

## THE SCULPTURES OF THE TUMULUS KASTA NEAR AMPHIPOLIS

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**a. General presentation of the monument**

The tumulus Kasta is a very large monument near the ancient town of Amphipolis in northeast Greece. The region of Amphipolis was regarded part of Thrace until the Athenians colonized this region in 437 BC and especially until it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Macedon by Philip II in 357 BC. From that year this area shared the vicissitudes of the Macedonian state. The tumulus has a circular base and a conic elevation. Its base is marked by a retaining wall of pseudo-isodomic masonry. Above this wall, the tumulus has the appearance of a natural hill. On top of the tumulus, there is a base for a huge monument: a large lion in Thasian marble which at a later moment was moved a few kilometers to south, near the river Strymon and the coast (fig. 1).



Figure.1. Lion of Amphipolis, in situ (Courtesy of © Arch. Silvestrini Alberto)

The original presence of the lion on the summit of the tumulus is guaranteed by the circumstance that a fragment of the lion, corresponding to its left shoulder, was discovered on the tumulus. The base of the lion was endowed with a relief frieze of which two fragments survive: in the first fragment a warrior wears helmet and Macedonian shield. His face looks a portrait. Behind him, a fig tree is represented and a snake is coiling around the tree. The head of the snake goes very close to the helmet of the warrior. Behind the young man, there was a horse (fig. 2).

In the second fragment, the rear legs of a rearing up horse are represented (fig. 3).

The tumulus has also a succession of rooms which lead to a burial chamber (fig. 4). From the external circuit the entrance to this sequence of rooms takes place through 15 descending steps. These steps occupy most of the first room. The floor of the remaining part of the room is a stone chips pavement bearing a decoration with geometric patterns.

Above the entrance to the second room (fig. 5), there is an Ionic architrave with three *fasciae* which supports two Sphinxes (fig. 6).

The preservation of the bodies of the Sphinxes is quite good, large fragments of their large wings have been found, the head of the Sphinx at the viewer's right has been recovered (fig. 7) while the head of the other Sphinx is missing.

The second room is a long rectangle. Its ceiling is a barrel vault, while its pavement is a stone chips one but without geometric patterns. However, a rectangular area in the center of the room is framed by stone chips. This fact suggests that a base supporting a statuary monument was placed there.

The room no. 2 ends toward the internal part of the tumulus with two high bases without upper moldings which support two pillars and, in front of these pillars, two female architectural figures, called *korai* (popularly denominated Karyatids) (fig. 8). They were standing, looking forward, with a foot more advanced than the other. They wear chiton, himation, indented sandals, girdles below their breasts, their external hands were lowered and held their draperies. Their internal arms are not preserved but the surviving fragment of a hand suggests that these arms were outstretched and brought wreaths toward the person represented in the middle of the room.

The heads of these *korai* wear high poloi with which they hold an Ionic architrave with three *fasciae*. Only one face of the two *korai* survives (fig. 9) and bears the typical late classical anatomic grammar. The hair is divided in the middle and is characterized by wavy locks.

Behind the *korai* there is a narrow third room which is endowed with a floor pebble mosaic representing the kidnapping of Kore (fig. 10) as well as with a painted upper cornice.

The third room leads through a typically Macedonian marble door to the fourth and last room:



Fig. 2. Fragment no. 1 of the relief frieze, Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of Dr. Lefantzis).

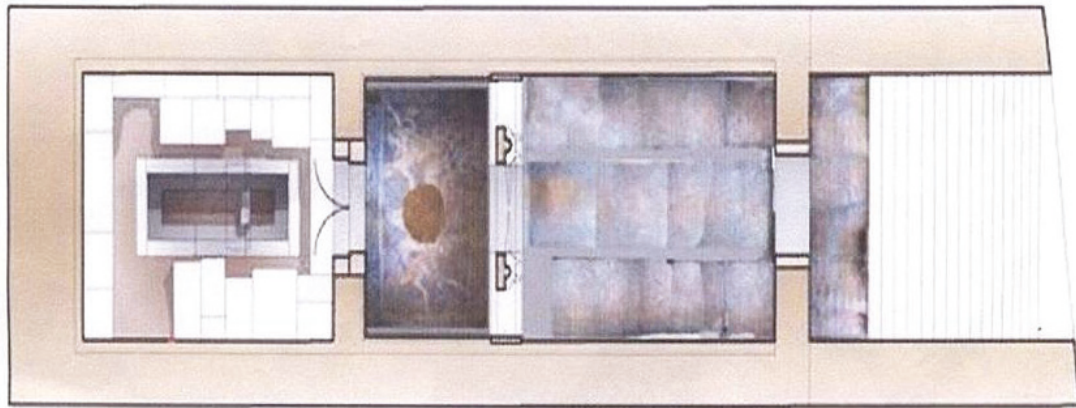


Fig. 4. Succession of the 4 rooms of the tumulus, reconstruction drawing by Lefantzis (courtesy of Dr. Lefantzis).

there the rests of the cremation of a young man have been found, a woman was thrown on this spot without an orderly re-composition of her body. Bones of two headless men who were 35 to 45 years old and of a child were also thrown on the spot.

Finally, a stele representing a fig tree with a snake coiling around the shaft of the tree, being not corroded by the weather must have been exposed inside one of these four rooms: probably it stood in the fourth room because only there the pavement allows the setting of this element (fig. 11).

The sculptures of the tumulus Kasta are Thasian marble.

### b. The lion of Amphipolis

The lion of Amphipolis in Thasian marble is a very large statue, 5.3 m. high.<sup>1</sup> Its original setting on top of the tumulus Kasta is proved by the find of a large piece of this statue, pertinent to its left shoulder, on the tumulus itself.

The lion stood on a limestone base which consisted from below to top of a podium in isodomic masonry, of a cubic body with half columns which probably were Ionic, of a pyramidal roof with several steps and finally of the proper base.

The general *schema* of the lion and its anatomic grammar, make it similar to the lion of Chaeronea (fig. 12) which dates soon after 338 BC.<sup>2</sup> Since, as we shall see, the tumulus Kasta is very tied to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, this lion may be a stone imitation of the golden lion dedicated by Croesus in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (Herodotus 1. 50). Moreover, the patron of this lion probably had in mind also the lion above the monument of Leonidas in the Thermopylae (Herodotus 7. 225 and Simonides, *Anthologia*



Fig. 3. Fragment no. 2 of the relief frieze, Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of Dr. Lefantzis).

1 About this sculpture, see J. Roger, 'Le monument au lion d'Amphipolis', *BCH* 63 (1939) 4-42; O. Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis*, Cambridge Mass. (1941); S. G. Miller, 'Architectural Blocks from the Strymon', *AD* 27 (1972) 1. 140-169; Γ. Μπακαλακης, Οινος Ισμαρικος, Θεσσαλονικη (1990) 653-660 and D. Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, Athens (1993) 86-88.

2 About this lion, see J. Ma, 'Chaironeia 338', *JHS* 128 (2008) 72-91.



Fig. 5. The fronts of the rooms 2, 3 and 4 of the tumulus, reconstruction drawing by Lefantzis (courtesy of Dr. Lefantzis).

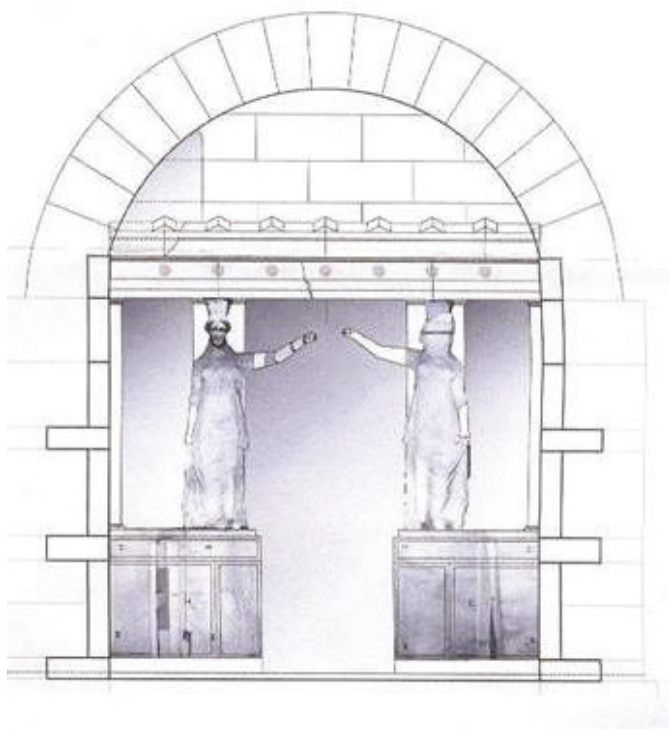




Fig. 6. The Sphinxes of the tumulus Kasta, reconstruction drawing by Lefantzis (courtesy of Dr. Lefantzis).



