







THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM OF
P E L L A





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On p. 7: Clay sealing from a public document. A female head is depicted wearing a turreted crown, probably the personification of Pella. 2nd cent. BC.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

*Foreword by the Minister of Culture and Tourism * 11*

*Foreword by Mrs Marianna Latsis * 13*

*Authors' Preface * 14*

PELLA, CAPITAL OF THE MACEDONIANS.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 17

THE MUSEUM OF PELLA (M. Lilibaki-Akamati - I.M. Akamatis) 23

EXCAVATION RESEARCH IN PELLA.

CONSERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 28

PELLA FROM THE 3RD MILLENNIUM TO THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE 4TH CENT. BC

THE BRONZE AGE CEMETERY (I.M. Akamatis) 35

THE CEMETERY IN THE AGORA DISTRICT (I.M. Akamatis) 40

HELLENISTIC PELLA

THE TOWN PLAN (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 55

THE FORTIFICATION (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 57

THE PALACE OF PELLA (P. Chrysostomou) 58

THE AGORA (I.M. Akamatis) 67

EVERYDAY LIFE AND PRIVATE DWELLINGS (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 113

THE MOSAIC FLOORS (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 141

WORSHIP (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 163

THE CEMETERIES

The eastern cemetery (M. Lilibaki-Akamati) 181

The western cemetery (P. Chrysostomou) 261

The Macedonian tombs (P. Chrysostomou) 269

THE ROMAN COLONY OF PELLA (A. Chrysostomou - P. Chrysostomou) 283

A MACEDONIAN BASE OF OPERATIONS IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD 299

The "gold-wearing" Macedonians from the western cemetery in Archontiko, near Pella 302

THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENT OF ARCHONTIKO (P. Chrysostomou) 299

Selected Bibliography 393

W E MODERN GREEKS have a rich cultural heritage to manage. And the way we treat it underlines who we are today in the most characteristic way.

This rich heritage not been promoted as well as it could have been. This is because, although the State has invested considerable amounts over the years in recording and protecting our cultural heritage, it has spent significantly less to promote and publicise it.

This is why today, more than ever before, we need initiatives and actions that put forward the new face of Greece, the modern ways in which we honour, protect and enhance the work of the generations who came before us. How we light a monument, how we lay out a museum, and how we mount an exhibition of ancient objects all constitute a record of who we are today. Indeed, together with our contemporary creative works, they determine our national identity.

By publicising this identity in the correct way, we should be able to arouse the interest of people all over the world in visiting our country and becoming better acquainted with the land that generated this civilisation; we also hope to inspire the desire of the Greeks to learn more about their cultural heritage.

The Latsis Foundation's programme of publishing books about Greek museums is thus valuable from many viewpoints. This year's book in the series is dedicated to the Archaeological Museum of Pella, the land of the Macedonian kings.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism has provided long-term support for the archaeological work being done in Pella. After construction of the new model Archaeological Museum, the second phase of the conservation and enhancement of its archaeological site and the broader region has already been set in motion and included in the National Strategic Reference Framework (ESPA).

I would like to thank the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and to congratulate all those who contributed to this book. These initiatives provide significant support to all of our efforts to publicise and enhance the best that this country has to offer.

PAVLOS YEROULANOS
Minister of Culture and Tourism



THE PRIMARY GOAL OF THE “MUSEUM CYCLE” of books has been, from the outset, to publicise and promote the splendour of the ancient Hellenic civilisation, with scholarly fullness and aesthetic quality, but above all, with respect for the globally unique heritage that, as Greeks today, it is our destiny and grave responsibility to manage.

Through a very carefully selected itinerary that now numbers thirteen destinations, we have over the years visited archaeological sites, met people dedicated to their work and enjoyed the treasures that the Hellenic land had concealed in its bosom, truly sacred artefacts and monuments of art from age-old Greek history.

In the present circumstances, both social and economic, looking into the past through these visits to the archaeological museums of our homeland, whether in person or through books, is not merely a form of nostalgia. On the contrary, it is the compelling examination of the roots and course of the Hellenic civilisation over the millennia of its existence that will help us realise and better understand the nature and magnitude of our current problems. Such an approach can undoubtedly be liberating if one can distinguish the moment within the whole, but also exceptionally useful as a compass to guide the new beginning that we must all make, both as individuals and together, as a society.

Pella was the new beginning for the Kingdom of the Macedonians, the new capital that was destined to play a most critical role in the history of Greece and of the entire world, in the 4th century BC. For both semiotic and absolutely substantial reasons, the dedication of a volume in the “Museum Cycle” to the new Archaeological Museum of Pella was for the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and Eurobank EFG a self-evident addition to this series of books. The variety and quality of the archaeological finds bear witness in the most unequivocal way to the identity of the inhabitants of Macedonia, their Hellenic origins and language, the gods they worshipped, their education and their intense cultural creation. These finds also highlight the outward-looking and multicultural nature of the large multinational city that developed as a reverberation of Alexander the Great’s historic expedition and clearly provide incontestible replies to groundless questions.

This book is dedicated with respect to all the archaeologists who have contributed to the excavation effort in the region, from the earliest period to the present, as well as to all those who look after the new Museum, which is admirable in itself. I would like to express warm thanks and congratulations on behalf of the Foundation and the Bank to the group of authors made up of the archaeologists Maria Lilibaki-Akamati, Ioannis Akamatis, Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou for their exceptional work, which indicates the depth of their scholarly knowledge and love of their field. The collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has, once again, been constructive and encouraging for the future of such initiatives.

MARIANNA J. LATSIS

THE ANTIQUITIES OF PELLA AND ITS REGION, focused around the new archaeological museum, are being presented in this monumental volume that constitutes another landmark in the series of books about Greek museums published by the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and Eurobank EFG, thus making an active contribution to promoting our country's cultural heritage.

This book, which absolutely reflects the significance of the site, presents as a whole the archaeological work done in Pella, Archontiko and the broader region as it has become known today through archaeological research, with concise texts by the excavator-scholars that are accessible to readers without specialised knowledge of the subject, and richly illustrated with photographs.

Pella, capital of the ancient Macedonians in the late 5th century BC, is today one of the most significant archaeological sites in Greece. Built on the coast and on a site that has been inhabited since the 3rd millennium BC, it was the largest city in Macedonia in the 4th cent. BC, and became the most important political, financial and cultural centre of Greece in the Hellenistic period, as well as the epicentre of Alexander's global empire. Through excavation research and the systematic study of its finds, we now know the form and basic structures of the Macedonian capital as well as the other significant settlements in its broader region, which date to the long period from the Neolithic Age up to and including the early Christian period.

The archaeological project in Pella has been a primary concern of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for several years now. The problems of conserving and enhancing the extensive archaeological site were resolved by the studies drawn up and by the project entitled "Conservation and Enhancement of the Archaeological site of Pella and its Region" that was implemented by the Finance Management Fund for Archaeological Projects under the Third Community Support Framework (2002-2009). Through this project – the second phase of which is currently under way as part of the National Strategic Reference Framework (ESPA) – the archaeological site of Pella was unified by re-locating the public roads that had divided the site into four sections and by expropriating private farmlands. Facilities were constructed to serve visitors, corridors were built for visitors through the excavated sections of the site, and the architectural remains were protected and conserved. To house and exhibit the excavation finds, the new Archaeological Museum of Pella was constructed – a modern building with the appropriate museological specifications – by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2006-2009) as part of the Third Community Support Framework. Thus the first phase of the Ministry's dynamic intervention in Pella to protect and promote its antiquities was completed.

Through the archaeological work being done in the capital of the ancient Macedonians and its region – in terms of both the research and study of its antiquities and their protection, conservation and enhancement – Pella is now becoming a model archaeological site, on which the Museum helps the visitor understand the urban plan of a large ancient city, with all its organisational structures affecting both the public and private lives of its residents. In addition, the visitor to the archaeological sites and monuments of the Pella region can discover the historical continuity of habitation in the flourishing settlements of the prehistoric and historical periods, which testify to robust building activity over time, with multi-faceted development and close contacts with the rest of the Greek world.

The excavations in Pella and its region keep enriching our historical and archaeological knowledge with abundant data related to the organisation of the society, its language, religion, burial practices and economic development, as well as the productive and commercial activities of the population in this part of northern Greece in ancient times. Light is also shed on all of the above issues by the wealth of excavation finds from the west cemetery of Archontiko, particularly those of the Iron Age and the archaic period, which, together with the finds from Pella dating to the time before the founding of the Macedonian capital, have refuted the older view regarding the “isolation” of the Macedonians.

This book is a product of the authors’ excellent collaboration with a number of people who have worked intensively to produce a work that is both scholarly in nature and contains plain facts that can be understood by non-specialists. Mrs. Eirini Louvrou, who supervised the publication, with her valuable knowledge and experience of publishing, contributed decisively to the successful outcome within the given period of time. We further believe that this aesthetically flawless volume is due to the artistic sensitivity of Mr. Dimitris Kalokyris. The outstanding photography by Mr Socratis Mavrommatis is the result of his painstaking work in Pella where, with the help of Nikos Stephanidis and Nikos Anastasiadis, he employed his well-known skills to provide photographic documentation of a large number of museum exhibits as well as finds that were in storage, and are being presented here for the first time. We believe that the rendering of the texts into English by Judy Giannakopoulou covered the particularities of the archaeological requirements most satisfactorily.

We would also like to express our warm thanks to Eurobank EFG, to the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation, to Mrs. Marianna Latsis, always a dynamic supporter of Greece’s cultural life, who agreed that the Museum of Pella should constitute the 13th volume in the “Museum Cycle”, to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for granting the relevant approval and to Mr Vangelis Chronis, who supported its contributors in a variety of ways.

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PELLA, CAPITAL OF THE MACEDONIANS

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

THE CAPITAL OF THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM was transferred, most likely in the late 5th century BC, from Aegae to the shores of the Thermaic Gulf in order to ensure better communication with the rest of the Greek world by both sea and land, and to facilitate the expansion and strengthening of the state. The coastline of the Thermaic Gulf at the period when Pella was established as the Macedonian capital has not yet been clearly defined, and our general knowledge of the geomorphological evolution of the broader region of the Giannitsa plain, which is today occupied by private farmlands, is likewise still limited. What is, however, clear is that the deposits of silt by the Echedoros (Gallikos), Axios, Loudias and Haliakmon rivers gradually closed the opening to the Thermaic Gulf, so that by the 4th century BC it was necessary to sail up to Pella on the Loudias River (Skylax, *Periplus*, 66: “Pella, a city with a royal palace in it, to which you sail up the Loudias ...”) which flowed through the marshy expanse created in this region, before emptying into the Thermaic Gulf. Livy’s reference (XLIV, 4-11) to the geomorphology of the region at the time Pella was captured by the Romans (168 BC) is characteristic. The city was surrounded by impenetrable marshes, within which a fortified islet could be seen that was connected to the walls by a wooden bridge. On this site, as has been proved by excavations, there was a Bronze Age settlement, obviously coastal then, which remained an islet after the lagoon came into being. On this islet, which is referred to in the written sources as Fakos, obviously because of its lentil-like (*faki*) shape, the treasury of the Macedonians was established (Diodorus, XXX, 11.1, Livy XLIV 6, 1-2; 10, 1-4). Excavations have revealed a section of its fortification wall and buildings of a public nature, very probably military installations and workshops. The picture of the region in the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC, when Pella was an inland city (Skymnos, *Travels* 618-626), did not change until the 1930s when Lake Loudias (also known as the Giannitsa swamp) was drained and replaced by a fertile plain.

Habitation of the coastal region in which the new capital of the Macedonians was founded has been confirmed from the Early Bronze Age, as proven by the discovery of cemeteries from the Early and Middle Bronze Age (3rd -2nd millennium BC), the Iron Age (9th-7th cent. BC), and the 6th and 5th century BC, during the works of conservation and enhancement of the archaeological site in the vicinity of its new entrance. It has not yet been possible to determine the precise location of the settlements to which these cemeteries belonged, and which were succeeded by the new capital of the Macedonian kingdom, since the area south of the new entrance to the archaeological site, which these settlements must have occupied, has only been explored minimally to date. However, the existence of Bronze and Iron Age settlements on the islet of Fakos must be regarded as given, together

Marble head of a man, identified as a portrait of Alexander III (336-323 BC). Late 4th cent. BC.

with another Late Bronze Age settlement near the western cemetery of the Hellenistic city, as corroborated by the pottery found on these sites.

A city named Pella was mentioned for the first time by the historian Herodotus (VII, 123) in his description of the route taken by Xerxes' Persian fleet along the shores of the Thermaic Gulf "...they (the fleet) put in at the aforementioned Therma and Sindos ... on the Axios River, which constitutes the border between Mygdonia and Botti- aia, where two towns, Ichnae and Pella, occupy a narrow strip of land on the coast." The coastal site is confirmed by Thucydides (II, 10, 3-4) as he describes conditions in Central Macedonia during the Peloponnesian War: "They also acquired a thin strip of land in Paeonia along the Axios River, from the high ground to Pella and the sea."

During the reign of Archelaos (413-399 BC), with whom the transfer of his kingdom's capital from Aegae to Pella is primarily associated, Macedonia was reorganized administratively and militarily, according to information in the written sources (Thucydides II, 100, 1-2). Contributing to its cultural development were the significant public figures who flocked to the royal court from southern Greece, such as the painter Zeuxis, who is reported to have decorated the palace, the musician Timotheos, the epic poet Choerilos, the tragic poets Euripi- des, Agathon and others. Indeed Euripides, who spent the last years of his life in Pella, co-authored a tragedy

Marble equestrian statuette. Hellenistic period.



about Archelaos. The historian Xenophon (*Hellenika*, V, 2, 13) reporting the surrender of Pella by Amyntas III to the Chalcidians in circa 382 BC, calls Pella “the largest of the Macedonian cities”. Its heyday, however, appears to have been secured under Philip II (359-336 BC) who “having been brought up there, enlarged the city from a small one...” (Strabo, VII, 323), ensuring the conditions required to create closer communication with the rest of the Hellenic world. Through Philip’s successful policy, which resulted in uniting all the Greek cities and in his own designation as leader of the panhellenic campaign against the Persians, Pella became the focal point of a wide range of activities, political, military and economic, but also of a vibrant intellectual movement, as attested by the presence of the philosopher Aristotle, who undertook the education of Alexander, heir to the throne. Carrying out his father’s grandiose plan, Alexander III (336-323 BC) embarked on the momentous venture of the Asian campaign, which was destined to have a profound and multifaceted effect on the history and development of the peoples of Asia and of the Mediterranean basin.

The large-scale expansion and rebuilding of Pella during the reign of Cassander (316-298 BC), supported by the revenues from Alexander’s campaign, and the parallel development of intense activities in the fields of architecture, finance, trade, intellectual life and art in general that have been revealed by findings from the excavations, create the picture of a large city with a flourishing multinational society that prospered throughout the Hellenistic years. Written sources testify to the importance of the port of Pella, despite the peculiarity of its coast (Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 43), in which part of the fleet of Demetrios Poliorcetes (294-287 BC) was built. Moreover, the city’s extensive communications with the southern part of the country is confirmed by the texts of inscriptions referring to offices awarded either by Greek cities to Pellaians or by Pella to the citizens of other regions. The capture of Pella by the Romans (168 BC) and the documented looting of its treasures (Livy XLV, 33, 5-8) marked the beginning of its gradual decline. In the city, however, which the Romans declared the capital of the third administrative division of the province of Macedonia, construction, production and commercial activity continued to be vigorous up to the early 1st cent. BC, reinforced by the fact that the Via Egnatia (130 BC) traversed the region. In about 90 BC the city gradually began to be abandoned after being struck by a massive earthquake. Despite this, its southern section, which was near the lagoon, was inhabited continuously until the 4th cent. AD, and indeed with the town plan of the old capital still in place. This has been proved by the excavation finds that came to light during construction of a new by-pass road south of the new entrance to the archaeological site. But by 30 BC, the hub of political power had shifted westwards, to the neighbouring Roman Colony of Pella.



Silver obol (above)
and eight-drachma
(oktadrachm) coin (below)
of Alexander I (498-454 BC).





Bronze coin of Amyntas III (393-370/369 BC).



Silver tetradrachm and silver drachma of Philip II (359-336 BC).

During the Byzantine period, Pella is cited as one of the cities in the province of Illyricum and later, under Constantine Porphyrogennetos, it was among the cities in the province of Macedonia. According to information provided by 19th-century travellers, the site of ancient Pella was occupied by a village called Allah-Kilisse (Church of God), which in the period of the Macedonian struggle (1904-1908) had a wharf on the Giannitsa swamp (ancient Lake Loudias) and was called Ayioi Apostoloi. At the beginning of the 1930s, the settlement that covered a large part of the ancient city was called Palia (Old) Pella, to distinguish it from Nea (New) Pella, about 2 km. to the west, in the vicinity of the Roman Colony of Pella.

Modern scholars who have periodically taken up the etymological problems surrounding the name "Pella", and have examined the texts of the three main written sources from various viewpoints, have not to this day arrived at any generally accepted conclusion. Ulpian (4th cent. AD) reported "*It was called Pella after an ox the colour of 'pelli', which means ash in the Macedonian language ... or after pellas which means stones in the Macedonian language*". Stephanos Byzantios (6th cent. AD) noted: "*Pella, name of a city in Macedonia and Thessaly... the one in Macedonia had been called in the past Bounomos and Bounomeia... and was named Pella after its founder*". The *Etymologicum Magnum* (12th cent.) declared "*... the ox was called pelli owing to its colour, and Pella, a city in Macedonia, has oxen of a pelli colour*". Since the element common to the above texts is the reference to oxen or cattle (*βοῦς*), which is also borne out by excavation evidence, the name Boúnomos or Bounómeia can be correlated with a settlement that existed on the site of Pella before the late 5th cent BC, in which, it appears, besides being the main source

of food, oxen were also used to do agricultural work. Cattle-breeding, however, must have been widespread throughout the entire life of the city. This can be proved by the representation of a grazing cow on the reverse of coins minted by Pella and on the clay sealings attached to public documents. In addition, the presence of ox horns on the helmets of figurines representing the goddess Athena suggests a special attribute of hers, which must have been related to the protection of animal husbandry.



Silver tetrobol of Perdiccas II (454-413 BC).

Silver tetradrachm of Amyntas III (393-370/369 BC).



Silver didrachm of Archelaos (413-399 BC).





THE MUSEUM OF PELLA

THE PROCESS OF BUILDING AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN PELLA began in the 1960s, when the large number and significance of finds from the early excavation period (1957-1963) made it urgently necessary to house and display them. But despite the efforts of the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the pressure brought to bear by local organisations and the on-going actions by the appropriate Departments of the Ministry of Culture, the Pella museum was not treated with any immediate prospect of implementation until the mid-1990s, when the systematic publicising of Greek antiquities began, with the assistance of the Community Support Framework (CSF) programmes. Until 1973, the excavation finds from Pella, the numbers of which were steadily growing as the excavation works continued, were housed in a small storage area on the archaeological site, and from 1973 to June 2009, in a building 400 m² that had been built for use as a tourist pavilion. Its exhibition area, limited and without museum specifications, was open to visitors for about 36 years with constant repairs to the building and updating of the exhibition, so that the overall effect would be acceptable aesthetically and would serve its purpose as well as possible, i.e. to protect and promote the excavation finds that were exhibited.

Between 1996 and 2000, plans for the museum building were drafted and approved, based on the building programme drawn up by the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Construction work began on the museum in April 2006, as part of the Third Community Support Framework (CSF), when the project was assigned to a joint venture of engineering firms following a public competition, under the supervision of the Directorate of Museums and Cultural Buildings Construction and was completed early in 2009. The 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, undertaking to organise the museum exhibition, (also under the 3rd CSF), drew up the museological and museographical study and completed the work entailed in mounting the exhibition between February and September 2009. Thus the new archaeological museum of Pella has been in regular operation since September 2009. It was officially inaugurated by the Minister of Culture and Tourism, Mr. Pavlos Yeroulanos in September 2010.

The museum of Pella, with an area of 6000 m², is located on the southeast slopes of the palace hill, in the northeastern part of the archaeological site accessible to the public, abutting on the modern settlement to the east. The excavated ancient city, the modern settlement, the agricultural holdings in the region and the morphology of the terrain constituted the main features of the architectural concept, the aim of which was to create a modern building on which the history of the site is imprinted and human activity resonates in a variety of ways. The building is mild in form, so that it does not compete with the archaeological site of which it is part.

Museum of Pella. General view of the exhibition area, from the stairway to the balcony.



Museum of Pella. View of the exhibition area from the balcony.

It is sunk into the ground, from which it emerges with an outline that follows the contours of the land. Simplicity characterizes its operating units, which serve the needs of a modern facility without disorienting its users. The path followed by visitors as they move around the exhibition area is determined with precision and clarity, so as to ensure them the best possible observation and understanding of the finds. In addition to the exhibition area, the museum building has a hall that can serve many different functions and educational programmes, a shop that sells books and replicas of ancient objects, a snack bar, conservation workshops, and storage and administrative areas.

In the museum of ancient Pella, which is the natural place for visitors to conclude their tour of the archaeological site, it is possible to reconstruct the archaeological evidence provided by the monuments on the site and to arrive at a better understanding of the miscellaneous facets of daily and public life in the Macedonian capital. The exhibition, some 2000 m² in area, could be described as the archaeological site in miniature, which is why the themes are harmonized with the excavation sections, and not cut off from one another. Since they are located on different levels, corresponding to the contours of the terrain, the visitors' constant visual contact is maintained with almost all theme modules, but also with the archaeological site through the openings and windows in the building. An opportunity is also provided for a panoramic view of the exhibition from the balcony that surrounds the open space on the ground floor.

A rectangular atrium with a glass wall, which is visible from almost all points in the exhibition area, is a reference to the central colonnaded courtyard characteristic of houses in Pella. The spare architectural form of the building is also reflected in its muted colours, mainly white and dark gray, the colours of the region's natural limestone. The same discreet colouring is used on all the modern furnishings inside the building, so that visitors can concentrate on the ancient objects, without being distracted by their environment. Thus the display



The Archaeological Museum of Pella.

cases, which are either built-in or fitted to the steps distinguishing the levels, constitute part of the building and do not dominate the space. Instructive material is provided by brief bilingual texts, drawings and photographs hanging on wall panels. A decision was made to use only short labels identifying the objects in the display cases, together with a few photographs to help the public understand specific finds, without overwhelming the exhibits inside the case or distracting the visitor from the ancient object. The instructive material has been enhanced by replicas of the city with electronic signage indicating significant building complexes, and informative films about the archaeological site and the museum.

The evolution of the region's geomorphology, the history of the city and of its excavations, its urban planning system and fortifications are the topics of the briefings held for visitors before they enter the exhibition area, where they are welcomed by the celebrated symbol of Pella, the marble head of Alexander the Great. The identity of the city is confirmed by ceramic tiles stamped with the name of Pella (ΠΕΛΛΗΣ), and the phases of its history are represented by coins minted by the Macedonian kings of both royal houses (Temenids and Antigonids), as well as coins dating from the years after the Roman conquest in 168 BC.

The first theme module of the main exhibition area concerns the daily life of Pella's inhabitants, the main exhibits being the mosaic floors from the houses of Dionysos and Helen and the painted decoration from the wall of a house that has been restored to a height of 5 metres. The excavation finds exhibited in this section provide a great deal of information about the structure and function of residential space, its furnishings, the daily life of its inhabitants, their clothing, beauty care, occupations, sports, education, entertainment, and religious ceremonies in family shrines. These finds paint a picture of varied furnishings, in many cases of exceptional luxury, which together with the other excavation data, confirm the existence of extensive know-how as well as the exceptionally high standard of living enjoyed by the residents of Pella.



Bronze coin (above) and silver octadrachm (below) of Alexander III (336-323 BC).



The subject of the second theme module is public life in Pella with finds mainly from the Agora, which are related to administrative institutions, as well as to the city's productive and commercial activities. Clay sealings on public documents from its public archives, quills and inkwells, standard metal weights, numismatic treasures and coins from the excavations of the Agora, inscriptions and examples of monumental sculpture all contribute significant data about the administration and the economy. The city's commercial activities are proven by pointed amphorae, whose stamped handles confirm Pella's close commercial relations with other Greek cities, as well as with cities throughout the Mediterranean basin from the Black Sea to Asia Minor and North Africa, and from Italy as far west as the Iberian Peninsula. And finally the very wide range of productive activities is suggested by the multitude of clay vessels and figurines that have been found in shops and workshops in the Agora and in other city blocks. A picture of how a pottery workshop operated is provided by the restoration of part of a shop with the excavation finds remaining *in situ*.



Gold stater of Alexander III (336-323 BC).

In the exhibition's third theme module, finds are exhibited from three excavated sanctuaries of Pella (that of the local healing god Darron, of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, and of Demeter Thesmophoros) which provide information about the gods worshipped, but also about the organisation and function of the religious buildings, whose magnificence is testified by two mosaics that are exhibited on the floor.

The fourth theme module concerns the cemeteries; it is the only one to be isolated from the others, owing to the special funerary nature of the finds. The restorations of two graves with their grave goods (one interment in a large clay pithos jar of the Early Bronze Age (2440-1410 BC) and one from the first half of the 4th century BC in a cist grave) and the gifts exhibited from graves of the Iron Age (9th-7th cent. BC) together with those of the 5th and 4th centuries BC and the Hellenistic period confirm the homogeneity of funerary customs throughout the land of the Greeks by people with a common origin and parallel cultural development.

The last module, dealing with the palace, is on a higher level, alluding to the site of the complex on the hill north of the city. Presented here are the architectural form and functions of the complex; instructive material includes the figure of Alexander as portrayed in art throughout the ages.

As a development project promoting archaeological and cultural activities in Greece, the new Museum of Pella now exerts a dynamic influence as the main nucleus of an archaeological and cultural tour of the capital of the ancient Macedonian kingdom and the region around it. This tour can have a potentially decisive effect on the cultural, social and economic structures of this region of Greece.

EXCAVATION RESEARCH IN PELLA

CONSERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE PELLA REGION and the occasionally visible antiquities intrigued the travellers of the 19th and early 20th century who visited Central Macedonia, including H. Holland, F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, F. Beaujour, M.E. Cousinery, W.M. Leake, A. Delacoulonche, C.F.v.d. Goltz and A. Struck. Of particular importance is the topographical map drawn by Struck in 1908, which confirms that, until the 1930s, the Pella region presented approximately the same picture as that described by the historian Livy in 168 BC, in which the marshes just about reached the road that led to Giannitsa, and the unwholesome climate affected the health of the inhabitants.



The first excavations in Pella were carried out in 1914 and 1915 by the Archaeological Society, under Professor G. P. Oikonomou, but were interrupted by the First World War. This brief excavation revealed parts of two houses and a fountain structure in the west section of today's visitors' site. The discovery of architectural remains during digging for the basement of a house in the modern settlement of Pella, on the site of which the so-called house of Dionysos later came to light, resulted in the beginning of systematic excavation by the Archaeological Service in 1957. This investigation, in its main periods of 1957-1970 and 1976-1990, directed by Ch. Makaronas and M. Siganidou respectively, brought to light a large section of the ancient city and contributed a wealth of evidence about its urban plan, the architecture of its private and public buildings, its social structure, religion, language, burial customs, productive and commercial activities and all those general features that contribute to providing a comprehensive picture of the historical development of the capital of the Macedonian

The archaeological site of Pella during the 1957-1963 excavation period.





The destruction debris layer of a coroplastic workshop in the east wing of the Agora.



Inscription on a stamped roof tile with the name of the city "ΠΕΛΛΗΣ" (of Pella), indisputable evidence of the identity of the archaeological site with the capital of the Macedonians.



The peristyle of Pella's public archive in the SW section of the Agora.

kingdom during the period of its great heyday. The large houses of Dionysos and Helen with their mosaic floors, sections of the palace, and public buildings were revealed between 1957 and 1970. The building complex of the Agora, the palace, public buildings and sanctuaries, private houses and cemeteries were excavated systematically between 1976 and 1990 and continue to be investigated up to the present time in excavations on a smaller scale, mainly of a rescue nature, within the context of public and private works, but also of efforts to conserve and promote the archaeological site.

The evidence that emerged from the 1977-1979 explorations in the region in which the irrigation conduit to Thessaloniki from the springs of Arabessos was being laid was decisive in resolving problems related especially to the city's layout and the site of Pella's eastern cemetery and of the Roman Colony. The excavation of the land on which this piping was being laid, which ran through the southern section of the city across its entire width, basically sparked the beginning of the second period of systematic exploration in Pella. In 1980-1981, during the works to improve the road linking the modern settlement with the national highway between Thessaloniki and Edessa, the eastern section of the Agora complex was unearthed together with graves in the oldest cemetery of the Macedonian capital (late 5th to the third quarter of the 4th cent. BC). In 2006, during excavations in the region of the new by-pass road south of the visitors' area of the archaeological site, the west wall of Hellenistic Pella came to light, and the site of its western cemetery was confirmed. There were further finds from the cemetery of the Roman Colony with the excavation of new graves and, for the first time, remains of the Roman period (1st-4th century AD) were discovered in the south section of Pella. And finally, by systematically



sifting through the earthworks of all the construction sites on the plots and farmlands of Pella and its surrounding region, our knowledge is continually being enriched regarding residential and funerary architecture as well as the various activities of the residents of this part of Greece in ancient times.

Since 1991, the aim of archaeological activity in Pella has been to conserve and highlight its archaeological site, together with the monuments of its broader region. The conservation and enhancement of Pella, which was undertaken by the Ministry of Culture-Finance Management Fund for Archaeological Projects, under the Third Community Support Framework was realised through the study regarding the overall promotion of Pella and its region, as well as the separate studies on conservation of the architectural remains and construction of infrastructure for the operation and protection of the site. This project has unified the archaeological site by abolishing sections of the two roads that sliced it into four parts (the Thessaloniki-Edessa highway across the full width of the ancient city on the east-west axis, and the road to the modern settlement on the north-south axis), and by expropriating extensive farm holdings, especially on the south side. The site's infrastructure was ensured by the installation of facilities for visitors. In addition, the architectural remains in certain parts of the visitors' area were protected by conservation and by constructing permanent roofs over sites with particularly fragile remains. Special care was taken to conserve the walls of buildings constructed with soft limestone that had begun to crumble. After the conservation works, the architectural remains in basic sectors of the visitors' archaeological site were restored, consolidated and supplemented with new material, providing the visitor with a clear picture of the morphology of the buildings. The city's ancient roads have been paved and the exterior walls of the city blocks preserved in areas used by visitors.

Thus the city's layout has been restored over a satisfactory area, making it possible for visitors to walk through the archaeological site from the south, i.e. from the ancient port, to the northern parts of the city, as they would have done in ancient times, and to form a picture of its size and plan. The informative material that can be found at visitors' resting points at selected spots on the site, together with the audio-visual material in the information hall, supply the basic facts about the city's specific regions and building complexes. The goal of continuing the task of conserving and enhancing Pella through the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) is to extend the conservation of architectural remains and to create organised cores in the city blocks for visitors so that they will be able to understand both the form and function of the buildings.

The new Archaeological Museum of Pella, which was constructed by the Ministry of Culture between 2006 and 2009, located in the northeast section of the archaeological site, is essentially a miniature of it, since in it visitors can recreate the features they have seen on their tour of the site – with the help of the many and various excavation finds and the instructive material – to understand the various manifestations of life in the city.

Aerial photograph of part of the integrated archaeological site of Pella. The archaeological museum can be seen in the background, near the modern settlement.



PELLA FROM THE 3RD MILLENNIUM TO THE 3RD QUARTER OF THE 4TH CENTURY BC

THE BRONZE AGE CEMETERY

THE EXCAVATION WORKS carried out under the programme to preserve and enhance the archaeological site of Pella (a project of the Finance Management Fund for Archaeological Projects under the 3rd Community Support Framework) expanded our knowledge of Pella with fresh evidence dating the earliest human activity on the site on which the Macedonians established their capital to the early 3rd millennium BC. During the works to upgrade selected ancient city roads to make them appropriate access routes for visitors, the earthworks of the roads in the vicinity of the new entrance to the archaeological site were investigated in test cuts between 2006 and 2008.

One of the city's main thoroughfares on the E-W axis, about 9.50 metres wide, leads from the visitor service buildings to the structures near the sanctuary of Darron that have been explored in the southwest section of the public area of the site near the modern irrigation ditch. A number of test sections taken along this avenue to investigate its substructure brought to light a floor paved with rough limestone slabs. In the damaged sections of the stone paving, as well as on the streets perpendicular to it, the test sections went down to the deepest possible layers, in order to obtain stratigraphic documentation of human-generated deposits.

Just below the pavement on this avenue, and in test sections taken from the perpendicular streets (along the N-S axis) that intersect it, part of a prehistoric cemetery was discovered. A large number of graves appear to have been disturbed by the paving of roads and subsequent construction activities. It has not yet been possible to establish the precise boundaries of this cemetery with any certainty, since a large part of it lies under the residential blocks of the ancient city that have not yet been explored. According to data from the test sections, however, the cemetery covered at least part of an area of six city blocks on both sides of the avenue (150 m. along the E-W axis and 143 m. along the N-S).

All the graves appear to have been located in the layers close to the surface, although quite a few of them were probably visible during the period in which the cemetery was in use. These are interments in jars and stone-built graves or in ordinary pit graves with the sporadic use of stones to mark the perimeter. In the sections of the cemetery that have been excavated to date, no evidence has been found of the cremation of the dead, a custom known from the Neolithic period, which continued to be practised in Bronze Age cemeteries.

Detail of the lead curse tablet (defixio, katadesmos). See also pp. 44-45. First half of the 4th cent. BC.

Stone-built graves were either oval or approximately rectangular structures created using rough stone slabs inserted vertically into the ground or undressed stones laid in courses with a general E-W or NE-SW direction. Less frequently, the walls of the graves were built by placing rough stones in two loosely-laid courses. Earthenware storage jars (*pitharia*) were placed horizontally on the ground, on a bed of slabs or supported by stones all around the perimeter. Their mouth faced east or west and was usually sealed by a stone. In addition to the use of large well-made storage jars, interments were also done in pithos-type open vessels. Small graves were covered with piles of stones, the storage jars too usually had a few stones scattered over them. Sometimes at the edges of the structures and over the covered mouth of the large storage jars, a stone plaque or rough block protrudes, as a kind of grave marker.

The graves are grouped in clusters, but the relationship between them remains as yet unclear. In three instances many small rocks were observed to form a circle indicating the existence of small mounds of earth that have since been levelled.

The material of which all the structures in the cemetery were made was the natural limestone rock from the immediate environment of the cemetery and found in the entire Pella region. The same material was used on the buildings of the historical period. Indeed many of the slabs that constitute the paving of the avenue probably originated in the prehistoric cemetery. As a rule people were buried in single graves. However, the presence of a double inhumation in a pithos jar confirms the use of this practice elsewhere, as in other Bronze Age cemeteries.

The dead were buried in a crouching position facing left or right. They were positioned with the head near either the mouth or the bottom of the pithos jar and then pushed into it through its mouth or placed in it after parts of the rim and body of the vase were removed. It has not been confirmed whether skeletal matter was ever moved aside to allow grave structures to be re-used for later interments, since the fact that quite a few bones were disturbed has been related to the simultaneous destruction of graves by construction activities in the city during the historical period.

The number of graves containing gifts, in accordance with the practice of the period, is fairly limited. The most prevalent ceramic burial objects are small kantharoid vessels with markedly higher handles, single-handled cups and pitchers. The dead are less frequently accompanied by silver and bronze objects, jewellery and weapons. One of the rare finds in this category is a small marble bowl (*phiale*).

Indications of ceremonial activities in the excavated part of the cemetery have only been found in one heap of charred materials under the city block on which the public baths were located. The fact that it lies under walls of the historical period permitted investigation of no more than a small section of it.

