

Demetrias: The Archaeology of a Cosmopolitan Macedonian Harbour¹

This paper aims to offer an overview of the archaeological evidence pertaining to Hellenistic Demetrias, evaluating the archaeology of the city in light of the epigraphic discoveries of the last decade and recent scholarly treatises on synoecisms and Hellenistic royal courts and palaces. Crucial among the questions addressed in this paper are the following: how far has our understanding of the processes that created the synoecism improved over the last fifteen years; whether archaeology and epigraphy allow us to distinguish diagnostic features of the character of Demetrias during the period of Macedonian control; how Demetrias compares to other major Macedonian royal foundations in the first instance and more generally to other Hellenistic major harbour cities; and, finally, what was the effect of the dissolution of Macedonian power in 167 BC.

Location and Foundation

¹ I would like to address my warmest thanks to the organisers for their kind invitation for me to participate in the conference and the volume in honour of Miltiades Hatzopoulos. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Board of The Archaeological Society at Athens, its Secretary General V. Petrakos, and I. Ninou, as well as to the Secretary of the Greek Epigraphic Society A. Matthaïou for allowing me to study the archives of A.S. Arvanitopoulos; to the directors, archaeologists and staff of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia for allowing me to work on Arvanitopoulos' finds from Demetrias over many years; my special thanks go out to the excavators of Demetrias, namely A. Batziou, P. Triantaphyllopoulou, E. Nikolaou and B. Intzesiloglou, who generously shared their knowledge of the city with me, encouraged my study, allowed me to consult the "Archive E" (Inscriptions) in Volos and offered me images. G. Kavvadias and Ch. Avronidaki have been instrumental for the success of my study at the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, while P. Marzolff and B. Helly have on numerous occasions offered advice and useful information about the ancient city of Demetrias and its tombstones, respectively. Finally, I would like to thank S. Kravaritou for allowing me to consult her contribution to this volume prior to publication and for her help.

Demetrias was founded on the western end of the mouth of the Gulf of Pagasai, at a strategic location, 1.5 km west of modern Volos (**fig. 1**). The site commands the land route to Thessaly and Tempe, possesses an excellent harbour near the Pefkakia peninsula and has access to ample building material (limestone, marble, schist and poros) from the nearby hills and Mount Tisaion on the southern tip of the Pelion peninsula.² The choice of this particular site and the considerable investment in a state-of-the-art fortification *enceinte* (originally ca. 11.4 km long), which incorporates the mountainous massifs to the northwest and protects the saddles to the southwest, betray the objectives of the city's founder, which were strategic, military and economic.³ This is reflected in the ancient sources calling the city *naustathmos*, *basileion* and a "fetter of Greece".⁴ Phthiotic Thebes, its rival further south, was in command of far better agricultural land,⁵ however this was hardly a concern of the Demetrias founder, as the city invested on its maritime connections and its harbour for self-sufficiency.

The region's strategic and economic importance had long been appreciated by the Macedonian kings, in particular Philip II, who controlled the Thessalian port of Pagasai and its harbour duties.⁶ In the second half of the 4th century BC, the Goritsa hill (**fig. 2**), on the eastern end of the mouth of the gulf, was fortified and organized

² MARZOLFF 1980, 7-18.

³ MARZOLFF 1980, 24-18; id. 1992, 338; id. 1996b, 121; id. 1999, 172-175; BAKHUIZEN 1987.

⁴ Strabo 9.5.15; Polyb. 18.45.5-6; Livy 32.37.3-5, 39.23.12; COHEN 1995, 111-114; INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, 93-95; MARZOLFF 1996a, 148.

⁵ ADRYMI-SISMANI 2012c, 237-245.

⁶ BAKHUIZEN 1987, esp. 329-332; REINDERS 1986; HELLY 2009, esp. 340-341; BOEHM 2011, 33-34, 57-58; KRAVARITOU 2016a, 129.

according to a grid plan that was adapted to the peculiarities of the terrain.⁷ Regardless of who should be credited with the urban plan of Goritsa, King Philip II or Kassandros, it is evident that the two sides of the gulf constitute a coherent defensive system, which ensured the effective control of sea and land traffic in the region (**fig. 3**).

A similar concern of the Macedonian kings to ensure the command of the eastern Thessalian coast and the land routes that traversed the region is attested further south. In the reign of Philip II, Parmenion, Philip's general, destroyed the city of Halos and gave its territory to Pharsalos, Macedonia's loyal ally.⁸ During the conflict in the Krokion plain between Kassandros and Demetrios Poliorketes, the acropolis at Phthiotic Thebes, in command of Pyrasos, the second harbour of Thessaly, was garrisoned by Kassandros,⁹ while the site at Halos, which guarded the land pass to the south, was re-founded, fortified with an impressive circuit wall and laid out according to a strict geometric grid.¹⁰ Thus, the foundation of Demetrias was the culmination of a long-term interest on behalf of the Macedonian kings in securing command of this strategic location, which offered them easy access to the communities of the south.

⁷ BAKHUIZEN 1992; MARZOLFF 1999, 174-175; HELLY 2006; HELLMANN 2010, 206-207, who retains the view that Goritsa originally was a military base; BOEHM 2011, 34; REINDERS 2014d, 113-115.

⁸ REINDERS 2014a, 13-15; id. 2014b for discussion of the nature of the terrain.

⁹ The key passage is Diod. Sic. 20.110.3; BOEHM 2011, 32-33.

¹⁰ REINDERS 1986; id. 1988; id. 2014b, esp. 32-43; id. 2014c; HELLMANN 2010, 207, 345-346. We shall not delve into the question of who should be credited with the foundation of the city, Kassandros (STEPHANIDOU-TIVERIOU 1999) or Demetrios Poliorketes (BOEHM 2011, 31-33; REINDERS 2014a, 16-20, with earlier bibliography), as both proposals rest on tentative arguments. On the two sites: ADRYMI-SISMANI 2012c.

The Synoecism and the Epigraphic Evidence for the Political and Constitutional Organization of Macedonian Demetrias

Strabo's account of the Thessalian and Magnesian communities involved in Demetrias' synoecism is well known and needs no further comment.¹¹ What remains unclear is the impact of the pre-existing communities and their settlement-pattern traditions on the layout, organization and the sacral, public and domestic architecture of Demetrias. Unlike places such as Teos, Alexandria Troas or Kolophon, where epigraphic evidence offers information regarding the practicalities of the synoecism,¹² such evidence is lacking for Demetrias. The synoecism most likely involved a physical relocation of populations of numerous nearby communities. The settlements at Damari near Velanidia, Soros, Nees Pagases, the Goritsa hill, and possibly Kastro-Palaia were either abandoned or significantly depopulated and their population was incorporated in the new city.¹³ What occurred in communities further afield in Magnesia (Omolio, Meliboia, Rhizous, Spalauthra, Olizon) remains a matter of

¹¹ COHEN 1995, 111-114; BAKHUIZEN 1987, 333-334; BOEHM 2011, 3-4 on the history of research.

¹² BOEHM 2011, 27 (Alexandria Troas), 47, 99-101 (Kolophon); LOLOS, GOURLEY 2011, 95-96; KRAVARITOU 2011, 212-214.

¹³ MARZOLFF 1980, 22-26; ADRYMI-SISMANI 2012a, 156-159; ead. 2012b, esp. 172-183; KARACHRISTOS 2012. For the Archaic and Classical settlements at Soros, the northern sector of later Demetrias, and Kastro-Palaia, see BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1996b, 11-12; ead. 2001, 9-11; MARZOLFF 1996c, 47-51; INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, 95-97; TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2002; KRAVARITOU 2016a, 129-131. For the settlement at Glaphyres, see INTZESILOGLOU 2010b.

speculation, despite recent, rather over-optimistic, attempts at reconstruction.¹⁴ Not only is epigraphic and/or literary evidence describing the process lacking, but also the archaeological exploration of these sites is minimal and the historical topography of the region still contested.¹⁵

Although scarce, the epigraphic evidence pertaining to the political and constitutional organization of Demetrias and its constituent communities in the period of Macedonian control is very useful,¹⁶ as it exposes the direct involvement of the Antigonids in the affairs of the city, reveals the existence of civic offices and a constitution, which bore similarities to that of other royal foundations in mainland Greece,¹⁷ and illustrates some of the mechanisms employed to enable the integration and cohesion of the various population groups.¹⁸

¹⁴ BOEHM 2011, 39-40, who, however, is using inscriptions of the 2nd century BC to discuss the situation in the region in the period of Macedonian rule; similarly, MILI 2014, 167, 187-200 for the political organization.

¹⁵ KRAVARITOU 2013, 261-262; VOUZAXAKIS 2015 for the communities of the Pelion peninsula.

¹⁶ INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, esp. 98-101 for an attempt to discuss the political organization of the city in the Hellenistic period; following him, MILI 2014, 167 assumes that Pagasai was a deme in the 3rd century BC, and so was also Iolkos (ibid., 201, n. 229; for the sake of simplicity); *contra* KRAVARITOU 2013, 269-273, who stresses the problems of using the prescript of the decree of the Iolkians to claim that the synoecism was organized according to demes in the 3rd century BC.

