PELLA

LITERARY TRADITION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH *

The information about Pella preserved in the ancient sources is so limited that it seems best to recall almost all of it.

First for its prehistoric period: Stephanus Byzantius has preserved an earlier name of Pella, which is $Bo\acute{u}vo\mu o\varsigma$ or $Bouv\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\iota a$. This name is of such etymological clarity that we must surely regard it as a purely Greek word, meaning "meadow" or "pasture-land".

The fact that Pella's historical name was the subject of etymological legends of the kind which were so common in antiquity, only proves that the ancient Greeks never regarded the name of Pella as a foreign word. Pella, Stephanus tells us, was named after its founder, whose name was, of course, Pellas ($\Pi \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \alpha \varsigma$). Another derivation of the name was invented or at least preserved by ancient grammarians. According to that, Pella owes its name to a cow (obviously a hint at $Bo\dot{\psi} \nu \rho \rho \rho$), which had a blackishgray colour, $\pi \epsilon \lambda \lambda \dot{\nu} \nu$ in Greek, an adjective related to latin "pullus", which means "dark-coloured" or "blackish-gray".

Modern scholars, however, have rightly supported the derivation of the name based on Hesychius' gloss: $\pi \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \alpha$ \(\lambda \delta \sigma \text{(stone, rock)}\), which is equivalent to $\ll \varphi^{2} \lambda \lambda \alpha$ and related to $\ll \varphi \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha \zeta$ (stone) and $\ll \varphi \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu} \zeta$ (stony ground).

The topographical exploration of the site of Pella and the results so far yielded by recent excavations prove, I think, first, the derivation and

^{*} The following account of what literary tradition has preserved about Pella and what modern research has revealed as yet, was presented to the Third International Congress of Classical Studies held in London, September 1959, under the title 'Pella, a Meeting Place of the Old and the New'. It was illustrated by a great number of coloured slides, which unfortunately cannot be included here. Also the text has been slightly altered.

^{1.} vide "Pella".

^{2.} loc. cit.

^{3.} References in Pauly-Wissowa, XIX, 341.

^{4.} Γ. ΙΙ. Οἰχονόμος in Πρακτικὰ τῆς ᾿Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 1914, p. 129 ff., Eugen Oberhummer in P-W l.c.

the meaning of the two names ($Bo\acute{\nu}o\mu o\varsigma$ meaning "meadow", $H\acute{\nu}\lambda a$ meaning "rocky ground"); and second, the chronological sequence of the two names, as reported by Stephanus, corresponding to the transference of the centre of the town from the pasture land to the rocky hills.

Information about Pella in historical times begins with Herodotus and Thucydides who, however, mention little more than the name.

Herodotus, in his description of Xerxes' march, mentions the river Axios, which constitutes, Herodotus tells us, the frontier between Mygdonia and Bottiaia and so—by way of digression—Herodotus mentions the two towns of Bottiaia, Ichnae and Pella, which occupy «τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον», "the narrow strip of land along the sea".

Thucydides on the other hand, in the two passages where Pella is mentioned, gives only its name, as he describes first the expansion of the Macedonian Kingdom before his time, and second, the invasion, in his time, of the Thracians under Sitalkes into the Macedonian territory of Perdiccas.

About the end of the Peloponnesian war, King Archelaos decided to move from the remote beautiful stronghold of Aigai and build himself a palace at Pella, near the uncertain frontier of the river Axios, almost on the sea. But, if we are to judge by the silence of the sources, even this daring and epoch-making decision of Archelaos was not noticed in all its importance by the Greeks of the south, who at that time were busy fighting one another. Archelaos' activities are mentioned by Thucydides as a remote echo of events, as if they had been of interest only for the local history of Macedonia. Besides, there were the mockers: "Archelaos" they said "spent a lot of money on decorating his palace but nothing on himself, so that many people from all over the world came to Pella to see the palace, but no one to see Archelaos".

Nevertheless at the time of Archelaos, Pella became worthy not only of a Zeuxis, but also of a Timotheos and of a Euripides, who spent his last years at the court of Archelaos and died there after he had produced

^{5.} VII, 123.

^{6.} II, 99,4. 100,4.

^{7.} II, 100, 2.

