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

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Leena Pietilä-Castrén

Introduction

In 1991 Susan E. Alcock published the article "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis",[1] in which she wrote that "a comprehensive study is still needed of the geographical and temporal distribution (of the monumental *heroa*)", and that "much basic work remains to be done on the role of the funerary *heroa*, mortuary practices…in late Classical and Hellenistic society".[2] In 2007 Gunnel Ekroth wrote "There is no really comprehensive overview of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic cult-places of heroes, partly owing to the complexity of the evidence".[3] Whoever happens to be studying ancient topography cannot fail to notice *heroa* appearing every so often in innumerable Greek districts, often cities, from Sicily to the Dodecanese, from Macedonia to Cyrenaica.[4] Besides the urban hero monuments, numerous, less-known structures, often in rural contexts, have also been ascribed to heroes.

The purpose of this article is to make an attempt at assessing as sites of hero worship a selection of constructions called *heroa* and dated to the Late Classical or Hellenistic period. A list of these places was begun during some lectures on topography at the University of Helsinki in the 1990s. The information was assembled from modern research literature, using the word *heroon* as the only guideline.[5] Only published material and extant data were to be consulted in evaluating the motives of an excavator or other scholar in naming a construction *heroon*. The focus was to be especially on pottery, as this should form the majority of the finds. Occasionally figurines and votive plaques could point to ritual practice, and coarser pottery and cooking wares, as evidence of banqueting activity, could appear. Further, ash levels and skeletal remains would indicate animal sacrificing and feasting. The cult environment could include small shrines, enclosures, and altars, but the activity would be focused on the tomb itself.[6]

The chronology was the most important criterion for a *heroon* to be accepted on our list. In the development of *heroa* from age-old monuments of mythological heroes[7]

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[1] Alcock 1991.

[2] *Ibid*., 457, n. 41, and 459.

[3] Ekroth 2007, **114**.

[4] Regarding the local differences in cultivating hero cults, see Hughes 1999, 170–171.

[5] The basic list was that of J. Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, Toronto 1990. It was complemented by the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, information from *NP*, files of the Nordic Library in Athens, and finally consulting directly the indexes of any book which might refer to a *heroon*. The work was started in the Helsinki University Library, carried out periodically in the Nordic Library in Athens, and followed by on-site visits in 2000–2002. It was a pleasure to work with devoted and cheerful postgraduate students, philologists Mari Mikkola and Mikko Suoninen, and art historians Hanne Selkokari and Tiina Tuukkanen. The final writing was carried out in Helsinki. Suffice it to say that only a small part of the material is used in this connection.

[6] These are the criteria presented by Alcock 1991, 451–453. See also the definition by D. Damaskos in *ThesCRA* II (2004), 142, s.v. Heroisierung und Apotheose.

[7] An in-depth study of the earlier heroes is D. Boehringer, *Heroenkulte in Griechenland von der geometrischen bis zur klassischen Zeit*, Berlin 2001.

to the Roman tombs of the ordinary person, a crucial period was the Late Classical through Hellenistic, when this change from public to private seems to have taken place. The second criterion was the geographical location, when e.g. Asia Minor, North Africa, and Sicily were excluded, and the search was concentrated on mainland Greece and the islands. Self-evident categories for classifying the *heroa* were offered by the architectural shape of the monuments, mostly rectangular, triangular, or circular. This was also the method of *ThesCRA* in 2004 for classifying *heroa*; the articles of *ThesCRA*[8] are, in fact, to a certain extent an answer to Alcock's and Ekroth's unspoken requests.

Four similar-looking "*heroa*" with rectangular enclosures were chosen from Laconia, Rhodes, Phocis, and Epirus in the hope of finding some common features, and justifying hero worship. In the following discussion the monuments will be introduced in order of their publication, starting with that published in the early 1960s and ending with the one published some thirty years later. The description of each is given, based on the publisher's preliminary information, which in some cases remains the sole publication. Features such as orientation, measurements, roofing, doorway, and building phases are presented, where given. Pottery, statuary fragments, and other objects are described with more detailed comments, wherever possible, than those given by the excavator; this has been done using the published photos. Concluding remarks are then made, and an assessment of the validity of this kind of methodological approach is given.

Ktirakia in Aphisou, Laconia

Excavation

Our first monument of interest (Fig. 2.) is ca. one kilometre south of Aphisou village, east of Sparta and the river Eurotas, on the sloping foothills of the western limit of the Parnon range.[9] The site called Ktirakia was explored by Chrysanthos Christou, and the results were published in the early 1960s.[10] The aim of the research was to understand the ancient monuments by the roads up to Therapne, as cults of Ares Theritas and Asclepius Kotyleus were reported in the area by Pausanias,[11] and some constructions were observed later also by the local inhabitants.[12] The excavator identified three building phases for the architectural remains: the first of *kalón chrónon*, i.e. the Classical period, when it was built and used as a *heroon*, its reuse as a Roman family tomb, when the interior of the walls was faced with bricks set in mortar, and a final Early Byzantine phase, when the whole was converted into a church with an apsis. The finds consisted of roof tiles of wide chronological range, starting from the Classical period, Hellenistic to Byzantine pottery, sarcophagi, fragments of sculpture in the round, reliefs, and fragments of columns, and other architectural fragments.

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[8] D. Damaskos, *ThesCRA* II (2004), 147–149, 155–159, s.v. Heroisierung und Apotheose; A. Seifert, *ThesCRA* IV (2004), 24–27, 30–38, s.v. Heroon.

[9] On the contours and geology of the area, see Higgins 1996, 53–54; Cavanagh *et al*. 1996, 380.

[10] *Ergon* (1963), 102–115; *PAE* (1963), 130–136; A.H.S. Megaw, *AR* (1963–1964), 8.

[11] Paus. 3.19.7–8.

