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Abstract

This paper will focus on a diagnostic trait of Thessalian funerary archaeology, namely the combined use of the earthen mound with a corbel-vaulted tomb equipped with a round (*tholos*) or rectilinear chamber during the Archaic and Classical periods. The date of the construction of the corbel-vaulted *tholoi* and chambers in the late 6th and 5th centuries BC, and their concentration at Krannon and Pharsalos are significant. The tombs make a deliberate but not systematic reference to the past, not so much to the LBA large *tholos* tombs but rather to the smaller LBA and EIA *tholoi* and, perhaps, built chamber tombs. The appropriation of certain aspects of past display by some aristocratic families, and ultimately the use of this archaizing funerary architecture occurred at a period when elite competition was very strong in the region at both civic and Panhellenic level, and family, civic and ethnic identity were created by various means. During this period there were alternative modes of burial available to elite groups even at Krannon and Pharsalos (for example *tumuli* covering carefully built cist graves or monolithic *sarcophagi*). I hope to show that this variability might be indicative of an attempt by competing aristocrats to broadcast different (constructed) traditions in order to fabricate/create their identity.¹

Keywords

tholos tomb, Pharsalos, Krannon, Pherai, Thessaly, hero cult, archaizing

Conical earthen mounds, *magoules*, covering a single or groups of graves, are among the most prominent features of the Thessalian landscape. Although hardly as conspicuous or

1 I would like to express my warmest thanks to the organizers of the conference for their excellent hospitality and considerable practical help. I would also like to thank the General Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens, Dr. V. Petrakos, for allowing me to use illustrations from the archives of the Society, and I. Ninou for her practical help. Dr. V. Adrymi-Sismani, Dr. A. Batziou-Efstathiou, B. Intzesiloglou, P. Arachoviti, E. Skaphida, P. Triantaphyllopoulou, E. Deligianni helped me enormously when I was working in the Volos Archaeological Museum and brought to my attention the archival material of D. Theocharis. The late A. Zaouri had kindly discussed her work on Krannon with me and St. Katakouta, with whom we are working on the publication of the Verdelis' excavations at Pharsalos, has helped refine my arguments. This essay was greatly improved from the discussions with especially Dr. I. Galanakis, but also Dr. S. Kravaritou and Dr. M. Kalaitzi, who kindly commented on earlier drafts of this paper. I would like to thank them for their criticism and for allowing me to consult their forthcoming articles. All errors are of course the author's. Finally I would like to express my thanks to the Zilkha Trustees of Lincoln College, Oxford for their generous support.

Please note the following abbreviations:

LBA: Late Bronze Age

EIA: Early Iron Age

PG: Protogeometric.

monumental as those of Asia Minor,² they are often visible from afar in the plain. *Tumuli* are frequently found in groups, in proximity to roads and among other types of graves, as at Krannon (Fig. 1), Dendra Tyrnavou, Gremnos, Pherai and Pharsalos (Fig. 2).³ Occasionally they are quite isolated, as the Pilaf Tepe *Tumulus*, on the pass from the Gulf of Pagasai (modern Volos) to the eastern Thessalian plain.⁴

This paper will focus on a diagnostic trait of Thessalian funerary archaeology, namely the combined use of the earthen mound with a built corbel-vaulted tomb equipped with a round (*tholos*) or rectilinear chamber during the Archaic and Classical periods. I will propose that these tombs, either by their proximity to earlier funerary monuments or by their architectural features, betray an attempt of some local elites to forge a link with the past, in order to serve their needs for power display.

The combination of earthen mound and corbel-vaulted tomb is already attested in Thessaly in LH IIB/IIIA and continues uninterrupted to the end of the EIA,⁵ and perhaps even to the Classical period.⁶

In Thessaly there seems to have been continuity of funerary practice from LH III to the EIA, both in terms of tomb type and burial rite.⁷ At numerous sites, mostly in the eastern Thessalian plain, EIA tombs are found in close proximity to LBA ones and are often, as at Aerino, indistinguishable architecturally from the earlier tombs.⁸

In at least three sites, Pharsalos, Krannon and Yerakari near Ayia, built *tholos* or chamber tombs were erected in the late 6th–4th centuries BC, resembling earlier funerary

2 Rose *et al.* 2007; Rose 2007; Roosevelt 2009, 99–100, 109–110, 127–129, 140–151.

3 The proximity of *tumuli* to roads is a phenomenon that is already attested in the Late Bronze Age: Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 171–172; Galanakis 2008, 77 and forthcoming a. Good examples are the *tumuli* at Aerino and Pherai: Arachoviti 2000, 364 plan 6; Salvatore 1994, 95–97, and III fig. 19 for the road systems in the area; Morgan 2003, 94; Georganas, 2008; Gounaris, 2009, 168. Dendra Tyrnavou: at the locality Agios Antonios, a number of low mounds line the road which connects Larisa with Tyrnavos: Gallis 1976; Stamatopoulou 1999, cat. no. 13. Gremnos: Stamatopoulou 1999, cat. no. 23, locality Pente Magoules (they have not been investigated). Pherai: Morgan 2003, 92–95; Salvatore 1994, 103 (for roads leading to Pherai and the Thymarakia *Tumulus*). The same is also valid for Macedonian *tumuli*, see the contribution from Barbara Schmidt-Dounas in this volume.

4 Edmonds 1900.

5 For LH IIB/IIIA: at Kapakli: Kourouniotis 1906; Avila 1983. For continuity until the end of the EIA: Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 176; Galanakis 2008, 76–85 and forthcoming a; Lemos 2002, 205–207, 220; Georganas 2000 (with caution); Eder 2009, 115; Malakasioti 2006, 112–113 (Agrielia).

6 I say ‘perhaps’, because the 7th century is still a gap in our knowledge of the funerary archaeology of the region. Contrary to what one reads in Morris 1998, 36–40, esp. 36, followed by Georganas 2008, 277, the Paspalia *tholos* near Kapakli is not dated to/and used in the Archaic period but in the EIA: Stamatopoulou 2007, 319 n. 69. The only known burials dating from the 7th century are those at Agios Georgios (see below n. 48). See also Theodossiev 2007 for a discussion of the Thessalian tombs in the context of Thracian funerary architecture, where *tholos* architecture is popular in the 4th century, and where continuity from Mycenaean times has often been advocated.

7 Lemos 2002, 12–15; Tziafalias/Zaouri 1999, 146; Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 168–169 (for settlements); Eder 2009, 113–116.

8 The same is attested at Sesklo, Kapakli, Marmariani: Galanakis 2008, 83, vol. 3, cat. nos. 7.1 (Kapakli), 7.5 (Aerino); Arachoviti 2000, 361–362 (Pherai and Chloe), 364–367 for the Aerino *tumuli* cemetery, where 15 *tholos* tombs dated from the LBA to the Late PG have been excavated, plan 6 on 364 for a plan of the excavated area.

monuments (Fig. 2). The Yerakari mound and tomb is very interesting, both for its type and location on the north-eastern edge of the Thessalian plain,⁹ but as the area remains uninvestigated, there is very little information about the related settlement at Palaiokastros, and virtually none about nearby burial grounds.¹⁰ Therefore, it is difficult to have a meaningful discussion about the motives of the burying group.

I will begin with Pharsalos, the leading city of the tetrad Phthiotis in Classical times:¹¹ in the western cemetery of the city, situated along the road that led to ancient Thaumaki and Lamia, a *tholos* tomb was erected sometime in the late 6th century BC over a LH IIB chamber tomb (Figs. 3–4).¹² The tomb was covered by an earthen mound that was surrounded by a stone enclosure wall, 19 m in diameter, and was preserved to a height of 1.50 m. The tomb, which was investigated in the 1950s, remains unpublished.¹³ It consisted of a round chamber, with corbelled roof (4.50 m in diameter) built in the polygonal system with local grey limestone, a roofed *stomion* (3.30 m long by 1.18–1.53 m wide) and a built *dromos* (3.95 m long by 1.12 m wide).¹⁴ There is evidence suggesting that the entrance to the *stomion* was closed by a wooden door.¹⁵ The tomb strongly recalls earlier Thessalian funerary monuments especially with regard to its tripartite arrangement and architectural details: a corbel-vaulted *thalamos* (chamber), *tholos* with corbelled-vault, preceded by a built (and roofed) *stomion* (entranceway) and a *dromos* (passageway). Its construction, in the polygonal style, is unattested in earlier funerary architecture of the region, but finds close parallels in the acropolis fortifications of the city of Pharsalos, which were roughly contemporary.¹⁶ Inside the *tholos*, on either side of the entrance, two monolithic *sarcophagi* were found looted and partially destroyed, evidently placed there at a later date, in the late Classical or early Hellenistic periods.¹⁷ As we shall see, such an arrangement of *sarcophagi* was the norm in the built tombs of the Classical period in Thessaly. The finds of the tomb, and the masonry style, which, as mentioned, resembles that of the acropolis fortifications, suggest a date of construction in the late 6th century BC, and a usage until, at least, the late 4th cen-

9 Gallis 1973a and 1973b; Stamatopoulou 1999, cat. no. 67 (with earlier bibliography). See also below n. 67.

10 The tomb is situated about 1 km E-NE of the hill Palaiokastros, near Neochori, where ancient remains belonging to a settlement have been identified: Helly 1987, esp. 152–153. The settlement at Palaiokastros, is situated near a torrent and the passage which connects the Ayia plain with the eastern Thessalian plain. It thus controls the basin of Ayia and mostly the eastern part of the Thessalian plain which was drained to the north of Lake Voiveis.