¹⁷ Briefly in COHEN 1995, 113, n. 7. MILI 2014, 197-200 mulls over the possibility of local resistance and uncertainty among the various populations resident in the new city, using, among other points, the restored *exe[getes]* of the *astynomoi* inscription (for the inscription, see below, p. X, n. 27). Given that the restoration of the word *exe[getes]* on the stone needs to be revisited and in the absence of any secure evidence for resistance in the city, we cannot comment either way. Similarly, the question of whether Demetrias developed institutionally as a *polis* (ibid., 200, n. 221) is, I think, resolved when one examines recent work by

The distribution of land and the delimitation of borders, of paramount importance both in the aftermath of the synoecism and after the end of Macedonian control, are the focus of two documents. The first, the letter of King Demetrios Poliorketes to Ladamas, dated to 291 BC, found at Dion, defined the border between Pherai/Thessaly and Demetrias and showed the direct involvement of the king in this thorny issue.¹⁹ The second relevant document is the *senatus consultum* of the 2nd century BC, inscribed on a stele found reused in a Roman house, which makes reference to the former *basilike chora* (ll. 8, 16-17) that was conceded to the Magnesians, following the dissolution of Macedonian power after 167 BC.²⁰

Royal, founder, cult is a well-known phenomenon in the Hellenistic *ecumene* and is often explained as part of the culture of euergetism. Demetrias was no exception. Two inscriptions of the 3rd century BC, the resolution of the deme of the Iolkians and the inscribed stele from Kanalia (possibly originating from Glaphyrai),²¹ show that Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Gonatas were venerated alongside the

STROOTMAN (2014, 55) on civic magistracies and institutions in cities in Antigonid Macedonia, as well as by LE BOHEC 1987 and WEBER 1995 on the Antigonid court; PASCHIDIS 2008. Also, HATZOPOULOS 2009 for the recent royal documents and their significance.

¹⁸ HELLY 2009 for the Antigonid kings' policy in Magnesia *versus* the rest of Thessaly; KRAVARITOU 2011 and ead. 2016a for the evidence from sanctuaries and cults; ead. 2016b, 552-553.

¹⁹ HATZOPOULOS 2006, 88-89, pl. XIVa; *SEG* 56 (2006) 703; KRAVARITOU 2011, 111-114; PANDERMALIS 2016, cat. no. 4 (where the old date in the reign of Philip V is retained).

²⁰ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, PIKOULAS 2006; *SEG* 56 (2006) 626; KRAVARITOU 2016b, 553-554 for the changes that occurred after the Battle of Pydna.

²¹ INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, 98-99; for the most recent discussion, see KRAVARITOU 2013. The resolution of the deme of the Iolkians has been seen as evidence for the existence of demes in the 3rd century BC; see above, n. 16.

heroes of the old local communities as *ktistai* and *archegetai*, and were honoured with an organized cult, which included a festival, public *thysiai* and a banquet. As Kravaritou has recently argued, these texts demonstrate the direct involvement of Antigonos Gonatas in the cultic affairs of the city, but also reveal the active role of the synoecised communities in negotiating the terms of this cult.²² She has explained this cult as part of an attempt to integrate the old heroes of the Magnesians and Thessalians with the cult of the royal founders in a joint festival that, according to her, most likely took place in the centre of Demetrias. By the late 3rd century BC the population of the city was familiar with and engaged in the practicalities of ruler cult, as is evident by the inscribed base, found in the city, preserving a private dedication to Antigonos Doseon and Philip V by the Cretan Etearchos.²³ The aforementioned documents raise the problem of the political role of the constituent communities of the synoecism in the Hellenistic city, for which we are in the dark, in contrast to the post-167 BC era, when these are well documented in epigraphic texts.²⁴

Further direct royal involvement in the city is documented in the letter of Antipatros referring to the civic *diagramma* of King Philip V, pertaining to the uniform of the *kynegoi* of Herakles, dated to 186 BC. This fascinating document reveals that a cult of Herakles Kynagidas, a Macedonian deity *par excellence*, was

²² KRAVARITOU 2013; ead. 2016a, 136-137.

²³ POUILLOUX, VERDELIS 1950, 42 no. II and fig. 3; *SEG* 12 (1955) 308; KRAVARITOU 2016a, 138; ead. 2016b, 553.

²⁴ See above, n. 16; also, STÄHLIN 1929, 201-202.

practised in the city and more importantly that the institution of royal pages existed in Demetrias.²⁵

The calendar of the city, with theophoric names for the months, common to other royal foundations in mainland Greece, as for example Kassandreia, is further evidence of royal intervention.²⁶

Finally, an old find, the very important but largely unknown *astynomoi* inscription from the “Thesmophorion” (**fig. 4**) reveals the existence in the 3rd century BC of the institution of the *boule* (l. 5) and of civic officials, among them the *astynomoi* (l. 1),²⁷ also known from the famous astynomic law of Pergamon, and inscriptions from Athens, Keos, Tenos, Delos and Istiaia.²⁸ It is thus clear that civic institutions run alongside the central authority of the king in the city. Although beyond the remit of this paper, it is worth mentioning the office of the *nomophylakes*, attested in numerous inscriptions of the 2nd century BC,²⁹ whose seat in the late

²⁵ SEG 56 (2006) 625; INTZESILOGLOU 2006; HATZOPOULOS 1994, 102-108; id. 2016, 44-45, fig. 14; MILI 2014, 200, n. 225, where she wonders what “full integration” means and oddly quotes HATZOPOULOS 1996 instead of his more recent 2006 monograph. Cf. KRAVARITOU 2016a, 142; ead. in this volume, discussing the presence of royal *kynegoi* in Demetrias and the possibility that among them were members of the local elites. Also, CHANIOTIS 2005, 47; STROOTMAN 2013, esp. 45-47 for royal pages as descendants of the *philoï*.

²⁶ HATZOPOULOS 1995, 168; id. 1996, vol. I, 163-164; TRÜMPY 1997, 216-252; also repeated in BOEHM 2011, 107; KRAVARITOU 2011, 121-122; ead. 2016a, 133-134.

²⁷ ARVANITOPOULOS 1929, 32-34 no. 420; STÄHLIN 1929, 207; INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, 98; MILI 2014, 200. The text of the inscription is known from Arvanitopoulos’ initial reading and is in need of a new, detailed study. See also below, n. 110.

²⁸ On the duties of the *astynomoi*, see GIANNAKOPOULOS 2009; SABA 2012. No mention to the Demetrias inscription exists in these publications.

²⁹ SEG 12 (1955) 306, from Demetrias (ca. 117 BC; the decree was to be set up in the *nomophylakeion* in the *hiera agora*); IG IX 2, 1106, from Aghios Lavrentios

Hellenistic period was in the sacred agora.³⁰ Future epigraphic finds will hopefully allow us to verify whether the office of the *nomophylakes* existed in the period of Macedonian control.

The Archaeology of the City

Our understanding of the city's layout and development is still heavily reliant on the authoritative work of Peter Marzolff, who saw Demetrias as an "über-national" city, part of the wider networks of the Hellenistic communities, rather than examine it in terms of a narrow, region-specific focus, which was the norm at the time.³¹ Marzolff discerned three major phases in the development of the city during the Hellenistic period: an initial one, involving the fortification *enceinte*; a major building phase during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, when most of the city's infrastructure was developed; and a final one during the reign of Philip V in the latter part of the 3rd century BC.³² Following the dissolution of Macedonian power, in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC habitation moved to the northern part of the city, whereas the area of the *anaktoron* and the southern sector of the city seem to have been abandoned. Further

(*nomophylakeion*); *IG IX 2*, 1126 (*nomophylakeion*); *SEG 17* (1960) 302, from Korope (2nd century BC); *SEG 34* (1984) 553, from Demetrias (honorary decree for Bukines, ca. 150 BC); ARVANITOPOULOS 1929, 28 no. 419, from Demetrias (second half of the 2nd century BC).

³⁰ On the office of the *nomophylakes*, see HATZOPOULOS 1996, vol. I, 158-159, who has pointed out the affinity of the pairing of *stratego*i and *nomophylakes* in the inscriptions of Demetrias dating to the period of the Magnesian Koinon to Platonic ideals; also, INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, 103-104.

³¹ MARZOLFF 1980, 25-26, 31-35; id. 1999, esp. 175-178.

³² MARZOLFF 1980, 29-30; id. 1987d; id. 1992, 341-345; id. 1994; id. 1996a, 151-152; id. 1996c, 51-53.

south, in the valley of Aligarorema, archaeological evidence suggests dispersed habitation, in farmhouses, at considerable distance from the city.³³ Although Marzolff's *schema* has not been challenged, scholars increasingly stress that the initial phase of the synoecism must have involved the planning of major features of the city's layout.³⁴

The imposing fortifications of Demetrias need no introduction (**fig. 5**): they form a complex system ca. 11 km long, enclosing an area of 440 ha, with an outer *enceinte* serving probably as an *ephedreia*,³⁵ and an inner *enceinte* 8.5 km long that encompasses a very strong acropolis at Palatia and state-of-the-art artillery towers and posterns.³⁶ The fortifications' repair and enlargement in the early 1st century BC,³⁷ during the Mithridatic Wars – when the famous stelai were used as building material –, were far more extensive than previously thought: they probably involved the entire coastal zone, not just the south, as revealed by a tower excavated in the northern sector of the city on Pefkakion Street near the Pefkakia peninsula³⁸ and by the

³³ MARZOLFF 1996c, 62.

³⁴ LOLOS 2006, esp. 174.

³⁵ SOKOLICEK 2009, 36, 83-84 (“buffer zone”).

³⁶ The key work is still STÄHLIN, MEYER, HEIDNER 1934. See also MARZOLFF 1976a, 7-8; id. 1980, 27-30, where he stresses the strategic importance of the Pheraeian gate for the security of the land front; id. 1986, 73, n. 5 for the modern destruction of the Pheraeian gate; HELLMANN 2010, 320 (for materials), 323 (on *Geländemauern*); FERRARA 2014, 206-208; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 17-19; ead. 2001-2004a, and fig. 1 on p. 464 for the fortifications by Cape Sesklo, southeast of the Pefkakia peninsula, near Volou-Pefkakion Street; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001-2004b (K. and D. Michalopoulos plot).

