

A FEW EXAMPLES OF EPIGRAPHY FROM PELLA

In the first volume of this journal there was published a preliminary attempt to combine philological tradition on Pella with the first results yielded by excavations at that site. Excavations were started at Pella on the 11th of April, 1957, in the form of exploratory soundings; from June of the same year until the present time they have been continued as systematic excavations on a large scale. The amazing results obtained from the test trenches, followed by the uncovering of the splendid mosaic floors, have precluded discussion of the earlier investigations, which had, however, been conducted in the area since 1953.

In 1953, I first visited Pella as a Curator of Antiquities in Macedonia. During several successive tours, which were usually undertaken with Mr. Athanasios Kondroufis, the Headmaster of the Primary School of Palaia Pella, we would go from house to house, from field to field, as far down as the canal and the area where the lake used to be, and as high up as the ancient quarry. The good people of Palaia and Nea Pella and of the neighbouring towns of Koufalia, Nea Chalkidon and Yiannitsa would willingly show us finds, and guide us to the sites where discoveries had been made. The selection of the sites where test trenches were made in 1957 was a result of this collective effort. And yet, apart from the now-famous marble hound from Pella, practically none of the discoveries made before the excavations have been made known at all widely. The splendour of the mosaics has detracted from the importance of anything else.

Six years of excavations have yielded a wealth of discoveries; stamps on amphora handles, stamps on roof tiles, coins, etc., can, for example, be counted by the hundred. Unfortunately, hardly any inscriptions on marble have come to light, nor indeed has any inscription of importance. On the other hand, the finds made before the excavations consisted mainly of inscriptions. This is because villagers will always take notice of "stones with letters on them", just as they will of coins. They collect and report such finds, with the result that they are collected together at first in the School, the Town Hall, the Church, or the Police Station where there is one, until, with other kinds of discoveries, they can form a small Museum. A collection of this kind, compiled of various finds, was made before the

last war by P. Hartomatsidis, a school teacher at the Primary School in Palaia Pella. But during the war years the finds in that collection "vanished", as stated in the Report which was issued in Thessaloniki many years after the collection had been dispersed.¹ An effort to re-establish a collection was started in 1953; clay vessels, figurines, various reliefs, statues, architectural fragments and, of course, inscriptions, were collected anew by Mr. Kondroufis, either working on his own or guiding the archaeologist. In April 1957, the excavations began and the archaeologist did not depend exclusively on the school master any longer. He had the zealous excavation workers who henceforth provided such information; and the work of collecting was continued.²

The purpose of this paper is to present a selection of inscriptions from Pella, as samples of writing and of language. These have been chosen from the collected finds, to represent a preliminary sampling, until sites yielding many inscriptions are found at Pella. Although traditions and political institutions were different in Pella, although marble was here a luxury item, and although stones were valuable raw material for lime kilns during the dark years of slavery, inscriptions are certain to come to light at Pella, even if we may have to wait; the remains of Pella itself were long in appearing, but appear they did. Indeed, the case of Pella is not without precedent. Mycenaean writing (which concealed the secret of its language until recently) was known from tablets found at Knossos and Pylos. It was not until 1950 that the first tablet was found at Mycenae itself;³ since that time a great many have been discovered.

A few examples of the inscriptions already found at Pella are discussed below, although it is acknowledged that they may not be the most significant that the site will yield. Their publication has been delayed, in the hope that publication of this material would coincide with that of the definitive results of reconnaissance surveys made for the purpose of plotting the topography of Pella and its environs. Since it does not seem probable, however, that this publication will appear in the very near future, examples of the epigraphic material yielded thus far by the investigations will be presented here. It is of interest to note that none of the examples discussed here have yet been published; and of those inscriptions that have

1. *Makedonika*, 2, 1951, p. 37.

2. Among the students who gave valuable assistance in the task of gathering the epigraphic material special thanks are due to Mr. Petros Themelis, now Curator of Antiquities.

3. First publication *IIAE* 1950, p. 214 ff.

been published elsewhere by other workers, none is preserved in the temporary museum at Pella.⁴

The first collection of inscriptions from Pella was published by Delacoulonche,⁵ a foremost research worker in the area between the rivers Aliakmon and Axios, a region which he termed "le berceau de la puissance macédonienne". He describes how he found five inscriptions (Nos. 102 - 106) in houses in the village of Ayioi Apostoloi (now called Palaia Pella); two others were found, one in the church, and another built into the wall of a water-mill at the so-called Baths of Alexander the Great (No 101); and one that he does not list in the catalogue at the end of the "Mémoire" is mentioned on page 80. These inscriptions were republished by M. Dimitsas as No. 134 (Del. 104), 135 (Del. 103), 136 (Del. 102), 137 (Del. 106), 144 (Del. 105), 139 (Del. 107),⁶ 143 (Del. 101) and 138 (Del. p. 80).

