

Belinda D'ANGELO

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN TOMB: HELLENISTIC FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE REVISITED

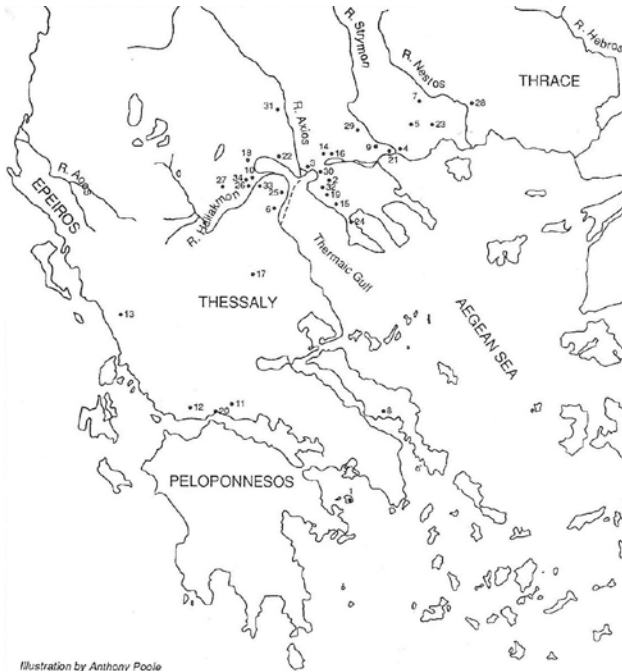


Illustration by Anthony Poole

Fig. 1 Map of Greece with location of Macedonian tombs, (after Miller 1993, pl 27).

### Key

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|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Aegina           | 18. Lefkadia          |
| 2. St. Paraskevi    | 19. Mesimeri          |
| 3. St. Athanasios   | 20. Nafpaktos         |
| 4. Amphipolis       | 21. Nea Kerdyllia     |
| 5. Angista          | 22. Pella             |
| 6. Dion             | 23. Philippi          |
| 7. Drama            | 24. Potidaea          |
| 8. Eretria          | 25. Pydna             |
| 9. Eukarpia-Nigrita | 26. Rachi             |
| 10. Haliakmon Dam   | 27. Spelia            |
| 11. Kallion         | 28. Stavropoulis      |
| 12. Kalydon         | 29. Terpni-Nigrita    |
| 13. Kassope         | 30. Thessaloniki      |
| 14. Laina           | 31. Toumba of Paionia |
| 15. Lakkoma         | 32. Trilophos         |
| 16. Langada         | 33. Vergina           |
| 17. Larisa          | 34. Veroia            |

In light of the recent discovery of a tomb described as ‘Macedonian’ near Bonče, it is timely to review the Macedonian tomb type. The tomb near Bonče has been dated to the end of the fourth century BCE.<sup>1</sup> As the archaeological community awaits publication of the excavations undertaken over the course of the last two years, projections that the Bonče tomb is of Macedonian in type would be a unique find so far north in the ancient Macedonian Kingdom. Only two other tombs have been discovered in the region of the northern Macedonian Kingdom; Ohrid-Varos and Selce (in present day Albania).<sup>2</sup> The approximately 60 tombs discovered so far are primarily located in Lower Macedon (Fig.1) with just six additional tombs identified in the Peloponnese and two in Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of this tomb type is commonly associated with the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom by King Philip II and his son Alexander III (Alexander the Great) when the Macedonian royal family and the aristocracy procured immense wealth. The dating of the tombs reflects this association, with the earliest tomb occurring in the last half of the fourth century BCE and most of the latest ones in the middle of the second century BCE when the kingdom was seized as a Roman province.

The chronological development of Macedonian tombs, both cist and chamber, is not yet clear,<sup>4</sup> however there is a clear correlation between the power of the Macedonian kingdom and the architectural adornment of the tombs. Therefore the earliest tombs discovered in Vergina exhibit spectacular architectural adornment. It is generally accepted that Vergina is the location of the ancient Macedonian capital of

<sup>1</sup> Jakimovski 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Kuzman 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Hatzopoulos 1994, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Borza 1990, 272.



Fig. 2 Barrel-vaulted tomb at Amphipolis, (after Lazaridis 1997, 70).

Aigai as a result of the excavation of a palace and the discovery of a number of 'royal' Macedonian tombs. From the fifth century BCE, the capital was relocated to Pella, and as a result Aigai continued as the Macedonian royal burial grounds and cult centre. At Vergina, tombs of distinct 'Macedonian' type were discovered in the Great Tumulus and have been labelled royal (as opposed to simply aristocratic) by the excavator.<sup>5</sup> To date, a total of eleven tombs have been uncovered in the Vergina area. Elsewhere, Macedonian tombs are principally located in the Bottaia district which is enclosed by the Axios and Haliakmon Rivers and bounded by the mountain ranges of Bermion and Paikon.

