Funeral monuments in Macedonia during the Archaic and Classical periods.

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I hereby declare that the work submitted is mine and that where I have made use of another’s work, I have attributed the source(s) according to the Regulations set in the Student’s Handbook.

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Abstract

This dissertation was written as part of the MA in in the Classical Archaeology and the Ancient History of Macedonia at the International Hellenic University.

The boundaries of Macedonia were extending to the Pierian mountains, the Big Prespa lake and mountain Dysoron during the periods under consideration while the most known cemeteries in Macedonia were those of Aigai, Pella, Amphipolis, Pydna and Aiane. We could encounter grave types such as pit, cist, sarcophagi and jar burials while the basic burial practices were the inhumation and the cremation. Factors such as the origins of the inhabitants in the cities under examination or the gender and the social status of the deceased played major role to the style and the iconography of the funeral monuments respectively. The grave markers could be divided into figured representations and architectural remains. In the first category the major part constitute the tombstones mainly subdivided in painted and relief grave “stelai”. A further categorization could be made according to typological elements such as the type of the crowning (pedimental, palmette), the framing of the shaft and the placement of the figure scene in a recessed panel. Finally, scene types and motifs such as the motif of anakalypsis or the seated hunter could characterize the iconography of the relief and painted grave “stelai”.

I would most kindly like to thank my supervisor, Professor Eleni Manakidou for all the corrections and the guidance she offered me during all those months.

Student Name Afroditi Douitsi

Date 31/01/17
Preface

The reason why I chose to get involved in the presentation of the grave markers in the first place was my early inclination to the funerary art since the years of my Bachelor Degree. Until the present time, there has been no detailed presentation of the funerary monuments in Macedonia during the Archaic and Classical years apart from the recent monograph of Myrina Kalaitzi (“Figured tombstones from Macedonia, Fifth-First century B.C”). However, this book gives a topographical categorization in the presentation of the grave markers. I tried to formulate a different kind of division based on typological criteria, so as the reader to see the range of the architectural attribution of the funeral monuments. The outcome of my thesis and my contribution in the archaeological community will be a brief research on the mortuary art and practices and a detailed presentation of the funeral monuments in a period for which little is known as far as the habits concerning death are concerned.
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A. Introduction

The purpose of this Master thesis is to record and present the different kinds of funerary monuments during the Archaic and Classical period within the area of Macedonia. This means that we will present the grave markers starting at the 6th century B.C up to the end of the 4th century B.C. Their primary aim was to mark the tomb itself and to determine the burial space. Moreover, they were supposed to be discernible to whoever would pass at a close distance from them. In the majority we will treat with figured monuments. These exterior grave markers were destined to be seen forever and be the reminders of the deceased’s last residence.

During my research, I consulted many useful ancient sources, archaeological monographs and articles. Apart from the first two volumes of the Catalogue of Sculptures of the Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki, I used many of the volumes entitled “To Archaeologiko ergo stin Makedonia kai Thraki”, as well two monographs. The first was the one by Professor Saatsoglou Paliadeli for the tombstones of the Great Tumulus of Vergina and the other, the most recent one, was the “Figured tombstones from Macedonia” by Myrina Kalaitzi. Articles from the “Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique” and several archeological guides were significant help for my research.

One important issue that should be discussed here is the definition of the boundaries of Macedonia during the era we are interested in, which is before and after the expansion policies of Philip II of Macedon (fig. 1). The boundaries extended to the south up to the Pierian Mountains, to the eastern part and the mountain range of Pindos westwards. The northwestern frontier reached the “Big Prespa” lake whereas the northeastern part Dysoron mountain. The easternmost frontier descended down to the coastline east of Strymon River thus embracing the city of Amphipolis which is the provenance of plenty burial monuments included in this paper. These tombstones date both before and after the conquest of the city by Philip II. Nonetheless, the geographical boundaries may have been the aforementioned but this does not mean that we could speak of all the regions included as Macedonian centers. For example, we could name the sites of Aiane, Dion, Pydna, Aigai or Pentavrysos as Macedonian centers but the same does not apply for Pella, which became a Macedonian city only
with the transfer of the capital, or Olynthos and Poteidaia (Kalaitzi, 2016, p.18, 27, 56).

Funerary sculptures were either made of stone or of marble. Unfortunately, gravestones and generally funeral monuments dating to the Archaic and Classical period are few and this is due to several reasons. Firstly, the areas that are excavated nowadays correspond to a small part of the total of the Macedonian area. This of course is due to the fact that systematic excavations started in the middle of the previous century and are limited today because of the lack of funding. In our days they are mainly connected with big infrastructural works. Secondly, the grave markers standing on the ground were easily destroyed due to agriculture or building construction. Finally, not all of them are yet published. Many are kept in museums’ storerooms or cannot be reached and studied. As a result we are aware of many tomb markers only by references in some articles without illustrations. Thankfully, tombstones were used occasionally as building material in second use both in our era and in the past. This phenomenon has significantly helped the preservation of the monuments (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 3).

The distribution of the findings is unequal but we could rather say that the tombstones come mainly from Lower and East Macedonia and Mygdonia. This is due to the cities of Aigai, Beroia and Pella as well as Amphipolis and Thessaloniki respectively. There we can detect an indicative continuation and evolution, especially after the middle of the 5th century B.C. Apparently, grave “stelai” are connected with urban development if we judge by their distribution. The tombstones have not usually been found on the top of the grave they marked, but as a building material in second use or at a distance from their original burial monument. We should bear in mind that most gravestones that still exist in situ, with the major exception of the gravestones found at the Great Tumulus of Vergina, remain unpublished. In the necropolis of Aigai most markers found in situ or in a near distance were the bases of the “stelai” made of stone. Some were located inside the earth mounds suggesting that the tombstones marked the tumuli placed above or behind them, as well (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 85).

The grave monuments that we are going to deal with are nowadays kept in many museums all over Europe such as the Louvre or the British museum as well as the Archaeological museum of Constantinople. The majority however of the monuments
can be seen in the Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki and in the most important regional museums throughout Macedonia such as the Archaeological museum of Aiane, Pella or Vergina.
B. Organization of the cemeteries, grave typology and burial practices

1. Overview of the cemeteries

It would be most recommending starting with a brief presentation of the major cemeteries that have been excavated and can be dated to the Archaic and Classical period.

We could begin with the region of Elimeia, situated west of the Pierian Mountains. Elimiotai were incorporated into the Macedonian state in the 4th century B.C. Its capital was ancient Aiane that is located at the settlement on the hill of Megali Rachi, 1.5 kilometers northeast of the modern village of Aiane. Its site is the most systematically excavated in the prefecture of Kozani. The archaeological remains reveal signs of constant inhabitation from the Neolithic up to the late Hellenistic period. The burial ground of the Necropolis of Leibadia follows the natural slope which is going downwards and the tombs are allocated from northeast to southwest. The monumental built tombs are extended in three different levels at a bigger height and are believed to be attributed to the most prominent citizens or even the royal court. There were both built chamber and cist tombs. On the contrary, the pit tombs are situated at a lower level towards the cavity. Periboloi were found encircling also groups of pit graves (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 77-79 and Kalaitzi 2016, p. 121-122).

The next site is Pydna. Situated at the western part of the Thermaic gulf and surrounded by the Pierian Mountains, Olympos and the valley of Tempe, it was located at the modern village of Palaiokitros. It is testified as Macedonian territory with some gaps implying periods of independence during the 5th and 4th century. It was finally annexed in 357 B.C by Philip II. Excavations started in the 1980’s (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 123). Based on the archeological findings we infer that Ancient Pydna was constantly inhabited from the Late Bronze Age up to the early Christian years, based on archeological findings. The cemeteries extended in parallel with main roads, a common practice in antiquity. The tombs of the middle and upper class were situated away from the fortified settlement whereas the humbler graves were just outside the walls. The most important cemetery is the North, situated between three highways and containing over 3000 graves. Other cemeteries (of later period) are the
South and the West while the one located in the chora of Pydna covers the entire chronological spectrum of the city. During the archaic period we have mostly inhumations in wooden sarcophagi placed in pit graves. We also have cremations with the remains placed in clay and metal vases. During the classical years the city thrives and the burials are located in parallel with the north coastal road and the north side of the walls. The pit graves with wooden sarcophagus dominate while we have some stone ones. There have been found few cremations in pits as well as many jar-burials (Besios, AEMTH 10, 1996, p. 233-238).

The next location is the city of Aigai, the first capital of the Macedonian kingdom, situated at the modern village of Vergina, at a low slope in the north side of the Pieria facing across the valley of the river Haliakmon. The excavations that started in the previous century have become more systematic during the last four decades. Before the Archaic period there was the tumuli cemetery (11th-7th century) with some of the tumuli being reused in the 4th century. The Necropolis of Aigai, apart from eleven Macedonian tombs, consists of the monumental cist tombs and simpler grave types belonging to the group of tombs of the Great Tumulus, all sharing the same burial space meaning that there was no discrimination between the wealthy and the poor citizens. The tombs of the 6th to early 4th century are located very close to the city, especially its western side, a clear sign of urban development (Drougou, Brill’s Companion, 2011, p. 254). They are extended to the south and southwest corner of the tumuli cemetery. The whole layout is horizontal without the disturbance of older graves (Kottaridi, AEMTH 10, 1996, p. 79). In the Necropolis we can find both pit graves and built-cist graves of the Archaic and Classical years (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 126).

The archaic burials were mostly simple pits and their size depended on the age and the wealth of the deceased. Their orientation was north-south with the heads of the deceased placed at the south or east-west. The heads’ position in that case depended on the gender with the women having their heads in the east and the men in the west. During the classical period the north-south axis prevailed (Kottaridi, AEMTH 10, 1996, p. 82). The tombs were in parallel rows. In some pits nails were found, indicating the placement of the dead in wooden coffins (Kontogolidou, AEMTH 21, 2010, p. 143-148).

Another cemetery of great importance is in the city of Pella. In the mid 50’s systematic excavations began. Pella became the new capital of the Macedonian
kingdom at the end of the 5th century B.C. Its earliest burials date to the late 5th century B.C up to the third quarter of the 4th century. They are situated at the southwest, east and south-east part of the Agora. Also graves have been located beneath the south stoa of the Agora. They include mostly inhumations and few cremations. The types of graves discovered are rock-cut rectangular tombs and less often pot burials, tile-roofed tombs and sarcophagi. Another cemetery dating in our period of interest –mostly excavated-is the East cemetery which extended to the north-south axis beyond the city walls, dating to the late Classical and Hellenistic tombs. The graves differ between cist built and rock-cut tombs and less often rock-cut chamber tombs. We also have pot cremations, stone sarcophagi and tile-roofed graves. I could also refer to the cemeteries of the chora of Pella such as the Mound A of Rachona situated at the settlement of Agrosykia. Finally, sixteen mounds can be located and explored in the cemeteries of Pella in parallel with the main roads, from which we have fragments of funerary material mostly in second use (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 127-128 and Akamatis, Brill’s Companion, 2011, p. 393-406).

The last urban center from which we have a number of findings is Amphipolis, situated at the western side of ancient Edonis. It was founded in 437 B.C. by the Athenians and was integrated into the Macedonian kingdom in 358 B.C. Its cemeteries are expanded over the east, north and north-east area beyond the walls. Moreover, they extend to the west and north-west part of the city, on the right bank of Strymon. Excavations started in the mid 50’s. Inhumations and cremations were preferred. The existing grave types cover the entire spectrum found in other cemeteries of the mainland (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 138). We know of monumental cist tombs, Macedonian barrel-vaulted tombs (of latter date), tile-roofed tombs, simple pit graves and elaborate cinerary urns placed in the built chambers and lastly jar burials. Most of the graves are placed in terms of funerary family enclosures (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Brill’s Companion, 2011, p. 409-427). Rich tombs were scattered among humbler graves, meaning that there was no discrimination in the burial ground among the rich and the poor. Most, but not all, tombs were orientated from east to west and the layout of the burials was disorderly and dense (Malama, AEMTH 14, 2002, p. 55-65).
2. Grave types, burial customs and general characteristics of the dead during the Archaic and Classical periods

2.1 Grave types

To our present knowledge, the pit grave has been the dominant type during the Archaic and Classical periods. After the excavation of the pit tomb cemetery at Aiane, it has been underlined by Karamitrou-Medesidi that all big pit tomb cemeteries of Macedonia share many common characteristics during this period and so are the burial findings. This homogeneity shows that the various Macedonian areas were in contact with each other and were not kept isolated (Karamitrou-Medesidi, 2008, p.77-83). The pit grave consisted of a simple rectangular pit dug in the soil, deep enough to avoid the animal attacks. (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 191). Sometimes nails have been found inside, traces of wooden coffins carrying the body placed inside the pits. In this case a step was added to facilitate the entrance. The pit grave could be sealed with pebbles, slates or porous stone or it might be left unroofed. The floor could also be covered with pebbles. The side walls were occasionally delimited with fieldstones or rarely clay [(Akanthus, Thermi) (Panti 2012, p. 467, 469)].

Another type of grave was the cist tomb. In this case the pit was covered with slabs at its sides, at the bottom or as covering. In another way, the body could be placed on a shaft the edges of which would be cut and adjusted to receive a covering slab. The cist tomb slabs were accurately cut or jointed at the edges (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 191).

One type of burying the dead was the jar burial, closely related to space availability, and it was a commonplace for the children. The body was inserted through the jar’s mouth or through a hole at its side made on purpose for the burial. The mouth was afterwards closed with a tile or a slab. The jar was placed at its side supported by small stones (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 190).

Sarcophagi, when used with a covering, played the role of the coffin. They were made of stone but also clay ones were more frequent due to the low cost. Sometimes klinai or wooden coffins were placed within stone sarcophagi (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 192).

Tile-roofed graves were constructed of clay tiles measuring 0,70-0,90meters. Tiles were put for the floor and for the side walls and they were placed so as to incline over the
body thus forming a triangular structure. For the endings upright tiles were used (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 192).

A simple form of a chamber tomb (fig. 2) met before the middle of the 4th century was the predecessor of the Late Classical- Hellenistic Macedonian tomb. Under the earth there was a chamber of minimum two square meters into which you entered by steps. The interior walls were plastered and they were sometimes decorated with bands and marbling. The tomb was marked by a tumulus of soil and it was sealed by a well-built door (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 194).

2.2 Burial practices

The burial practices share common elements all over the ancient Greek world and this is due to the same religious beliefs (Karamitrou- Medesidi 2008, p.81).

The most common practice was the inhumation. It included the burial of the human body together -most of the times- with personal belongings such as war equipment or jewelry as well as vases of everyday, symbolic or ritual use. The practice of inhumation could range between simple pit graves to more lavish tombs. The dead were usually placed with their back on the ground. Their hands were extended in parallel to their body or sometimes crossed in front of their belly or genitals (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 193). The orientation of the dead followed the signs of the horizon, either north to south or east to west or the natural slope of the hill where the cemetery was located and the direction of the road.

Another not so common burial practice was the cremation. It was done inside the grave or separately at another place and the remnants were transferred into the tomb or placed above it. After the cremation the ashes were gathered inside a clay vase or a stone urn, sometimes protected by a slab box. The cinerary vases were always lidded. If not protected by a slab box they were put inside a cavity of a grave and stuffed with stones to retain balance. Cremation was not that common as inhumation due to its high cost. Nevertheless, there were places such as Oisyme where cremation played a major role in the burials (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 195-196).

It was most usual for the cemeteries to be placed along big roads, due to the convenience during the ekphora but also because in that way the burial monuments would be most visible (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 189).
One burial practice, common in the Macedonian area was the pyre following the burial itself that presupposed the lighting of a fire and had as a purpose the offering (food, animals) to the dead. Such an example we find in the royal burial ground of Elimeia, in tomb Δ’ where signs of fire were discovered on top of the covering plinths of the tomb (Karamitrou-Medesidi, 2008, p.56). Another example, where the pyre was discovered on the top of the lid, comes from the Derveni Krater tomb B in the cemetery of ancient Lete (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, p. 205).

We encounter the offering of the “obolos” in order the deceased to pay the Charon. Another custom was the offering of vessels so as the dead to drink in the underworld (Kottaridi, AEMTH 10A, 1997, p. 87).

From ancient Tragilos (Aedonochori) we have a grave monument dating to the late 4th century. A lid found covering one of the sarcophagi found inside the monument showed two women mourning intensively by tearing their hair (fig. 3). They are situated among a series of pilasters. The scene is painted and it is most important since it is the only depiction of the mourning, a common tradition during the periods we are dealing with (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 48).

We know that pit grave was the most popular from the hinterland to the edge of the Thermaic. In the hinterland of the Thermaic gulf unroofed pit graves were most common while around the edge the customs vary. For example, in Pydna the pit graves remain without covering during the Archaic period while in the area of Thessaloniki they are sealed with slabs or porous stone. There are few cases of other grave types in the hinterland except for Agios Athanasios and Nea Philadelphia where cist graves and sarcophagi appeared and existed till the Classical period (Panti 2012, p. 467-469).

During the late Archaic things change. Other kinds of tombs are introduced at the coastal zone and the west side (Pydna) such as sarcophagi, cist graves and especially in Pydna, jar burials. As for the east side of the Gulf, going from Anthemous to Krousis, there was a tendency for the diminishing of the pit grave use. In general, the first group consists of the cemeteries in the interior of the gulf that had similarities with the Macedonian hinterland. The second group consists of the sites at the edge of the gulf resembling customs from the colonies of Chalcidice and the Aegean islands mixed with the local practices. A third group, influenced even more by the colonial cities of Chalcidice, belongs to the eastern side of the coastal zone. A special case is Pydna,
which being a sea trade center, followed the customs of the colonial cities of Chalcidice. One last group is the Necropoleis of Chalcidice, where the cist graves and the sarcophagi exist from the Archaic years while the jar-burials are most common for child burials. Chalcidice followed the customs of Euboea and Corinth. Overall, the inhumation was preferred in the interior to the edge of the Thermaic Gulf and the west coast in contrast to the eastern side of the gulf where the habit of cremation together with the customary use of bronze vessels in Macedonia ended up in their usage as funerary urns. Chalcidice continues to outnumber inhumations (Panti 2012, p. 467-479).