Fig. 7. Head of Sphinx from the tumulus Kasta, Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum (photo of the author).



Fig. 8. Korai of the tumulus Kasta, in situ (photo of the author).



Fig. 9. Face of Kore of the tumulus Kasta, in situ (photo of the author).



Fig. 10. Kidnapping of Kore, pebbles mosaic in room 3 of the tumulus Kasta, in situ (photo of the author).



Fig. 11. Stele with fig tree and snake coiling around it. Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of Lefantzis).



Fig. 12. Lion of Chaeronea. Photo Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Web. 01 Apr. 2016  
 <<http://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Chaeronea/images-videos/Funerary-statue-erected-to-mark-the-common-tomb-of-more/4752>>

*Graeca* 7. 344): as the lion of Leonidas commemorated the victory upon Persia in the Persian wars, this lion may have commemorated a new, definitive victory upon Persia, of course that obtained by Alexander the Great. The probability that lions became symbols of the fight against Persia is strengthened by a passage of Herodotus (7. 125) who informs that many lions attacked the army of Xerxes while the latter passed by Macedon.

Finally golden lions adorned the pyre of Hephaestion (Diodorus 17. 115) where they probably were symbols of the heroic and semi-divine status of the friend of Alexander: thus the lion on tumulus Kasta, which is known from epigraphic evidence to have been a heroon of Hephaestion may have been endowed with the same function as well.

The basement, with its podium supporting a columned body and a stepped upper part, may have been inspired by the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.<sup>3</sup>

The lion with its vertical *schema* was fitting as the top of a tumulus. Its upright head may have suggested pride and security.

The time of the removal of the lion from the tumulus can be argued. Amphipolis sided with Mithridates (see Memnon, *FGrH* 434. 1. 22. 12): this fact resulted in a wide destruction of this town by Sulla.<sup>4</sup> Thus the army of Sulla may have removed the colossal lion from the top of the hill in order to bring it to Rome. It may have been difficult to carry such a heavy monument on the soft and marshy ground around the mouth of the Strymon River and thus the lion may have been

<sup>3</sup> About the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, see *e. g.* W. Hoepfner, *Halikarnassos und das Maussoleion*, Mainz (2013).

<sup>4</sup> See Μπακαλακης (note 1).



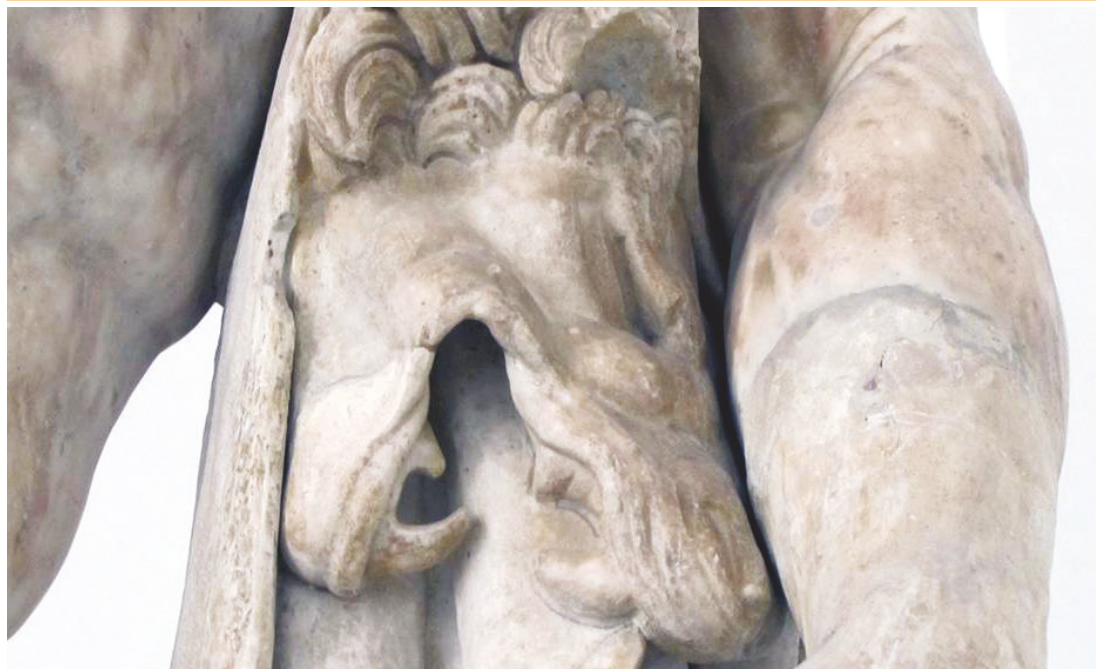


Fig. 13. *Farnese Herakles, Naples, The National Archaeological Museum, detail (photo of the author).*

left where it was found in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

From a stylistic point of view, the vertical *schema* of the lion and the rendering of the mane with flat locks made of curved strips fit well the visual definition of these animals in the oeuvre of Lysippus (fig. 13).<sup>5</sup> The master of Sicyon fleshed out a lion outside of any narrative context at Lampsacus in Troad (Strabo 13. 1. 19. 590): this monument probably commemorated Alexander's victory at the Granicus river.<sup>6</sup> Although it is unlikely that Lysippus, being a bronze sculptor, carved also works in marble, his workshop delivered also marble sculptures as the carved base of Lysippus' bronze statue of Polydamas at Olympia demonstrates.<sup>7</sup> Thus it is possible to conclude that the lion of Amphipolis had been made by a workshop near that of Lysippus, perhaps even by the same workshop of the Sicyonian master. Proximity to Lysippus as master implies also proximity to the royal court as possible patron of the monument.

### c. The relief frieze

The base of the lion was endowed with a relief frieze. Two fragments of this frieze survive. In the larger and more important of these fragments, a Macedonian warrior is represented in profile view, walking, bearing a Macedonian shield and a helmet. His face bears features which lead to his identification as Alexander III.<sup>8</sup> (fig. 14) Behind him there is



Fig. 14. *Head of Alexander Dresdel, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung (photo of the author).*

5 About lions of Lysippus (the lions on the base of Polydamas at Olympia, in the lion's hunting by Alexander and Krateros at Delphi, in the Dodakathlon of Herakles and in the Farnese type of Herakles) see P. Moreno (ed.), *Lisippo*, Rome (1995) 63; 91-93; 103-110; 173-177 and 266-277 and Idem, 'Il Polidamante di Lisippo', *NumAntCl* 44 (2015) 81-159, particularly 90-92 and 96-97.

6 See Moreno, Polidamante (note 5) 90-91.

7 This base is kept at Olympia, Museum, no. 306. See Ξ. Αραπογιαννη, *Ολυμπια*, Αθηνά (2009) 232-233.

8 The portrait of Alexander which is closer to this head is the Dresdel one at Dresden. Another copy of the same type is kept at Schloss Fasanerie near Fulda. This type of portrait is attributed to Lysippus and its original is dated



Fig. 15: Hunting frieze on the royal tomb no. 2 of Vergina. Reconstruction by Franks (from Franks 2012).

a fig tree with a snake coiling around it. The head of the snake goes close to the helmet of the warrior. The fig was sacred to Demeter who was thought to have created this tree for the first time at Eleusis.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the snake may be Zeus who according to the Orphic tradition assumed the shape of the snake in order to have sex with Persephone, who generated from him Dionysos Zagreus.<sup>10</sup> According to this explanation, the snake would get close to the head of Alexander because the king, as Dionysos, was also son of Zeus.

Alternatively, the snake may be Ladon, the serpent who usually coils around the tree in the garden of the Hesperids.<sup>11</sup> Its presence would be explained with the tradition which located snake and tree near the Strymon River<sup>12</sup> and moreover would have the purpose to underline that the warrior near the tree – Alexander – is the new Herakles.

Figures of snakes adorned also the pyre of Hephaestion (Diodorus 17. 115) where of course they expressed the new status of the honoured dead as hero. Snakes represented on the tumulus Kasta may have had the same function.

From a stylistic point of view, the tree is represented in a simplified form, with a thick shaft and a few boughs. It is similar to trees represented in the hunting frieze of the royal tomb no. 2 of Vergina<sup>13</sup> (fig. 15) as well as in the mosaic with the battle of Alexander from the House of the Faunus at Pompeii (fig. 16).<sup>14</sup> Thus thanks to these comparisons the tree suggests a close link with works of art commissioned by the royal power during the age of Alexander and the first Diadochi. Should that tree be later, it would be more naturalistic (fig. 17).