The principal and only stable feature of all the Macedonian tombs is the barrel-vaulted roof whereas the treatment of the façade is varied. Some Macedonian tombs feature dromoi leading to the façade, or a simple plain wall pierced by a doorway lavished with architectural decoration in the Ionic or Doric order, or a combination of both. In some cases, painted decoration was applied to the façade to highlight or portray architectural members and depict warriors, deities and hunting expeditions. These themes sometimes continued onto the interior walls which were generally coated with stucco and often bore painted decoration including bands of friezes depicting mythological scenes, plant motifs, chariot races and battle scenes. Studies relating to the interior decoration of Macedonian tombs have been undertaken by a number of scholars, particularly by Miller.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Evolution from Cist Tombs to Barrel Vaults*

Large cist tombs are distributed widely over the ancient Macedonian landscape and attest to the predilection of the aristocracy of Macedon for monumental burial construction. The dimensions and context of the tombs clearly distinguish them from those of contemporaneous Greece<sup>7</sup>, and they are instead closely related to tombs in Egypt, Thrace and Etruria in respect of the lavish interments of personal possessions.<sup>8</sup> The appearance of Macedonian barrel-vaulted tombs in the third and second centuries BCE did not result in the extinction of the cist tomb.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the Macedonian tomb type seems to be influenced by the cist tomb prototype.

Two major changes occurred during the cist tomb phase: the partition of the tomb into antechamber and burial chamber with a connecting door, and the shift to roofs built of stone.<sup>10</sup> Cist tombs were normally rectangular in shape and can be as small as two metres squared or as large as three and a half metres by two metres. The cist-tomb was comprised of rows of *poros* slabs laid in courses over the cist and the wooden roof laid horizontally over the top.<sup>11</sup> The durability of stone, however, inevitably led to its widespread use in tomb construction. Two fourth century cist tombs at Palatitsia present a variation in roofing with the addition of a cross wall or pillars that partition the tomb into two chambers<sup>12</sup> and also combat the problem of collapsing roofs.

The interior decoration of most cist tombs included predominantly painted architectural members, shields carved in relief, plant motifs and mythological scenes. Such decoration is also notable in Macedonian tombs such as the 'Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles' and the 'Tomb of Persephone' at Vergina. In contrast, cist tomb exteriors were plain; the Macedonian tomb type brought the traditional interior decoration to the exterior façade of the tomb. The 'Tomb of Eurydice' is probably the earliest Macedonian tomb that is lavishly decorated in the cist tomb fashion; the cist is partitioned into two chambers and the interior is elaborately decorated with architectural ornamentation. The exterior is plain in the proper cist tomb manner, but the tomb is specified as Macedonian in type rather than cist because of the barrel-vaulted roof.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Hatzopoulos 1994, 190.

<sup>8</sup> Borza 1994, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Allamani 1988, 96.

<sup>10</sup> Hammond 1991, 73.

<sup>11</sup> Petsas 1978, 50.

<sup>12</sup> Andronicos 1987, 10-11.

<sup>13</sup> Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 60.

<sup>5</sup> Andronicos 1976, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Miller 1993.



Fig. 3 The façade of Tomb II of the Great Tumulus at Vergina, (after Andronicos 1984, 101).

### **The Implementation of the Barrel-Vaulted Roof**

The final evolutionary stage of the Macedonian tomb type involved the transition from horizontal slabs to barrel-vaulted roofs. The barrel-vaulted roof, a semi-cylindrical roof constructed of voussoirs, is the principal feature of the Macedonian tomb (Fig. 2). All tombs with barrel vaults in the region of Macedon or with Macedonian affiliations during the Hellenistic Period are labelled as Macedonian in type. The barrel-vaulted roof solved the problem of collapsing roofs by exerting a downward and outward thrust, countered by increased wall thickness, with the surrounding earth of the tumulus holding the construction together.<sup>14</sup> Without exception, all Macedonian tombs are roofed with barrel-vaults; however, not all Macedonian tombs feature this roof type over the entire structure with some antechambers exhibiting flat roofs.