Clay grave goods consist of handmade vases, in which all the techniques used during the Early Bronze Age in the Macedonia region (c. 3100-2100 BC) have been confirmed. The marble *phiale* mentioned above, an extremely rare type of find in Central Macedonia, is reminiscent of one from the Final Neolithic found in Alepotrypa Diros in Mani, and of some small Cycladic *phiales*, all dating to the Protocycladic I period, and more rarely to the transitional I-II period (late 4th-early 3rd millennium BC). The time horizon of our *phiale* leads us to the Final Neolithic or more probably, if the macroscopic assessment of the marble as being of island and specifically



Marble phiale (above left) and three clay vases of the early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BC); two clay vases of the Early Iron Age and an Attic skyphos of the late 5th cent. BC (lower left).





Parian origin is correct, it could be considered among the creations of the Protocycladic period and dated not later than the transitional Protocycladic I-II period. Such products could reach the coast of prehistoric Pella by sea from the Cyclades to the gulf of Loudias. Commercial relations between neighbouring regions and cultural circles have been corroborated in Greece and in the broader Balkan region from the Early Neolithic period. Widespread cultural contacts between the Cyclades and the coast of the Thermaic Gulf during the period in question have not so far been traced satisfactorily by excavation research. Indications of such contacts may be based on isolated objects, such as Pella's marble phiale, or a Protocycladic marble vase found in Makrygialo Pieria in a Late Bronze Age grave, but also on finds from Chalcidice. Direct or indirect relations may be confirmed in the near future, as has already been done for Crete, Attica, Euboea and many sites in the Aegean and Asia Minor to which, in addition to clay objects, costly marble figurines and vases have also found their way. These include a marble phiale from a cemetery in Iasos Caria in Asia Minor, which is typologically similar to that of Pella.

It is still too early for a full discussion of how long the prehistoric cemetery was in use. Preliminary conclusions are based on typological observations of the graves and their grave goods, but have also been confirmed by initial radiocarbon dating. All the grave types coincide with those found in the cemeteries at Xeropigado and Goules near Kozani, as well as those of Ayios Mamas in Chalcidice and elsewhere. The kantharoid pots have parallels in finds from Archontiko, near Pella, where radiation dating has placed the disaster debris layer in the last phase of the Early Bronze Age and the beginning of the following one; from Xeropigado (2450/2400 to 1750/1700 BC), from Armenochori Florina (end of the Early Bronze Age), from Servia Kozani, Trilofos Thessaloniki and other sites in Macedonia, in which the kantharos is one of the main shapes used in pottery. Ceramics of this type are widely dispersed on Early Bronze Age sites in F.Y.R.O.M., as well as farther north in central Serbia (Bubanj III culture).



Attic vases for aromatic oils (lekythoi). Third quarter of the 5th cent. BC.

The settlement to which the cemetery belonged must have been fairly near by. In investigatory sections of the city block with the public baths, many potsherds from miscellaneous Bronze Age vessels were found in a highly fragmented state in layers of soil brought in as land fill. A large number of sherds from the same period also came to light farther west. The piecemeal nature of these potsherds may perhaps warrant attributing their origin to a habitation site not far from where they were found. It is difficult to identify this site as Fakos, which is located some 1,100 metres south of the Thessaloniki-Edessa highway. The above-mentioned Bronze Age habitation site must have been maintained in the historical period as well, since although few such sites have been found around Pella, characteristic finds from later years, from the Early Iron Age, the Archaic and Classical periods, are also found in them. Thus this site should very probably be identified as the oldest settlement of Bounomos, which was replaced by Pella, the new capital, in the late 5th century BC. As noted in Stephanos Byzantios “...and the [Pella] in Macedonia had been called Bounomos in the past”.

Burial in a large earthenware storage jar surrounded by stones. A roughly hewn stone at the mouth of the jar served as a grave marker. From the cemetery of the Early Bronze Age. Date of burial: 2440-2140 BC.



THE CEMETERY IN THE AGORA DISTRICT

THE CEMETERY DATING FROM PELLA'S EARLIEST PERIOD as the Macedonian capital was unearthed outside its north wall. The sections of the cemetery that have been excavated to date are mainly under the site that was occupied by the Agora and its surrounding district in the Hellenistic period.

The first interments came to light in a rescue excavation conducted in 1980 and 1981 to investigate the vicinity of the sewerage project along the road leading to the modern settlement of Pella. In later years, large parts of it were also found southeast of the Agora complex, but also in sections taken under the flooring of the Archive building in the south wing, as well as on an E-W road of the ancient city that runs south of the complex, mainly within the context of the works involved in enhancing the archaeological site (2002-2008). Parts of this Classical cemetery were also identified northeast and south of the city's commercial and administrative centre. All of its intact graves can be dated from the late 5th to the third quarter of the 4th century BC. The fact that it stopped being used was undoubtedly related to the extensive reorganisation of Pella during the reign of Cassander, and specifically to the northward extension of its north wall, which has been found in the vicinity of the new entrance to the archaeological site. The wall was demolished during the construction activities of that period. Then the burial needs that had been served by the Classical cemetery were transferred to an outlying district, to places outside the city walls, mainly to the east and west, and met funerary needs from about the middle of the 4th cent. BC until Pella was abandoned in the early 1st century BC after a devastating earthquake.

The form of the graves was adapted to the contours of the terrain by making use of both the embankments and the soft underlying limestone. Most graves were dug in small trenches in the hard soil, with walls sometimes reinforced by little stones. There were also larger rectangular rock-cut cist graves. Interments were found in all the above graves. The custom of cremation was comparatively limited, as was the case in Pella in later periods as well. In one instance, cremated bones had been placed in a bell krater and in another, the funeral ceremony had been conducted in a wooden temple-like structure. Children's remains were found buried in storage jars, especially amphorae. Newborns were laid between ceramic roof-tiles. The practice of interment in terracotta coffins (*larnakes*) was also rare, and the number of ceramic tile-covered graves was equally limited.

The rock-cut cist graves were oriented from east to west. The grouping of the cists very probably suggests that the people buried in them were related, as was the case in Pella's later cemeteries. The dimensions of adult graves vary between 1.50 and 2.50 m. long and 0.80 to 1.50 m. wide. However, there are also some much larger ones with a length and depth of up to 7 and 4 m. respectively. These had steps on their walls to facilitate the

Detail from the decoration of a red-figure hydria (see also pp. 46-53). Kelados (or Kydaimos) blows a trumpet in the dispute between Athena and Poseidon over the name of the city of Athens. Late 5th-early 4th cent. BC.



*Hunting dog from the Agora region.
Attributed to a 4th cent. BC grave
monument.*



approach to the grave floor during the placement of the body. The cist graves were covered with planks of wood resting on wooden beams, the ends of which were inserted into cavities hewn into the uppermost step of the tomb structure. Over isolated graves or small clusters of graves, a limited number of earthen mounds or tumuli have been identified, the foot of which was marked by circular rows of small undressed stones. Alongside several graves, grooves were cut into the rock and grave markers were fitted into them, a small number of which have been found somewhere else. Traces of wood were found in hollows carved in the corners of the grave floors which, together with some small iron studs, bear witness to the occasional practice of interment on funerary couches.

The deceased were placed in the grave, usually with their head facing east and their limbs extended. Only rarely they were turned westwards or placed in a crouching position. Double burials were ascertained in very few cases, one of which was occupied by a mother and her infant. Studies of the anthropological remains have shown a high mortality rate among children, with 35-40% comprising mainly infants of up to one year old. Also worthy of note is the mortality rate among women compared to men, with an approximate ratio of 2 to 1. The age of adults ranges between 40 and 60 years old, with very few reaching the age of 70. A height of up to 1.70 m. was not unusual.

The grave goods in this cemetery are generally limited, suggesting the low-to-average social origin of the deceased in the section excavated. Wealthier grave goods were found in a few graves containing the remains of young people, especially girls. Among the grave gifts were pottery (squat *lekythoi*, *skyphoi*, *olpes*, *oinochoes*), tools, a few weapons and athletic gear placed near the hands. There were more terracotta figurines, especially in children's graves. The vases, in particular the high quality black-glazed ware, were imported from Attica. Many clay figurines also originated from Attica and possibly from Boeotia, whereas local production was dominated by painted red vases, alluding to bronze vessels. Gold and silver jewellery was found around the parts of the body they decorated, while clothing accessories, such as bronze, silver and iron clasps and pins, were found around the shoulders and arms. In some cases, the dead were wearing wreaths of fine gold leaf. Terracotta figurines predominate in children's graves, which also contained the richest grave gifts.

Three particularly important finds have come from the Agora district cemetery and provide significant information about the development of sculpture in the northern Helladic region, about trade rela-

tions between Pella and Attica, and about the language spoken by its inhabitants.

The relief marble grave stele of the young Xanthos, son of Demetrios and Amadika, according to the inscription, dates to the late 5th cent. BC and is the earliest known sculpture to have been found in Pella so far. There is an *-a* ending typical of the Doric dialect on the name of the mother, from the root *αμ-* (cognate of the Homeric verb *ἀμᾶω*=reap), and the Macedonian ending *-δίκη* (cf. the name *Euri-dika*). On the stele is depicted an everyday scene of a boy with a dove in one hand and a toy wheel behind him. In front, a young hunting dog raises its head toward the bird and the child in an iconographically closed image of tender communication. The rendering of the “emanation” of fleshly reality, and the gravity and softness of the figures’ skin suggest that the stele incorporated elements from the Ionic tradition. Despite the fresh Attic influences that were gradually imposed on the sculpture of Macedonia after the 5th century, the grave stele of Xanthos is a characteristic creation by an artisan of the region, who had not forgotten the older traditions based in the islands and Ionia.

A red-figure hydria of the early 4th century BC imported from Athens received the cremated bones of a distinguished Pellaian. One of the most notable works of Attic pottery, it is attributed to the workshop of the painter Pronomos. It is decorated with a scene from the myth of the quarrel between Poseidon and Athena over the name of Athens, at the crucial moment when the dispute between the gods is resolved in the presence of Zeus, symbolised by an enormous thunderbolt over the olive tree, the winning gift of Athena, which is crowned by a Victory (Nike), in front of the serpentine body of the Athenian king Kekrops. The defeated Poseidon and his world withdraw from the central scene that is occupied by Athena with the assistance of Dionysos. On the shoulder of the vase is a heroic scene, rendering the struggle between king Eumolpos of Eleusis, son of Poseidon, and Erechtheus in the presence of Hermes and of Leto’s children, Artemis and Apollo.

*Grave stele of young Xanthos, son of Demetrios and Amadika.
From the cemetery in the Agora region.
Late 5th-early 4th cent. BC.*



A different version of the same myth is depicted on the west pediment of the Parthenon which, during the years after 403 BC, took on political significance for the city of Pallas Athena, symbolising the fall of tyranny and the restoration of the republic.

When the Peloponnesian War ended, Athens stepped up its trade with Macedonia and Thrace. Exports of ceramic vessels increased, and many Athenian potters and pottery-painters migrated, together with many significant members of the intelligentsia and other artists and artisans from many cities in the Greek world, who began flocking to Pella during the reign of Archelaos and his successors, contributing actively to the cultural development of the Macedonian capital.

And finally, an inscribed strip of lead was found tightly rolled and placed in the hand of a deceased person who may have died violently. The inscription that had been scratched on the soft metal with a sharp tool is the longest dialect text known so far from the region of Macedonia and dates to the first half of the 4th century BC. In its syntax, it presents some similarity with the Attic dialect, but is differentiated from the Attic-Ionic group, since the α does not become an η , and the combined pronunciation of α and o becomes an α rather than ω . These features, together with other particularities, have helped classify the language of the text into a group of north-west Doric dialects and, together with other, more recent epigraphic finds, suggest that it was the language used by a large part of the population of the region prior to the establishment of koine Greek. At the same time, the “magic” text that refers to the emotional state of a Pellaian woman testifies to the unchanging passion of love that sometimes governs human relations.

Inscribed lead tablet with a text in the Doric dialect containing a magic spell (katadesmos). From a grave in the cemetery near the Agora. First half of the 4th c. BC. The text was transcribed and translated into modern Greek by M. Voutyras:

"I bind the wedding ceremony of Thetima and Dionysophon with a magic written spell, together with the wedding of all other women who are widows or maidens, but in particular that of Thetima. And I deposit this spell with Makron and the daemons. And if ever I dig up and unwrap and re-read these words, then Dionysophon may marry but not before. Because I do not want him to marry any woman but me, and I want to be the one growing old with Dionysophon and no one else. I implore you, daemons, to pity [Phil]a, because I am helpless and all my dear ones have abandoned me. Keep this for me so that these things do not happen and may Thetima die in misery [---] I however will be happy."





*Inscribed base
of the monument
of the Corinthian
priestess Timarete.
Late 5th cent. BC.*

Funerary customs in this cemetery, which are not different from corresponding customs in other regions, bear witness to the homogeneity of religious views and beliefs both in Macedonia, but also throughout Hellenic lands as a whole. Significant evidence has been found from the exploration of the cemetery regarding the social stratification of the population, their financial status, and the customs and manners of Pella's earliest period as capital of Macedonia. And because the residential remains from this stage in the city's life are extremely limited, having been destroyed by the construction activities of the Hellenistic period, the cemetery finds fill in significant gaps in our knowledge about the life of the inhabitants at the time in which Pella is reported in the written sources to be the "*largest of the cities in Macedonia*", as it evolved into the capital of the powerful kingdom of Philip II and Alexander III.

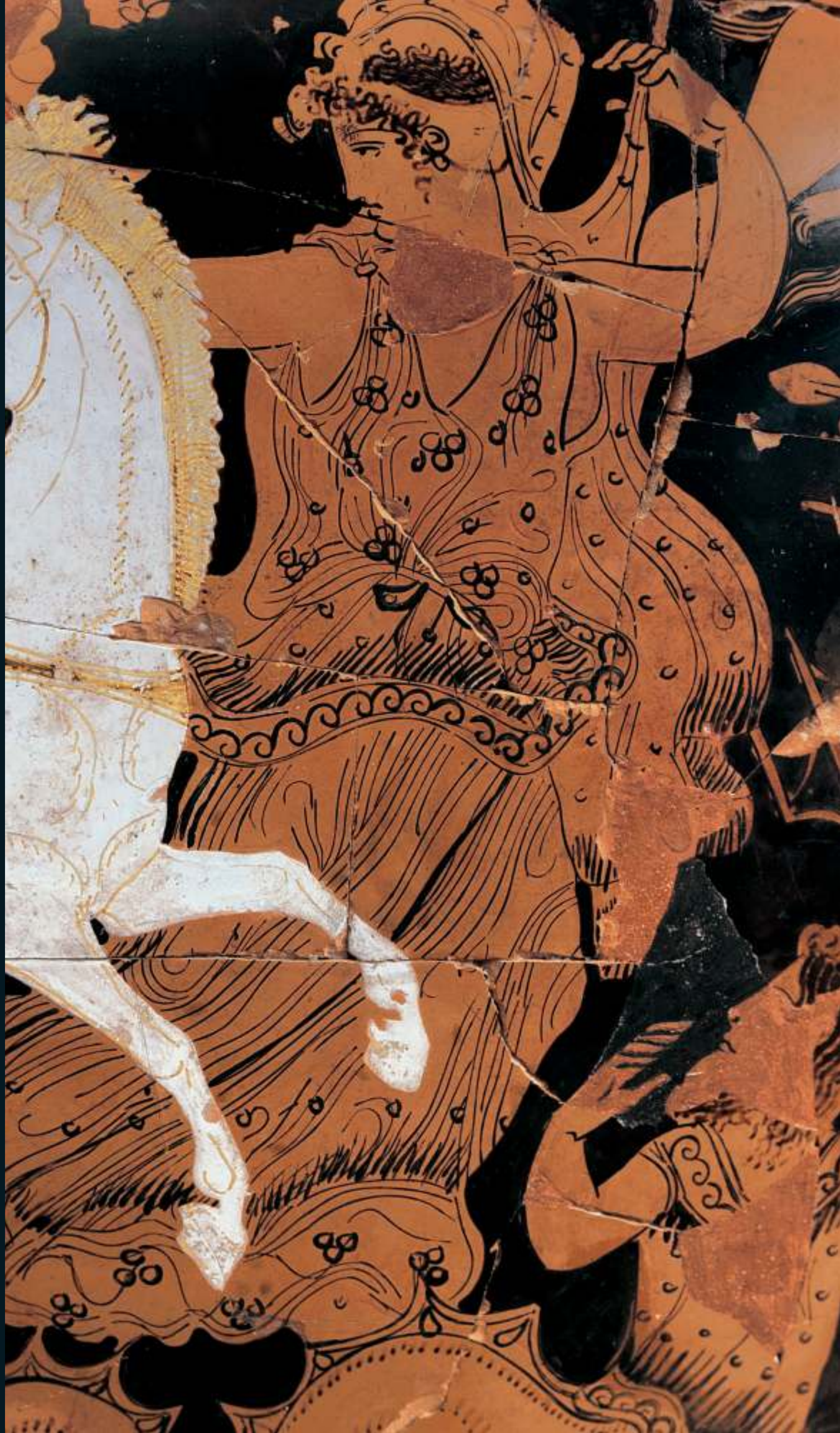




Red-figure Attic hydria attributed to the workshop of the painter Pronomos. Cinerary urn from the cemetery of the Agora region. Late 5th-early 4th cent. BC. On the front is depicted the quarrel between Athena and Poseidon over the name of the city of Athens, at the moment when the strife is resolved, and symbolized by the thunderbolt of Zeus over the goddess's winning gift to the Athenians, the olive tree (pp. 46, 48). A Victory (Nike) crowns the olive tree (p. 50) in front of Kekrops, the serpentine king of Athens (p. 47). The defeated Poseidon, holding a horse and accompanied by Triton and Amphitrite, withdraws from the centre of the scene (pp. 46, 48, 49). His place is then occupied by the goddess Athena assisted by Dionysos (pp. 46, 52-53). On the shoulder of the vase is the scene of a contest between heroes in the presence of Apollo, Artemis and Hermes (pp. 46, 51).

















HELLENISTIC PELLA

THE TOWN PLAN

THE LOCATION AND PLAN OF PELLA in the late 5th century BC, when it became capital of the Macedonians, suggest that the data derived so far from excavations in the various parts of the archaeological site are fairly limited, since the investigation of this period's architectural remains, which are covered by the strata of the Hellenistic period, has only been attempted in excavation sections of a test nature. The parts of the cemetery from the late 5th to the third quarter of the 4th century BC that have been discovered south and southeast of the Agora determine with certainty the location of the late 5th cent. BC city to the south, but we cannot yet be sure of its precise area. Only the northern limits of this early period in the Macedonian capital are clearly defined, as its north wall has been found, parts of which were investigated by means of test sections under the city blocks and especially under the streets of the Hellenistic city, north of the new entrance to the archaeological site. The SE-NW orientation of this fortification wall which is similar to the later wall built in the last quarter of the 4th cent. BC and runs north of the palace, and the existence of a gate in the older fortification with an opening 9 m. wide that coincides with the position of a perpendicular road of the same width in the Hellenistic city, suggest that the street plan of the late 5th and early 4th cent. BC was retained in the Hellenistic period.

The oldest residential remains from the first construction stage of the Macedonian capital came to light in the vicinity of the sanctuary of the healing god Darron (on the southwest part of the archaeological site open to the public). The fact that the position of the exterior wall of a building from the earlier construction stage coincides with the exterior wall of a Hellenistic city block suggests, with a high degree of probability, the existence of an urban plan with rectangular city blocks in the late 5th and early 4th cent. BC.

The ancient city as we know it today, with its urban planning system dating from the last quarter of the 4th cent. BC and its Hellenistic modifications and reconstructions, covers an area of about 400 hectares. Its large-scale extension and reconstruction, favoured by the flat terrain that made it possible for the city to expand its inhabited area symmetrically, were implemented in the reign of Cassander (316-298 BC) by doing away with the north wall of the Classical city and its cemetery in the Agora district. Organised burials then began in regions outside the eastern and western sections of the new defensive wall. The city's street plan consisted of rectangular blocks of equal width (47 metres) and varying lengths (110, 125, 133, 152 m), divided uniformly by vertical (N-S) and horizontal (E-W) roads, six and nine metres wide respectively. This urban plan and the city's large area, i.e. about 2.5 km along the N-S axis (having as a point of reference the islet of Fakos, since the southern limits of the city are still hazy) and about 1.5 km on the E-W axis, have been corroborated by excavations as in no other Hellenic city. The widest street in the city, an avenue of 15 m., with an E-W orientation, starting obviously from the gates in the east and west walls, ran through

Section of the mosaic floor decoration in the symposium hall of the house of Dionysos. The god Dionysos is shown riding on a panther. 325-300 BC. The entire composition can be seen on pp. 148-149.



its centre, ending at the gates of the Agora. Some streets with a N-S orientation that constituted main thoroughfares and started from the port, were wider than the others (9-10 m.); they were paved with stone, had sidewalks and were flanked by porticos. The existence of these colonnades in the 3rd cent. BC has been absolutely confirmed by the traces of columns *in situ*, which may even have been part of the city plan of the late fourth century BC. Under the roadways there was a dense, well-organised water-supply and sewerage network. Tunnels hewn out of the natural rock brought water from mountain springs and ended in terracotta, stone or constructed conduits with cleaning shafts, features that – together with the sewage pipes, fountains, wells and water tanks in public and private buildings – attest to the inhabitants’ high standard of living. Bath areas were identified in houses, as well as in public buildings. A public bath that was explored in the vicinity of the new entrance to the archaeological site is the oldest known bathing facility in the northern Helladic area and one of the oldest to be investigated in Greece, in which all phases in the evolution of bathing facilities in the Classical and Hellenistic period are clearly depicted. It is a large building that was used from the last quarter of the 4th century to the end of the 2nd cent. BC with pebble mosaic and inlaid marble floors, with bathtubs and a pool, but also a heating pipe under the floor dating to the final construction phase, an early form of under-floor heating that was obviously installed experimentally, before the system of hypocausts prevailed in the Roman period. This system of hypocaust heating is also represented in Pella by a 4th-century AD bath that was revealed in the southern part of the city, near the lagoon, confirming that this district continued to be inhabited, and indeed with the urban plan of the old capital, even after the massive earthquake that caused the rest of it to be abandoned.

The town plan of Pella.

1. Entrance to the archaeological site
2. The Agora
3. The Museum
4. The Palace

THE FORTIFICATION

THE SPECIAL CARE TAKEN BY THE KINGS OF MACEDONIA to ensure that the capital of their state was strongly fortified can be demonstrated by the parts of its walls that have been unearthed. The defensive wall dating to the late 5th and third quarter of the 4th century BC that demarcated its limits to the north has been investigated occasionally, and especially along the streets of the Hellenistic city, because it was destroyed when the Hellenistic buildings were erected over it. It had a NE-SW orientation and its foundations were laid on top of the Iron Age cemetery, destroying some of its graves. The lower part of the wall, 3 m. wide, had dressed stones on its faces with rubble occupying the middle; the top was brick. In one section, northeast of the new entrance to the site, a semi-circular tower came to light and farther west, a gate with an interior courtyard and two corridors of the same width leading into the city. The coincidence of the position of the gate, which has a 9-metre opening, with that of a perpendicular road of the same width from the Hellenistic period reinforces the view that the basic axes of regular city blocks existed from the late 5th and early 4th cent. BC. The late 5th-cent. BC walls were demolished in the last quarter of the 4th cent. BC, during the extension and major reconstruction of the city in the reign of Cassander (316-298 BC). This has been proven by evidence from the test sections taken of its foundation layers, but also by the dating of the pottery repository that destroyed a section of this earlier fortification wall.

The new defensive wall of the city was built in the last quarter of the 4th cent. BC, and was similar in construction to that of the earlier period. Parts of its northern and western sections have been investigated. Rectangular towers were revealed in the north wall, which is 3.30 m. thick and runs north of the palace, and a gate 18x14 m, with two inner courtyards that permitted direct access to the palace complex. The section of the north walls with the towers, which was discovered east of the palace, was constructed differently, with bricks alone and with no stone foundation. The similar orientation of the northern sections of the city's older and newer walls alike is yet another factor reinforcing the view that in the Hellenistic period the main street plan was retained from the Macedonian capital's first construction phase. The sub-foundation layer and part of the outwork from the western section of the wall were found separately. Further investigation is required in the vicinity of the city's east fortification, whose position has been correlated with the similar orientation of major building installations that were discovered southwest of a large cluster of graves in the city's east cemetery. To date, there has been no excavation data indicating the position of the south wall, which would determine the precise area of the city on the N-S axis. Livy's statement (XLIV, 46, 4-11) that the fortified islet of Fakos in the lagoon communicated with the city wall by a wooden bridge suggests that the distance between the islet and the city cannot have been very great at that time. Thus, the location of the city's southern limits, having as a point of reference only the region of Fakos, must be considered no more than hypothetical. Determining the southern limits of the city in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and at the same time exploring the coastline of the Thermaic Gulf, within the context of studying the region's more general geomorphological evolution, are the primary goals of future research.

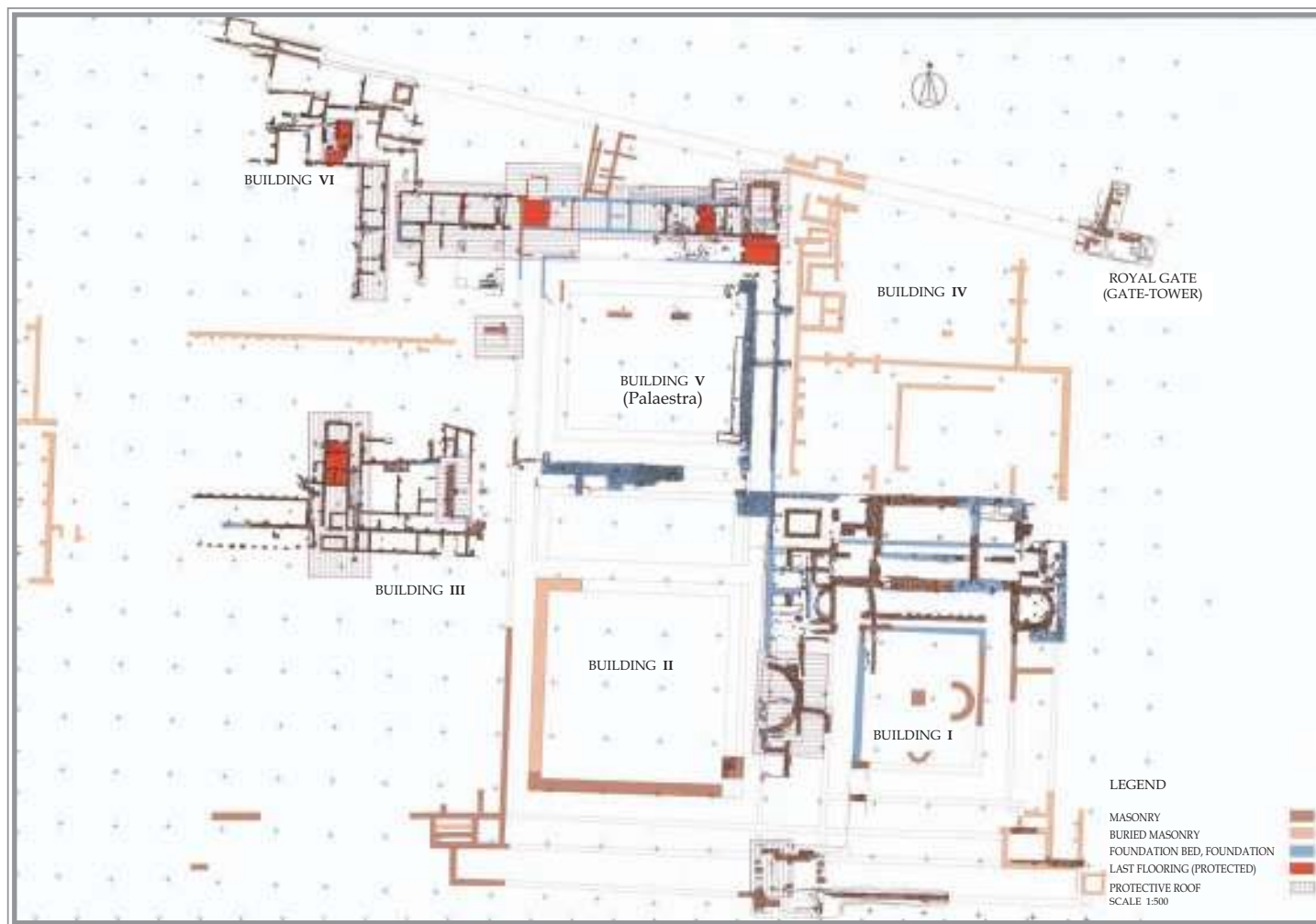
THE PALACE OF PELLA



THE PALACE OF PELLA was built on the middle hill between two others that overlooked the city from the north, on an excellent site with an ideal southern exposure and a splendid view of the Macedonian plain, Lake Loudias and the surrounding mountains. It stood in solitude at a distance of some 1,250 metres from the north wall of Classical Pella, and when the city was extended northward in the reign of Cassander, its last blocks of houses were still about 370 m. from the Palace, with woods and gardens in between. On the north, the Palace was protected by a moat 500 m. long and a strong defensive wall (3.30 m. thick) punctuated by towers 33 m. apart. The foundations of the wall and its towers were faced outside with limestone blocks and the inside was filled with soil and rubble, while the superstructure was of mud brick. So far, three towers have been unearthed, the strongest of which is on the northwest section of the hill. Seventy metres east of the central N-S axis of the Palace, a monumental gate-tower (Royal Gate) 17.5 m. long and 14 m. wide has been brought to light with three successive entrances; in the middle one there was a large two-panel wooden gate. The appearance of the gate would have been similar to that of the Gate of Zeus on Thasos. Inside, to the right and left of the gate, there were stairways leading up to the ramparts.

This enormous palace complex, with an area of 7 hectares, i.e. five times larger than that of the old capital at Aegae, was built on the most eminent site of the new Macedonian capital, as the seat of royal authority and of its political, diplomatic, military, administrative and financial machinery. It is structured on the east and west around a central N-S axis (which is the western wall of the *propylon* or entrance gateway) into five groups of structures, each of which comprised two or more buildings erected on the hill from north to south and from the centre eastward and westward on stepped terraces, owing to differences in elevation. These complexes shared common axis walls E-W and N-S; they communicate and are joined together by gates, corridors, porticos and stairs. The organisation of the different areas into units testifies to the specialised functions required for the life of the royal household. Its initial core consisted of four large buildings (I, II, IV and V), inside each of which was one large courtyard (and/or smaller ones) with peristyles in the Doric or Ionic order; on building V (Palaestra) the peristyle was wooden.

Clay roof tile of the Laconian type bearing the stamp ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ (ROYAL). Found in the north part of Palace Building V (Palaestra). First third of the 2nd cent. BC.



Ground plan of the Palace showing the sections that had been excavated up to 2002.

Buildings I and II, the focal point of political and social life in the Macedonian kingdom, have a common façade (length 160 m.) and a common entranceway, flanked on the right and left by two structures of similar size. The architect used a grid consisting of vertical and horizontal strips 100 feet long (the ancient *pous* being about half an inch longer than the modern measurement of a foot, i.e. about 32.8 cm) in a N-S direction and alternating strips of 50 and 200 feet in an E-W direction. The common N-S axis wall divides the total area into two equal parts 65 m. wide: building I on the east and building II on the west. The length of both buildings is 97.5 m. and together they cover a total area of 13,000 m². The façade of the Palace is punctuated asymmetrically on the east by a two-storey propylon that is impressive in terms of both size (width 16 m., depth 2.5 m.) and design, having four Doric columns with pilasters *in antis* at the ends on the ground floor, and windows flanked by Ionic double-sided pillar-colonettes on the upper storey. The propylon was crowned with a pediment, like those on the Macedonian tomb of Judgement at Lefkadia, the Gate of Zeus on Thasos and the propylon of the Vergina Palace, which had a similar but more compact design. To the right and left of the propylon there were Doric porticos (internal width 7.5 m.; the east one was 66 m. long and had 17 columns; the west one was 78 m. long with 21 columns), the colonnades of which stood on a high podium. Access to the interior of buildings I and II was through the step-like sequence of three levels (width 15 m.) of the common porch with entrances leading to the



Marble lion's head rainwater spouts from the sima on building roofs. The one above was found buried in the north gate of the Palace; the one below was found in a depository in the north stoa of the peristyle of Palace Building II. Circa mid-4th cent. BC.



porticos and the enormous courtyards. Building I has a large rectangular courtyard (28x32 m. = 900 m²) surrounded by a Doric peristyle with 11x13 columns. The foundation of an altar was discovered in the centre of the courtyard. In front of the stylobate of the porticos (apart from the northern one) *exedrae* were also unearthed, the easternmost of which is the most monumental. The peristyle functioned as a traffic corridor serving all areas, since there was one row of rooms on the north, east and west, and three rows on the south. In a reconstruction of the building before the mid-3rd cent. BC, the north portico was widened by 3 m. and inscribed apses were created at each end to serve the religious-cult needs of the royal authority. The western apse is smaller, while the horseshoe-shaped eastern one is monumental with two embedded Ionic columns *in antis* and two smaller pilasters with couch-like capitals on the interior. The eastern one imitates the apse of the "Sanctuary" (c. 325 BC) of the Great Gods of Samothrace, which was intended for the highest mysteries. Also, along the northern portico, a monumental podium was built (30.5 x 1.30 m.), on which rested grey Kyrros limestone (*titanolithos*) bases that supported the bronze tripods and statues of the Antigonid forebears, their ancestral gods and heroes, as well as the statues of previous kings who had been proclaimed heroes. The purpose of the monument was to underscore the legitimacy of the royal power handed down from the Temenids to the Antigonids.

On the northwest corner of building I there is a small courtyard with a Doric peristyle that facilitated communication and provided lighting for the four buildings at the core of the Palace. At the back of the north colonnade of the peristyle around the main courtyard was an open vestibule (4.5x22m.) with eight Ionic double-sided pillar columns that led to the official apartments (12x22 m = 264m²), the large men's quarters (*andron*) that housed the banqueting hall, containing 26 symposium couches. Its very strong back wall has been preserved, made of enormous

Marble Corinthian palmette antefix with eight flame-shaped leaves flanking a vertical lance-shaped leaf in the centre. Found in a depository in the north stoa of the courtyard of Palace Building II. Circa mid-4th cent. BC.

blocks placed over a wider foundation (*toixobates*). To the right and left of the main banqueting hall were smaller ones with 15 couches, and an open antechamber supported by four Ionic double-sided pillar columns.

Building II is demarcated on the west by a long retaining wall and on the north by a thick wall. The enormous square courtyard (50x50 m) was surrounded by porticos with 16 Doric columns on each side. Behind three of the porticos, except for the west one, there were rooms and other functional areas. Behind the east portico in particular, a monumental *exedra* (dais) was discovered, built at a later stage in the life of the building, with re-used architectural material. In the foundation of the north portico wall a depository was discovered with stone and clay Corinthian palmette antefixae, as well as a marble lion's head rainwater spout from a gutter. Stout foundations were found in the north part of the building supporting the walls demarcating spacious halls.

Buildings I and II, with their enormous peristyles and large halls on the north side, were intended for symposia, assemblies and audiences, in which the king would receive diplomats and official visitors, convene council meetings and hold court.

Building IV was discovered north of Building I and on a higher level, with a large courtyard with an Ionic peristyle on its south section and rooms off every side but the south. Various rooms, corridors etc. have been found in the west section of the building.