The warrior wears a shield and a helmet, which are not appropriate to his size but are larger: perhaps he is wearing the weapons of the warrior who is commemorated with the frieze. The mythical antecedent of this situation – that of a hero who wears the weapons of another hero – was the Homeric representation

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still before 330 BC. Probably it was made before the beginning of the expedition, in Macedon, which is why this iconography was locally reused. General shape of the face, shape of eye and of eye socket, of the forehead as well as of the locks of hair above the forehead are very similar in the face on the relief and in the Dressel type of Alexander. For the Dressel Alexander, see A. Stewart, *Faces of Power*, Berkeley (1993) 106-113.

9 Sources in LSJ, s. v. Συκη.

10 Sources *ad hoc* in C. Gasparri and A. Veneri, 'Dionysos', *LIMC* 3 (1986) 414-514, particularly 417, and R. Lindner, 'Zagreus', *ibidem* 8 (1997) 305-306, particularly 305.

11 See I. McPhee, 'Ladon I', *LIMC* 6 (1992) 176-180.

12 See C. Weiss, 'Strymon', *LIMC* 7 (1994) 814-817, particularly 815, no. 1.

13 See e. g. H. M. Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings: the Frieze of Tomb II at Vergina*, Princeton (2012).

14 See e. g. A. Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic*, Cambridge (1997).



Fig. 16. Battle of Alexander from Casa del Fauno at Pompeii, Naples, the National Archaeological Museum (from Cohen 1997).



Fig. 17. Painted garden, Villa of Livia ad gallinas albas, Rome (photo of the author).

of Patroclus who goes to the battle wearing the weapons of Achilles (Homer, *Iliad* 11. 798-803 and 16).<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the episode of the dispute between Odysseus and Ajax for the weapons of Achilles<sup>16</sup> offered the archetype of the current thought that wearing the weapons of an admired hero was a sign of distinction and of unusual honor. Since epigraphic evidence reveals that the tumulus Kasta was *inter alia* also a heroon of Hephaestion and since the represented warrior appears to be Alexander, we can conclude that probably Alexander is wearing the weapons of his beloved companion Hephaestion after his death.

The warrior is represented in front of a horse which is also represented in profile view and whose head can be appreciated: the anatomic grammar of the horse's head together with the mane find close comparisons in representations of horses in the late classical Artemision of Ephesos (fig. 18).<sup>17</sup> A second fragment preserves the frontal legs of a rearing up horse.

A head of a young man in Thasian marble, once pertinent to a relief, is in keeping with these two fragments for date, size, style and profile representation (fig. 19): it was found in Amphipolis<sup>18</sup> and

15 See O. Toucheffeu-Meynier, 'Patroklos', *LIMC* 8 (1997) 948-962, particularly 949-951.

16 See O. Toucheffeu-Meynier, 'Odysseus', *LIMC* 6 (1992) 943-970, particularly 952-953.

17 See A. Ruegler, *Die columnae caelatae des Juengeren Artemisions von Ephesos*, Tuebingen (1988) pls. 6-7 and U. Muss and A. Bammer, *Der Altar des Artemisions von Ephesos*, Vienna (2001) pls. 192; 195; 207-210 and 280.

18 The head is kept in Paris, Louvre, DAGER, no. MA 2460: see M. Hamiaux, 'Tete de jeune homme', S. Descamps-

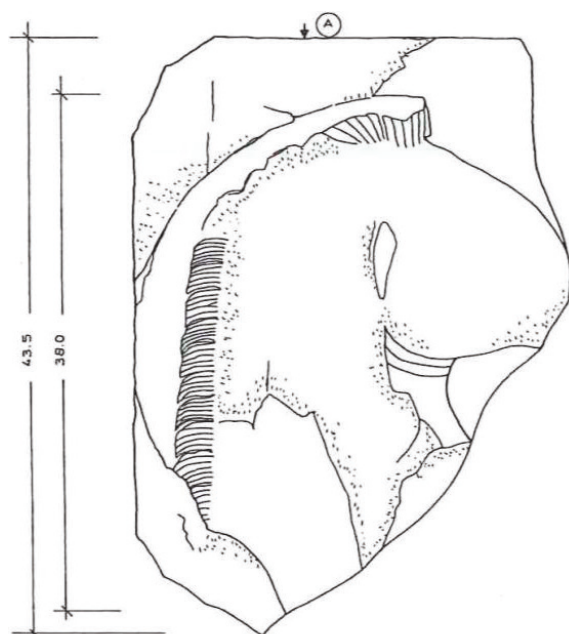


Fig. 18. Head of horses from the late classical altar of the Artemision of Ephesus: drawing of the profile by Muss (from Muss and Bammer 2001).

may come from the same frieze.

The scene surviving in the first fragment probably was the most important part of the relief frieze, thus placed in the middle of the frontal side of the lion's base, because it became the source of inspiration of a marble votive relief of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC which represents a high ranking official of the Macedonian army while he is outstretching a phiale near an altar, in front of a warrior with round shield and helmet who bears the same position of the warrior of our frieze (fig. 20). In the background of this warrior, a horse with the same profile view and with the same configuration of the horse of our fragment is represented.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the high official is represented while he is attending a libation on an altar near the lion, on the tumulus Kasta: this location was made clear with the representation of the most renowned section of the relief frieze displayed there. It is also possible that even the

libation scene of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. relief imitates a similar pattern carved in front of the warrior in the relief of the lion's base.

Another echo of our frieze can be found in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC votive relief dedicated to Hephaestion as hero and kept in Thessaloniki, The National Archaeological Museum, no. 1084 (fig. 21).<sup>20</sup> This relief also represents a young standing man with a horse in the background. The man represented in the relief at Thessaloniki may be the same Hephaestion because of the close similarity of his head with the head of Hephaestion which is now at Madrid and will be considered later. In the relief at Thessaloniki, a not young lady draped with chiton and mantel welcomes our hero by pouring wine from an oinochoe on a phiale which is outstretched by the hero. She also holds a jar for incense, thus revealing her function in the cult of this hero. Thus probably she played an important role in the institution of the heroon of Hephaestion and thus she may represent Olympias: this queen played an important role in the enhancement of the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace and thus may have led also to the establishment of the religious function at Kasta which, as I shall point out below, was closely linked with Samothrace.

The face of the young man in the fragment at Paris is similar to the face of the young man in the relief from Thessaloniki and thus may be also that of Hephaestion, who of course could not be absent from the frieze.

These considerations lead to the possible conclusions that Hephaestion and the lady offering him wine represented in the relief at Thessaloniki copy a previous scene of the relief frieze at Kasta and that the head of Hephaestion from this scene survives and is the head now at Paris.

Here probably Alexander is represented while he leads the funerary procession in honour of Hephaestion. This conclusion would be in keeping with the information by Arrian, *Anabasis* 7. 14. 5 that the same king led the chariot carrying the body of his beloved friend.

#### d. The first room

At the basis of the tumulus there is a retaining wall in pseudo-isodomonic masonry. In its southern

Lequime (ed.), *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand*, Paris (2011) 423, no. 264.

19 The relief is kept at Amphipolis, Museum, no. L 119. See E. Kosmidou and D. Melanidou, 'Arms and Armour from Amphipolis', *Anodos* 4-5 (2004-2005) 133-147, particularly 140-143.

20 See E. Voutiras, 'Votive relief to the hero Hephaestion', G. Despinis et alii (eds.), *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki (1997) 1. 42-44, no. 23.



Fig. 19. Head from Amphipolis, Paris, Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, storeroom (from Descamps-Lequime 2011).



Fig. 20. Relief at Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum (from Kosmidou and Melanidou 2004-2005).



Fig. 21. Relief with dedication to Hephaestion as hero, Thessaloniki, The National Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of My favourit planet.com)

stretch this wall gives way to a succession of four rooms inside the tumulus.

From outside, the first room consists of a descending flight of 15 steps. The walls of this room are also pseudo-isodomic. Between the steps and the wall which ends the first room toward the internal side, there is a rectangular stone chips pavement, decorated with geometric patterns, of a type used in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>21</sup> The roof was gabled.

A round hole in this pavement probably is due to the insertion of a small circular altar or of a tripod. Room 1 is divided from room 2 through two side walls which give way to an opening in the middle. They mark this opening with two pillars with Ionic capitals. Walls and pillars support a three ribbons architrave. Above the architrave, the ceiling is constituted by a barrel vault.

