

Tekmeria

Vol 18 (2024)

Tekmeria 18 (2024)

γεγενῆσθαι. μνηύεται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέ τιων καὶ ἀκο-
λούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων
περικοπαί τινες πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ
οἴνου γεγεννημέναι. ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ • ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ • ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION • INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
SECTION OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY καὶ
αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι
ἐμποδὸν ὄντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι,
καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἂν εἶναι, ἐμεγά-
λυνον καὶ ἐβόων. **Τεκμήρια** ἐπὶ δήμου καταλύσει τὰ τε μυστικά καὶ
ἢ τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπῆ γέγονε καὶ οὐκ εἴη αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ
μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ
ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν. ὁ δ' ἔν τε
τῷ παρόντι ΣΥΜΒΟΛΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΟΥ
ΚΟΣΜΟΥ • CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK
AND ROMAN WORLD • CONTRIBUTIONS A L'HISTOIRE DU
MONDE GREC ET ROMAIN • BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE
DER GRIECHISCHEN UND RÖMISCHEN WELT • CONTRIBUTI
PER LA STORIA DEL MONDO GRECO E ROMANO καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων
τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχει. καὶ
ἐπεμαρτύρητο μὴ ἀπόντος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἀποδέχεσθαι,
ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδίκως καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη
μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνώσι, πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτῳ στρατεύματι. οἱ δ' ¹⁸ ἐχθροὶ δεδιότες τό τε στράτευμα
(2024) μὴ εὖνον ἔχρη, ἦν ἤδη ἀγωνίζηται, ὅ τε δήμος μὴ μαλα-
κίηται θεραπεύων ὅτι δι' ἐκεῖνον οἱ τ' Ἀργεῖοι ξυνηστράτεον
καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέτρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπευδον, ἄλλους
ρήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ
κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις
ρήταις, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς, ἦν ἐμελλον ῥῆον
αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος ποριεῖν, μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγω-
νίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλεῖν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέρους μεσοῦντος ἤδη ἢ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγίνετο

The “Tomb of the Philosophers” in Pella, Macedonia Revisited: New Findings on Its Iconography

Myrina Kalaitzi, Hariclia Brecoulaki, Giovanni Verri

doi: [10.12681/tekmeria.36631](https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.36631)

Copyright © 2024, Myrina Kalaitzi, Hariclia Brecoulaki, Giovanni Verri



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

To cite this article:

Kalaitzi, M., Brecoulaki, H., & Verri, G. (2024). The “Tomb of the Philosophers” in Pella, Macedonia Revisited: New Findings on Its Iconography. *Tekmeria*, 18, 97–150. <https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.36631>

The “Tomb of the Philosophers” in Pella, Macedonia Revisited: New Findings on Its Iconography

The “Tomb of the Philosophers”, as it has become commonly known, was excavated in 2001 by the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, by its then Director Maria Lilimpaki-Akamati and her collaborators, and was first published in 2007.¹ The tomb is situated in the area of the east cemetery of the ancient city of Pella, Macedonia, and, as remarked by the excavator, is among the largest built cist graves to have been found in the region to date (fig. 1). Its interior was decorated with wall paintings, which included two superimposed figured friezes, running along all of its four sides, accommodating figures smaller than life-size. The primary, lower, figured frieze was static, representing figures in composed stances, set quite distanced from one another, whereas the secondary figured frieze, painted higher up on the walls, offered an action scene, representing a horse race. Narrower friezes and *taeniae*, with floral and architectural motifs, complemented the decoration of the tomb.

As part of a larger research project to study and document ancient Greek painting, led by Hariclia Breoulaki and hosted by the Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, in June 2018 we were able to inspect the interior of the tomb and study its paintings afresh, with

1. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007. We would like to thank the Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Dr. Elisavet-Bettina Tsigarida, for granting us permission to study afresh the paintings of the tomb, and Christos Simatos for producing complementary imaging of the paintings, especially composite imaging/configurations of the tomb’s wall paintings. We would also like to thank Dr. Kostas Tampakis for explaining some delicate epistemological questions related to the ancient Greek concepts of the universe, as well as Prof. Miltiades Hatzopoulos for reading a draft of this paper and offering his comments. We are grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive and insightful comments that helped us to improve this article, as well as to the Editorial Board of *Tekmeria*, especially to V. Antoniadis.

significant new finds.² The iconography of the two figured friezes forms the focus of this paper. It will be argued that the physical vicinity with the palace and the royal court informed the mode of burial of a man of thought with favourable relations to his times' monarchy, as it informed the mode of portrayal of the central figure of the frieze, of "the astronomer".

The tomb, its basic features and the burials it housed

The "Tomb of the Philosophers" is an underground stone-built grave, built into the natural rock, which was hewn out for that purpose. Its external dimensions are 5.50 m long by 3.50 m wide, while the interior of the burial chamber measures 4.40 m in length by 1.95 m in width, with a depth (or height) of 3 m. The tomb was covered by eight massive stone slabs (length: 2.30-2.75 m; width: 0.40-0.80 m; height: 0.33-0.55 m), which were dressed so as to have a slightly gabled top surface. Underneath the covering slabs, the tomb was provided with wooden roofing, consisted of wooden planks resting on wooden beams, as is clearly indicated by the beam sockets (seven on each of the long sides of the tomb) and the rabbet for the planks.³ To the tomb's east, the excavator reported the possible vestiges of an earthen mound that could have covered the tomb; should this be the case, the tomb would have been situated under the mound's western fringes.⁴ This was not possible to ascertain, however, while trial trenches yielded no further funerary constructions in the tomb's immediate vicinity, which could be investigated only in part, as the tomb lies within the modern village, whose houses and yards surround it tightly.

The interior of the tomb is provided with a stone bench, coated with plaster, on which originally lay a wooden *kline*.⁵ The tomb housed three inhumations: that of a man, 45-50 years of age, that of a woman, 29-34 years of age,

2. Brécoulaki 2006, 256-261 with pl. 89, discussed the paintings of the tomb on the basis of personal inspection and the preliminary publication by Lilimpaki-Akamati 2001. More recently, the tomb was briefly discussed by Plantzos 2018, 212-214.

3. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 9-17.

4. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 9-11.

5. The *kline* left its imprint on the bench's upper surface; in addition, traces of wood belonging to the *kline*, as well as nails and glass elements from its decoration were among the finds retrieved from the tomb: Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 17, 19-25 with pls. 8, 10 and 12, 104 no. 16.

and that of a child, of up to six years of age.⁶ We would like to draw attention to the fact that the analysis of the man’s skeletal remains suggested “intense muscle activity and physical exercise of the musculoskeletal system”,⁷ a finding that bears upon the capacity of the tomb’s chief owner.⁸ Whether the three individuals, most likely a couple with their child, were interred at the same time or at different points in time remains uncertain. Whichever the case, the man’s burial appears as the principal burial, as it determined the figural program of the tomb, in which a woman’s or a child’s world, either as separate, recognizable social entities or even as entities subordinated to the adult male one, are not represented; in other words, the tomb’s iconography reflects exclusively upon its adult male occupant.

As is so often the case, the tomb had been robbed of its precious offerings already in antiquity. Three attempts to break into the tomb were detected by the excavator, of which the one that inflicted an opening through the tomb’s south wall was eventually successful.⁹ The date of the looting has been placed to the end of the third century BC, on the basis of a Macedonian amphora that came from the looting channel.¹⁰ The amphora from the looting channel, which was possible to investigate only in part, is the sole reported find to belong to a chronological frame clearly distinct from the rest, admittedly meagre finds of the tomb, which have been dated to the end of the fourth – beginning of the third century BC, when the construction of the tomb has been consequently placed.¹¹ The remnants left behind by the looters were poor in numbers, yet hint to quite lavish furnishings, including a glass *skyphos*, a gilded

6. The excavator dismissed the possibility that the bones of the woman and the child belonged to burials which collapsed into the cist grave: Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 28 n. 51. For the sex and ages of the three individuals, see the osteological analysis (Appendix 3) by S. Triantafyllou in Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 177-183.

7. Appendix 3 by S. Triantafyllou in Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 179 [citation translated by the authors].

8. The two strigils that made part of the grave offerings (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 105-106 nos. 21 and 27) chime well with the findings of the osteological analysis.

9. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 12-14, 16 n. 21, 18-19, 24-25.

10. Amphora no. 1 (2001.13), Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 19 with n. 33 and pl. 5 and drawing 5, 24 n. 43, 28 n. 50, 97 no. 1.

11. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 19-28.

bronze vessel, a gilded bronze strigil, a gilded clay lamp, a golden bead, golden threads, a golden 16-ray star, probably from the decoration of a wooden box, and a golden rosette from the decoration of either a textile or a wreath.¹²

Macedonian vaulted tombs aside, it is significant to stress that this is one of the most prestigious tombs of the east cemetery,¹³ which is the most extensively explored among the cemeteries of Pella, so as to offer representative comparative material. Would it have been indeed provided with a tumulus, it would have recreated and transplanted within the tissue of the Pella civic cemetery features (monumental built cist-grave, tumulus) regularly reserved for the burials of the Macedonian nobility and royalty.¹⁴ The high social ranking of the deceased and of those who commissioned the grave is corroborated by the use of expensive pigments, including cinnabar, murex and conchalcite, to which the newly detected vanadinite should be added.¹⁵

The wall paintings

Shortly after the discovery of the tomb and alongside its excavation, the Directorate of Conservation of Ancient and Modern Monuments was called in to carry out “first-aid” conservation works. In the publication of the tomb, N. Minos set out the conservation and restoration methods applied, and called attention to the unstable conditions in the interior of the tomb, which exposed its painted decoration to further damage.¹⁶ In June 2018 we were able to inspect the interior of the tomb and its paintings, to perform high-resolution technical photography (visible, raking light), broad-band imaging and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy in selected, representative, areas of the tomb’s paintings.¹⁷ Infrared-reflected (IRR), ultraviolet-reflected (UVR), ultraviolet-induced luminescence (UIL) and visible-induced luminescence

12. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 19-25, 97-106 (catalogue of finds), pls. 6, 9, 15-17.

13. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 91.

14. See Kalaitzi 2018, 412-413 with references, for the main features of Macedonian royal and aristocratic graves, as well as for the basic grave types in the east cemetery of Pella. On newer finds in the east cemetery, see Georgiadou, Ioannidou 2015.

15. Brécoulaki 2006, 261; Appendix 2 by G. Maniatis, Ch. Sakellari, D. Kavousanaki, and N. Minos in Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 172; Brécoulaki et al. 2023.

16. Appendix 1 by N. Minos in Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 134-137.

17. Brécoulaki et al. 2023.

(VIL) imaging was undertaken, in an attempt to visualize details otherwise invisible to the naked eye. Infrared radiation can be more penetrative than visible light, sometimes providing information on preliminary drawings or other features hidden beneath the surface. Ultraviolet radiation can excite the emission of visible light, allowing for the detection of several materials, including organic dyes, binders, etc. While the mechanisms underlying the emission of light by materials is not always fully understood, this type of imaging may otherwise reveal details not visible to the naked eye or improve their visualization. In the case of Egyptian blue, a pigment commonly used in ancient Greek contexts, visible light can excite the emission of infrared radiation, which can be captured in a VIL image. In a VIL image, Egyptian blue will show as “glowing white” against a dark grey background. In many instances, this imaging technique is so sensitive that even individual, submillimetric particles of Egyptian blue can be revealed.

We were not able to inspect segments of the plaster with painted decoration that had collapsed from the east section of the north wall, as well as from the centre of the east wall, that were subsequently pieced together, although not restored to their original position, and are currently kept in the Archaeological Museum of Pella.¹⁸ The findings of the 2018 investigation pertaining to the technical aspects of the paintings have been published in a separate paper.¹⁹ In the present paper we shall be focusing on the iconography, that is, on the two figural friezes of the tomb. We shall insist on those points and aspects where new evidence has emerged, owing to high-resolution technical photography and broad-band imaging.²⁰ We shall dwell on points where amendments to old understandings should be made, we shall comment on selected, pivotal, themes that bear upon the paintings’ milieu and help unravel its intended meaning, and, finally, we shall highlight *desiderata*. Taking as a given that the main figural frieze represents a group of intellectuals, as this has been first convincingly argued by M. Lilimpaki-Akamati,²¹ we shall take

18. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 52-54, 60.

19. Brecolaki et al. 2023.

20. For details on the technical equipment used and the methods applied, see Brecolaki et al. 2023.

21. The view put forward by Palagia 2011, 483-484, namely that the theme of the paintings is “a reading of sacred texts, perhaps part of an initiation ceremony relating to the afterlife”, is unsubstantiated.

the 2007 publication of the wall paintings as a starting point, and then proceed to present the new findings.

