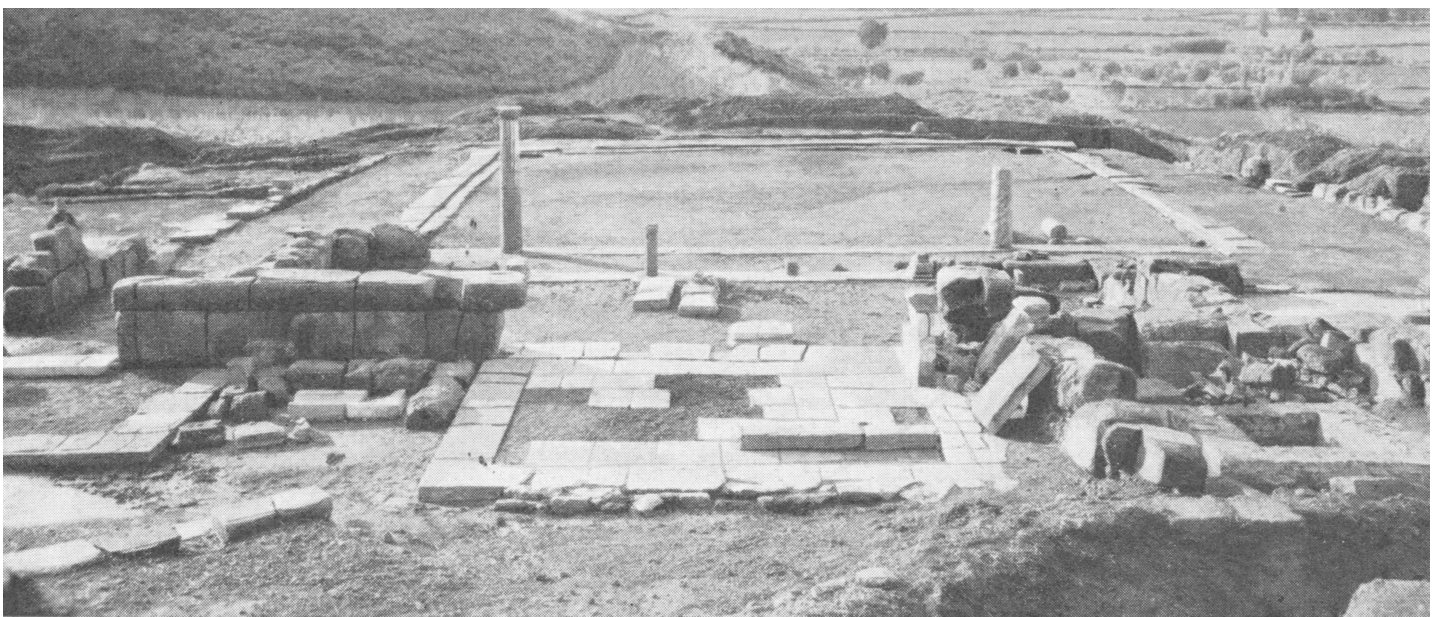


The Heroon at Kalydon: An investigation of the function of the Hellenistic building



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Abstract

The heroon in Kalydon has been under investigation several times with different intentions: to date the building, to find the relative chronology between peristyle and tomb, and to study the sculptural programme. The building was interpreted by the excavators to suit the functions of cultic feasting and celebration related to the hero, but the actual function of the various rooms has been questioned and debated later. The objective of this paper is to study the function of the rooms, with a background in newer comparative material, and by looking at different archaeological aspects in the structure with a holistic approach. The comparative material consists of peristyle structures from the late Classical to late Hellenistic period, and the aspects investigated include the entrance, exedrae and "Kultraum", stone clad floors, installations, and the tomb.

This analysis showed that the heroon had most structural similarities with gymnasia, and the most resembling example was the gymnasium in Amphipolis. The function of the rooms was however different from the normal functions in a gymnasium; the form of the rooms adapted to activities related to the hero cult. The form of the building, as a gymnasium, was intentional and in connection with the deceased hero and athlete Leon, as this would have been his arena of success, while the use of the building was more related with the cult activities.

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Introduction

The Hellenistic period is known for being a time of turmoil, and described as “in a state of transition, often of stress, subject to new geopolitical and internal pressures”,¹ and although later research is revising the extremity of this statement, there were still societal changes taking place. Dominance of members from the elite in key offices was increasing, and this also becomes very evident with the *euergetai*, benefactors who through wealth and power supported and controlled the cities.² At the same time, or more precisely, around the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and onwards, hero cult and the connected buildings and complexes increased in size and were introduced in numerous locations.³ Hughes explains a thought in previous research, i.e. a seemingly distancing to the gods by worshippers, with the shift towards a closer relationship to the hero and the connected worship instead.⁴ This rise of hero shrines and hero cult is closely connected with the observed fact that, in the Hellenistic Age it was possible for powerful and wealthy individuals to ‘heroize’ a family member, thereby increasing their visibility and legitimacy within the city in which the cult is placed.⁵

In Kalydon, an underground tomb and a related building complex is located outside the city walls and here are found several inscriptions, one reconstructed to say “Λέωνι ἥρωι [καὶ νέωι Ἡ]ρακλ[εῖ]”,⁶ indicating it to be one of these abovementioned examples of a local individual who has been ‘heroized’. This is one of the reasons why this building with tomb has been interpreted to be a heroon. As will be specified further on in this paper, the building is interpreted to have had various functions and is compared to different typologies of buildings, and when the excavators in the excavation publication tried to define and place the building in a ‘heroon typology’, they were necessitated to create a new type, even calling it an unusual type with similarities to peristyle buildings and as a mix of several known types.⁷ When

¹ Alcock 1991, 448.

² Alcock 1991, 456.

³ Fedak 1990, 23.

⁴ Hughes 1999, 174.

⁵ Several scholars mention this development regarding the relationship between worshippers and heroes and the possibility for individuals to ‘heroize’ family members (see for instance Alcock 1991; Antonaccio 1998; Carbon & Pirenne-Delforge 2013; Fedak 1990; Hughes 1995; Larson 1995). It is especially interesting to look at the case of Epikteta from Thera, where the idea of local heroes is evident in an ancient epigraphic source (see e.g. Carbon & Pirenne-Delforge 2013). It should be noted however, that it was also possible for individuals to ‘heroize’ family members in the Classical period.

⁶ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 66. There are three inscriptions, all of them mentioning a “new Herakles”.

⁷ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 120. The heroon was described as the type “Gartengrabes”.

looking at the layout of the building along with the different elements the need of creating a specific type is understandable, since this building is indeed peculiar.

The objective of this study is to investigate the function of the so-called heroon,⁸ where selected aspects of the building will be compared with other structures with resembling aspects. Fedak, in his book from 1990, states “difficulties also arise from the widespread use of the words ‘mausoleum’ and ‘heroon’: these terms have become quite comprehensive and do not necessarily refer to a single type of monument”,⁹ so hopefully it is possible to investigate and, even better, provide an interpretation of the function and use of this building, not based on modern typological classifications, but comparisons between physical archaeological aspects evident in various structures.

For this study, a selection of elements apparent in the heroon, which could have an importance for an analysis with the purpose of identifying the function or change of such, are chosen, as the scope of this paper does not allow an inclusion of all possible aspects. It will be clear in the following sections what these aspects are and their relative importance, but they are amongst others the plan layout, the spatial relationship between rooms, the thickness of the walls, and the size of openings. By choosing these aspects, it will be attempted to give a qualified answer to how this building was used and if it changed function during its lifetime.

The ancient city of Kalydon - a short introduction

Kalydon is located in the Aitolia region on mainland Greece (Fig. 1). The ancient city is overlooking the Patras Bay and northern Peloponnesus from its hilly position, and the Evinos River is running as a division between the city and the Bay. Kalydon is mentioned several times in ancient literary sources and is especially known for its part in the myth about the hunt for the Kalydonian boar.¹⁰ Some prehistoric material has been found during surveys, but the amount and type of sherds from the survey shows no substantial habitation before the Early Archaic period.¹¹ With Octavian’s victory at the Battle at Actium in 31 BC, and the

⁸ The complex will be called a heroon for the remainder of the paper for the sake of already established terminology.

⁹ Fedak 1990, 23.

¹⁰ Apollodorus describes the myth about the Kalydonian boar (Apollod. 1.7.7). Pausanias also mentions Kalydon on several occasions (Paus. 3.10.2, 5.1.3, 7.21.1, 7.18.8, and 4.31.7) and so does Homer as well (Hom. Il. 9.529).

¹¹ Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 78.

founding of Nikopolis, the inhabitants of Kalydon were allocated to this new city along with several other cities in the region.¹² This seemingly definitive end to the occupation is however questioned based on later excavations performed since 2013, at least for certain areas of the city, where evidence of Roman occupation is found.¹³



Figure 1: Location of Kalydon, marked with red circle (Greek Mythology Link 2017).

Kalydon is, as already mentioned, located on a hilly area, which is also described as such by Homer, and the city follows this topography.¹⁴ The wall encircling the city is approximately 2.35 km long with 5 gates, all this protecting around 30-35 ha, where geomagnetic surveys has shown the percentage of built up area to be circa 80%.¹⁵ Inside the city walls are several living quarters placed on the slopes, including a building identified as a palaestra, and a large acropolis area with both houses and a temple, but the agora has not yet been completely surely identified. On the outside of the city wall cemeteries and several larger buildings have been identified, including the temple of Artemis Laphria, a stoa, a theatre and the heroon (Fig. 2).¹⁶

¹² Paus. 7.18.8.

¹³ Vikatou & Handberg forthcoming, 12.

¹⁴ Hom. *Il.* 2.635.

¹⁵ Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 67, 79.

¹⁶ Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009, 162.



Figure 2: The ancient city of Kalydon (Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009).

In the section below the research history is outlined, describing the early investigations of Kalydon, but research of the city was resumed in 2001 by Søren Dietz for the Danish Institute at Athens, where the focus was placed on the urbanism of Kalydon, i.e. the area inside the city wall.¹⁷ These investigations included several approaches for enhancing the knowledge of the city, one of them being geomagnetic surveys where structures and an orthogonal road system showed up.¹⁸ Other investigations consisted of geological studies and surveys. In 2011 the research shifted focus towards the theatre, and later in 2013 research of the habitation area on the lower acropolis inside the city wall were begun.¹⁹ Despite the great interest in Kalydon the last decade, the heroon was primarily under examination in the first excavations of the site.

¹⁷ Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 9.

¹⁸ Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 50.

¹⁹ For the investigations of the theatre, only preliminary reports are available (e.g. Vikatou *et al.* 2014), but the final publication is expected to be finished in 2017. Investigations of the lower acropolis are still being conducted, but a preliminary report is forthcoming (Vikatou & Handberg forthcoming).

Research history

The excavations in Kalydon started as a Danish and Greek collaboration in 1926, with Frederik Poulsen and Konstantinos Rhomaios as the main investigators.²⁰ The primary focus of this campaign was to excavate the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and the heroon, both located outside the city walls. This campaign was followed by a report in 1927,²¹ where the preliminary results were presented. The vaulted tomb with the dromos, staircase and sarcophagi were dated to the late Hellenistic period, more precisely the first century BC, and the tomb was then, at the syneicisim by Augustus, closed and filled. It was also suggested that the building above, the heroon, was built 150 years later, in the 2nd century AD thereby giving the complex as a whole, three different phases, which were aligned with the history of Kalydon.²² The following year another campaign was conducted, where Poulsen and Rhomaios tried to establish the boundary of the abovementioned sanctuary and to investigate some of the smaller finds from the heroon.²³

In 1932, the third campaign started and was joined by another architect and archaeologist, Ejnar Dyggve, and this excavation resulted in a very detailed publication that modified the results presented in the previous report from 1927.²⁴ The heroon was excavated and mostly exposed, and in the publication the excavators treat the peristyle building, the tomb and the finds from both areas. The phases which the whole complex previously was divided into reassessed after the thorough examination, and instead the tomb and the heroon building was estimated to have been contemporary and the function of the building was attributed to the religious and cultic feasts and ceremonies for the deceased.²⁵ The sculptures found inside the peristyle building were according to Dyggve, Poulsen and Rhomaios very difficult to date, and when dated based on analogies they struggled with the chronological relation between

²⁰ There had been previous investigations of the area of Kalydon. Leake identified the site in 1809, and in 1897 Woodhouse provided a description of the city while carrying out a topographical survey of Aitolia. In 1908, Sotiriadis described archaeological findings near the Acropolis (Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 9).

²¹ Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927.

²² Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, 79f.

²³ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 3.

²⁴ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 3.

²⁵ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 3. In this interpretation the inscriptions, which were used previously to date both the complex and the smaller finds, were deemed too inaccurate for dating purposes.

building and finds.²⁶ After these excavation reports several studies regarding this structure has been conducted to help shed some light on different issues.

Many publications mention the heroon in Kalydon, and it is generally accepted as a heroon, but some scholars are questioning this and define it as another type of building. Nilsson suggests, in his publication about Greek education and related buildings that it functioned as a gymnasium, where a later deceased and heroized athlete was buried.²⁷ Another typological definition was given by the scholar Glass, who identified this as a palaestra, also with the tomb as a later addition.²⁸ There is an extensive scholarly debate regarding the definition and distinction between gymnasia and palaestrae, but for the scope of this study, only the definition given by Glass will be mentioned; the palaestra is a special and distinctive feature, incorporated in the gymnasium complex, which on the other hand cannot exist without a palaestra.²⁹ In 1990 Janos Fedak wrote a book with a thorough and noteworthy analysis of Hellenistic tombs, and the sentences: “The heroon at Kalydon is a more compact late Hellenistic example (ca. 100 BC); the courtyard was once entirely surrounded by roofed-over structures, the outer walls of which provided complete privacy. The plan finds its closest parallels in gymnasia and basilicas”, clearly show how the layout of the heroon in Kalydon is open for interpretation.³⁰ These examples show another issue related to this complex, an issue that has also been investigated by scholars, i.e. the relation between the peristyle building and the tomb, and further, the dating of both entities. Bol took the approach of looking at the sculptural programme and intensively studied eight portrait busts found inside the heroon to attain a date. With an analysis based on analogies of already known examples he interprets the sculptural programme from room VII in the heroon to be a cycle of gods and heroes.³¹ Half of them are gods, i.e. Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Eros, while the remaining four are identified as heroes, where two of these are believed to be Herakles and Meleager, heroes known from Greek mythology, and the other two depictions are interpreted to be local persons portrayed as heroes, maybe even Leon. The sculptures are

²⁶ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 117.

²⁷ Nilsson 1955, 65f.

²⁸ Glass 1968, 238-246.

²⁹ Glass 1968, 71. It is also related with this definition that the interpretation as a private palaestra is given to the heroon in Kalydon.

³⁰ Fedak 1990, 24.

³¹ Bol 1988, 44.

determined to be Hellenistic copies of classical masterpieces, with a simultaneous freedom for the sculptor to personalize the busts, constituting an iconographical scheme that is usually found in gymnasia.³² Bol dates the sculpture, not the whole heroon complex, to the end of the 2nd century BC, except for the ‘Meleager’ head, which could be assigned to a later date.³³

A more recent study was conducted by Charatzopoulou with the clear goal of relating the tomb, the building, and the hero cult.³⁴ Her conclusions are based on the work by Bol as well as the excavation reports from Dyggve, Poulsen and Rhomaios, and her interpretation is twofold. She is certain that the building is a palaestra used for athletic activities as well as for more social gatherings and banquets, but presents two scenarios for the dating of the complex.³⁵ The first of these scenarios is that the palaestra is later than the tomb and dates from the last quarter of the 1st century BC. She suggest the possibility that some of the original inhabitants stayed in Kalydon despite the *synoecism*, and continued to live with Romans who had settled there, thereby showing a continuation of Greek tradition despite the turmoil of the period.³⁶ This theory complies with the dating of the ‘Meleager’ head, and the dating of one of the inscriptions found in the palaestra. The other scenario, which Charatzopoulou deems more likely, is that both the tomb and palaestra are built concurrently in the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of 1st century BC. She explains the conflicting dating of the sculpture to be caused by an introduction of a new cult in the Imperial period, where the north “Kultraum” is redecorated with the sculptural programme and the tomb is reused.³⁷

Even though many later excavations were conducted in the city of Kalydon, the heroon was left without further investigations, mostly exposed, and with a few columns and finds *in situ* for visitors to visualize the complex.³⁸

³² Bol 1988, 45.