In the semicircular space created by the architrave and the barrel vault, there are two Sphinxes in Thasian marble in heraldic position. The head of the Sphinx at the viewer's right has been found, it carries a polos and is carved separately from the body. These two Sphinxes have large wings, whose size and shape are still in the Praxitelean tradition of winged beings,<sup>22</sup> before the establishment of a preference for short wings operated by Lysippus.<sup>23</sup>

The muscles are well evidenced throughout the bodies of the two Sphinxes and their treatment is in keeping with the rendering of muscles introduced by Lysippus.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover the surviving head of a Sphinx is very close to the head of Dionysos from Thasos,<sup>25</sup> (fig. 22) so far to justify the attribution of these Sphinxes to a Thasian workshop of around 320 BC. Other close comparisons can be made with the head of Dionysos in the west pediment of the late classical temple of Apollo at Delphi<sup>26</sup> (fig. 23) as well as with the head of Demeter from Knidos:<sup>27</sup> (fig. 24) these close relations both in anatomic grammar and in style also suggest a date not later than the 320s BC.

Finally, the surviving neck of the Sphinx displays an *anulus Veneris* similar to that shown by the Knidian Aphrodite.<sup>28</sup>

Free standing statues of Sphinxes in heraldic positions were often placed in front of sacred buildings, in the upper parts of facades, on or near the roofs, throughout the archaic and classical periods.<sup>29</sup> More specifically, according to the mysteries of Dionysos Bakcheios, the sacred palace of the initiated to these mysteries was endowed with Sphinxes of white marble:<sup>30</sup> thus in late classical vase painting two Sphinxes appear in the upper section of the *propylon* to the palace of Persephone and Hades, above Ionic columns, while Orpheus plays his cithara near them.<sup>31</sup> (fig. 25) In other words, in the Orphic mysteries they were important figures of the underworld of the blessed. Probably they were regarded warders who allowed the initiated



Fig. 22. Marble head of Dionysos at Thasos (Courtesy of the © Archaeological Museum of Thasos)

21 See, e. g., A. Kottaridi, *The Palace of Aegae*, Thessaloniki (2009) 64-73; 131; 134; 138-139; 154; 157 and 185; R. Westgate, 'Mosaics', T. J. Smith (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Art*, Oxford (2012) 186-199, particularly 192-194 and A. Κοτταριδης, *Αγες*, Αθηνα (2013) 228-230.

22 See e. g. N. Καλτσας and Γ. Δεσπινης (ed.), *Πραξιτελης*, Αθηνα (2007) 138-139' 158-159 and 170-173.

23 See Moreno, *Lisippo* (note 5) 111-129; 166-168 and 190-195.

24 See e. g. L. Todisco, *Scultura greca del iv secolo*, Milan (1993) figs. 241; 249; 252; 259; 272-274.

25 This head is kept at Thasos, Archaeological Museum, no. 16. See e. g. Y. Grandjean and F. Salviat, *Οδηγος της Θασου*, Αθηνα (2012) 306-307, no. 22.

26 See F. Croissant, *Les frontons du temple du IV siecle*, Athens (2003) 85-87, no. 33, pls. 40-41.

27 See e. g. C. Maderna, 'Die letzten Jahrzehnte der spaetklassischen Plastik', P. C. Bol (ed.), *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst* 2, Mainz am Rhein (2004) 303-382, particularly 358, pl. 324, figs. a-c.

28 See Καλτσας and Δεσπινης (note 22) 104-107, nos. 16-17.

29 See T. Petit, 'The Sphinx on the Roof', *BSA* 108 (2013) 201-234.

30 See Herodotus 4. 79.

31 See M. Maass, *Maler und Dichter*, Karlsruhe (2007) 120-125.



*Fig. 23. Head of Dionysos from the west pediment of the late classical temple of Apollo at Delphi, Delphi, Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Delphi).*



to enter, while keeping the unworthy out.<sup>32</sup>

In the tumulus Kasta, probably the Sphinxes are meant to express the notions that only the worthy / initiated could go beyond room 1 and that from that point onward the space was sacred to Persephone and Hades.

Sphinxes are found in Macedonian tombs of late classical times:<sup>33</sup> thus in that region their association with the kingdom of the dead was accepted.

The Sphinx at the viewer's right looked outside, while the Sphinx at the viewer's left looked inside: thus one of them looks to the world of the living humans while the other looks to the world of the dead. In that way they epitomize their control of both the living and the dead.



Fig. 24. Demeter from Knidos, London, The British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (photo courtesy of the British Museum).

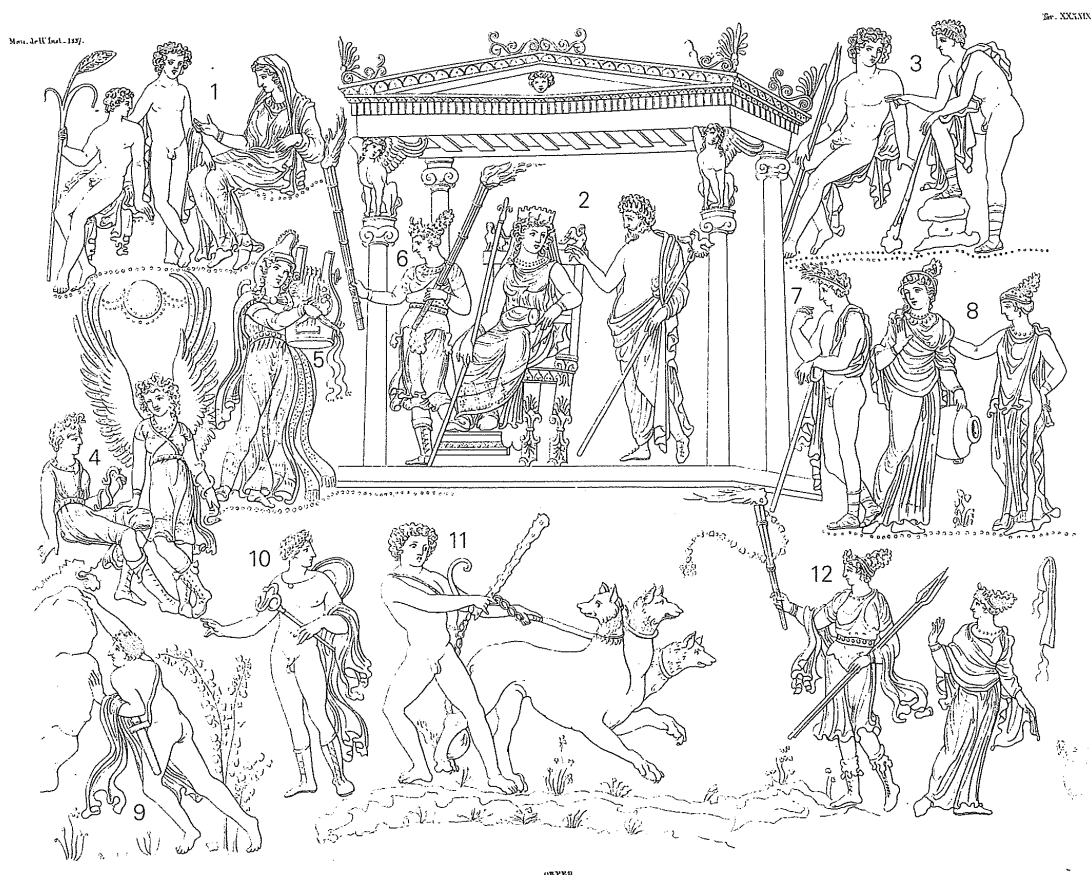


Fig. 25. Orphic underworld by the Lykourgos Painter, Karlsruhe, Museum (drawing by Maass 2007)

### e. The second room

Beyond this entrance, there is room 2: a rectangular space covered by barrel vault roof, which was largely used in Macedon in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>34</sup>

The stone chips pavement of room 2 has in the middle a rectangle which is framed by four lines of chips: probably it was the place for the base of a statue. Since epigraphic evidence refers to

32 See T. Petit, 'Sphinx, Cherubins et "gardiens" orphiques', *Museum Helveticum* 72 (2015) 142-170.

33 See e. g. Descamps-Lequime (note 18) 386.

34 See e. g. K. Rhoimiopoulou, 'Les tombes "macedoniennes"', Descamps-Lequime (note 18) 514-516 and Κοτταριδη (note 21) 339 and 357.

the monument as the ‘heroon of Hephaestion’, it is probably here that the bronze monument of Hephaestion conceived by Lysippus<sup>35</sup> and materially made by Philon<sup>36</sup> stood.

