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THE BURIAL OF HERODES ATTICUS: ÉLITE IDENTITY, URBAN SOCIETY, AND PUBLIC MEMORY IN ROMAN GREECE*

Abstract This paper discusses the burial of Herodes Atticus as a well-attested case of élite identification through mortuary practices. It gives a close reading of Philostratus' account of Herodes' end in *c.* 179 (*VS* 2.1.15) alongside the evidence of architecture, inscriptions, sculpture, and topography at Marathon, Cephisia and Athens. The intended burial of Herodes and the actual burials of his family on the Attic estates expressed wealth and territorial control, while his preference for Marathon fused personal history with civic history. The Athenian intervention in Herodes' private funeral, which led to his magnificent interment at the Panathenaic Stadium, served as a public reception for a leading citizen and benefactor. Herodes' tomb should be identified with a long foundation on the stadium's east hill that might have formed an eccentric altar-tomb, while an elegant *klinê* sarcophagus found nearby might have been his coffin. His epitaph was a traditional distich that stressed through language and poetic allusion his deep ties to Marathon and Rhamnous, his euergetism and his celebrity. Also found here was an altar dedicated to Herodes 'the Marathonian hero' with archaizing features (*IG* II^2 6791). The first and last lines of the text were erased in a deliberate effort to remove his name and probably the name of a relative. A cemetery of ordinary graves developed around Herodes' burial site, but by the 250s these had been disturbed, along with the altar and the sarcophagus. This new synthesis of textual and material sources for the burial of Herodes contributes to a richer understanding of status and antiquarianism in Greek urban society under the Empire. It also examines how the public memory of élites was composite and mutable, shifting through separate phases of activity – funeral, hero-cult, defacement, biography – to generate different images of the dead.

Herodes Atticus is one of those figures who repays study not only as a luminous personality with his own history but also as a mirror to larger historical developments in the world around him. In comparison to other Greek aristocrats of the Roman Empire, we know a great amount about him not only from the substantial biography by Philostratus (*VS* 2.1) but also from the rich epigraphic and archaeological evidence for his life and family. L. Vibullius Hipparchus Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes (*c.* 103-179),[1] who was born to a wealthy family with deep Athenian roots, became a celebrated orator and teacher, an aristocrat and politician with broad connections at home and abroad, and a peerless benefactor. Like other prominent men of his day, he was dogged by cruel controversy and popular resentment. While he was an outstanding individual and many of his accomplishments were *sui generis*, Herodes embodied the social and cultural values of his age, and he employed common modes of self-presentation, even if on a grander scale than his contemporaries.

One fascinating chapter in his distinguished career is the final one in *c.* 179, as recorded by Philostratus (*VS* 2.1.15):

> Although he died at Marathon and had directed his freedmen to bury him there, the Athenians snatched him away by the hands of the ephebes and carried him to the city, and people of all ages came forth to greet the bier with crying and applause, like children who have lost a good father. They buried him in the Panathenaic and inscribed over him this brief and noble epitaph:
>
> HERODES SON OF ATTICUS FROM THE DEME OF MARATHON, TO WHOM ALL THIS BELONGS,
> LIES IN THIS TOMB, RENOWNED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD[2]

* I delivered versions of this paper to attentive audiences at the University of Washington in Seattle (2005) and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton (2006). Margarethe Billerbeck, Glen Bowersock, Ewen Bowie, Kevin Clinton, Christian Habicht, Kaja Harter-Uibopuu, Christopher Jones, Mireille Lee, Aristea Papanicolaou-Christensen, David Potter, and two readers for the Journal have commented on this study, always to my benefit. I completed it at the Institute for Advanced Study, where I consulted the squeeze collection of the Merritt Library. I also examined the remains east of the Panathenaic Stadium under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and with the permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

[1] Ameling (1983a-b) is the authoritative treatment of Herodes' career and family; see also Byrne (2003) 114-22. I follow Ameling on Herodes' dates, but Swain (1990) shows that the traditional dates 101-177 remain possible.

[2] ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῶι Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐπισκήψαντος τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ἐκεῖ θάπτειν Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς τῶν ἐφήβων χερσὶν ἁρπάσαντες ἐς ἄστυ ἤνεγκαν προαπαντῶντες τῶι λέχει πᾶσα ἡλικία δακρύοις ἅμα

Of the eleven passages recording burials in the *Lives of the Sophists*, this one is second only to the description of Polemo's end in detail and length.[3] Notwithstanding its brevity and laudatory tone, the account of Herodes' death and burial, like the others, is a valuable historical source for the man and his times. Philostratus, who was writing during the late 230s or early 240s, depended on first-hand sources, he knew Athenian institutions from personal experience and local monuments from autopsy, and he wrote for a knowledgeable audience about events in living memory. Since he was born in the 160s, he may have seen Herodes perform, or even watched his funeral.[4]

This passage coincides with a body of material evidence that can clarify and enlarge Philostratus' account, including inscriptions, monuments and artefacts in Marathon, Cephisia and Athens. Several scholars have addressed the evidence, but their discussions particularly of the Panathenaic Stadium have included repeated misinformation, factual errors and incomplete coverage. No one has integrated the full range of textual and archaeological testimony and studied it in the light of prevailing mortuary customs in Herodes' world. As theoretical research in anthropology has demonstrated, funerary ritual is a dynamic arena for communicating identity, where behaviours, materials and spaces are imbued with meaning as a memory of the deceased is constructed and sometimes contested.[5] The study of death and burial can reveal a great deal about the social structures and processes of Greek cities during the Empire.

This paper gives a close reading of the literary and material sources for the burial of Herodes. This new synthesis produces several important observations on the extraordinary life and mind of Herodes, especially his use of property and benefaction, his antiquarianism and his relationships with his family and community. The broader goal is to understand better the central role of funerary practices in self-presentation, urban society and public memory. Élites and their communities in the Roman East understood and utilized funerals and burials as effective contexts for expressing wealth, nobility and eminence in the civic sphere. During funerary activities, they also selected and manipulated architecture, landscape and behaviour to identify the deceased with the cultural legacy of Classical Greece, especially Athenian art and literature of the fifth to fourth centuries BC. Commemorative practices, as in the case of Herodes, further show that the memory of a dead aristocrat was not the immutable creation of a single mind. It was an evolving image of ideal status that was established, revised and even obliterated through the confrontation between personal intentions and popular interests.

I. THE ANCESTRAL HOME AND BURIAL AT MARATHON

Philostratus' account of Herodes' death begins with his wish for burial at Marathon, his birthplace and ancestral home. His family belonged to the Attic *genos* Kerykes, which stemmed from Hermes and Herse and traced its descent back to Heracles, Theseus and the Aeacidae, proudly claiming in its line Miltiades and Cimon.[6] One of Herodes' many villas was located at Marathon, where he received students and hosted guests (*VS* 2.5.3; *cf.* 2.1.12), and where he resided after his return from the hearing at Sirmium in 174. The history of this estate is not recorded, but presumably

καὶ ἀνευφημοῦντες, ὅσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες, καὶ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῶι Παναθηναικῶι ἐπιγράψαντες αὐτῶι βραχὺ καὶ πολὺ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὗ τάδε πάντα,
κεῖται τῶιδε τάφωι, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος

The text is Carl Ludwig Kayser's (Teubner 1871), with one change in punctuation (see below); all translations are mine.

[3] 1.22.4, 1.25.11, 1.26.6, 2.1.15, 2.16.1, 2.20.3, 2.22.1, 2.23.4, 2.25.6, 2.26.6, 2.30.1. Rife (forthcoming) discusses these passages.

[4] On the date of *VS*, see Jones (2002) (dedicated to Gordian III, 238-244); on the methods, aims and historical value of *VS*, see Bowersock (1969) 1-16, Jones (1974), Anderson (1986) 23-96, and Swain (1991); on Philostratus' career, see de Lannoy (1997) 2372-91 (born *c.* 160-170, connected to the deme of Steiria).

[5] E.g. Morris (1992) 1-30; McHugh (1999) 12-17; Parker Pearson (1999) 1-20.

[6] *IG* II[2] 3606.2 (Marathon), *IG* XIV 1389.30-3 (Triopion, Via Appia, Rome), *VS* 2.1.1, *Suda* H 545; see Ameling (1983b) 3-4 on Herodes' family.

Herodes inherited it from his father Atticus, and possibly it was among the lands of his grandfather, Hipparchus, which Domitian had confiscated (*VS* 2.1.2).

Numerous stones and inscriptions indicate that the Marathonian property was impressive.[7] The members of an inscribed arch (*IG* II^2 5189, *SEG* 23.121) found in the area called Mandra tis Grias northwest of the plain reveal that the estate encompassed a precinct devoted to Regilla, Herodes' wife, to whom perhaps he had given the tract as a wedding gift. Several inscriptions naming members of his family have been found near Vrana at the plain's western end.[8] This concentration of texts and its proximity to Regilla's precinct, which was only *c.* 2 km northwest up the Avlona Valley, strongly support the identification of this area with Herodes' estate. At the plain's southern end have been found an elaborate bath and sanctuary displaying Egyptian statuary, all dating to the second century. The main structure is surely the Temple of Canopus mentioned by Philostratus (*VS* 2.1.7), as Paul Graindor first argued.[9] A portrait group of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Herodes Atticus found here links Herodes to the site, but whether as owner or neighbour and donor cannot be determined. The obvious parallel of the Canopus in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli and the discovery of Egyptian statuary on Herodes' villa at Loukou lend support to the former identification. The property of Herodes thus covered the northwestern and western limits of the plain, and it may have extended southeast. The distribution of use remains uncertain, but the estate would have possessed both open land for pasturage and cultivation and extravagant structures for entertainment and habitation.

Herodes' preference for burial in this region of Attica can be understood in terms of both élite behaviour and personal circumstance. Greek aristocrats, including sophists portrayed by Philostratus, often preferred burial among their ancestors and sometimes on estates.[10] The Roman treatises on land-surveying record that graves on rural estates signalled ownership, while remote burials could serve to demarcate their limits (*Gromatici veteres* pp. 139-40, 271-2). This use of funerary monuments or cemeteries in land division is well documented in the northwestern provinces.[11] Archaeological surveys in Greece have also found sumptuous tombs on or adjacent to *villae rusticae*, such as in the Berbati Pass northeast of Argos and on the Laconian Plain southeast of Sparta.[12] We can imagine that Herodes' anticipated burial likewise would have taken the form of a conspicuous monument on his family's estate that communicated territorial control and landed wealth. It is unknown whether Herodes' forebears were buried at Marathon. In any event, his choice of burial there underscored his close attachment to a family with a long and prestigious line.

Burial at Marathon must have carried a special significance for a man who boasted descent from Miltiades and preserved the Classical past through his intellectual and professional achievements. He even called his first daughter Elpinice, so far as we know a unique name at Roman Athens (*cf. LGPN* II *s.v.*), but the same as the daughter of Miltiades and stepsister, later lover, of Cimon (Nep. *Cim.* 1.2, 1.4; Plut. *Cim.* 4.3-8). Herodes was to lie somewhere near Athens' most hallowed burial ground, the great *sôros* or *poluandrion* containing the cremated war-dead of 490.

[7] Tobin (1997) 241-83 and Galli (2002) 134-8, 178-203 summarize the estate's remains.

[8] *IG* II^2 3973, 13205; Lenormant (1866) 383-4, no. 193; Petrakos (1978) 55-6, fig. 18a, d; Ameling (1987); Petrakos (1995) 109-12, fig. 52.

[9] Graindor (1930) 186-8; *cf.* Tobin (1997) 261-3 and Galli (2002) 188-93.

[10] Burial among ancestors: *VS* 1.25.11 (Polemo at Laodicea ad Lycum); 2.25.6 (Hermocrates at Phocaea); 2.24.2, 2.29.1 (burial of Antipater of Hierapolis and Quirinus of Nicomedia 'at home' (οἴκοι) meaning in their native land, presumably among ancestors). Philostratus' mention of other sophists dying 'at home' (2.4.2, 2.6.1, 2.9.3, 2.17.1, 2.18.1, 2.27.6) seems to imply a similar burial location. Burial on estate: 2.23.4 (Damianus buried at Ephesian estate); *cf.* 2.30.1 (Philiscus emphatically not buried at Athenian estate).

[11] Behrends (1992) 242-3, 254-5; Ferdière (1993) *passim* (Gaul); Esmonde Cleary (2000) 130-2 (Britain); Vermeulen and Bourgeois (2000) 144-5 (Flanders).

[12] *Hypogaeum* (SM 13) near west end of Berbati Pass: Wells and Runnels (1996) 295, 336-40, fig. 10. *Mausoleum* (M334) south of Aphysou, east of Eurotas River: Shipley (1996) 386, ill. 24.43, (2002) 294, 302, 335-6, 337; Cartledge and Spawforth (2002) 142; Mee and Cavanaugh (2005) 10.

This is marked by the prominent tumulus in the south central area of the plain.[13] The Athenians recognized this historic site in the second half of the second century A.D.[14] Pausanias wrote (1.32.4) that the place was adorned with *stêlai* naming the deceased by tribe, and that the phantom rumble of battle could still be heard at night. He also wrote that there was a separate monument for Militiades, who had died in prison (Plut. *Cim.* 4.3) but was remembered as a victorious general.[15] Fine portraits of Herodes, his foster-son Polydeucion, and Faustina the Younger have been found near the tumulus.[16] In erecting these sculptures, Herodes (or his associates) understood the site's commemorative capacity. Regardless of whether Herodes wanted to be interred right alongside the tombs of Miltiades and the hoplites, his burial on a private estate near the revered battleground and cemetery effectively grafted his personal history on to Athenian history. The deliberate choice of sepulchral location to draw a topographic association with historical or mythical burials is also evident in the tombs of Ephesian élites along the Embolos, and possibly the grave of Apollonius, Athenian sophist and Eleusinian hierophant, at the Sacred Fig (*VS* 2.20.3).[17] Travellers from Athens to Marathon entered a landscape saturated with memories of a continuous civic past. Here they viewed a montage of texts, images and monuments that at once called to mind the power and wealth of Herodes, his ancient family and the abiding glory of the Classical *polis*. The erection of a tomb for Herodes would have amplified the impression.

No decisive evidence exists for where Herodes wanted to be buried. It was not uncommon for aristocrats to prepare their own tombs and even to begin construction before death, but we cannot know whether Herodes went that far. If his tomb was to stand near the edge of the property as a landmark for those entering or leaving, it was probably to be located either near the site of Oinoë, where the main inland route approached the Plain from the northwest, or near the coastal road in the vicinity of the Brexisa. The former is more likely because of its proximity to the thoroughfare between Athens and Marathon.[18]

One area that has produced evidence for burial of Roman date is *c.* 500 m north-northwest of the small estate of Regilla. In 1911 near the so-called Frankish Church at Oinoë a landowner discovered two herms with curse inscriptions in the name of Herodes' foster-sons (*IG* II^2 13195, 13202), together with a marble monument, bones and *stêlai* apparently belonging to a cemetery.[19] The exact nature and context of the remains are lost, but the curses tie them to Herodes and his property. One possible (but unprovable) interpretation is that this was a burial ground of tenants or grounds-keepers at the estate's northwestern extremity.[20] If the marble architecture was indeed a funerary monument, it may have belonged to an individual of rank, such as an 'administrator' (διοικητής, προνοούμενος) of the estate.[21] Greek archaeologists uncovered more intriguing

[13] Pritchett (1985) 126-9; Petrakos (1995) 19-22.

[14] According to *IG* II^2 1006. 26-7, 69-70 (123/2 BC), the ephebes placed wreaths on the *poluandreion* and competed in funerary games in an annual festival (Habicht (1997) 336; Ekroth (2002) 75-7). The cult was thriving in the Late Hellenistic period, but its status in Roman times is uncertain.

[15] Some have speculated that this monument was situated *c.* 500 m north of the *sôros* at Pyrgos, the site of a tower on Classical foundations with *spolia* from nearby structures (Leake (1841) 101; Papachatzis (1974) 423 n. 2); Petrakos (1978) 56, fig. 19a describes the remains. Cimon was buried in Greece after the return of his mortal remains from Cyprus (Plut. *Cim.* 19.4), but the location of his memorial(s) is unknown.

[16] Petrakos (1995) 172-4, figs 101-3.

[17] Rife (forthcoming) discusses these cases of topographic antiquarianism in burial placement.

[18] Locals once called the ruins of the Egyptian complex the 'Tomb of Herodes', presumably from a distant memory of Philostratus and the discovery near here of funerary *stêlai* (Tobin (1997) 261). L.-F.-S. Fauvel (1792) misidentified these same remains as 'The Tombs of the Athenians' (Petrakos (1995) 68-9, figs 26-7). See Dodwell (1819) 232-3 (*stêlai*) and Galli (2002) 191-3 (sanctuary contained tomb monument of Canopus).