11 On Pharsalos: Decourt *et al.* 2004, 702–704 (cat. no. 413); Béquignon 1970; Katakouta/Toufexis 1994; Stamatopoulou 2009, esp. 205–206, 213–214.

12 Verdelis 1952a, 190–192 and 1953, 128–132; Katakouta/Karagounis 2006, 211, fig. 99; Papadimitriou 2001, 125 (90).

13 Verdelis 1951, 157–163 and 1952a, 185–198 and 1953 and pl. II for plan and sections of the tomb; *idem* 1954, 153–155; Katakouta/Karagounis 2006, 319–324, figs. 2–11. The final publication of the tomb is underway by St. Katakouta and the author.

14 Verdelis 1952a, 186 on the dimensions of the tomb and 1953 pl. II.

15 Verdelis 1952a, 188–190.

16 Katakouta/Toufexis 1994, 197; Katakouta/Karagounis 2006, 320.

17 Verdelis 1951, 159 drawing iv, 160, fig. 31a.

tury BC.¹⁸ The disturbance of the tomb due to looting, the absence of publication and the later use of the tomb, do not allow us to determine whether it was originally constructed for actual burial, or whether it was conceived as a *cenotaph*/*'heroon'*, an interpretation that has been put forward by Marzolff, on the basis of the monument's direct relation to the underlying Mycenaean tomb.¹⁹ Equally, it is difficult to evaluate the importance of the funerary assemblage and the nature of the later reuse of the tomb (tomb cult or actual use).²⁰

With regard to the burial mode in *tholos* tombs, during the LBA and EIA collective burial was the norm despite the small size of the *tholos*, indicating, to quote Galanakis, "the importance paid to lineage by the tomb-using groups"²¹. Although, as already mentioned, we cannot reconstruct the situation of the earlier stages of its use, in the Classical period, the pair of *sarcophagi* is suggestive of a small burying group (even if used for successive burials). Notable among the finds is the black-figure *krater* in the manner of Exekias, whose fragments were found in the *dromos* and the *tholos* (Fig. 5).²² The choice of subject matter, the battle over the body of dead Patroklos, may be telling of the interests of the burying group, if we consider the fact that Achilles was appropriated by the city of Pharsalos in the 4th century BC.²³ The tomb's location above a well-furnished Mycenaean tomb, making claim to the earlier monument, and in the vicinity of other Late Bronze Age tombs;²⁴ its type, which recalls earlier *tholos* tombs; and some of the finds seem to imply a conscious attempt to forge a link with the past.

Another late 6th century BC *tholos* tomb is known from the same cemetery, located among graves of other types, about 60 m southeast of the Verdelis tomb (Fig. 6).²⁵ It consisted of a circular chamber, 4 m in diameter, and a *stomion* to the north, towards the road, measuring 1.80 m long by 1.85–1.60 m wide.²⁶ The tomb was found in a much damaged state and looted. Inside the *tholos* were ten stone repositories, one bearing the name

18 For the finds of the tomb: Verdelis 1951, 160–161, fig. 32 and 1952a, 188–190, 192–193 and 1954, 153–155, fig. 17, for the Corinthian pottery sherds found at –0.30 m from the base of the foundations of the *tholos*.

19 It is noteworthy however that the late Archaic *tholos* tomb, although imitating earlier monuments, does not follow the type of the underlying Mycenaean tomb, which was of rectilinear plan instead. The tomb is situated near the PG cemetery of Pharsalos; Katakouta 2012. For the hypothesis that the tomb had served as *heroon*: Marzolff, 1994, 267, followed by Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 511.

20 Pottery from the upper layers of the mound, dating from the 4th century suggests that commemorative rites/visits to the tomb took place in that period: Verdelis 1954, 153–154, fig. 1.

21 Galanakis 2008, 218.

22 Verdelis 1952b.

23 Stamatopoulou 2007, 329 n. 136, 340 and 2009, 216.

24 Papadimitriou, 2001, 125 (90) emphasizes the richness of the finds (despite the disturbance of the tomb). See also Verdelis 1952a, 195 and 1953, 127–132 no. 2. The existing evidence suggests that in the LBA rectilinear built tombs, presumably corbel-vaulted (for at least a few courses) might have been more popular in Pharsalos than the more canonical *tholoi*. The earliest *tholoi* are dated to the Sub-Mycenaean period: Tziafalias 2000, 85.

25 Verdelis 1955a, 142–144, no. 3 (characterized in the report as 'grave B'), 144 figs. 6–7, pls. 45β, 46 α-β. Information on the tomb survives in the Archives of the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Volos), D.R. Theocharis' Archive, file 28: 'Report on the year 1955' pp. 2–3, no. 4 (with plans of the tomb).

26 The width of the *stomion* increased towards the entrance of the *tholos*. Verdelis 1955a, fig. 6 on 144, pl. 45β.

ΑΓΑΠΙΑ (among the earliest epigraphic evidence from the city),²⁷ and sherds of black-figure Attic vases, which have been used to date the tomb to the late 6th–early 5th centuries BC.²⁸ It is evident that this tomb was used for multiple burials, with cremation as the predominant rite.

The two late Archaic *tholos* tombs at Pharsalos were part of a large, organised cemetery.²⁹ In the vicinity, Verdelis partially excavated: a *tumulus* containing burials in *sarcophagi*;³⁰ *sarcophagi* of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods;³¹ monumental tomb structures, such as Attic-type *peribolos* tombs;³² and a built chamber tomb (see below). Mortuary variability is a prominent feature of Thessalian necropoleis and Pharsalos is no exception.³³ The existing evidence for the western cemetery of Pharsalos in the 6th–early 5th centuries BC is not plentiful and the excavations remain unpublished. Even so it is clear that in the period of construction and initial use of the *tholos* tombs (late 6th–first half of the 5th century), there were also individual burials in *sarcophagi* that were not grouped under *tumuli*. In the 5th and 4th centuries BC, remarkable variety characterizes the grave typology of the cemetery: *peribolos* tombs, *tumuli* covering burials in *sarcophagi* and/or cists, the built chamber tomb, as well as burial in *sarcophagi*, secondary cremations in bronze vessels placed in stone repositories, tile-covered graves. One would ideally like to establish whether this considerable variability in funerary architecture, especially in the case of monumental tombs, was also reflected in the furnishings of the tombs, and whether it is possible to illuminate through these differences the motives behind specific choices on the part of the burying groups. The fact that the tombs were found looted and not all the finds have been located hinders such an analysis; however, I hope to show that this variability might be indicative of an attempt by competing élites to broadcast different (constructed) traditions in order to fabricate/create their identity.

27 Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000, 152–153 (ΦΑ 9), pl. 71.

28 Verdelis 1955a, pl. 46a. The study of the pottery from the tomb in April 2010 and July 2011 showed that it contained at least five black-figure *amphorae*, one by the Rycroft Painter, and a black-gloss stemless cup.

29 On the western cemetery of Pharsalos: Stamatopoulou/Katakouta 2012. An unpublished drawing of the area excavated by Verdelis is kept in the Archive of the Archaeological Society of Athens (‘Ημερολόγιον ανασκαφής Φαρσάλου 1954’), showing the relation of the *tholos* tomb to the nearby funerary structures.

30 Verdelis 1951, 154–155, no. 1, fig. 29.

31 Verdelis 1951, 155–156, no. 2 (Hellenistic *sarcophagi* above a LBA built tomb) and 1952a, 202 (*sarcophagus* with Archaic period finds) and 1954, 155–157 (*sarcophagi* about 10 m north of the *tholos* tomb dated to the late 5th–4th century).

32 Verdelis 1952a, 199–202 and 1954, 157–159, no. 4 and 1955a, 140 no. 1 (foundations that probably belong to a *peribolos* tomb wall, situated about 15 m east of the *tholos* tomb, and in direct visual relation to it). Stamatopoulou/Katakouta 2012.