Northwest of the building, in the space between the defensive wall and Building IV, a hypostyle bath chamber has come to light, north of which is the tank that supplied water to the pool in the Palaestra. Building IV was designed as the apartments of the king and his family, and is reminiscent of the "the innermost kingdom with the varied accommodation" of the Ptolemies in Alexandria (Polybius, 15, 31, 1). The mint of the Macedonian kingdom was accommodated in this building, as attested by pieces of bronze rods and unstruck bronze coin blanks that were found there as well as in adjacent buildings. It is likely that the accounts office, archives and library were also housed in this building.

Building V was the Palace's monumental Palaestra (70 x 63.5 m., i.e. about 4,500 m²) dimensions similar to those of the Palaestra in Olympia. Two bases of honorary or votive monuments were found in the north part of its courtyard (50x38 m. = 2,200 m²). Areas suitable for the exercise, recreation, training and bodily treatment of the king, his officials and guests, as well as "the royal children and the young squires around the court" – the king's promising young lodgers, scions of the Macedonian aristocracy – were located behind the courtyard's west and north porticos.

A second interior portico (6.10 m. wide) was revealed behind the north one, the purpose of which was to provide shelter for those engaged in athletic activities under inclement weather conditions. At the back of this portico was a row of eight rooms which, with the assistance of the excavation data and of information provided by the Roman architect Vitruvius (V, 11), were identified as follows: In the middle was the *ephebeion* (52 m²., with the dimensions defined by Vitruvius, i.e. the length should be about 1/3 larger than the width), for young men who had reached puberty, in which there would have been a wooden platform on three sides on which the



Head of a terracotta figurine of a youth, found in the north section of Palace Building V (Palaestra). 350-300 BC.

theoretical education of the “*royal children and the young squires around the court*” would take place; it was open on the south side supported by columns and pilasters with Corinthian capitals at the corners. To its right, in this order, were: areas for removing dust and sweat from the body (*konistirion*), for training with punching bags (*ko-rykeion*) and a swimming-bath (*piscine*). To the left of the ephebeion was the supervisor’s area (*epistasion*) with a mosaic floor, which in the building’s final phase was divided in two by a wall, the gymnastics teacher’s room (*aleiptirion*); the place where athletes oiled their bodies (*elaiiothesion*), the dressing rooms (*apodytirion*) and in the northwest corner of the building the baths, with inlaid marble floors, and another auxiliary area north of it.

West of buildings V and II, and about two metres lower, a long covered corridor 115 x 5.5 m. (*xystos*) was discovered in which athletes exercised in winter, with a stone stairway at the north end that communicated with buildings V (Palaestra) and VIa.

In the early Hellenistic period, construction began on a huge Π-shaped building with a Doric colonnade west of building II and the Palaestra. The *stylobate* (85.5 m. long) of its east portico, which is best preserved on the north section, has a three-stepped base (*crepidoma*) on which can be seen the marks from the final stages of its construction. Also, test sections confirmed that preliminary work had been done on the foundation of the building’s north and south portico. This building, which was never completed, was buried early in the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, and Building III was erected on top of it, using some material from the half-finished building below. The south section of this building has been unearthed, consisting of separate structures with courtyards, with or without porticos and peristyles, corridors, rooms etc. The complex likewise contained workshops and auxiliary areas for technical and other service staff. In particular, the long narrow building IIIb with its wooden portico on the south side has been interpreted as a stable.

Other composite buildings were found on both the east (Building VIII) and west (Building VII) side of the hill, which, according to their position on the hill and the indicative finds (lead weights, amphoras, pithos jars, etc.) must have been workshops, storerooms, stables etc. Very carefully created in these workshops were the



Limestone anta capital on a pilaster with relief decoration, from the horseshoe-shaped eastern apse of the north portico of Palace Building I. Before the mid-3rd cent. BC.



Limestone Doric capital from the west stoa of the Palace façade. Circa mid-4th cent. BC.

Marble Ionic capital from the peristyle of the Palace Building IV. Early Hellenistic period.



wonderful vessels of gold, silver, bronze and ivory that the triumphant Aemilius Paulus brought to Rome as booty after the Romans defeated the Macedonians at the battle of Pydna (Livy, 45, 33, 5-6).

Building V communicated with building VIa through a monumental entrance with a stone threshold and a two-leaf wooden gate. Building VIa comprised a square courtyard (9x9 m.) with a Doric peristyle and rows of rooms behind three porticos, with the exception of the east one. In particular, four large rooms have been discovered behind the northern portico; they are covered by disaster debris layers consisting of roof tiles of the Laconian type and plaster (white, yellow and red) that has fallen from the walls. Between buildings VIa and VIb was an unroofed corridor with a N-S orientation. Building VIb consisted of three separate units: the east one with a row of rooms, the north one with rooms, corridors and the “Small Baths”, and the south one with a square courtyard surrounded by a wooden peristyle (11x11 m) with rows of rooms behind it. Buildings VIa and VIb, together with



Aerial photograph of the main part of the Palace.

the other neighbouring buildings, have been interpreted as the accommodation of the “*royal children and the young squires around the court*”, as well as the officials responsible for them (dormitories, dining halls, kitchens, etc.).

The Palace (apartments) of Archelaos, which was decorated by the famous painter Zeuxis of Herakleia for a fee of 400 *mnæ* (Aelianus, *Various History*, XIV, 17, 2nd-3rd cent. AD), was initially built at the core of the Palace of Pella, as certified by the pottery, coins and other finds dating to the late 5th cent. BC. Well-known artists and intellectuals of the era were invited to his court. Euripides was among them, who wrote the works *Archelaos* and *Bacchæ* at the court of Archelaos. The main architectural phase of the Palace core has been dated to the reign of Philip II (c. mid-4th cent. BC) on the basis of coins, pottery, the earliest stamps on Laconian tiles, the clay Corinthian palmette antefixæ in the type already known from the Tholos at Epidaurus (after 360 BC), the clay rain gutters, marble lion’s head rainspouts and Doric capitals, on both the common façade of buildings I and II and the peristyle around the latter’s courtyard. The capitals in particular are later than those on the Macedonian portico of the Amphiareion, Sanctuary of Amphiareios at Oropos and on the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (before the mid-4th cent. BC), as indicated by the proportions of their individual sections and especially the echinus which is still curved, in contrast to the echinus of the capitals on the Palace of Pella, which has a slight curvature, with a sharp curve formed between the echinus and abacus. They are however older than the Doric capitals on the columns of the Palace at Vergina, on which the echinus is straight with a rudimentary hollow under the abacus. The complex of Pella was the archetype of palaces in the Hellenistic world; it was likewise the place in which Philip planned and directed the destiny of Greece and in which the invincible Macedonian commander, Alexander the Great, was born.



The pool in the northeast corner of the Palace Building V (Palaestra).

The defensive wall with a tower on the northwest part of the Palace hill.





THE AGORA

IN THE HEART OF THE MACEDONIAN CAPITAL, laid out around an enormous main square, was a complex that is gradually being brought to light, consisting of porticos with rows of rooms behind them. These areas housed the archives, the seat of the city's rulers, other public services, workshops and shops, covering a total area of more than 70,000 m². This building complex, Pella's Agora, was discovered in 1980 during the works to widen the road from the Thessaloniki-Giannitsa national highway to the neighbouring modern settlement. In the same region a large number of graves came to light from the late 5th and 4th century BC, which was the city's early period as capital of the Macedonians. This cemetery ceased being used in the third quarter of the 4th century BC, when the city was extended northward beyond its north wall. In the last quarter of the 4th century BC a large part of the necropolis was taken over by the Agora, the commercial and administrative centre of ancient Pella, occupying an area of 10 blocks in the centre of the city.

Since the first test cuts were taken in the spring of 1980 in the region of this cemetery, parts of workshops that produced ceramic ware and the stores that sold them have been discovered. Further excavation proved that these areas were part of a very large colonnaded structure about 202 m. long from E to W and 182 m. from N to S that surrounded the main square. The entire building complex, together with the rooms behind the porticos, was 260 m. E-W and 238 m. N-S, and was absolutely integrated into the city's building grid.

The rectangular Agora complex is surrounded by the vertical and horizontal roads, 6.50 m. and 9.50 m. respectively, of the city's street plan. The broadest street in the city, an avenue 15 m. wide on the E-W axis, runs through the centre of the complex, dividing it into two parts. People and vehicles entered the Agora from the vertical streets and the broad avenue through gates by means of stairs and ramps.

Behind the 7.25 m. wide porticos surrounding the main square, were four rows of rectangular rooms. Two of these rows opened out through the portico onto the main square; the other two undivided spaces were on a higher level, and accessed from the streets around the complex.

The construction materials used in the Agora were simple and common to all buildings in Pella. Over a rough foundation of stones with dressed faces were walls of plastered square mud bricks 0.50 m. long and from 0.07-0.10 m. thick. The wooden superstructure was supported by Doric columns in the south section and by pillars in the north, the interaxial space between which was 3.64 m. The north portico had two storeys, as can be concluded from the steps leading to the upper floor. The roof tiling of the Laconian type often bore markings, among which the stamps ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ (royal) and ΠΕΛΛΗΣ (of Pella) predominate. Frequently a name is imprinted together with the monogram ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ], as well as abbreviations and other monograms.

Arm of a larger-than-life bronze statue of a male figure, from the north wing of the Agora. See also p. 100.

In the south, east and west wings of the complex, but also in the surrounding area, much evidence has been found of commercial and craft activities. The north wing and the southwest section, however, were administrative in nature. Determining the type and allocation of the various activities was one of the main objectives of the archaeological research. From the investigation to date, it is certain that in the south section of the Agora's east wing there were workshops producing pottery and stores selling it. As proven by the waste from these workshops that has been found in wells in the same area, this craft flourished for about two centuries. Coroplastic workshops were discovered to the north, in which terracotta figurines and figurine moulds were made; there were also coroplastic workshops in the south wing and in part of the west one. The south wing must also have housed the city's butchers as proved by deposits of bones, some of which had been sawed, as well as its fish market, together with many shops that sold liquid products. Pointed amphorae from the Brindisi group, from central and southern Italy, from Kos, Knidos and Rhodes, both intact and fragmented, predominate in the destruction debris layer in these areas.

Scent shops were located in the north section of the west portico, as confirmed by the large and small spool-shaped perfume jars; south of these were shops selling mainly imported goods. Large numbers of eastern *sigillata* pots were imported from Asia Minor, as well as similar vases brought in from the west. Included among the imported goods were large numbers of lamps manufactured from moulds and decorated with relief plant and geometric motifs. The roof tiles piled up on the floor in one area certify that these products too were sold through shops. Likewise in the west wing was the buying and selling of grain, great quantities of which were found, after being toasted by a local fire of limited extent, in re-used amphorae. The fact that finely ground matter was found in amphorae and other, perishable, storage vessels suggests that flour was sold in these stores.

In parts of the south section of the west portico, metals were processed. Among the finds in the debris layer from rooms in this wing were large numbers of litharges, the cylinders of lead oxide produced during the cupellation process, in which iron rods were plunged into the molten argentiferous lead in order to separate the lead from the silver. The litharges were often sold commercially to produce lead simply by heating them. The lead objects found in certain areas together with the litharges can also be associated with this practice. The iron slag, lead masses, and copper residues found in other parts of the Agora likewise bear witness to the processing of these metals. The residues of slag found in mineral pots in the northwest and northeast section of the Agora are associated with the production of iron objects. On the opposite side, in its southeast section, many fragmentary moulds for the casting of bronze objects and other related products declare the presence of a bronze statuary workshop.

Special problems of interpretation were presented by the north wing. The test sections have not indicated any form of commercial activity. On the contrary, a row of sub-foundations has been found of plundered monuments located just outside the stylobate that lends a different character to this section. Many of the monuments were bronze and had been erected on bases of grayish rock from the quarry at Arabessos. In other cases, large dowels have been preserved on the bases of marble monuments; there are also quite a few remains of monumental sculpture from the same region, but they are fragmentary.



*Fragmentary inscription (tabula ansata) with the patronymics of six men, probably archons.
From the north wing of the Agora. 2nd cent. BC.*

Analysis of the layout and shape of the rooms behind the north portico has proved that some of its sections were differentiated from the other wings. One structure in the east part of the wing, in which narrow lead piping was found arranged in a semi-circle, indicates that it was of a cult nature. Its identification as a shrine to the nymphs (nymphaeum) was reinforced when the remains of a larger-than-life bronze statue were found. In the centre of the wing, just south of the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, a very large area is being investigated, that was entered through the portico of the complex and had a large Doric colonnade between pilasters (*in antis*). Many fragments of variously-sized marble statues have been found around a pedestal, while in the surrounding area pieces of different inscriptions have likewise come to light, among which is a fragmentary eared tablet (*tabula ansata*) bearing the names of six archons, probably civic magistrates (politarchs). On the same site, clay sealings have been found from papyrus documents, with the inscription Πέλλης / Πολιταρχῶν (of Pella / of Politarchs) and the relief emblems of a club and a star. Other sealings bearing the imprint of a seal belonging to the office of the politarchs of Pella depict the figure of the city, rendered by a female head wearing a turreted crown.

The special nature of the north wing is underscored by the presence of an apsidal structure in its western section, with an interior diameter of about 14.50 m., in front of which was found a large marble wheel-shaped object which was not in its original place, but cannot have been moved there from very far away, as well as a larger-than-life marble eagle. Based on the above evidence, we can hypothesize that this site was used for meetings of a hitherto unknown body of archons.

Likewise of great interest is a building in the southwest section of the Agora that has a number of rooms laid out around a central peristyle. Many drums from the Doric colonnade have been found in their initial position, although the upper sections of the columns have fallen down around the stylobate. Part of the building was destroyed by a limited fire. In the building's destruction debris layer dozens of clay sealings have been found from the papyrus documents that fell onto the peristyle and south portico from the floor above. In the same areas, parts of styluses have been found together with chunks of pure clay that were certainly used for sealing, since some lumps of clay were found in the shape of sealings, with visible traces of fingerprints revealed, together with the imprint of the papyrus sheet. However, they had not been sealed, nor do they bear traces of string that would have tied them to a document. Thus they appear to have been burned before being used. It is obvious that the ancient city's official archives were located on this site. The total of these finds leads us to the conclusion that this was not only where documents were stored, but also where they were written and sealed, a conclusion that has been confirmed by a sealstone depicting the head of a youthful figure. It was used to stamp many documents in the group, as proved by the existence among the sealings of debris several of which bear the head of the youth on the sealstone.

Depicted on the archive sealings are: animals, male and female figures, and the symbols of archons. Often the figure of a grazing cow is repeated from a known type of the autonomous coinage of Pella. It is accompanied on coins by the inscription ΠΕΛ/ΛΗΣ (of PELLA). In a number of sealings found here, the inscription ΠΕΛΛΗΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΥ (of the emporium of Pella) has been placed above the animal, which also proves the state's role in organising the commercial centre of Pella. A small number of finds bears the imprint of the seal of the office of the generals of Macedonia, while other sealings were stamped with symbols of the market controllers of Pella, officials of other cities, as well as with portraits, deities and animals.

A decisive factor in dating the finds from the find place of the Agora and of pottery in Macedonia in the late Hellenistic period, is the dating of the debris layer.

The position of the finds in many areas of the complex indicates that the population fled hastily, leaving the owners of these shops with no time to save precious and semi-precious products, which in many cases were found piled up on the floor, without a trace of the charred matter that would constitute evidence of destruction by fire. Thus it is argued that the complex was destroyed by a violent natural cause, an earthquake, which could topple monuments, level buildings and seal merchandise under their ruins. With the help of stamped amphora handles, Roman coins, a number of which are silver-plated, and a wealth of Athenian tetradrachms, this disaster has been dated to the end of the first decade of the first century AD.



*Clay moulds for the manufacture of figurines.
Early 1st cent. BC.*



*Clay palette with paints
for decorating figurines.
Early 1st cent. BC.*



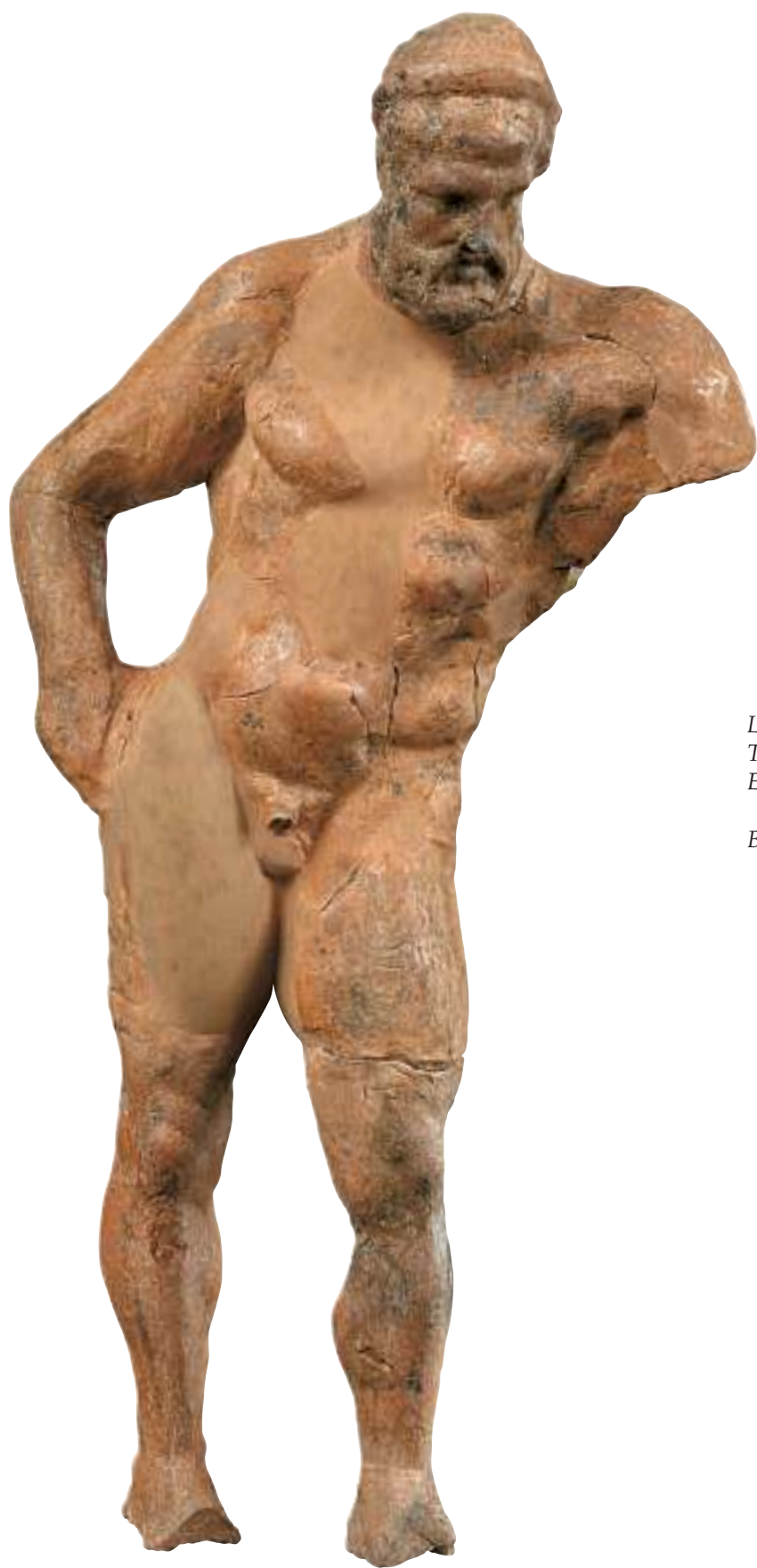


Clay mould for the figure of a satyr from the destruction debris layer of a workshop in the Agora and an incense burner in the form of a satyr (left) from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Early 1st cent. BC.

The Agora of Pella, the largest rectangular forum structure in antiquity, was built near the end of the 4th century BC. This time horizon is confirmed by the finds in the fill used in the construction of the building, as well as by the last burials in the cemetery on top of which the Agora was built. It is, at the same time, the oldest rectangular agora known to this day and must have exerted a decisive influence on the form of comparable buildings in the Hellenistic kingdoms, but also in the Roman world to come. For a long period of time, it was the centre of activities in the specialized production and sale of many products through strict bureaucratic processes. The finds from its final years show that the administrative and religious roles of the Agora were no less significant.

*Large clay figurine of Aphrodite, from the inside of a ruined kiln.
Early 1st cent. BC.*





*Large clay figurine of Herakles in the Farnese type.
The original bronze statue was created by Lysippus.
Early 1st cent. BC.*

Below, figurine of a pet dog.





Head from the figurine of a woman. Early 1st cent. BC.



Clay bust of a divine figure. Early 1st cent. BC.

Figurine of Aphrodite leaning on a pillar and a female figure of the Hellenistic period.



Figurine of a seated female holding a baby. 4th cent. BC.





Heads from figurines of children (left) and women from the Hellenistic period.





*Head from the figurine of a woman
wearing ivy and floral wreaths.
Early 1st cent. BC.*





Heads of Hellenistic figurines of women.



A terracotta group of Eros and Psyche from the early 1st cent. BC.





Clay vases richly decorated with plant motifs. They had been thrown into the well of a shop-workshop in the Agora. 3rd cent. BC.



*Clay drinking cups mostly embellished with plant decoration.
The skyphos, below right, has a phallus-shaped spout. 3rd cent. BC.*



ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES: Part of a mould with a scene from the slaying of the suitors and moulds for manufacturing relief vases with scenes from the Trojan war (above) and love scenes. From the destruction debris layer of the Agora. Early 1st cent. BC.







Details from the decoration of a mould for manufacturing relief vases with scenes from the myth of Autolycus and Sisyphus. Sisyphus is taken by Hermes and Herakles (above right) to the Underworld, where he is received by Autolycus in front of an enormous boulder, the object of his eternal punishment for the sin of forming an untimely relationship with Anticleia, resulting in the birth of Odysseus. In the scene below, inside the palace, a distressed female figure (mother or nurse) addresses the motherly Anticleia. Early 1st cent. BC.





Details from the decoration of the mould on p. 88. The personified figure of Allotment is depicted between the heroes Teucer and Diomedes (above), while the ghost of Achilles points out the figure of Polyxena to the cunning Odysseus (below).





Mould for manufacturing relief vases decorated with scenes from Euripides' tragedy Hecuba. See also p. 87.

ON PAGES 89-91: *Details of the decoration on moulds with scenes from the fall of Troy.*



ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ







*Details of the mould for making relief vases decorated with the scene of a contest between chariots drawn by two horses (synorides).
Early 1st cent. BC.*





Details from the decoration of two moulds for making relief vases with love scenes, together with inscriptions urging such acts.



Mould for making relief vases with love scenes, together with inscriptions urging such acts.





Fragmentary statue of a female figure seated on a rock, probably depicting a Muse. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.



*Fragmentary votive relief
depicting a funerary banquet.
Late 4th cent. BC.*





Stamped handles of amphorae from Rhodes, Thasos, Knidos and the Parmeniskos group. Hellenistic period.





Fragmentary inscribed vase with part of the alphabet (left) and an inkwell, from the public archives, inscribed with the name of its owner, ΦΙΛΑΠΠΟΥ.



Official weights with symbols, from a building in the Agora complex.



Inkwell and bronze quills from the public archives.





Right arm of a larger-than-life male statue (p. 100) and left arm of a life-size youthful figure (p. 101). Brilliant examples of monumental bronze statuary, from the north wing of the Agora. Hellenistic period.





Raised horse foreleg from a bronze equestrian monument. Northern wing of the Agora. Hellenistic period.



*Clay sealings with inscriptions
from documents: above left
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ (or -ΩΝ) ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ;
in the second row to the right:
ΕΔΕΣΣΗΣ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤ(-ΟΥ or -ΩΝ),
with portraits and the figure of Eros
(below). From the public archives.*



Gem engraved with the head of a young satyr and a clay sealing of it from a papyrus document. From the public archives.



Clay sealings on documents from the public archives, in the form of a grazing cow and the inscription ΠΕΛΛΗΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΥ.

A bronze coin ΠΕΛΛΗΣ bearing the same symbol.





Three clay sealings from documents depicting a female head wearing a turreted crown and the inscription ΠΕΛΛΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧΩΝ, from the public archives.



Clay sealing from a document with a Dionysian figure. From the public archives.

*The obverse of silver tetrobols of: Alexander I (minted 476/5-460 BC);
Perdiccas II (431-413 BC) and Archelaos (413-399 BC).*





Obverse of silver tetradrachms of Alexander III with the head of Herakles (left), 334-323 BC, and the reverse of a silver tetradrachm of Alexander III with the figure of Zeus enthroned. Posthumously minted (280-275 BC).



ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES: Reverse of gold quarter-staters of Philip II with the symbols of the thunderbolt, club and bow (upper left) and the bow, club and trident (below), 340-328 BC. Gold stater of Philip II with a two-horse chariot (synoris) (below left), 340-320 BC. Reverse of two gold staters of Alexander III. A Nike is holding a wreath, 330-320 BC. The obverse of gold Philip II staters with a laurel-crowned head (Apollo?), 340-328 BC.







Silver Athenian tetradrachms of the old coinage with the head of Athena on the obverse. 4th cent. BC.

Silver Athenian tetradrachms of the new style, with an owl on a Panathenaic prize amphora on the reverse (two below) and the head of Athena on the obverse (centre). 2nd cent. BC.





Reverse of a silver tetradrachm of Lysimachus with the figure of Athena enthroned (297/6-282/1 BC) and the reverse of a tetradrachm of the koinon of the first Macedonian district (First Meris) with a club in an oak wreath and a thunderbolt to the left. 158-150 BC.



Obverse of a silver coin of Dyrrhachium with a cow nursing and the name of the archon Kallicrates above it. 200-30 BC.



Obverse of a silver-plated tetrobol of the Macedonians with a Macedonian shield and club as device and the inscription ΜΑ/ΚΕ[ΔΟΝΩΝ]. Autonomous issue under Philip V and Perseus. 185-168 BC.



Reverse of the silver denarius minted by C. Fonteius with the representation of a ship. 114/113 BC.



EVERYDAY LIFE ■ PRIVATE DWELLINGS

THE RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE OF PELLA is among the best known and best researched of all antiquity. Its houses retained the main features of older housing in the Helladic region, such as the spare architectural exterior with the courtyard as the main core around which the interior was shaped, and constitute representative examples of the architecture of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. As organised architectural groups, they were integrated into the city blocks with the clearly delineated functions of their spaces, as dictated by the multiple needs of the inhabitants' way of life in a city which, for three centuries, was the centre of political power as well as of economic and cultural activity in the land of Greece.

The high standard of living enjoyed by the inhabitants of Pella is confirmed by its private dwellings, with peristyle courtyards in the centre that ensured lighting and ventilation for the interior, by their men's quarters or banquet halls (*andrones*) whose walls were decorated with polychrome stucco and floors laid with remarkably skilled mosaics, by the functionality of the areas for everyday living, by the developed know-how that can be confirmed in the use of both materials and construction methods, and by their lavish furnishings.

Houses were accessed from the streets surrounding the city block through a main entrance with a porch usually on the east side. On every block there were between two and eight houses, on the N-S axis, usually occupying its entire width. The smallest houses known to date have an area of 100-125 m², and the largest between 1000 and 3160 m². The wealthiest dwellings were situated in the centre of the city, south of the Agora. Those to the south and those under the modern settlement that were revealed in the rescue excavations NE of the visitors' area of the archaeological site are smaller. Houses of an average size, probably eight, are accommodated in the city block of the so-called house of plaster, south of the block on which the house of Helen is located.

The southward orientation of the houses and the existence of a second floor, usually on the north side, made the most of the site in terms of taking advantage of the climatic conditions. The main feature of all these houses was the central courtyard surrounded by porticos with stone columns in the Doric or Ionic order, coated with white stucco, as were all stone architectural members, so that the rough stone surfaces were not visible, as well as to protect the fragile limestone. In a few cases, there was only one portico, on the north side of the courtyard (*pastas*). In courtyards with an area of up to 30 m² in the smaller houses and 500 m² in the larger ones, there were wells and fountains to supply water, but also altars where the household religious rituals were conducted. Quite often special areas were set aside in the house for cult ceremonies, in which terracotta figurines and marble or bronze statuettes of gods have been found, as well as vessels of a ritual nature (*oinochoes*, *phiales*, censers,

Restored decoration on an interior wall from the so-called house of plaster. It represents the two-storey façade of a building with all its structural elements distinguished in coloured stucco. Late 4th-3rd cent. BC.



Aerial photograph of the house of Dionysos with the restored peristyle in the north courtyard.

small altars, etc.). In one such area in a house, a luxurious ritual stone table was found with carved and inlaid plant and geometric decoration, as well as a bronze statuette of Poseidon, in the type of the known Lateran copy of a statue attributed to Lysippos. Terracotta female figurines (busts or full-body figures) found in excavations of houses are associated with household worship and have been identified as Aphrodite, protector of the city, together with the Mother of the Gods. Also related to household cult ceremonies were the figurines of Dionysos, whose presence as a major deity of the city, in which he protected the flourishing viniculture, but also owing to his chthonic nature, was a necessary accompaniment to all human activities. Likewise associated with household worship are the figurines of Athena with horns on her helmet, who was worshipped as the protector of livestock farming, and those of Herakles, the mythical ancestor of the Macedonians. Various objects of a symbolic nature, such as terracotta figurines of snakes, grapes and eggs, suggest the existence of an Orphic-Dionysian cult that was intended to secure good luck and prosperity in life, as well as happiness after death.

Houses were supplied with water by means of terracotta pipes that channelled it from the main pipeline that ran under the city streets, but also from fountains and wells in courtyards. In the porticos surrounding court-

yards, there were also underground tanks with steps leading down that were connected to the tunnels of the city's water supply system. Sanitation facilities usually abutted on the road, so that the sewage pipes were directly connected to the corresponding city network. The floor and lower part of the walls in such facilities were plastered with special plumbing mortar, and the bathtubs were built of clay or marble and likewise plastered with this special mortar. Household wastes were piped through large sewage conduits, usually built, that ran under streets with a N-S orientation and eventually emptied into the sea.

Pieces of architectural members, roof tiles, stone, clay and metal objects all provide data about the construction of buildings, their decoration and outfitting. The walls of the houses, which were stone on the bottom part (up to a height of 0.60-0.70 metres) and brick on the rest, were plastered outside and inside usually with off-white mortar, but not infrequently with coloured plaster on the interior (usually red, yellow or deep blue) in panels or with more complex decoration in imitation of architectural features. The decoration on the north wall of the large hall in the so-called house of plaster, which has been restored to the wall's full height of 5 m., attests to the achievements made in painting building interiors. All the formal structural elements of the two-storey façade of a house are rendered with multi-coloured stucco. On the sections that correspond to the ground floor, the wall foundations are painted to resemble veined marble; walls of regular isodomic ashlar masonry are white; the orthostates are multicoloured slabs imitating veined and conglomerate marble, while the rectangular blocks above are yellow and laid isodomically with a cornice. On the upper floor is depicted a parapet with red panels between white pilasters, crowned with a cornice. Above them windows were painted through which the blue sky was visible. The total, crowned with another cornice, is a unique example in Greece of a complete interior wall decoration preserved over its full height, which confirms that the form of this painting, which first became known in the houses of Pompeii (first Pompeian style), was being used the 3rd century BC in Pella. Nor were the walls the only coloured surfaces in the buildings; there were also stone architectural members (capitals, etc.) on which fillets, mouldings, palmettes and acanthus leaves were frequently painted in red and blue.

The wooden roofs on the houses were covered with terracotta tiles of the Laconian and Corinthian types. Gutters ended in lion's head rainwater spouts, and much of the ceramic work, especially rain gutters, antefixae and ridge-tiles, had relief or painted plant or geometric decoration (palmettes, lotus blossoms, acanthus, rinceaux, guilloches, meanders, astragals, etc.). A large number of tiles bear stamps that indicate the existence of workshops that manufactured terracotta tiles in Pella, control of which was in the hands of the king, but also of private citizens, especially in the late Hellenistic period. Many tiles of the Corinthian type were stamped with representations (e.g. a maenad, Herakles, animals) or monograms, while tiles of the Laconian type are stamped with the name of the city ΠΕΛΛΗΣ or the adjectives ΔΗΜΟ[ΣΙΑ], ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ, or accompanied by monograms (ΠΕΛ, Φ) and symbols (dolphin, sickle). Many seals bear the name of king Philip (Philip V, 221-179 BC) and Antigonos (Antigonos II Dodoson, 229-221 BC), and the names of the private citizens who owned the ceramics workshops (Antigonos, Aristonos, Aristocratos, Euarchos, Lysimachos, Megakles, Sosios, Phanios, etc.), are written on a large number of them.

In wealthier dwellings, the family lived on the upper floor, which usually occupied the northern section of the house, while social obligations were met in the men's quarters (*androne*), occupying the largest rooms on

the ground floor with the best construction and the most luxurious furnishings. These rooms were entered from the portico usually through an antechamber. Joyous family events are known to have been celebrated with banquets (symposia). Symposium scenes on relief stelae, paintings and above all painted on vases, provide us with a clear picture of how these rooms were used. The dining companions would recline on couches placed on low platforms along the walls. The bronze accessories on these couches, customarily decorated with Dionysian motifs, testify to their elaborate form. Low tables and footrests were placed in front of the couches. The *oinochooi*, usually young men, would pour wine from large bowls (*krateres*) into smaller wine-jugs (*oinochoes*) or ladles (*arytaines*) with which they would then fill the guests' cups. Men and women playing flutes, lyres or kithares and female dancers would entertain them with music and dancing. All the above, testified in both the written sources and the iconography, were confirmed in Pella by the interior layout of the houses and the moveable finds.

The floors in the men's quarters of the most luxurious homes were laid with pebble mosaics, decorated with plant and geometric designs as well as narrative scenes that bear witness to the great progress made in the mosaic art in Pella, where there were organised workshops creating these masterpieces. The floors in other parts of the houses were simpler; some were laid with pebbles or pieces of marble or were earthen with an overlaid layer of gravel that was frequently renewed. Courtyards were laid with stone or ceramic pieces placed vertically in a thick bed of plaster.

The houses of Pella also had storerooms and kitchens. A multitude of clay and metal vessels and other utensils found in the excavations of the houses were used to store solid and liquid products, and to prepare and serve food. Grains, wine and oil were usually stored in large jars covered with clay or stone plaques, often standing, pointed end down, in an earthen floor. Vessels such as stone graters and iron trivets were among the equipment found in areas where food was prepared; metal and bone tools were associated with the daily occupations of the inhabitants. That women were generally occupied with weaving can be concluded by the great many finds of loom weights, many of which bear the seals of the workshops in which they were made.

The largest house in Pella, the so-called house of Dionysos, with an area of 3,160 m², is situated south of the Agora. It occupies the entire width of the city block and its entrance is on the east side through an antechamber. It has two peristyle courtyards, with columns in the Ionic order on the north side, which have been restored, and Doric on the south, and banquet halls with large antechambers that prepared the visitors for the magnificence of the place and the prosperity of its owner. On the mosaic floor of one symposium hall in the house of Dionysos, the god Dionysos is depicted mounted on his sacred animal, the panther. In front of its entrance, a pair of Centaurs is represented holding vases. On the floor of another hall, a lion hunt is depicted and in front of the entrance is a griffin attacking a deer.

Another large residence in Pella, the so-called house of Helen to the west, has an area of 2,350 m² and a courtyard with porticos supported on Doric columns. The floors in the symposium halls in the north and east section of the house were decorated with mosaic scenes, also remarkable examples of the output of Pella's mosaic workshops. On the mosaic floor with the deer hunt, which is surrounded by rich plant decoration, the name of the mosaicist, Gnosis, is written for the first time on an ancient mosaic. On the mosaic in the neighbouring chamber, on the theme of the abduction of Helen by Theseus, the figures are identified with inscriptions; it is the

largest mosaic on Hellenic land known to date, the dimensions of which are 8.48x2.84 m. The existence of artisans of varying skills is proved by yet another mosaic floor, of lower quality, in the men's quarters in the eastern section of this house, portraying a scene from the battle between the Amazons and the Greeks (*Amazonomachy*).