³⁷ On the date of the repairs, see HELLY 1992; id. 1996, 78-79.

³⁸ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1999, 399-400, fig. 17 (K. Pallikaras plot); TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 1999.

numerous stretches of the *proteichisma* that have been discovered near the Profitis Elias hill and the northern sector of the city.³⁹

According to Marzolff, the eastern sector of the city was laid according to a uniform plan, with *insulae* orientated N-S, measuring 100.5 m x 50.5 m (ratio 2:1), divided by streets of uniform width (**fig. 6**).⁴⁰ Demetrias' layout has often been compared to that of Olynthos, Sicyon, other early Hellenistic foundations in Thessaly, such as New Halos, as well as to cities of western Asia Minor.⁴¹ In his discussion of Sicyon, Lolos has attributed to Demetrios Poliorketes a deliberate wish to introduce Macedonian-style cities in southern Greece.⁴² This is a hypothesis that is difficult to verify, as it is nearly impossible to compare Demetrias or Sicyon to other contemporary royal foundations in Macedonia, such as Thessalonike⁴³ or Kassandreia,⁴⁴ due to the scarcity of remains. The N-S orientation and the size/ratio of the city's *insulae* are typical for many early Hellenistic foundations; Macedonian

³⁹ KAKAVOGIANNIS 1977, 130 and pl. 76γ (Kabourakis plot; E. Malikentzou plot). Also, LAWRENCE 1979, 288.

⁴⁰ MARZOLFF 1976a, 10-13; id. 1992, esp. 341; id. 1994, 60-61; id. 1996c, 56. In the recent geophysical prospection south and southeast of the *anaktoron* and the agora, the orthogonal street system of the city in this area was confirmed and mapped: SARRIS *et.al.* 2014; iid. 2015; DONATI *et.al.* forthcoming.

⁴¹ MARZOLFF 1980, 30-35; id. 1999, 176-178.

⁴² LOLOS 2006; LOLOS, GOURLEY 2011, 34.

⁴³ ADAM-VELENI 2003, esp. 121-133.

⁴⁴ TOURATSOGLU 1996, 178-179 for Kassandros' policy and the foundation of Thessalonike and Kassandreia; HATZOPOULOS 1993; id. 1996, vol. I, 158-165; VOKOTOPOULOU 1997; LANDUCCI GATTINOTI 2003, 95-104; BOEHM 2011, 11-13 (Kassandreia), 16-21 (Thessalonike).

elements, if indeed present, have to be seen in the light of the wider ecumenic vision of early Hellenistic rulers.

Still, we have to admit that there is much that we do not know about Demetrias. This is partly due to the nature of the archaeological exploration of the city, either conducted early in the 20th century, when documentation practices left a lot to be desired, or recently through rescue excavations that have not always been published in any detail. The continuous habitation of the peninsula and the constant reuse of stones as building material have also played a detrimental role in the preservation of Hellenistic and earlier material evidence.⁴⁵ Consequently, to this date, the organization of space in the western sector of the city, north of the theatre, is still not fully understood.

Recent salvage excavations have revealed roads of variable widths at numerous locations, a feature that points to the application of a more varied grid than previously thought.⁴⁶ Moreover, the location of major monuments, such as the *stadion*, in the area to the north of the theatre is still a matter of speculation,⁴⁷ while

⁴⁵ MARZOLFF 1976a, 2-7 and n. 7; TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2006, 605 for the successive habitation phases at Aivaliotika, on Keryneias Street (G. Intzoglou plot), from the Classical period to the Roman Imperial period. Based on this find, it appears that the Roman houses and road system more or less followed the layout of those of the preceding phases.

⁴⁶ TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 1998, 415.

⁴⁷ The so-called *stadion* (often called hippodrome) has been identified based on Arvanitopoulos' drawings and references in ARVANITOPOULOS 1915, 161-162, id. 1928, pl. A, 13 fig. 5, 15, 73 fig. 91. Until the 1950s its wall was visible. See: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1987, 252; ead. 1996b, 22, ead. 2001, 36 for the location of its southern retaining wall, under Zerva Street, in modern Aivaliotika; ead. 1991, 207 (G. and D. Kordelas plot) for Classical period tombs in the area to the northwest of the *stadion*.

key monuments of the city, such as the *gymnasion* mentioned in 2nd-century BC inscriptions,⁴⁸ are still unlocated.

More importantly, it is generally assumed that the city had two harbours, a northern one, identified as a *naustathmos*, and a second, commercial harbour, to the south, near modern Alykes.⁴⁹ The existence of the latter had been questioned by Marzolff, who had pointed out the unsuitability of the terrain;⁵⁰ during the geomorphological studies conducted by Kabouroglou in the 1990s no indications for harbour installations were revealed along the small gulf at Alykes.⁵¹ If indeed there was only one major harbour serving the city, that in the north, the abandonment of the southern sector of the city during late Hellenistic and Roman times and the proposed change in the course of the Aligarorema torrent would be better explained.⁵²

Marzolff had tentatively hypothesized that the *insulae* might have been divided into two rows of seven units and had estimated a population of approximately 25,000 inhabitants. Leaving aside the tricky problem of population estimates, we

⁴⁸ KAZAKIDI 2015, 55, 253 no. 32, who, on analogy to other Hellenistic cities, hypothesizes that the *gymnasion* was located in the border of the city, outside the area organized in a grid plan, in the western sector of Demetrias near the *stadion*. She bases her suggestion on the discovery of bases (in the shape of Doric capitals) bearing honorary inscriptions in the “Damokratia basilica”, which is situated near the presumed *stadion*, to its east; the inscriptions date to the late 2nd and 1st century BC, respectively.

⁴⁹ For the harbours of Demetrias, see GINALIS 2014, 163-177.

⁵⁰ MARZOLFF 1976a, 8, n. 10.

⁵¹ KABOUROGLOU 1994, esp. 45-46, 50; also STIROS, PAPAGEORGIU 1994, 32-33 for the problems in assessing the shifts of the shoreline along the coast of Volos; GINALIS 2014, 171-175, who thinks that the gulf at Alykes was used as a commercial harbour.

⁵² On the change in the course of the torrent, see MARZOLFF 1996c, 53. We should note that there are almost no Classical remains in this area of the peninsula, except in the northern harbour and near the hill of Soros.

should point out that no *insula* has ever been fully investigated⁵³ and that systematic geophysical prospection has only just begun. Trial trenches southeast of the *anaktoron* in the 1990s, near the walls, have indicated that, contrary to the published plans, there may have been a free zone near the fortifications.⁵⁴

In Demetrias there were two major *loci* of royal representation and investment (besides the fortifications): firstly, the *anaktoron* and sacred agora complex in the centre of the eastern sector and, secondly, the theatre and the so-called “Heroon” further to the west.⁵⁵ Miltiades Hatzopoulos⁵⁶ and recently Rolf Strootman have commented on the apparent paradox of the presence of palaces in autonomous cities; the latter has shown how the two had a symbiotic relationship.⁵⁷

The *anaktoron* complex is situated on a hill (“Hill 33”) in the centre of the eastern sector of Demetrias (**fig. 6 no. 1**), near the harbour and the strategically important “Hill 49” (“First Stelai Tower”).⁵⁸ What survives today is a series of buildings laid out on successive terraces, organized around courtyards and belonging mostly to its final phase, in the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC (**fig. 7**). Despite the work of P. Marzolff and the extensive excavations on the site by the Ephorate of

⁵³ Also stressed by MARZOLFF 1978, 134.

⁵⁴ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1993, 230-231 (G. and Y. Denelavas plot), area X-XI.

⁵⁵ MARZOLFF 1987d; id. 1996a, fig. 13 on p. 157.

⁵⁶ HATZOPOULOS 2001.

⁵⁷ STROOTMAN 2014, 15, 54-55 for the Antigonids as “wandering kings”; WEBER 1995.

⁵⁸ MARZOLFF 1976b, esp. 19-20 for the uninterrupted view to the city from all sides; id. 1996a, 132. DAVIES 2005 discusses the economic aspects of the existence of palaces and stresses the importance of Hellenistic palaces as statements of power, standing, resources and cultural achievements of their owners.

Antiquities of Magnesia since 1991,⁵⁹ there is still much uncertainty about the complex; it is not fully excavated and an up-to-date and detailed architectural plan and study are pending.

The few architectural members of high quality, in poros, attributed to an early 3rd century phase, and cuttings on the bedrock suggest that the original residence was most likely integrated into the city plan.⁶⁰ To a second phase, traditionally linked with Antigonos Gonatas, belong section B, which according to Marzolff dates to the first half of the 3rd century BC, and the initial phase of section A, whose exact plan is not known.⁶¹ Therefore, the two courtyard-centred buildings were an entity in this period (mid-3rd century BC). To a third phase, of the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC, which seems not to have reached completion, scholars attribute the current remains of section A, with the *tetrapyrgeion*, as well as the internal *diateichisma*, that created a separate fortified area of ca. 10 ha, within but distinct from the city, appropriate for a period of military turmoil.⁶²

Sections A and B recall in arrangement buildings I-II of the palace of Pella. The long corridor-like space between them was likely roofed, as coloured plaster covered the walls of the western (outer) side of the external wall of the western

⁵⁹ MARZOLFF 1976b; id. 1996a; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2000a; ead. 2001, 19-29; ead. 2006b. For recent discussions, see HELLMANN 2010, 105-107; KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 84-93, vol. II.1, 10-11 (M3); FERRARA 2014 (with emphasis on the points of access from the city), fig. 13 on p. 200.

