The cult of Aphrodite in Macedonia

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SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

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The cult of Aphrodite in Macedonia

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Abstract

This dissertation was written as part of the MA in the Classical Archaeology and the Ancient History of Macedonia at the International Hellenic University. The aim of this thesis is an effort to concentrate and analyze all the relative evidence regarding the cult of Aphrodite in the area of Macedonia, from the archaic up to the roman period. Aphrodite as the goddess of beauty, love, pleasure and procreation, had a prominent status in the Hellenic pantheon and her cult was popular and widespread among the Greeks. As far as Macedonia is concerned, archaeological evidence related to Aphrodite has been recovered in the excavations conducted throughout the area. The cult of the goddess is attested in Upper and Lower Macedonia as well as in the Eastern part of it. Despite the shortage of data, this study intends to illuminate the cultic, economic and political importance of religious beliefs in the area of Macedonia and in this context, Aphrodite’s worship will be examined and a comprehensive review will be presented.

I would like to express my profound appreciation to my supervisor Professor, Dr. Em. Voutiras for his guidance, observations and suggestions and my sincere thanks to Dr. N. Akamatis for his overall assistance during the writing of the present thesis. I would also signify my deepest gratitude to all the professors and the academic faculty of MA in the Classical Archaeology and the Ancient History of Macedonia of the International Hellenic University for the Knowledge and inspiration they offered me in the field of History and Archaeology. Last but not least, I want to thank my family and especially my mother for their support, help and understanding.

Keywords: Cult, Aphrodite, Macedonia

Christina Vangeli

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Preface

Religion exerts a profound influence on all societies and throughout history it has proven to be the primary force for social progress and motivation. In the ancient Greek world religion was an integral part and played significant role in individual and community level. In this context, Aphrodite as the goddess of beauty, love, pleasure and procreation, had a prominent status in the Hellenic pantheon and her cult was popular and widespread among the Greeks. As far as Macedonia is concerned, archaeological evidence regarding Aphrodite has been recovered in the excavations conducted throughout the area. The cult of the goddess is attested in Upper and Lower Macedonia as well as in the Eastern part of it.

The aim of this thesis is an effort to concentrate and analyze all the relative evidence related to the cult of Aphrodite in the area of Macedonia, from the archaic up to the roman period. Despite the shortage of data, this study intends to illuminate the cultic, economic and political importance of religious beliefs. The processing material consists of all kind of archaeological data ranging from architectural remains of sanctuaries and temples, altars, inscriptions, statues and bases of statues, along with all kinds of votive offerings to gods such as reliefs and figurines. In this context, Aphrodite’s cult in the area of Macedonia will be examined and a comprehensive review will be presented.

The data will be presented based on the geographical division of Macedonia displaying the sites that Aphrodite’s worship has been identified. The first part of the thesis is dedicated to the goddess Aphrodite and some general features concerning her birth origin and names. In the following four chapters the areas of Lower, Upper, Central and Eastern Macedonia are going to be examined separately revealing archaeological evidence regarding Aphrodite. Furthermore, a brief reference about certain sites will be made. In conclusion, a review of the material and annotation are given.
The History of Research

Ancient literary sources about the worship of Aphrodite in the area of Macedonia is limited. However, the remarkable epigraphic material that is progressively enriched and the intense excavation activity of the recent years in the region consists our main source of information.

Significant sources can also be considered the written work of academic scholars. The starting point in the history of the Macedonian cults is the thesis of W. Baege "De Macedonum sacris. Dissertationes philologicae Hellenses, XXII1, Halle 1913", which included geographically distributed material from the region of Macedonia. In the decades that followed, the investigation did not concentrate so much on the cults of Macedonia. The next study was conducted by S. Dull in 1977, entitled "Die Götterkulte Nordmakedonien", which dealt with the Upper Macedonia region. In addition, the doctoral thesis of K. Hatzinikolaou in 2007 titled "The cults of the Gods and Heroes in Upper Macedonia during Antiquity" collected archaeological data for the cult of Upper Macedonia. In 2012, G. Falezza published the work "I sanctuary della Macedonia in eta romana. Persistence e cambiamenti del paesaggio sacro tra II secolo a.C e IV secolo d.C.", a very important contribution to the sanctuaries of the Roman era of Macedonia. The doctoral thesis of D. Tsiafis published in 2017 "Ιερά και λατρείες της Κάτω Μακεδονίας" is the most current reference in the cults of Macedonia.

Of particular importance for the study of the Aphrodite worship in the region of Macedonia are the detailed publications of the sanctuaries and of the archaeological material of the area by P. Adam-Veleni, I. Akamatis, S. Drougou, G. Karamitrou-Mentessidou, D. Lazaridis, M. Lilimbaki-Aкамати, D. Pandermalis, S. Pigiatoglou, K. Sismanidis, E. Stefani., I. Vokotopoulou, E. Voutiras. Further references to the worship of the goddess were found in publications in archaeological journals such as "Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον" and "Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας", while the contribution of the practices of the conference "The Archaeological Ergon in Macedonia and Thrace" was great. In addition, useful information is available in Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Bulletin Epigraphique and Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.

It is worth mentioning the contribution of the historical works of F. Papazoglou "Les villes de Macedoine et l'époque Romaine, BCH Suppl. XIV Paris 1988" and by Hammond, N.G.L. «Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας, Τόμος Α', (Γενική Επιμέλεια Θ. Γεωργιάδης , Μετάφραση Μ. Χαλκιοπούλου, Γ. Φωτιάδης , Θ.Γεωργιάδης), Θεσσαλονίκη 1995". Last but not least we
should mention the works of: M.G Dimitas, Η Μακεδονία εν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις και μνημείοις σωζομένοις, Athens 1896., L. Gounaropoulou, M.B Hatzopoulos «Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας(μεταξύ του Βερμίου όρους και του Αξιού ποταμού. Τεύχος Α’: Επιγραφές Βεροίας, Athens 1998.» and M.B Hatzopoulos «Macedonian Institutions under the Kings, I: A Historical and Epigraphical Study II: Epigraphic Appendix, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 22(I-II), Athens 1996.”.
A. Birth, origin and names of Aphrodite

The worship of the great goddess of the Greek pantheon, Aphrodite, was widespread in antiquity. We trace it in Attica, especially honored at Thebes, in Megara, Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Argos and in North Greece. It is spread with Greek colonization over the shores of the Black Sea and Asia Minor. The worship of Aphrodite was associated with Troy and the hero Aeneas and was transferred from the mainland of Greece to Sicily and Italy. Finally, we have also evidence for the cult of Aphrodite at Naucratis and Saguntum.¹

For the origins of the cult of Aphrodite, different theories have been formulated. The goddess has probably originated in the East, related to Astarte² and has been widely spread throughout the Greek world, mainly from the hellenistic period and beyond. Herodotus³ confirms this origin.⁴

One of the earliest literary accounts of Aphrodite’s birth and lineage comes to light in the Theogony by Hesiod, a lengthy mythological poem composed sometime in 8ᵗʰ or 7ᵗʰ century BC. According to Hesiod⁵ and hence the tradition of the eastern Greek regions, Aphrodite is the daughter of Uranus, born of her father’s cut down genital organs. Uranus, the husband of Gaia, did not let his children come to light, so his son Cronos cut his genitals with a sickle and threw them into the sea. The sea drifted them, white foam was created around them and a girl grew up inside and moved to Cythera and Cyprus.⁶ Hesiod mentions Aphrodite’s favorite cult places as the Islands of Cythera and Cyprus⁷, he cites and describes the origins of her traditional cult epithets Cythereia⁸, Pyprogenes⁹ and Philommedes¹⁰ he also lists a few of her divine companions including Eros, personification of lust and Himeros, personification of desire¹¹ and finally, he elucidates the folk etymology of Aphrodite’s name, Aphrodite is the goddess born from the aphros or “sea foam”.¹²

¹ Farnell 1896, 618
² Wife of the king, queen of Uranos and his partner.
³ Herodotus. 1.105.131
⁴ Farnell 1896, 618. Burkert 1993, 324
⁵ Hesiod Theogony, 188-206
⁶ Farnell 1896, 622
⁷ Hesiod Theogony 192-93
⁸ Hesiod Theogony 198
⁹ Hesiod Theogony 199
¹⁰ Hesiod Theogony 200
¹¹ Hesiod Theogony 201
¹² Hesiod Theogony 195-98
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An additional early literally source explaining the birth of the goddess is given in the epic poems of Odyssey and Iliad which were composed in 8th or 7th century BC. Homer, who expresses the NW Greek tradition, also calls Aphrodite in a standard way; She is the daughter of Zeus and as her mother Dione is referred.\(^{13}\) Plato follows the same tradition, distinguishing the goddess as *presbyter* (Dione) and a younger (Aphrodite), and characterizing the elder goddess *amitora* daughter of Uranus and mother of all.\(^{14}\) Therefore, Aphrodite is part of the *cosmogonic* theory and she is even above all the Olympian gods.\(^{15}\)

The sanctuary in the Ascalon of Palestine is considered by the ancient sources\(^{16}\) the most ancient sanctuary of the goddess in the east. Based on the same sources, her sanctuary in Cythera was of Phoenician-Semitic origin, while the third great sanctuary of Paphos was founded by the Mycenaeans.\(^{17}\) Paphos is already considered the homeland of Aphrodite in the Odyssey and Iliad, the most common poetic name of the goddess is "Cypress" (Κυπρική), which strengthens the view of the Mycenaean origin of the worship of Astarte on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.\(^{18}\)

Aphrodite was known by numerous cult titles, nicknames and literary epithets. Several of Aphrodite’s most significant titles and epithets are linked to the various mythological stories of her birth and accounts of her origins. Her most common eponyms in the Greek authors are *Cypris* (*Kupria, Kupris, Kuprigeneia, Kuprogenês*), surnames of Aphrodite, who was born in the island of Cyprus, which was also one of the principal seats of her worship\(^{19}\) and *Cythereia* (*Kuthēra, Kuthereia, Kuthērias*) different forms of a surname of Aphrodite, derived from the town of Cythera in Crete, or from the island of Cythera, where the goddess was said to have first landed, and where she had a celebrated temple.\(^{20}\) With both names apparently derived from those of the Mediterranean islands reflecting the fact that these were her most significant cult centers. Hesiod takes care to note that the newborn Aphrodite first approaches the island of the *Cytherians* on her way east to Cyprus.\(^{21}\)

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\(^{13}\) Homer Iliad Y 105, E370, 348, 428
\(^{14}\) Plato Symposium, 180D
\(^{15}\) Burkert 1993, 324
\(^{16}\) Herodotus I, 105, 131
\(^{17}\) Pausanias VIII, 5.2
\(^{18}\) kardara 1988, 57
\(^{19}\) Homer Iliad V. 458. Pindar. Ol. i. 120, xi. 125. Pythagoras iv. 383. Tibullus iii. 3. 34. Horace Carmina i. 3. 1.
\(^{21}\) Hesiod *Theogony* 192-96
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from the celebrated temple of the goddess at Paphos in Cyprus. A statue of Aphrodite Paphia also stood in the sanctuary of Ino, between Oetylus and Thalamae in Laonia.22

Moreover, the name Ourania, a surname of Aphrodite, describing her as "the heavenly," or spiritual, is to distinguish her from Aphrodite Pandemos. Plato represents her as a daughter of Uranus, born without a mother.23 It is the most frequently attested and wide spread cult title for Aphrodite. According to the testimony of Greek writers including Herodotus24 and Pausanias25 the goddess was celebrated as Aphrodite Ourania at her oldest and most sacred cult sanctuaries on Greek soil. In addition, Pandemos which means "common to all people", occurs as a surname of Aphrodite, describing her as the goddess of low sensual pleasures. That Aphrodite is uniting all the inhabitants of a country into one social or political body. In this respect, she was worshipped at Athens along with Peitho (Persuasion), and her worship was said to have been instituted by Theseus at the time when he united the scattered townships into one great body of citizens.26 The worship of Aphrodite Pandemos also occurs at Megalopolis in Arcadia27 and at Thebes28. A festival in honour of her is mentioned by Athenaeus.29 The sacrifices offered to her consisted of white goats.30 Pandemos occurs also as a surname of Eros.31 The previously mentioned names but also a plethora of other religious epithets testify her many hypostases as the goddess of fertility, vegetation, death, marines, the protector of the city, but mainly of love, marriage, and children.32

Aphrodite was also worshipped together with several other gods such as Jupiter, Hermes and the Mother of the Gods. In the sanctuaries of the goddess there was usually an open space for the gathering of the faithful, a source of water and tanks necessary for cleansing, facilities for oracles, meeting places for the priesthood and baths. Vases

23 Plato Symposium 180
24 The Histories 1.105
25 Description of Greece 1.14.7
26 Pausanias. i. 22. § 3
27 Pausanias. viii. 32. § 1
28 Pausanias ix. 16. § 2
29 Athenaeus xiv. p. 659
31 Plato Symposium l. c.
32 Farnell 1896, 619-669
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containing fragrances are often found in her sanctuaries, while the usual offerings were the goddess's figurines, coin tools, hair braids, garments, jewelry and animal skins.  