[19] Graindor (1914) 355-60; Tobin (1997) 270-1.

[20] *Cf.* e.g. Esmonde Cleary (2000) 131-2 (cemeteries near boundaries of Romano-British villas). Von Moock (1998) 20, 85 proposes that several funerary *stêlai* dating to the second century found in the southern part of the Plain might have belonged to freedmen on Herodes' estate; see also Galli (2002) 181-8 on funerary remains in this area. These scattered finds cannot represent a single burial ground.

[21] *SEG* 29.127 II 49, 82 refers to the administrators of Herodes' estates as διοικηταί and προνοούμενοι.

remains in the 1970s a few hundred metres to the north. Here they found a marble building of unknown hydraulic function dating to the second century, together with inscriptions naming Vibullia Alcia, Herodes' mother, and Eucles, one of Herodes' paternal ancestors, and an exquisitely carved sarcophagus lid of the early second century.[22] While nothing about the building can be associated with funerary ritual or known sepulchral forms,[23] the inscriptions establish a connection with Herodes' forebears, and the sarcophagus points to lavish burial. This area might be considered a candidate for an ancestral cemetery.

II. THE VILLA AND FAMILIAL BURIALS AT CEPHISIA

By the time of his death, Herodes had already buried several family members near his property northeast of Athens. Like his Marathonian estate, Herodes used his pleasant villa in the deme of Cephisia to teach students and to receive guests from near and far (Aul. Gel. 1.2.1-2, 18.10.1; Philostr. *VS* 2.1.12). The villa complex can be confidently placed along the banks of the tranquil Pyrna. Numerous sculptures and inscriptions depicting and naming Herodes and his relatives have been found there, in addition to a richly appointed bath and columns.[24] Roughly 500 m south of the Pyrna have been found funerary remains associated with his family. Builders in 1866 found a vaulted marble *hypogaeum* containing four sarcophagi of Antonine date.[25] An inscribed block (*SEG* 26.290) built into the overlying church of Aghia Paraskevi states that a mournful Herodes dedicated a lock of hair at the grave of his three children. The chamber tomb that displayed this stone on its façade or in the *dromos*[26] most likely contained Regillus and Elpinice, with an unknown third.[27]

Herodes clearly interred his children here over a span of time, and he would have selected the specific form of their burial. The short distance of this tomb from the remains of the villa suggests that it was easily accessible from the main buildings, perhaps not at the estate's boundary. The recent discovery of a nearby fountain indicates that the tomb was located next to or within a garden.[28] Vaulted subterranean chambers and sculpted sarcophagi were favourite sepulchral types among Greek élites of the second century. One sarcophagus was undecorated and the other two displayed conventional motifs (garlands and *erôtes*), but the third showed unique mythical imagery: Leda struggling with the swan on one end and Eros stringing his bow on the other, the Dioscuri flanking Helen on the front, and a Triton and Nereid on the back. Ellen Perry has cogently argued that this sarcophagus, which probably contained Elpinice and perhaps her husband L. Vibullius Hipparchus, was commissioned to display a particular iconographical programme. The scenes of Leda, Helen and the Dioscuri referred to Spartan cult reliefs and the cult-statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous, both places to which Herodes's family was connected.[29] The creation of this tomb for his children was an opportunity for Herodes to advertise not only his paternal piety but also his familial history.

Another of Herodes' dead children, his foster-son Vibullius Polydeucion, received exceptional treatment. Definite or probable dedications to Polydeucion the 'hero' (ἥρως) on three herms and

[22] Marinatos (1972) 7, pls 2-3; Themelis (1974) 242, pls 146-7; Travlos (1988) 217-18, 241-5, figs 294-301; Petrakos (1995) 95, 177-80 no. 107, 182 no. 38, figs 41, 107; Galli (2002) 199-202, figs 81-2, pl. 25.4.

[23] *Cf.* Tobin (1997) 269 n.83.

[24] Tobin (1997) 214-19; Galli (2002) 162-74.

[25] Tschira (1948-49) is a full discussion of the tomb's discovery and form.

[26] The block's dimensions and purpose require a visible setting in the tomb's entranceway or face. Galli (2002) 153-4, fig. 66 reconstructs the tomb with the epigram on the façade after the funerary monument of Aurelia Ge at Termessus.

[27] Ameling (1983b) 143-6, no. 140; Tobin (1997) 225-8; Skenteri (2005) 76-81; Pomeroy (2007) 138-40.

[28] Galli (2002) 154-7, 160-2, figs 64, 67, pls 16-18, identifying the area as a κηποτάφιον and comparing the tomb of Ti. Claudius Lycus at Thessalonica, dated 147/8 (*IG* XI.2.i 608).

[29] Perry (2001), (2005) 66-76; see further below on Herodes and the Sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous. Galli (2002) 158-60 stresses the sculpture's archaism.

three marble bases, possibly funerary altars, have been found near the Pyrna (*IG* II^2 3972, 3974), in Cephisia (*IG* II^2 3975), near Markopoulo in southern Attica (*IG* II^2 3971), on the Marathonian Plain (*IG* II^2 3973) and in Athens (*IG* II^2 13194). The most important evidence for his commemoration is an inscribed statue base built into the church of Aghios Demetrios, *c.* 180 m south-southeast of the tomb for Herodes' children in Cephisia (*IG* II^2 3968). This identifies the honorand as the hero Polydeucion, names as *agônothetês* Vibullius Polydeuces, an otherwise unknown relative of Herodes, and lists twenty 'umpires' (ῥαβδοφόροι). The text has been much discussed,[30] but its basic purpose is clear: the hero-cult of Polydeucion involved funerary games presumably held at a *herôön* in Cephisia. These inscriptions reveal Herodes' special attachment to Polydeucion, which was remembered through the erection of numerous texts and statues.[31] Moreover, the existence of posthumous dedications across the region as well as a funerary cult involving competitions at Cephisia demonstrate how widely an élite family could preserve and even promote the memory of a deceased relative, particularly one accorded high status. Polydeucion, who was related to Herodes' maternal line and held equestrian rank (*IG* II^2 4774),[32] enjoyed not only unusual fatherly affection but also considerable social prestige.

Regilla was probably also interred at Cephisia after her tragic death in *c.* 157 or 160. Her burial is cited in the famous poem by Marcellus of Side inscribed on two *stêlai* found near San Sebastiano on the Via Appia outside Rome (*IG* XIV 1389 = *IGUR* III 1155). Herodes had erected these at the Triopion, the sanctuary to Demeter, Kore and the Chthonian Gods on his suburban estate.[33] The poem states that Regilla was neither mortal nor immortal, which implies heroic status, and that 'her tomb at Athens resembles a temple' (σῆμα μέν οἱ νηῶι ἴκελον δήμωι ἐν Ἀθήνης, lines 43-7). The temple-tomb was a common eastern form often associated with hero-cult.[34] Herodes also constructed a cenotaph for Regilla at Rome, probably on the estate, where the dedication stated that she was buried in Greece (*IG* XIV 1392 = *IGUR* II 341).[35] Although neither Roman text recorded where exactly Regilla's tomb was located, a marble funerary altar naming her (*IG* II^2 13200) was found at a ruined church between modern Marousi and Kefisia. This stone most probably came from her burial site somewhere nearby, south of the villa on the Pyrna.[36] If so, Regilla was buried near her dead children at Cephisia, perhaps in a family cemetery in the southern part of the estate but not in the same tomb as the others. Her maternal role called for this proximity, but her singular distinction as the wife of Herodes merited individual burial and heroic commemoration.

While these remains around the Cephisian villa are in many ways typical of funerary practices in élite Greek families of the Empire, the separation of the burials of Regilla and the children from the intended burial of Herodes at Marathon is striking. It is all the more noteworthy, because in two inscriptions posted long before his own death Herodes announced his intention for burial with

[30] Follet (1977); Robert (1979) 160-5; Ameling (1983b) 166-9, no. 172; Tobin (1997) 229-34; Galli (2002) 148-9.

[31] An inscription from Delphi names Polydeucion with the especially personal 'Herodes' hero' (ὁ Ἡρώδου ἥρως, *FD* III.3 74). Portrait busts of Polydeucion have been found at several sites in Greece and elsewhere; Meyer (1985) and Tobin (1997) 101-7 provide catalogues and discussion.

[32] Ameling (1983b) 169-71, no. 173.

[33] Skenteri (2005) 29-65.

[34] The poet seems to have in mind a *herôön*, which often took the form of a temple (Peek (1979) 82, citing *SEG* 16.666). Temple-tombs are a standard type in Roman Asia Minor (Cormack (2004)); several examples are known in Greece, e.g. at Carystus, Chaeronea, Delphi, Igoumenitsa, Messene, Patras, Sikinos and Thera (Goette (1994) 296-300; Flämig (2007) 45-51).

[35] Pomeroy (2007) 156-8 identifies as Regilla's cenotaph the podium-temple at the Deus Rediculus, on which see Kammerer-Grothaus (1974). Calza (1976) 209 improbably identifies the Farnese sarcophagus as her cenotaph.

[36] *Cf.* Guarducci (1978) 231-2; Ameling (1983b) 160, no. 147; Tobin (1997) 125-6, 236-7, fig. 10; Galli (2002) 147. Pallis (2000-03) confirms the findspot but sees no evidence that the dilapidated Aghios Ioannes Theologos was the site of a tomb. Nonetheless, the altar was surely despoiled from Regilla's burial site in the vicinity. Pomeroy (2007) 137-8, 158 speculates that Regilla was cremated, and perhaps even interred with Herodes at the stadium.

his children (*SEG* 26.290)[37] and with Regilla (*IG* XIV 1392).[38] One might argue that these claims were commonplaces unrelated to Herodes' genuine intentions. The theme of the bereaved spouse uniting with the beloved dead in burial was an established literary and epitaphic *topos*.[39] But the *topos* existed because it resonated with the emotional experience of readers. In erecting these inscriptions, Herodes may well have sympathized with the essential sentiments they expressed – particularly the longing to rejoin familial bonds severed by death – without making specific plans for a shared burial. After all, he could not be buried in both places. Epigraphy and literature attest vividly to Herodes' excessive lamentation and memorials following the deaths of his children and wife.[40] That Plutarch decried and Lucian mocked ostentatious mourning proves that it was not a rare occurrence.[41] One might even argue that Herodes overplayed his lamentation of Regilla and claimed that she would share his tomb in order to mask his culpability in her death during late-term pregnancy; indeed, his mourning was prominently cited in defence against the charge of homicide (*VS* 2.1.8). But it is important to recall that Herodes' commemoration of Regilla and his conspicuous, prolonged mourning resemble his response to the deaths of the children and foster-sons, when there was no hint of foul play. This behavioural pattern suggests that some pain lay behind the formulaic language and the theatrical gestures, though we can never know how intense or fleeting it was, and whether it also involved a nagging sense of remorse over criminal wrongdoing or abuse accidentally turned fatal.[42]

After around twenty years, any feelings of loss or concerns to hide guilt must have faded, and any prior expectations for burial form and placement may well have changed. As his children, wife and foster-sons died during the 150s-160s,[43] Herodes was building a familial cemetery at Cephisia. But by the late 170s, the surviving family of Herodes included only his dimwitted son Atticus Bradua, whom he distrusted (*VS* 2.1.10), and an otherwise unknown adopted son L. Vibullius Claudius Herodes (*IG* II^2 3979). In the years following the ordeal that culminated at Sirmium, the aging Herodes must have enjoyed his suburban quietude, where he could contemplate posterity. Burial on the estate at Marathon would showcase ownership and wealth. Moreover, it was not unusual for exceptional aristocrats to receive a singular burial, apart from their spouse and children, especially when it expressed a special place in the community. This was the case for C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus in his tomb on the Mouseion at Athens (*c.* 114-116) and Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus in his library along the Embolos at Ephesus (*c.* 120). Although the Marathonian estate was not so public a site as these, a monumental tomb there would have confirmed Herodes'

[37] 'It [*sc.* the offering of a lock of hair] is a true sign to the three souls of you children that someday you will receive the body of your father in the coffins' (σῆμα ἔτυμον παίδων ψυχαῖς τρισίν, ὥς ποτε σῶμα | δέξεσθ' ἐν θήκαις ὑμετέροιο πατρός, lines 5-6).

[38] 'Herodes [built this] to be a memorial of both his own misfortune and the virtue of his wife. But it is not a tomb, for her body is in Greece, and now beside her husband' (Ἡρώδης μνημεῖον καὶ | τοῦτο εἶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ | συμφορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀρε-|τῆς τῆς γυναικός. | ἔστιν δὲ οὐ τάφος· τὸ | γὰρ σῶμα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι | καὶ νῦν παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρί | ἐστιν, lines 1-8). Pomeroy (2007) 158 attributes the dedication to Herodes' son, Bradua, but the contents surely indicate Herodes; *cf.* Ameling (1983b) 152.

[39] On the close bond of dead husbands and wives in epitaphs, see Lattimore (1942) 275-80; e.g. *IMT Kaikos* 883b (Pergamum, second century AD). The joint burial of lovers was a recurrent theme in the novels and related works of literature: e.g. Char. 1.11.3, 3.3.6, 3.10.3-4, 4.1.12; Xen. Eph. 3.10.3, 5.10.5; Petron. *Sat.* 112.6; Ach. Tat. 3.5.4; Luc. *Tox.* 43; [Luc.] *Am.* 46; Apul. *Met.* 8.7.4, 8.13.5; Heliod. 2.4.4, 5.7.2, 5.24.3, 5.26.3, 5.29.4, 5.33.1, 6.8.6, 8.8.4, 8.11.11, 10.19.2; Philostr. *VA* 1.13, 4.16.

[40] *IG* II^2 12568/9 (mourning Elpinice (?) and Regilla (?) at Cephisia); *IG* XIV 1389, 1392 (mourning Regilla at Rome); *SEG* 23.121 (mourning Regilla at Marathon), 26.290 (mourning three children at Cephisia); *VS* 2.1.8 (mourning Regilla), 2.1.10 (mourning Panathenaïs, Elpinice, Achilles, Memnon, Polydeucion). The numerous statues bearing curses found on his estates were dedicated to his dead loved ones, especially the foster-sons (see n.189). Maud Gleason will address Herodes' lamentations as a strategy of self-fashioning in a forthcoming chapter, which she has generously shown me.

[41] Plut. *Mor.* 608F, 114F; Luc. *Luct.* 12-15, 19-20.

[42] Pomeroy (2007) 119-23 imagines a cold and controlling Herodes complicit in murder.

[43] The dates of their deaths are debated; see Ameling (1983b) 7-9, 16-22, 24-5, 168-9 and Tobin (1997) 231-3.

place in the long chain of Athenian history. When Herodes chose burial at Marathon rather than Cephisia, he was not rejecting his children or seeking distance from Regilla's ugly end; he was embracing his ancestral heritage.[44]

III. DYING WISHES AND A PUBLIC FUNERAL

Herodes 'directed' (ἐπισκήψας) his freedmen to supervise his burial. Here the verb ἐπισκήπτω has the specific meaning of expressing one's will at the time of death (LSJ *s.v.* II 2). Imperial Greek prose authors used the word to indicate dying wishes about the treatment of the corpse, the place and nature of burial and the disposition of property.[45] Although the verb ἐπισκήπτω does not, strictly speaking, pertain to testamentary directives,[46] ancient wills attest to the scope of responsibilities a dying patron might impart to his dependants. The legal, economic and emotional bonds between freedpersons and their former owners could be so close that they were appointed heirs or legatees in their patrons' wills. Testators sometimes granted legacies to former slaves on the condition that they complete certain services, such as arranging the funeral and attending the grave; often too they dictated that freedpersons protect their burials.[47] Greek documents of the Empire record the involvement of freedpersons in the burial of former owners and the maintenance of their tombs.[48] Although Herodes had a reputation for abusive treatment (*VS* 2.1.4), he developed close relationships with certain freedmen, who served as his agents and companions (e.g. 2.1.8, 2.1.11). It is unknown whether they received any pension, usufruct or other benefit when Herodes died, or which specific funerary duties they were to carry out. The sophist Heracleides, for example, bequeathed his 'farm' (γήιδιον) at Smyrna to his freedmen (*VS* 2.26.5). It is unlikely that Herodes' vast estates went to his freedpersons. Philostratus only wrote that his sole survivor, Bradua, received his mother's estate, while his patrimony was allocated to 'other heirs' (ἕτεροι κληρονόμοι, 2.1.10), presumably including the adopted son Claudius.

Despite Herodes' plan, the Athenians averted his final wish for a private burial. According to custom,[49] family members, servants and friends would have prepared and displayed the corpse in the bereaved home, in this case the Marathonian villa, for roughly two to three days. At some point the Athenians removed his body to the city, enacting a funeral and creating a memory not according to what Herodes had planned for himself but according to their own notion of what he deserved. The Athenians had been offended when Herodes defrauded them of his paternal inheritance, which had stipulated an annual disbursement to every citizen (*VS* 2.1.4). Nonetheless, the code of reciprocity that moulded relations between benefactor and community in Greek urban society dictated that the people acknowledge Herodes' long service and generosity through public ritual, in this case, an honorary burial at Athens.