2007: First reading

First, it is necessary to set out the main components of the painting scheme of the interior of the tomb, as these have been established or described by the excavator in the 2007 publication of the tomb (figs. 2-5).²² The *toichobate* was painted in dark blue. There followed an off-white broad section, 1.00-1.06 m high, crowned by a *taenia* (0.035-0.038 m high) of light brown. After a similar *taenia* of off-white (0.036 m high), there followed a narrow frieze (0.135-0.15 m high), decorated with floral patterns (*kosmophoros*). Defined by a light brown strip along its upper edge, the *kosmophoros* carried a blue background, against which developed a multi-coloured floral decoration. The main, alternating, motifs of the frieze included scrolls, acanthus leaves and lilies, complemented by smaller flowers and what has/have been tentatively identified as one or more anemone(s) (windflower[s]). There followed another off-white *taenia* (0.04-0.043 m high), after which ran an Ionic, egg-and-dart, moulding (0.018 m high).²³ The main figural frieze developed after this moulding.

The main figural frieze²⁴ had an off-white background and was of 0.75-0.82 m high. The figures were considerably smaller than life-size, with the height of the better-preserved ones ranging from 0.475 m (the standing man) to 0.38-0.43 m (the seated figures). A sole figure, deemed a “young man”, occupied the scene on the west wall of the tomb, dressed in a red himation and *krepides*, standing with his left –according to the excavator– leg leaning on a rock, the latter painted in green (figs. 2, 6). His left arm resting on his lap, his right elbow on his left knee, the man held a wooden rod with his right hand, with which he pointed at a globe, placed along with its base in a box in front –to the right– of the rock. The man had short, dark brown hair and wore a wreath, either a laurel or myrtle wreath, lined with a yellow *taenia*.

22. Here we reproduce only the drawings of the interior of the tomb after Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, to which the reader should refer for the colour illustrations accompanying the first publication of the wall paintings. All other images provided here stem from the 2018 imaging.

23. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 31-42.

24. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 43-62.

A bearded man was depicted on the west part of the north wall, seated on a rock and turned in three-quarter view towards the viewer's right (to the east) (figs. 3, 7-10). The man was dressed with chiton and himation, which, according to the excavator, was drawn to cover the back of his head, wore *krepides*, had short brown hair and bore a wreath. He was shown reading from an open papyrus roll, which he held with his hands, resting on his laps. Further right (east) on the north side, two folded papyri rolls were depicted (figs. 3, 11); the excavator allowed for the possibility that another figure or a box would have been shown alongside the two papyri. The east part of the north wall suffered from great pigment loss, while part of the wall plastering, found collapsed, was collected and reassembled. As described by the excavator, the next figure was partly preserved on the wall and partly on the reassembled plaster fragments –separately kept in the Museum of Pella. It was understood that a man was shown seated, probably on a rock and in a frontal pose, head turned to the east, wearing a blue chiton, a brownish red himation, *krepides*, and a wreath made of a plant with pointed leaves, perhaps lined with a *taenia*; he probably held a wooden staff with his right hand.

The area of the east wall of the tomb bearing another figure had suffered from grave cracks and pigment loss, while part of the plastering had fallen off (figs. 4, 14-15); some of the fragments were collected and reassembled and are currently held in the Museum of Pella. These preserved part of a man's upper body and head, turned towards the north (to the viewer's left). The man had dark brown, almost black hair and beard. The part of the painting still on the wall preserved the lower body and the legs of the man, seated probably on a rock, turned towards the north. The man wore a himation and held a staff.

A "young man" was shown seated on a rock on the east part of the south wall, his face and look turned to his left, that is to the west (figs. 5, 16-18). His right arm was bent in front of his torso. He was dressed in himation and *krepides*, had short brown-black hair and wore a wreath, either of wild celery or oak leaves. The rock was rendered in brownish grey, and a tiny bit of green colour survived in front of the figure's knees. On the west side of the same wall, a bearded man was shown seated likewise on a rock (figs. 5, 19-20). Dressed in a himation and *krepides*, he supported his head with his bent right arm, his right elbow leaning on his right lap. He turned his gaze to his left, that is, to the west. He had short brown hair and wore a wreath, lined with a *taenia*. Lilimpaki-Akamati notes that facial hair was very sparse on the chin, denoted

only on its front, and that the man had no moustache, another point to which we shall return.²⁵

The main frieze was crowned by an element that today has left a slightly recessed socket, 0.09-0.10 m high, preserving the holes made by iron nails, some of which are still *in situ*. The excavator has proposed that, rather than destined for the suspension of objects/grave gifts, these nails would have helped fix a wooden lining, which would have carried decoration itself or would have served for the safer suspension or “placing” of objects/grave gifts.²⁶ There followed a second, narrower figural frieze, 0.32 m in height, in turn crowned by an Ionic, egg-and-dart moulding (0.018 m). Against a light blue background, which has mostly worn off, the frieze depicted mounted riders, the horses shown in high-speed gallop, rosettes, and, following the excavator’s identification, stelai crowned with palmette finials, which stood either on top or behind earthen mounds (*tumuli*).²⁷ More specifically, according to the original publication (figs. 2-5): two *tumuli*-and-stelai flanked the rider shown on the west wall, while a rosette was shown between the rider and the *tumulus* on the right; five rosettes alternated with four riders on the north wall; the rider shown in the middle of the east wall was flanked by a rosette and a *tumulus*-and-stele on the right, and by a rosette on the left, while possible traces of the incised preliminary sketch for a *tumulus*-and-stele that was not eventually rendered were recognised on the east side’s left edge; four rosettes (and a fifth, unfinished one) alternated with five riders on the south wall; the incised preliminary sketch for a *tumulus*-and-stele (no crowning rendered), which was not eventually carried through, partly overlapped with one of the rosettes. Dressed in short *chiton* and *chlamys*, the riders were all shown galloping to the viewer’s left, that is, in one and the same direction.

The frieze with the riders and its crowning moulding were painted on the sixth course of the tomb’s walls. As the blocks of this course on the north and south walls (long sides) were cut at intervals in order for the beam sockets to form, the painted moulding, at places on the north and south sides, and along the whole width of the west and east sides, appears to run lower than the course’s upper edge; this section was in the same colour as the frieze’s

25. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 56. See below, p. 110.

26. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 17-18.

27. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 63-76.

background. On the north and south sides, between the beam sockets and along the upper edge of the uncut sections of the blocks were rendered painted imitations of the *mutules-and-guttae* system of the Doric order.²⁸

2018: New readings, new riddles

The main figural frieze

The main figural frieze begins at about 1.68-1.70 m higher than the tomb's floor and, as already said, featured figures considerably smaller than life-size, placed a little higher than the average viewer's straight frontal optical field. It comprised six confirmed figures: one figure on each of the short sides of the tomb (west and east walls), and two figures on each of the long sides of the tomb (north and south walls). Four of these figures, all men, are safely recognizable. As previously, we shall begin from the west wall, which carried the central figure, and move clockwise, in order to take a closer look.

The figure of the man on the west wall appears as the dominant figure of the composition (**fig. 6**). This is conveyed through a number of means: through his position, as he is shown alone on the short wall above the bench that carried the funerary *kline*; through his stance, as he is shown standing rather than seated; through his commanding posture and his bright red himation, which is worn without a chiton and leaves a quite well-built upper body to show bare, matched with a beardless face; through his look, which is directed at the viewer; and, of course, through his association with the celestial sphere, the most conspicuous and telling among the attributes recognized in the tomb's paintings. One should amend this figure's original description, in that he is actually leaning on the rock with his right –not his left– leg, on which he also supports his arms. A very helpful indication for the correct understanding of the positioning of his legs is provided by the rendering of the foot planted on the ground, whose perspective and foreshortening makes much greater sense if understood as the figure's left foot (toes turned outwards, to the opposite than the viewer's direction).

In the 2007 publication of the paintings, the idea that the box was shown with an open lid was dismissed, and the sphere was described as having been depicted with its base, both placed in a (lidless) box and shown emerging from

28. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 14-17, 76, pls. 2, 4, 34, 58.

it.²⁹ The sphere appeared in different artistic media in a variety of scenes and a variety of ways. It could be shown laying directly on the ground or on different kinds of supports, such as a rectangular, box-like, low base, as in the Sarsina “philosopher mosaic” (one could arguably perceive this as a box with a closed lid);³⁰ it could be shown set on columellae/pillars or a combination of a low rectangular base with a pillar,³¹ set on a low stone base,³² or even, in later examples, on tripod stands.³³ Of particular interest with regard to the Pella-tomb globe is that, in a couple of cases, the sphere was shown in a box, although this was shown without a lid: such is the case of the “philosopher mosaic” from Pompeii, usually referred to as from Torre Annunziata, with which the Pella wall paintings are closely connected, as well as of the sphere shown in one of the wall paintings of “Oecus P” of the “Casa del sacello iliaco”, similarly shown half-submerged within the box.³⁴ Geminus of Rhodes, writing in the first century BC, explaining the reasons why the horizon could not be denoted on the spheres themselves, gives the term σφαιροθήκη for the spheres’ stands, which, Geminus says, served to mark the horizon for the sphere’s viewer: ὑπὸ μέντοι γε τῆς σφαιροθήκης ἢ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος θέσις κατανοεῖται; one should thus

29. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 49, 88-89.

30. Richter 1965, vol. I, 82, fig. 319; Gaiser 1980, 38 with n. 62; below, n. 67. See also the first-century BC relief tombstones Pfuhl, Möbius 1979, no. 2034, pl. 294 (on which also below, n. 80) and no. 2271, pl. 320.

31. See, for example, Richter 1965, vol. I, 79, figs. 302-303: Pythagoras on bronze coins of Samos (Roman Imperial); Richter 1965, vol. II, 247, fig. 1677: Hipparchos on bronze coins of Nikaia (Roman Imperial).

32. See, for example, the wall painting of Muse Ourania from the House of the Vettii, below, n. 79.

33. See, for example, the mosaic signed by Monnus, in Trier, with Aratos and Urania: Richter 1965, vol. II, 244, fig. 1656 (3rd cent. AD).

34. Pompeii (“Torre Annunziata”) mosaic: Richter 1965, vol. I, 82, fig. 316, and below, n. 67. “Casa del sacello iliaco” wall painting: Pugliese Carratelli, Baldassare 1990, 324-325, fig. 76; see also Della Corte 1942, 54, for the description of the colours of the globe and the wooden box: “[...] un globo sferico, per la metà superiore emergente da una cassa lignea quadra di custodia. Il legno della cassa è reso col colore giallo scuro; il globo della sfera è reso col colore azzurro.”; Gaiser 1980, 38.

imagine a sphere half-submerged in its support.³⁵ It is in any case important to note that the man in the Pella wall painting, like his peers, was meant to be shown in the course of an “actual” intellectual performance, pointing staff in hand, not with an array of his utensils for a potential demonstration. Thus, the globe would have been shown as put to use in an “actual” presentation, in this case in its lidded container, which, when opened, would also function as a support.³⁶ The fact that the pictorial element under discussion is in the same colour as the box’s main body, but in a darker hue to denote a shaded interior side, corroborates the idea that this is its lid. Shortcomings in the rendering of perspective and foreshortening, observable in the rendering of the figure of “the astronomer” (see, in particular, the figure’s proper left leg) also apply to the box-and-sphere set that he employs. Colour vestiges above “the astronomer” (within the frieze) could suggest the presence of a painted garland.

“The reader” seated on a cluster of rocks on the west part of the north wall was tightly wrapped in his clothes, chiton drawn up, resembling the appearance of a modern turtle-neck sweater, and himation drawn up to cover his nape (**figs. 7-10**). The man turns his back on the dominating figure with the globe and delves into the writings of his opened papyrus roll. The new photography has made it possible to ascertain that the himation was not drawn over the back of the figure’s head, as previously described. Of the figure’s wreath Lilimpaki-Akamati discerned a double incision for its rim and meagre vestiges of green colour from its foliage, close to the man’s face.³⁷ The VII imaging (**fig. 8**) confirms that the figure bore a wreath, an observation corroborated by the three figures on the west and south walls, where Egyptian blue was likewise used for the rendering of the leaves of their wreaths.

The pair of rolled-up papyri shown at about the middle of the north side (**fig. 11**) are in significantly larger scale than realistically required for them to have been held by the figures represented in the frieze, either folded or opened,³⁸ as comparison with the papyrus roll held by “the reader” immediately

35. Gem. 5.62-63. Evans, Berggren 2006, 159 with n. 36 of the commentary, and fig. I.6, would have this σφαιροθήκη take the form of a stand.

36. Cf. Gaiser 1980, 38.

37. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 50-51.