⁶⁰ MARZOLFF, 1996a, 152-154 and figs. 6-7, 161; also, BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2000a, 296, 298.

⁶¹ MARZOLFF 1996a, 155-156; KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 86.

⁶² MARZOLFF 1976a, 8-10 (*diateichisma*); id. 1992, 344-345; id. 1996a, 156-163. Also, FERRARA 2014, 188-202 for the various phases.

wing.⁶³ Contrary to Pella or Aigai, there is no clear evidence for a monumental façade or *propylon* nor are we certain about the modes of access.⁶⁴

Section B was organized around a large courtyard without a peristyle. At the centre of its north side, space N3 seems to have opened to the courtyard through two columns.⁶⁵ On the south side, a long corridor measuring 43 x 4 m preserves beam holes at its north wall, which indicate the presence of a second floor in this section,⁶⁶ while fragments of Ionic half columns made of white stucco from the decoration of the walls and the apsidal space at its eastern end suggest formal architecture.⁶⁷

Section A (59.80 x 61.30 m) in its present form dates from the last phase of construction in the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC; it comprises a peristyle courtyard in the Doric order (side: 27 m), with a presumed Rhodian peristyle on the north side consisting of six Doric half-pillar columns, and surrounded by porticoes, with four towers at each corner.⁶⁸ As with the palace of Pella, the northern portico was wider, due to the projection of the towers. Eight spaces have been identified, but our knowledge of this portico is limited, as the area was used as a foundry workshop and

⁶³ KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 87, vol. II, fig. 2.40.

⁶⁴ KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 85.

⁶⁵ MARZOLFF 1976b, plan 3.

⁶⁶ NIKOLAOU 2001-2004, 523; KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 87 (with earlier bibliography), vol. II, fig. 2.40.

⁶⁷ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 21. For the decoration of walls of the peristyle and their restoration, see NIKOLAOU 2001-2004, 521-522.

⁶⁸ MARZOLFF 1996a, 159, fig. 15; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1997, 462 plan 2; KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 89; on the Rhodian peristyle, see HELLMANN 2010, 80 (who doubts the reconstruction); FERRARA 2014, 195.

a quarry in later times.⁶⁹ The eastern stoa was double in width than the others, with spaces arranged in a double row (spaces E2-E10) that surround a central hall (E6).⁷⁰ They have often been characterized as banquet rooms, but Kopsacheili recently pointed out that there is no clear evidence for off-centre doors and that the rooms seem to communicate with one another. The same author has stressed the similarities with the layout at Jebel Khalid, where these spaces have been interpreted as a main hall used for receptions with ancillary rooms.⁷¹ In the western portico, space W5 opened to the courtyard through two double-sided pillar-columns *in antis*; their lower course was found *in situ*.⁷² It formed the middle of a three-space group with vestibule and side rooms. Off-centre doors in most rooms of the western portico and painted wall decoration in Masonry Style in spaces W2-6 has suggested that banqueting was practised in this area.⁷³ Not much is known about the south portico due to the later disturbance by tombs, following the abandonment of the *anaktoron*.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ THEOCHARIS 1961/2, 173, pl. 193α; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1997, 462-463; ead. 2000a, 298-299. Architectural remains of the earlier phase of the *anaktoron* have been identified below the level of the courtyard at the northeast corner of the north wing.

⁷⁰ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1997, 461, pl. 179β; ead. 2000a, 298; ead. 2001, 23.

⁷¹ KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 89-90, vol. II, fig. 2.44.

⁷² BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1997, 461; ead. 2000a, 298; ead. 2001, 23-25.

⁷³ On the western stoa, see BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1993, 229 for the floor and the remains of coloured plaster decoration; ead. 1997, 461-462; also, KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 90, vol. II, fig. 2.45. FERRARA 2014, 198-199 and 196, n. 36 on the problem of identifying banqueting areas in the palace.

⁷⁴ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1991, 207; ead. 1996a for the southwest tower of section A and the south portico, at the southeast corner of which there was a floor of white mortar; ead. 2000a, 286-297; inside the southwest tower a round built cistern that was later used as a deposit has been investigated.

By the north portico of section A, the marble base of a prow of a ship, with worked undersurface and moulding on one edge, has been attributed to a naval monument.⁷⁵ The clay sealings found in a foundation deposit nearby (**fig. 8**), that probably bear the emblem of the city, namely a warrior on a ship's prow,⁷⁶ speak volumes about the maritime outlook of the city and its founders' aspirations. They remind us of Pella, where royal representation through statuary and administrative functions were combined in the palace.

The existence of the four corner towers has been an object of fascination for long;⁷⁷ similarly to the *diateichisma* that separates the *anaktoron* area from the rest of the city, they indicate an increased concern for defence, understandable in that period. Parallels with Antioch, Epirus and, recently, with Iraq al-Amir have been drawn.⁷⁸

Even though there is still much that we do not understand about the *anaktoron* complex, its characterization as a palace is justified, given the variety of functions on the site:⁷⁹ possibly banqueting in the west portico of the eastern section (section A); tripartite configuration of rooms around space W5, plaster decoration in the Masonry Style, and off-centre doors; royal representation and administration in the northern portico of the same section; the long corridor-like room with the exedra in the south

⁷⁵ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 28, fig. 31.

⁷⁶ FURTWÄNGLER, KRON 1978; KRON, FURTWÄNGLER 1983; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2000a, 298-299, figs. 13-14; ead. 2001, 27, fig. 30.

⁷⁷ MARZOLFF 1996a, 158, n. 22; FERRARA 2014, 193-195, 215-218.

⁷⁸ KOPSACHEILI 2012, 91-92; although at Iraq al-Amir the towers are integrated into the plan: HELLMANN 2010, 110-113, figs. 150-151; FERRARA 2014, 193-202.

⁷⁹ MARZOLFF 1996a, 161; KOPSACHEILI 2012, vol. I, 92-94; *contra* SEILHEIMER 2006, who sees the existing complex as military in character and proposes that the actual residence should be sought further to the west, in the unexcavated southwest terrace.

side of section B;⁸⁰ the double row of rooms in the east wing of the eastern section (section A). The links to Macedonian (initially) and Hellenistic palatial architecture are evident in the use of courtyards along separate terraces, architectural details such as double-sided pillar-columns, and in the organization of certain units in the complex.⁸¹ What we lack of course is concrete evidence on how the building functioned as royal residence, seat of the court and administrative centre of the *basileion*.

Integrally linked with the *anaktoron* was the *hiera agora* (**fig. 6 no. 2**). Epigraphic and archaeological evidence reveals that it was surrounded by stoas with rooms,⁸² attested on the western, better-investigated side.⁸³ At its centre stood the temple of Artemis Iolkia, the former patron deity of Iolkos, who was chosen to serve as tutelary deity of Macedonian Demetrias. This was surely a political decision. Demetrias' identity was from the start interwoven into the Antigonids' famous naval

⁸⁰ MARZOLFF 1996a, 154-155, n. 13.

⁸¹ EMME 2013, 233-235 for palaces and the importance of peristyle courts; FERRARA 2014, 191, fig. 8; MILLER 2016.

⁸² MARZOLFF 1976c. During the recent geophysical survey along the western side of the agora there was good evidence suggesting the existence of buildings, fully integrated into the plan of the city, which could be public, as is indicated by their size and layout. As DONATI *et.al.* (forthcoming) suggest, the buildings would provide a monumental architectural backdrop to the square. In this respect, Demetrias recalls other Hellenistic agoras and confirms Emme's main argument (EMME 2013) about the importance of peristyle architecture for the development of urban landscapes.

⁸³ HABICHT 1982, 384-387 no. 5 = *SEG* 30 (1980) 533: 2nd-century BC honorary decree for Hipparchos son of Eurynomos from Chalkis, found reused in the "Basilica of Martyrios" in Nea Anchialos: in col. B1, 4-5 it stipulates that the decree should be inscribed on the entablature (?) of the south stoa in the *hiera agora*. See also *IG IX 2*, 1105, 1106. Also, THEOCHARIS 1961/2, 172; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 29-30.

plans in the Aegean, with which the reshaped traditional sacral emblems of Iolkos matched perfectly.⁸⁴ The relatively large distance to the harbour, the direct link with the palace and the use of the site as *epiphanestatos topos* by the Magnesian Koinon in the 2nd century BC have justifiably led to the hypothesis that the agora was the focus of religious ceremonies that increased royal representation and authority.⁸⁵

A second agora space is presumed to have existed in the northern sector of the city, northeast of the theatre (**fig. 6 no. 3**), where numerous *spolia* belonging to important honorific statues, public buildings and public documents have been discovered.⁸⁶ The existence of more than one agoras is attested epigraphically in other cities,⁸⁷ whereas a *hiera agora* is known from Kyzikos (in the 1st century AD) as well as Halikarnassos.⁸⁸

With regards to the temple, its attribution to Artemis Iolkia is based on the surviving epigraphic evidence. Only its foundations survive (15.70 x 9.50 m) as well as a few fragments of its antefixes and of the poros entablature.⁸⁹ Boehm recently suggested that the modest size of the temple should be attributed to the wish of the Macedonian kings not to antagonize the large sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia at Kastro-

⁸⁴ SCHMIDT-DOUNA 1999, 1051-1052 draws parallels between Jason, the mythical king of Iolkos, and Antigonos Gonatas; KRAVARITOU 2016a, 134-136.

