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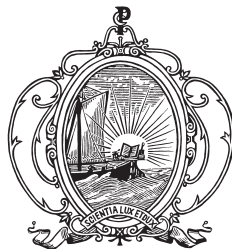
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DINING AND DEATH:
INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES
ON THE ‘FUNERARY BANQUET’
IN ANCIENT ART, BURIAL AND BELIEF

Edited by

CATHERINE M. DRAYCOTT and MARIA STAMATOPOULOU



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THE BANQUET MOTIF ON THE FUNERARY STELAI FROM DEMETRIAS

Maria STAMATOPOULOU

Abstract

This paper discusses tombstones bearing the banquet theme (*Totenmahl*) from Demetrias in Thessaly. Nearly all carried painted decoration, as was typical for the city, and date to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The introduction presents the evidence concerning their number, discovery, state of preservation and publication. Following this, their typology, iconographical features and epitaphs are discussed. The imagery of the Demetrias tombstones is compared with the evidence from Thessaly and the Greek world. The iconography of the stelai, similar to their typology, is heavily dependent on Athenian models, with an added emphasis on a luxurious ambience. Contrary to what has been proposed in the past, the study of the imagery and onomastics of the stelai shows that the banquet motif was neither a minority choice in the city, nor was it limited to foreigners and/or persons of lower status. Rather, it was employed without much variation for Greeks and foreigner inhabitants of the city, regardless of ethnicity. In the multi-cultural environment of this Hellenistic harbour city, the population, with the exception of soldiers, priests and perhaps some Phoenician merchants, chose to be commemorated in a similar manner, placing emphasis on the family and comfortable life. Heroic allusions are few, but this is explained by the relatively early date of the Demetrias tombstones.

INTRODUCTION: DISCOVERY, STATE OF PRESENTATION AND PUBLICATION¹

Johanna Fabricius, in her seminal monograph on the *Totenmahl*, demonstrated the importance of a small-scale, region-specific study of grave monuments for

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the Board of the Archaeological Society of Athens, its Secretary General V. Petrakos, and I. Ninou, and the Secretary of the Greek Epigraphic Society A. Matthaïou, for allowing me to study the archives of A.S. Arvanitopoulos; to the Central Archaeological Board (KAS) and the 13th EPCA for granting me permission to work on the iconography of the stelai and the 15th EPCA for permission to use photographs of the tombstones from Larisa. A. Batziou-Efstathiou (currently Ephor of the 15th EPCA) and P. Triantaphyllopoulou, excavators of Demetrias, generously shared their knowledge of the city with me, encouraged my study and allowed me to consult the Archive E (Inscriptions) in Volos. V. Adrymi-Sismani, E. Skafida, B. Intzesiloglou, P. Arachoviti, A. Kalogianni, P. Tsiouka and the guards of the Volos Archaeological Museum offered me considerable practical help during my study in Volos (1997–98, 2004–05) as did S. Katakouta in Larisa. B. Helly generously shared his expertise on the Demetrias epigraphy and offered unprecedented access to the archives of Hisoma and to the manuscript of V. von Graeve (Sept. 2014) and very useful advice on the *onomastikon* of the city. I have followed his dating of the stelai. M. Kalaitzi has on numerous occasions discussed

understanding the values and mentalities of a community and discerning meaningful changes over time.² Her close analysis of Rhodes, Samos, Cyzicus and Byzantium is unsurpassed; according to her there was no single, universal meaning to the theme of the banqueter in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but rather local communities adapted the details of representation to suit their specific ideals and aspirations.³ This paper discusses tombstones from a single city, Demetrias, where a rich corpus survives, in the hope that it will contribute to our understanding of the role of the banquet motif in the funerary imagery of the city.

The tombstones under discussion were discovered by A.S. Arvanitopoulos in the early 20th century, during his excavations of Demetrias, the Macedonian city founded in 293 BC by Demetrios Poliorketes on the western edge of the Gulf of Pagasai, at a strategic location 7 km west of modern Volos.⁴ The city, characterised as one of the ‘fettlers’ of Greece, was the result of a synoecism of the pre-existing communities of Magnesia, and served the maritime and defensive goals of the Antigonid kings perfectly. It was a secure naval and military base at the heart of the Greek peninsula, allowing control of land and sea routes.⁵ Demetrias was fully integrated into the Macedonian kingdom;⁶ it was a royal residence (*basileion*)⁷ and a military stronghold that soon developed into a cosmopolitan trading city, retaining its commercial and economic importance even after the collapse of Macedonian power.⁸

with me various issues pertaining to gravestones and Demetrias. R.R.R. Smith and S. Kravaritou read a first draft of the manuscript and made very useful suggestions for improvement, while C. Draycott and E. Chiricat offered invaluable practical help. This study was made possible with the generous support of the Zilkha Trustees of Lincoln College, Oxford and in its initial stages the Shelby White-Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications. I thank them all. Please note that the figures are numbered according to the order of appearance of the relevant item in the text. Catalogue numbers are in bold.

² Fabricius 1999a (with earlier bibliography on the *Totenmahl*); also Zanker 1993 for Smyrna; Puddu 2010 for East Greek cities and the image of the *politēs*; Portale 2012 for the banquet theme in Hellenistic Sicily and its significance. Like Fabricius, when I use the term *Totenmahl* it is in a neutral manner, for reasons of convenience. On the problem of terminology, see also Dunbabin 2003, 104.

³ See also Dunbabin 2003, 107–09.

⁴ Arvanitopoulos 1928; 1909, 80–86, for their discovery. Some tombstones had been discovered before Arvanitopoulos’s time, and had been used as building material in the church of Agios Nikolaos in Volos.

⁵ On Demetrias: Arvanitopoulos 1928; Stählin *et al.* 1934; Batziou-Efstathiou 2001; Marzloff 1976; 1980; 1994. Also Stamatopoulou 2010–11, 81–84; Adrymi-Sismani 2012, 165–67.

⁶ Batziou-Efstathiou and Pikoulas 2006; Intzesiloglou 2006; *SEG* 56, nos. 625–626; Kravaritou 2013, for the cult of the *kūistai* and *archegetai*; Furtwängler and Kron 1978, on the seals of the city.

⁷ On the *anaktoron* of Demetrias, see Marzloff 1996; Batziou-Efstathiou 2000.

⁸ For Demetrias in the Roman period, see Triantaphyllopoulou 2012. Summary with references in Stamatopoulou 2010–11, 83; 2012b, 80–82; 2013, 44, with earlier bibliography.

The tombstones had been reused on the eve of the Mithridatic Wars, as building material for the repair and reinforcement of five fortification towers in the southern sector of the city.⁹ It has been rightly assumed that they must have originated from the southern cemetery of the city, which extended over a large area south of the walls.¹⁰

This is a very attractive and important series, comprising at least 750 tombstones; it is rarely the case that such a large corpus of grave monuments survives from a single city.¹¹ Yet its understanding is hindered by various factors, most notably their state of preservation and the lack of systematic publication a century following their discovery.¹² Due to their reuse in the fortifications and their discovery in the early 20th century, when conservation techniques were in their infancy, the preservation of the stelai is variable.¹³ Often only the outline of the figures can be discerned, or the ghost/shadow of the colours on the stone, and details or large areas of the figure scene have perished, thus allowing only a rudimentary understanding of the composition.¹⁴

Similarly, the discolouration of the painted surface of many stelai has resulted in a significant alteration of their original chromatic appearance. In the 1970s, V. von Graeve and his team employed ground-breaking (for their time) photographic and scientific techniques, and analysed the pigments from soil samples that had been kept by Arvanitopoulos.¹⁵ Their preliminary results,

⁹ On the history of research, see von Graeve 1976, 1–6. For the date of the reuse of the tombstones, see Helly 1992.

¹⁰ Along with sporadic finds, a second smaller group of tombstones was found in 1995–97, during rescue excavations in the northern cemetery of the city undertaken by the 13th EPCA under the direction of E. Nikolaou. Unfortunately, these too were found out of context, reused as building material for later tombs. I will not include the latter in this paper as they are unpublished. On the cemeteries of Demetrias, see Arvanitopoulos 1928; Stamatopoulou 1999, II, 7–9, no. 12; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantaphyllopoulou 2012; Nikolaou 1995; 1996; 2000a–b.

¹¹ This number concerns Arvanitopoulos's finds; he partially published 349 stelai in Arvanitopoulos 1928 and the *Thessalika Mnemeia*, published between 1909 and 1953 (Arvanitopoulos 1909 to Arvanitopoulos 1952–53). These are monuments included in the inventory Λ (Λίθινων) of the Volos Archaeological Museum. More than half of the tombstones he excavated remain unpublished and are catalogued in the Inventory of Inscriptions Ε (Επιγραφών) in Volos. The actual number of tombstones from Demetrias, from the 3rd century BC to late Imperial times is nearly a thousand (Helly 2012–13, 204, n. 66, and personal communication September 2014). Of these, about a third preserve legible traces of their figured decoration.

¹² Helly 1992, 349, for a summary of these problems.

¹³ Arvanitopoulos 1928, 127–40. Despite the fact that Arvanitopoulos was under strong criticism at the time, his treatment and conservation of the stelai were effective; the monuments that he treated with 'fixatif' are the ones that have fared better with time. See also von Graeve 1976, 34–38; Helly 1996, 74–75.

¹⁴ Elements that might betray local preferences are sometimes lost; when colour is preserved it can provide useful hints at local customs or aspirations, as, for example, the constant presence of metal vessels in the banquet scenes, silver for drinking and bronze for mixing vessels.

¹⁵ Arvanitopoulos 1928 22, 34; Preußner *et al.* 1981, 24. In many ways, Arvanitopoulos was way ahead of his time.

published in various articles in the 1980s, demonstrated the complexity of the painterly technique of the monuments.¹⁶

Work on the stelai was resumed in 2009, by the 13th EPCA (E. Asderaki and C. Topa) and H. Brecolouki of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, but their results have not appeared in print.¹⁷ In a public lecture in Athens in February 2010, Brecolouki pointed out that the new scientific study of the monuments has led to the revision of some earlier conclusions. For example, encaustic was identified on some monuments. It was also made clear that full comprehension of issues concerning the quality of execution or the colour scheme of the figured scenes is unfeasible without detailed scientific analysis of the pigments employed.¹⁸

A further obstacle is the absence of secure context for the monuments. Although their origin from Demetrias is certain, it is not known how they were displayed in the necropoleis of the city.¹⁹ The study of the epitaphs of some stelai and their typology by B. Helly and C. Wolters respectively, has shown that at least some of the monuments might have been grouped together and set in family tombs.²⁰ This, if proven correct, would impact on our appreciation of their size, formulas of commemoration (absence or inclusion of patronymic or ethnic) and iconography.

The full publication of this corpus will surely offer invaluable information about the iconographic choices and aspirations of the inhabitants of Demetrias, the familial relationships, *onomastikon* and social history of the city, as well as improve our understanding of art, in particular painting, in the Hellenistic period. Unfortunately, despite the early publications of Arvanitopoulos, and the preliminary results of the Wolters–Helly–von Graeve project regarding technique and onomastics, a systematic study is still pending.²¹ Consequently, the discussion of statistics, technique and prosopography has to remain tentative.

¹⁶ von Graeve 1979; Preußner *et al.* 1981; von Graeve and Preußner 1981; von Graeve and Helly 1987.

¹⁷ I would like to thank C. Topa and H. Brecolouki for discussing their project with me.

¹⁸ This is particularly important for the tombstones under discussion, since Fabricius (1999a, 48) has claimed that they were of lower quality than stelai bearing other themes. On the basis of my first-hand study of the 370 stelai in the Volos Museum, I would disagree with this statement.

¹⁹ On the general problem of the absence of context for the majority of Hellenistic tombstones, see Pfanner 1989, 183–89; Zanker 1993, 214. Also Posamentir 2011, 347–55, for a thorough discussion of the arrangement of the tombstones from Chersonesos.

²⁰ Helly 1979, 75. Grave enclosures decorated with more than one tombstone set on peribolos walls is postulated for Byzantium: Fabricius 1999a, 262–68, especially 266. Grave enclosures of Hellenistic date marked with freestanding monuments similar in size to the Demetrias ones are known from Ambrakia (Angeli 2013, 186–88), Michalitsi and Anaktorion in Epirus (Andreou 1994, 80; Dakaris 1955).

²¹ B. Helly has nearly completed the study of the Demetrias epitaphs.

NUMBER OF MONUMENTS, DATE AND TYPOLOGY

All tombstones discussed in this paper are kept in the Volos Archaeological Museum. I have excluded from discussion the stele in the Louvre (inv. no. Ma 3630), because its painted scene has been so heavily affected by modern restoration that the original composition is impossible to assess.²² Moreover, the theme suggested by Rouvert, a woman banqueter, would be out of place in Demetrias where, unlike Rhodes,²³ women were depicted reclining on couches only in scenes related to death in childbirth.²⁴

Of the 32 tombstones in the Volos Museum carrying the banquet motif, two are relief monuments.²⁵ The *naiskos* stele **31** (Fig. 1) may not be funerary as its wide format and the absence of an inscription, as well as iconographic features such as the frontality of the figures, the snake drinking from a phiale, the rectangular table and the volute krater are not attested together on the painted tombstones. On present evidence, however, it is impossible to decide either way. It is therefore included in the catalogue and will be taken into account especially when discussing the evidence from the interior of Thessaly, where only relief monuments survive.²⁶

With regards to their date, as mentioned above, Helly has convincingly shown that the painted tombstones were incorporated in the city fortifications on the eve of the Mithridatic wars. They should therefore be dated between the early 3rd century (foundation of Demetrias) and the early 1st century BC.²⁷ It is notoriously difficult to date monuments on letterforms alone, especially when a large sample has not been published.²⁸ In this study, I have followed Helly's

²² Rouvert 2004, 20–21, 23, 25–26, no. 1; Pomarède and Trébosc 2005, 54, no. 41. Arvanitopoulos was aware of the existence of two tombstones in Paris and he mentions that Gillieron might have been asked to restore them (Arvanitopoulos 1928, 131–32).

²³ Fabricius 1999a, 169–72, 183–90; 1999b.

²⁴ For example, on the stele of Hediste (Volos Λ 1) or the stele of Rhodion (Volos Λ 353) (Arvanitopoulos 1928, 147–49 and 160–61 respectively).

²⁵ I have not included some of the monuments discussed in Fabricius's (1999a) study: Volos Λ 153, has a figured scene bordered by an elaborate frame, and depicts a couch, but it is unclear whether the person reclining is a banqueter or a woman who was meant to have died in childbirth (von Graeve 1979, 113). Volos Λ 151 preserves only the head of a figure and Volos Λ 117 only part of a footstool; therefore not much can be said about their iconography (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 399–400 and 345–46 respectively). The theme may also have been portrayed on the tombstone Volos E 428, but the details are not clear.

²⁶ Some new monuments decorated with the banquet motif were recently discovered at Kastro-Palaia Volou and may originate from Demetrias; they will be published by E. Skafida, M. Kalaitzi and S. Kravaritou.

²⁷ Helly 1992, especially 359–64.

²⁸ Tracy 2009. Helly has been able to link certain individuals named on the tombstones to persons recorded in other, better dated inscriptions (personal communication September 2014; also Helly 2013).

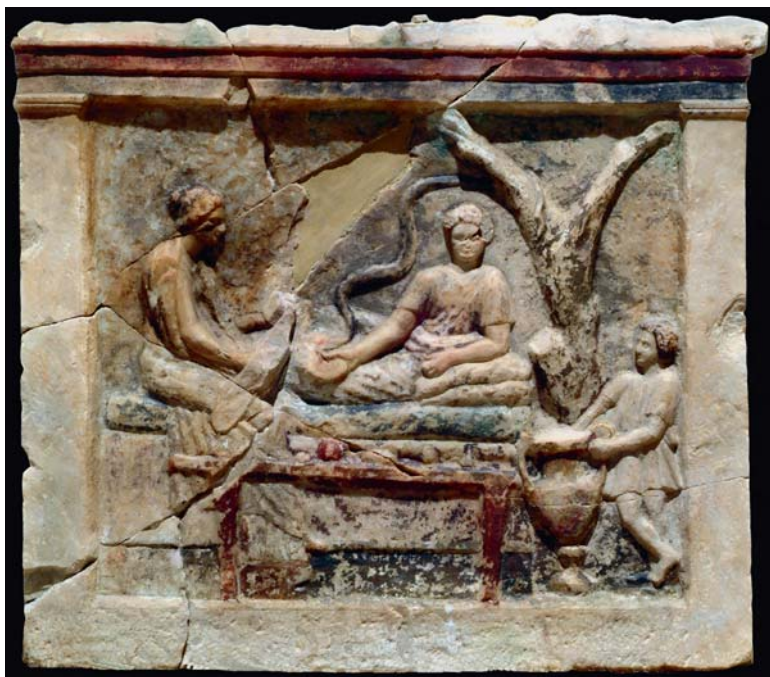


Fig. 1. Relief *naiskos* stele (cat. no. 31), Volos Λ 245. Marble. H. 0.61 m. Hellenistic. Source: photograph by author.

dating of the monuments, since he has rare knowledge of the epigraphy of the city and has nearly completed the study of the epitaphs of Demetrias. According to this chronology, it seems that the tombstones bearing the banquet motif date from the middle of the 3rd century BC to the early 1st century BC.²⁹

With regards to typology, as with nearly all the Demetrias tombstones,³⁰ those carrying the banquet theme were freestanding monuments.³¹ The majority were

²⁹ Aside from the Athenian tombstones and the tombstone from Tanagra (Vlachogianni 2001, 149, 156, no. 11), the Demetrias painted stelai are among the earliest Hellenistic tombstones with banquet scenes, as the theme appears from the middle of the 3rd century BC. In East Greece, with the exception of Samos, most banquet-themed tombstones date from the 2nd century onwards. On the problems stemming from the fact that, except for isolated examples, no East Greek city has a series going back to the 3rd century, see Fabricius 1999a, 39–45, especially 39.

³⁰ A possible exception is the slab Volos Λ 184 (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 434–35, no. 184; von Graeve 1976, 25, n. 47). On the typology of the Demetrias tombstones, see Wolters 1979, 86–87; von Graeve 1976, 24–26; Stamatopoulou 1999, I, 162, 164–67.

³¹ In contrast, in Samos the majority of the reliefs carrying the *Totenmahl* were part of an architectural setting (Fabricius 1999a, 136–40, 149).

shaft stelai with pedimented and, less often, horizontal top; one was a small painted *naiskos* (16; Fig. 2) and there are a further two relief decorated *naiskoi* (31, mentioned above, and 32; Figs. 1 and 3). The theme does not appear to have been painted on monumental composite *naiskoi*, which are anyway a minority in the city, or on large palmette stelai.³² The size of the shaft stelai ranges from 0.60/0.70 m (9) to about 1.50 m (18, 19 [Fig. 4] and 20 [Fig. 5] would have originally been over 1.50 in height, depending on their finials), with most measuring around 1 m in height. The fully preserved *naiskoi* (16 and 31, Figs. 2 and 1 respectively) measure 0.60 m in height. Thus, with a few possible exceptions (18–20) these are tombstones of modest dimensions, average for the city, middling in size and, in most cases, quality.³³

As regards their non-figural decoration, the pedimental shaft stelai bear painted or relief decoration on the tympanum, usually consisting of a pomegranate, frequently painted red, that stems from a pair of leaves, which were originally rendered in green (2–3, 12–14, 28 [Figs. 6–11], plus 17, 26, 28). On a few stelai, a relief rosette (1) or a painted bell flower stemming from leaves and acanthus branches (6 [Fig. 12], 8, 15 [Fig. 13]), and twice a relief circle (‘phiale’ or ‘shield’) (5 [Fig. 14] and 9) were chosen instead. On the shaft of numerous stelai, as was common in Demetrias, two rosettes appear above the figural decoration (for example, 2, 10, 20; Figs. 6, 15 and 5 respectively).³⁴

The figured scene occupies a large portion of the shaft of the stele, and often takes up the entire width of the stone. On a number of stelai the figures were set within a squarish field, whose margins were painted to imitate the real picture panels of 4th-century stelai (10, 13–14; Figs. 15, 9 and 10 respectively).³⁵ Nearly all tombstones, regardless of the gender or origin of the deceased, bear a painted (and/or incised) herm on their lower part.³⁶ It is thus evident that the decorative scheme of the tombstones carrying the banquet motif is similar to that of monuments adorned with other themes.