[12] In the early 1900s an ancient monument was blown up with dynamite to obtain decent arable land, Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 103. According to the Laconia Survey our monument of interest is one of the few built structures or standing remains of the Hellenistic-Roman period in the area, Cavanagh *et al*. 2002, 273.

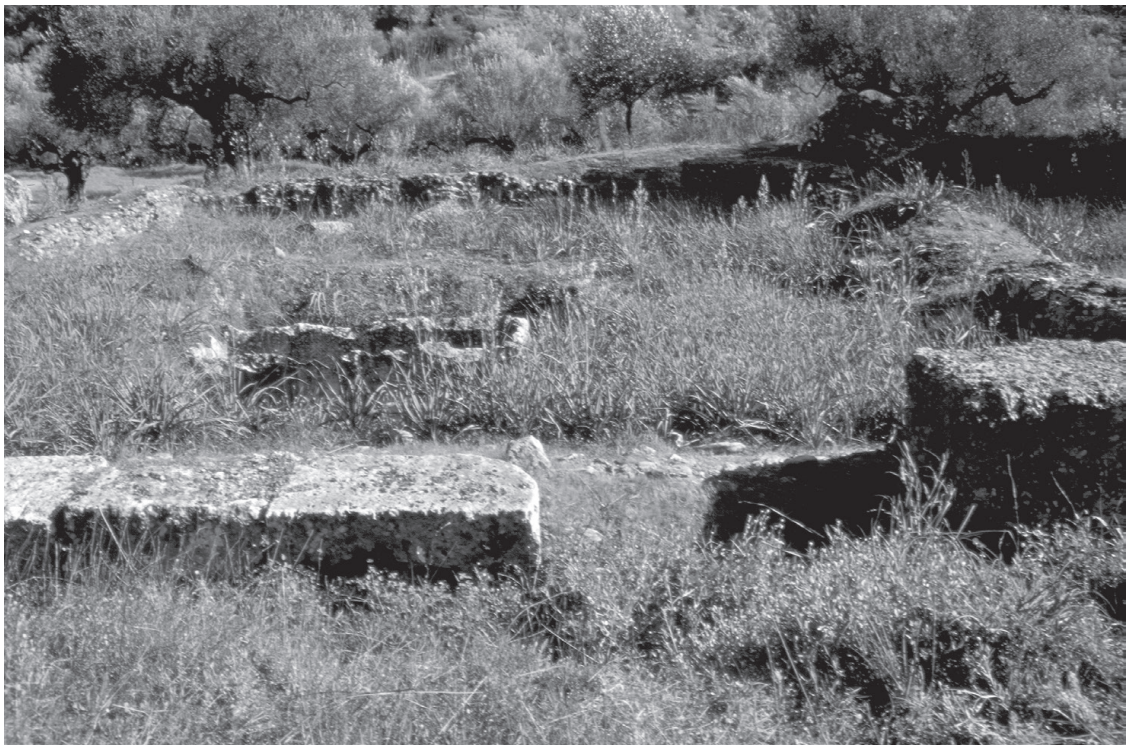

Fig. 2.

The nearly rectangular plan measured 10 x 12.20 m, with apsis and propylon 16.10 x 12.10 m. It was oriented according to the half-cardinal points, so that the apsis was towards the northeast, the propylon correspondingly to the southwest. Some blocks, both in the euthynteria and the walls, were quite large, measuring 2.00 x 0.80 x ca. 1.20 m.[13] According to the excavator, they were of the same material, cut and technique as the Classical Round Building on the acropolis of Sparta, and the so-called Tomb of Leonidas.[14] Above the euthynteria the wall rose in places to a height of 1.50 m, and in the western (technically northwestern) wall there was an opening of 1.95 m width. Outside the construction, foundations of Byzantine (enclosing?) wall were discovered perpendicular to the apsis.

From inside the structure in the southeastern corner a small amount of Hellenistic pottery was discovered, and four sarcophagi lay in the middle of the monument with only some bone left, made both of stone and terracotta slabs. Further, according to the excavator, they were Roman and had been robbed at a later date, as their locks were broken. Three sarcophagi were discovered at a depth of 0.90 m, the fourth at a depth of 2.10 m.[15] One sarcophagus, the second from the left,[16] had lion's paws at its lower corners and curved fluting on its side.[17]

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[13] The last figure is approximate, due to the later facing of the interior, Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 104.

[14] Christou thought that the same quarry was used for all three buildings. The stone for the Round Building was quarried, however, from the west side of the Spartan acropolis itself, Waywell and Wilkes 1994, 416.

[15] Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 105. I understand that these figures refer to the top level of the sarcophagi.

[16] This must be the second sarcophagus from the west.

[17] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 142.

Fragmentary statues and other sculptural pieces and reliefs were rescued from inside a pit or cache in the apsis. It was 2.00 m in circumference,[18] and of considerable depth: 7.60 m; its opening was similar to a well-like structure. From top to bottom the following fragments of special interest, possibly made of Parian marble, were recovered: at a depth of 0.60 m the first relief fragments of small-sized hands and feet, and children's heads in the round; at a depth of 2.00 m fragments of a bearded male head, fragments of female torsos in dynamic movement, and two female heads of almost natural size. Still deeper, there were more fragments of children's feet and hands, the most numerous being those gathering grapes. Animal feet, a small head of a leopard, and a horse's head were also unearthed. As to the architectural pieces, remains of four columns made of limestone, and undecorated fragments of marble of different sizes were discovered in the pit, and a Doric capital of local marble was found in the propylon.[19]

Except for the male head in the round, Christou considered that the sculptural fragments belonged to a decorative frieze, probably depicting a Dionysian theme. This idea was supported by the general nature of the whole, especially the leopard and the grape-harvesters; even the horse's head would fit into this sort of context. He interpreted the dynamic female torsos as maenads. Originally, all the material may have been attached to a wall of the monument; the large quantity and the large size of the sculptural fragments made Christou give up his original idea of their once having decorated the sarcophagi. The bearded male head he saw as Hercules, which is why he concluded that the monument was the *naós* of the Kotylean Asclepius, erected by Hercules. As the monument did not follow the traditional plan of a temple, and since Asclepius was predominantly a hero, Christou preferred to call the construction a *heroon*. At a later, Flavian date, the Classicising head of Hercules would have been added as a reminiscence.[20] The monument was possibly destroyed by the Heruli in AD 267, after which the destroyed sculptural elements were hidden in the pit, before converting the structure into an Early Christian church.

