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Studies in Classical Archaeology I

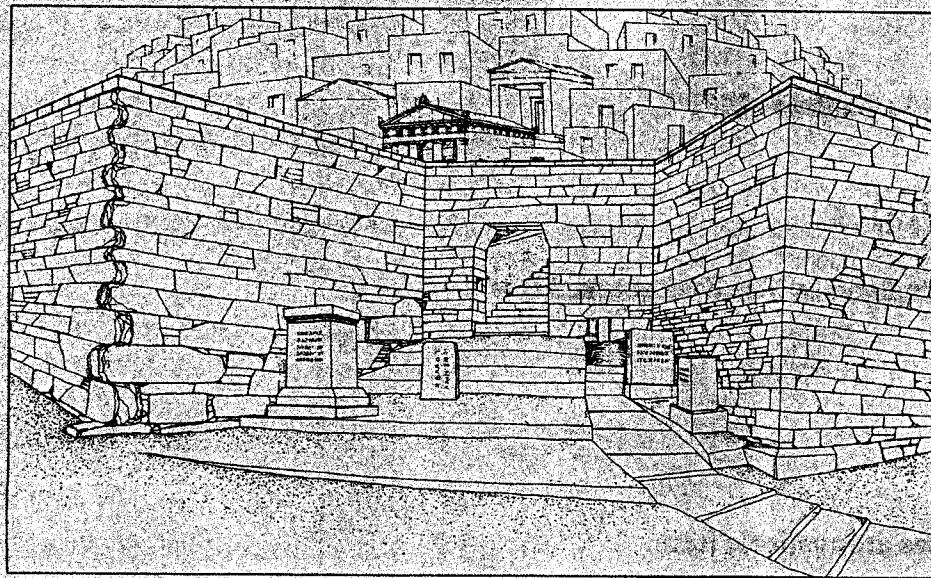
Excavating Classical Culture

Recent archaeological discoveries in Greece

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Excavating Classical Amphipolis

Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki

The excavations carried out by D. Lazaridis between 1956 and 1984 uncovered part of the ancient city of Amphipolis and its cemeteries,¹ [fig. 1] namely the external walls, the acropolis and, within the walls, remains of public and private buildings. On the acropolis, the Early Christian basilicas destroyed the city's important sanctuaries – those of Artemis Taurobolos,² Athena³ and Asclepios⁴ – which literary sources and fragmentary votive inscriptions locate there. Close to the acropolis, the Gymnasium was

discovered and excavated;⁵ there is strong evidence that the city's theatre was located next to it.⁶

In the northern part of the city were discovered: the sanctuary of Klio,⁷ founded during the earliest years of the colony; further to the west, a small sanctuary of Attis dating to the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods;⁸ and, outside the north wall, a small sanctuary of a nymph.⁹

On the acropolis were found: at the west edge of the acropolis, part of a building dating to the Late Classical period;¹⁰ a Late Roman building complex with a courtyard and peristyle with fine mosaic floors;¹¹ and a house of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods with wall paintings.¹² The fragmentary architectural remains, which were uncovered within the northern walls, must have belonged to private dwellings of the Late Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.¹³

Abbreviations

- Agora XII: B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora XII: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC* (Princeton 1970).
 Gomme, *Commentary* III: A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* III (4th ed., Oxford 1969).
 Lazaridis, 'Amphipolis' = D. Lazaridis, 'La cité grecque d' Amphipolis et son système de défense', *CRAI* 1977, 192-194.
 Lazaridis, *Amphipolis* = D. Lazaridis, *Amphipolis* (Athens 1997).
 Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος* = D. Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος* (*AEI* 13, 1972).
 Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη = Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη: Πόλις και Χώρα στην αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη. Πρακτικά αρχαιολογικού συνεδρίου, Καβάλα 9-11 Μαΐου 1986 (Thessaloniki 1990).
 Malkin = I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987).
 Pritchett, 'Amphipolis Restudied' = W.K. Pritchett, 'Amphipolis Restudied', *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* III (Berkeley 1980), 298-346.
 Richter, Furniture = G.M.A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966).
 Themelis, *Ηρώες και ήρωά = P. Themelis, Ηρώες και ήρωά στη Μεσσήνη* (Athens 2000).

¹ Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*; *id.*, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*.

² Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*, 60; Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 'Politrarchs in a New Inscription from Amphipolis', H.J. Dell (ed.), *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessaloniki 1981), 216.

³ Thuc. v.10; Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*, 59.

⁴ Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*, 60; Ch. Veligianni, 'Lex sacra aus Amphipolis', *ZPE* 100 (1994), 391-405.

⁵ Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, 52-58, figs 29-32; K. Lazaridou, *Prakt* 1984-1989; *ead.*, 'Το Γυμνάσιο της Αμφίπολης', *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη*, 241-274; *ead.*, 'Το Γυμνάσιο της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 1 (1987), 313-326; *ead.*, 'Το Γυμνάσιο της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 2 (1988), 385-386; *ead.*, 'Το Γυμνάσιο της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 3 (1989), 547-550.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 549-550.

⁷ Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*, 59; *id.*, *Amphipolis*, 44-45, fig. 5 no. 7, fig. 24.

⁸ Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, 45, fig. 5 no. 8, fig. 25.

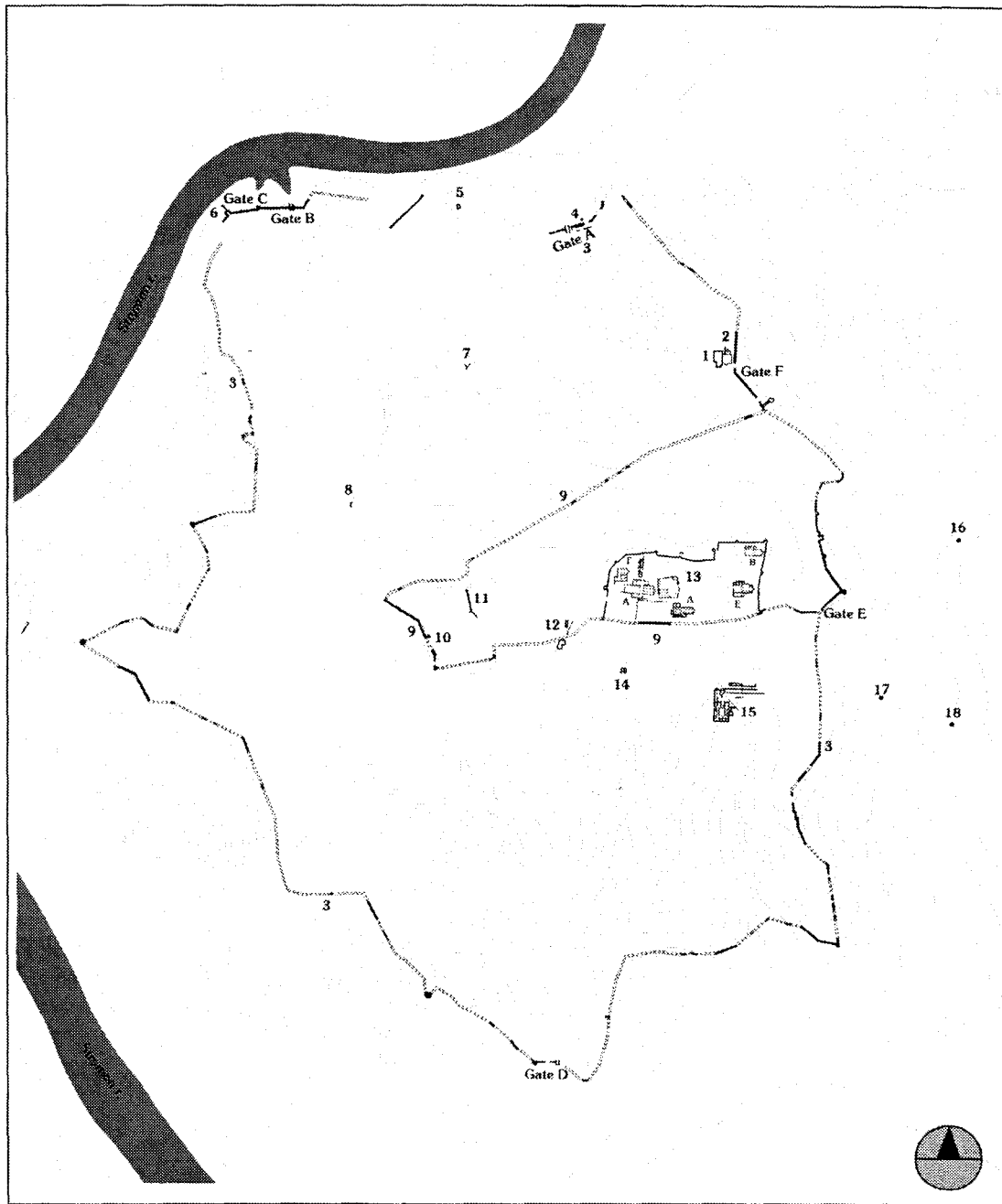
⁹ *Ibid.*, 26-29, fig. 5 no. 4, fig. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47-48, fig. 5 no. 10.

¹¹ E. Stikas, *Prakt* 1975, 74-79, pls 71γ-77, plan E; Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, fig. 5 no. 12, 49-50.

¹² D. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1982, 48-49; 1983, 35-37; Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, 50-52.

¹³ Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*, 56-59.



- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Museum. | 10. House of classical period |
| 2. Classical buildings. | 11. City wall of roman period. |
| 3. Long city walls (α,β,γ,δ,ε - gates). | 12. Buildings of roman period. |
| 4. Sanctuary of Demeter. | 13. Early Christian churches. |
| 5. Byzantine tower. | 14. House of hellenistic period |
| 6. Ancient wooden bridge. | 15. Gymnasium. |
| 7. Sanctuary of Clio. | 16. Cemetery of hellenistic period. |
| 8. Sanctuary of Atys. | 17. Cemetery of classical period. |
| 9. Internal city wall. | 18. Macedonian tomb. |

Figure 1. Amphipolis. The walls - Gates A, B, C, D, F.