⁸⁵ STROOTMAN 2014, 66 sees the square as a transitional area between the *basileion* and the city; MA 2013, 69-79 for the agora as a setting for honorific statuary; SIELHORST 2015, 29-37 on the function of the agora; DICKENSON 2017, 94-98.

⁸⁶ HABICHT 1987; *SEG* 37 (1987) 450-459; MARZOLFF 1987b; id. 1987c; id. 1992, 344, n. 22.

⁸⁷ HELLMANN 2010, 272-283, esp. 273; DICKENSON 2017, 98.

⁸⁸ HELLMANN 2010, 273-274; DICKENSON 2017, 88.

⁸⁹ MARZOLFF 1976c, 52-56; THEOCHARIS 1961/2, 172, pl. 192a; MATTERN 2013.

Palaia, which he presumes had continued uninterrupted after the synoecism.⁹⁰ Leaving aside that there is no conclusive evidence for the continuity of the cult at Kastro-Palaia (presumably ancient Iolkos),⁹¹ the small size of the building and its axial location in an open space framed by stoas are typical for temple architecture and agora-layouts of the period.⁹²

In his recent monograph on Hellenistic courts, Strootman has elegantly highlighted their supranational character as well as the role of royal architecture, manifested in palaces and other royal monuments, as facilitator of the performance of “the theatre of kingship”.⁹³ Given the central location of royal authority in Demetrias, it comes as no surprise that the northern portico of the *anaktoron* was given to workshop activities, a foundry, following the demise of Macedonian power in the region.⁹⁴ The temple of Artemis Iolkia and the sacred agora continued as leading cult-

⁹⁰ BOEHM 2011, 106, 123-124; he also assumed (*ibid.*, 22) that the use of the Doric order in the temple of Artemis was motivated by a wish to archaize and maintain the conservative element of an old cult, while he compares the temple of Artemis Iolkia to that on the acropolis of Lysimacheia in the Thracian Chersonesos. We should note, however, that the Doric order was extensively used also in the *anaktoron*.

⁹¹ HELLY 2012-2013, esp. 194-195 proposes that cult continued at the site during the Hellenistic period.

⁹² HELLMANN 2006, 96-102.

⁹³ STROOTMAN 2014, 40-57; CHANIOTIS 1997, esp. 235-248.

⁹⁴ MARZOLFF 1996a, 159; ZIMMER 2003; MA 2013, 257. Besides the symbolic significance of using the seat of Macedonian power for workshop activities, we should not exclude reasons of practicality, since there was available space and also material (from the bronze statuary that, on analogy to Pella, must have stood in the *anaktoron*); we should also note (ZIMMER 2003, 37) the proximity of the *anaktoron* to the sacred agora, a setting for important civic documents in the period of the Magnesians Koinon.

and honorific space during the Koinon until the late 2nd century BC; their abandonment is attributed to a natural disaster.⁹⁵

The second focus of royal investment and representation was situated further northwest and comprised the theatre and the building characterized as a “Heroon” (**fig. 5**). The former is typical of early Hellenistic theatres (**fig. 6 no. 4**), with a horse-shoe shaped orchestra, a *koilon* with built lower part and marble used for the *proedriae*, and a stage building preceded by a *proskenion*, 2.75 m wide, fronted by a Doric stoa.⁹⁶ Despite the use of the site as a quarry and the existence of a limekiln on the hill above the theatre,⁹⁷ numerous fragments of statues, portraits and honorific decrees were found on the sides of the *parodoi*, as for example the inscription referring to the hunters (*kynegoi*) of Herakles.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ MARZOLFF 1996a, 159.

⁹⁶ INTZESILOGLOU 1987; id. 1993; id. 1996a; id. 2002; id. 2010a; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 34-36.

⁹⁷ Stones of the theatre were used in the “Friedhof’s basilica” in Demetrias and as far as Nea Anchialos (INTZESILOGLOU 2010a, 44-45, n. 13). It should be noted that in the second half of the 2nd century BC, in a period when the theatre must have not been in use, a pottery workshop was in operation in the southern part of the south *parodos* of the theatre.

⁹⁸ INTZESILOGLOU 1987, 254 (from the south *parodos*); ARVANITOPOULOS 1928, 14 mentioned the discovery of statuary and of honorific decrees. Also in his excavation daybooks: Αρχ. Αρβ. 10, 13.10.1907 (part of a statue); Αρχ. Αρβ. 11, 23.10.1907; Αρχ. Αρβ. 12, 2-3.11.1907 (statue of a Roman emperor and inscription); Αρχ. Αρβ. 13, 8.11.1907 (part of a statue); Αρχ. Αρβ. 39, 20-21.2.1911 (part of a statue and base in the right *parodos*); Αρχ. Αρβ. 43, 7.7.1914. INTZESILOGLOU 1996b, 103-104 proposed that the theatre was the seat of the *boule* during the period of the Magnesian Koinon; although a plausible hypothesis, there is no sufficient evidence; id. 2002, 120; also THEOCHARIS 1960, esp. 174 for the decree of the Magnesian Koinon = SEG 23 (1968) 447. On theatres as a place for setting of honorific statuary and decrees, see MA 2013, 80-94.

The theatre and the monument on the peak of the hill above it are both orientated towards the *anaktoron* and the sacred agora; this is surely not coincidental. On an artificial terrace that measures 137 m long, stood a central building with elaborate decoration of white marble in the Ionic style that has sometimes been identified as an altar;⁹⁹ a cavity on the rock remains unexplained, while the structure was left unfinished. Based on its central location (**fig. 5, fig. 6 no. 5**), its close spatial relation to the theatre, on Plutarch's testimony regarding the funeral of Demetrios Poliorketes with pomp in Demetrias, as well as the similarities to other *heroa*/founder tombs in Asia Minor, Marzolff interpreted the monument as the founder's *heroon*, for the cult of the *ktistai* and *archegetai*.¹⁰⁰ Although impossible to prove, the open space on the terrace and the theatre immediately below it would have been appropriate venues for festivals, such as those described in the inscription from Kanalia mentioned above,¹⁰¹ and for processions linking the major civic areas of Demetrias, the *anaktoron* as well as the agoras.¹⁰²

Such festivals, but with different emphasis, are attested for the second half of the 2nd century BC; the major deities venerated were Artemis Iolkia, Zeus Akraios (the old cult of the peak of Mount Pelion) and Apollo Koropaios, whose cult place was near Boufa at Korope. The festivals and annual processions to these limitrophe

⁹⁹ MARZOLFF 1986, 77-78 for *spolia* in the "Fourth Stelai Tower" that may have originated from this monument and on the rarity of the marble in the buildings of the city (only attested for the *proedriae* of the theatre and the so-called "Heroon").

¹⁰⁰ MARZOLFF 1987a; id.1996b; KRAVARITOU 2013, 263-264.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. X, n. 21.

¹⁰² THEOCHARIS 1961/2, 172 on the ancient road leading from the theatre to the hill; STROOTMAN 2014, 48 and 66 for the significance of the location of such a complex at some distance from the centre of the city.

sites reaffirmed the bonds of the local communities,¹⁰³ which in the post-Macedonian era consciously cultivated and elevated the profile of old, local cults.¹⁰⁴

As already mentioned, the early 3rd century BC saw a major reassessment of the geopolitical, urban and cultic environment of the region, a phenomenon that was recently discussed by Kravaritou.¹⁰⁵ Numerous inscriptions and the discovery of votive deposits in various parts across the city attest to the existence of several cults,¹⁰⁶ such as Isis', already in the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁷ The exact location of many sanctuaries and their spatial arrangement remain obscure; a good example is the periurban sanctuary of Pasikrata (**fig. 6 no. 6**), in use from the 3rd century BC, known only through *favissae* discovered immediately outside the city walls in the southern sector of the city.¹⁰⁸

Many cult places have been unearthed in the northeastern sector of the city, near the Pefkakia peninsula and the coast.¹⁰⁹ The aforementioned inscription of the

¹⁰³ MARZOLFF 1999, 177 figs. 8-9 for the spatial relation of the three sites.

¹⁰⁴ KRAVARITOU 2016a, 145-149; ead. 2016b, 555-556; ead. 2014, 226-229 for the role of the local elites in these cults; MELFI 2016, 10-13.

¹⁰⁵ KRAVARITOU 2011; ead. 2016a; STROOTMAN 2014, 20 for the importance of patronage of local cults and rituals as a means to enhance integration.

¹⁰⁶ KRAVARITOU 2011, 120-132.

¹⁰⁷ DECOURT, TZIAFALIAS 2007, 337-342; STAMATOPOULOU 2008; KRAVARITOU 2014, 206-208.

¹⁰⁸ STAMATOPOULOU 2014; on cults of Demetrias, see BOEHM 2011, 84-90 (he wrongly attributes the inscription to Enodia Patroa as originating from the Pasikrata sactuary).