During Classical period we have in Chalcidice a combination of cremations and body burials. The pyre was lightening up while the deceased was at the bottom of the tomb but it was put out in time for the body to retain its form. The inhumation continued to play a major role. Another new element was the “enagismoi”, offerings to the dead by lighting two pyres inside the tomb (Vokotopoulou- Pappa-Tsigarida 1988, p. 319). From the interior of the Thermaic Gulf, in Pella we have inhumations in rock-cut cist graves and pit tombs, while cremations are very scanty. We also had jar-burials for the children and roof-tile graves for the newborn. Earth tumuli were rare (Lilibaki-Akamati, Akamatis, Chrysostomou A., Chrysostomou P. 2011, p. 40-42). In the hinterland of Macedonia, Aiani offers mostly Classic interments in built monumental, cist and pit graves. In the east boundary of Macedonia, Amphipolis’ east cemetery was filled with cist, tile-roofed and pit graves with interments as well as funerary urns with cremations put in built chambers. Sometimes pit graves maintained traces of white mortar (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Brill’s Companion, 2011, p. 416 and Nikolaidou-Patera, Athenaia 6, 2013, p. 100-105). Finally, at the west side of the coast, in the extensively excavated cemeteries of Kitros and Pydna, inhumations in wooden sarcophagi inside pit graves are the majority, even for children and only the infants were buried in vessels. Even the larger pit graves lacked findings and seemed standardized. Cremation was rare and funerary urns even fewer. Only the pit graves at the site of Kitros consisted of lavish findings (Besios, AncMac VII, 2007, p. 645-650).

2.3 General characteristics in the representation of the dead

Figured representations could be both individual and multi-personal, especially in cases of familial depictions. The social status of the deceased was definitely determined. This was shown by the erection of more lavish monuments such as funerary buildings or
statues above the graves. It could also be done by the surrounding of the tombs with periboloi that segregated them from the humbler tombs. However, there was no specific type of monument that could be attributed to a certain category of population. For instance, the naïskos monuments could both be dedicated to the hetairoi as well as the civic elite of the 4th century B.C (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 116).

The men in the Macedonian cities were mostly attributed as men in arms, meaning soldiers or riders. This was an imminent outcome of the Macedonian military character that tried to lend heroism and prestige to the Macedonian habitants always in combination always with the war offerings found inside the graves. Apart from the chiton and the himation, in certain cases they were represented wearing traditional Macedonian clothing such as the rounded-edge chlamys, the kausia and the krepides meaning leather sandals (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 27, 51). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli supports that the kausia was used by superior officials until the expedition of Alexander to the East (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, JHS 1993, p. 139). A distinct way of representation is encountered east of the river Axios, especially in areas where Athenians and other Greek colonists had a strong presence such as Poteidaia and Amphipolis. In these cases, men are depicted as citizens, that is in a way typical of the city of Athens. Even after the conquest of Amphipolis, the inhabitants did not suddenly change their mode of representation. On the contrary, Aigai offered both the military feature in its tombstones but in the meantime there are cases where aspects of the citizenship are stressed [(fig. 69) (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 27, 57)].

As regards to the representation of women they are usually depicted together with other women within the area of the house. In order to express integrity and humbleness they were depicted wearing a himation over their hair. Finally, children or young deceased had a common element in their portrayal that is the use of a bird signifying premature death or the depiction of pets or toys (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 27).

It is worth noticing that the slaves and the peasants are missing from the grave markers at the period under consideration. Slaves are not depicted separately but only when escorting their female or male masters. Non-Greek inhabitants were not represented either. Only those embodied in the Greek and Macedonian societies are testified, distinguished by their names ((Kalaitzi 2016, p. 116).
As regards to the style, some common elements in the funeral monuments of Macedonia of the 5th century are the twist of the figures to the left and the influences of the Ionian tradition such as the detailed rendering of the hair and the folding of the clothes as well as the voluminous bodies and the motif of the dove. In parallel, some local traits were the Macedonian clothing, the low relief and the deficiencies in plasticity and perspective. During the following century the Attic repertoire plays major role in the representation of the dead due to the influx of Athenian artists to Macedonia. Meanwhile we have the construction of large funerary monuments. It is true that the works of the 4th century do not present artistic homogeneity. We could only discern the existence of a provincial Thessalo-Macedonian workshop in west Macedonia and in the city of Pella after 350 B.C. Some common characteristics were the plasticity in the body volume together with the low relief and the use of color, the linear rendering of the folding, the archaistic rendering of the facial features and the lack of perspective (Konstantinidis 2010, p. 255, 268-269).
C. Types of funerary monuments in ancient Macedonia

1. Factors that influenced the representation of the dead

1.1 Historical and social factors

In my opinion, the most important factor was whether the city was inhabited by Macedonians or by Greek colonists. The differences lie in the style, the experiences and the mentality of each population. We can discern the bellicose pose of the men from the Macedonian cities in contrast to the more intellectual position originating from Athens and other colonial city-states. Differences can be noticed both in the iconography and the technique of each tombstone.

Moreover, factors such as the social status of the deceased, its age, its gender, its marital status, its civic identity played an equally significant role. What was not pointed out to a great extent was the occupation of the deceased and further details on his life which were given in cases of funerary epigrams. All the above could formulate the clothing of the figures, the facial features, the lavishness of the grave marker, the choice of a particular motif for the figure scene (see below).

Apart from the above general rules, there are certain historical facts that formulated some details. Such an example was the rare use of kausia before Alexander the Great and the multiplication of the examples after him due to its use by him and the influence he had to the Greek world (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 53). Another element useful for dating is the existence or not of a horse led by a squire, usually in depictions of soldiers. This is due to the changes that Philip II inaugurated in the cavalry (Hatzopoulos 2001, p. 50-51).

1.2 Trends and influences

Macedonian tombstones were primarily influenced by the tendencies appearing in the Aegean islands and Ionia. There was a massive production of tombstones in the first half of the 5th century both in Macedonia and Thessaly and a possible explanation is the influx of foreign artists. This Ionian tradition started to co-exist in Macedonia with the influences coming from the Attic workshops at the turn of the 5th to the 4th century. One significant problem is to determine whether the sculptor of each grave “stele” was of a foreign origin or if he just followed the traditions of the Ionian and Attic workshops.
During the 4th century Attic prototypes had the biggest impact both on typology and iconography while the Ionian influence started to withdraw. The Macedonian artistic thrive, the opening of the borders by the Macedonian rulers and the prohibition of the funeral monuments by Dimitrios Falireas in 317 B.C forced many Athenians to move to the biggest Macedonian centers. Pella and Aigai were greatly influenced by the Attic formats. Attic sculptors played a major role in the construction of monuments addressing the aristocracy and the people of lower social status (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 26, 56 and Konstantinidis 2010, p. 255, 268).

The Attic imitations were so widespread due to the advanced culture Athens had and was recognized of. The imported Attic prototypes were considered a trend that made the monument in style. Aigai and Pella adopted the incoming styles so as to be considered members of the “old Greek world”, to demolish the idea of the Macedonian cultural delay but also to represent the Greek civilization outside the boundaries (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 117).

Funerary sculptures in royal Necropolis of Aiane were either made of local limestone or of marble originating from mountain Vermion or Tranovaltos. This fact strengthens the proposal that there was a local workshop in Aiane. Karamitrou-Medesidi has adequately supported the existence of a local workshop in Aiane during the Archaic and Classical years (Karamitrou-Medesidi, 2008, p. 122). Besides Aiane, local styles can be discerned in Aigai and Pella (4th century onwards). This might include borrowing themes from the Attic iconography or not. It is worth mentioning that there were artists that followed neither the local nor Atticising styles, working in ways of general acceptance (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 57). It is worth mentioning that the local workshops in contrast to the Thessalian ones, were independent, influenced by more than one centers and presenting different characteristics (Konstantinidis 2010, p. 295).

Another region for which we could speak of local tendencies is the area of Pieria, since the middle of the 5th century B.C. Tombstones from Pydna and Dion prove this in correlation with their similarities with Thessalian tombstones. Apart from these two areas of Pieria for which we could speak of local styles presenting similarities with Thessaly, the same could be said for Aiane and Pella (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 27, 116).
Finally, some cities, such as Amphipolis, were founded by Athenians and thus the presence of Athenian artists must have been vivid from the beginning. This is the reason why the tombstones present a special Attic nature (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 49, 117).

1.3 Inscribed monuments

The tombstones in our period of interest referred to one person, something that will change during the following centuries. Funerary monuments built for more than one person would be only due to family bonding. Most of the inscribed tombstones that we will encounter pay no attention to giving the features of the deceased, but only to identifying him through family affiliations which means by giving the name and the patronym. In few times the name of the spouse is added in women’s tombstones indicating the marital status. This did not mean that the lack of it indicated an unmarried woman. We should not forget that the family relations were sometimes denoted by the family burials. In some children’s tombstones, only the name and the matronym survive something that denotes the illegitimacy of the child as researchers have concluded. Definitely, the way of commemoration depended on the local customs and the chronological period. A general rule would be the indication of non-citizenship in the lack of patronym, something validated for adults but not for children (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 91, 100, 102).

Some “stelai” have delivered to us funerary epigrams. Only those give us more information such as the age or the cause of death. Moreover, it is most likely that contrary to the citizenship and the military feature that were usually depicted in tombstones, the deceased’s profession was hardly ever denoted, apparently because it did not have any significance for the social status (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 100).

The names were most of the times given in the nominative and we should bear in mind that the Macedonian repertoire consisted of names typically Macedonian and others used all over the Greek world. We have -in certain cases- non-Greek names like Thracian or Illyrian. Even the few non-Greek inhabitants were assimilated in the local societies and this can be observed in the characteristics of the tombstones (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 94-95).

One last aspect to point out is the heroization, appearing here not earlier than the 4th century. It was manifested through the use of «χαῖρε» and when met in private epitaphs
presupposed the heroization of the deceased (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, p. 199-207). Heroization referred mostly to men as well as to men and children who died at a young age (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 112).

2. Criteria for the classification of different types

The majority of the archaic and classical grave markers were made of stone or marble. An exception to this rule was the use of plain mounds, that is hillocks of soil, to mark the burial place of dead people. Primarily, we could categorize the funerary monuments according to their appearance. This means that we should firstly distinguish the funerary monuments that depicted figures (humans, animals or demonic creatures) from those that constituted architectural constructions, being nowadays partly preserved. In the first category, we place the early anthropomorphic “stelai” first appearing before the archaic period. They were actually stone pillars, imitations of the human figure. Secondly, examples of undecorated inscribed “stelai” reach up to the 5th century B.C. They were actually shafts with no other decoration that mentioned the deceased’s names by means of inscriptions. As we proceed chronologically, we should add the largest group of our topic which includes the decorated, either painted or in relief “stelai”, that is oblong rectangular slabs representing individual human figures or more complex scenes adding occasionally more figures or animals. As for the relief “stelai” I tried to categorize them according to their crowning that is pedimental with acroteria and with palmette, or the simpler “stelai” with horizontal or triangular top. In each category based on the type of crowning, I subdivided the tombstones with regard to various criteria such as the position of the figure scene, the framing of the “stelai” and the possible groundwork of the figure scene on a plinth. The most elaborated naiskos “stelai” appeared in the turn of the 5th to the 4th century. A sub-category was initialized by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, the “pseudo-naiskos stelai” naming the ones where the scene panel covered most of the height of the “stelai”, most representative of which are those from Aigai (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 249-250). In my opinion, we should include in the first category the statues representing humans or animals, since they depicted living beings (real or imaginary). Overall, lions were the most frequently used animals in funerary context due to their symbolism of power. Their first attestation begins at the early 6th
century B.C. In the end of the monuments’ presentation I included a chapter where I list the main iconographic themes used in the tombstones depending on the number of figures appearing or the objects, the gestures, the individual actions or other symbolic acts.

In the second category we place all the not figured architectural constructions. Their preservation can be quite fragmentary. Funerary aediculae, pillars and columns, periboloi, undecorated stone slabs and rubble stones. The sculpture in the round must be connected with the upper social class together with the bigger reliefs and the funerary statues. The earth mounds constitute in my opinion one category by themselves.

3. Presentation of the funerary monuments

3.1 Anthropomorphic “stelai”

Anthropomorphic “stelai” have been traced since the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C up to the 6th century B.C. They constitute the earliest examples of funerary sculpture in Macedonia. Nevertheless, they have presented discontinuities in all these years. During the period we are interested in, one has been found at the north cemetery of Pydna. The stele was found in second use, inside a tomb of the 5th century. Excavators have argued that the burial has disturbed an older one of the Late Bronze Age (Besios and Krachtopoulou, AEMTH 8, 1994, p. 148.). The bad condition of the stele has made details disappear, due to the swallow incision.

3.2 Inscribed “stelai”

The majority of the grave “stelai” we are going to discuss in this essay belongs to the Classical period. Before we begin the presentation of the largest group of burial monuments dated to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C, we should have a look at a small number of tomb markers belonging to the Archaic period.

Two findings from Olynthus include two bases with inscriptions dating to the late 6th/early 5th century B.C. They are written in the Corinthian alphabet and possibly had a funerary use. The first reads «Πολυξένας» and the second «Νευμοῦς». There is an ambiguity whether the second name refers to a woman or a man with Jeffrey, (Jeffrey
1990, p. 369) accepting the funerary attitude of both “stelai” and arguing that both names are feminine.

An undecorated inscribed “stele” comes from Pella. The “stele” has been found in second use and the inscription mentions «ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ/ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ/ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΛΗ» (fig. 4). The names have been aligned stoichedon. All three of them are not attested in Macedonia. This makes us conclude that the origin of these individuals was not from Macedonia (Lilibaki-Akamati 1987-88, p. 52-54). Although it has been dated by Lilibaki-Akamati in the late 5th-early 4th century, Hatzopoulos dates the inscription much earlier, at the first quarter of the 5th century, due to the form of the letter “Ρ”. If his dating is correct, it would be the most precocious inscription west of the river Axios (Hatzopoulos, BE 1990, p. 524).

Another two early examples, coming this time from the Necropolis of Leibadia in Aiane, are two inscribed grave “stelai” dating to the 5th century B.C. They were made of limestone. The name «ΚΛΕΙΟΝΑ» was inscribed upright on the “stele” (fig. 5). Its coronation was pedimental and below it there were some lotus flowers carved. Traces of red color have been found on the lotus flowers. The second “stele” was found among other stones at the countryside, near the group of graves where the “stele” of «ΚΛΕΙΟΝΑ» was found. The name «ΑΤΤΥΑ» was inscribed horizontally on the curved upper part of the probably classical “stele” (fig. 6). It is believed that the record of a single name on tombstones refers possibly to priestesses or prostitutes. Moreover, the fact that we have written testimonies from the Archaic and Classical period proves that Aiane was a flourishing society, not at all isolated as many have argued. Apparently, the lack of inscribed records is due to the small range of the excavations and not to the low cultural status of the inhabitants of Elimeia (Karamitrou-Medesidi, AEMTH 4, 1990, p. 79-81).

We are aware of a funerary epigram found at Aigai, inscribed on a base of the late 5th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 84). The monument was found in second use, dedicated to Kallimachos. The epigram read: «Ἐνθάδε [Κα]λλιμ[...] ναῶν εὐστύλων [...] εὐδοκίμων[...] πατ[ρός-] τέχνη» (SEG 46, 1996, no.830). Moreover, a poros base was located over a pit grave of the 5th century at the point where the feet were buried (Kottaridi, AEMTH 14, 2000, p. 528).
Although all examples from the inscribed “stelai” lack decoration or we are unaware whether decoration existed in the first place like the “stele” from Olynthos, I was motivated to categorize the inscribed “stelai” in the beginning of the chapter of the presentation of the funerary monuments. This is because I believe that they are the herald of the tombstones of the later periods. Although they are not decorated, they present signs of identification due to the inscriptions on their shaft or bases. Thus, I could not propose their classification with the completely impersonal undecorated slabs or the architectural constructions which are presented at the following chapter.

3.3 Relief “stelai”

Figured tombstones of the 5th century belong to the type of the free-standing “stelai”, are few numerically and are distributed unevenly in the Macedonian area.

3.3.1 “Stelai” crowned with free standing pediment

- Pedimental

A grave “stele” was found in Pentavrysos, situated at ancient Orestis (fig. 7). The upper part of the shaft, together with part of the crowning is preserved. They are made of limestone. The width of the “stele” is 1 meter. The “stele” nowadays is at the museum of Argos Orestikon. It represents a woman in relief that wears chiton, himation and a ribbon on her head. The edge of the himation penetrates into the pediment showing the high relief. She is slightly turned to the left and her look is directed downwards. The woman must have been pictured seated. She would probably hold something. The “stele” is crowned with a pediment but we have no indication for the rest of the outline due to the small remaining part (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 21, 169). Although it is considered a local production, the pose of the woman reminds of the attic sculpture. It is dated around 410-400 B.C (Tsouggaris, AEMTH 13, 1999, p. 618).

- Pedimental, figure scene in a recessed panel

Another relief “stele” with pediment that is doubtful whether there were acroteria or not at the crowning, comes from Nea Nikomedeia and is now hosted at Beroia museum (fig. 8). Breakages exist at the top and at the bottom of the marble “stele” which was reused as a doorstep. Its dimensions are height: 1.43 meters, width:
0,475 meters at the bottom and 0,48 meters at the top and thickness: 0,14 meters. At the figure scene there is a man wearing a chiton, a cuirass with pteryges, a chlamys and a Phrygian helmet. He holds two spears with his left hand. In front of the man there is a horse, a colt and a boy that wears a chiton and holds the riddles of the man’s horse. The man is pictured as a rider. Above the panel an inscription reads: «Ἀμυντας [Στρά]τωνος». Amyntas was a Macedonian name and Straton, already widespread in the Greek world and Macedonia, it was really diffused in the pre-Macedonian Chalcidice (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 46, 204). Hatzopoulos dates the “stele” before the third quarter of the 4th century B.C due to the existence of the squire’s horse and the cavalry changes made by Philip II (Hatzopoulos 2001, p. 50-51).

- Pedimental, framed at the sides

We will start with a “stele” that comes from Pieria and more specifically from Dion (fig. 9). It is the “stele” of a girl, carved in low relief and was found built inside the church of Aghios Demetrios at Karitsa. Its height is 0,375 meters its width is 0,485 meters and its thickness 0,09 meters. Nowadays it is exhibited at the Museum of Dion. Archaeologists have dated the “stele” in the middle of the 5th century B.C. The dating of the “stele” is important since it testifies the presence of the settlement and the worship of Zeus in the area of Dion before the end of the 5th century (Bakalakis, AncMac II, 1977, p. 254). Only the upper part of the marble shaft “stele” is preserved. At its sides the monument is framed and from the crowning only the lower horizontal taenia is now standing. On the “stele” the upper part of a girl is depicted turning to the left, wearing a chiton, shoulder straps and a ribbon on her hair. The shaft must have been crowned with a pediment (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 21-22, 174-175). The work is considered to be made by a local workshop. However, the Ionian tradition is apparent (Paspalas, Brill’s Companion, 2011, p. 184).

