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Cover: Reverse of a Sicyonian coin from the reign of Caracalla 202–205.

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Heroa as Described in the Ancient Written Sources

Mari Mikkola

Introduction

The focus of this research is to get an impression of the *heroa* (plural of *ἡρῷον*) of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods as they are described in the written sources from mainland Greece and the islands, completing the material with some examples from Magna Graecia. The term *heroon* basically means a shrine of a hero, a tomb,[1] where the cult of a hero was perpetuated. *Heroon* is a general term for a cult place, not a specific architectural term for a certain type of building.[2] The meaning of the word *heroon* seems to be twofold. On one hand, it is derived from and develops in parallel with the word *ἥρως*, hero, although a *heroon* is naturally a more concrete expression. On the other hand, this word with a very mobile nature had some obvious synonyms. In the following they are taken into consideration if the same sources use them as alternatives to those monuments they elsewhere call *heroon*, thus perhaps shedding more light on a certain *heroon*, or the nature of the cult practised in it.

None of the ancient authors provide us with a systematic study of hero-worship, or of a *heroon* as an architectural construction, and the information must be gathered from those writers who touch on a hero-cult in some way. The authors usually referred to *heroa* only incidentally and in passing, having very little, if any, interest at all in the *heroa* as constructions, even though the cults themselves might have been described in more detail.[3] Plutarch named a certain Diocles, who wrote *περὶ ἡρώων συντάγματι*, now unfortunately lost. He was a Greek historian, one of the many of the same name.[4]

The sources for this study are the relevant passages by ancient authors and some epigraphical documents. The material was gathered by means of a CD-Rom search made on *PHI* 7 and *TLG* for the word *heroon*.[5] Unsurprisingly the most valuable and useful ancient authors were Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias and Athenaeus, whose information is indispensable, though mostly of scattered nature. Several others also referred to *heroa*, but very little or no practical information was gained from their passages.

The information gathered from the ancient authors is presented in the next chapter as a catalogue, with concluding notes as to the object of each *heroon*, the site, the surroundings, the rites, or any other information, if such is given, at the end of each author. The third chapter covers the epigraphical material, coming from Delphi, Athens and Attica, Kos and Thera. Some remarks are first made on the information gathered from

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[1] H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th rev. ed., Oxford 1996, s.v. *ἡρῷον*.

[2] Hence, in the following, the word is not translated. Rather, the transliterated word *heroon* and its plural *heroa* are used.

[3] Abramson 1978, 5; Ekroth 1999, 1–9.

[4] Plut. *Quaest.Graec.* 301A. Possibly Diocles of Peparethus, who lived in the third century BC, K. Meister, *NP* 3, 613, s.v. Diokles 7.

[5] In February 2002, by limiting the result by date to between the years 400–150 BC, as the main focus of this research is the late Classical and Early Hellenistic *heroa*.

the inscriptions, and then the final conclusions as to the development of the late Classical and Hellenistic *heroa* are reached from the material as a whole.

Ancient authors

Strabo

Only one of the six *heroa*, mentioned by Strabo,[6] was located in mainland Greece. Tityus, the son of Zeus and Elara, had a *heroon* in Euboea, even though the scene of the events depicted in his myth took place elsewhere, in Panopeus. This was a city in eastern Phocis, near the boundary between Boeotia and Chaeronea, which was along the sacred road from Athens to Delphi. According to the myth, Tityus tried to rape Leto on her way to Delphi,[7] but was shot to death by her children Apollo and Artemis, and suffered in Hades for his audacity.[8] Strabo, referring to Homer (*Od*. 7,324), informs us that the Phaiakians led Rhadamantys into Euboea to visit Tityus, the son of the Earth.[9] Furthermore, that somewhere in Euboea there was a cave, named Elarion after Tityus' mother, and also his *heroon*, where he received certain honours. Unfortunately Strabo does not describe them: *καὶ Ἐλάριόν τι σπήλαιον ἀπὸ τῆς Τιτυοῦ μητρὸς Ἐλάρας δείκνυται κατὰ τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἡρῷον τοῦ Τιτυοῦ καὶ τιμαί τινες*.[10] Thus, Tityus was worshipped as a hero in Euboea, but Pausanias, for his part, saw his vast grave-mound, *μνῆμα*, at Panopeus,[11] probably at or near the spot where he was believed to have died.

The remaining five *heroa* mentioned by Strabo were situated in Magna Graecia. They are taken into consideration here as monuments to Greek heroes from areas inhabited by the Greeks, and also because Pausanias considered one of them in his *Periegesis*. The *heroa* of Odysseus' companions, Dracon and Polites, existed in Lucania and in Bruttium, not far from each other. That of Dracon lay near the city of Laos, which was the last of the cities of Lucania, near the sea.[12] A prophecy was given, that many people would perish about Dracon of Laos: *πλησίον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Δράκοντος ἡρῷον ἑνὸς τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρων, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ χρησμὸς τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐγένετο, Λάιον ἀμφὶ Δράκοντα πολύν ποτε λαὸν ὀλεῖσθαι*. This proved indeed to be the case, when the Greek inhabitants of Italy met disaster at the hands of the Lucanians in 389.[13] The expression *πλησίον*, near the city, indicates that the *heroon* of Dracon was outside the city. Other than this location no other information is given.

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[6] Strabo of Amasia in Pontos (ca. 64 BC–21 AD) wrote his *Geography* during the reign of Augustus, around 7 BC. His work is far more than a mere geography; it is rather an encyclopaedia of the various countries of the inhabited world as known at the beginning of the Christian era. He is criticized, however, for having little firsthand knowledge of Greece, even though he visited Corinth, Argos, Athens and Megara, Barrow 1967, 9.

[7] Pind. *Pyth.* 4.90–92; Strabo 9.3.14; Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.4.1; Ap. Rhod. 1.759–762.

[8] Hom. *Od*. 11.576–581; P. Dräger, *NP* 12 (2002), 634–635, s.v. Tityus.

[9] The visit of Rhadamantys to Euboea belongs to an otherwise unknown myth, according to several commentaries on Hom. *Od*. 7.324.

[10] Strabo 9.3.14.

[11] Pausanias' choice of word (10.4.5–6) has led Baladié 1996, 132, n. 1, to suggest that the tomb may have dated to the Mycenaean period, interpreting it as a probable beehive-tomb. See also F. Graf, *NP* 5 (1998), 478, s.v. Heroenkult.

[12] Biffi 1988, 303, n. 15.

[13] Strabo 6.1.1; Lasserre 1967, 126, n. 5, 219.

Polites, one of Odysseus' sailors, was a much more colourful figure. He was one of the unfortunate ones turned into pigs by Kirke (*Od*. 10,224–240), and was later treacherously killed by the barbarians, that is by the native Italiotes. Consequently, a *heroon* was set up for him near the city of Temesa,[14] the first city of Bruttium after Laos. Now we have an elementary description of the surroundings, as we are told that they were thickly shaded by wild olive trees: *ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τῆς* Τεμέσης *ἡρῷον ἀγριελαίοις συνηρεφὲς* Πολίτου *τῶν* Ὀδυσσέως *ἑταίρων*. Eventually Polites became exceedingly wrathful, and the neighbouring people, guided by an oracle, started to collect a tribute to him. The reason for the wrath of the hero might lie in the mercilessness of the people: *τὸν ἥρωα τὸν ἐν* Τεμέσῃ *λεγόντων ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς*, and the myth might reflect the troubled times between the indigenous people of the area and the Greeks. Here we have an example of an angry hero capable of evil, from whose tyranny the city needed to be liberated.[15] And indeed, when the Locrians later captured Temesa, a boxer called Euthymus fought against Polites and forced him to release the inhabitants from the tribute.[16]

Through Euthymus, a three-time winner at the Olympic games of 484, 476 and 472 BC,[17] we obtain some chronological fixed points for Polites' *heroon*. It existed in the Early Classical period, may have been founded even earlier, and was still well-known in the days of Strabo. The tribute may have been used for its upkeep. Euthymus, for his part, became a hero himself. According to Callimachus, as paraphrased by Pliny, the Delphic oracle ordained a cult of Euthymus during his lifetime.[18] Athletes could in fact claim parity with heroes by clashing with them physically. How the fight was carried out in reality is puzzling, but it was presumably conceived as a communal drama followed by the elevating of Euthymus to heroic status.[19] This is Strabo's version of the story of Polites. More information is given by Pausanias.[20] The two authors vary somewhat in their terminology, as Strabo calls Polites' monument unhesitatingly a *heroon*, whereas Pausanias names it first a *ναὸς*, but later a *heroon*.

Besides the *heroon* of Dracon, Strabo also refers to another *heroon*, for Metabus, in Lucania, in the city of Metapontium by the gulf of Taranto. In the *Aeneis*, Metabus was a king of the Volsci, and ruler of the city of Privernum, who had to leave his domicile in the Central Apennines because of his cruelty.[21] Strabo, for his part, says that according to Antiochus[22] the city of Metapontium was first called Metabus, and the name was later slightly altered. Some distant mythological twists were proved by the existence of the *heroon*: *κομισθῆναι ἐλέγχειν ἡρῷον τοῦ* Μετάβου.[23] The existence of the *heroon* inside the city classifies it as one of the *heroa* of the eponymic founders.

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[14] Regarding the history and mythology of Laos and Temesa, see Greco 1992, 39, 86–96.

[15] Like gods, heroes could use their powers for good or ill, although they showed this double aspect far less obviously than most gods, Kearns 1989, 10.

[16] Strabo 6.1.5.

[17] Lasserre 1967, 221, n. 5.

[18] Callim. *Aet.* fr. 99. Plin. *HN* 7.152. For Euthymus and the heroization of athletes, see Currie 2005, 120–157, and 166. About the role of the Delphic oracle, see Abramson 1978, 49. Euthymus is recognized as the earliest historical person for whom a cult in his lifetime is recorded, in ca. 450 BC, see Currie 2002, 43.

[19] Currie 2002, 39–40; Currie 2005, 134.

[20] See this article, 13.

[21] Verg. *Aen*. 7.803–817, 11.432–433, 11.498–868.

[22] Antiochus was a Greek historian of the fifth century BC. His work on Italy (Jacoby, *FGH* 555, F 2–13) accounts for the foundations of several Greek cities in southern Italy. See also Musti 1988, 35–37, 40–42.

[23] Strabo 6.1.15; Noe 1931, 44; Lasserre 1967, 227, nts. 3–4. See also Greco 1999, 344.

Heroa for two more Greeks were to be found in Magna Graecia. In the area of Daunia in Apulia, on a hill called Drion.[24] The first was dedicated to Calchas, the seer who accompanied the Greek army to the Trojan War.[25] It was on top of the hill, was oracular, and was consulted by sacrificing a black ram and then sleeping in its hide. *Δείκνυται δὲ τῆς Δαυνίας περὶ λόφον ᾧ ὄνομα Δρίον ἡρῷα, τὸ μὲν Κάλχαντος ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ τῇ κορυφῇ (ἐναγίζουσι δ' αὐτῷ μέλανα κριὸν οἱ μαντευόμενοι, ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι)*.[26] The *Scholia* to Lycophron´s *Alexandra*,[27] tell us that Calchas, whose body was carried from Daunia by Heracles to be buried elsewhere, in a place called Argos,[28] still had his cenotaph in Italy: *τέθαπται οὖν ὁ Κάλχας ἐν Ἄργει, κενοτάφιον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ*.[29] Thus he was not buried in his *heroon*, which was a cenotaph and probably erected at the place of his death.[30] Calchas' *heroon* was of exceptional power, with oracular activity, and related in this way to his profession.