38. For painted papyri in the interior of two cist tombs (Herakleia and Lete), see Kalaitzi, Stamatopoulou 2021, n. 117 and below, n. 40.

makes clear. This would have one think that a different identification for these objects should be sought, and an appealing idea that presents itself is that we are looking at a pair of cylinders, possibly made of wood, as their colour would suggest. Cylinders would direct us to the world of mathematics, geometry and astronomy, and provide a generic iconographic antecedent to the tomb of Archimedes, on which, following his own will, a sphere (not an astronomical one) and a cylinder were represented, so as to visually annotate and commemorate his relevant mathematic theorem in his work *Περὶ σφαίρας καὶ κυλίνδρου* (*On the Sphere and Cylinder*).³⁹ A series of observations present us with difficulties in accepting this identification, however, alluring and fascinating as it might be: the box in the sphere-and-box set is in a different colour (brown) and one would expect some consistency in denoting similar materials in the same frieze; two solid cylinders made of hard material would be difficult to stabilize in this particular positioning; and, quite tellingly, the cross-like placing of the two objects is repeated in the case of two papyri rolls placed on a closed cist, shown in the paintings of a tomb of the end of the fourth century BC in Mygdonian Herakleia (Aghios Athanasios).⁴⁰ We thus uphold the identification of these two objects with papyri rolls and submit that these have been rendered in a larger scale in order to match, in terms of scale and composition, the sphere-and-box set of the west wall and thus in order to stand as equally important signifiers. Moreover, papyri came in varying sizes, height wise and lengthwise, and the papyrus analogue to today's oversize reference volumes is only appropriate to appear among the *insignia* of a group of intellectuals.⁴¹

After the papyri rolls uncertainty ensues. Part of the figure of a man wearing a blue upper garment (himation) and a red under garment (chiton),

39. On Archimedes' tomb, see Cic. *Tusc.* 5.64-66; Plut. *Marc.* 17.7; Simms 1990; Jaeger 2002.

40. Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2000, 546 dr. 2, 552-553, 568 fig. 2.

41. The released photographs of the 16-meter long "Waziry Papyrus 1", recently found in the Saqqara excavations, are illuminating: <https://antikewelt.de/2023/03/01/16m-langer-papyrus-entdeckt/?fbclid=IwAR2TjfmmdmCFAA2cELtVFSZa1SeigPZdCT5Z7Vb6fQrCKwQN4Yocr5pIVTxg> (accessed 14/8/23); <https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/9/488450/Antiquities/In-Photos-Waziri-I-Papyrus-on-display-for-first-ti.aspx> (accessed 14/8/23).

carrying a wreath on his head, face turned towards the viewer's right, is indeed visible in the published photograph of the reassembled fragments –the staff held with the right hand being less certain, however.⁴² The description of what was perceived as the part of the same, seated, figure preserved *in situ*, on the other hand,⁴³ does not correspond to what is visible on the wall today, nor to the visuals attained through the broad-band imaging. What can be seen today more closely resembles a standing figure, preserved up to a little lower than the height of the shoulders, dressed in a long garment (**fig. 12**). The possibility must remain open that we might be dealing with a set of two figures rather than just one in this part of the composition, especially as vestiges of colour, of Egyptian blue to be exact, are preserved further to the right (east) on the north wall, an observation that opens up the spectrum of this part of the scene (**fig. 13**). As we have not been able to study the reassembled fragments preserved in the museum in person, we shall have to withhold final judgement until this becomes possible, allowing old and new findings to be meaningfully combined.

Similarly, we shall have to withhold final say concerning the figure shown on the east wall of the tomb until we have been able to study the respective group of fragments preserved in the Museum of Pella. Taking the excavator's description as a point of reference, the vestiges of Egyptian blue revealed by the broad-band imaging in the area corresponding to a seated figure's head –judging by the scale of the better-preserved figures– imply that the man would have also worn a wreath, as his peers shown on the rest of the walls (**fig. 15**). Extensive vestiges of a greenish ochre, preserved to the left of the figure (**fig. 14**) could correspond to the cluster of rocks on which the man would have been seated.

On the south wall of the tomb, two figures of men are shown seated on rather substantial clusters of rocks, both turning their glance to their left, away from the viewer and towards the figure depicted on the west wall. As already remarked by the excavator, these two figures provide the element of connection between the men in the frieze,⁴⁴ an aspect that due to the bad state

42. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, fig. 42.

43. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, fig. 41, has been printed upside down; it must be inverted.

44. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 86, 92.

of preservation of the paintings cannot be fully appreciated. At the time of the tomb's excavation the figure of the man on the east part of the south wall was already in a bad state of preservation, "large part of the torso and the lower part of the face", as Lilimpaki-Akamati noted, having worn off; his nose, his proper right cheek-bone, his proper right eye and eye-brow, as well as his proper left eye were still visible.⁴⁵ Further pigment loss already made the details of this figure evasive. By the time of our team's visit in June 2018 the fading of the figure had sadly progressed, effecting that his face had practically vanished (**fig. 16**). This figure was also deemed a "young man" by Lilimpaki-Akamati, and one can surmise that this was based on the (assumed) lack of beard, which however is not possible to either ascertain or refute on the basis of the published photographs. Furthermore, the lower part of a long straight object passing obliquely in front of the man's body and ending right in front of his right foot is more clearly discernible in the new photographs (**fig. 18**).⁴⁶ It is thus possible that the figure held a staff and should therefore be considered as an accomplished man, respected enough to be supplied with one. It is not possible to say whether the man would have worn a chiton or not. It is not without significance to note, however, that his himation is similarly treated as that of "the reader" on the north wall, and we should thus expect that the two figures would be similarly dressed.

Almost completely covered under his himation, chin supported on a quite sturdy forearm, the bearded man on the right (west) commands a posture of serene reflection and solemn contemplation (**fig. 19**). It is not certain whether he is meant as also wearing a chiton. However, ἀχιτώνες were regularly clearly depicted as such, meaningfully letting part of the upper body to show. Moreover, dark brown covers the area between the himation's hem and the figure's right forearm, and it is therefore rather safe to say that the man wore a dark brown chiton and a more lightly coloured himation. The impression that the man bore no moustache and had a stylized beard on the chin, as seen today, is due to pigment loss (**fig. 20**). He originally wore a typical beard-and-moustache.

No more figures other than those described or named as suspected above can be recognized with any degree of certainty in the wall paintings, although

45. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 57-58, pls. 47-48.

46. One can already spot it in Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, pls. 47 and 67.

the bad state of preservation and some further vestiges of colours, such as those on the left (east) part of the south wall and those preserved between “the reader” and the papyri on the north wall, should guard us against the assertion that what we have been able to recover is the original composition in all of its constituent parts and detail. As mentioned above, the excavator suggested that one more figure or an object, such as a box, could have been shown next to the papyri on the north wall; she also suggested that a figure could have been shown between the two seated men on the south wall, where the opening of the tomb looters is now seen.⁴⁷ But, no reference to specific evidence/indications for the existence of these pictorial elements is made in the 2007 publication.

The men represented in the main figural frieze, or at least those safely distinguishable among the surviving figures, appear to inhabit a unified landscape, primarily defined by rocks (**fig. 17**). The rocks are covered with low, mossy, vegetation. This is today clearly perceptible by the green colour of the rock on which the man with the globe supports his foot, while traces of green survive on more than one spots on the rocks on which the figures of the south wall sit. Here and there, little plants sprung out of these rocks, as the one seen on the surface of the rock on which “the thinker” sits, to the figure’s right. Clearly, these are not meant as “hostile” rocks, but make part of a watered, friendly landscape. In the case of “the reader” of the north wall, further elements of scenery seem to have been denoted in the background, as is more clearly seen in the VII and the UIL imaging (**figs. 8-9**). The curving contours surrounding the figure, thus rendering a feature in front of which this figure was meant to be seated, could correspond to the mouth of a grotto.

The figures are also wreathed, a feature that, as the excavator already remarked, should be recognized as a sign of the high status, repute and authority of the men shown in the frieze.⁴⁸ The yellow *taenia* previously described as lining the wreaths of some of the figures is in fact a colour substratum, not an iconographic feature/structural element of the wreaths.

The frieze with the horse race

New observations can be made also with regard to the frieze with the horse race. On the north wall, close inspection adds another tumulus-and-monument

47. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 52, 92.

48. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 87-88.

set, shown (from the viewer's left to the right) between the first pair of rosettes, to the right of the first rider (**fig. 21**). Of the four riders described in the 2007 publication, only two are discernible today in the visible images; the two riders in the right part of the frieze can be plausibly postulated, as they have been postulated already by the excavator.⁴⁹

Turning to the south wall, it should be noted that of the last set of rosettes to the right (west), the one on the left was left unfinished, while the one on the right was actually rendered over the tumulus-and-monument set, which was thus rendered obsolete, although not completely effaced (**fig. 22**); furthermore, the incisions on the plaster for the preliminary sketch clearly show that this monument ("stele") too was to be provided with a crowning element –on which see more below (**fig. 23**). The better-preserved rider in this section of the frieze, that is, the one shown second from right (west), preserves indications that a *petasos* hanged from his neck and onto his back as he was shown galloping in full speed. But as no other among the riders preserves similar indications, this is only mentioned here for the sake of completeness of observation and cannot be ascertained. Owing mostly to the raking light images, it is possible to ascertain that not one but two horses, partly overlapping with each other, were drawn in the "panel" between the second and the third rosette (from the viewer's left to the right). The horse on the right is surely provided with a rider, whereas only the rear part of the horse on the left is discernible today (**fig. 24**). It is possible that the horse on the left, better balanced in terms of composition and layout, was drawn as a correction to that on the right, and that this "panel" too would have eventually accommodated one painted horse-and-rider set. Two more monuments might have been represented behind the first and the second (from the viewer's left to the right) horses of the south wall, as indicated by painted vertical/upright elements, but these are less clear.

The terrain within which the riders are set is defined by tumuli, on which stand monuments. The wall paintings' state of preservation, combined with the artist's rush, the absence of a coherent and rigid plan of composition and at points even the negligence with which the frieze has been rendered, makes identification indeed precarious. It is certain, however, that today's seeming differentiation is owed to the hastiness of execution⁵⁰ and the poor state of

49. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 69-70.

50. It is worthwhile noting the summary, one could say cartoon-like, treatment of the hands of the figures of the main frieze: note that "the astronomer's" left hand is

preservation, rather than to intended variety of form of the monuments depicted. Owing to the new imaging of the paintings it can now be more securely maintained that the elements that have been identified as *stelai* were not meant as crowned with palmette finials, as previously thought, but were meant as supporting vessels, and more particularly *lebetes*, probably adorned with griffin *protomai*.⁵¹ This can be more clearly seen in the southern tumulus-and-monument set of the west wall and the tumulus-and-monument set of the south wall (figs. 23, 25). The photographs published by Lilimpaki-Akamati are helpful and illuminating on this point.⁵² Furthermore, it seems that rather than *stelai*/pillars (which would have been a perfectly valid option) it was columns that crowned the tumuli and supported the *lebetes*, an identification suggested by their curving topsides, a feature that can be discerned in most of them. Thus, the whole monument-set took the form of tumuli coupled with columns supporting *lebetes* with griffin *protomai*.

By long-established custom, bronze *lebetes* par excellence were set up as votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries.⁵³ In addition, the traditional Greek bronze *lebes* (the ring-handled, tripod *lebes*, as well as *lebetes* of simpler forms) was offered as prize to the winners of contests, funerary contests included, and the same can be plausibly assumed for the Orientalizing *lebetes* adorned with griffin *protomai*.⁵⁴ Furthermore, vessels, including *lebetes* with

deprived of nails, while “the thinker” of the south wall and “the reader” of the north wall seemingly have hands with four fingers. See Brécoulaki 2006, 260, for further shortcomings that betray rapid execution. Also, Brécoulaki et al. 2023.

51. Already suggested on the basis of the published photographs by Kalaitzi 2016, 86 n. 40 (*lebes*). Cf. Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 107, who notes that “the possibility that at least one of the supposed *stelai* was a pillar-like base with a stone vessel should not be excluded”.

52. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, pls. 50a and 52.

53. On bronze griffin-cauldrons, in particular, selectively: Jantzen 1955; Herrmann 1966; Herrmann 1979; Mattusch 1990; Muscarella 1992, 35-36, 39-40; Gehrig 2004; Aruz 2014. Papalexandrou 2005, 170-173, sees an ideological polarity between the dedication of the “revered, age-old tripod” and that of Orientalizing cauldrons.

54. Herrmann 1966, 1-3; Herrmann 1979, 7; Kefalidou 1996, 104-109, 114-117, 119; Gehrig 2004, 1-3; Papalexandrou 2005, 9-12, 28-30, 33-34; Kefalidou 2007; Keesling 2015, 116-122. One cannot fail to mention the fifth-century BC prize tripod-stand from tomb B of Aigai in this connection: Kottaridi 2013, fig. on pp. 36-37, 202; Andronikos 1984,

griffin *protomai*, took on monumental form in marble in order to function as funerary monuments, at times also supported by pillars or columns,⁵⁵ a kind of monument attested in Macedonia, as well, also in combination with tumuli.⁵⁶ Finds such as the sixth-century BC funerary column of Damotimos, from Troezen, whose epigram says that it carried the tripod that the deceased

fig. 73, pp. 119-123, figs. 133-134, pp. 165-166. Ring-handled tripods appear in photographs published by the Media as well as in rough sketches by M. Lefantzis, through which the paintings of the frieze of “room 3” of the Kastas Macedonian Tomb in Amphipolis are still known to the scholarly community –but the iconographic context is far from clear as yet.