The animals sacred to Aphrodite, that accompanied her or served as her messengers, are the sparrow, the dove, the swan, the swallow, and a bird called iynx. For Aphrodite Ourania the tortoise is the symbol of domestic modesty and chastity and for Aphrodite Pandemos the goat is the sacred animal related to that affiliation. When she is presented as the victorious goddess, she has the attributes of Ares, a helmet, a shield, a sword or a lance, and an image of Victory in one hand. The planet Aphrodite and the spring-month of April were likewise sacred to her.  

Aphrodite emerges as a deity of various hypostases and meanings. The mythological versions in the earliest Greek literary sources of the goddess birth illuminate key aspects of her complex divine nature. Likewise, the numerous and diverse theories of Aphrodite’s possible ethnic, geographical and chronological origins, as suggested and promoted by both ancient writers and modern scholars, indicate that her emergence and diffusion as a figure of worship may exist on manifold levels. Finally, our inquiry into some of her most popular names and epithets reveals that Aphrodite’s earliest literary myths and her most traditional cult places are inextricably bound together.

33 Kardara 1988, 195-208
35 Ovid Fasti iv. 90
36 Farnell 1896, 619-669
B. Lower Macedonia

1.1 Pella

The excavations that have been carried out systematically in Pella since 1957 until recently have revealed important elements for the religious life of the city. The holy sites unearthed in Pella cover the entire spectrum of the city life from the beginning of 4th century BC to the early decades of 1st century BC and their locations are properly chosen by the cults they serve.\(^{37}\)

Aphrodite in Pella was worshipped along with the Mother of the Gods. The close relationship of the two deities and often their identification is testified by written sources and inscriptions. Correlation of Aphrodite-Cybele is done by Hipponax\(^{38}\) and Photius\(^{39}\).\(^{40}\) The Mother of the Gods bears similar characteristics and in part same myths as Aphrodite and consequently, the two goddesses were often confused.\(^{41}\) The above correlation is reinforced by the depiction of embossed crescent, a symbol associated with Aphrodite Melenida\(^{42}\) in the wall-shaped crown of the Mother of Gods at the figurine no.52 of the sanctuary of Pella.\(^{43}\)

North of the commercial and administrative center of the city, in the middle of the east-west axis, lies the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods and Aphrodite (Fig.1). The oldest building phase is dated at the end of 4th century; it is reorganized in 3rd century BC and destroyed in the early 1st century like the whole city by an earthquake.\(^{44}\) The oldest building remains were located in the northern part of the complex. In the middle of the building block, a small temple was excavated and in close distance to the west a peristyle courtyard. The area enclosed by the colonnades, has tiled floors and a stone altar at the center. In the newer phase, in the southern part, there is a large outdoor area with a small temple in the northeast and places of worship service on its three sides. In the northern part of the

\(^{38}\) Hipponax, Testimonia et Fragmenta 1983, 125
\(^{39}\) Lexicon II 1998
\(^{40}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, 214
\(^{41}\) Farnell 1896, 614-643. Burkret 327
\(^{42}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati 1994, 55
\(^{43}\) Lilimbaki- Akamati 2000, 213
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complex there is a large stoa with wooden pillars and a new temple over the oldest phase orientated to the east with stoas on the three sides. In the southern stoa, an underground tank can be found while behind the other two stoas other spaces are created. The northern portico continues in the western part of the complex, while at the same time, a dining room is constructed at the south of the temple. The main worship seems to have been served in the temple of the large courtyard.  

The existence of the worship of Aphrodite in the sanctuary is proved by the votive inscription no. 597,598. On the upper surface of the base a small circular tormos is formed, while on the front a votive inscription in Aphrodite can be found, dated to 3rd century BC, saved fragmentary presenting only the name of the goddess (Fig. 2).  

Additionally, a large number of Aphrodite and Eros figurines gathered in the figurine storehouse in the northern and northeastern parts of the complex are recognized and testifies the goddess’s presence. The majority of the figurines date back to the middle of 2nd century BC. The most popular types are the one who represents the half-naked goddess or dressed holding by hand the little Eros in the type of Kourotrofos (Fig.3) and the one who depicts the half-naked goddess leaning her left hand on a pillar with a column on top (Fig.4). In some figurines the goddess is shown in the type of the Anadyomene where the hymation covers the legs from the thighs and below (Fig.5) but also in the type of Sandalizousa where the goddess bends to untie her sandal to take her bath (Fig.6). Finally, a statuette was found depicting the goddess seated covering only her legs from the thighs and below with hymation (Fig.7).  

Offerings related to the goddess have also been found in other city sanctuaries, as in the case of the sanctuary of Daron. The sanctuary was excavated in the area of the modern irrigation canal right next to a monumental street in the city. The main characteristic of the sanctuary is the large open air spaces and the intense presence of water. A two-roomed space inside the complex served worshiping practices and from there, a female figurine sitting on a panther came to light who seems to be Aphrodite.  

45 Liliimbaki-Akamati 1997, 29-30
48 Liliimbaki-Akamati 1997, 32-33
In addition, in *Thesmophorion* there is a possibility of co-worship with Demeter.\(^{49}\) The sanctuary is small and simple without a monumental layout, it has a simple circular enclosure that defines the sacred space with two built-up slope descent levels and an altar.\(^{50}\) A clay figurine of naked Aphrodite in the type of “Aphrodite that is revealed” \(^{51}\) strengthens this theory (Fig.8).\(^{52}\) Moreover, figurines that were also found in *Thesmophorion* depict a female figure of a *Kourotrofos* with a small Eros in embrace that can be identified with Aphrodite (Fig.9).\(^{53}\)

Finally, it is worth noting the large number of figurines that have been excavated in graves and attributed to the goddess.\(^{54}\) The large number of clay figurines that has been found in the excavations of Pella, their presence in workshop areas, the plethora of molds and other elements related to the construction of figurines indicate the existence of clay-figurines workshops in Pella from 4th century BC. The intense activity of production during the hellenistic years is testified by products that have been revealed in the *agora* and elsewhere in abundance. The discovery of molds, kilns, tools, paints and a great number of figurines in cult places strengthens the view of the construction of figurines in sanctuaries, where they were available as votive offerings. The supply of votive offerings from the main workshops of the city and the assignment to the sacred areas can be detected in the finding of a figurine in the form of Satyr and the mold from which it was made in a storage space of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite.\(^{55}\)

Some of the characteristics of this local production are the similar decorative elements of the garments of female busts and the form that carries a textile accessory on the front upper part of the head decorated with a relief or written strip and a rosette. Moreover, other unique features are the female busts which are embossed on a plaque and the presence of a column on a pillar in the figurines of the “supported” Aphrodite of the hellenistic period, which has been interpreted as a symbol of the goddess's cult place.\(^{56}\)

In conclusion, Aphrodite possessed a dominant status in the pantheon of Pella and was co-worshiped with other deities. Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite probably did not

\(^{49}\) At the temple of Demeter in Dion, Aphrodite was also worshipped.
\(^{50}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati 1997, 28
\(^{51}\) Besques 1972, 271 no. D 1250
\(^{52}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996, 50, 54
\(^{53}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996, 49, 53
\(^{55}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2017, 113-115
\(^{56}\) Lilimbaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2017, 115
have separate cult places but were worshipped in the same area. The presence of Aphrodite in the same complex as the Mother of the Gods indicates that the goddess was revered with a similar substance to that of the Mother of the Gods as the protector of the city and public life. In addition, the sanctuary confirms the maternal character attributed to the Aphrodite presbyter as a creator and preserver of everything. Aphrodite was also worshipped in Pella with her chthonic character as her participation in burial offerings was dominant. However, it is worth noting that her presence in the sanctuary of Mother of the Gods reveals another status of hers that of Pandemon who belongs to the whole world.

1.2 Beroia

Among the Macedonian cities, Beroia is the second after Thessaloniki regarding the number of various inscriptions that have been preserved. Signs of Aphrodite’s worship can be found in the city during the imperial period when Beroia was the capital of the Macedonian Koinon and the seat of the imperial cult. The worship of the Roman emperors and their predecessors was an official worship imposed by Rome as a presumption and a guarantee of the faith of the cities and was practiced at the meetings of the representatives of the various city-members of the Koinon.

Aphrodite’s cult is testified in the city of Beroia by an inscribed plaque referring to her with the worshipful epithet of Eushemon. This appears for the first time in the area of Macedonia and probably refers to her natural virtues. This inscribed plaque, which was originally a part of an entablature, was later reformed to accept a votive inscription of 2nd century AD reporting that Marios Dilakatos, Popilia Pamfilla, Terrentianos Pamfilos and Lysimache, his wife, assigned it to the Eushemon Aphrodite after the goddess’ request in a dream, during the period that Lucius Vrutios Poplikianos was a lifelong priest. This particular priest served as a lifelong priest not only of Aphrodite but also of Isis Lochia (Fig.10). The mutual appointed office of this person may testify the common worship of the two deities.

In addition, an inscribed marble fragment of 2nd century AD was found in the gymnasion of Beroia. This particular inscription bears the name of the goddess, originated

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57 For Aphrodite’s attribute as protector of the city see inscriptions from Athenian Acropolis in which the goddess is referred as great and modest, leader of demos. (Farnell 1896-1909, v. II, 662-663)
58 The role of the Mother of the Gods as the protector of the public life is revealed from the location of the Mytroon in the Athenian agora.
59 Kardara 1988, 61-90
60 Kanadoulis 1953-1955, 27-102
from the first use of the stone as a votive one and the name of Mitrodoros, son of Ailanus, engraved by a different person on a second use of the stone (Fig.11). Moreover, the god-bearing name *Aphroditos* (Ἀφροδείτου) is testified by an inscription dated to the roman times in Beroia.63

During the imperial period, in the second quarter of 2nd century AD, altars with representations of Aphrodite appear in the city, while in the middle of the same century they flourish until the middle of 3rd and after that, they decline. The altars are public and private monuments and their use provides us with information about the social life of cities as well as the worship practices since it is common to display deified mortals.64

The phenomenon of deification begins with the praise of the rulers and prominent men of the hellenistic world, whom they identify with various deities, prevails and spreads during the imperial times. The gods who give their iconographic types or their symbols are revered and recognized in the Macedonian area. The deification reveals not a strict representation of the known type statues, a tendency to differentiate from them, or even the blending of typological elements. The deities represented are directly related to the deceased who are honored in the relief. Often the relationship is the name of the mortal, sometimes the occupation, the age or physical qualities. Most of the times are deities with chthonic qualities, though.65

Aphrodite's iconographic types are preferred when the deceased is a young, beautiful and unfortunate female person. The most common family relationship of the living, who has ordered the relief is that of the daughter, young wife or partner. The depictions of young women or girls in Aphrodite's formations in burial monuments are cherished in the roman world66 and they are particularly widespread in the Macedonian area betraying the distinct position that the deity holds in this region.67

In Beroia, we can encounter three distinctive reliefs on altars with a representation of a mortal in the iconographic type of the goddess Aphrodite. The reliefs from Beroia (with index number 333, 334, 367) are very close to the iconographic type of Aphrodite Arles68. In 333 altar, the *himation* leaves the entire body uncovered and just falls over the left arm. In

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63 EKM. 263 no. 217, pl. 588 336-33  
64 Adam-Veleni 2002, 131  
65 Adam-Veleni 2002, 83-84  
66 Wrede 1981, 306-323  
67 Adam-Veleni 2002, 84  
68 LIMC II 1, no 526-545 s.v Aphrodite (A.Delivorias)
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the other two reliefs, the figure retains with her hands the *himation* in the region of genitals.  