The other *heroon* in Daunia belonged to Podalirius. It was near the foot of the hill of Drion, about one hundred *stadia* from the sea. A stream, which cured all animal diseases, flowed from it: *τὸ δὲ Ποδαλειρίου κάτω πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ διέχον τῆς θαλάττης ὅσον σταδίους ἑκατόν· ῥεῖ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποτάμιον πάνακες πρὸς τὰς τῶν θρεμμάτων νόσους*.[31] Podalirius was the son of Asclepius and brother of Machaon, and participated in the Trojan War as a warrior and army physician.[32] According to Lycophron´s *Scholia*, Podalirius later came to Italy, and died near the *heroon* of Calchas. Unlike Calchas, he was also buried there: *περὶ Ποδαλειρίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου ὁ λόγος· φησὶν οὖν ὅτι τεθνήξεται ἐν Ἰταλία πλησίον τῶν κενοταφίων τοῦ Κάλχαντος τοῦ ὑφ' Ἡρακλέος ἐν Ἄργει ἀναιρεθέντος κονδύλῳ. τέθαπται οὖν ὁ Κάλχας ἐν Ἄργει, κενοτάφιον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ὁ Ποδαλείριος τέθαπται*.[33]

The same source tells us also that the Daunians used to sleep in the sheep hides actually in the *heroon* of Podalirius, in order to receive prophecies in dreams: *εἰώθασιν οἱ Δαύνιοι ἐν μηλωταῖς καθεύδειν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ποδαλειρίου καὶ καθ' ὕπνους λαμβάνειν χρησμοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ*. This was precisely the custom described by Strabo of the *heroon* of Calchas. Either the practice was the same in the two *heroa* so close to each other, or the Scholia confused the information. If there were only one recipient of this distinction, my choice would be Podalirius, who must have inherited it from his father, Asclepius. The site seems to have been a rare, if not the only case in Italy associated with therapeutic incubation.[34] As people could sleep inside one or both of these *heroa*, there must have

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[24] Monte Gargano in modern Apulia.
[25] Hom. *Il*. 2.300–30.
[26] Strabo 6.3.9.
[27] Lycophron was the author of the Hellenistic *Alexandra,* written in 197/6 BC, and the *Scholia* are dated to the eleventh century. For Lycophron and his work, see B. Zimmerman, *NP* 7 (1999), 4–5, 569–570, s.v. Lykophron.
[28] It remains unclear which one of the many Greek Argoi is meant here, perhaps the one in the Argolid as it is the most familiar in connection with Heracles. For the area of Daunia, see Greco 1992, 122–123.
[29] *Schol. Lycoph*. 1047b; Lasserre 1967, 186, nts. 2–3.
[30] Ricci 2006, 31, 39–40.
[31] Strabo 6.3.9.
[32] Hom. *Il*. 2.729–733, 11.832–5.
[33] *Schol. Lycoph*. 1047b. Podalirius seems to have appeared in the epigraphical material of Epidaurus in the fifth century BC. See M.E. Gorrini, 'Eroi salutari della Grecia continentale tra istanze politiche ed universali', *Annali di archeologia e storia antica* 9–10 (2002–2003), 182.
[34] Renberg 2006, 109–110, 140.

been at least an enclosure of some magnitude,[35] if not a sturdier construction. Strabo and the Scholia differ about the terminology also. Strabo uses the term *heroon*, but the Scholia *κενοτάφιον* for the *heroon* of Calchas, *τάφος* for the *heroon* of Podalirius. The choice of *κενοτάφιον* for Chalcas' monument is quite natural, as he was buried elsewhere.

Strabo does not name the healing river in connection with the *heroon* of Podalirius. The Scholia know, however, that people used to bathe in the stream Althaenus**,** as did their sheep, and called on Podalirius in order to be cured. Therefore the stream got its name: *εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ πλησίον ποταμῷ Ἀλθαίνῳ ἀπολούεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ θρέμματα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν* Ποδαλείριον *καὶ ὑγιάζεσθαι, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἔσχε τὴν ὀνομασίαν*.[36] This is an example of a *heroon*, in which oracular rites were practised, and people actually went to stay there to receive advice and prophecies. The healing river Althaenus, good for humans and animals alike, flowed from the *heroon* of Podalirius. I would like to interpret this as a sacred precinct with at least a stream, if not a river, flowing out. The *heroon* in its entirety cannot have been a very small place, as it had to cater for people sleeping and bathing.

Strabo's list of the six *heroa* and their heroes is quite disillusioning. Tityus was a rapist, though he was elevated somewhat through being killed by the divine twins. Dracon's *heroon* was used mostly as a reference to a battlefield, where Greeks fared badly, and Polites was killed by the indigenous people, towards whom he later bore ill will. Another hero was an indigenous ruler, famous for his cruelty. Most of the Strabonian heroes were connected to the Trojan expedition, perhaps reflecting the importance which the Trojan war had in Strabo's history.[37] These stories might reflect the troubled times of the fifth century BC, the growing restlessness of the indigenous people of the Apennines, and their disputes with the Greek inhabitants. Strabo also presented a heroized historical person. As topographical references for the Strabonian *heroa* we have "near a city, inside a city for an eponymous hero, on top of a hill, or at the foot of a hill". Of their immediate surroundings we are informed of wild olive trees and a healing stream. As the offering animal a black ram was used, and oracular visions were given in a dream.

Plutarch

Plutarch[38] records seven *heroa*, four in his *Vitae Parallelae* and three in the *Questiones Graecae*. The first two belong to Athenian mythology and the initial phases of Theseus' adventures on Crete. Sciros of Salamis, a local ruler and hero himself, gave Theseus experienced seamen to help him on his crossing to Crete. This favour was not totally altruistic, as one of the youths following Theseus was a grandchild of Sciros. Consequently, Nausithoos was a pilot and Faiax a lookout aboard Theseus' ship. How these two met their deaths is not known, but in due course Theseus built *heroa* for them at Phaleron, near

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[35] Regarding the enclosures, see Abramson 1978, 111–113, 144.
[36] *Schol*. *Lycoph*. 1050.
[37] Clark 1999, 252–253, 300, 304.
[38] Plutarch's (47–120 AD) preserved works, *Vitae Parallelae* and *Moralia*, may not be very reliable historical sources, but they still include valuable information on Greek life and culture. Plutarch travelled widely, being well acquainted with Athens, and went to Delphi and Elis for religious festivals, Barrow 1967, 36. In those places he might have absorbed firsthand knowledge, though he is still considered only a secondary source, with useful information in the field of traditional Greek religion, especially in his two books of *Quaestiones*, Barrow 1967, 14–15; Babbitt 1927, xv.

the shrine of Sciros himself.[39] The Kybernesia, the Pilots' festival with games, was also celebrated in their honour, *μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τούτοις ἡρῷα* Ναυσιθόου *καὶ* Φαίακος *εἰσαμένου* Θησέως Φαληροῖ *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ* Σκίρου [*ἱερῷ*], *καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὰ* Κυβερνήσια *φησιν ἐκείνοις τελεῖσθαι*.[40] According to Plutarch all this information is proved by the *heroa*. Does this mean that the *heroa* themselves were already physical evidence enough of the matter, or that an inscription or perhaps a votive *pinakion* by the *heroa* told of the events? At its simplest, Plutarch's story reflects an ancient alliance between the Athenians and the Salaminians.

The *heroon* of Chalkodon was outside Athens, not far from the Piraeus Gate.[41] The *heroon* is given only as a topographical reference to the graves of those who fell in the battle against the Amazons, *καὶ τάφους τῶν πεσόντων περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν εἶναι τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ* Χαλκώδοντος *ἡρῷον*, *ἃς νῦν* Πειραϊκὰς *ὀνομάζουσι*.[42] Chalkodon came from Euboea and was said to have been one of the heroes who joined Heracles in his campaign against Elis. Pausanias furnishes us with more information pertaining to the monuments in honour of Chalkodon, but is somewhat perplexed by chronological problems. How had Chalkodon been able to help Heracles, as, according to another tradition, he had already been killed in an earlier fight between the Thebans and the Euboeans, by the hand of Amphitryon, king of Thebes? These two myths also give Chalkodon tombs in two places.[43] One was in Achaea near the temple of Apollo Pythius, the river Aroanios and the spring called Oinoe. There all the other companions of Heracles who had died in the battle had been buried.[44] The other tomb was by a road to Chalkis in Euboea, where he was buried after the battle between the Thebans and the Euboeans.[45] Thus, both mythological versions gave Chalkodon a tomb near the site of his surmised death. The reason for a *heroon* in Athens for an originally Euboean hero remains unclear.

The next *heroon* is mentioned in connection with Aristides, the renowned Athenian statesman and general. On the eve of the battle of Plataea in 479 BC, he was advised by the oracle at Delphi that if the Athenians made vows to certain gods and sacrificed to the Plataean founder heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Peisandrus, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actaeon, and Polyeidus they would be victorious.[46] The hero Androcrates, first on the list, had a *heroon* in Hysiae, in Boeotia, on the right side of the road from Plataea to Thebes.[47] It stood at the foot of Mount Kithaeron, near the temple of Demeter and Kore, and was surrounded by a grove of dense and shady trees, *ὅτι τῶν Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν*

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[39] Phaleron, as the oldest port of Athens, was supposedly also the port from which Theseus set sail for Crete, Paus. 1.1.2. The epic heroes were usually installed by the sea, Abramson 1978, 75.

[40] Plut. *Thes*. 17.7.2. Deubner 1932, 225. For Kybernesia, possibly celebrated in the month of Boedromion and connected with Poseidon, Parker 2005, 389, n. 10, 393, 410, 475.

[41] The remains of the gate probably lie at Erysichthonos Street 15, Travlos 1971, 20, 159.

[42] Plut. *Thes*. 27.5.1.

[43] Paus. 8.15.6, 9.17.3, 9.19.3. Cf. the case of Calchas, this article, 4–5.

[44] *ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἡρώων μνήματα, ὅσοι σὺν* Ἡρακλεῖ *στρατείας ἐπὶ* Ἠλείους *μετασχόντες οὐκ ἀπεσώθησαν οἴκαδε ἐκ τῆς μάχης. τέθαπται δὲ* Τελαμὼν *ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ* Ἀροανίου, *ἀπωτέρω μικρὸν ἢ ἔστι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ* Ἀπόλλωνος, Χαλκώδων *δὲ οὐ πόρρω κρήνης καλουμένης* Οἰνόης. Paus. 8.15.6.

[45] *καὶ ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς* Χαλκίδα Χαλκώδοντος *μνῆμά ἐστιν*. Paus. 9.19.3.

[46] Hdt. 8.95, 8.79–82, 9.28; Plut. *Arist*. 11.3–4. The exact question posed for consultation is not known, Parker 2005, 106.

[47] Thuc. 3.24.1; Tümpel, *PW* 1 (1894), 2149, s.v. Androkrates.

Κιθαιρῶνα ναός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσαγορευόμενος. […] ταύτῃ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον ἐγγύς, ἄλσει πυκνῶν καὶ συσκίων δένδρων περιεχόμενον.[48] Herodotus knew of Androcrates being worshipped at Plataea and of his precinct at Kithairon.[49] The origins of this *heroon* certainly date back to at least early Classical times, and, important as it was, it was still remembered centuries later by Plutarch.

In the *Questiones Graecae*, three questions were put forward about *heroa*. Firstly, why could a herald not enter the *heroon* of Ocridion on the island of Rhodes? Τί δήποτε παρὰ Ῥοδίοις εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀκριδίωνος ἡρῷον οὐκ εἰσέρχεται κῆρυξ;[50] The story went that Ocridion's bride was assaulted by her uncle Cercaphus with the help of a herald. Because of this injustice a custom was established among the Rhodians that a herald should not approach the *heroon* of Ocridion,[51] probably a local hero and otherwise not known.