^{8.} Aelianus, Varia Historia ΙΛ, 17 «Σωχράτης έλεγεν ᾿Λοχέλαον εἰς τῆν οἰχίαν τετραχοσίας μνᾶς ἀναλῶσαι, Ζεῦξιν μισθωσάμενος τὸν Ἡραχλειώτην, ἵνα αὐτὴν καταγράφοι, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐδέν. Διὸ πόρρωθεν μὲν ἀφιχνεῖσθαι σὺν σπουδῷ πολλῷ τοὺς βουλομένους θεάσασθαι τὴν οἰχίαν δι᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ᾿Λοχέλαον μηδένα ἐς Μακεδόνας στέλλεσθαι, ἐἀν μή τινα ἀναπείση χρήμασι καὶ δελεάσῃ, ὡς᾽ ὧν οὐκ ἄν αἰρεθῆναι τὸν σπουδαῖον».

several dramas in the theatre of Pella and also written a special drama entitled "Archelaos".

From the time of Archelaos, Pella, it seems, grew rapidly in extent, population and importance. Xenophon in his "Hellenica" preports that representatives of Acanthus and Apollonia, in the Chalcidice peninsula, speaking to the Spartan Assembly and in the presence of representatives of the allies of Sparta, mentioned Pella as "h μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεων», "the greatest of all cities in Macedonia". Later, nevertheless, Demosthenes ", an Athenian, speaking to his fellow country-men, the Athenians, could say that Philip had grown up «ἐν χωρίω ἀδόξω καὶ μικρῷ», "in an obscure little place". However, he does add: «τότε» (then, at the time of Philip's youth), which means that even Demosthenes himself could no longer call Pella «ἄδοξον» or «μικρὸν χωρίον» at the time he and his companions visited it as representatives of Athens, and they were either having a good time, according to Demosthenes, or they had been flattering Philip, according to Aeschines.

Information about the city of Pella is equally scanty, poor and unjust for the time of the reign of Philip, of Alexander and of his successors. It is only by deduction that we can imagine the growth of the population, the cultural evolution and the architectural expansion, which followed the conquests of Philip and Alexander. During the reign of the philosopher-king Antigonos Gonatas, Pella was probably at its best, to judge from its standard of culture.

In describing the war of the last Macedonian kings against the Romans, especially the capture of the Macedonian capital after the battle of Pydna, Livy 11 gives some facts, probably derived from Polybius, about the city itself. It is, indeed, the first and only description of Pella which is at all detailed, and runs as follows in the Loeb translation: "The Consul (Aemilius Paulus) set out from Pydna with his whole army and on the second day reached Pella, pitched camp a mile from there 12, and remained in this camp for a few days, examining the site of the city from all sides and noticing that it had not been chosen to be the capital without good reason. It is situated on a hill sloping to the south-west 13; swamps of a depth impenetrable in summer or winter surround it, formed by the ponding of

^{9.} V, 2, 13.

^{10.} XVIII, 68.

^{11.} XLIV, 46.

^{12. &}quot;mille passus inde".

^{13. &}quot;in tumulo vergente in occidentem hibernum".

rivers 14. Phacus projects like an island from the swamp itself, where it comes nearest the city 15, and is set on an embankment, a huge construction 10 designed to bear the weight of a wall and remain undamaged by the water of the surrounding swamp. At a distance it appears to be joined to the city wall, but it is separated by a river within the walls 17 and likewise connected by a bridge, so that there is no approach for a besieger from without nor is there any escape for anyone imprisoned by the king within, except over a very easily guarded bridge. The royal treasury was located there;"

The name of Phacos is also mentioned by Polybius is and « $\hat{\eta}$ &v $\tau \tilde{\phi}$ $\Phi \acute{\alpha} \kappa \phi \gamma \acute{\alpha} \zeta \alpha$ », "the royal treasury on the island of Phacos", is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus io.

Livy's short description was the main basis on which travellers and scholars at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th, originated their identification of Pella. They placed it vaguely to the north of the marshes, which survived the Turkish occupation of Macedonia. Each one of them located the centre of the town in a different place. Some put it rather to the south, where the island of Phacos rose above the marshes; others, about two kilometres to the west, where remains of a cistern surrounding a gushing spring still preserve Pella's name, for it is called "the Baths of Pella" or "the Baths of Alexander"; others placed it rather to the north-east of the "baths" on the hill of the village of Aghios Apostolos, where villagers unearthed ancient remains while digging for stone.

Hardly any visible remains of Pella's monuments existed at all. A line of grave tumuli covering 8 kilometres to the southeast of the town, and another series to the west were the only conspicuous signs. An investigating visitor could see here and there only broken roof tiles, some stones, a partly open tomb, an inscription, a piece of marble, hardly anything of importance. A scholar could not recognise Phacos or find the remains, which were mentioned by others. "J'y cherchai vainement la levée de terre dont parle Leake", Delacoulonche says, "et qu'il prétend avoir suivi sur un espace

^{14. &}quot;Amnes", which is an insertion to fill a gap in the text. What is more important, so, also, is "arx" the first word of the next sentence. I omit it.