Figurines of the goddess have also been found in graves revealing the chthonic character of the goddess.  

The intense excavation activity of recent years in areas of Macedonia has allowed the identification of clay-figurines workshop in the region of Beroia. The earliest indications of the beginning of production can be detected at the end of 3rd century BC while signatures of two artisans or workshop owners have been traced; Namely, Αλε[ξάνδρου] which leaves his signature on the back of the figurines depicting Aphrodite as *Aposandaliouso*  

The same person was identified as the creator of a group of figurines featuring elaborating hairdressing and various wreaths, symbols, and jewels that differentiate his types. Additionally, the names of Δι[ουοιου] and Μ[νά] were recognized as the artisans who both signed a unique three-figure composition with *Kourotrofo* Aphrodite. They also collaborated and patented the artistic production of their workshop with a trademark, which suggests the intention of securing their artifacts and the right to reproduce them. The artistic tradition of their workshop was recorded to continue until the middle of 1st century BC from the so-called "Artisan of Eros" that creates small-sized unique compositions with main figure that of Eros to engage and play with small animals and birds.  

The repertoire of Beroia’s workshop focuses on everyday life issues and also on upstanding female and male figures. The insistence on depicting Aphrodite in various iconographic types, bearing Dionysian symbols, holding musical instruments and *phyale* of fruit reflects the belief of the local community that Aphrodite is the deity that guarantees the protection of the dead in the other world. The same role is played by Eros in child burials. At the same time, Adonis who is represented to die in the arms of Aphrodite is associated with the beliefs of rebirth and immortality.  

The main iconographic types often repeat statuary models of classical and hellenistic times. The disposal of the production of the Beroia’s workshop is detected in the findings of domestic sanctuaries of 2nd century BC dedicated to the worship of *Kourotrofos* Aphrodite, in

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69 Adam-Veleni 2002, 79-80
70 For the figurines of the goddess see Drougou-Tsouratsoglou 1980, 169-173 and Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002
71 Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 165-170, pl. 77-70
72 Tzanavari 2017, 117-120
73 Tzanavari 2017, 120
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Kallipetra.\textsuperscript{74} From the end of 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC and then production differs in order to respond to the presence of the Roman element while the uninterrupted depiction of Aphrodite and Eros proves that these deities retain their dominant role in the protection of the dead.\textsuperscript{75}

In conclusion, in Beroia of 2\textsuperscript{nd} century AD Aphrodite was worshipped as \textit{Eushe}mon, according to the inscription, an epithet that probably refers to the fine form but perhaps also to her moral status. The exact location of the goddess's place of worship is unknown, but we can assume that it coincides with the sanctuary of Isis. Unfortunately, our testimonies come only from the imperial period. Aphrodite was also worshipped in Beroia with her chthonic character as the burial offerings testify.

1.3 Kallipetra

About 700 m. northeast of the Roman temple of the Mother of the Gods lies the site of Kallipetra, where archaeological research brought to light remnants dating from the neolithic to the roman years. In one of the excavated sectors, at the foot of a fortified natural hill, a building complex was unearthed dating from the end of 4\textsuperscript{th} century BC until the middle of 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC with intermediate repair phases. This building was identified as a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (Fig.12).\textsuperscript{76}

In this sanctuary, twenty one spaces were investigated which were organized in the north, south and west of a table-shaped courtyard with a surface of 120 sq m. The layout and equipment of the rooms provide important information about the ritualistic practices of the Mother of the God's worship and devotional deities. The abundant movable finds comprise: jewelry, weaving weights, many vessels, coins, bones, etc. while the group of clay figurines occupies prominent position. Most of them are female figures with iconographic features attributed to the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite and mainly belong to the tradition of the Beroia's workshop, while the common features with the workshop of Pella are remarkable. The presence of figurines of various iconographic types greatly enriches our knowledge of the iconography of the deities in the temples of Macedonia during the late classical and hellenistic period. In addition to the figurines that represent divine figures,

\textsuperscript{74} Stefani 2001, 561 fig. 5b. Stefani 2002, 537 fig. 18
\textsuperscript{75} Malama 2015, 369-370. Tzanavari 2017, 120
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there were also found bull-shaped figurines, other ceremonial objects of clay, such as small altars, incense burners and phallic symbols.\footnote{Stefani 2017, 130}

Clay figurines were also found all around the sanctuary. In an area in the center of which there was a table-shaped altar (Fig.13), five female figurines were unearthed. One of them lying next to the altar is a bust of the Mother of the Gods (index number 440) with a wall-shaped diadem and the crescent symbol, her two distinct iconographic features (Fig.14). This diadem refers to one of the hypostases of the goddess, that of protector of the city and public life,\footnote{Papageorgiou 1997, 194-195. Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, 211-212} while the crescent symbol relates to the affinity of the Mother of the Gods with Aphrodite.\footnote{LIMC II 113, no 1156. Papageorgiou 1997, 161. Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, 51, 215. Stefani 2017, 131}

In a separate room of the sanctuary with a large circular hearth there was found a group of worship objects on a corner construction: incense burners, a figurine of Eros, figurines of Aphrodite accompanied by Eros and a little girl, type familiar to Beroia’s coroplastic production (Fig.15). In different spots in the same area small clay altars, figurines of female figures and parts of male bearded heads, probably depicting Dionysus, came to light. In other areas of the sanctuary female figures were detected representing the widespread type of goddess enthroned with a lion. Another bust of a feminine deity that carries a horn and probably relates to the worship of Aphrodite broadens our knowledge about the cult of Aphrodite as the horn being a symbol of abundance and of the goddess of Fortune is also associated with other deities such as Aphrodite displaying the concept of fertility.\footnote{Stefani 2017, 131}

In close proximity to the site of Kryoneri in Mikri Sanda, facilities of workshops were excavated which would serve the needs of the sanctuary of Lefkopetra, as the similar types of figurines indicate. Prominent position holds a large female head with features referring to Aphrodite with close morphological parallel to Beroia and Pella. The figure bears a ring-shaped wreath, disk-shaped earrings and a knidian type like hairdressing. Its size is not common for the coroplastic tradition of this period in Macedonia. It is worth noting that a female head\footnote{Stefani 2017, 131} of similar size but of a different type with regard to the individual features comes from Mitroon in Aigai.\footnote{See the chapter 1.4 Aigai.}
1.4 Aigai

In the ancient city of Aigai, the palace with the theatre, the public buildings, the agora and the sanctuary of Eukleia dominate the area. In recent years in the eastern side of the city came to light an important sanctuary dedicated to the Mother of the Gods but also with indications of Aphrodite’s worship. The Sanctuary of Cybele or the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods is a valuable source of information for worship practices in Aigai.

Excavation research yielded a large quadrilateral structure (32 x 32 m.). It includes large sheltered spaces for gatherings, initiation practices and worship, auxiliary spaces and special courtyards with altars in many places. The large twin room stands out where impressive clay forms of Cybele and other gods were found. This building is very simple in construction as it presents brick walls and stone foundations and it has earthy floors while the roofs should have been low in order to stand with harmony on the soft slope of the landscape. It dates to hellenistic times and its destruction was caused by a great fire. The excavation, however, showed that it was built on the ruins of an older building of 4th century BC proving that the worship of the Mother of the Gods and probably of Aphrodite in Aigai already exists in classic era and continues with particular intensity in the hellenistic years.

Among the numerous finds of the sanctuary, the most common, from the main phase of the use of space in the hellenistic years, is the clay figurines of the enthroned Mother of the Gods-Cybele with the tower-shaped head cover, the drums and the lions, the censers in various shapes and other devotional vessels. Additionally, clay statuettes of naked Aphrodite with Eros were found in the south part of the sanctuary of the hellenistic period, as well as clay figurines or busts, some of which are likely to depict Aphrodite, also found in the southeast room of the sanctuary. Moreover, a figurine of a prostitute was unearthed at the altar-ditch of the southwest double space which confirms the presence of Aphrodite in the sanctuary during the hellenistic period.

In the same region at the altar-ditch, a female clay head distinguishes attributed to the Mother of the Gods. It is unique on account of size as well as in the manner of its rendering and its characteristics. The head is “sculpted in the round” at about half life-size.

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83 For the Vergina and its monuments see Andronikos 1984
85 Drougou 1997, 115-120
86 Drougou 1997, 117
87 Drougou 1997, 118
88 Drougou 1996, 118
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with a rich hairstyle and a small wavy diadem on her head. The small holes in the earrings indicate that they had metal attachments. It is possible that the female clay head bears general witness to the older way of representing the Mother of the Gods during 5th century BC, that is without the tower-shaped head covering and probably with bound or short hair and decorated with a small diadem.\(^9\)

From the features of the clay head, however, an image such as that of Aphrodite arises with the meaning of a beautiful, maternal ornate form, without excluding similar forms such as Demeter, Hera and Peace. The conception of the characteristics of mature female figures of the late classical and hellenistic period creates the formula for rendering the image of the Great Goddess. The pattern of the mold of the head cannot be associated with a certain statuary type, but can be placed chronologically in 3rd century BC. The reference to Aphrodite, in this way, does not sound inappropriate for a *Mitroon* and the chthonic character of the Mother of the Gods is easily combined with Aphrodite’s analogous qualities.\(^9\)

Concluding in the city of Aigai, Aphrodite was worshipped at the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, which was in the city center, during the hellenistic period and reveals her status as a protector of the city and of public life.

1.5 Dion

Zeus and Demeter were the first gods who were worshipped in Dion. Their sanctuaries gradually attracted other gods as well, such as Aphrodite. The beginning of Aphrodite’s worship in Dion is not clear, as we cannot claim that she was worshipped along with Demeter since the archaic period, because our testimonies belong to the hellenistic and imperial period.

In the sanctuary of Demeter, statues, statuettes and inscriptions indicate also the presence of Aphrodite and support the idea that she was co-worshipped there. A statuette of Aphrodite was found in the northern hellenistic temple of the sanctuary; the goddess is standing upright on a tree trunk, while on her left shoulder a little Eros rests (Fig.16).\(^9\) Also, a marble statuette depicting the *Sandalizousa* Aphrodite was found, the goddess is naked to

\(^8\)Drougou 2011, 325-331
\(^9\)Drougou 2011, 331-333
untie her sandal to take her bath, a type dating back to the mid-3rd century BC (Fig.17).92 During the imperial age, the cult of Aphrodite continues as the find of an inscribed pillar-shape altar indicates. It was unearthed in the second Roman temple north of the northern Hellenistic temple and constitutes a dedication by Mestria Nemesis, the priestess of Aphrodite (Fig.18).93 Additionally, a head of a woman's statue of the first half of 1st century AD was excavated in the same temple possibly depicting a goddess's priestess (Fig.19).94 Moreover, the lower part of a marble statuette of Aphrodite was discovered in the type of Knidia95 (Fig.20) and finally, the head of a clay figurine Aphrodite can be added in the list (Fig.21).96

Evidence revealing Aphrodite's worship in Dion was also detected in the sanctuary of Isis. A statue of Aphrodite Hypolimpidia which depicts the goddess standing upright wearing a chiton and a himation while her left hand rests on her left hip in the type of Aphrodite Tiepolo.97 This statue dates back to 2nd century AD and it was found in a later temple of the imperial period (Fig. 22, 23).98

The next find is a statuette of Aphrodite dating to the late hellenistic period representing the goddess standing up, naked from the waist and above while the lower part of the body and the feet are covered with himation. It came to light in the area around the altar of the sanctuary, on her neck there is an iron peg to fasten the head of the goddess and perhaps comes from a repair of the statue.99 The previously mentioned artifacts preceded chronologically the sanctuary and we can assume that they may have originated from a preexisting sanctuary or from the Isis sanctuary in its initial form or perhaps from the nearby sanctuary of Demeter.