³² Wolters 1994, 285 gives percentages for the frequency of types: shaft stelai with pedimental finial were 60% of the total; with palmette finial 5%; without crowning 5%; small painted *naiskoi* 5%; and monumental *naiskoi*, composed of various slabs 5%. According to him, the typology of the tombstones of the two major harbour cities in Thessaly, Demetrias and Phthiotic Thebes, reveals strong Attic influence.

³³ On quality, see n. 18, above. Huber (1997, 90) also stressed that most stelai measure approximately 100 × 40 cm. On the typology of the stelai, see von Graeve 1976, 23–25.

³⁴ Posamentir 2011, 218–19, for parallels with the stelai from Chersonesos.

³⁵ von Graeve 1979, 114; Stamatopoulou 1999, I, 164.

³⁶ On *naiskoi* the herm is often painted on one of the antae. Wolters 1979, 86, n. 5; Stamatopoulou 1999, I, 163, nos. 819–820, 191; von Graeve 1976, 83–84; Avagianou 2002; Posamentir 2011, 243; Kravaritou 2011, 119; 2016.



Fig. 2. *Naiskos* of Archippos (cat. no. 16), Volos Museum Λ 253. Marble. H. 0.605 m. Mid-2nd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 3. Fragmented Relief Slab (cat. no. 32), Volos E 331. Marble. H. 0.50 m. Late 2nd–first half of the 1st century BC. Source: photograph courtesy of the Archaeological Society of Athens.



Fig. 4. Detail of the stele (cat. no. 19), Volos Museum Λ 239. Marble. H. 0.90 m. Hellenistic. Source: photograph by author.

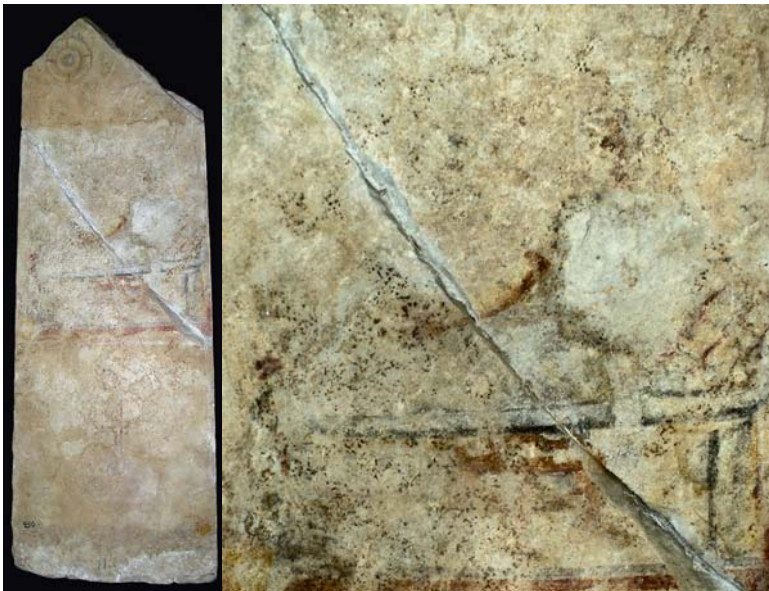


Fig. 5. Stele (cat. no. 20), Volos Museum Λ 250. Marble. H. 1.30 m. Hellenistic. Source: photographs by author.



Fig. 6. Stele of Onesimos, son of Ammonios (cat. no. 2), Volos Museum Λ 19 Marble. H. 1.01 m. Second half of the 3rd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 7. Detail of the Stele of [Ask]lep[ia]d[es], son of Nikon from Sidon (cat. no. 3), Volos Museum Λ 21. Marble. H. 0.98 m. Second half of the 3rd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 8. Stele of Eudoros, son of Theodoros (cat. no. 12), Volos Museum Λ 243. Marble. H. 0.925 m. First half of the 2nd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 9. Stele (cat. no. 13), Volos Museum Λ 44. Marble. H. 0.559 m.
First half of the 2nd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 10. Stele of Menelaos, son of Hegesidemos from Amphipolis (cat. no. 14), Volos Museum vA 356. Marble. H. 0.685 m. Middle of the 2nd century BC.
Source: photograph by author.

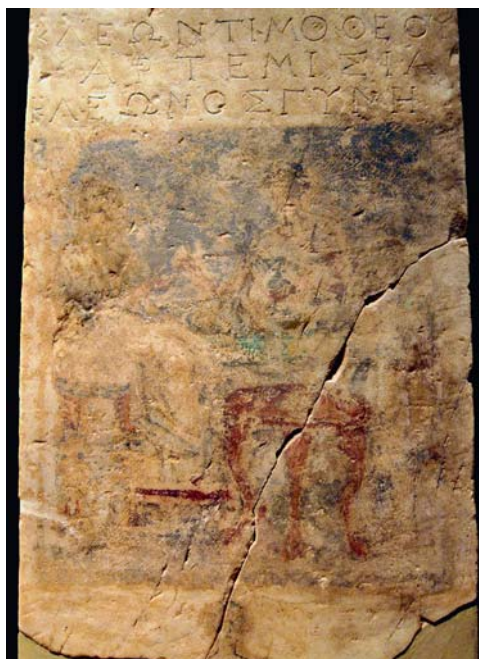


Fig. 11. Detail of the Stele of Kleon, son of Timotheos, and his wife Artemisia (cat. no. 28), Volos Museum Λ 27. Marble. H. 0.855 m. End of the 3rd–beginning of the 2nd century BC. Source: photograph by author.

POPULARITY OF THE THEME OF THE ‘BANQUETER’ IN DEMETRIAS; SOME STATISTICS

From the over 750 tombstones recovered from the fortifications, only 360 were partially published by Arvanitopoulos.³⁷ It is thus premature to attempt to generate accurate statistics or reach safe conclusions regarding the popularity of some themes before the full publication of the corpus. Moreover, as already mentioned in the introduction, often only part of the figure scene survives (for

³⁷ These are the stelai catalogued in the Inventory Λ (Λιθίνων) of the Volos Museum. Besides the reports of Arvanitopoulos in the *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaeologikes Etaireias*, there are detailed descriptions of the tombstones in the unpublished excavation daybooks in the Archive of the Archaeological Society of Athens. Apart from the 349 monuments that he partially published, he had prepared manuscripts for many of the other stelai. These are kept in the Greek Epigraphic Society (Stamatopoulou 2009, 636–37; 2012a, 22). The actual tombstones are catalogued in the Inventory E (Inscriptions) of the Volos Museum. Although some preserve their figural decoration they are not included in this paper.



Fig. 12. Stele of Dionysios, son of Seuthes (cat. no. 6), Volos Museum Λ 47. Marble. H. 0.43 m. Second half of the 3rd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 13. Stele of Aigyptos, son of Demetrios (cat. no. 15), Volos Museum Λ 56. Marble. H. 0.48 m. Mid-2nd century BC. Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 14. Stele of Mettounmikim, son of Abdeleb, from Ashkelon (cat. no. 5), Volos Museum Λ 349. Marble. H. 0.718 m. Second half of the 3rd century BC. Source: photograph by author.

example, part of a female or male figure), therefore it is difficult to determine the exact nature of the scene: for example, whether the figure(s) portrayed were united in a handshake (*dexiosis*), or whether female or male figures were shown in the presence of attendants or family members. Nevertheless, in order to appreciate the popularity of the theme of the reclining banqueter in Demetrias, some (provisional) numbers will be presented here.

From the 370 tombstones in the 'Inventory Λ ' of the Volos Museum (Λ 1– Λ 370), about 125 provide no evidence for their decoration, either because the part below the finial and/or the inscription has broken off, or because the surface is too worn to allow identification of figures.³⁸ Of the

³⁸ Among the 360 tombstones catalogued by Arvanitopoulos some belong to antae (Volos Λ 223) or entablatures of composite *naiskoi* (for example Volos Λ 217, which had painted decoration imitating coffers decorated with sirens: Arvanitopoulos 1947a, 1–3, fig. 1; von Graeve 1988, 341). For Λ 218, see Peek 1955, no. 1748. Others take the form of a pillar (Volos Λ 227, Λ 228, Λ 232: Arvanitopoulos 1947a, 10–11), a *kioniskos* (Volos Λ 328: Arvanitopoulos

others, 60 stelai are decorated with a painted red *taenia* and six with inanimate objects (an altar, wreaths, a musical instrument, a herm, etc.).³⁹ If we examine the stelai with visible figural compositions, the most popular themes seem to have been the *dexiosis* (with over 35 examples),⁴⁰ the ‘mistress and maid’ (with at least 25 examples), scenes of men or women at leisure or with servants (27 examples) and family members (10 examples). Thirteen tombstones depict warriors in repose or as horsemen (but we should bear in mind that men with weapons are also depicted in *dexiosis* and in familial settings);⁴¹ seven stelai portray offering scenes in a domestic setting;⁴² at least four depicted women who had died in childbirth,⁴³ and at least two showed priests.⁴⁴ It is thus evident that the banquet, with over 30 examples, was a fairly popular theme in the visual repertoire of the city and not a minority choice as has been previously proposed.⁴⁵

ICONOGRAPHY

In all tombstones the key elements of the composition are the single banqueter reclining on an elaborately draped couch, the round three-legged table in front of the couch, often laden with food, and the male servant, depicted at the edge of the composition or near a large mixing vessel.

Two main iconographic types can be identified, with numerous variations within each broad class.⁴⁶ In the first type, the banqueter is shown in the customary pose, reclining on a couch, resting his left elbow on the cushions, holding a drinking vessel. He is depicted beardless, occasionally wreathed (2, 14;

1952–53, 10; Helly 2012–13, 181–90, fig. 1). They tend not to carry figural decoration (von Graeve 1976, 25–26).

³⁹ For painted *taeniai*, see Posamentir 2011, 359–60. Inanimate objects include a wreath: Volos Λ 69 (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 282–83), Λ 321 (Arvanitopoulos 1952–53, 8); an altar: Volos Λ 286 (Arvanitopoulos 1949–50c, 155–56); a herm: Volos Λ 306 (Arvanitopoulos 1949–50c, 165–66), Λ 347 (Arvanitopoulos 1952–53, 17). See also Volos Λ 4, Λ 14 (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 111–12, 219–20 and 141–42 respectively).

⁴⁰ This was also the conclusion of von Graeve (1976, 72). The popularity of the *dexiosis* is paralleled on Delos and Rhodes (Couilloud 1974, 49; Fabricius 1999a, 49 [Delos], 191–96 [Rhodes]).

⁴¹ von Graeve 1976, 74–75.

⁴² von Graeve 1976, 76–77. Examples include Volos Λ 5, Λ 17, Λ 26, Λ 30, Λ 55, Λ 145, Λ 289.

⁴³ Examples include Volos Λ 1, Λ 241, Λ 350, Λ 353 and possibly Λ 329 and Λ 153.

⁴⁴ The stele of Ouaphres, son of Horus, Volos Λ 52 (Stamatopoulou 2008). The stele of Archidike, Volos Λ 336 (Helly 2012–13, 199–202, fig. 5).

⁴⁵ Fabricius 1999a, 48.

⁴⁶ I follow here the same classification as Fabricius 1999a, 46, n. 30.

Figs. 6 and 10), and is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton and a himation. There is no rule regarding the position of his hands. More frequent are the scenes where the banqueter is shown with a drinking vessel in his left hand in front of his chest and his right arm lowered, relaxed on the right leg (**12**, Fig. 8) or extended holding an object (fruit, vessel: **21**, Fig. 16). Occasionally, this is reversed and it is the right hand holding the vessel, a kantharos as in **13** (Fig. 9), a deep cup as on the stele of Phalakros (**7**; Fig. 17), or a phiale (**2**, **18**; Fig. 6), while the left rests on the bedcovers or the himation, or the chin (**7**; Fig. 17).

With two exceptions,⁴⁷ a round three-legged table is depicted directly in front of the banqueter and the couch, slightly off-centre. It is rendered in either brown (**25**, **28**; Fig. 11) or ochre colour (**19**; Fig. 4), implying wooden furniture, and its legs are modelled after animal legs, ending in hoofs or paws (deer or lion). A few items of food are placed on its round top, as was the norm, positioned symmetrically to one another (**20**; Fig. 5). The most common items are: one or two cakes (**10**, **16**; Figs. 15 and 2 respectively), one or more round red fruits (**2**, **19**; Figs. 6 and 4), possibly pomegranates (or apples/quince), and at least once grapes (**28**; Fig. 11).⁴⁸

With the exception of the stele of Phalakros (**7**; Fig. 17), a male servant is always present, dressed in a short-sleeved belted chiton. His position varies; he is regularly shown by one end of the couch, next to a large mixing vessel, either holding an object characterising him as an *oinochoos*, for example a ladle (**2**, **12**; Figs. 6 and 8), or standing in the idle poses that are typical for the period.⁴⁹ In some cases the servant is shown in front of a second, smaller table, that is laden with food or supports a vessel (**2**, **19**; Figs. 6. and 4). A more active pose is chosen for the male servants of the stele **19** (Fig. 4) and the *naiskos* of Archippos (**16**; Fig. 2), where he appears to be rushing towards the banqueter.

Besides these basic components, there is variation in the details of the scene. The background of the scene can be neutral/unspecified, rendered in light pink (**2**; Fig. 6) or violet (**10**; Fig. 15) that often appears much darker today (**3**, **19**, **6**, **14**; Figs. 7, 4, 12 and 10, respectively).⁵⁰ In a few scenes an indoor setting is suggested by architectural features such as windows (**7**; Fig. 17), a drawn curtain (**13**; Fig. 9), or a ledge/shelf on the wall. On the *naiskos* of Archippos (**16**; Fig. 2) the background is very rich: a horse protome is depicted on a

⁴⁷ There is no table on the stele of Phalakros (**7**; Fig. 17), and the table on the relief *naiskos* **31** (Fig. 1) is of the rectangular type.

⁴⁸ On foodstuffs, see Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 128–29, 141; and Kalaitzi, this volume.

⁴⁹ Fabricius 1999a, 92–94 and n. 77.

⁵⁰ Breccoulaki: public lecture in the Archaeological Society of Athens in February 2010.

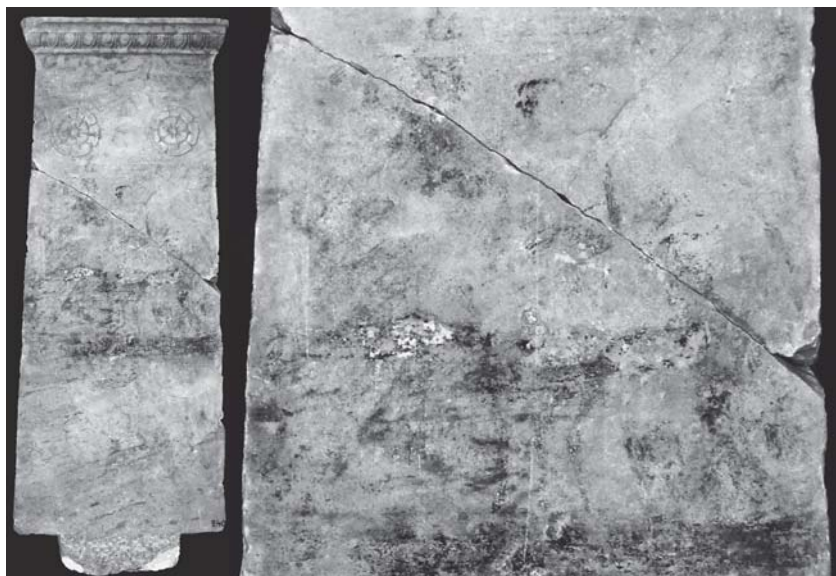


Fig. 15. Stele of Dionysios son of Sokrates (cat. no. 10), Volos Museum Λ 240. Marble.
H. 1.13 m. End of the 3rd–beginning of the 2nd century BC.
Source: photographs by author.



Fig. 16. Stele (cat. no. 21), Volos Λ 114. Marble. H. 0.357 m. Hellenistic.
Source: photograph by author.



Fig. 17. Detail of the Stele of Phalakros (cat. no. 7), Volos Museum Λ 242. Marble. H. 1.035 m. Second half of the 3rd century BC. Source: photograph by author.

shelf, facing left, a window or a *pinax* stands above a pillar that is painted reddish-pink, while on the right end of the scene is a tree with a snake coiling from its trunk.

In the second type of banquet-themed tombstones, which seems to have been less popular than the first, the banqueter is accompanied by a female figure, who is shown seated at the left part of the composition, at the foot of the couch (29; Fig. 18) or on a separate *diphros* (27–28; Fig. 11).⁵¹ She is

⁵¹ On *diphroi*, see Fabricius 1999a, 86; Andrianou 2006, 229–32; 2009, 27–31.

dressed in a chiton and a himation that is sometimes shown covering her head (28; Fig. 11), and is always shown leaning her feet on an elegant footstool, its outline accentuated by red and yellow (28 [Fig. 11], 30, 31 [Fig. 1]). In all examples the two figures interact, both through postures and gestures: the man's face and body are slightly turned towards the woman and he often holds an object towards her in his extended right hand (27–28, 30).

When enough of the scene survives, it is evident that a male servant is represented next to the man (28–29; Figs. 11 and 18), but there are no female attendants accompanying the woman. In all other respects the mode of representation is identical to type 1. As we shall see in the next section, when the epitaphs survive, they often name the woman, once with the characterisation *gyne* (28), therefore confirming the identification of the couple as husband and wife. On the stele of Dionysios (27), however, it is only the man who is commemorated. It is not clear in this case whether the tomb monument is meant to commemorate both or only the man, or whether the woman serves as a mere attribute.⁵²

Looking at the scenes as a whole it is evident that these are intimate scenes, with a small number of participants, as there are never more than three people in the composition.⁵³ Unlike Macedonia or East Greek cities, there is rarely more than one servant accompanying the deceased, and when women are depicted they do not seem to have been followed by attendants. It is also worth stressing that similarly to Rhodes,⁵⁴ the male servants are rarely depicted in diminutive scale, as mere attributes,⁵⁵ a feature that must be attributed to the early date of the tombstones.

In all cases the emphasis is on the familial setting and the affluent, luxurious ambience.⁵⁶ Although never as over the top as the Samian reliefs, where there was a plethora of household items emanating wealth,⁵⁷ on the Demetrias stelai,

⁵² We have to bear in mind that for some stelai where more than one person is commemorated in the epitaph, the preservation of the figured scene does not allow us to determine whether more than one figure was originally represented, for example in 8. According to von Graeve (1976, 50–51 and 63), the majority of the stelai mention only one person, only a few being designated for more. On relations of epitaphs to figures shown, see also Slawisch and Audley-Miller, as well as brief discussion in the Introduction to this volume.