The use of the barrel vault may have been the outcome of a lengthy process of evolution beginning with the traditional cist graves. However the presence of such a feature in the East may indicate a reference to foreign models observed by Macedonian architects during the conquests of Alexander the Great, that is 320 BCE, and then copied without fault.<sup>15</sup> Boyd argues that all barrel-vaulted structures in Greece post-date the conquests of Alexander.<sup>16</sup> In addition, all known barrel vaults in Macedon are fully developed<sup>17</sup> and

<sup>14</sup> Tomlinson 1977:474.

<sup>15</sup> Faklaris 1994, 616.

<sup>16</sup> Boyd 1978, 83-88.

the lack of archaeological evidence for a period of experimentation with roof types in Macedon implies that the barrel-vaulted tomb type was directly copied from the East<sup>18</sup> and imported in Macedon as a mature form.<sup>19</sup> This view, however, assumes that the Macedonians first had contact with the East at the time of Alexander and not earlier.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Macedon was a vassal state of Persia in the fifth century<sup>21</sup> and Greece had contact with the East as a result of the Persian Wars of the same century. In addition, Plato refers to a vault (*ψαλιδα*) in his *Laws* where he describes the ideal burial for a State appointed high priest.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Construction of Macedonian Tombs**

The ‘Tomb of Philip II’ and the ‘Tomb of Eurydice’ at Vergina provide technical insights into Macedonian tomb construction. In relation to the ‘Tomb of Philip II’, Andronicos reports that the blocks do not interconnect as they should, but terminate on the medial wall that divides the tomb into burial chamber and antechamber.<sup>23</sup> The order of construction involved the erection of the back wall first, and then the lateral walls and finally the partition wall. The lateral walls were built in a continuous line from the rear wall of the burial chamber with the intention of accommodating an antechamber, but the façade was not completed. Instead, the interment in the burial chamber was completed and the vault built. The façade was decorated once the secondary burial in the antechamber was deposited. The vault of the antechamber was built separately and is a few centimetres lower than that of the burial chamber.<sup>24</sup> This is also noted at the ‘Angista Tomb’, due to differing wall heights.<sup>25</sup> Once the façade was completed, the exterior marble door was hung and then concealed behind a wall of large *poros* limestone blocks to protect the door from the pressure of the earth.<sup>26</sup> The ‘Tomb of Eurydice’, on the other hand, was completely encased in a rectangular construction of double walls and the vault was also boxed into a rectangular cist-shaped structure with ‘II’ shaped iron nails in intervals over the entire surface of the vault.<sup>27</sup> Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli argue that such a construction suggests a

<sup>17</sup> Lehmann 1980, 529.

<sup>18</sup> Boyd 1978, 89.

<sup>19</sup> Tomlinson 1977, 474.

<sup>20</sup> Green 1998, 162.

<sup>21</sup> Fredricksmeier 1981, 333.

<sup>22</sup> *Laws* XII, 947D.

<sup>23</sup> Andronicos 1980, 170.

<sup>24</sup> Borza 1981, 75-76.

<sup>25</sup> Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Hoepfner 1973, 456.

<sup>26</sup> Andronicos 1977, 50.

<sup>27</sup> Hatzopoulos 1994, 156.



Fig. 4 The façade of Tomb III of the Great Tumulus at Vergina, (after Andronicos 1984, 199).

developmental phase and uncertainty on the part of the builders about the stability of the tomb.<sup>28</sup>

#### **Notable Tombs of the Fourth Century BCE**

A number of tumuli have been discovered in many areas of Macedon.<sup>29</sup> The largest is the Great Tumulus at Vergina. Measuring over thirteen metres in height and over one hundred metres in diameter, the tumulus was filled with funerary monuments dating to the fifth century BCE.<sup>30</sup> The Great Tumulus is located within a large cemetery of smaller burial mounds that date from as early as the eleventh century BCE.<sup>31</sup> Of the tombs in the Great Tumulus at Vergina, two Macedonian tombs of the fourth century BCE are of particular significance architecturally. The so-called ‘Tomb of Philip II’ (Fig. 3) and ‘Tomb of the Prince’ (Fig. 4) also referred to as Tomb II and Tomb III respectively, are dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE<sup>32</sup> and bear striking similarities in the architectural ornamentation of their façades.

Macedonian tomb façades are commonly described as imitating the façades of temples. However, dissimilarity from the temple façade is noted in the aperial arrangement of all the Macedonian tombs and the replacement or omission of canonical architectural elements. The fourth century tombs of the Great Tu-

mulus indicate that an elongated and elaborate frieze crowned only by a cornice replaced the typical pediment of the temple. Decoration on the exterior of the tomb is unusual when compared to the cist tombs of the fifth and fourth century when all decoration was executed on the interior walls.