¹⁰⁹ For example, the *favissa* in the eastern part of a city near "Hill 35", containing fifty-three Hellenistic clay figurines (**fig. 6 no. 8**): MILOJČIĆ 1973, 345-346, pl. 309b-c; HORNUNG-BERTEMES 2007, 39-41.

astynomoi mentions that an old cult place, the “Thesmophorion”,¹¹⁰ was reused for the cult of Demeter, Kore and Pluto in the 3rd century BC. The site most likely is that excavated by Arvanitopoulos¹¹¹ and later by Batziou in the eastern sector of the city, on a low rise very near the walls (**fig. 6 no. 7**). Besides the *astynomoi* inscription, Arvanitopoulos mentions architectural remains, which he attributed to a cult building, as well as numerous finds.¹¹² Batziou found remains of the building and further relevant evidence and artefacts. Notable among them were ten statuette bases, some with dedicatory inscriptions to the aforementioned deities, parts of marble statues (some fragments attributed to a cult statue of a seated Demeter), a life-size female clay head, stamped rooftiles, figurines, parts of megaric bowls, many loom weights, amphorae and numerous coins.¹¹³

The cult of the Mother of the Gods is attested archaeologically at two sites. The first, a building arranged around a peristyle court, near the presumed Thesmophorion, in use from the early 3rd century to the mid-2nd century BC, has been characterized as the Metroon of the city, mainly due to the discovery of rooftiles stamped with royal initials (**fig. 6 no. 9, fig. 9**).¹¹⁴ At the site, near which

¹¹⁰ Above, p. X, n. 27. The *astynomoi* inscription was found on “Hill 36”, about 20 m from the site “Phanos” near the fortifications: Αρχ. Αρβ. 40, 20-21.6.1912, where he identified the complex as a sanctuary of Poseidon, based on the discovery of a marble head depicting a mature male god. Also, STÄHLIN 1929, 208-209 no. 2.

¹¹¹ Αρχ. Αρβ. 44, 26.6.1915-4.7.2015.

¹¹² ARVANITOPOULOS 1912, 172-173; id. 1915, 191-194; HEINZ 1998, 70-71.

¹¹³ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2010; KRAVARITOU 2016a, 140.

¹¹⁴ T. Zervas plot, near Pefkakia: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1988, pl. 130α, for a view of the northwest corner of the peristyle; ead. 1989, ead. 1990, 201 (bathing installations); ead. 2001-2004a, plan 1 on p. 464; MAKRI-SKOTINIOTI, BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2000, 326 plan 23 (location).

Arvanitopoulos had unearthed similar finds,¹¹⁵ many loom weights, pottery sherds, coins, incense burners, votive plaques and figurines depicting the Mother of the Gods, Enodia-Hekate, Pan and a lion were collected. The excavator initially identified the building as a house¹¹⁶ and subsequently as a meeting place of an association, before eventually proposing that it should be the city's Metroon.¹¹⁷ This illustrates how difficult it can be to distinguish, based on the architectural form of a building, between a place devoted to civic cult, an association's clubhouse and a building of purely domestic use, especially when dealing with the cult of the Mother of the Gods.¹¹⁸ The same might be true for the building identified as a house on Palatiou Street in the northern sector of the city,¹¹⁹ notable for the elaborate painted and plaster

¹¹⁵ *Apχ. Apβ.* 45, 20.7.1916-2.8.2016; see also *Prakt* 1916, 31. Among the finds in numerous rooms he singles out a clay statuette of the Mother of the Gods, a life-size clay image of a young satyr and part of the body of a small marble lion. Also, HEINZ 1998, 83.

¹¹⁶ In the excavation reports: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1988; ead. 1989; ead. 1996b, 22-23.

¹¹⁷ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2000, 301-303, where it is first tentatively characterized as the Metroon; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 31-32, figs. 34-36.

¹¹⁸ See the similar concerns expressed by S. Katakouta for a contemporary building at Pharsalos (D. Kyritsis plot), where the Mother of the Gods was worshipped alongside other divinities, for example Aphrodite: KATAKOUTA 2013; ead. 2016. Although she has characterized it as "public", she stresses the similarities to the peristyle building at Kalydon, identified with a clubhouse, and points out (KATAKOUTA 2013, 445; ead. 2016, 550, n. 2) that it is not clear whether it was a civic sanctuary or a clubhouse. Also, MILI 2014, 206, n. 257. On installations for domestic cult and for associations' clubhouses, see HELLMANN 2010, 88-90. Despite the considerable work on the epigraphic testimonia for associations, the analysis of actual clubhouses is not so advanced, except for the case of Kalydon, Delos and increasingly Rhodes. Peristyles are common in such installations, as in Kalydon: DIETZ 2011a; id. 2011b, and Delos (clubhouse of the Poseidoniastai): BRUNEAU, DUCAT 2010, 242-246, fig. 63; EMME 2013, 181-185 cat. no. 74.

¹¹⁹ TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2000 (M. Katsiphas plot).

decoration on some of its walls and ceiling (**fig. 6 no. 10, fig. 10**).¹²⁰ The discovery of numerous figurines and nearly life-size clay female busts and statuettes of the Mother of the Gods, as well as a bath installation in one room, led the excavator to propose that ritual baths and purification rites were performed in the building, activities that are suitable both during household cult and also for associations.¹²¹

Salvage excavations in Demetrias since the 1990s have brought to light very interesting evidence regarding domestic architecture of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially for the Roman Imperial period, when the northern sector of the city, at Aivaliotika, was flourishing as a commercial centre.¹²² Due to the limitations of urban archaeology, often only small sections of houses are revealed; the later, Roman, modifications of houses have frequently altered the initial organization of domestic space.¹²³ Significant parts of Hellenistic houses have been excavated in at least five locations, however we still lack a full plan of a typical Hellenistic house. Unlike Rhodes or Pella, to date there is no evidence for peristyle houses in Demetrias

¹²⁰ TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2000, 467, fig. 6.

¹²¹ TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2000, 467, figs. 7-9 for the figurines and busts; 467-468 and fig. 10 for a view of the bath installations, and fig. 11 for the cistern in the area of the court.

¹²² In the recent geophysical prospection of the city in the area east of the agora it was possible to map city blocks, confirming Marzolff's plan, and their organization into structural complexes, most likely houses, that had courtyards or gardens in the back and shared partition walls. Their date is not known: SARRIS *et.al.* 2014; iid. 2015.

¹²³ For example, the excavations on Lemesou Street at Aivaliotika: TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 1997, 463 for the 4th century AD Roman house (T. Karaiskos plot), where many architectural members of Hellenistic buildings were reused in the walls; ead. 1998, 414-415 (P. Papachatzis plot), where successive building phases of a Hellenistic house were found, with earlier remains at deeper levels.

nor for fancy figural mosaic floors.¹²⁴ Hellenistic houses seem to have been comparatively modest, but paved or pebbled floors, marble thresholds and coloured plaster decoration from their walls and ceilings suggest some investment in domestic architecture.¹²⁵

According to the excavators, a typical Hellenistic house in Demetrias was most likely of the *pastas* type, organized around a central courtyard, often paved, whose shape was not regular. Wells are a standard feature in the courtyard as well as built and covered drainage pipes;¹²⁶ moreover, built hearths are often found at the corners of one or more rooms. In a house described as “typical” for Demetrias by its excavators, located north of the theatre and used from the early 3rd century to the mid-2nd century BC (**fig. 6 no. 11, fig. 11**),¹²⁷ alongside these features there was evidence for the performance of rituals in the stone-paved court, as a cavity containing an

¹²⁴ For a typical – based on current evidence – mosaic floor consisting of geometric motifs, see the Hellenistic house in the S. Tzorbantzi-Chantzikidi plot, located in the northern sector of the city at Aivaliotika: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2006a, 603-605, figs. 5, 7-8.

¹²⁵ As in the house in the adjacent Ph. Chouta and K. Katsonis plots: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1993, 227-228. *Ibid.*, 231 for the partially preserved house in the Karadimas’ heirs plot (marble thresholds and pebbled floors; plastered walls). See also the house at 16 D. Pouliou St (Ch. Papadakos plot): BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1994, and the house at 2 Athinon-Karaoli St (I. Krikeli plot) at Aivaliotika, where coloured plaster (white, red, blue and black) implies wall decoration in the Masonry Style: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2006a. Similarly, in the S. Tzorbantzi-Chantzikidi plot at Aivaliotika, well-carved marble thresholds were discovered: *Ibid.*, 603-605, figs. 4-6. See also MARZOLFF 1978, 134-135; *id.* 1996c, 56.

¹²⁶ MARZOLFF 1996c, 56-57, fig. 7; ADRYMI-SISMANI 1996, 39-40, fig. 21.

¹²⁷ In the aforementioned Ph. Chouta and K. Katsonis plots: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1996b, 24-27, figs. 913; *ead.* 1993, 229-231; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2000, 305; MAKRI-SKOTINIOTI, BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2000, 322, plan 6; TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012, for the excavation of the adjoining plot (D. Anastasiou plot) and the plan of the house on p. 381.

incense burner and small pots with traces of burning was revealed in proximity to a built bench, where vessels appropriate for libations were discovered.¹²⁸ Similarly, in the northeastern part of the building, a room contained numerous lead strips, clamps, lumps of lead as well as tools and numerous coins; it has been identified as a workshop.¹²⁹ Workshop activities are attested in numerous locations in Hellenistic dwellings of the city.¹³⁰ On current evidence, Hellenistic houses in Demetrias seem to have been comfortable but not excessively elaborate, appropriate for an affluent *bourgeoisie*.

Based on the finds from the *anaktoron* and the sanctuaries, Boehm has recently put forward the claim that following the synoecism of Demetrias there was a major and deliberate shift in the trade orientation and the commercial links of the region, with a move away from traditional southward connections and the “natural geographic orientation” of the area, towards a northward-oriented trade. This shift he has attributed to a direct, central involvement of the royal authorities in the city’s economic activity.¹³¹ In the case of Demetrias he saw stricter control of commercial activity than in Pella. Crucial to his argument was the evidence from commercial amphorae, namely the preponderance of Thasian and Parmeniskos Group amphorae, and the absence of coins from Histiaia and Phthiotic Thebes among those discovered in the foundation fill of the *anaktoron*. He proposed that Demetrias differed in economic activity from southern coastal Thessaly, namely Phthiotic Thebes and

¹²⁸ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1996b.