⁵³ The same is true for Byzantium (Fabricius 1999a, 227–28). Collective reclining, as that seen in Cyzicus, Samos and Macedonia is absent from Demetrias (Fabricius 1999a, 101, 280–96 [Cyzicus]; Kalaitzi, this volume, for Macedonia).

⁵⁴ Fabricius 1999a, 175–76, where she attributes it to the early date of the reliefs.

⁵⁵ Fabricius 1999a, 92–94. See by contrast stelai from Byzantium or Cyzicus (Fabricius, this volume).

⁵⁶ On luxury, see Fabricius 1999a, 84–88.

⁵⁷ Fabricius 1999a, 119–22. Compare with PM 1151 (Samos 217), PM 1526 (Samos 238) and PM 1581 (Samos 206).

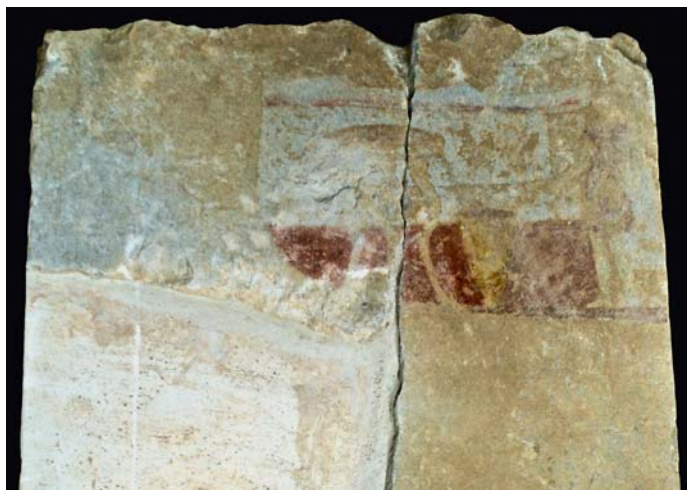


Fig. 18. Shaft stele (cat. no. 29), Volos Museum Λ 119. Marble. H. 0.363 m. Hellenistic. Source: photograph by author.

even if the background is neutral and only occasionally architectural details of an interior space such as curtains or columns and windows are added, the furniture and accoutrements of the banquet are elaborate, implying considerable investment in costly household goods.⁵⁸ For example, with two possible exceptions (2–3; Figs. 6–7), nearly all vessels are painted in the dark grey-blue colour that denotes silver,⁵⁹ and there is variety in the shapes chosen.⁶⁰ Elegant long stemmed kantharoi, similar to those known from contemporary tombs in Macedonia, Aetolia and elsewhere,⁶¹ seem to have been the favoured shape (13–14, 16, 21, 28; Figs. 9–10, 2, 16 and 11 respectively).⁶² Skyphoi (6, 19;

⁵⁸ We note that on the Demetrias stelai the *kylikeion* is always absent, as is the use of thrones for women, both features common in Samian reliefs (Fabricius 1999a, 85 [curtains], 88 [on the *kylikeion*], 87, n. 23 [thrones]). Similarly, on the reliefs from Halicarnassus (Hansen 2008), the *kylikeion* features regularly. On the *kylikeion*, see Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 120–21; Touloumtzidou 2007, 106, pl. 2b–c. On curtains, see Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 63–67; see also PM 1151 (Samos 217).

⁵⁹ Fabricius 1999a, 90, n. 57. Light grey colour can also imply glass (Ignatiadou 2010, no. 70 [deep bowl], no. 77 [kylix-kantharos from Pydna similar to that on 7]).

⁶⁰ On the vessels, see Fabricius 1999a, 90–91.

⁶¹ Macedonia-Aetolia: Touloumtzidou 2007; Zimi 2011. See also Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011, 280–83; Kalline 2007, especially 333–40.

⁶² On 13 (Fig. 9), the handles of the vessel and its flaring rim recall vessels such as the amphora-rhyton from Panagyurishte, see Marazov 1998, 145, no. 71; and Kovula Mogila near Duvanli: Marazov 1998, 183, no. 117. I would like to thank A. Touloumtzidou for the suggestion. For kantharoi on banquet reliefs, see PM 2259–2262, from Mesambria and Cyzicus.

Figs. 12 and 4), deep cups (7; Fig. 17)⁶³ and, at least three times, phialai (2 [Fig. 6], 22, 31 [Fig. 1]) are also present.⁶⁴ Even the ladles in the hand of the servants (2, 12; Figs. 6 and 8) are painted grey.⁶⁵

The mixing vessel of choice seems to have been the *situla* (3 [Fig. 7], 4, 10 [Fig. 15], 12 [Fig. 8], 14 [Fig. 10], 18, 19 [Fig. 4], 20 [Fig. 5], 29 [Fig. 18]), rendered in tones of ochre, ranging from egg-yellow to a darker hue, probably meant to indicate bronze.⁶⁶ Occasionally other large open vessels are shown on the floor in front of the couch, as, for example, the large open vessel, probably bronze, and the lidded calyx-shaped one on the stele of Phalakros (7; Fig. 17), or the large open stemmed vessel rendered in grey on 24.⁶⁷ The only attestation of a volute krater is on the relief *naiskos* 31 (Fig. 1), which, as mentioned above, displays several features that are common in votive reliefs.⁶⁸ Open vessels of smaller size, again meant to be silver, are depicted on the secondary tables that are present in some scenes (4).⁶⁹

Equally refined is the furniture. Unlike Samian or Macedonian tombstones, we only rarely get a glimpse of the legs of the couch (5; Fig. 14),⁷⁰ because in all cases it was strewn with an *epiblema*, hanging to the floor. When more than merely its strong black outlines survive, it is clear that the *epiblema* was multi-coloured (19–20, 29, 31; Figs. 4–5, 18 and 1) and intricately decorated. For example, in 3 and 12 (Figs. 7. and 8) it is decorated with squares further divided into triangles rendered in blue-green and yellow, or the stele of Menelaos (14; Fig. 10) where a diamond pattern was preferred.⁷¹ Equally colourful were the cushions, as is revealed by the red and pink stripes still extant

⁶³ For actual deep cups, recalling in shape the ‘relief bowls’, see Zafeiropoulou 2011, 51, fig. 35 (from Trichonion).

⁶⁴ On phialai, see Akamatis 2001; Stamatis 2011, 86, no. 24; Touloumtzidou 2007, 677, 682 (bronze phialai from tomb contexts in Larisa).

⁶⁵ Actual ladles: Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 72, no. B2, 88, no. B26, 114, no. Δ10; Zafeiropoulou 2011, 50, fig. 34; Stamatis 2011, 89 nos. 30–31. Also Touloumtzidou 2007, 289–97, pls. 15–16.

⁶⁶ On the use of metal vessels in Demetrias and the preference towards silver drinking vessels and bronze mixing vessels, see Fabricius 1999a, 90, n. 57. For the use of complementary shading of the kraters and *situlae* with red/violet, see von Graeve and Preußner 1981, 152. On *situlae*, see Akamatis 2001, 257–58; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 111, nos. Δ4, Δ6, 134, no. Z15; and especially Touloumtzidou 2007, 337–62, pls. 25–27.

⁶⁷ See also Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 33, no. A9.

⁶⁸ Fabricius (1999a, 90 n. 53) discusses the ‘heroic’ meaning of the volute krater. See also Akamatis 2001, 255–57; Touloumtzidou 2007, 422–35.

⁶⁹ The deep phialai (or bolster kraters) are common on Samian reliefs; actual examples are known from Macedonia (Touloumtzidou 2007, 456–57, pl. 2d–e).

⁷⁰ On the couches, see Boardman 1990, 126–29; Sismanidis 1997; Fabricius 1999a, 86, n. 14; Andrianou 2009, 31–50.

⁷¹ See also Fabricius 1999a, 87 and nn. 17–18; Andrianou 2006, 248–50; 2009, 60–61, 96.

(**20** [Fig. 5], **23**), or the traces of pink colour surviving on their surface (**2**, **19**; Figs. 6 and 4). The thick mattress was regularly painted in bright red (**3** [Fig. 7], **4**, **5** [Fig. 14], **6** [Fig. 12], **27**) or blue-green colour (**12** [Fig. 8], **15** [Fig. 13], **19** [Fig. 4], **28** [Fig. 11], **30**, **31** [Fig. 1]) and once in ochre (**7**; Fig. 17).⁷²

As mentioned above, the table is nearly always round with legs modelled after animal legs, ending in deer hoofs or lion paws. The table can be sturdy or with thinner frame and slender legs, but all are painted in colours that imitate real furniture (for example, **2** [Fig. 6], **15** [Fig. 10], **21** [Fig. 16], **28** [Fig. 11], **19** [Fig. 4]).⁷³ Occasionally a second table is included, carrying metal vessels or other items for the banquet (**2** [Fig. 6], **4**, **19** [Fig. 4]).⁷⁴ The footstool on which the women lean their legs, ending in animal legs (**28** [Fig. 11], **30**), is of a type common in Demetrias, and known from excavated examples in Macedonian tombs; the use of red and yellow colour adds to its luxurious effect.⁷⁵

Unlike votive reliefs or earlier Attic tombstones, the banqueter in Demetrias is always shown dressed in a short-sleeved chiton painted yellow (**11** [Fig. 19], **14** [Fig. 10], **21** [Fig. 16], **30**), violet (**7**, **15**; Figs. 17 and 13) or a darker colour (**19**, **31**; Figs. 4 and 1), and a himation, usually in a lighter tone, a feature that accentuated the difference between the fabrics of the two garments. Similarly colourful were the garments and shoes of their female companions (**28**; Fig. 11), a characteristic of the Demetrias stelai as a whole.⁷⁶ In a few cases the banqueter is shown wreathed (**2**, **14**, **28**; Figs. 6, 10–11), similarly to the men on the Agios Athanasios frieze in Macedonia, and following the norm of convivial symposia.⁷⁷

⁷² The couches and their bedcovers and cushions recall in their polychromy and luxury those in the painted symposium scene on the façade of the Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 120–28, pls. 33–34).

⁷³ On tables, see Fabricius 1999a, 88; Andrianou 2009, 50–59; Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005 128; and Kalaitzi, this volume.

⁷⁴ The table on **2** (Fig. 6) is very low, whereas that on **4** is a high console-like table that supported a deep open vessel. For parallels from Byzantium, see Firath 1964, pl. 9.32; and PM 1167; also PM 1151 from Samos). Also Fabricius 1999a, 89, n. 39; Akamatis 2001, 253–54.

⁷⁵ Footstools are often depicted on the Demetrias stelai, on scenes involving both men and women, for example Volos Λ 8, Λ 18, Λ 23, Λ 46, Λ 50, Λ 54, and the two stelai showing men engaged in writing and reading: Λ 351, Λ 126. On footstools, see Fabricius 1999a, 88.

⁷⁶ On the importance of female dress, see Fabricius 1999a, 94–95. On numerous stelai the garments were painted in vivid colours (Volos Λ 23, Λ 54, Λ 115, Λ 46) and shoes could be given red soles: Volos Λ 23, Λ 54. Actual remains of shoes were discovered in the southern cemetery of Demetrias: their soles bore decoration in bright red pigment and gold (National Archaeological Museum in Athens inv. no. 28685a); they will be published by the author.

⁷⁷ Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, pls. 33–34.

Due to the erosion and discolouration of the surface of many stelai, it is only on a few tombstones that we can identify elements in the composition that offer additional information about the deceased or that add to the atmosphere of the scene: on the stele of Arachthes (**11**; Fig. 19) the banqueter is shown holding a book roll in his left hand, while raising his right, holding a small cup.⁷⁸ On the stele of Dionysios, son of Seuthes (**6**; Fig. 12), a herm is depicted behind the male servant, either alluding to the palaestra, or more likely to domestic cult, based on iconographic parallels from Demetrias.⁷⁹ In some scenes, it is possible to discern a large yellow object, with a curved top, that might be a trunk/chest, or part of furniture (**6**, **15**; Figs. 12–13). On the stele of Dionysios, son of Sokrates (**10**; Fig. 15), there appears to be an altar at the far left end of the composition. It should be stressed, however, that unlike Macedonia or East Greece, in no case do we see performance of cult in relation to an altar at a banquet scene.

Heroic attributes are infrequent on stelai bearing the banquet motif':⁸⁰ horse protomes appear twice, inside a panel (**10**; Fig. 15) or on a ledge of a wall (**16**; Fig. 2),⁸¹ a tree with a coiling snake twice (**16**, **31**; Figs. 2 and 1),⁸² among them on a *naiskos* (**16**) where the deceased is characterised as a hero in the inscription. The deceased is characterised as a hero on two tombstones (**16**, **32**; Fig. 3), and addressed twice with the salutation *chaire* (**7** [Fig. 17], **17**).⁸³

This limited use of heroising features is typical of the Hellenistic Demetrias tombstones. If we look at the Demetrias corpus as a whole, the number of surviving monuments carrying the characterisation *hero* or the salutation

⁷⁸ The inclusion of book rolls on stelai decorated with the banquet motif is rare in Demetrias (it is possible that the servant on the relief *naiskos* **32** (Fig. 3) held a book roll in his raised hand). In contrast, see the stelai of Byzantium, with their strong emphasis on features denoting education (Fabricius 1999a, 248–54; also Fabricius, this volume; Puddu 2010, 30–31, 52).

⁷⁹ Volos Λ 26, Λ 30; Arvanitopoulos 1909, 179–83, 222–23 and 199–205 respectively.

⁸⁰ We should note that on the painted Demetrias tombstones we do not see the use of a rhyton, as a drinking vessel, nor weapons in the background. This may not be the case for relief representations of the theme; we must, however, await the publication of the recently discovered relief from Kastro-Palaia Volou, which will be published by E. Skafida, M. Kalaitzi and S. Kravaritou.

⁸¹ On the horse protome, see Fabricius 1999a, 58–60, where she stresses the importance of composite names with *-ππος* like our Archippos (**16**; Fig. 2); Akamatis 2001, 252–53; Vlachogianni 2001, 150.

⁸² On the tree and snake, see Fabricius 1999a, 63–68; Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 51–54 (tree); Denzter 1982, 496–500. On Attic dependence, see von Graeve 1979, 113.

⁸³ On the meaning of the word *hero* and *chaire*, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 180–210; Fabricius 1999a, 70, 74; Fraser 1977, 76–81 (for Rhodes). Fabricius (1999a, 83a; 2010) stressed that civic qualities were advertised even with the inclusion of heroic features on the scenes; Kalaitzi, this volume, discussing the Macedonian evidence, takes a more nuanced approach.

chaire is small,⁸⁴ and scenes with heroising attributes rare.⁸⁵ These features appear in the late 3rd century and are more common from the 2nd century BC on; Demetrias therefore seems to follow trends in other Hellenistic cities.⁸⁶ It is interesting that with the exception of the relief painted *naiskos* 31 (Fig. 1) and the deceased on the stele of Phalakros (7; Fig. 17), where he is hailed with *chaire*, the deceased is rarely shown in full frontal view; instead he is usually turned to face the male servant or the seated female companion.

The limited presence of heroising attributes, the emphasis on the interaction between the figures 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, with good reason, that the iconography of the banquet stelai in Demetrias is heavily based on Attic examples and reflects ‘daily’ concerns.⁸⁷ This emphasis on the interaction of the depicted individuals is characteristic of the Demetrias stelai overall,⁸⁸ and finds parallels on gravestones of other regions, for example Delos,⁸⁹ Rhodes⁹⁰ or Chios,⁹¹ areas where Athenian influence in art, funerary in particular, has been reasonably postulated.

But what do the epitaphs suggest about the identity and social background of the persons commemorated with this theme?

⁸⁴ Wolters 1994, 281; Fabricius 2010, 262, fig. 1. Other than the banquet stelai discussed here, the term ‘hero’ appears in four other cases in the Volos Museum Λ inventory of stelai: Λ 17 (single female figure in offering scene), Λ 236 (*dexiosis* between men), Λ 237 (horseman) and Λ 292 (horseman). *Chaire* is seen in at least 12 other stelai epitaphs: Λ 52, Λ 156, Λ 171, Λ 180, Λ 181, Λ 210, Λ 233, Λ 257, Λ 269, Λ 284, Λ 310, Λ 336 (a priestess?: Helly 2012–13, 199), Λ 344 and Λ 353.

⁸⁵ Fabricius (1999a, 47) hypothesised that the heroic elements (horse protome and snake) were the result of Macedonian influence. A few epigrams of Demetrias suggest that there was an interest in a safe passage and make reference to the Isles of the Blessed, or the Judges of the Underworld (Cairon 2009, nos. 70, 71, 74, 86–88).

⁸⁶ Fabricius (1999a, 70–83) explains the heroising features as a consequence of euergetism, ruler cult and civic honours. See also Fabricius 2010, especially 268–69; Hughes 1999; Jones 2010; Puddu 2010, 47; Tsouli 2009, 98 (for Kos); Kalaitzi, this volume (for Macedonia). It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the meaning of heroisation.

⁸⁷ Fabricius 1999a, 46, and below n. 95.

⁸⁸ It is worth mentioning that in Samos when a man and women are depicted in the banquet scene they often do not interact: Fabricius 1999a, 111, n. 22, 115–16. On interaction of couples, see also Draycott, this volume, on Graeco-Persian *Totenmahl*.

⁸⁹ Delos: Schmidt 1991, 35–39; Couilloud 1974, 49; Zanker 1993, 229–30; Hannestad 1997, 294; Fabricius 2010, 270.

⁹⁰ Puddu 2010, 55–57.

⁹¹ Puddu 2010, 60.

INSCRIPTIONS

Of the 32 stelai studied here, only 21 preserve their epitaphs. All are in prose, and written in Greek. Of these, nine record the personal name of the deceased and his patronym (**1**, **2** [Fig. 6], **6** [Fig. 12], **10** [Fig. 15], **11** [Fig. 19], **12** [Fig. 8], **15** [Fig. 13], **26**, **28** [Fig. 11]); nine include the ethnic (**3** [Fig. 7], **4**, **5** [Fig. 14], **8**, **9**, **13** [Fig. 9], **14** [Fig. 10], **26**, **27**), as was the norm for foreign residents of the city; three give only the personal name of the deceased (**7** [Fig. 17], **16** [Fig. 2], **17**). The name of the deceased is always in the nominative except for the stelai where he is designated a hero, where it appears in the genitive (**16** [Fig. 2]), or when he is addressed with the salutation *chaire* (**7** [Fig. 17], **17**). On four stelai (**8**, **26**, **28** [Fig. 11] and **32** [Fig. 3]), the inscription commemorates more than one individual, a man and a woman, who are in all likelihood husband and wife, as is actually confirmed by the characterisation *gyne* on the stele of Kleon and Artemisia (**28**).

The *onomastikon* includes common Greek names, Greek theophoric names that were common for persons of Syro-Phoenician or Egyptian descent, as well as foreign names, mostly of Semitic or Egyptian origin. In all cases the latter are transliterated in Greek. As Fabricius and von Graeve, and Arvanitopoulos before them, have pointed out the banqueter motif was very popular among foreign residents of the city, Syro-Phoenicians in particular. Fabricius has argued that while the banquet theme was a minority choice among the city's bourgeoisie, it was appropriate, or popular, among foreigners, such as the Phoenicians, and persons of lower status, for whom the strict norms of the citizen body did not apply.⁹² She identified some of the banqueters as slaves, presumably based on their name and/or the absence of a patronymic (**7** [Fig. 17], **11** [Fig. 19], **17**).⁹³ She also claimed that the monuments decorated with the banquet theme were of lower quality than those adorned with other subjects,⁹⁴ and explained the phenomenon on the analogy of late 4th-century Athenian reliefs, where the theme of the banqueter was evidently depicted only on a few modest panel stelai and does not seem to have been popular among citizens.⁹⁵

⁹² Fabricius 1999a, 48–49. She also states that in the 3rd century the theme was not accepted by the citizen body.