Secondly, why could women not enter the grove of the hero Eunostus in Tanagra, a city in Boeotia? Τίς Εὔνοστος ἥρως ἐν Τανάγρᾳ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν τὸ ἄλσος αὐτοῦ γυναιξὶν ἀνέμβατόν ἐστιν;[52] Eunostus, a son of Elieus and Scia, was brought up by the nymph Eunosta. He lost his life through a deceitful woman, and therefore his *heroon* and grove were strictly guarded against entry by, or even approach of women, τοῦ δ' Εὐνόστου τὸ ἡρῷον καὶ τὸ ἄλσος οὕτως ἀνέμβατον ἐτηρεῖτο καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον γυναιξίν. For this episode Plutarch had two sources. The first, Cleidamus, related how people were informed if any woman had set foot within the τέμενος of Eunostus. He appeared to the people on his way to bathe in the sea, ἀπηντηκέναι αὐτοῖς τὸν Εὔνοστον ἐπὶ θάλατταν βαδίζοντα λουσόμενον, ὡς γυναικὸς ἐμβεβηκυίας εἰς τὸ τέμενος. Eunostus thus used sea water in his purification instead of a spring.[53] This decree of the Tanagrans was also related by Plutarch's other source, Diocles, in his treatise on the shrines of heroes: ἀναφέρει δὲ καὶ Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡρώων συντάγματι δόγμα Ταναγραίων, περὶ ὧν ὁ Κλείδαμος ἀπήγγειλεν. Distinctive to Eunostus' *heroon* was the grove, the precinct and the restriction of entrance to the male sex only.

The third question went, why was there a *heroon* near the shrine of the daughters of Leucippus? Διὰ τί ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρὰ τὸ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἱερὸν ἵδρυται τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἡρῷον; Temenus and Leagrus had together stolen the Palladium from Argos, but later, after a split between them, Leagrus carried the Palladium to Sparta. The local kings were delighted and set it near the shrine of the Leucippides. To ensure its safety and preservation they consulted the oracle of Delphi. The answer was that one of those who had stolen it should be made its guardian. That is why the Spartans constructed a *heroon* to Odysseus, who had a connection with the city through his marriage with a local girl, Penelope.[54]

The obvious link between Plutarch's *heroa* is that they were all for mythological figures. The first four, Nausithoos, Phaeax, Chalkodon and Androcrates, had been essentially helpful heroes, who had offered their support as skilful sailors, active

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[48] Plut. *Arist*. 11.6–8.

[49] καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος. Hdt. 9.25.

[50] Plut. Q*uaest. Graec.* 297 C.

[51] Rhodes seems to be the only city in which a herald rather than a parent or friend accompanied the bride to her new home, Boulogne 2002, 410, nts. 144–145.

[52] Plut. Q*uaest. Graec.* 300 F.

[53] In Eur. *Iph*. *T*. 1193 purification either in a spring or the sea are presented as alternatives.

[54] Plut. Q*uaest. Graec.* 302 D; Boulogne 2002, 422–423, n. 266. For Penelope as the daughter of the Spartan Icarius, see Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.10.6; F. Graf, *NP* 5 (1998) 928, s.v. Ikarios 2.

warriors, or in Androcrates' case, even of the military opponent. Special regulations could be connected with the *heroa* of heroes with traumatic backgrounds, such as Ocridion and Eunostus, whose myths both consisted of unhappy love stories. To understand the elaborate background of Odysseus' *heroon* in Sparta, a considerable amount of knowledge of mythological genealogies was surely needed. Plutarch's topographical references were "outside a city, along a road, by the foot of a mountain, or near a temple". The shady trees were once specifically mentioned. In one case festivities including games were organized, or restrictions to a sex or profession were given.

Pausanias

Attica

When visiting the Acropolis of Athens, Pausanias[55] reported that from the temple of Athena Nike the sea was visible, and that it was from there that Aegeus threw himself to his death, believing his son Theseus had perished. Pausanias further says that Aegeus had a *heroon* in Athens, without, however, specifying exactly where.[56] The Aegeion, the *heroon* of Aegeus, might thus have been quite near the temple of Athena Nike, but Pausanias' expression, *οἱ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ καλούμενον ἡρῷον Αἰγέως*, leads to the hypothesis that it may not necessarily have been at the exact location of his suicide. It may rather have been in the region of the Ilissus and Olympieion, where Aegeus once had his residence.[57] Perhaps Pausanias did not see the *heroon*, or it no longer existed.

The next three *heroa* were outside Athens in the northwestern part of Attica. Near the Academy, in the area of Kolonos Hippios, there was a *heroon* exceptionally dedicated to several heroes: Besides the altar of Poseidon and Athena, both worshipped here as protectors of horses, there was a *heroon* of Pirithous, Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus, *καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἱππίας, ἡρῷον δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ Ἀδράστου*.[58] Theseus, the Attic hero proper, was the connecting link between all these heroes. He had helped Adrastus to flee from Argos to Athens, he had sworn an oath

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[55] Pausanias is the constant companion of the researcher of hero-cults and *heroa*. As is well known, being a Greek from Asia Minor he aimed at describing the most notable monuments of all mainland Greece, and wrote probably between the years 155–175 AD. He made comments on religion, recording a large number of cult places, monuments, rituals and beliefs. His work includes more than a hundred heroes with a monument or remains, which he saw himself or was informed about, see K. Stratiki, 'Les héros grecs comme personnification de la liberté dans la Périégèse de Pausanias', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Bud*é (2003), 92–112. Unfortunately, most of these monuments are mentioned just in passing, with the simple statement that a hero or heroine has a *heroon*, a grave, or an altar, Habicht 1985, 4–5, 11; Ekroth 1999, 145; Cohen 2001, 93–94. Thus he very often limited himself to a simple mention of the existence of a *heroon*, and does not usually pay any attention to what the *heroa* actually looked like, whether there was an enclosure, a tumulus, a pit for sacrifices, or an altar, Frazer 1913, 60. Pausanias described the monuments he saw, constructed earlier and preserved to his time. He clearly valued the ancient more than the recent, hardly mentioning any building or work of art later than the third century BC, Habicht 1985, 23, 134; Ekroth 1999, 157–158. Pausanias is considered a valuable source for the Classical and Late Classical periods – both Larson 1995 and Ekroth 1999 – but he included also a large amount of Hellenistic history in his work. Even though his historical accuracy has frequently been attacked, the archaeological and topographical information is still considered important, Habicht 1985, 134; Elsner 1992, 3–4; Pretzler 2005, 236–237.

[56] Paus. 1.22.4–5.

[57] Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992, 199; Papakhatzis 1974, 321, n. 1.

[58] Paus. 1.30.4. *Heroa* were often situated in groups, Abramson 1978, 85.

of life-long friendship with Pirithous, and he was the one who had welcomed Oedipus to Athens. Kearns suggests that this *heroon* seems to have underworld associations.[59] The *heroon* could have been a simple enclosure, raised to protect statues and/or altars of all the four heroes, who may have represented the urban *nuclei*.[60]

On the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, by the river Cephissus,[61] Pausanias saw a *heroon* for Hippothoon, after whom an Athenian tribe had been named. Hippothoon was the son of Poseidon and Alope, who was also granted the rulership of Eleusis. The *heroon* of Hippothoon along with the other eponymous heroes in this area was of great significance ever since the reforms of Cleisthenes,[62] and he had been of old an essential part of the Eleusinian mysteries.[63] It was the only sacred place dedicated to an Athenian phyle which was outside the city.[64]

Near the *heroon* of Hippothoon there was also one for Zarex, who was believed to have been instructed in music by Apollo himself. Pausanias, being unaware of a native Athenian hero called Zarex, thought that he was a Lacedaemonian who had arrived in Attica as a foreigner. Indeed, in the Laconian territory and near the sea, there was a town named after him.[65] Zarex might, however, have been a local hero with considerable musical skills, rather than an assimilation of the Lacedaemonian.[66] The roadsides were indeed propitious and common locations for *heroa*, and the sacred ways were especially suitable for the purpose.[67] Thus the Sacred Way to Eleusis with the famous religious processions must have been superior to any other roadside as a location for a *heroon*.

Pausanias saw a total of five *heroa* in Megara, or nearby. The *heroon* of Pandion was in the city, near the temple of Artemis and Apollo, and the tomb of Hippolyte, the Queen of the Amazons. His tomb, *τάφος*, however, was elsewhere, on a rock called Athena Aethyia.[68] When Pandion, the son of Cecrops and the ninth king of Athens, was overthrown, he fled to Megara, where he married the daughter of the local king.[69] The site of Pandion's *heroon* inside the city was very important, and an honour usually reserved for eponymous heroes or city founders. Perhaps in accordance with many other *heroa*, that in Megara was rather a cenotaph, as he seems to have been buried elsewhere,[70] possibly on the Athenian Acropolis. According to Pausanias, there was at least a statue of Pandion worth seeing; another statue was in the Agora.[71]

Two heroines, Ino and Iphigenia, also had *heroa* in Megara. That of Ino, daughter of Cadmus, was on the road to the Prytaneion, and it was surrounded by a fence of stones

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[59] Kearns 1989, 193. Pirithous accompanied Theseus to the underworld.
[60] Musti and Breschi 1982, 380; Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992, 233. Innumerous altars and shrines were attracted to this area, Travlos 1971, 42.
[61] Paus. 1.5.2, 1.38.4; Hsch. *Phot*., s.v. Hippothoonteion.
[62] Musti and Beschi 1982, 411. See also Kearns 1989, 193.
[63] Kron 1976, 180–182.
[64] U. Kron, *LIMC* 5 (1990), 468, s.v. Hippothoon.
[65] Paus. 1.38.4.
[66] Frazer 1913, 501; Musti and Beschi 1982, 411; Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992, 250.
[67] In addition to the *heroa* of Hippothoon and Zarex, Pausanias mentions a *τέμενος* of the hero Lakios and *τάφος* of Phytal by the Sacred Way, Paus. 1.37.2.
[68] Paus. 1.41.6.
[69] Paus. 1.5.3–4.
[70] Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992, 259. See also Papakhatzis 1974, 498, n. 4.
[71] Paus. 1.5.2; Wycherley 1957, 86, no. 232, 89, no. 245; Kron 1976, 107–110.

and olive trees growing beside it: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἰνοῦς ἐστιν ἡρῷον, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων· πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαῖαι.*[72] In Megara, Ino was offered an annual sacrifice, the nature of which is not mentioned. The fence of stones, *θριγκὸς*, could here signify an enclosure, even though the word more often designated a wall. It has been suggested that the shape of the *heroon* was primitive, and probably constructed over an older phase belonging perhaps to the mythical time of Lelex. The adjacent olive trees, obviously a small grove, is an interesting image in the middle of the city.[73]

The topographical references for the *heroon* of Iphigenia seem to be the vicinity to the *heroon* of Ino, the Prytaneion, and the sanctuary of Artemis.[74] She was said to have died in Megara, though her complex mythology transmits many different versions. A *heroon* of Iphigenia near a temple of Artemis was a natural solution, however, since the characters were mythologically strongly bound together.[75]

In Megara there is evidence of a sort of recycled use of a *heroon*: Near the *βουλευτήριον*, in the upper part of the agora, there was a *heroon* of Alcathous, son of Pelops, who had won the throne of Megara by his valour. In the days of Pausanias this *heroon* was used as an archive, which suggests that the *heroon* must have been a relatively large and covered building offering an interior suitable for storing documents.[76]

The last *heroon* Pausanias saw in Megaris, was in the harbour town of Pagae. It was the *heroon* of Aegialeus, son of Adrastus, who died on the battlefield at Glisas. His relatives carried him to be buried in Pagae and the *heroon* was still called *Aigialeion* in Pausanias' days.[77] Aegialeus was the only Argive epigon to die on the battlefield against the Thebans, and his tomb is another example of a real or mythical tomb inside a city.