The so-called ‘Tomb of Eurydice’, located south of the Great Tumulus, lacks a decorated exterior façade. Instead, the entrance had been concealed by a stone encasement that covered the entire tomb.<sup>33</sup> The lack of architectural articulation of the façade is not unusual in the cist tomb tradition which featured plain exterior walls and elaborately painted interior walls. Indeed the interior rear wall of the burial chamber is decorated with a *tetrastyle* façade in the Ionic order (Fig. 5). Furthermore, the façade includes a false door made of marble, decorated to imitate wood, with marble doorjambes and lintels. In addition, two false marble windows were executed in the same style as the door and decorate the intercolumniations of the façade.

A tomb dating to the last third of the fourth century has been discovered in Pydna, east of Vergina.<sup>34</sup> The tomb’s features are completely unique in comparison with other Macedonian tombs. The tomb boasts an eleven metre barrel-vaulted dromos and three barrel-vaulted chambers, as opposed to the traditional one or two chambers (Fig. 6). Architecturally, the façade of the dromos is plain, and the lintel and doorjambes are constructed of *poros* blocks. This method was also applied to seal the entrance to the dromos. Although the entrance to the dromos is forty centimetres wider than the façade of the tomb proper,<sup>35</sup> and would have been visible to the public during funerary rituals, the façade to the entrance of the second chamber bears all the architectural decoration. Furthermore, no effort was made to conceal the vault in the antechamber but courses of *poros* blocks were laid to conceal the vault of the dromos. This suggests a lack of formality regarding the masking or the disguising of the vault. A plain façade is also notable at Dion, south of Pydna, on the late fourth century ‘Soteriades Tomb’. The tomb is not embellished with any columns or pilasters, but featured seven triglyphs and eight metopes crowned with a plain pediment with no architrave below and was simply coated with white stucco (Fig. 7). In contrast, the interior of the antechamber was elaborately decorated in the Ionic order.<sup>36</sup> The façade of the ‘Soteriades Tomb’ at Dion provides an early

<sup>28</sup> Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 60.

<sup>29</sup> Wace 1913, 126.

<sup>30</sup> Andronicos 1980a, 189.

<sup>31</sup> Andronicos 1980b, 26.

<sup>32</sup> Borza 1982, 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> Drogou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 60.

<sup>34</sup> Miller 1971, 63.

<sup>35</sup> Hatzopoulos 1994, 183.

<sup>36</sup> Pandermalis 1987, 5.



Fig. 5 The rear wall of the burial chamber of the 'Tomb of Eurydice' at Vergina, (after Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 60).

example of what becomes a characteristic of third century Macedonian tomb façades; a decrease and reduction in architectural ornamentation.

In other areas of Macedon, the tomb façades of the late fourth century continue to be elaborately embellished. The 'Tomb of the Judgement' at Lefkadia, dated to the late fourth century, is a case in point, demonstrating the continuity of elaborate fourth century architectural decoration (Fig. 8). The façade is over eight and a half metres high and almost eight and a half metres wide<sup>37</sup> and is divided into two Attic storeys, a feature not found elsewhere in Macedonian Hellenistic architecture. The lower storey is decorated in the Doric order and the intercolumniations are divided into upper and lower panels with four figures (the deceased, Hermes, Aiakos and Rhadamanthys) painted on the walls. The architrave above is surmounted by twelve triglyphs and eleven metopes that are decorated with depictions of the Centauro-machy. Above this, a division between the lower and upper storeys is made by a stuccoed relief depicting horsemen fighting infantrymen.<sup>38</sup> The upper storey is adorned with six fluted Ionic half columns with the intercolumniations featuring a total of seven false windows carved in relief from marble to imitate wood. Traces of relief decoration are also noticeable in the tympanum of the pediment.<sup>39</sup> Another tomb façade with a colossal order is yet to be discovered. Thus the 'Tomb of the Judgement' is unique among

all Macedonian tombs in all regions from all centuries.