Extensive excavation was also carried out at the cemetery of ancient Amphipolis.¹⁴ The funerary monuments and grave offerings vividly illustrate the quality of the city's social, economic and cultural life from Classical¹⁵ to Roman times.¹⁶

The Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Eastern Macedonia confined itself to rescue excavations in the ancient city and its extensive cemeteries, and concentrated on organising the Archaeological Museum of Amphipolis and on restoring and making accessible the buildings uncovered by the excavations of D. Lazaridis. A large part of the rescue excavation activity – which has intensified because of the major road works currently under way¹⁷ – focused on the cemetery of ancient Amphipolis, which extended on both banks of the river Strymon¹⁸ and has yielded some splendid finds.

Our picture of the ancient city, within the fortifications, remains fragmentary. To the monuments uncovered by D. Lazaridis, the excavations carried out by the 18th Ephorate have added a number of partially preserved private houses discovered in the modern village of Amphipolis;¹⁹ furthermore, an important building complex was located within the acropolis, possibly the Gymnasium (?) of the Imperial period or a sanctuary – the Sanctuary of Egyptian Gods (?) – which awaits excavation.²⁰ However, the ancient buildings, public and private, which have been uncovered within the city walls, have yet to be integrated into the city plan, which thus remains unknown.

The morphology of the terrain of the entire city within the walls – at least what is visible today – would have made it difficult to lay out a grid based on the Hippodameian model, as we would have expected of an Athenian colony of the second half of the 5th century BC. It is certain that only part of the area included in the walls was inhabited and built, while the original centre of the colony must probably be sought in the acropolis. Yet, it will not be possible to form a complete picture of the town plan of ancient Amphipolis until the palaeogeomorphology of the area within the walls has been carefully studied and there is sufficient data from excavations.

A safe indication of the road network within the city is the position of the gates in the walls, as they obviously marked the end of the main roads of the area and the beginning of the city's main streets. Gate D²¹ and Gate B²² have, in fact, yielded remains of stone-paved roads, but their continuation into the interior of the city has not yet been investigated. However, it cannot be mere coincidence that the two main gates in the north walls, Gates C and A, are the terminal points for modern roads linking the present-day village of Amphipolis with the river Strymon, while contemporary paths connect Gates D and E with the main modern roads, which follow the route of the ancient ones.

There is, however, some archaeological evidence for the existence of stone-paved streets within the walls. In the area of the Gymnasium a stone-paved street was discovered on the western side of the palaestra;²³ archaeological evidence for the existence of stone-paved streets has also been discovered in rescue excavations in the modern village of Amphipolis, situated within the ancient walls to the north of the acropolis [fig. 1].²⁴ The street running along the inner face of the eastern walls, excavated in the area of the Archaeological Museum, was probably stone-paved, while remains of other stone-paved streets exist in this area.

The buildings excavated in the area of the Archaeological Museum [fig. 1, pl. 9A] offer the first significant contribution to our knowledge of the city plan of ancient Amphipolis.²⁵ The discovery of ancient buildings in 1976, on the site which had been donated to the Ephorate by the Local Council of Amphipolis for the museum, was quite unexpected. D.

¹⁴ Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις και Αργίλος*, 61-62; Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, 65-72, figs 37-40.

¹⁵ K. Mandala, 'Το κλασσικό νεκροταφείο της Αμφίπολης', *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη*, 275-284.

¹⁶ Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, 72.

¹⁷ M. Nikolaidou-Patera, 'Από τη νεκρόπολη της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 6 (1992), 549-555; *Ergon YPPO* 2 (1998), 123; D. Malamidou, *ADelt* 53 (1998) B, (in press); *Ergon YPPO* 3 (1999), 138-139; D. Malamidou, *ADelt* 54 (1999) B, (in press); P. Malama, *ADelt* 55 (2000) B, (in press).

¹⁸ S. Samartzidou, *ADelt* 38 (1983) B2, 323; 40 (1985) B, 268; M. Patera-Nikolaïdou, *ADelt* 42 (1987) B2, 445-446; S. Samartzidou, *ADelt* 42 (1987) B2, 446-448; *ead.*, 'Νέα ευρήματα από τις νεκροπόλεις της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 1 (1987), 327-333; *ADelt* 44 (1989) B2, 377; M. Patera-Nikolaïdou, *ADelt* 47 (1992) B2, 468-469; *ead.*, 'Έρευνα νεκροταφείου στην περιοχή της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 7 (1993), 480-484; Z. Bonias, 'Τάφοι Αμφιπόλεως', *Μύθος, Μνήμη Ι. Βοκοτοπούλου* (Thessaloniki 2000), 199-217; D. Amoiridou and D. Malamidou, 'Ανασκαφική έρευνα στο ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο της Αμφίπολης', *AEMTH* 12 (1998), 77-81.

¹⁹ L. Kranioti, *ADelt* 43 (1988) B2, 427-429; C. Papanikolaou, *ADelt* 45 (1990) B2, 375; D. Malamidou, *ADelt* 49 (1994) B2, 601; 51 (1996) B (in press); 52 (1997) B (in press).

²⁰ *ADelt* 30 (1975) B2; S. Samartzidou, *ADelt* 40 (1985) B, 177, pl. 128γ.

²¹ Lazaridis, *Amphipolis*, 38-39 fig. 20.

²² *Ibid.*, 31-32, fig. 14.

²³ K. Lazaridou, 'Το Γυμνάσιο της Αμφίπολης', *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη*, 247, fig. 3.

²⁴ C. Papanikolaou, *ADelt* 45 (1990) B2, 375.

²⁵ Excavation reports: *ADelt* 31 (1976) B2, 304-308; 32 (1977) B2, 253-254; 33 (1978) B2, 294-295; 41 (1986) B, 177.

Lazaridis had not anticipated finding ancient remains on the summit of this hill, whose slopes appeared to have totally eroded. Since it was not possible to cancel the construction of the museum, it was decided to integrate the ancient buildings into its design and make them part of its exhibition area. Thus the museum, located at the entrance to the ancient city, is the first stop for visitors to the archaeological site of Amphipolis.

The eastern fortification wall and the gate
[fig. 2, pl. 9B]

The part of the eastern wall excavated at the area of the Museum has been preserved in poor condition.²⁶ Particularly interesting was the discovery of a gate, which is contemporary with the wall.²⁷ This part of the eastern wall is built in polygonal masonry and must be dated to the earliest phase of the construction of the city walls. It is similar to a part of the west wall of the acropolis, excavated by D. Lazaridis in 1960 and identified by him and other scholars as part of the Hagnoneian fortress [pl. 9C].²⁸

The city

From Gate F (ΣΤ) a road sets out towards the interior of the city. Along each side of the road traces of building complexes have been found. Their common orientation and regular disposition along both sides of a beaten-earth street and to the east of another stone-paved street give us a first indication of the city plan of Amphipolis in the Classical period.

Two main phases of construction can be discerned, with successive periods of repair:

A. To the earlier phase of construction, contemporary with the erection of the walls and the gate, we can assign two buildings, traces of which can be seen beneath the remains of the later phase of construction of the southern building complex [fig. 2, pl. 9A].

The earliest phase of the northern building complex, also partially preserved, probably belongs to the same phase. Its northern [pl. 9D] and eastern exterior walls have survived, each built in a different style of masonry, probably representing two or more periods of repair.

In the central courtyard of the building, a cist grave

was found in a pit dug into the natural rock [pl. 10A].²⁹ It was constructed of blocks of local limestone, in second use, and its interior was coated with white mortar. On the floor lay the remains of a silver larnax containing the burnt bones of the deceased and a single grave offering, a gold wreath. Nothing had survived of the wooden frame, to which the silver sheets of the larnax had been affixed, except for a few fragments of wood and iron nails [pl. 10B].

Next to the grave a second pit was found dug into the rock. It was filled with vase fragments, belonging to both storage jars and tableware. The vessels found in this deposit date from the second half of the 5th to the second quarter of the 4th century BC. Their discovery in a pit similar to that containing the cist grave initially suggested that this second pit was dug at the same time and should be connected with the nearby grave. It can be identified as an offering deposit to the deceased of the grave, although no inscriptions were found on the vessels to confirm their votive function. Unfortunately, it was not possible to employ flotation in search for organic remains inside the pit.

B. A second phase of construction, dated to the middle of the 4th century BC, can be seen in the eastern fortification wall, as well as in the building complexes on each side of the road leading to the eastern gate. The eastern wall was repaired and the eastern gate was filled up with masonry and earthworks piled up against it [fig. 2, pl. 10C]. Large quantities of soil were brought and deposited here, so as to level the difference in height between the walls and the buildings inside them. At the same period extensive building works took place in the two blocks on either side of the road leading to the gate.

In the southern building complex a large building was constructed with rooms around a central courtyard [fig. 2, pl. 9A].³⁰

The building to the north underwent extensive internal repairs. Embankments were laid along its eastern side and the floors were raised in the interior. New structures, a courtyard with a stone-paved floor and a well were added to the northern side of the building [pl. 10D].

Other building work must have taken place in the city at about the same time. For example, it is in this period that we must date the large water clay pipe conduit,³¹ which brought water to the city from

²⁶ *ADelt* 31 (1976) B2, 305.

²⁷ *ADelt* 49 (1994) B2, 601, pl. 189α.

²⁸ D. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1960, 73.

²⁹ *ADelt* 31 (1976) B2, 304-308, pl. 247α-β.

³⁰ *ADelt* 49 (1994) B2, 601.

³¹ *ADelt* 31 (1976) B2, 305; *Prakt* 1976, 28, fig. 25.