Corinthia

In the area of Corinth Pausanias reported three *heroa*. The first was that of Aratus in the agora of Sicyon by the sanctuary of Πειθώ, Persuasion, and in front of the former house of the tyrant Cleon. Aratus, a remarkable Sicyonian politician and general (271–213 BC) restored equality of political rights to the Sicyonians and induced them to join the Achaean League. He was poisoned by Philip V in Aegium, but was carried to Sicyon to be buried there. In Pausanias' time his *heroon* was still visible; he praised Aratus as the man of the greatest achievements of all contemporary Greeks.[78] Plutarch in his *Life of Aratus* continues that the Sicyonians wanted to bury Aratus inside their city walls, which according the laws was forbidden. They asked advice from the Delphic oracle, who granted permission.[79] With great joy they buried him in the city, in a visible place, calling him their founder and saviour. In the time of Plutarch the place was still called the *Arateion*, and twice a year, on the day Aratus had freed the city from its tyranny and on the

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[72] Paus. 1.42.7.
[73] Musti and Beschi 1982, 431; Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992, 263.
[74] Paus. 1.43.1. The *πρυτανεῖον* was in the agora of Megara, Papakhatsis 1974, 505.
[75] See also Musti and Beschi 1982, 264, and Hollinshead 1985, 428.
[76] Paus. 1.43.4; Musti and Beschi 1982, 433–434; Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992, 266.
[77] Paus. 1.44.4.
[78] Paus. 2.8.1, 2.9.4.
[79] Alcock 1991, 458, n. 44.

day he was born, sacrifices were made to him. The ceremonial rites were quite remarkable, as Aratus had a priest of his own, hymns were sung by the *kitharodoi*, and the gymnasiarch, boys, ephebes, members of the boule, and whoever so desired, took part in the festive procession. Plutarch observed that slight traces of some of the honours were still preserved.[80] On the reverse of a Sicyonian coin (Fig. 1.) from the reign of Caracalla as co-ruler (202–205) an interesting monument is depicted. It is a roofed construction supported by four pillars on a rounded pedestal. In the midst there seems to be a statue. This may be an illustration of the *heroon* of Aratus,[81] which in that case had survived even after the time of Pausanias.[82]

Fig. 1.

On the left side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there was a *heroon* of Perseus, *ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν ἐστιν ἡρῷον*, where the neighbouring people paid him honours.[83] Perseus, son of Zeus, was the hero of Argos, and also the founder of Mycenae.[84] In this case the city founder had not been granted a *heroon* inside the city, but by the road leading to it.

Descending to the city of the Epidaurians there was a place called Hyrnethion, where wild olive trees grew, and Hyrnetho, the daughter of Temenus, had her *heroon*. She had been killed in a rivalry between her brothers and her husband Deiphontes, who carried her dead body to the place where the *heroon* was later built, and various honours were granted her, *καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες ἡρῷον τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλας δεδώκασι*. A custom was established that nobody should carry home or use for any purpose the twigs and brushwood that broke off the olive or other trees that grew there. These must be left at the spot instead, to be sacred to Hyrnetho: *ἐπὶ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐλαίοις, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο δένδρον ἔσω, καθέστηκε νόμος τὰ θραυόμενα μηδένα ἐς οἶκον φέρεσθαι μηδὲ χρᾶσθαί σφισιν ἐς μηδέν, κατὰ χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν ἱερὰ εἶναι τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς*.[85] Pausanias dedicates an unusually long passage to the myth of Hyrnetho, basing his information clearly on oral tradition. We get the impression that the *heroon* was outside the city, probably by the road leading to Epidaurus. The story perhaps reflects the fifth- and fourth-century tribal structure of Argos, and Hyrnethia as eponym of the phyle Hyrnathioi.[86] She was also worshipped in Argos, where she had a cenotaph.[87]

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[80] Plut. *Arat.* 53.

[81] Musti and Torelli 1986, 245 and Imhoof, Blumer and Gardner 1964, 28, pl. H, I–II.

[82] I am indebted to Dr. Tuukka Talvio, The Coin Cabinet of The National Museum of Finland, Dr. Michel Amandry, Bibliothèque nationale de France, and Dr. Alan Walker, LHS Numismatics Ltd, Zürich, for the information and help in tracing the coin.

[83] Paus. 2.18.1

[84] Epigraphical evidence of the magistrates and the cult of Perseus, see *IG* IV 493; *SEG* 11, 298; *SEG* 22, 260. Musti and Torelli 1986, 270; Papakhatzis 1989, 149, n. 4.

[85] Paus. 2.28.3–7; Musti and Torelli 1986, 306–307.

[86] Musti and Torelli 1986, 306–307; Larson 1995, 141–144.

[87] Paus. 2.23.3. For the non-Dorian aspect of Hyrnetho, E.Kearns, 'The nature of heroines', in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds.), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, London and New York 1998, 106–107.

Laconia

Laconia was the area where Pausanias met with the greatest number of *heroa*, dedicated both to mythological and historical individuals.[88] In Sparta along the Aphetais road, leading from the agora to the acropolis in a north-south direction, there were three *heroa*, two of which were dedicated to local heroes, Iops and Lelex, and one for the originally Argive seer Amphiaraus. Not far from them was the temenos of the chthonic deity Poseidon Tainarios.[89] Both the Aphetais road and the temenos of Poseidon are among the few locations mentioned in the ancient sources which have also been identified in modern Sparta. The *temenos* of Poseidon is, according to present knowledge, immediately on the eastern side of the Apetais road.[90] The ruins of the three *heroa*, however, have not been located.

More *heroa* to the mythical figures Hippolytus, son of Theseus, and Pleuron, who was remarkable for Aetolian relations, and the Arcadian Aulon, all reflecting ancient wars and alliances, were seen by Pausanias near the temples of Zeus Tropaeus, Dionysus Kolonatas, and Zeus Euanemus.[91] None of them has been located, even though the whereabouts of the temples, such as that of Dionysus, is known to be just to the east of the city centre.[92]

Beside the *leskhe* decorated with paintings, probably the construction for the funerary cult of the Aegeids,[93] was the *heroon* of Cadmus, son of Agenor, and the *heroon* of Oeolycus, son of Thera and Aegeus. The *heroa* were said to have been built by the descendants of Aegeus,[94] who also built a *heroon* for Amphilochus, but Pausanias does not give its whereabouts. In the southwest corner of the agora, not far from the theatre, were the sanctuary of Poseidon Genethlios and the *heroa* of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and of Oebalus, both mythical kings of Sparta. The Asclepieion, the most remarkable of the Spartan sanctuaries, had on its left side the *heroon* of Teleclus,[95] a historical personage and a Spartan king from the eight century BC.[96]

Alcon, son of Hippocoon, a king of Sparta, had a *heroon* at the start of the road called Dromos, situated further from the agora in the northwestern part of the city.[97] Beside it was the sanctuary of Poseidon Domatites, and the gymnasion called Platanistas, around which tall plane trees grew. It was surrounded by a strait, making it island-like and accessible only via two bridges. At Platanistas there was also a *heroon* to a historical individual, Cyniska, daughter of Archidamus II, a king of Sparta.[98] She was

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[88] A good map with the buildings and a reconstruction of Pausanias' route in Sparta, in K.–W. Welwei, *NP* 11 (2001), sv. Sparta, 787–790. See also Kourinou 2000, ch. 2, and Abramson 1978, 32.
[89] Paus. 3.12.5; Musti and Torelli 1991, 201.
[90] In the northwest corner of the modern block number 36, Kourinou 2000, 238. Regarding the unclear ancient topography of Sparta in general, see M. Osanna, 'Il Peloponneso', in *Greco* 1999, 153–154.
[91] Paus. 3.12.9, 3.13.7–8.
[92] Musti and Torelli 1991, 209; Kourinou 2000, 239. See also K.–W. Welwei, *NP* 11 (2001), s.v. Sparta, 787–790, no. 10.
[93] Musti and Torelli 1991, 221.
[94] Paus. 3.15.8; Musti and Torelli 1991, 221.
[95] Paus. 3.15.10; Musti and Torelli 1991, 222. Cf. K.–W. Welwei, *NP* 11 (2001), s.v. Sparta, 787, no. 20.
[96] K.–W. Welwei, *NP* 12 (2002), 91, s.v Teleklos. Spartan kings were more or less all heroes, Abramson 1978, 32.
[97] Musti and Torelli 1991, 214–215.
[98] Paus. 3.14.7–8; Musti and Torelli 1991, 218.

the first woman to breed horses and the first to win chariot races at Olympia, in 396 and 392.[99] More *heroa* were to be found in Platanistas, behind a portico, where other sons of Hippocoon were paid honours as heroes.[100]

In northeastern Sparta, in an area called Limnae, in the direction of the gates, there was a *heroon* of Chilon, a Spartan statesman and ephor in 556 or 555 BC. He was said to be one of the Seven Sages,[101] and was consequently honoured in Sparta as a hero. Another *heroon* nearby was dedicated to Athenodorus, one of those who had accompanied Dorieus to Sicily in a colonial expedition ca. 510.[102] The only securely identified monument so far in the area of Limnae is the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[103]

Along the river Eurotas, near the temenos of the conspicuous statesman Lycurgus,[104] there was a *heroon* of the local hero Astrabacus, son of Irbus.[105] Its remains lie a few metres south of the altar and sanctuary of Lycurgus.[106] In the Hellenistic tradition Astrabacus was connected with the rituals of Artemis Orthia.[107]

The last *heroon* Pausanias saw in Sparta was that of Lacedaemon, a mythical ancestor, and son of Zeus and Taygete, who renamed the country after himself, and its principal city after his wife, Sparta.[108] The *heroon* of Lacedaemon was situated in a place called Alesiae, which is in the direction of the Taygetos from the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaeochus. In the vicinity there was also a river called Phellia, now named Riviotissa.[109] Of all the Spartan heroes the most eponymous had his *heroon* in the western part of the city, presumably by the roadside.

Elis, Arcadia, Boeotia and Phocis

Elis

Pausanias used the word *heroon* only once in his second book about Elis, the *heroon* being that of Polites, in Brettium,[110] in Italy. Pausanias could not omit relating the victories and deeds of Polites, and his story differs to some extent from that of Strabo. Polites got drunk and raped a local maiden, for which the inhabitants stoned him to death. Odysseus, caring nothing for his friend, sailed away. The ghost of Polites started to kill people of Temesa, who after having consulted the Delphic oracle, erected a *temenos* dedicated solely to him, built a temple, *ναὸς*, and annually gave him the fairest maiden for his wife. Following these measures, the people of Temesa did not suffer any more terror from the hero. When the boxer Euthymus, a native of Locri Epizephyrii, came to Temesa and saw the sacrifice taking place, he saved the maiden. Then he fought Polites, and the hero was driven out of

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[99] Paus. 3.15.1.
[100] Paus. 3.15.2.
[101] K.–W. Welwei and W. D. Furley, *NP* 2 (1997), 1121–1122, s.v. Khilon; Wace 1937, 217–220; Stibbe 1991, 9–10; Stibbe 1996, 204–221, 224–225; Musti and Torelli 1991, 224; Kourinou 2000, 148.
[102] Paus. 3.16.4; K.–W. Welwei, *NP* 3 (1997), 778, s.v. Dorieos.
[103] Kourinou 2000, 149.
[104] Around 650 BC, Hdt. 1,65–66; Plut. *Lyc.* 31.3.
[105] Paus. 3.16.6.
[106] Wide 1893, 279–280; Wace 1905–1906, 293; Kourinou 2000, 149–150; Musti and Torelli 1986, 225–226.
[107] F. Graf, *NP* 2 (1997), 120, s.v. Astrabakos.
[108] Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.10.3; Paus. 3.1.1–3.10.2, 9.35.1.
[109] Paus. 3.20.3; Musti and Torelli 1991, 254.
[110] The Romans and Strabo used the form Bruttium.

the land and sank into the sea, and the people of Temesa were freed of the hero for good, but Euthymus married the maiden.[111] This story shows that heroes were capable of evil and needed to be conciliated. The human sacrifice and the subsequent liberation of it was perhaps used as an explanation why a *heroon* was not taken care of any longer.