55. For fourth-century BC marble *lebetes* with griffin *protomai*, in particular, as grave markers, some asserted to have once stood on columns: von Mercklin 1926; Karouzou 1964, 13-14, pls. 11-12. See also Deplace 1980, for a general survey of the griffin in art. Columns as monuments/supports were set up in both votive and funerary environments: McGowan 1995; Kalaitzi 2016, 90, with references. Keesling 2015, 116-122, esp. 122, for references to votive columns and column bases supporting bronze and marble vases and *lebetes*; Knigge 2006, 144-145. Keesling 2015, esp. 121-122, and Kefalidou 1996 (above, n. 54 and below, n. 58), also serve as a condense reminder of the cycle of life, of the different functions of a given object/vessel, in our case of the bronze *lebes*, which can thus transcend different categories. The bronze *lebes* also functioned as a grave offering, as well as an urn: for bronze *lebetes* put to such use in royal and aristocratic Macedonian burials, see Kottaridi 1989, with n. 5; Kottaridi 2013, figs. on pp. 36-37, 138, 334; Andronikos 1984, fig. 73, pp. 119-123, fig. 125, pp. 160-161, fig. 164, pp. 202, 217 (the *lebes* from tomb III at Vergina was silver-plated); Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, 28-32 (A52) with pl. 32, 60-64, 72, 77 (B39, B107) with pl. 89, 98-102, 104 (Δ12, Δ54) with pl. 109, 121-123 (Z19, Z38α) with pl. 133, 130-131 (H5), 160-162 with Table 1. The type of the griffin *lebes* also functioned as a grave offering, the high-end bronze griffin cauldrons from Salamis on Cyprus being a well-known example: Karageorghis 2014; for a seventh-century BC clay griffin cauldron from a grave in Afrati, on Crete, see Aruz 2014, p. 275, no. 146 (entry by Katerina Athanasaki).

56. For marble vases as grave markers in Macedonia, see Kyriakou 2012; Kalaitzi 2016, 45, 83-86, 88 with n. 60; for columns as supports/part of funerary monuments, also supporting a vessel, in Macedonia, see Kalaitzi 2016, 15, 42, 261-262 no. 202. One of the *hydriai* retrieved from the “Great Tumulus” of Aigai was carved out of the same block of marble with its columnar support, which, as Saatsoglou-Paliadeli already remarked, resembled that of a *perirrhantieron*: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, 243-244 no. 65, pl. 76.

had won at a foot race, nicely demonstrate the direct reference of the kind of funerary monument selected to the deceased’s athletic victories and virtue.⁵⁷ The prize *lebetes* waiting for the winner(s) is a recurring element in the iconography of the horse/chariot races, at times depicted set on pillars or columns, which functioned as turning- and goal posts.⁵⁸ Elizabeth McGowan has in fact suggested that funerary columns of the Archaic period would have stood as visual allusions to their function as racecourse markers, and thus as signifiers of the deceased’s athletic prowess, stemming from the heroic past of the epics and leading down to the endeavours of the aristocracy of the Archaic period.⁵⁹

A painted Macedonian counterpart in a funerary environment, that is, a column supporting a *lebes* with griffin *protomai* (no tumulus), is provided by *kline* B of Potidaia, where, owing to the *lebes*’ darker tone of colour in relation to the column, Sismanidis has rightfully proposed that the vessel could have been meant as of metal.⁶⁰ In the case of the Potidaia painted *klinai*, the column supporting the *lebes*, along with other monuments, was meant to mark a sacred space populated by divinities. A marble *lebes* with griffin *protomai*, possibly standing on a column,⁶¹ belonged to the sculptures retrieved from the grandiose Pydna funerary monument, dated to ca. 330-320 BC. According to the preliminary reconstruction, it stood in the section of the composition representing a lion-, panther- and deer hunt, and was, thus, meant to mark the grounds of a sacred grove.⁶² In the case of the “Tomb of the Philosophers”, the presence of the tumuli identifies the whole set, that is, tumulus-column-*lebes*, as funerary. Mainly based on a passage from the *Iliad* recounting the funerary games held in honour of Patroclus, which reveals that a funerary monument/tomb could function as turning post for a (funerary) contest and that these

57. IG IV 801; Jeffery 1990, 176, 181 no. 2; McGowan 1995, 621-622, fig. 2.

58. Kefalidou 1996, esp. 67-68, 99-100, 104 n. 43, section on “ἵππικά ἀγωνίσματα” and the non-Attic examples, 106 n. 50.

59. McGowan 1995.

60. Sismanidis 1997, 45, pl. 6a-b. Griffins formed part of the imagery of Macedonian funerary painting: Brécoulaki 2006, 471: general index, s.v. griffons; Paspalas 2008.

61. “Only flaked pieces of the upper part” of its circular base were collected: Bessios, Athanassiadou 2019, 237.

62. Bessios, Athanassiadou 2019, 236-238, pl. 65.1; preliminary reconstruction of the monument: pl. 66; Bessios 2020, 370, 373, fig. 7.

two elements (funerary monument and racecourse marker) could be similar in form, McGowan has highlighted the strong, physical/spatial connection between funerary monument/tomb and (funerary) races.⁶³

The bad state of preservation of the Pella paintings prevents verdict as to the tone of colour of the *lebetes*, but the identification of the monument of which they formed part as funerary makes it more probable, although not obligatory, for them to have been meant as marble. In all, this particular type of monument, that is, tumulus and column supporting a griffin *lebes*, is here selected for it serves multiple aspects of the frieze's intended meaning: they function as scenic landmarks and narrative identifiers⁶⁴ for a prize-conferring funerary contest, and in particular a horse race (*keles* race), and as (standing or potential) funerary monuments erected for members of the class that would have bred high-profiled victors, honourees and bestowers of prizes alike.⁶⁵

The *lebetes* now recognized in the upper frieze bring the Pella tomb paintings closer than previously thought to the well-known twin mosaics mentioned above, namely the mosaic from a villa outside the Vesuvian Gate of Pompeii (commonly referred to as the Torre Annunziata philosopher mosaic), today in the Museum of Naples, and the mosaic from Sarsina, Umbria, kept in Villa Albani, both of which show a congregation of sages around a celestial sphere. The two mosaics, with which Lilimpaki-Akamati rightly connected the "Philosophers' tomb's" paintings from the outset,⁶⁶ have long been recognized as sharing a common iconographic source.⁶⁷ Both mosaics show an array of

63. *Il.* 23.326-333; McGowan 1995, 629-632.

64. Cf. Kefalidou 1996, 98-99.

65. An excellent parallel as to form and symbolism is provided by the reconstruction proposed by Knigge 2006 for the funerary monument of the Alkmeonidai Alkmeon and his son Megakles (II) in the Athenian Kerameikos.

66. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 89-91.

67. Selectively on the two mosaics, which are usually treated together, giving some idea of the different takes and identifications of the figures represented that have been set forward until now, see Richter 1965, vol. I, 82, figs. 316, 319; Klaus Parlasca in Helbig 1972, 327-328, no. 3350; Brendel 1977, esp. 1-18; Gaiser 1980; Wilson 2006, 307-317; Andrae 2012, 255, figs. 248-251. Griffiths' (2016) proposal that the original of the two mosaics showed the Delphic *omphalos* rather than a globe is refuted also in the light of the Pella wall paintings. Lately Sedley 2021, with earlier bibliography, represents a

four bronze *lebetes* placed on top of the segmented epistyle/ gate rising behind the figures on the viewer’s left, which in the case of the Sarsina mosaic can be more clearly recognized as adorned with griffin *protomai*.⁶⁸

As with other iconographic elements, the *lebetes* could be veneered with different levels of meaning and semantic nuance, depending on context. In Pella, they were separated from the philosophers and placed in the frieze with the horse race, thus primarily resonating with the renowned Macedonian soft spot for epic habits and heroic pomp. In the two mosaics the *lebetes* were present, one can submit, both as an element of architectural grandeur and as a symbol of divine insight and human wisdom, as the *lebes* was directly connected to Thales of Miletus, Solon and the Seven Sages, in a story told by more than one ancient authors, and, of course, with Apollo.⁶⁹

Once our investigation has been completed, we shall return to appreciate the connection of the Pella paintings with the twin mosaics from Pompeii and Sarsina in greater length, also in the light and in relation with other known representations of the kind, that is, of congregations of sages, as one might call them, such as the poets and philosophers of the Sarapieion at Memphis,⁷⁰ re-instated by Marianne Bergmann to the second half of the third century BC,⁷¹ or the late third - second-century BC monument of Hieronymos of Tlos.⁷² The series of “congregation of sages monuments”, to which even more works of art belong, have been long recognized as connected with one another and have fuelled a fascinating debate as to their specific subject matter and the identity of the figures shown, which is unlikely to end any time soon. The paintings of the Pella tomb should make part of any discussion of the series.

learned philosophical approach, which however is not grounded in the world and the modalities of iconography. Both Griffiths 2016 and Sedley 2021 do not take the Pella paintings into account.

68. See also Gaiser 1980, 14.

69. Papalexandrou 2005, 47-52.

70. First comprehensive publication by Lauer, Picard 1955.

71. Bergmann 2007.

72. First published by Hiller von Gaertringen, Robert 1902; further, selectively: Fraser 1977, 34-36; Pfuhl, Möbius 1979, no. 2085, pl. 300; Scholl 1994, 247-248; Bauer, Geominy 2000, no. 71 (J. Bauer); <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1098990> (accessed 12/2/23).

Intellectual background, antecedents and “the Pella astronomer”

The outdoors setting, in which the scene unrolls, is fitting as a meeting point for study, teaching and discourse, an ideal place where endeavours of the mind could be pursued. One cannot fail to think of the paradigm, actual or not, provided by nearby Mieza, whose Nymphaion was said to have been chosen as the base for the (northern annex of the) School of Aristotle, when he took on the role of Alexander’s mentor and tutor by (by that time, Pella-based) royal appointment: at a green-clad spot, well-watered by natural springs and streamlets, the cut natural rock formed the back of an Ionic stoa; it was surrounded by natural caves with further architectural formations and fashioning, and extensive promenade decks, parts of which appear to have been roofed.⁷³ In the words of Plutarch, σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβὴν τὸ περὶ Μίεζαν Νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπου μέχρι νῦν Ἀριστοτέλους ἔδρας τε λιθίνας καὶ ὑποσκίους περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν.⁷⁴

The concept of the universe as a sphere in Greek astronomy/cosmology⁷⁵ goes back to the sixth/fifth centuries BC, while the concrete celestial globe as a mechanical device is accredited by Cicero, on the authority of G. Sulpicius Gallus, to Thales of Miletus.⁷⁶ The latter piece of information is regarded by modern scholars with suspicion, but by the fourth century BC and certainly by the date of the Pella tomb, different kinds of celestial globes –the two basic forms being the concrete globe (σφαῖρα στερεά) and the armillary sphere (σφαῖρα κρικωτή)⁷⁷ had become an essential part of an astronomer’s kit.⁷⁸ In the visual arts, the celestial sphere became an attribute of celebrated astronomers/philosophers who dealt with questions of the *cosmos* and, of course, of their Muse Ourania, as it can be seen, for example, in the Archelaos relief or in

73. Siganiidou, Trochidis 1990, with n. 1 for references to the excavation reports by Photios Petsas; Rhomiopoulou 1997, 12-15, figs. 4-7.

74. Plut. *Alex.* 7.4.

75. The ancient Greek terms for astronomy were ἀστρονομία, ἀστρολογία and μαθηματική: Bowen, Rochberg 2020, glossary, s.v. Astronomy, Hellenistic: names.

76. Cic. *Rep.* 1.21-22.

77. For these two basic kinds, see Evans, Berggren 2006, 27-34.

78. Selectively: Evans 1998, 75-89; Le Boëuffle 1983, x-xii. On Hellenistic astronomy, its basic premises, and some of its devices, including artificial spheres, see Montelle 2020; Hannah 2020.

the paintings of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii.⁷⁹ In the advanced Hellenistic period, the globe became somewhat “trivialized”, as an attribute of citizens who did not belong to the class of renowned intellectuals, but nonetheless wanted to declare themselves as educated, as *literati*, on their tombstones; still, it remained comparatively rare, as in most cases a book roll would undertake to convey the message.⁸⁰

One of the figures to be visually flagged as an astronomer through his sphere, even if some of his critics would have deprived him of the title, was Aratos (ca. 315 or 310 - before 240/39 BC).⁸¹ Originally from Soloi in Cilicia, Aratos had distinct Macedonian connections of the highest rank, as, after studying at Athens, he was invited by no other than Antigonos Gonatas to reside at the royal court at Pella, where he composed his *Phaenomena* (ca. 276 BC).⁸² A scientific, commonly classified as didactic, poem on the celestial sphere, the constellations and weather forecasting, which became one of the best-sellers of Greek literature and one of the most influential writings of all time, Aratos’ *Phaenomena* are said to have been written on the instigation and by commission of the Macedonian king. Dear as he seems to have been to royals of his time, Aratos is said to have spent some time in the court of Antiochos I Soter

79. Archelaos relief: Smith 1991, 187, fig. 216. House of the Vettii Ourania: Pugliese Carratelli, Baldassarre 1994, 510, 513, fig. 71. See also below, n. 81 on the representations of Aratos, which include depictions of him together with Ourania, most notably the mosaic by Monnus (3rd cent. AD): Richter 1965, vol. II, 240 (c), fig. 1656.