Since Tatian saw this statue in Rome, this masterpiece was removed from Amphipolis probably when the town, having sided with Mithridates, fell to Sulla and thus was brought to Rome in the occasion of the huge triumph of this Roman general.<sup>37</sup>

There are two surviving elements of a bronze equestrian statue from Rome which probably were part of the monument of Hephaestion made by Lysippus and Philon:

- a bronze horse found in Rome and kept there, in the Capitoline Museums, no. 1064, whose Lysippan pedigree has been established;<sup>38</sup> (fig. 26)
- a bronze head once in the Farnese Collection, then in the Collection of king Philip V of Spain, in San Ildefonso, Palacio Real, now at Madrid, Prado, no. 99 E,<sup>39</sup> which has been recognized to be the portrait of Hephaestion.<sup>40</sup> (fig. 27)



Fig. 29. Female face from the Herakleion of Thasos, *ibidem*, Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of Dr. Korka).

A general idea of this equestrian monument may be offered by the painted representation of a young knight on a horse in the royal tomb of Svesthari of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, which displays female architectural supports also derived from those of the tumulus Kasta. The horse with the knight is represented in the semicircular section of a short side of the burial room of the tomb of Svesthari, above the Caryatids and bears both position and shape of the bronze horse in the Capitoline Museums.<sup>41</sup> (fig. 28) Probably the tumulus Kasta was very renowned and thus picking up patterns of this monument was regarded a dignifying practice by the Thracian elites.

The necessity to make space to this equestrian monument would justify the noteworthy size of room 2.

The passage from room 2 to room 3 is made by a succession, from below, of two pseudo-isodomic bases supporting two pillars above which there is an architrave with three *fasciae*. The semicircular space between the architrave and the barrel vault is closed with pseudo-isodomic masonry.

In front of the two pillars, two female architectural supports are represented: they are statues in Thasian marble of young girls (*korai*) with polos, girdle below the breasts, long legs. Only the face of one of these two girls is preserved. They wear chiton and himation, with their external arm they hold the drapery while the other arms, of which one hand is preserved, were outstretched, probably in order to carry a wreath and to award the knight who was in front of them. A tall girl is represented while she is awarding the knight with a wreath also in the above mentioned representation of Svesthari.

Their draperies bear in the area of the belly a triangular pattern with borders decorated with zigzag patterns. The strap of the mantel is disposed across the chest and is decorated with oblique lines.

35 See Pliny 34. 64: *DNO*, no. 2209.

36 See Tatian 34. 36: *DNO*, no. 2671.

37 Evidence about Sulla's removal of antiquities from Greece in A. Corso, *The Art of Praxiteles iii*, Rome (2010) 141, note 464.

38 See G. Calcani, *Cavalieri di bronzo*, Rome (1989) 91-127. See also C. Parisi Presicce, 'Ein Bronzepferd', V. Brinkmann (ed.), *Zurueck zur Klassik*, Munich (2013) 169-179.

39 See S. F. Schroeder, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen des Museo del Prado in Madrid 1*, Mainz am Rhein (1993) 75-77, no. 9.

40 See P. Moreno, 'Efestione', *EAA Suppl.* 2. 2 (1994) 418-420.

41 See M. Cicikova, 'Svestari', *EAA Suppl.* 2. 5 (1997) 505-507.



Fig. 26. Bronze horse in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (photo of the author).



Fig. 27. Bronze head at Madrid, Prado (photo courtesy of the Prado).



Fig. 28. Knight garlanded by girl, Svesthari, Royal tomb, burial chamber, in situ (photo of the author).

Their internal legs are more advanced than the external and they wear sandals bearing indentations between the big toe and the other toes.

The surviving face is very close to a female head from the Herakleion of Thasos:<sup>42</sup> (fig. 29) this fact suggests that the workshop responsible for these korai was a Thasian one, perhaps the same or near that which delivered the head from the Thasian Herakleion.

The peculiar rendering of the drapery of these Korai with the triangular pattern with zigzag borders on the belly and the strap with oblique lines can be found also in a statue of Dionysos from the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. phase of the theatre of Euonymos.<sup>43</sup> (fig. 30) This statue was dedicated by Olympiodoros son of Diotimos, who is known to have been active in Athenian politics in the 330s and 320s BC.<sup>44</sup> Girdles below breasts are ubiquitous in Greek imagery after 340 BC<sup>45</sup> as well as sandals with indentation.<sup>46</sup>

Moreover slender girls with long legs, holding their drapery with one hand and outstretching the other, used as architectural supports, appear in front of the columned propylon to the palace of Persephone and Hades in a vase painting dated around 340-320 BC and representing the underworld according to the Orphic mysteries (Orpheus is playing his cithara near that palace).<sup>47</sup> (fig. 31)

The slender proportions of the girls appear indebted to the Lysippan kanon of the human body. Concerning the function of these architectural females, the korai with similar *schema* in the above mentioned vase painting suggest an Orphic interpretation: with their beauty, youth, smiling face and dancing attitude, they welcome the 'worthy' visitor into the space where contact with the underworld is possible.



Fig. 32. Dancers, Hall of Choral Dancers, Samothrace (photo courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Samothrace).

More specifically, comparison with the relief frieze of choral dancers in the hall of choral dancers on Samothrace is enlightening<sup>48</sup>: (fig. 32) even these Najad Nymphs wear poloi, belts decorated with oblique lines across their chests and their chitons and himatia determine triangular patterns with borders decorated with zigzag folds. The close relation of the Najads of the great mysteries of Samothrace with the Korai of the tumulus Kasta leads to the possibility that the Korai of Kasta are also Najads of the Samothracian cult and that exactly in the position where they are they welcome the initiated to the great mysteries.

Needless to say, the late classical date of the Najads of the choral dancers hall confirms *ad abundantiam* the late classical date also of the Korai of Amphipolis.

Finally, since it is well known that Olympiad, Alexander's mother, was endowed with a religious

42 See Ντ. Κατσονοπούλου and Ε. Κορκα, 'Μαρμαρινή γυναικεία κεφαλή Σκοπαδικής επιδράσης', D. Katsonopoulou (ed.), *Skopas of Paros*, Athens (2013) 499-510.

43 See Κ. Καρα-Παπαγεωργίου, Η αρχαία αστική οδός και το μέτρο κατο από τη Λεωφόρο Βοθλιαγμένης, Αθήνα (2016) 120-127.

44 See J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* 13, Toronto (2004) 454, nos. 743090-743095.

45 See A. Corso, 'Small Nuggets about late-classical Sculpture', *NumAntCl* 29 (2000) 125-161.

46 See H. Froning, 'Die Sandale des Hermes des Praxiteles in Olympia', E. Christof (ed.), *Potnia Theron*, Vienna (2007) 95-101.

47 Krater, at Naples, National Archaeological Museum, no. 81666=H3222: see L. Todisco (ed.), *La ceramica a figure rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia*, Rome (2012) 1. 120, no. V 20; 2. 312-317 and pl. 123, fig. 4.

48 About this relief, see C. Marconi, 'Choroi, Theoria and International Ambitions', O. Palagia (ed.), *Samothracian Connections*, Oxford (2010) 106-135.



Fig. 30. Marble statue of Dionysos from the theatre of Euonymos, Athens, The National Archaeological Museum; from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:7662\\_-\\_Piraeus\\_Arch.\\_Museum,\\_Athens\\_-\\_Statue\\_of\\_Dionysos\\_-\\_Photo\\_by\\_Giovanni\\_Dall%27Orto,\\_Nov\\_14\\_2009.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:7662_-_Piraeus_Arch._Museum,_Athens_-_Statue_of_Dionysos_-_Photo_by_Giovanni_Dall%27Orto,_Nov_14_2009.jpg) Archaeological Museum of Piraeus (Athens). Photo by Giovanni Dall'Orto



Fig. 31. Orphic Underworld by the Underworld Painter, Naples, the National Archaeological Museum (photo courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples).

capacity in the sanctuary of the great gods of Samothrace,<sup>49</sup> the connection of the dancers of Samothrace with the female architectural supports of Amphipolis suggests that Olympiad may have been among the patrons if not the main patron of the architectural enterprise of the tumulus Kasta.

#### f. The third room

Beyond the korai, there is room no. 3.

The pavement of this room is a pebbles mosaic with the representation of the kidnapping of Persephone by Hades.

The general *schema* of this mosaic is similar to the painting with the same subject at Vergina.<sup>50</sup> The similarity between these two representations of the same episode is probably to be explained with the circumstance that both mosaic and painting are inspired by the picture with the kidnapping of Persephone made by the renowned painter Nikomachos (Pliny 35. 108) who worked for the Macedonian royalty.<sup>51</sup>

The presence of this sacred representation probably makes it clear that room 3 is the *sancta sanctorum* of this complex, the very place where something very important took place.