The façade of the 'Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles' also at Lefkadia exemplifies the increasing tradition of plain façades in the third century. The façade is almost completely undecorated apart from the pediment. This pediment serves as a door lintel and recalls the form of the Macedonian funerary stelai discovered in the fill of the Great Tumulus at Vergina. Above the pediment are courses of *poros* blocks constructed just high enough to mask the top of the vault that was then covered with stucco to mask the irregularity of the blocks. The door of the tomb is unique as it is made of two large stone slabs carved in relief to imitate a two-leafed wooden door, doorjambs, lintel and threshold<sup>40</sup> that were propped up against the entrance to the tomb. The tombs at Thessaloniki date to the end of the fourth century BCE and epitomise the change in the Macedonian tomb façade from

the traditional *tetrastyle* form of the fourth century to the *distyle* form of the third century BCE. Miller<sup>41</sup> notes that in the late fourth century and the third century BCE the doorjambs replace the function of the columns. Indeed, this form of evolution is true of some tombs of the late fourth century (the 'Soteriades Tomb' at Dion and the 'Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles') and all the tombs in Thessaloniki. This is shown in the almost identical Tomb I at St. Athanasios and the tomb at St. Paraskevi that are both flanked simply by one fluted Doric half column at each end of the façade. At St. Paraskevi, the columns support an entablature with an architrave and eight triglyphs and seven metopes. The columns of the 'St. Athanasios Tomb', however, support an architrave of one fascia and a metope frieze of seven triglyphs and six metopes. Both tombs feature trapezoidal marble doors that are not decorated in carved relief. Instead, at St. Athanasios, the bosses and nails were painted<sup>42</sup> and at St. Paraskevi bronze ornaments adorn the door.<sup>43</sup> Both tombs are crowned with a pediment and archaeological investigation indicated that there was pedimental decoration of the 'St. Paraskevi Tomb' portraying Demeter and Persephone.<sup>44</sup> Such decoration can also be noted on the 'Phoenix-Thessaloniki Tomb' of the late fourth century.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Miller 1993, 29.

<sup>41</sup> Miller 1971, 67.

<sup>42</sup> Miller 1993, 29.

<sup>43</sup> Sismanidis 1983, 284.

<sup>44</sup> Sismanidis 1986, 93.

<sup>45</sup> Tsididou-Aulonite 1987, 261.

<sup>37</sup> Touratsoglou 1983, 177.

<sup>38</sup> Rhomiopoulou 1997, 25.

<sup>39</sup> Hatzopoulos 1994, 180.

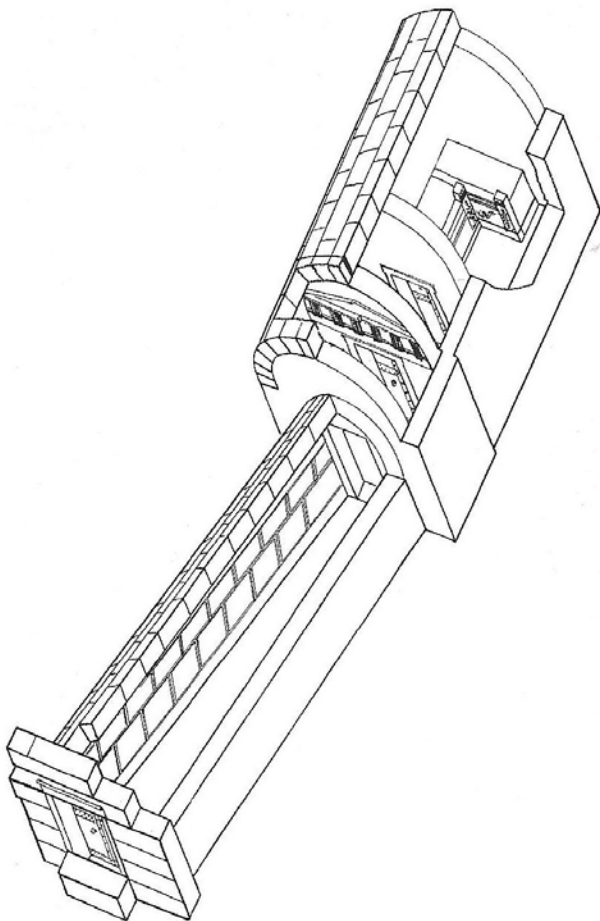


Fig. 6 Plan of 'Heuzey's Tomb' at Korino-Pydna, (after Bessios & Pappa n.d., 11).

It is evident that the façade treatment of the Thessaloniki tombs differed from those from Vergina and Lefkadia. The tombs of the fourth century exhibit some loose regional traits; however, recurring features particular to specific regions are not yet noticeable. The tombs seem to be eclectic, and the number of supporting members begins to decline in the final decade of the century.