In this first part of the story, which had reached Pausanias as oral tradition, *τόδε μεν ἤκουσα*,[112] he called the *heroon* a *ναὸς*.[113] Later he elaborated that he himself saw a copy of the ancient painting, *γραφῆς μίμημα ἀρχαίας*, depicting the events. In the picture was the personification of Sybaris, a river called Calabrus, a spring called Lyca (or Calyca), a *heroon*,[114] and the city of Temesa. In the centre was the unpleasant-looking demon of Polites, cast out by Euthymus, and in this instance called Lyca (or Alybas). Here we have a pictorial description of the hero, and probably also of the *heroon* itself with its essential elements, the construction, the river and a spring. The hero-demon was horribly black and wore a wolfskin around him: *χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχετο δέρμα ἐσθῆτα· ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν*.[115]

This appearance is comparable with Pausanias' description of the paintings of the Cnidian lesche in Delphi and the Demon Eurynomus,[116] painted by Polygnotus of Thassos, of the same date as Euthymus the boxer. Another comparison comes from the Tarquinian tomb of the Blue Demons with their blue-grey incarnate and frightening appearance, dated somewhat later, to the end of the fifth century BC.[117] The whole event must have been of importance in Temesa's history, and the tradition of some duration, as it had been transmitted to Pausanias' times as a copy of the original document. Originally the myth reflected the troubled times of the fifth century between Locri Epizephyrii, Croton, Syracuse and Temesa.[118]

Arcadia

In Arcadia Pausanias saw three *heroa*. In the agora of Mantinea was a *heroon* of Podares, who had been killed in the battle against the Thebans under Epaminondas in 362 BC. According to Pausanias, there was also an epitaph, *τοῦ τάφου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα*, changed three generations before his time in order to apply to a descendant of Podares of Roman citizenship and with the same name, from the latter half of the first century AD. In the time of Pausanias the elder Podares was still honoured by the Mantineans as the third bravest man in the battle,[119] and his *heroon* had been erected to remind the citizens of Mantinea of his bravery and his heroic death in the battle. Some physical material

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111 Paus. 6.6.4–11.

112 Paus. 6.6.11.

113 There is another case (3.15.7), where Pausanias uses the word *naos* of the shrine of a hero. It was the *ναὸς* of Hipposthenes, an athlete who had won many prizes in wrestling. He was worshipped in accordance with an oracle like Poseidon, possibly through their connections to horses.

114 The word *heroon* in this connection is an emendation, not generally accepted, and the corrupted passage is read as Hera. Considering, however, the importance of the *heroon* in the story I prefer the emendation *heroon*. More about the painting, which Pausanias may have seen in Olympia, and the text emendations, in Currie 2002, 28–29.

115 Paus. 6.6.11; Pretzler 2005, 235, 245–249.

116 Paus. 10.28.7.

117 See e.g. M. Cataldi Dini, 'Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri', in M.A. Rizzo (ed.), *Pittura etrusca al Museo di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1989, 150–153.

118 Maddoli, Nafissi and Saladino 1999, 221–222.

119 Paus. 8.9.10; Pretzler 2005, 240.

may be connected with this *heroon*. A rectangular shrine, oriented to the East, has been discovered in the local agora, immediately northeast of the skene of the theatre. Inside this shrine is a rectangular tomb covered by a plate and two urns containing ashes, indicating that two descendants were buried near Podares. The inscription mentioned by Pausanias could have been a stele in front of the monument. Furthermore, from a Byzantine church fragments of two recycled roof tiles with the inscriptions ΠΟΔΑΡΙ and ΠΟΔΑΡΕΟΣ have been discovered.[120] This points to the *heroon* having been a covered structure.

The Podares of the battle of 362 BC was a historical person, elevated to heroic status and worshipped in his *heroon*, in a prominent place, in the agora and by the theatre of the city. The cult had been preserved through the Hellenistic period until Roman times, his descendants having been willing to take their share of his past glory and exploit his resting place practically. This incident may have been an early reflection of the adapted ruler cult.[121] The later Podares' wanted, as a Roman citizen, to underline his remarkable ancestry.

In the city of Psophis, near the sanctuary of Aphrodite Erycine, there had once been the *heroa* of Promachus and Echephron, sons of Psophis, and founders of the sanctuary. Pausanias saw only the ruins of the sanctuary, but the *heroa* were no longer visible.[122] Promachus and Echephron go back to the dawn of mythology as the sons of the eponymous founder of the city, who for their part had founded the local cult of Eryx, with notable diffusion. It may be that no *heroon* ever existed for the two brothers, but that Pausanias invented it deducing the custom from other places.[123]

Boeotia

In his chapters on Boeotia, Pausanias uses the word *heroon* three times. Inside the city of Plataea, near the altar and the image of Zeus Eleutherios was the *heroon* of Plataea, the daughter of King Asopus. The city was named after her, whereas the king had given his name to the local river.[124] In this case the eponymous heroine was customarily honoured in the city centre.

In Thebes, in front of the Proetidian gate, there was a gymnasion named after Iolaus, a native of Thebes and nephew of Heracles,[125] who had helped him in some of his deeds, and who had died at Sardis. By the gymnasion was the *heroon* of Iolaus and the local hippodrome.[126] Pausanias leaves us without any description of the *heroon* itself, or the possible cult, but in the area of the gymnasion a construction, probably belonging to the *heroon*, has been discovered.[127] This is one of the many examples where a *heroon* was attracted to the area by a gymnasion.

The third *heroon* in the territory of Boeotia was dedicated to Cecrops, son of Pandion, in the city of Haliartus,[128] west of Thebes. It may have been founded in 171 BC,

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[120] Casevitz, Jost and Marcade 1998, 178–179; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 340–341. See also Papkhatzis 1989, 209, n. 5.
[121] Alcock 1991, 457.
[122] Paus. 8.24.6–7.
[123] Casevitz, Jost and Marcade 1998, 207; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 398–399.
[124] Paus. 9.1.1, 9.2.7.
[125] In many places Iolaos shares an altar with Heracles and is addressed as his *parastates*, Plut. *Mor*. 492 C.
[126] Paus. 9.23.1; Lefkowitz 1975, 181, n. 20.
[127] Papakhatzis 1981, 145–146, n. 1.
[128] Paus. 9.33.1.

after Haliartus had been given to the Athenians by the Romans in the Third Macedonian War. The Athenians would in that instance have erected the *heroon* in honour of the founder hero of their own city.[129]

Phocis

Turning to the region of Phocis, Pausanias saw only one *heroon*, in the territory of Daulis, at a place called Tronis. It was dedicated to the local founder-hero, whose origin was of some ambiguity, as can be seen even by the name: Some claimed he was Xanthippus, a distinguished soldier, while others claimed that he was Phocus, son of Ornytion, and grandson of Sisyphus. He was worshipped daily: ἔχει δ' οὖν ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ τε πάσῃ τιμὰς, with victims whose blood was poured into the grave through a hole, and their flesh was consumed on the spot.[130] This seems to have been an unusual way of honouring a hero, as customarily the offerings were burned *in toto*, but here the hero was given blood instead.[131] Pausanias varied his terminology, initially using the word *heroon*, but when describing the ritual he called it a τάφος.

Summary

The heroes

The objects of *heroa* noted by Pausanias were for the most part mythological figures, such as kings or city founders, or their sons and daughters. Their origins often disappear into the distant dawn of myths, but for our purpose it is important to note that their cults lived through the late Classical and Hellenistic periods to be still remembered, at least by name, in the Roman period. Some of these heroes were of local nature, others of more general interest among the Greeks. A conciliatory *heroon* was also created for a rapist.[132] Pausanias gives the names of six historical individuals who were honoured with *heroa*. From the Archaic period we have three individuals from Sparta, the king Teleclus from the eight century, the statesman and ephor Chilon in 556 or 555 BC, and Athenodorus, one of the colonists to Sicily ca. 510. In their persons the foremost matters of a Greek society's concerns during those centuries, communal, social and colonial, were crystallized. From the late Classical period we have two individuals. The first is a Spartan king's daughter, Cyniska, a horse breeder and winner of the Olympic races in 396 and 392. The other was Podares of Mantinea, a warrior killed in the battle against the Thebans in 362. Cyniska's elevation to heroic status was surely partly due to her sex. The Sicyonian politician and general Aratus was the only historical person among the Pausanian heroes from the Hellenistic period, from 213 BC.

The heroa

While the ordinary dead had their final resting places in the cemeteries outside the city walls, the heroes could be worshipped either at their real tombs or at cenotaphs, in virtually any place of significance. The city-founders were entitled to be buried in the

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[129] Papakhatzis 1981, 208, n.1.

[130] Paus. 10.4.10. According to Papakhatzis 1981, 283, n. 2 "daily" meant worshipping "any day".

[131] Hitzig 1910, 636–637. For the possible identification of the hero and the topography of Daulis, see McInerney 1997, 196–201.

[132] Cf. those of Tityus in Euboea, and Panopeus, and that of Drimacus in Chios, this article, 2, 5, 19.

agora, a tradition which continued down to the Hellenistic period.[133] Within the cities, common locations for *heroa* were in or by the gymnasia, by the city gates, and also near the important public buildings, such as the prytaneion, theatre or *lesche*; a *heroon* could also be converted to other uses. Pausanias described many *heroa* as connected to the shrines or temples of the Olympian gods, which are listed here according to their frequency: Poseidon, Zeus, Dionysus, Artemis and Apollo, Aphrodite and Asclepius. Persuasion, an abstract deity typical to Hellenistic religion, is also known to have had a topographical link to a *heroon*. Roads or crossroads within the city or between cities were also favoured locations for *heroa*.

For the immediate surroundings of the *heroa*, water, in the shape of a spring or river, played an important role. Also, a grove of olive, plane or some other not clearly specified trees seems to have been a usual element of the *heroa*. These elements were essential parts of the literary term known in Latin as *locus amoenus*[134], so much praised in the pastoral literature.[135] Enclosures made of stones are also noted, or can be understood from the context. In two cases we can deduce that the *heroon* was a covered construction, as Alcathous' domicile was later used as the archives, and in the case of Podares from the evidence of inscribed roof tiles.

The rituals by a *heroon* could take place at undefined intervals, from once or twice a year to daily, which could perhaps be interpreted as on any day.

The terminology

In the whole of his work Pausanias notes more than one hundred heroes with a physical monument or remains, of which he uses variously the words *τάφος, μνῆμα, ἱερὸν, τέμενος*, *ναὸς, βωμός* or *ἡρῷον*.[136] The problem of Pausanias' religious terminology comes to light especially in his book on Messenia, in which the word *heroon* was not used at all. In the area there were, however, several tombs or shrines of heroes.[137] Pausanias' impression of Sparta, on the other hand, as being full of *heroa*, might have been due to the city's many two-storey tombs.[138] Essentially, it seems that Pausanias' *heroon* was not synonymous with the words *μνῆμα* and *τάφος*. He used the two latter words more often than the term *heroon*, also of regular burials. Thus, a *heroon* must have had a special meaning, being more than just a grave or tomb. (Perhaps the built construction was more monumental.) All three terms, *ἡρῷον*, *τάφος* and *μνῆμα*, denoted, however, a place where cult activity for the hero could be practised.[139] Accordingly, the more suitable synonyms for a *ἡρῷον* could be *ἱερὸν* and in some few cases also *ναὸς*.

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[133] Schol. Pind. *Ol*. 1.149; Abramson 1978, 68–70.

[134] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 1962–1963, sv. *amoenus* (*de locorum pulchritudine*).

[135] For the Greek *ἄλσος* also as synonymous to the shrine or temple, see U. Sinn, *ThesCRA* 4 (2005), 12–14, s.v. Representations of Cult Places.