The dwellings described above, unique examples in terms of size, monumentality and luxury of how wealthy people lived in the Macedonian capital, provide evidence of the existence in Pella of a particularly prosperous class of people which was created by the revenues that flowed into Pella from Alexander's expedition. The construction of two houses in the period of Cassander's general reorganisation of the city (325-300 BC) has left its imprint today on the majority of architectural remains that have been preserved.

In many houses in Pella, repairs and modifications of the initial plan can be discerned, sometimes due to household usage over time and at others to some change in the use of the buildings, especially after the Roman conquest (168 BC). Then, large sections of buildings, especially those that abutted on the streets, were converted into workshops and stores, as shown by the installations of kilns and workshop residues in several city blocks.

Stone table top, with incised and inlaid plant and geometric decoration.





Detail of stone table top, with incised and inlaid plant and geometric decoration. From the shrine in the so-called house of Poseidon. Hellenistic period.





The outside of a luxury marble bowl (phiale) with relief plant decoration and a running spiral. Hellenistic period.



Red-figure plate (fishplate). Second quarter of the 4th cent. BC.



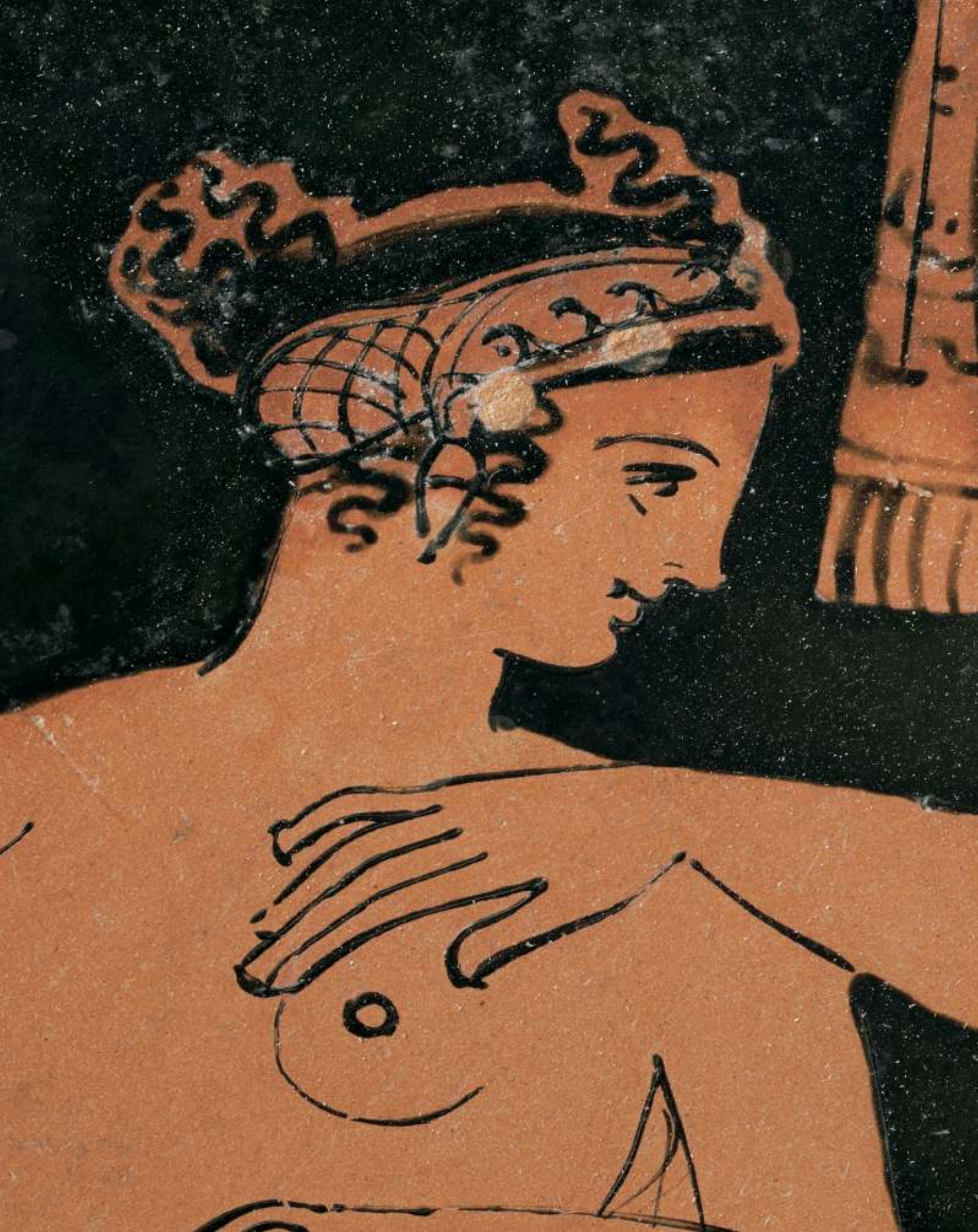
Amphora and phallus-shaped kantharos with decoration of the West Slope type (added clay, incising and white paint). 3rd cent. BC.



*Fragment of a red-figure krater
with a symposium scene. Mid-4th cent. BC.*

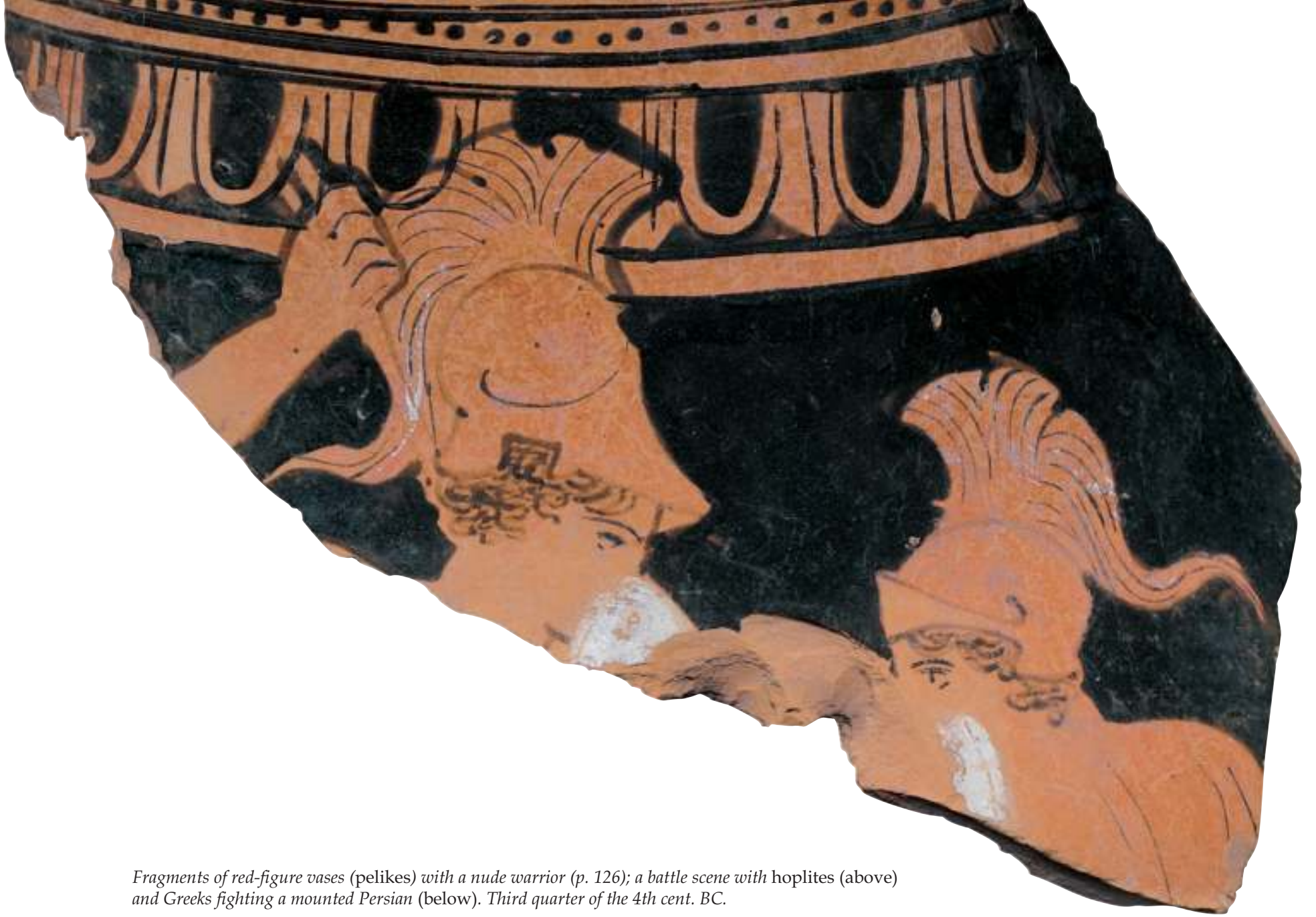
*Fragment of an Attic red-figure plate
depicting a satyr and a maenad.
Early 4th cent. BC. Detail on pp. 124-125.*











Fragments of red-figure vases (pelikes) with a nude warrior (p. 126); a battle scene with hoplites (above) and Greeks fighting a mounted Persian (below). Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC.





Part of the lid on an Attic red-figure lekanis with scenes from women's daily life. Second quarter of the 4th cent. BC.

Terracotta bust of a female deity. Hellenistic period.







Heads of figurines of women with hair dressed in different ways, different head coverings and decorative accessories.





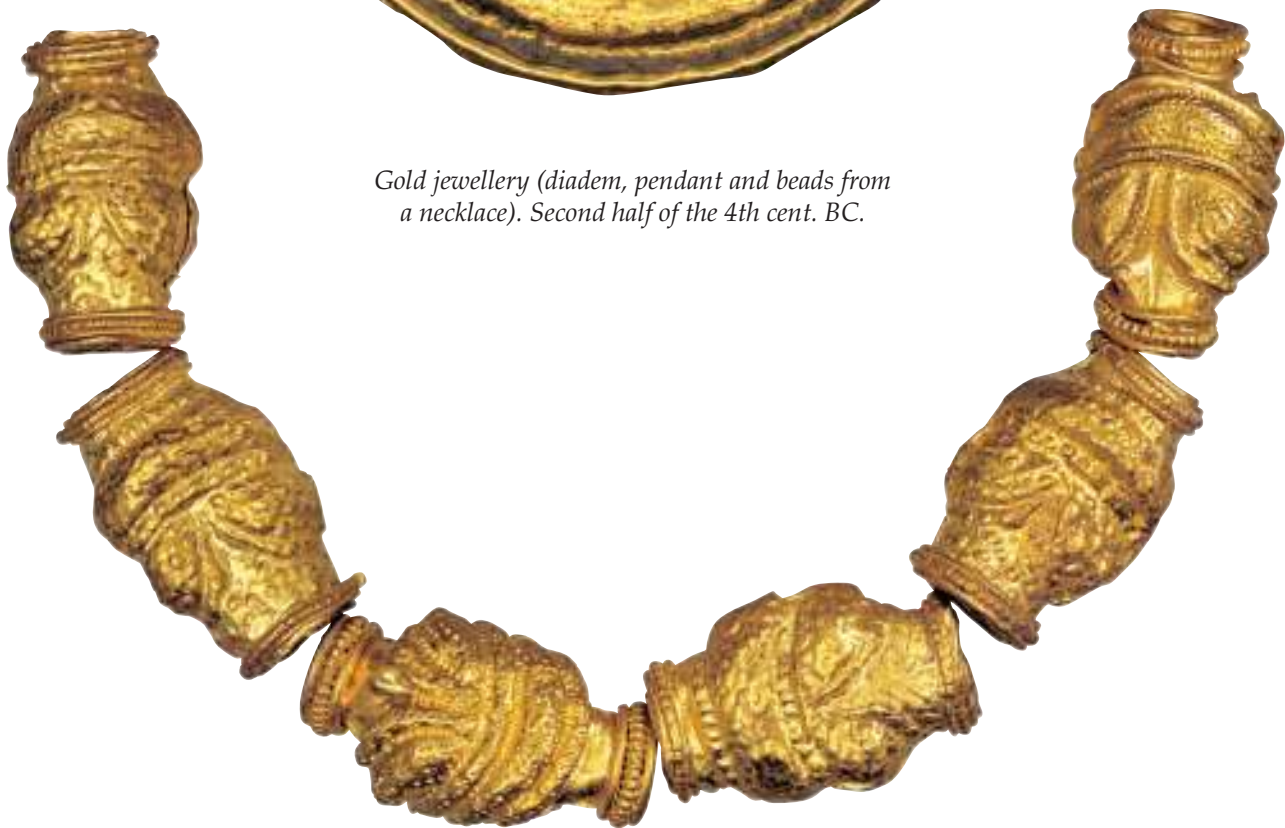
Terracotta herm. Hellenistic period.



Heads of terracotta figurines of male deities (Zeus or Pluto).



*Head of a terracotta figurine of Herakles.
Hellenistic period.*



Gold jewellery (diadem, pendant and beads from a necklace). Second half of the 4th cent. BC.



*Ring with gold band and cornelian bezel bearing the representation of a hare (above), a bronze ring depicting a youth with an aquatic bird on the bezel (left), and gold earrings with doves (below).
Late 4th-3rd cent. BC.*





Bronze furnishings for symposium couches (fulcra). They are decorated with mules' heads, grapevines and bunches of grapes on the upper edge and with busts of Dionysos holding a kantharos below. 2nd cent. BC.







Bronze statuette of an eagle, probably a decorative furniture accessory.



Bronze statuette of the god Poseidon holding a trident. Copy of a known statue of the god created by Lysippus, which was made famous by a copy in the Lateran Museum. From the shrine of the so-called house of Poseidon. Hellenistic period.



THE MOSAIC FLOORS

THE GREAT VARIETY OF DECORATIVE MOTIFS and the technical perfection of the mosaics prove the existence of organised mosaic workshops in the Macedonian capital. The pebbles that were used had limited, soft chromatic gradations. They are mainly white, gray, black and brown, with a few red and yellow ones. They were placed in mortar made of sand, lime and ceramic dust, usually laid on a bed of river pebbles. For the first and only time, the name of a mosaicist (Gnosis) was written on the mosaic of the deer hunt in the house of Helen.

The floors of the large antechambers were usually decorated with geometric motifs created with white, gray and black pebbles larger in size than those used in banquet halls. In the *andrones*, the main scenes either occupied the entire floor or were limited to the central section, surrounded by supplementary geometric or plant features. In front of the entrance to the rooms, according to the tradition of mosaic decorations in classical houses, there was usually a long panel with separate decoration.

The iconographic motifs on Pella's mosaic floors are directly related to the religious views, cultural level, and occupations of the house's inhabitants. The surface on which Dionysos, god of wine, was portrayed, together with the figures from his retinue (e.g. the Centaurs), is absolutely appropriate to the functions of the halls they decorated. Mythological scenes depicting the abduction of Helen by Theseus and the Amazonomachy, as well as mythical beasts mauling their prey, which have their roots in the Archaic period, all fall within the broad cycle of similar depictions, especially in the vase-painting of the 4th cent. BC, confirming the similarity of iconographic themes in the various branches of art. The abduction of Helen by Theseus, despite its typological similarity with other scenes in which women are seized, is a monumental representation that is regarded as the free rendering of a composition painted in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. On the other hand, the presence of hunting scenes is undoubtedly related to the pastime favoured by kings and officials in the Hellenistic period, although some scholars in the past had argued that the theme of the lion hunt mosaic was inspired by the votive offering of Krateros at Delphi, and proposed that the figures in the mosaic be identified as Alexander and Krateros, who is said to have saved the king from being attacked by a lion while hunting (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 40).

The bodies of the figures on the mosaic floors at Pella are highlighted against the dark background by white pebbles, and the sculpted volumes are accentuated by the chiaroscuro created by gray pebbles in various tonic gradations. Red pebbles and artificial tesserae were used in a limited way (e.g. on the thyrsus held by Dionysos and on his wreath). The ground in the mosaic of the lion hunt is characterised by its many colours, while the outline and details of the figures' body parts are rendered by thin strips of lead or terracotta. The main features of the compositions on the mosaic of Dionysos are their harmony, fine rendering of details and chromatic delicacy. The lion hunt mosaic is characterised by the intensity of the figures' movements and the subtle chromatic gradations. On the deer hunt, it is the dynamic involvement of the figures and the creation of depths which, together with the intense chiaroscuro, lend it a three-dimensional feeling; it is likewise the realism

Lion's head, detail of the mosaic decoration in the symposium hall of the house of Dionysos. The entire composition of the lion hunt is on pages 142-143.





of the rendering and the rich chromatic differentiations. And finally, on the mosaic of the abduction of Helen, the tension created by the vigorous movements of both the human figures and the horses drawing the chariot is characteristic, as is the depiction of feelings on the faces. Notwithstanding the emphasised outlines, the chiaroscuro is subtle and the tonic gradations of the colours limited.

Mosaic floors did not exist solely in the wealthy houses of Pella, but in public buildings as well, such as those revealed in the buildings around the sanctuary of the healing god Darron. The floor in part of the tholos (a circular building), which has been related to the worship of the god as hero, is decorated with lavish plant motifs and, in front of the entrance, the scene of a griffin and panther attacking a deer. Comparable plant decoration and a scene in which a female Centaur pours a libation in front of a cave, adorn the floor of a hall in which meals were served in a neighbouring building that has been identified as a dining hall.

PAGE. 145: *Detail of the mosaic decoration on the floor of the symposium hall in the house of Dionysos depicting a lion hunt. 325-300 BC.*

ON PAGES 146-147: *Section of the mosaic floor decoration in front of the entrance to the symposium chamber with the Dionysos mosaic. A griffin is represented attacking a deer. 325-300 BC.*

ON PAGES 148-149: *Mosaic floor decoration in the symposium hall of the house of Dionysos. The god Dionysos is riding a panther. 325-300 BC.*













The god Dionysos riding a panther. Details from the mosaic floor decoration in the symposium hall of the house of Dionysos.



*Mosaic floor decoration of a symposium hall in the house of Helen (325-300 BC).
In the centre is a deer hunt flanked by rich plant decoration and a running spiral.
Above the figures is an inscription: ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΠΟΗΣΕΝ with the name of the mosaicist, Gnosis.
It is the oldest example known today of an artisan inscribing his name on a mosaic floor.
One is impressed by the dynamic involvement of the figures,
with the marked stride and plastic rendering of the body volumes,
as well as the vehemence of the movement, with clothes fluttering and the cap blown
off the head of the hunter on the right. The creation of syntheses,
together with the rendering of irregularities in the terrain,
the strong chiaroscuro and rich chromatic gradations all create a three-dimensional feeling.
On the other hand, the realism of the scene – with the hunter on the right grabbing
the stag's horn, ready to administer the blow and the animal's body
bleeding from the bite of the dog – testifies to the fact that, from the end of the Classical period,
features of daily life were adopted in art that would become more intense in the Hellenistic period.
The naturalism of the plant decoration is likewise in harmony with the realism
of the main section of the mosaic. The wavy movement of the branches with their multiple spiral finials,
the multicoloured open and half-closed blossoms, the palmettes and the acanthus leaves
create a superb floral composition, elements of which can also be found in decoration
on the monumental painting, pottery and miniature art of the late Classical and Hellenistic period.*







Σ Ε Ρ Ο Η Σ Ε Ν



Mosaic floor decoration in the symposium hall of the house of Helen depicting the myth of the abduction of Helen by Theseus. The scene is flanked by a meander and scaly decoration. The figures are identified by inscriptions: ΦΟΡΒΑΣ, ΘΗΣΕΥΣ, ΕΛΕΝΗ, ΔΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ (Phorbas, Theseus, Helen, Deianeira), 325-300 BC. Details on pages 158-161.



Ο Η Σ Ε Υ Σ Ε Λ Ε Ν



Η Δ Η Α Ν Ε Ι Ρ







Φ Ο Ρ Β Α Σ



WORSHIP

THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS OF THE HELLENIC PANTHEON has been confirmed in Pella by a multitude of excavation finds from household shrines and public sanctuaries, but also from the city's cemeteries. Written sources report the worship of Athena Alkidemos (Livy XLII 51, 1-2) and Zeus (Pausanias I, 16, 1; Justinus XXIV 2, 7; Livianus, *Antioch* 297). Athena is depicted as a warrior goddess on the obverse of Pella coins and her head adorns the coins of Alexander III. However, the goddess was also worshipped in Pella as protectress of livestock farming, which is why on many figurines she is portrayed with ox horns on her helmet. The oldest name of the city, Bounomos or Bounomeia, as Stephanos Byzantios reports, is related to the breeding of cattle. Zeus was worshipped in Pella under the epithet of *Meilichios*, whereas Herakles, the mythical father of the Macedonians –whose head or his symbol the club are depicted on the coins of many Macedonian kings, as well as on clay sealings on public documents– has the epithets of *Phylax* (guardian) and *Kynagidas* (leader of the hunt), as confirmed by votive inscriptions. Poseidon, who obviously had a central place in the cults of seaside Pella, was depicted on coins minted by Demetrios Poliorketes and on a bronze statuette found in a household shrine. Also worshipped in Pella were Asklepios, Artemis, Ennodia, Hermes Agoraios and the Great Gods, as proven by the fact that their names are written in inscriptions and that they are portrayed in terracotta figurines and marble statuettes.

A special place in the religion of Pella was held by Dionysos, as protector of viticulture. The city's wine was famed in antiquity, as reported by Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* VI, 16,82). But the god was likewise worshipped in his chthonic nature, owing to which he could ensure happiness after death. For this reason, Dionysian themes are often portrayed on tomb paintings, on the decoration of their furnishings and on grave goods. The Pellaians honoured Pan in particular as god of the forests, as shown by his depiction on the coins of Antigonos Gonatas, on terracotta figurines and by the presence of the small horns characteristic of Pan on the head of a marble statuette that has been identified as Alexander III. A large number of grave goods in Pella's cemeteries have been related to a female chthonic deity, protectress of the dead, who combines the natures of Persephone and Aphrodite. The goddess is depicted on a large number of clay busts that were attached by studs to the walls of tombs. The relationship of Persephone with the mystic rituals of the city's Dionysian and Orphic cycle is confirmed epigraphically on an inscribed gold sheet found in the tomb of the initiate Poseidippos. In the Hellenistic period, the many figurines of Aphrodite and Eros found in graves suggest the indisputable predominance of the goddess's chthonic nature, confirming the epithets (*epitymbidia, melainis*) that are cited in the written sources (Pausanias, *Ethics* IV, 269. 23, II 2.4, VIII, 6.5, IX, 27.5).

Detail of the marble statuette of a nude youth believed to be Alexander III as Pan. On his head can be discerned the horns of the god of forests, who was worshipped in Pella. Hellenistic period. Entire statuette on p. 165.

Excavation research in public building groups of a religious nature has produced a great deal of data on the worship of gods in Pella, but also regarding the organisation of their urban and rural sanctuaries and their rituals.

The buildings on four city blocks in the southwest district of the city have been related to the sanctuary of Darron, the healing god of Macedonia, and are flanked on the N-S and E-W axes by broad (9 m.), colonnaded streets. The main worship of the god appears to have been conducted in the northwest block, where there was a small two-chamber religious shrine. On this site was found a votive inscription from the first half of the 2nd cent. BC, which confirms the god's cult, the existence of which was known earlier only through the writing of Hesychios ("*Darron, deity of the Macedonians, to whom they pray for the sick*"). In the adjacent southwest block was a large circular colonnaded building (tholos) that has three smaller circular buildings around it with mosaic floors, and has been related to the heroic cult of the god, as in the case of the tholos in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus. The large group of buildings in the southeast block – with halls with mosaic floors in which meals were served, large outdoor colonnaded areas, water tanks, etc. – has been identified as a dining hall that served the faithful on festival days. It should be noted that older (late 5th, third quarter of the 4th cent. BC) residential remains of the city have been found in test sections from this region.

The Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, as protecting goddesses of the city and of public life, were worshipped in the building complex that occupied the entire width of the block north of the Agora, from the last quarter of the 4th to the early 1st century BC. A small two-chamber religious temple similar to the sanctuary of Darron was located on the south side of the complex in a large outdoor area flanked by porticos, in which worshippers would gather. In the north section of the complex, from an earlier construction stage, there was another cult area with an altar. Here the operating needs of the sanctuary were served in outdoor areas with wells and tanks, under porticos, in a hall in which meals were served, in workshops and storerooms. The identification of the cult was suggested by the miscellaneous votive offerings, clay, marble and stone, bearing the figures of the two goddesses and their entourage, as well as votive inscriptions related to them. The cult of the Mother of the Gods together with other deities (Pan, Demeter, Dionysos, Hermes, Artemis, Ares, Agathe Tyche, etc.) is testified by written sources and excavation finds in many places (Pausanias II, 19,6). Her close relationship with Aphrodite is likewise confirmed by the written sources), but also by excavation finds, common cult areas, votive inscriptions, relief scenes, etc. The gold ring depicting the Mother of the Gods on the bezel, which was found in a small hoard in the northeastern building in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Darron that is associated with meeting the operating needs of the cult in this region, constitutes significant evidence of the organised worship of the Mother of the Gods in Pella, since the jewel very probably belonged to a priest or priestess who served the goddess.

The two building complexes described above are not monumental in nature. They are urban sanctuaries, integrated into city blocks and part of the inhabitants' daily lives. They are however situated on selected sites. The sanctuary of Darron abuts directly on a wide, monumental stone-paved road, on the west side of the N-S axis, one of the main thoroughfares leading from the harbour to the city. The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite abuts directly on the Agora, the commercial and administrative centre of the city, as do Metroa in all Hellenic lands. The common features of these two religious sites were: their small cult buildings, with an oblong

entrance hall (*pronaos*) and a narrow cella in which there was a table for offerings and an image of the deity worshipped; the spacious outdoor areas flanked by porticos that served gatherings of worshippers; and a plentiful water supply (wells, fountains, tanks) that were essential for purification in all religious rituals, as well as for meeting operating needs, and storerooms and workshops wherever they are confirmed inside the buildings for the production of votive offerings and objects to serve the cults.

The Thesmophorion in the northeast section of the city has been explored, a small agrarian sanctuary in which the goddess Demeter, protectress of agriculture, was worshipped, which was used from the last quarter of the 4th to the early 1st century BC in the month of October to celebrate the festival of the Thesmophoria. It consisted of a circular enclosure in the hewn natural rock, with sloping levels leading downward, a simple earthen altar in the centre and hewn spaces in the floor, known from other sanctuaries of Demeter on Greek territory. In them the bones of sheep, goats and pigs were found which, having been purified on the altar, were scattered over the fields with prayers for a bountiful harvest. In the excavation of the sanctuary, especially around the altar, a multitude of clay votive offerings were found that appear to have been made especially for the festival of the Thesmophoria. Many of them are typical of sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros (piglets, hydria-bearing figures, small hydries) and bear witness, together with the architectural features of the sanctuary (altar, *megaron*) to the uniformity of the cult throughout the land of the Hellenes. Votive offerings were also found that people dedicated to the sanctuary of Pella, telling us that here, together with Demeter, the main deity being honoured, the residents likewise worshipped other deities with a chthonic and agricultural nature (Pluto, Dionysos, Artemis). The figurines of these divinities, as well as those of horses drawing small wooden carts, terracotta plaques bearing female figures in an Archaic style wearing a polos headdress, and smaller ones with ox heads, phiales and gorgon's heads, confirm the enrichment of the religious ceremonies common throughout Greece with specific features that are related to the inhabitants' living conditions, their religious beliefs and the survival of mythological themes in various regions of the land.



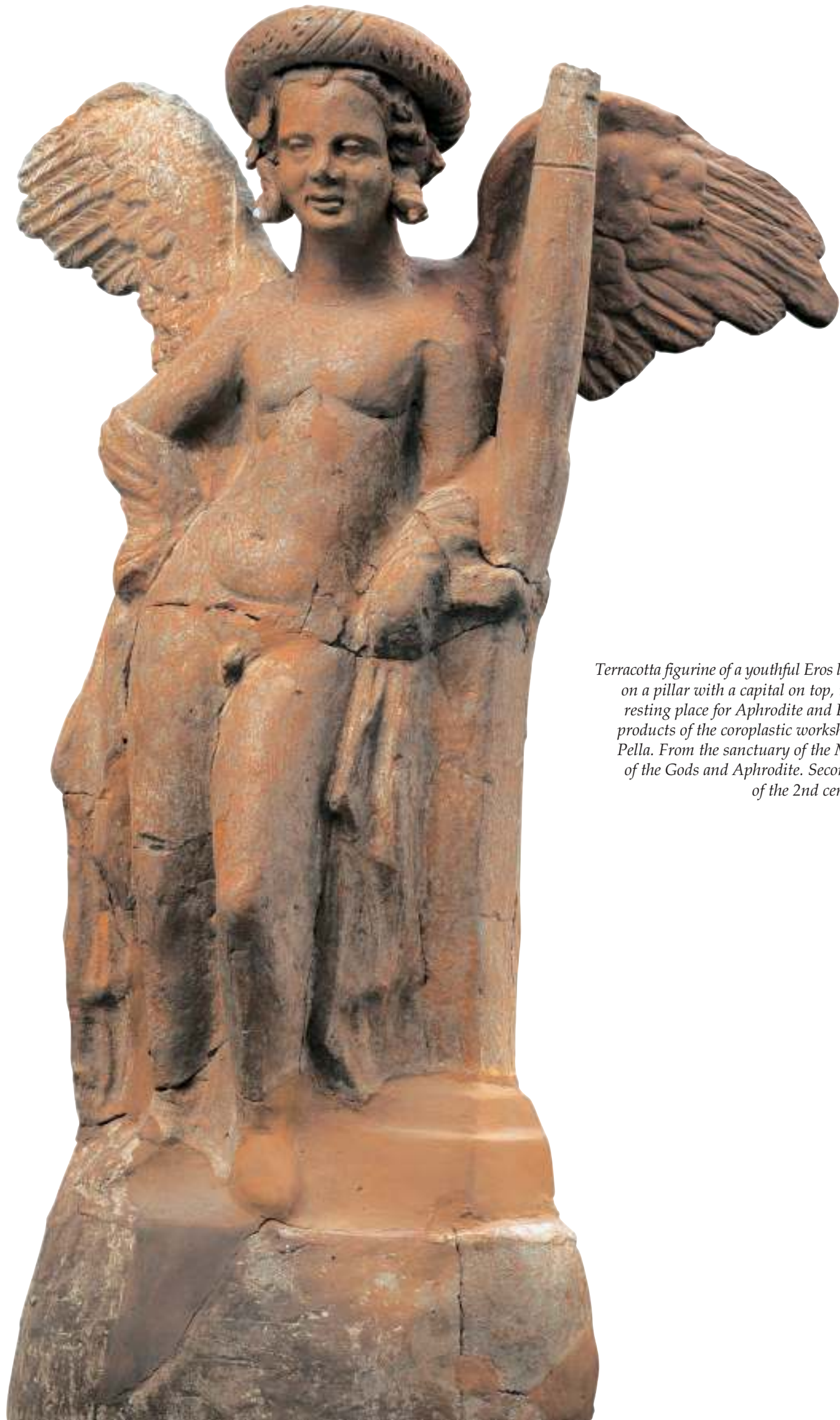
Marble statuette of a nude youth believed to be Alexander III as Pan. Hellenistic period.



*Terracotta bust of the god Dionysos.
From a building in the vicinity of the
sanctuary of Darron. Product of
a coroplastic workshop in Pella.
Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.*



Terracotta figurine of Athena with horns on her helmet, suggesting that the goddess was also worshipped in Pella as protectress of cattle. 2nd cent. BC.



Terracotta figurine of a youthful Eros leaning on a pillar with a capital on top, typical resting place for Aphrodite and Eros in products of the coroplastic workshops in Pella. From the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.



Terracotta figurine of semi-nude Aphrodite, leaning on a pillar topped by a capital. From the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Product of a local coroplastic workshop. Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.

Terracotta figurines of Eros leaning on a herm (left) and a pillar (right). Made in a Pella coroplastic workshop. From the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.





*Terracotta figurine of semi-nude
Aphrodite in the Anadyomene type.
From the sanctuary of the Mother of the
Gods and Aphrodite. Product of a local
coroplastic workshop. Second half of the
2nd cent. BC.*

Terracotta figurine of nude Aphrodite removing her sandals. From the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Output of a coroplastic workshop in Pella. Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.





Above right: Small altar with a votive inscription to the Mother of the Gods (ΑΜΜΑ[Δ]Α ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ). From the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Second half of the 3rd cent. BC.

Lower left: Cylindrical base of a votive offering dedicated by a Roman, Aulus Fictorius, called Alexander, to Hermes Agoraios (ΑΥΛΟΣ ΦΙΚΤΩΡΙΟΣ ΓΑΪΟΥ/Ο ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ/ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΕΙ/ΑΓΟΡΑΙΩΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ). From a shop-workshop building on the islet of Fakos. Early 1st cent. BC.

Lower right: Base of a votive offering from a Pellaian woman named Amphipole to Darron, the local healing god. [Α]ΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΣ/ΔΑΡΡΩΝΙ/ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΗ/ΕΠΗΚΟΩΙ). From the sanctuary of Darron. First half of the 2nd cent. BC.





Inscribed marble plaque with an inscription referring to a votive offering from the king, Philip V to Zeus Milichios (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Φ[ΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ]/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Δ[ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ]/ ΔΙΙ ΜΙΛ[ΙΧΙΩΙ]. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.



Inscribed base of a votive offering dedicated by Kraton son of Krateros from Magnesia, near the river Maeander in Asia, to the Great Gods (ΚΡΑΤΩΝ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥ/ΜΑΓΝΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ/ΘΕΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙΣ ΕΥΧΗΝ). 2nd cent. BC.



Base of a votive offering with an inscription referring to a priest of Herakles (...ΙΟΝΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝΙΚΟΥ/ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΣΑΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ). From the vicinity of the sanctuary of Darron. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.



Bronze furnishing from a symposium couch decorated with the bust of a horse on the top and the portrait of a youth on the bottom. From a symposium hall in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Mid-2nd cent. BC.







Mosaic floor decoration in front of the entrance to the symposium hall in a building that has been identified as a dining hall, in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Darron. A female Centaur is represented pouring a libation with a rhyton and phiale in front of a cave. Early 3rd cent. BC.

Mosaic floor decoration in a circular area attached to a circular stoic building that has been identified as the location of the heroic cult of the local healing god Darron. It is richly decorated with plant motifs. In front of the entrance are a griffin and a feline attacking a deer. 325-300 BC.





THE CEMETERIES

THE EASTERN CEMETERY

(2nd half of the 4th to the early 1st cent. BC)



THE REGION OF THE SO-CALLED EASTERN CEMETERY OF PELLA, outside the city's east walls, was used for burials, albeit to a limited extent, from the end of the 5th to the early 4th cent. BC. Graves from this period, which are associated with the oldest construction phase of the Macedonian capital, have been found north and north-east of its north wall. From the mid-4th cent. BC on – especially after the major reconstruction of the city in the last quarter of that century when it expanded to the north, east and west, and the abolition of the cemetery that had been used from the late 5th to the 3rd quarter of the 4th cent. BC – the district outside the east wall of the city became one of the main locations for burials until the early 1st cent. BC. The area outside the city's west wall was also used for burial purposes during the Roman period as the cemetery of the Roman colony of Pella.

In Pella's eastern cemetery, in which all types of funerary architecture are represented, their wealthy grave goods provide us with significant data about the social structure, the economy, language, private life, artistic output, burial customs and views of death in general.

