband Religion (Heidentum: Die religiösen Verhältnisse in den Provinzen [Forts.]*). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 1989, p. 1507. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110855708-015>. ISBN: 3-11-001885-3

⁵¹ PALINKAS J. L. *Eleusinian Gateways: Entrances to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens*. Atlanta: Emory University, PhD. Dissertation. 2008, p. 190



Fig. 6: Stone bench from the sanctuary in Eleusis, currently in Eleusis Archaeological Museum.
CC: Athanasios Sideris

It is of course necessary to state the fact that destructive transports were taking place primarily in the time of the 18th century AD. Today, more emphasis is placed on the movement and preservation of monuments of small architecture, helping the conservation not only of these monuments but also of the surviving inscriptions enlightening the social situation associated with them.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the presented article was to prove the role of importance for social visibility in *exedrae*, which are still found *in situ* at cultural heritage sites in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the Apennine Peninsula. Considering the mentioned examples from the sites of Delphi and Lindos, it is clear that these *exedrae* cannot be connected to one specific social class. In this case, the *exedrae* and the inscriptions or statues placed on them represent the evidence of diverse individuals, starting with the class of slaves, through influential citizens of their time, holding either official or religious positions, to the highest-ranking personalities of kings and emperors. The *exedrae*, which presented locally engaged citizens or families, thus help to understand and reconstruct the social situation on a wider scope than what we know from the comprehensive historical works by ancient authors as well as modern researchers.

In the context of *exedrae*, it is important to think about what these structures represented to ancient man – a wealthy citizen, a visitor to sanctuaries asking the Gods for healing or advice, but also an ordinary pilgrim. The search for an answer to this question is a long research journey involving the study of architecture, epigraphy, social studies and prosopography as well as aesthetics and psychology.

Exedrae, showing a certain form of presentation – whether of individuals, myths, heroic stories or even history – could represent an imaginary bridge between archaeology and museology in both an educational and a presentational context, without being removed from their original location and damaged. Reconstructions of the *exedrae* and their original appearance are possible thanks to modern technologies – primarily 3D reconstructions and partly also virtual reality, which are relatively widespread today. In this regard, a wide space now opens to new research and analyses, which are mainly induced by the methodological approach from the time of the first excavations and investigations until the mid-20th century. They focused their attention primarily on monumental buildings, so that *exedrae*, which are classified as “small architecture”, were pushed into the background. For this reason, one should be aware that history and the course of events did not depend only on the “great” personalities of their time, but often also on unknown individuals who, albeit on a small but not insignificant scale, influenced the regional history and moved it forward.

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