^{15. &}quot;in ipsa palude, qua proxima urbi est". I would myself prefer to read: "quae proxima urbi est", since Livy previously mentions marshes in the plural.

^{16. &}quot;aggeri operis ingentis imposita".

^{17. &}quot;intermurali amni", a river between the walls. The "intermuralis amnis" is presumably the "palus, quae proxima urbi est", the $B\delta\varrho\beta\varrho\varrho\varrho\varsigma$ recorded elsewhere (Theokritos of Chios in Plut. de extl. 10=FHGr. II, 86), as a river at Pella.

^{18.} XXXI, 17, 2.

^{19.} XXX, 11, 1.

assez étendu. Je ne vis que des mouvements de terrain insignifiants et qu'il est impossible d'attribuer au travail de l'homme. Nulle trace des ouvrages exécutés par les anciens, rien qui indique la position exacte de l'îlot ou s'élevait la forteresse" 20.

Here, I must recall that Delacoulonche is one of the best explorers of what he called «le berceau de la puissance macédonienne». As for the others, I must confine myself to mentioning only the names of Beaujour, Pouqueville, Hahn, Desdevises-du-Dezert, A. Boué, von der Goltz, Margaritis Dimitsas, and Adolf Struck, a series of scholars which begins in 1797 and ends in 1908, just before the liberation of Macedonia.

Such was the state of scholarly knowledge about Pella until 1912, when the Greek army recovered Macedonia for Greece. The Greek Archaeological Society began the archaeological exploration of Macedonia with Pella «ἀπαρχὴν τῆς ἔξερευνήσεως τῆς Μακεδονικῆς γῆς ἔθηκε τὴν ΙΙέλλαν», as the late Professor G. Oeconomos puts it in the very beginning of his first report on the results of the excavations, which were undertaken by the Archaeological Society in 1914. Unfortunately, those excavations were interrupted suddenly by the first World War. The finds were published by G. Oeconomos in the «Πρακτικὰ τῆς ᾿Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας» of 1914 and 1915, in the «᾿Αρχαιολογικὸν Λελτίον» of 1918 and in the ''Athenische Mittheilungen'', 1926. There were remains of Greek houses of the peristyle type with a subterranean cistern, a hoard of silver coins of Cassander, some bronze and iron house utensils and some fine bronze accessories of a bed. Oeconomos could not and did not try any general survey of the site.

After 1915, Pella, it seems, was completely forgotten. Since then almost the only addition to the bibliography about Pella is Oberhummer's article published in 1937 in the Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enzyclopädie. It gives a full account of what was known at the time. It covers three pages in all, a great part of them being occupied by reproductions of Struck's plans of the site, of the lake, and of the Thermaic Gulf. The purely archaeological chapter, which is the second, about the site of Pella, deals of necessity more with lake Loudia, the modern « $\lambda(\mu\nu\eta \tau \bar{\omega}\nu \Gamma\iota\alpha\nu\nu\iota\tau\sigma\bar{\omega}\nu\nu$ », and its history, than with Pella itself. It is characteristic of the state of scientific knowledge about Pella, that Oberhummer seems to have considered that a real excavation of the city could not be undertaken before the marshes had been drained ²¹. As if the remains of Pella were covered by the marshes! To speak

^{20.} Mémoire p. 85.

^{21. &}quot;Ausserdem soll das Sumpfgebiet bei Pella im Zuge dieser Arbeiten trockengelegt und dadurch erst richtige Ausgrabungen in der alten Königsstadt möglich gemacht werden".

of common knowledge about Pella is equal to speaking of nothing. It is sufficient to mention only two reference books, which are among the best of their kind: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, which devotes to Pella six lines, and the Blue Guide with some ten lines. I regret to say that in both publications the text is almost all wrong. And yet Pella, I think, was worth a better fate in the ancient sources, and equally worth a better treatment by modern archaeological research. For this reason, I think, the archaeological exploration of Macedonia must begin with Pella, since only the excavation of the city can give authentic elements for an impartial and fuller picture of the capital, which shaped the personality of a Philip, an Aristotle, an Alexander, a Lysimachos, a Ptolemaios or a Seleukos.

The general interest in the colonies of the Greeks of the South on the northern shores of the Aegean, the special charm of an excavation in Aigai or Dion, the hopes of a research in prehistoric sites of Macedonia, they are all well justified. But, when Pella is still unknown, she has every right to attract our attention first of all Macedonian sites. That is why since 1953, when I went back to serve in Macedonia, I have concentrated my attention on Pella. For the same reasons, when I accepted the kind invitation of the Secretary of the Congress, I chose Pella as my subject: although Pella cannot as yet present a full subject for a communication.