[44] Regilla's dead presence at Marathon was at least indicated by the lugubrious epigram (*SEG* 23.121) that Herodes added to the great arch at the enclosure in the upper Avlona Valley; *cf.* Galli (2002) 134-8, viewing this as a funerary precinct not unlike the estate on the Via Appia. On the poem, see Skenteri (2005) 66-72; Maud Gleason will discuss the transformation of the arch in her forthcoming chapter (n.40).

[45] E.g. Luc. *Cat.* 8, *Dial. mort.* 13; Athen. 4.159B; Cass. Dio 56.31.2; Diog. Laert. 1.28, 1.62; Greg. Nyss. *v. s. Macr.* 13.18; Heliod. 2.4.2. Philostratus used the same verb to describe Polemo bidding his dear ones to entomb him alive (*VS* 1.25.11).

[46] But *cf.* Cass. Dio 56.33.3 (will of Augustus contains various 'injunctions' (ἐπισκήψεις)). Note too that the freedmen of Atticus were involved in the preparation and execution of his will (Philostr. *VS* 2.1.4).

[47] Champlin (1991) 131-6, 175-80, esp. p. 135, citing the examples of Herodes and the *testamentum Dasumii* (*CIL* VI 10229, Via Appia, AD 108).

[48] E.g. Cumont (1913) no. 133, with Wilhelm (1951) 494-6 (foundation of Praxeas, Acmonia, Roman); Herrmann and Polatkan (1969) 7-36, with J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* 1970, no. 512 (will of Epicrates, Nacrason, first century); Jones (2004) (will from near Archelais, Cappadocia, *c.* 50-150).

[49] Plut. *Mor.* 95C, 608F, 609B, 609D, 612A; Luc. *Cont.* 22, *Luct.* 12-15, 24, *Merc. cond.* 28. Post-mortem duties portrayed in the novels: Char. 4.1.6; Xen. Eph. 3.7.1-4; Apul. *Met.* 2.23.5-2.24.7, 8.14.3, 9.30.7; *Hist. Apoll.* 26.10.

The usual procedure for popular intervention in private funerals is well documented in inscriptions. C.P. Jones has illuminated the phenomenon of 'interrupted funerals' in his discussion of three resolutions of the first to second centuries from Caunus, Cnidus and Aphrodisias.[50] In these cases, the intended burial of an élite resident was forestalled when the council, sometimes under pressure from the people, decreed a public funeral and sometimes an intramural burial. The corpse was either detained or seized from the family to satisfy popular will. This is how the Athenians interrupted the private funeral of Herodes at Marathon. Acting as an official body of the Athenian *dêmos*, the ephebes 'snatched' (ἁρπάσαντες) the corpse; here Philostratus used the same verb as was used for the seizure of the dead Tatia Attalis at Aphrodisias.[51] The ephebes often served as agents of civic honour in the role of pall-bearers for distinguished political or military leaders or victorious athletes.[52] Apart from their official participation in the funeral, the youths of Athens may well have felt a sense of obligation to the great man who had hosted them for rhetorical performances at Marathon (*VS* 2.1.12) and bestowed on them white *chlamudes* (*IG* II² 2090, *VS* 2.1.5).[53]

Ancient funerals could also be scenes of confusion and violence. Internal tensions between competing factions could erupt in fierce dispute over the ultimate treatment of powerful yet contested figures. The *locus classicus* for such turmoil is the funeral of Julius Caesar in the Roman Forum, when the people hijacked the corpse for spontaneous cremation rather than leaving it to the magistrates for formal disposal, and then attacked the homes of the assassins (Suet. *Jul.* 84-5, Plut. *Caes.* 68).[54] In Late Antiquity, the *Life* of St Symeon the Stylite and Theodoret's *Historia religiosa* record interventions during the funerals of holy men by clashing groups – mobs and officials, neighbouring villages, clergy and non-Christians. They were motivated in part by a desire to control the prestigious and intrinsically powerful remnants of the dead, but also by a concern to ensure pious and secure interment.[55]

Although Herodes was a contentious figure, there is no sign that his funeral attracted forceful or tumultuous disruption.[56] The degree of spontaneity and fervour is difficult to gauge from the brief passage, but the scene has a distinct air of civic organization and peaceful participation. The action of the ephebes on behalf of civic interests, the long procession and its reception, and a funerary oration by a renowned orator all suggest a controlled event with broad support. If Philostratus had wished to enhance the image of Herodes, he could not have exaggerated or invented these circumstantial details and still given a credible, accurate account. In certain quarters, disdain probably was simmering beneath the surface of ritual formality. But this day of honour and

[50] Jones (1999): *IKnidos* 71, esp. lines 5-13, with Robert (1968) 91 (anonymous woman, Cnidus, *c.* late first-early second centuries); Reynolds and Roueché (1992) 153-60, esp. pp. 154, 155, 158-9 column 1 lines 14-15 (Tatia Attalis, Aphrodisias, first half of the second century); Herrmann (1971) 36-9, esp. lines 1-5, with J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* 1972, no. 430 (Agreophon, Caunus, second century). There might be a fourth instance, but a lacuna hides the key interruption: *SEG* 28.953, esp. lines 37-8, with Sève (1979) 338-9 and van Bremen (1996) 1-3 (Apollonis, Cyzicus, early first century).

[51] Robert (1968) 91-2; Reynolds and Roueché (1992) 155 (column 1, line 15), 158.

[52] E.g. Plut. *Tim.* 39.2 (Timoleon, Syracuse, *c.* 337 BC), *Aem.* 39.7 (L. Aemilius Paullus, Rome, 160 BC); Cic. *Flacc.* 75 (Castricius, Smyrna, early first century BC); Bean (1965) 588-91, no. 2, lines 32-46, with Robert (1968) 89-93 (M. Alfidius, Naples, first century AD); *IKyme* 19.44-6, 49-51 (L. Vaccius Labeo, Aeolian Cyme, Augustan); Günther (1975) 352, lines 14-20 (Menogenes, Phrygian Aezani, second century).

[53] Graindor (1930) 133-4; van Bremen (1996) 158-9 n.59.

[54] One recent analogy evokes the same tension between a riled public and rigid officialdom. A frenzied crowd of thousands forcefully reclaimed the body of Yassir Arafat from a helicopter before its interment in the Maqata'a in Ramallah (S. Erlanger and N. MacFarquhar, 'The death of Arafat: the funeral; Arafat is buried in chaotic scene in the West Bank,' *New York Times*, section A, page 1, 13 November 2004).

[55] E.g. Anton. Hag. *v. Sym. Styl.* 29 (cf. *v. Syr. Sym.* 133-4 trans. Lietzmann), Thdt. *Hist. rel.* 26 (Antiochene bishops preserved body of Symeon from villagers and Arabs striving to snatch it away, 459); various contested corpses in the fourth-fifth centuries in e.g. Thdt. *Hist. rel.* 10.8 (Theodosius the Cilician), 16.4 + 14.2 (Maro in Cyrrhestica), 17.10 (Abraham in Constantinople), 21.9, 21.30 (James of Cyrrhestica).

[56] The use of the verb ἁρπάζω does not connote a violent confrontation between the ephebes and Herodes' freedmen, as Tobin (1997) 184 asserts.

mourning was not the time for Herodes' detractors to voice their claims and complaints. Just as today, the eulogistic atmosphere of mass funerals for controversial statesmen and celebrities tended to sanitize, at least for a short time, the public memory of past resentments.

The procession would have involved many others besides the ephebes, but we can only guess who they were. Professional and intellectual colleagues sometimes participated in the funerals of great thinkers,[57] and sophists may well have joined in Herodes' procession. Perhaps the cortège included Athenians organized by office and age in roughly descending order, as was typical in public funerals of this period, such as the processions for Apollonis at Cyzicus and the fictional but realistic funeral of Callirhoe in Chariton's novel.[58] It was not the first time the Athenians had turned out in numbers to pay tribute to Herodes. According to a long verse inscription found near Marathon (*IG* II^2 3606), upon his return from Sirmium, when opposition to him had peaked, Herodes was received at Eleusis by a large crowd ranked according to office, from priests to ephebes to Areopagites to regular citizens (lines 12-29). At such events, the arrangement of citizens by strata of civic obligation and legal status expressed the unanimous acclamation of an outstanding individual by a community with many parts.[59] Louis Robert has discussed several examples of such ceremonies of 'greeting' (ἀπάντησις, ὑπάντησις, ὑπαπάντησις) in eastern cities during the Hellenistic and Roman eras.[60] The parallel between Herodes' public funeral and his public reception a few years earlier is especially close, because Philostratus used the verb προαπαντάω to describe the greeting of the bier. In epigraphic usage, the words ἄντησις and ἀντάω could take on prepositional prefixes with no essential change in meaning. The variant προ(σ)απαντάω does not occur in inscriptions, but it does in Imperial and Late Antique literature to describe crowds welcoming an important person on arrival at a settlement.[61] According to Philostratus, the Athenians met the approaching bier in large numbers and with outpoured emotion, just as they would an arriving dignitary. The mention of 'people of all ages' (πᾶσα ἡλικία) was a stock feature of such scenes, where throngs usually 'applauded' (ἀνευφημοῦντες) the visitor like a leader.[62] The funeral of Herodes served as an ultimate ceremony of reception, one that returned the benefactor to the public, urban sphere after his retreat into a private, suburban haven.

The procession to the burial site, with its long and clamourous train, must have impressed spectators and participants alike. The ephebes would have carried the body all the way from Marathon to Athens through the pass between Parnes and Pentelicon, a distance of some 35 km, perhaps in stages. As they went past Herodes' sprawling landholdings, we can imagine that residents came out to see their dead lord and benefactor, not to greet him, as they had probably done many times

[57] Luc. *Demon.* 67 (fictitious); Marinus *v. Proc.* 36.

[58] *SEG* 28.953, esp. lines 38-47, with Sève (1979) 338-9 and van Bremen (1996) 2, 159 (Apollonis, Cyzicus, early first century AD); Char. 1.6.3-5 (Callirhoe, Syracuse, written middle first-early second centuries AD); see also e.g. *IPriene* 99.20-4, 104.9-15 (Thrasybulus and family, Priene, *c.* 100 BC), 113.114-16 (Zosimus, Priene, *c.* 84 BC); *Syll.*^{3} 730.25-26 (Niceratus, Olbia, early first century BC). Citizens were often organized by civic role in religious processions in the Roman East, such as the one generated by the foundation of C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 at Ephesus (*IEph* 27); see Rogers (1991) 80-126.

[59] The recent discussion of the procession by F. Skenteri ((2005) 97-100, 109-10) misses this point, stressing instead its religious connections.

[60] Robert (1984) 470-4, (1985) 523-4, Veyne (1990) 125, 175 n.164; e.g. Joseph. *AJ* 11.8.4-5 (fictitious visit of Alexander to Jerusalem); Polyb. 16.25-6 (Attalus I at Athens, 200 BC); *IPergamon* 246 (Attalus III at Pergamum, 130s BC); Plut. *Cat. Min.* 13 (Cato at Antioch, early 50s BC); *Syll.*^{3} 798 (Tryphaena, Rhoemetalces, Polemo and Cotys at Cyzicus, AD 37); Apul. *Met.* 10.19.1 (dramatic setting is second-century Corinth); John Chrys. *De inani gloria* 4-7 ed. Malingrey (late fourth century).

[61] E.g. *Hist. Alex. Magni* (rec. γ) 1.*46 (kingdoms of the west receive Alexander); Philostr. *VA* 4.5 (Ionians receive Apollonius at Smyrna), *VS* 1.2.1 (Leon goes out from Byzantium to meet Phillip II); Heliod. 1.7.1 (bandits on Nile delta greet returning leader like a king), 10.6.1 (King Hydaspes received at Meroë); Men. Rhet. p. 427.17-19 (townspeople greet governor); Themist. *Or.* 20.234C (Themistius' dead father received by assembly of gods).

[62] *Cf.* Men. Rhet. p. 427.17-19 (city comes out to greet 'with entire families' (σὺν ὁλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι)); Heliod. 10.6.1, Themist. *Or.* 20.234C (people come out to greet 'shouting their respects' (ἀνευφημοῦντες)); Joseph. *BJ* 4.2.5 (people of Gischala greet Titus and hail him as benefactor and liberator, 69); Hdn. 3.6.8 (whole army cheers Caracalla, late 195 or early 196), 6.4.1 (whole army cheers Alexander Severus, 231).

before,[63] but to mourn his parting. The procession would have passed through the city's new eastern district and across the Ilissos to the stadium on the southeast outskirts. The Athenians considered this building the right place to bury and to remember Herodes because it was his greatest gift to them. Other outstanding individuals were buried in major buildings they gave to their cities, such as Celsus in his library and Trajan in his forum. When the procession reached the stadium, Herodes' student Hadrian of Tyre delivered a compelling funerary oration (*VS* 2.10.1), presumably before a multitude. Because of the impromptu nature of the funeral, it is doubtful that a tomb was completed before the event.

IV. THE PANATHENAIC STADIUM AND ITS ENVIRONS

Although Herodes did not receive the rare honour of an intramural burial, like his daughter Athenaïs (*VS* 2.1.10), the Panathenaic Stadium was a unique place for interment (PLATE 7(a)).[64] Among Herodes' many additions to the Athenian landscape was this massive building in gleaming white marble, which replaced the old Lycurgan stadium built in 330/29 BC. He paid for the construction out of his father's estate and completed it for the Panathenaea in 140, which he sponsored.[65] The building operated into Late Antiquity but fell into disuse during subsequent centuries, when it was stripped and buried under sediment. Ernst Ziller excavated the entire site between August 1869 and February 1870. Anastasios Metaxas oversaw further excavation and the reconstruction of the stadium for the first modern Olympic Games in 1896; digging and building at the site continued over the following decade. In 2004 the building served as the finishing line of the marathon and the venue for archery and the closing ceremonies at the Athens Olympics.

Pausanias (1.19.6) and Philostratus (*VS* 2.1.5) marvelled at the original structure. Its scale was Imperial Roman, similar in capacity to the Flavian amphitheatre and in dimensions to Domitian's stadium at Rome. But its design was Classical Greek, with its cavea resting in a natural ravine, not on vaulted passageways. Moreover, the building stone came from Attic quarries, the top of the sphendone displayed a Doric colonnade, the podium socle had simple mouldings, and the restrained sculpted decoration featured Athena's owls and classicizing herms. In comparison with contemporary stadia at Perge, Aezani, Aspendus, Ephesus and Sardis, the Panathenaic had a decidedly antique appearance.[66]

The stadium was surrounded by other buildings that together made a unified programme. A wide bridge on three arches spanned the Ilissos River on axis with the stadium, and a propylon with Corinthian columns enclosed the north end of the racetrack.[67] The bridge tied the whole complex to southeastern Athens, which possessed several athletic and sacred buildings during the Hadrianic and Antonine eras.[68] Too little of the propylon survives to reconstruct its design, but the size of extant capitals implies monumentality and opulence. The façade decorated with a large Corinthian colonnade would have drawn a visual connection to the nearby Temple of Olympian Zeus, the

[63] *Cf.* Plin. Jun. *Ep.* 4.1.4 (residents at Tifernum Tiberinum greet Pliny during visits to his Tuscan property); Long. 4.13.1 (fictional grandee Dionysophanes travels from Mytilene to his rural estate on Lesbos with long retinue).

[64] Gasparri (1974-75), Tobin (1997) 162-85, Miller (2001) 210-22 and Papanikolaou-Christensen (2003) survey the remains and their exploration; Curtius (1869) and Ziller (1870) report on the first excavations.

[65] On the stadium's date, see Ameling (1983a) 61-2, (1983b) 14; *cf.* Tobin (1997) 163 (AD 143); Miller (2001) 211 ('in the years between the Panathenaic festivals of A.D. 139/40 and 143/4'); Shear (2001) 925-7 (AD 143/4); Pomeroy (2007) 103 ('between 139/140 and 143/144').

[66] Classicizing features: Gasparri (1974-75) 334-67; Tobin (1997) 166-70; Welch (1998) 135. Other stadia: Welch (1998) 120-1.

[67] Tobin (1997) 173 (bridge over Ilissos); Ziller (1870) 486 and Papanikolaou-Christensen (2003) 113-16, 159 n.151, figs 98-102 (propylon). The rare publication by Alexandros Ambelas (1906) on the 1896 excavations of the propylon found by Ziller, including the Corinthian columns, has gone virtually unnoticed.