³³ Bol 1998. The individual sculptural tondi are given separate dating, but all falls in the abovementioned period.

³⁴ Charatzopoulou 2006, 65.

³⁵ Charatzopoulou 2006, 82.

³⁶ Charatzopoulou 2006, 84f.

³⁷ Charatzopoulou 2006, 83f.

³⁸ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 9. Many of the remains that were left in place by the excavators are now lost due to quarrying by the locals.

Theory and method

The aim of this study is to attempt an interpretation of the function of the heroon in Kalydon, based on the plan of the building and the archaeological finds from the excavations conducted by Dyggve, Rhomaios and Poulsen. Several scholars, as described in the research history, already attempted this, but the intention is to contribute to this debate with a newer and different approach. To give this interpretation a wider foundation and hopefully to give the analysis more validity the study will be with a comparative approach, and at the same time it can include newer material investigated after the publication from 1934. The comparative material is found in excavation reports and publications, both from specific sites, and also with a broader architectural scope. The primary essential aspect when searching for the comparative material is a similar ground plan, where rooms, on one or more sides, surround a peristyle courtyard. Other details are also taken into considerations, such as size of rooms, placement of openings, thickness of walls and so on.

This comparative study is of course qualitative, as the likeness between the comparative material and the heroon is assessed upon the selection, and at the same time, most likely, not every single example there is to be found is actually found. Hopefully, since the buildings that constitute the comparative material are chosen regardless of previously determined typological classifications, and with a functional view on the archaeological remains instead, the linkage between function in the comparative material and the heroon will have soundness.

The comparative material is found through thorough search in publications and excavation reports. Some of the examples are already mentioned in the publication of the heroon,³⁹ but most of the other cases are found through a search in literature on Mediterranean Classical architecture. The analogies are chosen with one specific criterion, which is essential nevertheless for the study, and this is that they are from approximately the same period. This criterion is difficult to conclusively define, also due to the questionable dating of the building, but the comparative material will be from the end of the Classical period to the late Hellenistic period. Some of the structures in the material have longer periods of use, but the phase that is

³⁹ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 109-126.

investigated falls between the limits of the dating criterion. Finally, some form of peristyle courtyard should be found in the concerned buildings.

The size of the comparative material is relatively large, but only selected aspects are investigated. Following definitions by Smith and Peregrine, this could be classified as a systematic approach to the comparative study.⁴⁰ This typically entails statistical methods, which is not the case in this study, but the sample size and the relatively small contextualization of the individual structures fits this approach best. The sample size is of 24 structures, but the features investigated in each of these are many and thereby improves the comparability. The size and selection of the material consists of the amount of cases that makes it possible to perform a comparative investigation, especially when looking at relative similarity and not only sheer number, but at the same time the material needs to be restricted due to the scope of the paper and this is done according to the before mentioned criteria. Smith and Peregrine describes contextualization as to which extent details about society, culture and history are given.⁴¹ In this catalogue the contextualization mostly focuses on the physical remains, and dating is provided for each structure, but not so much on many other aspects. As already mentioned the data is from secondary sources, and the complications of this will be considered in the critique section below. When searching for function, and also possible changes of such, diachronic comparisons could be helpful, but this study will primarily be synchronic, so the comparisons could tell something about the function of the heroon in that specific period in history.

Form and function

With the intention of identifying the function of this building, it is obviously important to discuss the approach and to ask the question; does form follow function?

As previously mentioned, Fedak states that there is no definitive or general form for a heroon, supporting the reasoning for choosing comparative material without taking type into consideration.⁴² At the same time, the mention of heroa and hero cult in ancient literary sources, tells us that there has been a shared function of these buildings, with rituals and

⁴⁰ Smith & Peregrine 2011, 7.

⁴¹ Smith & Peregrine 2011, 11.

⁴² Fedak 1990, 23.

commemorations taking place.⁴³ The aim of this study is to investigate the function, in more than one sense: to investigate the intended building function and to investigate the actual use and biography of the building. This is an ambitious aim, because as Trebsche describes there are series of problems when aiming for a functional interpretation, one of them being to differentiate between changes in function.⁴⁴

A holistic approach where the comparative material is put in relation to the heroon in Kalydon, is used for hopefully increasing the possibilities for assigning several functions, or at least highlight the biography of the heroon, in the end asking, not ‘was this a heroon?’ but ‘why did this building have this layout?’ The collected material will be viewed individually and compared to the heroon, looking for both differences and similarities, and a relative similarity will also be established, so the reader will be able to transparently see the working method of the author. This holistic approach will be somewhat systematically adapted in the analysis, where aspects of comparisons are chosen, putting focus on some architectural features.

When determining function based on form, it is relevant to look at several stages in the construction of the building, such as wishes of the commissioner, the resources available and the *chaîne opératoire*, conventions and traditions in the region, and much more. All these factors are relevant to address, but the primary focus in this paper will be the intention during construction as well as later adaptations. The construction of the building, along with the materials used is discussed much more thoroughly in the publication by Dyggve, Rhomaios and Poulsen, and here is also an investigation of architectural inspiration for the decorative elements in the heroon, e.g. the column capitals.⁴⁵

Besides the more theoretical difficulties mentioned above, there are some questions with the archaeological remains of the building that are troublesome and has been investigated, but not yet settled by previous scholars. One of these is the physical archaeological remains and their preservation state. When determining function based on form it is necessary to accentuate the state of preservation of the remains because the form, and thereby the

⁴³ The ancient sources are amongst others Herodotus, Pausanias and Homer. A discussion of rituals performed at the heroa, can be found in e.g. Cavanagh 2015 ; Ekroth 1999; and Farnell 1921.

⁴⁴ Trebsche 2009, 509f.

⁴⁵ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 109-120.

function will only be “fragmentarily accessible”.⁴⁶ This study will not completely change the reconstruction made by the excavators in 1934,⁴⁷ but will also not accept the reconstructed plan layout uncritically either. The preservation state will be mentioned in the following description of the heroon and the archaeological remains that were exposed during the excavations of this building.

Another important issue raised by previous scholars is the chronology, this being both the dating of the whole building complex but also the relative chronology of the various elements of this. As is already clear from the research history, and especially in the article by Charatzopoulou, there are different thoughts regarding the dating, and even though this paper is not trying to solve or elaborate on this issue, some aspects will still be taken into consideration and be included in the interpretation presented in this study.

Limitation and critique

The limitations of this research are in one part natural, and in some parts methodological. The natural limitation is the ever-returning fact that we generally in archaeology only study a fraction of the culture we are trying to understand, thereby producing a fractured interpretation. That is something that every archaeologist is aware of, but as an addition, the information in this study is solely from secondary sources. The whole investigation is based upon the excavation report from 1934 where the main material is described,⁴⁸ and few visits by the present author in modern times, looking at the heroon in its poor preservation state. This forms uncertainty in the conclusion. The comparative material in the catalogue is also described and analysed based on secondary sources, but by describing the preservation state, as well as being critical of the reconstructions and reports, the points of concern should at least be clear for the reader. The publication by Dyggve, Rhomaios and Poulsen is a very detailed and elaborated piece of work, but in spite of this, there is still a lack of stratigraphic descriptions and more precisely noted find spots, which is affecting the interpretation as well.

Regarding the collection of comparative material, there is a slight majority of gymnasia. This is definitely something to be aware of, since the analysis easily can be distorted. It will be

⁴⁶ Trebsche 2009, 507.

⁴⁷ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 90-108.

⁴⁸ Dyggve *et al.* 1934.

made clear during the analysis which considerations and precautions there are due to this. The choice of a selection of aspects in the analysis is an attempt to have a systematic approach, but a critique of this is presented by Adam Smith, as it can have “reductionist tendencies”.⁴⁹ It is not possible to include every aspect in this study, but this just encourage for further investigation of the building.

As explained above, there are also points of criticism to the approach of looking at form to determine function, but hopefully this has been thoroughly enough explained to still obtain a valid analysis and conclusion.

The heroon and archaeological finds

The heroon is an almost square building, measuring 37.5 x 34.4 m, with two protruding elements, one completely square apsis on the north side of the building, adding 5.9 m, and a semi-circular apsis added to the east wall (Fig. 3).⁵⁰ At the north-western corner a polygonal wall is encircling a cistern and a well, and just east of this wall one finds the entrance to the underground tomb chamber. A stairway with nine steps and a dromos is leading from ground level to the 1.7 m high tomb chamber, which is placed directly under the northern protruding apsis mentioned above. The tomb is carved into the bedrock, and for the foundation of the upper complex, the bedrock was used at as many places as possible, but for the southern and eastern outer walls the architects were necessitated to build supporting foundation walls due to the sloping terrain.

The general layout of the heroon consists of a square peristyle courtyard (16.78 m on each side), with three wings on the north, east and south side. The wings on the north and east side consists of rooms of different size, all of them opening up towards the courtyard, except for room I. The south wing appears to have no division for rooms. As evident from the plan it is mostly the north and west part that has wall courses preserved above foundation level. For a thorough and understandable overview of the building each room and element will be described below, and also related to the general plan. The ground plan presented in the

⁴⁹ Smith 2003, 28.

⁵⁰ The description is based on the publication that summed up all three campaigns in 1934 by Dygge *et al.*

publication already has names for the identification of rooms (room I – VII etc.), and these designations will be used here as well.

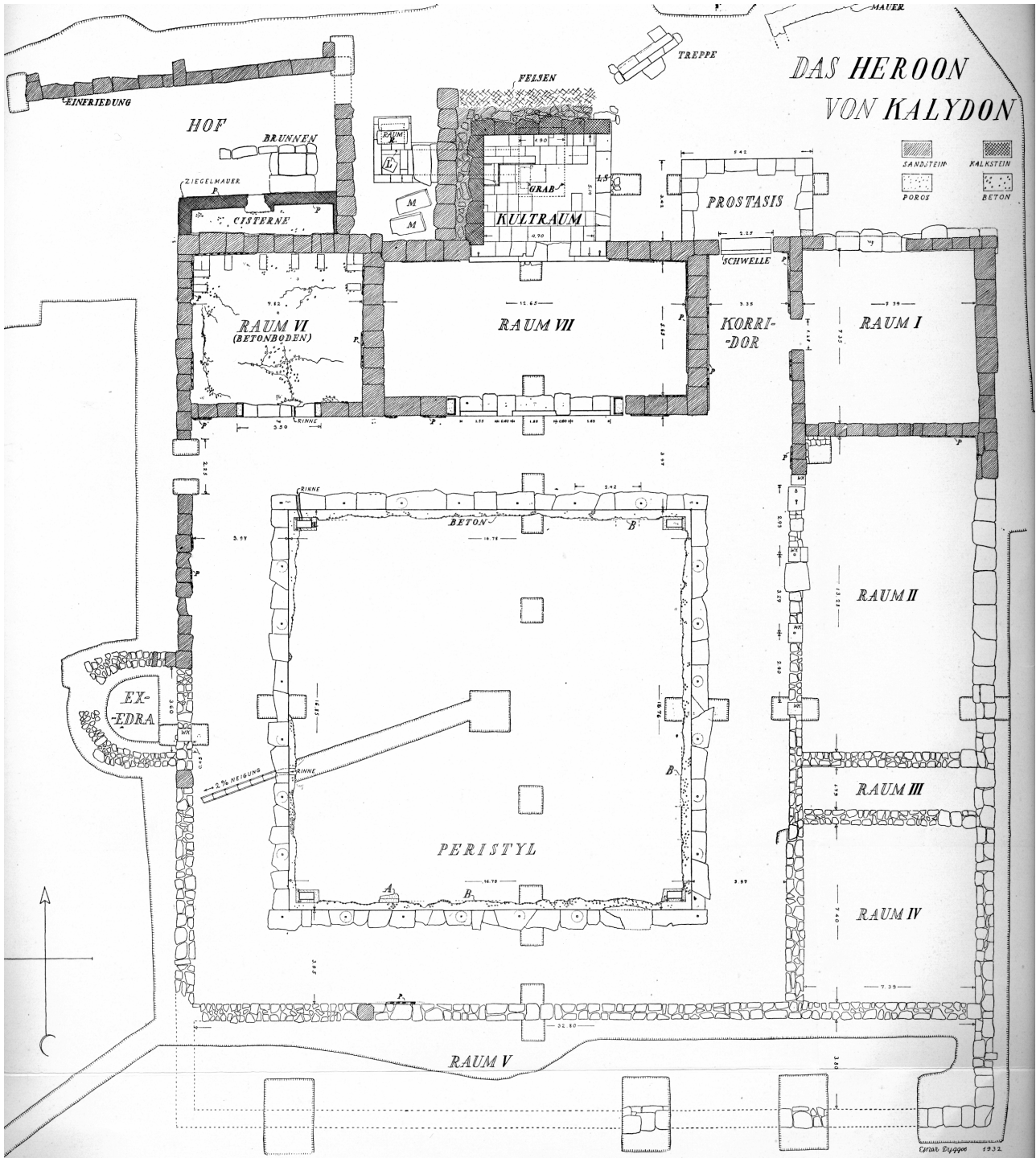


Figure 3: Ground plan of heroon after excavations in 1934 (Dyggve et al. 1934).

“Prostasis” and “Korridor”

The entrance to the heroon is oriented towards north and a series of steps leading from the entrance towards the city of Kalydon is still visible a bit north-west of the prostasis (“Treppe”). From the ground level, a single step is leading up to the stylobate of the rectangular entrance, which is constructed of irregular sandstone blocks with a corrected planed surface outwards. Only one course of these blocks is remaining, but a single block of poros and dowel holes is still evident. Just next to the prostas, remains from the columns fitting the dowel holes were found. These reveal a tetrastyle decoration of the entrance, with rectangular pillars where the corners are cut (Fig. 4). The transition from the prostasis to the building consists of a large limestone slab with signs of attachment of a door, and after crossing this you find yourself in a 3.35 m wide corridor leading to the northeast corner of the peristyle courtyard. Remains of stucco are found on the wall.