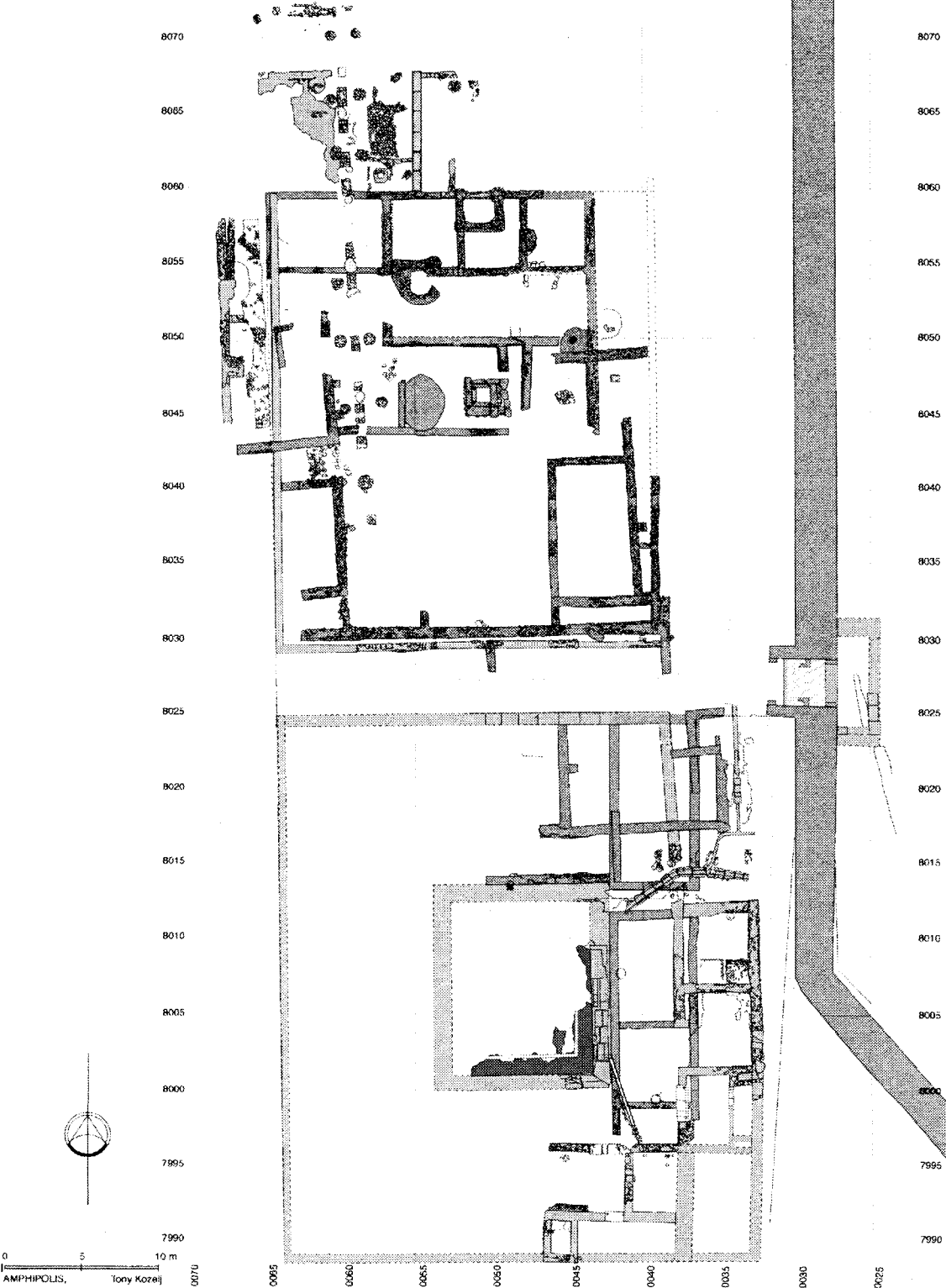


Figure 2. The excavated area at the Archaeological Museum of Amphipolis.

neighbouring Mt. Pangaion,³² as well as the conduit made of cover tiles, set into the raised level of the road. The conduit of clay pipes [fig. 2, pl. 9A], which crosses the road between the walls and the block of buildings, bringing water from the central conduit to the northern block, is probably of slightly later date.

Life in both the northern and southern buildings, in this second phase of construction, continued throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, with numerous phases of repair and intervention.

C. A third phase of construction can be seen in the northern block, above the building of the second phase with the stone-paved courtyard [fig. 2, pl. 11A]. The remains here consist of a series of built, rectangular pedestals (?), surrounded by others of circular shape. Among the rectangular pedestals we can see traces of ellipsoid constructions, made of organic material. These constructions, built on the remains of the buildings of the northern block, have yet to be interpreted and dated. Their use was very short and they may belong to a storage building (?) erected after the destruction of the earlier buildings.

D. A fourth phase of construction, represented by low walls [fig. 2], can be discerned above the 'storage' buildings of the third phase. Initial examination of the archaeological material from the excavation of the eastern fortification wall has already yielded new evidence, which I believe is worthy of comment as it is related to important events in the history of ancient Amphipolis.

Gate F (ΣΤ)

Lazaridis³³ had shown that the circuit wall described by Thucydides as μακρόν (long)³⁴ and as ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμόν (extending from the river back to the river) did not run in a north-south direction, as suggested by Kromayer,³⁵ Gomme [fig. 3]³⁶ and originally Pritchett,³⁷ but was an enclosure of walls, ex-

tending over a distance of 7.5 km around the fortified acropolis of the city [fig. 1]. This extensive circuit wall made use of the natural contours of the terrain and the flow of the river Strymon around it. The walls also had to enclose uninhabited areas, which could accommodate – in case of emergency – the population normally living outside the city's fortifications.³⁸ According to Thucydides,³⁹ the long walls had not been completed in 424 BC. However, in the area of the bridge the walls must have been erected by 422 BC,⁴⁰ since, according to the archaeological evidence discovered by Lazaridis, the north fortification wall – including Gates A, B, C in the area of the wooden bridge – must have been finished before the Battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC.⁴¹

The proposal by D. Lazaridis that we should identify the wooden bridge of Gate C in the northern wall with the bridge over the Strymon which, according to Thucydides, was crossed by Brasidas in 424 BC,⁴² received additional corroboration from recent C14 dating carried out at the Laboratory for Archaeometry of Democritus in a special research programme conducted in collaboration with the archaeologist D. Malamidou and the physicist J. Maniatis.⁴³ This additional confirmation for the existence of a bridge at Gate C in the northern wall during the second half of the 5th century BC provided new support for Lazaridis' theory, that the Battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC was not fought in the area to the east of the city, as earlier scholars such as Kromayer,⁴⁴ Gomme [fig. 3],⁴⁵ Pritchett,⁴⁶ and N. Jones [fig. 5] had thought,⁴⁷ but to the north of the city, between the northern walls and the hill no. 133, which Lazaridis had identified with the κρατερός λόφος (strong hill) mentioned by Thucydides [fig. 6].⁴⁸

³² J. Pikoulas, 'Το υδραγωγείο της αρχαίας Αμφιπόλεως', in *Αρχαία Θράκη. Πρακτικά 2ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Θρακικών Σπουδών* (Komotini 1997), 605-614.

³³ Lazaridis, 'Amphipolis', 192-194; *id.*, 'Les fortifications d' Amphipolis', in P. Leriche and H. Tréziny (eds), *La fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec: actes du colloque international La Fortification et sa place dans l'histoire politique, culturelle et sociale du monde grec. Valbonne, décembre 1982* (Paris 1986), 31-38.

³⁴ Thuc. iv.102.

³⁵ J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder IV* (1926), 199-206; *id.*, *Schlachtenatlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Griechische Abteilung* (Berlin 1922), 3 no. 7.

³⁶ Gomme, *Commentary III*, 649.

³⁷ W.K. Pritchett, 'Amphipolis', *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography I* (1965), 30-45.

³⁸ Thuc. iv.104.4 refers to the Amphipolitans living outside of the walls of the city, who were captured by Brasidas in 424 BC. This χωρίον must be located at the north side of Amphipolis at the area of the bridge, which had not been brought within the fortification system of the city.

³⁹ Thuc. iv.104.5.

⁴⁰ Thuc. v.10.6.

⁴¹ Lazaridis, 'Amphipolis', 192-194.

⁴² Thuc. iv.103.4.

⁴³ *Ergon YPPO 3* (1999), 140; Research Program of the Laboratory of Archaeometry of the Center of Nuclear Physics 'Democritus' (J. Maniatis) and Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Eastern Macedonia (Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and D. Malamidou) (forthcoming).

⁴⁴ See above note 35.

⁴⁵ Gomme, *Commentary III*, 649.

⁴⁶ Pritchett, *op.cit.* n. 37.

⁴⁷ N. Jones, 'The Topography and the Strategy of the Battle of Amphipolis in 422', *CalifStClAnt* 10 (1977), 71-104 with relevant bibliography.

⁴⁸ Thuc. v.7.4.