[136] *τάφος*: 1.29.2, 1.42.4, 1.43.3, 2.15.3, 2.29.9, 7.20.5; *μνῆμα*: 1.43.3, 2.29.8, 2.33.3, 3.19.6, 8.4.9, 9.17.4, 9.33.1; *ἡρῷον*: 1.11.2, 1.22.6, 1.30.4, 1.38.4, 1.41.6–7, 1.42.1, 1.43.1, 1.43.4, 1.44.4–5, 2.8.1 2.9.4, 2.9.6, 2.18.1, 2.28.7, 3.12.5, 3.12.9, 3.13.8, 3.14.7, 3.15.1, 3.15.2, 3.15.8, 3.15.10, 3.16.4, 3.16.6, 3.20.3, 6.6.11, 8.9.9, 8.24.7, 9.23.1, 9.33.1, 10.4.10; *ἱερὸν*: 1.36.1, 3.19.6. *τέμενος*: 1.37.2, 2.18.1, 10.8.7; *ναὸς*: 1.37.4, 2.2.1, 3.19.8, 3.24.2; *βωμός*: 1.1.4, 1.26.5, 1.34.3, 1.35.3, 2.1.3, 2.15.3, 2.18.1, 2.26.8, 9.32.2, 10.33.6. The list is based, with some additions, on Abramson 1978, 168.

[137] The most recent study of the heroes of Messenia has been written by P. Themelis, *Ήρωες και ήρωα στη Μεσσήνη*, Athens 2000.

[138] Raftopoulou 1999, 134.

[139] Larson 1995, 12–13 shares the same opinion, Abramson 1978, 90–91 presents the opposite view.

Athenaeus

According to one of Athenaeus'[140] sources, Democharesˌ[141] who was a relative of Demosthenes, Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 BC) regarded the temples of Aphrodite Leaina and Aphrodite Lamia, and the altars, *heroa* and libations to Burichus,[142] Adeimantus,[143] and Oxythemis[144] utterly shameful and humiliating.[145] The Athenians, it seems, had gone to some lengths to please Poliorcetes by constructing these monuments around 306 BC[146]. The temples indicated his two mistresses, Lamia and Leaina,[147] and the *heroa* his three satellites, in whose honour even paeans were provisionally chanted. Here we have *heroa* that were dedicated to mortal people still living, and whose virtue was to be intimate with a ruler. Singing paeans, an honour originally reserved for the gods, was gradually introduced to other festive occasions, such as weddings and symposia. In the Hellenistic period the objects of paeans could also be the rulers,[148] and Demetrius himself had been spontaneously hailed as a divinity ca. 304.[149] In the late fourth century the time was, however, not really ripe to enlarge this custom to the friends of a ruler by heroization.[150]

Athenaeus also told of a man who, after having had an awful bath in a bath-house supplying only cold water, saw a lavishly decorated *heroon* beside it and: *οὐ θαυμάζω, ἔφη, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀνάκεινται πίνακες· ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν λουομένων ὡς σωθέντα ἀνατιθέναι.* "No wonder", he said, "that there are many votive tablets, because everybody dedicates them for surviving the bath".[151] Here we have the topographical reference to a bath-house as a building near the *heroon*. Perhaps this passage is also a criticism of the cult of heroes, in which the dead had it better than the living. For the time span, the story may refer to the fifth century BC and old fashioned bathing with cold water.[152]

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[140] Athenaeus (ca. 170–230 AD), a Greek from Naukratis in Egypt, lived in Rome where he wrote a historical work, *Deipnosophistae*. A minor part of the work is preserved only in summary, the rest is apparently complete. Athenaeus' protagonists display considerable knowledge of Greek culture, and he cited about 1250 authors, favoured Hellenistic historians, and seems to have used literary sources not known from any other writer. Without Athenaeus we would have missed large parts of Hellenistic life and history, Gulick 1961, Introduction, passim; Bowie 1970, 3–4; Walbank 2000, 161–162. Athenaeus and Pausanias may discuss the same things, but focus on their objects in different ways. Pausanias does not attempt to impress his readers with his learning, but trusts his own observations and personal inspection, Arafat 2000, 191–202. Athenaeus, as a librarian, had access to many sources, which he energetically used to display the Greek past to Roman philhellenes.

[141] He wrote a historical work ca. 322–288 BC, K. Meister, *NP* 3 (1997), 449–450, s.v. Demokhares 3.

[142] He was one of Poliorcetes' generals, Diod. Sic. 20.52.4; Wilcken, *PW* 3 (1899), 1067, s.v. Burikhos.

[143] He was from Lampsacus, Strab. 13.1.19; Ath. 6.253a, 6.255c.

[144] He was from Larissa, H. Beck, *NP* 9 (2000), 124, s.v. Oxythemis. Athen. 13.578b and 14.614f.

[145] Ath. 6.253a; Habicht 1956, 213–218.

[146] Price 1984, 34; Habicht 1994, 71.

[147] Ath. 13.577c–d; Canfora 2001, 609, n. 4.

[148] Canfora 2001, 609, n. 6; L. Käppel, *NP* 9 (2000), 149, s.v. Paian.

[149] E. Badian, *NP* 3 (1997), 428, s.v. Demetrios Poliorketes. Also when coming to Athens from Kerkyra in 291 BC. See Ath. 6.253 c–f, and A. Chaniotis, 'The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2003, 431–445.

[150] Comparing the divinization of a ruler with heroization, Sculler and Leschhorn 2004, 151, 154. For the exact years of the honours towards Demetrius, see Habicht 1956, 48–55.

[151] Ath. 8.351c.

[152] Canfora 2001, 869, n. 4.

Another of Athenaeus' sources, a certain Nymphodorus,[153] told of what had once happened on the island of Chios. There was a runaway slave, Drimachus, presumably a former soldier,[154] who founded a safe haven for runaway slaves, becoming their leader. He was an early example of an advocate of slaves, and made a pact with the unreliable Chians with certain conditions. After his death the Chians had further problems with their slaves, and they had to renew the pact with him by establishing a *heroon* in his honour. The *heroon* was named *ἥρωος εὐμενοῦς*, of the Kind-hearted Hero. Certainly up to the days of the narrator, the end of the third century BC, the runaway slaves still offered the hero the first fruits of everything they had stolen. Drimacus had also the ability to appear to the Chians in their sleep and warn them about the plots of their slaves. As thanks the people went to his *heroon* and made him offerings.[155] In this case the *heroon* was erected for permanent conciliation. The object of the cult was a person of low rank, perhaps a prisoner of war and possibly of Thracian or other non-Greek origin. The cult was purely local, and may have lasted for a rather long time. The prosperity of Chios as one of the oldest bases of the slave-trade certainly lay behind this story.

Athenaeus' *heroa* showed a communal aspect towards the matter. They could be tentatively dedicated by a community to the living friends of a living ruler, or to a low-ranking person with oracular powers as a conciliation. A *heroon* could also be located by a bath-house, meaning an easy distance from a street or a city gate.

Epigraphical sources

The number of inscriptions using the word *heroon* in the late Classical and Hellenistic epigraphical sources is not large, as we seem to have only nine[156] of them. There are leases granted by the State on behalf of the cult authorities, in which the *heroa* are primarily used as landmarks, the monuments of heroes are used as references to decrees of ritual or physical purity of the area, or the *heroon* is an object of a private individual's last will. In the following these inscriptions are complemented with two more inscriptions from the end of the fourth century with the same kind of contents, having an unambiguous activity connected to *heroa*, but without the implicit word *heroon*.

Landmarks and leases

From Athens originates a lease of the sacred properties of Athena Polias and other deities, dated to 343/2 BC (*SEG* 33, 167). The lease is primarily for the pond, *τέλμα*, which is identified by the *heroon* (restored reading) of Neanias. Frg. C. Col. III, lines 140–141: *τέλμα τὸ παρὰ* [*τὸ ἡρώιον τοῦ*] *Νεανίου ἔξω τείχους*. This very fragmentary inscription

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[153] A Greek travel writer from Syracuse at the end of the third century BC. See H.A. Gärtner, *NP* 8 (2000), 1073, s.v. Nymphodors 1. See also Jacoby, *FGH* 572 F 4.

[154] Ath. 6.265d.

[155] Ath. 6.265e–266c. The first fruits were an elementary form of gift offering and characteristic to the peasant world. They were usually dedicated in small rural shrines to lesser gods and heroes, Burkert 1992, 66–68.

[156] In two cases, *SEG* 33, 167, and *FD* III:4 280 C, the word *heroon* has not been preserved but appears as the restored reading. However, in both cases the restoration seems highly reliable, so they are considered here as possible references of *heroa*.

leaves the exact context around the *heroon* unclear, but Neanias[157] was a hero of possibly north Attic origin and also known from other sources.[158] In this case the pond might have been part of the city's defensive moat, which would put the *heroon* immediately outside the city walls.[159] We are informed once more of water as an essential element and characteristic of the site of a *heroon*.

From the same period is another decree concerning a lease of landed property in the demos of Teithras, [160] some twenty kilometres east of Athens (*SEG* 24, 151). Here a *heroon* of Epigonus is given as a landmark and as an identification of the site. Lines. 9–12:

[τ]ὸ [χ]ωρίον τὸ Τε[ί]θραντι ὧι [γε]ί[τ]ων . .
. . Ο . . 5 . . Α . . ΠΙΤ#ΑΙΙΞΩΣ καὶ τὸ ἡ[ρ]ῶιον τὸ Ἐ[π]-
[ιγ]ό[νου(?)], νο[τό]θ[ε]ν δὲ τὸ Ἡρά[κ]λειο[ν] καὶ τὸ χωρί{ι}ο-
[ν] ἥρ[ωος Δα]τύλ[ο κ]αὶ τὸ τοῦ [Δ]ιὸ[ς] τέμενος.

To this Te[i]thrasian [la]nded property the [nei]gh[b]ours are ..... and the *he*[*r*]*oon* of E[pig]o[nos], in the sou[th] there are the Hera[k]leion and the plac[e] of he[ro Da]tyl[os a]nd the *temenos* [of Z]eu[s].

Discovered in Euripides Street in Athens was a *locatio horti* dated to 333/2 BC (*SEG* 24, 203).[161] The *orgeones* of a *heroon* let a garden around the *heroon* to a private individual for a period of thirty years. Lines 2–6:

κατὰ τ[άδ]ε ἐμίσθωσεν
Χάροψ [Φ]αληρεὺς καὶ ο-
ἱ ὀργ[εῶ]νες τοῦ ἡρώιο
τὸν [κῆπ]ον Θρασυβούλ-
ωι

According to t[hi]s Charops of [P]haleron and the *org*[*eo*]*nes* of the *heroon* let out the [gard]en to Thrasyboulos.[162]

Orgeones were hereditary religious associations of heterogeneous nature,[163] enjoying considerable independence in choosing, for instance, their shrines and

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[157] This name, or title (youth), seems to be quite commonly given to heroes. Kearns 1989, 188.
[158] *IG* II² 1358B, lines 21–22.
[159] Walbank 1983, 122–123 with n. 57 discusses the general information about Neanias and the significance of the pond as part of the city's defensive moat.
[160] Travlos 1971, 335.
[161] Also in Vallinda and Pantazopoulou 1950, 13, no. 2.
[162] Charops might have been the founder or a benefactor of the orgeonic association. Vallinda and Pantazopoulou 1950, 13.
[163] Etymologically *orgeones* are the celebrants of *orgia*, rites. See R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*. *A History*, Oxford 1996, 109 and N.I. Pantazopoulou, *ὀργεῶνες*, *Πολέμων Αρχαιολογικό Ρεριοδικό* 4 (1947), 7–23.

buildings.[164] Heroes connected to *orgeones* were like the nymphs and the gods on smaller scale, and might have been particularly numerous in Attica.[165]

In this document the name of the hero is not given. In lines 11–21 the condition of the agreement is specified:

ἐνοι [κ]οδομεῖ-
σθαι δὲ Θρασ[ύ]βουλον
ἐάν τι βούληται τοῖς
αὐτοῦ τέλ[ε]σιν ἐν τῶι
χωρίωι τῶι ἔξω τοῦ ὀχ-
ετοῦ· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐξ⟨ή⟩κ-
ει ὁ χρόνος τῆς μισθω-
σεως ἀπιέναι Θρασύβ-
ουλον λαβόντα τὸν κέ-
⟨ρ⟩αμον καὶ τὰ ξύλα κ⟨α⟩ὶ
τὰ θυρώματα.