33 For the EIA: Tziafalias/Zaouri 1999; Lemos 2002, 178; Malakasioti 2000 and 2006 (for Halos); Georganas 2002 (for Halos) and 2009; Arachoviti 2000 and Naoumi 2002, esp. 134–135 (pit graves found in the vicinity of the *tumuli* with the PG *tholos* tombs at Chloë). Morris 1998, 36–40 mentions that in the 6th century Thessalian funerary archaeology becomes simpler and undifferentiated. This is evidently wrong: Stamatopoulou 2007, 326, 319–320, 328–330.

Equally interesting both for the usage of *tholos*/chamber tombs covered with earthen mounds and for its mortuary variability is the cemetery of Krannon, another major city in the Thessalian plain, ‘home’ of the legendary family of the Skopads.³⁴ The cemetery at Krannon extends over a very large area in the plain, about 2.5 km to the south of the city, whose acropolis is situated on the low trapezoidal rise at Kastro (Figs. 1, 7).³⁵ It was evidently a *tumuli* cemetery. According to Theocharis, who surveyed the area in 1960, at least 16 *tumuli* were visible at the time, while many had been levelled out.³⁶ The *tumuli* range between 25–40 m in diameter and 2–7 m in height, and are thus visible from a distance in the plain. Many of them lined the road leading from the acropolis at Kastro towards the village Doxaras (and Pharsalos) to the south. The absence of detailed maps and, more importantly, of a systematic survey and mapping of the city and its cemeteries does not allow us to fully appreciate the complexity of this burial ground.³⁷

The single known example of a *tholos* tomb dating to the Classical period from Thessaly is situated south of the ancient acropolis at Kastro, and was excavated in 1960 after its plundering and destruction at the hand of the owner of the land.³⁸ It was situated on the east side of the ancient road that led to Pharsalos, almost opposite from another *tumulus* that covered a built chamber tomb (Fig. 7: B; Fig. 8, left; Fig. 9). The tomb (Fig. 10) consisted of: i) a semi-underground circular chamber, 3.28 m in diameter, built in the isodomic style, whose walls, preserved to a height of 2.45 m, created a corbelled vault; and ii) a *stomion*, to the west of the chamber measuring 0.62 m in depth and 0.97 m in width, that was formed by two wide steps.³⁹ The entrance was closed on the outer side by a low dry-stone wall.⁴⁰ Although the exploration of the tomb was not completed, it is evident that the tomb did not have a built *dromos*. Two poros *sarcophagi* were originally placed inside the *tholos* on

34 On Krannon: Decourt *et al.* 2004, 694–695 (cat. no. 400); Stamatopoulou 1999, cat. no. 35; Morgan 2003, 89, n. 188.

35 Gallis 1992, 132 (Krannon 4; Kastro Krannonna).

36 On the *tumuli* at Krannon: Arvanitopoulos 1915, 173–174 and 1922/24, 37–38; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 30 n.1; Theocharis 1960, 177, plan 2 on 178; Zaouri 1989.

37 We cannot know, for example, whether some isolated *tumuli* were located in the estates of local landowners or whether their proximity and placement along the road to Pharsalos (modern Doxaras) was on public land. It should also be noted that perhaps not all mounds were *tumuli*; this is proven in the case of ‘*Tumulus Z*’ at Mavro-petra, on the southern edge of the cemetery of Krannon, where detailed investigation showed that it was not funerary in nature but rather a quarry for sandstone: Tziafalias 1981b. See: Rose *et al.* 2007, esp. 72–74; Roosevelt 2009, esp. 140–151 for the usefulness of systematic survey in identifying the strategies behind the placement of *tumuli* in the landscape.

38 Theocharis 1960, 179–182, drawing 4 on 180; Archives of the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Volos: D. R. Theocharis’ Archive, file 24, pp. 14–15, also drawings of the tomb (titled: Tomb 7 (B)) with date 4. 10. 60. I would like to thank Dr. V. Adrymi-Sismani for allowing me to study this archive. A description and very good photographs of the tomb can be found in the website of the Greek Ministry of Culture: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/gh251.jsp?obj_id=1382 (last checked 03. 03. 2010).

39 Theocharis 1960, 180 plan 4, pl. β–γ; Milojevic 1960, 175–176, fig. 18.

40 Theocharis 1960, pl. 154γ.

the paved floor, on either side of the entrance;⁴¹ there is evidence for the placing of a wooden coffin or cover inside the preserved *sarcophagus*.⁴² The tomb has been dated to the first half of the 5th century BC on the basis of pottery fragments of a red-figure *stamnos* by the Syleus Painter, and because of its architectural typology.⁴³

The plan of the Krannon *tholos* tomb, its semi-underground placement, the small size of the chamber, the emphasis on the *stomion*, and the method of closing its entrance, are features that bring to mind built *tholos* tombs of the EIA, for example the ones at Argyropouli in northern Thessaly,⁴⁴ and Chloe near Velestino.⁴⁵ However, the Krannon *tholos* is the most developed example of such a tomb, built in isodomic ashlar masonry, with drafted margins at the corners of the blocks executed in a very careful manner. It seems to lie at the end of the series of the Thessalian tradition of built *tholos* tombs. Krannon itself has not yet provided evidence for *tholos* tombs either in the LBA or the EIA.⁴⁶ In the extensive EIA cemetery that was investigated at the locality Gírlenia, on the site of a prehistoric *magoula*, there is evidence that stone circular enclosures with a short passageway could have served as an alternative to *tholos* tombs. One such enclosure has been found among cist graves, and had been used for collective burial.⁴⁷ Stone enclosures continued in use in the vicinity, as is attested by the two exceptionally rich 7th–6th century BC *tumuli* at Agios Georgios.⁴⁸

On the opposite side of the road from the *tholos* tomb is another *tumulus* covering a built chamber tomb (Fig. 7: A, Fig. 8 right).⁴⁹ The tomb consists of a burial chamber, square in plan (side: 3.15 m) built of ashlar blocks in the isodomic style (Figs. 11–12); and a similarly

41 Even though the plan published in Theocharis 1960, 180 drawing 4 does not show the second *sarcophagus*, its presence, in front of the entrance, is indicated in a drawing by the excavator in the Archives of the 13th EPCA: Stamatopoulou 1999, fig. 7b, pl. 13.

42 Theocharis 1960, 180.

43 Theocharis 1960, 181, pl. 155a. A few finds were collected from the area between the *sarcophagi*, among them an alabaster (vase?), and the fragments of the red-figure vase decorated with Dionysiac scenes. According to Beazley it was painted ‘probably [by] the Syleus Painter’ (quote in postcard of 19. 4. 1961 sent by B. Philippaki from Oxford to D. Theocharis); see also Beazley Archive no. 275144.

44 Tziafalias/Zaouri 1999, 145, figs. 3–4 (on the *tholos* from D. Anastasiou plot). Also: Tziafalias 1981a (D. Anastasiou plot); Zaouri 1996 (A. Tsitsas’ plot). Three *tholos* tombs dated to the EIA have been found at Argyropouli.

45 Arachoviti 1994 and 2000, esp. 362 figs. 9–10, plan 5; Tsiouka 2002; also Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1996, 343–344 and Georganas 2009 for a general overview.

46 Tziafalias/Zaouri 1999, 144, 146.

47 Retzepe plot, T.23: Tziafalias 1983a; Tziafalias/Zaouri 1999, 144, fig. 2, 146–147, figs. 9–10; Gallis 1992, 128 (Kambos 2: Magoula Retzepe); Lemos 2002, 177–178; Morgan 2003, 90–91. The enclosure was located in a central part of the cemetery, on higher ground, a placement that according to the excavators implies social differentiation. A similarly central position in relation to the other graves of the burial ground was observed in the recently investigated cemetery at Agrielia, near Halos (Platanos Almyrou). There, in the western part of the PG cemetery, a group of pit and cist graves was radially organized in relation to a *tholos* tomb and covered under a mound; the funerary assemblage of this *tholos* tomb was the most elaborate of the cemetery: Malakasioti 2006, 112–113; Katsavou/Polymeropoulou 2007, 134–135, fig. 5.

48 Tziafalias 1978 and 1994b and 1983b, 211 plan 9, pl. 84d. Also Stamatopoulou 1999, cat. no. 2; Morgan 2001, 32–44 and 2003, 90–91; Stamatopoulou 2007, 319–320.