Moreover, during the imperial period the worship of Aphrodite continued in the sanctuary of Isis. A statue of Eros was discovered in a two-chambered temple south of the

92Pandermalis 1990, 73. Pandermalis 1999, 73. Pingiatoglou 2015, 58, no. Γ7
94Pandermalis 1997, 77. Pingiatoglou 2015, 59 no. Γ9
95Pingiatoglou 2015, 58, no.Γ8
96Pingiatoglou 2015, 69, 75
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central temple of the sanctuary and probably derived from a complex of Aphrodite and Eros.\textsuperscript{100}

The majority of the findings come from a small temple located north of the central temple which is a one-chambered, brick-built structure with a large opening on the eastern side. On the wall opposite the entrance there is a niche where the statue of the \textit{Hypolimpiidia} Aphrodite lies (Fig.24).\textsuperscript{101} The temple floor is occupied by a tank with steps, which was filled with water coming from a conduit that passed through the western wall below the niche of the goddess statue. The statue of Aphrodite \textit{Hypolimpiidia} dates back to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC as we have already mentioned, that is before the construction of the temple which was probably built in 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC to house this statue and consequently the goddess’ worship.\textsuperscript{102} Maybe during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century the statue was repaired and placed on a new marble base which bears a Latin inscription and states that it is entrusted by the liberal Anthestia Ioukouda\textsuperscript{103} at \textit{Veneri Hypolimpiidia} and colonists.\textsuperscript{104} The same inscription written in Greek and engraved on a large marble inscribed pedestal was found next to the entrance of the temple (Fig. 25).\textsuperscript{105}

Furthermore, inside the small temple, three votive offerings, dated in the imperial years were found dedicated to Aphrodite. The first one, is an embossed plate depicting a cock, a bird with erotic symbolism\textsuperscript{106}, the second is a relief circular disc representing Aphrodite \textit{Epitragia}\textsuperscript{107} and the third dedication is an altar which might have served to burn incense for the goddess.\textsuperscript{108}

In conclusion, the presence of Aphrodite is attested in Dion from the hellenistic up to the imperial times. According to the archaeological material, she was worshipped in the sanctuary of Demeter and in the sanctuary of Isis, which were both located outside the walls of the city. Her cult practices, along with Demeter, are related to fertility and the underworld; the common worship of Aphrodite with Isis is again associated with the idea of

\textsuperscript{100}Pandermalis 1989, 20. Pandermalis 1997, 26
\textsuperscript{101}The statue mentioned above
\textsuperscript{103}The Anthestia loukouda is known from other inscriptions at Dion that have to do with the worship of the city’s gods like Artemis, Dionysus, Aphrodite and Isis
\textsuperscript{106}Pandermalis 1997, 76, Falezza 2012, 257
\textsuperscript{107}Pandermalis 1997, 26,76, Falezza 2012, 257
\textsuperscript{108}Pandermalis 1997, 26,76, Falezza 2012, 257
fertility. Hypolimpidia Aphrodite was worshipped at least during the imperial age at Dion, however the statue of the goddess dates back to 2nd century BC. The name "Hypolimpidia" declares worship in the area of Dion while Aphrodite was also worshipped during the imperial period with the epithet Epitragia.

C. Upper Macedonia

1.1 Elimeia

The area occupied the south-southwestern part of Upper Macedonia and included the largest part of the Prefecture of Kozani and a part of the Prefecture of Grevena. From the site of Pikrevenitsa of Agios Georgios of Grevena at the borders of Elimeia and Tymphai, according to Papadakis' testimony, a section of marble statue of Aphrodite was discovered, probably of roman times, which was not found however at Hatzinikolaou's autopsy. The goddess is represented naked, while a part of her himation falls on her back.109 Moreover, at Aiani on the hill of Megali Rachi a clay figurine of Eros of the hellenistic period was found which indicates the practice of Aphrodite's worship in the region (Fig.26).110

1.2 Eordaea

The area is defined by Mount Vermio on the east while it borders with the areas of Elimeia, Orestis and Lynkestis. Information on the history of Eordaea is little and the area is known mainly due to the important crossings which later became crossroads of the Via Egnatia.111 As far as the cult of Aphrodite is concerned, a clay figurine of Aphrodite with small Eros was found, in the Macedonian tomb of Spilia. The figurine appears in good condition, the goddess is standing upright bearing chiton and himation and with her right hand she holds a small Eros while a second one is sitting on her left shoulder. This iconographic type depicts Eros, the erotic desire and Imeros, the lust, which in art are depicted the same way. The figurine dates to 2nd-1st century BC (Fig.27).112

The hellenistic city of Petres was located in the northeast of Florina and belonged to Eordaea region. The city flourished at the end of 3rd century BC throughout 2nd century and the first years of 1st century BC until 42 BC when it was completely destroyed by troops of the Roman civil war. In 2nd century BC there are various workshops operating in the city and

109 Hatzinikolaou 2007, 159. Papadakis 1913,446 no. 44
110 Hatzinikolaou 2007, 159. Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1996, 24, 46, fig.33
112 Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1993, 70-72 fig. 41a. Hatzinikolaou 2007, 159
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among them coroplastic ones, too. In the production of the workshop there is a considerable variety of categories of figurines: upright female figures, seated in throne, busts, complexes of figures, terracotta of Eros, women’s head etc.

Most figurines were found in layers coming from the upper floor of the houses. These are specifically women’s living areas indicating that there were worship places in these rooms where cult practices took place. The study of figurines shows that none of them played a simple decorative role; on the contrary, it seems that everything was related to cults. Favourite deities are the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite as the protectors of the city and of public life. Eros, the little companion of Aphrodite, is also one of the workshop’s choices.

From the southern plateau of the city comes a clay plaque with a representation of Aphrodite in relief in the type of the Epitragia (Fig.28). Aphrodite is depicted half-naked, sitting sideways on the back of a male goat galloping to the right. She wears a polos and holds an unspecified object, perhaps a mirror. The representation is completed by a small Eros and two small goats. It is worth noting that the goat is related to the legend of her birth. Plutarch mentions that the name of Epitragia is due to the replacement of a female goat by a male goat at the sacrifice that Theseus offered before leaving for Crete to honor the goddess who was worshipped in Attica with a political role as Pandemos. In this way, Epitragia is associated with Aphrodite Pandemos, the daughter of Zeus and Dione, and not with Ourania, Saturn’s daughter.

Aphrodite’s representations in the type of Epitragia are few. Similar reliefs in stone or clay are found mainly in southern Greece and date back to 4th century BC; fewer appear in the 3rd and rare are the examples of the late hellenistic years. A common feature of all reliefs is the semicircular hole which may be a statement of the celestial dome and symbolizes the heavenly hypostasis of the goddess. The clay relief from Petres dates back to the early 2nd century BC and according to Adam-Veleni it possible holds its origin from southern Greece.

113 Adam Veleni 2016. Adam-Veleni 2017, 125-127
114 Adam-Veleni 2017, 126
115 Plutarch, Thi. 18
116 Adam-Veleni 1998, 74, fig. 69. Hatzinikolaou 2007, 161
117 Hatzinikolaou 2007, 161
The products of the workshop present strong influences from a dynamic production center, such as Pella. Around this dominant artistic core, several smaller or larger production centers are developed such as those in Beroia, Aigai, Petres, Aiani and others. Products from the capital travelled to smaller urban centers via the safe road network that was secured by the construction of Egnatia.\(^{119}\) The production of the Petres workshop is limited to local consumption. The monumental figurines, the solid clay statuettes and the heads, the unique thematic plaques, show that the local artisans have artistic concerns, but generally they follow the common artistic way of the middle and late hellenistic times.\(^ {120}\)

**1.3 Orestis**

Orestis occupied the wider area of Kastoria and the upstream of Aliakmon River. The sources mention important locations in the area such as Argos Orestikon and Keletron, while epigraphic testimonies inform us about the existence of Vattyna and Lykis.\(^ {121}\) Moreover, a few archaeological artifacts give us evidence about the cult practices in the area. More specifically, Papadakis mentions a now lost head that has been interpreted as Aphrodite from Aliakmon in Orestis (Fig. 29).\(^ {122}\) Keramopoulos suggests that the find recalls Scopas’ technique. It dates in the late hellenistic times and perhaps comes from a local workshop.\(^ {123}\) Typologically, the piece reminds the head of Aphrodite Hypolimpidia from Dion and the sculpture with index number 2652 of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki mainly as far as the hair style is concerned.\(^ {124}\) The two parallels are dated to the late hellenistic period.\(^ {125}\)

Furthermore, from Eratyra comes a figurine of Aphrodite with Eros. The goddess is standing upright holding a small Eros on her left shoulder. The figurine dates to the hellenistic times and it also recalls the finds of Beroia’s tombs in 2\(^{nd}\) century BC (Fig. 30).\(^ {126}\) Keramopoulos also mentions two terracotta figurines of Aphrodite from the site "Sianisti" of Tsotyli in Orestis from the hellenistic times.\(^ {127}\) Another clay figure of Aphrodite from Tsotyli, which today is considered lost is included in the collection of Keramopoulos and dates back to 1\(^{st}\) century BC. The goddess with her left hand holds the himation up to the shoulder and

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\(^{119}\) Adam-Veleni 2017, 126-127
\(^{120}\) Adam-Veleni 2017, 127
\(^{121}\) Papazoglou 1988, 234. Hammond 1995, 130
\(^{122}\) Papadakis 1913, 448
\(^{123}\) Keramopoulos 1935
\(^{124}\) ΚΡΑΜΩ Ι, 58 no.40, fig. 111-112 (Despinis)
\(^{126}\) Keramopoulos 1932, 126 fig.86. Hatzinikolaou 2007, 456 fig.127
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with her right holds a phyale. Finally, an inscription with the god bearing name “Αφροδείτη” has been unearthed dated to the roman times.

1.4 Lynkestis

The northern part of Lynkestis is almost enclosed with the low hills north of the small valley, which today the city of Bitola is situated. In the same location during the roman period the most important city of the area, Heraklia, was developed. Excavations there, brought to light a marble rectangular engraved votive stele with a semi-circular niche with an upright female figure, probably Aphrodite or Isis, which is currently in the archaeological museum of Bitola originated from Bukovo. The figure is depicted frontally with a chiton and a peplos, on the right hand she holds a phyale and on the left a vase that resembles a bucket; a small altar is depicted at the side of the figure. The stele is a dedication of Alexandros son of Lysonos and dates to 2nd -3rd century AD. Dull assumed it was a representation of Aphrodite, and if that is the case, then it is the only epigraphical testimony we have on the goddess's worship in Upper Macedonia. However, because of the objects the figure holds and of her costume she may be a representation of Isis (Fig.31). Finally, from Heraklia Lynkestis or the wider area, the lower part of a naked female marble statue, probably Aphrodite, was found and dates to the imperial times.