Dimitsas also republished, with references, a few more inscriptions (Nos. 129,⁷ 131 and 132⁸) from the village of Ayioi Apostoloi, which had been originally described by earlier travellers and archaeologists. Finally, other inscriptions from places near Pella were also catalogued by Dimitsas from a variety of sources. These may be attributed, at least in part, to ancient Pella, though such an hypothesis is difficult to prove; as is well known, there were other towns besides Pella in that area, especially Ichnae,⁹ the second town of Bottiaea, between the present Nea Chalkidon and Koufalia.

After the appearance of Dimitsas' work, few inscriptions from Pella were published. Without attempting to exhaust the relevant bibliography here, I should like to draw attention in particular to the two inscriptions (*S.E.G.* 2, 1924, Nos. 400 and 401) published first by A. Plassart in *BCH* 47, 1923, p. 185, and the important votive inscription to Heracles Kynagidas, Ch. Edson in *Harvard Class. Studies* 51, 1940, p. 125 ff. (cf. L. Robert in *R.E.G.* 59 - 60, 1946 - 47, p. 332, No. 137).¹⁰

4. Among published inscriptions preserved are those on the central municipal fountain at Palaia Pella, on the wall of the Church of Ayioi Apostoloi and elsewhere.

5. *Mémoire*, etc., Paris 1858, p. 74 ff. and list of inscriptions on p. 218.

6. Cf. recently J.M.R. Cormack in *Studies Pres. to D.M. Robinson*, Vol. II, p. 376.

7. Cf. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage* etc., *Inscr.* t. III, partie III, No. 1354, and recently J.M.R. Cormack in *BSA* 41, 1940 - 45, p. 114, No. 26 and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, 59 - 60, 1946 - 1947, p. 332, No. 138.

8. Cf. Duchesne-Bayet, *Mémoire* etc., p. 109, Nos. 153 and 154.

9. Cf. A. Struck in *A.M.* 27, 1902, p. 309 f., No. 14.

10. Information about Pella and Pellaeans is derived also from inscriptions

Since the beginning of the excavations in 1957, pictures of inscriptions, as well of stamps on amphora handles, stamps on roof tiles, etc., have been published, together with other finds, in various periodicals and newspapers, generally with no commentary.¹¹

The samples of lettering and language given here are inscribed on marble (Pl. I 2, Pl. II 1-2, Pl. III 1-3, IV 2, Pl. V 1-2, VI 1-2, VII 1-2, VIII 1-2 and IX 1); local stone (Pl. IV 1 and Pl. XII 2); imported bluishgrey limestone (Pl. I 1); or on clay (Pl. XII 2 and 4). They comprise: votive inscriptions (Pl. I 1, probably Pl. I 3 and Pl. VIII 1); gravestones, which are in the majority; a stamp on a roof tile (Pl. XII 1); a stamp on a pipe (Pl. XII 3); and finally, a mason's mark (Pl. XII 2). The inscriptions on the mosaics form a separate category on account of their nature and their material.

A. Votive Inscriptions.

1. (Inv. No. ΕΠΙ 6). Base of a votive monument, made from bluish-grey limestone (Pl. I, 1). Parts of the original edges are preserved on the top, on the front and on the left-hand side. It is broken on the other sides. A cyma is preserved only on the front. On the top surface, the stone was shaped to receive the plinth of a statue. Max. preserved width 0.39 m.; max. preserved height 0.27 m., max. preserved breadth 0.21 m.

On the front side, part of a dedicatory inscription is preserved:

Ἄσκληπι [- -
Ἀναξίδοτο [- -
Ἐ]πὶ ἱερῶος [- -

In the first line, the name of the god Asklepios is probably written in the dative case, and is followed by a verb stating the dedication, e.g., ἀνέθηκεν. In the second line we have what is probably the name (Ἀναξίδοτος, already known from Macedonia and elsewhere) of the dedicator as

found at other places, as for example, Inscriptions in *SEG X*, 1949, No. 86 and 138 (cf. B.D. Meritt in *Studies Pres. to E. Capps*, 1936, p. 246 ff.), Herzog-Klaffenbach, *Asylienurkunden aus Kos (Abh. d. Deutsch. Ak. d. Wiss., Berlin 1952, No. 1)* Berlin 1952, S.E.G. XII, 1955, No. 374 (cf. L. Robert in *REG*, 66, 1953, p. 158, No. 152, 7), J. Bousquet in *BCH*, 83, 1959, p. 155 (cf. *REG* 73, 1960, *Bull. Épig.* No. 181 and 120). B. Iosifovska, *Vodny niz Papi Darnumot*, Skopje 1961, p. 58 ff. (in Serbian) and p. 100 (in French).