The graves in the eastern cemetery are arranged in clusters that are quite often surrounded by built enclosures with relief or sculpted monuments placed over them. Most of them are cist graves hewn into the rock, or have built walls covered by wooden planks with stone slabs on top. The walls were usually plastered with white stucco, although colour can also be found in panels or in the depiction of scenes from the *gynaecitis* (women's quarters), with garlands, ribbons, doves, etc.

The painted decoration on one of the largest cist graves on Hellenic land, dating to 300 BC, whose special features are the artist's skilled drawing and subtlety in the use of colours, considerably enriches our knowledge of the lost art of great painting in antiquity. In addition, the iconographic themes selected to decorate this grave confirm the high level of intellectual life enjoyed by the inhabitants of Pella, where philosophy and general knowledge constituted the core of humanistic education. The depiction on the grave walls of figures of philoso-

Eros, detail of decoration on a red-figure pelike found in the east cemetery, which is shown in full on p. 224. Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC.

Above: *Inscription on a grave stele APHTH EYAINETOY (Arete, daughter of Euainetos). 325-300 BC.*

phers – one of whom is believed to be an astronomer, since the vault of heavens is suggested with his staff – is unique on a grave monument and regarded as the oldest known painted portrayal of sages in antiquity. Until this grave was found, figures in similar compositions on works of sculpture, painting, miniature art and mosaics from the Roman period had been correlated with iconographic themes from great painting in the last quarter of the 4th cent. BC. The selection of this subject to decorate a grave proves a high level of knowledge of the iconography of philosophers on the part of either the artist or the person who commissioned the work, an apparently familiar theme in Macedonia and particularly in Pella, whose intellectual life could not fail to have been influenced by the philosophical currents of the 4th cent. BC, especially by Aristotelian thought. The preoccupation of some intellectuals with cosmological matters is absolutely consistent with such an environment. This is confirmed by the fact that Aratus' poem *Phaenomena*, a work with a very broad impact on later generations that was translated into Latin and Arabic, was written in the court of Antigonos Gonatas.

In many tombs, oblong or small square cuts were hewn into the four corners of the floor, on which had rested the legs of wooden burial couches. The more lavish of these couches and the small wooden chests that contained personal objects belonging to the deceased were decorated with gilt clay plaques or bone ones with carved decoration, coloured glass features or attached gold leaf, facings of faience and bronze plates. The existence of wooden couches, biers and small chests in the tombs is revealed by the metal components used in their manufacture such as iron and bronze nails and plates (locks, faced edges, etc.). Poorer tombs were built with roof tiles of the Laconian type. Stone ossuary chests (*larnakes*) and large cinerary urns, many imported from Attica in the 4th cent. BC, confirm that the custom of cremating the dead was in use, although much less than burials.

Certain objects, such as clasps, pins and decorative elements (gold sheets, clay buttons gilded or painted) were often affixed to the garments of the dead person. Grave goods were everyday objects that accompanied the dead to the Underworld where, it was believed, they would have the same needs as in their earthly life. These goods included clay, glass and more rarely bronze and silver vessels, jewellery, toiletries, tools, and relatively few weapons. But there were also grave goods of a symbolic nature, such as coins, the fare paid by the dead to Charon for their trip to the Underworld, wreaths of leaves from various plants (mainly laurel, myrtle, oak) made of gold or gilt clay, and metal objects that symbolized the passage of the deceased to the status of hero and his successes in life, or may have been simply apotropaic. Also of a symbolic nature were the terracotta figurines, usually depicting ordinary women, offerings to the deities who protect the dead, or representations of the same deities. In the graves of Pella there is a particularly marked presence of Aphrodite *Epitymbidia* (at the tomb) and of Dionysos, a chthonic god who is prevalent in occult rites related to life after death. The name of Persephone is written on a sheet of gold found in the grave of Poseidippos, an initiate in the Orphic-Dionysian cult. Two other gold sheets

The upper section of a marble grave stele bearing the inscription ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (Potamon, son of Agathokles). Mid-3rd cent. BC.



Grave stele with the inscription: ΦΑΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΙΑΛΛΟΥ (*Fanokritos, son of Eufrillos*).
Second half of the 4th cent. BC.

revealed the names of two dead women (Philoxena, Hege-siska). However, our knowledge of people's names in Pella is largely derived from inscriptions on the stelae (gravestones) erected over graves or on the earthen tumuli that usually covered clusters of graves. The names of the deceased are written together with their patronymic (a matronymic "Amadika" has been found only once, on the late 5th cent. BC stele of Xanthos), and often their place of origin, contributing valuable information about the language of the inhabitants, as well as the demographic composition of the population which, as early as the late 5th cent. BC, comprised people from all over the Hellenic world. The Doric dialect spoken by the inhabitants is confirmed by the lead tablet from a grave of the early 4th cent BC, which is the most extensive text in their dialect that has been preserved to date. Stone or marble grave stelae, often the products of local workshops, are representative examples of sculptural output in the Macedonian capital that was initially subject to the influence of works from the Aegean islands and then those of Attica. Later, it developed its own style, which predominated in the Hellenistic period, always retaining the iconographic motifs of the Classical period.

From the late 4th cent. BC and throughout the Hellenistic period, the type of the chamber tomb hewn into the natural limestone was particularly widespread in Pella, with one or usually two chambers with a barrel-vaulted ceiling, a sloping or stepped approach and a façade treated either simply or with



The upper part of a grave stele bearing the inscription ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΙΩΝΟΣ (*Demokritos, son of Chairion*). 350-325 BC.



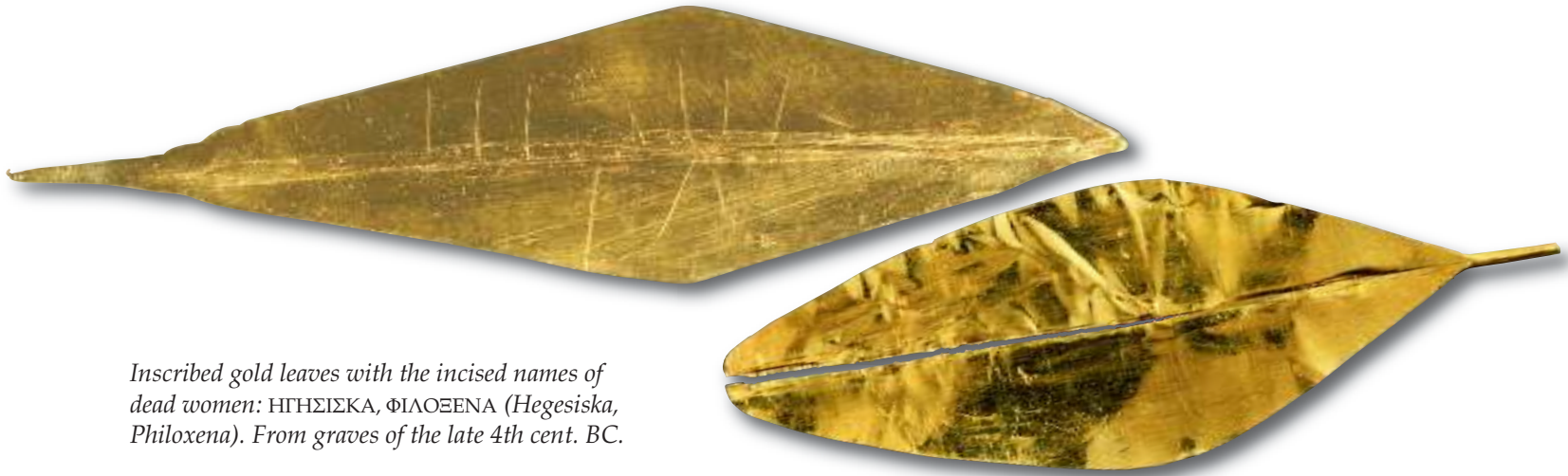


Scent vases of alabaster, clay with gilt decoration and glass. Grave goods found in the east cemetery. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.

selected architectural features of the Doric order. The type of the chamber tomb is a development of the hewn cist grave which, when it becomes larger, especially wider, requires a barrel-vaulted roof. Thus, in the late 4th and early 3rd cent. BC, many early chamber tombs, still in the form of cist graves, have a barrel-vaulted roof and a ramp approach that leads to the narrow end of the tomb, where the entrance portal is created, and then walled in after burial by a stone slab or courses of stones. Both the façade of the regular chamber tombs and the chamber walls were plastered in white stucco. More rarely there was coloured decoration in panels, usually red, yellow and deep blue. Inside the chambers there were two or usually three hewn or built benches, arranged chiefly in the shape of a Π, on which the wooden couches and biers holding the bodies were placed. These benches too were customarily plastered in white stucco. Since they were family tombs, they were used over long periods of time. For later burials, only one instance has been found of a third chamber being later carved in a two-chamber tomb. Later burials were usually placed in rectangular containers or niches cut into the chamber walls. Their openings were then sealed with courses of stones plastered on the outside with stucco.

The types of grave gifts do not differ from those of the earlier interments. Their large numbers in the rock-cut chamber tombs is of course due to the long years over which these monuments were used. But at the same time they are also representative of the large-scale output of Pella workshops during the Hellenistic period. The

ON PAGES 186-191: Views of the main and lateral chambers of the multi-chamber tomb of Pella. The tomb was used for burials of members of a distinguished Pella family from the late 4th to the early 1st cent. BC.



Inscribed gold leaves with the incised names of dead women: ΗΓΗΣΙΣΚΑ, ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΑ (Hegesiska, Philoxena). From graves of the late 4th cent. BC.

great number of similar grave goods tells us that the city's inhabitants could obtain them easily, as they were not expensive owing to their mass production, which however resulted in downgrading both their quality and the material of which they were made.

Of particular interest is a monumental rock-cut tomb with seven barrel-vaulted chambers formed on three sides of the main oblong burial chamber. The monument has a long approach *dromos*, with one section open and a stepped section covered by a barrel-vaulted ceiling. The tomb was used to bury members of what was clearly an important family in Pella from the late 4th to the early 1st cent. BC; they were placed on built or monolithic benches. The interments in the chambers and the decoration of the tomb's interior reflect the gradual decline of its owners' prosperity over the monument's long years of use, which is consistent with the city's diminishing social and financial status. The architectural form of the tomb – which is related closely to the burial monuments with cases fitted onto the walls that are widespread in Cyprus, Rhodes and especially Egypt – can be regarded as the starting point in the evolution of Christian catacombs, and confirms the reciprocal influence of cultural elements owing to the vigorous movement of people, products and ideas in the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Gold leaf with stippled inscription: ΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΗΙ/ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΜΥΣΤΗΣ/ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ, which attests to the existence of the mysteries of the Orphic-Dionysian cycle in Pella. From a grave of the late 4th cent. BC.











The interior of the multi-chamber tomb. The entrances to the main and lateral chambers are visible.

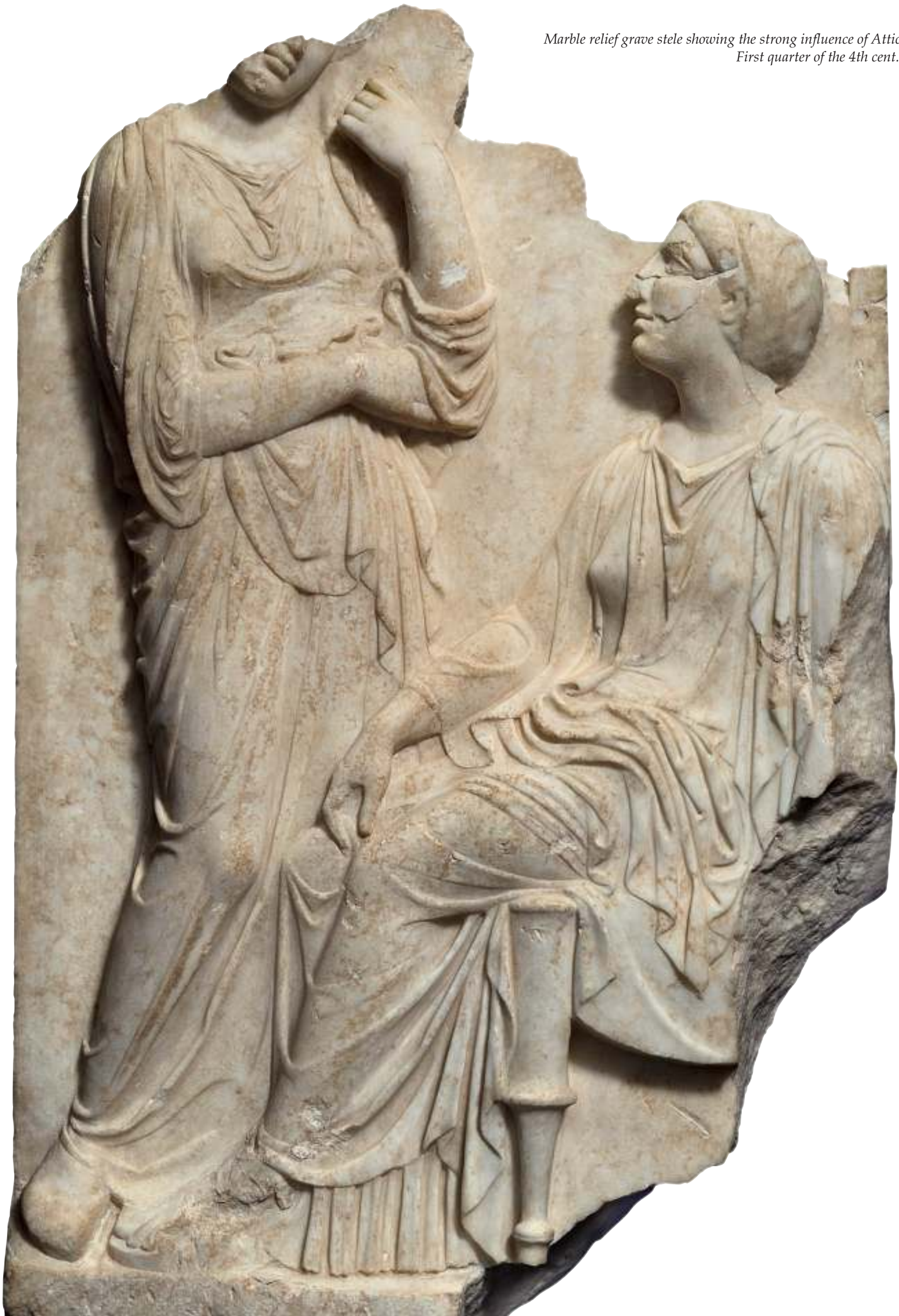


Entrances to the lateral chambers of the multi-chamber tomb.





*Marble relief grave stele showing the strong influence of Attic art.
First quarter of the 4th cent. BC.*





ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΑΙ ΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΙΣΣΗ





Above and below: *The front and back of a palmette-crowned marble grave stele. Right: A Siren, detail of the decoration on the back. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.*



ON PAGE 194: *Marble relief grave stele, made by a local sculpture workshop, showing the visible influence of Attic art. Found in the embankment on the dromos leading to the multi-chamber tomb. The relief scene is dated to the first half of the 3rd cent. BC. The inscription was carved on the re-used stele in the late 3rd or first half of the 2nd cent. BC.*





PAGES 196-199: *Terracotta busts of female deities that were affixed to tomb walls. They have been identified as representing a chthonic goddess, protectress of the dead, merged with the identities of Aphrodite and Persephone. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.*









PAGES 200-202: *Figurines of seated female figures, usually identified as goddesses. 4th cent. BC.*









Figurines of seated females, usually identified as goddesses (such as those seated on a throne, above). 4th cent. BC.





Terracotta figurines, gifts in children's graves.

Above: Teacher with a young pupil.

*Right: Figures of children; above on a cockerel.
Second half of the 4th cent. BC.*



Left: Figurine of an ageing nurse holding a swaddled infant. Gift to a child buried in the multi-chamber tomb. 2nd cent. BC.



Above: A cockerel, a child's toy.

Below: Reclining nurse with infant. Gifts in children's graves. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.





Figurines with groups of children's figures, gifts accompanying children's burials in the multi-chamber tomb.

Above: Eros and Psyche.

Below: Boy with a small animal on a table. 2nd cent. BC.





*Terracotta figurine of a Siren.
First half of the 4th cent. BC.*



*Moulded plastic scent vases.
They represent Eros holding
a censor (above) and (below)
Aphrodite seated on a rock by
the seaside. On her lower right,
Eros leaves a small boat on the
waves. Grave goods of the
second half of the 4th cent. BC.*



Terracotta figurines of Erotes. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.





*Detail of a terracotta figurine of a Nike (Victory).
3rd-2nd cent. BC.*

*Terracotta figurines of females from rock-cut chamber tombs.
The figure to the left is holding a fan and Eros, allusions to the cult of
epitymbidia Aphrodite. 2nd cent. BC.*



Figurines of females wearing a chiton, himation and wreaths on their head, from rock-cut chamber tombs. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.



ON PAGES 212-213: *Terracotta figurines of female figures, grave goods in the rock-cut chamber tombs. Products of a local coroplastic workshop. 3rd-2nd cent. BC. The figure on page 212, upper left, portrays Nike (detail on p. 209), The semi-nudes on pages 212 and 213 represent epitymbidia Aphrodite, the pre-eminent deity of the Underworld in Hellenistic Pella.*





Details of female figurines, grave goods in rock-cut chamber tombs. Hellenistic period.





Detail of the figurine of a female wearing a wreath (entire figure on p. 212). The elegance of the figure is striking, with its elaborately dressed hair, jewellery and highlighting of the facial features with colours.



Detail of the figurine shown on page 212, below. The presence of the dove, the bird associated with Aphrodite, declares the goddess's cult.





Terracotta figurine of a semi-nude Aphrodite with a kithara leaning on a pillar topped by a capital. Characteristic type of figurine of the goddess, which is found in houses, sanctuaries and graves in Pella. From a rock-cut chamber tomb. Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.



Terracotta figurines of seated female figures. Late 3rd-early 2th cent. BC (above), second half of the 4th cent. BC (right).

Details of figurines of women, grave gifts in chamber tombs.







Terracotta figurines of women from rock-cut chamber tombs, 3rd-2nd cent. BC. Figurines in the type of the nude seated figure (p. 223) have been variously interpreted as toys, dancers, women taking part in rituals, dancing nymphs, as well as offerings to the chthonic divinities from maidens who died before they were married. A semi-nude figure (right) depicts Aphrodite in the Anadyomene type.





Attic red-figure pelike in the Kerch style, with relief gilt features and added colours. Decorated on one side with a scene of epaulia (gifts offered to the bride the day after the wedding) and on the other, with the sacred wedding of Dionysos and Ariadne. Cinerary urn. Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC. Details of the decoration on pp. 180, 225-227.















*Attic red-figure pelike depicting battle with a griffin on the front and himation-clad youths on the back.
Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC. Detail on previous pages 228-229.*



*Details of the decoration of red-figure squat lekythoi with scenes of the women's world, with women and Erotes.
Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC.*





Above: Attic black-glazed pelike with relief fluted decoration and attached relief gilt clay decoration on the neck. Ash urn. Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC.

Below: Attic red-figure pelike depicting the battle of the Greeks with the Amazons (Amazonomachy). Details left and right, and on page 234. Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC.









Attic red-figure krater depicting the emergence of a goddess (Aphrodite) from a cave-like opening, flanked by hammer-bearing satyrs. (Detail on pages 236-237). Himation-clad youths on the back. Cinerary urn. First quarter of the 4th cent. BC.

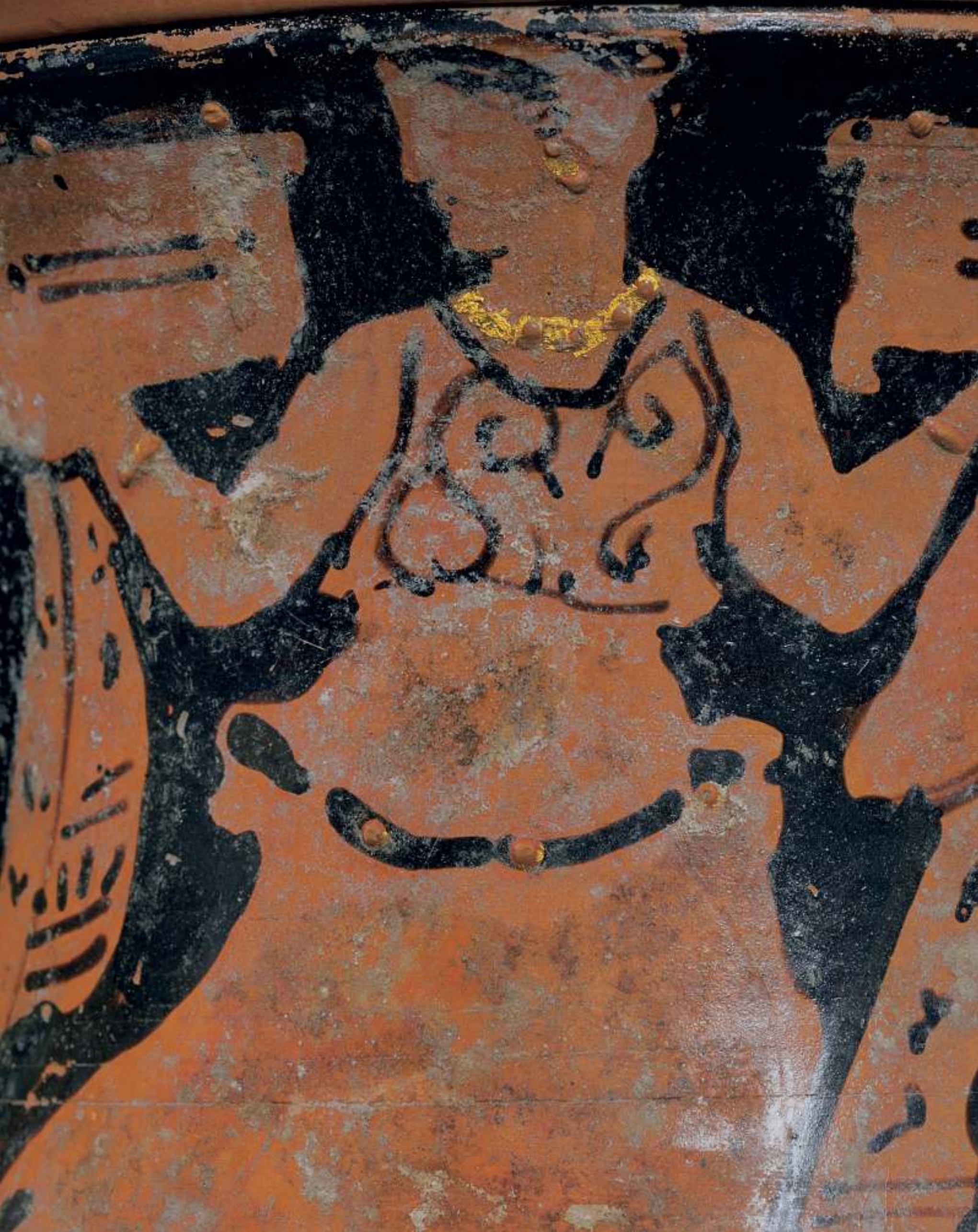








Attic red-figure pyxis with scenes from women's daily life. Some features of the decoration are rendered in relief and with colour. Third quarter of the 4th cent. BC. Detail on page 239.





Vases with West Slope decoration. Above is a pyxis, below an oinochoe and stamnoid pyxis. Grave gifts from rock-cut chamber tombs. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.





Lid of the pyxis on page 240. On the medallion is the head of the Gorgon Medusa.



Details of the decorated lid of the pyxis on page 243 (below).





Tripod pyxides with West Slope decoration and relief medallions on the lids. Eros and Psyche (above), a female figure, possibly Artemis (below). From rock-cut chamber tombs. Second half of the 2nd cent. BC.



ON PAGES 244-245: Restored decoration of a funerary couch with added features of gilt clay, glass and gold sheets (below). Faience decoration of a funerary couch leg (lower right). Cut out terracotta plaquettes (warriors, Nikes, Nike-charioteers, chariot horses, dancing girls), decorative features on couches and furniture, rosettes and bunches of grapes. Second half of the 4th cent. BC. Details of the plaquettes on page 245.







*Gold necklace beads, gold wreath and gold sixteen-pointed star
(above left, decorative feature on a small chest).
Second half of the 4th - early 3rd cent. BC.*

Gold necklace with lance-shaped beads (below) and detail of the decoration of its finials (above). Second half of the 4th cent. BC.
Necklace with gold links and cornelian beads, with a Negro head and that of a dog on the clasp (middle). 2nd cent. BC.





Oak leaves from a gold wreath (2nd cent. BC) and stalk from a gold wreath (late 4th cent. BC).



*Gold jewellery (small amphora-pendant, beads and palmettes) from necklaces.
Below: Detail of decorative elements of the necklace above.*





Gold earrings with lion's heads. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.



Gold earring with dove. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.



Gold earring with Eros holding a torch, hanging from an elaborate rosette. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.



ON PAGES 252-253: Fragments of the incised bone decoration on a funerary couch or chest (part of an Ionic capital, griffin attacking a deer, a hand holding a thyrsus and ribbons). Last quarter of the 4th cent. BC.







The interior decoration of the tomb of the philosophers. Early 3rd cent. BC. The figures of the philosophers can be distinguished.



Detail of the frieze with horsemen around the top of the walls.

ON PAGES 255-256: *The figure of the deceased, who has been identified as an astronomer.*

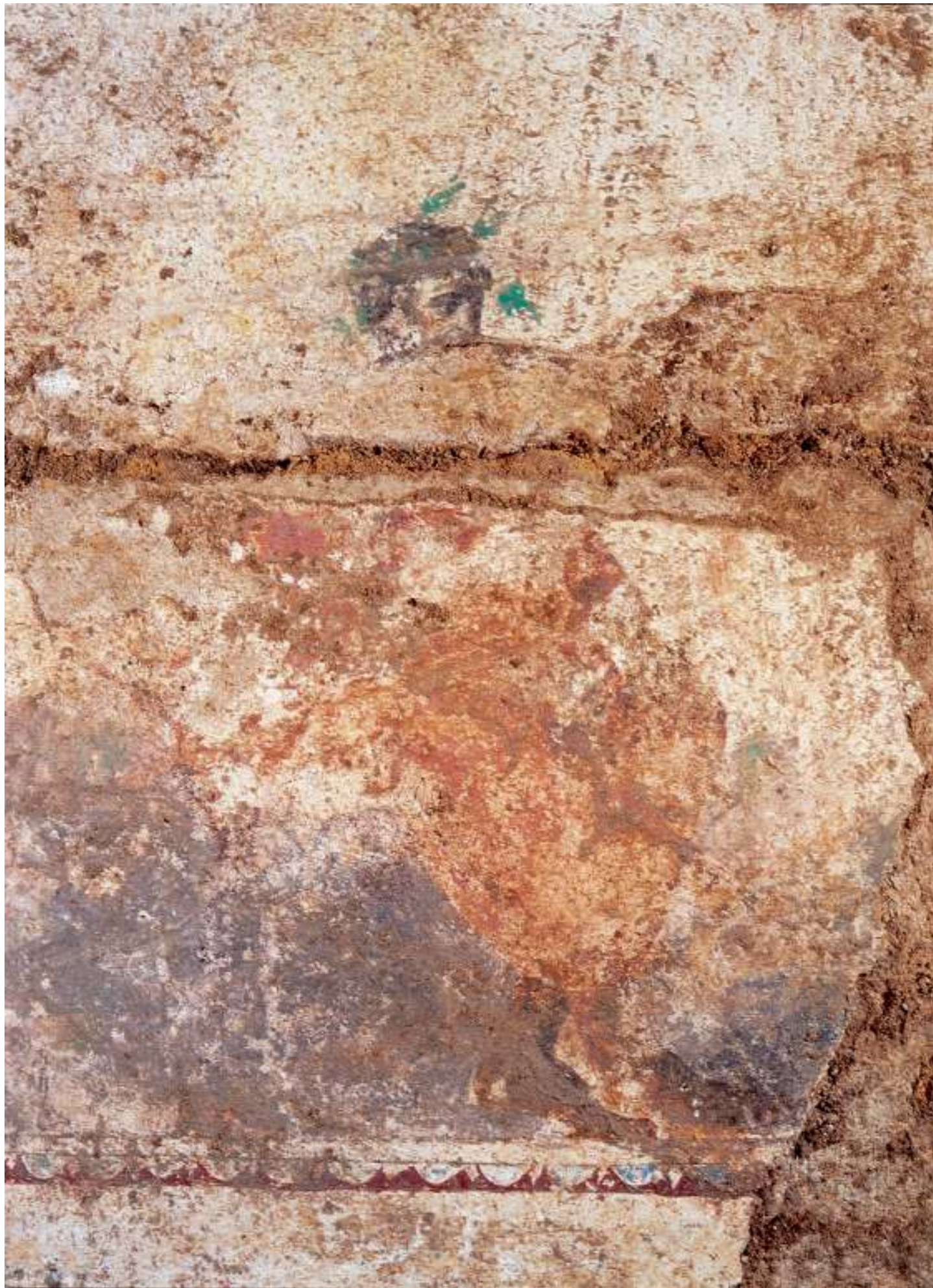
ON PAGES 257-259: *Figures of philosophers on the north and south wall of the tomb.*

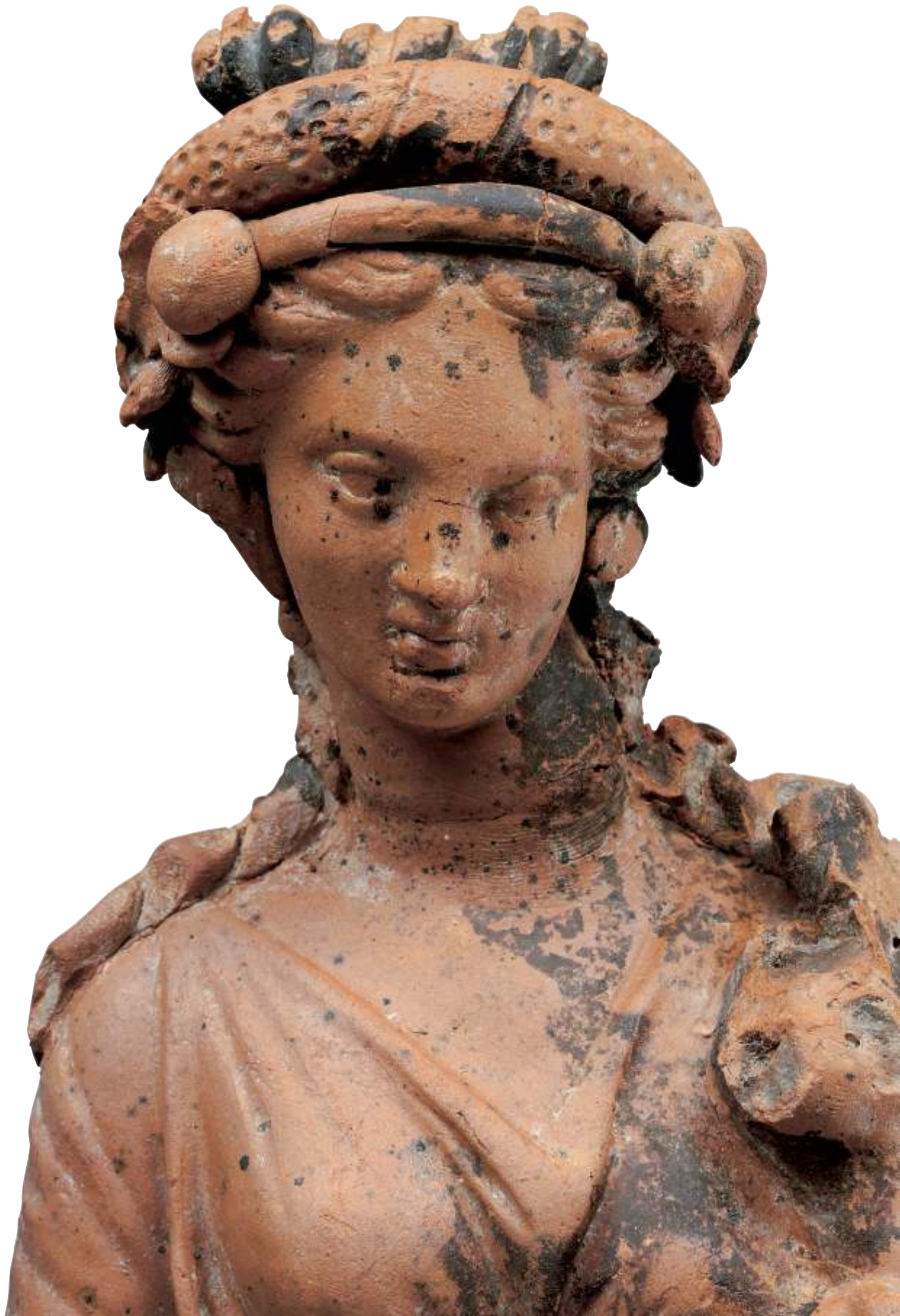












THE WESTERN CEMETERY OF HELLENISTIC PELLA

IN A RESCUE EXCAVATION carried out in 2006 during construction of the new road that bypasses Pella's main archaeological site, the following finds were brought to light south of the old Thessaloniki-Edessa highway: a) part of the west section of the Hellenistic city's defensive wall, in a N-S direction, b) part of the outwork 25 m. west of and parallel to the wall, c) the remains of a Bronze Age settlement, d) a late Hellenistic water conduit with clay pipes that crosses both the outwork and the wall, and above all, e) part of an extensive cemetery covering the entire area of the road under construction, inside and outside the wall and the outwork, containing 46 Hellenistic and 400 Roman graves.

The variety of the graves and burial structures (similar graves had come to light in 1978 and 1992), as well as the evidence provided by their grave goods, confirm the uninterrupted use of the cemetery over more than six centuries (from the late 4th cent. BC to the first quarter of the 4th cent. AD). The graves belong to the west cemetery of Hellenistic Pella and to the buildings constructed in the southern part of Pella during the Roman period, but also to the Roman colony itself, to which reference will be made later.

The Hellenistic graves that were investigated just west of the outwork are fairly widely dispersed, although their density increases as they go farther west. These graves, which are plain as regards both their construction and grave goods, are not wealthy; they have been grouped into four categories: a) interment in earthenware jars (3), b) pit graves (10), c) graves covered with roof tiles (19) and d) rock-cut chamber tombs (7).

Of the interments in the first category, one burial in particular in a clay jar (*kalpe*) from the first half of the 3rd cent. BC is noteworthy, as it contained the bones of a young man accompanied by two clay scent jars (*unguentaria*) and three iron strigils hanging on an iron ring. Of those in the second category, pit grave 8 stands out as it contained the ashes of a young man, accompanied by a large number of bone dice, a black-glazed clay *unguentarium* and many terracotta figurines in a wide variety of types: Attis standing or seated on a rock with a syrinx, cockerel or syrinx and staff, as well as standing or seated Macedonian youths wearing a *chlamys* (short mantle) and *kausia* (wide-brimmed Macedonian hat), holding a syrinx. Also worthy of note is pit grave 10, which contained the cremated remains of a youth, accompanied by bone dice and terracotta figurines (standing suckling goddess [*kourotrophos*], standing Macedonians wearing *chlamys* and *kausia*, as well as Attis in a variety of types, such as standing with syrinx and staff, standing with syrinx and sickle, seated on a rock with syrinx and dog, and seated or dying with syrinx and staff). The figurines accompanying these two cremations are related to the myth and rituals of the Great Mother and Attis, whose cult was centred around the death and rebirth of this young vegetation god.

The upper part of a terracotta figurine of a standing Aphrodite holding Eros with her left arm. Found in rock-cut two-chamber tomb 6 in the western cemetery of Pella. Circa mid-2nd cent. BC.



Rock-cut two-chamber tomb 6 in Pella's western cemetery: Upper section of the added limestone Ionic doorframe of its chamber. Circa mid-2nd cent. BC.