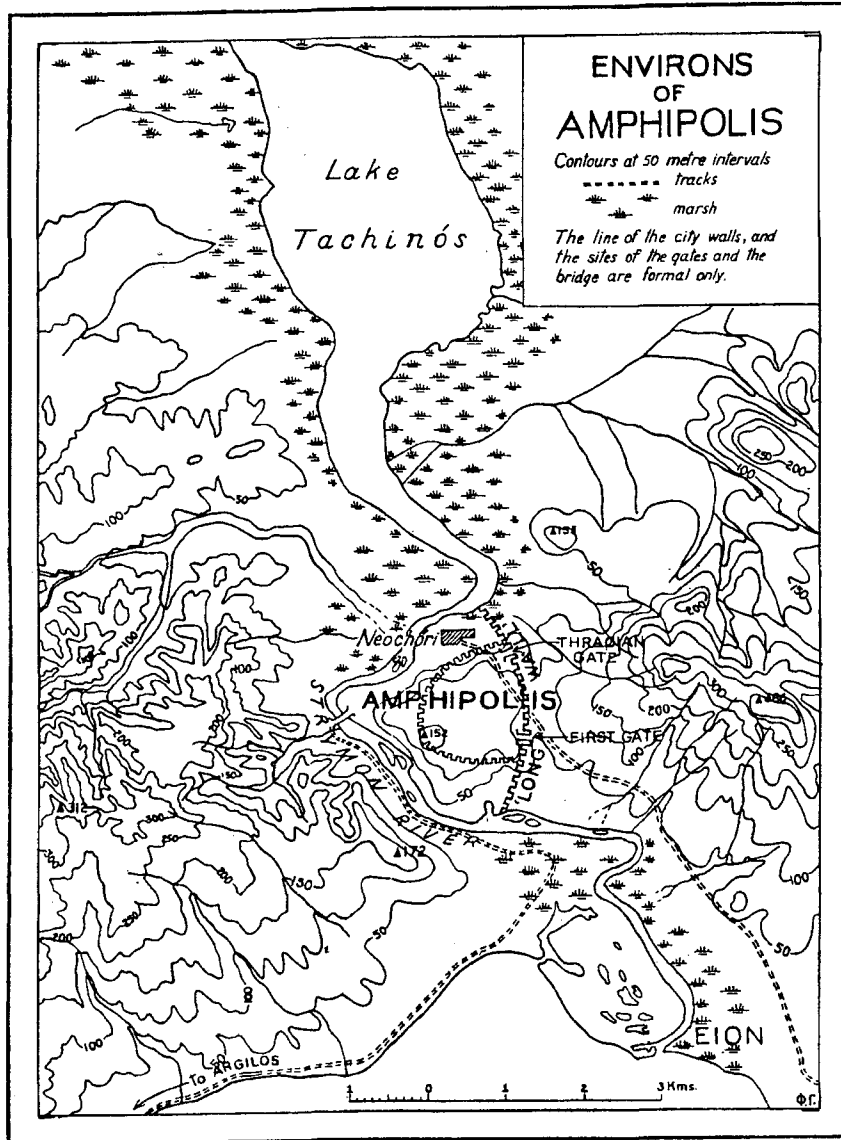


Figure 3. The Battle of Amphipolis (after A.W. Gomme, *Commentary* III, 654-655).

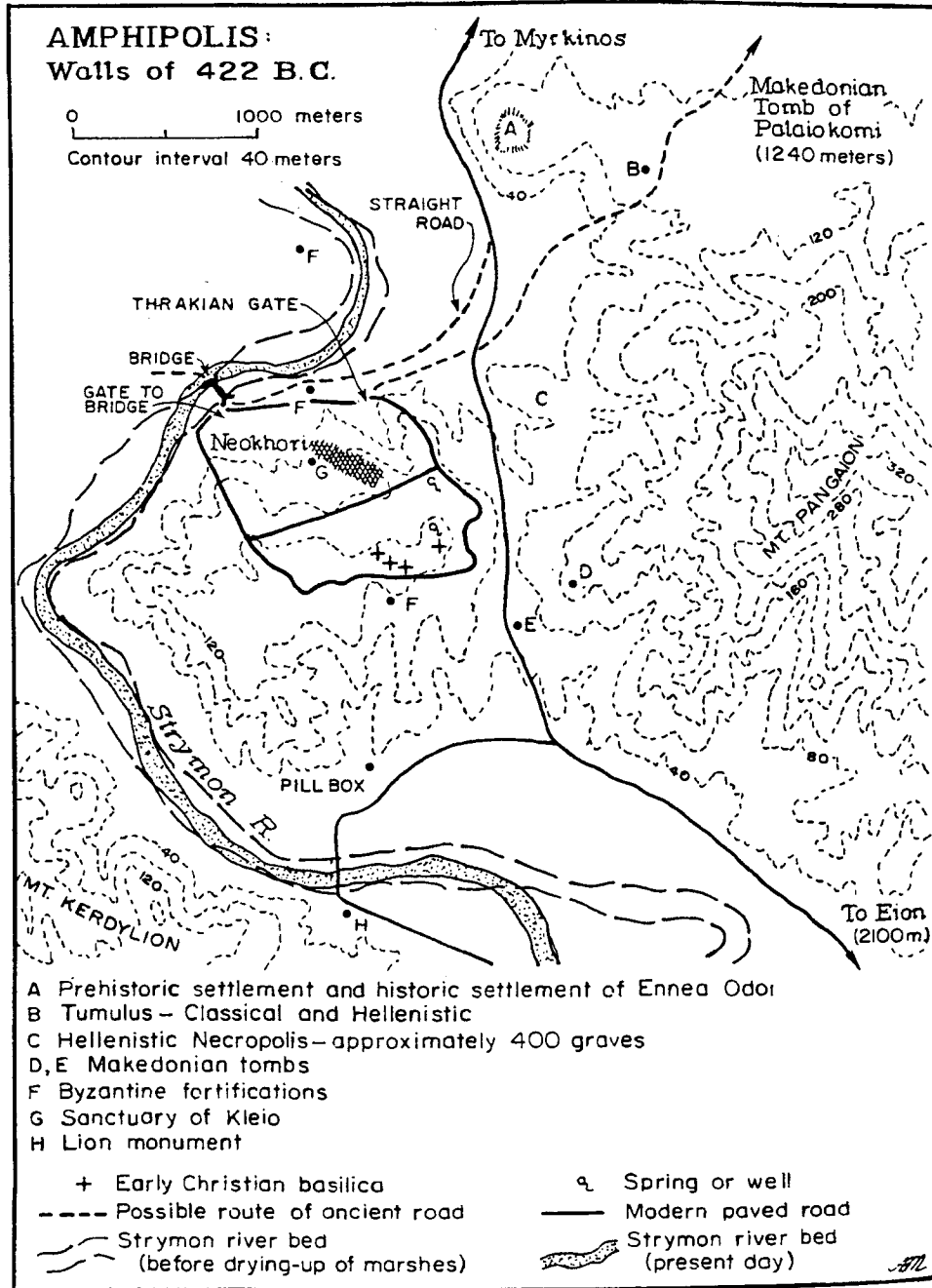


Figure 4. The Battle of Amphipolis (after W.K. Pritchett).

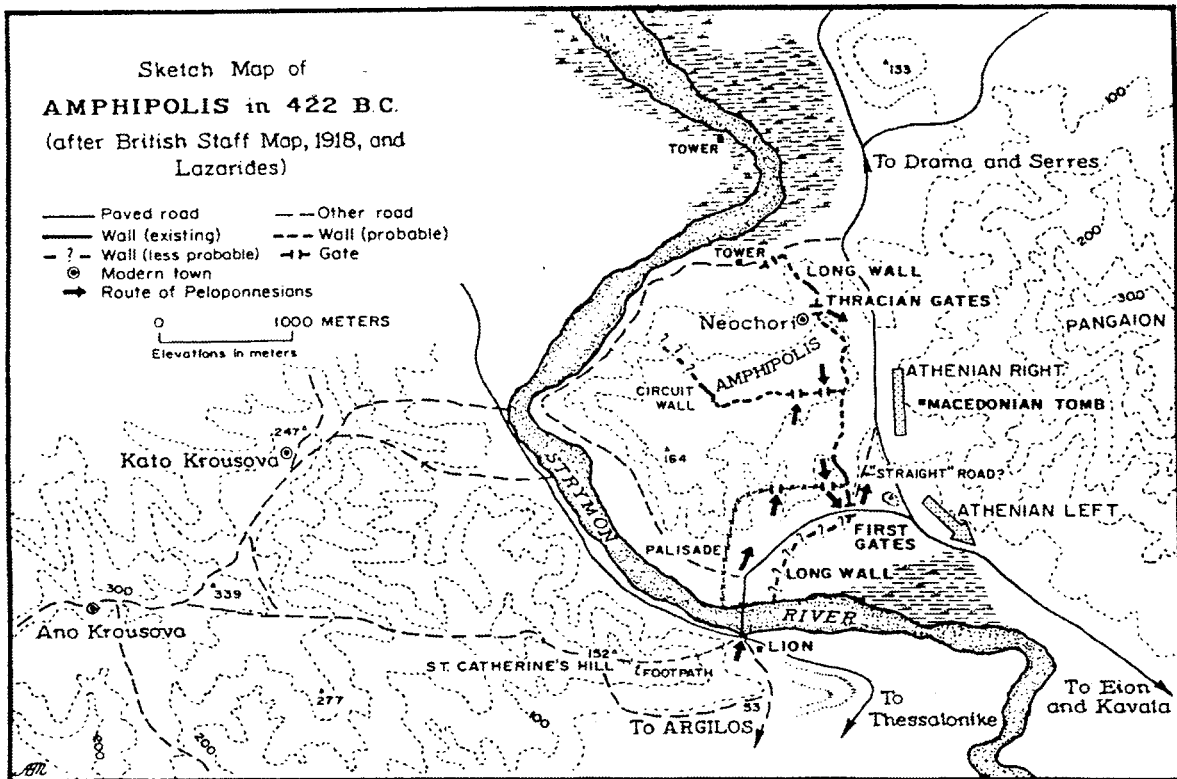


Figure 5. The Battle of Amphipolis (after N. Jones).

The absence of gates in the eastern walls had led Lazaridis and later Pritchett to locate the gates mentioned by Thucydides in the northern walls.⁴⁹ However, the recent discovery of a gate in the eastern enclosure, during the excavation of the area around the museum, constitutes in my opinion a new piece of evidence, which might lead us to amend the reconstruction of the movements of the two opposing forces proposed by Lazaridis and Pritchett [fig. 4]. It may also require us to change the proposed identification of Gates C and A in the northern wall with the gates described as the gate *ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα* (on the palisade) and the *Θράκικαι πύλαι* (Thracian gates) respectively.

The surprise attack, which is described as taking the form of two independent blows (*ἀμφοτέρωθεν*) against the right and left flank of Kleon's army, is more easily interpreted if we assume that Brasidas and Klearidas advanced from gates located on different sides of the city walls, which were connected with two roads: One can be identified with the route by the river which passed along the north-western foot of the strong hill 133, while the other with the road which passed along the eastern slopes of the Amphipolis hills, following the same direction as the modern Thessaloniki-Serres-Drama road.

We must, therefore, seek the gate *ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα* (on the palisade) and the gates *πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους* (first in the long wall) among the three gates in the northern walls near the river and the Thracian Gates in the eastern walls.