[68] *Cf.* Galli (2002) 26-8 ('Die Brücke als zentrales Element zeremoniellen Kommunikation').

colossal structure inaugurated by Hadrian in 131/2 that was encircled by a veritable forest of columns with a canopy of bristling acanthus. As visitors from the city passed through the propylon into the stadium, the scene changed from one of Hellenistic and Roman forms to one of Classical forms.

On the Ardettos Hill west of the stadium was an Ionic temple on a towering podium with long stairs ascending from the east.[69] The symmetrical alignment of this temple with the stadium, on a perpendicular axis that approximately bisects the length of the track and sphendone, shows that the two buildings were linked in conception. This is the Temple of Tyche that Philostratus placed on one side of the stadium (*VS* 2.1.5). A base found nearby was dedicated by merchants of the Peiraeus to Regilla as first priestess of the cult of Tyche of the City (*IG* II^2 3607). On the basis of this text and the situation of the building relative to the stadium, we can conclude that Herodes built the temple during or after the stadium's construction but before Regilla's death, that is sometime between *c.* 140 and *c.* 158.

The most enigmatic remains at the stadium are on the lower east hill. It will be argued that these represent the burial site of Herodes Atticus, with his tomb along the crest of the hill. The main structure has never been excavated, but traces are visible in several places. Louis-François-Sebastien Fauvel drafted the first scientific plan and section of a long, narrow foundation located here (*c.* 1800), and around the same time Sebastian Ittar included the structure on his maps of the area. The foundation was also recorded on drawings from Ziller's excavations (1870) and on a rectified plan of the area by John Travlos (1967; PLATE 7(a)).[70] Andreas Skias, who excavated on the adjacent slope in 1904, observed that the structure was level and sizeable.[71] In 1971-72 Carlo Gasparri carried out a full study of the remains.[72] Although it has deteriorated since the days of Fauvel, Ittar, Ziller and Skias from plundering, pedestrian traffic and environmental erosion, the foundation can still be seen among the pine trees in the public park that encircles the modern stadium.[73]

The building was a single elongated base[74] with a massive, flat, rectangular shape. Large sections of concrete in a coarse conglomerate of rubble and sherds are preserved near the four corners. Along the north end of the west side an outcropping of bedrock is dressed to receive foundation blocks. Ashlars can be found set into concrete or on the ground along the east side. So the foundation and walls consisted of quadrangular blocks, while the core was filled with concrete; nowhere is the top surface preserved. The entire crest of the hill and its western slope down to the *summa cavea* are littered both with rubble and sherds that have eroded from the exposed concrete and with marble chips from stoneworking. At this height, the marble must have come from the construction or despoliation (or both) of the monument atop the hill rather than from the construction or reconstruction of the stadium below. A few large marble fragments with simple mouldings have been noted near the foundation, but they are now lost. The structure therefore seems to have been sheathed in marble with basic decoration, which would have resonated with the design of the stadium. Gasparri, followed by Jennifer Tobin,[75] measured the foundation at *c.* 9.5 m x 42 m. But his choice of one cemented stone with a pryhole for the northeast corner is arbitrary, and the distinct trough in the bedrock for foundation blocks opposite this putative corner to the west

[69] Gasparri (1974-75) 367-75, figs 66-77; Dow (1979) esp. pp. 43-4; Ameling (1983b) 109-10, no. 90; Tobin (1997) 174-6; Galli (2002) 24-6; Pomeroy (2007) 103-6.

[70] Travlos (1971) 498-501, figs 629-30; Papanikolaou-Christensen (2003) 42-52, 58-65, figs 20-3, 36-8.

[71] Skias (1905) 261.

[72] Gasparri (1974-75) 376-83, figs 78-88.

[73] Ziller (1870) 492 noted ongoing plundering by local residents. I visited the site in late February 1996 and again in late May 2006.

[74] The city plans by Stamatis Cleanthes, Eduard Schaubert and Leo von Klenze (1833-34) show two distinct structures on the hill east of the stadium (Papanikolaou-Christensen (2003) 48-51, figs 26-7). It is uncertain that the northern of the two structures shown belonged to the long foundation.

[75] Tobin (1993) 85-7, (1997) 177-8.

shows no return but extends farther north. Large sections of concrete at the monument's actual corners lie *c.* 15-20 m metres to the north, beyond which point the terrain slopes steeply away. Moreover, the preserved concrete on the monument's sides would have been faced with blocks up to *c.* 1.5 m in total width. The monument therefore would have measured *c.* 11 m x 60 m, which is exactly what Ziller and Travlos recorded (PLATE 7(a)) but somewhat smaller than what Fauvel did (17.54 m x 62.36 m).

Early investigators also found a wide stairway descending from the centre of the monument's façade. No trace of the structure is visible today. Fauvel recorded the length of the stairway implausibly at 19.69 m; Travlos measured it at roughly half that length. According to Travlos's plan, apparently based on remains that could once be seen, the foot of the stairway was not contiguous with the uppermost limit of the stadium, leaving a gap of *c.* 20 m over the incline between the *summa cavea* and the stepped ascent. The foundation and its stairway are aligned parallel with the lengthwise axis of the track and approximately centred on the same perpendicular axis as the Temple of Tyche.

These sparse architectural features offer no precise chronological indices. The manner of construction is typically Roman, and the quality of the concrete matrix is identical to that used in the podium of the Temple of Tyche. The long foundation's symmetrical relationship with the stadium and the broad stairway between them prove that they constituted a single monumental programme. But it is hard to establish a relative building sequence. The separation between the two structures contrasts with the Temple of Tyche, the stairway of which ended much closer to the *summa cavea.*[76] The greater detachment of the long foundation and stairway from the stadium might suggest that they postdate its completion, but by how long cannot be known.

Skias excavated a cemetery near the ancient stairway on this slope during a four-day campaign in December 1904, when the perimeter road was being laid just above the new stadium.[77] The area has remained buried ever since, and no records, photographs, artefacts or bones from his excavations can be found, apart from the inscriptions and sarcophagus.[78] According to his short published report, Skias found at least six cist graves concentrated around the middle or western end of the stairway; other graves might well be located outside his trench. He discovered fragmentary inscriptions in the area, one of which was an epitaph of Roman date.[79] Among the graves and set into the basement of the stairs was a burial chamber.[80] This tomb had a regular tile pavement but uneven walls constructed from recycled stones and more than seven funerary *stêlai.*[81] The paleography, form and decoration of the *stêlai* are consistent with a date of late second to early third centuries. They are unremarkable tombstones with common features naming average Athenians.[82] The two most interesting ones bear figural reliefs and verse epitaphs for a midwife and a 'scribe' (ὀρθογράφος).[83] Since these stones would have come from neighbouring burials, their date

[76] Gasparri (1974-75) 367-8, figs 3-8, 70, 71. Travlos's plan (PLATE 7(a)) does not trace the full eastward des-cent of the stairway.

[77] Skias (1905). For incomplete and sometimes incorrect discussions, see Tobin (1993) 83-5, figs 2-3, (1997) 181-4, figs 34-5, Welch (1998) 139-40, fig. 21 and Papanikolaou-Christensen (2003) 117-8, figs 103-4.

[78] In November 2005 I submitted a request to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture to study and publish Skias's notebooks and finds. The Third Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the National Archaeological Museum and the Archaeological Society informed me that these things are not in their records.

[79] *IG* II² 3853 (public dedication, 262/1 BC), 6659, 12383 (epitaph naming Varus).

[80] Skias's somewhat confused description of the chamber's architectural setting ((1905) 261) is clarified by reference to the substructure of the stairs up to the Temple of Tyche (Gasparri (1974-75) 367-8, figs 70, 71).

[81] Skias (1905) 261-5; Lambros (1905): *IG* II² 5924, 6299, 6418, 7858, 11329 (midwife), 12794 (scribe).

[82] On *IG* II² 6299, with a relief of a man and a woman, see Conze (1911-22) 86-96 (Type K; p. 86, no. 2086, pl. 456 = *IG* II² 6299) and von Moock (1998) 16, 116-17, no. 180 (dated third quarter of the third century, 'zur Zeit Galliens', from female hair style (p. 38, n.483); but context places it before the construction of the chamber in the 250s, probably in the second quarter of the third century, which would fit the male hair style (*cf.* p. 45)).

[83] Conze (1911-22) 42-9 (Type E.B; p. 45, no. 1914, pl. 410 = *IG* II² 11329), 61-81 (Type H; pp. 70-1, no. 2011, pl. 438 = *IG* II² 12794); von Moock (1998) 16, 149, no. 333, pl. 51d (*IG* II² 11329, dated 'spätantoninisch', but late second century after *c.* 178 (p. 37 n.473), which fits the

indicates that the graves succeeded the long foundation and its stairway, around which they were situated. They must predate the construction of the burial chamber into which they were built.

Among the *spolia* in the chamber's walls was an inscribed altar in Pentelic marble (*IG* II^2 6791; PLATE 7(b)).[84] This substantial stone[85] rested on a shallow plinth finished in a *cyma recta*, and its top had a crown moulding and a flat surface without acroteria.[86] The upper corners were torn off in an irregular manner when the piece fell or moved; there is no pattern of intentional mutilation. This is a standard funerary altar of a type common in Greek burial contexts of the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Such altars were used for the placement of offerings and sacrifices. The only words on the altar are centred on the block's main face. Although the text is straightforward, it has suffered various editorial manipulations:

⟦῾Ε̣[ρώδει]⟧
ἕρωϊ
τῶι
Μαραθωνίωι
5 ⟦ὁ δεῖνα⟧

1 ⟦῾Η̣ρώδῃ⟧ Skias; ῾Ε̣[ρώδει] Kirchner and Ameling; Gasparri omits line; ῾Ε⟦[ρώδει]⟧ Tobin 1993; ῾Ε⟦ρώδει⟧ Tobin 1997; ῾Ε[ρώδει] Welch and Galli; ⟦῾Ε̣[ρώδει]⟧ Byrne
3-4 Kirchner, Ameling and Byrne combine these lines into one = τῶι Μαραθωνίωι
5 ⟦ἡ πόλις ἀνέθηκεν⟧ Skias; [ὁ δῆμος ἀνέθηκεν] Judeich; Kirchner, Graindor, and Gasparri omit line; [ὁ δ^ᾱος ἀνέθεκεν] Ameling and Galli; ⟦[ὁ δ^ᾱος ἀνέθεκεν]⟧ Tobin 1993; ⟦ὁ δ^ᾱος ἀνέθεκεν⟧ Tobin 1997 and Welch; ⟦ ⟧Byrne

This is a conventional dedication to the dead as a hero: 'To Herodes, the Marathonian hero, [so-and-so] (dedicated this)'. A similar formula occurs in other heroic memorials at Athens, including an altar like the one found at the stadium.[87] Such inscriptions attest to the institution of a hero-cult usually at the time of the funeral or shortly thereafter.

The altar in its original state had a crisp, formal, restrained appearance.[88] The letters are sharply inscribed in even lines of considerable height that would have been legible from a distance.[89] One of the most striking features of this text is the archaizing spelling and letter forms, which will be discussed below. Two accent marks appear in the second line: a horizontal line above the initial epsilon indicating rough aspiration and two small, neatly cut circles centred over the final iota indicating diaeresis. The trema occurs in inscriptions from roughly the second century on, but the horizontal bar for rough breathing, let alone abbreviation, is very rare in Attic epigraphy of the Empire. Perhaps it is a variation on the small horizontal bar with a descending vertical stroke that appears in Roman Athenian inscriptions.[90]

dating of the architectural frame (p. 52)), 148, no. 327, pl. 51a, b (*IG* II^2 12794, dated second century, but surely late in the century).

[84] Skias (1905) 259-60 is the original publication. The stone remains near the site of its discovery, where I examined it in late May 2006. The stone's surface shows numerous pits, cracks, rills and stains caused by environmental processes over the century since it was uncovered.

[85] 0.929 m high at maximum; 0.592 m wide at base; 0.503 m wide in middle; 0.516 m thick at base; 0.414 m thick in middle.

[86] Despite fractures on the top surface and corners, the stone is clearly finished, and there is no sign that it served as a base for another stone (as Skias (1905) 259) or a statue (as Gasparri (1974-75) 379 n. 1). Funerary altars of simple form are not infrequently misidentified as bases (*cf.* e.g. Benjamin and Raubitschek (1959) 65).

[87] *IG* II^2 3975 (small altar, middle first century AD), 10441 (oblong base with moulding, first-second century), 11909a (*stêlê* with relief, second-third century). The same formula occurs elsewhere: *IG* XII.6.ii 823 (altar, Samian Heraion, first century AD); *IG* IX.2.i 685 (Thessalonica, second century); *IC* II.5 39 (Axos, Crete, second century); *TAM* II 375, 471, 472, 475, 531, 536, 544, 545-6, 598 (various Lycian sites, Roman).

[88] Certainly the inscription was not 'not well carved' or 'somewhat crudely worked' (Welch (1998) 140).

[89] Heights of lines 2-4: 0.053-0.057 m, 0.056-0.061 m, 0.047-0.052 m.

[90] Larfeld (1902) 563-4, (1907) 428.

The text's other noteworthy feature is the erasure of the first and fifth lines. Since the text was precisely obliterated and no letters were added, the erasure was a purposeful act to delete the names of both dedicator and dedicand.[91] Line 1 was deleted by a swath of close, shallow gouges with a pick (*c.* 0.230 m wide x 0.060-0.080 m high x 0.004-0.007 m deep), leaving the central bar and the vertical stroke of the initial epsilon faintly legible. We can confidently restore the name Herodes here because of the subsequent reference to the Marathonian hero and the location of this altar at the Panathenaic Stadium where he was buried. The archaism also accords with other texts in the Herodean corpus, as will be seen. Line 5 was deleted by systematic scraping with a chisel over a consistent band (*c.* 0.385 m wide x 0.055-0.060 m high x 0.006-0.007 m deep). Based on the sizes of this erasure and the letters in lines 2-3, we can estimate that line 5 contained six to nine letters. Such texts require the name of the dedicator here. The size of the erasure rules out the inclusion of the word ἀνέθεκεν, which regardless is often omitted from the standard formula of dedicand in the dative + dedicator in the nominative. The next question is whether the altar was a private or a public dedication, and thus whether line 5 contained ὁ δ^μος or someone's name ('ὁ δεῖνα'). The civic honour of public burial led previous editors to assume that Herodes was also heroized by public sanction, a process attested in other cities of the Aegean islands and western Asia Minor.[92] The chief objection to this theory is that it requires the intentional erasure of ὁ δε̂μος, which would be inexplicable and unparalleled. However, the mutilation of a personal name, as in the first line, can be explained as an excision from memory. The erection of the altar and its subsequent defacement can be placed sometime between Herodes' death and the construction of the tomb into which it was built.[93]

The unimpressive chamber in which the *stêlai* and altar were immured contained a large, fine sarcophagus of Pentelic marble.[94] Skias thought that the sarcophagus had been placed in the chamber and enclosed haphazardly.[95] Although the back and left sides of the chest are only partly worked, the front and right sides are exquisitely sculpted as a *klinê* framing two horizontal strigillated panels (PLATE 7(c)). This sarcophagus belongs to a well-known Attic type of the late second to early third centuries that recalled Classical funerary couches.[96] Simple, restrained details place the chest from the stadium at the beginning of the series in the last quarter of the second century.[97] It seems that this prefabricated but unfinished sarcophagus was selected for sudden burial; once it was deposited, probably in a confined chamber, the carving was never completed. This was a common scenario, because most sarcophagi of this type have completely carved fronts but unfinished backs and sometimes sides.[98] The lid on the coffin from the stadium had a low-gabled roof, a common form in the second century. But it is roughly cut in raw marble without full details, it is slightly too long for the chest, and it does not conform to the *klinê*, which always bore a lid fashioned as a mattress, sometimes with a reclining figure. The discrepancy between chest and cover means either that the lid was chosen in haste, which would have given the coffin

[91] *Contra* Graindor (1930) 135 (suggesting that inscription was erased for stone's re-use) and Gasparri (1974-75) 379 n.1 (doubting erasures).

[92] E.g. *IG* XII.7 447 (Aegiale, Amorgos, first century BC); Diehl and Holleaux (1884) 467-9, no. 2 (Samos, Augustan); *IGR* IV 1276 (Thyateira, Augustan); *IAssos* 27 (Roman); *IIasos* 137 (Roman).

[93] It is uncertain whether the two erasures resulted from separate events or different techniques applied on one occasion.

[94] Since December 1904 the sarcophagus has remained near the site of its discovery on the east hill, next to the altar to Herodes, where I examined it in late May 2006.

[95] Skias (1905) 261. Von Moock (1998) 16 wrongly states that the sarcophagus came from the long foundation.

[96] Goette (1991) is the authoritative study of the Attic series, dated *c.* 180-230/240; pp. 321-2, no. 2, pl. 95 addresses the sarcophagus from the stadium. On the type, see also Rodenwaldt (1930) and Koch and Sichtermann (1982) 446-50.