One of the slabs covering pit grave 20, which contained the ashes of a girl whose sole grave gift was a little lead loom weight, was found to have been the small limestone relief stele marking the grave of Aristokleia, wife of Chairephanes (3rd cent. BC), on which the dead woman is represented sitting on a throne to the left, bidding farewell to her husband in the presence of her two children.

The 19 graves covered by roof tiles contained cremated remains or burials, together with metal and clay gifts. Foremost among them were the ashes in tile-covered grave 106, accompanied by the gifts of a silver ring with a gold bezel, silver hoop earrings and a black-glazed cylindrical box for jewellery or toiletries (*pyxis*) with a lid (first half of the 2nd cent. BC).

Of the seven rock-cut subterranean chamber tombs, there were five with one chamber and two with two. Just outside the city's outwork, a single-chamber tomb was found that contained an interred man, accompanied by five clay pots (four unguentaria and one small bowl), which date the tomb before the mid-3rd cent. BC. From the looted single-chamber tomb 1, that contained an interment, a small lead pyxis and six clay vases (four unguentaria, a Macedonian amphora and a black-glazed lamp) were saved that date it to the first half of the 2nd cent. BC. Single-chamber tomb 2 had three couches forming a Π, as well as a niche in which a child was interred. A few metal objects escaped looting, as did some dice (several of bone and one of glass), clay vases (amphorae, bowls, unguentaria and lamps) and figurines (a standing semi-nude Aphrodite leaning on a pillar, Eros, a group with a girl and boy holding grapes, and standing female figures). On the right wall of the dromos leading to single-chamber tomb 4, a rectangular niche was found, that had initially been sealed by stone blocks, in which a male was buried together with five clay vases (amphora, bowl, lamp and two unguentaria) and the

terracotta figurine of a standing figure with its right arm leaning on a pillar. The entrance to the chamber had a relief doorframe and stone threshold; the chamber itself was furnished with two couches along its west and north side. On its east wall, two rectangular niches had been created; in the north one were two interments. In front of the west couch, a cist grave was found containing a burial. Four to six members of the same family had been buried in this chamber on wooden biers; their grave goods included metal objects, clay vases and figurines that date the monument to the 2nd cent. BC. The one burial in single-chamber tomb 5 was destroyed by Roman cist grave 23 in the first half of the 3rd cent. AD.

A long *dromos* with eight hewn steps leads to the entrance to looted two-chamber tomb 3. Grave goods had been placed on couches in the antechamber, comprising clay and glass vases, as well as wooden chests whose metal accessories alone have been preserved. There were three couches in the chamber on which were burials accompanied by clay vases that date the tomb to the second and third quarter of the 2nd cent. BC.

The entrance to looted two-chamber tomb 6 is approached by a long *dromos* with 12 hewn steps. A woman was buried in a rectangular niche on the east wall of the *dromos*; her gifts included bronze and iron jewellery, two shells as toiletry utensils and ten clay vases (one amphora, two type A pyxides, a small bowl and six unguentaria), which date the niche to the mid-2nd cent. BC. On the west wall of the *dromos* near the tomb façade, a small arched niche was found unlooted that was initially sealed with stones and mud and contained a girl's cremated remains and grave goods including the clay figurine of a standing female figure, a black-glazed lamp and gem-studded gold jewellery (ring and earring with a negro-head gem of cornelian), which date it to about the middle of the 2nd cent. BC. The barrel-vaulted ceiling of the antechamber was plastered with white stucco; its walls were coated in imitation of architectural decoration. The chamber was likewise plastered with white stucco. A unique Ionic stone doorway with threshold, lintel and doorposts was built at the entrance to the chamber. Four bodies occupied the couches in the chamber, accompanied by wooden chests with metal accessories, iron strigils, bone dice, clay pots (amphorae, bowls, unguentaria, lamps, and toiletries boxes (*pyxides*) with relief devices on the arches of their lids, such as busts of Dionysos, Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite and Eros, as well as Eros standing with a goat) and figurines such as that of Telesphoros with a child, Aphrodite with Eros or Priapus and others, that identify the tomb as belonging to the 2nd cent. BC. The figurines that accompanied the dead bear witness to their religious beliefs and present Aphrodite as the great goddess of life and fertility but also of death.



Gold earring with a negro head of cornelian (two views). Accompanied the ashes of a girl in a niche along the dromos leading to two-chamber tomb 6 in Pella's western cemetery. Circa mid-2nd cent. BC.





Two terracotta figurines: Left, standing Aphrodite wearing a chiton and himation, and holding little Eros with her left arm (detail on p. 260). From rock-cut two-chamber tomb 6 in Pella's western cemetery. Circa mid-2nd cent. BC. Right, standing female figure clad in a chiton and himation, with her hair dressed in the "tettix" style. From rock-cut two-chamber tomb 2 in Pella's western cemetery. Circa mid-2nd cent. BC.



Three terracotta figurines of standing Macedonian boys (paides) wearing a short chiton, chlamys and kausia (typical Macedonian headgear). From pit grave 8 in Pella's western cemetery. Late 4th cent. BC.



Three terracotta figurines from pit grave 8 in the western cemetery of Pella. Late 4th cent. BC.

Left: Standing Macedonian boy (pais) with short chiton, chlamys and kausia, holding the emblems of Attis.

Right: Standing Attis clad in Phrygian dress and holding his emblems, a syrinx and a staff.

Below: Attis seated on a rock in Phrygian dress, with his emblems.





Three terracotta figurines of Macedonian boys (paides), two standing and one seated, wearing a short chiton, chlamys and kausia, and bearing the emblems of Attis. From pit grave 8 in Pella's western cemetery. Late 4th cent. BC.



T H E M A C E D O N I A N T O M B S O F P E L L A

A LONG THE STREETS OF PELLA, six Macedonian tombs have been unearthed in recent years: four with two chambers and two single-chamber; another single-chamber tomb that was known in the last century has since been lost. These tombs – which, together with the palace, constitute the foremost monuments of the Macedonian culture – can be found within the boundaries of the Macedonian kingdom, but also in regions that had once been Macedonian territory or were under the strong influence of its culture. They are masonry-built, subterranean barrel-vaulted structures covered by a mound or tumulus upon which a grove of trees and bushes was planted. They usually have a temple-like façade in the Ionic, Corinthian or Doric order, with a rock-cut or built, sometimes roofed, downhill dromos leading to it. Constructed of porous stone, limestone or other materials, there are so many differences between them, that not even one is a copy of another. They first appeared after the mid-4th cent. BC at Aegae (where the Temenids, the first royal dynasty of the Macedonians, are buried) and after the death of Alexander the Great, they became widespread throughout the rest of Macedonia, but ceased being built after Macedonia was conquered by the Romans.

S I N G L E - C H A M B E R T O M B S

Tomb B, unplundered

Tomb B came to light quite by chance, opposite Pella's easternmost sixth tumulus, having escaped being looted because it was not covered by a high tumulus. It is a single-chamber tomb (5 m. long, 5 m. wide and 4.65 m. high) with a simple unplastered architectural façade, and roofed by a barrel vault consisting of 11 voussoirs with an opening 4.065 m. wide; its floor is laid with limestone slabs. In the middle of the east side of the chamber a small marble sarcophagus was found inside which was a wooden burial chest (*larnax*) containing a young girl's cremated bones wrapped in gold-embroidered purple fabric. Some parts of the wooden larnax were preserved, as well as the gold threads of the fabric. Inside it were two gold myrtle wreaths, a gold Philip II stater, a gold-leaf jewel in the shape of a shoe, and a gold olive leaf that would originally have borne the name of the prematurely dead maiden, written in ink, certifying that she was an initiate in the Orphic-Dionysian mysteries. Lying on the floor of the chamber were: a beautiful glass drinking cup (*skyphos*), five clay vessels (amphora from Thasos, two perfume vases [unguentaria], a small pyxis and a clay lamp), a bronze bowl (*phiale*) and an elaborate iron lamp-stand that date the construction of the tomb to the early 2nd cent. BC.

Relief gorgoneion (head of the gorgon Medusa) on the left leaf of the marble doorway to the chamber in tomb D with the inscriptions. After 322 BC.





The smaller of the two gold myrtle wreaths that accompanied the ashes of a girl in Pella's unplundered Macedonian single-chamber tomb B. Early 2nd cent. BC.



Gold earring with a negro-head finial of cornelian that accompanied the ashes of the girl in Pella's Macedonian single-chamber tomb E (Rachona). After the mid-3rd cent. BC.

Tomb E (Rachona)

South of Rachona and about 4.5 km north of Pella, single-chamber tomb E (4.5x4.5 m.) was found with a sloping dromos ending in a small courtyard. The Doric façade plastered in white stucco and highlighted by colours, had a pilaster at each end supporting the epistyle; the entablature was crowned with a pediment in whose corners were marble acroteria decorated with relief palmettes. The Doric frieze is missing from the entablature, and instead of the usual mutules with guttae, it has a simple continuous regula with guttae. The tomb's doorway, which is surrounded by a relief Doric frame, was protected on the outside by a barrier of stone blocks, with a two-leaf wooden door on the inside. The interior walls were coated with stucco to represent the known imitation architectural decoration in bands: white on the wall foundation (*toichobates*) and orthostates, black on the top course and deep red for the broad intermediary zone, which is surmounted by a decorative painted frieze. The vault and its lunettes were plastered with white stucco. A couple was buried in the tomb on wooden couches resting on stone benches. The couple's young daughter was buried with them; her bones had been washed with wine after cremation, wrapped in gold-embroidered fabric, and placed in a wooden larnax inside a stone case built into the SE corner of the chamber. A gold earring with a negro-head finial of cornelian – a typical Macedonian jewel created in a Pella workshop in the third quarter of the 3rd cent. BC – initially adorned the maiden. The tomb was built in about the mid-3rd cent. BC and was looted twice in antiquity.

Gold stater of Philip II, found together with the ashes of a girl in a wooden larnax, which in turn was placed in a marble sarcophagus in Macedonian single-chamber tomb B in Pella. On the obverse is the head of Apollo; on the reverse, a Nike (Victory) on a two-horse chariot (synoris). After 348/7 BC.



THE TWO-CHAMBER TOMBS

The tomb of Mesiano near Giannitsa

Near the south edge of the enormous tumulus of Mesiano (diam. 100 m., height 15 m.), which is 3.5 km west of Pella, a large two-chamber tomb was unearthed (10.30 m. long, 6.70 m. wide and 6.10 m. high), which is approached by a long sloping dromos ending in a courtyard. Four engaged Doric columns had originally supported the epistyle and entablature that were crowned with a pediment, forming a magnificent temple-like façade. The tomb was roofed by a single barrel vault of 17 voussoirs with a span of 5 metres. The antechamber –which is outdoors today, after its destruction and the plundering of its stones in late antiquity– is 3.75 m. long and 5 m. wide; the chamber of the same width is 4.56 m. long. The tomb of Mesiano is similar in many ways to the following tomb D with the inscriptions.

Gold threads from the cloth in which the bones and ashes were wrapped of the girl in Pella's unplundered Macedonian single-chamber tomb B. Early 2nd cent. BC.

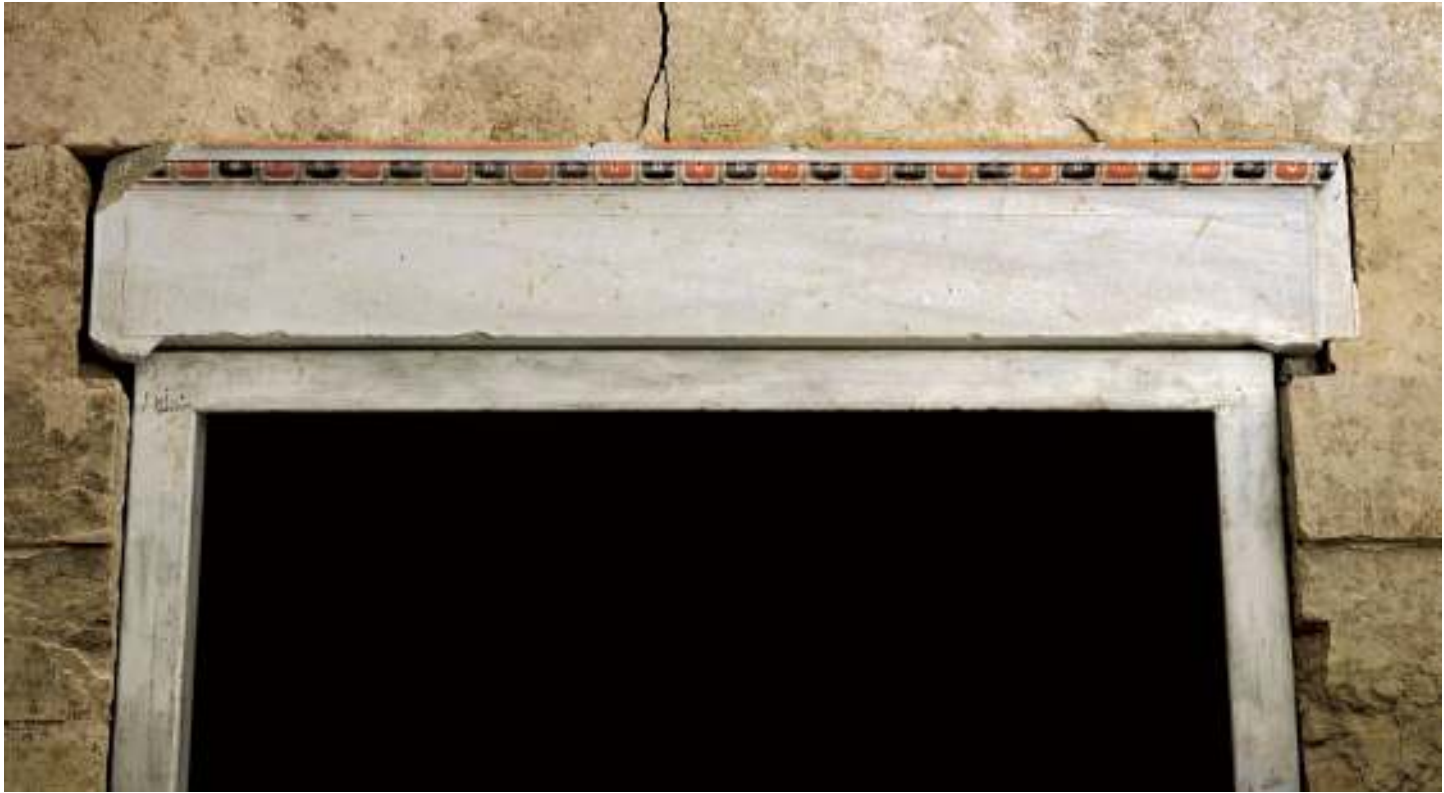
Views of the gold obol for Charon that was found in Macedonian tomb F with the sarcophagi in Pella. On one side is an eight-pointed star (sun), and on the other an owl seated on an olive branch. 280-270 BC.



Tomb D with the inscriptions

Near the south edge of the fourth tumulus (56 m. diam., 8 m. high) in Pella's eastern cemetery, tomb D with the inscriptions (10.50 m. long, 6.35 m. wide and 6.60 m. high) was discovered, roofed by a single barrel vault consisting of 17 voussoirs and a span of 4.70 m. The antechamber is 3 m. long and the chamber 5.10 m.; both are 4.70 m. wide. The dromos that was hewn into the limestone rock and leads to the tomb has a monumental staircase with 19 steps in its middle section. The tomb has a temple-like façade in the Doric order, plastered in white stucco, with four engaged columns standing on the foundation (stylobate) and supporting the epistyle with its entablature that consists of a frieze with triglyphs and metopes, and a horizontal cornice. The façade is crowned by a pediment with a raking geison and an incorporated raking sima. The entrance to the antechamber was protected on the outside by a barrier of successive courses of stone blocks, and has a relief doorframe. It was closed inside by a monumental two-leaf stone door with ornamental features carved in relief. The doorway to the chamber was surrounded by a marble Doric frame with jambs, lintel and threshold. The marble two-leaf door, the upper panel of whose left leaf, like the corresponding leaf in the antechamber, was decorated with an apotropaic head of the gorgon Medusa, an exceptional work of art. Inside, touching on the north wall of the chamber, was a marble couch (2.23 m. long, 1 m. wide and 1.18 m. high) intended for the first occupant of the tomb. From the anthropological material it can be concluded that three persons were interred in the tomb: an adult male, an adult female and an adolescent.

Of particular interest are the two groups of Greek and Latin inscriptions (*graffiti*) that were found on its plastered interior walls. The (abusive) inscriptions of the former group were carved on the chamber walls by Kassis son of Myrtilos, Dionysios, Poseidonios and Philis, after the tomb was looted in the early 1st cent. BC. During the period of Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta (early 3rd cent. AD), assorted other visitors carved their names in Greek or Latin on the walls of the tomb; others left inscriptions in commemoration of Alexander and Cassander, as well as of Herakles, the ancestral hero of the Temenid dynasty. These confirm what is known from historical sources and from other monuments regarding the revival of Macedonian nationalism in the first half of the 3rd cent. AD, the main expression of which was Alexander-worship.



Macedonian tomb D with the inscriptions: the marble lintel of the doorway to the chamber, supported by a contemporary iron beam. After 322 BC.

Tomb D that has been preserved intact and the tomb of Mesiano with its demolished façade constitute a rare pair of “fraternal” funerary monuments, owing to their obvious common morphological and construction features, by means of which an experienced architect-contractor was able to solve some of the basic construction and typological problems of their type. In the former, one can admire the full architectural form of a magnificent building in the austere Doric order, its reworked doors and the graffiti that provide evidence of its adventures over time. In the latter, although its façade has been destroyed, one can see how a Macedonian tomb was built with the largest possible interior, using the most sophisticated technology found in any such structures that have come to light to date. On both monuments the full four-column Doric façade appears for the first time with the free pediment crowning it, without hiding completely the uppermost face of the vault. The middle intercolumniation (and the middle interaxial space) is much larger than the corner ones, with the result that the spacious entrance is emphasised by the relief door frame and placement of the door inside the entrance to the tomb, while at the same time resolving the known problem of the end triglyphs on the Doric diazoma, which is here corrected in an unusual way with a combination of double metope spans at the ends with a four-metope span in the centre. The encasement of the graves in a rectangular pit hewn into the limestone bedrock near the south edge of the tumulus increased their durability, as did widening the lower section of the wall foundation. The tombs are roofed by a wide single barrel vault consisting of 17 voussoirs. The most interesting feature of all is the systematic use of lead-sheathed iron dowels over the entire area of the vault. The engaged columns were carved out of the wall of the façade and their embedded capitals were secured in place, anchored with double lead-sheathed Π-shaped iron clamps. These were all innovations to improve the construction. Marble from Mt Vermio was

used on the two-leaf doors, jambs, thresholds and lintels of the chamber entrance, with the exception of the chamber threshold in the Mesiano tomb, which was of *titanolithos*, a type of limestone from Kyrrhos. On both these tombs, high quality limestone of varying shades and durability was used, which, together with the high technical knowledge of processing the stone blocks, made it possible to carry out the planned refinements on their façades. The theatricality of the structure is achieved by the stepped treatment of the dromos that ends in a courtyard and by the façade and the floors of their interiors. It was also assisted by the fact that the façade wall leans slightly inward, thus reducing the dimensions of the overhead architectural features, by the entasis of the engaged columns, and by the balance and harmony of the moderately treated façade and perspective rendering of the painted floral compositions (lilies and palmettes) on the horizontal cornice.

It can be concluded from the obvious architectural similarities between the tomb of Mesiano and tomb D that they were the work not only of the same architect-contractor, but also of the same crew of artisans. Based on their architecture and the remains of their grave goods, these two magnificent funerary structures can be dated to the period after the Macedonian veterans returned from the East (322 BC), the older of the two being tomb D with the inscriptions.

Tomb F with the sarcophagi

In the centre of Pella's first tumulus to the west (40 m. diam. and 8 m. high), two-chamber tomb F was discovered (8.50 m. long, 4.80 m. wide and high). The façade of the tomb, which has no architectural treatment, faces south; a long sloping dromos leads to it (width 1.90 m.), which was covered by a horizontal wooden roof. The tomb is roofed by a single barrel vault consisting of 13 voussoirs and a span of 3.90 m. Its façade and interior are plastered with white stucco, and its floors are laid with coarse white plaster reinforced with gravel. In its chamber three rectangular marble sarcophagi were found, in which the remains of three distinguished persons were buried. It can be concluded from the grave goods that two of them were high-ranking military men between 30 and 40 years of age; the third was a woman aged 20-30. The slabs of the sarcophagi had come from two monuments in the form of Ionic funerary temples dating after 316 BC. These monuments, similar to others found in Attica, are classed among the brilliant creations that have immortalized specific historic events with military feats by distinguished Macedonians who were active in the world-shaking period of Alexander the Great and his successors. This particular tomb was built in the decade between 280-270 BC.

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES: *The end of the dromos and the façade with the crepis (foundation) of Pella's Macedonian two-chamber tomb C with the Ionic façade. Late 4th cent. BC.*





Tomb C with the Ionic façade

In the centre of the fifth tumulus to the east of Pella (35 m. diam., 5 m. high), two-chamber tomb C with the Ionic façade was discovered. Descending to its Ionic façade, which is plastered in white stucco and faces east, is a long sloping dromos that broadens to form a courtyard in front of the façade. The tomb, built of local limestone, roofed with a single barrel vault consisting of 11 voussoirs, is 7.70 m. long, 5.80 m. wide and 5.10 m. high. The antechamber is 2 m. long and 3.30 m. wide, while the chamber of the same width is 3.50 m. long. Four slender Ionic columns are embedded in the wall and support the entablature, comprising an architrave with three stepped bands and a horizontal dentilated cornice. The entablature is crowned by a pediment, ending in the raking geison and incorporated raking sima. In the transitions between the architectural members, the mouldings and friezes are decorated with colours and painted recta or reversa mouldings. The columns have a total of 17 flutes, elegant capitals with four-leafed half-palmettes and bases of the Attic-Ionic type on square plinths arising from the stylobate, which in turn rests on a leveling course of the same height. The doorways into the antechamber and chamber alike have limestone thresholds for two-leaf wooden doors and door frames rendered in stucco, which are highlighted by red bands. The lower parts of the walls in both the antechamber and chamber were coated with white stucco rendering architectural decoration in panels, while objects from the women's world (mirror, vases, wooden chest, etc.) were painted on the white stucco of the chamber's upper panel. On the left side of the chamber floor, a stone bench had been built, on which a luxury wooden couch was placed to receive the first occupant of the tomb. On the right side of the floor, the cremated remains of other members of the same aristocratic family had probably been placed in urns or larnakes on stone blocks. From the architectural order of the façade, the painted decoration on its interior with objects from the women's world, and the remains of its grave goods, it can be concluded that the tomb was built at the end of the 4th cent. BC for a distinguished lady of Pella.

Relief gorgoneion, detail of the stone door to the antechamber in tomb D with the inscriptions.





*The left leaf of the stone door
to the antechamber of tomb D
with the inscriptions.
After 322 BC.*



*The right leaf of the same door.
After 322 BC.*

THE ROMAN COLONY OF PELLA

IN 30 BC, AFTER HIS VICTORY AT ACTIUM, Octavian founded the Roman colony of Pella, 1.5 km. west of the former capital of Macedonia, just east of the modern settlement of Nea Pella and on the site called the “Baths of Alexander the Great”. This site was selected for the same reasons that had earlier guided the choice of Pella as the capital of the Macedonian Kingdom: its outstanding geographical location, at the junction of the main roads in Lower Macedonia, in the middle of a fertile region with arable lands and plentiful sources of water, near Lake Loudias and the navigable river of the same name with its abundant fishing. There had been a settlement on this strategic and privileged site in the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age, which in the Classical and Hellenistic periods had evolved into a suburb of Pella. The idyllic landscape with its rich vegetation and springs, as well as the archaeological data, have confirmed that there were sanctuaries here to the Nymphs and Muses. In the excavations of the “Baths of Alexander the Great” (the reservoir of a Roman watermill that was repaired in later years) some 4,500 ancient coins have been found, mainly bronze, some silver and two gold, as well as modern Greek coins, certifying that coins were tossed into this roadside spring as a prayer to the deity, to express some wish, or simply the desire to return.

Based on the obverse of a bronze coin of the *duoviri* (two magistrates) of the year 25/24 BC, on which is depicted the wall with the city’s main gate, it can be concluded that its construction was complete at that time. Inhabitants of the Roman colony included veterans of Augustus’s army, but also his political adversaries who had backed Mark Anthony. There were also Greeks from Italy, whom he displaced in order to divide up their properties among his veterans and supporters. From the representations on the coins and evidence of the city’s cults, it can be concluded that, together with the veterans and the Greeks of Italy, some inhabitants of the old capital and the surrounding area also moved into the Roman colony.

Pella was the only colony in Macedonia that was not under the *Jus Italicum*. Like other colonies, it acquired a political and economic character, but without losing its military significance, especially at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, owing to its choice location on the Via Egnatia. The name on the colony’s coins was *Colonia Pellensis* or *Colonia Iulia Augusta Pellensis* or *Colonia Pella* or just *Pella*. It minted its own coins under Augustus and Tiberius, as well as from the reign of Hadrian to that of Gordian III (117-244 AD). The coins from the reign of its founder bear the known names of the quinquennial *duoviri* Nonius and Sulpicius (30/29 BC), M. Fictorius and M. Septimius (25/24 BC), C. Herennius and L. Titorius (20/19 BC), M. Antonius Theophilus and P. Aebutius (15/14 BC), while under Tiberius (16-20 AD) there were C. Baebius Publili f. and L. Rusticelius Basterna. From the reign of Hadrian to that of Gordian III, Pella (Tyche), the personification of the colony, and the pastoral god

Detail of the marble slab that was re-used in the early Christian basilica in the Roman colony of Pella. It preserves fragments of inscriptions of a public nature (letters and decrees) in Greek and Latin referring to the problems caused to the colony of Pella by the Cursus Publicus, i.e. the Via Egnatia, and its services. Circa mid-4th cent. AD.

Pan, were depicted on the obverse of its coins. Likewise worshipped in the city were Zeus Hypsistos, Aphrodite, Artemis Agrotera and foreign divinities such as Serapis, Isis and the Syrian goddess Atargatis. The latter was the goddess of the waters, lakes and sea, of fertility and death, who originated from Bambyce in Syria and was sometimes represented mounted on a cetacean and at others with a mermaid-like fishtail. Her cult was particularly widespread in the region of Bottiaia, as testified by archaeological data from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but also by the sources (Lucian, *Lucius the Ass*, 35-41; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 8, 24-30).

Asklepios likewise had an active cult in the city. As described by Lucian (*Alexander the False Oracle* 6 ff.), Alexander the Paphlagonian, after meeting a wealthy woman from Pella, set out from Bithynia with a partner, Kokkonas of Byzantium, a dancing-master by profession, and arrived at the colony of Pella where he spent a few obols to purchase a large tame snake that he took with him. Later, he named this serpent Glykon, “young Alexander” or “Pellaian Asklepios” and after giving it a human face made of fabric, hair and a tongue, he displayed it as the son of the healing god Asklepios in a specially built structure in the sanctuary he established in his homeland Abonouteichos, Paphlagonia in the Pontos region. At a time of general insecurity with wars and plagues (150-170 AD), Alexander gained great prestige as a miracle-worker and oracle of Asklepios and his son Podaleirios. Assisted by a staff of accomplices and assistants, he swindled more than 70 or 80 thousand believers every year by giving them answers, for a fee, so that he soon became extremely wealthy and powerful enough to gain ascendance over his rivals, the Epicurean philosophers and the Christians. The tale is told by Lucian (mid 2nd century AD) of the arrival in Pella of the charlatan Alexander, to purchase one of the huge snakes that “*were so tame, that they were fed by women, and slept in bed with children. If you stepped on them, they showed no irritation and sucked the breasts of nursing women to draw off their milk*” (*Alexander the False Oracle*, 7).

Pella was hardly a random choice. Excavations in the SW section of Hellenistic Pella proved the existence of a large sanctuary of Asklepios and Darron, the local healing daimon. These divinities continued to be worshipped, either in this particular sanctuary or elsewhere in the colony, during the Roman period as well, where a significant role was played by the snake, an animal sacred to Asklepios.

In contrast with the other Macedonian colonies (Dion and Philippi), the colony of Pella never experienced any particular prosperity, as confirmed by Lucian who reports that Pella had few inhabitants. Since in the travel book *Itinerarium Antonini* (330, 6; 284-305 AD), it is noted that the colony named Diocletianopolis may possibly have been rebuilt after the raids of the Goths (268 AD), as part of Diocletian’s restoration and revival of the Roman state, taking the name of its new founder. For a few years, this name was mentioned together with the old one, since in two later travel books (itineraria), one of the stations on the Via Egnatia is referred to by the name “*civitas Pelli (Polli), unde fuit Alexander Magnus Macedo*”. The Egnatia ran through the colony, as it did through Philippi, which was why a milestone in Latin dedicated to the emperor Hadrian (127 AD) was found to the west of the “Baths of Alexander” where there may have been a station (*mansio*). The precise shape and area of the city are not known. Test sections taken in 1987 north of the “Baths” brought to light the remains of buildings from the Roman, early Christian and Byzantine periods. Excavation research in 1995 revealed the northwest section of the late-Roman or early-Christian city with its fortifications (wall with a gate and three towers). In the debris on top of the disaster layer of the early Christian city, graves and a small single-apse funerary chapel were unearthed from a late Byzantine cemetery. In an investigative section taken NNW of the “Baths”, the walls were

found of a building constructed partially of architectural materials from earlier structures, including a large round marble tholos with Corinthian columns, built for some imperial or other official cult, that would initially have been established in the colony's Forum. Here too was the obvious site of its public administrative buildings, such as the colony's assembly hall (*bouleuterion*), library, market regulation authority and archives, as well as various sanctuaries, e.g. the Capitolium, where Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the other official deities were worshipped. Architectural material from buildings of Hellenistic Pella and the Roman city were built into the wall of the monumental episcopal basilica that came to light in the vicinity of the Forum. In the north aisle of this basilica, parts of many monuments were discovered: fragments of a life-sized marble lion that had been a grave monument (325/300 BC), the marble base of a lustral basin (*perirranterion*) from the late Classical period, and part of the upper step of an honorary pedestal made of Kyrrhos stone erected by the town of Pella between 285-281 BC, to pay homage to its benefactor Bithys son of Cleon, trusted friend and companion of Lysimachos, king of Macedonia after the death of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pieces of marble blocks were likewise found, bearing fragmentary Latin inscriptions from the late Roman period. One of these, which had initially been built into the wall of the colony's assembly hall (*bouleuterion*), preserves inscriptions of a public nature (edicts and letters) in Greek and Latin, that refer to the problems created in the colony by the public road (*Cursus Publicus*), i.e. the Via Egnatia and its services, during the reign of Constantius II (circa mid-4th cent. AD).

Finds originating from the colony include: a pedestal to honour the emperor Septimius Severus, and various marble grave monuments, such as reliefs in a circle (*imagines clipeatae*), plaques with funerary inscriptions (some bilingual, i.e. written in both Latin and Greek owing to the Italian origin of their owners) incorporated into grave structures such as those of: Athenodoros son of Leon, Caius Fictorius, Artemisia, Marcia and Ingenua, slave of Viratius Camerinus; grave stelae, such as that of Euporia, daughter of Pylades, or of Alexander the physician, and relief stelae depicting a mounted hero (*hero equitans*), etc.

The total area of the colony's territory is not known, nor whether the neighbouring cities, such as Ichnae, Atalante and Tyrissa were part of it. In any event, within a perimeter of 10 km, towns and farms have been found near the modern settlements of Palaia Pella, Nea Pella, Rachona, Agrosykia, Archontiko, Damiano, Pantaplatanios, Paralimni and Giannitsa, in which various funerary and votive monuments have been discovered. From the settlement on the "Krevatia" site on the Giannitsa plain, has come the relief grave stele of T(itus) Publicius Severus, a marble votive eagle of Zeus Hypsistos, and a marble slab with an inscription of



Reverse of a bronze coin of the Roman colony of Pella under Gordian III. Tyche, the enthroned personification of Pella, surrounded by an inscription with the name of the city: C(OLONIA) IULI(A) AUG(USTA) PELLA.



Reverse of a bronze coin of the Roman colony of Pella under Hadrian, with a representation of Pan, god of pastures and forests, seated on a rock to the left and holding his right hand up to his head. His left hand rests on a syrinx, his emblem, which is lying on a rock. All around is the inscription with the name of the city: C(OLONIA) IULI(A) AUG(USTA) PELLA.



Marble relief in the form of a niche depicting three Nymphs each holding an oinochoe. Found in the so-called "Baths of Alexander the Great" in Nea Pella, where there was once a sanctuary to the Nymphs. Late Hellenistic period.

liberation to the Syrian goddess Parthenos Gyrviatissa, i.e. Atargatis in her local title of Gyrviatissa. A few grave monuments have come from Archontiko and Agrosykia, while in the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos that existed in the latter town, an inscribed marble relief eagle was found, a votive offering by Euphras, manager of the farm of Aelia Savinna.

The cemetery of Roman Pella

Most of the 500 pit, roof-tile covered or cist graves that have been investigated in recent decades, on the occasion of public works, contained cremations and burials, whereas after the 2nd cent. AD, only burials have been found. As noted earlier, the graves belong to the west cemetery of the settlement of the Roman period, which was established in the southernmost part of Hellenistic Pella. They could also have belonged to the inhabitants of the colony itself. They contained many and varied grave goods, such as silver and bronze coins, and gold *danakes* as obols for Charon. Gold, silver and bronze signet rings, inscribed and not. Gold earrings and chains. Pendants and necklaces of gold, silver, bronze or other materials (precious stones, glass, faience, etc.). Silver, bronze or iron fibulae and pins. Small wooden toiletries and jewel boxes with metal accessories, bronze and bone cylindrical pyxides for toiletries. Bronze, iron and bone utensils for applying cosmetics, and marble or stone toiletry tablets, silver, bronze or silver-plated bronze mirrors. Metal accessories on belts, bronze needles, iron knives, iron and bronze strigils, bronze medical instruments, small bronze bells, bone dice, glass game counters, clay and bone spindle whorls. Terracotta toys (horse with rider and four wheels, rattles in the shape of a hare or a reclining nude youthful figure), terracotta figurines of animals as well as male and female figures. There are terracotta figurines of Eros and Aphrodite in a wide variety of types, as well as clay pots (amphoras, oinochoes, jugs, one or two-handled cooking pots, one or two-handled drinking cups, plates, lekane, bowls, unguentaria, lamps, inkwells, phiales and askoi). There are likewise many different types of lamps, of widespread origin. A large number bear no decoration, although many are adorned with relief plant and geometric motifs. The disks on many lamps are decorated with relief animals (lion, ram, bear, dog), deities (Helios, Serapis), or their symbols (ship of Isis, olive-wreathed owl, eagle, bucranium, gorgon's head), as well as with scenes from both public and private life (gladiator and love scene respectively). Lovely examples of the glassmaker's art have been found in several graves, presenting a wide variety of shapes, sizes, chromatic range and decoration. Bronze vessels are rare (aryballoi, small lekythos and phiale), as are iron ones (oinochoe and lamp).



Two intact and one fragmentary marble funerary circular reliefs (clipeatae imagines) of the Roman period. From the Roman colony of Pella and its region.

Above left: Bust of a man clad in a chiton and himation, and on the right, the bust of a woman in a chiton with a himation that also covers her head (right).

Below left: Bust of a youth.

Right: Intact section of the border and head of the bust of a woman whose head is covered by a himation.



The upper section of a marble relief grave stele with pediment from the Roman period, from which a woman's head has been preserved on the left, that of a man on the right and of a youth in the middle, members of the same family. It was found in Chalcedon, prefecture of Thessaloniki, where there was a settlement belonging to the Roman colony of Pella.