1.5 Pelagonia

In antiquity, it was defined from Paionia to the north and east, Lynkestis and Almopia to the south and Illyria to the west. Ancient Pelagonia is located in the southwest areas of the modern Former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia. Worship of Aphrodite is testified by two inscriptions of 3rd century AD from Sandanski and Prilep but also by a statue of Aphrodite with Priapos that date to the same period. Likewise, the area of Stoboi, clay figurines, marble and bronze statuettes of naked and semi-naked Aphrodite dating to 1st century BC until 1st century AD witness the existence of a cult and sanctuary in

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129 Rizakis, Touratsoglou 1985, 176-179, no. 187, pl. 74
130 Papazoglou 1988, 256
131 Dull 1977, 44, 270 no. 3, fig 11. IG X2.2, 35 no.61, pl. IX(1870-1871). Dimitsas 1896, 261.
132 Hatzinkolaou 2007, 162-163
133 Dull 1977, 46, 48, 272-273 no. 6, fig. 8
134 Dull 1977, 42 no. 273-274 no. 7, fig. 10
135 Dull 1997, 40 no. 275 no. 9, Fig. 9
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Finally, in the area of Pelagonia an inscription from the Roman era came to light bearing the name “Ἀφροδείτιω”.

D. Central Macedonia

1. Thessaloniki

According to Strabo, Cassander founded Thessaloniki at the centre of the Thermaic Golf circa 315 BC. The new walled city developed at the lower, flat area along the sea as well as on the north slopes, at the foot of the Mt. Kissos and soon developed into a significant urban centre. There were intense religious activities in the city in the public as well as the private sphere. The deities of the Greek pantheon were dominant but gradually others infiltrated from the East and West. Their worship must have been practiced in the official sanctuaries as well as in specially arranged areas in the house.

1.1 Epigraphic Evidence

Aphrodite was particularly popular in the city of Thessaloniki and in the wider region, as evidenced by inscriptions and sculptures of mainly Roman times. Aphrodite in the area of Thessaloniki was worshipped with a variety of epithets. In the Derveni papyrus, we come across with the epithets Ourania, Peitho and Armonia while in overall four inscriptions of Thessaloniki with reference to the name and worship of Aphrodite, the three of them are related to the different qualities of the goddess.

More specifically, a devotional association with the name of doumos, whose members dealt with maritime trade, was dedicated to Aphrodite Epiteuxidia. The information is provided by the inscribed tombstone of Athenionas, a sailor from Amastrin of Paphlagonia dated in the early of 2nd century AD. This epithet of the goddess, encountered for the first time, declares the success and occupation of the deceased and allows us to conclude that the goddess protected seafarers and merchants on their voyages. Consequently, there can be a correlation with Aphrodite Pelagian and Aphrodite Euploia. Additionally, Aphrodite is referred to as Omonia on the pedestal statue of the goddess dated

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137 Dull 1977, 273-274 no. 7. IG X, 2.2, 178
138 Geographica, 7, 1, 21
139 Adam-Veleni 2001(b)
140 Tzanavari 2003, 229-231
141 Merkelbach, 1967, 21
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to 2nd century AD from Sarapeion combining Aphrodite as goddess of the Agora with the personification of Omonia.\footnote{Voutiras 1999, 1329. KΓAMΘ I, 115-116 no. 88, fig. 230-233 (G. Despines)} Related to this attribute of Aphrodite stands a dedication of Thessaloniki’s agoranomoi dated the first third of 2nd century AD.\footnote{IG X 2.1, 16 no. 26. Hatzopoulos 1996, 89-90 no. 71. Misailidou-Despotidou 1997, 40 no. 24. Voutiras 1999, 1329. Hatzinikolaou 2007, 165} Moreover, in a funerary monument of the 2nd -3rd century BC the goddess is mentioned as Paphia and specific reference is made to the love that she inspires. The epigram at the bottom of the column indicates that Paphia Aphrodite has made the many times married Cleoniki loveable and desired. The deceased woman is symbolically depicted in the iconographic type of Venus Frejus\footnote{Voutiras 1999, 1329. Hatzinikolaou 2007, 165}, which is found in several tombstones of the imperial period in Thessaloniki.\footnote{IG X 2.1, 119 no. 299. Voutiras 1999, 1330 and notes 6, 7}

1.2 The sanctuary in the Upper City (Ano Poli)

In two neighbouring sites at Mouson Street 35 and 39 respectively in Ano Poli, Thessaloniki, a sanctuary came to light in 1999 and 2000 which was excavated in a fragmentary way and many of its important elements were lost. A thick wall in which at least two building phases of hellenistic years were traced, defined the circular enclosure of an open-air sanctuary. Outside this enclosure, a large pit carved out of green slate was excavated where the waste from the libations and sacrifices was collected.\footnote{Adam-Veleni 2017, 123. (Thorough presentation of the archaeological data took place at AΕrgoMak 30, 2017)}

The sanctuary has yielded more than 1500 fragments of female terracota. The earliest figurines are dated to the early 3rd century BC but only a few fragments were identified with known deities of which six iconographic types were recognized. Aphrodite is represented at least twice as half or fully naked in relaxing pose. In the first fragment she is naked and turns her body to the right, like if she relaxes on a pillar. The second fragment depicts a reclining, half-naked deity, probably Aphrodite. Additionally, symbols in terracotta shells can also be attributed to her. Moreover, the presence of Eros in the sanctuary, depicted in various iconographic types, is the most popular of all gods (Fig.32).

Furthermore, in the sanctuary the presence of the Mother of the Gods is attested. The goddess is depicted in a common iconographic type in Macedonia of the hellenistic times which was inspired after the famous statue of the goddess made by Agoracritos for
the Athenian Mitroon (Fig.32). The role of the Mother of the Gods is very similar to Aphrodite’s and as we have examined earlier both deities can share the same sanctuary. Pella provides an example.

Aphrodite, Eros and the Mother of the Gods are all deities related directly with women and the stages of female life: maturity, wedding and motherhood. The findings can be attributed to the girls and young maidens who participated in the festivals. For this reason Mallios suggested that the sanctuary is probably of female deities or Nymphs. The location of the sanctuary at the most remote area of Thessaloniki, as well as the analysis of the figurine types indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to a Nymph.

On the other hand, Adam-Veleni identifies the sanctuary at Ano Poli with a Thesmophorion as it is related to the worship of female deities Demeter or the Mother of the Gods and Daughter dated from the end of 2nd century BC until 2nd century AD.

It is worth noting that the types of figurines in many cases are similar to corresponding figurines from the workshop areas that existed in the region before the construction of the Imperial Agora and are most likely to come from this workshop in Thessaloniki. Despite its fragmentary preservation, the material offers a wealth of recognizable iconographic types and of the most beloved deities namely Athena which usually appears with a Corinthian helmet, Aphrodite in the type of Knidia and in the type of Anadiomeni, the Mother of the Gods and Eros either winged or as a young child. The quality of figurine construction varies from excellent in some cases, to moderate, or to very poor in others, although on average the figurines are of medium quality. The figures appear free standing or in quadrilateral, circular or ellipsoid bases. The similarities of Agora figurines and those found in Mouson Street at Ano Poli reveal the local operation of the workshop at least in the middle and late hellenistic times.

1.3 The Area of Sanctuaries in the west section of Thessaloniki

In the area near the western wall of the city lies the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods but according to evidence some other sanctuaries, too. The rescue excavations of

148 Mallios 2004, 241-243
149 Mallios 2004, 258-265
150 Adam-Veleni 2001, 86-87
151 Zografou 2017, 123
152 For the ancient Agora of Thessaloniki, see Adam-Veleni 2001(a). Zografou 2017, 121-123
154 For the area of the sanctuaries see: Vickers, 1985, 486-499, Vitti 1996, 50, 88, 174-175
two plots in this area brought to light some elements of the Sarapeion. It was a large building compound with a complex character, designed to fulfill the elaborate rituals of the Egyptian Gods. In the same region, that of the sanctuaries, Aphrodite’s worship is also attested based on specific elements.

The popularity of Aphrodite’s cult in the city during the imperial times is testified by a statue of the goddess of Louvre-Neapolis type or Frejus of 2nd century AD. It is a statue of exceptional quality; a Roman copy of an earlier work depicting the goddess Aphrodite “discovered” “Anakalyptomen”. The goddess stands with a stable right leg and loose, slightly bent the left one, according to the Polykleitos model. She wears a chiton that leaves the left breast uncovered and fits in her body and a himation, one end of which Aphrodite holds with her raised right hand while the other wraps in her left hand and falls down. The statue combines Peloponnesian, Ionian and Attic elements while simultaneously connecting the modern calligraphy depiction of the folds with the recall of the two-dimensional forms of the severe style. The discovery of such an important statue in this particular area near the western wall emphasizes the position of the worship of Aphrodite in the cults of Thessaloniki (Fig.33).

It is worth mentioning that in the Sarapeion, a Hermaic stele of Priapos Aphrodite’s son from Dionysus was found and dates back to 1st century B.C. The god is presented in the type of the "Lordomenos". He has goat legs that are connected to one another, covered by a long fur under which the core of a square-shape stele is formed. In the lower part there is an inscription: FILARGYROS which consisted of at least two rows of which only the first one is preserved and can be filled with the verb dedicated or made. Of special interest is the head whose the left half of the skull is covered, for the most part, by a scarf that is held in place with a tape; based on the letters of the inscription and the rendering of the face and hair, the column can be dated to 1st century BC (Fig.34).

1.4 The area of Acheiropoiitos

In addition, in the area of Acheiropoiitos from Georgiadis plot a group of statues depicting Aphrodite, dating to 2nd century BC, was discovered. In three of the five,
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Aphrodite is represented naked and it is possible based on these artifacts the existence of a worship area in the proximity.

More specifically, the statuette with index number 10052 is preserved from the neck as a point above the knee; the head and part of the arms are missing. The form stands by having the right leg stable while the left is restful. The proportions of the body are elongated and present some imbalances. The figure is dressed in two garments a chiton and a himation. This statuette is of good quality, influenced by hellenistic representations of Aphrodite. The next one is a part of a statue of Aphrodite with index number 10097. The head, the hands from the bottom of the arms and the feet from the legs are missing. The figure is depicted naked with the right leg stable and left one slightly bent at the knee. The body posture as well as the movements of the arms follows the tradition of *Knidia* Aphrodite.

Moreover, in the same plot an Aphrodite statue, with index number 10104, was found. The head, part of the hands and legs are missing. The figure has the left leg standing and the right one bent slightly. The statuette approaches the type of “armed” Aphrodite. Additionally, another statue of Aphrodite was unearthed with index number 10107. The head, part of the hands and legs are absent while she appears with the right hand raised higher than the left to hold her hair. The statue belongs to the type of *Anadyomeni* Aphrodite.

Finally, we can add in the same group another part of Aphrodite statue. The shape and the technical characteristics show that this part completed a dressed female statuette while from the naked chest we can deduce that this was a statuette of Aphrodite. The careful work and the polishing lead to the conclusion that the fragment was probably connected to a wooden statuette. The assumption that it comes from an *acrolitho*, that is, a cult statue, gives us evidence of the possible existence of a temple in the area. Furthermore, taking into account the fact that from the same site, that of Georgiadis plot,

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159 ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 84 no. 221 (M. Smit-Douna).
160 ΛΙΜC II, 52 s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorias)
161 ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 85 no. 222 (G. Despinis)
162 ΛΙΜC II, 57 no. 456 s.v Aphrodite (A. Delivorias)
163 ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 85-86 no. 223 (G. Despinis)
164 ΛΙΜC II, 54 s.v Aphrodite (A. Delivorias)
165 ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 86-87 no. 224(G. Despinis)
166 ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 91 no.423 (G. Despinis)
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originate the above five Aphrodite statues strengthens the view of an existing sanctuary close to the Thermae of the city.