#### **Notable Tombs of the Third Century BCE**

The Macedonian tombs at Pella date to the early third century and their façades are elaborately decorated in the fourth century style. For example, the Doric façade of Tomb IV and the Ionic facade of Tomb III at Pella are associated with the fourth century *tetrastyle* form, rather than the *distyle* that begins to appear in the third century. Tomb IV has a door carved in relief from marble to imitate wood, however Tomb III was sealed by *poros* slabs laid in courses, a feature notable in a number of fourth century tombs. The tombs at Pella provide some of the last examples of elaborate Macedonian tomb facades of the third century. The Macedonian tombs of the third century BCE at Vergina represent a shift in the architectural articulation of the Macedonian tomb façade. In particular, the 'Rhomaïos Tomb' of the first half of the third

century is decorated by columns supporting an Ionic entablature including an architrave divided into two fasciae, whereas generally in Greece, three are standard.<sup>46</sup> The tomb also features a marble door. Another Macedonian tomb dating to the early third century is located next to the Vergina Cultural Centre. There was no marble door in the facade; instead *poros* slabs were placed in front of the opening.<sup>47</sup> Another unique feature in all of Macedon is noted in the early third century 'Tomb of the Free Standing Columns' in Vergina where the tomb features a Doric *tetrastyle* prostyle façade standing on a plinth.

South of the Great Tumulus stands the Bella Tumulus. Although the three discovered tombs in the Bella Tumulus date to the third century, their façades are distinctly individual and are predecessors of the late third century tradition; the plain, and often astylar, façade. Tomb I in the Bella Tumulus is the earliest of the three and dates to the last half of the third century. The façade is embellished in the Doric order with a *tetrastyle* arrangement of fluted Doric half columns and a marble door imitating wood. The tall crowning cornice of the pediment is quite distinct and this type is not featured on any other Macedonian tomb. In addition, the tomb also features a dromos built of stone.<sup>48</sup> In contrast, Tomb II of the Bella Tumulus is comprised of a single chamber fronted by an architecturally plain wall that features three large painted figures; a young warrior (possibly the deceased), a tall female (possibly the personification of Macedon or Virtue) and a young man believed to be the personification of War.<sup>49</sup> Tomb III of the Bella Tumulus dates to the end of the third century and has no architectural features or painted ornamentation and is only pierced by an entrance and surmounted by a simple pediment.<sup>50</sup> Much the same can be noted at the tomb on the Bloukas Field on the outskirts of Vergina. These tombs suggest that the façades of the tombs at Vergina dating to the early third century continued to be decorated in the traditional elaborate *tetrastyle* of the fourth century. The plain façade may have been a development during the later third century and may have been adopted in other areas of Macedon, particularly Dion.<sup>51</sup>

To the west of Vergina, in the town of Veroia, a late third century tomb was excavated near the Haliakmon Dam.<sup>52</sup> The tomb only features two supporting

<sup>46</sup> Miller 1973, 202.

<sup>47</sup> Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 64.

<sup>48</sup> Andronicos 1984, 35.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, 35-36.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, 37.

<sup>51</sup> Touratsoglou 2004, 261.

<sup>52</sup> Miller 1982, 157.



Fig. 7 The façade of the ‘Soteriades Tomb’ at Dion, (after Touratsoglou 2004, 260).

pilasters that also act as doorjambs and a lintel that also serves as an entablature with six triglyphs and five metopes as seen at Tomb III at Malathria-Dion. This tomb illustrates a decline in façade embellishment in the late third century, as is noticeable in Vergina, and the introduction of plain façades in the later third century. The reduction and eventual elimination of the columns indicates that the function of pilasters as supporting members is beginning to disappear.

The ‘Tomb of the Palmettes’ at Lefkadia, built in the last half of the third century can be likened to fourth century and early third century types. For instance, the façade is in the *tetrastyle* form, clearly recalling a fourth century model. A third century attribute can be recognised in the lack of ornamentation of the door-frame, where the columns act as doorjambs and the lintel is not present. The tympanum of the pediment is also decorated with a reclining Hades and Persephone<sup>53</sup>, a theme observable at the fourth century ‘St Paraskevi Tomb’ in Thessaloniki and possibly on the tympanum of the ‘Tomb of the Judgement’ at Lefkadia.

At Lefkadia, the tombs of the later third century are more elaborate in the decoration of their façades whereas at Vergina, the architectural embellishment is reduced towards the end of the third century. It could be argued that the decoration of the ‘Tomb of the Palmettes’ at Lefkadia is unique for the third century. Other tombs in the Lefkadia region of the late third to early second century, however, follow the Vergina model in the decline of façade articulation in the late third century. The ‘Theodoridi Tomb’ and the ‘Charouli Tomb’ feature astylar façades<sup>54</sup> with no architectural embellishment around the entrance or on the upper part of the wall.<sup>55</sup> Instead, the façade of the

‘Charouli Tomb’, dated to the second century<sup>56</sup>, was constructed just high enough to cover the unfamiliar vault of the tomb.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, the function of the façade at the end of the third century has altered from a device to exhibit wealth and aristocratic connection, to a simple wall utilised to conceal the vault.