49 Theocharis 1960, 177–179; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 44–45, fig. 11.

built *stomion*, to the south, measuring 1.18 m long by 1.37 m wide, that is formed by a projection of the chamber walls. The *stomion* is emphasized by a large monolithic lintel.⁵⁰ The entrance was closed on the outer side by a dry-stone wall, and on the inner side by large poros slabs.⁵¹ At the entrance of the chamber, the threshold was set slightly higher than the paved floor of the chamber and there is evidence for a pair of, probably wooden, doors that would have sealed the entrance.⁵² The chamber walls rested on a *toichobate* and a course of orthostate blocks (Figs. 13–14).⁵³ Although the upper part of the tomb is destroyed (the maximum preserved height is 3.23 m) its capstone suggests that it was covered with a pyramidal roof.⁵⁴ When found, the tomb was badly plundered. In the unpublished notebook of the excavator it appears that it too originally had one, or more, *sarcophagi* inside the chamber. The few 5th and 4th centuries BC pottery fragments found in its filling cannot give a precise date. Theocharis proposed a tentative date in the early 4th century BC, based on the typological features of the tomb.⁵⁵

The close proximity of the two tombs described above, on either side of the road, makes the difference in the choice of tomb type for the later tomb (of rectilinear plan) all the more interesting. Although the mound covered, and ultimately concealed, the funerary architecture, the memory of the tomb must have survived among the local community.⁵⁶

A second tomb of this type (conventionally named: the ‘Deilaki’ tomb) was located about 250 m to the south, on the same side of the road. Also plundered, the tomb was placed under a conical mound and consisted of a built *dromos* that led from the east to a square built chamber, covered with a pyramidal roof (Fig. 7: E; Figs. 15–16).⁵⁷ The *dromos* consisted of two parts. The inner one, 1.51 m (by the entrance)–1.42 m wide and 2.75–2.19 m long, was set slightly off-centre and had walls built of yellowish poros blocks. Its sides were higher towards the chamber, whereas its width increased in front of the entrance.⁵⁸ Investigations in the 1990s showed that the *dromos* continued further than the built part. The outer end of the *dromos* was marked by two slabs that were placed on either side of it; they have been

50 Theocharis 1960, plan 3 on 179, pl. 154d–e; Stamatopoulou 1999, pl. 15, 16d.

51 Stamatopoulou 1999, pl. 16c.

52 Theocharis 1960, 179 plan 3. The existence of doors closing the entrance to a built tomb is attested here for the first time.

53 They were vertical to a height of 1.31 m above the paved floor and then inclined symmetrically inwards.

54 Theocharis 1960, 178; also: unpublished notebook of Theocharis in the Archives of the 13th Ephorate of Pre-historic and Classical Antiquities (Volos), dated 12. 10. 60, with drawings of the tomb and notes about its dimensions and finds.

55 Theocharis 1960, 179: in the fill of the chamber were sherds belonging to Little Master Cups, as well as red figure sherds dating to the 5th and some to the 4th century.

56 Galanakis 2008, 84 has stressed the parallel existence and association, already in the LBA and EIA, of rectilinear and curvilinear corbel-vaulted tombs in Thessaly (esp. at Aerino, Ag. Antonios, and Dimini) and more generally in the Aegean. See also: Arachoviti 2000, 363–367, esp. 367 and figs 15, 18; Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 172.

57 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960.

58 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 31. The decrease in the height of the *dromos* walls towards the exit of the tomb (which has an above-ground chamber) recalls that of some LBA tombs for example Lamiospito (Dimini A) *tholos* tomb: Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 169, fig. 15.5.

plausibly identified as guide posts for the users of the tomb, when the fill was removed for new burials.⁵⁹ The entrance to the chamber was emphasized by a monolithic lintel, which had a pediment carved onto its upper part (Fig. 15).⁶⁰ The burial chamber was square and quite small (side: 2.63 m);⁶¹ its paved floor was built slightly below the modern ground surface and 0.26 m below the level of the threshold. The walls of the chamber were carefully built of ashlar blocks, resting on a *toichobate* course and a row of orthostates, bearing punch marks on their surface (in a quite decorative manner); the vertical lower part of the walls supported a pyramidal roof.⁶² On the walls of the chamber, holes for iron nails suggest that, as in Macedonia, various objects or possibly garlands hung on the walls. The rear wall bore figure painted decoration, depicting a banquet scene on a white background, so far unique in Thessaly (Fig. 17).⁶³ The burial chamber had originally contained two monolithic stone *sarcophagi*, on either side of the entrance, covering the entire length of the chamber. The northern *sarcophagus* bore elaborate painted decoration with scenes of a boar hunt on the triangular top (Fig. 18), while the southern one contained a wooden coffin whose edge had a relief meander band.⁶⁴ Since the tomb was robbed of its contents, its date is again derived from the analysis of its painted decoration, the few finds,⁶⁵ and from stylistic comparisons with similar tombs. Consequently, a date of 375–325 BC has been proposed.

As already mentioned, tombs of the same type have been found at Pharsalos (Fig. 19)⁶⁶ and Yerakari near Ayia (Figs. 20–21), both dated to the second half of the 5th century

59 The result of the work done by the 15th EPCA under the supervision of the late Anna Zaouri was presented by her at the conference: “Το Έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεωτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠ.ΠΟ. στη Θεσσαλία και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της (1990–1998)” that took place in Volos, in May 14–17, 1998. See also the photo of the tomb on the website of the Ministry of Culture: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/gh251.jsp?obj_id=6768 (site last visited on 03. 03. 2010).

60 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 32.

61 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 33–34; the chamber of the Yerakari tomb was also small.

62 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 33–35. The preserved height of the chamber walls was 3.30 m.

63 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 34–35, fig. 8. Milojcic 1960, 177. The main elements of the painted scene were still visible in 1995/6 when I photographed the tomb: Stamatopoulou 1999, col.pl. 1. A model of the tomb in the storage rooms of the Archaeological Museum of Volos, made at the time of the discovery is very accurate. I would like to thank E. Skaphida for alerting me to the existence of the model.

64 Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 36–40.

65 In the *dromos*, in front of the drystone wall sealing the entrance, two bronze nails and a bronze handle (of a *pyxis*?) were found, as well as a pair of iron shoe soles. Inside the chamber, in the gap between the eastern side of the northern *sarcophagus* and the chamber wall: a pair of wheels, a number of nails and an oblong bronze strip. Among other finds were sherds of small black-gloss vases and fragments of wood from the coffin. Finally, a gold necklace was retrieved from the top of the tomb, probably left by the looters. Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 42–43; Theocharis 1960, 175, pl. 154a (for the jewellery).

66 Verdelis 1955a, 140–142, no. 2, pl 44α–β, 45α and 1955b, 44–46; Archives of the 13th EPCA, D.R. Theocharis’ archive, file 28, ‘Pharsalos: Report for year 1955’ p. 2, no. 3 (with detailed measurements of the *stomion*); Katakouta/Karagounis 2006, 324–325, fig. 12. The tomb consisted of a chamber square in plan (side: 4 m), and an entrance opening to the north towards the road, forming a *stomion* (1.18 m deep by 1.05–1.01 m wide). The walls are preserved to a height of 1.00 m and are built of well-dressed limestone orthostate blocks resting on a *toichobate/euthynteria*. The tomb has been dated to the second half of the 5th century based on the pottery sherds found in the chamber and its architectural typology.

BC.⁶⁷ As with the ones described above, they display the same basic features: a well-constructed square chamber, carefully built in the isodomic or pseudo-isodomic style,⁶⁸ covered by a pyramidal roof, preceded by a *stomion* and/or a built *dromos*. Although the evidence from Yerakari and Pharsalos was not conclusive it appears that they too were covered by a mound. The roofing system of these chambers (corbelling), the presence of a *stomion* and/or *dromos*, the placing of the *sarcophagi* in the chamber, at least in the case of the Yerakari tomb,⁶⁹ relate them to the Pharsalos and Krannon tombs and thus to the Thessalian tradition of built corbel-vaulted tombs.⁷⁰ We should note, however, that the tombs do not copy earlier monuments, they rather imitate in a selective (and often random) manner features that recall earlier funerary architecture with elite associations.

When trying to assess the significance of these tomb monuments we are faced with a number of problems. Some stem from the inadequate exploration of the Thessalian necropoleis and/or the tombs themselves and the fact that they were all found looted. For example, we do not know if in their immediate vicinity or in the fill of the *tumuli* there were other graves. Nor do we know whether the tombs were used exclusively for adult or also for child burials.⁷¹ The exact date of the monuments is unclear, as is the duration of their use. The finding of guides by the entrance of the 'Deilaki tomb' *tumulus* would suggest that the tombs were used for successive interments. If this was the case, we have no evidence about the treatment of the skeletal remains of the earlier interments.

We should point out that not all Thessalian elites chose this mode of self-representation in burials. It is significant that during this period there were alternative modes of burial available to elite groups. For example, at Krannon there is wide variability in the type and mode of burials. During the Classical period, *tumuli* covering cist graves, *sarcophagi*, tile-covered graves and stone repositories co-existed in the vicinity of the mounds protecting built chamber and *tholos* tombs. Notable among them is the Sarmanitsa *Tumulus* located to west of the acropolis, and investigated in 1970 and 1989.⁷² The *tumulus* was oval in

67 Gallis 1973a, 262 fig. 5 and 1973b. The tomb lay almost completely underground. It consisted of a long built *dromos* (3.65 m. long × 0.90 m wide × 1.55 m high), which formed a roofed *stomion* towards the entrance (0.70 m wide × 0.90 m high), and a square built chamber (side: 2.25 m) whose walls were made of limestone ashlar blocks in the pseudo-isodomic style and was covered by a pyramidal roof (H. of walls: 1.90 m). The tomb was discovered following its disturbance by looters: among the finds were fragments of bronze *fibulae*, two black-gloss *skyphoi* of the late 5th century, and eighteen bone discs, probably from the decoration of a piece of furniture or the wooden coffins/stretchers: Gallis 1973b, 330.