1.5 Other sculptures that have been found in Thessaloniki.

Sculptures that have been found in the area of Thessaloniki and depict the goddess are a head and a part of a statue of 1st century AD. The head is of a larger size than the natural one, facing right, has long hair divided in the middle of the forehead in two groups of beads that are tied back. The hair on the scalp is held by a wide band that only appears on the front of the head. According to various comparisons it is considered that the head depicts Aphrodite (Fig.35).\(^{167}\) The statue is saved from the waist to the bottom of the thighs. The figure is depicted with joined legs and with the himation going up to the left arm (Fig.36).\(^{168}\) The pattern of the legs and the movement of the garment bring the statuette close to the type of Aphrodite Agen.\(^{169}\) It is also very likely that Aphrodite is represented with a right hand resting on a support.\(^{170}\)

1.6 Another group of sculptures from Thessaloniki.

An additional group of sculptures was found in the area of Thessaloniki dated to 2nd century AD. More specifically, a statue of Aphrodite was unearthed of which the lower part of it is preserved from the height of the hips, and the goddess stands upright frontally. She is wearing an *ependitis* that is decorated with rosettes and a chiton that drops low on the base. The garment of the goddess is complemented by a himation that covers the whole of the back. The statuette is similar to the cult statue of Aphrodite *Aphrodisias* in terms of the body posture and clothing and it is possible a local variation (Fig.37). In the type of *Aphrodisias* the goddess stands upright with her legs closed and projects her arms while she is dressed in a chiton, himation and *ependitis* which is adorned with embossed representations.\(^{171}\)

Moreover, in the same group belongs a female statuette of the second half of 2nd century AD from the center of the city. From the sculpture, the hands and the head are missing, it is dressed in chiton and himation and it is standing in the right leg, bringing the relaxing left leg backwards. Unfortunately, we do not know what she was holding in the right

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\(^{167}\) ΚΓΑΜΘ ΙΙ, 43-44 no. 182, fig. 470-473

\(^{168}\) ΚΓΑΜΘ ΙΙ, 46 no. 185, fig. 494-497

\(^{169}\) LIMC ΙΙ, 79 no. 707 s.v Aphrodite (A. Delivorias)

\(^{170}\) LIMC ΙΙ, 80 no. 717 s.v Aphrodite (A. Delivorias)

\(^{171}\) ΚΓΑΜΘ ΙΙ, 75-76 no. 213, fig. 592-595(M. Smit-Douna)
hand, probably an Eros (Fig.38). Similarly, the statuette with index number 225 of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki is dated in the same era with possible origins from Thessaloniki. 

Finally, we can include a section of a statue from the Papahlakiak Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki dated back to 2nd century AD. The figure that is nude to the beginning of the thighs, wears a himation covering the joined and bent legs (Fig.39), it seems to repeat the type of half-naked “emerging” Anadyomeny Aphrodite in 3rd century BC, which depicts the goddess with the hands raised to hold her hair. Additionally, a series of Eros representations on Roman tables from Thessaloniki and Potidea, Chalcidice has also been identified.

1.7 Altars with representations of Aphrodite.

The altars of Thessaloniki and Beroia, as we have seen, constitute the provincial art of the imperial years in Macedonia. In the area of Thessaloniki five reliefs in altars were found with a representation of a mortal deified in the iconographic type of Aphrodite.

In the reliefs of the altars 156 and 158 a variant of the Arles Aphrodite can be recognized. The form is semi-naked, with the right leg stationary and the left at rest. Her garment is wrapped around her thighs and falls covering her legs. In the right hand, she holds a mirror or a fruit, and with the left hand she lifts her hair that falls gently on her shoulders. In the relief of altar 161 a simplified representation of the type of “emerging” Aphrodite is depicted. The figure is naked with the left leg stable and the right at rest. With her raised right hand she holds her braid and with the left one a fruit. Finally, in the relief of the altar 163 a simplified type of Venus Frezus can be detected. The form is dressed with a chiton that leaves only her left breast uncovered, the left leg is stationary and the right one is at rest. With her right raised hand she lifts her garment over her head and with her left she holds a fruit. Her hair is divided into the middle of her head, forming two solid volumes.

172 ΚΓΑΜΘ I, 120-121 no. 91, fig. 246-249 (G. Despinis) 
173 ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 99, no. 238, fig. 674-677 (G. Despinis) 
174 LIMC II, 76 no. 667 s.v Aphrodite (A. Delivorias) 
175 ΚΓΑΜΘ Ι, 134 no. 102-104, fig. 288-294, 296-297 (Th. Stefanidou – Tiveriou) 
176 See the analysis of the subject in the chapter 1.2 Beroia 
177 Index number.156,158,161,163,225 of the catalogue Adam-Veleni 2002 
178 LIMC II 1, no. 526-545 s.v Aphrodite, (A. Delivorias) 
179 LIMC II 1, no. 423-455 s.v Aphrodite, (A. Delivorias) 
180 LIMC II 1, no. 225-255 s.v Aphrodite, (A. Delivorias)
1.8 Aineia and the Ionic temple of Thessaloniki.

In Aineia at the edge of the Thermaic Gulf, there was a temple dedicated to the worship of Aphrodite, built according to the written sources by her son Aeneas.\textsuperscript{181} The local tradition regarding the founder of the sanctuary dates back to the archaic period. More specifically, the worship of Aeneas as a founder in Aineia was associated with the worship of his mother, Aphrodite. The location of the temple on a cape leads us to the conclusion that the goddess protected shipping, being worshipped as Aphrodite \textit{Euploia}.\textsuperscript{182}

The worship of Aeneas continued to exist in Aineia during the hellenistic era, too. From a passage of Livius (XL 4,9), we learn that during the years of Philip II a brilliant celebration was held once a year to honor the hero of the city founder in which people from Thessaloniki were coming to participate. We can assume that both he and his mother Aphrodite received honor. In the city of Thessaloniki the worship of Aeneas was preserved until the imperial era, as evidenced by a tomb relief from the western cemetery of the city dated in 125/6 AD.\textsuperscript{183} It is reasonable to assume that the worship of Aphrodite was transplanted from Aineia to Thessaloniki as it happened with the worship of Aeneas, if not from the time of the \textit{synoicism} of the city, possibly in roman times.\textsuperscript{184}

The center of the worship of Aphrodite may be located on the western side of the city in the area of the sanctuaries near the Sarapeion,\textsuperscript{185} from where Aphrodite’s statues, which we have already mentioned, came to light. West and North of the Dioikitirio on Stratigou-Doubiotis Street, the statues of Octavian Augustus\textsuperscript{186} and Claudius-Tiberius\textsuperscript{187} of the early 1\textsuperscript{st} century AD were revealed in the 1930s and 50s.\textsuperscript{188} Three more statues from the times of Adrian, one of a man wearing toga and an oversized female statue were revealed in the Stergiopoulos plot during the 30s.\textsuperscript{189}

In close distance lie architectural remains of a large post-archaic Ionic temple. G. Bakalakis studied this Ionic temple and made known its importance for the cults of the city. He linked the temple with the worship of Thermaion Dionysus and Thessaloniki with ancient

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{181} Dionysius Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities I, 49, 4
\bibitem{182} Voutiras 1999, 1331-1333
\bibitem{183} Bull., Epigr., 1987, 690 (M. Hatzopoulos)
\bibitem{184} Voutiras 1999, 1331-1341
\bibitem{185} Voutiras 1999, 1335
\bibitem{186} index number 1065 of the AMTH
\bibitem{187} index number 2467-2468 of the AMTH
\bibitem{188} Vokotopoulou 1995, 85
\bibitem{189} Vokotopoulou 1995,86
\end{thebibliography}
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Thermi. M. Tiberius places Thermi in Karabournaki and considers the presence of the post-archaic temple as one of the possible motives Cassander used to convince residents of the wider region to settle in his new city. However, it does not exclude the fact that the temple was originally located in an area outside the walls of the city.191

O F. Eckstein was the first to express the suggestion that the temple was not originally in Thessaloniki but it was transported there from somewhere else, becoming one of the so called "wandering temples". The reasons for the transportation of temples were mainly political and related to an effort to honor August and his family. The same could be true of this Ionic temple that was transported to Thessaloniki at that time.192

From the temple, Ionic bases of Ephesian type are preserved, fragments from column drums and four Ionic capitals of different sizes. The remnants of the monumental door are impressive, from which parts of the threshold, the pilasters and the cornice are kept. In addition, other architectural members were detected at the port of Thessaloniki while during the construction of a block of flats at the junction of Karaoli-Dimitriou Street with Antigonidon Square part of the cripis and the stylobate was discovered as well as numerous architectural structures. From the relics of the temple we can assume that it is a peripteral temple which is probably built of Thassian marble. The temple is dated by Bakalakis in the early or first quarter of 5th century BC, a dating that other scholars accept, too.193

Em. Voutiras based on an inscription194, which today is lost, referring to a Caesar's temple in Thessaloniki founded in August time, and on a Dionysius Halicarnassus passage, which we have already mentioned, suggests the identification of the temple with the temple of Aphrodite in Aineia, which later moved to Thessaloniki in August era and assumes the transplantation of worship in Thessaloniki, at least during the roman times, centered on the western part of the city near the Sarapeion.195

It is worth mentioning the association of Aphrodite with deified Julius Caesar. The spread of the worship of Venus Genetrix in the provinces of the Roman Empire is due not to

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191 Tiverios 1990, 71-80
192 Voutiras 1999, 1338-41
194 IG X 2.1 no. 31
195 Voutiras 1999, 1339 and note 55
interventions by Roman officials but to initiatives by local societies. Therefore, it is possible, that the citizens of Thessaloniki have had relocated that magnificent temple of Aphrodite from Aineia to Thessaloniki where Julius Caesar was worshipped along with the mythological ancestor Aphrodite, Aineias’ mother the creator of Julius lineage. The detection, inside the temple, of two Emperors’ statues and statues of the Rome deity and of Zeus Egiochos confirms the worship practices of imperial cult in order to highlight the related ties that citizens had with Rome.

Recent objections were raised concerning the connection of the Ionic temple with the inscription we have already mentioned stating that in the inscription there is no reference about the transfer of Caesar’s temple from elsewhere or no mention was made of the Aphrodite as co-worshipper goddess. In addition, the inscription was found in the east wall of the city, therefore far away from the position of the Ionic temple. According to Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou the area around the temple probably dates back to the hellenistic times and was initially dedicated to the worship of Zeus Elephantios and the goddess Rome. Then during the imperial period the Emperor's worship was added and some changes were made in the area while the temple was rebuilt or repaired and received its final form on Hadrian era.

2. Around Thessaloniki

2.1 Ancient Kalindoia

Evidence for Aphrodite's worship is also found in areas around Thessaloniki. The ancient city is located 2 km. south of the modern village of Kalamoto and the archaeological site is characterized by two tumuli, toumbes, that gave the name to the wider area that flourished during the hellenistic and imperial times. From inscriptions and scattered finds, we are informed that the city had an ecclesia, politarchs, archons, tribes, agora, agonothetes and a temple where Zeus, Rome and the Emperor were worshipped, while festivals, parades and games were organized in the city. The reference of the aforementioned temple is

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196 Rives 1994, 294-306
198 IG X 2.1 no.31
200 Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2009, 624-625. Stefanidou-Tiberiou 2012, 284
201 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2012, 277
202 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2012, 283
203 Vokotopoulou 1986, 87-114
204 Sismanidis 1983, 75-84
related to the excavations with the so-called Sebastion complex. Moreover, from inscriptions, votive reliefs and statues, we perceive that in the city there was the worship of Apollo, Asclepius, Hermes, Demeter and Artemis.

As far as Aphrodite is concerned, a statue, which constitutes a variation of the type Aphrodite Tiepolo, came to light. The figure is preserved from the waist to the knees, dressed in a chiton and himation having the left leg stable while the right one is projected a little forward. The statue is a modification of the hellenistic type of Aphrodite Tiepolo which we have examined in Dion, in the cult statuette of Aphrodite Hypolimpidia. The statuette from Kalamoto is a simplified variation of this type and dates to the late hellenistic years (Fig.40).

2.2 Sochos

The absence of extensive archaeological research hinders approaching the site of Sochos, archaeologically and historically. The fact that there are scattered finds such as coins and statues that are exhibited today at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki testifies the existence of many settlements in the wider area of Sochos. The goddess’s worship is related to three complexes of Aphrodite with Eros dated to late hellenistic or roman periods from Sochos Thessaloniki.