The tenant Thras[y]boulos has to buil[d] outside (the place of) the water channel, if he so wishes. [This probably means that he was not allowed to disrupt the use of the water.] When the time of the rental expires, Thrasyboulos has to leave, taking with him the roof tiles, beams and the doorways.

These parts were valuable and usually considered as movable property that the tenant could bring along and take with him when moving out.[166] The inscription ends in a statement that the issue is not only of a garden, but of a proper structure in the garden, probably referring to the *heroon* itself. In lines 28–30: *χρησ⟨θ⟩αι δὲ τῶι ἱερῶι* v *καθαρῶι*, "When using the shrine it should be kept clean". The quality or quantity of use is not specified, but the tenant was supposed to keep the shrine in good condition. This regulation may point to the lengthy leasing period of thirty years, as this kind of a lease may have been an attempt to be able to regularly review the public property.[167] In this inscription the term *heroon* is used in the beginning on line 4, and the term *ἱερὸν* appears as synonymous at the end, on line 29.

Our next two cases are leases of the same nature, and about buildings related to hero-cults, but without the term *heroon*. They are both from Athens: In *IG* II/III^2 2499 from the year 306/5 BC the *orgeones* of the hero Egretes leased an *ἱερὸν* to a private person Diognetus for ten years. The tenant should treat the *ἱερὸν* and the houses (*oikiai*) built there as a shrine. In lines 5–7: *χρῆσθαι τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ ταῖς οἰκία⟨ι⟩ς ταῖς ἐνωικοδομημέναις ὡς ἱερῶι*. Furthermore, when the *orgeones* make the sacrifice to the hero in the month of Boedromion, Diognetus should make the house, in which the hero shrine is located, open (available) for them, as well as the covered place, the kitchen, and the couches and the tables for the two dining-rooms. In lines 24–30:

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[164] Ferguson 1944, 67–69; Walbank 1983, 101. See also Kearns 1989, 73–77.
[165] Nock 1972, 595–596.
[166] M.-C. Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque d'après les inscriptions de Délos* (Bibliothéque des Ècoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 278), Athens 1992, 160–161, 200–201.
[167] Walbank 1983, 100.

ὅταν δὲ
θύωσιν οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῶι ἥρωι τοῦ Βο-
ηδρομιῶνος, παρέχειν Διόγνητον τ-
ὴν οἰκίαν, οὗ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἀνεωιγ-
μένην καὶ στέγην καὶ τὸ ὀπτάνιον ν
καὶ κλίνας καὶ τραπέζας εἰς δύο τρ-
ίκλινα.

In practice, this means that Diognetus was the caretaker of this *heroon*. When the time expired, the tenant could take with him, as in *SEG* 24, 203, the roof-tiles, the beams and the doorways, but nothing else. The complex of the hero Egretes was thus a combination of various architectural elements with several houses and the hero shrine within one of them.

In the inscription *IG* II/III ^{2} 2501 from the end of the fourth century, the *ὀργεῶνες* leased the shrine of the hero Hypodectes[168] permanently to a private individual Diopeithes and his descendants, so that they could use the *τέμενος* and the shrine of Hypodektes as sacred. When the *ὀργεῶνες* come for the ritual, the tenants should set the shrine open and garlanded, and the statue of the god oiled and unveiled, in lines 7–9:

ὅ]ταν ἱεροῖς ἀπαντ‹ῶ›σιν παρέχει‹ν› αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὀργεῶ[σι τὸ ἱε]-
[ρὸν ἀν]εωιγμένον ‹καϑ'› ἡμέρα‹ν› καὶ ἐστεφανωμέν[ον, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ]
[ϑεοῦ ἀλ]ηλειμμένον καὶ [τὰ καλύ]μματα ἀποδ‹εδυ›μένο[ν . . . c.9 . . .]

The hero Hypodectes is called god, at the end of the document in lines 18–20:

ἄκυρ‹ο›[ν αὐ]τοῖς εἶναι τ‹ὴν›
[μίσ]ϑωσιν κα[ὶ] ἐξέστω τοῖς ὀργεῶσι[ν ἀπ]α[ιτ]ε[ῖν?] παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ τέμ‹εν›[ος]
[τ]οῦ ϑεοῦ.

(If not done as agreed) the [le]ase shall be invalid and the *orgeones* should be allowed to demand the *temenos* of the god from them.

Applying oil to the god might point perhaps to a wooden cult statue and its upkeep for practical reasons, or else to a symbolic or ritual ointment.[169] A later source, but mirroring earlier customs in heroic cults, also mentions anointing of a statue.[170] Here it rather points to a ritual anointment. An *οἰκία* in the *τέμενος* is also mentioned, but the exact idea remains unclear, as the lines are fragmentary. The question could be of the place where the tenant lived and the *ὀργεῶνες* were housed during their sacrificial ceremony.

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[168] The background and mythology of the heroes Hypodectes and Egretes are not known, but for Hypodectes there are two suggestions: He was at least originally an underworld god, cf. Polydectes, *Hom. Hymn Dem*. 9; Polydegmon, id. 17, 31, 404, 430. Or he was the original recipient of the *hiera* of Eleusis in Athens. Kearns 1989, 202.

[169] Donohue 1988, 38–39. For the unfortunate term *xoanon*, see ead. 231, 235.

[170] Philostr. *Her.* 9.6; Jones 2001, 145.

An inscription from Delphi from the second century BC concerns the delimitation of the sacred land of Apollo (*FD* III:4 280 C). In the document the borders of the sacred land are defined using a *heroon* as one of the landmarks: Col C, lines 25–26 *ἐ[πὶ] τῆι [ἱεραῖ χώραι τῶν] Δελφῶν πρὸς πέτραν πρώτην ἣ καλεῖται Ὑπ̣[οφαοῦν . . . . οὗ ἐστιν] ἡρ[ῷιον]*. In the place called Hypophaon was a *heroon* (restored reading).

Purity and upkeep

The amount of money which could be used from public funds for the expenses of a *heroon* is presented in the invoices of the archon Archetimus of Delphi from 321/0 BC.[171] Thirty staters were given for the upkeep of a *heroon* at Thermopyle in front of the sanctuary of Kore, *ἄλλο ἐδώκα[μες . . . . ιι . . . . . τᾶ]ς Κόρας κε[ί]μενον ἡ[ρ]ῶιον στατῆρα[ς] τρ[ιά]κοντα*.[172] This local sanctuary of Kore was near the temple of Demeter Amphictionis, and had a *peribolos* with doors, *θυρώματα*.[173] The *heroon* may have been inside this *peribolos*. The connection between Demeter, Kore and Heracles is well-known through the Eleusinian mysteries, and his being the first initiate.

From Cos there are two inscriptions from the first half of the third century BC about the ritual purity of the priestesses and priests.[174] The first decree (*LSCG* 154 A) concerns the priestesses of Demeter Olympia and Demeter Isthmia:

> *ἁγνεύεσθαι τὰν ἱέρην τῶνδε· υ μυσαρῶι μ̣[ὴ συμμείγνυσθαι μηδὲ παρ' Ἑκάτας]*
> *μηδὲ παρ' ἥρωνα ἔσθεν μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐ̣[φ' ἡρῶιον μηδὲ ἐς οἰκίαν ἐσέρπεν ἐν ἇι]*
> *κα γυνὰ τέκηι*.[175]
>
> In order to stay pure the priestess [should not have contact with anything impure], nor eat by a *heroon*, nor set foot [in a *heroon*, nor in the house where] a woman gives birth.

The expression *παρ' ἥρωνα* is odd, and it is unclear what the word *ἥρωνα* means. It has been interpreted as the tomb of a hero, but it is not a regular form of either *ἡρῷον* nor *ἥρως*.[176] In case the priestess contaminated herself, the required purification is presented in lines 28–30 and 42–45.[177]

The second Coan inscription (*LSCG* 156 A) is about the cult of Zeus Polieus, the Twelve Gods and the Delian Apollo. It reads:

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[171] *CID* II 110.

[172] *CID* II 110, 17–18, and *Études sur les Comptes de Delphes*, 76–79. The name of the *heroon* is not given, but it could be that of Heracles Amphiktyon, as an altar of Heracles has been discovered in the area.

[173] *CID* II, 79 A I, 46–47.

[174] *LSCG* 154 A; *LSCG* 156 A. See also Ekroth 1999, 131.

[175] *LSCG* 154 A, lines 22–24. The restored reading in line 23: *μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐ̣[φ' ἡρῶιον* is based on the similar wording in lines 37–38: *μη]δὲ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐφ' ἡρῶιον*.

[176] Nock 1972, 577.

[177] Unfortunately these lines are not very well preserved, and what the priestess had to do remains unclear according to the restored reading in lines 28–29: [circumcise / enrich ? herself with female pig] and [clean and sprinkle herself] with cold and seed. It is not known on which parallel this restoration is based. In *LSCG* 156 A there are the same kind of phrases in lines 14–16, but these are also mostly restored readings.

ἀγνεύεσθ]αι δὲ τῶνδε τὸν ἱαρῆ· μυσαρ-
[ῶι μὴ συμμείγνυσθαι μηδὲ παρ' ἥρωνα ἔσθ]ειν μηδὲ παρ' Ἑκάτας Μεγάλ-
[ας μηδὲ ὅσσα τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς χθονί]οις θύεται μηδὲ ὅσσα τοῖς ἐνε-
[ρτέροις ἥρωσιν ἐντάμνεται, μηδὲ ἐμ]πατεῖν ἡρῶιον.[178]

In order [to stay pure] the priestess [should not have contact with the impure, nor eat by a *heroon* (?), nor can] she sacrifice to the Great Hecate [or to the chthonian go]ds, nor [eat] what is [sacrificed to the heroes of the] net[her world, nor] set a foot in a *heroon*.

The sacred laws showed how sanctuaries of heroes and offerings made to them could involve ceremonial uncleanliness. On the other hand, the heroes and their tombs do not seem to have caused much pollution after all, since they could be located in sanctuaries. It was mainly those persons who were particularly sensitive to pollution who might also have been affected by the *heroa*.[179]

The inscription from Delphi dated to 178 BC is about sacred oxen and horses, and also includes some regulations about a *heroon* (*LSCG* 79). No domestic animals were allowed to be brought to the well in front of the *heroon* of a certain Hellanicus. In lines 25–29:

μὴ ἐξέστω]
ποτάγειν τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ θρέμματα [ἐνταῦθα μηδὲ ἐν τὰν κράναν]
τὰν ποτὶ τᾶι Κεραμείαι οὖσαν τό [τε φρέαρ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ]
Ἑλλανίκου ἡρώιου.

This regulation pertains to the upkeep of the *heroon* and was obviously given to protect and keep clean the water and the sacred surroundings.

Heroization of family members

From the island of Thera comes the testament of a wealthy lady, Epicteta, from ca. 200 BC (*IG* XII 3, 330).[180] It is a good example of the changing nature of the term hero as well as *heroon* in the Hellenistic period, as Epicteta was a private individual, not politically significant; she might have been an important benefactor of the community.[181] She provided a remarkable memorial cult for her already deceased family members, her husband and two sons, and finally also for herself. The whole project was verified in accordance with the instructions given to Epicteta by her late husband.

The document is of considerable length, having 288 lines in all. The elements of which the sacred area consisted are expressed in lines 7–15:

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[178] *LSCG* 156 A, lines 7–10. The restoration of lines 9–10 is regarded as conjectural, Ekroth 1999, 227 n. 1058.
[179] Nock 1972, 577; Ekroth 1999, 227.
[180] Published also in Wittenburg 1990.
[181] Potter 2003, 417–418.

