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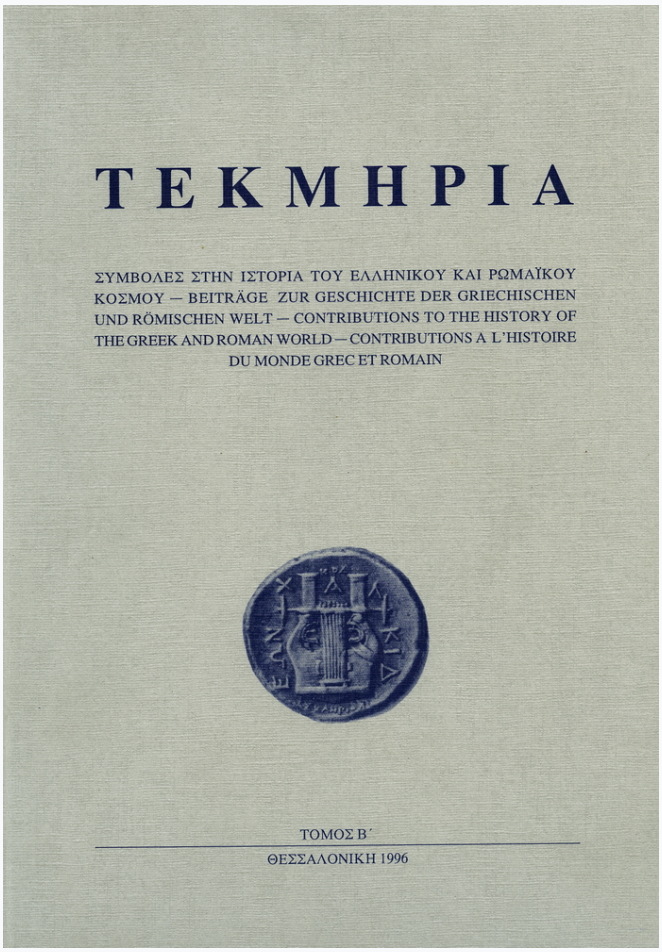

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I. M. AKAMATIS

SPOLIUM HOMERICUM PELLENSE

Λεωνίδᾳ χρηστῷ μνήμης χάριν

Recent archaeological investigations in Pella have brought to light the city's great administrative and commercial centre, the Agora, which has been under systematic investigation since 1980.[1] Some parts of the complex were devoted to administrative sectors, while others were the sites of many of the city's commercial activities.[2] A number of pottery, terracotta, and metal workshops have been found in the blocks around the Agora, most of them containing kilns and furnaces that played a part in the processing and manufacture of the various materials.[3] A number of the kilns have survived in a satisfactory state, though all that remains of others is their lower parts, chiefly under the floors of the stocking chambers. Kilns within workshops have been located to the east and south-east of the Agora, and others (in poor condition) have come to light just to the west of the broad avenue that cuts across the Agora.[4] A previously investigated kiln in block I/2, just to the south, must also have had some connection with the Agora.[5] Of all the

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1. For bibliographical information regarding earlier accounts of the excavations in the Agora at Pella, see *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992), 115 n. 7; Ἐγνατία 4 (1993-4), 231 n. 2; *ΑΕΜΘ* 7 (1993), n. 2.

2. For a general account of the distribution of activities in the Agora complex see I. M. Ἀκαμάτης, *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη. Πόλις καὶ χώρα στὴν ἀρχαία Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη*, Proceedings of an Archaeological Symposium, Kavala, 9-11 May 1986 (1990), 175-83; *idem* *ΑΕΜΘ* 2 (1988), 78-81.

3. I. M. Ἀκαμάτης, *Πήλινες μῆτρες ἀγγείων ἀπὸ τὴν Πέλλα. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς ἑλληνιστικῆς κεραμικῆς*, Athens 1993, 157, mentions the existence of four kilns to the east of the Agora. One was found to be full of figurines of Aphrodite and busts: see Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.* 320. For kilns in Macedonia, see Αἰκ. Δεσποίνη, *ΑΕ* (1982), 61-84 (with earlier bibliography) and M. Λιλιμπράκη - Ἀκαμάτη *ΑΕΜΘ* 7 (1993) 174 n. 19. *Cf.* Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 57 and n. 129.