Another marble grave “stele” dated to a later period, around 400 B.C, is again coming from Pieria but this time from the west cemetery of ancient Pydna (fig. 10). Its height reaches 1,285 meters, its width 1,00 meter at the highest level and 1,05 meters at the bottom and its thickness 0,17 meters at the top and 0,20 meters at the bottom. Nowadays, it is exhibited in the Museum of Dion. The crowning is missing but it must have been a pediment. The “stele” is broad and is framed in its four sides. The scene depicts a woman seating on a diphros resting her head on her left arm while she
holds a child that leans against her arms. She wears a peplos and a himation. She places her feet on a footstool. The child has curly hair, wears a chiton but does not wear shoes. The boy tries to touch the left hand of the woman with his own left hand. With his right hand he holds a phormiskos. There is a cock standing in front of the diphros looking at the phormiskos (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 22-23, 175). This tombstone is among the most emotional Macedonian ones. The same body position of the woman can be found in some reliefs from the Aegean islands and the Asia Minor dating to the 3rd and the 2nd century B.C. and from some Melian reliefs of the 5th century. The latter depict either Penelope and Odysseus or Elektra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon. In addition, the position of the child has been compared by Despoini with a Roman relief (fig. 11) depicting the death of one of the sons of Niobe in her arms. The clothes of both figures in the “stele” of Pydna emphasize, instead of hiding, their body proportions (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 22-23, 175). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli admits that the “stele” does have affinities with Thessalian works of art and that whatever weaknesses it might present, are due to the low relief in which it is carved. Moreover, she claims that the “stele” is the work of a local artist with influences from the Ionian tradition. This argument is supported by Stephanidou-Tiveriou. They both agree in the wrong use of perspective and the mildness of the anatomical details which together with the low relief testify that the “stele” was made by a local artist. (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.95 and Stephanidou-Tiveriou, AD 30, 1975, p. 41 and note 49).

- Pedimental, frameless, stepping on a projecting plinth

A grave “stele”, dated to 385 B.C has its origin at Pella. It was found in the east cemetery of the ancient city and now stands at Pella museum (fig. 12). It is made from marble and the upper part as well as the lower left corner is missing. Its dimensions are height: 0,945meters, width: 0,60meters and thickness: 0,075meters. The scene depicts two women, the one seating on a diphros. They step on a projecting stone. The crowning must have been a pediment. The shaft has no side frames. The standing woman lifts her left hand to her left shoulder as if she was grasping the edge of her himation. She is also dressed in a chiton and looks in three quarter view towards the right. With her right hand she holds a baby. The seated woman is turned in three quarter view to the left. She wears the same as the standing woman towards whom she turns her look. She also wears a “sakkos” on her hair and sandals whose soles are carved in relief, while we cannot see the toes of the standing woman since she is
wearing shoes (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 24, 197). Lilibaki-Akamati focuses on the dating but she also finds some parallels like the “stele” from Piraeus (fig. 13). This is due to the folding of the clothes of the lower part of the standing woman. She proves that even as soon as the turn of the 5th century to the 4th we can observe a tendency to render the clothing of the legs more delicately and with an exposing manner while the upper part is presented with thicker clothes. Such a tendency exists in the Attic tombstones of the same period, as well. She also observes a differentiation in the clothing of the two figures. The seated woman’s dressing is depicted with a lot more plasticity in contrast to the linearity of the standing woman’s clothing. If somebody judges by the contouring of the bodies and the folding of the clothes and the theme of the tombstone he would have found a lot of similarities with the Attic tombstones of the end of the 5th century. As far as the facial features are concerned the work is closer to the Ionian prototypes. According to Lilimbaki- Akamati the grave “stele” is either a work of an Attic sculptor or of a learner of an artist from Attica. We should probably consider the seated figure as the deceased woman as it is more common in respective monuments. This tombstone was the only one from Pella that was traced near its corresponding grave, although it was possibly transferred there to be used once more since the style and the grave context differentiate (Lilibaki-Akamati, AD 53, p. 260-265).

- Frameless, pediment with three acroteria

Found in the area of Kitros, near a church, is a marble grave “stele”, now kept at the Museum of Dion (fig. 14). The tombstone depicts a seated man and his dog. Most of the crowning is missing and the head and the right leg of the man is eroded. Its dimensions are height: 0,90meters, width: 0,47meters at the top and 0,51meters at the bottom and thickness: 0,055meters at the top and 0,075meters at the bottom. The “stele” was crowned with a pediment with three acroteria. The naked man is positioned on a rock onto which his himation is extended. He wears sandals from which only the soles are carved in relief. His right arm is bent on the rock and with his left he caresses the dog’s head. The youth is seen in three quarter view and his head partly passed into the territory of the crowning. The dog also seats on the rock and stares at the man. The “stele” was inscribed with a name situated on the right of the youth’s head on the horizontal cornice of the pediment. We can nowadays only read «Καλλικράτους Τρ[ ]». It is rather confusing whether the name «Καλλικράτους» is the person’s name in genitive and the second word would be the patronym or the
ethnic or it is the patronym and the second word is the ethnic. The name was common all over the Greek world and so was in Macedonia. As regards to the technique, there has been a correlation of the “stele” from Pydna with a hunter, today at the Glyptothek in Munich (fig. 15) dated to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. These two, together with another “stele” from Tenos and an earlier one from Crete (fig.16) are considered to be the forerunners of the famous Ilissos “stele” (fig. 17). They all depict a naked young man seated on a rock. Most times he is represented together with a dog, which is a clue that the youth is depicted as a hunter (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 29-30, 176-177). Bakalakis dated the “stele” to the middle of the 4th century and supported that it was done by a local sculptor influenced by the Ionian tradition (Bakalakis, 1969, p. 40).

- Frameless, pediment with three acroteria, stepping on a plinth

This marble grave “stele” is one of the most famous tombstones in the period we are interested in (fig. 18). It was found in the east cemetery of ancient Dikaia, nowadays Nea Kalikrateia and is now hosted in the archaeological museum of Thessaloniki. Three more porous stone grave “stelai” were found together with a sum of Classical graves and a 6th century pit one. It represents a young girl holding a dove. Its dimensions are height: 1,55meters (without the tenon), width: 0,505meters on the top and 0,53meters at the bottom and thickness: 0,11meters. The tombstone is very well preserved up to our days. There are no side frames and the “stele” is crowned with a free standing pediment with three acroteria. The girl is turned in profile to the right and is looking downwards to the bird she holds with her left hand. She wears a peplos, the edges of which she has by her right thigh. Traces of color have been preserved on the plinth, the eye, the sandals, the hair and on the crowning (Kalaitzi 2016, p.244-245). Despinis believes that the absence of breasts also points out the prematurity of her age. Moreover, he supports that the bowing of the girl’s head is a clue of her humble character (Despinis, ThesCat 1, 1997, p. 26). Kostoglou-Despoini as many other scholars supported that the work is made by a Parian sculptor, the same as the “stele” of the youth of Charatsaris (fig. 19). She justified its Parian provenance by the style and the theme of the “stele” since the motif of a girl holding a dove is considered to be a feature of Paros and of all the islands that were influenced by it. It used to be an Ionian characteristic as well as the position of a female figure in profile. She dated the “stele” to the 440 B.C. (Kostoglou-Despoini, 1979, p. 109-113). One more
interesting statement would be the first appearance of the motif of the standing woman holding a bird in the Cretan “stelai” from Prinias (fig. 20). This is why there has been a lot of controversy over the actual origin of this iconographic type (Kalaitzi 2016, p.25).

The “stele of Ardrine” was found in Aedonochori and is now hosted at Kavala museum (fig. 21). It is made of marble. The left acroterion along with the lower part of the “stele” are missing. The lower part of the shaft is slightly projecting, working as a base for the figure scene. A woman in chiton and himation seats on a klismos which is covered with a textile. She rests her feet on a footstool. She holds her himation in the motif of anakalypsis with her left hand above her left shoulder. She also wears a ribbon on her head. A small child seats on her feet and she holds it with her right arm. The infant extends its hands towards her. Finally, a girl in belted chiton stands in front of her and places her arms on her feet. Below the finial an inscription reads: «Ἀρδρίνη». The tombstone dates to the early 4th century B.C and presents strong influences from the Attic prototypes (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 47, 249-250). Koukouli-Chrysanthaki believes that the “stele” was made by a local workshop which was obviously influenced by Athens although Tragilos was quickly liberated from Athens (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, AncMacIII, 1983, p. 144)

- Pediment with three acroteria, figure scene in a recessed panel

A marble grave “stele” from Vergina has been assembled from two parts with the lower part missing and restored (fig. 22). Today, it can be found in Vergina museum. Its dimensions are height: 0,587meters, width: 0,322meters at the bottom and 0,308meters at the top and thickness 0,06meters. The free standing pediment is crowned with three acroteria and the figure scene lies in a recessed orthogonal panel. A woman seating on a diphros, wearing chiton and himation gives her hand in dexiosis with a male standing figure on the left. The man wears chiton and chlamys and holds something with his left hand, traces of which can still be observed. A girl stands in front of the diphros and a boy, holding something with his left hand, stands below the clasped hands of the two main figures. The relief seems like being unfinished, without the essence of plasticity with the signs of color helping for further details. There used to be an inscription at the top part of the shaft, however now it is almost totally eroded. Only traces of red color are now preserved. The “stele” must be
characterized as a work of a local sculptor (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 31, 183-184). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli characterizes the cap of the man as the known kausia. She notices the layout of the figures that stand in pairs across one another like the “stele of Kallias”. Furthermore, she emphasizes the rendering of the folding with only some furrows and the weakness in perspective, obvious in the left knee of the male figure. Finally, she dates the “stele” in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1984, p. 65-70).

Another marble grave “stele” from Amphipolis is today at the Louvre museum (fig. 23). The “stele of Megakles and Kanthys” is well preserved. Its dimensions are height: 0,725 meters, width: 0,24 meters and thickness: 0,06 meters. On the right a woman seats on a diphros and places her feet on a footstool. She wears chiton and himation that covers the back of her head. With her left hand she holds her himation at her left shoulder at the motif of anakalypsis while with her right she gestures in dexiosis a standing man in himation who, judging by the pose of his left leg, has just reached the woman. A servant leans at the left edge of the scene, having his feet crossed and his hand on his left shoulder in a loose position. He wears a belted chiton and is depicted in smaller size. Below the figure scene the inscription reads: «Μεγακλῆς, Μίκου, Κανθύς, Ἀριστοφόντος». Megakles is commonly used especially in Attica and the islands. Mikos is rare and comes from the adjective that means small «μικρός». Aristofon was frequently used in Attica, Euboea and Thasos. Finally, we should probably accept Kanthys as the name of a woman and it is again very uncommon. The “stele” is dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 49, 255-256).

The “stele of Damiskos” was traced in a house in modern Pella (fig. 24). It is made of local limestone and it is now hosted in Pella museum. There are traces of erosion on the front side. Its dimensions are height: 0,51 meters, width: 0,23 meters at the bottom, 0,22 meters at the top, 0,235 meters width of the crowning and thickness: 0,075 meters at the bottom and 0,07 meters at the top. At the figure scene, located at the centre of the shaft there is a standing boy wearing a chiton and a himation wrapped on his left arm. With his right hand he touches a dog standing on his back feet. He might have held a bird with his right hand. Below the crowning the inscription reads: «Δαμίσκος [-]» which was a name having its origins in the word «δῆμος» in Macedonia. There are signs of red at the lower part of the scene. The theme of the scene is purely Attic,
however it has been executed less elaborately (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 39, 199-200). Petsas suggests the name «Δαμίσκος» or «Λαμίσκος», believes that in the second line the name of the father would be inscribed and dates the “stele” around 300 B.C (Petsas 1978, p. 68-69).

The “stele of Nikeso” found in Amphipolis, is hosted today at the local museum (fig. 25). The “stele” is generally in good condition and it is made of marble. The recessed scene consists of a young woman standing on the left part in frontal view except for her face that turns in profile. Her left leg is slightly bent and raised from the ground like a sign of elegance. She wears mantle and peplos. With her left hand she must have held a painted object since her hand suspends and is turned upwards. Her right hand is stretched downwards as if she also held something with it, now worn off. Her hair is embellished with the palladion coiffure. Below the crowning there is an inscription that reads: «Νικησώ Βάτωνος». Nikeso was a pan-hellenic name while Baton is considered to be of Ionian origin (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 253).

3.3.2 Naiskos “stelai”
- Pediment carved on a rectangular top

A marble “stele” with big dimensions has its provenance in Mende (modern Kalandra) and is now hosted at Thessaloniki museum (fig. 26). The “stele” of Theognetos is partly saved nowadays and the remaining upper part was reused as a covering slab for a tomb in Roman times (Despinis, ThesCat 1, 1997, p. 28). The left part of the pediment has mostly been broken off. Its current dimensions are height: 0,60meters, width: 0,93meters and thickness: 0,135meters. The typological context of this “stele” consists of a pediment with three acroteria carved in a rectangular top, supported by two antae. Only the chest and the head of a youth are saved at the left part of the “stele”. He is seen in profile with his look directed downwards. He is wearing a himation. The top of the youth’s head and part of his left shoulder have been integrated in the architectural frame. The layout of the “stele” allows another figure, probably seated, at the right side. The most possible reconstruction of the inscription which is carved on the right of the youth’s head is «Θεόγνητος Θεραίο» although various propositions have been made especially for the patronym. The name «Θεόγνητος» used to be a common Greek name (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 26, 246-247). The “stele” has been dated to the late 5th century (SEG 29, 1975, p. 160). Despinis clearly
states that the composition of the “stele” must be compared to the tombstones of Attica of the same chronological period (Despinis, ThesCat 1, 1997, p. 29). In parallel, the style in the youth’s appearance recollects the technique of the Aegean islands. Andronikos also supports that the patronym should be reconstructed as «Περαίο» (Andronikos, BCH 86, 1962, p. 261-266).

The following “stele” comes from the Great Tumulus of Vergina (fig. 27). It is a marble “stele” which is hosted today at the museum of Vergina. The “stele of Kallias, Artemidoros and Demetria” has been assembled from five pieces, however the erosion has destroyed part of the inscription and the left part of the central section of the shaft. Its dimensions are height: 1,20 meters, width: 0,565 meters at the bottom and 0,525 meters at the top and thickness: 0,09 meters. This time a taenia serves as an architrave and the crowning is encircled in an almost orthogonal frame with two inclined upper sides. Red and blue color was used to paint the crowning where we can see a four petal rosette. On either sides of the rosette there are flowers while on the left and right side of the central acroterion we can see two birds. On top of the letters of the inscription we can discern a red taenia. As far as the figure scene is concerned, the figures stand on the lower part of the shaft the top of which is crowned with a blue taenia. On the right part of the shaft a boy and a man with his horse are recognizable. The boy wears chiton, chlamys and boots and the man wears a chiton, a Macedonian chlamys, an Attic helmet, a cuirass with two unequal lines of pteryges and boots. The boy seems to be the rider’s squire but not a slave owing to his position. On the left part of the scene a seated man must have given his hand in dexiosis with the rider. There are signs of red, dark and ochre in the figure scene. The “stele” must be considered as a work of a local sculptor. (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 31, 36, 183). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli stressed the heavy war gear of the rider. She also noticed that he wears krepides, traditional Macedonian footwear. She discerned a fourth figure, totally eroded behind the seated man who is the one not mentioned in the inscription. The peculiar thing with this figure scene is the emphasis on the width. This is accomplished by not placing the figures around the central axe of the scene but by creating a converging movement towards him. This element together with iconographic factors such as the heavy gear and the horse, place the tombstone of Kallias not close to the Attic grave “stelai” of the 4th century but close to the Attic marble lekythoi. Finally, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli confirms that the monument, although
influenced by the Attic prototypes, is the work of a local sculptor due to the low relief, the defaults in the perspective and the local marble. The inscription is carved on the horizontal cornice and the architrave and reads «[Καλλίας Ἀρτεμίδωρ, Ἀρτεμίδωρ-δωρος Κα]λλία, Δημητρία Καλλία». The meaning is: Kallias, the son of Artemidoros, Artemidoros, the son of Kallias and Demetria, the daughter of Kallias. All three names were usually encountered all over the Greek world with the name «Καλλίας» also attested in Macedonia during the period of production of this grave “stele”. The relief is dated between 350-325 B.C (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1984, p. 55-64).

- Pediment carved on a triangular top

The following grave “stele” belongs to a group of figured tombstones of the 4th century from Aigai. More specifically all the grave “stelai” are dated to 375-325 B.C. The “stele” of Dimainetos (fig. 28) is now hosted at Vergina museum. It is made of marble and it was found in many different pieces that were put together. The dimensions of the crowning are width: 0,54meters and the thickness: 0,065meters (the architrave) and the thickness of the shaft is 0,085meters. The “stele” belongs to the type of naikos “stele” with the pediment on the crowning carved in a triangular top. Two antae colored with red and blue support a single-fascia architrave. On the tympanon we discern a shield painted in light green tones. The figure scene exists in a recessed orthogonal panel. Only the right part of the rider is saved as well as the fallen enemy on the left down corner. The rider wears a cuirass with two rows of pteryges. He is heading towards the enemy who has fallen in front of the horse’s legs. His spear is partly saved in relief and must have been rendered in metal, as well. The defeated wears an exomis and tries to defend himself. Among the figure scene and the crowning there is an inscription that reads «Δημαινετος Δημητριου». The scene is limited due to the recessed panel and the existence of the inscription. Both names although widely used all over the Greek world, were rarely used in Macedonia. The theme of the “stele” is more dynamic if compared to the other four relief grave “stelai” from the Great Tumulus of Vergina which are characterized by limited movement. The “stele” should be regarded as a work of a local sculptor. (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 31, 43, 181-182). The motif of the figure scene constitutes a northern version of the “Dexileos type” (Clairmont, CAT, 1993, p. 145 note 1).
Pediment carved on a triangular top, scene steps on a projecting plinth

Another marble “stele” comes from Amphipolis (fig. 29). Today we can find it in Kavala museum. Only minor breakages and certain parts of erosion can be notified. Its height is 0,835 meters. The figures are carved in high relief and many times cover the antae. The man on the right seats on a klismos covered with a textile. He wears a himation leaving his chest naked. He gestures in dexiosis with his right arm and holds a lyre with his left hand. He gives his hand to a standing soldier in three quarter view. He wears chlamys, exomis, helmet and holds a shield standing opposite to the ground. The advanced age of the musician and the fact that he is accompanied by a soldier shows that in both cases the occupation is implied. It is dated to the first quarter of the 4th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 47-48, 252).