Comments

Christou's chronology of the building, starting from the Classical period, was based on the similarity of technique (large blocks without mortar) and local material (conglomerate) to the Leonidaion and the prominent Round Building in Sparta. This is a very vague criterion, however, as e.g. for the origin of the Round Building a large chronological range, from Archaic to Roman, is currently considered possible.[21] So far, the sarcophagus with lion's paws has provided the prime chronological fixed point for the monument's use for Roman family-burials. This sarcophagus has been identified as belonging to the class of Attic sarcophagi which were in production and export in the first half of the third century AD.[22]

Christou's idea of the monument as a *heroon* has not been contradicted *expressis verbis*.[23] The emphasis has, though, gradually moved from a "hero-shrine" to "built chamber-tomb",[24] "a Roman mausoleum", or "a *heroo*n or mausoleum".[25] As to a possible

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[18] Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 108. For some reason the excavator gave the circumference, not the diameter.

[19] The list of all the unearthed items, *id*. 107–110.

[20] *Id*. 107–108, 112.

[21] Waywell and Wilkes 1994, 414, 416–419.

[22] A.Sp. Delivorrias, *AD* 23 (1968), 150; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 132–133, 169. For the Attic export of sarcophagi to Sparta, see G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, Munich 1982, 359, 361–362, 464.

earlier life of the Ktirakia monument as a *heroon*, the small amount of Hellenistic pottery collected during the excavation inside the southeastern corner, may perhaps have been of crucial importance. It has, alas, been lost without a detailed analysis.[26] In general, the site did not produce much pottery, either in Christou's excavation, or later, during the Laconia Survey, thus indicating its non-settlement nature.[27]

In the following, the sculptural fragments depicted in Christou's publication will be considered, in order to see what kind of conclusions, if any, can be reached about their identity or chronology. We shall start with the bearded male head,[28] wishfully called Hercules by Christou. Both the iconographical and technical features seem to point to the Severan tradition and the first half of the third century AD; an evocation of the troubled period is reflected in the man's countenance with his prominently lined forehead, and faraway glance. Short-cropped hair that recedes at the temples adds to the signs of age. The circle of the iris of the only preserved eye is deeply incised, with the pupil indicated by a hollow, and the running drill has been used only sparingly in the beard with corkscrew locks.[29] To my mind, this male head gives the impression of an individual portrait, which follows in general outline its Imperial counterparts.

The abundance of Erotes[30] in the pictorial decoration is another feature that helps us in fixing the period of the monument's use as a Roman tomb. The Erotes as small (winged) children connected to the Dionysian circle appear in the fourth century BC, but their real floruit in funerary symbolism comes only in the Imperial period;[31] from the second century AD onwards the Erotes were a favoured subject in all funerary art, not only in Italy but also in the provinces. Eros had already been recognised earlier as an Olympian factotum, such as a charioteer, a grape harvester,[32] a participant in the thiasos, a musician, a torch-bearer, and in the Roman context he became a useful household god. In funerary art he was considered the servant and helper of the dead.[33]

As to the whirling maenad, the most famous model is the one ascribed to Lysippus and sometimes identified as the Sicyonian lyric poet Praxilla, known from some first and second century AD copies. She wears a highly girdled transparent chiton, revealing the

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[23] G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles 1964: Péloponnèse', *BCH* 88 (1964), 730–731; *AR* 10 (1963–64), 8; H.W. Catling, *AR* 32 (1985–86), 30. Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 142, were somewhat dubious.

[24] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 142, actually "a built chamber-tomb with a colonnaded façade and sculpted marble frieze".

[25] H.W. Catling, *AR* 32 (1985–1986), 30; Cavanagh *et al*. 1996, 288, 381, 386. Also Cavanagh *et al*. 2002, 334, n. 201.

[26] I am grateful to archaeologist Stella Raftopoulou at the 5th Ephorate on Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Sparta, for her painstaking help in spring 2001 and later.

[27] For the sherds collected during the Laconia Survey outside the monument, Cavanagh *et al*. 1996, 386, and about the problem in general, Cavanagh et al. 2002, 261. Christou reported no pottery at all in the cache.

[28] Christou*, Ergon* (1963), 109, fig. 114.

[29] The introduction of the beard and drilling the details of the eyes belong to the Hadrianic period, Kleiner 1992, 238, and Strong and Claridge 1976, 197–200, and for parallels in Severan portraiture, Kleiner 1992, 320–321, and somewhat later Imperial portraiture, *ead*. 361, 365. In the private sphere, e.g. a male portrait from about AD 230 in Copenhagen, J. Huskinson, 'The Later Roman Period', in J. Boardman (ed.), *The Oxford History of Classical Art*, Oxford 1993, 338–339, no. 345.

[30] Christou*, Ergon* (1963), 108, 111, figs. 113, 118.

[31] A. Hermary, *LIMC* 3 (1986), 937–938, s.v. Eros.

[32] The little hand in Christou, *Ergon*, 111, fig. 119 left, can be compared e.g. with another little hand in J. Fejfer and T. Melander, *Thorvaldsen's Ancient Sculptures. A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture in the Collection of Bertel Thorvaldsen, Thorvaldsens Museum*, Copenhagen 2003, 115, H 1455.