4. For the kilns to the south-east of the Agora, see I. M. Ἀκαμάτης, *ΑΕΜΘ* 4 (1990), 146ff.

5. *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) χρονικά 200, Figs. 1, 2.

workshops in which kilns were found, only one has been systematically investigated, to the north of the Agora.[6]

Among its products have been found fragments of moulds for relief vases, stamps used in the manufacture of moulds for vases decorated with narrative scenes and floral and foliar motifs, as also a number of sherds from vases with relief decoration.[7] The latter include a small fragment of a large relief vase, No 1993.266 (Pl. 1).[8] It belongs to the "Homeric" group,[9] examples of which

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6. The workshop is in the block to the north-west of the Agora, specifically in the extention of the west portico of the Agora. The excavated part is in the north section of the block, namely Tsagarlis field, and the remains of the workshop have been brought to light by modern deep ploughing. Among other structures, six kilns have been found: one of them (the largest) measured 5.10 x 4.20 m. was rectangular in shape, and was discovered in the east section: three in the north part were circular, and two, one circular and one pear-shaped, were found in the west part. The kilns' building phase dates through the 2nd to the early 1st c. BC. The workshop produced pottery vessels, including mouldmade vases decorated with plant and mythological motifs, figurines, and roof-tiles, which latter must have been taken in the large rectangular kiln. The same workshop must also have processed iron, as is attested by the heaps of scoria found at the west end of the excavation, but no evidence has yet been found of a smelting furnace, which may be located outside the excavated area. The excavation, a rescue dig, was conducted by Ms Maria Lilibaki-Akamati, whom I should like to thank for allowing me to publish the sherd and for furnishing information about the excavation. The whole excavated area is now protected by a low timber shelter.

7. For the excavation of the workshop, see Λιλιμπάκη - Ακαμάτη, *ΑΕΜΘ* 7 (1993) 171-182.

8. The sherd was found in Tsagarlis field on 24 September 1993 to the east of kiln 1 (*Excavation Diary 1993*, No. 3, p. 83).

9. The term has been erroneously used ever since the nineteenth century with reference to mould-made relief vases decorated with narrative illustrations, even though its inaccuracy was pointed out from the start: C. Robert, *Homerische Becher*, 50 *BWPr* (1890), 1-2; F. Brommer, "Das Kirke - Abenteuer auf Reliefbecher", *AA* (1972), 117; U. Sinn, *Die homerischen Becher*, *AM Beiheft* 7, Berlin (1979) 17; Ακαμάτης, *op. cit.* (1993), 22. Robert (op. cit., 1-2) used the term because he linked it with Suetonius' reference (Nero 47) to two *skyphos ... homerios. Cf.* J. Ebert, "Ein homerischer Ilias-Aithiopis-Becher im Robertinum zu Halle an der Saale", *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 27 (1978), 123; U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und boeotischen Werkstaetten*, Stuttgart 1959, 17; I. Metzger, "Dioskurenbecher", *ΑΔ* 26 (1971). μελέτ., 95. The terms *bols homeriques* and *coupes homeriques* have been used in a similar way: F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris 1922, 281; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Les bols homeriques", *BABesch* 29 (1954), 35; as has the term ὁμηρικοί σκύφοι: Ε. Καχαβογιάννης, "Ὁμηρικοὶ σκύφοι Φερρῶν", *ΑΑΑ* 13, 2 (1980), 264. It has recently been proposed that this deceptive term be replaced by the periphrastic *Ἀγγεῖα μὲ διηγηματικὲς παραστάσεις* (vases with narrative illustrations): Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 120 and Π. Φάκλαρης, "Μῆτρες, σφραγίδες, ἀγγεῖα ἀπὸ τὴ Βεργίνα", *ΑΔ* 38 (1983), Μελέτ., 228. Other scholars favour the related term *figürliche Reliefbecher*. Brommer, *op. cit.*, 117.

have been found in large numbers in Macedonia and in areas mostly connected with Macedonia, dating since the first half of the second century BC.[10]