⁹³ Fabricius (1999a, 48) characterised as slaves the persons commemorated on the stelai of Phalakros (**7**); Arachthes (**11**), and Ergasion (**17**). She does not explain the reasons behind her characterisation.

⁹⁴ Fabricius 1999a, 48.

⁹⁵ Fabricius 1999a, 27–30, especially 29. On the Athenian reliefs, see also Scholl 1996, 150–59; Bergemann 1997, 145, n. 151, 148.



Fig. 19. Stele of Arachthes, son of Pheiathos (cat. no. 11), Volos Museum Λ 42. Marble. H. 0.325 m. First half of the 2nd century BC. Source: photograph by author.

There are a number of problems with her interpretation. To begin with, as was stated earlier, the banqueter theme was not a minority choice in the city, but quite common. Furthermore, with the exception of a very few monuments, the Demetrias series as a whole are of similar size and quality to the ones carrying the banquet motif.⁹⁶

As Bergemann and others have pointed out for Classical Athens,⁹⁷ it is notoriously difficult to differentiate the tombstones of citizens from those of metics or slaves on the basis of iconography alone. This holds true for Demetrias as well. With regards to stelai bearing the banquet, we have seen that there is no real differentiation in representation contingent on the origin of the deceased: Menelaos son of Hegesidemos from Amphipolis (14; Fig. 10) is represented in

⁹⁶ Compare, for example, the stele Volos Λ 10 for Antigenes, son of Sotimos, who died at Phthiotic Thebes in 217 BC (Helly 1992, 351; 1979, 69). See also below n. 148. We should bear in mind that it is not always possible to judge the quality of stelai that are very worn, or those not properly studied.

⁹⁷ Bergemann 1997, 146–49.

the same manner as the Phoenician Mettounmikim son of Abdeleb from Ashkelon (5; Fig. 14) and Onesimos son of Ammonios (2; Fig. 6).

Equally complicated and hazardous is to determine the status of an individual based on the name alone, or the criteria by which a name, ethnic or character, can be characterised as exclusively servile. It is beyond the point of this paper to delve into too much detail on this issue, but a brief look at the Demetrias series shows that among the persons who are allegedly of lower status⁹⁸ were some whose patronymic or ethnic was omitted. It is true that the norm in Demetrias was to commemorate a person with personal name and patronym, and if foreign to add the ethnic.⁹⁹ However, there are quite a number of examples where simply the name of the deceased is given.

Fraser has pointed out that one must always look at the epigraphic habit of a specific community before attempting to assess the significance of the phenomenon. In Thessaly, for example, in the 4th century it was common in small cities such as Atrax to commemorate the deceased only with their personal name, as the communities were quite small.¹⁰⁰ In cosmopolitan Demetrias it is unlikely that the personal name would have been sufficient for identifying an individual. However, it is impossible to reach a satisfactory explanation, because we are in the dark regarding the internal organisation of the city before the time of the Magnesians Koinon,¹⁰¹ and we lack context for all tombstones. In some instances, as on the stele of Ergasion (17), the combination of character name, common among slaves, and the omission of ethnic or patronymic might be suggestive of servile status.¹⁰² But this need not be true for all cases; Phalakros (7; Fig. 17), for example, is a name well attested in the Thessalian (and Macedonian in the form Balakros) *onomastikon*.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the iconography of many tombstones where the deceased is designated with his/her personal name alone, as on the *naiskos* of Archippos (16), precludes that they were persons of low status.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Phalakros (7); Ergasion (17).

⁹⁹ Fraser 2009, 86–87.

¹⁰⁰ Fraser 2009, 82, 90; Helly 1979, 78.

¹⁰¹ According to Helly (2012–13, 204, n. 66) the demotic is never included on the Demetrias stelai. See also Fraser 2009, 87.

¹⁰² Lambert 1907, 4. Vlassopoulos 2010 has recently shown for Athens that it is often very difficult to distinguish free citizens from slaves on names alone.

¹⁰³ Masson 1990c, 580; Hunold 2009, 121; García Ramón 2007, 50; Fraser 2007, 78; Hatzopoulos 2006, 38–39.

¹⁰⁴ On this same stele, his name, ending in *-ππος*, is also suggestive of a higher status. Examples of other ‘non-banquet’ stelai where the deceased is designated by his name alone include: a) Volos Λ 237, where a man, Sosibios, is named in the genitive and characterised as a hero, and where the painted decoration suggests that he was a horseman (he is shown with chiton, chlamys and closed shoes in front of a horse); at the far right end of the composition there is a

Attempting to identify what makes a name exclusively servile, or tracing the social and cultural identity of an individual on the basis of his/her name alone is a futile exercise, especially when we are not in the possession of a literary and epigraphic record as rich as that of Classical Athens, Ptolemaic Egypt or Hellenistic Rhodes and Kos. Masson, Vlassopoulos, Perlman and Fraser have shown the problems inherent in such an attempt.¹⁰⁵ If we look at the Demetrias stelai carrying the banquet theme, it is evident that some individuals bear personal names that are foreign ethnics (**1**, **15** [Fig. 13]).¹⁰⁶ It is very difficult to reach a safe conclusion for individuals carrying personal names such as Aigyptos (**15**; Fig. 13),¹⁰⁷ or patronymics like Seuthes (**6**; Fig. 12) and Ammonios (**2**; Fig. 6)¹⁰⁸ – that is, foreign ethnic and theophoric names that were common enough to lead scholars to refute that they can serve as signifiers of ethnicity. The same may not be true for the individuals carrying very rare names, such as Persaios son of Gazaïos, a *hapax* (**1**),¹⁰⁹ or Arachthes (**11**; Fig. 19), with his clearly Egyptian name. The absence of ethnics indicates that these persons or their families were naturalised in the city, a suggestion that is possible for a multicultural port like Demetrias.

Turning to the naming practices of two of the most easily distinguished foreign communities of Demetrias, namely the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, it will become apparent that there was great variety in their adoption of nomenclature. Starting with Syro-Phoenicians: among the persons represented as banqueters there are men from Sidon (**3**; Fig. 7), Askhelon (**4**, **5** [Fig. 14]), Arados (**27**), Tyre (**26**). Among them Mettunmikim (**5**; Fig. 14) has a truly Semitic name that has been simply transliterated in Greek without any attempt to Hellenise;¹¹⁰ others bear theophoric names that have been translated into their Greek equivalent (Asklepiades, Nikon on **3** (Fig. 7), Dorotheos, Apollodoros on **4**, etc.), while a good number carry common Greek names (for example Histiaios on **8**).¹¹¹

tree with snake coiling from its trunk (Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 1–3); b) perhaps also Λ 17, here the deceased Timesipolis is characterised as a *heroissa* (in dative) and is shown performing an offering scene at an altar (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 147–50).

¹⁰⁵ Masson 1990d; Bresson 1997; Tsetschladze 2008, 301, n. 7; Fraser 2009, 103–11; Vlassopoulos 2010; Perlman 2011, 403, 406; *contra* McLean 2002, 76, 101–03.

¹⁰⁶ Fraser 2009, 86–90, 215.

¹⁰⁷ Masson 1990a, 25; Decourt and Tziafalias 2007a, 340, n. 32. Fraser (2009, 86) considers him a citizen.

¹⁰⁸ Decourt and Tziafalias 2007a, 342; Fraser 2007, 80; Dana 2006, 126–29. See also Parker 2000, 75; Cairon 2009, no. 95.

¹⁰⁹ Masson 1990b, 192; Sekunda 1998, 451. Fraser (2009, 87) considers him a citizen.

¹¹⁰ Sznycer 1979; Masson 1969.

¹¹¹ Masson 1969. On the naming practices and the bilingualism of the Phoenicians, see Baslez and Briquel Chatonnet 1991b, especially 239; Guzzo Amadasi and Bonnet 1991; Fraser 2009, 87; Briquel Chatonnet 2012, especially 626.

Similarly, of the persons of Egyptian origin in Demetrias:¹¹² Ouaphres son of Horus, a priest,¹¹³ and Petoseris stand out for their Egyptian names;¹¹⁴ the others, Myrto from Peluse¹¹⁵ and the numerous Caromemphites carried common Greek names.¹¹⁶ It is thus clear that foreign residents of the city, similarly to their compatriots in cities such as Athens, Delos, Kos, Rhodes and elsewhere, could either choose to appear (or had become) fully assimilated/integrated into their new communities, adopting Greek names or, by contrast, to maintain a distinct ethnic character.¹¹⁷

In conclusion, the names of the Demetrias tombstones suggest that the theme of the banqueter was popular among non-Greek residents of the city, such as the Phoenicians, and possibly among families of naturalised foreigners. At the same time, the theme was also common among residents of Demetrias, and was chosen, at least once, for a Macedonian (14; Fig. 10).

PHOENICIANS AND THE BANQUET

The fondness of the banqueter motif for persons of Syro-Phoenician descent is undisputed. Fabricius has proposed that this was one of the few ways they were represented on the Demetrias stelai. However, this may not necessarily be true; among the tombstones that commemorate Phoenicians, some are stelai decorated with a painted knotted *taenia*, while in most other cases the relevant part of the stele is either broken off or too eroded to allow secure identification of its subject matter.¹¹⁸

Fabricius, following von Graeve, has linked this preference among Orientals to Phoenician feasting habits of associations, for example the *marzeah*, a social institution involving upper class male meetings and consumption of wine and meat, and has explained the popularity of the banquet theme on tombstones as a means of giving this foreign community a sense of

¹¹² Fraser (1960, 45) considered many of them merchants. See also Decourt and Tziafalias 2007a, 337–42.

¹¹³ Volos Λ 52: Stamatopoulou 2008; Decourt and Tziafalias 2007a, 336–38; Moyer 2011, 161.

¹¹⁴ Unpublished tombstone in Volos E 383: Πετόσηρις | Πετήσιος. On the name Petoseris, see Moyer 2011, 245–46.

¹¹⁵ Volos Λ 181: Peek 1955, no. 1390; Cairon 2009, 268–70, no. 88; Decourt and Tziafalias 2007a, 339.

¹¹⁶ Decourt and Tziafalias 2007a, 339 and fig. on 341.

¹¹⁷ Ginestí Rosell 2012, 106–08 (for Piraeus); Curbera 2008, 192–93 (for Kos).

¹¹⁸ See, for example, the stelai Λ 31, Λ 34, Λ 80, Λ 162, Λ 185, Λ 187, Λ 195. A *taenia* was shown on Λ 80 and Λ 257 and a herm was the only decoration on the shaft of stele Λ 347. A female figure was represented on Λ 129 commemorating Kallisto.

identity.¹¹⁹ The association of the banquet motif with the *marzeah* and similar feasting habits is a reasonable assumption given the epigraphic evidence from cities with large Phoenician populations such as Rhodes, Delos,¹²⁰ or Piraeus,¹²¹ and the popularity of the banquet motif on funerary monuments in Sidon itself and at Lilybaeum and Erice in Punic Sicily.¹²² But, unlike Delos, where epigraphic evidence allows us to understand the role, social status, obligation and organisation of these populations in the community,¹²³ or Rhodes, where the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for tombs and burials of associations is plentiful,¹²⁴ for Demetrias we are in the dark; to quote E. Lipiński: ‘Besides the names nothing is known of this quite sizeable community of Demetrias.’¹²⁵

The epitaphs of Phoenicians and Syrians buried in Demetrias show that some, as in Athens, had adopted or were commemorated with Hellenised names,¹²⁶ whereas others used only Phoenician names (4). In at least one case a bilingual inscription was preferred.¹²⁷ As to their role in the city, at least one

¹¹⁹ For the importance of associations in cosmopolitan multicultural ports: Fabricius 1999a, 96–97 and this volume. On the *marzeah*, see Greenfield 1974; *ThesCRA* 2, 251–53 (‘Le banquet au Proche-Orient sémitique’: L. Gawlikowski). For the Iron Age: Matthäus 1999; Nijboer 2013, who considers the couch and the fine metal tableware to be an influence of the *marzeah* on the symposium; Stern 2007, especially 1396–1404 for the relationship between the *marzeah* and the Roman *collegia*. On associations, see *ThesCRA* 2, 231–47 (‘Les hommes au banquet’: P. Schmitt Pantel and F. Lissarague), especially 236–39; Baslez 1986, 293 and 2006 for the role of association in ensuring the performance of proper funerary rites for their members. For the *marzeah*, see also Audley-Miller, this volume, especially n. 38.

¹²⁰ The banquet motif is very common among Phoenicians on Delos (Couilloud-Le Dinahet 1974, 161–66; Fabricius 1999a, 49; Marasco 1988, 165–67; Baslez 2006).

¹²¹ Baslez and Briquel Chatonnet 1991b; Briquel Chatonnet 2012, 620–26; Ginestí Rosell 2012, 102–08, 339–42.

¹²² Lilybaeum (the ‘Salinas’ Group): Bisi 1970; *Lilibeo* 1984, 165–75; Portale 2012, especially 136, 148–60.

¹²³ On Delos, see Lipiński 2004, 148–66. See also Couilloud 1976 for grave monument B at Rheneia, identified as that of a funerary collegium.

¹²⁴ Fabricius 1999a, 207–14, 221–24; Patsiada 2013, especially 239–45; Lipiński 2004, 148. Also Fraser 1977, 60–63; Berges 1996, 19–21; Papachristodoulou 1988, 204–05 (Tsaldari Street); *ADelt* 34 (1979) *Chronika*, 435–38 (Papachristodoulou and Karika plot); Patsiada 1996, 92–93, fig. 2 (E. Perou plot, Complex B; D. Sugganidis plot); Kontorini 1983, 71–78 (Koinon of Sabasiastes); Kontorini 1989, 73–76 (Koinon of Samothrakiastes). See also the discussion by van Bremen 2005, 321–22; Fraser 2009, 80–81, 100–13. For Kos, see also Bosnakis 2008, 187, 193; Tsouli 2009, 99.

¹²⁵ Lipiński 2004, 162. Baslez (1986, 290) sees a ‘concentration’ of the emigration of Phoenicians along a middle-Aegean axis, from Rhodes to Demetrias, through which they were later diffused to central Greece, and the islands and ports of Asia Minor.

¹²⁶ As, for example, Λ 34, Λ 151, Λ 162, Λ 195, Λ 215 (Fraser 2009, 87).

¹²⁷ Λ 31 for a stele of man from Arados bearing a Greek inscription, in which he is named Demetrios son of Hieronymos, while in the Phoenician, in neo-Punic script, he is Abdaj son of Abdalonim. It is the only stele bearing a bilingual epitaph in Demetrias (Arvanitopoulos 1909,

among them, the Sidonian Asklepiadas, was a priest.¹²⁸ It is tempting to link him with Oriental cults in the city, which proliferated in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries,¹²⁹ but at the moment this would be hazardous. As for the Phoenicians' role in the city, most scholars agree that they must have been merchants, since Demetrias offered excellent opportunities for the trade of luxury items, both as the main port of Thessaly and as the southernmost major Antigonid royal city.¹³⁰ Marasco has further hypothesised that Phoenicians in Demetrias might have formed an affluent class, being merchants of luxury items, and that the meals represented on their tombstones served to consolidate their self identity.¹³¹ This is likely, but in truth, we are in the dark.

THE THESSALIAN CONTEXT

How was the theme introduced to Demetrias and what of the Thessalian background? The latter is not of much help. Votive reliefs bearing the theme are rare in Thessaly; only two are known to me and follow Attic traditions in representation.¹³² Furthermore, after a peak in relief-figured tombstones in the 5th century BC,¹³³ a time predating the appearance of the motif in the funerary art of mainland Greece, tombstones of inner Thessaly were predominantly painted and therefore their decoration rarely survives.

The earliest occurrence of the banquet in a funerary context in Thessaly is on the back wall of a built chamber tomb at Krannon that has been dated on masonry style and pottery evidence to the 4th century BC.¹³⁴ The painting, which is unpublished, is known from a detailed description compiled by the excavator and a painted model of the tomb, made at the time of discovery.¹³⁵

206–07, no. 31; Fraser 2009, 87; Lipiński 2004, 162; Briquel Chatonnet 2012, 623). Another two men from Arados are known from Demetrias: Volos Λ 187, Λ 197.

¹²⁸ The unpublished stele E 433; Masson 1969, 694–96, no. 4, fig. 9; Baslez 1986, especially 290, n. 13; Stamatopoulou 2004–09, 636, 643, fig. 1; 2009, 22.

¹²⁹ Kravaritou 2011, 122; 2016.

¹³⁰ Lipiński 2004, 162–63; Helly 1996, 78. For the role of Phoenicians in Athens and other Greek ports, see Baslez 1987; Grainger 1991, 205–19. On foreigners at Demetrias, see Fraser 2009, 86.

¹³¹ Marasco 1988, 168–69.

¹³² Biesantz 1965, 12–13, K17; Heinz 1998, 346–47, no. 310, fig. 241. On Attic votive reliefs, see Fabricius 1999a, 21–27; Lawton, this volume.

¹³³ Biesantz 1965; Bosnakis 2013.

¹³⁴ On the tomb, see Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, especially 34–35. For the painting, see Dentzer 1982, 223, n. 1, 391, pl. 63, and fig. 350 (R86); Katakouta and Stamatopoulou forthcoming.

¹³⁵ The model is kept in the Volos Archaeological Museum.

However, the description and the painted reconstruction do not agree in their details, or with the remains on the wall. Based on the few traces of colour and the ghost of objects and figures still extant on the wall, it is certain that this was a multi-figured scene developing around a cushioned couch that occupies the right half of the composition. A naked boy is depicted next to *kline* at the right end of the scene, shown nearly frontal and slightly turned to the left, his body rendered in pinkish-red colour. His presence gives support to the identification of the theme as a banquet (as opposed to a *prothesis*). In the same tomb, a stone sarcophagus, since destroyed, bore painted decoration of a boar hunt on its lid.¹³⁶ Both themes fit perfectly the elite pastimes or aspirations of the occupants of this monumental tomb. It is evident that the scene concerns an elite family, and the emphasis is on the convivial, familial setting, instead of the single banqueter. Thus, it differs significantly from the iconography on the painted tombstones of Demetrias. The early date of the Krannon tomb brings to mind the isolated appearance of the banqueter motif on a tombstone from Tanagra, dated to the late 5th century BC,¹³⁷ much earlier than the appearance of the theme on Attic panel tombstones.

We should not consider the Demetrias stelai as representative of the norm for contemporary Thessaly. The city was a Macedonian foundation, a military stronghold, a *basileion*, and a mercantile centre by a major port, with a multicultural community that must have been quite different from the more conservative communities of the cities of the plains.¹³⁸ As mentioned, most tombstones in Thessaly bore painted decoration that has now perished, therefore a comparison is not possible.

If we turn to relief tombstones, these were very few in the region until the 2nd century BC, when relief *naiskoi* became more frequent. To my knowledge only a few reliefs carrying the banquet theme have been discovered in Thessaly, all unpublished.¹³⁹ If one looks at the few surviving reliefs decorated with the theme of the single banqueter from Larisa, the differences in format, style and ambience from the Demetrias stelai are evident. On the first relief (Fig. 20), the broad-format of the *naiskos*, the elaborate rendering of the columns in place of the antae and the mode of representation recalls tombstones from East Greek

¹³⁶ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1960, 36–40.