¹²⁹ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1993, 227-228: Ph. Choutas and K. Katsonis plots.

¹³⁰ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1984: I. Lagos plot (plan 3 on p. 143); ead. 1985, 185. The coins from the floors of the building date to the mid-2nd century BC.

¹³¹ BOEHM 2011, 57-61; he is heavily influenced by FURTWÄNGLER 1992, which in some respects, especially with regard to coinage, is now out of date.

Halos.¹³² Moreover, he commented on the numerous persons of Syro-Phoenician origin among those commemorated on the painted tombstones but considered them latecomers, a consequence of an opening of Demetrias to wide-ranging commercial connections at a later stage in the city's life.¹³³

However, things are not so straightforward. The study of the Demetrias tombstones shows that Phoenicians, Egyptians and other non-Greeks, who were potentially involved in trade, were present from early on, already by the middle of the 3rd century BC.¹³⁴ Although a systematic study of the coinage circulation in the city is a *desideratum*, evidence from recent excavations in the palace and houses gives a more varied image than previously thought.¹³⁵ With regards to the transport amphorae, they are but one element in the nexus of financial connections and trade and craftsmen links of a city.¹³⁶ Furtwängler¹³⁷ and Akamatis¹³⁸ have stressed the

¹³² BOEHM 2011, 60.

¹³³ BOEHM 2011, 60-61.

¹³⁴ See, for example, DECOURT, TZIAFALIAS 2007, 337-342, figs. 1-5 (Egyptians); STAMATOPOULOU 2016 catalogue, nos. 26-27 (Phoenicians).

¹³⁵ For coins from the recent excavations on the *anaktoron*: BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1993, 229 (section A); ead. 1998a; ead. 2000a, 296; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, SCHIZA 2004, 44-45 for the deposit north of the north side of section A in the *anaktoron*. For houses, see BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1993, 229 (Ph. Choutas plot); BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2003-2009, 316 for the coins from the cemeteries.

¹³⁶ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2009 for the up-to-date discussion of amphora stamps from the city.

¹³⁷ FURTWÄNGLER 2003, esp. 133 (Thasian), 147-149 (Parmeniskos Group), 143-144 (Sinope, where similar patterns to Pella are detected), 136 (Rhodian, where he proposes that Demetrias had a different trade orientation to Athens), 152-156 (where the rarity of Knidian and Graeco-Italian amphorae is interpreted as a result of the nature of investigations, that is, of the absence of investigations in the late Hellenistic part of the city).

similarity in ratios of amphorae between Pella and Demetrias, while recently Beestman-Krushaar has concluded that Halos follows a similar pattern to Demetrias, with Thasian and Parmeniskos Group amphorae predominating in the 3rd century BC, Rhodian being third in number, and examples from Chios, Paros, Kos, Sinope, Chersonesos being represented less frequently. Therefore, she proposed that Halos and Demetrias shared the same network of amphora trade.¹³⁹

The study of the fine pottery¹⁴⁰ and terracottas from the various contexts in the city¹⁴¹ reveals intense imports from Athens in the early 3rd century and a strong imitation of Athenian models, especially West Slope pottery, lamps and figurines in the first half of the 3rd century BC. From the middle of the same century, an eclectic and selective use of models from the entire Aegean as well as Macedonian influence is evident. Rather than a direct link to one centre, for example Pella, Demetrias shares with other Hellenistic harbour cities an open and receptive material and consumer culture.

¹³⁸ AKAMATIS 1989, 80-83; id. 2000, esp. 229; id. 2003, 491.

¹³⁹ BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR 2011.

¹⁴⁰ FURTWÄNGLER 1990 (*anaktoron*); BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2003-2009, 293-314 (cemeteries); ead. 2000b, 40-44; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, SCHIZA 2004 (deposit to the northwest of the *anaktoron*); NIKOLAOU 2004, esp. 57 (lamps from the northern cemetery); ead. 2011 (pyxides from the northern cemetery); TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2004 (cemetery at Alykes); SEILHEIMER 2014 (*anaktoron*).

¹⁴¹ On terracottas, see HORNUNG-BERTEMES 2007, esp. 74-77; LEVENTI 2012 (from Soros); NIKOLAOU 2012 (northern cemetery of Demetrias). The same has been observed by my doctoral student at the University of Oxford, Mr S. Ieremias, who is conducting a study on the coroplastic art of Demetrias and has examined a large sample (finds from the old excavations of Arvanitopoulos).

A similar pattern is evident in the typology, iconography and onomastics of the famous painted tombstones.¹⁴² More than 750 date to the Hellenistic period;¹⁴³ it is rarely the case that such a large *corpus* survives from a single city. Its full publication will offer invaluable information about the iconographic choices of the inhabitants of the city, the *onomastikon* and familial relationships. With the exception of a few bilingual inscriptions, most epitaphs are in the *koine*. Considerable variety characterizes the typology of the tombstones, with some reaching large dimensions.¹⁴⁴ At least one monument, the famous warrior stele (**fig. 12**), belonged to a very large funerary monument of a quality unusual for Demetrias, comparable to major funerary paintings.¹⁴⁵ Assessing the original layout and combination of these monuments is virtually impossible, given the absence of context and the state of publication of the Demetrias cemeteries.¹⁴⁶ It is evident that some commemorated members of the same family,¹⁴⁷ but how these monuments were displayed, whether independently on

¹⁴² On the stelai, see ARVANITOPOULOS 1909; id. 1928; GRAEVE VON 1979; WOLTERS 1979; id. 1994; GRAEVE VON, PREUBER 1981; PREUBER, GRAEVE VON 1981; PREUBER, GRAEVE VON, WOLTERS 1981; HELLY 1979; id. 1996; id. 2012-2013; CAIRON 2009; STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. I, 162-168 (typology), 173-186 (iconography), 188-190 (epitaphs); ead. 2008; ead. 2016.

¹⁴³ STAMATOPOULOU 2016, 407-408 for the history of research of the stelai. I follow B. Helly's dating of the stelai.

¹⁴⁴ ARVANITOPOULOS 1947a, 1-10 (Volos Museum Α217-226); WOLTERS 1994, 285; GRAEVE VON 1976, 23-25; STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. I, 166.

¹⁴⁵ Volos Museum Α235: ARVANITOPOULOS 1947b, 43-45, pl. Γ; GRAEVE VON 1979, 113.

¹⁴⁶ MARZOLFF 1986, 77-82 for *spolia* from the cemeteries that were reused in the fortifications.

¹⁴⁷ STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. I, 189-190; it is possible to establish this for some of the Cretans, Kassandreians and Kassopeans resident in the city.

separate bases, in front of family grave enclosures, or in peribolos-like tombs as in Anaktorion or Phoinike, or in other configurations, remains unclear.¹⁴⁸

The earliest palmette stelai bear very close technical and typological similarities to Attic examples. Wolters had proposed that they were made by Athenian craftsmen.¹⁴⁹ The emphasis on the interaction of the depicted individuals who are often united in a *dexiosis*, at a time when in other regions people were shown frontally, assuming statuary poses, along with their typological affinity to Athenian tombstones has led scholars to propose that the iconography of the Demetrias stelai especially during the 3rd century BC, reveals an adherence to Attic models and reflects ‘daily’ concerns, as has also been observed for Rhodes, Delos and Alexandria. In the course of the 2nd century BC, alongside heroising features, such as the tree-and-snake motif, or the use of the epithet *hero/heroissa* and the salutation *chaire*, other elements betray the adoption of norms that were current throughout the Hellenistic world, for example frontal statuary poses, an increase in attributes shown on ledges, a far smaller scale used for the depiction of attendants.¹⁵⁰

With few exceptions, there was uniformity in representation, regardless of ethnic origin. Most persons are represented in a familial setting, interacting with one another. The emphasis is on elegant clothes and surroundings.¹⁵¹ Among the various

¹⁴⁸ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2002, 111-112, grave T20/1998, fig. 10; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2003-2009, 246, fig. 81 for a base of a funerary monument next to grave 40 (of the early 4th century BC).

¹⁴⁹ WOLTERS 1994, 284-287; HELLY 1996, 76-77.

¹⁵⁰ STAMATOPOULOU 2016, 429-430 (with earlier bibliography).

¹⁵¹ STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. I, 173-186; ead. 2016, 420-421, 428-430 (with earlier bibliography).

ethnic groups,¹⁵² Syro-Phoenicians are predominant and often shown in the banquet motif.¹⁵³ Macedonians are numerous but their iconography is not distinctive;¹⁵⁴ a few individuals wear the *kausia*, but they often bear non-Macedonian ethnics.¹⁵⁵ Some

¹⁵² It is worth noting that according to Bruno Helly about 40% of the commemorated individuals on the tombstones of Demetrias were not from the city. STAMATOPOULOU 2016, esp. 435-436.

¹⁵³ STAMATOPOULOU 2016, esp. 435-437.