With regards to the gates *ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα καὶ τὰς πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους* it is not clear if we are dealing with two gates – certainly very close to one another – or just one. As it was earlier suggested⁵⁰ and accepted by Lazaridis⁵¹ and Pritchett,⁵² it most probably was one gate referred to in two different ways. Lazaridis believes that this gate must be identified with Gate G by the wooden bridge; yet, since the position of the palisade is not determined and Gate A is the first gate at the eastern end of the northern wall, I would not exclude the possibility that Brasidas made his sally from Gate A. We must also take into account that Gate C, which led to the bridge, would not have offered Brasidas the rapidity of manoeuvre he sought, as he raced with his select 150 soldiers towards hill 133, which was in any case much closer if approached from Gate A [fig. 7].

Concerning the location of the Thracian Gates there are two candidates: Gate E at the south-eastern corner of the acropolis walls and the recently discovered Gate F (ΣΤ) near the Archaeological Museum. Both could justifiably be called Thracian Gates: They face Mt. Pangaion and open to the main road leading from the port of Eion to the interior of Thrace. On the other hand, their location on the top of hills allows anyone passing the road from Eion to hill 133 to see the horses' legs *ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας* (under the gates) as Thucydides described.⁵³

I think that the 'Thracian gates' must be identified with the recently discovered Gate F (ΣΤ) in the eastern wall. This gate – to which leads the road connecting the modern village of Amphipolis to the main road Thessaloniki-Drama-Serres – offered full control of the ancient road from Eion to the interior of the Strymon valley and was closer to the *κρατερός λόφος* (strong hill) than Gate E. Moreover, inside this gate there was enough space for the soldiers to assemble and prepare for the assault [figs 1, 6]. The assumption that Klearidas with the main part of the troops emerged from this gate makes it easier to understand his success in cutting through the left flank of Kleon, preventing it from retreating to Eion and obliging it to flee to the mountains.

The fact that Gate F (ΣΤ) is also the first gate of the long wall to the north of the acropolis is not decisive evidence for its possible connection with the *πρώτας πύλας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους*. We do not know from which direction Thucydides names the gates. However, as he relates the "first gates of the long wall" to the *ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας* (gates on the palisade), we must locate them near the river. Brasidas coming out from the gates of the north walls – most probably Gate A – had the possibility to follow the 'straight road' to the east towards the foot of hill 133 and attack the right flank of Kleon's army, while Klearidas, coming out from Gate F of the eastern walls, could cut off the left flank of the Athenian army.

The grave

Another find of particular interest is the cist grave with the cremation burial, which was found in the northern insula of the eastern gate [pl. 10A-B, fig. 2]. Its presence within the city walls calls for special comment, since it is well known that only in excep-

⁴⁹ Pritchett, 'Amphipolis Restudied', 306, fig. 14.

⁵⁰ Gomme, *Commentary* III, 649.

⁵¹ Lazaridis, 'Amphipolis', 192-194.

⁵² Pritchett, 'Amphipolis Restudied', 298-346.

⁵³ Thuc. v.10.2.



1. Archaeological site of Amphipolis
2. Hill 133 -Εννέα Οδοί?
3. "Castas" tumulus
4. Cemeteries
5. Macedonian tombs
6. The Lion monument
7. Byzantine tower
8. Ηιών
9. Χρυσούπολις
10. Άργιλος




-  Archaeological sites
-  Contemporary settlement
-  Contemporary road

Figure 6. Amphipolis and Eion.

tional circumstances were burials permitted within the walls of an ancient city.⁵⁴

The crucial problem is the date of the grave. The silver larnax and the gold wreath with its simple olive leaves do not provide decisive evidence for secure dating [pl. 11B]. It is the vessels in the deposit, I believe, which offer firmer evidence for dating the grave, provided that we are correct in our assumption that these were indeed offerings for this grave. Fragments of vases of different size have been found, unpainted or decorated with a band of linear or schematic plant decoration [pl. 11C-D], as well as fragments of tableware. Among the latter, the majority were skyphoi [fig. 7a],⁵⁵ bowls (*kyathia*) [fig. 7b],⁵⁶ and plates (*pinakia*) [fig. 8a].⁵⁷ There were also fragments of other vases [fig. 8b]⁵⁸ such as lamps [pl. 12A], kantharoi [fig. 8c],⁵⁹ etc. Most of them are fine Attic black-glazed vases. The bowls and plates bear stamped palmette decoration [pl. 12B].⁶⁰ There were also numerous fragments of red-figure vases [pl. 12C-D]. The fragmentary vases in the deposit can be dated from the third quarter of the 5th century to the second quarter of the 4th century BC.

The silver larnax and the gold wreath do not contradict this date. Although the archaeological evidence for gold wreaths from the end of the 5th century is very limited,⁶¹ there is no reason to exclude a date to the last quarter of the 5th century BC for the gold wreath, given its simple form and craftsmanship. Moreover, the larnax – with the silver sheets affixed to the wooden frame, the flat lid, the feet in the form of lion's paws and the two studs in corresponding positions on the sides and cover – can be compared to similar chests from the end of the 5th century BC, as for example the casket on the white-ground lekythos in Boston,⁶² or the lid of the pyxis in the

Athenian Agora Museum.⁶³ However, the date of the larnax remains ambiguous because it can also be compared with later caskets from the 4th century, such as that on the Attic grave relief in Berlin,⁶⁴ the box on the red-figure South Italian krater from Paestum,⁶⁵ or the silver larnax from a tomb at Agios Athanasios, dated to the second half of the 4th century BC [pl. 24A].⁶⁶ On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility of a heirloom having been used as the cinerary urn of the deceased.

The history of Amphipolis in Classical times contains two instances known to us from literary sources, where a deceased was buried honoured as a hero, both dating from the second half of the 5th century BC: The first instance is that of the founder of the colony, Hagnon, with whom we associate the Hagnoneian buildings, constructed most probably between 437 and 424 BC.⁶⁷ The second is that of the Spartan general, Brasidas, who was killed at the Battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC and buried within the city, having been elevated to the rank of hero and honorary founder of the city.⁶⁸

Hagnon

The association of the grave with Hagnon must be excluded. The prevailing view is that Hagnon, son of the general Nikias, enjoyed an active life long after the founding of Amphipolis.⁶⁹ However, there is a piece of literary testimony which might link the founder Hagnon with a grave: This is the testimony of Polyaeus,⁷⁰ according to whom Hagnon – in accordance with a *λόγιον* (oracle?) calling on the Athenians to transfer the bones of the Homeric hero Rhesos – secretly brought the bones of the mythical King Rhesos from the Troad to Amphipolis when he founded the colony. We might possibly accept this testimony as a historical fact, having the character of a symbolic act intended to consolidate the rights of the Athenians in the region, a tactic familiar to the Athenians.⁷¹ The cremated bones in the grave would

⁵⁴ Compare: Xen. *Hell.* vii.3.12, (Εὐφρων); Thuc. i.138.5 (Θεμιστοκλής). For the cult of the founder see Malkin, 204-240; for the heroic cult and grave monuments intra muros at Messene see: Themelis, *Ηρώες και ηρώα*, with relevant bibliography.

⁵⁵ *Agora XII*, nos 348-349 (400-375 BC).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 754 (420-400 BC), no. 755 (400 BC), no. 757 (375 BC), no. 828 (375-350 BC).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1063 (c. 400 BC).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 934 (425-400 BC), no. 936 (375-350 BC).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 649 (390-380 BC).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pls 53-54, no. 532 (430 BC), no. 536 (425 BC), no. 580 (440-430 BC), no. 586 (420-410 BC), no. 587 (420-410 BC).

⁶¹ M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin and New York 1982); E. Tsigarida, *Metal Wreaths in the Greek World* (Unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford 1988); *ead.*, 'Παρατηρήσεις πάνω στα μετάλλινα στεφάνια της Μακεδονίας', *Ancient Macedonia V. Papers read at the Fifth International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 10-15 1993* (Thessaloniki 1995), 1631-1643; K. Despoini, *Ελληνική Τέχνη: Αρχαία χρυσά κοσμήματα* (Athens 1996), 25-28.

⁶² Richter, *Furniture*, 72-78, fig. 392.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fig. 397.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 407.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 401.

⁶⁶ M. Tsibidou-Avloniti, '...λάρνακ' ες αργυρέην', *Μύθος, Μνήμη I. Βοκοποπούλου* (Thessaloniki 2000), 543-575 drawings 2-5, fig. 6.

⁶⁷ Thuc. v.11.1.

⁶⁸ Thuc. v.11.1.

⁶⁹ Hagnon in 430 and 429 BC was re-elected general, in 421 he was among those who signed the Peace of Nikias, and in 413 he was one of ten *πρόβουλοι* appointed by the Athenians after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. viii.1; Lys. xii.65).

⁷⁰ Polyaeus, *Strat.* vi.53.

⁷¹ Compare the transfer of Theseus's bones by Kimon from Skyros to Athens, when Skyros was taken over by the Athenians. Plut.

not preclude such a possibility, since cremation was the traditional funeral practice for Homeric heroes, a practice which Hagnon might have had in mind when he brought the symbolic relics of the mythical king of Thrace.

The right place, however, for the Rhesos bones to have been buried would be either the Sanctuary of Rhesos, whose worship at Amphipolis is mentioned in literary sources,⁷² or the 'Hagnoneia', the buildings connected with the *oikistes*, which were demolished in 422 BC.⁷³ Only a few of the vases in the nearby deposit can be dated before the last quarter of the 5th century BC, while the continued practice of placing vessels in the deposit until the second half of the 4th century is inconsistent with the assertion, in Thucydides, that the Hagnoneia were demolished in 422 BC.⁷⁴ The continuing deposition of offerings at the same place can only be explained as a continuation of the cult of Rhesos, but even in this case, it cannot explain the cessation of the cult in the middle of the 4th century BC.