¹³⁷ Thebes Museum, inv. no. 56: Fabricius 1999a, 27, n. 45; also Dentzer 1982, 366, R94; Vlachogianni 2001, 149, 156, no. 11; Sporn 2006, 162.

¹³⁸ The study of the ethnics on the stelai of Demetrias has shown that at least 40% of the commemorated individuals were not from Demetrias (Helly 1996, 78).

¹³⁹ I would like to thank S. Katakouta for helping me locate the reliefs in the Larisa Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 20. Larisa Museum. Marble. Hellenistic. Source: photograph courtesy of the 15th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 21. Larisa Museum 607. Marble. Hellenistic. Source: photograph courtesy of the 15th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

workshops.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the female figure seated by the foot of the couch is accompanied by two female attendants, one holding a *kalathos*. Female attendants are absent on the Demetrias painted stelai bearing the banqueter theme, but are present on a second relief, again from Larisa.¹⁴¹ On the latter, a relief *naiskos* (Fig. 21),¹⁴² a snake is shown in the upper part of the scene, coiling to the left around the branch of a clematis, which is unusual in itself, while the man reclines on a couch that is closer to the fulcra type, holding a deep bowl in his hand. His female companion, seated on a high backed chair to the left, holds a child on her lap, an unusual feature that brings to mind the emphasis on the family that characterised many Classical Thessalian tombstones.¹⁴³

In Demetrias the painted tombstones decorated with the banquet motif are characterised by a uniformity of representation, whereas more variety is apparent in the relief *naiskoi*.¹⁴⁴ Given the strong similarities in form and iconography to the late Classical Athenian panel stelai, it is reasonable to assume that the theme of the banqueter was introduced to the city in the early 3rd century BC, alongside other common themes prevalent in late Classical funerary art, such as the *dexiosis* and the ‘mistress and maid’. The execution of the themes – at least early on – is in a manner that recalls Athenian monuments, but in the course of the 2nd century BC, alongside heroising features we see other elements that seem to show the adoption of norms that were current at the time throughout the Hellenistic world (for example statuary poses, increase in attributes shown on ledges, smaller scale of attendants).

CONCLUSIONS

The study of the Demetrias tombstones decorated with the banquet motif has shown that it was among the most popular themes in the visual repertoire of the city, predominantly used on painted stelai of middling quality, but also on

¹⁴⁰ Biesantz 1959, 104, no. 3, fig. 21; compare with PM 1529.

¹⁴¹ On female attendants on the Samos stelai, see Fabricius 1999a, 118.

¹⁴² Larisa Museum inv. no. 607, Biesantz 1959, 99–100, fig. 17. A third relief in the Larisa Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 480, is unpublished. I would like to thank S. Katakouta for all her help in locating these reliefs.

¹⁴³ Bosnakis 2013, 176–77 and also 170–71. For representations of female figures in banquet scenes holding a child, see PM 1747, 1784 from Odessos and Samos-Tigani respectively. The third unpublished relief in Larisa Museum, inv. no. 480, noted above, preserves only part of the figured scene and inscription: the legs of a three-legged table, shaped as animal legs, the right leg of the couch, rendered in a manner similar to that of relief 608, and a boy-servant to the right of the composition are clearly visible. I would like to thank S. Katakouta for her help.

¹⁴⁴ This will become even clearer once the recently identified *naiskos* from Kastro-Palaia Volou is published (by E. Skafida, M. Kalaitzi and S. Kravaritou).

a few relief *naiskoi*. The iconography of the monuments hints at a concern with setting the deceased in an environment of comfortable home refinement, while heroising elements are few.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, the stelai follow the norm for Demetrias stelai, where the interaction among the figures represented, and their elaborate clothing and furniture reveal similar concerns.

As has repeatedly been stressed, a large percentage of stelai bearing the banquet were meant to commemorate persons of foreign origin, predominantly Syro-Phoenicians. According to the prevailing view the reasons behind the choice of subject matter may lie in their indigenous traditions; however, it is noteworthy that the mode of representation and commemoration does not differ from that of other residents of the city – locals, other Thessalians, Macedonians or Thracians.

An examination of the entire corpus of Demetrias tombstones reveals that with few exceptions, there was uniformity in representation regardless of ethnic origin. Most persons are represented in a familial setting, interacting with one another, dressed in elegant clothes. Among various ethnic groups, the Cretans are often shown as soldiers, which may be significant given that they were known for their role as mercenaries;¹⁴⁶ a few individuals wear the *kausia*, but they often bear non-Macedonian ethnics.¹⁴⁷

Where we encounter exceptional features in representation there are usually special reasons behind this choice, for example on the stele of Antigones, son of Sotimos, who was represented as a trumpeter; his epitaph informs us of his death at the battlefield at Phthiotic Thebes in 217 BC and stresses his military valour.¹⁴⁸ Another case is priests of foreign cults: the stele of Ouaphres, son of Horus stands out as the deceased was represented in the garb of an Egyptian priest of Isis, performing a libation. His shaved head, dress and cult paraphernalia characterise him as a priest of Isis, and his epitaph is one of the few that includes more information than simply the patronymic and his ethnic.¹⁴⁹

In 3rd- and early 2nd-century Demetrias the ethnic mix-up of the population was high as it encompassed the previous occupants of the settlements of Magnesia, Thessalians, the Macedonian conquerors, mercenaries serving in the Macedonian army, merchants, other Greeks. The archaeological record does not allow us to discern these cultural or ethnic groups and this is perhaps

¹⁴⁵ On the importance of the good life, see Fabricius 1999a, 95–97.

¹⁴⁶ Sekunda 2001 (Volos Λ 8: army officer); 2003 (Volos Λ 61: an archer).

¹⁴⁷ As, for example, on Volos Λ 43, or Λ 46 for Parmeniskos from Epirus (von Graeve 1979, 116–17, pl. 6.2).

¹⁴⁸ Arvanitopoulos 1909, 128–33, no. 10; Peek 1955, no. 943; Cairon 2009, no 74.

¹⁴⁹ Stamatopoulou 2008.

significant.¹⁵⁰ Although epigraphic evidence for the 3rd century is scarce, it appears that the choice of civic-public roles available to foreign residents of Demetrias, may have been limited. The iconography and epitaphs of the Demetrias tombstones imply that these were few, for example the military *arête*, especially for members of the Macedonian garrison resident in the city, the holding of a religious office, or success in poetic or theatrical competitions.¹⁵¹ In this community, the banquet motif was constructed in a manner that referred to worldly aspirations or events. The emphasis is on a familial setting, luxurious surroundings and the interaction between husband and wife, features that could be shared by all cultural/ethnic groups resident in the city.

As mentioned above, the banquet scenes rarely depict details of a defined interior space. Instead, the emphasis is on the comfortable and refined surroundings. A quick look at the extant archaeological evidence from houses in Demetrias suggests that, for at least some of the inhabitants of the city the emphasis on luxury was not merely an aspiration. Recent excavations in the northern sector of the city have partially revealed houses with elaborate painted and stucco wall and ceiling decoration as well as paved and mosaic floors.¹⁵² Similarly, some of the best furnished tombs of the city, especially in the southern cemetery, contained artefacts such as a large alabaster funerary hydria, the well-known Demetrias double-sided ivory relief (Fig. 22), which itself includes a banquet scene, silver vessels, gold wreaths and jewellery,¹⁵³ showing that some of the inhabitants of the city, a few, experienced the kind of affluent lifestyle to which the painted tombstones seem to allude.

The banquet motif thus forms a popular theme that served to advertise elements of the social persona of the deceased, as did book rolls, writing implements and herms for the learned man. In this large cosmopolitan port, where there were ample opportunities to accrue wealth, the emphasis is on private refinement, on the *tryphe* of the represented individuals as manifested via their

¹⁵⁰ We should bear in mind that the Macedonians did not send a population to the city as they did in Phthiotic Thebes after 217 BC, or had done earlier in Halos or Gomphoi. Wolters (1994, 282), discussing the typology of Thessalian tombstones, characterised Demetrias as a ‘melting pot’. See Arvanitopoulou 1952–53 on the prosopography and the ethnics of the Demetrias tombstones.

¹⁵¹ Lykidas commemorated with the *kioniskos* Volos A 328 may have been a victor at theatrical competitions (Arvanitopoulos 1952–53, 10; Helly 2012–13, 181–90, fig. 1). See also the epigram on Volos E 755 (Cairon 2009, no. 73 = Peek 1955, no. 1074) for a man ‘who had served the Muses’.

¹⁵² Triantaphyllopoulou forthcoming (Katsiphos’ plot); Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantaphyllopoulou 2000; Stamatopoulou 2010–11, 82–83.

¹⁵³ Toulountzidou 2007, 187–88; 703–05 for metal vessels in Demetrias, Goritsa and Thessaly respectively. For images of finds from the southern cemetery of Demetrias, see Stamatopoulou 1999, II, figs. 25–26, pls. 22a, 28, 31–32.

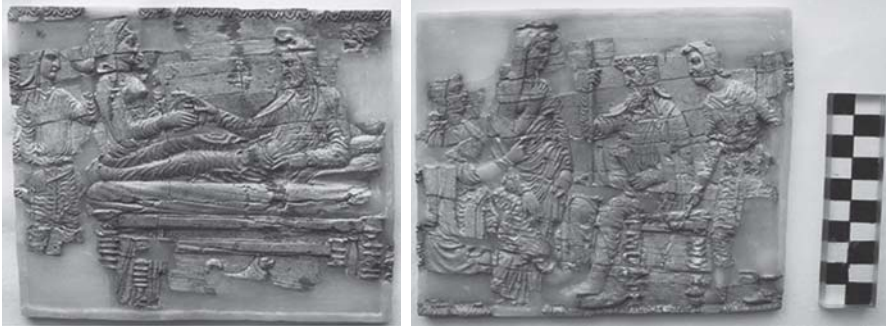


Fig. 22. Double-sided ivory plaque, possibly a lid of a box, from the southern cemetery of Demetrias. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 27993. L. 0.17 m, w. 0.14 m. 4th century BC. Source: photograph by author.

elegant clothing, silver drinking vessels and elaborate furniture. The popularity of the motif in the city therefore must be related to the importance of luxury and comfortable living as a general social aspiration cutting across class and ethnicity in Hellenistic Demetrias.

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF TOMBSTONES

The aim of this catalogue is to present the monuments decorated with the theme of the banqueter originating from Demetrias. It is not meant to be exhaustive in the handling of the material; a detailed analysis of the technique (tool marks, painterly execution), style and the inscriptions is beyond the scope of this study. As mentioned above, I have followed Bruno Helly's dating of the tombstones.¹⁵⁴ The catalogue begins with painted tombstones depicting a single symposiast accompanied by a boy-servant and is arranged in roughly chronological order, and the stelai showing a female and male together follow. It ends with the two relief tombstones.

¹⁵⁴ I have excluded from this discussion the following stelai: a) the fragment Volos Λ 117, as only a part of a footstool survives, therefore it is not clear whether the banquet was depicted; b) stele Volos Λ 151, which preserves only the upper part of the torso of a male figure without any further identifying features; c) stele Volos Λ 153, which is included among the banquet scenes by Fabricius (following von Graeve 1976, 280–81, no. 72). This last is a very interesting monument, whose painted scene was given a painted frame the shape of which imitated a *pinax* (von Graeve 1979, 113). It is very difficult to determine whether it carried the banquet theme or death in childbirth; d) the pedimental stele Volos E 428, included by Fabricius 1999a, 45–48, where again the colour traces on the stone are not clear enough.

PAINTED STELAI

1. Stele of Persaios, son of Gazaïos. Volos Museum Λ 109

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments. Nearly intact except for a few chips and small breakages at the bottom of the stele. Most of the colours have perished.

H. 0.96 m; w. 0.358 m; th. 0.08 m.

The tympanum of the pediment is decorated with a relief flower consisting of four petals and a central knob stemming from four leaves, the negative of which is barely visible today.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft below the crowning reads:

Περσαῖος	Persaios,
Γαζαίου	son of Gazaïos.

Περσαῖος: ethnic name that is used as proper name. It is uncommon (eight attestations in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names s.v.*). It is not a *hapax* in Demetrias (*LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*), as it is also attested in an unpublished tombstone: Volos E 355 (the father of Dionys[ios], a Persian). According to Masson (1990b, 41, n.1), the name originates from the Persian PRSY. Besides Demetrias, the name is known from Oloosson (1st century BC): Sekunda 1998, 451.

Γαζαῖος: ethnic name used as a personal name. It is rare, attested only twice, both in Thessaly: in Demetrias and once in Oloosson. *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.* Also Masson 1990b, 41, n. 1; Sekunda 1998, 451.

Below the inscription, two rosettes, consisting of six relief petals and a large central omphalos.

Much of the surface has suffered from erosion and the colours have perished. Only the upper border of the scene is identifiable, just above the horizontal breakage of the stele. The banquet theme is identifiable by the outline of a man, who is depicted on the right part of the scene, reclining on a cushioned couch, with his body slightly turned to the left, and the round table in front of the couch (only the red colour of its top and shadows of the outline of its legs survive). The outline of the banqueter's beardless face, slightly turned to the left, is visible against the dark red shadow of his short hair. He was dressed in a chiton and a himation that was drawn over his left shoulder. His torso was depicted nearly frontal; with the left elbow he rested on the cushions. Nothing else can be seen on the stele.

Middle of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 331–32, no. 109; von Graeve 1976, 251–52, no. 53.

2. Stele of Onesimos, son of Ammonios, Volos Λ 19 (Fig. 6)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from three joining fragments. The bottom has broken off. The surface is chipped on the tympanum and parts of the shaft.

H. 1.01 m; w. 0.398 m, th. 0.145 m.

On the tympanum a red pomegranate, stemming from four green leaves. The transition from the pediment to the shaft is by means of a *taenia* and an ovolo painted with egg and dart.

On the shaft, below the finial and above the two rosettes, a two-line inscription reads:

Ὀνήσιμος	Onesimos,
Ἀμμωνίου	son of Ammonios.

Ὀνήσιμος: character name that is very common in Thessaly and is attested in Demetrias at least five times: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.* Character names, especially Onesimos, are often attested for manumitted slaves, but this need not be the case here (Helly, personal communication). See also Vlassopoulos 2010, especially 140.

Ἀμμώνιος: fairly common Graeco-Egyptian (theophoric) name. In Thessaly it is attested only in Demetrias, at least three times: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.* and Helly personal communication Sept. 2014. On the name: Parker 2000, 75; Fraser 2007, 80; Decourt and Tziafalias 2007, 342.

Between the inscription and the figured scene, two rosettes, rendered as relief circles with a central red omphalos. Details would originally have been rendered in paint.

The figure scene occupies the entire width of the stele. A black line and an incised one serve as borders on the top and bottom respectively. The scene is set against a neutral dark pink/violet background. A wide grey band shown in perspective serves as a ground line.

A man is shown reclining on a cushioned couch, his torso and head slightly turned to the left. He is beardless, with short dark hair, wreathed and dressed in a dark violet/brown short-sleeved chiton and a light coloured himation that is wrapped over his left shoulder. He supports his weight on his left elbow and his left hand rests on the bed clothes. In the extended right hand he holds a shallow round vessel, probably a phiale. This is rendered in the same brownish colour as the man's body.

The couch is provided with a mattress, a cover (*epiblema*) and two cushions, on which there are still traces of pink colour. The right leg of the *kline* is visible under the bed cover, painted in ochre colour. In front of the couch is a round three-legged table, the legs of which are fashioned as animal legs ending in hoofs. On its top, which is shown in perspective, are a few items of food: a cake (shown in lighter colour than the table) and two round objects, which, judging by their shape and pinkish-red colour, might be pomegranates.

At the left edge of the scene stands a servant-*oinochoos* rendered in three-quarter view to the left. He is dressed in a short-sleeved belted dark-coloured chiton that reaches his knees. Most of his face has perished. He rests his weight on the right leg, with the left crossing over it. His left arm is brought across his belly and holds the right arm, while in the lowered right hand he holds a ladle, rendered in grey. In the foreground, between the servant and the round table, at lower level, a low table is rendered in brown. An open vessel is depicted on top of it.

Visible below the scene are the remains of the upper part of a nearly frontal painted herm with short dark hair and a red *taenia* over its shoulders.

Second half of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 152–55, no. 19; Arvanitopoulos 1928, 21, fig. 18; von Graeve 1976, 180–81, no. 19.

3. Stele of Asklepiades, son of Nikon, from Sidon, Volos A 21 (Fig. 7)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from two fragments. There are breakages in many parts. The central acroterium, part of the apex of the pediment and the bottom of the stele have been broken off. The surface is chipped and has suffered from erosion.

H. 0.98 m; w. 0.55 m, th. 0.11 m.

On the tympanum a red pomegranate stems from two leaves that were originally painted green. Very good preservation of the red colour on the horizontal lower cornice of the pediment and on the egg and dart that decorates the ovolo moulding between the pediment and the stele shaft.

The inscription on the shaft, above the figured scene, reads:

[Ἀσκ]ληπι[τά]δ[ης]	(Ask)lep(i)ad(es),
Νίκωνο[ς]	son of Nikon,
Σιδώνιο[ς].	from Sidon.

Ἀσκληπιιάδης: theophoric composite name that is attested once more in Demetrias for a Sidonian, a priest, Volos E 433 (bilingual inscription): Masson 1969, 694–96.

Νίκων: panhellenic name, fairly common in Demetrias, used both for citizens and foreigners: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

The painted scene occupies the entire width of the stele, bordered on the top by a black line. Although only the outlines of the figures and shadows/faint traces of their colours are visible today, the main elements of the composition are clear.¹⁵⁵ Traces of violet colour behind the banqueter's head may belong to the background; it is impossible to determine whether it was neutral or not. A wide reddish-brown band and a narrower dark grey band, rendered in perspective, serve as ground lines.

A man is shown reclining on a couch, supporting himself with his left elbow on the cushions. Although the outline of his face is barely visible today, it appears that his head and torso were turned towards the viewer. He has short dark brown hair, is beardless, and is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton. Remains of yellow-ochre colour in front of his chest might belong to an object that he held in his right hand. The couch, which occupies the entire width of the composition, is topped by a mattress rendered in pinkish-red colour and an elaborate *epiblema* decorated with a chequered pattern consisting of strong outlines that create squares, further divided into triangles painted with blue-green and yellow colour respectively.

In front of the couch, slightly off-centre, the outline of a three-legged round table is clear. Its top, rendered in brown colour, reaches the lower edge of the mattress, while its legs were fashioned as animal legs ending in hoofs (only traces of dark brown paint and the negative of their outline survive). To the right of the table, a situla rendered in dark ochre-orange is depicted on the floor. Next to it, at the far end of the scene, various shadows are visible that possibly belong to the figure of a male-servant shown turned to the left. This is indicated by the dark brown colour near the right edge of the

¹⁵⁵ The bad state of preservation of the scene is the result of cleaning of the stele with water (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 165).

mattress at the level of the lower pillow on the *kline*, which could belong to his hair and the outline of the bent right arm.¹⁵⁶

Below the figured scene are clear traces of a tall herm rendered in perspective, in three-quarter view to the left.

Second half of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 164–66, no. 21; Preußner, von Graeve and Wolters 1981, 19–20, figs. 9, 26–29; von Graeve 1976, 185–86, no. 21.