The fragment comes from the upper part of the narrative band on the body of the vase. It is 38 mm high, up to 47 mm wide, and up to 9 mm thick. The small dimensions make it impossible to gauge the size of the vase, but the thickness indicates that it must have been a large one (Fig. 1).[11] The absence of glaze on the interior, coupled with the fact that the thickness increases above the band of decoration, just where the shoulder began, suggests that the fragment belonged to a closed vase, a relief amphora, the lower section of which was mould-made, and the shoulder, neck and rim shaped on the wheel[12] - in much the same way as the large amphora, No 80.455, from the destruction layer of the Agora.[13] However, the sherd is too fragmentary to give any definite idea of the shape. On the basis of the surviving external features, one might also reasonably attribute it to a krater. However, in view of what has been said above, I think this unlikely.[14]

The surface of the sherd is covered with reddish-brown glaze.[15] The outer

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10. Many scholars date the appearance of hellenistic relief pottery to the end of the 3rd c. BC: see Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 22 (with bibliography). However, I am not aware of the presence of vases with narrative illustrations in Pella prior to the 2nd c. BC.

11. The thickness of ordinary moldmade relief bowls varies between 3mm and 6mm, with an average of 4.5-5 mm. Kraters and amphorae with a mould-made lower body have thicker walls. The drawing and the section are by Nicolas Sphicas.

12. The process of manufacturing a reliefamphora is described in detail in Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 159.

13. The amphora, 0.265 m high, is mentioned in Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 225, 227, 230, 239 n. 247, 240 n. 248, 278, 340; *ΑΔ* 35, *Χρονικά* 396, Pl. 228c; *ArchRep* (1988-9), 77 Fig. 104.

14. Increasing numbers of mould-made relief kraters have been found in recent years in Pella, as in other Macedonian cities. To the three unpublished kraters from the Pella Agora may be added other fragmentary finds. Similar examples have been found at Petres, Florina (see M. Ἀκαμάτη and Π. Βελένη, *Νομός Φλώρινας. Ἀπό τὰ προϊστορικὰ στὰ ρωμαϊκὰ χρόνια*, Thessaloniki 1987, 22 Fig. 5) and the Hellenistic city of Florina (krater No. 5440 with a representation of the Sack of Troy: see I. M. Akamatis and M. Lilibaki - Akamati, *Hellenistic City in Florina*, Thessaloniki 1996, 29, drawing on p. 31 (above). For the same vessel, see Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 225, 227, 230, 234, 238 n. 238, 239 n. 247, 240 n. 248, 260, 272, 278, 339, 341. It is referred to as a bowl here; however, a more recent examination and drawing of the object have shown that it is part of a large krater. The foot is missing, but the point of attachment is still evident and a small part of the stem still survives: see *ΑΕΜΘ* 9 (1995; in the press).

15. The fabric is fine and reddish (2.5 YR 5.5/6). The edges of the fragment are partially covered with sediments.

face is ornamented with a narrow decorative band, below which survives a small part (12 mm high) of the principal narrative band from the body of the vase. The top of the band is defined by a horizontal groove. In the lower left is the upper part of a warrior's head in right profile. He is wearing a helmet and, in his left hand, carrying a shield, only a tiny part of which survives. Of the head there survive the upper lip, the cheek, the nose, and a tiny part of the forehead, which is covered by the helmet, the front of which protrudes and is decorated with a double groove. It must have had a backward-slanting crest, the bottom of which is just discernible at the top of the helmet. Traces of the right cheekpiece are also visible. What is left of the helmet suggests that it was conical in shape. [16] All that survives of the shield is the inside of the upper part, the curved rim depicted as a circular band. A small section of the hollow is also preserved, as is part of the handle, though the fingers that gripped it are gone. Fragmentary though the sherd is, the shield is recognisably of the Argive type, with a clear attempt at perspective evidenced by the fact that the rim is much more strongly defined than the hollow.[17] On the right-hand side of the fragment are traces of the curved rim of a second shield (Fig. 1). Above these two defensive weapons survive fragments of a two-line inscription: ΔΗΜΟΙΙΤΟΛ[-/ΜΕΝΟΔΥΣΣΕ[-. Above the narrative band survives part of a decorative band, with a rosette in the centre between two confronted dolphins, flanked by rosettes of a different type (Pl. 2). One imagines that this motif was repeated all around the ornamental band, as is the case with certain mould-made vases decorated with a repeated plant ornamentation flanked by confronted pairs of animals.[18]

The male figure with its raised head and shield aloft represents a warrior fighting someone or something on the right. The faint traces of the second shield indicate that this was another warrior. The head of the second figure is not visible beside or behind its shield, which suggests that the body was to the right of the shield: consequently, this figure must have been depicted in left

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16. For parallels, see P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme*, Rome 1986, table 35, 1-10.