80. See, for example, a first-century BC “Bildungsmahl”, as Zanker 1995, 193 with fig. 103, aptly calls the Totenmahl reliefs of bourgeois *literati*, from Byzantium; Pfuhl, Möbius 1979, no. 2034, pl. 294.

81. For an outline of the biographical sources on Aratos and of his work, see *OCD*⁴, s.v. Aratus (1); Kidd 1997, 3-23; Evans 1998, 75-78; Volk 2010; Gee 2013, 3-21. For representations of Aratos, some conjectural, see Richter 1965, vol. II, 239-241; Richter, Smith 1984, 89-92; Schefold 1997, 250-251, 286-293, 390-393, 418-419, 517 (on fig. 137), 524-525 (on figs. 163-171), 539 (on figs. 257-261), 543 (on fig. 300); Avgerinos 2014, 311-314; see also Wilson 2006, 307-331, esp. 307-317 on Aratos’ representations.

82. For Antigonos Gonatas’ patronage especially of philosophy and literature, see Waterfield 2021, esp. 220-230. The philosopher and politician Menedemos, Antigonos’ personal friend, took refuge and eventually died in Pella, in 261/60(?): Paschidis 2008, 452-456 (D95).

in Syria, whence he must have again returned to Macedonia, since he is said to have died there before Antigonos Gonatas. Aratos' poem was the versification of a prosaic theoretical treatise of Eudoxos of Cnidos (ca. 410-355 BC),⁸³ a pivotal figure in Greek astronomy, particularly for the development of the mathematical/geometric description and modelling of the celestial sphere and the movements of the celestial bodies.⁸⁴ In the aforementioned passage of Cicero, the main subject of which is Archimedes' ingenious globes, a significant step in the development of the concrete globes after Thales, in particular their marking with the constellations and the stars, and thus the development of the concrete star globe, is attributed to Eudoxos.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the specific chronological steps in the development of the different kinds of celestial spheres are still debated by scholars studying ancient Greek astronomy and modern epistemologists, as is the particular kind of sphere that Eudoxos would have used (a star sphere or even an orrery), if at all; similarly contested is the question whether, in studying and composing his poem, Aratos would have employed a physical model of the *cosmos*, although most scholars would readily agree that he did.⁸⁶

Having this background in mind, it is significant to note that, based on the date assigned to the "Tomb of the Philosophers" by its excavator, the simple, concrete, globe on its west wall, with no further signs marked on it, appears to be one of the earliest extant representations of the celestial globe, and, it seems, the earliest preserved in a funerary environment. Owing to the testimony of "Pseudo-Plutarch", however, we know that it would not have been the first, as on the grave monument of Isocrates (died in 338 BC) were represented figures of poets and Isocrates' teachers, including Gorgias gazing at the celestial globe, and Isocrates himself: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τράπεζα πλησίον ἔχουσα ποιητὰς τε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Γοργίαν εἰς σφαῖραν

83. Mastorakou 2021 more recently advocates Aratos' own original input.

84. *OCD* ⁴, s.v. Eudoxus (1); Kidd 1997, 14-18; Evans 1998, 75-78.

85. *Cic. Rep.* 1.21-22. For a partially preserved relief with a seated man identified through an inscription with Eudoxos, see Richter 1965, vol. II, 244, fig. 1679.

86. Aujac 1977-1979; Le Bœuffle 1983, x-xii; Gee 1997, 24-27; Evans 1998, 80-81; Dekker 2007-2008; Volk 2010, 202; Avgerinos 2014, 150-152, 267-276; Hannah 2020, 26. *Contra* Kidd 1997, 17-18, 357 (494), 366-369 (526, 530-531).

ἀστρολογικὴν βλέποντα αὐτὸν τε τὸν Ἴσοκράτην παρεστῶτα.⁸⁷ At about the same time as Isocrates, his pupil Theodektes of Phaselis had his grave marked by statues of himself and renowned poets, including Homer: ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνέστησαν σὺν αὐτῷ, ὧν Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς σφύζεται μόνος.⁸⁸ It is not without relevance to note the Macedonian connections of Theodektes, as Alexander the Great himself, having drunk and being in high spirits, is said by Plutarch to have crowned Theodektes' statue in Phaselis with wreaths, thus honouring the man who had by the time passed away and whose acquaintance Alexander had made owing to Aristotle.⁸⁹ Following up the paradigm already set by Attic funerary monuments, the figures of the Pella tomb offer the earliest *extant* gathering of intellectuals whose professional *insignia* cannot be missed.⁹⁰

At about the same time with the Pella tomb paintings, the globe was shown on the reverse of the coins issued by the city of Ouranopolis, which was founded in ca. 316 BC by Cassander's brother Alexarchos, a bizarre and obscure figure, described as a scholar, who styled himself as Helios and called the inhabitants of his short-lived foundation οὐρανίδαι and ἡλιοκρεῖς (“sun fleshed”).⁹¹ The figure seated on the globe on the coins of Ouranopolis was traditionally identified with Aphrodite Ourania, but Elisavet-Bettina Tsigarida rightly pointed out that a male figure is shown. In the light of finds from the sanctuary at the site of Nea Rhoda, identified with the site of Sane/Ouranopolis, and in particular in the light of the early-Hellenistic marble head of a

87. Plut. *Mor.* 838c-d. On the monument of Isocrates, see Scholl 1994, 240-252.

88. Plut. *Mor.* 837c-d. On the monument of Theodektes, see Scholl 1994, 252-254.

89. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 17.9.

90. Cf. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 93 (“[...] θέμα, το οποίο για πρώτη φορά παρουσιάζεται σε ταφικό μνημείο του ελλαδικού χώρου [...]”). An epigram by Agathias Scholasticus (*Greek Anthology* XVI, 332) records that Lysippos made a statue of Aesop, which he placed ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν ἔμπροσθεν, thus bearing testimony to such an esteemed assortment of intellectuals depicted in the 4th cent. BC: Richter 1965, vol. I, 82 (with regard to the question whether Lysippos would have made portraits of the Seven Sages).

91. Ath. 3.98d-f (< Heracleides Lembus); Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48. On Heracleides Lembus: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/lexicon-of-greek-grammarians-of-antiquity/heraclides-5-lembus-Heraclides_5_Lembus#Heraclides_5_Lembus_Biographical_Essay_Fonti (accessed 11/2/23).

statue of Helios, she plausibly proposed to identify the figure on the coins with the god Helios.⁹² Indicative of the broader intellectual ambience, in which the paintings under discussion were created, is also Demetrios Poliorketes' (reign: 294-288 BC) commission that the globe with the stars and the twelve signs of the zodiac be woven into his chlamys, an extravagant piece of clothing that was left unfinished and that no Macedonian king ever ventured to wear.⁹³

These three appearances of the celestial globe stemmed from Macedonian commissions, environments and agendas in the same period. The globe in the Pella tomb was connected to the figure of a philosopher/astronomer, the globe on the coins of Ouranopolis was connected with a divine figure, which provided the city's patron deity and the role model for its eccentric *ktistes*, brother to the king, while the globe on Demetrios' chlamys was connected with a Macedonian king, who in the ithyphallic hymn sung to him by the Athenians was likened to the Sun,⁹⁴ and who, as Angelos Chaniotis has suggested, through the cosmic images displayed on his garment wished to appropriate himself as master of the annual cycle and the seasons, as master of time.⁹⁵

92. Tsigarida 1996, esp. 336-338; Tsigarida 1999, esp. 1239-1241; Tsigarida in Stefani et al. 2019, 242 no. 164; Gatzolis 2010, vol. II, 355-360. For the older identification with Aphrodite Ourania, see for example Mørkholm 1991, 60. For the literary sources on Alexarchos and Ouranopolis, see *RE IX A.1*, s.v. Uranopolis (1); Cohen 1995, 105-106. Palagia 2016, 77, has suggested that the figure on the globe on the coins of Ouranopolis might have been that of Alexarchos as Helios, but this for a number of reasons that cannot be analysed here, is less probable.

93. Ath. 12.535e-536a (< Douris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 F 14): αἱ δὲ γλαμύδες αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ὄρφνινον ἔχουσαι τὸ φέγγος τῆς χροῶς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ πόλος ἐνύφαντο χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας ἔχων καὶ τὰ δώδεκα ζῳδία. The version provided by Plut., *Demetr.* 41.4-5 reads: ἦν δὲ τις ὑφαινομένη γλανὶς αὐτῷ πολλὸν χρόνον, ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἴκασμα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν κατ'οὐρανὸν φαινομένων (...). Thracian aristocrats of the 4th cent. BC might have also shared the aspiration for cosmic symbolism: Consuelo Manetta has proposed that the female *prosopa* painted on a number of the coffers of the ceiling of the tomb under the Ostrusha tumulus represented the *Pleiades*: Manetta 2013; Manetta, Stoyanova, Luglio 2016.

94. Ath. 6.253d-f (< Douris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 F 13).

95. Chaniotis 2011, 165-166. On the basis of the aforementioned passage of Ath. 12.535e-536a (< Douris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 F 14) it has been conjectured that the

These appearances of the celestial globe are visual attestations of the close relation of philosophy and cosmology and their models to political theory and the ideology of kingship of the period and, thus, enlightening with regard to the position of the tomb under discussion in the heart of the kingdom and the potential relation of its male occupant to the ruling class of his time. It is not long after the tomb’s generally accepted construction date that Aratos arrived in Pella, where his poetic *kalamos* was to write about the stars and cause the author himself to rise to stardom among mortals.

The main frieze is further complemented by the secondary frieze with the horse race, the *keles* race.⁹⁶ We have argued elsewhere why we believe that it is possible that this painted frieze, rather than stand as a symbolic reference to the revered heroic past with no correspondence to its contemporary reality, could be taken as the depiction of a contest that could have actually been organized as part of the special honours accorded to the tomb’s occupant(s).⁹⁷ It is not without relevance to note here that, along with pot sherds, sea shells and burnt matter were also found fallen in the tomb, after this had been violated and/or some of its cover slabs had collapsed. The excavator suggested that these might have belonged to funerary rites held outside the grave “στα όρια του τύμβου που θα κάλυπτε πιθανότατα και άλλους τάφους” (“at the boundaries of the tumulus that would have probably covered other tombs as well”).⁹⁸

Of a philosopher being honoured with funerary games by the Macedonian ruling class we hear of a foreigner in lands far afield, as Alexander is said to have organized contests, including horse races, for the Indian philosopher

painting of Demetrios Poliorketes on the *proskenion* of the theatre of Dionysos in Athens would have shown him mounted on a (terrestrial) globe: see, for example, Michel 1968, 81-82; Palagia 2016, 74-77. However, Athenaeus’ text reads γινόμενων δὲ τῶν Δημητρίων Ἀθήνησιν ἐγράφετο ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκηνίου ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀχούμενος; the οἰκουμένη as a concept did not coincide with the (terrestrial) globe: see Klaus Geus in <https://oxfordre.com/classics/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-8008> (accessed 11/2/23).

96. On the *keles* race, its different types and its position in Greek contests, see Bell 1989a and 1989b. For the depiction of the chariot race in Macedonian tombs, see Kalaitzi 2016, 88 with references.

97. Brécoulaki 2006, 258-259; Kalaitzi 2016, 110-111.

98. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 21 with n. 40.

Kalanos.⁹⁹ This could not, of course, be taken by direct analogy as evidence for the organization of similar funerary contests for the occupant of the tomb under discussion in Pella, but it should be borne in mind as indicative of the high esteem in which a representative of the intellectual lot was held by Macedonian royalty during the broader period with which we are concerned.

The outfit of the figure of “the astronomer” is differentiated from the conservative civilian outfit of the chiton and the himation that “the reader” and “the thinker” sport along with textbook intellectual poses. Appearing robust and clean-shaven, in the new-age Alexander mode, “the astronomer” opted for the “young or ageless” look that, in Bert Smith’s formulation, went into the portrait-statues of kings, rather than for the aging and decaying body, coupled with troubled, furrowed, wrinkled and at times even intimidating bearded faces that instantly gave away a thinker of *gravitas*.¹⁰⁰ Given the age of the man interred in the tomb (as said, a man of 45-50 years of age), it is art that drove the painter’s brush in rendering these physical aspects of “the astronomer” rather than real life.

Instead of banishing the figure of “the Pella astronomer” from the ranks of the intellectuals on the grounds of this deviation from what was the figural norm for certified colleagues of his, it is possible to see in him an alternative way of resolving the ideological confrontation between city and king, to which Bert Smith ingeniously gave a pivotal role in the shaping of the different strands of portrait-statues developed for kings and philosophers in the early Hellenistic period;¹⁰¹ an alternative way that was tested in the heart of the Macedonian kingdom, where these two (political, social, ideological) poles developed in conjunction with one another, being inseparable and interdependent. One could play with the idea of the Platonic “philosopher king”,¹⁰² transplanted and transferred, *mutatis mutandis*, to the civic realm: depicting a member of the upper echelons of the city, with close connections with the court, “the Pella astronomer” combines semi-nudity with the looks of physical

99. Ael. *VH* 2.41; Ath. 10.437a-b, and Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 70 (< Chares of Mytilene, *FGrHist* 125 F 19).