Further south in Chalcidice, the façade of the Macedonian tomb at Lakkoma is only pierced in the centre to simply provide access to the tomb, and is not embellished with doorjambs or lintel, nor flanked by columns.<sup>58</sup> A pediment is carved in relief on the tympanum of the vault. The ‘Tomb near the Old Maternity Clinic’ at Thessaloniki, dated to the end of the third century features a door that is off-centre<sup>59</sup> although this has also been noted at the ‘Soteriades Tomb’ of the late fourth century at Dion. Furthermore, the reuse of building materials at the ‘Charilaou-Thessaloniki Tomb’, where recut column drums were utilised in the roof, clearly indicates a decline in the professionalism of Macedonian tomb construction.

The tomb at Laïna north of Thessaloniki, dating to the late fourth to early third century, also illustrates the late fourth century tradition of column reduction from four to two. This tomb stands in contrast to the nearby ‘Tomb at Langada’ that also dates to the same period. Here, four engaged Ionic columns are arranged along the façade and a curved extension rises above the pediment to conceal the front of the vault.<sup>60</sup> The ‘Tomb at Langada’, the ‘Haliakmon Dam Tomb’ and the ‘Tomb at Lakkoma’, illustrate the acceptance of a visible vault in the third century. The fourth century tradition of constructing a separate wall in front of the tomb, with the intention of applying architectural decoration, is disappearing. The third century architects are now opting to simply apply the decoration directly to the tomb itself or completely abandoning the ornamentation of the tomb.

The late third century tombs at Amphipolis in lower Eastern Macedon<sup>61</sup> also demonstrate the simplicity of later third century Macedonian tomb façades. Tomb II at Amphipolis-Mantres is not fronted by a façade; instead the façade was replaced by a dromos covered with horizontal slabs.<sup>62</sup> The replacement of exterior decoration with a dromos is unusual. As noted above, some Macedonian tombs feature dromoi but none had entirely replaced the façade. In fact, at the ‘Tomb of Pydna’, the façade of the entrance to the dromos was

<sup>56</sup> Tsibidou-Aulonite 1985, 141.

<sup>57</sup> Andronicos 1987, 13.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Sismanidis 1985, 41.

<sup>60</sup> Macridy 1911, 200.

<sup>61</sup> Lazaridis 1997, 71.

<sup>62</sup> Lazaridis 1961, 233.

<sup>53</sup> Mantis 1990, 35.

<sup>54</sup> Miller 1993, 21.

<sup>55</sup> Petsas 1961, 402.

decorated as well as the entrance to the tomb proper. The 'Katsas-Amphipolis Tomb' façade is also plain, coated only with plaster to imitate marble.<sup>63</sup>

To the southeast of Amphipolis is Angista. The third century tomb at Angista<sup>64</sup> illustrates the decline in the function of columns as supporting members. As with many late fourth century and third century Macedonian tombs, the doorjambs replace the function of the columns. Even though the entablature is of the Doric order, the pilaster capitals are Ionic.<sup>65</sup> Though heretical to the Classical Greek tradition, a combination of Doric and Ionic orders is not uncommon in the decoration of Macedonian tomb façades. This is most observable at the 'Tomb of the Judgement' at Lefkadia where the lower and upper storeys of the façade are Doric and Ionic respectively.

As a result of Macedonian expansion into the south, a small number of Macedonian tombs are located in Greece. The 'Tomb of Larisa' in Thessaly is dated to the late third century and is comprised of a barrel-vaulted roof but does not feature an architecturally articulated façade.<sup>66</sup> Much like the Macedonian tombs in Macedon during the third century, the façade of the tomb at Larisa is plain and pierced with an entrance. Furthermore on the island of Aegina, three tombs, dating from the last decade of the third century to the last third of the second century, also feature unadorned façades.<sup>67</sup>

The appearance of the Macedonian tomb façades changed within the course of the third century. An evolution starting with plain façades imitating the early cist tomb, with the addition of barrel-vaulted roof in the late fourth and early third centuries, then finally the cessation of any architectural decoration, notable in the tombs of the later third century. The decline of elaborate façades in the late third century may be related to the deteriorating condition of the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>68</sup>

The façades of the Macedonian tombs as a whole are generally eclectic, but the royal tombs at Vergina illustrate a feature not observed at any other tomb group. Tomb II and Tomb III of the Great Tumulus at Vergina provide the only examples of the utilisation of a frieze as a terminating member rather than the conventional Doric pediment. The 'Tomb of the Judgement' at Lefkadia also features an exaggerated frieze, but the frieze itself was not utilised as a terminating member but rather the platform for the second