Brasidas

Much more plausible is the suggestion associating the grave with the Spartan general Brasidas, who was worshipped as hero and founder of Amphipolis after his death in the Battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC.⁷⁵

The anthropological study conducted by the palaeo-anthropologist N. Agelarakis demonstrated that the cremated bones found in the grave are those of a man aged between 35-43 (see appendix). This age is not inconsistent with the age of Brasidas in 422 BC, for Diodorus tells us that Brasidas was young in 431 BC, when he was elected as one of the ephors at Sparta.⁷⁶

Vit.Cim. viii.5; Plut. *Vit.Thes.* xxxvi.1. For related bibliography see Malkin, 83.

⁷² Marsyas *FHG* 135 F7 = Schol. Eurip. Res. 347; P. Perdrizet, 'Cultes et mythes du Pangée', *Annales de l'Est* 24 (1910), 15; also: Cic. *Nat.D.* iii.45.

⁷³ There are different interpretations about Hagnoneia: according to Gomme, *Commentary* III, v.11.1, the Hagnoneia were public buildings named after the *oikistes*. According to Malkin, 231-232 these were the cult buildings for Hagnon and the *Ἀγνώνεια οικοδομήματα* function in an analogous way to the *Κιμώνεια μνήματα* (Plut. *Vit.Cim.* xix.4; Marcellin. *Vit.Thuc.* 27; Suda, s.v. Κιμώνεια).

⁷⁴ Thuc. v.11.1.

⁷⁵ Thuc. v.11.1; Arist. *Eth.Nic.* 1134b, 23; Malkin, 202; J. Boeinger, 'Zur Heroisierung historischer Persönlichkeiten bei den Griechen', in M. Frashar, J.-H. Gehrke and E. Heinrich (eds), *Retrospectiv: Konzepte von Vergangenheit in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Munich 1996), 50.

⁷⁶ Diod. xii.43.2-3.

The assignment of most of the vases in the deposit to the last quarter of the 5th century places them chronologically close to the death of Brasidas; the continuous placing of offerings in the deposit until the middle of the 4th century is not difficult to explain: it would have been only natural for the people of Amphipolis to continue paying tribute to their founder-hero, at least until the time of the city's occupation by Philip II in 357 BC.⁷⁷ In fact, at the time of the city's occupation by Philip, the building containing the grave was not destroyed, but rebuilt.

Moreover, the cremation and the simple burial, with merely a single offering, the gold wreath, would have been appropriate for a Spartan, who, as we are told by Thucydides, had been publicly honoured by the citizens of Skione with such a gold wreath, only a short while before his death in Amphipolis.⁷⁸

One difficulty rising from this identification is the description of the site in Thucydides. The historian refers to the people of Amphipolis as *περιείρξαντες τὸ μνημεῖον* (enclosing the monument),⁷⁹ suggesting that it was located on open ground rather than in the courtyard of a building. However, this difficulty can be overcome, if we accept that the building may have been erected later, in the enclosure surrounding the original shrine, some time in the first half of the 4th century BC. During the period of their independence the Amphipolitans could have erected a building on the grave monument, which resembles the 1st century BC Building XV/36 in Messene, identified by P. Themelis as an *hierothysion*,⁸⁰ it has been suggested that it housed the cult of Epameinondas, worshipped as hero-*oikistes* of Messene, a case analogous to Brasidas' cult.

The proposed identification of the grave with that of Brasidas cannot, of course, be regarded as more than a working hypothesis, until we have reliable archaeological information concerning, among other things, the location of the ancient agora of Amphipolis, for Thucydides tells us that Brasidas was buried in front of the agora.⁸¹ Until this information is available, the possibility remains that this was the grave of an eminent citizen of Amphipolis of Classical times.⁸² For there is no doubt that from the end of the 5th century BC this area lay within the city walls, even if we accept Pritchett's hypothesis – which I do

⁷⁷ N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II. 550-336 B.C.* (Oxford 1979), 351-356.

⁷⁸ Thuc. iv.121.

⁷⁹ Thuc. v.11.1.

⁸⁰ Themelis, *Ἡρώες και ηρώα*, 51-52, fig. 42.

⁸¹ Thuc. v.11.1; Gomme, *Commentary* III, 644-645.

⁸² For the graves of *oikistes* at the agora see Malkin, 204-240. For graves of eminent citizens inside the city of Messene see Themelis, *Ἡρώες και ηρώα*, 88-136.

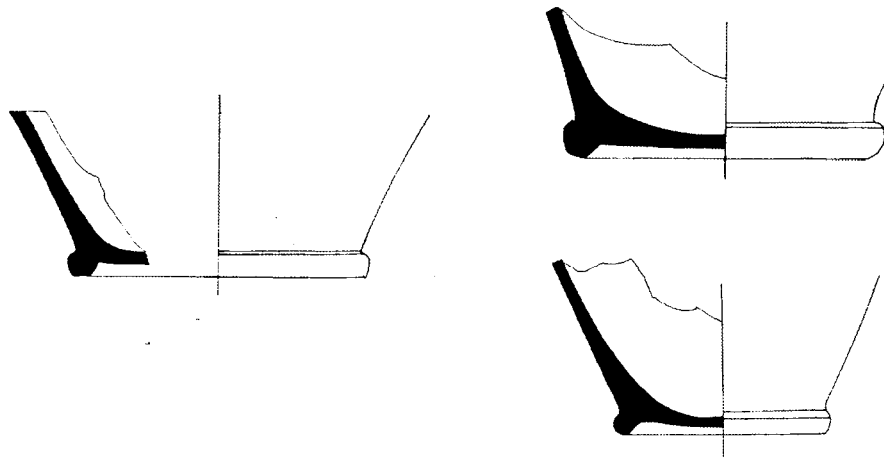


Figure 7a. Attic skyphoi.

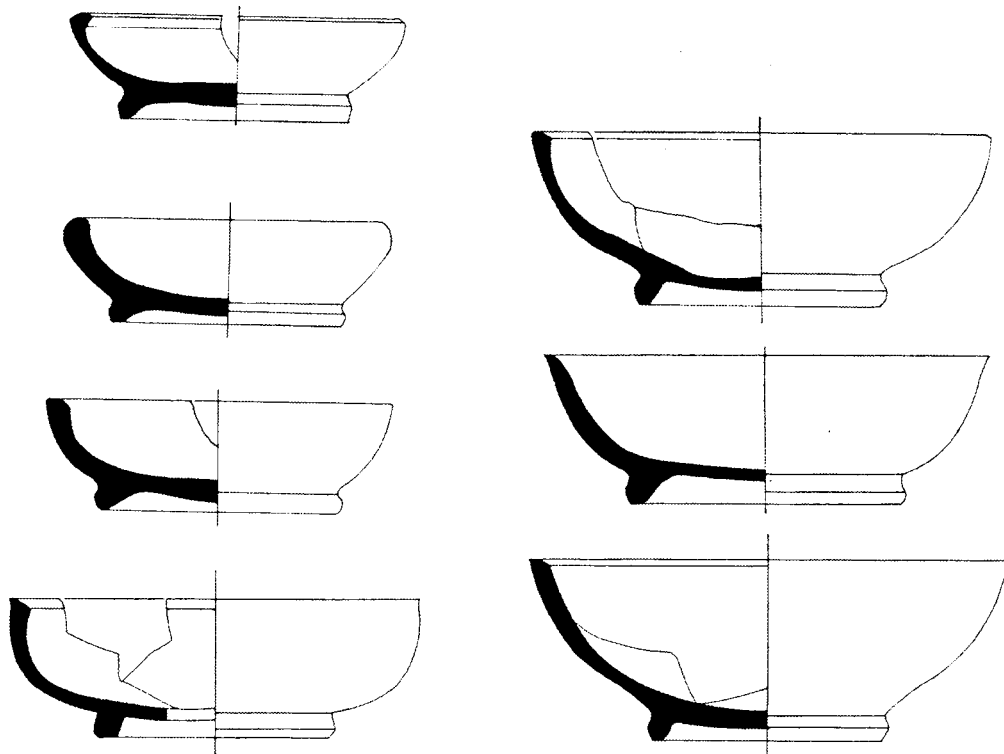


Figure 7b. Bowls.

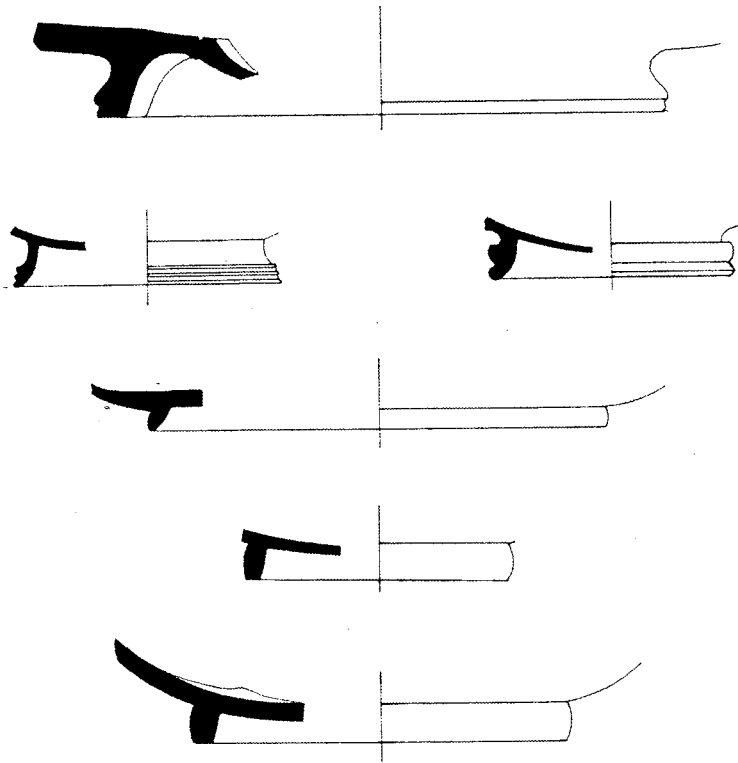


Figure 8a. Plates.