¹⁵⁴ Macedonians include Volos Museum Λ6, Λ11, Λ16, Λ18, Λ57, Λ71, Λ82, Λ127, Λ139, Λ167, Λ171, Λ238, Λ254, Λ327, Λ356, Λ362, Λ334: see entries in Arvanitopoulos 1909; id. 1947a; id. 1947b; id. 1949a; id.1949b; id. 1949c. Also, E384 (Αρχ. Αρβ. 8, 24.8.1907, nos. 194-194a; from Skydra), E402 (Αρχ. Αρβ. 13, no. 506; from Bottiaia), E482 (Αρχ. Αρβ. 40, no. ΓΙΙ 225, from the “Third Stelai Tower”; from Akanthos); E490 (whose fragments are reported in Αρχ. Αρβ. 9, no. 242, from the “First Stelai Tower” and Αρχ. Αρβ. 26, no. 368, from Kalyvia Alykon; from Pella); E562 (Αρχ. Αρβ. 12, no. 412, whose fragments were found in the “First Stelai Tower”, and Αρχ. Αρβ. 26, no. 217, found at Kalyvia Alykon).

¹⁵⁵ Examples of men wearing the *kausia* include: a) the deceased on the stele of Zoilos and Theudote, Volos Museum Λ43 (ARVANITOPOULOS 1909, 226-228, where he identifies it as a “short” *petasos*); b) the stele of Parmeniskos from Epirus: Volos Museum Λ46 (ARVANITOPOULOS 1909, 232-234; GRAEVE VON 1979, pl. 6.2; GRAEVE VON, PREUBER 1981, 125, fig. 4); c) the stele of Timonax from Methymna, where the outline of the deceased is preserved as a shadow: Volos Museum Λ102 (ARVANITOPOULOS 1909, 318-319); d) stele depicting a man reading, against an architectural backdrop: Volos Museum Λ244 (ARVANITOPOULOS 1949a, 5-6; STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. II, col. pl. 3a); e) the stele of Hermaphilos son of Mokapores from Bithynia: Volos Museum Λ293 (ARVANITOPOULOS 1949c, 160; PREUBER, GRAEVE VON 1981, 19, figs. 30-32). Some of these men may have served in the Macedonian army and the *kausia* may be part of a uniform. On Macedonian dress and the identification of military uniform see: SEKUNDA 2014 (with some caution); KALAITZI 2016, 51-55.

Cretans are depicted as soldiers (**fig. 13**), among them one as an archer, which may be significant given that they were known for their role as mercenaries.¹⁵⁶

When exceptional features are included in either the epitaph or the representation there are usually special reasons behind this choice, as for example on the stele of Antigenes, son of Sotimos (**fig. 14**). Antigenes wears a petasos, a dark chlamys and a chitoniskos and is playing the trumpet; his epitaph informs us that he died at the battlefield at Phthiotic Thebes in 217 BC and stresses his military valour. Kravaritou has now proposed to recognize Antigenes as a member of the ephobic corps of the city.¹⁵⁷ Similar is the case for priests of foreign cults: on the stele of Ouaphres (**fig. 15**), the deceased is represented in the dress and paraphernalia of an Egyptian priest of Isis, performing a libation, while his epitaph is one of the most informative.¹⁵⁸

As I have discussed elsewhere, the ethnic mix-up of the population was high in Demetrias in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC.¹⁵⁹ Among the residents of the city were the previous inhabitants of the settlements of Magnesia, Thessalians,

¹⁵⁶ CHANIOTIS 2005, 21, 78-81, 105; for a list of Cretans on the Demetrias tombstones, see POUILLOUX, VERDÉLIS 1950, 47: Appendix; ARVANITOPOULOU 1952, 55; SEKUNDA 2001 (Volos Museum Λ8); id. 2003 (Volos Museum Λ61).

¹⁵⁷ Volos Museum Λ10: ARVANITOPOULOS 1909, 128-133 no. 10; *SEG* 59 (2009) 596; BOEHM 2015 (with caution, as there are factual errors regarding the location of monuments in Demetrias and along the route to Pherai); KRAVARITOU in this volume.

¹⁵⁸ STAMATOPOULOU 2008.

¹⁵⁹ See ARVANITOPOULOU 1952; there are more ethnics preserved on the stelai catalogued under “E” (standing for “Αρχαίων Επιγραφών”; Inscriptions) in the archives of the Ephorate of Magnesia, originating from Arvanitopoulos’ excavations and described in his daybooks (Αρχ. Αρβ.). Their study may be the focus of another paper.

Macedonians, mercenaries serving in the Macedonian army, merchants, other Greeks, Carians, Bithynians, Syro-Levantines, Illyrians, Thracians, a Persian,¹⁶⁰ Sicilians. It is not possible either through the iconography or through the material culture of the city to discern these cultural or ethnic groups; this is perhaps significant. It is possible that in the 3rd century BC the choice of public roles available to foreign residents of Demetrias was limited. The values expressed through the iconography and epitaphs of the Demetrias tombstones imply that these were few: military *arete* (**fig. 16a-b**), priesthood, successful engagement in poetry and theatre.¹⁶¹ In this large cosmopolitan port, the popularity of the banquet motif, which referred to daily life, the emphasis on private refinement and the harmonious interaction between family members were features that could be shared by the various cultural/ethnic groups resident in the city.¹⁶²

One gets the same impression from Demetrias' cemeteries, where elaborate funerary architecture seems to have been rare, as are really extravagant grave gifts. Nonetheless, we should take into account that the disturbance of the area by later tombs and modern activity and quarrying,¹⁶³ the absence of publications, as well as the discovery of the majority of the graves of the southern and eastern cemeteries in the early decades of the 20th century has resulted in the loss of very important

¹⁶⁰ The stele of Dionysios son of Persaios, Volos Museum E355: *Arch. Arch.* 10, 19.10.1907, no. 291.

¹⁶¹ STAMATOPOULOU 2016, 442. On the stele of Androkydes, see GRAEVE VON 1979, 116, pl. 6.4.

¹⁶² STAMATOPOULOU 2016.

¹⁶³ MARZOLFF 1986, 73-77; quarries in the northern cemetery: DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1982, 226-227 (Bourboulithra, O.Σ.E.); ADRYMI-SISMANI 1996, 42.

information.¹⁶⁴ Arvanitopoulos excavated in the early 20th century a large sector of the southern cemetery, which extended alongside the funerary *enceinte*.¹⁶⁵ The northern cemetery extended along the route to Pherai; it was briefly investigated by Arvanitopoulos and more recently by E. Nikolaou, who unearthed more than 900 tombs during rescue excavations.¹⁶⁶ Here, a rock-cut semi-circular exedra that was located above the Bourboulithra spring among tombs is evidence for the performance of elaborate funerary rituals.¹⁶⁷ It is noteworthy that to this date there is no evidence for Macedonian tombs in Demetrias.¹⁶⁸ Some of the best-furnished tombs of the city were found in the southern cemetery, especially near the Profitis Elias hill;¹⁶⁹ they allegedly contained exceptional grave gifts, such as an alabaster cinerary urn (**fig. 17**) or a silver altar/incense burner (**fig. 18**), imported heirlooms, as a double-sided ivory pyxis lid (**fig. 19**), fancy shoes (**fig. 20**), gold oak wreaths (**fig. 21**) and silverware.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. II, cat. no. 13; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 2001, 40-47; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2003-2009. For the southern cemetery, see BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1982a (G. Megagiannis plot); ead. 1982b (E. Polyzois plot), near the “Fifth Stelai Tower” and the so-called Pasikrata sanctuary; ead. 1998b near Alykes; for the eastern cemetery by the locality Pharos, see BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1999, 398; ead. 2001-2004a for the graves by Cape Sesklo southeast of the Pefkasia peninsula.

¹⁶⁵ For a summary of the investigations, see ARVANITOPOULOS 1928, 56-62.

¹⁶⁶ NIKOLAOU 1995; ead. 1996; ead. 2000a; ead. 2000b. Also, BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU 1990, 199-201 (ΔΕΥΑΜΒ).

¹⁶⁷ MARZOLFF 1986, 82-84, figs. 4-5; also, ARVANITOPOULOS 1915, 183.

¹⁶⁸ KATAKOUTA-STAMATOPOULOU forthcoming; for the enigmatic monument, excavated by Stais and Arvanitopoulos in the northern cemetery, see MARZOLFF 1986, 84-87, fig. 4.

¹⁶⁹ Arvanitopoulos in his daybooks: Αρχ. Αρβ. 9, 21.9.1907.

¹⁷⁰ [ARVANITOPOULOS] 1947c, although it should be pointed out that they do not originate from one single burial as proposed by Th. Arvanitopoulou, the excavator’s daughter, who

Conclusions

This overview of the archaeology and epigraphy of Demetrias demonstrates that the city was an integral part of the Macedonian kingdom in terms of administration, civic institutions and royal representation. Royal authority was manifest through the *anaktoron* and the close association of royal and sacral space at the sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia. The former recalls certain features of Macedonian royal palaces, but in its latest phase is informed by developments across the Hellenistic world. In addition, the emblem of the city and the organized cult of the *ktistai* and *archegetai* reveal the strong Antigonid presence in Demetrias and validate Strootman and Chaniotis' discussion of the theatrical aspect of Hellenistic kingship. The abandonment of the palace soon after the dissolution of Macedonian power was surely deliberate, as was the change in cultic practices with an emphasis on old, Magnesian cults, that brought to the fore the now independent communities of Magnesia. Domestic architecture, tombs and material culture of Demetrias reveal it as a major cosmopolitan Hellenistic harbour city, with an affluent *bourgeoisie*, whose multiculturalism was evident in cult, onomastics and consumer choices.

completed the evidence for the article; STAMATOPOULOU 1999, vol. I, 111-112; ead. 2012, 21-22.

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Abbreviations

Αρχ. Αρβ. Αρχείο Αρβανιτόπουλου. Excavation daybooks of A.S. Arvanitopoulos, kept in the Archives of The Archaeological Society at Athens

BAM Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes

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