11. See mainly *Illustrated London News*, 2nd August 1958, p. 197 ff.; *Archaeology* 11, 1958, p. 250 ff.; *Balkan Studies*, I, 1960, p. 113 ff.; *Archaeologikon Deltion* 16, 1960 p. 82, where the plates contain good photographs by Sp. Tsavdaroglou, but the text itself has some inaccuracies.

well as his father's name; the missing part of the third line obviously contained the name of the priest of Asklepios as eponymous thus giving the indication of date. In *Pauly - Wissowa RE* II 2, under the heading "Asklepios", col. 1675, Pella is not listed among the three Macedonian places where Asklepios was worshipped (Amphipolis, Stageira, Dion) but cf. col. 1662, where Dion is placed as the westernmost limit of the area to which the list refers.¹²

It should be noted that on the western hill of the acropolis at Pella we found pieces of bluish-grey limestone, identical to that used for the inscription. These probably belong to dedicatory tripods (AΔ 16, 1960, Pl. 60). There were, also, larger, prismatic fragments, the use of which is uncertain. This dark limestone seems to have been employed for various uses where select material was desirable.

2. (Inv. No. EΠ 7). The top part of a slab of greyish-white marble (Pl. I, 2 and XI 2). The original edges are preserved on the top and the left-hand side. The front side meets the left-hand side in an acute angle. The slab is broken on the right-hand side. Max. preserved width 0.38 m.; max. preserved height 0.26 m.; max. preserved thickness 0.06 m.

On a raised band at the top of the stone there is preserved the beginning of what is most likely to be a dedicatory inscription (Pl. VII, 2):

Νίκων Ἡρακλείδου καὶ οἱ [—

This was probably followed by a collective name of those people who, together with Nikon, dedicated an object to a deity whose name we cannot conjecture. The names Nikon and Heracleides are known both from Macedonia and elsewhere.

3. (Inv. No. EΠ 10). Base for a small bronze statue, almost intact except for minor chips and scratches (Pl. VIII, 1), made of greyish-white coarse-grained marble. At the top and bottom it has cymas which run around the three sides. At the back the stone presents a slight anathyrosis. On the top surface there are four dowels, three of which are filled with lead; one of these three bears the imprint of the sole of a foot, the fourth is empty and of conical shape. Max. width 0.23 m.; max. height 0.11 m.; max. breadth 0.125 m.

12. On the cult of Asklepios in Macedonia, see W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, p. 109 f. and for further information Ph. M. Petsas, 'Ωναὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἡμαθίας, in *Archaeologiki Ephimeris*, 1961, p. 1 ff.

On the front side a dedicatory inscription is sufficiently well preserved, so that it may be read without danger of ambiguity :

*Κράτων Κρατέρου,
Μάγνης ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου,
Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις εὐχίην.*

The names Kraton and Krateros are common. Kraton is probably short for Krateros or Krateronikos.¹³ The dedicator comes from Magnesia on the river Maiandros in Asia Minor. Another man from Magnesia on the Maiandros is mentioned on an inscription from Larissa, Thessaly, see Heuzey - Daumet, *Mission etc.*, p. 423, No. 198, line 5.

On the Great Gods see (as a convenient reference) Karl Lehmann, *Samothrace, A Guide etc.*, New York 1960, mainly p. 21 ff. D. P. Dimitrov, in publishing an inscription from the Thracian Seuthopolis, which was found within the area of a palace, surmised that the king was also a priest of the Great Gods; he dates the inscription to the years before 300 B.C., and provides a bibliography on the dissemination of the cult of the Great Gods in Thrace and the Greek colonies on the western coasts of Euxeinos Pontos.¹⁴

For the dating of the three inscriptions discussed above we have no indication other than the form of the letters; this evidence is not contradicted by the form of the simple cymas or by other indications. Thus, we can only suggest a relatively wide range of dates and may place the first inscription in the 3rd century B.C., the second in the years about 200 B.C., and the third in the Roman era. The first inscription has Σ with the top and bottom strokes aslant, Π with uneven vertical strokes, Ο smaller than the other letters, and there are either no or hardly any apices. In the second inscription the cross-strokes of the alphas are themselves almost angular, Ο is almost as large as the rest of the letters, but as the execution

13. Cf. *Archaeologiki Ephimeris* 1950 - 51, *Archaeologika Chronika* p. 47.

14. D. P. Dimitrov, *Neuentdeckte epigr. Denkmäler etc.*, in *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* (*Coll. Latomus*, XXVIII), Brussels 1957, p. 184 ff. On the Cabeiroi in Macedonia and especially in Pella, see W. Baege, *De Macedonum Sacris* p. 175 ff., particularly p. 176. Baege, *l.c.*, gives the sources for all known cults at Pella (see index p. 236 ff.). Cf. the recent article of D. M. Pippidi, *Inscr. d'Istros etc. in Dacia*, N.S.; V, 1961, p. 305 f. and G. Bordenache, *ibid.*, p. 203 and n. 36, and C. Danoff in *Pauly-Wissowa RE, Suppl. IX, 1962*, under entry Pontos Euxeinos, col. 1088 and *ibid.*, under entry Tomi, col. 1424. More about the cult of Cabeiroi in Macedonia may be found in the second volume (in proofs) of the basic study of J. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, II, p. 545, n. 4; cf. recent review by L. Robert in *Gnomon* 35, 1963, p. 60 and 61.