17. For the Argive shield, see P.C. Bol. *Argivische Schilde*, Berlin 1989 (with bibliography); also B. Σταματοπούλου, *Ἡ ἀσπίδα ἀργολικοῦ τύπου. Τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους στοιχεῖα. ἡ κατασκευὴ καὶ ἡ χρήση της* (University of Thessaloniki postgraduate thesis, 1996).

18. The same mode of decoration is sometimes seen in the band around the calyx.

profile in converse motion to the first figure. It stood facing the warrior on the left and must have been his opponent. Although this interpretation cannot be regarded as certain on the sole basis of the pictorial evidence, it is supported by the position of the fragmentary inscription, and further confirmed by a reading of the inscription. If the restoration of the scene as two confronted warriors is correct, then the space remaining for the rest of the two-line inscription in confined to the area between their heads. The angle of the helmet of the second warrior leaves more room for the first line than for the second. The first line lacks three or four letters, the second two or three. Therefore, in the first line we can restore the name Demoptolemus in the accusative case: Δημοπτόλ[εμον]; and the second can be restored with the name Odysseus: Ὀδυσσε[ύς]. Consequently, the full text of the inscription must be: Δημοπτόλ[εμον] / μὲν Ὀδυσσε[ύς]. This is obviously a quotation from the Odyssey, from the account of the slaying of Penelope's suitors:

Ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκόντισαν ὀξέα δοῦρα
ἄντα τιτυσκόμενοι· Δημοπτόλεμον μὲν Ὀδυσσεύς
Εὐρυάδην δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος, Ἔλατον δὲ συβώτης,
Πείσανδρον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνήρ. [19]

The incident describes how Demoptolemus, Euryades, Elatus, and Peisander were killed by Odysseus, Telemachus, the swineherd, and the cowherd respectively. So this fragment obviously bears a depiction of the death of Demoptolemus at the hands of Odysseus. The scene covers only a small part of the narrative band around the body of the vase, however, so it is very likely that the other three pairs - Telemachus, the swineherd, and the herdman of the cattle, with their respective opponents, Euryades, Elatus, and Peisander - made up the rest of the band.

According to Homer, the suitors were put to death with javelins. Owing to the fragmentary state of the figures, the assault weapon here cannot be clearly made out. It was, however, grasped in the right hand, which must have been

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19. Homer, Odyssey, 22. 265-8.

20. An exact restoration of the figure is impossible unless a narrative scene is found with a figure of a warrior impressed with the same stamp as the sherd from the Pella workshop. Even so, the angle of the javelin may not be exactly the same, because the weapon was not part of the stamp, but was incised in the mould after the stamp had been imprinted. The same was done in many cases with simple subjects that protruded considerably from the main part of the

held low and horizontal. However, one cannot rule out a stance with the right hand raised, tightly gripping the javelin and brandishing it above the shoulder, so that the shaft either crossed the shoulders or slanted low across the torso, as in many examples of fighting figures on vases with narrative illustrations.[20] With the evidence available, its precise position cannot be accurately restored. The same or similar stances are undoubtedly to be seen on a bowl, No. 82/148, from the Hellenistic city of Florina on Agios Pandeleimon Hill (Figs. 2, 3).[21] Pictorial details, such as the warriors' types, the imbricate leaves of the medallion, and the guilloche design below the rim give reasonable grounds for attributing the bowl to the Pella workshop. In the Florina example, the narrative band around the body of the vase is occupied by three pairs of warriors. We can assume that the body of the vase to which the fragment from the Pella workshop belongs had a fourth pair, as the Homeric account requires. It is perfectly possible to restore the principal narrative band with eight figures in four confronted pairs, because the vase to which our fragment belongs obviously had a larger circumference than the Florina bowl. We may also be quite certain that there was an inscription over each confronted pair, a quotation from Homer's account of the slaying of the suitors with the names of the heroes involved.[22] The scenes then could have taken into account illustrated manuscripts, which at the time were popular in Macedonia.