4. Stele of Dorotheos, son of Apollodoros, from Ashkelon, Volos Λ 322

Shaft stele with horizontal top. Dark grey marble. Restored from eight large joining pieces and numerous smaller fragments. Breakage on the right top end. Two of the relief antefixes have broken off. The surface has suffered from erosion.

H. 1.09 m; w. 0.372 m, th. 0.105 m.

Traces of red on the ovolo moulding serving as transition from the shaft to the top.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft above the rosettes reads:

Δ[ω]ρόθ[εος]	Dorotheos,
Ἀπολλο[δώρου]	son of Apollodoros,
Ἄσκα{κα}λωνίτης	from Ashkelon.

Δωρόθεος and Ἀπολλο[δώρος] (or Ἀπολλοφάνης?): both theophoric names frequent among Phoenicians, especially as Greek translations of Semitic theophoric names: Masson 1969; Ginesti Rosell 2012, 102–08, 339–42 (for Athens).

Between the inscription and the figured scene are two rosettes rendered in low relief, consisting of a central omphalos and two concentric circles further articulated into petals by shallow grooves and red colour. Their shape is irregular and their size uneven.

Most of the figured scene has perished. Outlines of figures and red remains of a mattress aid the identification of the theme. A wide horizontal red band that occupies most of the width of the stele and dips towards the middle must belong to the cover (*epiblema*) of a couch, the outline of which has perished.

On the couch one can discern the outline of a man shown with his torso nearly upright. He is identifiable only by the reddish brown colour of his skin (face and arms) and the faint outline of his short-sleeved chiton. In front of the couch is a three-legged round table rendered in dark ochre, the legs of which are shaped as animal legs terminating in hoofs. The table was quite high and its top was rendered in perspective, the edge reaching the mattress (the left hand of the man can be seen near the upper edge).

At the far left of the composition stood a male servant. He can be identified by the colour and outline of his legs and the dark colour of his short-sleeved chiton. Although most of this figure has not survived, it is evident that he stood facing towards the right, with his weight on his right leg, the left one slightly bent.

In the space between the servant and the table are the remains of two objects rendered in ochre-yellow: immediately left of the table a situla and, further left, a tall three-legged table that supported a deep open vessel that was painted dark blue.

¹⁵⁶ von Graeve (1976, 336–37, no. 100) saw the legs of the *kline* to the right of the situla. The area is too worn to make out.

Second half of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1952–53, 8–9, no. 322; von Graeve 1976, 336–37, no. 100 (he does not mention the *situla*).

5. Stele of Mettounmikim, son of Abdeleb, from Ashkelon, Volos Λ 349 (Fig. 14)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from six fragments; additions with plaster. Both lateral acroteria and the lower third of the shaft of the stele have broken off. The surface has suffered from erosion and discolouration.

H. 0.718 m, w. 0.435 m (antefix), th. 0.065 m.

On the tympanum is a relief shield. The transition from the shaft to the finial is by means of a *ovolo* moulding decorated with egg and dart, whose colours are well-preserved.

The inscription above the figured scene reads:

Μεττουμκίμ	Mettounmikim,
Ἀβδελήβ	son of Abdeleb,
Ἀσκαλωνίτης	from Ashkelon.

Μεττουμκίμ: a Semitic name that has been transcribed in Greek letters without any attempt to Hellenise; it is a *hapax*. Masson 1969, 693, no. 3, fig. 8; Szynger 1979, 46–50 (see also *SEG* 29, no. 514) proposed that it is a theophoric name, transcribed from the Phoenician MTN MQM, meaning ‘gift of Miqim’, but with a substitute of the theophoric by a divine epithet (MQM = he who erects).

Ἀβδελήβ: A Semitic name that has been transcribed in Greek letters without any attempt to Hellenise; it is a *hapax*. According to Szynger 1979, 50–51 (see also *SEG* 29, no. 514) it means ‘servant of El-a/eb’ (a West Semitic god).

The figure scene takes up the entire width of the stele. The borders are not clear due to the erosion of the surface and the fading of the colours. A man is shown reclining on a couch that occupies most of the available space, with his face and torso only slightly turned to the left. He has dark brown skin and dark brown hair, wears a light coloured short-sleeved chiton and supports himself with his left elbow on the pillows (only the lower half of one pillow survives). His right arm extends to the left and he holds a metal vessel – most likely a *kantharos*, given its outline.¹⁵⁷ The outline of his legs and his bare foot are clearly visible.

The couch was topped with a red mattress and was provided with a cover (*epiblema*) the colour of which has perished. At the left bottom corner, there are shadows rendered in dark red (similar in tone to that of the mattress and the man’s forearm), which are difficult to identify. Von Graeve had proposed that they belong to the leg of the *kline*, rendered in dark brown to denote wood. Very faint shadows in a darker brown-reddish colour in front of the *kline* may belong to a table, but this is impossible to confirm as the surface is badly eroded.

Second half of the 3rd century BC.

¹⁵⁷ von Graeve had also identified the vessel as a *kantharos*.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1952–53, 18, no. 349; Masson 1969, 693, no. 3, fig. 8 (inscription); von Graeve 1976, 351–52, no. 110.

6. Stele of Dionysios, son of Seuthes, Volos Λ 47 (Fig. 12)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. The lower half of the stele and the two lateral acroteria as well as part of the pediment tympanum have broken off.

H. 0.43 m, w. 0.405 m, th. 0.058 m.

The central acroterium has incised floral decoration. A bell flower stemming from four red and green leaves is depicted in the tympanum of the pediment (only its shadow survives). The red and blue colours of the egg and dart on the ovolo moulding that serves as transition from the pediment to the shaft are well preserved.

The inscription on the shaft, above the figure scene, reads:

Διονύσιος	Dionysios,
Σεύθου	son of Seuthes.

The letters are filled in red (line 1) and black (line 2).

Διονύσιος: panhellenic name, with wide diffusion in Thessaly, Demetrias in particular: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

Σεύθης: Thracian name that is attested at least six times in Demetrias. *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*, and the unpublished tombstones Volos E 387, E 995. In two cases the men bearing this name originated from Lysimacheia (Volos Λ 40, Λ 269). Fraser 2009, 87; Dana 2006, 129.

The figure scene occupies the entire width of the shaft of the stele. A red line serves as its upper border. The background of the composition is neutral, rendered in grey. The lower half of the composition is missing.

A young man is shown reclining in three-quarter view to the left, on a couch that occupies two thirds of the available space. Although the lower part of the couch has perished, it is evident that it was provided with a mattress, two cushions, and a cover (*epiblema*). Remains of bright red and pink colour survive on the mattress.

The man is depicted as beardless with short black hair, his skin rendered in tones of light pink to red. He is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton, the hems of which are accentuated by red on the neck and sleeves. A himation is wrapped around the lower part of his body. He supports himself with his left elbow on two cushions, the lower of which preserves traces of pink colour, his forearm extending in front of his chest. Due to the erosion of the surface it is not possible to determine whether he held an object in his left hand. His right arm is brought in front of his chest and holds a small skyphos, rendered in grey, most likely representing silver.

The various black lines that are visible to the right of the man's body are traces of earlier outlines of the figure, and are evidence of hasty execution.¹⁵⁸ Due to the breakage of the stele it is not clear whether there was a table shown in front of the couch.

¹⁵⁸ It is evident that this is a very sketchy drawing, as corrections are visible in many parts of the composition.

Near the left edge of the couch, the upper part of an object rendered in ochre is discernible. It has a curved top.

Left of the *kline* stands a male servant shown in three-quarter view to the left, his face turned towards the reclining man. He is quite short, as his head only reaches the level of *kline*'s mattress. He has short black hair and vivid facial features, and is dressed in a short dark-coloured belted chiton. His right arm is lowered by his side while the left is bent at the elbow and held an object that is difficult to identify. Behind him, at the left edge of the composition, the upper part of the shaft of a herm shown in perspective is visible. Its short-haired head has a youthful face. A red *taenia* is placed symmetrically over the shoulders. Iconographic parallels from Demetrias suggest that the herm would have stood on a high stepped base.¹⁵⁹

Second half of the 3rd century BC

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 234–37, no. 47; von Graeve 1976, 214–15, no. 35.

7. Stele of Phalakros, Volos Λ 242 (Fig. 17)

Shaft stele with with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from six fragments. Part of the shaft of the stele on the upper part of the figured scene and the lateral right acroterium have broken off. The surface of the stone has suffered erosion and is chipped.

H. 1.035 m, w. 0.405 m, th. 0.11 m.

The acroteria were decorated with a painted palmette; only its negative survives. The red colour of the egg and dart motif on the ovolo that serves as transition from the crowning to the shaft is well preserved.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft, above the figure scene, reads:

Φάλακρε	Phalakre
χαῖρε	hail!

The letters were filled with black paint.

Φάλακρος: Greek (corporal) name, known in Macedonia as Βάλακρος. It is quite common in Thessaly, especially from the 3rd century onwards. It is attested only once in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, s.v. On the name: Masson 1990c, 580; García Ramón 2007, 50; Fraser 2007, 78; Hunold 2009, 121.

A thin horizontal line serves as upper border of the painted scene. Parts of the upper half of the scene are missing. The surface is eroded and in many parts only the ghosts of the original colours are visible.

On the upper part of the composition, various parallel lines indicate that the scene was set against an architectural setting that consisted of side supports and a roof. The background is rendered in light pink colour. A large window, with a white frame, is visible on the left half of the scene, above the *kline*. Most of the available space is occupied by a large *kline* that stands on a wide reddish-brown band serving as a ground line (rendered in perspective). It is provided with an ochre-coloured mattress, two cushions and a bed cover (*epiblema*) that was deco-

¹⁵⁹ Parallels for herms in stelai: Volos Λ 29 (von Graeve and Preußner 1981, 132–34), Λ 30: Preußner *et.al.* 1981, 20, figs. 33–36.

rated with an outer band, which now appears as light grey, and a wide central area painted in dark red.

On the couch a man is shown reclining with his head and torso frontal, supporting himself with the left elbow on cushions. He is beardless, has dark brown hair and wears a dark violet short-sleeved chiton. A himation is wrapped around his lower body. His left hand is raised towards his chin, whereas his right, bent at the elbow, holds in front of his chest a deep bowl with horizontal handles, rendered in blue-grey. In front of the *kline*, nearly off centre to the right, is a large stemmed open vessel, probably a krater, rendered in dark ochre, and further to the right another object also depicted in dark ochre, most likely an open vessel with a domed top/lid.

Second half of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 4–5, no. 242; von Graeve 1976, 303–04, no. 83.

8. Stele of Demetria and Histiaios, from Sidon, Volos Λ 64

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Dark grey stone (marble?). Restored from two joining pieces. The right lateral acroterium and part of the shaft have broken off. The surface has suffered from erosion and most of the colours have perished.

H. 0.842 m, w. 0.292 m, th. 0.087 m.

The remains of red colour on the tympanum may belong to a flower springing from leaves.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft, above the painted scene, reads:

Δημε(sic)τρία	Demetria,
Ἰστιαῖως γυνή,	wife of Histiaios.
Ἰστιαῖος	Histiaios
Σιδώνιος	from Sidon.

Δημε(sic)τρία: a panhellenic name, attested twice in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

Ἰστιαῖος: common Greek name, attested three times for citizens of Demetrias, (*LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*) apparently members of the same family (Helly, personal communication); see also Kalaitzi in this volume.

The surface is extremely worn and only a few traces of colour and the negative of the figures is still extant. Near the right end of the composition one can see the outline of the head of a male figure with dark short hair, his right hand and legs shown in the usual position for reclining banqueters. In front of the man, the round outline of a table is visible. Further left, at the edge of the composition, are shadows of a smaller figure that could belong to a male servant. If indeed this is a boy-servant it is likely that the scene did not portray a woman, as in all cases where a female is included in the composition the servant is shown on the right. However, it must be pointed out that the scene is too worn to allow definitive identifications.

Second half–end of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 276–77, no. 64.

9. Stele of Teres, son of Menes, from Bithynia, Volos Λ 62

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from two joining pieces. The acroteria, the apex of the pediment, and the lower part of the stele have been broken off. Numerous chips on the surface.

H. 0.59 m, w. 0.26 m, th. 0.063 m.

The tympanum is decorated with a rosette/relief phiale, with a central omphalos. Details would have been rendered in paint.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft reads:

Τήρης	Teres,
Μένητος	son of Menes,
Βιθυνός ¹⁶⁰	from Bithynia.

Τήρης: possibly a Thracian name, sporadically attested in Greece proper (five times in Thessaly), common in Thrace and in especially in Hellenistic Egypt. *LGPN s.v.*; also Fraser 2007, 79; Dana 2006, 129.

Μένης: common foreign name. Attested once in Demetrias: *LGPN 5A, s.v.*; Vlassopoulos 2010.

The surface has suffered from erosion and discolouration; very little of the painting can be seen today. On the right part of the composition there are traces of red and pink colour, which may belong to the mattress and/or bed covers. Further up, it is possible to make out the outline of the head of a male figure and faint traces of the brown colour that was used to depict the skintone of his arm. Slightly off-centre, the outline of a round three-legged table is also clear. On the left part of the composition there are some shadows that may belong to a second figure.

A herm was depicted below the figured scene.

End of the 3rd–early 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 274–75, no. 62.

10. Stele of Dionysios, son of Sokrates, Volos Λ 240 (Fig. 15)

Shaft stele with horizontal top. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments. Nearly intact except for breakage on the finial and the right side. The tenon is preserved. The surface has suffered from erosion.

H. 1.13 m, w. 0.428 m, th. 0.09 m.

The transition from the shaft to the top is by means of a relief ovolo, decorated with egg and dart.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft, above the relief rosettes and the figured panel, reads:

Διονύσιος	Dionysios,
Σωκράτους	son of Sokrates.

Διονύσιος: theophoric name, very common in Thessaly: *LGPN 3B, s.v. Διονύσιος* (239).

¹⁶⁰ Other tombstones of Bithynians in Demetrias include Volos Λ 41, Λ 293 (depicted as a rider: Preußner *et.al.* 1981, 19, figs. 30–32), E 961 (= *IG IX 2*, no. 361).

Σοκράτης; the name is attested another two times in Demetrias: *LGN 3B*, s.v. (see also the unpublished stele Volos E 435).

Below the inscription two relief rosettes are shown carved in low relief. They consist of two rows of six relief petals and a central omphalos.

The scene is set within a border, imitating a panel stele. The surface is badly worn and only faint traces of the colours and the outlines of the figures are still visible. Even so, the key elements of the composition are clear.

The scene is set in an interior space, indicated by the shadows on the upper border of the composition. In the upper left corner, the outline of the head and neck of a horse turned to the right, rendered in light colour, is clear against the violet colour of the background. This horse protome was placed inside a frame.¹⁶¹

At the centre of the scene, a man is shown reclining on a couch, supporting himself with his left elbow on cushions, his head and upright torso facing the viewer. He is beardless, with short dark hair, and his skin is rendered in dark brown. He wears a light coloured short-sleeved chiton. It is not possible to determine the position of the hands, due to the erosion and discolouration of the surface. The couch on which the man reclines is provided with a mattress painted in blue-green and two cushions.

A three-legged table in front of the couch is rendered in perspective in dark brown. Its legs are fashioned in the shape of animal legs terminating in hoofs and its round top reaches the lower border of the mattress. On the table a few objects can be seen. At least one is a cake, as implied by its shape and light colour, but nothing further can be said with certainty. On the floor to the right of the table stands a large situla rendered in ochre.

Next to the situla, at the far end of the scene, a male servant is shown standing in three-quarter view to the left, with his right leg crossed over his weight-bearing left. He wears a short-sleeved chiton, surviving as a grey shadow on the stone and his naked parts are rendered in reddish-brown. At the far left end of the scene, one can discern an object, whose lower part is rendered in light grey colour, and top is shown as a horizontal moulded dark violet band; although not preserved well enough to allow secure identification, on the basis of iconographic parallels from other regions we think that it is possibly an altar.¹⁶² A wide reddish-brown band shown in perspective with shading in the area of the table denotes the ground.

End of the 3rd–beginning of the 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 3–4, no. 240; von Graeve 1976, 297–98, no. 81.

11. Stele of Arachthes, son of Pheiathos, Volos A 42 (Fig. 19)

Shaft stele crowned with a horizontal top. Marble. The lower half has broken off. The surface has suffered from erosion.

H. 0.325 m, w. 0.30 m, th. 0.075 m (max.).

On the ovolo moulding that serves as transition between the crown and the shaft of the stele, the traces of a painted egg and dart motif is clear.

¹⁶¹ von Graeve (1976, 297–98, no. 81) describes the architectural details of the room but does not see the horse protome, which is clear both on the stele and in the photographs.

¹⁶² For example, PM 1330 from Ephesos, or PM 1316, PM 1374.

The inscription on the upper part of shaft, above the figured scene, reads:

Ἀράχθης ¹⁶³	Arachthes,
Φειάθου (Helly)	son of Pheiathos.

Ἀράχθης: the name is a *hapax* in Thessaly. It a Greek variant of the Egyptian Harachthes (Ἡ-ᾗ.ty), translated as ‘Horos, who is in both horizons’. The name is found in Rhodes for an Egyptian (*IG XII 1*, no. 480) and is well attested in Egypt, in papyri and inscriptions that date from the 3rd century BC to the 4th century AD. For a list of inscriptions, see the *Trismegistos* website under ‘people’: http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/ref_list.php?namvar_id=2943 (last consulted 28.09.2014).

Φειάθος: I read Φεράθου on line 2 (as did Arvanitopoulos) but having discussed the name with B. Helly who reads Φειάθου (Helly 1979, 89, n. 2) I have decided to follow his suggestion. According to Helly, in the third letter of line 2, the lines do not join to create the circle of *rho*, and what appears to be a joining mark should be attributed to erosion (personal communication Sept. 2014).

The painted scene occupies the entire width of the stele. The lower half of the composition is missing. The background seems to have been neutral, although the surface is too worn to allow secure conclusions.

A beardless man, shown in three-quarter view to the left, reclines on a couch, of which only the left end survives. He has short hair, distinctive facial features and is dressed in a yellow short-sleeved chiton and a himation that is wrapped over his left shoulder and around the lower part of his body. His skin is rendered in tones of pink to light brown. His right arm is extended and bent at the elbow, with the palm of his hand facing upwards, holding a small round object, mostly likely a small vessel rendered in grey. With his left hand he holds in front of his chest a long cylindrical object painted in ochre, which should be identified as a book roll.

Because of the breakage, it is not possible to determine whether there was originally another figure (servant) depicted on the right end of the scene.
First half of the 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 225–26, no. 42; von Graeve 1976, 205, no. 30.

12. Stele of Eudoros, son of Theodoros, Volos Λ 243 (Fig. 8)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from three joining fragments. There are breakages on the acroteria and the left edge of the stele. The tenon is preserved. The surface of the stele has suffered erosion and most of the colours have disappeared.

H. 0.925 m, w. 0.365 m, th. 0.10 m.

A red pomegranate stemming upwards from branches and leaves is barely visible on the tympanum. The negative of the egg and dart decorating the ovolo moulding is visible.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft, above the figured scene, reads:

¹⁶³ I would like to thank B. Helly and K. Savvopoulos for discussing the name Arachthes with me and providing me with useful suggestions.

Εὐδωρος
Θεοδώρου

Eudoros,
son of Theodoros.

The letters were filled with black paint.