In the complex with index number 6758 the upper part of Aphrodite stauae is preserved and on her left shoulder parts of the legs of an Eros. The figure is dressed in a chiton tied under the chest and a himation covering the lower body and back. This complex dates back to 1st century BC following this rare motif which can be found mainly in clay figurines (Fig.41). Moreover, from the area of Sochos comes another female statue with index number 10754 that perhaps was part of a complex of Aphrodite and Eros. The figure stands with the right leg stable and restful the left. It wears a chiton that is tied under the chest and a himation wrapped around the hips leaving the abdomen area uncovered. This sculpture can be dated to the late hellenistic era and compared to the style and clothing of

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206 Adam-Veleni 2008
207 LIMC II, 41 no. 293 s.v Aphrodite (A. Delivorias)
208 ΚΘΑΜΘ II, 31, no. 168, fig. 446-447, (G. Despinis)
209 ΚΘΑΜΘ II, 34-37, no. 172-174, fig. 453-454, 456-463 (G. Despinis, M. Smit-Douna)
210 ΚΘΑΜΘ II, 34 no. 172 (G. Despinis)
the Aphrodite and Eros complex of Pella which is currently in Oxford. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say with certainty that the statuette of Thessaloniki belongs to a complex.\textsuperscript{211}

Finally, a statue with index number 9745 presents Aphrodite with Eros. The figure of Aphrodite is depicted standing on the right leg while the left one is at rest with the left arm falling loosely next to the body creating a strong sigmoid movement. The figure is dressed in a chiton that ties up under the chest while a chimation is wrapped around her hips covering her knees. On her left shoulder rests a little Eros whose thighs and legs are only saved. The complex bears similarities with a statuette of Aphrodite with Eros from the sanctuary of Demeter in Dion which dates back to the second half of 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC. However, the statue of Thessaloniki presents variations in the quality of work and the style of the garment, and it is probably a work of roman times.\textsuperscript{212}

3. Chalcidice

3.1 Anthemous

Chalcidice occupies the area south of the Koronia and Volvi lakes, east of the Thermaic Gulf and west of Strymonikos. Its southern tip is formed with three smaller peninsulas. Thucydides used the name Chalcidice to denote the south-western part of the main peninsula, the land of the Chalcidians,\textsuperscript{213} but the name Chalcidice was used for the whole peninsula only from 2\textsuperscript{nd} century AD onwards. The worship of Aphrodite can also be detected in this region.

One of the most important \textit{polis} of this area was Anthemous, which was located south of modern Galatista. Epigraphic material of the hellenistic and roman era led several scholars to identify the site with the city of Anthemous.\textsuperscript{214} The territory of Anthemous was neighbouring to Mygdonia and Kissos to the north and west, to Krusis to the west and south and to Bottike to the southeast. The small area was located at a focal point of crossroads.\textsuperscript{215} The earliest reference dates from 505 BC and comes from a passage of Herodotus\textsuperscript{216} according to which, Amyntas I wanted to offer Anthemous as an asylum to exile Hippias.\textsuperscript{217}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{211} ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 35 no. 173 (M. Smit-Douna)
\bibitem{212} ΚΓΑΜΘ II, 36 no. 174 (M. Smit-Douna)
\bibitem{213} Thucydides, 1.65.2
\bibitem{214} Wace 1913-1914, 131-132. Soueref 2011, 200
\bibitem{215} Soueref 2011, 248-250
\bibitem{216} Herodotus Histories 5, 94, 1
\end{thebibliography}
The importance of the region is attested by a statue from Galatista which represents Aphrodite leaning on a pillar. The head with the neck, the right hand and part of the legs are missing. The figure is naked from the hips and above and it is depicted by resting with the bent left hand on a support on her left side. The front part of the pillar is an Ionic small-column with grooves and capital. On this pillar, the figure’s hip rests while its legs are covered with a himation whose fold passes over the left forearm and falls from the side of the structure. It is worth noting that the sculptural work has not been completed. This pattern depicting Aphrodite in a pillar is known from a series of statues that date back to the late Hellenistic era and so this particular one can be dated in this period (Fig. 42). Accordingly, from the same area comes another section of a female statue dated the same era.

3.2 Sane

For Sane a city of Pallene, the westernmost of the three prongs of Chalcidice, the information we have is limited. According to Strabo, Sane was a colony of the Eretrieans. The ancient city should have been located on the west coast of the peninsula, north of Mende and south of Potidea, but it is not identified with certainty. The oldest indications of habitation of the site date back to the proto-geometric and early geometric period, but mainly buildings of archaic period were excavated.

To the south of the St. George’s Cape, at the Metochi site of Stavronikita Monastery, an outdoor sanctuary with a life span of 7th to 4th BC centuries was found during the construction of a modern marina. Geomorphologic observations showed that the marina occupied the area of a shallow marshy basin with a diameter of about 100 m. It is therefore possible that the sanctuary had been established in a place with abundant vegetation where there would have been a small lake or marsh. Unfortunately, the knowledge we have of the sanctuary is fragmentary. The only construction that was investigated in the area was a small stone tank (Fig. 43) built into the ground which had three

\[\text{218} \text{ΓΑΜΘ II, 30 no. 167, fig. 442-445 (G. Despinis.)} \]
\[\text{219} \text{with index number 9345 of AMTH} \]
\[\text{220} \text{Strabo X, 447} \]
\[\text{221} \text{Vokotopoulou- Papaggelos 2002, 59-61} \]
\[\text{222} \text{Vokotopoulou 2001, 459-462} \]
steps that led to its paved floor. With depth of 1 m. and dimensions of 0.60 x 0.60 it seems to have functioned as a purifying tank for the bath of a cult statue.  

Grids for offering sacrifices were revealed at a shallow depth under the ground surface (Fig.44). Bones, shells, lamps, ankles, figurines and embossed tiles were found on and around them in burning traces. Remains of a temple were not identified, except for two clay architectural elements namely, a section of cornice with painted anthemion and lion-head fragments for water outflow, but it is possible that they may be random finds and not related to the specific structure. Up to now, it appears that at the sanctuary a female deity was worshipped, a goddess of vegetation, fertility, and water. The abundant lamps that were found indicate the practice of night celebrations in honor of the goddess, while in the worship it was included also a purifying bath of her cult statue.

Artemis was recognized as the worshipped deity of the sanctuary. It is well known that the goddess received honors as Artemis Limnatis and Elias in the countryside while during the worship of Artemis Paglaria in Patra there were pannychides, nocturnal feasts. With this interpretation, the findings of the sanctuary also coincide. Several of the figurines depict the goddess Artemis while the abundant ankles and children’s toys imply a goddess with the property of Kourotofos such as Artemis. The above theory is also reinforced by the finding of an inscription, which is completed in the following way: Τας Πυθ[ίας ή Πυθ[ονίας Αρτέμιδος ειμί].

Nevertheless, the recognition of Artemis as the main deity of the sanctuary is not yet safe. The grids found in the sanctuary indicate that the deity worshipped was of a chthonic character, something that does not match the qualities of Artemis. Similar cult practices that took place during night hours have been found in sanctuaries such as Aphrodite in Nafkrati, while the adjective Pithonica, which may be on the shell we have mentioned, is used as an epithet of Aphrodite. Further investigation is needed to illuminate the worship deities and cult practices of the sanctuary at the ancient city of Sane.
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E. Eastern Macedonia

1.1 Amphipolis

Amphipolis was founded by the Athenian general Hagnon in an important strategic location by the river Strymon in 438/7 BC. The new Athenian colony soon became a very prominent city. Excavations revealed the impressive circuit wall and the towers, building complexes, houses, the gymnasium but also a number of sanctuaries.\(^{230}\)

From inscriptions of hellenistic years the names of the priests of Asclepius are known,\(^{231}\) while by the inscription of the year 89 BC the names of the priests of Athena are testified.\(^{232}\) Two votive inscriptions of roman times refer to a high priest and *agonothetes* of Amphipolis who also belonged to the Macedonian *Koinon*.\(^{233}\) With games citizens of Amphipolis honored Artemis *Tauropolos* while from Thucydides we learn the existence of the temple of Athena.\(^{234}\) The sanctuary of Muse Kleio was revealed and identified and a monumental building complex, probably the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, was discovered inside the acropolis. At the same time, the sanctuary of Attis and Cybele was found in the northwest sector of the city. *Thesmophorion or Nymphaios* was excavated outside the north wall.\(^{235}\)

As far as Aphrodite’s cult is concerned evidence can be detected all over the city. A sculpture of Aphrodite with Eros with index number L 1210 was delivered in 1979 but there are no traces of the exact place of the finding. It is a female dressed figure which embraces with her left arm a naked childish figure sitting on a pillar. The total height is 0.495 m and the marble probably comes from a quarry of the area. The two heads, the largest part of the right hand of the female figure and the two hands of the child are missing. Broken are also parts of the figures’ legs.\(^{236}\)

The female figure is represented frontally and stands on the right foot, while the left rests on elevated ground. She is dressed with a chiton which is tucked under the chest while the garment depicts clearly the anatomy of the figure. She also wears a himation which starts from the right shoulder, falls backwards obliquely, leaving the left side of her back

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\(^{230}\) Lazaridis 1972, 4. Lazaridis 1994, 14-75
\(^{231}\) SEG 12 (1955) 106 no. 373
\(^{232}\) Lazaridis 1969, 112, no L.88
\(^{233}\) Dimitras 1896, 657, no. 811
\(^{234}\) Thucydides 5.10
\(^{235}\) Lazaridis 1972, 43-44. Lazaridis 1994, 26-29, 44-45
\(^{236}\) Machairia 1990, 285
uncovered, passing over the left hip and falling forward between the legs. A naked child figure sits on a pillar and it is depicted plump, with rounded forms and soft contours. The figure is presented frontally and the arms should have extended to the woman's face and the head should have leaned to the left. At the back, additions have been preserved for placing wings.237

Typologically, Aphrodite follows the pattern of Aphrodite Tiepolo238, but also adopts elements from classic iconographic forms, resulting in a new representation. An important element for the identification of the female figure with the goddess Aphrodite is the presence of Eros. The small winged form that is sitting on a pillar must be Eros. According to typological and stylistic features this sculptural composition can be dated to the later hellenistic years.239

Furthermore, coroplastic activity has flourished in Amphipolis since the classical period. The artists are influenced by the sculpture and painting of the era but also by the workshops of southern Greece, the Aegean and Ionia. The local workshops developed mass production that was channeled into the hinterland of Thrace.240 The workshops during the hellenistic era produce figurines related to religious purposes. Aphrodite and Eros at various types are the most beloved themes. Aphrodite is usually rendered erect with the himation as the only garment which obliquely surrounds the back of the body leaving an uncovered portion of the back and ends in front of the legs while usually with the right bent hand pulls the himation. Eros is represented with open wings, standing on a base resting on a small column.241

During the roman times a mass production of figurines can be observed. There are figurines of upright and enthroned forms while figurines of Attis, Aphrodite and Telephorus are mainly preferred. The worship of Aphrodite in the roman era can be seen in eschatological context and is associated with the beliefs of the afterlife. Many figurines at this time have artistic signatures on the back, but with a visible deterioration in their artistic quality.242

237 Machaira 1990, 286-287
238 LIMC II, 41 s.v Aphrodite (A.Delivorias)
239 Machaira 1990, 289-290
240 Lazaridis 1988, 126. Malama 2015, 368
241 Malama 2017, 104
242 Malama 2017, 104
1.2 Avdira

The city of Avdira was founded in 654 BC by Klazomenioi and in 545 BC by the inhabitants of Teo. Both colonial groups enclosed the city with strong fortifications, the northern and southern enclosures. Archaeological researches in the area with mainly survival character brought to light archaeological material with figurines occupying a prominent place which were studied very early in 1960 by D. Lazaridis.\(^{243}\)

Figurines were found throughout the area of which the largest group was unearthed in the northern enclosure in the sanctuary of Demeter, in the grids and in the great depositor and mostly female figures are represented either standing or sitting.\(^{244}\) In the southern enclosure figurines were found in the so-called "Coroplastic workshop", which was on the commercial market of the city while in the cemetery figurines of Aphrodite were placed in graves as offerings.\(^{245}\) The iconographical types attributed are male, female and childlike figures, while the deities Athena, Cybele, Aphrodite, Eros and Artemis are of particular interest.\(^{246}\)

The existence of coroplastic workshops is indisputable. It is obvious that a kind of religious craftsmanship has been created with products intended for public local sanctuaries, burial rituals and the practice of private worship.\(^{247}\)

\(^{243}\) Lazaridis 1960. Kallintzi 2017, 105
\(^{244}\) Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004, 243-244
\(^{245}\) Kallintzi 2017,107
\(^{246}\) Kallintzi 2017, 107
\(^{247}\) Tzanavari 2012, 360. Kallintzi 2017 107
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Conclusions

There is no doubt that the Greek goddess Aphrodite belonged to the Greek pantheon of gods and was a fully functional cast member in the tales of Greek mythology by late 8th or early 7th century BC, as attested in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. What is not clear, however, is whether Aphrodite evolved as an indigenous Hellenic goddess on Greek soil or whether she immigrated to Greece from outside the Greek-speaking world. When considering the multiple nature and complexity of the goddess, the possible scenarios of her origin, diffusion and development are endless.