100. Smith 1993; citation from *ibid.*, 208-209.

101. Smith 1993.

102. A model with a long life in political theory and diverse offshoots; suffice it to refer here to one of the most famous passages of the *Republic*: *Pl. Resp.* 473c-e.

competence and a pose found among gods, heroes and royals,¹⁰³ while at the same time he sports the paraphernalia of the man of thought together with the exaltation of the wreath. “The Pella astronomer”, as the painted representation of the adult male occupant of the tomb who would have belonged to the *intelligentsia* of his time and who would have apparently played a leading role in shaping the thought and life practice of his contemporaries,¹⁰⁴ presents us with a Macedonian take, a Macedonian hybrid of a philosopher, produced under the great shadow of the Pellaian palace.

Myrina Kalaitzi
Institute of Historical Research,
National Hellenic Research Foundation
mkalaitzi@eie.gr

Hariclia Brecolaki
Institute of Historical Research,
National Hellenic Research Foundation
hbrek@eie.gr

Giovanni Verri
Art Institute of Chicago
gverri@artic.edu

103. Already remarked by Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 43, with n. 76 for references. See Smith 1991, 19-24 with fig. 4; 63-66 with fig. 70. A famous example is the “Alexander Rondanini”: Munich Glyptothek 298, Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, no. 33, pls. 180-188.

104. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, 91; Kalaitzi 2016, 110-111.

Summary

This article discusses the new findings on the iconography of the two figural friezes painted in the interior of the “Tomb of the Philosophers”, an early Hellenistic, monumental, built cist grave, situated in the east cemetery of Pella, Macedonia. A new technical investigation of the tomb’s wall paintings has allowed the revision of older readings of the two friezes. In the lower, main figural frieze new observations pertain to figure characterization, through features, dress and attributes, as well as to the scene’s setting. The figures of the frieze offer the earliest preserved gathering of intellectuals whose professional insignia cannot be missed, while the celestial globe shown on the west wall appears to be one of the earliest extant representations of the device and the earliest preserved in a funerary environment. The new identification proposed for the monuments shown in the upper, secondary frieze, which represents a horse race, aligns the frieze’s composition with established iconographic schemes of agonistic events, adds multiple levels of symbolism, and ties the Pella wall-paintings more tightly than previously believed with the “Torre Annunziata philosopher mosaic”, Pompeii, and its twin from Sarsina, Umbria. The bonds of astronomy/cosmology with political theory and with aspects of Macedonian royal ideology, in particular, are set in relief. Finally, it is argued that the physical vicinity of the “Tomb of the Philosophers” with the palace of Pella and the royal court informed the mode of burial of a man of thought with favourable relations to his times’ monarchy, as well as his mode of portrayal as “the astronomer” on the west wall, a figure that presents us with a Macedonian iconographic hybrid of a philosopher, resonating the Platonic concept of the “philosopher king”.

Abbreviations-Bibliography

- Andreae, B. 2012. *Antike Bildmosaiken*. Darmstadt – Mainz.
- Aruz, J. 2014. “Cauldrons”, in J. Aruz, S.B. Graff, Y. Rakic (eds.), *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*. New York, 272-281.
- Andronikos, M. 1984. *Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*. Athens.
- Aujac, G. 1977-1979. “Globes célestes en Grèce ancienne”, *Der Globusfreund. Globe Studies, The Journal of the International Coronelli Society for the Study of Globes* 25-27, 117-125.
- Avgerinos, C.E. 2014. *Τα Φαινόμενα του Αράτου στους συγχρόνους και τους μεταγενεστέρους του (Πονήματα 8)*. Athens.
- Bauer, J., Geominy, W. 2000. *Gips nicht mehr: Abgüsse als letzte Zeugen antiker Kunst*. Bonn.
- Bell, D. 1989a. *A Study of the κέλης Event in Ancient Greece: From the Pre-Classical Period to the 1st Century B.C.* (diss. Univ. of Edinburgh).
- Bell, D. 1989b. “The Horse Race (κέλης) in Ancient Greece from the Pre-Classical Period to the First Century B.C.”, *Stadion* 15, 167-190.
- Bergmann, M. 2007. “The Philosophers and Poets in the Sarapieion at Memphis”, in P. Schultz, R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*. Cambridge, 246-263.
- Bessios, M. 2020. “Το μνημείο της Πύδνας”, in A. Delivorias, A. Zarkadas, E. Vikela, N. Kaltsas, A.-I. Trianti (eds.), *Σπονδή. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Γιώργου Δεσπίνη (Μουσείο Μπενάκη Παράρτημα 12)*. Athens, 367-377.
- Bessios, M., Athanassiadou, M. 2019. “Discovering the Monument of Pydna: Royal or Royal *Hetairoi* Tombs?”, in H. Frielinghaus, J. Stroszeck, P. Valavanis (eds.), *Griechische Nekropolen. Neue Forschungen und Funde (Beiträge zur Archäologie Griechenlands 5)*. Möhnesee, 235-243.
- Le Bœuffle, A. 1983. *Hygin. L’astronomie*. Paris.
- Bowen, A.C., Rochberg, F. (eds.) 2020. *Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in Its Contexts (Brill’s Companions to Classical Studies)*. Leiden – Boston.
- Brécoulaki, H. 2006. *La peinture funéraire de Macédoine : Emplois et fonctions de la couleur, IVe - IIe s. av. J.-C.* (Μελετήματα 48). Athens.
- Brecoulaki, H., Verri, G., Kalaitzi, M., Maniatis, Y., Lilimpaki-Akamati, M. 2023. “Investigating Colors and Techniques on the Wall Paintings of the ‘Tomb of the Philosophers’, an Early Hellenistic Monumental Cist Tomb in Pella (Macedonia, Greece)”, in *Heritage* 6(8). Special Issue *Polychromy in Ancient Sculpture and Architecture*, edited by J. Dyer. 5619-5647 (<https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage6080296>) (accessed 20/8/23).

- Brendel, O.J. 1977. *Symbolism of the Sphere: A Contribution to the History of Earlier Greek Philosophy* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 67) (transl. by Maria W. Brendel). Leiden.
- Chaniotis, A. 2011. "The Ithyphallic Hymn for Demetrios Poliorketes and Hellenistic Religious Mentality", in P.P. Iossif, A.S. Chankowski, C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods. Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (November 1-2, 2007)* (Studia Hellenistica 51). Leuven, 157-195.
- Cohen, G.M. 1995. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*. Berkeley – Los Angeles.
- Dekker, E. 2007-2008. "Featuring the First Greek Celestial Globe", *Der Globusfreund. Globe Studies, The Journal of the International Coronelli Society for the Study of Globes* 55-56, 133-152.
- Della Corte, M. 1942. "L'educazione di Alessandro Magno nell'enciclopedia aristotelica in un trittico megalografico di Pompei del II stile", *RM* 57, 31-77.
- Deplace, C. 1980. *Le griffon. De l'archaïsme à l'époque impériale : étude iconographique et essai d'interprétation symbolique* (Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes 20). Brussels – Rome.
- Evans, J. 1998. *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*. Oxford.
- Evans, J., Berggren, J.L. 2006. *Geminus's Introduction to the Phenomena: A Translation and Study of a Hellenistic Survey of Astronomy*. Princeton – Oxford.
- Fraser, P.M. 1977. *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*. Oxford.
- Gaiser, K. 1980. *Das Philosophenmosaik in Neapel. Eine Darstellung der platonischen Akademie* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 2). Heidelberg.
- Gatzolis, C. 2010. *Η κυκλοφορία του χάλκινου νομίσματος στη Μακεδονία (5^{ος} - 1^{ος} αι. π.Χ.)* (diss. Aristotle Univ. of Thessaloniki).
- Gee, E. 1997. "Parva figura poli: Ovid's Vestalia (Fasti 6.249-468) and the Phaenomena of Aratus", *PCPhS* 43, 21-40.
- Gee, E. 2013. *Aratus and the Astronomical Tradition*. Oxford.
- Gehrig, U. 2004. *Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion von Samos. Samos IX*. Bonn.
- Georgiadou, A., Ioannidou, P. 2015. "Το ανατολικό νεκροταφείο της Πέλλας: έρευνες 2014-2015", *AEMTh* 29, 183-188.
- Griffiths, A. 2016. "Navel-Gazing in Naples? The Painting behind the 'Pompeii Philosophers'", *Syllecta Classica* 27, 151-166.
- Hannah, R. 2020. "Methods of Reckoning Time", in A.C. Bowen, F. Rochberg (eds.), *Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in Its Contexts* (Brill's Companions to Classical Studies). Leiden – Boston, 24-38.

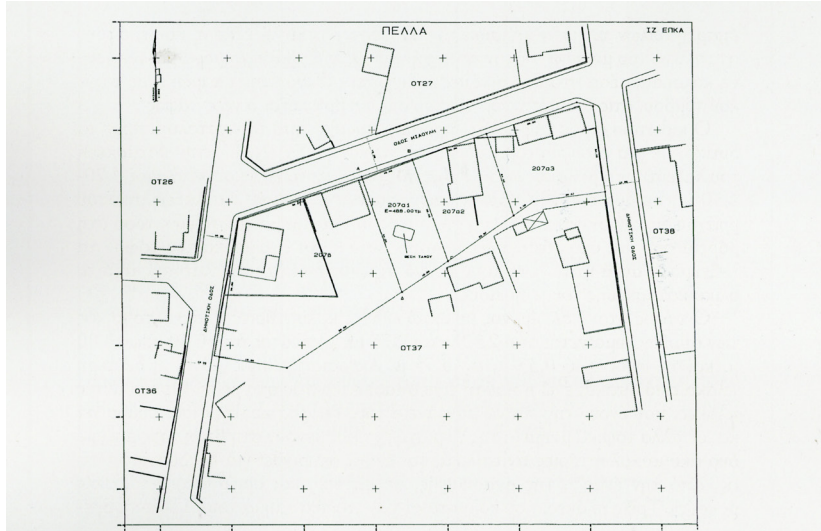
- Helbig, W. 1972. *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*. Band 4: *Die Staatlichen Sammlungen, Museo Ostiense in Ostia Antica, Museo der Villa Hadriana in Tivoli, Villa Albani*. 4th ed. Tübingen.
- Herrmann, H.-V. 1966. *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit*. Teil 1: *Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze* (Olympische Forschungen VI). Berlin.
- Herrmann, H.-V. 1979. *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit*. Teil 2: *Kesselprotomen und StabdreifüÙe* (Olympische Forschungen XI). Berlin.
- Hiller von Gaertringen, F., Robert, C. 1902. “Relief von dem Grabmal eines rhodischen Schulmeisters”, *Hermes* 37, 121-146.
- Jaeger, M. 2002. “Cicero and Archimedes’ Tomb”, *JRS* 92, 49-61.
- Jantzen, U. 1955. *Griechische Greifenkessel*. Berlin.
- Jeffery, L.H. 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, Revised Edition with a Supplement by A.W. Johnston. Oxford.
- Kalaitzi, M. 2016. *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia, Fifth - First Century BC*. Oxford.
- Kalaitzi, M. 2018. “Public Profiles and Mediated Selfies in Ancient Macedonia: The Gravestones’ Facebook”, in C.M. Draycott, R. Raja, K. Welch, W.T. Wootton (eds.), *Visual Histories of the Classical World. Essays in Honour of R.R.R. Smith* (Studies in Classical Archaeology 4). Turnhout, 403-423.
- Kalaitzi, M., Stamatopoulou, M. 2021. “Bookrolls and Writing Tablets as Pictorial Gear: Images of *Literati* on Macedonian and Thessalian Tombstones of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods”, in V. Pappas, D. Terzopoulou (eds.), *Ancient Macedonia VIII. Macedonia from the Death of Philip II to Augustus’ Rise to Power. Papers Read at the Eighth International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, November 21-24, 2017* (Institute for Balkan Studies 287). Thessaloniki, 539-585.
- Karageorghis, V. 2014. “The ‘Royal’ Tombs of Salamis on Cyprus”, in J. Aruz, S.B. Graff, Y. Rakic (eds.), *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*. New York, 188-192.
- Karouzou, S. 1964. ““Ἡρωες ἀγνοῖ σ’ ἓναν αττικὸ κράτηρα””, *ArchDelt* 19.A, 1-16.
- Keesling, C.M. 2015. “Solon’s Property Classes on the Athenian Acropolis? A Reconsideration of *IG* 1³.831 and *Ath. Pol.* 7.4”, in K.F. Daly, L.A. Riccardi (eds.), *Cities Called Athens. Studies Honoring John Mck. Camp II*. Lewisburg, 115-135.
- Kefalidou, E. 1996. *Νικητής: Εικονογραφική μελέτη του αρχαίου ελληνικού αθλητισμού*. Thessaloniki.
- Kefalidou, E. 2007. “Γεωμετρικά και αρχαϊκά έπαθλα: κείμενα, ευρήματα, εικονογραφία (8^{ος} - 7^{ος} αιώνας π.Χ.)”, in M. Paizi-Apostolopoulou, A. Rengakos, C. Tsagalis (eds.), *Contests and Rewards in the Homeric Epics*.

- Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium on the Odyssey (15-19 September 2004)*. Ithaca, 203-229.
- Kidd, D. 1997. *Aratus. Phaenomena* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 34). Cambridge.
- Knigge, U. 2006. "Ein Grabmonument der Alkmeoniden im Kerameikos", *AM* 121, 127-163.
- Kottaridi, A. 1989. "Βεργίνα 1989: Ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο στα ΒΔ της αρχαίας πόλης", *AEMTh* 3, 1-11.
- Kottaridi, A. 2013. *Aigai. The Royal Metropolis of the Macedonians*. Athens (available online at https://www.latsis-foundation.org/content/elib/book_20/aiges_en.pdf).
- Kyriakou, A. 2012. "Συνθέτοντας την εικόνα ενός ταφικού μνημείου: η βιογραφία του μαρμάρινου κρατήρα από τη Στενόμακρη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας", in *Μελετήματα Ημαθίας* 4. Veroia, 211-245.
- Lauer, J.-P., Picard, C. 1955. *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Publications de l'Institut d'art et d'archéologie de l'Université de Paris 3). Paris.
- Lilimpaki-Akamati, M. 2001. "Νέος κιβωτιόσχημος τάφος με ζωγραφική διακόσμηση στην Πέλλα", *AEMTh* 15, 451-460.
- Lilimpaki-Akamati, M. 2007. *Κιβωτιόσχημος τάφος με ζωγραφική διακόσμηση από την Πέλλα* (Πέλλης 1). Thessaloniki.
- Manetta, C. 2013. "The Tomb Below the Ostrusha Mound and the Painted *Prosopa* within the Central Boxes of the Ceiling: Proposal for a New Reading", *CHS Research Bulletin* 1.2 (http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hnc.essay:ManettaC.The_Tomb_Below_the_Ostrusha_Mound.2013) (accessed 11/8/23).
- Manetta, C., Stoyanova, D., Luglio, G. 2016. "Architecture and Painting of the Sarcophagus-like Burial Chamber of the Ostrusha Burial Mound, Shīrka: New Remarks", in *Проблеми и изследвания на тракийската култура* 8. Kazanlak, 31-88 (in Bulgarian, with a summary in English).
- Mastorakou, S. 2021. "Aratus' *Phaenomena* beyond Its Sources", *Aestimatio: Sources and Studies in the History of Science* 1.1, 55-70. (<https://doi.org/10.33137/aestimatio.v1i1.37591>) (accessed 13/11/23).
- Mattusch, C. 1990. "A Trio of Griffins from Olympia", *Hesperia* 59, 549-560.
- von Mercklin, E. 1926. "Marmorne Grabvasen mit Greifenprotomen", *AM* 51, 98-116.
- McGowan, E.P. 1995. "Tomb Marker and Turning Post: Funerary Columns in the Archaic Period", *AJA* 99, 615-632.
- Michel, D. 1968. *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius* (Collection Latomus XCIV). Brussels.

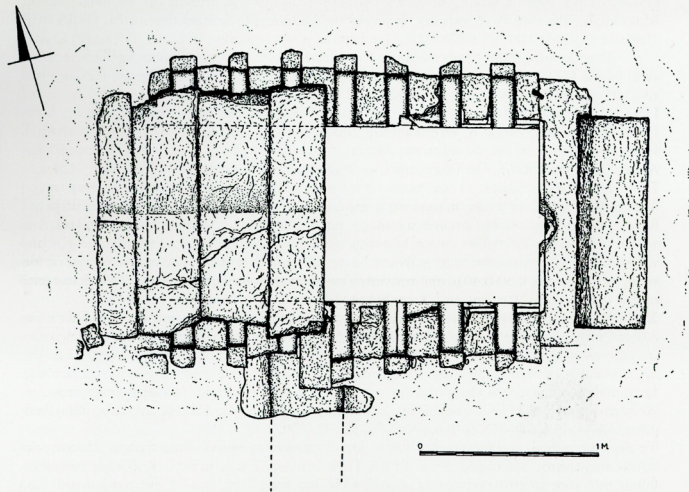
- Montelle, C. 2020. “The Celestial Sphere”, in A.C. Bowen, F. Rochberg (eds.), *Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in Its Contexts* (Brill’s Companions to Classical Studies). Leiden – Boston, 9-23.
- Mørkholm, O. 1991. *Early Hellenistic Coinage: From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 B.C.)*, edited by P. Grierson and U. Westermark. Cambridge.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1992. “Greek and Oriental Cauldron Attachments: A Review”, in G. Kopcke, I. Tokumaru (eds.), *Greece between East and West: 10th - 8th Centuries BC. Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15-16th, 1990*. Mainz, 16-45.
- Palagia, O. 2011. “Hellenistic Art”, in R.J. Lane Fox (ed.), *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC - 300 AD*. Leiden, 477-493.
- Palagia, O. 2016. “Visualising the Gods in Macedonia: from Philip II to Perseus”, *Pharos* 22.1, 73-98.
- Papalexandrou, N. 2005. *The Visual Poetics of Power. Warriors, Youths, and Tripods in Early Greece*. Lanham, Md.
- Paschidis, P. 2008. *Between City and King. Prosopographical Studies on the Intermediaries between the Cities of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean and the Royal Courts in the Hellenistic Period (322-190 BC)* (Μελετήματα 59). Athens.
- Paspalas, S.A. 2008. “The Achaemenid Lion-Griffin on a Macedonian Tomb Painting and on a Sicyonian Mosaic”, in S.M. Reza Darbandi, A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters. 1st International Conference, Athens, 11-13 November 2006*. Athens, 301-325.
- Pfuhl, E., Möbius, H. 1977-1979. *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*. Vols. I-II. Mainz am Rhein.
- Plantzos, D. 2018. *Η τέχνη της ζωγραφικής στον αρχαιοελληνικό κόσμο*. Athens.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G., Baldassarre, I. (eds.) 1990. *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*. Vol. I: *Regio I, Parte I*. Rome.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G., Baldassarre, I. (eds.) 1994. *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*. Vol. V: *Regio VI, Parte II*. Rome.
- Rhomiopoulou, K. 1997. *Λευκάδια. Αρχαία Μίεζα*. Athens.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1965. *The Portraits of the Greeks*. Vols. I-III. London.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1984. *The Portraits of the Greeks* (abridged and revised by R.R.R. Smith). Oxford.
- Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, C. 1984. *Τα επιτάφια μνημεία από τη Μεγάλη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας* (diss. Aristotle Univ. of Thessaloniki).
- Schefold, K. 1997. *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*. 2nd ed. Verfasst und neubearbeitet von Karl Schefold, unter Mitarbeit von A.-C. Bayard et al. Basel.

- Schmidt-Dounas, B. 2016. “Macedonian Grave Tumuli”, in O. Henry, U. Kelp (eds.), *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millenium BC* (Topoi, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 27). Berlin, 101-142.
- Scholl, A. 1994. “Πολυτάλαντα μνημεῖα: Zur literarischen und monumentalen Überlieferung aufwendiger Grabmäler im spätklassischen Athen”, *JdI* 109, 239-271.
- Sedley, D. 2021. “An Iconography of Xenocrates’ Platonism”, in M. Erler, J.E. Hessler, F.M. Petrucci (eds.), *Authority and Authoritative Texts in the Platonist Tradition*. Cambridge, 38-63.
- Siganidou, M., Trochidis, K. 1990. “Η Σχολή του Αριστοτέλους στη Μίεζα”, *AEMTh* 4, 121-125.
- Simms, D.L. 1990. “The Trail for Archimedes’s Tomb”, *JWarb* 53, 281-286.
- Sismanidis, K. 1997. *Κλίνες και κλινοειδείς κατασκευές των Μακεδονικών τάφων* (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 58). Athens.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1991. *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook*. London.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1993. “Kings and Philosophers”, in A. Bulloch et al. (eds.), *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*. Berkeley, 202-211.
- Stefani, E., Tsangaraki, E., Arvanitaki, A. (eds.) 2019. *Από τον Νότο στον Βορρά: Αποικίες των Κυκλάδων στο βόρειο Αιγαίο*. Thessaloniki.
- Themelis, P.G., Touratsoglou, I.P. 1997. *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενίου* (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 59). Athens.
- Tsigarida, E.-B. 1996. “Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην περιοχή της αρχαίας Σάνης - Ουρανούπολης 1990-1996”, *AEMTh* 10A, 333-346.
- Tsigarida, E.-B. 1999. “Στοιχεία για τη λατρεία του Ήλιου στην Ουρανιδών πόλιν”, in *Ancient Macedonia VI. Papers Read at the Sixth International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 15-19, 1996*. Vol. II. Thessaloniki, 1235-1246.
- Tsimbidou-Avloniti, M. 2000. “...ΛΑΡΝΑΚ’ ΕΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΕΗΝ... (Ιλ. Σ, 413)”, in P. Adam-Veleni (ed.), *Μύρτος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου*. Thessaloniki, 543-567.
- Tsimbidou-Avloniti, M. 2013. “Έλληνιστική Θεσσαλονίκη: λίθων λησμονηθέντων και χρώσεως αφήγησις”, *AEMTh* 27, 237-244.
- Tzanavari, K. 2014. “Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος του κιβωτίοσχημου τάφου I του Δερβενίου, στην αρχαία Λητή: πρώτη ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση”, *AEMTh* 28, 489-500.
- Vierneisel-Schlörb, B. 1979. *Glyptothek München: Katalog der Skulpturen. Band II: Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Munich.
- Volk, K. 2010. “Aratus”, in J.J. Clauss, M. Cuypers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*. Chichester, 197-210.

- Waterfield, R. 2021. *The Making of a King: Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon and the Greeks*. Chicago.
- Wilson, R.J.A. 2006. "Aspects of Iconography in Romano-British Mosaics: The Rudston 'Aquatic' Scene and the Brading Astronomer Revisited", *Britannia* 37, 295-336.
- Zanker, P. 1995. *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (transl. by Alan Shapiro). Berkeley.

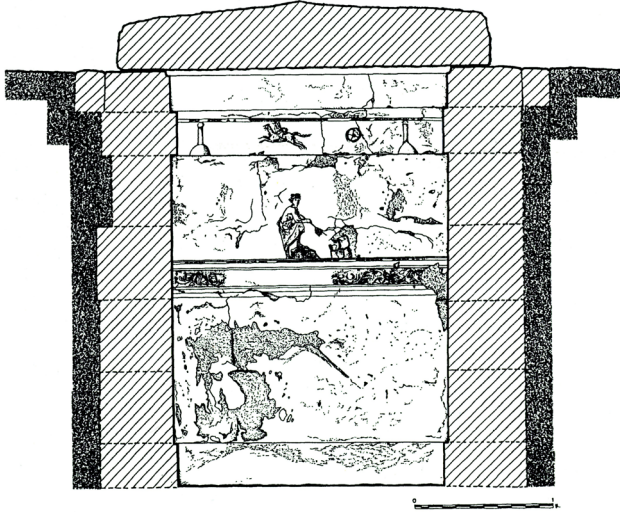


Σχ. 1. Τοπογραφικό σχέδιο με τη θέση του τάφου.



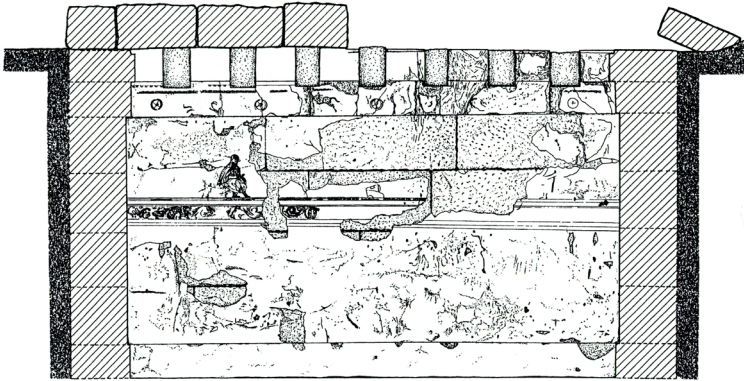
Σχ. 2. Κάτοψη του τάφου.

Fig. 1. Topographic plan indicating the location of the tomb (207a1), and plan of the tomb. After Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, dr. 1-2.



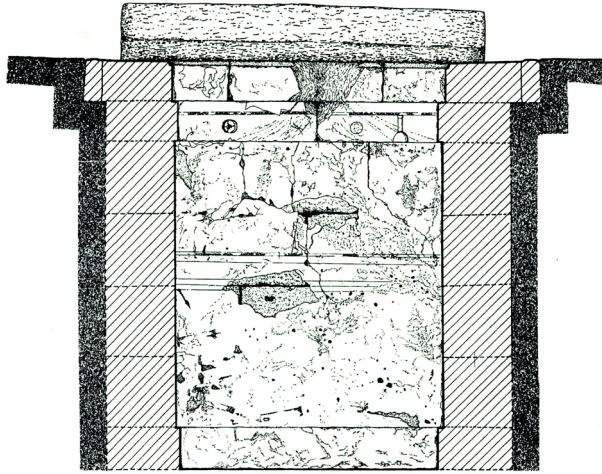
Σχ. 10. Το δυτικό τοίχωμα του τάφου.