[33] N. Blanc and F. Gury, *LIMC* 3, 1986, 1045, 1047, s.v. Eros/ Amor, Cupido.

right breast and the upper body in strong torsion.[34] Perhaps Christou had this maenad in mind when seeking for parallels for the Ktirakian female torso. A closer examination of the torso[35] shows, however, that the garment and the posture are somewhat different to the Lysippean prototype. The body is not in strong torsion, the right hip is instead pushed slightly forward, as the weight is on the right leg. The transparent garment is rolled under the right breast without a girdle, showing the navel, and falling in deep folds. This kind of garment is characteristic of the type of Aphrodite with the mantle bound under the breast, the prototype being datable in general lines to the Hellenistic period, and known from later copies.[36] The other sculptural fragment[37] ascribed by Christou to a female figure, presents undulating drapery, perhaps part of a himation resting on the forearm, a detail also recognisable from many naked statues, female and male alike.

Christou did not provide any explanation for the female heads of natural size.[38] My remarks here concern their hairstyle and general facial features. The better preserved head has wavy hair parted in the middle, covering the ears, and drawn back, with two locks of hair forming a bow knot on top of the head. All the locks of hair are given detailed wavy treatment, and some of them are separated from each other by narrow grooves cut, it appears, with a fine drill. The other head is badly broken on top, but the hair is seemingly drawn back. Both heads seem to tilt right. The faces are oblong with strong chins, and small mouths; the better preserved has a long flattish (or broken?) nose, giving her individual distinction; there is no visible plastic rendering of the irises and pupils of the eyes. Except for the nose, these heads can hardly be considered to be individual portraits. In general lines the hairstyle with the top knot was characteristic of Aphrodite, – also of Apollo –,[39] from the Hellenistic period.[40] As to the chronology of these heads, the limited use of the drill points to a date no later than the first century AD.

A detailed study of scale,[41] marble,[42] and technique, and division into clear entities, such as reliefs, and fragments in the round, should facilitate the creation of a proper catalogue of all the sculpted finds, and understanding which fragments made part of the alleged frieze on the wall of the monument, and which, if any, belonged to the sarcophagi. The fragments in the round could shed light on the decorative programme of the monument as a whole. At the present state of the study we may surmise that the bearded male head indeed portrayed the person buried in the sarcophagus with the lion's

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[34] R. Cittadini, 'Prassilla a Sicione', in P. Moreno (ed.), *Lisippo, l'arte e la fortuna*, Milan 1995, 208–215.

[35] Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 109, fig. 115, left.

[36] A. Delivorrias *et al*., *LIMC* 2, 1984, 75, s.v. Aphrodite no. 661–664. This type of Aphrodite is a derivative of the Capuan Venus. Other types of standing Aphrodite also have considerable similarities with the Ktirakian torso, such as the one "with the folded mantle over the arm", *id*. 25–26, nos. 160–165, and the sc. "Charis", *id*. 36–38, no. 246.

[37] Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 109, fig. 115, right.

[38] Christou, *Ergon* (1963), 110, fig. 116.

[39] E. Simon, *LIMC* 2, 1984, 380, s.v. Apollon/ Apollo, no. 56.

[40] A. Delivorrias *et al*., *LIMC* 2 (1984), 38–39, 52, s.v. Aphrodite, nos. 409–410. For the coiffure, see also Nielsen and Stubbe Østergaard 1997, 127, no. 111, and Tomei 2006, 399, II.805, where the female head with hair covering the ears is called "testa ideale femminile", and dated to the second century AD, and Burn and Higgins 2001, 131–132, nr. 2310 even to the end of the second century AD.

[41] Unfortunately no measurements of the objects are given in Christou's article.

[42] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 170–171, about the Spartan marble, which varies in colour and quality. About the difficulties in identifying white crystalline marble, M.C. Marchei, 'Marmo Pario', in G. Borghini (ed.), *Marmi antichi*, Rome 1992, 250, n. 137, 299, n. 133.

paws, as the two match chronologically. It should also be considered whether all the material from the pit originated from one and the same monument. Perhaps Amboula, or Plaisia, for instance, with its undated grave,[43] should be considered as possibly having once had their shares of the decoration. The material pertaining to Aphrodite might have had some connection with the sanctuary of Ares,[44] known to have existed in the area. A strict reconstruction of the "stratigraphy" of the sculpted material from the pit could perhaps shed light on the ancient filling-in of the cache. Our discussion of the sculptural material does not promote knowledge of the alleged Classical-Hellenistic *heroon*, which Christou established relying on technique and the roof tiles discovered at the site. One has to think seriously about whether such a phase ever existed. Perhaps the monument had only two phases, an early third century AD monumental structure for burial of the members of a wealthy family,[45] decorated with a male portrait and a flock of diligent Erotes, and followed later by an Early Christian church.

P 10-Street in the City of Rhodes

Above the southwestern corner of the great commercial harbour of the city of Rhodes, there is a set of constructions on the ancient Hippodamean P10-street. They are in the street's easternmost part, now recognisable within the modern Euripidou, Platonos and Apellou Streets.[46] The excavation of the site was undertaken during several years in the mid 1960s and published initially in 1970.[47] A π-shaped structure and a smaller rectangular construction, made with isodomic technique and measuring 6 x 6 m, were unearthed (Fig. 3.); the latter was oriented according to the half-cardinal points.[48]

While the final publication of the area was in preparation, attention was paid to this construction, whose orientation diverged considerably from the Hippodamian plan with its streets following the main cardinal points.[49] This anomaly was all the more striking as the regular axial layout was otherwise employed in the city of Rhodes so successfully that it influenced even the outlying cemeteries.[50] The exceptional orientation, it appeared, meant significant use of the building, very likely of a public nature,[51] perhaps as a *heroon*.[52] The pottery from the area covered the period from the fourth to the first century BC. The idea of a *heroon* arose probably from the custom of erecting a monument, a tomb or a cenotaph, in a prominent place for the city founder, or the inventor of synoikism.[53] When

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[43] Cavanagh *et al*. 1996, 381, 387.