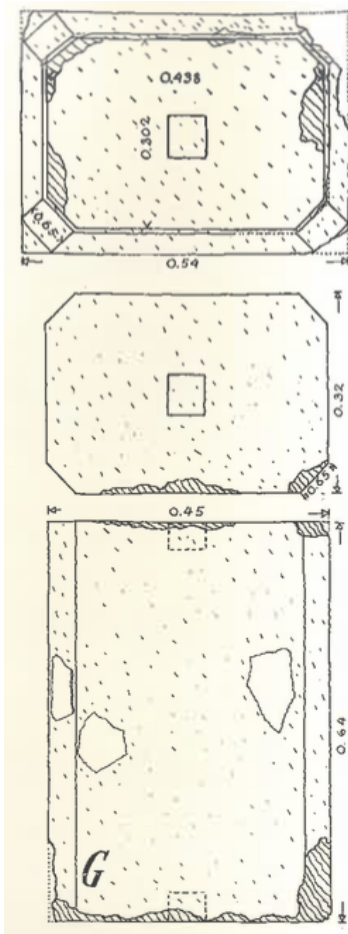


Figure 4 (left): Pilaster from the *prostasis* (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).
Figure 5 (right): Column from room II (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

The east wing (“Room I-IV”)

Room I is directly accessible from the corridor, through a precisely centred 1.28 m doorway. This room is almost completely square (7.35 x 7.39 m) with two courses of the wall preserved in some places, but there are no stucco, plaster or floor remaining. Next to room I is room II, one of the largest rooms in the building (13.28 x 7.39 m), and this room is shifted a bit north from the middle axis of the building. The opening is 9.1 m wide, and four socket stones for columns and pilasters are still *in situ* in the doorway. Of noteworthy finds in this room, two fragments from an Ionic half column are interesting, as these have dowel holes, whose width is consistent with the width of the dowel holes in the sockets in the doorway to room II. This Ionic style is very similar to the Ionic column also found in room VI; elongated, and with a very detailed flower bud-like capital (Fig. 5).

Room III is the smallest room in the heroon, just 1.79 m wide, and only the foundation walls are preserved. This is also the case with room IV, where the low preservation state nevertheless reveals a square room with quite the same measurements as room I. The entrances to room III and IV is not possible to identify from the remains.

The south wing (“Room V”)

This part of the building scarcely exists, but foundation walls show a room as long as the whole building, and with a width of 3.8 m. The foundation wall towards the peristyle is conserved, but the outer wall is only partially excavated and thus unknown.

The west wall (with “Exedra”)

The west wall of the heroon is also the west wall of the peristyle, and here a semi-circular apsis extends out almost in the middle of the wall. The apsis (3.6 m wide) is opening towards the peristyle and in the apsis, a white limestone slab is *in situ*. In the northern end, the wall is intentionally disrupted, creating an opening of 2.25 m, which is consistent with the width of the entrance in the prothesis. Small stucco remains are preserved on the west wall.

The north wing (“Room VI-VII” and “Kultraum”)

The north side of the building is divided into two rooms of different size, and a square room, known as the “Kultraum” is protruding from the north wall in room VII. Room VI is situated in the northwest corner and is approximately square with slightly smaller dimensions

than room I. The entrance to room VI is 3.5 m wide and on either side of the opening is a poros block intended for pilasters *in situ*. This room, as the only room in the whole building, has a concrete floor with inclusions of small stones, lime mortar and small pieces of tiles. An open drain is carved into the door opening towards the peristyle, and the concrete floor has ten rectangular impressions along the north wall and two related corners, which were made before the concrete was completely dry (Fig. 6). In this room, as in the adjacent one, marble benches were found, and these will be described together further down.

To the east of room VI is room VII, which is a rectangular room with the dimensions 12.65 x 5.65 m. The entrance to this room is a large, 6.68 m wide opening towards the peristyle, and the floor level in the room is 17 cm higher than the floor level in the rest of the building. The stylobate for the threshold facing the courtyard is worked in a higher degree, and the whole arrangement is divided into three parts by two columns *in antis*, while two poros bases are flanking the sides of the opening. The architectural elements found during excavation reveals an Ionic order for the *in antis* columns (similar to column in room II, see fig. 5).⁵¹ The room is shifted slight towards west in relation to the middle axis of the building, but the entrance is centred in the room.

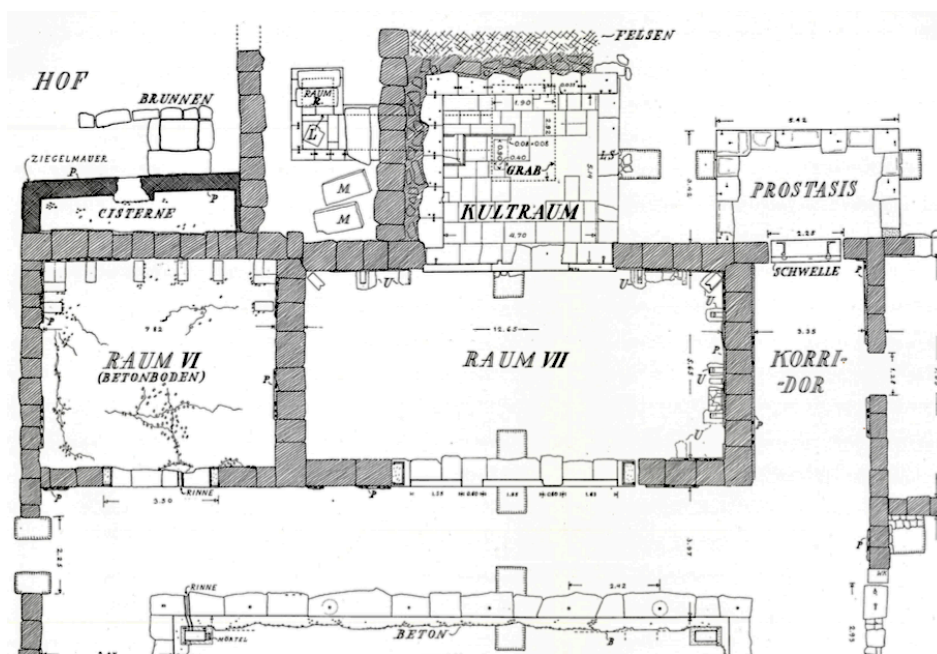


Figure 6: Detail of the northern wing in the heroon (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

⁵¹ It is noteworthy that even though the columns resemble each other, and are elongated, they are placed differently *in antis*. In room II the volutes are seen from the side when looking from the peristyle, while in room VI the volutes are facing the peristyle.

Room VI and VII yielded many archaeological finds, amongst others several parts of marble benches and stools, even some of them still *in situ*. The benches were of blue greyish marble, and had letters carved into them.⁵² The benches differentiated in width and the wider ones were found in room VI. It is in room VII that most of the sculpture from the heroon was found. Eight busts were found in this room, even more fragments and the head of a life-size female statue (Fig. 7). A large amount of plaster and red stucco is also preserved on the walls.



Figure 7: Some of the sculptures from room VII. The largest picture is the portrait interpreted to be Leon (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

Lastly, a square room (4.5 x 4.6 m) is protruding towards north, in the middle of the north wall in room VII. Two steps are raising the floor level in this room slightly from the adjacent. Floor and walls are of limestone blocks, and a distinct socket is added, visible on the western wall (Fig. 8). In the same wall but a bit closer to the entrance there is a recess. A white marble base found in this room has an inscription mentioning a “KPATEI”, interpreted to be a woman named Krateia and also here a Leon is mentioned. Very striking about this room is the thickness of the walls. It is a double wall of 1.9 m, more than double the thickness of the remaining walls in the building.

⁵² The letters A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H, Ξ, I, K, were found, but other fragments found suggests benches with Λ and M also.

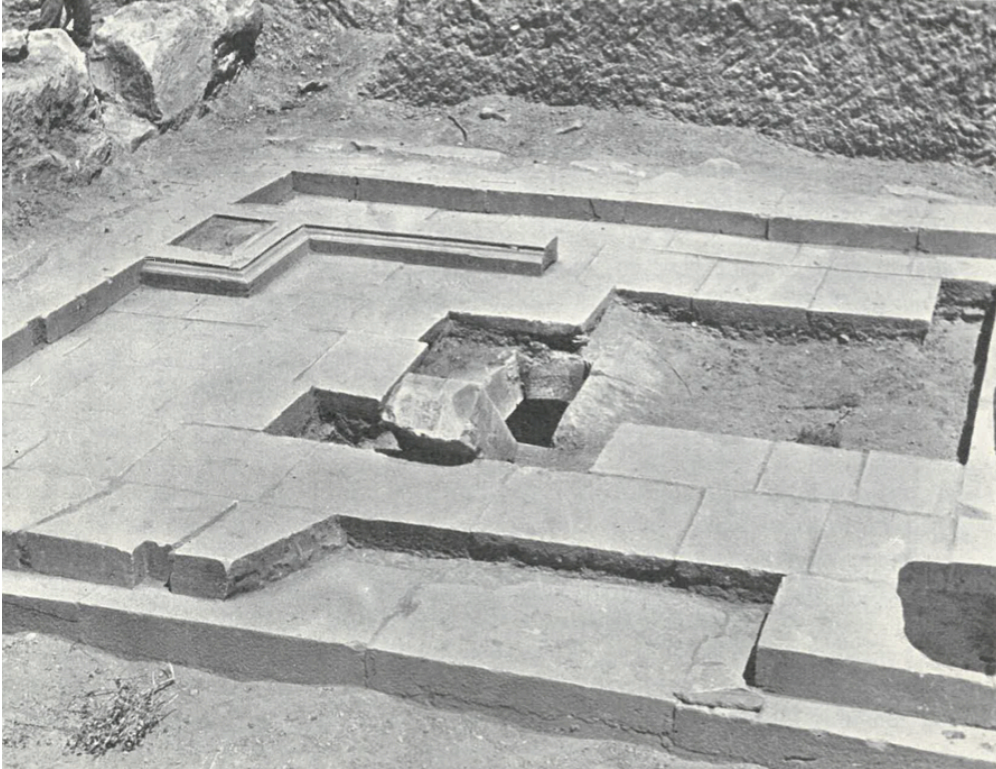


Figure 8: Detail of “Kultraum”, with socket and recess furthest left (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

The peristyle

The sandstone blocks forming the stylobate for the columns are not worked on the side facing the rooms, but the inner side is completely plane and along this side, a concrete layer, similar to the floor in room VI is running. In the four corners of the peristyle, small water basins of poros and mortar are placed (Fig. 6). In the northwest corner of the court, across from the drain in room VI, a drain is cut in the stylobate running into the appropriate water basin. In the west part of the stylobate another drain is carved (see fig. 3), and it is continued as an open drain constructed by semi-round clay pipes towards west. No cover stones for the drain were discovered and an unsuccessful search was made in the middle of the court to locate the starting or ending place for the drain. The stylobate bears signs from columns, in form of dowel holes and platforms for columns in high relief. Several fragments of poros belonging to the columns were found inside the peristyle. The pieces show a choice of the Doric order for the peristyle courtyard. There have been 8 x 8 columns, with an intercolumniation of 2.42 m.

The “exterior” elements

This section includes the tomb as well as the courtyard encircling the cistern and well. The tomb located directly beneath the “Kultraum” is carved into the bedrock, with the floor, walls

and barrel-vaulted ceiling constructed with limestone blocks and then sealed with a red mortar to secure against water (Fig. 9). The surface of the stones shows no sign of stucco or paint, but iron hooks were inserted. Tomb robbers had already looted the chamber, overturning the door that sealed the access. The broken, but well preserved, limestone door was 1.7 m high and slightly trapezoidal and decorated with three broad bands running vertically across. Small knobs were modelled on these bands, resembling nail heads. The tomb robbers took the metal handles that would have been inserted into the door, but a bronze pin at the top of the door for holding it in place in the limestone frame is still *in situ*. The tomb was furnished with two sarcophagi imitating *klinae* in limestone along with two accompanying footstools in limestone as well. The legs of the *klinae* were in elaborated relief, and with stone mattresses and pillows. It is also on an object from the tomb, a marble container, that we find one of the inscriptions reconstructed to mention *Leon, the new Herakles*.⁵³

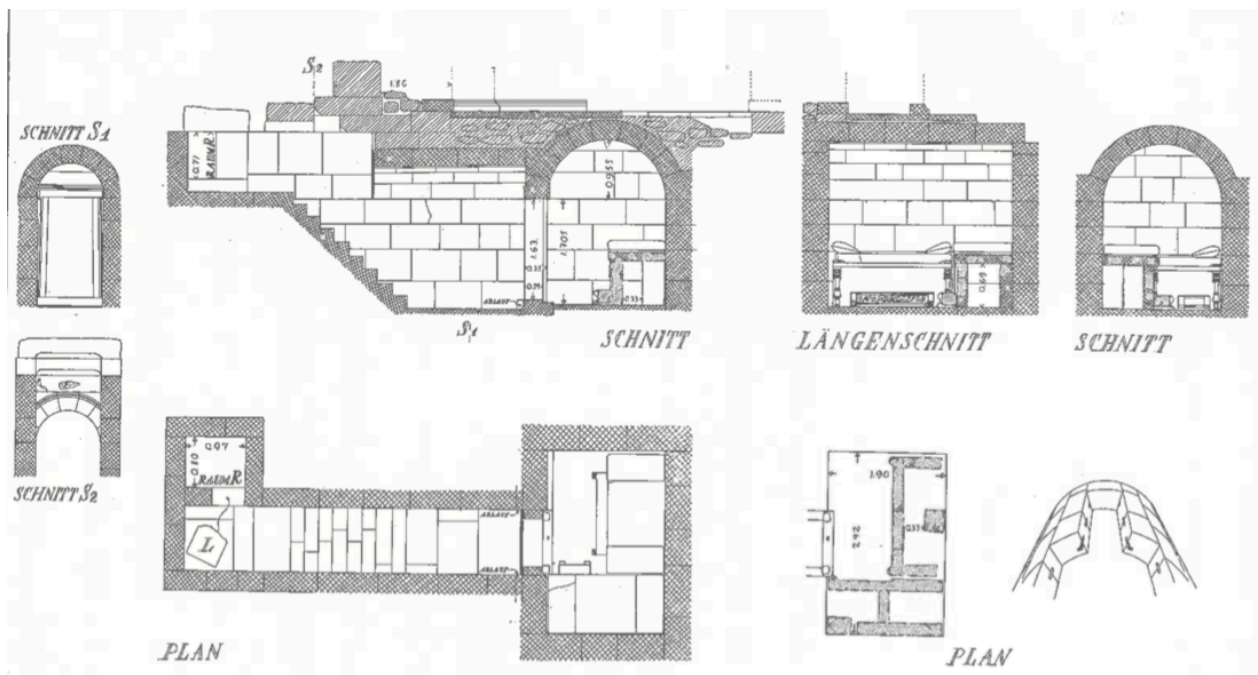


Figure 9: Plan of the underground tomb. Notice room “R” (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

⁵³ The preservation state only allows the reading:

..... NOΣ
 HPΩI
 EI

To enter the tomb, one has to ascend down a nine-step stairway and go through a small corridor, all of it built with limestone blocks with small remains of stucco. A small room (named “R” in the drawing) was situated just before going down the stairs and had the same vaulting as the tomb chamber. The entrance is located between the outside courtyard wall and the “Kultraum”, and thus outside the complex.

The remains of the outer court consists of a few courses of a wall forming a corner, and in this corner the excavators found a well carved at least 5 m into the bedrock, and a cistern of concrete, covered with mortar. The cistern is placed completely adjacent to the north wall of room VI and the well a bit north of the cistern. The investigation of the well yielded many archaeological finds, amongst other a lion spout and several tiles, and a sandstone plate found next to it functioned as the cover for the well.

Summary

The description gives us an overview of an almost square building, with rooms oriented around a peristyle courtyard. The rooms are varying in size, and where the preservation state allows seeing an entrance, it becomes clear that all of them are located in the middle of the room. There are three, square rooms, very similar in dimensions, but one differs with a larger opening and different floor. The two largest rooms are rectangular and are placed almost on the central axis of the building, with large openings and columns *in antis*. Two elements protrude from the building, one semi-circular apsis on the west side and a square extension towards north. The relation between rooms in this building constitutes the basis of the investigation of the comparative material.