Εὐδωρος: composite Greek name, not common in Thessaly. Except for Demetrias, it is attested only once at Hypata: *LGN 3B, s.v.*

Θεόδωρος: a common Greek name, very popular in Thessaly. Attested another two times in Demetrias: *LGN 3B, s.v.* (See also the form Θεύδωρος).

The painted scene occupies the entire width of the shaft of the stele. Much of the surface is eroded, so only shadows of the colours are visible, especially on the upper part of the composition.

A wide dark brown band, rendered in perspective, serves as the ground line. The background appears neutral (but it should be borne in mind that the condition of the stone is bad).

A couch occupies the space from the left edge of the stele to the male servant. Its legs are rendered in dark grey. It is topped by a mattress painted in blue-green and is provided with two cushions and a bed cover that is elaborately decorated with chequered pattern consisting of squares, which are further divided into triangles decorated with blue-green and yellow respectively.

On the couch a man is depicted reclining with his torso upright, his lower body to the left, and his face turned slightly to the left. He is beardless, has short dark hair and wears a short-sleeved white chiton and a himation that is wrapped over his left shoulder. His right arm rests on his thigh while with the left hand, supported with the elbow on the cushions, he held an object that is rendered in blue-grey, most likely indicating a metal vessel. His skin is painted light brown.

In front of the man is a round three-legged table painted brown, with legs shaped as animal legs terminating in hoofs. To the right of the table stands a situla, rendered in dark ochre with brown shading. A male servant stands next to it, turned to the left, wearing a dark, belted, short chiton and resting his weight on the right leg. He has short hair and his face was turned toward the reclining man. His lowered right hand is shown above the situla, whereas in his left hand he held an object depicted in blue-grey that should be identified as a ladle based on the outline of its bowl.

Below the scene, a painted herm is shown, turned to the left.

First half of the 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 5, no. 243; von Graeve 1976, 304–05, no. 85.

13. Shaft Stele, Volos Λ 44 (Fig. 9)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. The lower third of the stele has been broken off. The surface of the stone has suffered erosion and discolouration.

H. 0.559 m, w. 0.348 m, th. 0.062 m.

On the tympanum is shown a red pomegranate stemming from two pairs of leaves that were originally painted green. Today only faint traces survive. The red colour on the horizontal cornice of the pediment and the red and blue colour of the egg and dart decorating the ovolo moulding are well preserved.

The inscription high up on the shaft, above the figured panel, was originally painted and is very difficult to read. Only a few letters can be discerned, mostly of the second line.

A wide yellow band serves as border of the figured scene on all sides; it was meant to denote a *pinax* (panel painting). Due to the slanting breakage of the stele, the lower half of the scene has perished. The background is dark grey, but on the left half of the scene the rich folds of a drawn curtain, rendered in brown with strong outlines, are clearly visible.¹⁶⁴

The right part of the composition is occupied by a man reclining on a couch, resting his weight with his left elbow on cushions. He wears a yellow short-sleeved chiton and a himation that is wrapped over his left shoulder. His naked parts are rendered in pinkish brown. Although his facial features are not well preserved, it is clear that his face, as his torso, was slightly turned to the left. He holds an elaborate kantharos with his extended right hand. The kantharos, rendered in blue-grey, was evidently to be understood as of silver. His left forearm is relaxed on the cushions and his hand is shown next to a round object. Based on its position and outline, this must be identified as the round top of a three-legged table shown in perspective. Part of its rightmost leg survives.

Near the the right lower edge of the composition, just above the diagonal break, there are remains in pinkish-brown that belong to the head of a male servant rendered in small scale, with his face turned in three-quarter view towards the viewer. First half of the 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 228–30, no. 44; von Graeve 1976, 208–09, no. 32; 1979, 113, pl. 1.1 and n. 9.

14. Stele of Menelaos, son of Hegesidemos, from Amphipolis, Volos Λ 356 (Fig. 10)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments. Nearly intact except for breakage at the bottom end and the lateral antefix.

H. 0.685 m, w. 0.323 m, th. 0.073 m.

The tympanum was decorated by a red pomegranate stemming from green leaves (the latter preserved as shadows). The red colour of the horizontal cornice and the egg and dart decoration of the ovolo moulding are well preserved.

The inscription, above the figured scene, reads:

Μενέλαος
Ἡγησιδήμου
Ἀμφιπολίτης

Menelaos,
son of Hegesidemos,
from Amphipolis.

The letters are filled with red paint.

Μενέλαος: attested at least twice more in Demetrias, *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*, but very common in Macedonia. Tataki 1998, 361–62.

Ἡγησιδήμος: composite name, quite rare. Tataki 1998, 52, no. 59.

¹⁶⁴ This was not mentioned by von Graeve 1976, no. 32.

The painted scene is bordered on all sides by a black line, creating a panel. The colours are very well preserved. The background of the composition is neutral, rendered in light grey-violet.

A couch occupies the centre of the composition. It is topped with a red mattress and two cushions, and has an *epiblema* spread over it, covering its frame. The *epiblema* has elaborate decoration consisting of a wide outer band, today preserved as dark grey, and an inner area divided into lozenges.

A man reclines on the couch, resting his left elbow on the cushions, his torso and face turned slightly to the left. He is beardless, with short brown hair and well preserved facial features, and he is wreathed. His naked parts are depicted in tones of pink to brown. He wears a short-sleeved yellow chiton and a himation, wrapped over his left shoulder and around the lower part of his body. He holds a silver kantharos rendered in dark grey in his left hand, while his right hand rests on his bent right knee.

In front of the couch is a round table, its legs fashioned as animal legs terminating in hoofs (deer). It has a strong outline and is rendered in perspective. Colours range from light brown (on the top) to red (side border) and dark brown (legs). To the left of the table, depicted as if further away in the background, is a large situla, painted in ochre with red for its interior.

A male servant stands at the left end of the scene, in front of the situla. He is shown turned to the right with his weight on his right leg, both arms lowered in front of his body. He is dressed in a short, belted chiton. A wide band painted in a neutral light grey colour serves as the ground line. Cast shadows can be seen on the floor, both behind the boy and the table.

Middle of the 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: von Graeve 1976, 365–66, no. 117; Tataki 1998, 85 and 89.

15. Stele of Aigyptos, son of Demetrios, Volos A 56 (Fig. 13)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and acroteria. Marble. The lower half, the acroteria and the apex of the pediment are missing. The surface has suffered from erosion, and is chipped in many places.

H. 0.48 m, w. 0.402 m, th. 0.08 m.

Much of the tympanum has been broken off. Part of a bell flower with a green calyx stems from red tendrils that extend to the corners. The ovolo moulding is decorated with egg and dart painted in green and red colours that are well preserved.

The inscription, above the figure scene, reads:

Αἴγυπτος	Aigyptos,
Δημητρίου	son of Demetrios.

The incised horizontal guidelines are visible; the letters were filled with red paint.

Αἴγυπτος: ethnic used as personal name. It is attested twice in Demetrias; *LGPN* 3B, s.v. Masson 1990a, 25 cautions about using such a name as evidence for detecting ethnicity. See also Decourt and Tziafalias 2007, 340, n. 32. As noted by Arvanitopoulos, Σωτηρίς, named on the roughly contemporary stele Volos A 178 may be his wife.

Δημήτριος: very common Greek name, particularly popular in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, s.v.

The figured scene occupies the entire width of the shaft of the stele. A wide yellow line serves as upper border. The lower third of the scene has perished. The surface has suffered from erosion. The background of the composition is rendered in dark grey.

A man is shown reclining on a couch, the lower part of which below the mattress has not survived. Vivid green colour can be seen on the mattress. Two cushions are visible on the right edge of the stele. The banqueter is shown with his head and upright torso slightly turned to the left, supporting his weight on his left elbow. He is shown short-haired and beardless, and his skin is rendered in tones ranging from dark pink to light brown. He wears a short-sleeved violet chiton and a light coloured himation that was wrapped around the lower part of his body. His right hand rests on his bent right knee, while his left was in front of his chest holding a vessel.

By the feet of the *kline* stands a male servant in three-quarter view to the right. His facial features are worn, but it is evident that he was shown nearly frontal. He wears a short-sleeved chiton, painted in dark brown-grey. His skin tone is light brown. His left hand was lowered while his right was bent and slightly extended and originally held an object that is no longer possible to identify.

At the left edge of the composition behind the boy the upper part of an object with a curved top, rendered in ochre, can be discerned. It has been identified by von Graeve as a vessel on a console.

Mid-2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 262–64, no. 56; von Graeve 1976, 234–35, no. 44.

16. *Naiskos* of Archippos, Volos Λ 253 (Fig. 2)

Small *naiskos* stele. Marble. Restored from many fragments. The central antefix and part of the right anta are missing. The tenon is preserved.

H. 0.605 m, w. 0.46 m, th. 0.15 m.

The red colour on the *taenia* of the architrave, and the red and blue of the egg and dart motif on the anta capitals are well preserved.

On the architrave in large letters, the inscription reads:

ἦρωος Ἀρχίππου. (The tombstone of) hero Archippos.

The letters were filled with red paint.

Ἄρχιππος: composite name with -ίππος. Quite common in Thessaly, otherwise attested twice in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

The painted scene on the sunken panel of the *naiskos* occupies the entire available space. The surface is eroded and much has perished but the main elements of the composition are clear. A wide dark band, shown in perspective, serves as ground line.

A couch occupies nearly the entire available space and is set against an architecturally articulated background. The *kline* was provided with a mattress, two cushions and an *epiblema*, that has a broad side border. Only the outline of these elements survives.

On the couch a man is depicted reclining, his torso turned in three-quarter view to the left, with his right leg bent at the knee. He is beardless, with short hair. His face is turned slightly to the left. His skin tone is rendered in light brown. He wears

a short-sleeved chiton and a himation (olive colour according to von Graeve) that was wrapped over his left shoulder. Resting his weight with his left elbow on the cushions, the man holds a silver long-stemmed kantharos, rendered in dark grey, in his left hand. His right arm rested on his thigh. It is difficult to establish whether he held an object in this hand (perhaps a phiale, based on the outlines), because the surface is badly eroded. In front of the man, a round three-legged table is depicted in brown. On it are a few objects. Due to discolouration only a cake on the right can be identified.

By the feet of the couch, on the left part of the composition, stands a young male servant. He is turned towards the right and shown walking towards the couch, gesturing with his raised right hand. His face is turned in three-quarter view towards the viewer. He is dressed in a short, dark, belted chiton. Behind him is a pillar rendered in dark pink topped with a crowning member painted in a darker colour. Directly above the pillar, a window (a *pinax* according to von Graeve) with a light-coloured frame is shown. In the space above the banqueter, a horizontal band depicts the upper border of a wall that serves as a ledge. On it one can see the outline of a horse protome depicted facing left.

At the far right of the composition a tree is depicted with a snake coiling around its trunk. The dark shadows in the upper right part of the scene must belong to the tree's foliage.

Mid-2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50b, 81–82, no. 253; von Graeve 1976, 315–17, no. 90.

17. Stele of Ergasion, Volos A 272

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Grey stone. Nearly intact, restored from two joining pieces. Breakages on the surface of the tympanum. The upper acroterium is missing, as is the bottom right corner.

H. 0.94 m, w. 0.34 m, th. 0.10 m.

On the tympanum are faint traces of a red pomegranate stemming from leaves.

The inscription, high on the shaft above the figured scene, reads:

Ἐργασίων	Ergasion.
χαῖρε	hail!

Ἐργασίων: character name that is often used for slaves. It is not common in Thessaly. According to *LGN* 3B, *s.v.* it appears once in Demetrias and once more in Larisa.

The surface of the stele is very eroded and the details of the painted scene have perished. The negative of the bed frame and some colour remains allow the identification of the theme. The ground was denoted with a wide dark red band.

In the centre the outline of a three-legged table is clear. The outline of the mattress and the head of a couch are recognisable by their negatives.

The shadows on the far right end of the composition belong to a male servant whose head reached the height of the pillows. He was shown nearly frontal and his skin was rendered in dark brown.

End of the 2nd–early 1st century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50b, 91–92, no. 272.

18. Shaft Stele, Volos A 100

Lower part of a shaft stele. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments. Both the lower and upper ends have broken off. The upper half is missing. Breakages on the surface, especially along the joints of the fragments. The surface has suffered from erosion and discolouration.

H. 1.103 m, w. 0.555 m, th. 0.17 m. (Among the largest of the group.)

Despite the slanted breakage at the upper part of the stele, the composition is clear in its basic components.¹⁶⁵ On the right part of the scene a man is shown reclining on a couch, his body turned in three-quarter view to the left. His face and right part of his torso are missing. He is shown dressed in a short-sleeved chiton, a himation wrapped around the lower part of his body. His right arm, the skin tone of which is rendered in light brown, is extended to the left and he holds a round object, which judging from its outline must be a phiale. In front of him, the outline of the three legs of a round table is clearly visible.

Near the left end of the composition, a male servant was shown standing with his body nearly frontal and his face turned to the right. He wears a short-sleeved chiton that reaches his knees (preserved as a light grey shade) and his skin is rendered in the same brown colour as the banqueter's. His right arm was lowered and slightly extended to the side, above a situla that is depicted next to him, rendered in ochre yellow. The ochre colour traces further up, between the boy and the hand of the reclining man, must belong to the bed covers.

Below the scene there are remains of a tall herm on a two-step base, its face turned to the left.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 315–17, no. 100.

19. Shaft Stele, Volos A 239 (Fig. 4)

Fragmentarily preserved shaft stele. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments. The upper third of the stele and its finial are missing.

H. 0.90 m, w. 0.42 m, th. 0.11 m.

The painted scene occupies the entire width of the stele. The surface is eroded in many areas but the main elements of the scene are clear.

The neutral background of the scene is rendered in a dark colour. A wide band serves as ground line, on which cast shadows are evident in many areas.

A wreathed man is shown reclining on a couch that occupies nearly the entire width of the scene. He is turned to the left and his face is shown in profile view. He is dressed in a short-sleeved light-brown chiton and a himation is wrapped around the lower part of his body. He is beardless with short brown hair and his skin tone ranges from pink to brown, with evident shading and hatching. He supports himself with his left elbow on the cushions and holds a metal vessel rendered in dark grey in front of

¹⁶⁵ Arvanitopoulos (1909, 317) explained that the bad state of preservation of the painted scene is due to the fact that the stele, found upside down on the wall of the eastern side of the first tower, was not identified until a far later date; when discovered it had suffered serious damage due to rain.

his body in his left hand. His right arm is raised and extended to the left in a lively gesture, as if addressing another person.

The couch is topped by a mattress painted bright green and two cushions. Traces of violet-pink survive on the upper cushion. A bed cloth is spread over the couch. It has a wide dark outer border and lighter inner area, with traces of pink surviving in places.

In front of the man a low wide round three-legged table with legs terminating in lion paws is shown. It is rendered in bright egg-yellow. Its top is laden with food. Based on shape and colour, one can identify a cake in the foreground and a pomegranate further back. At the left end of the scene another table of the same type as the first, but lower, is depicted in ochre yellow. Two objects are shown on the table, possibly a cake and an open vessel rendered in blue-grey. In front of the table, is a low situla painted in bright ochre.

Behind these two objects stands the figure of a male servant dressed in a dark short-sleeved short chiton. His skin tone is similar to that of the man. Most of the servant's facial features are lost, but it is clear that his head was turned in three-quarter view towards the reclining man (right). The servant is shown walking, with his legs wide apart. His right hand is extended above the small table, while his left, bent at the elbow, holds an object in front of his body.

Below the figured scene one can see a large painted ithyphallic youthful herm standing on simple base. The head of the herm is facing left.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 3, no. 239; von Graeve 1976, 296, no. 80.

20. Shaft Stele, Volos A 250 (Fig. 5)

Shaft stele. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments. The upper half of the stele is missing.

H. 1.30 m, w. 0.465 m, th. 0.14 m.

Part of the left rosette is preserved. It is rendered as double concentric relief circles with a central omphalos. Details were added in paint.

The painted scene occupies the entire width of the stele. Much of the surface is eroded, especially on the upper half. The background survives as a light coloured shadow. A wide red band, shown in perspective, serves as ground line. Yellow shadows are visible on the ground.

A couch occupies almost the entire width of the scene. It was topped by a thick mattress and two cushions with a central red stripe. Only the outline and the negative of the colours of the *epiblema* survive. It had a wide outer border that was probably painted in a different colour than the central area.

A young, beardless man, with his torso upright, reclines on the *kline*. He is slightly turned to the left, resting his weight with the left elbow on the cushions. Most details of his face and left arm have perished. His skin tone was rendered in light brown. He appears to be beardless with dark hair, and he faces left. He is dressed in a dark coloured short-sleeved chiton. In his extended right hand he held an object that can no longer be identified.

In front of the couch is a short round three-legged table, the top of which is shown in perspective and the legs of which were modeled like animal feet. On the table were numerous small objects. Only their negative survives.

At the left end of the composition stands a male servant. He is barely discernible, mainly by the dark colour of his short chiton and the reddish colour of his skin tone (face and lowered right arm). His face was turned towards the man. He would have been depicted in three-quarter view to the right. In front of him, at the bottom left corner of the stele is a yellow situla.

Below the scene is a painted herm, with the shaft shown frontally and the wreathed head in three-quarter view to the left.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 9, no. 250.

21. Shaft Stele, Volos A 114 (Fig. 16)

Shaft stele. Marble. Broken on all sides except the right. Some erosion on the surface.

H. 0.357 m, w. 0.30 m, th. 0.105 m.

Only the right part of the painted scene survives. A thick yellow line serves as lower border. The left part of the scene and the area above the banqueter's head has perished. The background seems to have been neutral. A wide light brown and red band serves as ground line (rendered in perspective).

On the right, a man is depicted reclining on a couch. He is beardless, with short dark brown hair, and is turned in nearly three-quarter view to the left, supporting his weight with his left elbow on the cushions. He wears a short-sleeved yellow chiton and a white himation is wrapped around his lower body. The lower part of his legs has not survived. With his left hand he holds a stemmed silver kantharos rendered in grey. His right arm is extended to the left and he holds a round object, painted red, in the upturned palm of his hand, most likely a fruit (apple?).

The *kline* was originally covered with an *epiblema*, the colour of which has faded except for traces near the table and a bright red line at the lower border.

In front of the banqueter, a three-legged table is shown. Its legs are modelled as animal legs ending in hoofs. On its upper surface there are traces of various objects, but the surface is too worn to allow secure identification. The skin tone of the man and the table are both rendered in light brown colour, with shading and highlights.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 338–40, no. 114; von Graeve 1976, 255, no. 56.

22. Fragmentary Shaft Stele, Volos A 370

Fragmentarily preserved shaft stele. Grey marble. Broken on both top and bottom. The surface has suffered from erosion, especially on the left half of the fragment.

H. 0.20 m, w. 0.37 m, th. 0.065 m.

Only the central part of the figured scene, which occupied the entire width of the stele, survives. A man whose head has perished is shown reclining on a *kline*, his torso turned in three-quarter view to the left. He is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton and his skin tone is rendered in pink to light brown. He rested with his left elbow on the cushions and held a shallow dish in his left hand, the outline of which indicates that it was a phiale or a shallow open bowl. His right arm is extended to the left, towards a male servant, and rests on his bent right knee. In front of him, the upper part of a three-legged round table painted in dark yellow is preserved.

At the far left end of the composition a male servant was depicted in profile view to the right, wearing a short-sleeved chiton. Only his head and his right shoulder survive.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Unpublished; von Graeve 1976, 369, no. 120.