[44] Paus. 3.19.7–8. About the cult, D. Musti and M. Torelli, (eds. and transl.), *Pausania*. *Guida della Grecia*, *libro* III. *La Laconia*, Milan 1992, 248; Cavanagh *et al*. 2002, 221.

[45] As already hinted by Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 142. See also Cavanagh *et al*. 2002, 273, 334.

[46] Marked as "Monumente" in Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, 22–23, fig. 16.

[47] E. Zervoudaki, *AD* 25 (1970) 507–511. For the following publications Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 134.

[48] Plan of the construction in *AD* 25 (1970), 509, and in Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 37.

[49] Kontorini 1983, 24.

[50] Konstantinoupolos 1968, 117.

[51] M. Filimonos, *AD* 42 (1987), 584.

[52] Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, 25. Here some confusion has arisen of the orientation of the two buildings.

[53] Such as e.g. in Kassope around 350 BC, though outside the immediate city area, Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, 103–106.

Fig. 3.

the conjectural *heroon* was created, the study of the Rhodian topography was in its initial phases. Lately it has become clear, however, that the constructions near the commercial harbour formed a part of the Classical to Early Hellenistic fortification system.[54]

Komoula in Elatea, Phocis

In the necropolis of Elatea, northeast of the modern village, a burial monument (Fig. 4.) was unearthed in the mid 1980s. The site is called Komoula, (also Kalogerou) in accord with the barrow discovered in an olive grove, in the middle of open fields. The barrow concealed a prominent rectangular structure, measuring 11.10 x 11 m. Eight layers of rectangular blocks of limestone (porolithos) and of equal length, arranged alternately edgewise and lengthwise, reached a height of 3.80 m. The monument was probably covered by earth and gravel up to the two uppermost layers of blocks, probably leaving an enclosure-like structure visible in ancient times.

The archaeological report of the monument[55] induces one to believe that the structure goes back to the Hellenistic period, as pottery typical of that time is especially mentioned. The finds were discovered in the eastern side of the barrow and also included fragments of bronze objects, gilded terracotta beads, and animal bones.[56] Originally there may have been more material from the tomb, but it had been plundered before proper excavation. The robbers had disturbed the structure itself on its southern side by

[54] Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 35–37, 41, 134.
[55] F. Dakoronia, *AD* 41 (1986), 65.
[56] From a depth of 1.30 m; it appears this is an undisturbed entity.

Fig. 4.

widening an ancient opening, which interestingly continued as an underground passage through the whole monument. Lacking the detailed knowledge of the finds, their exact use as funerary gifts (e.g. bronze objects, beads, pottery), or for a banquet (e.g. animal bones, pottery) remains unclear. They were discovered, however, in a layer with traces of burning, pertaining perhaps to cultic activity by the monument.

It may be worthwhile, however, to discuss the gilded terracotta beads on a general level, in order to get in idea of their use in the period in question. Different kinds of beads are often shown as ornaments around the necks of female terracotta figurines made in the workshops producing the *Tanagrians*. Suffice it to mention here a somewhat earlier example in the shape of a figurine from the early fourth century BC, where a string of rather large round beads are combined with a simple chain.[57] These were used as personal ornaments, possibly imitating those that decorated the cult statue in the Theban Kabeirion.[58] Another model from the first half of the second century BC shows a female terracotta bust from Priene, wearing a double necklace, with one string of round beads, the other of pear- or amphora-shaped pendants.[59] The gilded terracotta beads were often made for funerary purposes, to meet the requirements of persons of limited means.[60]

Due to the activity of the robbers we have lost knowledge of the complete assemblage of material connected with the Komoula site, but the monumentality of the

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[57] Pietilä-Castrén 2007, 10, fig. 7.

[58] Mollard-Besques 1954, 86, pl. 60, c. 22–23.

[59] G. Zimmer, *Die Antikensammlung Berlin*, Mainz 1992, 289–290, no. 157. See also Marshall 1911, 249, nos. 2190–2192, pl. XLII, dated from the fourth to the second century BC.

[60] Marshall 1911, xxxix; Higgins 1961, 45, 127. Gilded terracotta was especially favoured in the fourth and third centuries BC.

structure seems to speak for a wealthy burial. The excavator thought that the monument was a *heroon*, not known from the ancient literary sources. Elatea was the prosperous main city of Phocis, controlling the natural route from north into the fertile Cephissus valley. The area of Elatea was submitted in the Hellenistic period to repeated military conflicts and invasions, but the Roman general M.' Acilius Glabrio gave Elatea back its landed property and slaves, after spending the winter of 191-190 BC there with his troops.[61] The decades following these concessions could perhaps be considered an apt time for erection of this kind of monument. It is very much to be hoped that the final publication of the monument and its finds will show whether it really was an object of heroic cult.

Marmara in Zervochori, Thesprotia

Excavation

It was in the early 1990s that Georgios Riginos carried out a rescue excavation in the Kokytos valley at a site called Marmara, in the village of Zervochori.[62] The monument (Fig. 5.) consisted of a large rectangular enclosure (15.36 x 15.47 m) orientated along the half-cardinal points. It was hypaethral,[63] and its isodomic walls may have risen to the height of over two metres; no entrance was verified, but the excavator considered the northeastern wall to be the façade.[64] From the other three sides, southeastern, southwestern and northwestern, short partition walls projected towards the centre of the enclosure. They were ca. 1.6 m long and ca. 3 m from each other, forming small rectangular alcoves or niches within. At an unknown date the monument had been plundered,[65] but fragmentary terracotta figurines, which comprised a part of the finds left behind, and the monumentality of the structure itself were reasons enough to name it *tafiko hero*.[66]

Inside the enclosing wall on the northwestern side there was a tomb, measuring 3 x 2.1 m and approximately one metre deep. The earth-cut grave was lined with slabs[67] of white limestone, fastened with π-shaped clamps. It is exceptionally large and could easily have accommodated more than one deceased. The bone analysis of one of the two[68] reported human remains, showed that it most likely belonged to a female about 35–50 years of age, who had suffered from anaemia.[69] The deceased had evidently been furnished with a rich set of grave goods, but what was left of them consisted of a golden chain and a few golden leaves from a wreath, two lamps, small black glazed pyxides, both

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[61] Lauffer 1989, 208–209, s.v. Elateia.