It is a happy coincidence, however, that Pella presents itself as one of the best examples for the study of the theme of the Congress: "Tradition and Personal Achievement, Old and New in Classical Antiquity". The information which has been preserved for us about Pella—though scanty and mostly unjust—makes it clear that in almost every period of its history an epoch-making personality had each time to fight against a firmly rooted tradition.

To begin with, King Archelaos was the first to introduce a conservative dynasty to a fully developed Greek city, at the same time introducing to his royal court novelties from the advanced Greek world. Philip, later, went far beyond his time when he followed the advanced mind of Isocrates. And this development culminated with Alexander. I would like to quote Professor Tarn in his article "Macedon and the East" in the book "The Root of Europe" edited by Michael Huxley 22. "He (Alexander) had been Aristotle's pupil and crossed Asia holding the common Greek belief,... that mankind was scharply divided into Greeks and barbarians... For himself, there was henceforth, as St. Paul was to declare later, neither Greek nor barbarian; it was one of the greatest revolutions in thought known to

^{22.} p. 16. But cf. E. Badian in Historia VII (1958) p. 425 ff.

History... His Macedonians did not like it, but his active mind had already, in thought, gone far beyond such things; he declared that all men were sons of one Father, the earliest enunciation known of the brotherhood of men, at least among western peoples... Alexander believed that he had a divine mission to be the Reconciler of the World; and it was his dream of unity which inspired Zeno, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, with his vision of the world as one great city of gods and men, without distinction of race, bound together by their own willing consent, and subject only to the Universal Law which was God. Many have dreamt Alexander's dream since; but he was the first".

So much for "Tradition and Personal Achievement".

It is also equally clear that Pella was almost continuously the meeting place of the Old and the New, on a scale that few Greek centres have known.

This fact was often misinterpreted in ancient as well as in modern times on the basis of Demosthenes' rhetorical sophistry.

That is why it is extremely important for us to know the origin of Vounomos and equally interesting it is to find out when, why and how Vounomos was changed to Pella. It was probably one of the early occasions when the Old met the New at Pella in a sharp conflict—both, Old and New, being of course Greek.

Many similar encounters followed in later periods as for example in the reign of Alexander I the Philhellene and his successors, when Pella marked the uncertain frontiers of the Greek Old and New.

Pella was already an important city when King Archelaos decided to build a palace there and make it his capital. What the Old town of unknown origin looked like, what the presence of a King meant to it and what were the effects of the innovations introduced by Archelaos is another important point for consideration.

Later on, Philip, Aristotle and Alexander the Great appear and in their time the dramatic conflict between the Old and the New reached its climax. During the period of the Successors the New installed itself triumphantly inside and outside the palace where an old Greek dynasty was still trying to preserve its remaining characteristics of Mycenaean/Homeric kingship down to the second century B.C. Let me cite two examples: We have ascertained a full application of the Hippodamian system of town planning in the fouth century part of Pella which tells us of assimilations of new elements. My second example refers to mental attitudes: When once the son and heir of King Antigonos Gonatas abused one of his subjects, his

father scolded him in these words: "My son, don't you know that we are here to serve?"

The excavations which have been conducted at Pella by the Greek Archaeological Service during the last three years have given important specimens of every kind of art from prehistoric times to the Roman period.

It is especially interesting to notice the coexistence of old forms with new elements or the use of a very old technique in new forms.

Some prehistoric looking products of pottery were actually made in much later times down to the Hellenistic period. Demosthenes would certainly have called them barbarian.

Pottery and architecture are largely represented, while a few masterpieces can give an idea of the level which sculptors and mosaicists reached, in a capital of a conservative State, which was destined to renovate politically exhausted Hellenism, and hellenise the world. The capital itself took its place in a common civilization.