A circular hole in the middle of the mosaic perhaps is due to the setting of a circular altar or of a tripod.

The cornice of room 3 was painted on the north side – *i. e.* toward room 4 or toward the burial chamber, above the marble door, as well as on the short east and west sides. (fig. 33)

The paintings on the west cornice do not survive.

The north side from the viewer's left to right displays first of all a human with his head looking forward, toward the rest of the frieze: his arms are also outstretched. He may hold a stick in his left hand. Comparison with the seer who with a similar position sees the race between Pelops and Oenomaus in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia<sup>52</sup> leads to the suggestion that this is a seer who sees all the oracular happenings which are displayed in the following part of the north frieze. Who this seer is will be clarified below.

After this man, we have a probable Sphinx above a column, a garlanded bull between two Centaurs who are pouring wine to the bull. At both sides of the Centaurs there are vases which probably contained the liquids which are about to be poured by the Centaurs.

Two interpretations are possible:

- The bull is Dionysos Tauros<sup>53</sup>, the Centaurs would be represented because of their proverbial love for wine<sup>54</sup> which makes them timely presences in the retinue of the god of wine. The Sphinx was also regarded close to Dionysos.<sup>55</sup>
- The garlanded bull is the king of Macedon Philip II, defined such in an oracle of the Pythia who predicted his imminent death,<sup>56</sup> the Centaurs may represent the homage of Thessaly to the king who subdued it, while the Sphinx above the column may represent the Sphinx of the Naxians at Delphi,<sup>57</sup> thus making clear the place where the prophecy was uttered.

Alternatively, the Sphinx may be here a death daemon: this is a well known function of this daemon.<sup>58</sup> Centaurs were represented also on the pyre of Hephaestion (Diodorus 17. 115), where they expressed the heroic identity of the deceased: thus the Centaurs in the painted frieze may also reveal the mixed nature which by now characterized Hephaestion as a semi-god.

49 About the agency of Olympias in the cultic sphere, see M. F. Baslez, 'Olympias, la royauté et le sacré', P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* iii, Paris (1999) 389-393.

50 See Κοτταρίδη (note 21) 282-283.

51 See Plutarch, *De exercitatione* 186: see *DNO*, nos. 2717 and 2725.

52 See *e. g.* X. Arapoyianni, *Olympia*, Athina (2001)

53 About Dionysos Tauros, see Gasparri and Veneri (note 10) 414.

54 See T. Sengelin, 'Kentauroi et Kentaurides', *LIMC* 8 (1997) 671-721, particularly 672.

55 See Lycus, *Περὶ Θηβῶν*, *FGrH* 380, *frag.* 1. See N. Kourou, 'Sphinx', *LIMC* 8 (1997) 1149-1174, particularly 1150.

56 See Diodorus 16. 91. 2 and Pausanias 8. 7. 6. See J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, Berkeley (1978) 67 and 337, no. Q 213.

57 See *e. g.* E. Παρτίδα, *Δελφοί*, Αθήνα (2009) 187-192.

58 See Kourou (note 55) 1165.

The general *schema* of the human, frontal parts of the Centaurs derives from that of Praxiteles' Pouring Satyr:<sup>59</sup> this fact reveals the appeal of famous *opera nobilia* on patrons and artists charged of the tumulus Kasta and in particular the importance of the Praxitelean formal heritage in the imagery of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

After this episode, two winged females are disposed in heraldic diagonal position at the sides of a tripod: they may be Nikai and represent the victory upon Persia which was also due to oracles uttered at Delphi upon request from Alexander<sup>60</sup> and symbolized by the tripod. Both Nikai appear to be on prows of boats and thus they announce victory in an overseas expedition: the Nike on the prow of a boat on a coin type struck by Demetrios Poliorketes in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC may be suggested for a close comparison.<sup>61</sup>

Prows of boats also appeared on the pyre of Hephaestion (Diodorus 17. 115), which was clearly a source of inspiration for both patron and painter of the frieze.

The tripod between the Nikai rests on a red purple fabric. Fabrics of this colour had been exposed also on the pyre of Hephaestion (Diodorus 17. 115) and of course advertised the royal patronage of the monument. After the two Nikai with the tripod, a sea horse emerges from the sea with the upper section of its body: probably it marks that we are still on the water. It derives from the sea thiasoi which, after a famous creation by Skopas (Pliny 36. 25-26) were very trendy in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>62</sup>

This scene is followed by another which unfortunately is not well preserved but seems to represent a boat supporting a tripod.

Probably it epitomizes the expedition of Alexander in its making and expresses the concept that its victory delivers the prediction of Delphic Apollo.

After the boat, there is a scene representing a man with a semicircular hat: his right leg is bent and his left leg straight, probably he is running. His right arm is brought forward and uplifted. In the background there is a horse, behind it a chariot, above which there are two persons who compose an X *schema*. They are followed by a charioteer with his body bent toward the horse.

I suggest that here we have the representation of the kidnapping of Kore: the running figure is Hermes, who is running both in the mosaic of the same room no. 3 and in the famous painting at Vergina. However, the position of his right arm makes him closer to the Hermes at Vergina. The figures composing the X pattern are Hades and Persephone: Hades with his torso forward and his right arm also brought in front, while Persephone has the usual oblique position of her body which characterizes the very moment of her kidnapping. The wild hair of Hades is visible.

The charioteer behind them is very bent forward: this feature is typical of charioteers in the visual culture of Macedon in late classical times.<sup>63</sup> Before this period, in early and middle classical times, charioteers were represented with upright positions<sup>64</sup> and will be again endowed with erected torsos in late Hellenistic times.<sup>65</sup> The sacred story of the kidnapping of Kore announces the death of a renowned person but in the same time foreshadows the afterlife, eternal, blessed life of the deceased.

Below the charioteer, there are waves which of course refer to the sea and there is an object which has the shape of an omphalos, perhaps again on a purple red fabric: it conveys the message that everything represented in the frieze is accomplished according to predictions of Delphic Apollo.

After the omphalos there is a high slightly tapering building which seems followed by a panoplia above which an eagle is flying toward a standing man with the kausia hat. Of course the man with the kausia is King Alexander,<sup>66</sup> the eagle flying toward him reveals that he is the son of Zeus, probably he is accomplishing the sacrifice on the panoplia in front of the pyre of Hephaestion,

59 See Καλτσας and Δεσπινης (note 22) 150-159, nos. 42-46.

60 See Fontenrose (note 56) 338-340, nos. Q 216-219.

61 See A. Stewart, *Art in the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge (2014) 70, fig. 38.

62 See H. Franks, 'Traveling, in Theory', *The Art Bulletin* 96 (2014) 156-169.

63 See e. g. Κοτταριδη (note 21) 130-131 and 337.

64 See e. g. P. Κολωνια, *Το αρχαιολογικό μουσείο Δελφών*, Αθήνα (2006) 254-267 and C. O. Pavese, *Lauriga di Mozia*, Rome (1996).

65 See e. g. E. La Rocca (ed.), *I giorni di Roma*, Rome (2010) 232 and 311, no. iii. 22.

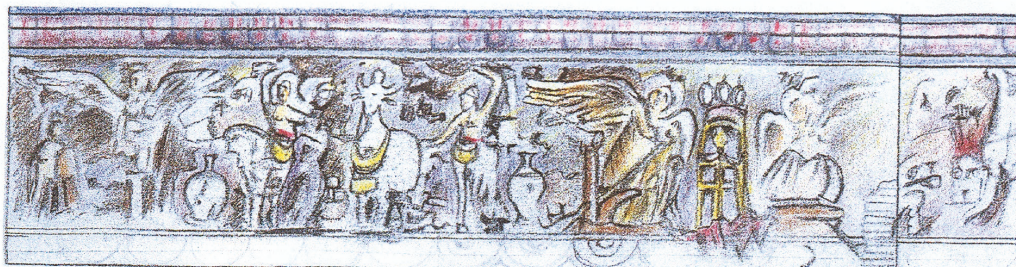
66 See Franks (note 13) 16-21.