68 In the Krannon and Pharsalos tombs the lower part of the walls consists of a *toichobate* and a row of orthostate blocks; at Yerakari the masonry was less careful and consisted of flat stones laid in regular courses.

69 Contrary to the Krannon and Yerakari tombs where the *sarcophagi* were placed on either side of the entrance, in the Pharsalos chamber it was placed in a pit in the ground: Verdelis 1955a, pl. 44a–β, 45a.

70 Galanakis (forthcoming b) has stressed the contemporary presence of rectilinear and round plan *tholos* tombs in the LBA Aegean.

71 At Alykes Kitrous near Pydna, after the construction of a Macedonian tomb in the *tumulus*, child graves continued to be buried in independent graves outside the built tomb, whereas adults were interred inside the Macedonian tomb: Besios 1988, 190 and 1991, 175–176 (K. Chrysochoidis' plot).

72 Chourmouziadis 1970; Zaouri 1989.

plan, measured 25 m by 17 m at its base, and contained twenty-six graves, which were found concentrated at its two ends.⁷³ It was used throughout the 5th century BC for burials of adults and children, with the earliest burials, in poros *sarcophagi* (eleven), placed in shafts cut in the bedrock. Although the finds of the *tumulus* are not spectacular (and we should bear in mind that some of the tombs were looted), the burials are 'rich' by contemporary Thessalian standards. This is implied by the care of the construction of the *sarcophagi* (monolithic, with well-dressed interiors and traces of red plaster), in particular grave V which was placed in a protective stone casing,⁷⁴ and the discovery of imported Attic pottery (mostly *lekythoi*) and of an iron sword inside *sarcophagus* XX.⁷⁵

Choice of tomb type and burial rite is rarely accidental, especially when considerable expenditure is involved. The date of the construction, if not revival, of the built corbel-vaulted *tholoi* and chambers in the late 6th and 5th centuries BC, and their concentration at Krannon and Pharsalos are significant.

In order to assess the significance of this phenomenon we should briefly look at the historical circumstances in Thessaly during this period. Thessaly is a region characterized in literary sources of the Classical and later periods as an *ethnos*.⁷⁶ Epigraphic and literary evidence show that political life in Thessaly was dominated by its elite families and that their power was mostly based on the exploitation of large estates. Contrary to the traditional view, Catherine Morgan and I have shown that they acted and/or competed with one another within a 'civic' context rather than against it, and that their attitudes in the Archaic period were similar to those of the elites of southern Greek communities.⁷⁷ The major families of Thessaly are nearly always mentioned in ancient sources in relation to a *polis*: the Aleuads to Larisa, the Echekratids, Menonids and Daochids to Pharsalos, the Skopads to Krannon.⁷⁸ During the late Archaic period, Thessalian elites chose to represent themselves in similar ways to their peers in other communities, by forging alliances and forming *xenia* relationships with other aristocrats, participating in Pan-Hellenic competitions, acting as patrons of the arts and showing keen interest in epinician poetry.⁷⁹ With regard to the latter, the performance of the odes could be very useful for the Thessalian 'notables' of the plains as their authority was acclaimed and portrayed in relation to a mythical hero or an-

73 Zaouri 1989, 233 plan 2.

74 Chourmouziadis 1970, 279, pl. 237γ. A similar casing is attested in the 5th century stone *sarcophagi* of the Magoula Douma *Tumulus* (V. Goulas plot), situated about 5 km south of the acropolis at Krannon: Gallis 1973c, 332, pl. 287β and 1992, 127 (Kambos 1). It is also attested in Grave 12 in the B. Zafeirolis plot at the locality Xerorema at Agios Georgios, dated to the early 5th century BC: Tziafalias 1984, 150, pl. 49a. See also Stamatopoulou 1999, vol. 1, 31–32 and pl. 10.

75 Zaouri 1989, 232, gr. XX (besides the sword the tomb contained a strigil, a miniature plate and a shallow spouted cup). For the pottery from these tombs: Chourmouziadis 1970, pl. 239; Zaouri 1989, pl. 144 α–γ.

76 Decourt *et al.* 2004, 676–678.

77 Morgan 2003, 21–24, 85–105; Stamatopoulou 2007.

78 Stamatopoulou 2007, 317–318 and 2009 (for Pharsalos).

79 Stamatopoulou 2007, 327–328.

cestor. The odes could serve to create a mythical past for the elite families, stress links among the families of the region, as in the case of the Aleuads of Larisa and the family of Hippokleas of Pelinna in Pindar,⁸⁰ and underline kinship ties or alliances among Thessalian aristocrats and outside communities, such as Sparta, and glorify their customary aristocratic rule.

A similar motivation may lie behind their choices in funerary architecture. Although evidence from the 7th century BC is lacking from the region, I would suggest that we see a 'revival' or better 're-introduction' of the corbel-vaulted tombs in Thessaly in the Archaic and Classical periods.⁸¹ The tombs make a deliberate but not systematic reference to the past, not so much to the LBA large *tholos* tombs (Dimini) but rather to the smaller LBA and EIA *tholoi* and, perhaps, built chamber tombs. The appropriation of certain aspects of past display by some aristocratic families, and ultimately the use of this archaizing funerary architecture occurred at a period when elite competition was very strong in the region at both civic and Pan-Hellenic level, and family, civic and ethnic identity was created by various means.⁸² I am aware of the fact that the absence of contemporary evidence from Larisa, the leading city in the region and seat of the Herakleid family of the Aleuads, even if attributable to the bias of investigation and excavation, hinders the drawing of definite conclusions.⁸³

The discovery of the Yerakari tomb on the northern edge of the eastern Thessalian plain, at a considerable distance from Krannon and Pharsalos, and the absence of systematic exploration of the plethora of Thessalian *tumuli/magoules* that litter the plain justify the hypothesis that the number of built *tholos* or chamber tombs must have been higher than the existing sample suggests. In the intensively investigated area around the Gulf of Pagasai, modern Volos, no built *tholos*/chamber tombs of the Archaic or Classical periods have been found to-date. This is an area where a very strong LBA/EIA tradition of built *tholos* tombs persisted.⁸⁴ At the Nea Ionia cemetery (Volos) EIA *tholoi* were used for burials in the Classical period, but the evidence possibly points to casual reuse not deliberate visitation or tomb cult.⁸⁵ In this region, 'elite' burials are usually found in monolithic *sarcophagi* or well-

80 Pind. *P.* 10.

81 With the exception of Thessaly and a possible case at Delphi (*ADelt* 19 [1964] *Chronika* B1, 218–221), the corbel-vaulted tomb type is not attested in the Greek peninsula during the Archaic and Classical periods.

82 For an unrelated but very revealing parallel of a deliberate adoption of a new burial tradition, the *tumulus* burial (often in chamber form, with ashlar masonry) in Lydia in order to lay claim to the land and forge 'a symbolic kinship with ancestors as a means of validating power': Roosevelt 2009, 127–129, 140–147. See also Rose 2008; Parker 2008, who discuss the construction of charter myths/mythical pasts driven by political agendas in the Troad and challenge the myth of the Ionian migration on archaeological and literary evidence.

83 Tziafalias 1994a, esp. 155; Morgan 2003, 55, 89–91.

84 Morgan 2003, 95–102.

85 Along Kolokotroni Street a number of *tholos* tombs have been found among tombs of other types; some were reused in the Classical period: Kolokotroni St. (Kapakli): Rondiri 1993, grave 6, pl. 77a–e; Triantaphylopoulou 1997, 457 plan 1, 459 (*tholos* tomb, T. 3), pl. 177d; Malakasioti 1998, plan 3 on 420, 421–422, pl. 159a–β; also Lemos 2002, 174.

dressed stone cists.⁸⁶ The same seems to apply to Pherai, with the notable example of the Thymarakia *Tumulus*, located in the vast, but still largely uninvestigated, northern cemetery.⁸⁷ The *tumulus* is located at a prominent site, on a hill near the road to Larisa,⁸⁸ offering great views over the entire region (Fig. 22), and is visible from afar (and clearly so from the Temple of Zeus Thaulios and Enodia). It was evidently a burial mound of an important social group, most probably a family, that was in use from the second half of the 5th century to the 3rd century BC. The graves were very carefully constructed and bore interior painted and incised decoration of Ionic columns; they were well furnished by Thes-salian standards implying substantial investment and care by the burying group.⁸⁹ It is evident that considerable variability was practiced in the region, reflecting different choices by the various burying groups. Therefore, even though monuments of the past probably influenced the appearance of a few imposing tomb structures of the Archaic and Classical periods, this 'rediscovery of the past' did not prompt a uniform reaction nor a wide diffusion of *tholos* architecture.