Relief marble grave stele with pediment from the Roman colony of Pella. The inscription carved on the pediment in Macedonian chronology 182 (34 AD) declares that it was erected over the grave of Euporia by Piste, her mother, and Eunymphos, her husband. Three standing figures are represented: a man in the middle clad in a chiton and himation, and two women, one on either side, also wearing chiton and himation. In the space between the man and the woman on the right is the bust of a nude youth (Zosimos).



Four clay vases (askos, two skyphoi and an inscribed cup without handles) from graves in the Roman colony of Pella.



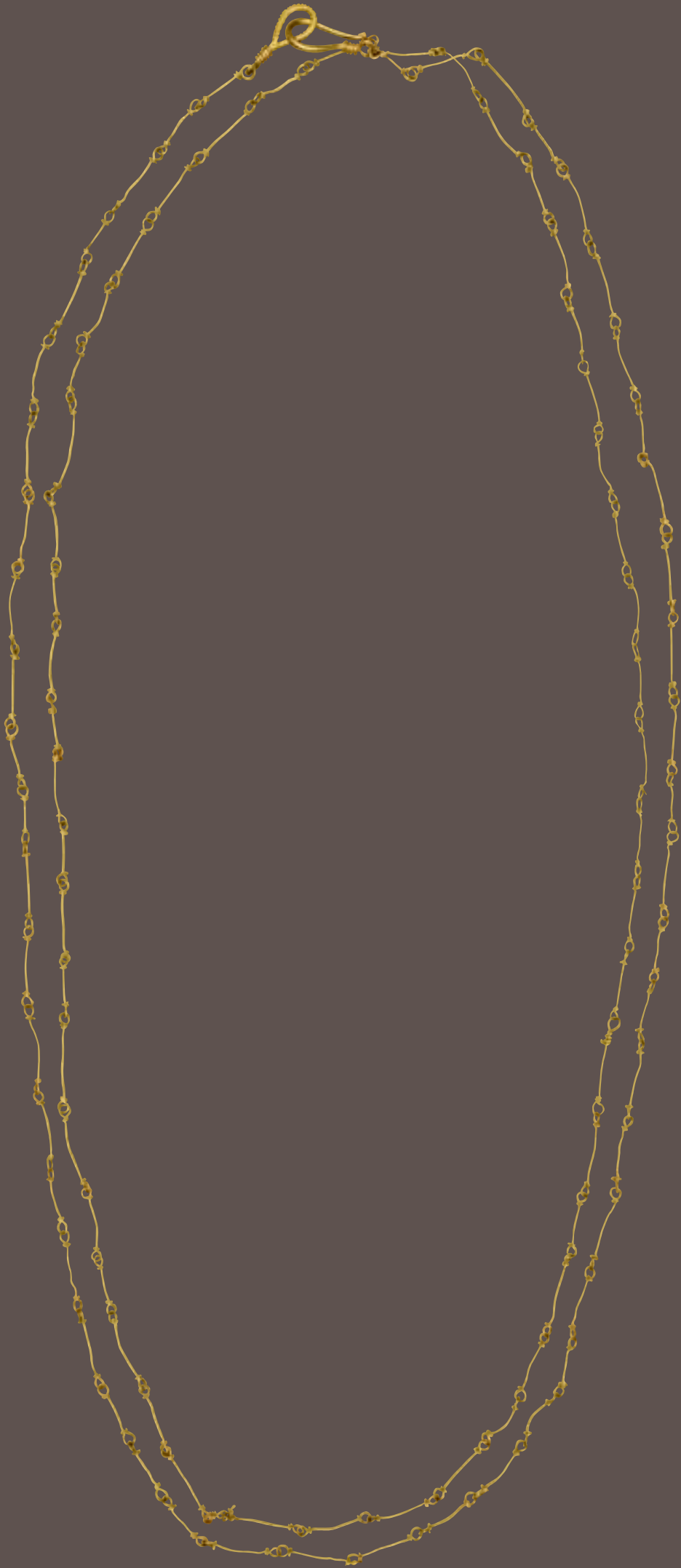
*ON PAGE 292:
Gold jewellery (chain, six hoop earrings, and a ring bearing a gem carved with the representation of a standing mythical male figure). From graves of the Roman colony of Pella.*

*ON PAGE 293:
Glass seal-gemstone with a representation of Hermes, god of commerce, crowning the Egyptian goddess Isis Euploia-Pelagia. From a grave in the Roman colony of Pella.*



Three polychrome glass unguentaria and a pale green glass cup without handles, the body of which is decorated with blisters, as was customary on vases of the 3rd cent. AD. From graves of the Roman colony of Pella.









Above, and below right: Two terracotta figurines of standing, semi-nude Aphrodite.

Below left: Terracotta figurine of a boy (Eros) playing with a bird.

From graves in the Roman colony of Pella.





*Terracotta figurines from graves in the Roman colony of Pella:
Above: Stylised armed figure on a horse with holes for four wheels (toy).*

Left: A New Comedy actor (slave) seated at an altar.

Below right: Eros.







Gold jewellery from graves in the Roman colony of Pella. Above: A pair of earrings. Below: Four rings. The one on the upper right has a dark semi-precious stone and a laurel wreath, rendered in white glass paste. The ring at bottom left has an incised inscription with the name of its owner, ΧΡΗΣΤΗΣ.



Terracotta figurine of Aphrodite Anadyomene, nude with a small dolphin added to her right shoulder. From a grave in the Roman colony of Pella.



THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENT OF ARCHONTIKO

A MACEDONIAN BASE OF OPERATIONS IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

IN THE LAND OF THE RIVER LOUDIAS, “famed for horses”, the Father-Stream, according to Euripides’ *Bacchae*, grants prosperity to the richly pastured Bottiaia plain. On this land and on the age-old road linking East and West (later the Via Egnatia) is located the ancient settlement of Archontiko, 4.5 km. NW of Pella. The settlement with its cemeteries, as proven by the results to date of the archaeological investigations conducted in a number of ancient settlements, was the predecessor of Pella, the second capital of the Macedonians. It presents the picture, known over the entire Macedonian plain, of the old settlements visible on the low hills that led up to the mountain foothills and monitored large expanses of land. To the south rises the prehistoric mound (*toumba*) in front of which lay the tablelands (*trapezae*) of the Iron Age and the historic period. In all eras, the mound and the upper tableland essentially constituted the acropolis of the settlement, as it spread out over the surrounding area.

Even though the settlement dominates the region, it attracted only minimal interest on the part of foreign travellers in the 19th and early 20th century, and was not even identified until 1980, after which a continuous effort was made and a number of initiatives taken both to ensure that the site became the responsibility of the Archaeological Service and to prepare for its systematic excavation, which began in 1992.

The surface investigation revealed that habitation of the settlement had started in the early Neolithic. When the mound was excavated by the Department of Prehistory at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in addition to the stratigraphic exploration of all prehistoric periods, Bronze Age habitation phases came to light on its eastern flank. The most significant remains of the early Bronze Age (2300-1900 BC) belong to adjacent groups of pile-dwellings, inside which were found clusters of clay structures (ovens, platforms, granaries, etc.) together with household effects, i.e. the storage and cooking vessels, high quality pots and tools that served the daily needs of its inhabitants (lighting, heating, cooking and storage).

The excavation of an area 400m² in the centre of the flat tableland by the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities between 1992 and 1998, and the limited test sections taken in the surrounding region, unearthed the ruins of buildings dating from the late Iron Age (late 8th-early 7th cent. BC) to the late Byzantine period. Among the Iron Age architectural remains are parallel walls of a fair height, oriented consistently along the geographic axes, so the spaces thus created are also of constant proportions. It has not, however, been possible

Archontiko. Western cemetery: Detail of the gold breastplate on the leather cuirass of the warrior in grave 194. The plate is also shown on p. 307, above.



Aerial photograph of the ancient settlement of Archontiko Pella.

to restore building façades because the exploration was discontinued. The walls were built with rubble masonry and argillaceous soil to a certain height, and were then coated with a clayey material that provided cohesion with the mud bricks of the superstructure. Inside, the floors are laid with clay, and under them, storage areas have been hewn into the rock. In about the centre of the excavated site a built oval structure came to light, whose shape is reminiscent of pottery kilns. From the deepest points of the sections, imported vases were found that corroborated the dating of the structure to the late Geometric period and later. Inside the buildings, large numbers of vases were also found that are characteristic of Macedonian pottery as a whole (silver-coloured, gold-coloured and late matt-painted ware) with decorative motifs painted on their surface. The imported vessels (amphoras from Attica, Chios and elsewhere, along with fragments of other Attic and Corinthian vases), likewise testify that the settlement was open to commerce and trade. The same picture is presented by miniature art as, in addition to bronze Macedonian jewellery, a pendant was found in the form of a faience falcon, a representation of the Egyptian god Horus.

Part of a house built on top of previous construction phases in the middle of the tableland has been dated to the early Hellenistic period, on the basis of coins and pottery. The discovery of sections of a defensive wall from the same historical period was even more important as it proved that the ancient settlement of Archontiko continued to function – parallel to the capital, Pella – as a significant, organised place of refuge for the people of the surrounding countryside. The defensive walls in the upper tableland and the separated wall on the north base of the mound were built with re-used material, from which it can be concluded that their construction was related to the Galatian raids that began in 279 BC, and that their purpose was to help save the inhabitants of the settlement from the barbarians, who were unfamiliar with siege techniques.

Our knowledge of the settlement has been broadened by the antiquities collected, as well by the rescue or test excavations that were conducted in its east, southwest and, above all, west cemetery, between 2000 and 2010. In the more extensive presentation of the western cemetery that follows, particularly during the Archaic period, an overall picture is revealed of the Macedonian warrior society that had settled in Archontiko as early as the second half of the 7th cent. BC, and had transformed it into not just a base of operation for the further expansion of the Macedonian kingdom, but also a significant trading centre for eastern Mediterranean commercial products. Grave monuments are still being found in the cemeteries, such as a marble sphinx from a funerary throne dating to the years of the Severe Style and the marble funerary pillar of Mamala, daughter of Eukolinos and wife of Diodoros, from the late 4th cent. BC.

In the southwest cemetery of the settlement a unique tumulus came to light (diam. 50 m.) on a circular stone crepis (foundation) (perim. 314 m., 2.80 m. high) whose fourth course bore relief Macedonian-type shields (diam. 0.62 m.) at intervals. On the east side of the crepida is a sloping ceremonial passage way (*dromos*) (10 m. long) with stone retaining walls leading to an intermediate area (3.50x4.25 m.) and then to a deeper pit (4.70x7.80 m.), the purpose of which was to contain a two-chamber Macedonian tomb. The stone-cutting work on the crepida was never completed; the tomb that had been planned was not built and the tumulus was raised no higher. The monument was intended for some officer in the Macedonian phalanx or in some special infantry corps, such as the royal squad of shield-bearers, the Hypaspists. Another tumulus (diam. 100 m. and 3 m. high) with a long *dromos* leading to a pit (8x9.30 m.) that was also intended for a two-chamber Macedonian tomb was found north of the “Royal Road” on the crest of a low hill on the “Akritsa” site, 2.10 km. NNW of the settlement of Archontiko. These monuments remained half-finished as a result of the Galatian raids mentioned earlier.

Explorations to date in the ancient settlement of Archontiko and its cemeteries have confirmed its significance as a leading city on a strategic site that monitored a broad, fertile region and ensured adequate food supplies for the population as well as an opportunity for export trade. This may be the town of Tyrissa, which is referred to by Livy (IV, 34) as a city between Pella and Kyrrhos; the geographer Claudius Ptolemaios (III, 36) describes it as being after Europos.



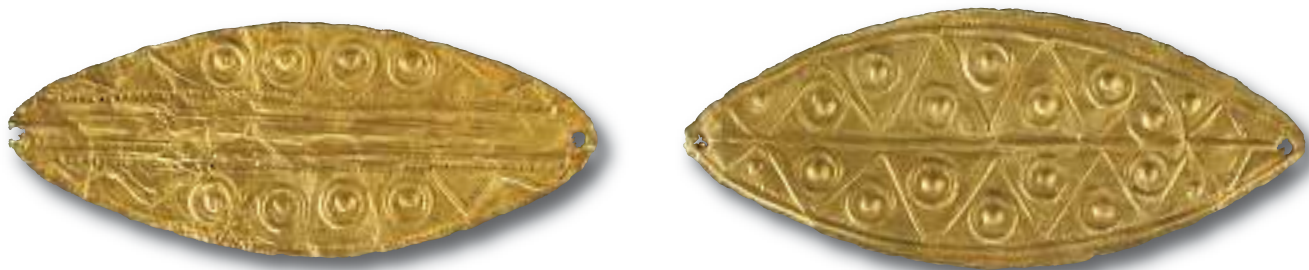
Marble head of a helmeted warrior, from a relief grave stele of the late Classical period. It was built into a partition wall in the settlement at the time of the Galatian raids.

Pendant of a blue faience falcon, symbol of the Egyptian god Horus. From the settlement's tableland. 6th cent. BC.



THE “GOLD-WEARING” MACEDONIANS FROM THE WESTERN CEMETERY IN ARCHONTIKO, NEAR PELLA

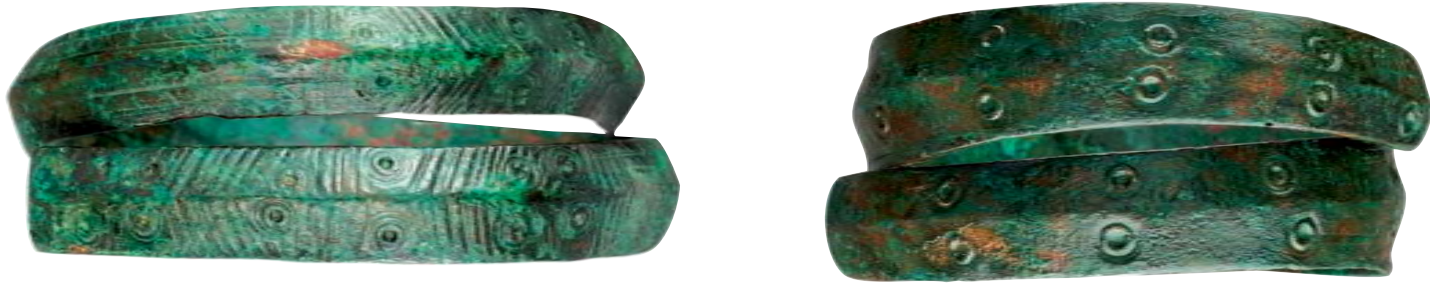
THE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE TABLELAND of the ancient settlement of Archontiko carried out between 1992 and 1998 were followed, from 2000 on, by a rescue excavation in its western cemetery, which proved to be the largest and most significant of all. It is 1 km. west of the settlement and is believed to occupy a total area of 20 hectares on both “Hill 69” and the eastern slopes of the higher hill to the west. The number of graves explored between 2000 and 2010 was 1001, covering an area of 1.1 hectares. Of these graves, 260 are from the late Iron Age, 474 from the Archaic period, 261 from the Classical and early Hellenistic times, and another 6 are of undetermined date.



Graves of the late Iron Age (second half of the 7th cent. to 580 BC)

Creations in earthenware jars, removals of remains and double interments are encountered rarely. More frequently, bodies are stretched out in pit graves, fewer in cist graves, with various orientations. Although 16% of burials are without grave goods, the majority are accompanied by metal jewellery, iron knives and clay vases (bowls and kantharoid cups, kantharoid cotyles, pitchers and skyphoi and, more rarely, feeders and small water jugs, small amphoras and pithoid jars) that were placed beside the legs or head. Local unpainted pottery was used almost exclusively and is difficult to date with any accuracy. In contrast, few vases with fluted, incised or painted geometric decoration have been found in graves. Distinguishing gender by means of grave goods or orientation is usually not possible. Some men’s graves can be identified by their whetstones, iron weapons (swords, spearheads, daggers) and metal jewellery (rings, pins, etc.). Women’s graves can be distinguished by their clay spindle whorls and bronze needles that indicate their main occupations when they were alive. Some are accompanied by necklaces of amber, glass, stone or faience beads, as well as jewellery of gold (mouthpieces, earrings, hair spirals [*sphikotires*], pendants, beads), bronze (spiraliform hair strips [*syringes*], earrings, pendants, beads, collars [*torques*], pins, spectacle fibulae, omphalia, bracelets, rings, etc.), and iron (pins, rings etc.), which likewise fail to offer reliable evidence for dating.

Gold mouthpieces with embossed geometric decoration from two interments of girls. Late Iron Age (late 7th-early 6th cent. BC).



Bronze bracelets with geometric decoration, from two interments of girls. Late Iron Age (late 7th-early 6th cent. BC.).



Six clay vases from pit graves of the late Iron Age (second half of the 7th cent. - to 580 BC). Two one-handled kantharoid cups, two two-handled cups, a jug (prochous) with cut-away neck and a two-handle kantharoid kotyle.





The richly gifted warrior in grave 443.

The richly gifted warrior in grave 131.



Graves of the Archaic period (580-480 BC)

There were 223 graves of males, 213 of females and 38 of indistinguishable gender from the Archaic period, providing a clear picture of the prosperous society of Archontiko at that time. New burial customs appeared at the beginning of this period. The majority of bodies were interred in pit graves, and only a limited number of cremations have been found. Many graves, which are usually covered by a barrier of stones providing further protection for the dead and their rich funerary gifts, have monumental dimensions with steps on one long side to facilitate carrying the sarcophagus down to the grave floor. The dead are placed stretched out in wooden sarcophagi, women with their head facing east, north or south (never west), and men with their head facing west, north or south (never east). Multiple grave gifts are found in adults' graves, as well as in those of young people, symbolising their ideal social identity. The variety, quality and richness of funerary gifts, which are not different in men's and women's graves, argue in favour of the existence of social stratification, as well as the significance attached by the society to the act of burial, placing a large number of specially-produced, precious objects into graves.

Men's graves

In most men's graves the bodies are clad in armour, a custom also known among the Thessalians and Epirotes at the same period. Differentiations in their weaponry and the continued use of other grave goods have made it possible to classify the armoured graves into four categories. To the first belong warriors with one or two spearheads and a knife, in addition to a few other objects. In the second category, in addition to the spearheads and knife were: a sword, jewellery, and vessels of clay and bronze (a *lebes* and one or more *phiales*). Warriors in the third category are divided into two groups, both accompanied by a bronze helmet. In the first group, the warrior's helmet has no gold decoration, and the grave gifts are in general comparatively limited; although there had to be a gold mouthpiece. In the second group there are more grave goods of higher quality, and the warrior's helmet is decorated with gold bands or other pieces of gold foil. Some warriors are accompanied by gold diadems or crowns (T 9, T 89, T 135A), strips for the face [one single gold covering for the eyes (*epophthalmion*) with eye decoration, gold or gilt silver circular plates with embossed eyes or rosettes, together with a large gold mouthpiece] and other plates decorating a leather breastplate, leather hand coverings, clothing and footwear (T 194, T 410, T 412, T 443, T 774, T 795A).

There are eight warriors in the fourth category (T 131, T 145, T 258A, T 279, T 280, T 283, T 443, T 692), who create a striking impression owing to the wealth and quality of their grave goods. They are accompanied in addition by a bronze shield and gold mask. The sole exception is the warrior in grave T 443, who is wearing, instead of a mask, a unique mouthpiece.

This cemetery has yielded 44 helmets; those of another 38 warriors in the third and fourth category were looted mainly by contemporary grave-robbers. The helmets, virtually all of which belong to the Macedonian (formerly called "Illyrian") type, present a wide range of manufacture and decoration. Eleven are decorated with

strips of gold and other sheet metals around the facial opening and sometimes on the *epikranon*. The helmet belonging to the warrior in grave T 280, which was a product of particularly high technology, has broad gold bands decorated with rosettes, guilloches and Ionic moulding around the facial opening, on the dome, and along the ribs of the *epikranon*. The helmet of the warrior in T 189 is the sole instance in which the features of the so-called “Illyrian” and Chalcidian types are combined. Also, a group of three helmets belonging to the warriors in graves number T 145, T 279 and T 692 in the fourth category are characterised as “Illyro-Corinthian”, owing to the combination of “Illyrian” and Corinthian features. On the forehead of the helmets belonging to the two latter warriors, two facing lions were incised striding with the foreleg raised and head turned back. The helmets in this group, like similar ones from other regions of Macedonia, were produced by the same Macedonian workshop.

Six warriors in the fourth category (T 131, T 258A, T 279, T 280, T 283 and T 692) were found with bronze Argive shields. On the bar (*ochanon*) across the concave back of the shield belonging to the warrior in grave T 131 are embossed scenes of lions rampant, Gorgons running with sharply bent knees, Europa seated on the back of Zeus-as-bull, and a youth mounted on a horse, while the trapezoidal attachment plaques depict a Nike leading a quadriga flanked by nude youths. The scene with the mounted warrior is repeated on the four metopes of the *ochanon* on the shield from grave T 692. The warriors in graves T 145 and T 443, in contrast, were accompanied by a small bronze shield of the “heart-protecting” type.

Many different types of swords and knives can be found in terms of their size and the decoration on their hilt. The swords of distinguished warriors are embellished with gold strips on the hilt, which was usually wooden. In one case, the hilt was ivory with inlays of amber. Some swords are of the sickle-shaped *kopis*-type with an eagle’s head finial.

Women’s graves

Alongside the “gold-wearing” warriors were distinguished ladies, the mothers, wives or sisters of the warriors in the third and fourth categories, who were buried in their wedding dress. They present a similar gradation in their funerary gifts that is reflected in the greater number of precious jewels and other grave goods. From the third category of graves, the most noteworthy are graves T 197, T 359, T 433, T 688 and T 738. In the fourth category are the female burials T 198, T 262, T 505 and T 458, in which they are accompanied by a mask and other lavish grave goods.

Gold rosettes, bands and other pieces of sheet gold (more rarely silver or gilt silver) adorn the weapons (helmet, sword, shield), leather breastplate, leather hand covering, clothing and footwear of warriors in the third and fourth category. The clothing and footwear of the women in these two categories are likewise decorated with gold rosettes, bands and sheets.

Some women were wearing gold band-diadems and more rarely gilt silver ones, usually with embossed decoration. Of special interest are the two diadems of the woman in grave T 458, that depict an equestrian hunter and a frieze with wild animals. Many other ladies were wearing bands of some organic material, possibly leather, as diadems with attached gold rosettes.



Above: Thick gold "rhomboid" breastplate that decorated the leather cuirass of warrior 194. On the two metopes of its middle section, two lions rampant are represented with their head turned, surrounded by plant motifs. The emblems of vigour and supremacy on the central metopes are surrounded by supplementary plant and geometric motifs, which in turn are flanked by a fishbone motif. Circa 560 BC.



Gold mouthpiece and gold trapezoidal plate to decorate the leather hand covering of the warrior in grave 795A. They are embellished with overlapping composite rosettes and a gorgoneion. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



There is a striking group of gold death masks and sheet gold facial pieces (eye coverings and mouthpieces). There are seven masks, four of which belong to men (T 145, 3rd quarter of the 6th cent. BC; T 279, c. mid-6th cent. BC; T 280, after the mid-6th cent. BC; and T 692, after 530 BC) and three to women (T 198, c. 540 BC; T 262, 530/20 BC; and T 458, 540/30 BC). The mask of the lady in the latter grave is unique, as it is bordered on the top and bottom with a quilloche; in the place of the eyes there are four-point stars (suns), and in the mouth area there is a rhomboid mouthpiece decorated at the corners with leaves, in the middle with facing, striding felines, and on the top and bottom with dolphins, motifs that suggest the sky, earth and sea respectively. Another two rectangular sheets, one gold (male burial T 131, 530/20 BC) and one gilt silver (female burial T 505, 525/510 BC) functioned as masks, as did similar sheets from Sindos. The gold sheet in grave T 131 bears two heraldic lions rampant with their heads looking backwards, surrounded by plant motifs.

Gold and more rarely gilt silver mouthpieces, together with one double or two single eye coverings were substitutes for masks. The majority of mouthpieces are rhomboid in shape, but can also be found in different variations. They usually bear embossed plant motifs, and more rarely stippled geometric motifs or other representations. Some mouthpieces are fairly large with plant or other decoration, including composite rosettes and a gorgoneion. Worthy of note are several mouthpieces that depict a lioness with her cub walking to the right; in the background is a tree with a bird in it. Finally, a unique mouthpiece belonged to the warrior in grave T 443, which bears two heraldic lions rampant with their heads turned, and plant motifs all around.

The custom of the gold death mask began on Macedonian soil in the Archaic period. The oldest masks known to date have been found in Archontiko. It has been argued that the adoption of this custom reinforced the Temenids' claim to Argive origin, thereby serving the Macedonian dynasty in many and various ways. It permitted the Temenids, as the sole descendents of Herakles, to monopolise the right to the Macedonian throne by emphasising their kinship with the powerful Doric world of the Peloponnese and their Hellenic origin through Herakles, and also allowed them to impose their pre-eminence and power not only on the Macedonians, but also on the independent colonised Greek cities in the region. The mythical creatures (sphinxes, gorgons), lions or other felines, dolphins, birds, trees, plant and geometric motifs, and astral symbols that decorate the masks and other strips of gold contain cosmological themes, religious symbolism and views of the next life, focusing on the idea of the passage of the dead person's soul into the Afterlife. According to a view cited occasionally in the mythological sources, a special place was provided after death for the people who had in some way lived a distinguished life. This special place, the Elysian Fields or Isles of the Blessed, a place equivalent to the Elysian Fields, was where a heavenly life was lived after death, not as a subdivision of Hades, but as an alternative destination.

Gold mask of the warrior in grave 279. Conventional facial features can be discerned, especially the eyebrows, nose and mouth. In place of the eyes are eight-petal rosettes. The mask is decorated all around with alternating triangles in a band; at each of the four corners there is a hole by which it was secured. The mask, together with the helmet, is illustrated on p. 387. The grave dates to about the mid-6th cent. BC.

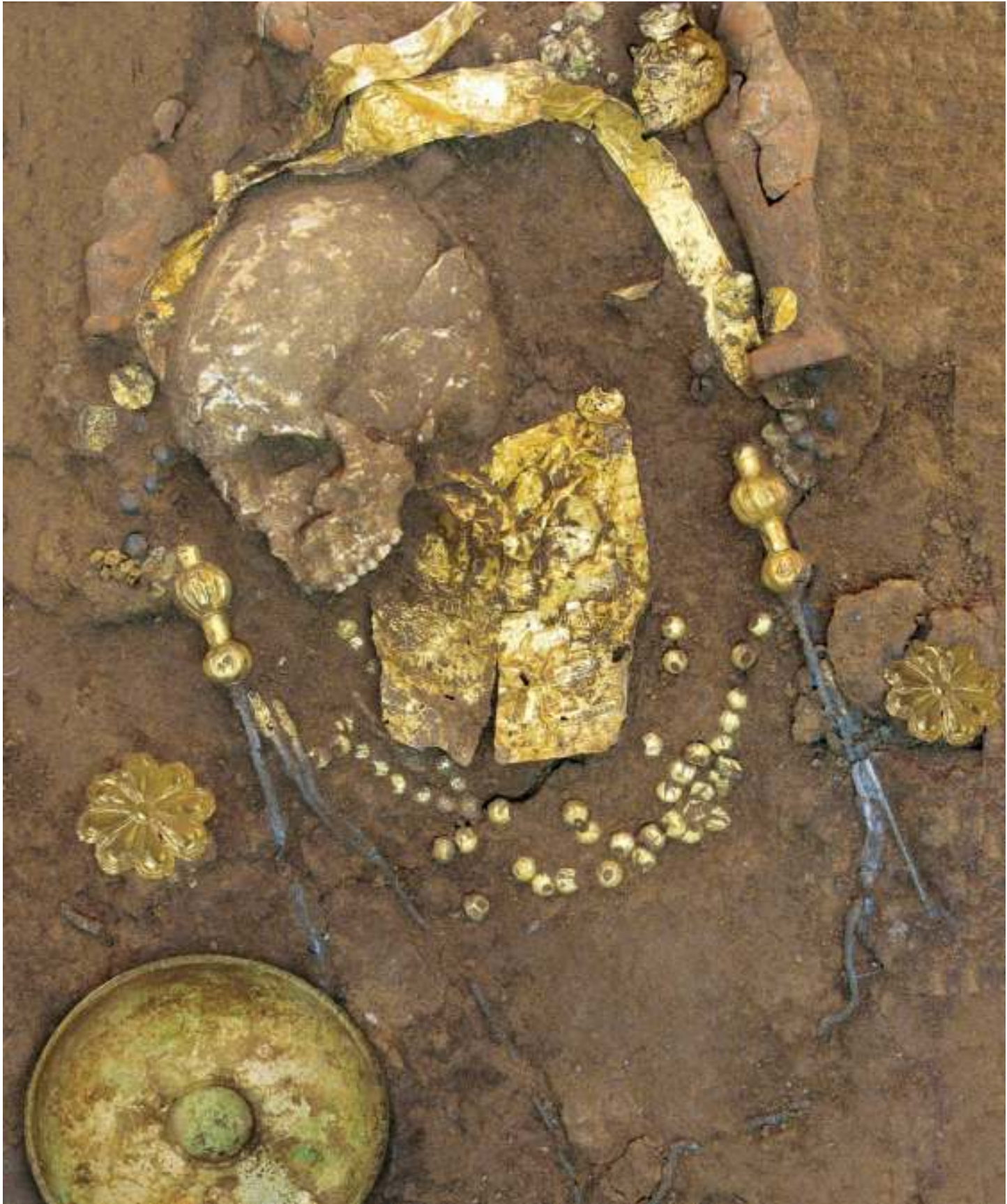


The richly gifted woman's grave 738.

Rare jewellery, such as two gold *sphikotires* (spiral pieces to hold back the curls that flank the face) and three long gold filigree coil-shaped *syringes* were the hair ornaments of the lady in grave T 198. There is a wide variety of earring types, the majority of which are made of gold, silver and bronze in the shape of an omega, ending in snake-heads, conic bunches of grapes or flower buds. Outstanding among them is the category of elaborate gold band earrings as well as their gold foil substitutes. There is also a wide variety of pins, the simplest of which were iron. Some of them have globular beads strung on them and tiny disks of amber or ivory on top. Others have a bronze, gilt silver or gold-plated head. Bronze pins were made in various types with combinations of gold, silver or iron on their separate parts. Silver pins also present a wide range of typology. The most impressive are from grave T 198 with a silver needle and two large globular gold heads decorated in the filigree technique, culminating in a blossom (pomegranate), as well as those from grave T 458 with a gilt silver pin and two large golden globular poppy heads with a cylindrical stalk between them. Pairs of valuable silver pins with a disk-shaped head decorated with an embossed rosette were found in nine women's graves. Necklaces were made with beads of various shapes and materials, such as gold, silver, amber, faience, glass, semi-precious stones, bone or ivory, and in one case cowry (*Cypraea moneta*) shells. The necklaces from women's graves T 198, T 262 and T 458 consist of gold beads that were globular, amphiconic or amphiconic with cylindrical extensions. Pendants are usually made of gold in the shape of either pointed or rounded amphoras, and more rarely in the shape of a pyramid, cone, cylinder, sphere or double axe. Of particular note are: the finely crafted pendant from grave T 198 (pyramid-shaped with granulated and filigree decoration and a floral finial with three leaves at the apex), the pendants from graves T 431 and T 465 (in the conic shape of a bunch of grapes), and the one from T 738 (in the shape of a pointed storage jar of webbed filigree). Metal bow-shaped brooches (*fibulae*) are encountered in some graves. Bronze spectacle fibulae, as well as violin-shaped ones, known types of jewellery from the Iron Age, continue to be found

sporadically. Silver chains, also known from Sindos and Trebeniste, would hang on the breast, pinned to the clothing with bow-shaped brooches (*fibulae*) or pins. The chain of the dead woman in grave T 359 is remarkable, as its tips split into twin branches that end in semi-cylindrical finials, bearing gilt snake-heads and loops. The point from which each branch sprouts is covered by a conic calyx to which an additional plaque was attached. There were similar plaques in the middle, as well as in the intervening spaces. Affixed to the main rectangular plaque were gilt silver lions between which was the embossed gilt head of the Mistress of Animals (*Potnia Theron*) with her hair dressed in the Daedalic style; heads of the same goddess were attached to the upper plaques. Most of the copper and silver bracelets have plain or truncated conic finials and more rarely snake-heads. The gold rings destined for funerary use consisted of a thin or thick circle, convex on the outside and concave inside, covering another ring of perishable material, perhaps wood, that disintegrated. Just a few of the dead were accompanied by precious gold or silver rings. And finally, there were eye-beads and more rarely poppy-seedpod apotropaic beads made of glass or faience.

Clay pots from local ceramic workshops – old shapes, symposium vessels, but also libation vessels, such as kantharoid and other cups and pitchers – continued to be produced in a variety of types, sizes and colours of clay and slip. Other shapes too appear frequently, such as cauldrons (*lebetes*), column kraters, kantharoid kotyles, kantharoi, exaleiptra, kotyles, kylikes and oinochoes, whereas amphoras, cooking pots (*chytrai*), water jars (*hydriai*), skyphoi, oblong cups that narrow in the middle (*karchesia*) and shallow basins (*lekane*s) are encountered less often. Also present are kraters with a specific plant decoration that indicate their origin from workshops in Chalcidice. The stemless cups (*kylikes*, *skyphoi*) with a row of dots on the shoulder panel originated from Thasos. Large numbers of vases were imported from the Aegean islands and coastal cities of Asia Minor. Particularly numerous are Ionian cups and their local imitations. Grey-black Ionian ware (Bucchero) comprised mainly small oinochoes, phiales, kylikes and alabastra; and even their local imitations are of interest. Outstanding among Chian products is the calyx bearing the representation of a roaring lion sitting on its hind legs looking right. The many Middle and Late Corinthian vases exhibit a wide variety of types, sizes and decoration. Attic pottery is likewise represented by a large number of vessels. There is output from many known pottery workshops, attributed to eponymous painters, groups or workshops. Indicative reference is made to: the amphoras of a uniform outline on whose metopes are depicted either sphinxes with open wings flanked by swans, or panthers, works by “the Painter of the Panther Amphoriskoi”; the amphoras of the C type by the “Group of horse-head amphorae”; black-figure column kraters (for mixing wine and water at symposia) with scenes of animals and birds that were produced by a workshop in imitation of vases from the workshop of Lydos; lekanides by the “Polos Painter”; kylikes of the Sianna type by the “C Painter”, the “Taras Painter” and the “Malibu Painter”; cups of the Sianna type, miniature band cups from the workshop of the “Griffin-Bird Painter”, the “Running Men Painter” and the “Elbow out Painter”; cups of the Droop, Kassel, Cracow, Rheneia, C and “Athens 1104” types; cups with palmettes and lotus buds; cups with lotus buds, miniature band cups with Sirens, Sirens and cockerels; cups with scenes from daily life, like that of the “erotic conversation” between men and youths, or with facing bulls, horsemen and hoplites; cups with mythological scenes, such as Herakles with the Nemean lion, satyrs and maenads, eye-cups or miniature rimmed cups, and a Siren with open wings turning her head as a medallion on the inside; skyphoi of the “CHC Group”,



In the upper part of grave 458, a richly gifted woman's body was found adorned with an impressive amount of jewellery: two gold diadems on her head, gold rosettes and two types of gilt silver beads on her headdress, a gold mask on her face, gold necklace and a vase-shaped pendant at her neck, two gold rosettes on her shoulders and a silver chain that was held on her chest by two gold pins with a gilt silver needle.

with Dionysian and other scenes; the round-mouthed pitcher (*olpe*) depicting Dionysos and his thiasos; small oinochoes, hydriai and lekythoi belonging to the “Vatican G 52 Group”, the lekythoi of the “Warrior Departure Group”; the lekythoi and cups by the “Haemon Painter”; the skyphoi with apotropaic eyes and seated sphinxes, sphinxes with Dionysian or other figures, etc., as well as the skyphos that depicts a warrior kneeling between eyes on one side and a mounted warrior on the other.