[97] Gasparri (1974-75) 383, Wiegartz (1975) 182, n.126, Goette (1991) 322; *contra* Koch and Sichtermann (1982) 449 (first quarter of the third century), though Guntram Koch later accepted the beginning of the type in *c.* 170-180 (Goette (1991) 313 n.11, 316 n.22).

[98] Wiegartz (1974) 352-5; Goette (1991) 313, e.g. 322-3, no. 3, pl. 96.3 (Hephaisteion, late second century), 323-5, no. 4, pls 98.2, 99.2 (south Athens, third decade of the third century).

an incongruous appearance, or that the cover was added to the coffin at a later date, in a secondary phase of use for both stones.[99] When the sarcophagus was found in the chamber, it contained a lead-lined wooden coffin that was solidly built with metal fixtures. In this were intact human remains wrapped in a shroud of fine fabric[100] with a gold coin of Decius (249-251)[101] near the mouth, as was customary.

On the basis of these remains, we can retrace the use of the sarcophagus, its contents and its chamber. The coffin originally belonged to an elaborate burial of the late second century on the hill. It was acquired quickly and deposited unfinished, with an improvised cover. Its rich decoration and large scale contrast starkly with the cist graves and common tombstones in the area. This qualitative differentiation points to a sharp distinction in status between the deceased in the two forms of burial. On account of the sarcophagus' date and decoration, as well as its proximity to the heroic dedication, it may well have belonged to Herodes Atticus. If so, its incomplete state may reflect the public intervention in his funeral and the rapid preparations for burial that attended it.[102]

The bones and artefacts inside the displaced sarcophagus represent the burial for which the chamber was constructed from *spolia* in the 250s, not the original burial for which the sarcophagus was acquired. Although the contents cannot be studied further, their dating on numismatic grounds to the 250s clearly diverges from the chest's dating on stylistic grounds to *c.* 175-200. The sarcophagus was therefore recycled some 50 to 85 years after its primary use, a common fate for stone coffins across the Roman East. Despite the chamber's irregular construction, it did have an even pavement, it was easily accessible along the stairway, and the use of a sturdy coffin and gold coin all demonstrate that mourners prepared a formal, if not elaborate, interment. They must have found the sarcophagus somewhere nearby on the east hill, because it would have been much too heavy to haul up the slope, and perhaps they admired its finely sculpted face. They either found it with the misfit lid or added that from elsewhere, because the original one had been stolen or broken.

This survey of the archaeological remains on the east hill of the Panathenaic Stadium forms a basis for a provisional history of the area's use from the middle second to middle third centuries (table overleaf). The following reconstruction provides at best a relative chronology of activity; the absolute dating of events must remain a matter for historical interpretation until further excavation. When Herodes died in *c.* 179, he received a public funeral and burial at the stadium, where Hadrian of Tyre praised his memory. During or shortly after the funeral, Herodes was commemorated as a hero, and someone dedicated an altar to serve his cult. The long foundation and stairway would have been erected after the stadium's completion in 140, but not after the late second century, because the two buildings, along with the Temple of Tyche, comprised a single, symmetrical plan. At some point in the final decades of the second century, the *klinê* sarcophagus was acquired locally and brought to the area in an unfinished state, quite possibly for the public burial

[99] Wiegartz (1975) 182 n.126; Koch and Sichtermann (1982) 447, 449; Goette (1991) 322. The theory that the lid is a later addition from a grave in the area is less likely. There is no evidence on the hill for burial before the late second century (*pace* Galli (2002) 21), but the form of the lid should be placed earlier (Wiegartz (1975) 209; Koch and Sichtermann (1982) 449).

[100] Skias (1905) 258-9, nn. 1-2 reports that copious human bone, patches of flesh and hair and shreds of cloth were found in a well-preserved state, presumably because of their triple encasement in lead, wood and stone. Based on Skias's description of the human remains, they were in all likelihood not cremated, as he speculated (repeated at Goette (1991) 322 and Tobin (1997) 183). That process would have rapidly incinerated soft tissues and reduced the skeleton to small, amorphous fragments. The fabric was 'silk-like' (ὡσεὶ μετάξινος) but could not be identified under microscopic study (*pace* Tobin (1997) 183).

[101] The *aureus* can be identified from Skias's description ((1905) 259) according to standard typology. Obverse: IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG., laureate bust. Reverse: ADVENTVS AVG., emperor on horse pacing left, raising right hand and holding sceptre. *RIC* IV.3, p. 121, no. 11a (Mint of Rome, Group II, AD 249-251). Judeich (1931) 419 n.5 misidentifies the coin as belonging to Trajan (repeated at Ameling (1983a) 161).

[102] Athenian élites of the late second to early third centuries used similarly unfinished sarcophagi (see n.98), and there is no reason why Herodes' public burial should not have conformed to usual practice in this regard (*pace* Tobin (1993) 84, (1997) 184).

Table: History of activity on the east hill of the Panathenaic Stadium during the middle second to middle third centuries

Event	*Date from internal evidence*	*Proposed date*
1. Completion and first use of the Panathenaic Stadium	140	140
2. Death of Herodes, procession from Marathon to the stadium, public funeral with oration by Hadrian of Tyre, and burial there	*c.* 179	*c.* 179
3. Production and first use of *klinê* sarcophagus	*c.* 175-200	Shortly after Herodes' death in *c.* 179
4. Dedication of the altar to Herodes the Marathonian hero	*c.* 179	Shortly after Herodes' death in *c.* 179
5. Construction of the long building and stairway	140 to late 2nd century	Shortly after Herodes' death in *c.* 179
6. Development of cemetery of cist graves with *stêlai* around stairway	Late 2nd to early 3rd century	During two-four generations after Herodes' death in *c.* 179 but before 250s
7. Defacement of the altar to Herodes the Marathonian hero (no. 4)	*c.* 179 to early 3rd century	During two-four generations after Herodes' death in *c.* 179 but before 250s
8. Re-use of sarcophagus (no. 3), plundering of *stêlai* from graves (no. 6) and altar (no. 7), and construction of burial chamber along stairway	250s	250s

of Herodes. This is the earliest datable funerary artefact found east of the stadium. During the late second to early third centuries, a cemetery grew up on the slope between the stadium and the long foundation, including several graves marked by *stêlai* around the stairway. At some point during the late second or early third century, the first and last lines of the heroic dedication were erased from the altar to delete the names of Herodes and the person who made the dedication. Finally, in the 250s, the sarcophagus was displaced from its original site, the contents were apparently discarded, and a new burial was added. In this operation, a small chamber was constructed along the stairway using stones collected from the area, among which were the defaced altar and several *stêlai* from adjacent graves. The sarcophagus was deposited in this chamber.[103]

[103] Gasparri (1974-75) 316, 379, 383 has no persuasive reason for implicating the Herulian invaders of AD 267 in the destruction of the stadium, the damage to the altar and the disturbance of the sarcophagus.

V. THE TOMB OF HERODES ATTICUS

The Panathenaic Stadium furnished a special setting for the burial of Herodes Atticus. The best interpretation of the remains east of the stadium is that they mark the site of his tomb. Early topographers and excavators accepted this identification with varying degrees of confidence, as have most scholars who have studied the problem.[104] Philostratus recorded that Herodes was buried at the stadium, and the east hill is the only area where evidence of funerary activity has been found. In the context of Greek cities during the Empire, a premier citizen and benefactor like Herodes would normally receive a substantial, conspicuous and accessible monument. The long foundation represents a major structure on high ground that could be easily reached from the stadium. The altar dedicated to Herodes the Marathonian hero signals the closeness of his burial site. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the elongated structure was the tomb that the Athenians erected for Herodes. Its prominence was rivalled at Athens only by the tomb of Philopappus on the Mouseion,[105] which was plainly visible from the east hill of the stadium. If the fine sarcophagus originally contained the body of Herodes, the Athenians must have acquired it for immediate use. They could have erected a tomb and posted the epitaph quickly, but this probably did not happen before the funeral, considering the monument's size.

One voice has diverged from this consensus. Tobin proposed that Herodes was interred beneath the racetrack and that the long foundation was the mooring for the Panathenaic ship.[106] It is a clever theory but an untenable one. First, Philostratus' statement that Herodes was interred 'in the Panathenaic' (ἐν τῶι Παναθηναικῶι) is not the equivalent of 'beneath the *dromos* of the Panathenaic Stadium'. The biographer was either speaking loosely or, more likely, using 'the Panathenaic' to designate the building's general area. Although both the east and west hills lie outside the *cavea*, they surround the depression enclosing the track and therefore constitute a single topographic feature. Moreover, the stairways and orientations of the long foundation and the Temple of Tyche united them with the stadium. Philostratus' reference to a tomb of Herodes as 'in the Panathenaic' compares with his reference to the burial of the sophist Dionysius at Ephesus as 'in the agora' (ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι, *VS* 1.22.4), whereas his sarcophagus has been found outside the Tetragonos Agora proper but near its southeast corner.[107]

Another difficulty with Tobin's theory is that no funerary monument was discovered during excavations of the entire racetrack in the late nineteenth century. We know that the burial of Herodes had a conspicuous marker with an epitaph, but Ziller found no structure that could be construed as his tomb.[108] He uncovered a foundation of ashlars, architectural bases, and pieces of the marble parapet inside the Late Roman amphitheatre that occupied the sphendone,[109] but this late structure of unknown purpose cannot be a tomb of the second century. Excavation of the banked seating, the propylon and the associated walls extending several metres north from the front of the stadium produced no evidence for a funerary monument.[110]

We should not expect Herodes to have been buried inside the stadium proper. On the one hand, no architectural parallel exists for a tomb in the racetrack of an ancient stadium. On the other, as Katherine Welch has observed, the track of an Imperial Greek stadium as a venue for executions,

[104] Papanikolaou-Christensen (2003) 30-57 *passim* (early topographers); Ziller (1870) 492; Skias (1905) 259-60; Köster (1906) 27; Graindor (1930) 135; Judeich (1931) 419; Travlos (1971) 498; Gasparri (1974-75) 376-83, 392; Ameling (1983a) 161, 212; Welch (1998) 133-45; Galli (2002) 18-21; Pomeroy (2007) 143.

[105] Kleiner (1983).

[106] Tobin (1993), (1997) 177-85; *cf.* Camp (2001) 214; Shear (2001) 926 n.86; Civiletti (2002) 533 n.155; Flämig (2007) 95-6.

[107] On the burial of Dionysius, see Rife (forthcoming).

[108] Ziller (1870) 486-8. He found one Late Roman epitaph (*IG* III 1384) in a secondary context near the opening of the tunnel into the southeast corner of the stadium (Curtius (1869) 118; Ziller (1870) 491).

[109] Ziller (1870) 491.

[110] Ziller (1870) 488-9 (seating), n.67 (propylon).

gladiatorial combats and wild-beast shows was a wholly inappropriate space for honorific interment.[111] There is no direct evidence that executions occurred in the Panathenaic Stadium as they did in other major urban stadia, such as at Smyrna, where Polycarp and Pionius were martyred (*Mart. s. Polyc.* 11, *Mart. s. Pion.* 21). The *Historia Augusta*, however, records that Hadrian sponsored an elaborate *venatio* in the Lycurgan stadium (*Hadr.* 19.3). That the Panathenaic was also used for Roman blood-sport is proved by the presence of a tall podium and parapet to which were attached nets or fences to shield the front rows of seats.[112]

The long foundation east of the stadium was not for Herodes' ship. In his discussion of the Panathenaic procession during Herodes' *agônothesia* in 139/40, Philostratus wrote: '[I have heard that] the [Panathenaic] ship ran not with yoked animals hauling it but gliding upon underground machines, and that, having been launched from the Kerameikos with a thousand oars, it came to the Eleusinion, and, going around it, the ship passed by the Pelasgikon, and came in its course beside the Pythion, where it is now moored' (2.1.5).[113] According to this reading, the ship moved through the Agora (Eleusinion) to the Acropolis (Pelasgikon) and the Pythion. This Pythion is either the shrine of Apollo Pythios on the northwest slope of the Acropolis or the one south of the Olympieion. So the ship came to rest either around the base of the Acropolis, where Pausanias saw a ship anchored in the late second century (1.29.1),[114] or somewhere in southeast Athens.[115] The great mechanized ship was an extravagant innovation for the ancient festival; a route extending past the Acropolis, if that is where the ship went, would have been too.

E.A. Gardner, followed by Tobin, gave an alternative reading. They translate παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον as an adverbial modifier of the participle and remove the comma after ἐλθεῖν, so that the clause beginning with οἷ modifies the infinitive. Then they interpret the subsequent statement by Philostratus, 'and the other side of the stadium is occupied by the Temple of Tyche' (τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ σταδίου νεὼς ἐπέχει Τύχης), to mean that the ship was moored on the east hill.[116] This reading is neither more nor less preferable on grammatical grounds.[117] On account of both Philostratus' admiration for Herodes' euergetism and his specific designation of other major landmarks in the Panathenaic procession, it seems unlikely that he would use such vague and indirect wording to describe the ship's anchorage, if indeed it was located at the stadium. Furthermore, Welch has sensibly observed that the biographer's vantage point was east of the stadium, from where he could have seen a large ship stationed anywhere to the northwest between the stadium and the Acropolis.[118] Even if the ship did reach the stadium, the passage's obscurity does not permit the identification of the mooring with the crest of the east hill. It could have been alongside the track, or outside and just northeast of the stadium. There at least the Athenians would have avoided the hardship of moving the enormous structure through the propylon or up a precipitous incline.

Besides this uncertainty over the ship's placement, nothing about the long foundation east of the stadium recommends it as an anchorage. Tobin stated that Gasparri's estimated dimensions of the structure (*c.* 9.5 m x 42 m) compare favourably with the dimensions of not only Classical shipsheds at the Peiraeus, Oeniadae and Apollonia in Cyrenaica but also buildings for votive warships

[111] Welch (1998) 136-45.

[112] Ziller (1870) 491; Welch (1998) 137-8, fig. 20. Welch (1999) discusses similar adjustments to the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens and the amphitheatre at Corinth. The amphitheatre that Ziller found in the sphendone ((1870) 490-1) is a Late Roman construction (Travlos (1971) 498; Welch (1998) 122, n.9).

[113] δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπογείοις μηχαναῖς ἐπολισθάνουσαν, ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλίαι κώπηι ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον, καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικόν, κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἷ νῦν ὥρμισται.

[114] Travlos (1971) 91; Welch (1998) 141, 143 n.146; Galli (2002) 19. Mansfield (1985) 74-5 envisions three ships during the middle second to late fourth centuries, Herodes' and those seen by Pausanias and Himerius (*Or.* 47.13).

[115] Mansfield (1985) 75; *cf.* Wycherley (1963) 77.

[116] Gardner (1914) 225; Ameling (1983a) 69-70, (1983b) 212; Tobin (1993) 88, (1997) 179-80; Civiletti (2002) 509-10 n.38.

[117] *Cf.* Galli (2002) 20, n.78.

[118] Welch (1998) 141 n.90; *cf.* Tobin (1993) 88.

on Delos and Samothrace. However, since Gasparri's estimate of the foundation's size is too small, the structure on the east hill was too large for these comparanda.[119] It is also hard to believe that a parade-ship conveyed by mechanized gliding and equipped with a thousand oars replicated any standard trireme.[120]

If the remains east of the stadium are indeed associated with Herodes' burial, they furnish a distinct picture of sepulchral form, mortuary ritual and public memory. The central monument was a large, raised base without elaborate ornament that was reminiscent of one particular variety of sacred architecture, elongated altars like those at the Isthmian and Nemean Sanctuaries.[121] The altar-tomb was a traditional form in the sepulchral architecture of Asia Minor, though one with wide variability, and diverse Late Hellenistic and Roman examples exist in Greece.[122] While there is no exact parallel for an altar-tomb on long, narrow foundations like those at the Panathenaic, it would not be surprising if the Athenians created a unique monument for Herodes. The tombs of outstanding individuals in provincial Greek cities sometimes incorporated novel concepts or eccentric forms. If the Athenians specifically modelled Herodes' tomb after the Isthmian and Nemean altars, their choice of architectural form was meaningful on several levels. The antique appearance of the elongated altar would have echoed the overall character of the stadium. The placement of an altar-tomb at the Panathenaic Stadium might have reminded viewers of the Panhellenic Sanctuaries, where pious sacrifices at similar altars accompanied glory in sacred competition. Furthermore, a structural reference to the Isthmian and Nemean Sanctuaries could have alluded to Herodes' close connections to the Corinthia. Herodes was related on his mother's side to the prominent Corinthian family the Vibullii; Atticus, Herodes and Regilla received numerous dedications at Corinth; and Herodes was involved in the renovation of the odeum and the Peirene Spring.[123] He was also a benefactor at the Isthmus, where he donated the sacred statues, possibly decorated the Baths and pondered cutting a canal.[124]

Without more of the tomb preserved, it is hard to know how the body was interred. The two best examples of altar-tombs in Greece, those at Alyzia and Kenchreai, both had narrow interior chambers for sarcophagi.[125] We may expect a similar compartment in Herodes' tomb, as in other splendid tombs of the era, like the Library of Celsus.[126] If the *klinê* sarcophagus belonged to Herodes, the Athenians must have chosen it for its elegant simplicity and antiquated form, which echoed the austerity and classicism of the tomb and the entire stadium.