Free standing pediment

A marble grave “stele” found at the east cemetery of ancient Pella is now hosted at the Pella museum (fig. 30). The only piece that is saved consists of the right corner of the pediment and the upper part of a standing figure in the scene. Its dimensions are height: 0,56 meters, width: 0,295 meters and thickness: 0,09 meters - 0,085 meters. The short haired woman is depicted wearing a chiton. She also holds with her right hand a himation that leaves her breast uncovered. With her left hand she supports her head. The upper right arm of the woman is carved on the right anta. She was looking at another figure traces of whom we can see at the left elbow of the standing figure. The “stele” presents great technical and thematic similarities with another tombstone from Pella (fig. 12). Thus, the tombstone should also be the work of an Attic artist. They might belong to the same workshop. At the horizontal cornice of the pediment there is an inscription that reads: «ΤΙ[-]» (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 38, 197-198).

At Beroia museum we can see today a part of a marble funerary “stele”, found during excavations in the city (fig. 31). Missing parts exist at the top and the bottom of the “stele”. Its dimensions are height: 0,56 meters, width: 0,365 meters and thickness: 0,06 meters. From the figure scene only the lower part of a girl standing in three quarter view to the left is saved. She wears a peplos that shapes omega folds and a back-mantle seen hanging down to her knees. The tombstone is dated between 340-330 B.C. The style and the provenance of the marble make us assume that the “stele” was manufactured by an Athenian artist working in Macedonia (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 46,
Allamani guessed the existence of a second figure to the right of the figure. She categorizes the woman into a special group with woman wearing peplos and himation which they hold, alone or escorted by a servant. The motif was popular in the Attic grave “stelai”. She gives the feature of an “aoros parthenos” of a rich local family (Allamani-Souri, 2009, p. 369-377).

- Free standing pediment, stepping on a projecting plinth

Another marble well known “stele” (fig. 32) is situated today at Vergina museum. It was restored from a great number of pieces, yet it is still bad restored due to the erosion of the smaller scale figure and the dog as well as the missing part of the torso of the main figure. Its dimensions are height: 2 meters, width: 1.02 meters at the bottom and 0.99 meters at the top, thickness: 0.10 meters at the top and 0.26 meters at the base. It varies partly from the other relief “stelai” from the Great Tumulus due to its bigger size. The “stele of Antigonos” belongs to the naiskos “stele” type. The antae sustain the architrave and after the pediment with the three acroteria. As for the content of the scene we have a naked man on the right side, which might have worn a chlamys since we have signs of it at his right side. He looks profile to the left and downwards to the bird he holds with his right hand, He also wears sandals and a ribbon at his head. On the left there is another figure in smaller scale and among them a hunting dog. At the upper left part side an epigram is carved that reads: « Ἡλικίαμ μέν ἐμήν ὁ παρώ[ν] τ[άφ]ος οὐκ ἐν [ά]δηλοι[ς]:γράμμασι [..]ΡΟΣ [..] ΟΝΤ [..]Α[..]ΙΝ: πάπ[πος] Δ[..]Ε: ἐφυσ [ἐν πατ]ήρ Θ[εο--]ΒΗ[..]Σ:ΤΑΜΗΤ[..]ΟΣ[..]ΚΑΚ[--] ἈΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ [Θ]ΕΟ [---]». The “stele” is dated between 375-325 B.C and due to its size and stylistic details is closer to the Ionian tradition (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 31, 182-183). The epigram clearly refers to the premature death of the man which is of course also indicated by the existence of the bird. In the last lyric we can see the name and the patronym of the deceased. According to Saatsoglou-Paliadeli the work may be the most impressive and significant work of the grave monuments of the Great Tumulus of Vergina. She stresses the connection of the hound with the feature of the hunter for the young man. Nevertheless, she differentiates the monument from the other grave “stelai” which represent seated hunters. Due to its standing position she tends to compare it with the Attic “stelai” depicting standing figures shown as athletes. The rich volumes show the Ionian style but in the meantime the northern marble as well as the depiction of the hair betrays that the monument was made by a local workshop.
(Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1984, p. 44-54). We should lastly not fail to mention as regards to the comparison of Saatsoglou-Paliadeli with “stelai” representing athletes that both motifs share the same elements which in the end formulate the heroism of a man in antiquity (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 31). Andronikos made a different restoration of the name as: «Ἀντίγονος Ἀδέου» (Andronikos, AAA 9, 1976, p. 125-126).

- Free standing pediment, figure scene in a recessed panel

A marble “stele” from Amphipolis, today at Kavala museum was assembled from three pieces (fig. 33). Its height is 0,66meters. The decoration of the pediment was attributed in paint. A man with beards, wearing himation that leaves his chest naked is standing in profile to the left. His left leg bends backwards. He raises his left palm upwards in front of him as if he talks to someone. The relief of the back sides is higher than the one of the frontal (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 48, 250-251). The “stele” is dated to the end of the 5th century (Lazaridis, AncMac IV, 1986, p. 355)

3.3.3 Palmette crowning
- Crowning in the round

The crowning of a marble “stele” together with the upper part of the shaft that has been recently published comes from Pella and is dated to the end of the 4th century B.C. (fig. 34). The upper part of the shaft is decorated with two double eight-leaf rosettes. The crowning is sculpted in the round. The back side although being less elaborate, hosts two mourning sirens. (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 38-39). The “stele” is of large dimensions. The dimensions of the shaft are height: 1,18meters, width: 0,53meters at the bottom and 0,61meters at the top, thickness: 0,24meters, of the crowning height: 0,87meters, width: 0,60meters and thickness: 0,18meters at the bottom and 0,21-0,23meters at the top. At the two corners of the main side there are two eight-leaf palmettes. Two rows of acanthus leaves are discerned at the lower part of the finial. Above them stems would end up in volutes, today broken off. In the second row there are more acanthus leaves from which a ten-leaf double palmette springs out. At the centre of the palmette a stem that ends up in an acanthus leaf appears. At the back side we have again two rows of acanthus leaves and stems that end up in leaves from which volutes spring out. At the centre we have a heart shaped leaf and above it a half-finished rosette. At the lateral sides of the back part of the crowning we have two sirens stepping on two bases. Lilibaki-Akamati believes that the “stele” must have
been placed above a burial peribolos. This is how the negligence of the back side is justified. The “stele” reminds of Attic respective ones of the 4th century. The presence of the sirens, firstly attested here, is connected with the afterlife and the gods of the vegetation. This is why they are often met during the 4th century. This tombstone shows the preference of the inhabitants of Pella to the Attic prototypes (Lilibaki-Akamati, Τεκμήρια 9, 2008, p. 152-159).

- Framed by a kanon

From Oraiokastro at the area of Thessaloniki we have a marble “stela” of a young man that was found in second use, as a cover slab of a Christian grave and is now at the museum of Thessaloniki (fig. 35). Only the upper left corner is preserved with the youth’s head together with the crowning. Its dimensions are height: 1,55meters, width: 0,68meters and thickness: 0,135meters. The shaft is framed in the right, left and upper side by a kanon. The head of a young man is turned in profile to the left, looking downwards (Kalaitzi, 2016, p.24-25, 225-226). Traces of scanty curls indicate the presence of a beard. In addition, on the forehead a wrinkle can be seen. The top of his head covers at some point the kanon. The head is badly eroded. The fact that the man is positioned in the center indicates that he would have been presented alone on the shaft staring at an object or a dog. The main elements of the crowning are the two upright volutes from which a palmette with thirteen petals emerges. A heart shaped leaf stands between the two central volutes. As regards to the dating of the “stela” we know that it was extracted from an area where the tombs belong to the interval between 400-300 B.C and it has been dated to the third quarter of the 5th century. The “stela” is believed to have been a work of a local artist influenced by the Aegean islands, a suggestion coming from the comparison of the “stela” with contemporary island and Attic monuments (Despinis, ThesCat 1, 1997, p.27-28). A parallel to the “stela” has been proposed by Kalaitzi (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 24-25) as regards to the hair, the profile position and the shape of the eye. It is a grave “stela” (fig. 36) from Samos that is also considered to be Parian (Andronikos, BCH 86, 1962, p. 264).

- Figure scene in a recessed panel

A marble tombstone of unknown provenance (fig. 37) which is now lost is usually classified with another grave “stela” from Aiane due to the similarities they present. The “stela” is broken at the bottom and at the two corners of the possible palmette
crowning. Its dimensions are height: 0.995 meters and width 0.745 meters. It belongs to the grave monuments of the 4th century. Its figure scene is set in a recessed panel which runs through the whole surface of the “stele”. It represents a bearded man seated on a diphros greeting in dexiosis a woman. Both wear chiton and the man is also dressed in chlamys and the woman in a himation which covers the back of her head. The man holds something with his left hand. A little girl stands in smaller scale between them wearing a belted chiton. The “stele” must be dated to the second third of the 4th century B.C. We could say that the clothes of these figures are carved in higher relief than those of the other tombstone from Aiane (see below). However, due to the same way of the clothes’ folding and of the gesture itself they are usually examined in parallel (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 29,167). The “stele” possibly belongs to a local workshop (Karamitrou-Medesidi, AEMTH 4, 1990, p. 79, note 17).

A marble relief “stele” comes from the Hellenistic cemetery of Amphipolis and is now hosted at the local museum (fig. 38). Only the lower left corner is missing. Its height is 0,88meters. At the crowning, there are three outward –curving acanthus leaves, two of which produce a stem that is cultivating into a volute decorated with a flower. In the centre two four-leaf semi palmettes come out of two acanthus stems. These stems produce two volutes. A bud exists at the top of the finial and on each side there is a six-petal flower. At the right part of the scene there is a klismos covered with textile onto which a man in chiton and himation seats. His feet lie on the footstool while he extends his right hand to a boy standing at the left part, giving him a bird. The boy wears also chiton and himation and is moving towards the man. Above the figure scene an inscription reads: «Νικάσιππος Δόρκωνος». Both names were used all over the Greek world, although Nikasippos was mostly preferred in Thessaly and Arkadia (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 253). Schmidt recognizes the Attic influences and dates the “stele” to the middle of the 4th century (Schmidt 1991, p. 47 and note 257).

The “stele of Arrabaios” was found at Amphipolis and is hosted at the local museum (fig. 39). The lower part of the shaft is missing. The crowning is encircled by a semicircular panel. The decoration was painted. At the figure scene a naked boy in three quarter view to the left wears a himation and looks downwards to his stretched right arm. Above the figure scene an inscription reads: «Ἀρραβαῖος Ἀθηνίωνος». Arrabaios was attested in Macedonia while Athenion was frequently used in the Greek world
Another marble relief “stele” comes from Pella, found near the Macedonian tomb ΣΤ’ (fig. 40). The “stele of Biaios and Mnasinika” is now hosted in Pella museum. The upper part of the “stele” is saved together with the crowning and the right upper part of the figure scene. Its dimensions are height: 1,225 meters, width: 0,585 meters and thickness: 0,145 meters. On the crowning there is a taenia that serves as the ground for the floral decoration. The top of the tombstone is carved in an oval shape. Three acanthus leaves exist at the lower part of the crowning. Behind them and in a higher level there are two more outward acanthus leaves. There are also two more stems in the middle that terminate in acanthus leaves as well. To the sides, two thinner stems come out of these two and end up in a volute and an acanthus leaf. The decoration consists also of two semi-palmettes of five leaves. Finally, at the top there is a round disc decorated with a ten-petal flower. At the figure scene only the upper part of a woman dressed in chiton and himation is saved. She holds her himation with her left hand in the gesture of “anakalypsis”. Another figure must have been depicted, probably a man judging by the inscription. There are two inscriptions carved at the top of the shaft that read: « Βιαῖος Πίθωνος» and the other: «Μνασινίκα Αντιγόν[ου]» (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 38, 199). The name Biaios is rare, Pithon was of Pan-Hellenic use but attested here for the first time epigraphically and so is the name Mnasinika. Antigonos was a common Macedonian name. The two inscriptions seem to have been carved by different hands and Chrysostomou believes that the one with Biaios was inscribed later. He also suggested an Athenian artist due to the Attic type of the crowning (Chrysostomou 1998, p. 371-373).

Another “stele” of the same type is the “stele of Dionysios” from Amphipolis again, hosted at Amphipolis museum (fig. 41). It is made of marble and the lower edge of the shaft is broken off. At the semi-circular crowning, three outward-curving acanthus leaves exist at the lowest part. From the two laterals a stem is produced from which a volute comes out. At the centre two acanthus stems produce two five-leaf semi-palmettes. Two volutes come out of the stems of the two semi-palmettes. In each side of the volutes there is one six-petal flower. At the finial and the taenia above the figure panel, traces of red color are saved. Inside the figure scene there are imitations of anta capitals. A naked boy in frontal view has turned his head in profile. His right
hand and leg are raised at the back side of the boy, the hand in a fist. His left arm is raised in front of him. He looks downwards. Above the figure scene there is an inscription that reads: «Διονύσιος». Suggestions about the boy involved in a game of knucklebones have been made. It this case it would be most unique for the iconography of funerary monuments. The name was widely spread in Macedonia and all over the Greek world (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 50, 253).

From Aedonochori (ancient Tragilos) we have a marble “stele” in good condition hosted today at Kavala museum (fig. 42). Its dimensions are height: 0,907meters, width: 0,335meters and thickness: 0,095meters. At the finial two five-leaf semi-palmettes come out of two volutes and between them there is a bell-flower. At the centre there is a pointed scale. Above the recessed figure scene there are two rosettes. There are two imitations of anta at the two upper corners of the scene. A man in chiton and himation seated on a diphros, holds something with his bent left arm, probably painted but that has now disappeared. The tombstone must have been reused in Roman period since an inscription was carved then above the figure scene. The type of the crowning and the style of the tombstone testify an Attic influence (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 47-48, 250). From Aedonochori we have another shaft palmette “stele” originating from a grave monument dating to the late 4th century (fig. 43).

One last tombstone of this type is the “stele of Dorias” found at the east cemetery of Amphipolis inside a wall of funerary enclosure (fig. 44). It is made of marble and was found integral. Today it is located in Amphipolis museum. On the crowning three acanthus leaves lead to two acanthus stems that produce a volute. The stems maintain two semi-palmettes of five inward-curving acanthus leaves. The scene depicts a woman in chiton and himation, seating on a diphros with cushions, greeting a standing woman to the left. The latter is dressed the same. Above the scene an inscription is carved: «Δωρίας Χαριδάμας». Both names were not spread very much in the Greek world (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 254). Malama believes the seated figure holds a baby in her arms (Malama, AEMTH 14, 2002, p. 61 and fig. 6).
No side frames, crowning exceeding the lateral edges of the shaft

Our next marble grave “stele” comes from the Great Tumulus of Vergina (fig. 45). The crowning as well as parts of the low and upper left corner are missing from the exhibited shaft in Thessaloniki museum. Its current dimensions are height: 1,19meters, width: 0,785meters at the bottom and 0,71meters at the top, thickness: 0,08meters while the dimensions of the crowning are height: 0,376meters, width: 0,535meters and thickness: 0,015meters. The crowning had a curved upper contour and was decorated with a main palmette with ten inward-curving leaves and two side palmettes with five inward-curving leaves coming from acanthus flowers. Finally, four bell-flowers were carved at the top and low part of the crowning. Traces of red color have been maintained in the central palmette. A man with beards wearing chiton, chlamys, boots and a petasos hanging from his neck holds a sword and stands in a position which seems he is about to walk to the right. He gives his hand in dexiosis to a seated woman wearing a chiton with buttoned sleeves, a peplos and a himation covering the back of her head. A little girl wearing peplos is carved behind the scene of dexiosis, looks as if she stands on a higher level than the man. With her left hand she holds the woman’s shoulder. A servant attributed in smaller scale behind the man, is wearing a chiton and holds his hands united in front of him. A kalathos is carved below the klismos. Traces of red color can be observed on the klismos and the footstool. A funerary epigram is inscribed above the figures. It reads: «Αθάνατα μνημεία ὁ[ρέτης-] κείσα ἀγνήτωι τῶϊ [τάφῳ-] ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ σῶσεινος [-] Μ[-] Ε[φ]ύσε πατήρ, θρέψε δὲ [δε Μακηδονίη]. The meaning is: everlasting monuments of virtue you lay in this ageless tomb, in the same tomb the wife her father begot, but Macedonia here raised. The “stele” must be characterized as a work of a local sculptor (Kalaitzi 2016, p.31, 184-185). Andronikos found the poet of the epigram lacking inspiration. He also stressed the symbolism hidden behind the gesture of the dexiosis. Here dexiosis is between a husband and a wife, a way to signify that even death cannot break the unity of the familial bonds (Andronikos, BCH 79, 1955, p. 87-95). Despinis recognizes a tendency that started even in the 5th century that imposes the palmette crowning to lose in height and to develop in width so as to adapt in the wide grave “stelai” of the era. Moreover, he attributes the “stele” to a Macedonian workshop due to some facial detail as well as the abrupt outlines of the heads and the lack of smoothness in the folding of the clothes (Despinis, ThesCat 1, 1997, p.33-34).
Saatsoglou-Paliadeli dates the “stele” to the middle of the 4th century B.C. She argues that small iconographic details such as the equal height of the lateral with the central palmette as well as the rod-shaped cadre around the central palmette and the existence of the inscription on the top of the shaft differentiate the Macedonian crowning from the respective Attic ones. She finds parallels of the Macedonian tombstone with the sima carved in relief in the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus as well as from one Attic tombstone dedicated to those who fell in battle in Corinth dated to 394 B.C (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.71-79).