1.



2.



1.



2.



1.



3.



2.



2.



1.



2.



1.



2.



1.



2.



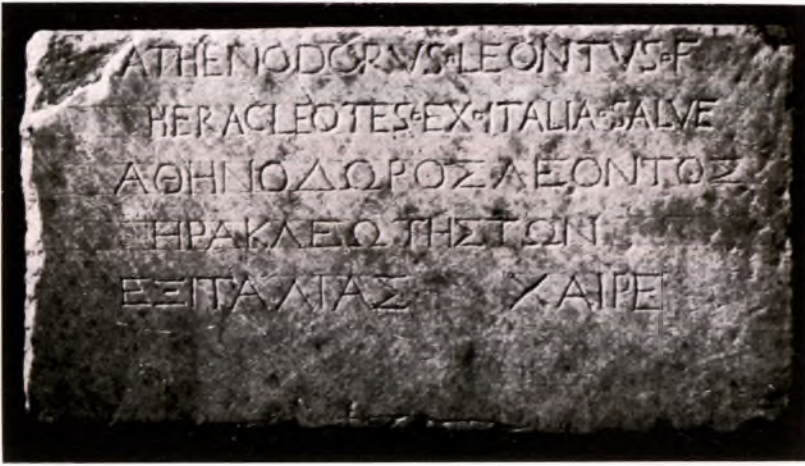
1.



1.



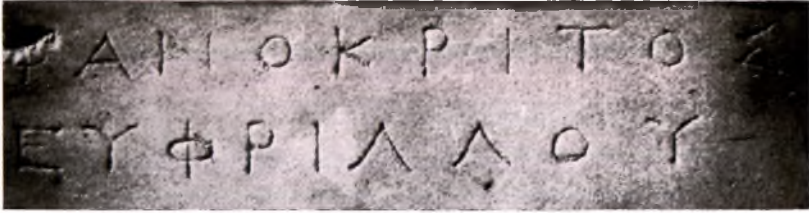
2.



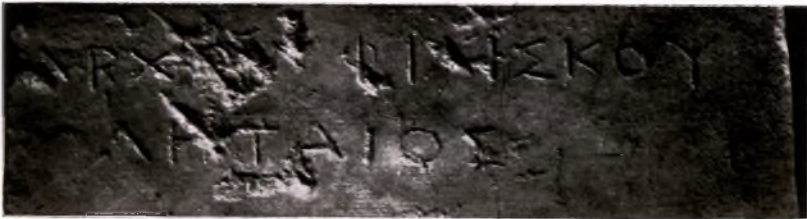
1.



2.



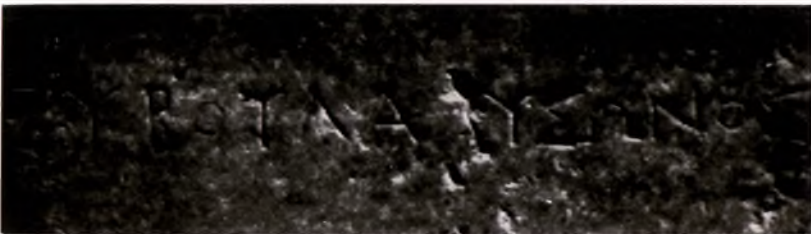
1.



2.



3.



4.



1.



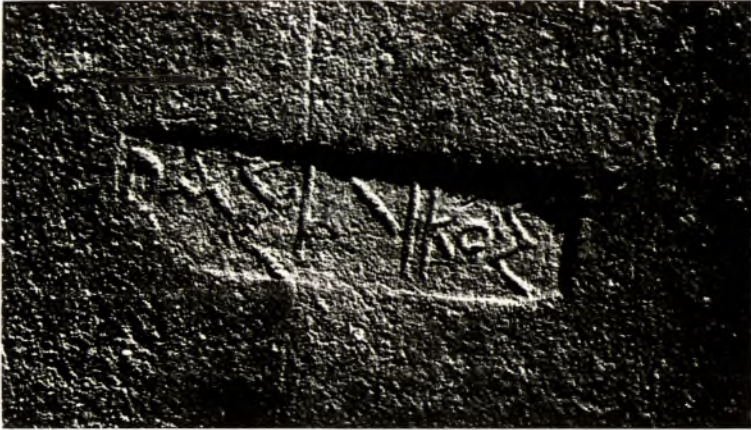
2.



3.



4.



1.



2.



3.



1.



1.

of the letters seems to have been rather careless there are no grounds for further deductions. Finally, the third dedicatory inscription presents the characteristics of the Roman period very clearly: fully formed apices, alpha with a sharply angular cross-stroke, Π with even vertical strokes etc.¹⁵

B. Funerary Inscriptions.

1. (Inv. No. ΕΠ 18). Grave-stele made of white marble with greyish white veins (Pl. II, 1 and X, 1). On top, it ends in a pediment with acroteria. It is preserved almost entire, in two pieces that have been joined together. Max. width 0.39 m.; max. height 1.245 m. max. thickness 0.11 m.