ἀπολείπω
κατὰ τὰν γεγενημέναν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
Φοίνικος ἐντολὰν τοῦ καὶ κατασκευαξαμένου
τὸ Μουσεῖον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεταλλαχότος ἀμῶν
υἱοῦ Κρατησιλόχου καὶ ἀγαγόντος τὰ ζῶια
καὶ τὸς ἀνδριάντας ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κρατησι-
λόχου καὶ τὰ ἡρῶια καὶ ἐνευξαμένου ὥστε
κατασκευάξαι με τὸ Μουσεῖον καὶ θέμεν τάς
τε Μούσας καὶ τὸς ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ ἡρῶια.

There was a construction called Mouseion, the statues of the deceased, obviously also of the Muses, and the *heroa*.[182] In lines 122–126 the document explicitly describes the dead couple and their sons as heroes, and their resting places as *heroa*.

The appearance of this seemingly complicated monument is far from clear. Besides the Mouseion, there was the temenos in or by which the statues of the deceased stood.[183] Epicteta also left an option for a stoa to be built in the area, line 49.[184] It seems that the *heroa* were not very large constructions, as the expression "had brought the *heroa*", *ἀγαγόντος … καὶ τὰ ἡρῶια*, line 13, suggests.

A priesthood was to be established to take care of the cult of the Muses and the family members, lines 57–59. Furthermore, an association of the men's club of the relatives with an annual assembly was to be created, line 22. Very specific regulations were also given about the offerings to the heroized dead, lines 185–194. The offerings consisted of a sacrificial animal, cakes and dried cheese worth one stater, and three small fish.[185]

Epicteta's decrees were numerous and very detailed, one could say almost *ad absurdum*, and the taking care of the family monument and cult was extended infinitely to the care of the relatives. Her energetic testament clearly shows the practice of extending heroization to family members,[186] and the minutiae may point to the custom still having been quite unusual in her time. To be on the safe side, she, with her husband, had combined the family cult with that of the Muses. These, as goddesses of memory, were in fact capable of preserving deeds and enterprises from oblivion, giving them order and organizing them into history.[187] The habit of worshipping ordinary mortals as heroes may have originated in the somewhat isolated societies, since besides Thera there are early examples from Cos and Cnidus, and later documents from Crete, Amorgos and Thera.[188] Then it spread to the mainland, where a famous example comes from Kalydon in Aitolia from the end of the second century BC.[189] A Ptolemaic naval base was installed at Thera

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[182] Cf. also the translation in Wittenburg 1990, 159–166. The term *ἀνδριάντας* is probably understood here as votive statues. The term could also be used of images of kings, as well as gods, Donohue 1988, 76–77, n. 184, 157, n. 384.

[183] Wittenburg 1990, 146–147.

[184] Fraser 1972, 312–313 describes the shrines of the Muses as comprising open porticoes with an altar, but without a regular temple. This would make Epicteta's construction a relatively typical shrine of the Muses.

[185] Garland 1985, 110–112.

[186] Alcock 1991, 458.

[187] A. Glock, *NP* 8 (2000), 507, s.v. Museion; La Rocca 2006, 107, 127, n. 61. According to Diogenes Laertius (10.16), Epicuros, who died in 270 BC, set aside an annual income from the capital bequeathed to his heirs for an offering to himself and other family members.

from 275 to 146 BC and a Ptolemaic governor brought Egyptian cults to the island in the 260s.[190] Thus Epicteta's and her husband's last will may well have reflected Egyptian influence of the cult of the dead.

In the epigraphical sources the *heroa* were used most simply as landmarks. They seem to have been familiar enough to be used for defining other places, which also meant that they had to be easily recognizable in the landscape. Most heroes and heroines are, by their nature, tied to a place, and one place only, in a way that most deities cannot be.[191] In the property decrees the *heroa* could also be used as reference to supernatural backing in the case of land squabbles.[192] Just as in the ancient authors' notes, the water, here in the form of a pond, a water channel or a well, was a characteristic element of the site of a *heroon*. It could also comprise a garden, prominent enough to be leased, and in the area of a *heroon* rituals could be practised and the participants even housed. We thus get the impression that we are sometimes dealing with larger complexes, having more than one structure, and kitchen and dining-rooms are especially mentioned. Much attention was paid to the upkeep of the *heroa*. This was resolved primarily in two ways. Firstly, money could be issued from public funds, or secondly, the site with the *heroon* could be let out and the lessee was obliged to take care of the general cleanliness and upkeep. The lease could be from ten to thirty years, or even permanent, when the children of the lessee were also involved. Some priestesses were warned off the *heroa*, in order to keep their ritual cleanliness, and domestic animals, understandably, in order to keep the site clean.

Conclusions

The purpose of this article was to investigate the kind of information the ancient written sources would offer us of the late Classical and Hellenistic *heroa*. By combining the information of the two source groups, literary and epigraphical, we gather that the mythological emphasis changes into historical; the elevated and slightly mysterious to mostly practical matters. The mythical figures had their initial phases in the dawn of history, but their memory was strong and vivid enough to be remembered through the centuries, if only as a note by the later ancient authors. The younger *heroa*, founded in

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188 The Coan hero Charmylus ca 300 BC, see Kader 1995, 201–202, and a deceased called Antigonus about 275 BC, in W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos* I (Inschriften von griechischen Städte 41), Bonn 1992, no. 301. A first-century epitaph from Itanos in Crete (W. Peek [ed.], *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I. *Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin 1955, 1157; *SEG* 34, 918) celebrates three brothers worshipped as heroes and provided with a shrine and grove by their city. It bids the parents to bring offerings of honeycomb and incense, as if to Minos and the other heroes. Another Hellenistic epitaph established by a state, rather than a private person, is from second-century Amorgos (*IG* XII, 7.515). It prescribed the sacrifice of a ram by the image of the heroized Aleksimachos, allotting the offerings for prizes in commemorative games and for the priests, see D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, London 1971, 299. Artemidorus was after his death named a hero on an altar in Thera, ca 150 BC, see *IG* XII 3, Suppl. 1338, and F. Graf, 'Bemerkungen zur bürgerlichen Religiosität im Zeitalter des Hellenismus', in P. Zanker and M. Wörrle (eds.), *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich 1995, 107–112.

189 E.g. P. Bol, 'Die Marmorbüsten aus dem Heroon in Kalydon', *Antike Plastik* 19 (1988), 35–47; Craik 1980, 175–176; Schuller and Leschhorn 2004, 156–157, no. 175.

190 Fraser 1972, 89, 101; A. Külzer and R. Jung, *NP* 12 (2002), 407, s.v. Thera.

191 Parker 2005, 447.

192 Alcock 1991, 454.

the late Classical or early Hellenistic periods were understandably smaller in number, but provided us with definite chronological fixed points in the development.

Let us first draw some general conclusions from our material. The sites have already been discussed in detail above, and suffice it to mention here that topographically the *heroa* could be situated almost anywhere. Also, the constructions varied from a simple enclosure or precinct to complex entities of more than one structure, of which the first example was explicitly mentioned in our sources for the first time in 306 BC (IG II/III^2 2499) in Athens, and for the second time around 200 BC on the island of Thera. On two occasions we get some sort of description of the hero himself. The first instance being in the Brettian city of Temesa, where the unpleasant Polites was described as horribly black and wearing a wolfskin around him. The other sketchy case is that of the hero Hypodectes from Athens, if the possibly wooden cult statue, a *ξόανον*, is to be identified as depicting the hero himself.

The cult practices varied, and there was no uniform custom of how many times sacrifices were made; on average, however, once a year. The rituals were also manifold, from burning the offered victim as holocaust to sharing different kind of foodstuffs with the hero. Splendid activities, such as games, were first mentioned in connection with the two mythological seamen in whose honour the Kybernesia festival was organized in Phaleron. In 213 Aratus' procession was open to the whole community as an essential part of the Sicyonian rituals. The heroized Aratus was also assigned a priest of his own, as was the wealthy Epicteta in Thera some years later. Singing paeans for a ruler's friends is mentioned as an inappropriate activity in Athens in the last years of the fourth century BC, but accepted for Aratus, the renowned statesman, some eighty years later.

Oracular intervention is noted as part of the creation process of a *heroon*, or as a definite feature of a hero's power. On four occasions there was a need to consult the Delphic oracle; the inhabitants of Temesa, at an indefinite date, about the malevolent Polites, and later, around 470 BC, about the benevolent three-time Olympic victor, Euthymus. The sources could, of course, have mixed these two intimately connected heroes as the objects of consultation. The Spartans, for their part, asked about the suitable custodian of Palladion at an unknown date, and the Sicyonians in 213, when they wished to bury the statesman Aratus within their city. The few heroes who themselves acted as oracular consultants gave their advice through dreams. Podalirius and the seer Calchas, who were topographically intimate, might have been confused by the sources, but Podalirius was able to heal people as well as sheep when they bathed in the stream of his *heroon*. Drimacus, the leader of the Chian slaves, also appeared in dreams.

Our short list of heroized historical persons show that they were either remarkable statesmen or soldiers, or Olympic victors from 484, the 470s and the 390s.

Keeping a *heroon* clean and maintaining it was a constant anxiety and conspicuous feature, which can also be read implicitly in our sources. From the year 321 BC we have a case of it being resolved by use of state funds. Alternatively a tenant could be made liable for the upkeep of a *heroon*. After the lease had expired he was compelled to leave the site clean by removing surplus building material instead of leaving it lying around. This could perhaps also mean that he should remove the structures erected by him. We have special information concerning Hyrnetho's *heroon*, where twigs and brushwood of the sacred grove were not to be removed from the site, obviously as an important element of the *heroon*. Domestic animals as (natural) producers of manure should be kept from the well of a *heroon* (*LSCG* 79), except in Podalirius' case, where the sheep could also

be immersed in the water for healing purposes. That the cleanliness of a *heroon* was not always successfully managed is shown by the decrees warning delicate persons, such as priestesses, off the premises.

Pausanias' terminology indicates that *heroa* could be more complicated constructions than mere tombs, *τάφος* or *μνῆμα*. He used these words sometimes synonymously, but the more immediate synonyms for *heroon* seem to have been *ἱερὸν* or *ναὸς*. This view is also supported by the inscriptions (*SEG* 24, 203, probably also *IG* II/III^2 2499).

As to the chronological development of the *heroa*, the inscriptions offer us very useful information, which is also supported by the authors' notes. We get the impression that the essential development took place during the third century, and especially towards its final years. In the beginning of this period we have Demetrius Poliorcetes, the ruler and king of Macedonia, who was honoured in Athens as a divinity around the year 300 BC. He considered, however, the appointing of *heroa* to his friends excessive and shameful. Decades later in 213 we have Aratus' case, in which the authorization for building the hero's tomb inside the city had still to be sought from the Delphic oracle, even if the object of the cult was a worthy soldier and statesman. It is interesting that the Macedonian aspect figures in some way in all these cases, from the Macedonian ruler to a person killed by another Macedonian ruler. The latter, of course, had nothing to do with Aratus' heroization, even if he was the unintentional initiator of the process.

Around the year 200 BC we have a private individual, a wealthy lady, Epicteta, who, possibly under Egyptian influence, organized her deceased family members' cult as heroes. The practice now began to get out of hand. It seems that she could do this without the authorization of a polis or other official institution. She still had to take serious measures, since the society of the time was not quite ready for ordinary mortals being heroized. This is proved by Epicteta's procedure of including the family cult in that of the Muses, and creating a priesthood and an assembly of relatives to take care of the cult. We are here in the concrete initial phases of the development which led, in the late Roman period, to any ordinary person's tomb being called a *heroon,*[193] no matter how modest.

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[193] The world *ἡρῷον* had now become completely synonymous with *βωμός*, *θήκη*, *μνῆμα*, *στήλη*, *ταφή*, *τάφος* and *τύμβος*, see *SEG* 28, 523; *SEG* 45, 795 A5; *SEG* 45, 815; E. Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine inscriptions of Athens and Attica*, (Diss.), Helsinki 1997, 122. See also Kader 1995, 220–223.

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