There is one marble grave “stele” incorporated nowadays in the fountain of the village of Palaia Pella (fig. 46). The “stele” of Dionysos was integrated there during the Ottoman occupation and it is decorated with two rosettes and a palmette crowning (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 38). The crowning exceeds the lateral sides of the shaft and it was placed at the construction of the façade (Karamanoli-Siganidou, AD 31, 1976, p. 261 and Table 203a).

3.3.4 Triangular top

A “stele” that was discovered recently at Pydna in Pieria was found partially saved. A woman in profile with wavy hair, wearing a himation is depicted turning to the right. It is dated to 430-420 B.C (Kalaitzi 2016, p.22).

- No side frames

Such a “stele”, crowned by a triangular top, without any additional bordering at the sides of the shaft can be found also at Aigai (fig. 47). The big height of the crowning and the absence of any relief element reject the possibility that the crowning would be pedimental. It was found at the Great Tumulus at Vergina and is now exhibited at the museum of Vergina. The crowning must have had painted decoration which is not saved today. The warrior is considered a local work with Ionian influences and is dated by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli at 430-420 B.C. The male warrior is standing in three quarter view wearing a short belted chiton, a chlamys and a petasos. He holds two spears with his right hand and a bird with his left while his scabbard can be seen hung on his left side. We have one particular characteristic of the Macedonian chlamys, known from the ancient sources, that is the curved edge of it, leaving uncovered the low part of the chiton. Mistakes as regards to the perspective can be observed on the
fingers holding the bird and the relation between the two legs. The bird represents as in many “stelai”, the lost youth of the deceased. The male figure in profile is a characteristic of the funerary Attic tombstones of the Archaic years. (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 19-27). The folding on his chlamys reminds of Parian works due to the broad surfaces they create. The “stele” was restored from two pieces. However, the lowest part of it with the feet is missing. The relief was made of marble. Its height is 1,014 meters, its width is 0,463 meters at the bottom and 0,404 meters at the top and its thickness: 0,11 meters. (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 23, 181).

- With projecting frames

A grave “stele” that is crowned with a triangular top and is framed at its sides comes possibly from Pella (fig. 48). The provenance of the “stele” which is certainly Macedonian seems to match with the area of Pella. However, it has neither been certified, nor rejected. Archaeologists have dated it between 450-400 B.C. It is made of white marble and fortunately is well preserved. Its height is 1,725 meters, its width 0,605 meters at the bottom and 0,60 meters at the top of the shaft and its thickness: 0,075 meters. The crowning is triangular with a contour that creates curves. Probably, it would have been painted with palmette motifs (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 196). In the figure scene, a soldier wearing a helmet which extends in the crowning and a chlamys is depicted in three quarter view. His hands are standing on top of the oval shield and spear. His sword is visible in its scabbard and its handle is obviously given with incision. The man is muscular although his proportions are not correct. Andronikos, as well as many scholars, claimed that the figure scene reminds of Ionian funerary works, probably by Ionian artists that worked in Macedonia (Andronikos, BCH 79, 1955, p. 98-99). On the contrary, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli argues that the body position of the figure reminds of the art of Polykleitos but combines so many divergent characteristics that is difficult to categorize it to a certain workshop (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.84-85). The austere nudity of the relief is representing the ideal of a heroic individual (Heuzey, BCH 8, 1884, p. 340).

Another marble relief “stele” comes from the modern Ierissos, the ancient Akanthos (fig. 49). The finding was traced in the middle of the oldest road to Ierissos which is identified as the ancient road that led from the Necropolis to the ancient settlement (Trakosopoulou-Salakidou, AEMTH 7, 1993, p. 414). The provenance of the marble
is from the island of Thasos and this may lead to the origin of the sculptor. The relief
is well preserved. It is broad and is framed on its lateral sides and on the top. The
“stele of Agenor” as it is called has one special feature. The lower part of the shaft is
on higher level than its framing and it deepens as it goes up to the higher part. Only
the 2/3 of the shaft is encircled with the framing. As for the crowning of the “stele” it
is triangular and in low relief there is a lion that is crouching. It stands out from the
left and right sides of the triangle; the latter does not even cover the entire width of
the “stele”. On the other side of the shaft we can see a man with beards standing on a
rock wearing himation and trochaed (type of sandals). He supports his head with the
right hand and places the other on the rock. The body turns in three quarter view
while the face and the legs are in profile. The mature man stares at another man at the
other side of the figure scene. He also rests on the rock. He wears no clothes and
shoes and his himation is seen scattered all over the rock. Finally, the tombstone
belongs to the inscribed monuments carrying two inscriptions, one on the taenia on
the left, written in retrograde reading «Ἀγήνωρος Τ»). A second inscription lies
between the two figures reading «Ἀγλωνίκης». Both names are in their Attic/Ionian
form. The name «Ἀγήνωρ» was a very common name while the name «Ἀγλωνίκης»
was mostly encountered in some Cycladic islands, Megara and Euboea. The two
inscriptions are of different form and must have been inscribed in a different period.
This grave monument is an excellent example of the motif of the hero or hunter (see
below). In addition, it succeeds in showing the different ages by picturing elements
such as the existence of the beard or the different body structure. Finally, the lion on
the crowning tries to point out the power and the courage and of course it stands on
the top in order to watch over the tomb itself. The “stele” must be dated to the end of
the 5th century or the beginning of the 4th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 26, 91, 249). This
big grave “stele” is an exemption since few tombstones were generally found in
ancient Akanthos and especially of these dimensions (Kaltsas 1998, p. 300 and note
1135).

3.3.5 Horizontal top

A marble “stele” from Amphipolis is hosted today at Kavala museum (fig. 50). The
lower part of the “stele” and the upper right corner of the shaft were broken off. Its
height is 0.70 meters. A cyma reversa and a taenia create the top. Signs of red color
have been located on the crowning. A young man in chiton and chlamys stands in
three quarter view to the right. His right arm suspends in front of him and the left is covered by the chlamys. He must have held something with his right hand. The outline of the back is carved in higher relief than the frontal one (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 251). The “stele” is dated to the end of the 5th century (Lazaridis, AncMac IV, 1986, p. 355).

- Lower part of the shaft serves as a plinth on which the figures stand.

Our next relief shaft grave “stele” comes again from Pella (fig. 51), from the cemetery of the ancient Agora and is located today at Pella museum. The “stele of Xanthos” as it is called, is made of marble and its dimensions are height: 0,664meters, width: 0,173meters at the bottom and 0,157meters at the top of the “stele” and thickness: 0,077meters at the bottom and 0,085meters at the top. The figure scene extends to the upper part of the shaft. There is a boy wearing a chlamys that falls at his back leaving all of his body naked and he is also wearing a ribbon at his hair. He is standing in profile to the left. He holds a dove with his right hand and points his look at it. A hunting dog seating below the bird stretches its head to it. With his left hand the boy seems to be holding something and behind him on the ground there is a wheel toy. Traces of red, yellow and brown color for the figure scene details have been saved while the background was painted blue. Below the figure scene there is an inscription that reads: «Ξάνθος Δημητρίου και Ἀμαδίκας υἱός». Xanthos was not a common name in Macedonia while Amadikas used to be an epichoric name in Macedonia (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 196, 197). Akamatis argues that the “stele of Xanthos” although having a strong influence from the Aegean islands, it is a work of a local artist. He only accepts a parallelism of the flat crowning to the Attic tombstones of the end of the 5th century B.C and of the early 4th century. Moreover, he dates the “stele” at the end of the 5th century B.C (Akamatis 1987, p. 20-28). The combination of a dog, a bird and a figure standing in profile is a basic characteristic of the Aegean islands and a common feature in the Attic tombstones. In parallel, it has been claimed that this tombstone was made by a sculptor who was influenced by the tendencies of the islands but had also worked in Athens, this is why the “stele” atticizes a lot and Clairmont places it among the Attic tombstones. He concludes by saying that the Aegean and the Attic techniques were very similar during the last third of the 5th century due to the distribution of the koine of Polygnotan art. The presence of the wheel toy strengthens his belief since we meet it only at the Attic tombstones. Maybe,
this funerary monument is a combination of Attic and Ionian elements, a common thing during the last decades of the 5th century (Clairmont, CAT, 1993, p.143-145). The body size with the large muscles of Xanthos looks more like the Attic tombstones since the Aegean monuments are known for the slimmer forms (Kalaitzi 2016, p.23, note 37).

- “Naiskos stele”

From the area of Poteidaia, now hosted at Thessaloniki museum is a marble “stele” of a lyre player (fig. 52). Assembled from two fragments, suffering from breakages and erosion, misses the lower edge and lower right corner of the shaft. During the Roman Imperial period it was reused. Its dimensions are height: 1,392 meters, width: 0,716 meters at the bottom and 0,717 meters at the top and thickness: 0,11 meters. The crowning is supported by two antae. The possible horizontal top is crowned by antefixes. A young man in frontal view is wearing a himation that leaves its chest bare. He holds a plectrum with his right hand and a lyre with his left. The chords must have been painted with color. Carved in relief are also the soles of his shoes (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 246). Stephanidou-Tiveriou dates the “stele” to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. She argues that although the form of the “stele” reminds Attic prototypes, the frontal position and the style of the figure recalls Ionian influences. The lyre denotes the intellectual past of the prematurely deceased person. During the Roman period it must have been accompanied by a second slab since the half of a Latin inscription is today saved (Stephanidou-Tiveriou, ThesCat 1, 1997, p. 31-33).

- “Naiskos stele”, figure scene stepping on a projecting plinth

The marble “stele of Philopatra, Pausanias and their children” was found in Pella but today is exhibited in the British museum (fig. 53). The left upper corner is missing and the low projecting plinth is roughly worked. Its dimensions are height: 1,124 meters and width: 0,756 meters. Two more heads were subtracted, situated next to the existing male heads. Moreover, there is a figure of a man that is carved in very low relief that might have been added later. The figure scene consists firstly of three women wearing a chiton and a himation. The one to the right holds her chin with her left hand. The middle one seats on a diphros that is covered by a clothing which also hides her feet that step on a footstool. With her left hand she unfolds her himation in the motif of “anakalypsis”. She looks at a third woman at the left part of the scene that
also holds her himation in the motif of “anakalypsis” and with her left hand she holds a boy. The boy is wearing a himation and is giving his hand to the seated woman but not in a way of making a dexiosis. Two girls wearing a mantle and a piece of clothing fastened below the chest are shown in front of the diphros, the one standing, the other on the ground. The standing girl, turned in three quarter view to the left, holds with her left hand her mantle. The seated girl extends her left hand trying to contact the other figures while her right is positioned above her legs. Lastly, the two men in the back wear chiton and chlamys. The one has beards and the other not. There is an inscription on the architrave that reads: «Σωπάτρα, Αντίμαχος, Φιλοπάτρα, Παυσανίας [-], Παυσανίου, Παυσανίου, Μικόλου, Ανδρίσκου». The names Pausanias and Sopatra are common Macedonian names while the others were widespread all over the Greek world. The “stele” must have been destined for a family tomb and follows the Attic prototypes. However, the similar gestures of the figures and the fact that the attention is not centralized in the central scene make it differ from the respective Attic ones. It is dated to the second half of the 4th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 38, 198-199).

- Figure scene in a recessed panel

The marble “stele of Phila” was excavated at the north cemetery of Pella and is now hosted at Pella museum (fig. 54). Few breakages exist at both sides. Its dimensions are height: 0,635meters, width: 0,31meters, thickness: 0,095meters. A standing woman wears chiton and himation in which she has wrapped her hands. Her left arm is placed in front of her belly and her right one in front of her breast. Her hair is carved in low relief. To the left there is a standing female servant, rendered in three quarter view to the left and in smaller scale. She wears a sleeveless belted chiton below the breast. She sustains a kanoun with three cakes on her head and holds an oinochoe with her left hand. The figures’ feet are attributed schematically. The two figures are depicted most conservatively. The style and the frontality of the figures testify a local artist. The inscription above the figure scene reads: «Φίλα Μενάνδρου». Menandros, although known in a Pan-Hellenic spectrum, is very common in Macedonia and so was the name “Phila”. Chrysostomou tried to prove the priest hood of Phila due to the pose, the covering of the clothes and the objects that she holds. However, Kalaitzi argues that all that are very frequent in later depictions of ordinary women in tombstones and that without the existence of a
certain symbol the identification is not secure (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 39-40, 200 and Chrysostomou 2001, p. 236-242). On the other hand, Paspalas finds no difference between the “stele of Phila” and the respective tombstones depicting soldiers. He justifies his thesis by saying that Phila seems to possess all the good elements her social status gave her and in that way her entity seems idealized (Paspalas, Brill’s Companion, 2011, p.185).

3.3.6 “Stele” with no side frames, broad band on top of the figure scene

A “stele” with a more uncommon typology comes from Poteidaia (fig. 55) but it can be found nowadays in the Louvre museum. The existing part of the marble relief shaft “stele” of Demarchos and Pythophanes comprises of two main sectors. The lower part of the shaft and thus of the figure scene is missing. Its dimensions are height: 0,505meters, width: 0,38meters, thickness: 0,08meters. The broad band in top is blank and might have painted decoration, traces of which are now lost. A clamp-shaped bedding stands between the top band and the figure scene. We can see two men standing, shaking their hands in dexiosis with one another. Both are wearing himatia, a ribbon on their head and have a beard. We can discern the older age of the man on the right due to the body analogies and the object he holds on his head. Both names are incised above the two figures: «Δήμαρχος» και «Πυθοφάνης». They were both very frequently met throughout the Greek world. The marble of the “stele” is highly probably Pentelic and the work has many resemblances with the Attic ones. This is why it has been attributed to an Athenian sculptor that worked in Poteidaia. An alternative is that the tombstone was made in Attica and was transferred to Chalkidike. It is dated to 420 B.C. (Kalaitzi 2016, p.25, 245-246). There is no indication regarding which of the two is the deceased (Clairmont, CAT, 1993, p. 117).

3.3.7 “Stele” with figure scene encircled by two antae supporting architrave and cornice.

The final tombstone comes from the east cemetery of Pella, inside a deposit pit. It is hosted today in Pella museum (fig. 56). It is made of local limestone and is broken at the top of the “stele” as well as the low left corner. Its dimensions are height: 0,89meters, width: 0,55meters and thickness: 0,23meters. Owing to some traces saved we know that at the top of the shaft there was a red taenia that was bound with a knot. The anta capitals that frame the scene support a two-fasciaed architrave and a cornice.
They are also attributed inside the relief for reasons of perspective. A woman dressed in chiton and himation seats on a klismos. She gives her right hand in dexiosis with a bearded man who wears chiton and himation. His head turns to the woman while his body stands in frontal view. A second woman, probably a daughter, dressed in chiton and himation, rendered in smaller size stands between their gesture and touches with her right arm the seated woman’s shoulder trying to show her love. It must be dated at the end of the 4th century B.C. The traits of the shaft and the naiskos “stele” that are combined here were present since the second half of the 4th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 40, 201-202). At the background of the scene traces of white hue have been saved. The figures lack of plasticity and are rendered with linearity. The “stele” combines painted (due to the knot) and relief decoration and is dated by Lilimpaki in the second half of the 5th century, much later than the dating of Kalaitzi (Lilibaki-Akamati 2001, p. 341-349).

3.3.8 Pedimental crowning with palmette motifs, scene steps on projecting plinth

A marble “stele” from Amphipolis, today at the local museum was found in good condition (fig. 57). Its height is 0.795 meters. The pedimental crowning must have had painted vegetable decoration. The finial extends over the field of the relief. On the left the woman in chiton and himation seats on a diphros and places her feet on a footstool. Her right hand extends to take an object out of a cist. A servant in belted peplos brings the cist in front of her. The typology of the tombstone is more progressive than the style of the scene (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 48, 251). The “stele” is dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C (Lazaridis, AncMac IV, 1986, p. 355).

3.3.9 Relief shaft “stelai” with no indication of the crowning

A part of “stele” coming from the east cemetery of Amphipolis is hosted at the local museum (fig. 58). It is made of marble but it is broken at the lower and upper part as well the left side. A servant boy stands in profile to the left, carved in high relief. He doesn’t wear clothes but carries on his left shoulder a himation hanging up to his hips. Another figure must have been depicted on the left part. The servant would be carrying the himation of that figure (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 252). The himation as can be seen in the picture is schematically attributed and the facial features of the servant are worn off (Malama, AEMTH 15, p. 119 and fig. 14).
3.3.10 Relief shaft “stelai” with no indication of the crowning, stepping on a projecting plinth

A “stele” about which we lack any information on the crowning is one coming from Pydna, dating to 430 B.C (fig. 59). It depicts a scene between a man holding two spears, probably a soldier and a child. They are facing each other, maybe making some kind of gesture. Today the “stele” can be found in the museum of Dion. It was found in second use inside the walls of the Byzantine castle of Pydna. The “stele” is made of marble. Only the lower part is preserved nowadays. There is no architectural framing and the scene is carved on top of a projecting ledge. On the right, part of the man’s clothing (chiton and chlamys), of the two spears and of his shoes can be seen. Only the soles of his sandals have been carved in relief. On the left there is another figure turned in profile, also wearing a chiton which can be discerned up to the hips. The figure must be a boy, wearing no shoes, standing a bit higher than the rest of the scene, depicted in smaller scale. Traces of color have been saved on the man’s shin and sandals (Kalaitzi 2016, p.22, 175, 176).

Moving to the next century we have a marble grave “stele” from Aghios Athanasios, Aiane that is broken at the top and at the bottom right part (fig. 60). Today the “stele” can be found at the Louvre museum. Its’ dimensions are height: 1,04 meters, width: 1,015 meters and thickness: 0,11 meters. Unfortunately, the type of the crowning is uncertain. The “stele” depicts a family scene and the figures step on a projecting ledge. On a bench with a cushion seats a man wearing a chlamys, a chiton and a petasos, turned in profile to the right. Metoki supports that the man is wearing a kausia (Metoki, AEMTH 1, 1987, p.37-38). He gives his hand in dexiosis to a woman that wears a chiton and covers the back of her head with a himation. Another woman wearing a kekryphalos is possible trying to make a gesture to the seated man. Two last figures, a male standing behind the seated figure dressed in belted chiton and Macedonian chlamys and a female in smaller scale standing at the left corner of the figure scene, wearing peplos and holding a cist. The attribution of the figures is overall two-dimensional and linear. The tombstone is dated to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 29, 166). It possibly belongs to a local workshop (Karamitrou-Medesidi, AEMTH 4, 1990, p. 79, note 17). Heuzey in 1884 discerned in this tombstone a provincial awkwardness and recognizes the existence of a kausia and not a petasos (Heuzey, BCH 8, 1884, p.340).
Another “stele” with no side frames that steps on a projecting plinth is hosted at Polygyros museum (fig. 61). It is made of marble but unfortunately is broken at the upper and lower left side. Also the crowning is missing. Its height is 0,95 meters, its width is 0,63meters and its thickness 0,10meters. A woman in chiton and himation is seating on a diphros and her legs are crossed on a footstool. With her right hand she gestures in dexiosis with a standing woman in three quarter view, dressed in chiton with buttoned sleeves and a himation. With her left hand she holds the folds of her himation. In front of the seated woman there is a boy dressed in himation that leaves his chest naked. He extends his right arm towards the seated woman holding probably a bird. If we compare the style of the tombstone with the Attic relief it can be dated to the second half of the 4th century. Its artist must have been strongly influenced by the Attic prototypes (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 47, 245). The “stele” remains unpublished.