[119] The long foundation at the stadium is not sufficiently preserved to determine whether its structure possessed an indentation or keel-slot like the buildings Tobin cites.

[120] Mansfield (1985) 75, 111-12 nn. 89-90 discusses the mechanical conveyance. Tobin undermines her argument by admitting that 'since this ship was only used in a parade, then it may not adhere to any standard size' ((1997) 180 n.55).

[121] Welch (1998) 143-5, n.97, citing Broneer (1971) 55-6, 98-101, 103 (Isthmian altar, *c.* 40 m x *c.* 2 m) and Birge et al. (1992) 5-31 (Nemean altar, over *c.* 42 m x *c.* 4 m) and noting the great altar of Hieron II at Syracuse (one stade long, or 192 m).

[122] Fedak (1990) 19, 25-6, Berns (2003) 143-4, 171-4 (Asia Minor, Hellenistic-Roman); Rhomaios (1930) (Acarnanian Alyzia, late second or first century BC); Cummer (1971) (Corinthian Kenchreai, first century AD); Koldewey (1890) 64-5, pl. 28.18-25 (southeastern Lesbos, Early Roman). On the form, see Flämig (2007) 42-5.

[123] Galli (2002) 57-63, 86-104 summarizes the evidence; on Herodes and the Vibullii of Corinth, see Robert (1946) 9-10 and Spawforth (1978) 258-61. The public dedication of a statue of Regilla in a sanctuary of Tyche in the Corinthian Forum (*Corinth* VIII.3 128; Ameling (1983b) 120-1, no. 100) drew a connection to the cult of Tyche at the stadium and the priesthood of Regilla (*cf.* Galli (2002) 75, 98-102; Pomeroy (2007) 106-12).

[124] Paus. 2.1.7-8, Philostr. *VS* 2.1.5, Sturgeon (1987) 76-113 (statues of Poseidon, Amphitrite, Palaimon's dolphin); Lattimore (1996) 5-10, pls 1-3 (two portraits of Polydeucion); *VS* 2.1.6 (cutting canal); Tobin (1997) 312-14 (summary). There is no evidence for Herodes' activity at the Nemean Sanctuary, but an inscribed statue base from a nearby village reflects a vivid local knowledge of his reputation and appearance (Kritzas (1992) 405-6, επίγραμμα B, lines 9-10).

[125] Rhomaios (1930) 146-7, fig. 5, pl. 1; Cummer (1971) 208-9, 229-31, fig. 7.

[126] Wilberg et al. (1953) 39-46, figs 83-4.

VI. HERODES' EPITAPH AND ALTAR

The epitaph recorded by Philostratus would have been displayed prominently on the tomb's façade at the top of the stairway: 'Herodes son of Atticus from the deme of Marathon, to whom all this belongs, lies in this tomb, renowned throughout the world' (Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὗ τάδε πάντα, | κεῖται τῶιδε τάφωι, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος). The authenticity of this couplet is confirmed by an imitation of the almost unique hexametrical clausula on a fragmentary Athenian *stêlê* dating to the late second or third century (*IG* II² 13161).[127] Herodes' epitaph represents one of the commonest elegiac formulae on gravestones: name of deceased + ἐνθάδε κεῖται + nouns and adjectival modifiers qualifying the deceased (the first and third elements can be reversed). This formula appeared on Classical Athenian *stêlai* and in literary epigram,[128] but it grew popular for later Greek epitaphs, especially during the Empire.[129] Modern editions of *VS* have followed the Teubner text by Carl Ludwig Kayser in placing no comma at the end of the first line of Herodes' epitaph. This creates a relative clause bridging the distich that can be translated 'of whom all that remains lies in this tomb'.[130] This reading should be rejected because the use of the abstract phrase 'all these things' (τάδε πάντα) to mean the corpse instead of, for instance, a phrase with λείψανα or νεκρός is stilted. More significantly, if κεῖται τῶιδε τάφωι falls within the relative clause, the main clause lacks a verb. The phrase κεῖται τῶιδε τάφωι is unique in Greek poetry,[131] but it obviously stands in for ἐνθάδε κεῖται, which always belongs to the main clause in the formula.[132]

The epigram that Philostratus called 'brief and noble' (βραχὺ καὶ πολύ) tells a great deal about Herodes in a short space. The distich begins by naming Herodes with the traditional onomastic formula of personal name + patronymic + demotic, though the first and second elements have been reversed to fit the metre, which requires the shortening of the ultima in Ἀττικοῦ by epic correption. The use of this name instead of something simpler is remarkable, because the full format very rarely occurs in verse inscriptions with ἐνθάδε κεῖται, and then only in Classical examples.[133] The choice of this traditional designation for Athenian citizens underscores Herodes' membership in an ancient community, while necessarily indicating his parentage and attachment to Marathon.

The relative clause 'to whom all this belongs' (οὗ τάδε πάντα) must refer to the physical environment, that is, the stadium and its monumental annexes. The assertion of ownership might seem boastful – Wilamowitz considered it 'arg renommistisch'.[134] But it should be remembered that this epitaph was prepared and posted by the Athenians, who wanted to celebrate Herodes as

[127] Werner Peek has reconstructed this text as follows: [Σώφιλος ἐνθάδε κεῖται ἰ]ητήρ, οὗ τάδε πάντα. ((1980) 65, no. 82; *SEG* 30.306). I cannot accept his restoration, because I saw the very tops of letters in a second line on a squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study. The second line probably began with ἐνθάδε κεῖται (or κεῖται τῶιδε τάφωι, if it was a slavish copy of Herodes' epitaph), and the first line probably began with the name of the deceased (Peek's Σώφιλος is *exempli gratia*), perhaps followed by the Ionic noun 'doctor' (ἰητήρ).

[128] E.g. *IG* II² 5424, 6859, 6873; *AD* 17, B'1, 1961/62, 26; *AP* 7.60.1-2, 7.135.1-2, 7.698.1-2, 7.747, 8.81.1-2, 8.126.1-2, 13.14.1-2; Nonnus 17.313, 37.10.

[129] E.g. *IG* XII.6.2 740.1-2 (Pythagorio, Samos, second century BC); *SEG* 27.759[2].5-6 (Crete, Late Hellenistic); *IG* VIII 1884 (Thespiae, Roman); *IG* XII.7 303 (Minoa, Amorgos, Roman); *IG* XII.7 suppl. 326 (Tenos, early second century); *IG* V.1 933 (Karyai, Laconia, second-third centuries?); *IG* X.2.i 512.1-5 (Thessalonica, second-third centuries); *IGBulg* IV 1963 (Serdica, second-third centuries), 1964 (Serdica, late third-early fourth centuries); *MAMA* VIII.569.1-3 (Aphrodisias, Roman); *IKyzikos* 528.2-9 (Kepsut, Mysia, second-third centuries); *IHadrianoi* 188.1-4 (Taşköy, Mysia, Roman?); *SEG* 35.1341 (Amastris, Paphlagonia, Roman); *IPontos-Bithynia* 60 (Pompeiopolis, Paphlagonia, Roman); *SEG* 6.17.1-4 (Ancyra, fourth-sixth centuries); *IPaphlag-Capp* 22 (Tyana, Cappadocia, second-third centuries); *IG* XIV 1589 (Rome), 2521 (Burdigala, Gaul).

[130] Wright (1921) 182; Ameling (1983b) 212, no. 192; Civiletti (2002) 220. Several editors and commentators have accepted the punctuation and meaning I endorse: E. Cougny, *Anth. Gr. app.* 318; T. Preger, *IGM* 15; R. Hiller von Gaertringen, *HGE* 125; Wilamowitz (1928) 223; W. Peek, *GVI* 391 and *IEpitVers* 247.

[131] The closest parallel is an epitaph of Middle Roman date found at Baphi near Tatoi in Attica, which begins [ἐνθ]άδε τῶιδε τάφωι κεῖται (*IG* II² 13153).

[132] *Cf.* *GVI* 361-399.

[133] E.g. *IG* II² 6859 (Kerameikos, late fifth-early fourth centuries); Peek (1957) 56, no. 200 (Kerameikos, Classical).

[134] Wilamowitz (1928) 223.

benefactor nonpareil. So long as the epitaph was visible, it would remind viewers that the extraordinary building owed its existence to Herodes' munificence and ingenuity.

There is a deeper meaning too. The phrase 'all this' (τάδε πάντα) is vague, lacking as it does a concrete referent within the distich, and it is extremely rare as a clausula. Presumably for these reasons Kayser omitted the comma at the end of the first line and changed the clause's meaning. But this unusual phrase can be explained by its dependence on a model. The only other occurrence of this clausula in earlier or contemporary poetry[135] is the first line of a fragment by Antimachus of Colophon concerning Nemesis (Strabo 13.1.13 = *fr*. 131 Matthews): 'There is a great goddess, Nemesis, who has obtained all this from the Blessed Ones' (ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός, ἣ τάδε πάντα | πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν). Their frequent quotation and allusions to them during Hellenistic and Roman times indicate that these were Antimachus' most famous verses.[136] Georg Kaibel first proposed their influence on Herodes' epitaph.[137] The suggestion is particularly attractive, not only because the poetry of Antimachus was well known among intellectuals of the second century,[138] but also because Herodes had a special connection to the cult of Nemesis. Inscriptions and sculptures found at the great sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous show that Herodes and Polydeucion sacrificed to the cult, and Herodes erected a statue of himself and possibly Imperial portraits there.[139] Furthermore, Marcellus' poem displayed at the Roman villa of Herodes and Regilla stated that he had transplanted the Attic cults of Athena and Rhamnusian Nemesis to the Triopion (*IG* XIV 1389.60-4).

The subtle allusion to Antimachus would have entertained those viewers who could appreciate Classical poetry, while the learned reference to the famous verses on Nemesis reminded them of Herodes' patronage of local cult. The sustained connection between Herodes and Nemesis was rooted in a mythical connection between Nemesis and Marathon. Pausanias wrote that the Persians brought a block of Parian marble to Greece to use for a victory monument, but Nemesis fell upon them at Marathon, and later Pheidias used the marble to carve the cult-statue at Rhamnous (Paus. 1.33.2-3, *AP* 16.221-3). The echo of Antimachus in the epitaph thus traced a nexus of associations between Herodes, Nemesis and Marathon. This was not the first allusion to Rhamnusian Nemesis in a funerary context in Herodes' family. It will be remembered that he had commissioned a finely sculpted sarcophagus for one of his children, probably Elpinice, at Cephisia. The chest displayed on its front the unusual scene of the family of Helen of Troy, just like the base of the cult-statue at Rhamnous.[140]

The second line of the epigram juxtaposes the smallness of Herodes' interment in a single tomb with the magnitude of his fame. The poem is balanced from start to finish so that it expands from the dead man to his burial and its monumental environment to the whole world. The praise of Herodes' universal fame, a usual epigrammatic sentiment,[141] is restricted to two words. The last one, the adjective 'renowned, of good repute' (εὐδόκιμος), must have sounded rather official and prosaic to contemporary readers. It does occur in Classical tragedy and prose, but it also belongs to the honorific language of Hellenistic and Roman decrees,[142] and its most common usage is in

[135] The clausula also occurs in a relative clause with a vague referent in a sixth-century epigram by Leontius Scholasticus praising the charioteer Faustinus (*AP* 16.363).

[136] Matthews (1996) 313-21 (*fr.* 131) is a full commentary. As in Herodes' epitaph, the meaning of τάδε πάντα in the Antimachus fragment is unclear and debated (pp. 318-19).

[137] Kaibel (1880) 459; *cf.* Gasparri (1974-75) 316 ('Antigono di Colofone'), Ameling (1983b) 212.

[138] Hadrian, for example, greatly admired and imitated Antimachus (Cass. Dio 69.4.6; *Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 16.1-2).

[139] *IG* II^2 3969, 13208; Ameling (1983b) 163, 169-70, nos 160, 173; Tobin (1997) 278-80.

[140] Perry (2001) 478-83, (2005) 74-5.

[141] *Cf.* e.g. Philostr. *VS* 1.22.4 (Dionysius of Miletus) recalling Thuc. 2.43.3; *CIL* III 124 (*uirtute caelebratus magna per orbem*: Majorinus, Trachonitis, late fourth century).

[142] E.g. *SEG* 34.207 (Brauron, 288/7 BC?); *IPriene* 137 (Priene, Hellenistic or Roman); *Sardis* VII.1 31 (adverbial: Sardis, first century BC-first century AD); *IG* V.1 595 (superlative: Sparta, Roman); *IG* XII.7 406 (superlative: Aegiale, Amorgos, Roman); *IEryth* 65 (superlative: Erythrae, Roman).

laudatory statements in Imperial Greek prose.[143] If Herodes' epitaph does not display sheer poetic elegance, its economy and artifice bespeak a measure of creative sophistication. The author of the distich remembered Herodes at once as citizen, benefactor, intellectual, patron of local cult and descendant from great men. Presumably the funerary oration praised these same attributes, whether it was delivered before or after the monument was finished and the epitaph was in plain sight. The Athenians must have employed a poet who knew Herodes and his accomplishments to write the verses, such as Hadrian of Tyre himself or another of Herodes' sophistic colleagues or students.[144]

Either during the funeral or shortly thereafter, someone dedicated the altar to Herodes near the tomb and stairway. Tables and altars were commonly associated with the cult of the dead in Greek burial practice during the Empire.[145] Mourners probably used the altar, perhaps along with a much larger altar-tomb, for sacrificial offerings to commemorate the dead, as is attested at aristocratic burials in literature.[146] There are many examples of marble altars of various forms dedicated to important individuals to express public honour. These include the altar to Regilla near Cephisia (*IG* II^2 13200) and altars to Augustus and Hadrian in Athens and to several emperors and the intellectual Potamon at Mytilene.[147] The altar to Herodes displayed basic mouldings and no sculpted relief or other embellishment. In these respects it resembles simple altars of Roman date at Athens but differs from many more elaborate examples from across the Greek world.[148] This austerity was appropriate to the atmosphere of the stadium and the tomb.

While the altar's inscription was wholly separate from the nearby epitaph in form and purpose,[149] certain features of the heroic dedication complement the elegiac couplet. The inscription on the altar gives one word per line and the names of dedicand and (presumably) dedicator in their plainest forms. Such concision distinguishes this inscribed altar from other examples at Athens and elsewhere. The use of the adjective Μαραθώνιος with the article in attributive position as the explanatory modifier of ἥρως, and not as the standard demotic like the use in the epitaph, underscored Herodes' special attachment to Marathon. Furthermore, the phrase 'the Marathonian hero' would prima facie have reminded Athenian readers of a soldier who died on the Plain under the generalship of Herodes' forefather, Miltiades. The striking characterization of Herodes as a latter-day Marathonian hero thus brought to mind the signal victory in Athenian history. It was a connection that Herodes himself strove to advertise through the overt reminiscence of his ancestry, through his patronage of the cult of Rhamnusian Nemesis, through his choice of Elpinice as a name for his daughter, and through his plan for burial in the same ground where the original Marathonian heroes rested.

The inscription also used letters from a much earlier age (PLATE 7 (b)). The skilled epigrapher substituted epsilon for eta in accordance with pre-Euclidean orthography, but he used the superior

143 E.g. Strabo 1.4.9; Diod. Sic. *Bib.* 16.6.2; Diog. Laert. 9.14; Plut. *Rom.* 15.2, *Lyc.* 17.1, 18.2, *Lys.* 22.5, *Pelop.* 14.3, *Fab. Max.* 21.3, *Mor.* 667D, 847C; Paus. 2.20.8; Luc. *Imag.* 19, *Merc. cond.* 20; Cass. Dio 71.25.3; Philostr. *VS* 2.10.6; Theon Prog. *Rhet. Gr.* II, p. 103; Sopater *Rhet. Gr.* VIII, pp. 11, 81; Themist. *Or.* 15.187C, 18.216D.

144 *Cf.* Kaibel (1880) 459 (*siue ipse Herodes siue amicorum aliquis*, but Herodes is improbable); Ameling (1983b) 212 ('Das Spiel mit Literatur fügt sich vortrefflich in den Kreis H.s ein').

145 Gill (1991) surveys Greek cult tables, including several at graves of Roman date (e.g. pp. 2-3, 29, 67, 82, fig. 35, pl. 35); Cormack (2004) 117-18, 151, 154 discusses funerary altars in Roman Asia Minor.