[62] Subsequent publications by G. Riginos, *AD* 47 (1992), 349–354, and G. Riginos, Ausgrabungen in antiker Eleatis und ihrer Umgebung, in P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité* III, Paris 1999, 173–174. Previous comments on the site by S.I. Dakaris, *Thesprotia* (Ancient Greek Cities 15), Athens 1972, 139 and by Σ.Γ. Μουσελίμης, *Αρχαιότητες της Θεσπρωτίας*, Ioannina 1980, 138.

[63] No roof tiles were found during the excavation.

[64] Riginos 1992, 352; Riginos 1996, 173–174.

[65] Riginos 1996, 349, n. 65.

[66] Riginos 1992, 350; Riginos 1996, 173–174.

[67] This was a very usual type of grave, either with or without slabs covering the walls of the *fossa*, both in Greek and Italian cemeteries. See Steingräber 2000, 94. See also Lepore 2004, 366–367.

[68] The excavator reported two crania, Riginos 1992, 351.

[69] I. Tsinas, this volume, 53–54.

Fig. 5.

intact and fragmentary, two miniature vases inside a plain unpainted jar, as well as some nails of bronze and iron, and a bronze lock.[70]

Opposite the tomb and inside two projecting walls, there was a floor-like surface, made of three slabs of white limestone, measuring 3.1 x 2.4 m and, according to the excavator, supporting what was left of a table-like structure.[71] The fragments are now too few and broken to allow a definite opinion of a table. Such an element would, though, accord with the depictions of the popular Hellenistic funerary-meal reliefs, in which a table laden with food and crockery is shown in front of the deceased.[72] The three limestone slabs may have indicated a paved floor inside the whole enclosure.[73] On the other hand, it is obvious that the tomb and the three slabs cannot by chance have the same orientation, and almost equal dimensions, forming in a sense a mirror image of each other. Perhaps the two were positioned in this way to allow a visual contact between them. Whether the other alcoves inside the enclosure were meant for, or actually once held burials, possibly of more modest nature, remains unclear due to the exploited and plundered state of the monument.

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[70] Riginos 1996, 173, suggested that nails had belonged to a wooden coffin.

[71] Riginos 1996, 173. Riginos first suspected another burial below the slabs supporting the table, but further research showed no such thing, Riginos 1992, 351.

[72] To name just a few, see A. Klöckner, 'Habitus und Status. Geschlechtsspezifisches Rollenverwalten auf griechischen Weihreliefs', in *Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit*, Mainz 2002, 325, 329–330, Kat.-Nr. 221, and K.M.D. Dunbabin, especially chapter 4 'Drinking in the Tomb', in *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*, Cambridge 2003, 104–106, figs. 55–56. For the cult tables in general, D.H. Gill, *Greek Cult Tables*, New York 1991, 23, 29, and I. Krauskopf, *ThesCRA* V (2005), 230–232, 235–236, s.v. Kulttishe und tragbare Altäre.

[73] Riginos 1992, 351.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Finds and Comments

Even from the fragmentary remains we could venture some reflections on the grave goods, without unfortunately being aware of their precise original whereabouts. The following items were, however, discovered inside the enclosure. The remaining tiny leaves made of gold foil are identified as oak leaves.[74] Customarily the deceased was adorned with a wreath through all the phases of burial rituals, from prothesis and ekphora to the final resting place on the kline or wooden coffin. It seems that there was no one leaf or flower especially singled out for crowning the deceased, but olive, laurel, myrtle, celery, oak leaf and ivy are most often mentioned by the ancient authors. It was in the course of the fifth century BC, that the custom of furnishing the dead with a golden crown was introduced in Greek tombs, starting from Magna Graecia, Macedonia, the Bosporus and the coast of Asia Minor.[75] Furthermore, it seems that the golden wreath, first conceded to those venerated as heroes, was especially popular from the fourth to the second century, but the custom lasted locally even to the first century BC.[76] In their heyday the Tarentine golden wreaths, which surely reflected the Greek traditions of the other areas, cover the species already

[74] ΘE 5376. I am most grateful to archaeologist Georgios Riginos for all his support, and for furnishing me with information, also of the unpublished material (cf. n. 87), and also for the possibility of publishing the fragments of the terracotta figurines (ΘE 2700A and B, 2701, 2706, and 2707).

[75] Blech 1982, 89–90, 93–95, sets the start of the custom to the fifth century BC, but earlier evidence comes from Tarentum, Masiello 1984, 74.

[76] Masiello 1984, 73, 84.

verified by ancient authors, with the exception of rose and rosaceae, with numerous variants replacing celery. Epirus was one of the areas, where wreaths made of oak leaves were much favoured,[77] possibly due to the influence of Dodona.

Lamps occasionally appear in Hellenistic tombs.[78] The two[79] from Marmara represent the common wheel-made type with flattened globular body, thick base, comparatively small filling-hole, and long and narrow nozzle with flat top and small wick-hole at the rounded end. The smaller of the two lamps has a strap handle, which is seldom discovered intact due to it being inadequate for supporting the heavy bulk of the lamp.[80] The examples of this type, closest to Howland 25A, cover approximately one hundred years from around the middle of the fourth to ca. 275 BC,[81] with parallels from wide areas.