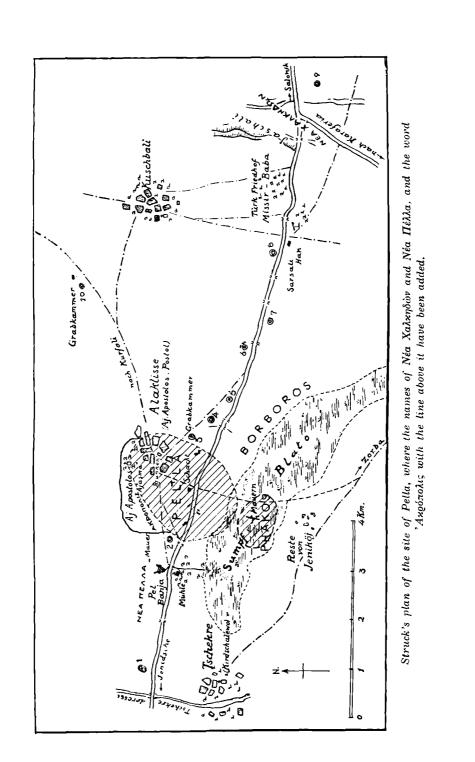
This common civilization, together with the spoils taken from Pella and the rest of Greece by Aemilius Paulus and others, was eventually handed over to Rome and through the channels of the Roman Empire (both East and West) was diffused all over the world. This common civilisation welcomed and secured the prosperity of Christianity. Pella's contribution to the unification of the world was important, so that the greatest possible interest in its origin, its characteristics and its evolution is well justified.

The plan of the site of Pella (page 121), which was published by A. Struck ²³ has become familiar since then, because it has been reproduced by Oberhummer in his article on Pella in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enzyclopädie, and it is also used in other publications. It is helpful as a link between past and present.

Since Struck's time the landscape has changed a lot. The modern road from Thessalonike westwards still branches at the old Inn, forking right to Pella—Yannitsa (spelt Jenidsche by Struck)—Edessa, and left to Veroia (Karaferia in Struck's plan). But all around the old Inn a modern small town of more than three thousand people has developed since the settling of refugees from Turkey in the twenties and the draining of the lake in the thirties. Its name is Nea Chalcedon ($N\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ $X\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$).

No remains at all are visible of the Turkish cemetery Missir-Baba or of the Sarsali-Han. The grave-tumuli (No 1-10) still mark the approach to Pella.

^{23.} Makedonische Fahrten II, fig. opposite p. 59.



I only note that the tumulus Number 9 on the sketch is not a grave-tumulus but a prehistoric mound.

The village of Aj-Apostolos (in Turkish Alaklisse, which is the Turkish version of the Greek word $\hat{\epsilon}_{xx\lambda\eta\sigma}(\alpha)$, church) is expanding in all directions and the population, including refugees from Eastern Thrace, is now more than two thousand. Its name is $\Pi \omega \lambda \omega = \Pi \delta \omega$, Old Pella, while an entirely new refugee-settlement has been created just above the so-called "Baths of Alexander the Great" with the name $N\dot{\epsilon}\omega = \Pi \delta \omega$, New Pella, and with about one thousand five hundred inhabitants.

The marshes around Phacos, as well as the great marshy lake to the south have been drained and the plain is now one of the most fertile areas of modern Greece.

No remains exist at all of "Yeniköj" (in Greek, Neochori). No one can tell you now whether a village of that name has ever existed, although the Encyclopaedia Britannica, probably following Leake, is still informing its readers that Pella, "the capital of ancient Macedonia", is "at the village Neochori (Turkish Yeni-keui)". If a visitor asks in either Thessalonike or Pella for Neochori now, he will be sent at least to the district of ancient Pieria, if not still further away. The village Kuschbali vanished during the struggle for Macedonia in the beginning of the century. Koufalia (spelt Kurfali in Struck's map) has concentrated the population of the area together with a great number of refugees and has become a small town of some seven thousand people.

Tschekre has been renamed Paralimni and is becoming bigger and bigger like all the communities in the fertile area of the former lake.

The sites of Pella and Phacos as defined by Struck on his map were examined by the Greek Archaelogical Service in 1957, by means of several trial trenches.

Three such trenches at Phacos proved not only that Phacos was indeed on this site, but, what is more important, that there was previously a prehistoric settlement, which was never noticed before.

Important alterations must be made to Struck's sketch of the city itself. The hill to the west of the village of Palaia Pella, which had never been regarded as part of the town, yielded remains of the most important buildings of Pella so far detected. This results in a considerable change in our picture of the city. It possessed a twin acropolis and all lines of communication south to north were directed to the west hill rather than to the hill, where the village of Palaia Pella is now. This fact is illustrated by the air-views of the site, shown on Pl. I.

Fig. 1 in pl. I is an air-view of the western hill looking south. Two of our trial trenches are visible towards the bottom right hand corner, (see also Pl. II, fig. 4) while our main section (Pl. I, fig. 2) in the centre of the town, where the building with the mosaic floors was uncovered, is just visible at the top left hand corner. Our "Section III" (at the right of the picture in Pl. I, fig. 1) follows a long thick wall running north to south. As can be seen, it is almost parallel to the line which divides the fields. Ancient walls and natural lines dividing properties are parallel to the axis of the city, which followed a line from Phacos to the west hill and not to the village of Palaia Pella.