Catalogue

The catalogue comprises 24 entities, which fits the criteria already defined in the theory and method section. For a better overview each building is given categories for descriptions. These categories are: name and location, date, measurements, description and interpretations given by other scholars. The names of the buildings are written here as they are known in literature, without consideration of the typology that can be given at the same time. The description given is based on the present author's observation from ground plans, but supplemented with archaeological finds from excavations.⁵⁴ The category 'Interpretation' is the function scholars have assigned the building, these being referred to in the footnotes.

Cat. 1

Gymnasium, Amphipolis⁵⁵ (Fig. 10)

Date: Based on the architectural remains scholars dated it to be from the second half of the 4th century BC, while pottery can show a later date in the 3rd century BC.

Measurements: The total area of the building is 46.8 x 36.1 m. Courtyard is 20.6 x 15.4 m.

Description: The building is rectangular, with only a small addition on the east wall. The peristyle courtyard is in the centre of the building, and remains from Doric columns are found. Rooms of different size are oriented around the peristyle on all four sides. The north side consists of four rooms; three square rooms and one rectangular room in the northeast corner where the excavators found floor clad with stones and remains of benches and waterspouts on the wall. The room next to it has an addition of a distyle prothesis on the outside. On the west side a long, more narrow room is located, with remains of columns *in antis*. Benches are also described in this room. Opposite, on the east side, only few walls are visible, and it is difficult to determine the amount of rooms. The south side also has three, square rooms and one rectangular, and these are inverted from the north. The rectangular apsis on the east side is not centred, but moved slightly south, and has some sort of division. In the north colonnade, both the east and west end, small walls create two corridors. The doorways of the two most eastern rooms of the north side are centred, while at the most western it is off-centre. The room on the west side was completely open towards the courtyard.

⁵⁴ Some of these are based on reconstructed ground plans. All measurements are from the publications mentioned in the footnotes.

⁵⁵ Interpretations and descriptions can be found in Emme 2013 and Winter 2006.

Interpretation: Scholars interpret the building as a gymnasium, and rooms are ascribed with definitions adopted from Vitruvius.⁵⁶ The *ephebeum* should be the long west room with columns *in antis*, the two corner rooms on the north side of the courtyard are defined as *loutra*, and the large room in the southwest corner is supposed to be the *apodyterion*.



Figure 10: Cat. 1. The gymnasium in Amphipolis (Emme 2013).

Cat. 2

Peristyle building, Apollo sanctuary, Argos⁵⁷ (Fig. 11)

Date: Scholars date it to the 4th century BC (maybe later).

Measurements: Total area of the building is 27.5 x 26.5 m.

Description: This building has a slightly rectangular ground plan, with a peristyle courtyard. The north side has two rooms, both rectangular, but the eastern room is much larger. Both rooms have off centre doorways, where access is obtained from the courtyard. The largest of the rooms has a water installation visible on the plan. One continuous corridor is representing the remaining three sides, and appears to have only one doorway in the northwest corner. All rooms, on all sides have the same depth of 3.5 m. A cistern is described to be located in the middle of the peristyle.

Interpretation: This building is, according the most recent interpretation, suggested to be a building for banqueting, where the long hall on the east, west and south side was filled with benches for dining.

⁵⁶ Vitr. *De arch.* 5.11.1.

⁵⁷ Interpretations and descriptions can be found in Emme 2013 and Tomlinson 1972.



Figure 11: Cat. 2. The peristyle building at the Apollo Sanctuary in Argos (Emme 2013).

Cat. 3

West building, Hera Sanctuary, Argos⁵⁸ (Fig. 12)

Date: Dated by scholars to late 5th century BC or later.

Measurements: Total area of building is 33.3 x 30.4 m. The courtyard is 12.24 x 10.15 m. The rooms are all of same size, 6 x 8 m.

Description: This building has a paved peristyle courtyard, and on the north side there are three rooms and a narrow corridor. Three colonnades run along the peristyle, and constitute the remaining three sides of the building. The three rooms on the north side are of the same

⁵⁸ Interpretations and descriptions can be found in Amandry 1952 and Emme 2013. Miller (1978) rejected the interpretation of the West building as a Prytaneion.

size and all of them with door openings that are off-centre. The narrow corridor between the western and middle room connects the outside with the courtyard. Excavators found remains of stone *klinae* in all three rooms, and in the south part of the court a drain is running.

Interpretation: Scholars interpreted this to be a building for banqueting. Previously it was thought to be a Prytaneion, but this was rejected.



Figure 12: Cat. 3. The West building at the Hera sanctuary in Argos (Emme 2013).

Cat. 4

Heliaia, Agora, Athens⁵⁹ (Fig. 13)

Date: Scholars determined that the building was constructed in the late 6th century BC, while the later phase, which is the one examined here, is dated to the late 4th or 2nd century BC.

Measurements: Total area of building is 26.5 x 31 m., while the courtyard is 13 x 13 m.

Description: The building has a peristyle courtyard, which is flanked by rooms on only the western side. A large entrance is oriented north, while a small opening in the east also connects the courtyard with the outside. Three large rectangular rooms constitute the west wing of the building, where the middle room is smaller than the other two, which are identical. None of the entrances are placed centrally in their respective rooms.

Interpretation: This building has been interpreted to be a Heliaia, Theseion, or a Heroon for Aiakos.



Figure 13: Cat. 4. The Heliaia on the Agora in Athens (Emme 2013).

Cat. 5

Gymnasium, Delos⁶⁰ (Fig. 14)

Date: Scholars dated it to the middle of the 3rd century BC.

Measurements: The peristyle is 31.75 x 31.8 m.

Description: In this building, the peristyle courtyard is flanked by rooms on the south, west and north side. The peristyle consists of 13 x 13 Ionic columns, and following the inner side of

⁵⁹ Interpretations and descriptions can be found in Emme 2013; Knell 2000; Stroud 1993; and Thompson 1954.

⁶⁰ Interpretations and descriptions can be found in Audiat 1970; Bruneau & Ducat 1965; Emme 2013; Glass 1967; and Yegül 1992.

the stylobate a drain is running, where the water was collected in a water basin in every corner. Excavators found benches in rooms B, C, H, J, K, and M. The rooms are varying greatly in size, also in depth, which means that the ground plan of the whole building is irregular. Almost all rooms have access from the court, except from E, which can only be entered from D. Room G has a slightly larger entrance, and on the back wall of the room is a niche with statue. The oblong room C has a wide opening where excavators found six or seven Ionic columns *in antis*. Both room B and H has centred doorways with remains from two Ionic columns *in antis*, but most of the other rooms have entrances that are asymmetrical. Interpretation: Scholars interpreted this building to be a gymnasium, and the rooms have been assigned with the different functions from Vitruvius.⁶¹ Room D and E should be *loutra* because of the supposed brick floors. Rooms J, K, and M are thought to be *propylaia*, all with benches. G should be the *apodyterion*, while C is defines as the *ephebeum*.



Figure 14: Cat. 5. The gymnasium on Delos (Emme 2013).

⁶¹ Vitr. *De arch.* 5.11.1.

Cat. 6

Palaestra, Delphi⁶² (Fig. 15)

Date: Dated by scholars to 334/33 BC.

Measurements: Total area of building is 35 x 35 m, and the peristyle is 13.3 x 13.3 m.

Description: The 8 x 8 Ionic peristyle has rooms on the northern and western side. The building is completely square thanks to the terrace E/H. The western side is consisting of two rooms, where G is the largest (measured to be 11.5 x 10.9 m) and excavators found benches along the walls. The entrance to G is with four columns *in antis*. D is a narrow corridor with openings in each end of the room, giving access from outside to the peristyle. Room A, B, and C is all of the same size (8 x 5.5 m) and with centred doorways, but B differs from the other two. In the entrance to B was found two columns *in antis* and partition walls approximately one-third into the room divide it in two. It is also possible to exit the building in the northeast corner.

Interpretation: Identified by scholars as a gymnasium, where room G is the *apodyterion*, room A and C is respectively *konsisterium* and *sphairisterion*, and the divided room on the north side, B, is the *ephebeum* or more likely a cultic room.



Figure 15: Cat. 6. The palaestra in Delphi (Jannoray 1953).

⁶² Interpretations and descriptions can be found in Emme 2013; Glass 1967; Jannoray 1953; and Yegül 1992.

Cat. 7

Hanghaus 2, WE 6, Ephesos⁶³ (Fig. 16)

Date: Dated by scholars to late Hellenistic or early Imperial.

Measurements: North room (31b+c) is 7.2 m wide, while the west room (36e+d) is 8.85 m.

Description: This building has a peristyle with 4 x 4 columns and rooms on the north, west and south side. The northern and western rooms are approximately the same depth (4.5 m), but the middle room towards north has three niches in the back wall. The two large rooms in the northern and western sides open towards the court with wide entrances and respectively two and three columns *in antis*. The entrance is in the north wall, at the eastern end. A smaller room is just next to the entrance, and the doorway is not in the centre of the wall. Another small room is located in the western wing, but this is completely open towards the peristyle. In the southwest corner is a square room with marble floor, and from here, an extension with barrel vaulting is protruding towards west.

Interpretation: It is interpreted to a private house, where the north room is identified as a library, and the rooms in the south wing are thought to be banqueting halls.



Figure 16: Cat. 7. Hanghaus 2, WE 6 in Ephesos (Thür 2010).

⁶³ Description and interpretation can be found in Thür 2010 and Thür & Rathmayr 2014.

Cat. 8

North Gymnasium, Eretria⁶⁴ (Fig. 17)

Date: Dated by scholars to the 1st phase is dated to 4th century BC.

Measurements: The peristyle is 22.2 m on each side. Room F is 6.9 m long and 2 m wide.

Room E is square, measuring 7.5 x 7.5 m.

Description: It is only possible to identify rooms on the north side, and in some part of the east side, of the Doric styled courtyard. Entrance to the complex is found in the west wall. F is the largest room and is located in the north-western corner of the building. At the large entrance, which is not symmetrically placed, the excavators found four plinths and Doric columns, and benches inside the room. Amongst other finds from this room was a portrait bust belonging to a medallion. Room E is only accessible from F, and also here were found benches along the walls. The room in the northeast corner, B, is entered through an anteroom called C, and here the floor is covered with a limestone mosaic with remains of washing benches along the west wall. Determination of the walls of room D is difficult, but a mosaic floor with floral patterns is uncovered, and in the area between B and D another bust for a medallion was found.

Interpretation: It is thought by scholars that rooms continued down the east side of the building. The large room F is suggested to be an *apodyterion*, and the connected E either also an *apodyterion* or a banqueting hall with room for eleven *klinae*. It is interpreted to be able to accommodate both functions. B is defined as a *loutron*. The round structure on the north side is a later addition, but the small corridor, m, is interpreted to be the kitchen or storage room for the dining activities in E.

⁶⁴ Description and interpretation can be found in Emme 2013; Mango 2003; Mango 2009; and Winter 2006.



Figure 17: Cat. 8. The north gymnasium in Eretria (Mango 2009).

Cat. 9

Peristyle house, Kalydon⁶⁵ (Fig. 18)

Date: Dated by scholars to 200 BC.

Measurements: Peristyle courtyard is 13.6 m on each side, with an intercolumniation of 1.76 m. The northwest corner room is 5.7 x 4.74 m, the room east of this is 5.74 x 4.55 m, and the next room towards east is 4.6 x 5.74 m. The square room in the southeast corner is 6 m on each side.

Description: This slightly trapezoidal building has a peristyle of 8 x 8 columns, with rooms on the north and east side. As listed above, the three northern rooms west of the entrance stairway are almost similar in dimensions. The central of these rooms is open towards the peristyle with an Ionic column found in the entrance, and a well inside the room. The room in the northwest corner is only accessible through an off-centre door from the middle room. The floor in this corner room was found to be of packed clay, while the middle room had a pebble floor.

⁶⁵ For a full description and interpretation see Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011.

Interpretation: This building is interpreted by the excavators to be some sort of clubhouse, functioning as some hybrid between private and public building. The corner room is defined as a cult room with an altar, and the middle room as an anteroom for this. The square room in the southeast corner is interpreted as a *loutron*.



Figure 18: Cat. 9. The peristyle house in Kalydon (Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009).

Cat. 10

Banquet building, Asklepeion, Korinth⁶⁶ (Fig. 19)

Date: Dated by scholars to late 4th century BC.

Measurements: The peristyle is 18.91 x 21.61 m.

Description: The preservation state of this building is very poor, and many of the walls on the plan are reconstructed. What is visible is a peristyle courtyard with 8 x 9 columns and three identical rooms on the east wing. These three rooms have openings towards the court, but none of these are in the centre of their respective rooms. Excavators found remains of

⁶⁶ Interpretation and description can be found in Emme 2013.

benches in all three. On the north and south end of these rooms are found two rectangular rooms where three ionic columns are *in antis*, and these rooms are also open towards the east.

Interpretation: This building is interpreted by the excavators as a banqueting building related to the sanctuary. Two rooms are supposed to be reconstructed on the north side. The three rooms on the east side of the building are interpreted to be rooms for banqueting.



Figure 19: Cat. 10. The Banquet building at the Asklepeion in Korinth (Emme 2013).

Cat. 11

Prytaneion, Magnesia on the Meander⁶⁷ (Fig. 20)

Date: Scholars dates this to 221 or 220 BC.

Measurements: The court is 34.2 x 25.9 m. The large north room is 9.3 x 14.6 m.

Description: The Doric peristyle, with 10 x 8 columns, is flanked by rooms on the north and eastern side. There are three rooms and a corridor on the east side, and it is only the southernmost room, which is accessible from the court. The remaining ones are interconnected, and in the most northern one of these an altar for Hestia was found by the investigators. The north side is divided into four rooms that are of uneven size, and with

⁶⁷ Interpretation and description can be found in Emme 2013 and Miller 1978.

different access ways. The room in the northwest corner has a doorway placed asymmetrically and remains of benches inside were also found, while the room next to, a much larger rectangular room, is completely open towards the court and has four Ionic columns *in antis*. The two rooms located mostly towards east are both open towards the exterior of the building, providing access to a stoa. The largest of these is open towards the court as well, and is divided in two sections by walls.

Interpretation: It is interpreted by the excavators to be a prytaneion, due to its location, construction form and inscriptions.



Figure 20: Cat. 11. The prytaneion in Magnesia on the Meander (Emme 2013).

Cat. 12

Hofhaus für Athena Tempel, Miletos⁶⁸ (Fig. 21)

Date: Dated by scholars to late Hellenistic.

Measurements: Total area of building is 42 x 28 m, and the court is 20.05 x 18.18 m.

Description: This peristyle differs, since excavators found three of the sites (south, east and west) to be of Doric style, while the north side is Ionic. The rectangular building has three rooms on the north side, with a central main hall where the floor was identified as covered

⁶⁸ Interpretation and descriptions can be found in Emme 2013.

with limestone slabs, and remains after *klinae* were found inside. A square room on each side is also located. None of the rooms has centred openings. The opening in the centre of the south wall is the entrance.

Interpretation: It is interpreted by the excavators as a shrine or a site for Hellenistic cultic activities. The rooms are thought to be banquet halls with *klinae* in all of them.



Figure 21: Cat. 12. The “Hofhaus für Athena Tempel” in Milet (Emme 2013).

Cat. 13

Gymnasium, Miletos⁶⁹ (Fig. 22)

Date: Dated by scholars to 200 or 199 BC.

Measurements: Total area of the building is 56,5 x 29,26 m, and the courtyard is 35 x 19,5 m.

Description: This building is very symmetrical, can be inverted along the north-south axis. The excavators found the peristyle to be similar to the “Hofhaus für Athena Tempel” (Cat. 13), with Ionic columns on the north side, and Doric columns on the remaining three sides. There

⁶⁹ Interpretation and descriptions can be found in Emme 2013; Kleiner 1968; and Winter 2006.

is a large central room in the middle of the north wing, with two rooms on each side, one small room and one a bit wider. The large room has two Corinthian pilasters in the entrance, and the other rooms have central openings. The entrance is located at the south side, with an Ionic *propylon*.