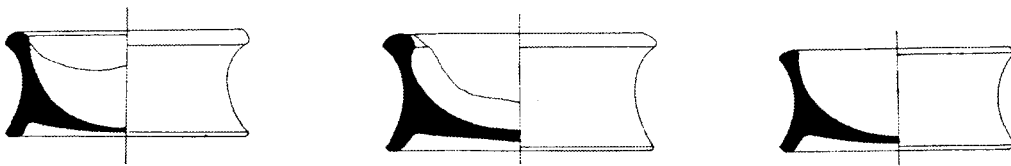


Figure 8b. 'Salt-cellars'.

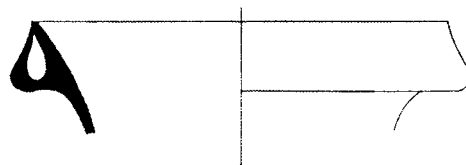


Figure 8c. Kantharos.

not personally regard as plausible – concerning the long walls of Amphipolis in the 5th century BC.⁸³

Building alterations in the mid 4th century BC

An interesting light on the historical development of the city is cast by the extensive building activity, which excavation of the eastern enclosure has uncovered in the vicinity of the eastern gate. The repairs to the walls, the closing of the eastern gate, the erection of new buildings and the organisation of the city's water-supply system can all be dated to approximately the middle of the 4th century BC and are very likely to have been associated with a historical event which made a profound impact on the city – its occupation by the forces of Philip II in 357 BC.

The destruction and abandonment of the buildings in the eastern wall

The destruction and abandonment of the buildings in the eastern wall after the 2nd century BC, the appearance of those constructions we find so hard to interpret from the third phase and subsequently the fourth phase of construction might be related to the effects of the city's capture by the Romans. However, the archaeological material from these later phases of construction awaits further investigation.

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Appendix:

Physical anthropological report on the cremated human remains of an individual retrieved from the Amphipolis agora

by Anagnostis P. Agelarakis

This human individual was represented by a small collection (weight of about 200 gr and volume of approximately 200 ml) of cremated osseous remains, showing nearly calcined attributes and characteristics – reflective of the high degree of thermal alteration sustained during exposure in the pyre. Mansell colour readings of the ectocortical and endosteal bone further indicated 10YR 8/1.5 – 7/1.5 (white-light grey hues) value and chroma notations – further indicative of the high temperatures reached during the processes of cremation and the subsequent chemical-physical changes afforded by the bone components, from the molecular collagenous and hydroxiapatitic substances, to its cellular, and structural composition – imposing on the prospect of archeometrically recovering significant qualitative bioarcheological data.

Whereas the cranial skeleton was represented by fragments of the vault, lateral walls and facial cranium (especially of the maxillo-mandibular alveolar regions), the infracranium was volumetrically under-represented, nevertheless available for inspectional and metric study through both axial and appendicular remains. Axial remains showed vertebral (i.e. the axis) and rib fragments, while a scapular locus and fragments of long tubular bones reflected on the appendicular skeleton.

Based on morphological characteristics of bone anatomy and metric evaluations of bone components it was possible to assess that this was a robust male individual.

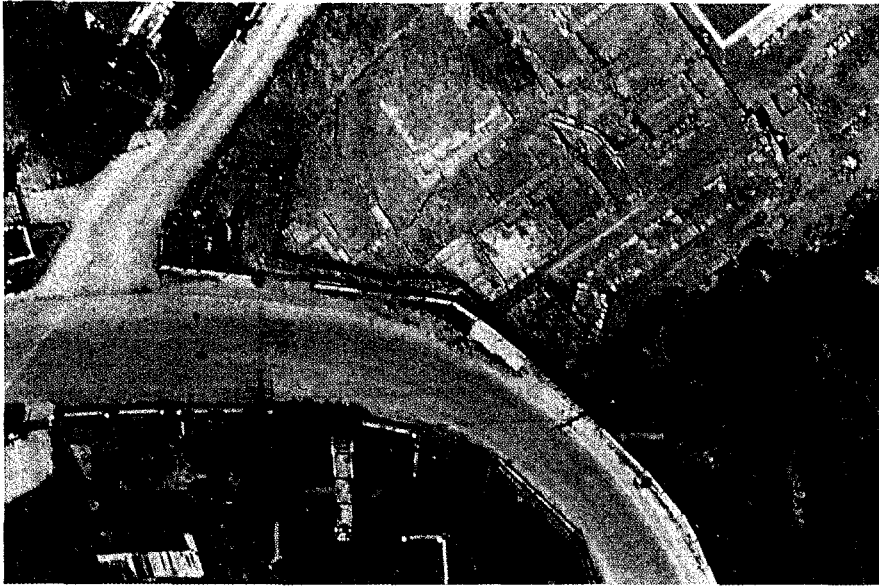
In reference to the determination of biological age at the occurrence of death, a combination of osteological data, derived from limited anatomical loci (due to conditions of taphonomy-preservation, and possibly the human cultural 'filter' during the time of collection of bones from the pyre and subsequent secondary burial) indicative of maturation and aging, such as the degree of endo-, and ecto-cranial sutural closure, and the state of observable alveolar bone changes (reflecting on dental anatomical surfaces' changes), suggested a lower range between 35 to 37 years to the prospect of an upper margin between 43 to less than 50 years of age.

⁸³ Pritchett, 'Amphipolis Restudied', 306, fig. 14.

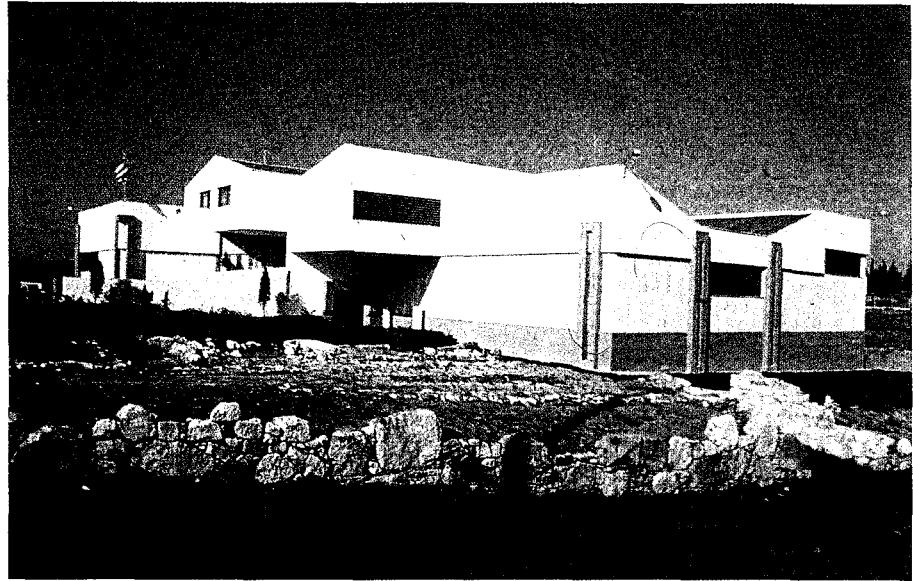
Palaeopathological observations revealed the presence of periodontal disease, the suspected *ante mortem* loss of a maxillary left permanent molar, and of mild hyperporosis on the surface of the palate,

suggestive, under the cultural component of the time period, of a masticatory apparatus state of health compatible with the aforementioned biological age determinations.

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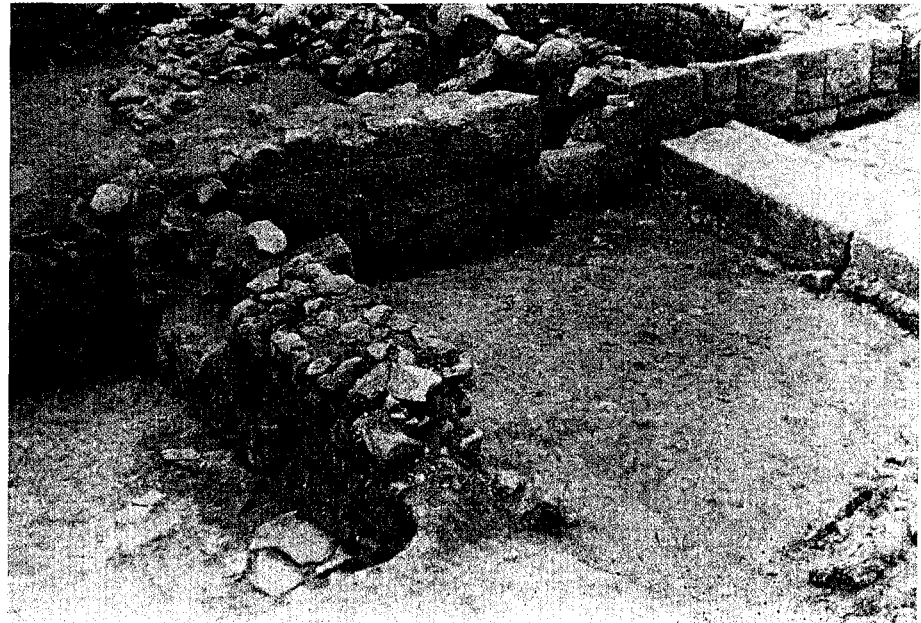
9A. The Archaeological Museum of Amphipolis. East walls with Gate F (ΣΤ).