A marble “stele” from Amphipolis, today located at Louvre museum is missing her upper part (fig. 62). Its dimensions are height: 0,525meters, width: 0,485meters and thickness: 0,175meters. The bodies of the figure scene are almost sculpted in the round. The woman to the left wears peplos that forms a kolpos and stands in frontal view. She holds a box with her left hand. To the right a woman in peplos creating the omega folds stands in smaller size in three quarter view (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 251-252). Hamiaux suggests the special feature of the woman on the left due to her dressing and suggests the priesthood. The Parian influence of the work is obvious. The “stele” is dated between 330-320 B.C (Hamiaux 2011, p. 508).

From Amphipolis comes another marble relief “stele” that is not preserved well nowadays (fig. 63). The relief was built inside the Byzantine tower of Neochorion. The upper part of the “stele” is missing. Its dimensions are height: 0,585meters, width: 0,45meters and thickness: 0,14meters. On the right a woman in chiton and himation is seated on a klismos and placed her feet on a footstool. She holds a child with her right hand. On the left a man in himation is standing having bent backwards his right leg meaning that he was supporting onto something, probably painted. His head leans on his right hand (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 252).

3.3.11 Relief shaft “stelai” with no indication of the crowning, scene in recessed panel

Another marble “stele” coming from Amphipolis, hosted today at Kavala museum (fig. 64). The upper, lower and right parts of the shaft are missing. Its dimensions are
height: 0.22 meters, width: 0.28 meters, thickness: 0.08 meters. The scene lies in a recessed panel. At the left part of the scene a bearded man is seated. He wears a himation. The way this older man wears his himation, covering the left part of the chest and the arm, is almost standard for men at this age in many works. He gestures in dexiosis with another man in himation that stands in front of him (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 252).

A marble tombstone from Amphipolis with no sign of the finial due to destruction is hosted at Kavala museum (fig. 65). The upper and lower part of the shaft is missing. The figure scene is placed in a recessed panel and only the upper part of the figures is saved. A bearded seated man on a diphros, wearing himation is on the left part of the scene. He turns towards the right. On the right a standing man gives again his hand to the seated one. He also wears himation (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 252).

Another grave “stele” from Amphipolis, today at Kavala museum is the “stele of Herakleitos” (fig. 66). It is made of marble and it is broken at the top and at the lower part of the shaft. The half of one of the rosettes is preserved above the figure scene. A boy in unbelted chiton stands in frontal view and turns his head to the right and downwards to a dog to which he stretches his right hand. The dog extends to reach the bird that the boy holds with his right hand. As we have already said the bird was a sign of premature death. His left hand in a fist must have held something, painted and now worn off. We can see the inscription below the scene that reads: «Ἡράκλειτος Διαγόρου». Both names were known in the Greek world. Herakleitos was a theophoric name meaning deriving from the worship of Herakles. Diagoras was more widespread in Ionia, Athens, Kos and Rhodes (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 254).

The marble “stele of Zopyros” comes from the east cemetery of Amphipolis and is hosted at the local museum (fig. 67). It is in good condition still standing in its original base. Its dimensions are height: 0.738 meters, width: 0.292 meters and thickness: 0.08 meters. The base’s dimensions are height: 0.255 meters, width: 0.504 meters and thickness: 0.335 meters. Anta capital imitations exist at the upper inner corners of the recessed scene. On the right side a man seats in a diphros covered with a textile. His feet are placed on a footstool. He wears chiton, himation and a ribbon on his head. He gives in dexiosis his right hand with a standing man in three quarter view similarly dressed. To the left a servant boy in smaller size leans on the
carved anta. He wears chiton and holds a flask with oil hanging from a rope by his clasped hands seen in front of his belly. The flasks as an object brought by the followers could signify athletic activity. His left leg is put over his right in a loose position. The inscription is carved above the figure scene and reads: «Ζώπυρος Διονυσίου». Both names were common in Macedonia and all over the Greek world (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 50, 254-255).

The final “stele” of this type was found in the Hellenistic cemetery of Amphipolis and was reused as a covering for a latter tomb (fig. 68). Today it is located in Kavala museum. The “stele of Amyntas” is made of marble, lacks the crowning and has some breakages at its sides. Its dimensions are height: 0,82meters, width: 0,44meters at the bottom and 0,40meters at the top and thickness: 0,07meters. There are imitations of anta at the upper inner corners of the scene. On the right a man seated on a klismos, places his feet on the footstool. He wears himation and a ribbon on his head. His left hand is raised and must have kept something while his right is in dexiosis with a standing younger man that heads towards him. He wears chiton, himation and a ribbon at his head and holds a bird with his left hand. A servant is discerned behind the klismos in smaller size and holds an oil flask. A dog can be seen under the klismos. Above the scene there is an inscription carved that reads: «Ἀμύντας: Μονουνίου». Below the scene there is an epigram that reads: <νΩις μέν ὅμι<λ>ήσασι ποθεῖν πάρα, τοῖς δὲ τεκοῦς[τ]ενεθεῖν, οἷς δὲ ἀγνός πευθομένοις ἐλεεῖν, τόνδε γάρ εἰς τόδε μούρ<α> κ<α>τήγαγεν, ὡστε γεν[έθαι] ἰδόσονα μέν μοίρας, κρείσσονα δὲ εὐλογίας. This means: “Amyntas, son of Monounios. His friends may miss him, his parents may mourn, those who did not know him may feel pity, when they hear of him. For fate led him down to this tomb, so that he would become inferior to fate, but superior to praise”. Amyntas was a Macedonian name while Monounios was Illyrian (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 255). Lazaridis dates the “stele” to the middle of the 4th century (Lazaridis, AncMac IV, 1986, p. 355).

3.4 Painted “stelai”

A group of “stelai” dating before the Classical period originates from the built tombs at Leibadia, a region situated at Aiane. They date to the late Archaic-early Classical period. These two limestone grave “stelai” had painted Ionian palmette finials. The first marked tomb E’ and was found with its base in the interior of the tomb. The
second was traced outside tomb ΣΤ’ and was probably its grave marker. It was found together with part of its base. Both grave “stelai” are very thick. Their coronation was pedimental. Although none of these preserves any decoration on its shaft, it is believed that at least the one from tomb E’ was also decorated on its shaft (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 16).

Nevertheless, the largest group of grave “stelai” decorated with colored illustrations comes from the Great Tumulus of the royal capital of Aigai. They are all dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C. After the end of this chapter one will realize that they do not differ in the iconographic choices and have only slight differences in the arrangement of space from the respective grave monuments carved in relief. Certainly, this rule does not apply only for the painted “stelai” of Aigai but the painted “stelai” in general. The only variation they seem to present is the difference in technique. The tombstones of Aigai are believed to have been made by local sculptors and certainly with local ingredients for the pigments used to paint the tombstones (Brekoulaki, 2006, p. 158). I chose to categorize by means of a typological separation the painted “stelai” of Aigai as much as I did with the relief tombstones.

The first “stele” I will describe is not categorized since its crowning remains unknown. The marble “stele of Antigonos” (fig. 69) can be found in Vergina museum and it was assembled from eight pieces. The lower parts of the shaft and the crowning are missing. The dimensions of the “stele” are height: 0,95meters, width: 0,46meters at the bottom and 0,425meters at the top and thickness: 0,07meters. A man seats on a klismos with cushions placing his feet on a footstool. He wears a himation and maybe a chiton judging by the dark colors on the chest area. He seems to hold a rectangular object. There is a band marking the ground. The dominant colors today are ochre with purple hues, grey-blue and some red at the right part of the scene. There is an inscription at the top of the shaft reading: «Ἀντιγόνος... ἔλθε» (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 186-187). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli believes that the chest of the figure was left uncovered as well as the object he holds is a papyrus or a deltus which means that we could describe the man as literate. The motif is very rare and completely absent in Attica. The earliest example of a literate man comes from east Ionia, the “stele of Grottaferrata” (fig. 70), but it differs from the one from Vergina in a sense that the reader is passionate and his occupation with the letters is only implied (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.108-111). The combination of the chiton and the himation leaving
the upper part of the body naked was typical of the men of letters and the philosophers. However, here Antigonos might just have been dressed in the typical clothing for the citizens (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 37).

3.4.1 Crowned by pediment with three acroteria

- Free standing pediment

First, we have the “stele” of Berenno, hosted today in Vergina museum (fig. 71). It is made of marble and it was assembled from three pieces. There are signs of erosion all over the “stele” while the main acroterion is the one better preserved. Its dimensions are height: 0,82 meters, width: 0,25 meters at the bottom, 0,24 meters at the top and 0,253 meters at the crowning and thickness: 0,055 meters. In this painted shaft “stele” red and blue were used for the crowning and the transition from the shaft to the crowning. A girl in three quarter view is headed to the left wearing chiton which forms a “kolpos” and a ribbon. She stands on a light green taenia signifying the ground. The skin color of the girl is pinkish beige, her outlines black and her clothes mauve and blue. The artist has used different tones for the colors in order to depict the plasticity and the perspective. The girl holds a string with a bird with her left hand. At the top of the shaft the inscription says: «Βερεννώ Φιλίστου». Both names were widely used in Macedonia. The traces of the red color can still be seen today (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 185-186). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli supports the existence of color signs in front of the feet of the girl, denoting an animal. Moreover, she finds an earlier example of the type of Berenno in the girl from Nea Kallikrateia (fig. 18) and argues that the use of the string for holding the bird signifies its use as a toy (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.99-102). Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou propose the restoration of «Φιλίσκος» and «Φιλίστος» which was also widespread outside Macedonia. The second option of the restoration was less common (Hatzopoulos, Loukopoulou, 1996, p. 319).

The next marble painted “stele” from the Great Tumulus of Aigai has also been named as the “stele of Antigonos” and is today located in Vergina museum (fig. 72). It is also crowned with free standing pediment with three acroteria. The lower part of the shaft and the left side of the pediment are missing. The remaining “stele” has been assembled by four broken fragments. Unfortunately, there is a lot of erosion on many parts of the shaft. Its dimensions are height: 0,775 meters, width: 0,533 meters at the bottom and 0,508 meters at the top and thickness: 0,115 meters (right face) and 0,165-
0.185 meters at the crowning. A man in three quarter view is saved at the right part of the “stele”. He wears a white chiton, a yellowish himation and headgear. With his left hand he holds a javelin, the edge of which is seen above the left breast of the figure. The man must have been in a seated position. Parts of a standing figure left to the man are saved, probably a short haired boy in smaller scale. At the left part of the scene a standing man is depicted wearing a chiton and a chlamys fastened in the right shoulder. The standing man must have been in dexiosis with the seated man. There are certain areas where the skin in natural tones is saved such as the seated man’s neck and face. Finally, an inscription is carved at the horizontal cornice of the pediment. It reads: «Ἀντίγονος Κλε». The letters are painted in red and blue (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 188-189). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli discerned another spear held by the seated man with his right risen hand. She also identifies the headgear of the seated figure as a petasos. As for the figure left to the seated she supports that it is a female figure. There are various objects hanging below the crowning. A helmet, a nail and the handle of a sword must have been depicted. The suspended objects were unknown in the Classical grave tombstones. Finally, the fact that the seated figure is turned towards the scene as well as that it is not naked makes Saatsoglou-Paliadeli compare the “stele” with Attic grave reliefs of the second half of the 4th century and not with monumental art works (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.123-126).

Another marble tombstone crowned with a free standing pediment is the “stele” of Harpalos from Vergina museum (fig. 73). The “stele” was assembled from three parts. The shaft is eroded in many places and the fable coloring has made the scene difficult to discern. Its dimensions are height: 1,18 meters, width at the bottom: 0,43 meters and at the top: 0,37 meters and thickness: 0,10 meters. At the crowning there are signs of red color in many spots and at the centre of the tympanon there is a round object, probably a shield. The figure scene is seen at the upper part of the shaft standing on a brownish band portraying the ground. There is a servant depicted in smaller scale standing frontally at the left part of the shaft. The gender of the servant used to be the same as the one of their owners. He wears a chiton and has his hands united in front of him like grieving for something. To the left of the boy there is a man in ochre chiton and purple himation. He stands in three quarter view and seems to bend to the left with his left foot raising from the ground. He is directed and extends his right arm towards a monument consisting of a short podium and a kithara on top of it. He must
have presented offerings to the monument. Kalaitzi finds only two suggestions possible to the identity of the figure. Firstly, the worship could head to the cult of gods or heroes and thus the kithara could help for the identification of the deity. The second solution is that the monument is of honorary nature, dedicated to Harpalos himself. The background must have been painted grey and white since traces of these two colors are still discernible. Below the crowning there is an inscription that reads: «Ἀρπαλός Πευκολάου» with the letters filled with black color. Both names were very frequent in Macedonia. (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 34, 189-190). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli noticed two figures at the central part of the scene, a woman and a man. Finally, at the right upper corner of the figure scene she marked a peg given in perspective, making a turn that indicates the interior space in which the scene takes place. The typology of the letters from the inscription dates the “stele” at around 350 B.C (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1984, p.131-134).

One more grave “stele” from the Great Tumulus of Vergina, hosted today at the museum of Vergina is made of marble and it was assembled from five pieces (fig. 74). The lower part and the crowning are missing. Its dimensions are height: 1,01meters, width: 0,475meters at the bottom and 0,435meters at the top and thickness: 0,11meters. Traces of red color have been found at the crowning while the background of the shaft was rendered in grey. On the left part of the scene there is a seated on a diphros man in three quarter view wearing a white himation which falls from the diphros. Apparently, we could admit that the representation of the youth here is more liberate and advanced due to the separation of the two feet and the liberation of the hands from supporting the weight of the figure. Out of the diphros legs the one on the left and in front is of brown color while the one at the back left side is of purple color. The artist must have wanted to show the shadowing due to the various lighting. There are blue cushions placed on top of the diphros. Although the flesh is again of pink and beige color, the band that signifies the ground differentiates and is of grey-purple hues. At the low right part of the scene there is a rectangular yellow-green object (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 33-34, 193-194). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli proposed that this object would be wooden furniture and that fragmentary traces of color indicate a second figure. The scene represents the deceased as a seated figure that promotes the element of heroism due to the nudity. Its’ closest parallel according to her can be
found in big works of painting or sculpture such as the Ares Ludovisi (fig. 75) (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1984, p.177-179).

- Free standing pediment, figure scene in a recessed panel

Another marble painted shaft “stele” is saved today at Vergina museum (fig. 76). The “stele of Herakleides” was restored from four pieces. Fragments from the shaft are broken as well as the right acroterion. The figure representation is better saved at the lower part while at the upper part only traces of yellow and red color are saved. As for the crowning signs of red, blue and green are saved belonging to the decoration of the tympanon. The dimensions of the “stele” are height: 1,115meters, width: 0,39meters at the bottom and 0,37meters at the top, thickness: 0,10meters. The figure scene is inside a rectangular recessed panel. A boy stands on the light green ground denoted by a band. He wears a purple chlamys and a grey chiton. A himation is seen falling at the boy’s left side together with the lower part of a stick. The boy’s naked parts are rendered in pink. A hunting dog stands in his back legs towards the boy and he extends his hand to the dog holding an object (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 33, 186). At the right corner there is a triangular object. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli believes the object at the right corner is a stone. She also observes that the boy’s feet, as well as of the other figures, cast shadows on the ground, meaning a central source of light, a rare phenomenon in Greek painting. Here, the shadows are combined with an indication of outer space. The right outline of the dog as well as the right side of the boy’s shanks is shaded. Traces of two bands are discerned over the boy’s left knee, one must have been a lagobolon and the other part of an object which the boy must have held with his left hand. Although the position of the boy and the presence of the dog is a common element in the representations of the 4th century, the stick is certainly rare. The boy, which is the deceased, is well dressed and also wears a bracelet such as the “stele” of Berenno (fig. 71) which is also dedicated to the death of a youth. Below the crowning there is an inscription which reads: «Ἱρακλείδης Φίλωνος». Both names were common in Macedonia, the second from the 4th century B.C onwards. The letters of the inscription impose a later dating, in the 4th century. However, the typological and iconographical elements, reminders of the latest Attic reliefs made Saatsoglou-Paliadeli date the “stele” around 300 B.C. (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 103-107).
The marble “stele” of Lysanias, Paramonos and Nikostratos (fig. 77) is today saved at Vergina museum. Its remnants consist of two groups of fragments belonging to the upper and the lower part of the tombstone. Most of the right corner of the pediment has been broken off. The fragments of the lower part of the “stele” although they outnumber the other group do suffer from erosion and fail to give us more details. The upper group nonetheless, informs us of the blue background of the pediment. The “stele’s” dimensions are height: 1,40 meters minimum, width: 0,705 meters at the bottom and 0,645 meters at the top and 0,695 meters at the crowning and thickness: 0,145 meters. As for the decoration of the pediment we discern a flower coming out of acanthus scrolls. Apart from the blue background traces of red, green and white are visible. The figure scene painted inside a recessed rectangular panel. What is now preserved is the upper part of a man in three quarter view wearing grey chiton inclining his head downwards. Right to the man there is the red hair of another figure, probably a woman. Above the two figures there are three objects hanging from a nail. Two of them have a round shape and are suspended from a black rope. The one is of red-brown color and the other of green and black color. The middle object is visible due to its mauve strap. The ground is noticed again by a brown band and the background of the scene is of grey color. Below the cornice of the pediment there is an inscription that reads: «Λυσανίας, Παράμονος, Νικόστρατος» while below the figure scene there is another inscription that reads: «Οἶδε [-] παῖδες ἀμα εἰς [Ἀμάδοκος]καὶ τεῦβησαν μνημεῖόν ν δοστῃνχής ὁ πα[τήρ ἄνέθη]κε Αμάδοκος». It means: Lysanias, Paramonos and Nikostratos, these [-] sons when they descended to Hades, the unfortunate father, Amadokos, set up a monument. Apart from the name Amadokos that is of Thracian origin, all the other names were very usual both in Macedonia and in the Greek world. The use of the name Paramonos, although very common in Macedonia, it is also widely attested in Boeotia and Euboea. The names do not fully correspond to the figures depicted. This is because this grave “stele” tends to transmit the sense of family unity and its aim is not the individual representation of each figure (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 35, 191-192). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli made some further notifications such as the naked baby stretching its hands to a possible fourth figure. Moreover, she noticed that the letters of the three names are diminishing in size and the most likely suggestion would be that the first two were carved together while the third was added later (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 165-169).
• Free standing pediment, figure scene framed at its sides