This divergence of ancient roads and boundaries from the modern road leading to Palaia Pella (where the acropolis used to be located prior to the excavations of 1957) can be seen even more clearly in Pl. I, fig. 2. This air-view shows our main section (I) in the centre of the town, where the building with the mosaic floors was uncovered.

The road from Thessalonike to Edessa runs from right to left, east to west. The road pointing to the top right hand corner leads to the village of Palaia Pella. The rectangle (one hundred metres square) which we fenced when the excavation started was based on these roads. But if we had known at the time the direction of the ancient roads to the western hill, we should have fenced a rectangle based on the lines dividing properties which are parallel to the ancient roads.

At a distance of one Roman mile ("mille passus", as Livy would say) to the west of Pella lie the so-called "Baths of Alexander" ("Pel Banja" in Struck's plan). This site is today a refreshing spot surrounded by trees planted by the community of Nea Pella 24. The waters of the gushing fountain are still gathered in a deep reservoir of which the retaining wall is partly antique. Our work in this area was limited: a surface exploration yielded, among other finds, a Roman milestone of the via Egnatia and remains of Christian buildings, coins and sherds, mostly dating from Roman and still later times.

On the other hand, during the cleaning out of the reservoir in the summer of 1959, we found hundreds of Roman coins and a Roman votive relief to the water nymphs. We also saw that the reservoir had been repaired by the Romans, though it was certainly first constructed in pre-Roman times.

The whole character of the site, at least in the present state of our knowledge, is strikingly Roman. I suggest that it is here that Aemilius Paulus pitched his camp, which developed into a Roman settlement.

^{24.} cf. Struck op. cit. fig. in page 84.

Now for a brief survey of the history of the site of Pella from the beginning.

The only place which gave us indisputable prehistoric sherds is Phacos. It is there that I should like to locate Boúvouos.

Late Helladic incised ware, a stem of a Mycenaean kylix, Lausitz handles and sherds similar to the "pre-Persian" vases of Olynthus (Pl. II, fig. 3) prove that it was not the Macedonian kings who created the huge construction of Phacos, as every one is inclined to believe following Livy in his description of the site.

Phacos, in fact, is a prehistoric settlement unnoticed before, which was destined to become the most glorious of all prehistoric sites around the lake. Among them, as I have already said, is tumulus No 9 in Struck's sketch. I have visited prehistoric mounds all around the former lake, for example by the villages of Angelohorion and Polyplatanos on the west site of the lake, where even neolithic and characteristic Dimini ware have been found. Prof. Keramopoulos has made known a similar prehistoric settlement in the lake of Kastoria, and I myself have recently explored two similar settlements at the southern end of lake Vegoritis.

The prehistoric settlement of Phacos seems never to have been abandoned in classical times, except perhaps for a short period. Our trial trenches uncovered parts of the stylobate of a peristyle and small parts of stronger walls and other constructions dating from the classical and Hellenistic periods of Pella. Roman finds were also significant and proved the continuation of life after the Roman destruction, which makes it probable, that, when the members of the Macedonian Council were murdered by $\Lambda \alpha \mu \alpha \alpha \pi \alpha \sigma s \ll \delta v \tau \tilde{\phi} \Phi \alpha \alpha \omega s$, as Polybius 25 tells us, the seat of the Congress was Phacos itself.

The stronghold on the island of Phacos was very suitable, indeed, both as a first line of defense against an attack from the sea—this was its main value for the capital in the time of the Macedonian Kings—and as a self-defending castle—and this is why the Romans had every reason to house the Congress in it, on the basis that "si quem ibi rex"—why not Rome then—"includat, nullum nisi per facillimae custodiae pontem effugium" as Livy tells us.

Neither literary tradition nor archaeological evidence give any grounds for expecting the palace of Archelaos to be on the fortified island of Phacos.

Travellers and scholars—Delacoulonche for example—have thought that the palace and the temple of Athena Alkidemos stood on the hill,

^{25.} XXXI, 17, 2.

where Palaia Pella now stands. They liked to locate the religious centre (the temple of Athena Alkidemos) on the top of that hill, where the ruins of the old church of Agioi Apostoloi are still preserving the divine mission of the place; as for the political centre, the palace itself, Delacoulonche put it on the site of the house of the Turk Soubachi, which has no other support except for some pieces of ancient marbles built into or scattered around the house.

Our observation and trial trenches on the site of the village and its old church have yielded several important finds; for example, a big marble antefix from a roof tile, one piece of marble architectural relief etc., but nothing adequate to the palace or the main temple was found $in\ situ$.