Interpretation: The interpretation by the excavators of this building is a gymnasium, with the designations from Vitruvius⁷⁰; the central large room is called *ephebeum*. It is thought as a gift from Eumenes II.



Figure 22: Cat. 13. The gymnasium in Miletos (Emme 2013).

Cat. 14

Marktbau, Morgantina⁷¹ (Fig. 23)

Date: Dated by scholars to ca. 200 BC, based on coins found during excavation.

Measurements: Total area of building is 28 x 25 m, and the courtyard is 10 x 12 m.

Description: This structure is rectangular, with a trapezoidal courtyard in the middle, and rooms oriented on the northern, western and southern side. The rooms on the northern and southern wings are very similar in size, except for the rooms in the western corners, which are a little larger. The west side consists of four rooms. All the abovementioned rooms have

⁷⁰ Vitr. *De arch.* 5.11.1.

⁷¹ Description and interpretation found in Emme 2013 and Holloway 1991.

doorways facing the peristyle, and none of them are centrally placed in their respective room. In the middle of the south side is a closed room and on each side two open rooms are located, these being slightly larger. The entrance of the building is in the southeast corner room. In the middle of the peristyle is a round structure, and abutting the stylobate the excavators found a cistern.

Interpretations: It is interpreted as a building for commerce, due to the uniformity of room size, location on the agora and the coins found. The round structure is a tholos.



Figure 23: Cat. 14. The “Marktbau” in Morgantina (Emme 2013).

Cat. 15

Palaestra, Olympia⁷² (Fig. 24)

Date: Dated by scholars to ca. 300 BC.

Measurements: Total area of building is 66.35 x 66.75 m, and the court is 41.42 x 41.52 m.

Description: This building is almost completely square and so is the courtyard. Rooms are located on all sides. The south side is consisting of one very long hall where remains of 15 Ionic pillars in the opening were found. On each side of this room are two similar square rooms (III). Six rooms are forming the west side of the building. Room I and II are identical, and located in the corners of the south wing, both open to room III and excavators found two pillars *in antis*. Two rooms of different size are following (XVIII and XVII) but both with Ionic columns *in antis* in the doorways. Opposite are also three rooms with Ionic columns *in antis*, but two of these are considerably larger (VIII and VI) than the last one (VII). On the north side is a large hall, also with Ionic columns *in antis*. Four rooms flank this (XIV, XIII, XI and X).

⁷² Description and interpretation found in Emme 2013; Gardiner 1925; Glass 1968; and Kunze & Schleif 1944.

Excavators found benches in all rooms except for XVII and VIII. The peristyle is in Doric style with 19 columns on each side.

Interpretation: This is defined by scholars as a palaestra in other literature, and has been assigned the typological names by Vitruvius⁷³. The central room XII is defined as *ephebeum*, and X and XIV in the corners as *loutra*. V is called the *apodyterion*, and room XIX is interpreted to be the room for the porter. The remaining rooms are undefined. It is thought to have been for the competitors in the Olympic games.



Figure 24: Cat. 15. The palaestra in Olympia (Emme 2013).

⁷³ Vitr. *De arch.* 5.11.1.

Cat. 16

House of Dionysus, Pella⁷⁴ (Fig. 25)

Date: Dated by scholars to last half of the 4th century BC.

Measurements: Whole building is 18.45 x 19.3 m.

Description: Consists of three aligned courtyards, but southern courtyard has not been properly excavated, and will therefore not be included, and neither will the northern courtyard. The central structure consists of a peristyle court with rooms on the east, west and north side. The east side is one long corridor that can only be entered from the northern wing. The north wing consists of three rooms, and the most eastern of those is also the room for the entrance. Two columns *in antis* stand in the entrance, and then a pillar divides this room. From here you can enter the peristyle. The largest room on the northern side is completely open towards the court and has columns *in antis*. The corner room towards west is only accessible from the central room and the floor was found covered with a mosaic. On the west side are three rooms, where the middle room is the only one open towards the courtyard, also with columns *in antis*. The two other rooms are only accessible from this room. The most northern of these three were also found to have a mosaic floor.

Interpretation: It is believed by scholars that the house had a garden in the peristyle court. Called the House of Dionysus because of the elaborated mosaics depicting Dionysus.



Figure 25: Cat. 16. The House of Dionysus in Pella (Petsas 1978).

⁷⁴ Based on description and interpretation from Heermann 1980; Petsas 1978; and Winter 162.

Cat. 17

Temenos für den Herrscherkult, Pergamon⁷⁵ (Fig. 26)

Date: The construction of the building is dated by scholars to be under Attalos I, and then extended during Eumenes II (i.e. mid 3rd century to mid 2nd century BC).

Measurements: The court during the first phase of the building is 20 x 20 m, while during the second phase it is 17.58 x 21 m. The northern exedra is 7.5 x 17.5 m.

Description: The court in this building is consisting of three sides with columns, creating corridors towards east, south and west. On the south side is an entrance from the exterior centred compared to the court, and on each side are rectangular halls with two columns *in antis*. The western side of the building is consisting of a rectangular room with a centred opening and a long corridor that extends further than the building towards north. A stairway is attached to the eastern side of this corridor and leads from this hall back into the peristyle. Central in the north side is a large hall with ionic columns at the entrance. A square apsis is attached to the north wall of this room. In the northeast corner is a small room.

Interpretation: Scholars have interpreted the building as a palace for a princess, training ground for Attalos I and the Attalids, or a building for a ruler that could accommodate cultic activities. The apsis on the main north room is interpreted to be a tower built in Roman period.

⁷⁵ Interpretation and description can be found in Emme 2013 (brief); and more detailed in Radt 1999 and Wiegand 1928.

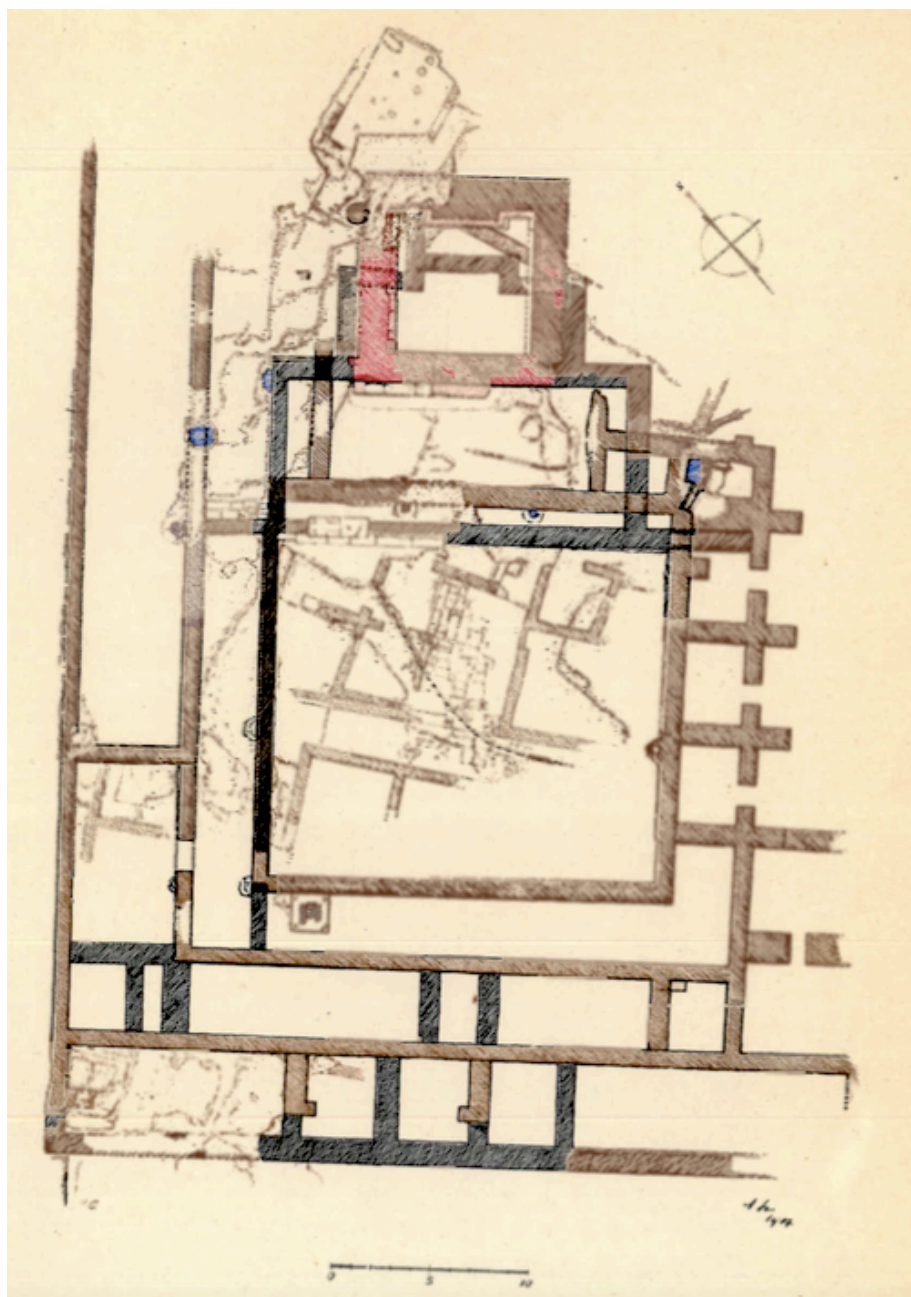


Figure 26: Cat. 17. "Temenos für den Herrscherkult" in Pergamon (Wiegand 1928).

Cat. 18

Gymnasium at the upper terrace, Pergamon⁷⁶ (Fig. 27)

Date: Dated by scholars to be built under Eumenes II (i.e. first half of 2nd century BC).

Measurements: The court is 65 x 30 m. While the north exedra is 30 x 10 m.

Description: This large complex has a three-sided peristyle court, and the south side is a wall

⁷⁶ Interpretation and description can be found in Emme 2013 (brief); and more detailed in Radt 1999, 124-130.

dividing the building from the adjoining *xystos*. The west side consists of three rooms; two larger halls with large opening towards the court with two columns *in antis*, and a middle room with an off-centre opening. The east side consists of four rooms, the smallest room, farthest towards south is only accessible from the *xystos*. Openings for the remaining room are not clear. On the north side is a main large hall with four columns *in antis*, and flanking this are two rooms on each side, one large and one small room.

Interpretation: The rooms on the west side are interpreted by the excavators as bathing rooms. The central room on the north side is defined as an assembling and feasting hall. It is interpreted as a gymnasium.



Figure 27: Cat. 18. The gymnasium at the upper terrace in Pergamon (Emme 2013).

Cat. 19

Palace IV, Pergamon⁷⁷ (Fig. 28)

Date: Dated by scholars to be from the beginning of the 2nd century BC.

Measurements: Total area of the building is 30 x 35 m, while the courtyard is 11.45 x 13.45 m.

Description: Rooms on three sides surrounded a peristyle courtyard, which was paved. All

⁷⁷ Interpretation and description can be found in Nielsen 1994 and Radt 1999.

rooms had openings towards the peristyle, and all openings were simple entrances, no large entrances with columns *in antis*. The north wing has the deepest portico, and the largest rooms. The eastern of these rooms was found to have a mosaic floor and the opening is asymmetrical placed. The large room in the southwest corner also had mosaics and a channel in the floor. The corridor in front of the eastern rooms is partly closed. Entrances are located in south.

Interpretation: The building is thought by excavators to have a private function, but with rooms for official occasions. The eastern wing should be the private quarters with a dining hall and bedrooms, while the north room described above is defined as a dining room with space for *klinae*.



Figure 28: Cat. 19. Palace IV in Pergamon (Nielsen 1994).

Cat. 20

Palace V, Pergamon⁷⁸ (Fig. 29)

Date: Dated by scholars to beginning of 2nd century BC.

Measurements: Total area of building is 52 x 46.5 m, and the court is 22.5 x 22.5 m. North hall is 14.8 x 9 m.

⁷⁸ Interpretation and description can be found in Nielsen 1994 and Radt 1999.

Description: The peristyle was of Doric columns, and had rooms on three sides (north, east and south). Entrance to the building is from the south. The north side has two rooms, a large (see measurements above), and a smaller in the west end. Both were found by excavators with wall decoration and the western room had mosaic floor. The very small room on the east side contained an altar and mosaic floor. The remaining rooms are in poor preservation state, but asymmetrical doorways are still recognisable. A cistern was found located in the peristyle.

Interpretation: The northern wing of the building is thought by scholars to have been a banqueting room (the western room) and an audience hall just across of a monumental *propylon*. The small room on the east side is for religious use, while the remaining rooms are interpreted as banqueting rooms. The cistern in the peristyle along with the lack of pavement suggests the installation of a garden. It is suggested that Palace V was the official banqueting building for King Eumenes II, while Palace IV was the private residence.



Figure 29: Cat. 20. Palace V in Pergamon (Nielsen 1994).

Cat. 21

Lower Gymnasium, Priene⁷⁹ (Fig. 30)

Date: Dated by scholars with a *terminus post quem* 129 BC.

Measurements: The court is 35.11 x 34.35 m.

Description: The building consists of a peristyle courtyard, with rooms on the west side, and towards north there is an additional colonnade with rooms behind. The excavators found remains of a 15 x 15 Doric court and the colonnade that is the division between the court and the northern rooms to have 13 Doric columns. Seven rooms constitute the north side, and one large hall is opening towards the peristyle with two Ionic columns *in antis*. They found a pebble floor in the most western of these rooms a drain running out of the room. The remaining rooms on this side have centred doorways facing the peristyle. The entrance was located on the west side of the building. Pillars are dividing the entrance in two, and on each side there are columns of mixed style. In the room north of the entrance the excavators found benches. There are three rooms on the other side of the entrance, two of them with asymmetrical doorways, and the middle one with a large opening with four columns *in antis*.

Interpretation: A generous citizen donated the building. It is interpreted by scholars as a gymnasium and some of the rooms were assigned with functions. The most northern room on the west side functioned as a teaching room, while the *ephebeum* was the hall on the north side. The room with the pebble floor is defined as the *loutron*, the rooms flanking the *ephebeum* were the *korykeion*, and furthest towards east was the *elathesion*.

⁷⁹ Description and interpretation can be found in Emme 2013; Rumscheid 1998; and Schede 1964.



Figure 30: Cat. 21. The lower gymnasium in Priene (Emme 2013).

Cat. 22

Prytaneion, Priene⁸⁰ (Fig. 31)

Date: Dated by scholars to late 4th century BC.

Measurements: Total area of building is 17.5 x 24 m, all northern rooms has the depth 5.05 m.

Description: The peristyle courtyard is surrounded with rooms on three sides. On the north side are three rooms; two of these are with centred entrances, the last is placed asymmetrical. Two rooms were located at the east side, the southern of these with a larger door opening. The south wing has three rooms, and in one of these the excavators found a hearth. The southwest corner room has an asymmetrical opening, while the middle room has a central wider doorway towards the court.

Interpretation: It is interpreted by the excavators as a prytaneion due to the location, the hearth, and inscriptions.

⁸⁰ Description and interpretation can be found in Emme 2013; Miller 1978; Rumscheid 1998; and Schede 1964.



Figure 31: Cat. 22. The prytaneion in Priene (Emme 2013).

Cat. 23

Hellenistic villa, Kastro-Tigani, Samos⁸¹ (Fig. 32)

Date: Dated by scholars to mid 3rd century to mid 2nd century BC.