The pyxides,[82] covered toilet vessels, were characteristically the luxury items from the woman's world and common grave gifts, and sometimes used as incense-holders.[83] Those recovered in Marmara were deep cylindrical vessels with small conical foot,[84] and slip-over lid with horizontal ungrooved flange.[85] The top of the lid varied from a simple flat dome, with a small concave centre surrounded by a groove,[86] to a more elaborate one tapering from the flange to a strongly raised concave centre.

Besides, two miniature bowls of black glaze production were discovered inside a larger unpainted vessel, thus making up a three-piece set, which could point to a meal prepared at the tomb. The reported dark traces of fire on the southwestern side of the grave itself could also point to the same.[87]

The five fragments of probably two terracotta figurines[88] were all made of the same very pale brown clay.[89] Two of them are here identified as belonging to clothed figurines. The first fragment (ΘΕ 2700B) presents the lower body and thighs of a standing female wearing a chiton and symmetrically draped himation. The parallels are dated from the end of the fourth century until the end of the third BC, and originate from Attica, Tanagra, and from Corfu.[90] The second fragment (ΘΕ 2701) is the right upper arm of a man, with a short

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[77] Blech 1982, 96 with n. 72; Masiello 1984, 75, 83.
[78] Kurz and Boardman 1971, 165.
[79] Riginos 1992, pl. 105α; Riginos 1996, 175, pl. 12.
[80] Howland 1958, 68.
[81] Rotroff 1997, 494, with the adjusted Athenian chronology to Howland. E.g. from Kassope, Gravani 1986, 125–126, fig. 128,7, dated in general lines to the third century. See also Vrekaj 2004, 274, 287, pl. XI, dated to 300–275.
[82] Riginos 1992, pl. 105β; Riginos 1996, 175, pl. 11: ΘΕ 2669 and ΘΕ 2671A.
[83] Sparkes and Talcot 1970, 173.
[84] Sparkes and Talcot 1970, 174–175, 177–178; Drougou 1991, 166. For the pyxides in general, Rotroff 1997, 188–189, nos. 1 and 5.
[85] Rotroff 1997, 189, also 360–361, no 1220, fig. 75, dated to ca. 275 BC.
[86] ΘΕ 2669 with its body preserved, and ΘΕ 2671A. Good parallel from Kassope, in Gravani 1986, 126–127, fig. 129,7, from the third century BC, and from Veroia, in Drougou 1991, Π 2668–2669, 73, 77, dated to the third century, and a red glazed pyxis, Π 5193, 86–87, to the early second century BC.
[87] For the ceremonies at the graveside, Garland 1985, 39–40, and for the burnt deposits in and around the grave, 110–112.
[88] ΘΕ 2700A = Fig. 8; ΘΕ 2700B = Fig. 7; ΘΕ 2701 = Fig. 6; ΘΕ 2706 = Fig. 9; ΘΕ 2707 = Fig. 10.
[89] 10 YR 7/3–7/4, Munsell Soil Color Charts, Year 2000 revised washable edition.
[90] Dimensions of the fragment: ht. 10.6 cm and b. 6.2 cm. For the whole figurines, Pasquier 2003, 215, fig. 150 from Attica, and 252, fig. 191 from Tanagra, and presumably from Corfu, Burn and Higgins 2001, 98, no. 2218, with matching clay.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

sleeve enfolded in a curving *chlamys*. This sort of rendering usually belongs to a standing draped man known as ephebe or young soldier. The parallels seem to have been manufactured in Tanagra and its surroundings, and Athens, and are datable from the end of the fourth until the end of the third century BC.[91] Many of the ephebe figurines have been found in tombs, which may reflect the desire to bind the young generation to the world of the dead and to the obligations it required.[92] Two of the other Marmarian figurine fragments,[93] only slightly modelled, may come from the backs of these figurines, and the fifth from the leg of the male figurine.[94]

The still extant objects from the Marmara monument present the following picture: The builders were wealthy people with contacts beyond their immediate surroundings, and the means and opportunity to erect a great tomb. The pyxides, datable to the third century, seem to point to Macedonia, and the lamps and the figurines to Athenian influence, with their common chronological parameter being the first half of the third century. The narrowest date we obtain from the material from inside the enclosure is

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[91] Dimensions of the fragment: ht. 4.8 and b. 4.1 cm. For the intact ephebes from Tanagra and Athens, Pasquier 2003, 206–207, figs. 139–141; fig. 141 was discovered in a tomb along with miniature vases. Also Burn and Higgins 2001, 64, and nos. 2117–2120. It is not always possible to decide whether they reflect real-life youths undergoing military training, or even characters of New Comedy. Chlamys as a distinctive robe of ephebe, Schmidt 1991, 131. Examples of young men wrapped in similar fashion in himation, see Vafopoulou-Richardson 1991, 25, nr. 26, from the fourth century, and 49, nr. 57, from the second century.

[92] Burkert 2001, 208.

[93] Figs. 8–9.

[94] Fig. 10. We have identified here one male, and one female figurine. The number of the figurines corresponds to the two crania, reported by Mr. Riginos at the excavation, even though only one skeleton was studied by I. Tsinas, this volume, 55–56.

the first decades of the third century until ca. 275 BC. Outside the enclosure an Ambrakian coin from 238–168 was discovered. If it once formed an integral part of the activities by the tomb, we must lower the chronology, and accept that presented by the excavator, to the latter half of the third century.[95] The higher chronology would point to the reign of Pyrrhus, a sufficiently stable time for large-scale building. As to the status of the tomb, in this case also we have lost the intact monument with all its finds, and cannot draw our conclusions from a sound whole. Thus, we would be safer to call the tomb at Marmara a monumental tomb rather than a *heroon*.

Fig. 10.