146 Luc. *Catapl.* 2, *Luct.* 9, 14, 19; [Aristid.] *Or.* 25.25; Poll. *Onom.* 8.146.

147 Benjamin and Raubitschek (1959) and Benjamin (1963), e.g. *IG* II^2 3224-30, 3235, 3323-80 (Athens); *IG* XII.2 140-201 (Mytilene).

148 Athens: Benjamin (1963) 64, 68-9, nos 13, 44-8, pls 24, 25, 27 (= *IG* II^2 3329-33, to Hadrian); Oliver (1963) (for freedman of Domitian). For the general form, though often with sculpture, *cf.* rectangular altars of Late Hellenistic and Roman date on Rhodes (Fraser (1977) 13-45), in Macedonia (Spiliopoulou-Donderer (2002), e.g. D5, D6, D13 (second century)), in Mysia (Robert (1948) 86-8, nos 30-2, pls 21.8, 23.2-3), and at Acmonia (Robert (1955) 247-56, pls 22, 23 (first half of the third century)).

149 *Contra* Gasparri (1974-75) 379 ('L'iscrizione ... riprende in forma più concisa il senso dell'epigramma funerario tramandato da Filostrato'), Tobin (1997) 181 ('This seems to be a simplified version of the epigram quoted by Philostratos') and Galli (2002) 21.

bar instead of an initial H to mark rough breathing. He also carved letter forms inspired by early Attic script. The nu with an elevated second vertical hasta, the alpha with a left-slanting bar and a truncated right hasta, and the rho with the diagonal extension from the base of the loop imitate letter forms found in Attic inscriptions of Late Archaic to Classical date.[150] The letters are not perfect facsimiles, however, and certain details betray their origin in the middle Roman centuries.[151] The general blockiness of the letters, especially the mu and the nu, mirrors the quadrate shape of both Greek and Roman letters of the period. The left-slanting apex on the alpha is typical for Athenian epigraphy of the second to third centuries, and the protracted diagonal in the rho in line 4 shows a gentle curve, like a Roman R. The epigrapher missed one of the easiest letters to archaize, the theta, which he carved with a detached bar instead of a point or a cartwheel. Moreover, rather than using an omicron to express the long o, as Athenians did before adopting the Ionic alphabet, he created a novel omega with a regular, closed circle, like an Archaic or Classical omicron, but also an inferior bar at or slightly below the lettering plane.[152]

This text belongs to a group of over a dozen Attic inscriptions of Roman date (predominantly second century) that contain archaizing language and letter forms.[153] These texts, mostly from the urban centre, include several funerary monuments but also honorary and votive dedications, religious prescriptions and boundary stones.[154] The letter forms in the inscription on the altar to Herodes resemble letters in these inscriptions, particularly the alpha, nu and rho, but each text has idiosyncracies, so that the variability across these forms representing the same basic early alphabet is quite wide. Moreover, as in the heroic dedication at the stadium, these inscriptions often mix archaizing letters with letters typical of the Empire. Many of these texts are sacred, and their antiquated letters must have made an arresting visual impression that connoted venerability and even inviolability.[155] The use of archaizing letters in diverse texts for public consumption must also have appealed to the aesthetic sensibility of the cultural élite. Indeed, it was through the conservative rituals of official religion and funerary cult that Greeks preserved and even revived memories of the mythical and historical past. Epigraphic archaism in such contexts, just like speech and architecture, was a means of establishing the Classical past as a meaningful and active force in the Roman present.

Considering Herodes' mastery of the Classical heritage and success as a sophist, we should not be surprised that the heroic dedication is not the only archaizing inscription in the Herodean corpus. Two identically inscribed columns of Carystian marble were erected along the Via Appia to mark the entrance into the Triopion and to prohibit disturbance (*IG* XIV 1390 = *IGUR* II 339a-b).[156] These inscriptions display a more mannered and thoroughgoing archaism than the text on the altar at the stadium, though even here the epigrapher slips once, using a Roman d in place of an angular Archaic Attic delta.[157] The letter forms in the texts from the Triopion and the stadium

[150] Jeffery (1961) 66-78 (α5, *c.* 525-500; ν1-2; ρ4-5, late sixth-early fifth centuries); Guarducci (1967) 131-43.

[151] On Imperial Greek palaeography generally, see Guarduccci (1967) 376-85; for palaeographic comparanda, see Athenian official documents of the late second century in Graindor (1924) 42-54, nos 66-82, pls 51-65.

[152] Threatte (1980) 9 wrongly calles the omega archaizing.

[153] Guarducci (1967) 388-90; Threatte (1980) 9; Lazzarini (1986). Instances of palaeographic archaism in Roman Greece are less common outside Athens: e.g. *IG* IV 444-5 (funerary prohibitions, Phlius), Homolle (1896) 721 (dedication to Poseidon and Athena, Delphi).

[154] *IG* II^2 3380 (dedication to Hadrian at Eleusis); I^2 1078, II^2 5506, 10587 (funerary dedications); II^2 2478, 3121, 3194, 4742, 5004 (votives and sacred prescriptions); I^2 865a-b, II^2 2680 (boundary stones); II^2 5007 (oracle of Harmodius and Aristogeiton from Thria); I^2 400 (copied dedication of knights from Acropolis). *IG* II^2 3396 (dedication to Antoninus Pius) and 5063 (label on seat at Theatre of Dionysos) have been identified as archaizing (Threatte (1980) 9; Lazzarini (1986) 152 n.24), though each displays only one pre-Euclidean letter (omicron for omega; epsilon for eta).

[155] Lazzarini (1986) 152.

[156] Guarducci (1978) 233-4; Ameling (1983b) 148-50, no. 143; Lazzarini (1986) 151; Galli (2002) 112; Pomeroy (2007) 166-7. *IG* XIV 1391 = *IGUR* II 340 does not display 'the archaic Attic script and alphabet', as Pomeroy (2007) 166 asserts.

[157] Guarducci (1978) 233 n.5; *contra* Lazzarini (1986) 151.

have both similarities (epsilon, rho, nu) and differences (mu, omicron/omega, H/horizontal bar); they are surely the products of separate hands. Together they speak to an abiding interest in the revival of ancient forms that was an essential part of Herodes' intellectual and public personae.[158] Just as in the case of the epitaph, whoever erected the altar and employed the epigrapher deliberately chose both form and text to commemorate these identities. The most likely dedicator was one of Herodes' survivors, such as his son Bradua, the adopted Claudius or another.[159] This person would have known that other members of Herodes' house were heroized too, namely Regilla and Polydeucion.

This treatment of Herodes reflects the evolution of hero-cult in Hellenistic and Roman Greek society. Local communities still recognized traditional heroes from mythical or early historical times, and they invested new interest and energy in the maintenance of old cult sites. At the same time, the language and ritual of heroization became potent media for public and private commemoration, whereby cities honoured their celebrated dead and families remembered their loved ones.[160] Communities recognized exceptional citizens as heroes, sometimes in explicit gratitude for generous benefactions or great buildings[161] or in appreciation of intellectual achievement.[162] References to the dead as ἥρως also occur on numerous ordinary tombstones across the eastern provinces. In some cases the word seems to have been a conventional designation, but in others it expressed the special status of the dead, whether because of youth, accomplishment or a close emotional bond with the bereaved. The heroic dedication to Herodes seems to have been made by a relative out of deep respect. Furthermore, although it was not erected by ὁ δῆμος, viewers might have thought that it honoured Herodes' contributions to the city, on account of its association with a public burial at the stadium 'for all Athenians' (Παναθηναικός).

The heroization of Herodes gained greater significance within the context of the stadium as both an athletic venue and a monument to Classical grandeur. As Marco Galli has stressed, the combination of agonistic space and funerary ritual is hardly unique, particularly in Greek stadia, where ongoing sacrifices and heroic buildings reminded both spectators and participants of the mythical origins of the games. He adduced the example of the grand *herôön* at the end of the stadium at Messene, which was established in Hellenistic times but was used for rich burial well into the second century.[163] We know from Pausanias that the burial of heroes at athletic buildings was a venerable institution. Palaimon was buried and worshipped at the Isthmian Stadium (Paus. 2.2.1; *cf.* Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 2.16); Hippolytus and Phaedra had funerary monuments near the stadium at Troezen (Paus. 2.32.3-4); it was claimed that Endymion was buried near the starting line at the Olympian Stadium (6.20.9); and Pindar had a 'tomb' (μνῆμα) at the Theban Hippodrome (9.23.2).[164] The case of Iolaus at Pheneos compares well with Herodes at Athens, because his

[158] Two fragmentary boundary stones with archaizing script marking a precinct of Artemis Amarysia near Marousi, north of Athens, might have been erected by Herodes, whose Cephisian villa was located nearby (*IG* I^2 865a-b; Lolling (1880); Tobin (1997) 237-8, fig. 72). The posthumous memorial to Herodes at Corinth in the form of a herm with a portrait bust (Philadelpheus (1920)) does not have archaizing script, as Gasparri (1974-75) 379, n.3 claims.

[159] Private dedications to heroes are most frequently made by family members; see n.87. *Cf.* Welch (1998) 140: '[The altar] could have been commissioned as a votive by a freedman, client, or descendant of Herodes'.

[160] Hughes (1999); Jones (2001a) 146-8.

[161] E.g. Thuc. 5.11 (Brasidas, Amphipolis, 422); Polyb. 8.12.7-8, Plut. *Arat.* 53 (Aratus, Sicyon, 213); *TAM* V.2 1098 (C. Julius Xenon, Thyateira, late first century BC); *IG* XII.6.i 365 (C. Vibius Postumus, near Pythagorio, Samos, AD 15 or later); Herrmann and Polatkan (1969) 7-36, with J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* 1970, no. 512 (will of Epikrates, Nakrason, first century AD); *IG* IV^2.1 82, 85 (T. Statilius Lamprias of Epidaurus, Athens and Sparta, middle first century); *IGR* IV 779-80, with J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* 1977, no. 489 (Sosia Polla, Apamea, *c.* 128); *IG* XII.7 53 (Aurelius Octavius, Arcesine, Roman); *IAssos* 27b (Callisthenes, Assos, Roman?); *IIasos* 137 (Roman?).

[162] E.g. Puech (2002) 175-6 no. 65 (Sebaste, 244/5), 341-2 (Trachonitis, fourth century), 343-4 no. 169 (Pergamum, 153 or later), 469-70 no. 258 (Philoppopolis, third century), 357 (Ilion, fourth century); *ErgonAAH* (2003) 31-2, fig. 22 (Messene, second-third centuries).

[163] Galli (2002) 21-4, citing Themelis (1992) on Messene and the cenotaph of Hadrian at the stadium of Puteoli.

[164] Tobin (1997) 182-3 misreads Paus. 9.23.1 ('the hero-shrine of Iolaus was under the running track', but he

tomb was situated on a hill near the stadium, and he was given offerings as a hero (8.14.9-10). The excavated cult-site of Palaimon is one of the best understood of these *herôä*. The Palaimonion seen by Pausanias, a second-century *monopteros* with an underground tunnel through the podium, was situated at the head of the old stadium, though by that time the track was long since defunct. The cult of Palaimon involved noctural rites in which worshippers made blood sacrifices to the boy-hero.[165] Another example of heroic interment at a place of sacred competition is the burial of Pelops in the Altis, where the altar was still used for sacrifices in Pausanias' day (Pind. *Ol.* 1.90-3; Paus. 5.13.1-3).[166]

The burials of Palaimon and Pelops are apt comparanda for the burial of Herodes, not only because he was linked to the two Panhellenic Sanctuaries through rich benefactions.[167] Like the Pelopion and Palaimonion, the burial of the hero Herodes was a site for sacrificial offerings. Moreover, Palaimon and Pelops were instrumental in the foundation of the Isthmian and Olympian Games: the former were believed to derive from the funeral games for Palaimon, while the latter were believed to commemorate the victory of Pelops over Oenomaus in the chariot-race. Although Herodes' burial and sacrifices did not precede the first races at the stadium in 140, as the donor of the building and the sponsor of the inaugural festival he was the founder of the Panathenaic Games. After Herodes' death, he assumed a place in civic history not unlike that of Pelops and Palaimon in the mythical past of the sanctuaries. All three heroes were ktistic figures at major athletic venues, even if their roles in the origin of the games differed. Their association would have been all the more vivid for those who saw Herodes' tomb, his altar and the sacrifices performed there and recalled his lavish donations at the Isthmus and Olympia.

VII. THE SHIFTING MEMORY OF HERODES

The Athenians who conducted Herodes' funeral and erected his tomb, Hadrian of Tyre, the poet who composed the epitaph, and the relative who made the heroic dedication all helped to create a memory for the dead citizen, benefactor and sophist. That memory was most vivid at the time of the funeral and shortly thereafter, when the physical components of burial at the stadium remained intact and conspicuous. A hero-cult might have persisted for some time, which would have attracted visitors for commemorative rituals. The memory of Herodes, however, evolved over time as people changed the words, materials and spaces of his burial for both negative and positive effect.

The deletion of the names of both dedicator and dedicand from the altar was a blatant attempt to modify this memory. Erasures are often attributed to the preparation of the stone for re-use. There is ample evidence for the recycling of statues by re-inscribing the base, for instance, at Athens (Paus. 1.18.3) and Rhodes (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31), and anxiety over the re-casting of public images found a voice in sophistic debate.[168] But such an argument cannot stand in many cases, including the altar to Herodes, where there is no new inscription, and the unique contents of the remaining text could not accommodate a new name while retaining accuracy and unity.[169]

only wrote that it was before the Proetidian Gate) and misrepresents Gasparri (1974-75) 392 ('Gasparri points out parallels for tombs under running tracks', but he does not). Pausanias wrote that the Eleans claimed that the 'tomb' (μνῆμα) of Endymion was at the starting-line, but it is unclear whether he saw any structure there.

[165] Broneer (1973) 99-112 and Gebhard et al. (1998) fig. 8 report on the archaeological remains ('Palaimonion V'); Gebhard and Dickie (1999) and Gebhard (2005) discuss the myth and cult of Palaimon.

[166] Burkert (1983) 93-103 discusses the myth of Pelops and his worship at Olympia; Ekroth (2002) 190-2 addresses the sacrifices at the Pelopion.

[167] On Herodes and the Isthmian Sanctuary, see n.124; on Herodes and his donations to the Olympian Sanctuary, including statues of Demeter and Kore (Paus. 6.21.2) and of Hygieia (*IOlympia* 288) and the great nymphaeum (Luc. *Peregr.* 19; Philostr. *VS* 2.1.5), see Tobin (1997) 314-23 and Galli (2002) 222-7.

[168] Jones (2001b) 17-18; Platt (2007) (sophistic debate); Shear (2007) (Athenian evidence).

[169] Kajava (1995) 209-10 describes the usual methods for recycling inscriptions, among which was inscribing on different faces. It would have been easy to recycle the altar to Herodes by cutting a new text into another face, but that was never done.

One explanation for the erasures on the altar to Herodes that might account for the semantic and grammatical coherence of lines 2-4 is that they redirected the dedication from Herodes to 'the Marathonian hero', or the eponymous hero of Marathon. Pausanias and Philostratus both mention representations of the hero Marathon or Marathos, whose cult seems to have existed during the Empire.[170] As Emily Kearns has shown,[171] apart from major figures such as Theseus and Cecrops, the worship of most Attic heroes was highly localized. This explanation for the erasure should therefore be rejected, because the altar was located on the city's southeast outskirts. Furthermore, since the phrase 'the Marathonian hero' identifies a hero from or at Marathon, it would be an unusual appellation for Marathon or Marathos, who gave his name to the deme. As has been suggested, Athenians who read the phrase would have thought first of someone who fought and died at Marathon, all the more so if the cult of the war-dead persisted in Roman times.[172]

The first and last lines would have been deleted to destroy the memory of Herodes and the one who honoured him.[173] This sort of mutilation can be identified by the modern term *damnatio memoriae* as an act sanctioned by the state or driven by popular interest to forget public enemies by defacing their sculpted depictions or inscribed names on monuments. While the best-known targets were Roman emperors, the practice was not limited to Rome or the Imperial circle.[174] Such destruction had long occurred in societies with complex political organization and a competitive public domain, including the ancient Near East and Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt.[175] The practice also existed in Greece during the Hellenistic era. The Athenians destroyed numerous images of Demetrius of Phalerum at the end of his reign in 307, and the Assembly decreed the destruction of all monuments to Philip V and the Macedonian kings and the removal of their names from all public records in 200.[176] These acts, like others outside Athens,[177] reminded viewers that tyrannical control by certain individuals or families had been abolished. During the Late Republic and Empire, public monuments of Roman officials stricken from the public record were defaced in Greece and Asia Minor, just as they were in Rome and the West.[178]

Dangerous or offensive citizens could suffer similar condemnation within the narrower realm of the provincial cities. In communities like Athens, hard feelings between rivals over politics, intellectualism or ancestry found expression through acts of public scorn. Many inscriptions of Roman date from Greek cities show names or titles defaced. Often the condemned persons and their offences are otherwise unrecorded because they acted on a small, even personal, level of intercourse.[179] These targeted erasures of specific words compare with the technique used on the altar to Herodes. One famous example is C. Julius Nicanor, a wealthy landowner and poet at

[170] Paus. 1.32.4 (Marathon in painting in Stoa Poikile); Philostr. *VS* 2.1.7 ('cult-statue' (ἄγαλμα) of Marathos as farmer-hero at Marathon). W. Wrede, *RE* 14.1428 and Kearns (1989) 45, 183 discuss the hero and his cult.