Measurements: The courtyard is 16.3 m x 17.64 m. North rooms are 11.76 m on all sides.

Description: This building has a peristyle courtyard with rooms on three sides (north, west and south). Towards north are two square rooms, completely identical in size with centred doorways and two columns *in antis* in each. On the west side are four rooms, where three of these are the same size and with asymmetrical openings. The fourth room is a small room in the southwest corner. The south wing consists of four rooms of varying size and with openings towards the peristyle. Entrance to the peristyle was through the northwest corner where a stairway led to a corridor.

Interpretation: Scholars call this a palace, and some suggests that Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus, Tiberius and others had used it.

⁸¹ Description and interpretation can be found in Tölle-Kastenbein 1974 and Winter 2006.



Figure 32: Cat. 23. Hellenistic villa in Kastro-Tigani on Samos (Tölle-Kastenbein 1974).

Cat. 24

Main Palace, Vergina/Aigai⁸² (Fig. 33)

Date: Dated by scholars to second half of 4th century BC.

Measurements: Total area of building is 104.5 x 88.4 m.

Description: This complex consists of two elements, a large peristyle courtyard, and a smaller one towards west.⁸³ Rooms are surrounding the large peristyle on all sides. The south wing had a central large room and four rooms are placed symmetrical around this. Access to two of the rooms was obtained from the main room; the two other rooms were accessed from the court. The west wing has three large rooms of identical size, where the openings are off-centre. On the east wing there is a large entranceway in the middle, with a tholos on one side and two similar rooms on the other side. The north wing is very poorly preserved.

Interpretation: The tholos room has been suggested by scholars to be a combined sanctuary and throne-room. The remaining rooms are defined as dining rooms, with *klinae*, due to the

⁸² Description and interpretation can be found in Emme 2013 and Nielsen 1994.

⁸³ The small courtyard will not be considered here, since it is deemed as a later addition (Nielsen 1994, 82).

asymmetrical door openings, decoration of room, and drains. The different size of the rooms was to reflect different social status of the invited people. The peristyle is reconstructed as a garden. The north wing should have functioned as residential area.



Figure 33: Cat. 24. The main palace in Vergina (Emme 2013).

Analysis

The catalogue highlights several different aspects that are worth discussing, all of them being interesting in an analysis of function. For a more systematic approach, and to confine the analysis so it is fitting for the scope of this paper, themes that examine some of the relevant aspects are chosen. These themes are determined with the heroon in Kalydon in mind. A large table is provided with the purpose of a greater overview, and constitutes the basis for the tables found further below in the analysis. The columns are quite superficially divided, but each will be elaborated during the analysis. The benches that are shown cover all different kind of benches, also washing benches, which could have been included in the columns with water specification. These installations however, cover e.g. drains, cisterns, spouts, and wells. The relationship between all these aspects is shown during the analysis as well.

Location	Entrances	<i>Exedrae</i>	Benches	Water instl.	Spec. floor	Interpretation
Amphipolis (fig. 10)	2	X	X	X	X	Gymnasium
Argos (peristyle) (fig. 11)	?	-	-	X	-	Banquet build.
Argos (fig. 12)	1	-	X	X	-	Banquet build.
Athens (fig. 13)	1	-	-	-	-	Heliaia
Delos (fig. 14)	?	X	X	X	-	Gymnasium
Delphi (fig. 15)	2	X	X	-	-	Gymnasium
Ephesos (fig. 16)	1	X	-	-	X	Private house
Eretria (fig. 17)	1	X	X	-	X	Gymnasium
Kalydon (fig. 18)	1	-	X	X	X	Club house
Korinth (fig. 19)	?	X	X	-	-	Banquet build.
Magnesia on the Meander (fig. 20)	3	X	X	-	-	Prytaneion
Miletos (fig. 21)	1	-	X	-	X	Banquet build.
Miletos (fig. 22)	1	-	-	-	-	Gymnasium
Morgantina (fig. 23)	1	-	-	X	-	Commercial
Olympia (fig. 24)	3	X	X	-	-	Gymnasium

Pella (fig. 25)	1	X	-	X	X	Private house
Pergamon (fig. 26)	2	X	-	-	-	Heroon
Pergamon (fig. 27)	2	X	-	-	-	Gymnasium
Pergamon (fig. 28)	2	-	-	X	X	Private palace
Pergamon (fig. 29)	2	-	-	X	X	'Official' palace
Priene (fig. 30)	2	X	X	X	X	Gymnasium
Priene (fig. 31)	1	-	-	-	-	Prytaneion
Samos (fig. 32)	2	X	-	-	-	Private palace
Vergina (fig. 33)	1	X	-	X	X	Palace
Kalydon (heroon) (Fig. 3)	1	X	X	X	X	-----

Table 1: Overview of elements in all structures from catalogue (source: author).

Exclusivity

The heroon in Kalydon is described as a private and enclosed structure, and it does certainly only have one entrance from the outside.⁸⁴ This entrance is located on the north side of the building, so when visitors and inhabitants walked along one of the central roads to the city, it was only visible when approaching from the city. Another opening is located in the heroon, but this is to an encircled court, which is inaccessible for people on the outside. A single entrance for an already enclosed structure must have given the building the appearance of being private and when entering it becomes a transition. There must have been a wish to keep activities happening in the building concealed from bystanders, thus making the activities and people who are inside a part of something exclusive.

It is described by Emme that a specific trait in peristyle architecture was a single entrance that enhanced architectural isolation, but at the same time could have an integrative effect upon entering.⁸⁵ The other structures in the catalogue are investigated in search for possibly highlighting this aspect. The buildings are listed in this table according to the amounts of entranceways from the outside:

⁸⁴ Charatzopoulou 2006, 83f; Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 121; and Fedak 2006, 24.

⁸⁵ Emme 2013, 219.

Location/entrances	1	2	3	Undetermined
Amphipolis (Fig. 10)		X		
Argos (peristyle) (Fig. 11)				X
Argos (West build.) (Fig. 12)	X			
Athens ⁸⁶ (Fig. 13)	X			
Delos (Fig. 14)				X
Delphi (Fig. 15)		X		
Ephesos (Fig. 16)	X			
Eretria (Fig. 17)	X			
Kalydon (Fig. 18)	X			
Korinth (Fig. 19)				X
Magnesia on the Meander (Fig. 20)			X	
Miletos (hofhaus) ⁸⁷ (Fig. 21)	X			
Miletos (gymnasium) (Fig. 22)	X			
Morgantina (Fig. 23)	X			
Olympia (Fig. 24)			X	
Pella (Fig. 25)	X			
Pergamon (temenos) (Fig. 26)		X		
Pergamon (gymnasium) (Fig. 27)		X		
Pergamon (Palace IV) (Fig. 28)		X		
Pergamon (Palace V) (Fig. 29)		X		
Priene (gymnasium) (Fig. 30)		X		
Priene (prytaneion) (Fig. 31)	X			
Samos, Kastro-Tigani (Fig. 32)		X		
Vergina (Fig. 33)	X			
TOTAL	12	8	2	3

Table 2: Amount of entrances to the structures (source: author).

The heroon in Kalydon has as mentioned two exits from the building, but in reality only one would have functioned as entrance as well, since the small opening in the west wall was to an enclosed structure. It is necessary to take into consideration, whether the openings were actually entrances or only exits. This is accounted for in the table above, and if necessary the reasoning is described in the footnotes. Evident is the slightly larger amounts of structures with one main entranceway, but at the same time the buildings with two entrances

⁸⁶ A stairway of five steps has been found leading up to the northern opening, while the other is only a small opening in the wall towards a construction with a well (Emme 2013; Knell 2000).

⁸⁷ The western opening is a reconstructed and doubtful opening, and is not evident in the archaeological remains.

constitutes a relatively large group as well. The orientation of entrances does not follow any convention and all directions are represented in the material.

The entrances vary considerably in form. Some of them are openings to large rooms, some have columns *in antis*, and some even opens to a corridor (Delphi (Fig. 15) and the Temenos in Pergamon (Fig. 26)). Only two examples have a porch in front of the opening, these are the gymnasium in Miletos (Fig. 22) and the gymnasium in Priene (Fig. 30). The palaestra in Olympia also has a porch, but is not considered in this connection, as it is a later addition. There is still a fairly large amount of structures with two entrances, and some of these examples are difficult to evaluate due to boundaries of excavation and reconstructions. Some openings are leading into areas that are not yet defined, hence making it difficult to assess whether it was open to the public or to an enclosed structure. This is also the case with the structures with three entrances. The prytaneion in Magnesia on the Meander (Fig. 20) has one large entrance on the north side, where one of the rooms works as a *propylon*, and the remaining two are small openings on the east and south side. These are leading into unexcavated areas, so in that instance it is not helpful. When considering the size of the openings, the one towards south is very narrow, smaller than any other openings seen in the building. The other, towards east, is larger and consistent in size with the remaining doorways. This, although very circumstantial, could lead to an interpretation of two openings more often used, and a small, where the purpose would be as exit. In Olympia (Fig. 24), the two openings towards south (I and II) were the original ones, and the larger more monumental access was built in a later phase.⁸⁸ Even though the amount of entrances is unquestionable, it could be arguable to place this building in the category with two entrances. The structures in the category with the undetermined access will not be included in the analysis, since it would be on the basis of very hypothetical reconstructed ground plans.

Considering Kalydon as a peristyle structure with one main entrance, according to the explanation above, it becomes relevant to compare with buildings from the same category. The table underneath attempts to search for a pattern: to see if there are repetitions regarding the structures assigned interpretation of function.

⁸⁸ Emme 2013, 219.

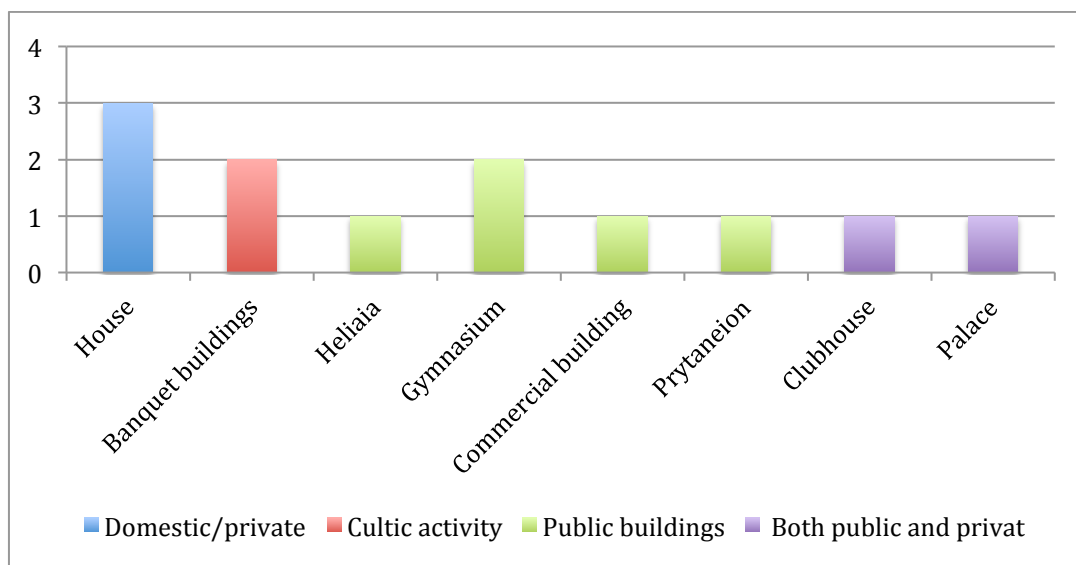


Table 3: Buildings with one entrance divided according to interpretation (source: author).

Each column represents the type that the given structure was assigned by previous scholars, while the colour scheme is representing another division given by author. The colours represent a broader definition, which takes into consideration the function of the building and could give an idea of degree of access. The purple category, i.e. “both public and private” includes the clubhouse from Kalydon, because of the interpretation of the use by the excavators who interprets the building as a palaestra “for some association”.⁸⁹ The other entity is the main palace in Vergina, where a part of the building was intended for audiences and public banqueting etc., while another part was the private quarters.

There is a slight majority of public buildings, but the overall distribution reveals no absolute conclusion. Peristyle buildings with one entrance have no exclusive function. Relatively speaking, the comparative material shows a slight tendency for peristyle buildings to be enclosed structures where the public is excluded from the activity inside, but previous scholars have already shown this.⁹⁰

By looking at entrances in the comparative material, it is not possible to conclude anything about the function or change of function of the heroon, although this was not the purpose of this section. This investigation highlight that the entrance to the heroon is not unique, but

⁸⁹ Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 156.

⁹⁰ Emme 2013, 306.

neither is it a defined architectural convention for a specific type of building. The buildings with porches as entrances are similar to the entrance in the heroon, and where these appear, it is on buildings with the function of gymnasia (Amphipolis, Priene and Miletos). Not only are they relatively enclosed structures, but the transition from outside to the inside is monumentalised and made important. The buildings that were enclosed visualized a wish of privacy and this could have evoked something for people on both sides of the walls; the ones inside were a part of an exclusive group, while the distance to the activities were accentuated for the ones on the outside. A monumental entrance would have further accentuated the transition between these two states, and this could have been a deliberate choice when constructing the building.

The heroon in Kalydon has been described as enclosed from the outside viewers, but without the remains of room V in the south it becomes a bit more difficult to determine that. The excavators reconstruct it as a long hall, but it is only the foundation stones that are remaining. A possibility could also be that it was a colonnade oriented outwards, so people approaching the building and the city saw a more monumental structure. This does not mean that it was an open and inviting building, but the possibility for another interpretation is important to present.

Exedrae

The placing of door openings in buildings is often a deliberate choice, and could be relevant when trying to determine function.⁹¹ The heroon in Kalydon has a limited amount of door openings to analyse, since only the foundation in the southern half is preserved, therefore not revealing anything about the location of openings. There are two types of openings evident in the archaeological remains from the heroon; these are centred smaller openings and larger openings with columns *in antis*. As already mentioned, it is broadly known in archaeology that the placement of openings in rooms is hinting at the function, e.g. when they are placed asymmetrically in a room due to the instalment of *klinae* in that room.⁹² But since no such asymmetrical opening evident in Kalydon, we must look at other aspects.

⁹¹ See e.g. Nielsen 1994, 106f.

⁹² See for instance Lawrence 1996, 183.

One of the rooms with a centrally placed doorway is addressed in the next section, while the two largest rooms in the building, which are opening towards the peristyle with large thresholds and columns *in antis* will be investigated in this section. These rooms are often called *exedrae* in literature, and Vitruvius even defines *exedrae* as “the men’s room”.⁹³ It is obviously problematic, when attempting to determine the function of a room, to search for such a type of room and then designate the function based on an ancient literary source. When assigning names to the rooms, excavators have been using these designations, but since there also follows an underlying function with the name it can be problematic. In this investigation similarities and differences are compared, hopefully to shed some light on the function of the rooms with large door openings in Kalydon without consideration of the Vitruvian designations.⁹⁴

The most characteristic feature of the *exedra* is the large opening with columns toward the peristyle. A large opening made it possible to immediately distinguish the room from the others when standing in the peristyle, and at the same time to see the activities taking place in the room behind the columns.⁹⁵ When situated in the *exedra* it has obviously also been possible to observe and follow the activities taking place in the peristyle.⁹⁶ A wing of the peristyle building could also be intended to get more focus than the other sides, which is seen in several palaestras, and this could be done in several ways. Yegül describes how the emphasis could be placed on one wing by for instance making one room larger than the others; opening it up towards the peristyle; decorate the room elaborately; and introduce axially.⁹⁷ In the case with the heroon, a greater axially would have been achieved with the prothesis in the middle of the south wall, but room VII was more elaborately decorated than the others, and could have emphasized the north wing. Especially also with the sculptures and the square addition towards north, which could have been a focal point as well. These rooms are evident in most peristyle buildings, and below is an attempt to find similarities between the heroon and the comparative material regarding this.