— 12-15-Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 — Αθήνα/Αμφίπολη

Τομή

ΒΟΡΕΙΑ ΠΛΕΥΡΑ

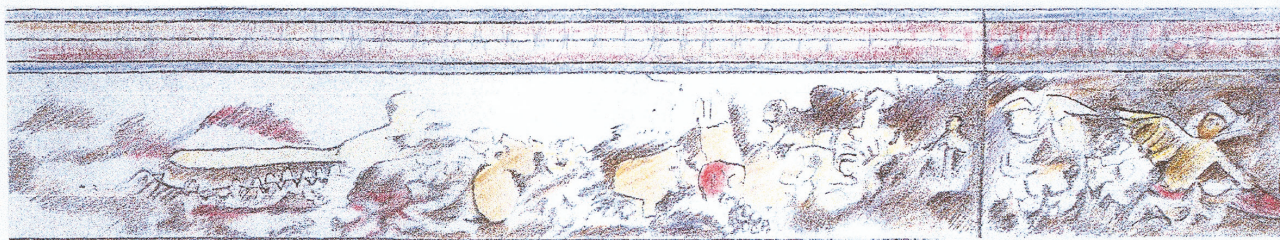
B3



Σφινξ	Σφινξ τίκτι σε λίονα, με ανοιχτές φτερά, χρ.τροπιδίου	Υδρία	Κέντρο (χειρών) Δελφία Ζώνη	ΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΕΣΤΕΜΕ- ΝΟΣ	Κέντρο Υδρία	Υδρία	ΝΙΚΗ κρατά παύλο ΛΕΜΒΟΣ	ΔΕΛΦΙΚΟΣ ΤΡΙΠΟΝΣ ΠΛΩΣ ΣΕ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΟ ΜΑΝΑΥΑΣ	ΝΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΛΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΜΒΟΣ	ΜΑΚΕΔ ΙΠΠΙΑΣ ΚΡΑΝΟΣ ΕΣ ΣΕ ΣΤΑΥΡΟ
				Στέφαν Ταυράς				ΛΕΜΒΟΣ		
Από ΒΔ Πλευρά	1η ΤΑΦΗ		ΠΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΚΡΟΥ ΣΕ ΗΡΩΑ Από ΜΕΓΑΛΟ ΙΕΡΟ							ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΝΙΚΗΣ 5

A2

ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗ



ΥΠΕΡΜΕΤΕΩΣ ΝΕΚΡΩ ΕΛΙΝΗ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ 2 <sup>Ο</sup> ΝΕΚΡΟ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΟΣ ΜΑΝΑΥΑΣ ΚΑΤΕ	ΟΡΓΙΣΜΟΣ 5 ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ 2 <sup>Ο</sup> ΝΕΚΡΟΥ	ΤΡΩΟΣ >	ΥΓΝΟΣ ΠΑ ΚΑ Μ.
ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΑΦΗΣ 2 <sup>Ο</sup> ΝΕΚΡΟΥ			ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΣΤΟ

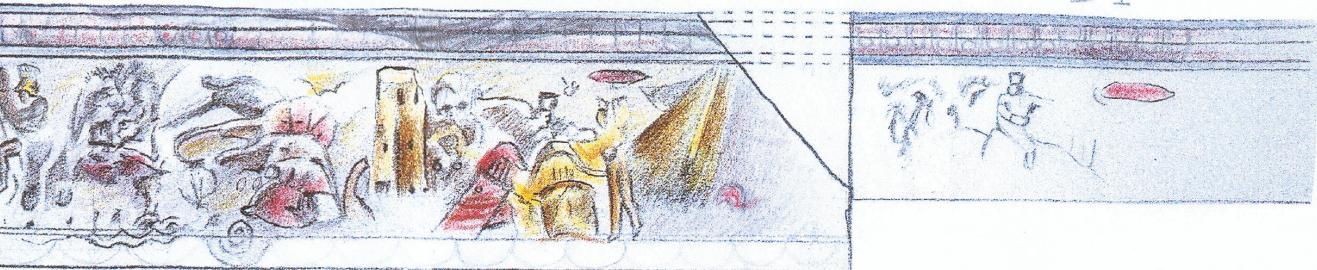
Fig. 33. Painted frieze, tumulus Kasta, in situ. Reconstruction drawing by M. Lefantzis (courtesy of Dr. Lefantzis).



Εικονογραφικά Διάγραμμα Γραφής Σχόλια του Χ3  
 Αποδοχή πορφύρας & ανάσχεση προγράμματος

B2

B1



<p>ΥΠΕΡΜΕΓΕΘΗΣ                  ΛΕΟΠΤΟΚΕ-                  ΦΑΛΗ ΠΛΑΝΣ                  ΣΕ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΟ                  ΜΑΝΔΥΑ</p>	<p>ΑΡΜΑ                  ΜΕ ΔΙΑΒΑΤΗ                  &amp;                  ΥΠΕΡΜΕΓΕΘΕΣ                  ΚΡΑΝΟΣ</p>	<p>ΗΥΕΡΟΣ                  ΟΧΥΡΕΤΗ</p>	<p>ΦΑΡΕΤΡΑ                  ΠΑΝΟΛΙΑ                  &amp;                  ΚΡΑΝΗ                  ΝΕΚΡΟΥ                  ΤΑ ΠΡΟΦΥΛΑΞΙΝ                  ΣΦΙΝΣ</p>	<p>Αφηροίσιμον                  νεκρῶ                  &amp;                  τοιο</p>	<p>ΠΟΜΠΗ ΑΠΟ                  ΙΠΠΕΙΣ                  ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ                  ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΕΣ</p>
<p>ΠΟΛΥΜΙΚΕΣ                  ΡΑΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ                  ΗΡΣΙΚΕΙ ΠΡΑΤΕΙΣ                  ΝΕΚΡΟΥ</p>		<p>ΑΦΗΡΟΪΣΜΟΣ</p>			
<p>ΗΡΣΙΣΜΟΥ ΓΙΑ <b>2Η ΤΑΦΗ</b></p>					

- Μελίτη Αρφατζή 2015 -

ΠΛΕΥΡΑ

A1



<p>ΑΦΚΟΣ                  ΡΙΠΡΟΣ                  ΣΕ                  ΟΡΟ                  ΜΑΝΔΥΑ</p>	<p>ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ</p>	<p>ΔΙΑΣ;                  ΔΟΔΕΚΑΘΕΟ / ΟΛΥΜΠΟΣ</p>	<p>ΑΘΗΝΑ;                  ΚΥΒΕΛΗ;</p>	<p>ΥΠΕΡΜΕΓΕΘΕΣ                  ΚΡΑΝΟΣ</p>
<p>ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥ/                  ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ</p>		<p>ΑΠΟΘΕΣΗ 4 2<sup>ος</sup> Νεκρῶ</p>		

which would be the tall tapering building. Thus we have here the farewell ceremony by Alexander to Hephaestion.<sup>67</sup> According to Diodorus 17. 115, the pyre of Hephaestion had a square base and looked like a tall tower. It had prows of boats at its base and a prow is detected at the viewer's left of the tower. This observation strengthens the identification of the tower as the pyre of Hephaestion. Moreover, the upper part of the pyre was endowed with representations of eagles ready to flight. Thus the eagle represented between the tower and Alexander may refer to this decoration. Of course eagles also announce the heroic and divine status of the deceased.

According to Aelian, *Varia Historia* 7. 8) a panoplia was thrown on the pyre of Hephaestion. Moreover, another panoplia was represented on the pyre, as it argued by Diodorus 17. 115: thus Alexander is represented while he is acting at the ceremony in front of the panoplia thrown on the pyre.

The slender proportions of Alexander are in keeping with the Lysippan kanon.

Behind the eagle a face appears: it is much larger than other faces on the frieze, it has pathetic eyes and a large, semicircular beard: of course he is Zeus who sent the eagle toward Alexander, in order to underline his protection upon his son.

The pyramid which follows probably refers to another important oracular statement: that of the oracle of Zeus Amon at Siwa which imposed the institution of sacrifices to god Hephaestion.<sup>68</sup>

After this episode there is a procession of knights, probably attending the funerary honors to Hephaestion, the representation of one of them with a kausia suggests that Alexander was also portrayed in this section of the frieze. Knights were an obvious presence in triumphal friezes from the time of the Parthenon frieze.

In the east side, the cornice shows probably the funerary *kline*, which is so important in Macedonian official imagery:<sup>69</sup> probably we have here the prothesis of Hephaestion on his kline. Then a theory of dignitaries attends the *prothesis*. A round shield is visible and suggests that the represented dignitaries are high ranking officials of the Macedonian army (Hetairoi?). The recognition of the figure of a tropaion among these standing figures strengthens the impression that we have here a martial, military attendance to the prothesis of the deceased here.

Then there are two winged females (Nikai?) carrying a tripod above a semicircular red purple fabric which may be a Macedonian *chlamys* in profile view: this scene announces the divinization of the hero.