Conclusions

In the long development of *heroa* from cult places of mythological heroes to the tombs of almost anyone, the period of major change is generally considered to be from Late Classical through Hellenistic. The vagueness of the development has led to tombs and monuments of this period often being called *heroa* without really good grounds. The problem arises especially with less-known, often rural candidates, not known from the ancient written sources. Our search through past investigations was intended to shed some light on the credibility of four monuments as *heroa*. At first glance there seemed to be some similarities, such as a certain monumentality and the rectangular enclosures: In Ktirakia 10 x 12.20 m, in Koumoula 11.10 x 11 m, in Rhodes 6 x 6 m, and in Marmara 15.36 x 15.45 m. None of the publications showed, however, a section drawing, even though the building technique was tentatively described and parallels referred to. In Ktirakia and Marmara the structures had the same orientation,[96] Koumoula and Marmara were probably originally hypaethral; some information was also given about doors and entrances.[97] Hellenistic pottery was discovered at all four sites, but it has rarely been analysed in full. Other finds also partly lack full attention, although our reflections on them demonstrate their potential. In the end, the chronology of the Ktirakia monument turned out to be problematic, and the Rhodes monument a public building of another kind. Thus, on reflection, our monuments' attributions as *heroa* have tended to crumble.

The nature of the publications, varying from a short text to more detailed reports with photographs of the discovered finds, affected our chances of evaluating the nature of the constructions. Even in the present state of all the material as yet unpublished, two of the candidates, Komoula and Marmara, stand atop our short list. Some of the signs

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[95] Initially he dated the monument generally to the third century, Riginos 1992, 353, but lowered the chronology later, Riginos 1996, 174.
[96] None was given for Komoula.
[97] For Ktirakia and Komoula.

presented above in our introduction as belonging to cultic activity by the graveside were certainly met, but its obvious short term may have been rather for the benefit of the newly dead. On general level, when studying any Hellenistic *heroon*, one should be able to evaluate not only the construction itself, but also the most modest looking finds connected with it, as the monumentality alone does not make a tomb a *heroon*.[98] A detailed re-examination of the monuments themselves and all their connected finds would seem to be a prerequisite for almost any monument to earn the rank in this period of transition. Research in a relatively well-defined area offering tombs, pottery finds and epigraphical material[99] might be of great interest.

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[98] I. Kader has already earlier suggested neutral terms "Memorialarchitekturen oder –Bauten", Kader 1995, 200–201, n. 13.

[99] The information provided by Epikteta's famous testament, for which see M. Mikkola, this volume, 24–26, could be combined with a study of epigraphical sources and the Hellenistic tombs on Thera and Rheneia, e.g. Evangelismos (Sellada), and Ekhendra in H. Dragendorff (ed.), *Thera* II. *Theraeische Gräber. Hellenistische Gräber*, Berlin 1903, 236–256, and Khairopoleion in *AD* 26 (1971), 194–200, and *BCH* 71–72 (1947–1948), 419, and P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 268.

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Appendix.
Analysis of the Skeletal Remains of the Monument of Marmara, Zervochori*

Ioannis Tsinas

The overall condition of preservation and representation of the skeletal material is, generally speaking, exceptionally bad. The poor storage conditions, the composition of the earth in the specific burial location, but also the microclimate of the grave, are perhaps those factors that led to the characteristic fragmentation of the bones. For this reason it was judged necessary to conserve the material, in order to prevent as much further deterioration as possible. This was followed by the restoration of as many of the bones as proved feasible.

The conservation procedures were founded on the principle of the reversibility of every operation. The materials used, such as saturation with a water-based solution or a polyvinyl acetate emulsion, allow the possibility of removal with an inert solvent (water or acetone). Also, the bones were reset using a glue soluble in acetone, in order for the process to be reversible.

As can be seen in the attached photographs, from the total bone assemblage it proved possible to reset in place some groups from the upper and the lower limbs (2 femurs, 1 tibia, 1 fibula, 1 humerus, 1 ulna, 1 section of the ankle bone, 1 section of the heel) and the greater part of the lower jaw together with the teeth. For the cranial bone and section of the pelvis, it was only possible to attempt consolidation, in order to avoid further deterioration.

The fragmentation of the material greatly hindered attempts at its initial study, and limited it to the level of macroscopic observation. The determination of gender, as well as the assessment of the biological age of the particular individual, relied essentially on the observation of the skeleton's morphological characteristics.

More specifically, the determination of gender was based largely on the most general impression of the bones being slightly built, but also on the observation of the sexual dimorphism characteristics which are preserved here, i.e. the morphology of the lower jaw and of one mastoid process. We can thus cautiously state that the individual concerned was most likely female.

On the other hand, the assessment of biological age essentially relies on the observation of the degree of wear of the teeth. The teeth preserved from this skeleton show a total destruction of the enamel and the appearance of the pulp, a fact that leads to the conclusion that the individual was probably an adult of the broadest middle age category (35-50). This is also supported by the presence of arthritic deterioration, in the form of osteophytes, which were observed in a preserved part of the sacrum (upper articular surface).

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* Translated from Greek by Jonathan E. Thomlinson.

Finally, despite much effort, it did not prove possible to come to any secure conclusions regarding the diagnosis of possible pathological conditions. Here also, the fragmentation of the skeletal material proved the limiting factor. Despite this, however, it is worth noting that traces of enamel hypoplasia were observed on the teeth. This pathological condition relates to the particular individual having suffered dietary constraints during development, while for many it is also linked to some form of anemia, such as iron deficiency. Furthermore, the osteophytes observed on the upper articular surface of the sacrum (see above) are relevant not only in age considerations, but also relate to strain, probably due to mechanical stress.

Perhaps in the future, with the study in a laboratory of the preserved material not yet conserved, and with the application of methods such as chemical analysis or the examination of genetic material (ancient DNA), hitherto unknown aspects of the life of this woman will come to light.