Under the pediment there is an inscription of two lines giving the name of the dead man and the name of his father in the genitive case (Pl. X, 1):

Φανόκριτος
Εὐφραίλου.

These names are known. Eufraios is met in the genitive case (Μελι-
νίχη Εὐφραίου) on a handsome stele from Pella, 4th century B.C. (Inv. No. ΕΠ 26). The engraving of the letters is carefully executed, and so is the whole stele. The form of the letters and the form of the stele could go back to the 4th century B.C.

2. (Inv. No. ΕΠ 2). The top part of a stele similar to the above (Pl. III, 1). Max. width 0.39 m.; max. preserved height 0.36 m.; max. thickness 0.085 m. Under the pediment is preserved the name of the dead woman:

Ζειδύμαρχις.

Despite a long search, I cannot find this name. But cf. for example *Διδύμαρχος* (δ) in *Pape-Benseler*, as a convenient reference. With regard to the form of the letters, the form of the stele and hence the dating of the inscription, the same remarks hold true as were made concerning the previous inscription.

3. (Inv. No. ΕΠ 11). Grave-stele made of white marble with greyish-white veins (Pl. IV, 2). The form of the stele is similar to the two previously described, except for differences in the proportion of width to height. Max. width 0.305 m.; max. height 0.78 m.; max. thickness 0.15 m.

Under the pediment it bears an inscription in two lines (Pl. X, 2):

15. From other unpublished inscriptions of Pella and environs we know of the cults of Zeus Milichios, Hercules, the Muses etc.

Ἄρχ[ω]ν Φιλίσκου
Ληταῖος.

The dead man has the same name as another man from Pella, whom we know of from inscriptions from Delphi.¹⁶ The name Philiskos is common.¹⁷ The Archon of our inscription is a Letaios, i.e. he comes from the well-known Macedonian town of Lete near Thessaloniki.¹⁸ The form of the stele and the form of the letters indicate that the inscription is of approximately the same date as the two previous ones.

4. (Inv. No. EΠ 9). A similar stele, smaller than the previous ones, of local stone, intact, except for minor damage. It has been placed in the Museum on a plaster base, with which it is photographed (Pl. IV, 1) Max. width 0.23 m. Max. apparent height 0.51 m.; max. thickness 0.085 m.

Under the pediment, which has the same form as the pediments of the three previous stelae, it bears an inscription in two lines, mostly illegible. Only the end of the dead man's name can be discerned (Pl. IX, 1):

-] μίσκος.

which may be one of the names mentioned in B. Hansen, *Rückl-Wörterb.* etc., p. 254, e.g. Δαμίσκος, Λαμίσκος¹⁶ etc.; the second line probably contained the name of the father.

Lower down, in a recessed rectangle, there is a representation of the dead playing with his dog. On the surface of the relief traces of red paint are preserved. The form of the stele, the shape of the letters and the style of the relief date the inscription to the years around 300 B.C.

5. (Inv. No. EΠ 14). A thick marble stele, with superficial damage (Pl. II, 2). It probably had separate "crowning" of some sort, i.e. a second piece of marble which is now missing. At the bottom it terminates in a boss. Max. width 0.43 m.; max. height 0.995 m.; max. thickness 0.19 m.

16. Bousquet, loc. cit.

17. The name occurs frequently in *Cyrenaica*, see SEG. IX, Index. Cf. *Israel Expl. Journal* 12, 1962, p. 5 and 12 (first century A.D.).

18. Selected bibliography on Lete: Duchesne-Bayet, *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont Athos*, Paris 1876, p. 80 ff. M. Dimitsas, *Ἡ Μακεδονία* etc. Athens 1896, p. 566 ff.; RE XII 2, 1925, col. 2138 ff. s.v. *Lete*, XIV 1, 1928, s.v. *Makedonia* (Topographie) col. 665; D. Kanatsoulis, Περὶ τῶν Πολιταρχῶν τῶν Μακ. Πόλεων in *Ἑπετ. Φιλολ.* Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Ζ', 1956, pp. 160 and 178; D. Kanatsoulis, Ἡ Μακεδονικὴ Πόλις etc. in *Μακεδονικά Δ'*, 1957, p. 248.

19. On the name Lamiskos see recently in P. M. Fraser - T. Ronne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*, Lund 1957, p. 166 ff.

At the top of the stone an inscription of one line is preserved (Pl. X, 3):

Μάκαρτος Δήλιος.

We obviously have only the name of the dead, with no patronymic, but followed by an "ethnic": the dead man came from Delos. On the name Makartos see the recent information in L. Robert *REG. Bull. Épigr.* 1959, p. 206, No. 251.

Towards the centre, the stele has a relief representation of the prow of a boat, the sea being indicated by three wavy lines. Such reliefs are known from Delos, the native island of Makartos, but there are also examples from elsewhere, e.g. Istria (of Roman date, see *Dacia*, N.S. V, 1961, p. 208 f., fig. 28 and 29, and references, and p. 255, fig. 9).