The opposite is true for the hill to the west of the village which had never attracted any attention before. We were lucky enough to uncover with our first trial trenches important remains of the most spectacular monuments of Pella as yet detected.

In our Section II a great part of a strong thick wall was uncovered (Pl. II, fig. 2 left). It is built directly on the rock, which was levelled for this purpose. It is obvious that the building was erected on a virgin site. The earth over its remains accumulated after the destruction of the building. Before its construction the site was a rocky hill like the one to the east on which the present village stands. I suggest that the rocky nature of these two hills gave to the town its second name of Pella "rock" or "stone".

The surviving portion of the ancient wall is preserved to the height of the orthostats and to a length of 10.50 metres. The foundation course, however, is preserved to a length of about 20 metres and at its western end turns to the south.

The wall is 2.20 metres thick, the foundation course is still thicker. Huge orthostats face the wall on both sides. Between each pair of orthostats stand transverse blocks. The orthostats are 1.07 m. high, 0.60 m. thick and up to 2.34 m. long.

There are mason's marks—that is letters and other incisions—all along the foundation course, which make it clear that the orthostats continued round the corner towards the south.

The solid construction of the wall indicates a building of importance. Whether it belonged to the palace it is too early to say for certain. But if it is not the palace, then what must the palace have been like?

In the same "Section II" we followed a wall of later date to the length of more than forty metres (Pl. II, fig. 2 right), and no dividing wall was found. This later wall is constructed entirely with ancient material: among the stones there are parts of huge Doric and Ionic columns, metopes, finely

adorned capitals of pilasters and so on. They cannot have been transported from the site of the village or from the slopes up the hill. They belong to monuments of the western hill. Parts of these monuments are still in situ.

On the same western hill in our "Section III" (seen to the right on the air photograph Pl. I, fig. 1), another thick wall has been uncovered. It may be the back wall of a stoa.

Two drums of doric columns of a diameter of almost one metre and a capital (Pl. III, fig. 5) with an abacus 1.20 m. long, were found near-by. They date from the early fourth century, very close to the time of Archelaos, and support our expectations that the palace stood on the western hill.

So much for the topography. We may now present some of the outstanding finds.

The marble dog of Pella (Pl. III, fig. 5,6) was actually found by chance in 1954, three years before the beginning of the excavations. It was found in the area of the eastern cemetery of Pella, in which probably stood also the well known marble stele in Istanbul. The stele is dated to the time of Archelaos, but this dog is much earlier.

It belongs ²⁰ to the early classical style, 460-450 B.C., and proves that Pella was indeed an important centre of Greek culture, many years before Archelaos decided to build a palace there.

The dog as well as the marble stele was standing on a tomb of the cemetery of Pella, much like the grave monuments in the Kerameikos or other Greek sites. Nevertheless, there existed, besides, the traditional Macedonian tombs.

The one which is illustrated here (Pl. IV, fig. 8) is the only tomb of Pella we excavated so far. It presents the traditional characteristics of the Macedonian tombs. They were more or less large, subterranean buildings, covered with an artificial mound of earth.

The vase illustrated in Pl. IV, fig. 9, demonstrates again the survival of very old elements down to the Hellenistic period, and the mixture of the Old and the New in a curious blend. Demosthenes would call the vase barbarian. I think it is just terribly old-fashioned. The clay is ash-gray. Small sherds of the same ware remind us of the Minyan gray ware. The vase was made on a slow wheel. The outer surface is smoothed. The handles are

^{26.} The date was kindly given by the Director of the National Museum at Athens Mr. Chr. Karousos.

classical, but all the rest looks very much like a prehistoric, say an early Mycenaean kylix.

For the decoration something like a bone was used to produce grooves in the shape of a herring-bone on one side, while on the other side the oblique strokes are replaced by spiral hooks.

Now, this and ten other similar vases, were found together with typical Hellenistic ware: kantharoi and deep bowls decorated in the typical Hellenistic way with flower patterns of various colours.

Plates V-VIII illustrate some characteristic elements of our "Building No. 1" in the center of the town, the one with the pebble mosaics.

Pictures of it with some information have already been published 27.

Here we need only recall that the great dimensions of the building, the splendour of its decoration and the evidence of roof-tiles stamped like the one in Pl. V, fig. 13, indicate a state building for a public or official use.

The roof-tiles from the eaves, were decorated with the usual flower pattern on the part which was visible along the long side of the building. The front on the other hand was decorated with painted maeander. Antefixes in painted relief were in front of the cover tiles between each pair of channels (Pl. V, fig. 10, 11).