[171] Kearns (1989) 139-207.

[172] Kearns (1989) 55, 183, citing Thuc. 3.58.4 and Paus. 1.32.4; see also n.14.

[173] *Cf.* Skias (1905) 260; Tobin (1993) 84-5, (1997) 182.

[174] On memory sanctions in Roman political and social life, see now Flower (2006).

[175] Varner (2004) 12-14, 15-16, 19-20 (concentrating on images).

[176] Demetrius: Strabo 9.1.20; Plut. *Mor.* 820E-F; Dio. Laert. 5.77; Habicht (1997) 67-8. The Macedonians: Livy 31.44.4; Habicht (1982) 147-8, n.137; Camp (1992) 164-5, fig. 138; Flower (2006) 34-41.

[177] E.g. *OGIS* 218c.116-24, with Flower (2006) 30-1 (decree ordering erasure of names of tyrants from public texts, Ilium, early third century BC); Polyb. 4.62.1-2 (destruction of Macedonian royal statues by Scopas and the Aetolians, Dium, *c.* 220).

[178] E.g. *SEG* 39.1290, with Jones (2001b) 17 (letter from Mark Antony erased after Actium, Sardis); *IG* XII.6 364, with Kajava (1995) 205-8 (names of Statilia and L. Calpurnius Piso erased, Samian Heraion); *IEph* 413, *SEG* 43.798 (name and title of Domitian erased, Ephesus); *IG* XII.6.1 425 (name of Geta erased, Samian Heraion).

[179] E.g. Bradeen (1974) 87 no. 359 (*stêlê* with dedicand erased, Agora, first century BC-first century AD), 136 no. 717 (block with dedicand erased, Agora, Roman), 157 no. 872 (= *IG* II^2 11792: columnar monument with line erased, Agora, second-first centuries BC); *IG* II^2 11972 (*stêlê* with dedicand erased, Athenian Acropolis, second century AD), X.2.1 479 (altar with four verses erased, Thessalonica, third century), XII.2 547 (slab with part of line erased, Eresos, Lesbos, Roman?); Broneer (1933) 414, no. 39, fig. 89 (= *SEG* 33.221: block with two lines erased, Athenian Acropolis, fourth-sixth centuries).

Augustan Athens whose overblown epithet 'the New Themistocles and the New Homer' was removed from three inscriptions, apparently by Athenians who disapproved of his handling of the property of Salamis.[180] Another example is Popillius Pius, a contemporary of Herodes who was also a Marathonian. His name was erased from a funerary *stêlê* with a sculpted relief that had been recut for use by him and his wife in the late second century. The name might have been erased by Popillius' enemies, perhaps the same men who had challenged his qualifications for Athenian citizenship.[181] One mutilated text from the theatre at Roman Sparta furnishes a good parallel for the altar to Herodes.[182] Although the Spartan text is considerably longer and somewhat later (early third century) than the Herodean text, it records the public dedication of a statue of the philosopher and orator Aelius Metrophanes at the expense of M. Aurelius Cleanor. The names of both the spender near the bottom and the dedicand near the top were carefully excised. The text's unique reference to the individuals and the absence of added letters show that defacement, not secondary use, was the intention of the erasure. But the motivation is lost without better knowledge of the biographies of Metrophanes and Cleanor.[183]

The mutilation of the altar to Herodes likewise represents a concerted effort to destroy memory. The erasures point to lingering antipathy among certain Athenians over what they considered to be his tyrannical abuse of political and financial influence. Autocratic sway through the establishment of partisans in political and sacred posts, the distribution or retention of funds and property, and the transformation of public spaces through elaborate construction were realities of urban life in the Roman East. The accusation of tyrants was a fundamental theme for oratorical practice, but it was not restricted to the classroom: epigraphic and historic sources reveal that tyranny was a recurrent subject of civic discourse.[184] The example of Nicias, whom Mark Antony installed as tyrant of Cos in 41/0 BC, is especially germane, because it involved sepulchral desecration. According to an epigram by Crinagoras, citizens broke into his tomb, snatched the body and 'dragged it to punishment' (εἴρυσαν ἐς ποινάς), presumably mutilation (*AP* 9.81).

Allegations of tyranny also followed the family of Herodes. His grandfather Hipparchus lost his land to confiscation by Domitian on a charge of tyranny (*VS* 2.1.2), though the circumstances are cloudy.[185] Anger over the inordinate influence of Hipparchus and his family might have led to the destruction of images, including the toppled statue of Claudia Alcia at Eleusis (*IG* II^2 3604a).[186] Herodes faced contempt on many sides. The brothers Sex. Quintilius Condianus and Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus were prominent aristocrats who held not only the consulship (151) but also an Imperial appointment as rulers of the combined provinces of Achaea, Macedonia and Epirus after the raid of the Costoboci (*c.* 171-175). The friction between them and Herodes can be traced to a dispute over a musical contest at Delphi, after which Herodes purportedly mocked them; later they joined the Athenian Assembly in accusing him to the emperor of tyranny (*VS* 2.1.11). Leading the attack were Herodes' old enemy Ti. Claudius Demostratus, together with Aelius Praxagoras and M. Valerius Mamertinus. Herodes countered that he was the victim of a conspiracy. Although the exact terms of the competing suits are unclear, the conflict culminated in the trial at Sirmium, where Marcus Aurelius judged in favour of Herodes' enemies and penalized his freedmen.[187] The tension between these strongmen and Herodes is vividly illustrated in the famous letter Marcus sent

[180] *IG* II^2 3786, 3787, 3789; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.116, with Jones (1976) 31-2. On Nicanor and his career, see Follet (2004) and Jones (2005).

[181] Lambert (2000) 495-7, no. E7, pl. 77; *SEG* 50.254. Marcus Aurelius validated Popillius' citizenship in 174/5 (*SEG* 29.127 II 30, 52).

[182] *IG* V.1 563; Puech (2002) 350-2, no. 174.

[183] Puech (2002) 351-2 argues unconvincingly that the erasures prepared the stone for re-use.

[184] Kennell (1997) 351-6, citing the examples of Dio Chrysostom at Prusa (*Or.* 47), Lysias and his predecessors at Tarsus (Strabo 14.5.14; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.48; Luc. *Macr.* 21; Athen. 5.215B), and Nicias at Cos (Ael. *VH* 1.29).

[185] Pleket (1961) 305-6 and Papalas (1975) offer divergent views of Domitian's motives, either to protect the lower classes or to support rival élites; see also Ameling (1983a) 17-18.

[186] Ameling (1983b) 61, no. 28; Tobin (1997) 16, 200-1.

[187] Ameling (1983a) 136-51 discusses the whole conflict and the events at Sirmium.

to the city in the middle 170s to settle various legal cases (*SEG* 29.127).[188] Feelings of resentment had already spread among common Athenians, who felt deceived and betrayed when Herodes rescinded his father's final wish (*VS* 2.1.3-4). A broader distaste for his monuments is evident in the tirade of Peregrinus Proteus, who decried the imposing nymphaeum at Olympia (Luc. *Peregr.* 20; *cf.* *VS* 2.1.13). Such open animosity toward powerful men could be communicated through channels besides invective and litigation. Herodes was so concerned that his detractors, including the Quintilii, would mutilate the statues of his beloved Polydeucion, Achilles and Memnon that he placed curse inscriptions on their bases (*VS* 2.1.10). Twenty-five of these texts have been found, a large majority on the Marathonian and Cephisian estates.[189]

Herodes had no shortage of enemies, any of whom could have erased the two lines on the altar in one or two events. This textual deletion did not remove Herodes from the public record; it created a lasting document of his banishment from memory. Viewers of the altar would have known that the names of Herodes and his dedicator were once there, but the erasures reminded them to forget these names.[190] The erasure of Herodes' name was particularly poignant in the context of a heroic dedication, which implied the immortality of the deceased. We cannot know the identity of the person who erased the inscription or the circumstances. It could have been any of Herodes' known detractors who outlived him, including the Quintilii, who were executed under Commodus (Cass. Dio 73.5.3). We might, however, expect such prominent persons to carry out a coordinated programme of mutilation, and the altar is the only known text associated with Herodes with deleted lines. Perhaps the perpetrator was an anonymous Athenian who attacked the altar out of personal rage toward Herodes and his family, because he found Herodes' arrogance unbearable or felt slighted by his interference with Atticus' estate. The defacement occurred at some point between *c.* 179 and the 250s but most likely within a generation after Herodes' death, when resentment was still hot. If it occurred shortly after the altar's dedication, then it reflects the coexistence at Athens of opposing sentiments over the memory of Herodes, one embracing honour, the other ignominy.

A simultaneous development in Herodes' memory was the growth of a cemetery near his tomb. The choice of burial locale in all cultures is a conscientious and meaningful one. The Athenians who interred their relatives or friends on the lofty slope must have considered the site's benefits of high visibility and easy accessibility; they must have appreciated the monumental setting of the Stadium; and they must have known that Herodes rested nearby. The simple character of the graves and their markers indicates that the deceased did not belong to the city's élite. They were citizens from different demes, some represented the working classes, and they could have been freedpersons.[191] None of the epitaphs names an individual obviously connected to Herodes, but the possibility cannot be ruled out.[192] Even if those interred here were not his freedpersons, burial near the great Herodes and beside the Panathenaic may have conferred a degree of prestige. It is tempting to imagine that the burials belonged to admirers of Herodes, who in death joined his social circle, if not his biological lineage, through mortuary proximity. A similar pattern emerged in later centuries, when interment near holy men or ecclesiastical leaders gave honour and comfort

[188] Oliver (1970); Ameling (1983b) 182-205, no. 189. Kennell (1997) examines this text in light of the political conflict engulfing Herodes and the phenomenon of tyranny in Imperial Greek cities.

[189] *IG* II^2 3970, 13188-13208; *IG* XII.9 134; *SEG* 14.292; Rhomaios (1906) 443-50; Peek (1942) 141, no. 310; *AD* 33, B'1, 1978, 55-6. For full discussion, see Ameling (1983b) 23-9, 160-6, nos 147-70 and Tobin (1997) 113-60.

[190] Hedrick (2000) 89-130 discusses different forms of *damnatio memoriae* and how they remind the viewer to forget; see also Flower (2006) 276-8.

[191] *Cf.* von Moock (1998) 84-5.

[192] Welch (1998) 140 suggests that 'tomb occupants could have included descendants of Herodes and/or members of his great *familia* of freedmen and slaves'. It seems unlikely that Herodes' descendants would be interred in such mundane graves. Perhaps it was coincidental that one person buried here, Herakleitos, came from the deme of Cephisia (*IG* II^2 6418).

to Christian mourners. But any respectful activity at the tomb of Herodes gradually ended as the site fell into disrepair. The handling of the altar and sarcophagus, if it had belonged to Herodes, suggests that his posthumous cult was short-lived. We can only imagine the condition of his funerary monument and epitaph after roughly 75-85 years, when the chamber was built into the stairway. As the first generation of Philostratus' readers contemplated the erstwhile greatness of Herodes, his memory at Athens had already shifted dramatically.

VIII. CONCLUSION: ÉLITE IDENTITY, URBAN SOCIETY AND PUBLIC MEMORY

The burial of Herodes Atticus reveals how rituals, monuments, places and words could be combined to communicate élite identity and to create public memory in Greek urban society during the Roman era. The planned grave on the Marathonian estate would have expressed the wealth, territorial control and august lineage of Herodes. He created a lavish cemetery for his children and (probably) his wife on the Cephisian estate, but he preferred to identify himself with his predecessors through burial at Marathon. Popular will, however, eclipsed private wish. The Athenians seized his corpse for a public funeral and burial at the Panathenaic Stadium to recognize his role as leading citizen and benefactor. The procession was like a ceremony of civic reception that drew out the populace, reconstituted a social hierarchy and traversed suburban and urban space. The deposition of Herodes in an imposing tomb alongside the stadium he had erected for all Athenians was an appropriate gesture of gratitude by the city. When the Panathenaic Games were held after *c.* 179, spectators could plainly see Herodes' monument, from where he figuratively presided over the events. The short but sophisticated epitaph pronounced his universal fame, and the establishment of a hero-cult was a special honour.

Connections to the Classical past framed the end of Herodes' life. His burial at Marathon would have reminded travellers through that landscape of Athenian memories of Herodes' own link to the great battle through his forebear Miltiades. Herodes also commemorated his Marathonian history by naming his daughter Elpinice and by sacrificing at Rhamnous. His cherished association with Nemesis is apparent not only in his veneration on the Roman estate, but also in subtle funerary references, namely the sculpted sarcophagus that recalled the cult-statue and the quotation from Antimachus in the epitaph. Apart from these specific points of contact between Herodes and Classical Athens, the forms and settings the Athenians chose for Herodes' burial displayed the same archaizing style embraced by educated élites of the day. The stadium, the tomb, and the sarcophagus were all marked by elegant simplicity and antiquated decor. Classicism distinguished the language of the epitaph, the austere appearance and unusual paleography of the altar and, presumably, Hadrian's oration. The hero-cult of Herodes, located at an athletic building, evoked an ancient institution. Such pervasive antiquarianism would have been familiar to Athenians who knew Herodes' portraiture. Instances from Attica recalled the type of the Late Classical κοσμήτης as an elegant intellectual rather than a haggard philosopher.[193] As R.R.R. Smith wrote, 'In the context of local politics at Athens, then, Herodes' portrait presents an image of modest reserve, with the demeanour and style of a leader of the classical Athenian *demos*'.[194]

The public memory of this persona, integrally tied to both Roman Athens and Classical Athens, had an intriguing development. Through the elaborate funeral and burial at the stadium, the Athenians avoided dispute and celebrated Herodes as a leading member of their community. This impression was reinforced through frequent viewing of the monument and epitaph, and it was augmented through the observance of the hero-cult and the growth of the adjacent cemetery. Herodes'

[193] Zanker (1995) 243-4; see Datsoulis-Stavridis (1978) 214-28 and Tobin (1997) 71-6 on Herodes' portraiture at Athens, including examples from Cephisia and Marathon.

[194] Smith (1998) 79.

detractors, either disdainful citizens or long-standing rivals, revised this exalted image in a derogatory manner by defacing the altar. Philostratus further filtered the memory of Herodes through his selective coverage and bias toward intellectual achievement. The panegyrical *Life*, written not long before the re-use of the sarcophagus, altar and tombstones, gives no hint of the creeping oblivion at Herodes' tomb. We could not appreciate these dynamic processes of élite burial and commemoration if we did not adopt a contextual approach to the archaeological and written sources but restricted ourselves to that late stage in the generation of memory, Philostratean biography.

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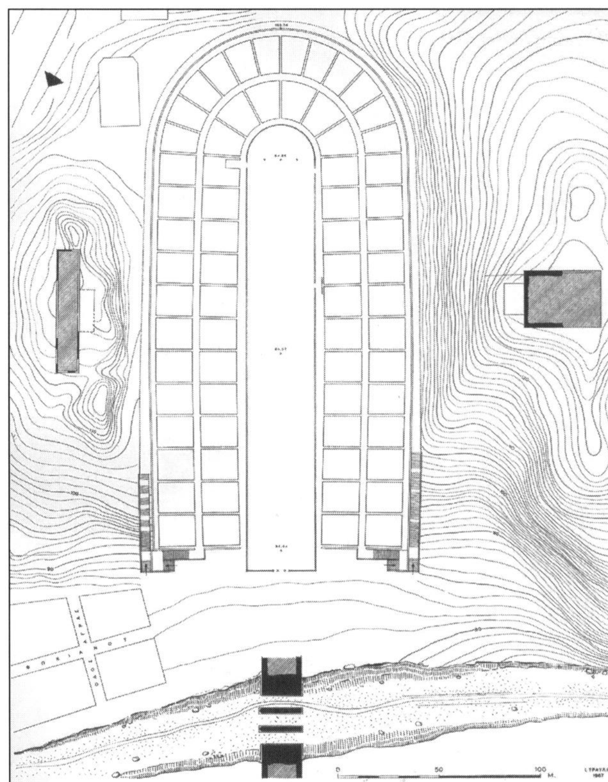

(a) The Panathenaic Stadium and surrounding buildings (Travlos (1971) 501, fig. 630)

(b) Altar dedicated to Herodes 'the Marathonian hero' (photo by author)

(c) Strigillated klinê sarcophagus (photo by author)