The form of the letters belongs to the first half of the 3rd century B.C.

6. (Inv. No. EII 22). Grave altar of marble (Pl. III, 2).²⁰ The back, the top and the bottom are roughly worked. At the top and bottom of the three remaining sides, there are cymas with taeniae; about half way up, there is a painted band with a wreath on the front side. The painted decoration is fairly well preserved.

The altar becomes narrower at the top, it has a maximum width of 0.34 m. at the bottom, (at top 0.325 m.); height, 0.44 m.; max. breadth 0.25 m. (at the bottom 0.195 m.).

Between the top cyma and the wreath-bearing band, there is an inscription with the name of the dead woman and her father's name in its genitive form (Pl. X, 4):

Εὐβούλα Λύσωνος.

The names Euboula (commonly Euboule) and Lyson are known. The altar is dated, mainly by the form of the letters, to the same period as the previous inscription.

7. (Inv. No. EII 13). Grave-stele of white marble, entire, but for some damage especially to the pediment (Pl. III, 3). The form of the pediment denotes a further stage in the development of the pediment immediately following that represented by grave-stelae 1-4. This is emphasized by the profile of the lower cyma. On the other hand, this stele is comparable to stele No 4, and to the following stele, No. 8, in that it has a

20. See. G. Bakalakis, *ÜJh* 39, 1952, Beiblatt, p. 2 ff., where there is further bibliography.

recessed quadrangle; the quadrangle in the first case bears a relief representation, whereas in the other two examples the representation was obviously painted. There are no traces of colour preserved on either of these two stelae. At the bottom the stele ends in a boss. Max. width 0.305 m.; max. height 0.885 m.; max. thickness 0.11 m.

Under the pediment the stele bears the names of three dead, in three lines:

Καλλίας Δημητρί(ο)υ.
Δημήτριος Καλλία.
Ἐδίστη Δημητρίου.

The terminal Y of the first line is omitted. In the second line an alternative is Καλλίου. The engraving at the beginning of the third line, which looks like a circle, or rather like an ivy leaf, is problematic. The three dead are obviously members of the same family. The first name is that of the father, then follows that of the son and then, probably, that of latter's wife or daughter (see inscription No. 8 below). Compare the name Ἐδίστη of this inscription to Ἡδίστη in the inscription described below. The rest of the names are common. Chronologically I think that this inscription follows the preceding ones.

8. (Inv. No. EII 4). The upper part of a grave-stele of marble (Pl. V, 2). The pediment is preserved, as well as the inscribed band below this, and lower down a hollow quadrangle evidently intended for a painted representation. It is interesting to note how this pediment represents a further development from the stelae previously described, especially in respect to its heaviness and the corresponding proportionate reduction of the cyma. The pediment is not carved in relief against the background of the stone.²¹ Max. width 0.335 m.; max. preserved height 0.32 m.; max. thickness about 0.065 m.

On the band between the pediment and the hollow quadrangle the stele bears an inscription in two lines:

Ἡδίστη Νεάνδρο[υ],
Ἐπικράτου γυν[ή].

The names are known.²² This stele is chronologically classified with

21. Cf. a similar treatment of the pediment on a manumission stele, dated exactly to 235 B.C. by Man. Andronikos, *Ancient Inscriptions of Veroia*, Thessaloniki, 1950, Plate 1.

22. On the name Ἡδίστη see recently in *Hesperia*, 32, 1963, p. 50, No. 79, with reference in I.G. II², 11574 - 11579.

the later examples in the series of stelae with pediments referred to in this paper; anyway not later than the middle of the 3rd century B.C.

9. (Inv. No. EII 8). Grave-stele of greyish-white marble almost complete, except perhaps for a small part at the bottom (Pl. V, 1). It has a dowel on the right hand narrow side. It differs from the preceding stelae with pediments mainly in the form of the cyma under the pediment. Max. width 0.455 m.; max. height 1.05 m.; max. thickness 0.125 m.

Under the pediment it bears an inscription in two lines:

*Δημόκριτος
Χαιρίωνος.*

The names are known. With reference to the form of the letters, it is especially worth noting the alpha with the broken cross-stroke. The high proportion of height to width is also of significance. Hence, I also classify this stele among the later ones in the series of those with pediments.

10. (Inv. No. EII 16.) Grave-stele, thick, made of marble, used for a second if not a third time (Pl. VI, 1 and 2). From its first use the stele preserves most of one side (Pl. VI, 1) and parts of the two narrow sides with remains of a Lesbian cyma which initially ran around the stone. These parts have been worked with greater care than the others. It is not certain whether the traces of letters belong to the first utilization or not (Pl. XI, 3), but we can safely read:

M]ENEΔΗΜΟ [- -

Superimposed over this line can be read two A's, a third A can be read between the first two preserved letters of the name Menedemos and there is a T superscribed over the O at the end of the name.