I have interpreted the construction of rectilinear and curvilinear corbel-vaulted tombs under mounds as a conscious choice aiming to lay claim to past monuments. A similar phenomenon is the recently identified hero cult by the LBA *tholos* tomb at Georgiko, at the locality Koufia Rachi. This is the second largest *tholos* in Thessaly (diameter and height about 8.80 m). In use during LH IIIB–C,⁹⁰ the Georgiko *tholos* may have been built in LH IIB/IIIA1.⁹¹ With a *stomion* 10.35 m long by 2.40 m wide and a lined *dromos* 10.60 m by 2.74 m, this tomb is one of the most imposing monuments of the LBA in Thessaly and the Aegean as a whole. Its physical prominence in the landscape is augmented by the large earthen mound covering the tomb. Immediately outside and south of the *dromos*, Intzesiloglou found a stone cairn made of river pebbles and a large number of artefacts, such as clay male and female figurines, handmade rider figurines or relief plaques showing riders, iron daggers, miniature vases, clay Laconian cover tiles with incised decoration and a grafitto, two stone bases for dedications.⁹² Moreover, about 9 m east of the wall that closed the *dromos* of the tomb, and in an area occupying 130 m², the earth above bedrock was blackened and contained fragments of burnt animal bones.⁹³ The diagnostic find was a Laconian roof tile, which bore a fragmentarily preserved inscription, incised before firing in retrograde,

86 Stamatopoulou 1999, vol. I, 22–31, cat. no. 43; Nees Pagases; cat. no. 58; Soros; cat. no. 65; Volos.

87 Adrymi-Sismani 1983; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1994, 79; Arachoviti 1994, 127 fig. 1.

88 Salvatore 1994, 103 n. 51.

89 Adrymi-Sismani 1983, 26–28 drawings 3–4.

90 Intzesiloglou 1997 and 1999 and 2002b; Chatziaggelakis 2007, 61–62 (with photo of the *tumulus* and the tomb).

91 Galanakis 2008, 77–81 and vol. 3, cat. no. 7.9.

92 Intzesiloglou 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2006, 222–223.

93 Intzesiloglou 1998, pl. 163ß; Chatziaggelakis 2007, 62 (with photograph of the cairns).

which read: *IEAIATHIONF*.⁹⁴ Intzesiloglou dated the find to the early 6th century BC, and has proposed that the inscription names Aiatos, known in a foundation myth about the coming of the Thessalians to the region, which has been preserved in Polyaeus' *Stratagemas*.⁹⁵ In this myth, Aiatos is the Herakleid father of Thessalos, founder of the Thessalian *ethnos*.⁹⁶ Intzesiloglou has explained this hero cult and the erection of a Doric temple at a nearby site, at Moschato, c. in the 540s, as an attempt of the prosperous local communities to create a shared heroic past and important *loci* for common activity.⁹⁷

The discovery of a hero cult by a LBA tomb in the region, a phenomenon that was considered to be absent from Thessaly,⁹⁸ and the date of the cult activity, throughout the 6th century,⁹⁹ are significant and tie in well with the evidence discussed so far.

As Kravaritou has recently shown, the 6th century BC was a period when myths regarding the origin of the Thessalians and their arrival in the region emerged (especially in relation to the Boeotians), as mechanisms of creating a common Thessalian identity.¹⁰⁰ Also sometime in the late 6th century BC, the Thessalian *politeia* was organized into tetrads/*moirai*, allegedly by Aleuas the Red, the quasi-mythical founder of the leading family of Larisa.¹⁰¹ The Aleuads figure prominently in the 10th Pythian ode as descending from Herakles and were a major player in Thessalian public life.¹⁰²

The prominence of the aristocratic families of Thessaly in choral poetry (Skopads, Aleuads, Echekratids) and public life, the construction of funerary monuments whose architectural details make reference to the past; the appearance of hero cults in relation to earlier tombs, even though in small-scale compared to regions like Attica or Messenia,¹⁰³ and the strong variability in funerary practices during this period are indicative of the

94 Intzesiloglou 2002b, 294, fig. 1; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000, 2–3, MH(?)2, pl. 2 (Volos Museum KEK 5224) and 2007, 438, fig. 2; Helly/Decourt 2004, 627 no. 214; Philippa-Touchais 2004–2005, 1447–1448 fig. 129.

95 Polyain. 8.44.

96 Intzesiloglou 2002b.

97 Intzesiloglou 2000 and 2002a; Chatziaggelakis 2007, 63–64; Stamatopoulou 2007, 320–321; Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 509.

98 For example Thessaly is missing from the comprehensive study by Boehringer 2001, 13; also Antonaccio 1995, 142. The only known cases of visitations of early tombs are attested at Kapakli, where *tholos* tombs were constructed until the late Geometric period, and Pteleon Gritsa: Lemos 2002, 174; Galanakis 2008, vol. 3, cat. no. 7.14–15. Evidence for cult activity by a LH IIIA built tomb is also known from Staphylos on Skopelos, where the finds also date from the late 6th – early 5th century: Skafida 2000, 402–404 fig. 32; Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 160–161.

99 On hero cults: Boehringer 2001; Mazarakis Ainian 2004; Ekroth 2007, esp. 102–103.

100 Kravaritou 2012. Also: Hall 2002, 134–154, 169–171 and the reviews by: Mitchell 2006; Tuplin 2006; Shepherd 2006.

101 Aristot. *fr.* 497–498 (Rose). Also: Helly 1995, 150–191, 287–315; Sprawski 1999, 15–25; Hall 2002, 140; Morgan 2003, 21–23; Stamatopoulou 2007, 316–317.

102 Stamatopoulou 2007, 309–312.

103 Boehringer 2001, 243–325. Antonaccio 1995, esp. 142; Luraghi 2009, esp. 129–131 discusses the proliferation of cult by Bronze Age tombs in Messenia after 369 BC in the light of their emergence as an independent polity and as part of the creation of a 'new Messenian ethnogenesis' (129) in the 4th century. See also: Alcock 1991 and 1997.

strong competition between these groups and of their attempt to establish control over the communities of the emerging cities as well as build their own identity. It should thus appear that hero cult and *tholos* architecture occurred at a time when civic/political life became increasingly organised, cities began to invest in the monumentalization of public space,¹⁰⁴ and leading local families broadcasted their role at a local and panhellenian level, via dedications, the promotion of choral poetry and the forming of *xenia* relationships. These continued throughout the 5th and into the 4th century BC, that is at a time when factional strife among aristocratic families was at the forefront of political life in the region.

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104 Stamatoπούλου 2007, 321–323.

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Fig. 1 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the Krannon cemetery from the south.

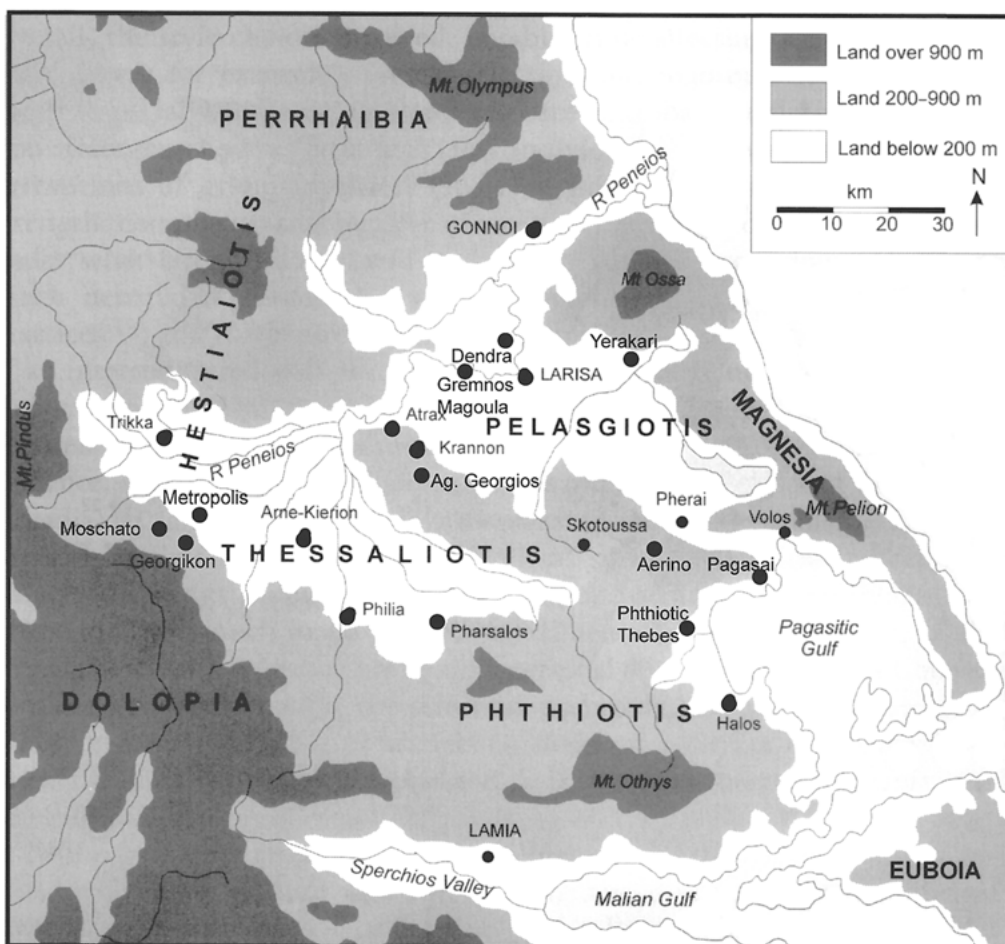


Fig. 2 (Stamatopoulou) | Map of Thessaly (adapted from Morgan 2003, 20, fig. 1.2).