⁹³ Lawrence 1996, 197; Miller 1978, 113; Nielsen 1994, 84; and Winter 2006, 124. For Vitruvius’ description, see *Vitr. De arch.* 5.11.2.

⁹⁴ The word *exedrae* is however used for the remaining of the analysis.

⁹⁵ This is also evident in *Plat. Lysis*. where Socrates observes activities in the room from the peristyle.

⁹⁶ It is even described as enhancing a communitative character (Emme 2013, 226).

⁹⁷ Yegül 1992, 9.

The table below lists the locations where these rooms are occurring, along with their orientation, size and, if any, the furniture and decoration of the room. It has been difficult to obtain measurements for all the *exedrae* in the catalogue, and some ground plans were too inaccurate to measure, so the analysis is obviously affected by this.

Location	Orientation	Size of <i>exedra</i>	Features
Amphipolis, gymnasium (Fig. 10)	West side	15 x 4.8 m (72 m ²)	Benches
Delos, gymnasium (Fig. 14)	North side	20.63 x 8.05 m (166 m ²)	Marble benches
	North side	Unknown	Benches
Delphi, palaestra (Fig. 15)	West side	11.5 x 10.9 m (125 m ²)	Benches
Ephesos, Hanghaus	North side	7.2 x 4.5 m (32.4 m ²)	Niches in wall
	West side	8.85 x 4.5 m (39.8 m ²)	–
Eretria, gymnasium (Fig. 17)	North side	6.9 x 2 (13.8 m ²)	Benches
Korinth, banquet build. (Fig. 19)	East side	Unknown	–
	East side	Unknown	–
Magnesia, prytaneion (Fig. 20)	North side	9.3 x 14.6 m (135,8 m ²)	–
Olympia, palaestra (Fig. 24)	North side	Unknown	Benches
	East side	Unknown	–
	East side	Unknown	Benches
	West side	Unknown	–
	West side	Unknown	Benches
	South side	Unknown	Benches
Pella, House (Fig. 25)	North side	Unknown	–
	West side	Unknown	–
Pergamon, temenos (Fig. 26)	North side	7.5 x 17.5 m (131,25 m ²)	Square apsis protrudes
	South side	Unknown	–
	South side	Unknown	–
Pergamon, gymnasium (Fig. 27)	North side	10 x 30 m (300m ²)	Niche with statue, benches.
	West side	Unknown	Benches and water pipes
	West side	Unknown	Benches and water pipes
Priene, gymnasium (Fig. 30)	North side	6.6 x 9.49 m (62.6m ²)	–
	West side	Unkown	–
Samos, villa (Fig. 32)	North side	11.7 x 11.7m (136.9m ²)	–
	North side	11.7 x 11.7m (136.9m ²)	–
Vergina, palace (Fig. 33)	South side	Unknown	Access to rooms with <i>klinae</i>
Kalydon, heroon (Fig. 3)	North side	12.65 x 5.65 (71.5 m ²)	Benches
	East side	13.28 x 7.39 (98 m ²)	–

Table 4: *Exedrae* in structures from catalogue with specifications (source: author).

Size

One aspect to investigate is the size of the rooms behind the large openings. That type of room should be able to accommodate larger groups of people: ancient sources reveal a possible functional reason to have a large room; it was possible for one group to be engaged in one kind of activity, while another engaged in their own activity without disturbing each other.⁹⁸ The following diagram is a list of rooms where the square meter is known, and then sorted according to size.

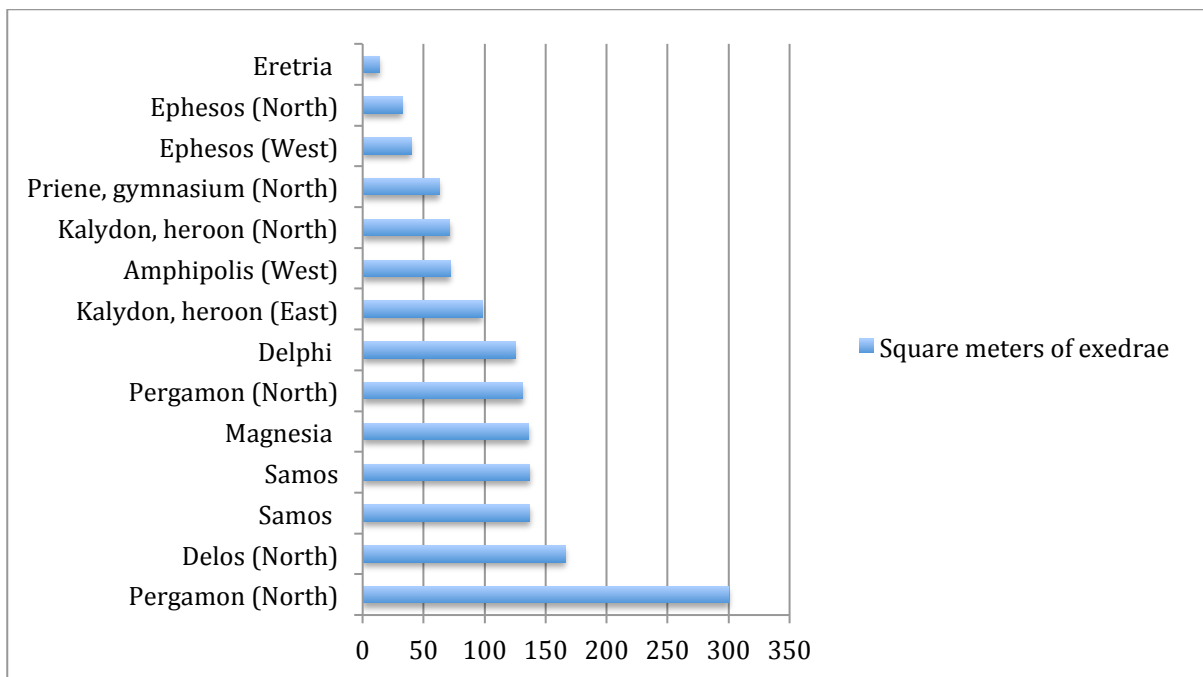


Table 5: Square meters of *exedrae* sorted according to size (source: author).

The intention was to see if a room with a large opening and columns *in antis* also had a typical size for the accommodation of the intended function. Very noticeable is the *exedra* in the gymnasium in Pergamon, which is considerably larger than the other examples. There are six cases where the number is between 125 and 200 m², and furthermore seven cases where the areal is lesser than 100 m². The heroon in Kalydon belongs to the latter category, with both of its *exedras*. When looking at the diagram, there seems to be no relation between the form of the room and the size. The *exedra* in Eretria is only 13.8 m² and the conclusion that the rooms should accommodate large groups of people is not completely true. The wish of attracting the

⁹⁸ Winter 2006, 118 and Plat. *Lysis* 206e. It is described how Socrates and his companions are able to have a conversation while a group of young men are engaged with games in the other end of the *exedra*.

focus to a wing in the building or just to the room seems to be one of the more reasonable explanations to have this type of room and opening. When comparing these rooms from the catalogue, the north *exedra* in Kalydon is very similar in size to the *exedra* in Amphipolis (Fig. 3 and Fig. 10). All the differences in the rooms indicate a room able to accommodate several functions, but for this to be clearer, the archaeological features in the rooms must be investigated.

Benches

Looking at the size of rooms alone cannot be used as the only tool for the investigation of the function, but looking at the features of the room can be an addition to this.

A feature that recurs several times is the remains of benches in the rooms. There are 12 rooms with remains of benches out of the selection of 27 rooms, while another 12 contain no remains of any features. There are then several rooms where the connection between *exedrae* and benches is evident. At the same time it is important to mention that there are examples of rooms with benches that does not have large openings: the Westbuilding in Argos, the clubhouse in Kalydon and the banquet building in Miletos. Thus the benches alone are not a clear indication of the use of *exedrae*, but can still be helpful. Where the connection of *exedrae* and benches occur, it is in buildings that are interpreted to be gymnasia or palaestrae. From this we could say that the rooms in the heroon in Kalydon could have had the same function as the rooms in gymnasia. There is however a concern in this matter. Many of the publications about the structures do not define precisely what type of benches that was found, but in some they do. So in the table, where the features list benches, it is not always specified which kind. Some benches, like in the *exedra* in Kalydon, are interpreted for sitting, while others are interpreted to be benches for washing. One of the rooms in the gymnasium in Pergamon contains washing benches and this changes the function of a room greatly (Fig. 34).⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 68-71. For the depiction of the washing benches, see Radt 1999, 129.



Figure 34: Washing benches in Pergamon (Radt 1999).

Since there are no installations for water in the north *exedra* in Kalydon, it can be assumed, also according to the investigators, that the benches in this room were for seating. They are assigned Greek letters and the horizontal slabs intended for sitting are found. The purpose of the benches from room VI must have had another purpose and this is investigated later in the analysis.

As said, the interior of the north *exedra* in the heroon has many similarities with the interior of *exedrae* in gymnasia, but this is not conclusive for the function of the room. The large size and the different types of benches could accommodate many different functions, and even though the archaeological remains reveal a picture of a hall with benches for sitting, the room could have been used for several other occasions, which are not easy to determine from the remains. In room VII in Kalydon, the excavators reconstructed benches on all sides of the room, while room VI would only have along the northern wall. This placement of benches can also indicate a function. If the intended use of a room were for dining, it would make more sense to have benches on all sides, making it possible for all of the attending people to see each other.

The room with the large open entrance in the east wing of the heroon did not reveal any features during excavation, but the lack of any instalments could also be a choice, and not only reasoned by the damage through time. It is a room with a large entrance, without remains of a floor as well. This room is the largest in the heroon, except for room V, the size of which cannot be established with certainty, and could have placed great focus on the east wing as

well. It had same type of opening as room VI, so the lack of elaborate decoration should not diminish the importance of this room, but one aspect that differentiates them greatly is the difference in floor level, with the raised floor in room VII. It is although difficult to say much more, exactly due to the preservation state.

When considering size and features it is the *exedra* in the gymnasium in Amphipolis that the *exedra* in the heroon in Kalydon resembles the most from the comparative material. The *exedra* in Amphipolis has an area of 72 m² and the *exedra* in the heroon has an area of 71.5 m². Both *exedrae* are relatively small compared to the other examples from the catalogue, so it was not intended for the room to accommodate as many as for instance the gymnasium in Pergamon or Delos. Furthermore, the *exedra* in Amphipolis is decorated with stone slabs on floor and walls and remains of benches have been found. As mentioned previously, the size and decoration could create an emphasis on a wing in the peristyle building, and this is the case with the *exedra* in Kalydon, but perhaps not so much in Amphipolis. The *exedra* in Amphipolis is possibly not the largest room,¹⁰⁰ and the room defined as a *loutron* in the northeast corner is also decorated with a stone floor. The only thing creating a focal point is the large opening towards the peristyle, and therein also “the communicative character”.¹⁰¹ A difference between the two structures is that the benches in room VII in Kalydon are in marble and for sitting, even with possible designations for the person who were supposed to sit, while the remains in Amphipolis consists of supports for wooden benches.¹⁰² The most remarkable difference is the addition of an apsis in the heroon in Kalydon. This addition is discussed later in the analysis.

Special floors and interior

The northwest corner room in the heroon in Kalydon, i.e. room VI, has a concrete floor. The opening to the room with concrete floor is located on the central axis of the room and there are remains of marble benches along with a drain in the threshold leading the water towards the peristyle. This room has been one of the reasons for different interpretations, presenting

¹⁰⁰ The size of the rooms on the east wing of the building is so scarcely preserved, that the reconstruction is very hypothetical.

¹⁰¹ Emme 2013, 226.

¹⁰² See the greek letters inscribed in Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 70, and previously in this study. For the benches in Amphipolis see Winter 2006, 124.

it as e.g. a *loutron* or as a room for banqueting.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the central north room and the “Kultraum” are both paved with limestone slabs. Several entities from the catalogue also incorporate some sort of stone floor, including mosaics, pebbles and stone slabs in different materials. The function of such a room must have required a floor that was waterproof, or at least easy to clean. In some cases, the stone floor could even indicate instalments of benches, without the remains of the actual benches, due to marks in the floor with the width of *klinae*.¹⁰⁴ The type of stone floor could help differentiate functions, and this, along with the interior of the rooms are investigated in this section.

The different aspects of the rooms with stone clad floors from the comparative material are listed in the table to gain a basic overview for further analysis:¹⁰⁵

Location	Kind of floor	Openings	Features
Amphipolis (Fig. 10)	Stone slabs	Centred small doorway	Benches and spouts
Ephesos (Fig. 16)	Marble slabs	Large opening ¹⁰⁶	
Eretria (Fig. 17)	Mosaic	Centred small doorway	Benches
Kalydon (Fig. 18)	Pebble	Large opening	Well and wall decoration
Miletos (Fig. 21)	Limestone slabs	Centred small doorway	<i>Klinae</i>
Pella (Fig. 25)	Mosaic	Centred small doorway	
Pergamon (Fig. 28)	Mosaic	Off-centre doorway	
Pergamon (Fig. 28)	Mosaic	Off-centre doorway	Drain
Pergamon (fig. 29)	Mosaic	Centred small doorway	Wall decoration
Pergamon (Fig. 29)	Mosaic	Large opening	Wall decoration
Priene (Fig. 30)	Pebble	Centred small doorway	Drain
Vergina (Fig. 33)	Mosaic	Off-centre doorway	Drain

Table 6: Rooms with special floors and specifications (source: author).

No other building from the comparative material has a concrete floor, but there are similarities in other areas. Of the buildings with some sort of stone floor, five has openings that are placed centrally in the wall, but these examples have no typical floor connected,

¹⁰³ The excavators (Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 94) mention the possibility of the room being a room for bathing, but consider it more likely to be a dining hall because of the remains of *klinae* and a drain. Charatzopoulou (2006, 66) contrary determines this room as a room for bathing.

¹⁰⁴ Emme 2013, 58.

¹⁰⁵ The gymnasium in Delos is excluded from this analysis due to the uncertainty of the reconstruction of brick floor in room D and E.

¹⁰⁶ This is to be understood as there are no walls at all, but there can be columns *in antis* or similar.

which is to be expected. A centred doorway is a normal solution and could accommodate any function, and it is even suggested by Mango that rooms next to dining halls, could be storage for the *klinae*.¹⁰⁷ As can be seen from the table, rooms with centred openings are installed with both larger stone slabs (as Amphipolis (Cat. 1) and Miletos (Cat. 12)), mosaics (like in Eretria (Cat. 8) and Pergamon (Cat. 20)) and pebble floor like in Priene (Cat. 21). If combining this selection with their fixtures, it becomes evident that many of them has either some form of water installation or benches. It is only in the room in Palace V in Pergamon (Cat. 20), where there isn't found any remains of this kind of installations. There are three examples of benches (Eretria, Amphipolis, and Miletos), and there are three examples of water installations, drains and waterspouts (Priene, Eretria and Amphipolis, respectively).

	Location	Interpretation
Benches	Eretria	<i>Loutron</i>
	Amphipolis	<i>Loutron</i>
	Miletos	Banquet room
Water installations	Priene	<i>Loutron</i>
	Amphipolis	<i>Loutron</i>
	Eretria	<i>Loutron</i>

Table 7: Rooms with special floors and either benches or water installations. (Source: author).