The top and bottom surfaces of the marble are not worked with as much care. The other of the two wide sides has clearly been worked on again not very carefully, and so has the cyma above; at the same time a funerary inscription of two lines was inscribed (Pl. VI, 2):

*Ἀδάνα Δαζαίου.
Ἀντιγόνα Φιλίππου.*

The name Adána, which I have found nowhere else, may be compared to the name Adanos which is of masculine gender (convenient reference in Pape-Benseler); Adanos was the mythical founder of the town of Adana. Dazaios may be compared with Dazimos etc. The form of the letters and especially the presence of slight apices dates this inscription to the later part of the 3rd century B.C.

11. (Inv. No. EII 1). A slab of white marble with extremities preserved on all sides (Pl. IX, 1). The lower side is better dressed than the other sides; this workmanship dates from the first use of the stone. The other sides, except for the front side, which bears the inscription, are not so carefully worked. Max. width 0.69 m.; height about 0.37 m.; max. thickness 0.125 m.

It bears a bilingual funerary inscription, that is, the same text, first in Latin in two lines, and then in Greek with larger letters in three lines :

*Athenodorus Leontus f(ilius),
Heracleotes ex Italia. Salve.*

*Ἀθηνόδωρος Λέοντος,
Ἡρακλεώτης τῶν ἐξ
Ἰταλίας. Χαῖρε.*

In the Latin text words within the same line are separated by points of rectangular shape. In order that the letters of each verse might be cut evenly, horizontal lines were drawn above and below each verse, whereby the height of the letters was also determined; this differs from verse to verse, the letters of the first and third verses — the name of the dead — being higher.

It is interesting to note the influence of the Greek language in the error of the form of the genitive case of the name of the father: Leontus instead of Leontos. It is even more interesting to see the way *ex Italia* was translated by “τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας”, which means that more people than one must have belonged to the same category. This may mean that there was a colonization from the area around Herculaneum, the famous Italian city near Vesuvius. It is difficult to date this inscription accurately upon purely epigraphic criteria. It probably belongs to the 1st century A.D. This gives ground for the thought that a probable colonization followed a disaster brought about by one of the eruptions of Vesuvius. Nevertheless, it is significant that in Roman times the Latin text is repeated, more emphatically at that, in Greek, so that one may presume that the population spoke Greek.²³ See also the following bilingual inscription.

12. (Inv. No. EII 15). Grave-stele made from a piece of marble, which has been used a second time (Pl. VII, 1 and 2). From its first use in an architectural context a front side is preserved (Pl. VII, 1), as well as the

23. On the form of the name Ἡρακλεώτης cf. recently L. Robert in *Gnomon* 35, 1963, p. 76 ff.

two narrow sides right and left of the front, which bear an anathyrosis, and the upper surface, which is smooth. In the lower surface dowels are preserved for the purpose of joining it to other stones. These dowels remain from its first use, when it constituted the upper surface of the block. It also preserves some practically illegible, incised letters, which, however, yield nothing of importance. Width 0.47 m.; height 0.59 m.; max. preserved thickness 0.14 m.

At the time of its second use a bilingual inscription was cut towards the top of the front (Pl. VII, 2 and XI, 4):

Marcia P(ublii) f(ilia). Salve.
Μαρκία. Χαῖρε.

Points separate the words from one another. It is interesting to note the difference in form between the A of the Latin text, on the one hand, and the A of the Greek text, on the other, which has an angular cross-stroke, unlike the A's in the Greek text of the previous bilingual inscription. We also notice some development in the apices, which are more pronounced in this example. Hence, we can assume a later date. The dead woman bears the Roman name *Marcia*, whereas the names of the Heracleotes, in the previous inscription, are characteristically Greek. That in both cases we have a bilingual inscription is an additional supporting fact to the hypothesis that the population of Pella were actually using Greek as their language throughout the Roman occupation.²⁴ It is interesting to note the difference in the formulas used in inscriptions of varying dates: pre-Roman inscriptions give only the name of the dead and the father's name; in the two inscriptions of early Roman times "*Salve*" or "*Χαῖρε*" is added; while the still later inscription, which follows, includes instead the formula "*μνησας χάριον*".

13. (Inv. No. EΠ 5). Grave-stele of marble, broken only at the bottom right hand part, and chipped towards the middle of the left side (Pl. VIII, 2). On top the stele ends in a pediment with acroteria on either side and the relief of a shield in the tympanum. At the bottom the stele terminates in a boss for inserting it into a base. Under the pediment, in a recessed rectangle, there is a relief representation of the dead woman lifting her hair with her right hand and holding her chiton with her left hand at the

24. Concerning the conditions in Macedonia during the Roman period, see recently R. F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* etc., London 1963, especially p. 3 ff. and 49 ff.

hip, the upper part of her body thus being nude. Max. width 0.425 m.; height 0.703 m.; thickness about 0.08 m.