Pediments ended in cornices similar to the one in Pl. V, fig. 12, though that may not belong to the same building. It was found in a pit together with the curious prehistoric looking vases (above p. 126 f.).

It is important to notice that in all the area of the centre of the town which covers the slopes between the two hills of the acropolis and Phacus almost nothing was found, which could be dated before the reign of Philip or after the destruction of the capital by the Romans in 168 B.C. This part of the town is an extension of the city in her best days after the conquests of Philip and Alexander. Once ruined by the Romans it was never again fully used.

It is also interesting to notice that no find at Pella reminds us of anything Persian or the like.

We end with some pictures of the mosaic representations on two of the floors of our Building No. 1.

All the figures are almost life-size. The mosaics are made of pebbles in their natural size and colour. Beads were used for details while special features were outlined with strips of either clay or lead. The eyes are missing in all nine figures of the four mosaics. They were probably precious stones and hence stolen at the first opportunity.

^{27.} Ill. London News, 2 August 1958, Archaeology, winter 1958 and elsewhere.

As for the workmanship, especially the effectiveness of the outlining, I would like to call attention to the straight lines of the necks and particularly to the way the relief of muscles is given not only by shading and outlining, but also by arranging plain white pebbles one beside another in calculated groupings to suggest the third dimension.

Pl. VI shows a griffin attacking a deer. This mosaic was found in front of the threshold from one room to another. Griffins attacking a deer is a subject which becomes typical in Hellenistic times, but it is not the same with the second mosaic, which was found in front of another threshold, where a pair of Centaurs were represented, a male and a female.

A female Centaur is a very rare subject in ancient Greek art and it reminds us immediately of the famous work of Zeuxis, described by Plutarch, which represented a family of Centaurs.

The mosaic which represents Dionysos on a panther's back is already well known from quite good black and white pictures, which have been published in the periodicals mentioned above.

Only the lion-hunt mosaic has been cleaned thoroughly so far, and as photographs which have been already published before cleaning do not do justice to it, two pictures are published here, one showing the entire central scene (Pl. VII), the other a detail, the figure to the right (Pl. VIII).

The entire picture shows two hunters almost nude, the one on the left with the spear, the one on the right with the sword, attacking a lion, which is making for the left hand figure—it has already put its paw on his foot—but has to turn quickly to the new danger, which suddenly appears from behind.

The figure on the left is wearing an outdoor head-dress, which, we are informed by ancient sources, was reserved for noble persons in Thessaly and Macedonia. He is shown on the defensive, but he does not withdraw. His left hand holds the sword still in its sheath, while his right hand directs the spear against the lion. The figure on the right is shown dealing a slashing sword cut at the lion.

I suggest that here is one of, probably, many representations of the well known story about Alexander having been saved at the last moment by Krateros in a lion hunt somewhere near Soussa. Krateros votive monument at Delphi was probably not the only representation of the scene.

Greek Archaeological Service

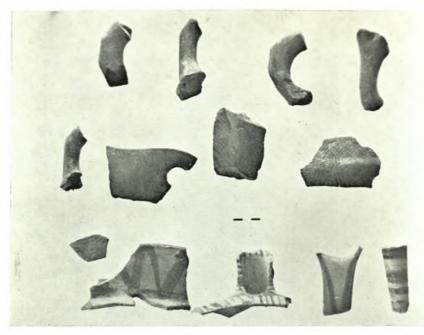
PHOTIOS M. PETSAS

Pella Pl. 1





Pl. II Pella



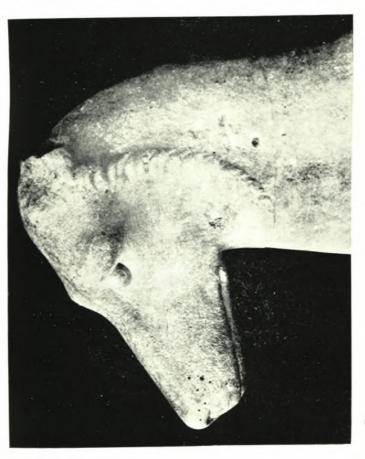
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Pella Pl. III



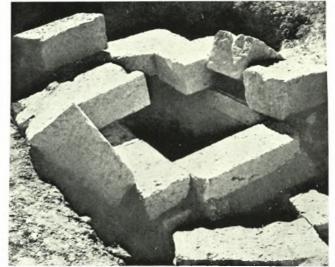
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Pl. IV



7



8.



Pella Pl. V





10. 11.





12. 13.

Pl. VI Pella



Pella Pl. VII



Pl. VIII Pella