The marble “stele of Kleonymos, Hadymos, Peukolaos and Krino” (fig. 78) is hosted again at Vergina museum. It was restored from nine pieces, although fragments from the lower part and the framing of the figure scene are still missing. Its dimensions are height: 1,57 meters, width: 0,615 meters at the bottom and 0,575 meters at the top and thickness: 0,095-0,115 meters. As for the pediment it is decorated with a female figure that holds a flower in both her hands. She comes out of acanthus scrolls and wears polos at her head. Below the bust we have an upside down bell flower drawn. The background of the pediment was painted with the blue color while the acroteria were again painted red. Better preserved is the central one. As we already said the figure scene is placed at the upper part of the shaft and is bordered by a naiskos style frame. Two antae even support an architrave and then a cornice. As for the scene itself, at the left part there is a young man standing in three quarter view. He wears grey chiton, green chlamys, krepides and petasos. He gives in dexiosis his right hand and holds a spear with his left hand. The other man, who must be of mature age, is seated on a klismos and wears the same gear with the standing man. He also holds a spear with his left hand. Behind the seated man there is a woman standing in three quarter view, at a different level, that gestures with the man at the left. She wears purple chiton and green himation. In front of the klismos there is a young boy with white chiton and green chlamys standing in three quarter view. His right hand touches a dog raising on his back feet. Finally, two grey oval objects seem like stones to the right of the boy. The flesh has been signified with pink color, now turned into grey. We can discern the shadows that are thrown by the feet of the standing man, the boy, the dog and the klismos, a phenomenon that we met again in the “stele” of Herakleides (fig. 76). The existence of light comes together with the indication of the outer space, provided by the stones. What is worth mentioning here is a phenomenon starting at the next century that permits the simultaneous existence of different environments. At this grave “stele” the man is seating as he would have done inside his house while the child plays outdoors. At the top part of the shaft there is an inscription filled with black color that reads: «Κλεώνυμος, Ακύλος, Ἄδυμος, Κλεωνύμω, Πευκόλαος, Ἀδύμω, Κρινό, Ἀδύμω». It means: Kleonymos, son of Akilas, Hadymos, son of Kleonymos, Peukolaos son of Hadymos, Krino, daughter of Hadymos. Apart from Kleonymos and Krino that were utilized by the entire Greek world, the other names
were typical Macedonian. The four names should correspond to the four family figures of the scene. However, it is more probable that the aim of the tombstone is to illustrate the theme of family unity and not to represent separately each one of the figures. (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 34-35, 190-191). The type of the hat with the circular brim and the deep bowl hanging from the necks of the two male figures is identified by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli with a kausia and not a petasos (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, JHS 113, 1993, p. 131). According to Saatsoglou-Paliadeli the peculiar type of this grave “stele” combines the naiskos type with horizontal crowning with the slender unframed shaft with the pedimental crowning. As for the dating, the multi-personal scene must be dated right before the beginning of the last quarter of the 4th century due to the similarities of the “stele” from Vergina with the Attic reliefs and the pause of the multi-personal Attic tombstones at about 330B.C (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 152-159).

- Pediment carved on a triangular top

The marble “stele of Dyminno” (fig. 79) has been assembled from two fragments. It is now found at the museum of Vergina. The central and the left acroterion have been broken off as well as pieces of the shaft around the central part. The acroteria were painted with red color. The “stele” was missing its lower edge. Its dimensions are height: 1,01meters, width: 0,388meters at the bottom, 0,37meters at the top and 0,40meters at the crowning and thickness: 0,075-0,085meters at the left face and 0,10meters at the crowning. As far as the crowning is concerned the tympanon of the pediment is decorated with a mauve flower that comes out of two leaves of acanthus. Two red acanthus scrolls come also out of the two leaves. Traces of green and ochre are still preserved at the pediment. At the figure scene the shaft represents a figure scene stepping on a brown band indicating the ground. There is a woman seating on a klismos at the right part of the scene in three quarter view. Her chiton and himation are of mauve color. She touches her chest with her left hand. At the left part of the scene, a thinner and of smaller size woman is depicted in profile to the right. Her hair is combed and rolled up and her peplos is of green-blue color and at the end of purple hues. She gives her left hand to the seated woman. Apart from a kalathos at the low right corner of the scene there was an unidentified object traces of which are still preserved in red color. At the top of the shaft there is an inscription with black letters that reads: «Δωμινώ Κλεάνδρου θυγατήρ, Ἐρμ[ω]νο[ς] γυνή». All the names were
typical in the Greek world with the name «Δυμιννώ» being most popular in Macedonia (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 190). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli denotes the kalathos as a footstool. She also observes that the standing woman steps on a higher level than the other elements of the scene, a characteristic we will meet in the “stele of Paton” as well (fig. 83). The slender analogies of the standing woman as well as her small head are indications for a later dating to the last quarter of the 4th century, something that is not denied by the shape of the letters of the inscription (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 135-138).

3.4.2 Palmette crowning

The following “stele” was put together by two big fragments, one of the central shaft and the other of the crowning as well as ten smaller pieces from the lower part of the shaft with no signs of color. The marble “stele of Paramonos” is now found at Vergina museum (fig. 80). Its dimensions are height: 1,545 meters, width: 0,525 meters at the bottom and 0,475 meters at the top and thickness: 0,12 meters. The palmette crowning has an unusual semi-elliptical shape and was colored with blue paint. A taenia surrounds the plant decoration of the crowning which consists of one central upright leaf and ten curving ones coming out of two horizontal double volutes. Two bell-flowers exist at the two edges. In the figure scene a seated man turned almost frontally with his head in three-quarter view to the left is inclined downwards. He wears a himation and holds a spear with his right hand. Another, smaller figure stands at the left part of the scene looking towards the seated man. The flesh of the figures is of earthen hues and the clothes are attributed in dark greyish and brown ones. The inscription lies at the taenia of the crowning and reads: «Παράμονος Μενάνδρου» filled with red color (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 187). The name was among the most popular in Macedonia and very common in Boeotia and Euboea (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1996, p. 297-298). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli stresses the uniqueness of the figure scene due to the seated young man. Youths are usually depicted standing. The position of the figure is used in the representation of gods and heroes and is thus considered a heroic posture. The artist must have been influenced by monumental paintings and not by the iconography of the grave “stelai” (fig. 81). This motif of the palmette is noticed for the first time in Attic grave monuments whereas there is a mannerist revival of the pattern in the 4th century as well. Taking everything into consideration Saatsoglou-
Paliadeli affirms the dating of the “stele” in 325 B.C. (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 112-119).

3.4.3 Naiskos “stelai”

This marble grave “stele” must have belonged to the naiskos type “stele”. Unfortunately, the marble “stele” (fig. 82) is restored today from four fragments with however the crowning and the lower part of the “stele” however still missing. Only some small parts of the antae are saved. It is exhibited in the museum of Vergina. Its dimensions are height: 0,74meters, width: 0,47meters at the top and thickness: 0,165meters. A seated man in frontal view holds a spear with his right arm, bent at the elbow. It is not clear whether he was wearing a chlamys or a himation. The tones picked are earthen with some exception of red and black details. (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 188). Three scholars suggested that the background must have been turquoise and the brown tone nowadays is due to soil accumulation (Perdikatsis-Maniatis-Paliadeli 2002, p. 251). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli believes that the figure held with her left arm another spear or javelin. Moreover, she thinks that the breast of the man was uncovered. At the lower left corner, she discerns a helmet and traces of a second figure. The “stele” has many affinities with the aforementioned tombstone of Paramonos and could justify a similar dating. The figure finds its parallels in murals from Pompeii (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p. 120-122).

Another tombstone that certainly belongs to the type of the “naiskos stelai” is the “stele” of Paton (fig. 83) hosted today at Vergina museum. It is made of marble and it was restored from four fragments. The central acroterion as well as the bottom right corner of the “stele” are missing, thus the figure scene is not completed. Its dimensions are height: 1,06meters, width: 0,475meters at the bottom and 0,418meters at the top and thickness: 0,12meters. Typologically, the “stele” is crowned with a free standing pediment with three acroteria. The tympanon of the pediment was decorated with vegetable motifs. Traces of red, green and blue are found all over the crowning with the acroteria being of red color. A standing man in three quarter view at the right side of the scene is giving his right hand in dexiosis to a seated man at the left side turned to the right. The standing man is wearing a chiton and a chlamys and the seated man is wearing a chiton as well, painted in ochre. The seated man on a klismos places his feet on a footstool painted brown. The parts with the flesh have a red-brown color.
The seated man must have held a spear, the edge of which can be seen between his legs. There is an inscription carved on the architrave of the crowning that reads: «Πάτων Λαάνδρο». The name «Πάτων» is rare and is mostly met in Illyria, Thessaly and Boeotia whereas the name «Λάανδρος» is very common within the boundaries of Macedonia in contrast to the rest of the Greek world (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 189). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli notices that both figures wear krepides and that the standing man must have worn petasos on his head. She discerns above the seated man signs of what could be a helmet or a cuirass standing on a dark taenia, probably a shelf. According to her the scene is influenced by the Attic prototypes. The green band serving as the ground for the scene as well as the placing of the figures and objects in different levels give a perspective attribution. She dates the “stele” around 330 B.C. (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, p.127-130).

One of the last tombstones of the Great Tumulus of Vergina of the 4th century is a marble grave “stele” depicting three women (fig. 84). It was assembled from ten pieces and it is now hosted at Vergina museum. The right acroterion has been broken off and there are multiple breakings all over the shaft. Nevertheless, the figure scene is generally visible. The “stele’s” dimensions are height: 1,27 meters, width: 0,59 meters at the bottom and 0,52 meters at the top, thickness: 0,12-0,145 meters. As for the colors preserved, there are traces of blue and red at the crowning and at the anta capitals. Regarding the figure scene, at the left part a woman in three quarter view, seated on a diphros and dressed in chiton is extending her right hand to a woman standing at the right part of the scene. She also wears chiton and a himation painted in ochre and purple color that covers the back of her head. With her left hand she holds her himation while her facial characteristics can still be discerned, something that makes us notice the calm and sad expression of the standing woman. Between the two figures there is a girl with red hair and blue chiton, pictured in smaller size. Her right arm is bent in front of her stomach. There is also a purple kalathos below the diphros and a traverse above the heads of the women whose flesh is painted pink in front of the grey background of the scene. Kalathos was often utilized to show the house keeping or the feature of a married woman (Kalaitzzi, 2016, p. 35, 192-193). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli discerned some kind of a window at the upper left corner consisting of the already mentioned traverse as well as the two antae stepping on it and supporting another traverse, all of these being given in a
perspective way. Finally, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli mentions the plasticity which signifies the figures. The isolation which characterizes the two figures that are neither looking at each other nor touching ones’ hands, is the main feature of a series of latter Attic grave reliefs dating to the 330-320B.C. She did not hesitate to connect the “stele” with a base found today at the museum of Beroia, inscribed with two names with their patronyms. (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1984, p.170-174).

3.5 Funerary statues

I decided to categorize the statues (animals, Kouroi, Korai, Sphinx) within the first part of my presentation of the funerary monuments. This is because all of them represent real and sometimes imaginary living beings. One early example of statuary used as a grave marker comes from the tomb Z’ in the Necropolis of Leibadia at Aiane. The tomb dates to the end of the 6th century B.C. Outside the grave the head of a Kore was found (fig. 85). Possibly it would stand as a funerary marker but ended up inside the tomb after the grave had been robbed in order not to be further damaged (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 63).

Another statue was found inside a pit at the area northwest of tomb E’. It was the statue of a lion and it is believed to be dated around 500 B.C. Its length is about 1.20metres. It was found almost intact with only the two front legs missing (fig. 86). At the same area plinth stones from the two sides of a “peribolos” are considered to be the shelf for the erection of a podium onto which the statue of the lion would have been standing. In addition, two pieces of possibly funerary statues have been located at the surroundings of the tomb. The first is a part of a foot and the second part of an arm. They are both thought to come from grave markers (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 58-59).

Likewise, the head of a bearded man, dating to the beginning of the 5th century B.C. was found inside the tomb Γ’ in the same cemetery. The head was obviously part of a funerary statue and was placed inside the tomb after the looting (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 54).

Among the area of the built tombs of Leibadia, seven more fragments coming from statues, have been traced. Their identification with specific built tombs has been
impossible, but we are aware that some of them belong to the over-life statue of a Kouros and the others from under-life-sized statues of Kouroi (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 16).

Heading to the east we can mention an inscribed statue base coming from Amphipolis, written in Parian alphabet and dialect (fig. 87). It was found built into the gate of the Hellenistic northern wall of the city of Amphipolis. Its dimensions are 1.94m. length, 0.715m. width and 0.30m.height. The inscription is a funerary epigram for young Tokes who was killed while battling for Eion. The inscription reads «Μνήμη ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν Πάριοι Τοκεω [οὗ]νεκεν ἢβην- [Η]ῖόνος ἄνφ’ ἱρατης ὀλεσι βαρνάμενος. Panayotou has dated it to the last quarter of the 6th century or the first quarter of the 5th century (Panayotou 1996, p. 139, 151 note 44). On top of the base a statue plinth is preserved. Lazaridis proposed that it would have supported an equestrian statuary group. The important element is the obvious presence of Parian sculptors in the area west of Strymon since they are also commemorated in the epigram (Lazaridis, AE 1976, p. 173, 179-181). However, Bonias suggested that behind the Parians are actually the Thasians (Bonias, BCH 124, 2000, p. 240-241).

In addition, the torso of a marble Sphinx (fig. 88), possibly a funerary monument, comes from the site of Pentavrysos, west of the ancient region of Orestis. It is dated to the late Archaic period (Tsougaris, AEMTH 18, 2004, p.687).

A marble funeral head of a bearded man comes from the east cemetery of ancient Pella and is now hosted at Pella museum (fig. 89). It must have come from a big funerary monument. Several breakages can be noticed on the head and the part of the neck that are saved nowadays such as the nose. The head is 0,30meters tall. The mature man has two wrinkles on his nape due to the turn of his head to the left. His wrinkles precipitate his face. The locks of his short hair surround it. The style and the expressive features testify the Attic provenance of the sculptor (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 41, 200-201).

The neck and the torso of a mounted rider in relief come from Pella and are now found at the local museum (fig. 90). It is made of marble and its dimensions are height: 1.12meters, width: 1.32meters and thickness: 0.46meters. The relief is almost carved in the round. The rider holds the reins and turns his right arm to the back and his torso to the right. Thus he is seen in three quarter view. He wears chiton and chlamys (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 201).
A similar and older finding includes the body of a fallen warrior. It is made of marble and consists of two fragments. The dimensions of fragment A are height: 0,36 meters, width: 0,73 meters and thickness: 0,13-0,23 meters. Fragment B, height: 0,19 meters and thickness: 0,10 meters. The warrior lies on a projecting stone to the right, wearing chiton and anaxyris (P. Kalaitzi 2016, p. 201). Chrysostomou finds the realism of the monument reminder of the works of Lysippos (Chrysostomou, AEMTH 9, 1995, p. 151).

From the mound of Rachona in Pella we have the remains of an orthogonal podium made of limestone. Its dimensions are width: 4,70 meters and thickness: 1,75 meters (fig. 91). It is dated to 330-320 B.C. On top of the podium a life-size statue of a lion was placed. The marble lion was also located (fig. 92). Other funerary monuments that were traced near the lion base were a tombstone with its base and the drums of a Doric column (P. Kalaitzi 2016, p. 42). Chrysostomou argues that the lion, apart from being from Pentelic marble, it was sculpted by a pupil of Lysippos and thus has resemblances with the Attic style. He believes that all the lions marking funerary monuments should be associated with the tombs of hetaires (Chrysostomou 1987, p. 1022). One more statue of a lion and one of a dog were also discovered in Pella (P. Akamatis 1987, p. 15 and note 4).

3.6 Undecorated stone slabs/roughly worked stones/rubble stones

The undecorated stone slabs are a burial practice firstly attested before the archaic period in the Greek world. The archaeological evidence we have dating to the periods we are interested in come firstly from the coast of Ai-Giannis at Nikiti at western Sithonia. At the cemetery, schist or other rough stones were placed upright on the tombs (I. Trakosopoulou-Salakidou, AEMTH 2, 1988, p. 348). The cemetery of Ai-Giannis dates to the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period.

Another example comes from the Archaic graves found at Souroti where rough stones were put at the top surface of the pit in order to mark the grave (J. Soueref and X. Xavela, AEMTH 16, 2002, p. 267).

Something similar is testified at a group of graves dating to the Archaic period from the necropolis of ancient Aigai. Big boulders have been found inside the pits of the tombs, usually at the side or by the feet of the deceased. This phenomenon appears
Repeatedly in every grave of this period so far. As a result, the excavators have proposed that these might have been stones, used primarily as grave markers (Kottaridi, AEMTH 16, 2002, p. 499).

Roughly worked stones have also been discerned in graves at the cemetery of ancient Dikaia (Nea Kallikrateia). In a group of graves of the late Archaic period where the practice of cremation took place, the covering of the grave presupposed that the accumulation of soil was crowned by a crude rock (or a stele). In two other groups of graves situated at a close distance, adult burials constituted mainly inhumations which were marked by rough worked or rubble stones on top of small mounds of soil. In one of these graves (tomb 13), shells of vases have been found on top and at the bottom of the rubble stones (Bilouka-Graikos-Klaga, AEMTH 18, 2004, p. 106-110).