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representation. The impression of these supplementary details is more easily discernible in the moulds themselves than on the cups made from them. There are plenty of examples in the moulds found at Pella. For instance, the warriors' spears on moulds No. 299 (no. 81.104) and No. 300 (no. 81.105) were done freehand after the clay had been stamped: see I. M. Ἀκαμάτης, *Πήλινες μῆτρες ἀγγείων ἀπὸ τὴν Πέλλα. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς ἑλληνιστικῆς κεραμικῆς*, Athens 1993, 156. The same process may be detected on unpublished examples also.

21. The cup was found in a storage jar in the cellar of a house in the city: height 84 mm, height to the decorative band below the rim 64 mm, rim diam. 156 mm. For a drawing (by Vassilis Prappas) see I. M. Akamatis and M. Lilibaki-Akamati, *Hellenistic City in Florina*, 31 (below) and *ΑΔ* 37, 1982 Χρον. 297 pl. 202 a (detail).

22. A fragmentary mould inscribed *Μνηστηροφονία* comes from the large find of moulds for relief vases in the Agora of Pella, no. 81.126, Ἀκαμάτης, *op. cit.*, 130-1and 267-9. It represents Artemis bringing about the death of the suitors Aloadae.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

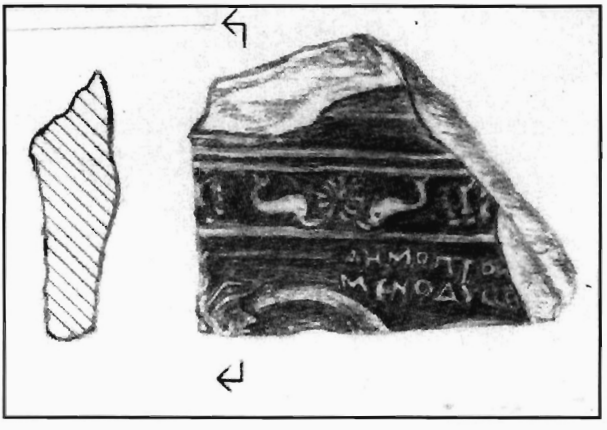
Γύρω ἀπὸ τὸ συγκρότημα τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς Πέλλας ποὺ ἐρευνᾶται ἀπὸ τὸ 1980 ἐντοπίστηκαν ἐργαστήρια κεραμικῆς καὶ κοροπλαστικῆς, ὅπου βρέθηκε καὶ ἀριθμὸς κλιβάνων. Ἀπὸ τὰ ἐργαστήρια αὐτὰ ἀνασκάφτηκε συστηματικὰ μόνο ἕνα, στὰ βόρεια τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κατὰ τὴν ἀνασκαφικὴ περίοδο τοῦ 1993 στὸν ἀγρὸ Τσάγκαρλη. Βρέθηκαν ἕξι κλίβανοι, ἕνας μεγάλος ὀρθογώνιος, τέσσερις κυκλικοὶ καὶ ἕνας ἀπειόσχημος.

Ἀνάμεσα στὰ εὑρήματα τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου περιλαμβάνεται καὶ ἕνα μικρὸ θραῦσμα ἀμφορέα τῆς κατηγορίας τῶν ὁμηρικῶν ἀγγείων. Στὴν κύρια ζώνη τοῦ σώματός του, ὑπῆρχε διηγηματικὴ παράσταση καμωμένη μὲ μήτρα. Ἀπὸ τὴν παράσταση διατηρεῖται μέρος κρανοφόρου πολεμιστῆ πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ ποὺ φέρει περικεφαλαία καὶ κρατᾶ ἀργολικοῦ τύπου ἀσπίδα στὸ ἀριστερό. Ὁ πολεμιστὴς βρίσκεται σὲ μαχητικὴ ἀντιπαράθεση μὲ ἄλλη πολεμικὴ μορφή, στὴν ἴδια στάση, ἀλλὰ μὲ ἀντίθετη φορά, ὅπως εἰκάζεται ἀπὸ ὑπολείμματα τῆς ἀσπίδας της.