Fig. 8 The façade of the 'Tomb of the Judgement' at Lefkadia, (after Touratsoglou 2004, 202).

storey of the façade. In fact, major painted decoration on most Macedonian tomb façades is executed in the tympanum of the pediment as noted at the 'Phoenix-Thessaloniki Tomb', the 'Tomb of the Palmettes' and the 'St. Paraskevi Tomb', or on the façade walls as seen at Tomb II of the Bella Tumulus and the 'Tomb of the Judgement' at Lefkadia.

Through the analysis of specific mouldings applied to the tomb façades, it is apparent that such enrichments varied on both a regional and temporal basis. However, of the regions examined, no area illustrates a preference for a certain architectural order. The use of mixed architectural orders is most common in the Hellenistic period, however mixed orders in Greece can be noted also at the Temple of Zeus at Nemea, Zeus at Stratos, and the Temple of the Mother of the Gods at Olympia.<sup>69</sup>

Generally, a pattern in the overall evolution of the fourth and third century tomb façades is discernible. The façades of the tombs of the fourth and early third centuries generally feature *tetrastyles* as noted at Tomb II of the Great Tumulus at Vergina, the interior decoration of the 'Tomb of Eurydice', the tombs of the early third century at Pella, and the 'Rhomaïos Tomb' at Vergina. The articulation of the façades of these tombs recalls the decorative style of the temple. This style of architectural articulation is to be interpreted as reflecting fourth century traditions. Although the second century 'Tomb at Spelia' is also adorned with a *tetrastyle* façade, this is an exception; the majority of later tombs are plain on the exterior façade as well

<sup>63</sup> Lazaridis 1997, 72.

<sup>64</sup> Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1968, 250.

<sup>65</sup> Miller 1993, 42.

<sup>66</sup> Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 276.

<sup>67</sup> Karo 1931, 276.

<sup>68</sup> Hammond 1989, 318.

<sup>69</sup> Dinsmoor, 1973, 220.



as the interior. Furthermore, the masking of the vault became unimportant in the third century, exemplified by the application of architectural ornamentation directly onto the tomb. In the fourth century, a separate wall was constructed in front of the tomb, on which the architectural decoration was applied.

In the fourth century, the Macedonian tomb evolved to satisfy the wealth of the aristocracy. By adopting foreign elements and decoration, the Macedonian architects manipulated the structure of the existing cist tombs, and as a result, created a distinct Macedonian

tomb type. The tombs of Macedon can be considered eclectic in relation to the application of specific mouldings and the variations of architectural enrichment. The tombs dating from the middle of the third century, on the other hand, can no longer be described as generally eclectic as they are uniform in their lack of architectural ornamentation. Macedonian funerary architecture during the Hellenistic period gradually decreased in its elaboration and ostentation as a consequence of diminishing Macedonian power and wealth.

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Белинда Ди АНЦЕЛО

## **ЕВОЛУЦИЈАТА НА МАКЕДОНСКАТА ГРОБНИЦА: НАВРАЌАЊЕ НА ХЕЛЕНИСТИЧКАТА ФУНЕРАРНА АРХИТЕКТУРА**

*Резиме*

Овој труд претставува резиме на моето почесно истражување насловено како *Еволуцијата на македонската гробница: пререманоти на фасадата во 4. и 3 век пред нашата ера* (на Универзитетот Ла Тробе во Мелбурн 2005).

Со тезата се изнесуваат мислења дека во текот на 4. и 3 век пред нашата ера богатата фасадна украса на македонските гробници доживела постепена редукција. Во текот на 4. и раниот 3 век гробниците имале фасади во тетрастил со калапени детални украси и мермерни довратници. Гробниците биле градени со бочвести сводови и сид за да го скрие сводот одзади. Овој вид на софистицирано

архитектонско збогатување, во доцниот 3 век п.н.е се заменува со фасади изведени во астилар манирот (фасади со отсуство на столбови и пиластри). Тетрастилот бил скоро целосно напуштен во полза на дистилот, за постепено тој да се замени со фасади во астилар манирот, но воедно да биде прифатен и видливиот бочвест свод. Намалувањето на богатата архитектонска украса се претпоставува дека се должело на постепениот пад на кралството. Ќе биде интересно ако идните археолошки проучувања на македонската хеленистичка архитектура (станува збор за фунерарни, јавни или домашни градби) ја рефлектираат ова еволуција.