Bronze vessels were either imported or created by travelling artisans and workshops. The richly gifted dead, in addition to the *lebes* and *phiales*, are accompanied by an *exaleiptron* (cosmetics container) and a beaked pitcher, or trefoil oinochoe. Bronze vases such as a hydria, cylindrical pyxis, lekane, skyphos, olpe, kantharoid vessel and gilt silver phiale, appear just once.

The polychrome glass and faience perfume vessels (small and regular oinochoes, aryballoi and small amphoras) were produced by workshops in the eastern Mediterranean, on Rhodes and in cities of the Black Sea.

A total of 106 clay and 5 faience plastic vessels have been found, as well as more than 170 clay and 3 faience figurines, and 14 clay busts. The moulded faience vessels are in the shape of either the head of the river god Achelous or a hedgehog, whereas the faience figurines are kneeling priestly figures and the crouching nude figure of a Negro child. These are products of a workshop in Rhodes, Samos or Miletus. The many plastic clay vases and terracotta figurines, which were produced mainly in eastern Ionia or Rhodes and as well as the “local” imitations, include well-known, rare or even unique types. Many of them are distinguished for their size and well-preserved colours.

And finally, there is an iron *exaleiptron* with bronze spool-form handles and two gilt silver omphalos phialae, one of which has been preserved in almost perfect condition. Warriors of the third and fourth category are also accompanied by symbolic objects, iron replicas of a two-wheeled farm cart, furniture (table and couch) and a bundle of spits with their forked stands (firedogs). Women in the corresponding categories are accompanied in death by iron replicas of furniture and of a four-wheeled farm cart.

Graves of the Classical and early Hellenistic period (480-279 BC)

Graves of the Classical and early Hellenistic period constitute a significant group and are mainly pit graves, frequently tile-covered, with just a few built cist graves. Pit graves often took on monumental dimensions and were usually protected by a stone barrier. The bodies are laid out flat with arms along the sides, initially in wooden sarcophagi and later on couches or biers. From the late 5th to the early 4th cent. BC new funerary customs became established. Women’s heads were always placed looking east and men’s looking west. This was also when the custom first appeared of offering a coin (obol) to Charon, mainly coinage issued by Macedonian kings, but also by Chalcidian, Thessalian or Boeotian cities. Young people, whose life had ended early and unexpectedly, are accompanied by more grave goods, such as bone dice, metal jewels, sometimes glass but especially clay vessels, terracotta figurines [standing and seated figures of Aphrodite and Eros, standing and seated young female figures, standing and seated Macedonian youths wearing their characteristic hat (*kausia*), crouching children’s figures,



Three elaborate gold pendants, of rare types, with filigree and granulated decoration from richly gifted women's graves 738, 198 and 431 of the Archaic period.



Two spiral gold clasps (sphikotires) to hold the curls flanking the face of the lady in grave 198. The grave dates to about 540 BC.



Six gold vase-shaped pendants decorated with filigree and granulation, from women's graves of the Archaic period.



animals, etc.] and busts of various types and sizes portraying female deities of fertility and the Underworld (Persephone, Aphrodite). Two marvellous terracotta figurines of the late Classical period are products of a Boeotian workshop: an Aphrodite standing on a round base wearing a chiton and himation with her left breast bared, and a young woman dancer on a rectangular base.

The earrings in women's graves continued to be gold, silver and bronze of the omega type in the 5th cent. BC. Then boat-shaped earrings appeared and later hoop-shaped ones with a lion's head finial. Outstanding among the pendants are the semi-spherical ones with or without small gold chains attached. Silver or bronze bow-shaped brooches (*fibulae*) on the shoulders and bracelets on the arms prove that the funeral garment was a sleeved chiton. Silver and bronze bracelets are also in evidence. Metal rings have an incorporated, rarely added, oval or elliptical bezel and mounted on a few is a semi-precious stone or glass paste gem. There are quite a few bronze or iron signet rings with intaglio scenes, such as heads and groups of human figures, depictions of deities or other mythical figures, animals, birds, vases or utensils. One of the oldest bronze rings belonged to the warrior in grave T 593 (last quarter of the 5th cent. BC) and depicts a unique theme, the first episode in Aesop's fable about the fox and the stork. On the bronze ring of the dead women in grave T 148 (dated by the bronze coin of Alexander III) a sacred column (*baitylos*) is represented with laurel branches, symbols of Apollo. Of particular interest is the scene on two similar bronze rings from men's graves T 286 and T 299, with a standing Aphrodite holding in her right hand a bird, a Eurasian wryneck (*Jynx torquilla*), a magic love device. The body in the latter grave was still wearing a bronze ring with a maenad in an orgiastic dance, holding a sword in her left hand and a thyrsus in her right. The bearded male head on the bronze ring of the warrior in grave T 355 is a finely crafted piece dated by the bronze coin of Philip II, minted after his death by Alexander III. One of the two bronze rings belonging to the girl in grave T 773A depicts a bull's head with a garland and above it a club; and on the other there are two fish facing in opposite directions. Finally, the two rings on the young woman in grave T 792 are of interest: one is bronze representing a bull, the other is gilded bronze depicting a standing young female figure, possibly a priestess, putting incense into a high censor (dated circa 320 BC).

Some men's and women's graves were gifted with a bronze myrtle wreath. Most of the men are accompanied by one or two iron spearheads, an iron strigil, pin and ring, as well as two or more clay vases. Burials of distinguished men are accompanied by more weapons and more numerous grave goods. In men's graves the image of the warrior and athlete is paramount owing to the presence of iron weapons and strigils. The warrior in grave T 343 was accompanied, among other things, by an iron sword whose hilt was inlaid with ivory. Iron spearheads present a wide variety in terms of both technology and size. One of them, from the early Hellenistic period, is special as it has two decorative silver rings on its pipe.

Glass vases are represented by one *amphoriskos* and two alabastra. Worthy of note among the clay vases is a black-glazed skyphos (late 5th cent. BC) with plant motifs near the rim, a precursor of the widespread "West Slope" decoration of the Hellenistic period. There is also an Attic red-figure oinochoe (late 5th cent. BC) with a unique grotesque scene: two elderly nude women are drawing water from a spring with a bucket held by a rope supported on a huge wooden phallus, the upper part of which is bent to receive the pulley. This scene takes place in a garden with a well; it is related to Aloa, the fertility feast known from the ancient sources in honour of the

deities Demeter and Dionysos, in which women alone participated. A rare example is the relief squat lekythos with scenes from the battle between the gods and giants (*Gigantomachy*) from the early 4th cent. BC. And finally there is the bell krater containing the ashes of a warrior (dated by a bronze Philip II coin minted after his death by Alexander) on the front of which is the scene of a youth mounted on a white horse galloping to the right, accompanied by two other youths, one of whom is holding a torch, the other a drum. This was the procession of those taking part in a symposium (*komos*), also known from the frieze on the façade of the contemporary Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanassios, prefecture of Thessaloniki.

Such a vivid image of the funerary symposium and of the Macedonian custom of placing metal vessels, works of Macedonian toreutics, as grave goods for special people, is encountered in a limited number of graves. The grave goods offered to the man in grave T 325A included two bronze vessels – a calyx and a bucket (*situla*) with movable handles, incorporating a relief head of Athena on one side and a boar's head spout on the other – and two bronze pleated semi-cylindrical cases (for a clerk's writing utensils), known from similar objects found in graves at Derveni and Stavropoulis near Thessaloniki. The partially plundered grave of the warrior in T 343 contained an iron sword, an iron strigil, a bronze Phillip II coin (minted posthumously by Alexander III), a clay bowl and three bronze vessels: a small ladle (*arytaina*), cup (*kylix*) and bucket (*situla*) with movable handles and incorporated decoration: a mask of Papposilenus on one side, and a lion's head spout on the other. The male body in grave T 346 was gifted with two bronze vessels, a skyphos and a lidded amphora. And finally, the warrior in grave T 371 was accompanied by two bronze vases, a kantharos and a beaked pitcher (*prochous*). Directly related to the above picture of a symposium was the secondary cremation in pit grave T 724, which dates to the period of Alexander III or slightly later. The bones of the dead man, placed in a wooden larnax in the centre of the grave, were accompanied by three clay vases (oinochoe, bowl and Bolsal-type skyphos), a gilded bronze myrtle wreath, a bronze kantharos and the life-size clay head of a beardless youth, whose closed eyes are an allusion to the ecstatic Dionysian figures on the Derveni krater. A similar clay head of a youth with closed eyes, accompanied by clay and bronze vases, as well as symposium vessels, was found in the contemporary cremation of a young man at Kastania in Pieria. In both cases, the dead man himself, an initiate in the Orphic-Dionysian mysteries, is represented in a state of inspired blessedness, of eternal, divine bliss. These mysteries, known in Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete and Lower Italy, were also present in Pella, as attested by the inscribed Orphic-Dionysian gold sheets and by the works of Poseidippos, the famous Pellaian poet. According to the *eudemonic* ideas (beliefs that contained the promise of personal salvation and a just, happy reward in the next life) reported in a critical and ironic tone by Aristophanes and Plutarch (*On the soul*, frag. 178), but also by Plato (*Republic*, II, 363c-d, *Phaedo*, 69c, attributed to Musaeus, a disciple of Orpheus, and to his son Eumolpus), the gods lead those virtuous initiates who have lived a distinguished life with great sanctity, to the Underworld (to the "sacred meadow", i.e. to the Bacchic paradise, a special place of reward, an alternative to Hades), where they are served a "banquet of the pious" and "with wreaths on their heads spending all eternity drinking wine", with the "fairest reward of virtue" being, in their estimation, "everlasting revelry".

The western cemetery of Archontiko allows us to approach aspects of social behaviour in dealing with death, in a specific place and within a defined timeframe. The organisation of the cemetery ground and the grave goods offered to the deceased that are enriched and highly charged with symbolism, declare the social status of



The lady in grave 359 was wearing a braided silver chain on her breast, the ends of which were split into twin stalks with gilt snake-head-and-loop finials. Four plaquettes with the embossed gilt head of the Mistress of Animals (Potnia Theron) decorated the chain at intervals (only one has been preserved). In addition it had in the middle a rectangular gilded plaque with the embossed head of the same goddess with her hair dressed in the Daedalic style, flanked by two smaller plaquettes with embossed lions couchant.

the dead person and his immediate family environment. The metaphysical dimension of death is projected through symbols that function as links to the “heroic” (Homeric) past, and highlight the foundations and points of reference in a hierarchical society with an internal system of values. In the burials of distinguished members of the aristocratic class of warriors, ceremonies are known to have been conducted at death and afterwards, as concluded from the presence of bronze and clay vases in the trenches, but also above the stone barriers protecting them. Relatives buried their dead with personal and other objects, however valuable they might have been, but also with objects especially made for funerary use. Thus the deceased acquires special status in the collective memory, and valuable grave goods, especially gold, are tokens of wealth and high social position. Gold is also the material most appropriate to express an incorruptible relationship with time. Weapons, jewellery and other grave goods constitute evidence of a high standard of living and of personal and social prestige, underscoring the wealth and leading role of particular families who, having privileged access to political power, controlled and regulated the exchange of commodities, exercising the kind of financial power capable of engendering abundant cultural goods.



The gold mouthpiece with embossed decoration belonging to the lady in grave 433. The thick plate has a sixteen-petal rosette in the middle surrounded by plant and geometric motifs.

Burials in monumental pit graves with rich gifts, as “witnesses to the excellence” of aristocratic Macedonian warriors, are described as “heroic”, by means of which dead men claimed the reputation of having been men “of exceptional virtue”, who may have been killed in the front ranks of battle, often under the age of 30. From the Archaic to the early Classical period, the emphasis on graves of a “heroic” nature reflects real competition for power and dominance in the course of securing territorial gains and building internal social structures. From the proximity of the funerary clusters, which include burials of men, women and children, it is concluded that the dead were buried in families and clans. Most of the clusters contain graves dating from the late Iron Age to the early Hellenistic period, i.e. the cemetery was in continuous use. The family clusters with their wealthy graves are mainly located along and at the junction of two roads at the western foot of “Hill 69”, and generally retained their layout unchanged up to the early Hellenistic years. The wealthy grave goods, as indicated by the excavation data from the western cemetery, confirm the importance of the settlement of Archontiko as the leading city that controlled a broad, fertile region, and ensured adequate provisions for the population and support for the export trade.

Excavation research has shown that the oldest Archaic graves, in both the west and the east cemetery of Archontiko, as well as in the other cemeteries that have been investigated in the residential centres of the core of the Macedonian kingdom, are accompanied by products imported from Chalcidice, southern Greece, the Aegean islands and the coastal cities of Asia Minor, and date from the beginning of the Middle Corinthian Period (580-560 BC, the first half of the reign of Alcetas, father of Amyntas I and grandfather of Alexander I). After that, the access of the population to large quantities of luxury goods is confirmed, corroborating the development of the Macedonian society with complex forms of organisation in its administration, army and economy. The acquisition of luxury goods and consumer products presupposed access to new sources of wealth, to the production and sale of surplus agricultural, livestock and other commodities, and to a political organisation that enhanced and consolidated the Temenid dynasty. Already the majority of Macedonians, after the expansion of their territory as far as the Axios River, had progressed from nomadic herding to cultivation of the fertile soil and to permanent habitation in developed settlements with their own autonomy and administration. The expansion of the Macedonians – a northern Hellenic tribe, who for historical reasons retained Archaic forms of organisation as regards their social and civic life – was mainly due to the leadership ability of their kings, to their military organisation and their introduction of the infantry phalanx in part of the army, and to their use of the military technology and tactics of the southern Hellenes, two centuries before Philip II and Alexander III. According to Thucydides (II, 99, 3-4), the Macedonians gradually occupied “Lower” or “coastal Macedonia”, by driving out first the Thracians from Pieria, then the Bottiaians from Bottiaia, and the Paeonians from the west bank of the Axios. In a later stage, they expanded to the neighbouring hinterlands, displacing the Almopians from Almopia and the Eordaians from Eordaia. Later, before 505 BC – since it was then, according to Herodotus (V. 94), that Amyntas I offered Anthemous to the exiled Hippas – they advanced east of the Axios.

The gold mouthpiece belonging to the lady in grave 443 has an eight-petal "rosette" in the middle, and between its petals are eight tiny shields. The empty spaces around the "rosette" and its perimeter are filled with stippling.



Three gold sheets with embossed scenes from the same mould in a double circle: two heraldic lions rampant with their head turned, surrounded by birds and little shields. The lions are depicted on both sides of a plant motif with tendrils on the lower part (sacred tree). The rectangular breastplate above decorated the garment covering the breast, while the ones below adorned the leather footwear of the lady in grave 712. After the mid-6th cent. BC.





Two pairs of silver earrings of rare types.

Pair of ornate gold earrings with filigree and granulated decoration worn by the lady in grave 688. They consist of a band the widest end of which is covered by a composite rosette. At the narrow end is a loop that passed around a small hook attached to the back of the flower. 525-500 BC.



Pair of pins that the lady in grave 458 wore on her breast. They consist of a gilded silver needle and two successive gold-plated globular heads with vertical fluting and a cylindrical stalk in between. The cylindrical stalk that crowns the uppermost, larger head ends in a blossom. Circa 540 BC.

One of the three pins belonging to the lady in grave 738. It has a bronze needle and two successive gold-plated heads. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



Two gold axes and two vase-shaped pendants decorated with filigree and granulation were the beads of a necklace on the lady in grave 688. 525-500 BC.

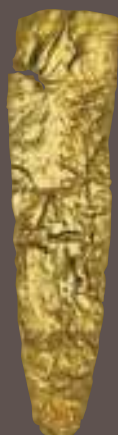
The gold necklace of the lady in grave 262 consisted of 41 globular beads with a vase-shaped pendant in the middle.

The gold necklace of the lady in grave 198 comprised 22 amphiconic beads and another three with cylindrical extensions. The grave dates to 540 BC.

ON PAGE 324: Three gold diadems with embossed plant and geometric decoration from women's graves 712, 738 and 296. Above: Detail of the diadem worn by the lady in grave 712. Below: Two gold bands that decorated the garment worn by the girl in grave 268.

ON PAGE 325: Gold plates worn by the lady in grave 433. Above: Five disk-type plates with sixteen-petal rosettes cast from the same mould embellish the leather diadem on the dead woman's head. Middle: Gold mouthpiece of the lady in grave 433 (see also p. 318). Two rosettes, similar to those on the diadem adorned the shoulders of the dead woman. Below: Four strip-type sheets with embossed geometric decoration from the clothing of the dead woman.







Above: Two silver double pins (the head of one is gold-plated) belonging to the warriors in Archaic graves 132 and 417. The double pins were used, like the single ones, to hold in place the garment worn over the chiton.

Middle: Three silver double pins with a trefoil head from the warriors in Archaic graves 213, 214, and 593A. On one, the three parts of the head are interconnected by a very fine band of sheet silver.

Below: Three pairs of silver pins with heads of different types, that accompanied the ladies in Archaic graves 354A and 262. The pins in the pair to the right have a hole and incised decoration on a snake-shaped head.





Above: Four pairs of silver pins, with a disk-shaped head, to hold the garment at the shoulders. They accompanied ladies of the third and fourth category in the Archaic period.



Middle: The disk-shaped heads of three silver pins vary in terms of both technique and decoration.



Below: Details of five disk-shaped silver pins with varied decoration, on both the transition from the pin to the head, and on the head itself.

Moulded plastic terracotta vase in the form of the bust of a maiden (kore), gift to the warrior in grave 194. East Ionian workshop. Circa 560 BC.





Three views of a plastic terracotta vase of a standing maiden (kore), with her left hand holding a bird to the breast, gift to the warrior in grave 795A. From a Samian workshop. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



Three terracotta figurines of a standing kore with her right hand holding a bird to the breast. Grave gifts of the Archaic period. East Ionian workshops.





Terracotta figurine of a pair of deities seated on a common throne (Hades and Persephone), grave gift to the lady in grave 465. East Ionian workshop. 550-525 BC.



Terracotta figurine of a standing kore with her left hand holding a bird to the breast, gift from an Archaic grave. East Ionian workshop.



Two terracotta figurines of standing kores with their left hand holding a bird to the breast, gift from an Archaic grave. East Ionian workshop.



Right: Terracotta figurine of a standing kore holding a bird to the breast, gift from an Archaic grave. East Ionian workshop.

Below: Terracotta figurine of a standing kore holding a rabbit to the breast, gift to the warrior in grave 135A. East Ionian workshop. Circa 560 BC.



Left: Plastic terracotta vase of a standing draped kouros, gift to the warrior in grave 795A. East Ionian workshop. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



Terracotta figurine of an enthroned female figure with her left hand holding a bird to the breast. The painted decoration has been very well preserved. Gift to the lady in grave 262. East Ionian workshop. After 530 BC.



Two plastic terracotta vases of a standing kore with her left hand holding a bird to the breast, gifts from Archaic graves. East Ionian workshop.





Large (26 cm. high) plastic terracotta vase of a squatting pot-bellied dwarf, kourotrophos daemon (three views), an exceptional example for its size, gift to the warrior in grave 795A. East Ionian workshop. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.





*Five plastic terracotta vases
of a squatting pot-bellied dwarf,
kourotrophos daemon (9-10.5 cm.
high). Gifts to the warriors in graves
135A and 194. East Ionian workshop.
Circa 560 BC.*

Plastic terracotta vase representing Hades enthroned which, together with another similar one, accompanied the warrior in grave 795A. East Ionian workshop. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.





Two plastic terracotta vases in the shape of a Siren and a banqueteer with well preserved painted decoration, gifts to the warrior in grave 10. (The back view of the banqueteer is shown on p. 336, below.) East Ionian workshops. Circa 560 BC.







Terracotta figurine of an enthroned female deity wearing a polos (high cylindrical headdress), a gift to the lady in grave 465. Detail below left. East Ionian workshop. Circa 560-550 BC.

Terracotta figurine of an enthroned female deity with a polos on her head, gift to the lady in grave 458. East Ionian workshop. Circa 560 BC.



Three terracotta figurines of an enthroned female figure (type of Athena), gifts to the lady in grave 359. Attic workshop. Early 5th cent. BC.





Four plastic animal-shaped vases from graves of the Archaic period. East Ionian workshops.

Above left: Dog lying in wait.

Above right: Lion's head.

Middle right: Monkey holding a small monkey with right arm.

Below right: Seated bull.

Below left: Terracotta figurine of a marine daemon with arms crossed over his belly and an odd cap on his head, sitting on a marine turtle (two views).





One terracotta figurine (group) and four terracotta plastic pots in the shapes of animals and birds from graves of the Archaic period. From East Ionian workshops.

Above left: Ram's head, gift to the warrior in grave 194. Circa 560 BC.

Above right: Duck, gift to the lady in grave 81. 560-550 BC.



Left, middle: Terracotta figurine of a reclining deer being attacked from behind by a predator. The group rests on a rectangular base and constitutes, together with a second similar one, a gift to the warrior in grave 131. 530-520 BC.

Below left: Bird, gift to the lady in grave 433. 550-525 BC.

Below right: Deer, gift to the lady in grave 465. 550-525 BC.





Plastic terracotta vase in the shape of a warrior's head wearing a helmet of the Ionian type, gift to the warrior in grave 83. East Ionian workshop. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.

Two terracotta figurines of women from the mid-4th cent. BC, output of a Boeotian workshop. Found in a ritual pit, near the grave of warrior 793. Left: Youthful female dancing figure clad in a chiton and a himation that covers the lower part of her face. The figure is whirling on a rectangular base, creating pleats in her garments.

Right: Aphrodite standing bare-breasted on a round base, wearing a chiton and himation.

Two plastic terracotta vases of a sandalled left foot with well-preserved colour decoration. Gifts to the warriors in graves 279 and 283. Below left: Detail of the plastic vase from grave 283. East Ionian workshop. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.







Five Ionic clay vases.

Above: Three kylikes, the two on the left are black-glazed, on the right with added red colour, gifts from Archaic graves. Circa 560 BC.

Below: Two vases of Ionic Bucchero ware.

Left: Pointed alabastron with horizontal fluting, gift to the warrior in grave 194. Circa 560 BC.

Right: Small clay trefoil oinochoe with red paint on the handle and rim; on the shoulder are 12 stylized tongue-shaped red leaves and on the indentations of the trefoil rim are two painted white apotropaic eyes. Gift to the boy in grave 83. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



Trefoil oinochoe with a wild goat on its shoulder to the right and a panther to the left, flanked by rosettes. Gift to the woman in grave 90A. Probably from an East Ionian workshop. 580-550 BC.



Two Corinthian trefoil oinochoes from women's graves 89A and 433. 550-525 BC.



Four clay Corinthian vases from graves of the Archaic period.

Above: Globular aryballos with a flat base from woman's grave 646, depicting two swans with folded wings flanking a palmette motif. 580-560 BC.



Middle: Ring-shaped aryballos with two wild goats on the left accompanied the cremated remains of the woman in grave 89. 580-560 BC.



Right: Trefoil oinochoe with a broad base, from woman's grave 81. The main frieze on the body represents seven swans with folded wings heading left. 580-560 BC.



Below: Exaleiptron with three perforated spool-shaped handles, between which is the representation of a grazing wild goat with an aquatic bird. Gift to the girl buried in grave 197. 580-560 BC.





Above left: Corinthian alabastron with a swan and a Siren with open wings on the upper frieze, and two swans with open wings heading right on the lower one. Gift to the woman in grave 470. 580-550 BC.



Above right: Corinthian aryballos with stylised quatrefoil pattern on the body from woman's grave 540. 550-525 BC.

Below left: Corinthian amphoriskos with a representation on the shoulder of a swan with open wings and a panther on the right; on the body is a wild goat on the left with two panthers heading toward it; behind them on the right is a swan with folded wings. Gift to the lady in grave 79. 580-560 BC.

Below right: Clay Chian calyx on the front of which is a seated roaring lion. A gift to the warrior in grave 777. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.







Clay Attic red-figure bell krater that constituted the ash urn for the cremated remains of the young man in grave 626, who was accompanied by a posthumously-issued bronze coin of Philip II. On the front is represented an ivy-crowned himation-clad man on a white horse to the right, accompanied by two youths on foot also crowned with ivy. The one in front holds a torch in his left hand, and the youth behind him holds a drum.



Clay Attic black-figure kylix-skyphos with a similar scene on both sides: two pairs of facing birds, a swan with open wings and another bird with folded wings, a work by the "Elbows Out Painter". Gift to the lady in grave 458. Circa 540 BC.

Clay Attic black-figure kylix with the same scene on both sides: Theseus wearing a short chiton is preparing to kill the Minotaur, between two nude youths watching the scene. Gift to the warrior in grave 131. 530-520 BC.





Clay Attic black-figure skyphos with a frieze between the handles representing a spear-bearing horseman, flanked by apotropaic eyes. On the other side is a kneeling hoplite also flanked by apotropaic eyes. Gift to the warrior in grave 524. 520-510 BC.

Clay Attic black-figure skyphos with the same mythical scene on both sides: two staff-bearing men, seated on a stool looking towards the centre; in the middle is a staff-bearing man looking left, who is flanked by two winged female daemonic figures. Gift to the woman in grave 232. 520-510 BC.





Clay Attic black-glazed skyphos, with an ivy branch in the frieze between the handles, precursor of the "West Slope" style of decoration. Gift to the lady in grave 347. Late 5th-cent. BC.

Clay Attic pelike, one of the vessels in the "Kerch" style found in the grave of a warrior. On the front, an Amazon is represented on a white horse heading right, preparing to spear a nude Greek hoplite defending himself. Detail of the scene on p. 353. 330-320 BC.









Clay Attic black-glazed kantharos with the incised inscription ΔΟΛΟΣ Η Ο ΚΑΛΙΟΣ (I [the kantharos] am a sly trap), gift to the warrior in grave 283. After 530 BC.



Clay Attic kylix with five pairs of facing bearded clothed lovers and nude loved ones on both sides (detail of the central couple on p. 354). Gift to the warrior in grave 410.





One poppy-seedpod and four apotropaic eyed glass beads from women's graves of the Archaic period.

Multicoloured glass amphoriskos, offered to accompany the cremated remains of the girl in grave 810. 480-450 BC.



Multicoloured glass aryballos, gift to the warrior in grave 399. 500-470 BC.



Two glass alabaster. The one on the left was found in man's grave 306; on the right, in woman's grave 792. Early Hellenistic period.





Two views of two plastic faience vases: Head of Achelous (two views) and a hedgehog (two views), grave goods of the wealthy lady in grave 458. Output of a workshop in Rhodes, Samos or Miletus. Before 550-540 BC.





The outside of a silver omphalos phiale, gift to the warrior in grave 279. Decorated with nine spear-shaped leaves, between which are as many similar, smaller leaves, while among them are three-petal lotus buds. Detail of the inside is on p. 360. The boss (omphalos) and its surrounding area are gold-plated, as are the attached "hearts" of the leaves. Between the boss and the leaves are stamped geometric and plant motifs. The grave dates to about the mid-6th cent. BC.



Left: Cast handle of a bronze trefoil oinochoe, gift to the lady in grave 739. The middle of the upper part terminates in a lion's head and on the sides in monkey's heads, while the fitting on the shoulder of the vase ends in a palmette with tendrils, and on its base snake-heads with holes for attachment. 525-500 BC.



Below: Elaborate cast handle of a bronze trefoil oinochoe, accompanying the lady in grave 319. The middle of the upper part ends in a lion's head and on the sides in lions couchant, while the fitting on the shoulder of the vase terminates in a palmette with tendrils, and two snake-heads on its base. 550-525 BC.

One of three cast, solid bronze lions couchant with head turned to the viewer that decorated the shoulder of a bronze lebes of the dinos type, gift to the warrior in grave 279. Excellent example of bronze sculpture, on which the realistic rendering of the anatomical features is visible, with fine incisions on the body, mane and legs. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.





Beaked bronze prochous with cast base and banded handle on the highest point of which is a convex, leaf-shaped protruberance on which to support the thumb. The circular fitting of the handle on the shoulder of the vase is decorated with a 20-petal rosette; while disks clasp the beaked spout on the handle fitting, decorated with a 19-petal rosette. Gift to the warrior in grave 412. 560-550 BC.

Bronze trefoil oinochoe with cast base and handle. The upper part of the handle has a lion's head finial, and is fitted to the shoulder of the vase by an incised inverted seven-leaf palmette. Gift to the lady in grave 262, which dates to 530-520 BC.



Bronze bucket (situla) with cast base, both handles and their fittings. One handle fitting terminates in an elaborate boar's head, in whose snout is the outlet hole; while the other has a marvellous head of the goddess Athena wearing an Attic helmet (detail on p. 364). Gift to the warrior in grave 325A. After 336 BC.





Four bronze signet rings from the late Classical and early Hellenistic years. Above left: Maenad in an orgiastic dance with a sword in her left hand and a thyrsus in her right; gift to the warrior in grave 299. Above right: Laurel branches flanking a column (baitylos), symbols of Apollo, gift to the young woman in grave 148. Below left: Head of a bearded man, gift to the warrior in grave 355. Below right: Club and bull's head decorated with a garland, gift to the girl in grave 773A.





The ochanon (the band and handle across the hollow back of a shield) with embossed palmette finials on the bronze Argive shield of the warrior in grave 131. Represented on the metopes are heraldic lions rampant, a Gorgon running (detail on p. 368), Europa seated on the back of Zeus-as-bull (detail on p. 366), and a mounted youth. On the trapezoidal attachment plaques of the ochanon is a Nike leading a four-horse chariot flanked by nude youths. Detail of best preserved plaque on p. 369-370.









One of the eight similar embossed metopes on the ochanon of the bronze Argive shield of the warrior in grave 692, representing a warrior mounted on a tall horse with a superb rendering of anatomical details on both the warrior and the proud animal.



Small bronze shield of the “heart-protecting” type, gift to the warrior in grave 443 that dates to the period 550-525 BC. It is the second example of such a shield (another one belonged to the warrior in grave 145) to have been found in Macedonia to date.



Above: Iron spearheads from graves of warriors of the Archaic period.

Below: Iron spearheads from warriors' graves of the Classical time and Early Hellenistic Period. The fourth from the left, which was found in a grave dated after 316 BC, is decorated with two silver rings.





*The iron sword with gold-decorated hilt belongs to the warrior in grave 9.
Below right: Detail of the hilt. Circa 560 BC.*



*The iron sword with gold-decorated hilt of the warrior in grave 194.
Below right: Detail of the hilt. Circa 560 BC.*





Above: Gold mouthpiece with embossed plant and geometric decoration of the warrior in grave 587. 550-525 BC.
Middle: Gold mouthpiece with embossed plant and geometric decoration of the lady in grave 738. Mid-6th cent. BC.
Below: Gold mouthpiece with embossed plant and geometric decoration of the warrior in grave 765. 560-550 BC.





Gold diadem-crown with embossed plant and geometric decoration on the warrior in grave 9. Circa 560 BC.



Gold diadem-crown with embossed plant and geometric decoration of the boy in grave 83. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



Thick gold rectangular plate that served as a mask with dense and varied embossed plant decoration, worn by the warrior in grave 280. The plate has been cut at the corners, and in the area of the nose and mouth. The grave dates to the period 550/540 BC.



Thick gold plate with triangular finials on its widest part, attached to the leather hand-guard of the warrior in grave 194. Below is a space with embossed plant and geometric motifs, and above, two similar spaces with two pairs of facing lions with head turned, flanked by similar plant motifs. Circa 560 BC.



Four bronze helmets of warriors of the Archaic period. Three are of the Macedonian type (so-called "Illyrian"). Above right is the one belonging to the warrior in grave 189, a composite type of Chalcidian and Corinthian helmet.





Three bronze warriors' helmets. The one above left belongs to the warrior in grave 145, and is of the combined Macedonian and Corinthian type.

The helmet of the warrior in grave 131, which is decorated around the facial opening with gold strips. Another two vertical strips continue over the horizontal forehead plate and outside the ribs of the epikranon. The strips are decorated with embossed ovolo moulding. The grave is dated after 530 BC.



Helmet of the warrior in grave 271, which bears on the forehead a gold strip with embossed plant and geometric decoration. Circa mid-6th cent. BC.



Bronze helmet of warrior 692, a composite type of Macedonian and Corinthian helmet, decorated by four triangular gold plates around the face opening. On its forehead piece are two incised heraldic lions with head turned and one foreleg raised that flank the base of the stud attaching the crest, from which sprouts a plant motif. The grave dates after 530 BC.



The helmet of the warrior in grave 283, which has wide gold strips around the facial opening. Another two vertical strips start under the forehead strip, continue outside the epikranon ribs and end at the back of the helmet, higher than the ends of the ribs. The strips are decorated with an embossed guilloche. The grave dates after 530 BC.



The bronze Macedonian helmet of the warrior in grave 279.



Detail of the helmet belonging to the warrior in grave 279. Gold strips have been attached around the facial opening. At each end of the forehead strip is an embossed shield-like ornament. The grave dates to about the mid-6th cent. BC. On the forehead section of the helmet, which is partially covered by the gold strip, are two incised heraldic lions with their heads turned and one foreleg raised, that flank the stud attaching the crest from which a plant motif sprouts.



The bronze Macedonian helmet of the warrior in grave 280, unique in terms of the technique used to make it (hammered out of a single thick plate of bronze, with an added strip on which a pair of high relief ribs support the crest). The facial opening is flanked by three attached broad gold strips with embossed plant and geometric decoration. The grave dates to the period 550-540 BC.

The bronze Macedonian helmet of the warrior in grave 775A. Narrow gold strips were attached around the face opening and decorated by embossed plant motifs. The bottom of the warrior's face was covered by a large gold mouthpiece with embossed small and large overlapping composite rosettes with a gorgoneion in the middle. The mouthpiece is also illustrated on p. 307 (middle). The grave dates to circa mid-6th cent. BC.



The gold mask together with the bronze helmet of the warrior in grave 279. The mask is also shown on p. 308, the helmet on pp. 382-383. The grave dates to about the mid-6th cent. BC.

PAGE 389: The gold mask of the lady in grave 458, flanked above and below by an embossed guilloche. Each eye is represented by an embossed four-point star (sun), flanked by four small shields (planets). In the position of the mouth is an embossed rhomboid mouthpiece decorated at the corners with leaves, in the middle with facing felines, and above and below with dolphins, features that suggest the sky, earth and sea respectively.





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- Pages 28-29: Archives of the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (17th EPCA). Photograph by S. Tsavdaroglou
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- Page 31: Archive of the AUT excavation of the Agora of Pella/I.M. Akamatis. Photograph by I.M. Akamatis.
- Page 32: TDPEAE Archives (Pella Project). Aerial Photograph by E. Euthymiou
- Page 56: (Drawing) Archives of the 17th EPCA-TDPEAE (Pella project)
- Page 59: Archives of the 17th EPCA/P. Chrysostomou. Drawing by K. Zambas.
- Page 64: Archives of the 17th EPCA/P. Chrysostomou. Aerial photograph by G. Hatzispyrou
- Page 65: Archives of the 17th EPCA/P. Chrysostomou. Photograph by P. Chrysostomou
- Page 114: TDPEAE Archives (Pella Project). Aerial Photograph by E. Euthymiou
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- Pages 254-259: Archives of the 17th EPCA/M. Akamati. Photographs by G. Poupis – M. Stephanidis
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- Page 268: Archives of the 17th EPCA/P. Chrysostomou. Photograph by P. Chrysostomou
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- Page 282: Archives of the 17th EPCA/P. Chrysostomou. Photograph by P. Chrysostomou
- Page 285: Archives of the 17th EPCA/P. Chrysostomou. Photograph by P. Chrysostomou
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