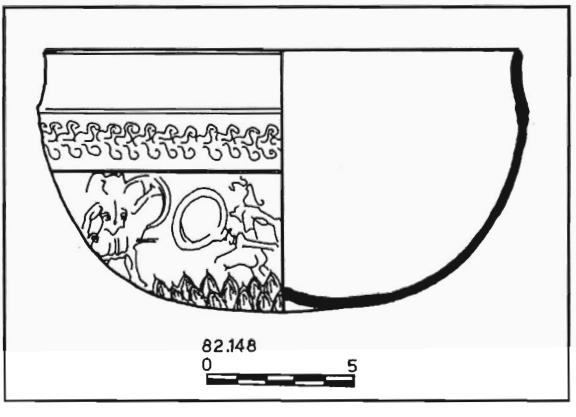
Πάνω ἀπὸ τὶς μορφὲς διατηρεῖται ἀποσπασματικὴ ἐπιγραφή: ΔΗΜΟΠΤΟΛ[-/ΜΕΝΟΔΥCCΕ[-, ποὺ συμπληρώνεται: *Δημοπτόλ[εμον] μὲν Ὀδυσσ[εύς]*. Στὴ σκηνὴ εἰκονίζεται ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ποὺ φονεύει τὸν μνηστῆρα Δημοπτόλεμο, ὅπως μαρτυρεῖ τὸ χαραγμένο στὸ θραῦσμα ἀπόσπασμα ἀπὸ τὴν ὁμηρικὴ καταγραφὴ τῆς Μνηστηροφονίας (Ὀδύσσεια 22, 266). Ἡ διηγηματικὴ παράσταση τοῦ ἀγγείου τῆς Πέλλας ἀκολουθώντας πρότυπα δημοφιλῶν εἰκονογραφημένων χειρογράφων τῆς ἐποχῆς θὰ ἀποτύπωνε ἄλλα τρία ζεύγη, ὅπου θὰ εἰκονίζονταν σκηνὲς ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιο ἐπεισόδιο τῆς μνηστηροφονίας μὲ τοὺς Τηλέμαχο, τὸν χοιροβοσκὸ καὶ τὸν βουκόλο νὰ θανατώνουν τοὺς Εὐρυβιάδη, Ἔλατο καὶ Πείσανδρο. Δὲν ἀποκλείεται καὶ ἡ καταγραφὴ πάνω ἀπὸ τὰ ἀντιμαχόμενα ζεύγη τῶν ἀντίστοιχων ἀποσπασμάτων ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀδύσσεια (22, 266-268).

I. M. Akamatis, pl. 1.: Sherd with an Homeric scene (Pella no. 1993.266).

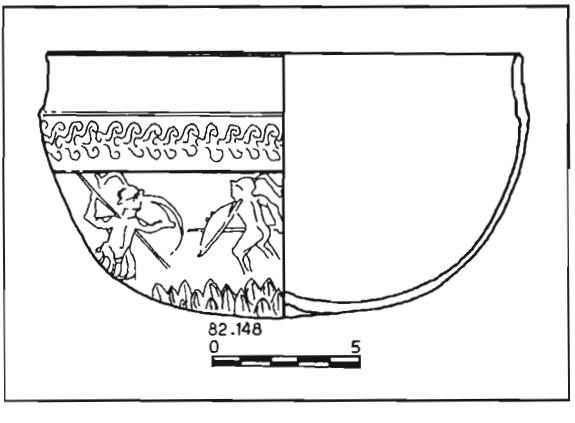
I. M. Akamatis, pl. 2.: Detail of the decorative band (Pella no. 1993.266).



I. M. Akamatis, fig. 1.: Sherd with an Homeric scene (drawn by N. Sphekas).



I. M. Akamatis, fig. 2.: Homeric bowl from Florina, no 82.148 (drawn by V. Prappas).



I. M. Akamatis, fig. 3.: Homeric bowl from Florina, no 82.148 (drawn by V. Prappas)