Fig. 3 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the 'Verdelis' *tholos* tomb.

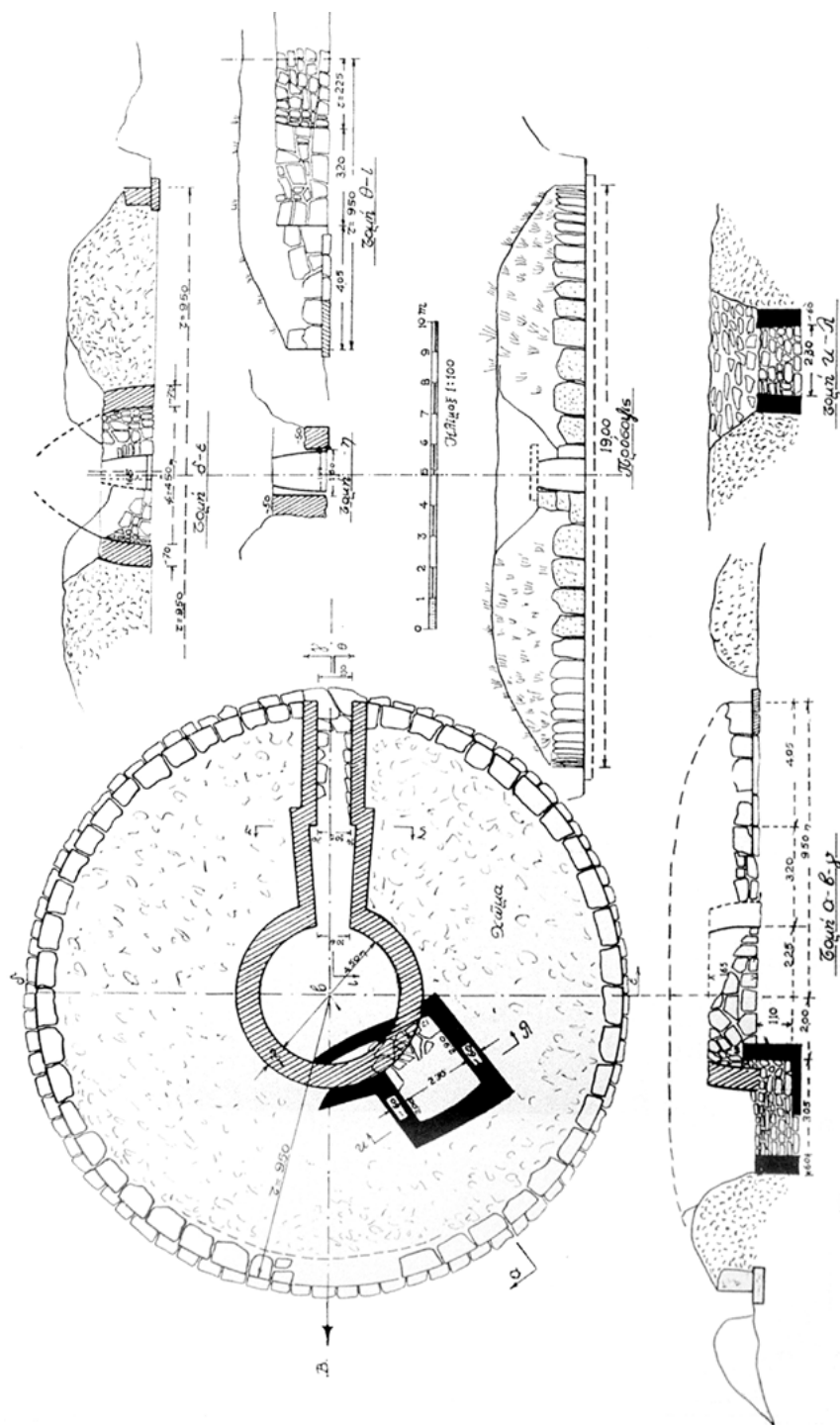


Fig. 4 (Stamatopoulou) | Plan and sections of the 'Verdelis' tholos tomb.



Fig. 5 (Stamatopoulou) | *Krater* in the manner of Exekias from the 'Verdelis' *tholos* tomb.



Fig. 6 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the *tholos* tomb.

Fig. 7 (Stamatopoulou) |
Sketch of the area
of Krannon and its
cemeteries.

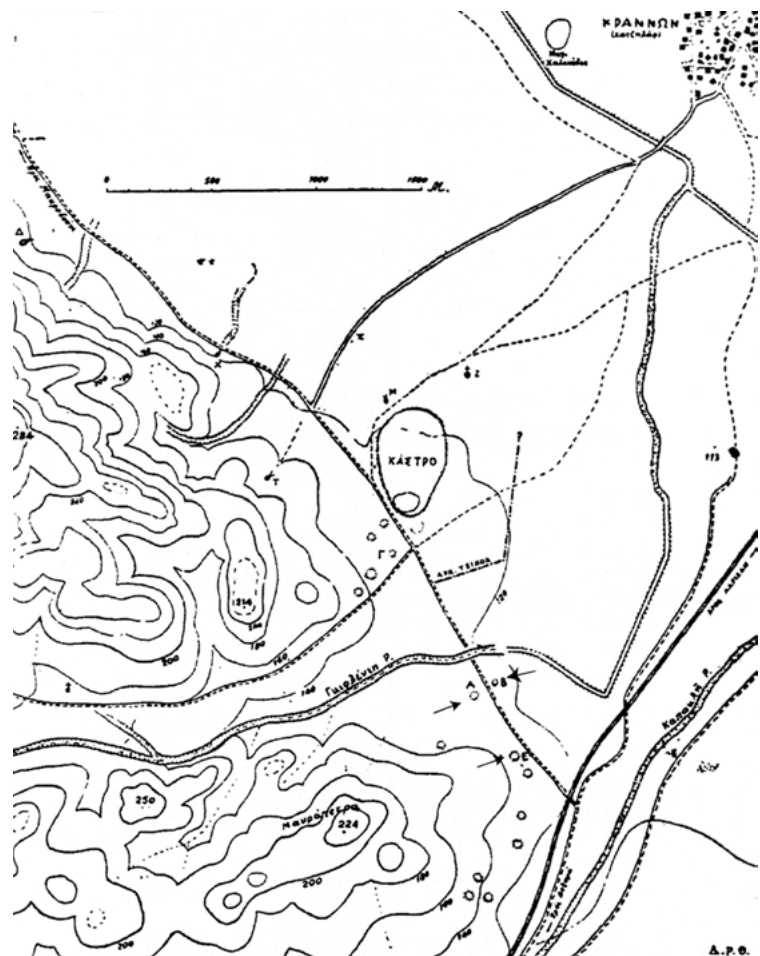


Fig. 8 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the mounds covering Tombs B (left: *tholos*) and A
(right: rectilinear plan) at Krannon.



Fig. 9 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the *tholos* tomb (Tomb B) at Krannon.

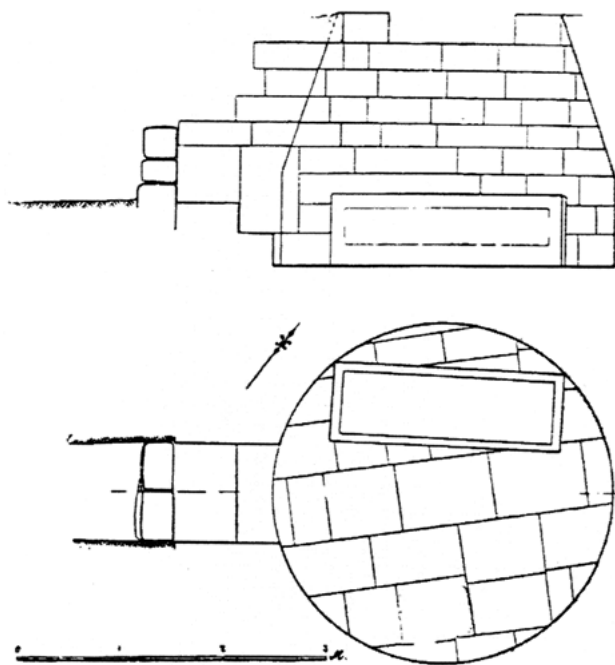


Fig. 10 (Stamatopoulou) | Plan of the *tholos* tomb (Tomb B) at Krannon.