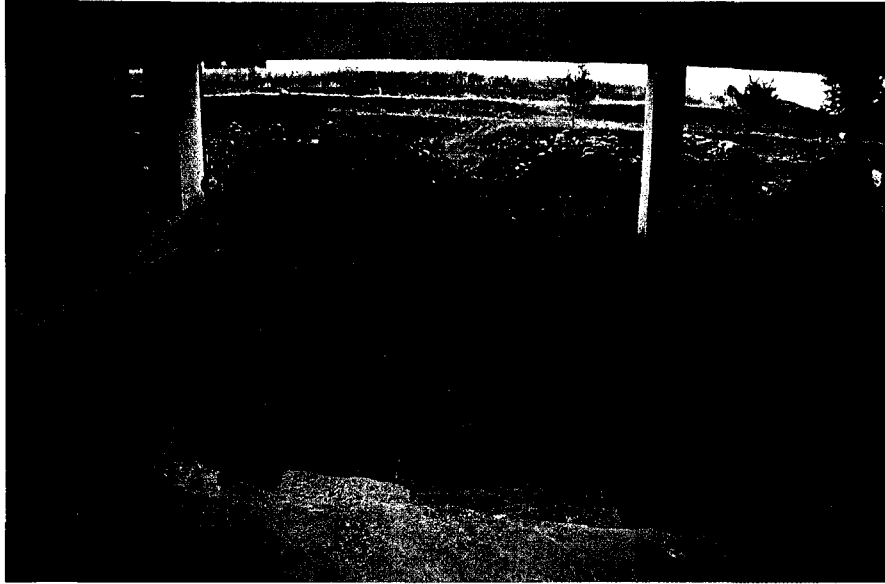
9B. Amphipolis. Part of the Acropolis wall.



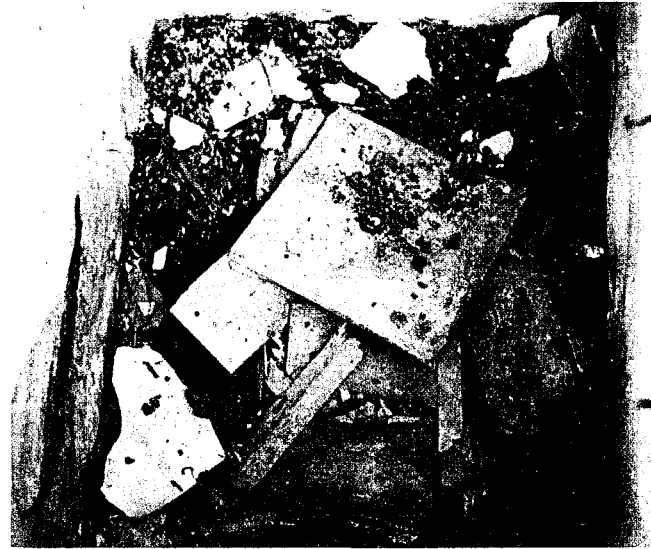
9C. The northern building complex. North wall.



9D. Amphipolis. Archaeological Museum area. Northern building complex. Eastern wall.



10A. Amphipolis. Archaeological Museum area. Northern building complex. Built cist grave.



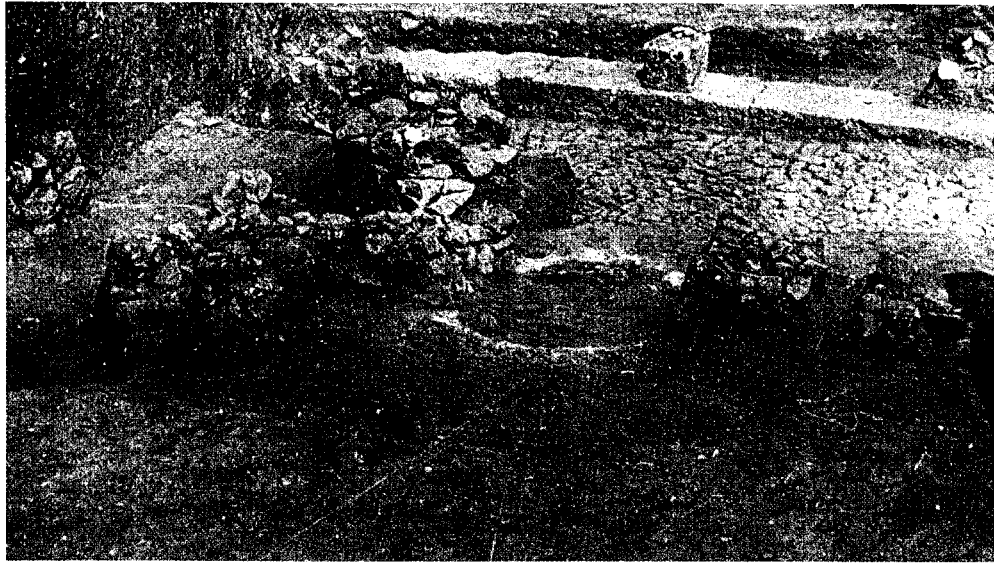
10B. Amphipolis. Archaeological Museum area. Northern building complex. Built cist grave.



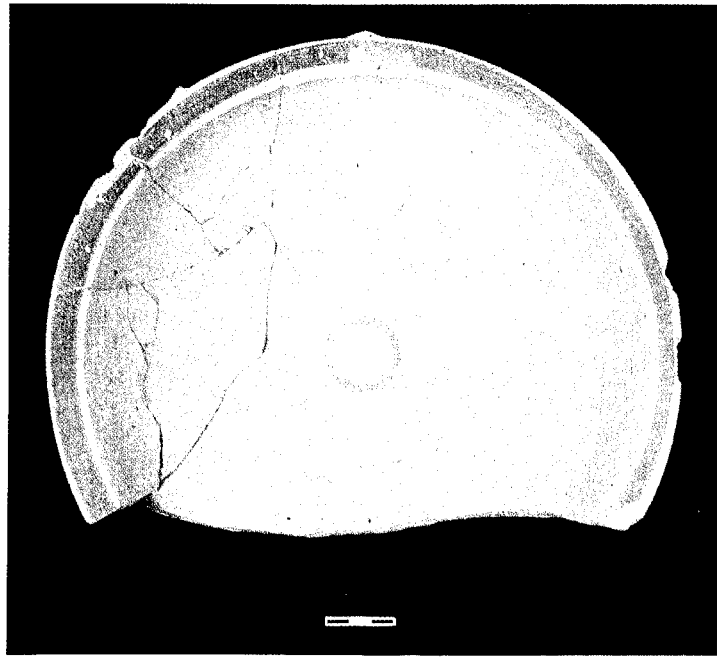
10C. Amphipolis. Archaeological Museum area. Gate F (ΣΤ).



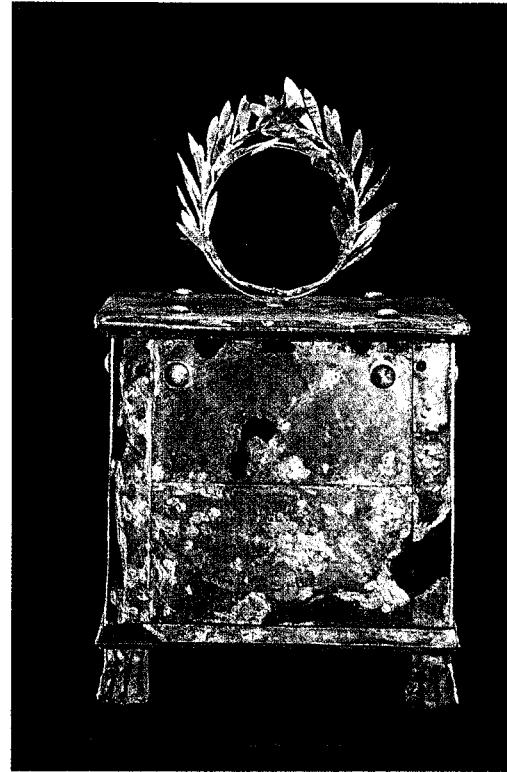
10D. Amphipolis. Northern building complex. Phase 2.



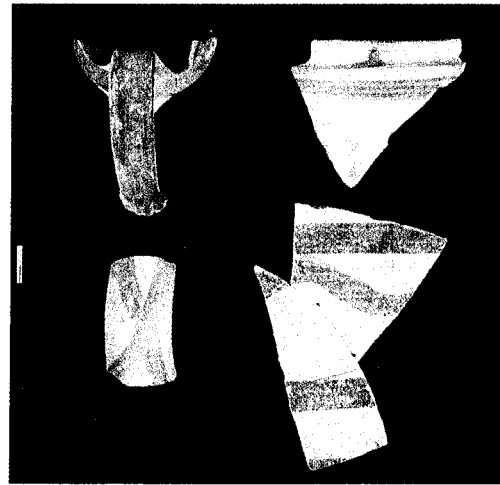
11A. Amphipolis. Archaeological Museum area. Northern building complex. Phase 3.



11C. Bowl with painted decoration in bands.



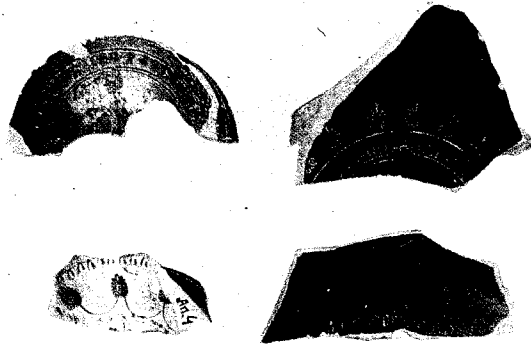
11B. Silver larnax and gold wreath.



11D. Fragments of vases with painted decoration.



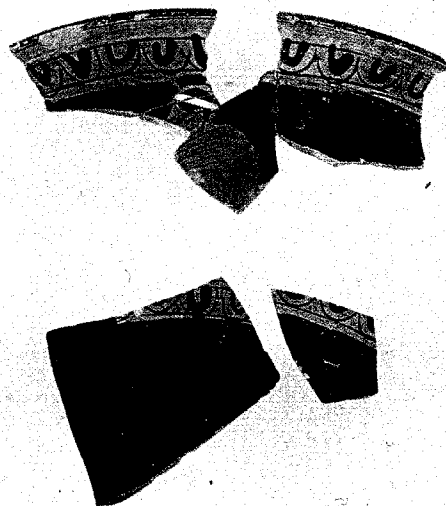
12A. Fragments of lamps.



12B. Fragments of black-glazed bowls and plates with stamped decoration.



12C. Fragments of red-figure vases.



12D. Fragments of red-figure vases.