Finally, at a tumulus cemetery in Konstantia which is situated at Almopia and seems to have been in use from the early Iron Age up to the early Classical period, built chamber tombs were covered with mounds of rubble stones (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 13). We should also point out that at the eastern part of the chamber grave two rocks were placed upright and seemed like marking the tomb. Besides that, the stones did serve as jambs for the entrance of the grave (Chrysostomou A., AEMTH 9, 1995, p. 158-160).

3.7 Funerary buildings

Some of the earliest examples of funerary architecture have been preserved in the royal capital of Elimeia which is situated at the site of Leibadia, north-east of the hill of Megali Rachi. Twelve monumental built tombs dating from the beginning of the 6th to the beginning of the 4th century vary as refers to size and luxury of equipment. The edifices that are constructed above or encircle these monumental built tombs reveal signs of the worship for the deceased and make us assume that they belong to royal tombs (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 80). Undoubtedly, the location, the size and the funerary sculpture of these tombs defined the social provenance of the deceased in Aiane. Funerary buildings along with the statues and the periboloi were all an effort of wealth display. During the 6th and 5th century B.C it looks like only the rich people had the opportunity to build and equip in a luxurious manner the tombs of their deceased (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 16).
One built tomb from the necropolis of Aiane which is encircled by a building of cult is tomb Δ’. The southwest part has been ruined due to the construction of the built tomb B’. The rectangular edifice is saved in its three sides while at the northeast corner three stepped array exists until now. Apart from that, verticils of Doric columns have been found as well as slabs used as revetments of floor at the northwest and southwest side of the building (fig. 93). Tomb Δ’ is dated at the first half of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 56-57).

From the tomb B’ only the lowest level is preserved (fig. 94). The construction stones encircled the chamber but did not stand in parallel with his side walls. Two or three levels of stone plinth could be noticed. It seems like an edifice intended for worship was lying on top of the tomb B’ dating to the second half of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 52-53).

Another example comes from tomb A’. It was a temple-like structure combining both Doric and Ionian elements. Pieces of Doric capitals and mouldings as well as part of an Ionian column were found and point out a temple-like structure. The structure could lead us to think that the edifice above the chamber was a tomb-heroon and thus could belong to a king. The tomb is dated to the beginning of the 4\textsuperscript{th} century (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 50-51).

From the Macedonian tomb ΣΤ’of Pella in the west cemetery of Pella, we have the side wall of a funerary naiskos monument that depicts a standing man, found in second use for two of the three sarcophagi found inside the tomb (fig. 95). Its height is 2,33meters, its width: 0,72meters and the height of the figure: 1,48meters. The monument reminds of an Ionian naiskos. The man is carved in high relief and is framed by an anta which maintains traces of blue color on its capital. He is dressed in chlamys, probably chiton, krepides and kausia. Behind him, on the background there are traces of white, reed and ochre subdivided in stripes (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 201). Chrysostomou discerns the plasticity in the depiction and recalls of respective Attic funerary monuments (Chrysostomou, AEMTH 9, 1995, p. 150-151).

From the same Macedonian tomb in Pella we have a relief, again hosted today in Pella museum. It was found in second use, again for the construction of two of the three sarcophagi of the tomb and presented a mounted rider battling against two enemies (fig. 96). Its height is 1,88meters and its width 2 meters. It constituted the back wall
and consisted of two slabs, the first showing a fallen warrior and part of the legs and the tail of a horse and the second part of the left foot of a rider and part of a fallen warrior. It is dated in the late 4th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 201). The motif of the “Dexileos type” becomes here more perplexed (Chrysostomou, AEMTH 9, 1995, p. 150-151).

From the chora of Pella, we have the remains of an Ionian naisskos made of limestone. It was located at Mound A of Rachona and it must have hosted decoration in high relief. Only the left anta, the right and central acroteria and parts of a female seated figure are preserved from the monument. It is dated to 330-320 B.C (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 42).

From the area of Rizia, near Kilkis comes a big funerary monument that consisted of two marble relief slabs, of which only the one survives (fig. 97). The relief is not well preserved nowadays as it suffers breakages on his surface. It is carved in high relief and some parts are carved in the round such as the horse’s right hinder leg. It is hosted in Kilkis museum. Its dimensions are height: 1,66meters, width: 0,78meters at the top and 0,83meters at the bottom and thickness: 0,11meters-0,145meters. The scene depicted belongs to the “Dexileos type”. It is dated to the end of the 4th century B.C. It represents a rider warrior, dressed in chiton and chlamys, holding the reins with the left hand. The horse would be raised in its back legs. The fallen warrior lies on the ground wearing belted chiton. The rider must have been accompanied by his follower who carried a shield. Only the shield is visible at the left edge of the relief (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 43, 221).

The Oblong Tumulus of Vergina has offered some funeral monuments, as well. At the eastern side there is a funerary building from which the leveling course made of limestone, has survived. Its dimensions are 10,80meters × 2,70meters. Furthermore, some stones from its krepis are still maintained. Some fragments from tombstones and the foot of a marble lion have been rescued, as well. The lion was accompanied by a volute crater, symbol of the symposion, of the heroic and of the Dionysian cult and of the high social status (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 45). Testimonies of another volute crater that took the place of a normal tombstone, we have from the north cemetery of Pydna. It is dated to the second half of the 4th century (Besios 2010, p. 209).
Inside a grave monument eastwards of the Macedonian tomb B’ of Amphipolis lay a part of a relief of a seated man (fig. 98). It is made of marble and is now hosted at Kavala museum. Only the torso, the right shoulder, part of the neck and of the legs are preserved. He wears chiton and himation, apparel that signifies his identity as civilian. He is turned to the left. His right arm must have been raised. The place it was found as well as the relief itself determines that it belonged to the Macedonian high class (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 50, 89, 256). The relief was located inside a group with two cist graves (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, AD 24, 1969, p. 353).

An interesting attestation of a probable naîskos monument comes from Amphipolis. It is a mourning Siren acroterion (fig. 99) dated in the middle of the 4th century. It is carved in the round and shows the Attic prototypes that influenced the construction of the large monument (Kalaitzi 2016 p. 89).

3.8 Architectural remains of “periboloi” and other funerary monuments (columns, pillars)

To continue the description of the tomb markers from the site Leibadia at today’s prefecture of Kozani, we should mention some architectural remnants left to mark few of the built tombs. Three of these were rectangular ‘periboloi’ surrounding three built tombs respectively. They were made of stone and were relatively plain. They embraced tombs Θ’, ΣΤ’ and Ζ’. The “peribolos” that surrounded tomb ΣΤ’ was higher than the actual tomb (fig. 100). Traces of it were discovered at the southeast and northwest side. The tomb must be dated at the first half of the 5th century B.C (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 60-61).

Tomb Ζ’ was encircled by a “peribolos” in a higher level (fig. 101). It seems that the existence of “periboloi” surrounding tombs standing on a higher level was a common practice at the necropolis of Aiane. At the southwest side we observe a second row of fallen plinths while at the east corner there were signs of ash. At the northwest side of the “peribolos” Ζ’ we found plinths coming from “peribolos” Η’ from which only the northwest and part of the southwest side has been rescued. “Peribolos” Η’ was built to embrace a group of pit graves. Tomb Ζ’ must also be dated again at the first half of the 5th century B.C (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 62-63).
The “peribolos” of another built tomb dating to the first half of the 5th century is the one of tomb Θ’. Unfortunately, only the south corner has been preserved nowadays (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 64).

From the east cemetery of Pella, we have remnants of two foundations of funerary monuments connected with the remains of an Ionian “naiskos” type grave marker. They were all found in correlation with two cist graves. In the same cemetery, walls of two periboloi, remains of grave “stelai”, of a marble tail and of a foot with a base of an under-life-size being were located among the cist graves (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 41).

Apart from the periboloi, other kinds of architectural remains that have been saved to our days are parts of columns or pillars. These may have been autonomous or they may have supported statues and vases. Such a column has been found inside the oldest of the built tombs of the Necropolis. Tomb I’ is dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C. Verticils of a column as well as an Ionian capital were found outside the grave. The capital bore signs of a statue probably representing a Sphinx (Karamitrou-Medesidi 2008, p. 66).

In this category of grave monuments belongs also a marble pillar of the middle of the 5th century coming from the area of Sphageia in Thessaloniki and exhibited today in the museum of Thessaloniki (fig. 102). It was found in a rubble deposit. Its dimensions are height: 0,38meters, width: 0,286meters at the bottom and 0,28meters at the top, thickness: 0,29meters. It represents a girl in profile turning upwards probably to a bird as it is very common in grave monuments dedicated to young people. She wears a “sakkos” on her hair and a peplos. The incision of three lines, of a knot and of another incised print of triangular shape points out that the “sakkos” would have been tied with bands. It has been argued that it was made by a local artist who has been influenced by the island tradition. The profile with the big eyes and the thick lids supports this opinion (Despinis, ThesCat 1, 1997, p. 26-27). We can discern a bracelet in her right wrist while she stretches her hand. Only the upper part of the torso of the girl and the head has been preserved. The pillar would have been disproportionally higher than wider (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 24, 225).

From ancient Orestis and the excavations for the new aqueduct near the villages of Pentavrystos and Avgi, we have a limestone small pillar (pessiskos) dating to the middle of the 4th century (fig. 103). It is made of limestone and bears horizontal
crowning with ovolo moulding. Its semispherical mortise shows that it supported some kind of monument. At the upper part of the pillar there is an inscription «MAXATAΣ/ ΛΙΚΚΥΡΟΥ». The name «MAXATAΣ» means warrior in the Doric dialect and it is the first time that is met in Orestis although it has been encountered in the central-west Macedonia during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The name «ΛΙΚΚΥΡΟΣ» could also be restored as «ΔΙΚΚΥΡΟΣ» or «ΑΙΚΥΡΟΣ» since the first letter is missing nowadays. We meet this name in the royal letter from the sanctuary of Heracles Kynagidas in Veroia. In this same letter the word «MAXATAΣ» exists three times (Allamani-Souri, Voutiras 1996, p. 14-15). The prominent position of this cemetery and the fact that the burial markers would be visible from the plateau of Kastoria leads us to conclude that there were buried people of high social status if not of the royal house of Orestis (Tsouggaris, AEMTH 18, 2004, p. 689-692).

We know for sure that six funerary pillars together with five funerary vases made of marble (one loutroforos and four hydriai) were found at the Great Tumulus of Vergina, dating before the end of the 4th century B.C (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 84). In the same period, at Pella cuttings found besides the graves inside the rock-cut cist tombs were interpreted as bases for grave “stelai”, usually pillars (Akamatis, AEMTH 19, 2005, p. 423). Sometimes the pessoi were found in situ in the cemetery beneath the South Stoa of the agora (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 85).

3.9 Earth mounds

One final type of grave marker were the mounds of soil that covered the graves. They constituted a burial sign themselves but were sometimes combined with tombstones or funeral constructions depending on the size of the tomb and the status of the deceased (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 87).

4. The iconography of figured tombstones

4.1 The motifs

- The motif of “anakalypsis”
The motif of “anakalypsis” is noticed when a woman holds the edge of her himation with her hand at the level of her shoulder or chin. It was also very popular in Athens but in a pose that seemed like the woman was more introverted than looking to the viewer. In Attica the woman lifted her himation at the level of her head. The figures were usually depicted seated both in Macedonian and in Attic reliefs (Kalaitzi, 2016, p.22).

- The motif of the dove

The theme of a figure holding a bird and especially a dove is most common in the grave “stelae” in the period of our interest. It has been argued that it is an Ionian characteristic coming mostly from the Aegean islands. However, the presence of such a motif in a Cretan grave “stelæ” of the 7th century (fig.20) makes the matter more complicated as regards to the origin of the theme. The presence of the bird in figure or multi-figured scenes in grave monuments is usual in tombstones from Attica, Boeotia and Thessaly during the 5th century and it expands even further during the next century. Although scholars have given a chthonian essence in the presence of the bird, it is more probable that it signified the premature death of the deceased. The early death of a person was a horrible event that attracted the attention and had to be pictured in the eternal grave monuments of antiquity. The plain presence of the bird inside the hands of the young person means that the bird refers to this person’s death and to nothing more. We should not forget that the bird used to be part of a kid’s toys, proof of which we have in the “stelæ of Xanthos” (Woysch-Meautis, 1982, p. 39-46).

- The “Dexileos motif”

It includes a mounted rider in battle with a fallen warrior, usually beneath the feet of the horse. It has been suggested that the theme of a fallen warrior was introduced for the deceased Athenian soldiers after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Clairmont 1970, p. 100-102). On the other hand, Ridgway said that it began due to the needs of the architectural sculpture and especially of the temples and that the motif can be seen today at Parthenon and at the Nike temple (Ridgway 1997, p. 21 note 9). For sure we meet it in the Attic monuments of the 5th and 4th century (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 43).

- The motif of “dexiosis”
Whether it appears between two persons of the same or of different gender or inside the context of familial relations, the motif includes the gesture of giving one’s hand to the other person. Usually, one of the figures involved was the deceased. When met in grave markers with family representations, it could signify the maintenance of the affection even after death.

4.2 Scene types

- The soldier

The theme of the warrior is seen in many funerary Macedonian “stelai”. Undoubtedly, it was a common illustrating element all over Greece. The Macedonians nevertheless used frequently it in their funerary monuments in order to be commemorated in a heroic way (Paspalas, 2011, p. 183). Sometimes there are minor clues indicating the feature of the soldier such as a spear held by a figure, a helmet or a cuirass hung on the wall (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 34).

- The seated hunter

This motif includes a youth seated on a rock or a pillar, naked with his himation or chlamys spread on the rock, together with a dog and objects that point out the feature of the hunting. In the Greek world, its most well-known example is the Ilissos “stele” (fig. 17). It is considered of Ionian origin. The heroism and the prestige that this posture gave to the youth and subsequently the deceased can be realized from the iconographic parallels of mythical heroes like Heracles who used the same motif. The sharing of same iconographic elements of the seated hunters with the representation of heroes is due to the convergence of the prototypes for the ideal youth. However, the “stele” of Akanthos (fig. 49) shows us that the rendering of the seated youth could just be used to signify a simple activity and not a certain equation with the attribute of hunting or athletics (Kalaitzi, 2016, p. 30, 32).

- The “gynaikonitis”

The motif is implied in scenes where there are no men or where women are depicted with their maid. Women were allowed to be accompanied by certain features such as the kalathos or a female servant. They were supposed to be an example of the perfect wife, mother and housekeeper. They are also represented expressing grief by placing
their hand below the chin. Finally, we have seen depictions with women taking something from a toiletry box held by their servant (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 35, 40).

- The literate man

One of the most important examples comes from Aigai (fig. 69) and it represents an active literate man. The motif is not common in Attic tombstones and so is in the Classical Macedonian grave “stelai”. It is evident by the action of reading or implied by the presence of books in the figure scene. It has been encountered only with male individuals. This was due to the fact that most women were excluded from education. The man could be seated holding a wrapped book roll or an opened one (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 36-37).

- The musician

The motif of the musician was mostly attributed by the escort of a lyre and was more common in east Greece, the Aegean islands and the mainland. However, the profession of the musician must be attested only by an inscription, otherwise a musical instrument pointed out the intellectual cultivation of the deceased. There has not been established a common prototype for the representation of the musicians. Such a prototype would allow the dead to demonstrate their social role. Instead their feature was hidden behind figures depicting for example athletes or soldiers (Kalaitzi 2016, p. 47).

- Family unity

The theme included representations with more than one figures with the implication of familial relations. Usually, an inscription would assert the family bonds.

- Priests

In our presentation we only have one possible example of priesthood, from Pella (fig. 54). The woman was recognized as one due to the total covering of her body, the objects she holds (kanoun, oinochoe) and her pose. However, lack of a special feature the identification is impossible.

- Isolated individuals
Apart from all the above motifs and figure scenes we do have few examples of isolated figures standing or seated, presented in profile. They are usually accompanied by certain objects or they have their front arm raised in a form of gesture.
**D. Conclusions**

It is true that numerous excavations all over the Macedonian region have provided us with a plethora of findings. The myth of cultural isolation of certain areas in the Macedonian ground has been abolished thanks to the rich burial findings of the cemeteries. Grave markers could primarily be divided in figured representations and architectural remains. Tombstones are in first place categorized in painted and relief grave “stelai” and secondly, according to typological criteria such as the type of the crowning, the framing and the placement of the scene in a recessed panel. Statues also belong to the figured representations. Architectural findings could consist of fragmentary remnants of funerary buildings, periboloi, columns and pillars.

Burial practices, although not identified, present similar characteristics all over the Macedonian ground. Topographical reasons are mostly associated with the differentiation of the practices, noticing different groups at the edge of the Thermaic Gulf, the interior, the Macedonian hinterland, Chalcidice and the areas at the easternmost boundary. The provenance of the inhabitants and of the artists of each city influenced the iconography and the style of the funeral monuments. The influx of Athenian artists affected tremendously the depiction of the deceased. Other factors that played major role were the gender, the social status and the state of citizenship. Figure scenes followed occasionally the everyday life and other times they wanted to transmit symbols and ideas.

In my opinion, during the Archaic and Classical years, it was characteristic of the funerary tombstones their primary intention to adopt and project social roles and secondly, the personified human beings. Even when hints for the afterlife existed, their everyday character was never diminished.
Abbreviations

AD  Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίόν
AE  Αρχαιολογική εφημερίς. Περιοδικόν της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
AncMac III  Ancient Macedonia III. Papers Read at the Third International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, 21-25 September 1977 (Thessaloniki, 1983)
AncMac IV  Ancient Macedonia IV. Papers Read at the Fourth International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, 21-25 September 1983 (Thessaloniki, 1986)
AncMac VII  Kaplanidou, D. and Chioti, I. (eds), Ancient Macedonia VII. Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II. Papers Read at the Seventh International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002 (Thessaloniki, 2007)
BCH  Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
Brill’s Companion  Brill’s Companion to Ancient Macedon. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300AD. Edited by Robin J. Lane Fox
CAT  Clairmont, C., Classical Attic Tombstones, in nine vols (Kielchberg, Switzerland, 1993-5)
SEG  Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
ThesCat I  Despinis, G., Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Th., and Voutiras, E., Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης I (Thessaloniki, 1997).
ThesCat II  Despinis, G., Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Th., and Voutiras, E. (eds), Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης II (Thessaloniki, 2003).
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Fig. 1 Map of Macedonia

Fig. 2