¹⁰⁷ Mango 2009, 290.

The room with benches in the gymnasium in Eretria is determined as a *loutron* with washing benches and a decorated mosaic floor (Fig. 35). This is also the case with the room in the gymnasium in Amphipolis, which is determined as the same.



Figure 35: Washing benches in Eretria (Mango 2003).

Only the room in the Hofhaus in Miletos is interpreted as something else as the benches are in the shape of *klinae*. The benches that were found in room VI in the heroon were wider and could have been for lying down, instead of for sitting. Charatzopoulou interprets the legs found in room VI to have been for bases, which could hold the vessels that collected water, and thereby differentiated between the benches found in Room VI and VII.¹⁰⁸ The wider benches, if interpreted as *klinae* are then very similar to the room in the Hofhaus in Miletos. There are however water installations in several of the structures not associated with a special floor, and no matter the function of the whole of a peristyle building, an essential element would have been access to drinking water. Winter describes how water for drinking would have been essential and indispensable for gymnasia, and although this is regarding gymnasia, the Greek heat demanded water; it is vital in ordinary life.

It is also possible to look at the material in another way. If tallying rooms with water installations, another set of material is produced. These rooms are in the gymnasium at Eretria, clubhouse in Kalydon, Palace IV in Pergamon, the gymnasium in Amphipolis, the gymnasium in Priene and the main palace in Vergina. In this case, there is no majority of *loutra*, only three cases, while two are rooms for banqueting (Palace IV at Pergamon, and the

¹⁰⁸ Charatzopoulou 2006, 66.

main palace in Vergina), and one case, the clubhouse in Kalydon, is interpreted to be an anteroom for cultic activities.¹⁰⁹ There are great differences in the type of water installations in the catalogue, and this is of course relevant when looking at function. A drain is necessary to lead the water away from unwanted areas in all buildings, but a drain from a cistern or similar to a room is giving another function

As said previously, Room VI in the heroon has a concrete floor, drain and benches, and there are two structures from the comparative material that exhibit both benches and water installation, and these are the gymnasium in Amphipolis and the gymnasium in Eretria. It is definitely a point of criticism that the interpretation is given, in many cases, with the background in Vitruvius' description of gymnasia, and since there is a slight majority of such in the comparative material, the analysis can be slightly distorted when looking at sheer numbers. Nevertheless, the rooms share some similar archaeological features and it is possible to say something about the relatively closest parallel. When looking at the archaeological remains and comparing with the features in the catalogue most of the similarities are found within gymnasia, more specific with *loutra*, or rooms for washing. This is also the conclusion that Charatzopoulou develops in her article, with her own investigation of the site. She interprets the archaeological remains by first hand, and detects a feature not mentioned by the excavators. This is a channel running from the cistern outside through the wall to room VI in the heroon, and then ends at possible vessels for the purpose of collecting water, of which we see the bases that are left (Fig. 36). The drain in the threshold to the room is for the excess water to be lead to the nearest basin in the peristyle court corner.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Winter 2006, 121.

¹¹⁰ Charatzopoulou 2006, 66.



Figure 36: Channel from cistern to the room VI in the heroon in Kalydon (Charatzopoulou 2006).

Room VI in the heroon in Kalydon has definitely needed accommodation of plenty of water. The similarities in this analysis show a likely use as a room for washing, but banqueting would also have demanded a large supply of water. Monumental tombs dedicated to private persons should often be able to accommodate banquets.¹¹¹ If remains of benches were found along all the walls in room VI a much more certain interpretation of the room as a banqueting room could be provided, but this is not the case.

Special features

While finding many similarities, and only showing the differences in contrast, this section will investigate some of the features in the heroon in Kalydon that are either discussed in previous literature or are special in regard to the comparative material. They are the elements that supported the interpretation of the structure in Kalydon to be a heroon.

¹¹¹ Hughes 1999, 169.

Protruding elements

A very noticeable feature when looking at the ground plan of the heroon is the protruding square apsis on the north side. Especially the thickness of the walls is striking, along with the instalments in the room (see fig. 3, “Kultraum”, and fig. 8). Dyggve, Rhomaios and Poulsen explained the thickness of the walls as a sign of the existence of a vaulted ceiling in the room: “Aussenmauern eines Raumes mit einer Spannweite von nur 4,70 m so gewaltig und widerstandsfähig gebildet wurden, musste es einen besonderen Grund haben, und zwar den, dass diese Mauern ein Gewölbe getragen haben.”¹¹² In the catalogue, there is another structure, with a similar protruding apsis with thicker walls than the remaining structure, i.e. the “temenos für den Herrscherkult” in Pergamon (Fig. 26). Here are found remains of a podium, and statues of kings. This room is by excavators estimated to be built as a later phase of the building, a Roman addition of a tower-like structure (Fig. 38).¹¹³ The excavators reconstructed the Kalydonian heroon to have a second storey at least in one wing on the building (Fig. 39), and it can be thought that room III could have been the location of the stairs. A second floor would not conflict with an alternative reconstruction with the “Kultraum” as a tower.



Figure 37: Reconstruction of “Kultraum” and tomb with vaulted ceilings (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

¹¹² Dyggve *et al.* 1934, 97. See the reconstruction in Fig. 37.

¹¹³ Radt 1999, 247. The necessity of strong walls is explained by Wiegand 1928, 18.



Figure 38: The reconstruction of the tower in “Temenos für den Herrscherkult” in Pergamon (Radt 1999).

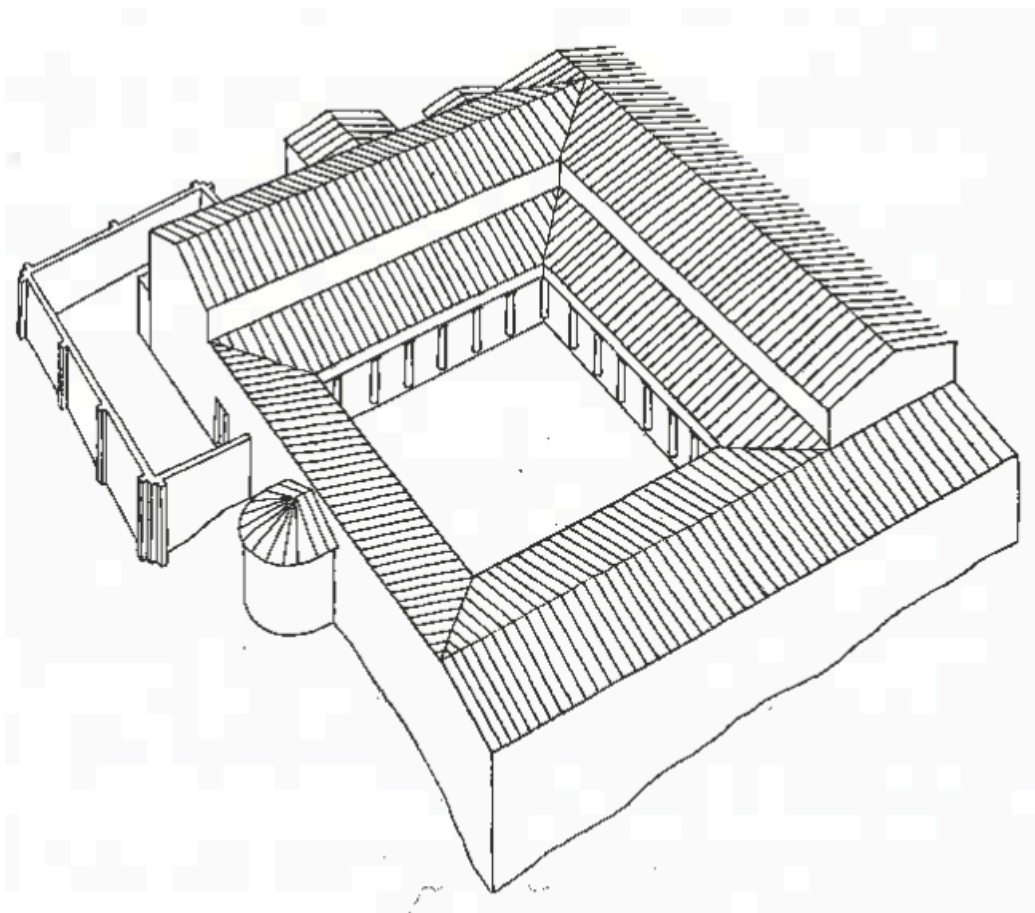


Figure 39: Reconstruction of the heroon in Kalydon (Dyggve *et al.* 1934).

Without consideration of the reconstruction of the protruding apsis, there is evidently a connection in function between this and room VII. The floor level of the “Kultraum” is higher than the floor level in room VII, and thereby creates a podium. The activities taking place in the “Kultraum” was meant to be observed from room VII, and possibly even also from the remaining complex, through the large opening to room VII. The columns *in antis* could have had a dividing function, to create a symbolic separation of functions in the whole complex, but it would have been possible to participate visually from the peristyle.

Charatzopoulou presents an interpretation by another scholar where the “Kultraum” in Kalydon is considered to be a later addition of the peristyle that was an earlier original phase, but this is clearly not possible, as she shows in her analysis.¹¹⁴ The “Kultraum” is located exactly above the tomb, and if the square apsis were to be a later addition, the wall of the dromos in the tomb would have been disturbed, which is not the case. Therefore we must consider all the elements of the peristyle along with the tomb as one entity, and related in function.

Tomb

Another distinct feature for the heroon in Kalydon is the presence of the underground tomb chamber, located directly under the abovementioned “Kultraum”. The inscriptions regarding “Leon, the new Herakles” are found both here and in the structure above, another relation between the two. Foundation walls show that the tomb and the structure above must have been contemporary since the walls of either doesn’t disturb or cut each other.¹¹⁵

Mazarakis Ainian addresses the association between building and tomb in the Early Iron Age, where he draws attention to that even if a tomb is in proximity of a building it is not necessarily an indication of a relation.¹¹⁶ This reminds us to keep a critical perspective when interpreting the two structures together, but since there are contexts that interconnect them, i.e. the inscriptions and statues, and it is normal in the Hellenistic period for prestigious and wealthy men to be buried in gymnasia,¹¹⁷ it is reasonable to consider them as entities that must be related in function. Examples of this practice can e.g. be seen in the Timoleoteon in

¹¹⁴ Charatzopoulou 2006, 74 and 83f.

¹¹⁵ Charatzopoulou, 2006, 74 and Gauthier 1995, 1.

¹¹⁶ Mazarakis Ainian 1999, 23.

¹¹⁷ Gauthier 1995, 1 and Nilsson 1955, 62.

Syracuse.¹¹⁸ The second chamber in the tomb, which is located before going down the staircase (see fig. 9 “R”), could be a later addition. There are evidences of constructions and upkeep of tombs in the Hellenistic period, so a continual remembrance by the family could be ensured,¹¹⁹ and this could be the reason for the addition to the tomb; ensuring the continuation of the cultic activities and remembrance of the name and status of the family of the deceased.

¹¹⁸ Aneziri & Damaskos 2009, 258.

¹¹⁹ Hughes 1999, 168.

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to investigate the function of the heroon in Kalydon, by looking at the archaeological remains and support this with a catalogue of similar structures.

It became apparent that the heroon was a private enclosed structure, which was common for many peristyle buildings. This, although somewhat normal, could highlight how the building would have appeared when approaching from outside, and that the activities inside was determined for a specific group. It should be private, but with a monumentalized entrance, enhancing the exclusive effect on the activities. At the same time, the access to the tomb was outside the building, and would not have been exclusively for the specific group that was inside the heroon. All people passing by could see and interact with the grave, although it must have been slightly hidden between the walls. When inside the building, a strong focus was put on the north wing, especially with the large open room with elaborate decoration. This *exedra* could accommodate several functions due to its size, but considering the benches meant for sitting, along with the “Kultraum”, its primary function would have been related with the cultic activities. The square apsis served as place for cultic activities, with remains of an altar, and the location just on top of the tomb would have been no coincidence. The reconstruction as a tower could explain the thickness of the walls, but so could the construction of vaulting, and since the analysis shows no particular similarity between the heroon and the “Temenos für der Herresserkult” in Pergamon (Fig. 26), along with the fact that the tower is a Roman addition in Pergamon, the reconstruction given by the excavators are deemed more likely. This would also resemble the vaulting in the tomb just beneath, and this could be intentional.

The adjacent room, room VI, which featured a concrete floor is more difficult to determine. An interpretation based on the floor alone, could indicate a function as *loutron*, but consideration of the benches must be taken. Charatzopoulou interprets the benches as supports for water collecting vessels, but the slabs for the benches shows a concave shape and a wider bench than in room VII; the benches were more likely for reclining or laying down. At the same time, they were only placed along one wall and two corners, which isn't the normal choice for dining instalments. The supply of water from the outside would both be necessary for dining,

as drinking water and for bathing after exercise. The lack of kitchen is not determining the existence of a dining room, since it is seen elsewhere that the food could be prepared in other nearby structures.¹²⁰ It can be possible that this room served several functions, adapted to the activity that was to be performed.

During the analysis it became clear that the heroon in Kalydon had most similarities with gymnasia, and especially the gymnasia in Amphipolis. At first glance, the ground plan of the clubhouse in Kalydon (fig. 18) seemed as the closest parallel to the ground plan of the heroon, but further investigation showed that the closest parallel was the gymnasium in Amphipolis, considering interior as well. Amphipolis has a prothesis as entrance although not the same scale as in Kalydon. Stone clad floors with waterbenches were found in the northeast corner of the gymnasium in Amphipolis, where a stone clad floor with benches were found in northwest corner in Kalydon. An exedra is occurring in both and of same size, but in this instance a great difference is the protruding square apsis in Kalydon.

Important for the interpretation is something that has not been thoroughly described in this study, which is an element that would be essential to conclude in further studies of the heroon; the sculptural programme of room VII. For this interpretation, the identification given to one of the busts by Bol, as Leon, an athlete with “cauliflower ears” will be used.¹²¹ It was normal in the Hellenistic period to heroize family members, and depictions of these would have been placed in buildings connected to the tomb.¹²² If the identification of Leon as an athlete is correct, the construction of a building resembling a gymnasium could be intentional. As an honour and for remembrance of the deeds of the hero, a structure was erected in connection with his tomb, resembling the place where he would have exceeded. The resemblance to the gymnasium in Amphipolis could be due to an inspiration of a “true archetype gymnasium”, which the one in Amphipolis is described as.¹²³ If it was considered like this in antiquity as well, inspiration could be obtained from here for the building in Kalydon. Despite the resemblance of a gymnasium, the building was supposed to accommodate other activities related to the hero cult, thus the “Kultraum” and the dining

¹²⁰ Mango 2009, 280.

¹²¹ Bol 1988, 41.

¹²² Nilsson 1955, 62.

¹²³ Winter 2006, 124.

room. The interpretation is however only a portrait of the function at a specific time, adaptations and personal preferences is not possible to determine. Inscriptions, sculptures and other installations can be an addition to the heroon at a later stage, and this is also the reasoning for the thorough look at the plan layout further supported with the installations. It was a building with the form of a gymnasium, with functions adapted to the heroic cultic activities.

Further study of this building would be very relevant. Firstly an investigation of the other rooms of the building, the peristyle in more detail, and the open courtyard towards north, is essential for the elaboration of the understanding of this building. This needs to be done along with all the archaeological finds from the excavation, which is not accessible at the moment. Personal experience of the complex would aid the interpretation of possible phases in the building, especially in room VI. Furthermore an elaborated 3D reconstruction could give a whole new dimension to the understanding of the building, where it could be possible to conduct several analyses. All this did not fit in this study, but hopefully, someone will find interest in these issues as well.

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