23. Fragmentary Shaft Stele, Volos A 112

Fragmentarily preserved shaft stele. Marble. Restored from three fragments. The upper two thirds are missing.

H. 0.403 m, w. 0.425 m, th. 0.08 m.

The state of preservation of the figured scene is uneven. The surface of the bottom left fragment appears bolder and shinier than the rest of the stele. According to the excavator it was treated with varnish between 1917 and 1920.¹⁶⁶

On the right fragment one can see part of a reclining figure who rested his weight with the left elbow on two cushions. The cushions had a central stripe painted in bright violet pink. The man's right arm is lowered and extends toward a round three-legged table that is shown in front of the couch, casting a shadow on the floor.

Next to the table on the left, in nearly profile view to the right, stands a male servant dressed in a short-sleeved chiton that reaches just above his knees. His right hand is lowered and held an object in front of his body, while the left arm seems to be bent forwards.

The skin of both figures is rendered in a warm light brown colour, as was the table. There are traces of pigment behind the boy, but it is not clear whether they belong to another figure, perhaps a woman seated on the couch, or an object.

Below the figure scene a painted herm was depicted, of which only a few traces survive.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 335–36, no. 112; von Graeve 1976, 253, no. 54.

24. Fragmentary Shaft Stele, Volos A 110

Fragmentary shaft stele. Marble. Broken on all sides except for the left. The upper two thirds and half of the width of the stele are missing. The surface has suffered from erosion and discolouration.

H. 0.495 m, w. 0.245 m, th. 0.08 m.

The lower third of a painted scene is preserved. Its lower border is defined by a dark grey band serving as a ground line.

In the middle of the preserved part a large stemmed open vessel is rendered in blue-grey. On either side of it are large sections of dark red colour.

At the right edge of the fragment, the left half of a male servant dressed in a short-sleeved chiton that reached his knees is visible in the foreground, in front of a low table. His skin is rendered in dark red, as was the low table that is shown in perspective behind him. The red colour remains on the left edge of the composition are less easy to explain.

¹⁶⁶ As is stated in Arvanitopoulos' unpublished report dated 8 March 1927, titled 'Εκθεσις του πρώην εφόρου αρχαιοτήτων Θεσσαλίας Α.Σ. Αρβανιτόπουλου ιδρυτού, του Μουσείου Βόλου, ανακαλύψαντος δε και τοποθετήσαντος πάντα τα εν αυτό αρχαία αντικείμενα, Περί των στηλών Παγασών και λοιπών αρχαιοτήτων του ανωτέρω Μουσείου, ως και των υποκινήτων του θορύβου αρχαιολογικών υπαλλήλων', p. 3, no. 8.

Below the scene is a herm on a three-step base.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 332–34, no 110.

25. Fragmentary Shaft Stele, Volos Λ 111

Shaft stele. Grey-white marble. Only the lower part is preserved. About two-thirds of the stele are missing. The tenon is preserved.

H. 0.408 m, w. 0.433 m, th. 0.08 m.

Only the bottom part of the figured scene survives. A wide red-brown band serves as a ground line. In the foreground, a three-legged round table rendered in perspective in brown stands slightly off centre, in front of a couch identifiable only by the ghost of the bed cover. The lower part of a male servant survives on the left part of the fragment. He is preserved from the waist down, and is shown wearing a short chiton (originally ochre?). His skin is rendered in the same light brown colour as the table.

Hellenistic

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 334–35, no. 111.

26. Stele of Abdes, son of Basileides, and his wife Dorkas, Volos Λ 107

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Nearly intact except for small breakage at the bottom right corner and the central acroterium. Chips on the surface. The surface of the stele has suffered erosion. The lower part of the shaft is left rough for securing to a base.

H. 1.04 m, w. 0.38 m, th. 0.07 m.

The tympanum was decorated in the centre with a large red pomegranate stemming from four leaves, that were originally painted green. The ovolo that marks the transition from the crown to the shaft of the stele was decorated with egg and dart; traces of red survive.

The inscription on the shaft above the figure scene reads:

Ἀβδῆς	Abdes,
Βασιλείδου	son of Basileides,
Τύριοις	of Tyre.
Δορκᾶς	Dorkas
Ἀργεία	of Argos

Ἀβδῆς: rare name, attested once more in Demetrias: Volos Λ 34. According to Masson (1969, 689), it is a transcription of the Semitic name *Bd*, which means ‘servant of x’, or ‘of the god’.

Βασιλείδης: the name is quite common in Greece. At Delos, the name is frequently used for Hellenised Phoenicians. Baslez 1986, 299, n. 72. Masson (1969, 690–91), explains it as a Greek name that translates the Phoenician anthroponymic *Mikb’b*, meaning ‘Baal is king’.

Δορκᾶς: the name, based on the zoonym for deer, is quite common. It is attested for another inhabitant of Demetrias, Volos Λ 122: the wife of a certain Diskos (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 353–55, no. 122). On the name: García Ramón 2007, 55. Masson (1969, 690–92) hypothesises that Dorkas might have been of Semitic origin, from an oriental family that was naturalised in Argos.

The surface of the stele has suffered erosion and most of the painted scene has perished. The theme of the reclining banqueter and his wife is identifiable by the red colour band that must have belonged to the *epiblema* that covered a couch, the outline of a three-legged table in front of it (in light brown) and the brown colour of the fore-arms of the reclining man.

A cushioned couch occupied the largest part of the composition; it is identified only by its bedcover, which was painted bright red. On it a man is depicted reclining, with his torso turned slightly to the left. His skin is rendered in pinkish brown to light brown. He wore a short-sleeved chiton, visible as a white shadow on the stone. His right arm was extended to the left, possibly holding an object that is no longer possible to identify, and his left, bent at the elbow, was resting on the cushions. Traces of dark grey colour on his chest might belong to a metal vessel (on the analogy of many examples on the Demetrias stelai).

On the left part of the scene the outline of the *epiblema* is broken abruptly, and a figure appears as a white shadow. On the basis of her outline, it is possible to identify the contour of a woman seated at the foot of the couch (or on a separate stool), who is turned in three-quarter view to the right.

In front of the couch, slightly off-centre, was a round three-legged table, the legs of which were shaped like animal legs terminating in hoofs. It is rendered in orange-brown.¹⁶⁷

Middle of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 327–28, no. 107; Masson 1969, 688–90, fig. 6; von Graeve 1976, 247–48, no. 51.

27. Stele of Dionysios, son of Artemidoros, from Arados, Volos A 294

Shaft stele with a horizontal top. Grey marble. Intact except for breakage at the bottom left corner. Chips on the left side.

H. 0.55 m, w. 0.24 m., th. 0.08 m.

The outline of the egg and dart decorating the ovolo that serves as transition from the top to the shaft is preserved as shadow. Red colour is preserved on the *taenia* below the ovolo.

The inscription on the upper part of the shaft, above the figured scene, reads:

Διονύσιος	Dionysios,
Ἀρτεμιδώρου	son of Artemidoros,
Ἀράδιο	from Arados.

The letters are filled with red paint.

Διονύσιος: very common theophoric name.

Ἀρτεμιδώρος: common theophoric name, often used for Phoenicians: see above, cat. no. 4.

¹⁶⁷ von Graeve (1976, no. 52) sees a small servant boy in front of the seated woman. There is indeed a red outline at that part, but the figure would have been extremely short (not common in Demetrias) and the outline is not clear enough to allow secure identification.

Only the basic elements of the composition of the painted scene can be discerned due to the erosion of the surface of the stele. The background would have originally been rendered in dark pink/violet, traces of which survive at the upper right edge of the scene behind the banqueter.

The banqueter is shown reclining on a couch provided with a red mattress, cushions and a bed cloth. The last is identifiable only by the outline of its lower border and the ghost of its coloured surface. The figure was shown with his torso turned in three-quarter view to the left. His skin is rendered in pink-brown pigment. He wears a short-sleeved chiton. It is impossible now to determine whether his lower body was originally wrapped in a himation. He rested his left elbow on the cushions and in his hand held an object that has not survived. His right arm was bent at the elbow and extended, and in his right hand he held out an object towards a woman shown seated opposite him.

Although the colours have faded, it is possible to determine that the woman was shown seated on a *diphros*, the legs of which are shown in ochre at the left edge of the composition. She was dressed in a long garment and her body was turned in three-quarter view to the left. Faint traces of the dark outline of her hair show that she was shown at the same level as the reclining man. Her left arm was shown bent at the elbow and slightly raised, possibly reaching to receive something from the man.

Middle of the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50c, 160–61, no. 294; von Graeve 1976, 326–27; Masson 1969.

28. Stele of Kleon, son of Timotheos, and his wife Artemisia, Volos Λ 27 (Fig. 11)

Shaft stele with freestanding pediment and three acroteria. Marble. Restored from two joining parts. The central and left lateral acroteria have broken off. Breakage at the lower part of the stele. The surface has numerous chips and has suffered erosion.

H. 0.855 m, w. 0.438 m, th. 0.12 m.

On the tympanum is shown a red pomegranate springing from green leaves. The transition from the crown to the shaft is by means of an ovolo decorated with egg and dart, and a *taenia*. The blue and red colour of the egg and dart are well preserved.

The inscription on the shaft, above the figured scene, reads:

Κλέων Τιμοθέου	Kleon, son of Timotheos.
Ἄρτεμισία	Artemisia,
Κλέωνος γυνή	wife of Kleon.

Κλέων: very common name, attested once more in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

Τιμόθεος: common Greek name, attested only once in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

Ἄρτεμισία: common theophoric name attested four times in Demetrias: *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*

The figured scene occupies the entire width of the stele. Its background is rendered in dark grey. The figures are positioned on a wide band rendered in lighter colour.

The centre of the scene is occupied by a young beardless man who reclines on a couch provided with a green mattress, two cushions and a dark-coloured bed cover.

He has short dark hair, is wreathed (green leaves), and is dressed in a short-sleeved light-coloured chiton and a dark-coloured himation that is draped around the lower part of his body. His skin tone is rendered in light brown colour with lighter highlights. His torso is shown in three-quarter view to the left. He supports himself with the left elbow on the cushions. With his left hand he holds a long-stemmed *kantharos*, rendered in grey. In his extended right hand he held an object towards a female figure depicted opposite him.

The woman is shown seated on a high-cushioned *diphros* at the left of the scene, facing right. She rests her feet on a high footstool, the legs of which are fashioned as animal legs terminating in lion paws.¹⁶⁸ Both items of furniture are rendered in perspective (the footstool is painted with yellow and red colour). She is dressed in a chiton and a himation that covers the back of her head. Traces of her red shoes are clear under the hem of her dress. Her facial features are not preserved, but from the outline of her head it appears that her face was turned in three-quarter view towards the viewer. Her left hand rests on her lap while her right hand is extended towards the man, the arm bent at the elbow, as if to take an object from him.

In the space between the two main figures, slightly off-centre, is a large round three-legged table, the legs of which are fashioned as animal legs terminating in lion paws. The table is painted in brown and rendered in perspective. On the top surface of the table three objects can be seen: a cake at the centre in yellowish colour,¹⁶⁹ and symmetrically on either side of it round red-pink objects, possibly pomegranates.

Next to the table, in front of the couch at the right edge of the scene stands a male servant dressed in a short-sleeved belted chiton. His head reaches the level of the banqueter's sleeve. His body is rendered in three-quarter view to the left, while his face is shown in profile (the surface is badly eroded).¹⁷⁰ His right arm is bent at the elbow and he holds in his right hand a cup rendered in dark grey. The other hand was presumably lowered towards the table (there is a break on the stone at that point).

A painted herm, rendered frontally, is shown below the scene.

End of the 3rd–beginning of the 2nd century BC.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 183–88, no. 27; von Graeve 1976, 195–97, no. 26.

29. Fragmented Shaft Stele, Volos A 119 (Fig. 18)

Lower part of a shaft stele. Marble. Restored from two joining fragments with added gypsum. The surface of the stone is chipped and has suffered erosion, especially in the left half. Most of the colours have perished and only their shadows survive.

H. 0.363 m, w. 0.34 m, th. 0.097 m.

The painted scene occupied the entire width of the shaft of the stele. Only the lower part of the composition survives, from the dark reddish-brown colour of the ground

¹⁶⁸ Arvanitopoulos (1909, 190) thought that the woman was seated on a chair; but it is evident that this is a backless seat.

¹⁶⁹ Arvanitopoulos thought it was a shallow dish containing grapes; nothing is visible today.

¹⁷⁰ Arvanitopoulos changed his mind more than once regarding the presence of this figure. In 1909 at 186–87 he identified the figure, but at p. 223 he changed his mind and proposed that the traces of paint belonged instead to the *kline*.

line to just above the mattress of the couch. The basic elements of the composition are clear due to the strong outlines and the ghosts of the original colours.

A large couch occupies most of the available space. It was provided with a mattress, whose limit is accentuated by a red line, cushions (the lower survives) and a bed cover (*epiblema*). The *epiblema* was decorated by a wide outer band, the colour of which has totally disappeared, and a lighter coloured inner area. The wide red band at the lower part of the composition belongs either to the *epiblema* or to the background of the scene.

On the couch reclined a man. Only part of his body survives. At the left of the composition the outline of the lower part of a female figure is clear. She is shown seated on the foot of the couch, turned slightly to the right. The surface around the area of her feet is very worn, so it is not possible to determine whether she would have rested her feet on a footstool.

A three-legged round table with legs fashioned as animal legs terminating in hoofs, rendered in ochre-brown, is shown to the right of the woman, immediately in front of the reclining banqueter. Its top is rendered in perspective and must have originally held a few items of food, no longer identifiable. To the right of the table is a tall situla, depicted in bright ochre with red denoting its inner surface.

At the right edge of the scene, next to the vessel, stands a small male servant. He is shown standing nearly frontal, slightly turned to the left, with his weight on his right leg and the left relaxed to the side. His facial features are very worn but based on the outline of his neck it is clear that it was also turned slightly to the left. Only the shadow of his dark hair is visible next to the red stripe of the mattress. He wears a dark red, short-sleeved, belted chiton that reaches his knees. His right hand is lowered and extended towards the situla, while the other arm was bent at the elbow, the forearm drawn across his belly. The area behind him is badly eroded. It is possible that a small object (box? vessel?) was placed on the floor behind him.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1909, 347–48, no. 119 (where he does not identify the woman or the boy); von Graeve 1976, 259, no. 59.

30. Fragmentary Shaft Stele, Volos A 362

Fragmentarily preserved shaft stele. Marble. Restored from two joining parts. Broken on all sides except for the left. The stone is chipped in many places and the surface has suffered erosion.

H. 0.44 m, w. 0.305 m, th. 0.10 m.

The painted scene extended to the end of the shaft. The right third of the scene has perished. A wide dark brown band served as ground line.

A couch occupies most of the available space. It is topped by a mattress rendered in blue-green colour, and an *epiblema*. On it a man reclines, with his torso turned in three-quarter view to the left. Part of his head, his left shoulder and left arm are missing. He wears a yellow short-sleeved chiton, and his skin is rendered in light brown. With his left elbow he rested on the cushions, his left hand positioned in front of his body, holding an item that is difficult to identify due to the erosion of the surface. He rests his right arm on his body and in that hand he holds a round object painted red-dish-pink, perhaps a fruit, towards a female figure depicted opposite him at the left end of the scene.

The woman is shown seated in three-quarter view to the right, facing the reclining banqueter and resting her feet on a footstool rendered in perspective. Traces of yellow and red survive on the footstool. The woman is shown dressed in a chiton and a himation that leaves her head bare. She has dark reddish-brown hair, probably pulled up in a bun.

In front of the banqueter is a three-legged round table. Its top preserves part of its brown colour, whereas its legs, fashioned as animals legs, are identifiable by the ghost of their colour on the stone.

Hellenistic.

Bibliography: Unpublished; von Graeve 1976, 368, no. 119.

RELIEF STELAI

31. Relief *Naiskos* Stele, Volos A 245 (Fig. 1)

Broad *naiskos* stele. Marble. Restored from numerous joining fragments. Breakages in many parts, and chips on the antae. The lower part terminates in a tenon.

H. 0.61 m, w. 0.615 m, th. 0.085 m.

Green colour on the antefixes; red and blue on the fasciae of the architrave. Some traces of the egg and dart decoration of the antae capitals (in blue and red).

The figured scene occupies the entire width of the *naiskos*. It is set against a neutral, dark coloured background. A man reclines on a couch that is topped by a blue-green mattress and two thick cushions, and is provided with a bedcover (*epiblema*) painted dark red. He is shown with his torso nearly frontal and his lower body towards the left. He is beardless with short curly hair and dressed in a short-sleeved, dark red chiton and a himation that is wrapped around his lower body. He rests his weight with his left elbow on the cushions, while in his extended right hand he holds a phiale, from which a snake, painted black, is shown drinking. The snake coils from the branches of a tree shown in the background in relief. Its foliage was depicted in bright green, still visible in the upper part of the composition.

On the left, a woman is shown seated on the couch in profile view facing right, resting her feet on a footstool shown from its short side. She is dressed in a long dress and a himation that leaves her head bare. Her face is shown in profile and her dark hair is tied in a knot. She holds in her left hand a box from which an oblong object, perhaps a *taenia*, hangs obliquely towards her thighs. In front of the couple is an oblong rectangular low table, painted dark brown, laden with various items of food: a pomegranate, a cake, *pyramides* and other fruit rendered in red, yellow and blue.

A boy-servant is shown standing at the right end of the scene facing the couple. He rests his weight on his left leg, the right crossed over it, wears a short-sleeved chiton and has short dark hair. With both hands he holds a large volute krater painted ochre and red.

Hellenistic (2nd century BC?), based on style.

Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1949–50a, 6–7, no. 245.

32. Fragmented Relief Slab, Volos E 331 (Fig. 3)

Lower part of a relief slab, possibly belonging to a *naiskos*.¹⁷¹ Marble. Breakage on all sides except the bottom. It terminates on the bottom with a flat surface that bears the inscription.

H. 0.50 m, w. 0.38 m, th. 0.05 m.

The inscription, on the lower part of the slab below the figured scene, reads:

Αὐτοκρα[τ - - - - -]	Autokra[--]
ἥρωες χαί[ρετε]	heroes hail!

Αὐτοκράτης: fairly common name. According to *LGPN* 3B, *s.v.*, it is attested once more in Demetrias, on the tombstone Volos Λ 261 (Arvanitopoulos 1949–50b, 85–86, no. 261).

Only the lower central part of the composition survives. A recessed band forms a ledge, which serves as groundline for the figures. A three-legged round table (whose legs appear to be modeled as those of a deer) is depicted in the foreground. Items of food are shown on its top: a cake in the centre, a shallow dish with possibly grapes on the right and smaller items to the left.

Behind the table, a man was shown reclining on a couch, turning to the left, his lower body wrapped in a himation. The couch was supplied with a mattress and an *epiblema*.

Near the head of the couch, most likely on a separate seat, a woman was represented in three-quarter view to the left. She is dressed in a long dress and a himation that is wrapped around her body. She rests her feet on a long footstool rendered in perspective.

To the left of the table a male servant dressed in a short-sleeved, belted chiton is shown kneeling next to an oblong object that is probably a box. He turns to the left, his body and face in profile view, and holds in his raised right hand an oblong cylindrical object (book roll?).

Late 2nd–first half of the 1st century BC, based on letterforms and style.

Unpublished.

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¹⁷¹ I have not been able to study the stele in person. My description is based on the unpublished photograph in the Archive of the Archaeological Society of Athens. I would like to thank Bruno Helly for helping me identify the piece and for information about its epitaph.

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