Fig. 2. Drawing of the west interior wall of the tomb. After Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, dr. 10.



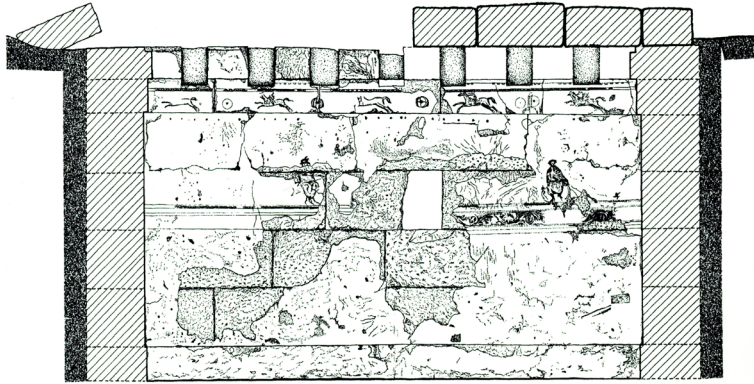
Σχ. 12. Το βόρειο τοίχωμα του τάφου.

Fig. 3. Drawing of the north interior wall of the tomb. After Lilimpaki- Akamati 2007, dr. 12.



Σχ. 11. Το ανατολικό τοίχωμα του τάφου.

Fig. 4. Drawing of the east interior wall of the tomb. After Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007, dr. 11.



Σχ. 13. Νότιο τοίχωμα του τάφου.

Fig. 5. Drawing of the south interior wall of the tomb. After Lilimpaki- Akamati 2007, dr. 13.



Fig. 6. West wall, main figural frieze: "the astronomer". Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 7. North wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (west) part of the wall: "the reader". Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

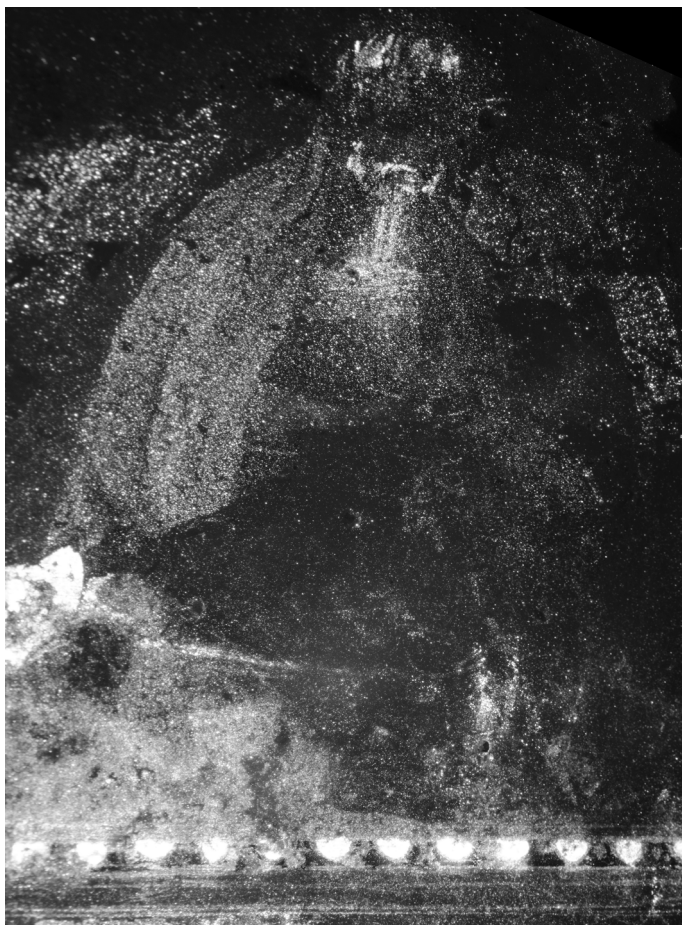


Fig. 8. North wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (west) part of the wall: "the reader". Photograph (VIL) by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 9. North wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (west) part of the wall: "the reader". Photograph (UIL) by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 10. North wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (west) part of the wall: “the reader”. Photograph (IRR) by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 11. North wall, main figural frieze, pair of rolled-up papyri. Photograph by Ch. Simatos. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

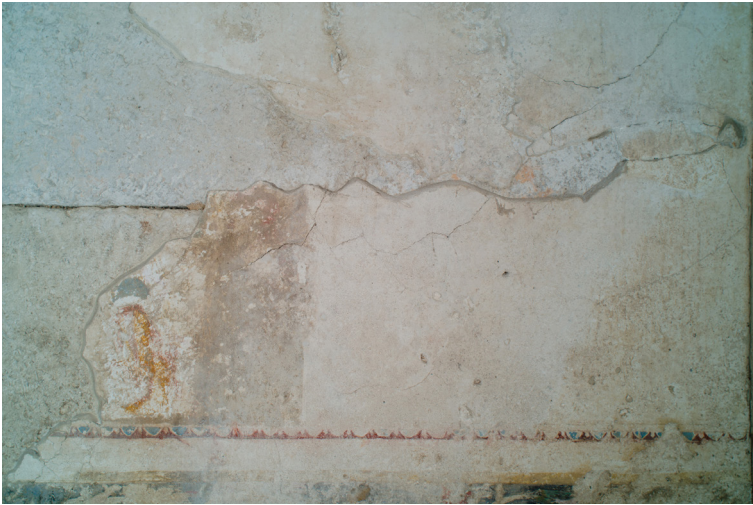


Fig. 12. North wall, main figural frieze; the east part of the wall (as preserved in situ). Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

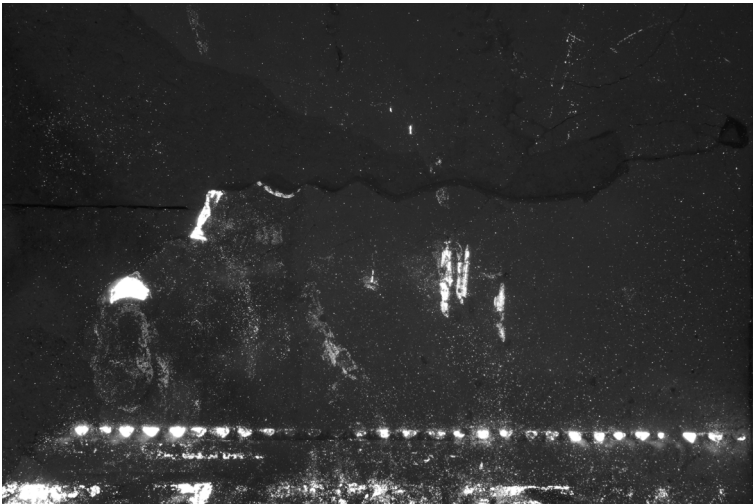


Fig. 13. North wall, main figural frieze; the east part of the wall (as preserved in situ). Photograph (VIL) by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 14. East wall, main figural frieze; in situ remains of the figure. Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

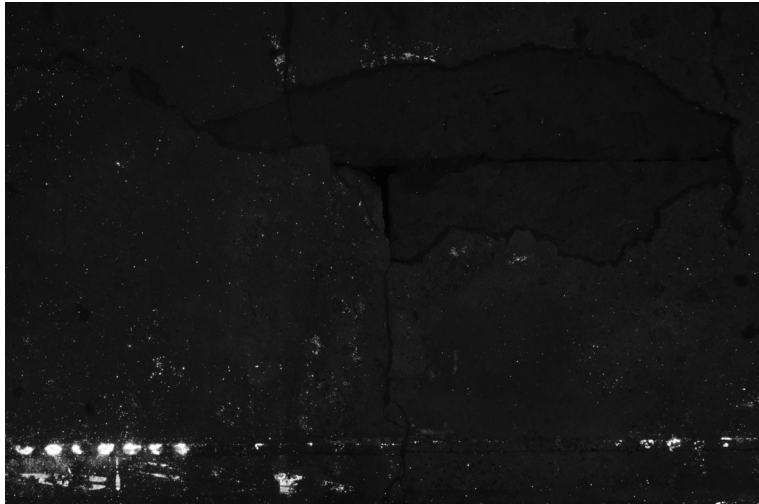


Fig. 15. East wall, main figural frieze; in situ remains of the figure. Photograph (VIL) by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 16. South wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (east) part of the wall. Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

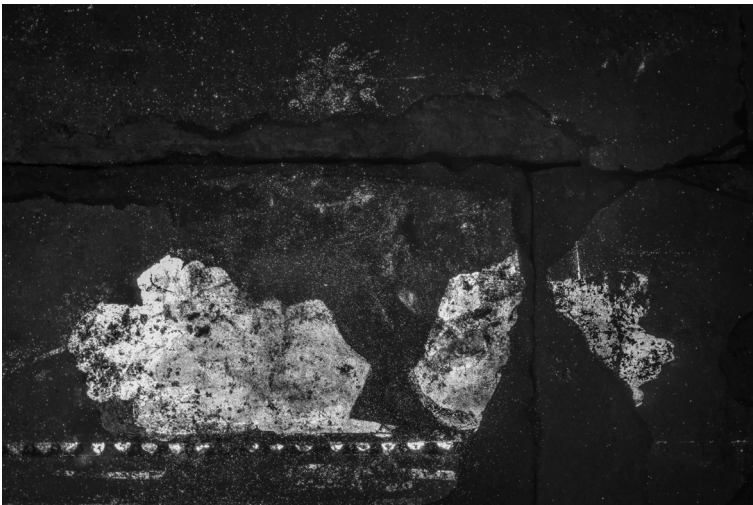


Fig. 17. South wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (east) part of the wall. Photograph (VIL) by G. Verri clearly showing the mass of rock on which the figure is seated. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

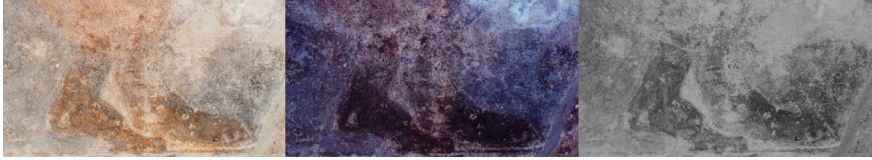


Fig. 18. South wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) left (east) part of the wall; detail of the area of the figure's feet (visible, UIL, and IRR). Photographs by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 19. South wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) right (west) part of the wall: "the thinker". Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 20. South wall, main figural frieze, the man on the (viewer's) right (west) part of the wall; close up of the face of "the thinker". Photograph by G. Verri. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 21. North wall, frieze with riders and monuments; west section: another monument discerned. Photograph by Ch. Simatos. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 22. South wall, frieze with riders and monuments; west section. Photograph by Ch. Simatos. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 23. South wall, frieze with riders and monuments; west section. Photograph (raking light) by Ch. Simatos. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 24. South wall, frieze with riders and monuments; central part, the “panel” between the second and the third rosette (from left to right) with two horses/riders. Photograph (raking light) by Ch. Simatos. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.

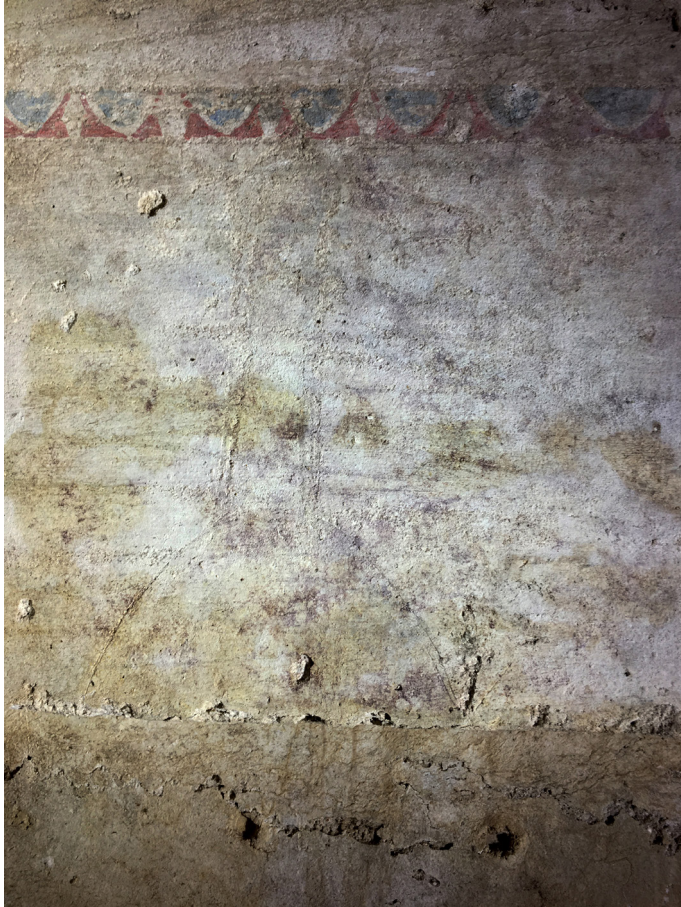


Fig. 25. West wall, frieze with riders and monuments; the southern tumulus-and-monument set. Photograph (raking light) by G. Verri.
© Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Ministry of Culture.