Fig. 11 (Stamatopoulou) | View of Tomb A at Krannon.

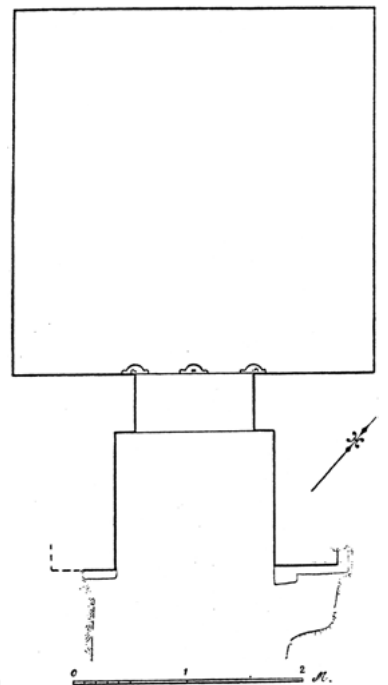


Fig. 12 (Stamatopoulou) | Plan of Tomb A at Krannon.

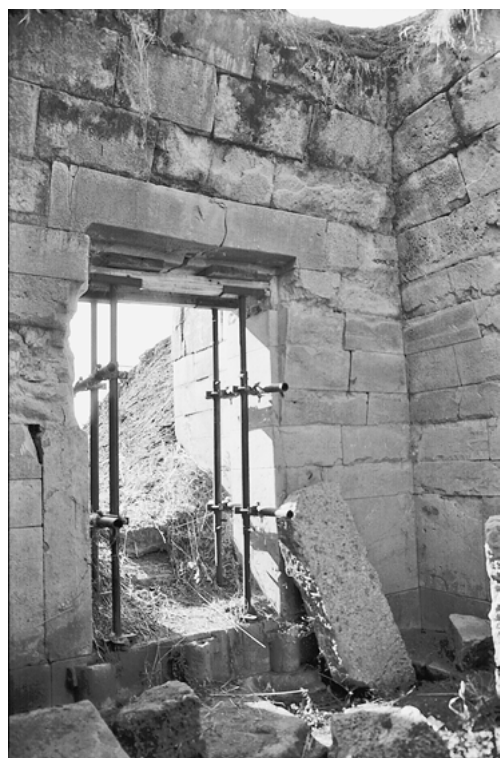


Fig. 13 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the interior of Tomb A.



Fig. 14 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the interior of Tomb A.



Fig. 15 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the entrance of the 'Deilaki' tomb.

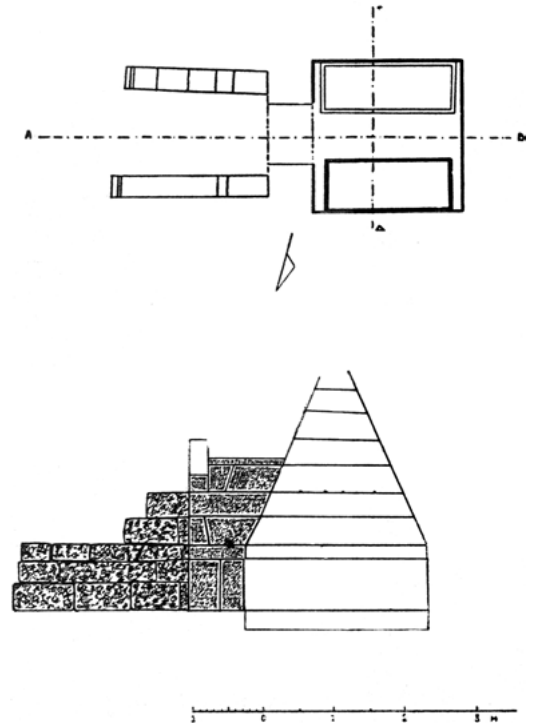


Fig. 16 (Stamatopoulou) | Plan and section of the 'Deilaki' tomb.



Fig. 17 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the rear wall of the chamber of the 'Deilaki' tomb.

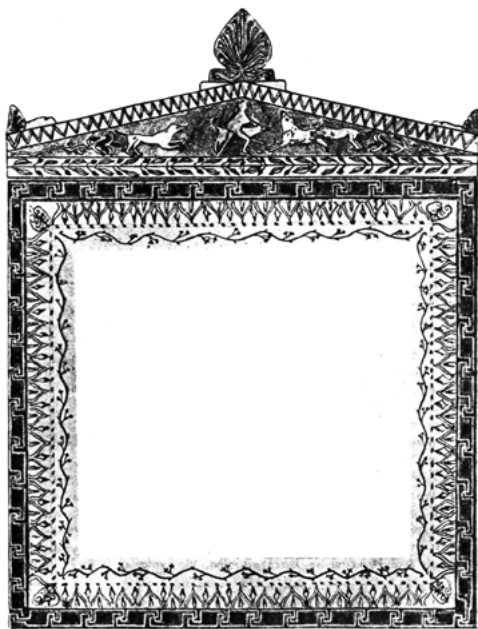


Fig. 18 (Stamatopoulou) | Reconstruction sketch of the northern sarcophagus of the 'Deilaki' tomb.



Fig. 19 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the rectilinear tomb at Pharsalos .

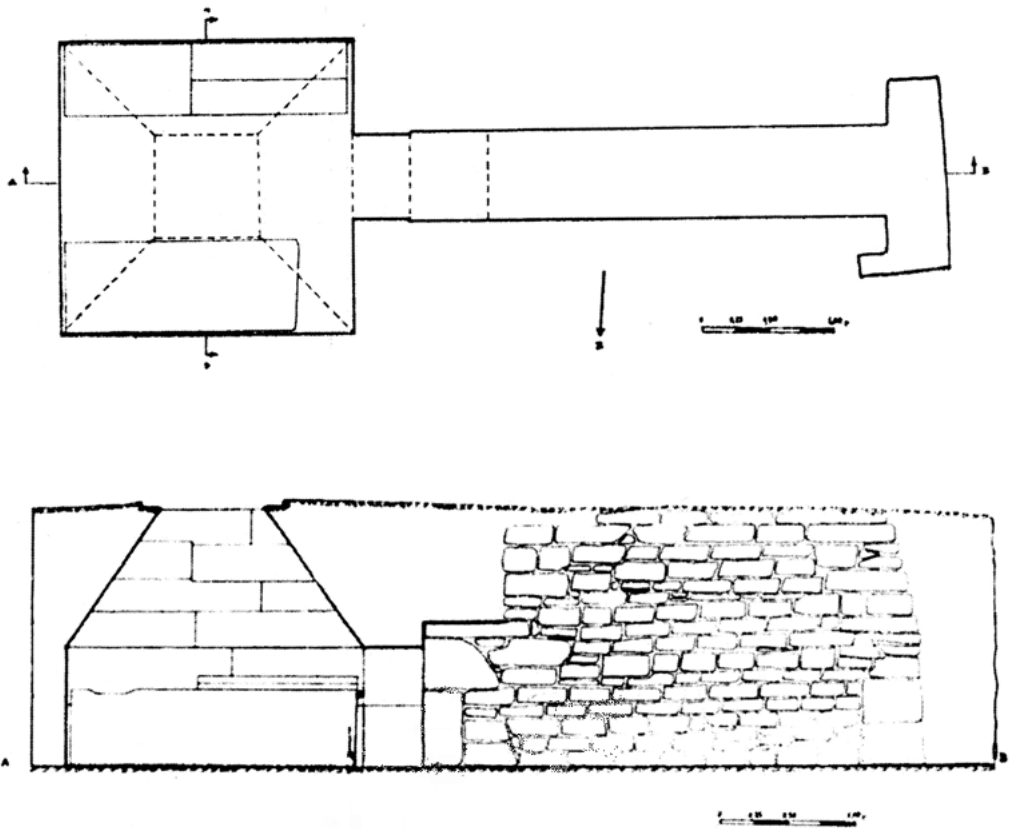


Fig. 20 (Stamatopoulou) | Plan and section of the Yerakari tomb.



Fig. 21 (Stamatopoulou) | View of the interior of the Yerakari tomb.



Fig. 22 (Stamatopoulou) | View from the Thymarakia *tumulus* to the south-southeast.