In the area of Macedonia Aphrodite was a beloved deity and her worship was widespread. Aphrodite was revered in Lower Macedonia with the cult epithets of Hypolimphidia, Epitragia and Euschemon. As evidenced by two inscriptions, Hypolimphidia Aphrodite was worshipped at least during the imperial period in Dion, but the statue of the goddess that was erected dates back to 2nd century BC. This epithet indicates the worship of the goddess under Olympus, a local worship in the area of Dion. In 2nd century AD she was worshipped with the Latin name Venus by the Latin-speaking inhabitants of the city. Aphrodite was also honored during the imperial period in Dion with the epithet Epitragia. This cult epithet is not referred to any inscription, but it is indicated by the depiction of the goddess on a goat. In addition, Epitragia Aphrodite is also found in a clay relief in Petres.

In Beroia of 2nd century AD Aphrodite was worshipped as Euschemon, an adjective perhaps referring to her beautiful form but also to her moral status. In Thessaloniki, there are four inscriptions with reference to the name and worship of Aphrodite, the three of which are related to the different qualities of the goddess. Aphrodite in inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD is referred to as Epiteuxidia and Omonia while in an inscription of the 2nd or 3rd century BC it is referred to as Paphia.

In addition, according to the evidence from the excavations of sanctuaries in Macedonia, the different hypostases and qualities of the goddess are revealed. More specifically, the position of the sanctuary of Pella in the most central part of the city is probably related to the property of Aphrodite as the creator of everything and therefore was worshipped as the Mother of the Gods, as the protector of the city and the public life. It is likely that the goddess received honors as Pandemos, a goddess who embraces all the people. Moreover, in Aigai, Aphrodite was worshipped along with the Mother of the Gods as well as in Lefkopetra promoting the above attribute. The worship of Aphrodite along with Demeter in Dion is obviously related to the fertile and chthonic character of the goddess.
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Aphrodite was co-worshipped with Isis Lochia in Dion and Beroia relating the goddess with the concept of fertility.

Like most deities of the Greek pantheon, Aphrodite also has a chthonic character that is revealed by burial complexes throughout the region of Macedonia. Not only is the goddess of euphoria in the world of mortals but she is also the goddess of the underworld. Her status transforms her into a compassionate goddess, whose form is mainly associated with women and child burials, symbolizing the victory of life over death. Additionally, altars in areas of Beroia and Thessaloniki with depictions of young women and girls in Aphrodite's formations in burial monuments betray the distinct position that this chthonic deity holds in the region of Macedonia.

The goddess in Macedonia is commonly co-worshipped with other deities. The sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods in Pella is one of the few sanctuaries that the presence of the goddess is testified with certainty, but also in Pella the goddess was attested in Thesmophorion. In Dion, the goddess was honored in the sanctuary of Demeter and in the sanctuary of Isis. In Aigai, the goddess was co-worshipped in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, while it is unknown where the goddess in Beroia was revered perhaps in the same sanctuary as Isis. In Upper Macedonia, as in the Eastern Macedonia there is much evidence that indicates the presence of the goddess in the area, but there is little proof of cult and unknown place of practice. In central Macedonia, particularly in the area of Thessaloniki and around, despite the many findings related to the goddess, it is not easy to locate a particular place of worship. Perhaps, the goddess was worshipped in the sanctuary of Ano Pali, there is also a possibility of a cult place in the area of Acheropoiitos and probably Aphrodite received reverence in the ionic temple.

The various coroplastic workshops served the needs of the above sanctuaries. Their existence in Macedonia is indisputable and it is obvious that a kind of religious craftsmanship has been created with products intended for local public sanctuaries, burial rituals and for private worship practices. The workshop of Pella is an important centre for the production of figurines as the rich finds of the excavations indicate, it undoubtedly receives influences from the Attic, Boetian and Corinthian workshops but manages to form its own character. Around this dominant artistic core, several smaller or larger production centers are developed such as those in Beroia, Aigai, Petres, Aiani and others. These regional production centers, although maintaining strong ties with the capital's products they have developed some particular local characteristics.
Beroia from the second half of 3rd century BC became a significant center of figurine production and in 2nd and 1st century it manufactures original works with distinct features. The numerous workshop remains in the area of the roman agora of Thessaloniki testify the operation of a major workshop during the last quarter of 3rd century BC until 1st century AD which supplies the city sanctuaries such as the one in Ano Poli. At the same time, workshops are also active in other cities of Macedonia, such as in Aigai and in the city of Petres. In addition to the well-known iconographic types of Pella, there is a tendency for original creations, as in the case of Petres, where a clay plaque depicts Epitragia Aphrodite.

The operation of the hellenistic workshops, as shown by the excavation data, continues after the roman conquest of Macedonia in 168 BC. Production does not seem to be interrupted or altered as shown by the major workshops of Pella, Beroia and Thessaloniki. The same types are repeated, and Aphrodite is presented in many variations. However, in the second half of 1st century BC and until the beginning of 1st century AD the production is gradually either reduced or interrupted. In the roman province of Macedonia, the center of production is shifted with the city of Thessaloniki becoming now dominant and Beroia competing against it. The figurines found in graves constitute a representative example of the local production which follows a great repetition of Aphrodite types such as that of Knidia or Anadiomeni.

In conclusion, Aphrodite was wider worshipped in Macedonia, according to the archaeological evidence, at least from the hellenistic to the imperial period. In Upper Macedonia and the northern regions, Aphrodite is presented in late-time monuments usually accompanied by Eros, naked or half-naked as goddess of love and beauty. Although the presence of the goddess is generally acknowledged in the entire area of Macedonia, her depictions in Upper Macedonia deviate from the works of the coastal urban centers of Lower and Central Macedonia where the goddess was more popular as the sanctuaries indicate and her cult practices were more intense. The evidence we have shows no significant change in the worship of the goddess over the centuries. Further investigation is needed to broaden our knowledge in the cults of Macedonia. The future is promising since there is a growing interest of the scholars for this particular region and taking into account the ongoing excavations, archaeological material is possible to be brought to light and the relevant bibliography will be enriched for more thorough research in the years to come.
Illustration List

**Fig. 1** Plan of the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods and Aphrodite in Pella. (Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, 7, fig. 3)

**Fig. 2** Inscribed base. (Lilimbaki-Akamati 2004, 57, Fig. 68)
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Fig. 3 Figurine of Aphrodite Kourotrofos
(Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, pl. 44α)

Fig. 4 Figurine of Aphrodite
(Lilimbaki-Akamati 2011,169)
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Fig. 5 Figurine of Aphrodite Anadyomeni. (Lilimbaki-Akamati 2011,171)

Fig. 6 Figurine of Aphrodite Sandalizousa. (Lilimbaki-Akamati 2011,172)
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Fig. 7 Figurine of Aphrodite sitting.
(Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, pl. 456)

Fig. 8 Figurine of “Aphrodite that is revealed”.
(Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996, pl. 14ξ)
Fig. 9 Female figurine of *Kourotrofos* with Eros.
(Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996, pl. 11α)

Fig. 10 Inscribed plaque.
(Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos 1998, 540, no. 20)
Fig. 11 Inscribed fragment.
(Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos 1998, 619, no. 363)

Fig. 12 The building complex of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Kallipetra.
(Stefani 2010, 119)
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Fig. 13 The table shaped altar.
(Stefani 2010, 119)

Fig. 14 Bust of the Mother of the Gods.
(Stefani 2010, 120)
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Fig. 15 Aphrodite accompanied by Eros and a little girl. (Stefani 2010, 121)

Fig. 16 Figurine of Aphrodite. (Pandermalis 1990, 70)
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Fig. 17 Figurine of Sandalizousa Aphrodite. (Pamdermalis 1990, 73)

Fig. 18 Inscribed altar. (Pamdermalis 1999, 73)
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Fig. 19 Head of a woman’s statue. (Pingiatoglou 2015, 220, Fig. 100)

Fig. 20 Part of marble statuette of Aphrodite Knidia. (Pingiatoglou 2015, 219, Fig. 97)
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Fig. 21 Clay head of Aphrodite figurine. (Pingiatoglou 2015, 235, Fig. 169)

Fig. 22 Statue of Hypolimpidia Aphrodite. (Paandermalis 1990, 107)

Fig. 23 Drawing of statue of Hypolimbidia Aphrodite by G. Miltsakakis (Pandermalis 1990, 106)
Fig. 24 The small temple of Aphrodite Hypolimpidia. (Pandermalis 1989, 21)

Fig. 25 Inscribed marble bases (Pandermalis 1997, 64)
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Fig. 26 Clay figurine of Eros. (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1996, 46 Fig. 33)

Fig. 27 Figurine of Aphrodite. (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1993, 70-72 Fig. 41α)
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Fig. 28 Clay embossed plaque.
(Adam-Veleni 1998, 74, Fig. 69)

Fig. 29 Head of Aphrodite
(Hatzinikolaou 2007, 457 Fig. 126)
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Fig. 30 Figurine of Aphrodite. (Hatzinikolaou 2007, 456 Fig. 127)

Fig. 31 Dedication stele probably to Aphrodite. (Dull 1977, 44, 270 no.3, Fig. 11)
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Fig. 32 Divinities: 1-2 (left) Aphrodite, 3-4 (right) Mother of Gods, 5 (center) Eros. (Mallios 2004, 243)

Fig. 33 Statue of Aphrodite in the Louvre-Naples or Frejus Aphrodite type. (No. 75 fig 175 p.301 ΚΓΑΜΘΙ)
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(No. 238 Fig. 674-675 p.386 ΚΓΑΜΘ II)
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Fig. 40 Statue of Aphrodite.
(No. 168 Fig. 446-447 p. 311 ΚΓΑΜΘ II)

Fig. 41 Female statue.
(No. 172 Fig. 453-454 p.314 ΚΓΑΜΘ II)

Fig. 42 Statue of Aphrodite leaning on a pillar.
(No. 167 Fig. 442-443 p. 310 ΚΓΑΜΘ I)
Fig. 43 Stone tank.  
(Vokotopoulou 2001, 202, Fig.4)

Fig. 44 Grids for sacrifices.  
(Vokotopoulou 2001, 476, Fig.3)
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Abbreviations

ΑΔ Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο.
ΑΕργοΜακ Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη.
ΕΚΜ Gounaropoulou, L., & Hatzopoulos, M. B, Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας
(μεταξύ του Βερμίου όρους και του Αξιού ποταμού. Τεύχος Α’: Επιγραφές
IG Inscriptiones Graecae.
ΚΓΘΜΑ I Despinis, I., Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Th., E. Voutiras (ed.), Κατάλογος Γλυπτών
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ΠΑΕ Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
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