Then there is an assembly of gods who welcome the new god: this divine series includes a Rhea represented frontally with the same iconography of the Meter of Agorakritos.<sup>70</sup> Rhea was a very important figure in the Orphic mysteries: in the shape of a snake she had sex with Zeus who also had a similar metamorphosis, and she generated Persephone.<sup>71</sup>

Macedonian *pezetairoi*, one displaying his round shield with *episema*, are standing at the end of the figures of gods: they convey the notion that the achievements of the honoured hero were in service of the Macedonian state.

Then there is a frieze of weapons, of which a helmet is clearly preserved and which gives the information that the hero took part to important military campaigns: friezes of weapons were also typical of Macedonian official imagery<sup>72</sup> and, as above stressed, also decorated the pyre of Hephaestion.

The frieze reveals the typical way to refer to places through sparse and simplified representations of few monuments, leaving the imagination of the environment to the fantasy of the viewer. This fact reveals that the frieze is still late classical: should it be later, it would have substantial elements of landscape.

Also, the frieze is entirely bi-dimensional, thus before the establishment of the sense of space as a visual pre-condition of any representation: the latter feature is typical of Hellenistic art already

67 About the pyre of Hephaestion, see R. Belli, 'L'intera costruzione era alta piu' di 130 cubiti'. Per un'interpretazione della pira di Efestione', *Xenia Antiqua* 8 (1999) 5-50 and O. Palagia, 'Hephaestion's Pyre', A. B. Boworth (ed.), *Alexander the Great*, Oxford (2000) 167-206.

68 *Testimonia* in Belli (note 68) 6-8.

69 See Κοτταρίδη (note 21) 357.

70 See *DNO* 2. 390-407, particularly 393-394, work no. 2, source no. 1440.

71 Evidence in F. Gury, 'Rhea', *LIMC* 7 (1994) 628-632, particularly 628.

72 See Descamps-Lequine (note 18) 263.

about 300 BC, as it is revealed by the late production of Lysippus (for example, the Apoxyomenos) or of the elder son of Praxiteles, Kephisodotos the Younger (for example, the Capitoline Aphrodite). The shaping of figures is obtained through the drawing which prevails upon the application of colors: this fact is typical of the Sicyonian school and of that of Apelles and, since Apelles was the official painter of Alexander the Great,<sup>73</sup> it is possible that the frieze has been done by painters of his school. Even the prevalence of drawings upon colors is typically late classical: with the early Hellenistic period, the shaping of figures through colors prevails.

Finally, the painters of the frieze used only 4 colors (red, yellow, white and black): thus they adhered to the tetra-chromatic ideology asserted by the Sicyonian school and by Apelles.<sup>74</sup> This observation strengthens both the closeness of this painting to the school of Apelles and of course its late classical date, because the tetra-chromatism was abandoned in later periods.

The continual narration of several episodes was already established in Ionic friezes of the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (for example in the temple of Athena Nike and in the friezes of Trysa)<sup>75</sup> and thus is not a new feature: these episodes are disposed in a sequence in the painted frieze of the tumulus Kasta because they all respond to a very powerful message: that everything happens because it is decided by the gods and that it is the duty of Delphic Apollo to predict it.

Thus the sophistic and Thucydidean concept that history is determined by purely human factors is over, on the contrary the Homeric concept of history determined by oracles, predictions etc is restored. The importance of oracles in the history narrated in the frieze is remarkable and suggests that the function of room 3 was an oracular one.

In particular, it is possible that the round hole on the pebbles mosaic held a tripod. The name of the seer who managed this oracle can be suggested: Peithagoras of Amphipolis, perhaps the most important seer of his age, who in Babylon already predicted the deaths of Hephæstion and of Alexander and probably here predicted the deaths of Perdikkas and of Antigonos (Arrian 7. 18).<sup>76</sup> Thus Peithagoras probably is the seer who is represented in the beginning of the northern frieze. Below the north frieze, there is a typical Macedonian marble door which can be compared to the corresponding examples of this type of funerary door in Vergina and elsewhere in Macedon and which also suggests a date around 320 BC.<sup>77</sup>

#### g. The fourth room

Room no. 4 was the burial chamber: the kline had the cremated rests of a young man whom epigraphic evidence identifies as Hephæstion, the dearest friend of Alexander.

A lady was thrown on the kline: she may be the heroine Phyllis whose mound near Amphipolis was well known in antiquity (see Antepater Thessalonicensis, *Anthologia Graeca* 7. 705). Since an almond tree blossomed on the mound of Phyllis,<sup>78</sup> this feature would explain why the upper part of the heroon Kasta was left green.

Moreover, bones of two men and one child were found in this chamber and may be similar to those found by the Athenian Cimon in the 460s and recognized to have been those of Theseus, then preserved as *reliquiae* in the re-founded heroon of Theseus in Athens.<sup>79</sup> In other words, they may be bones attributed to mythical heroes who were regarded the founders of the religious and mystical identity of Amphipolis. These heroes may have been first of all Rhesos, whose heroon was placed in this valley according to Euripides, *Rhesus*, vv. 961-982. Then perhaps some of these bones were attributed to Orpheus, in keeping with the Orphic symbolism, which is conveyed

73 See DNO 4. 125-205, sources nos. 2846-2990.

74 See J. J. Pollitt, 'Peri chromaton', *Color in ancient Greece*, Thessaloniki (2002)

75 See A. Landskon, *Das Heroon von Trysa*, Vienna (2015) 1-8.

76 See A. V. Tataki, *Macedonians abroad*, Athens (1998) 59, no. 108.

77 See the similar doors in Descamps-Lequime (note 18) and Kottaridi (note 21).

78 About Phyllis, see U. Kron, 'Phyllis', *LIMC* 7 (1994) 407-408.

79 See R. Di Cesare, *La città di Cecrope*, Athens (2015).

through the imagery of this tumulus. Finally the bones of a boy may have been regarded those of Akamas, the son of the local heroine Phyllis.<sup>80</sup>

The stele with the snake coiling around the fig tree may have stood in room 4, the only place where the floor allows for such an insertion. The possible interpretations suggested for the snake coiling around the tree in the above considered relief frieze may apply also to this stele. In both cases, this iconographic pattern was symbol of a happy after life, in the world of the blessed.

### General interpretation of the tumulus

The tumulus was the heroon of Hephaestion, as epigraphic evidence suggests, but clearly was also, or became, an oracle: otherwise the Sphinxes, the tripods and the oracular themes in the painted frieze would be unexplainable.

From a stratigraphic point of view, two phases can be detected: a first phase sees the tumulus only as heroon of Hephaestion and should date in the late 320s. Probably Alexander the Great promoted this heroon. A coin struck by him found in the tumulus is in keeping with this conclusion.

In the second phase, the wall dividing room 3 from room 4, which is clearly later than the pebble mosaic, on which it rests, was set up, the marble door between room 3 and room 4 was made, the painted frieze was created which implies the function of the complex as an oracle. From that moment the tumulus worked as a place where a seer predicted the future.

The years when this transformation took place are probably the same years when the seer Peithagoras came back home from Babylon and may have predicted the deaths of Perdikkas and Antigonos in room 3 of the tumulus, *i. e.* the year after the death of Alexander the Great, the late 320 BC.

From an artistic point of view, the lion was made by a follower of Lysippus, the other sculptures by Thasian workshops which assimilated both Lysippan and Praxitelean styles. In any case they guaranteed a very high quality, which is testified especially by the head of the Sphinx: indeed one of the highest works of art of late classical times.

The painted frieze was made quickly by a painter who followed both the prevalence of drawing upon colors and the tetrachromatism of Apelles.

The pebbles mosaic may have been made by a follower of Gnosis because of the close stylistic link of the Kasta mosaic with that signed by Gnosis at Pella.<sup>81</sup>

The architecture reveals the personality of an extremely talented expert educated in the tradition of the Artemision, in any case in the Ionian late classical tradition of Asia Minor.

Perhaps he can be identified with Dinocrates.

The entrance to the tumulus was closed with a pseudo-isodomic wall perhaps at the end of the Macedonian kingdom in the second quarter of the II c. BC or sometime in the late Hellenistic period. In front of the tumulus there may have been a propylon in Doric order. The propylon led to a lower terrace, which was provided with other, important monuments.

A processional road led from Amphipolis to this terrace, thus to the tumulus.

In conclusion the tumulus Kasta was the spiritual cradle of the Macedonian state.

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80 See Scholiast to Aeschines 2. 754 R.

81 See C. Picard, 'Le mosaïste grec Gnosis', *RA* (1963) 205-209,

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