Under the relief of the dead girl there is an inscription in three lines (Pl. IX, 2):

*Πυλάδης εἰδία
θυγατρὶ μνείας
χάριν.*

The name Pylades is common. Lines were drawn to facilitate the cutting of letters in neat rows, as in inscription No. 11 above. Another line was drawn at the bottom, clearly in order to determine the height of the boss. Chronologically the inscription is placed last in the series of inscriptions published here and it is dated to the later years of the Roman period.

C. Mason's Marks.

Letters, which we find cut on stones in the walls of various ancient buildings, are not inscriptions literally speaking. However, they contribute to our understanding not only of ancient architecture, but also of epigraphy. On the western hill of the acropolis at Pella, in section II of the excavation, such letters were noticed on the stones of the foundations and superstructure of the main building, which were uncovered in 1957. These letters form part of the instructions given by a master-mason to the builders and masons. Instructions were usually given by word of mouth or in the form of incised lines or other symbols on the upper surface of each course of stones. These letters were noted either on the front side of the stones, which would later be covered with plaster, or on a side surface of the stone, as we see it on Pl. XII, 2, where we can read the letter A clearly towards the top right hand corner.

D. Stamps on Roof-Tiles.

The stamps on the roof-tiles of Pella constitute a large and important category of finds. Hundreds of such stamps of which the variety of form is unusual, are awaiting classification and study.²⁵ Until a complete study of the whole number of stamps has been made, it would be premature to discuss any of them separately. Here the picture of one stamp only is given

25. See *Ill. London News*, 2 August 1958, p. 197 ff.; *Archaeology* 11, 1958, p. 250 ff.; *Balkan Studies* 1, 1960, p. 127 and Plate V 13; *Archaeologikon Deltion* 16, 1960, p. 82 (with a few inaccuracies) and Plates 71 - 73.

as an example (Pl. XII, 1). It bears the word «*ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ*» (*κέραμος*), i.e. a "royal" (tile), as do most but not all of the stamped tiles found in Pella.

E. Stamps on Pipes.

Just as the roof-tiles, so the aqueduct pipes of Pella bear various stamps, which are either abbreviations or monograms. The reading, completion or interpretation of a stamp is not always certain. Some monograms can be read as *Βασιλέως Φιλίππου*, "of King Philip", but it cannot be certain to which of the many kings of this name reference is made. The stamp on Pl. XII 3 present another difficulty. Here we can read three letters, which are certain to form an abbreviation of a word. These letters are HMA. But, while the first two letters are unambiguous, the third seems improbable, because there is no such consonant cluster (MA) possible in Greek. In an attempt to solve this problem, it occurred to me that A is also met sometimes without the cross-stroke. A stamp is a likely place for such an A form. In that case we can, read HMA, which may be considered an abbreviation of HMA(ΘΙΑΣ) (of Emathia). We conclude that as roof tiles are stamped ΔΗΜΟ(ΣΙΟ)Σ (public), ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ (royal), or, what is more important still, ΠΕΛΛΗΣ (of Pella), it is possible that pipes could be stamped with a mark meaning that they belonged to the water supply system HMA(ΘΙΑΣ), i.e. of the Emathia district.

Pella of course, belonged to Bottiaia²⁶ at the time of Herodotus but we know that later sources list it among the towns of Emathia. Ptolemy in particular places Pella last in his list of the eleven towns of Emathia.²⁷

F. Inscriptions on Mosaics.

The mosaics of Pella are unique masterpieces; they are extremely valuable works of art. An addition to their importance for the history of Greek art is the contribution of two mosaics to the sparse epigraphic collection of Pella. Two of the three new mosaics, which were uncovered in 1961, have inscriptions made of the same white pebbles which composed the white parts of the mosaics. On one of them (Pl. XIII) we can read:

Γνώσις ἐπόησεν.

Gnosis made (it). The name Gnosis is known from elsewhere, but not as the name of an artist or indeed of a maker of mosaics. Thus, the

26. *Herodotus* VII, 123.

27. *Ptolemy* III, 13, 39.

artist is otherwise unknown to us. In the mosaic which represents the rape of Helen by Theseus the names of the figures are given: Φόρβας (the charioteer), Θησεύς, Ἑλένη and Δη[ι]άνειος[α], a friend or relation of Helen (Pl. XIV).

This is not the place to discuss the art of the mosaics, which are dated to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. on purely stylistic criteria. Here I should only like to compare the letters of the inscriptions in the mosaics with the letters of inscriptions on marble and other media as found at Pella. Such a comparison shows that the form of the letters is similar to those of the older funerary inscriptions published in this paper (above 1 - 6), which are dated to the 4th and to the beginning of the 3rd centuries B.C.

Although this paper is not intended to be the final publication of the whole or even of part of the epigraphic material we have from Pella, I believe that it may prove of some use by giving an idea of how epigraphy developed in Pella between the 4th century B.C. and the years of the Roman empire.

Greek Archaeological Service

PHOTIOS M. PETSAS