

ALBERT RECKITT ARCHAEOLOGICAL
TRUST LECTURE

THE FINDS FROM THE ROYAL TOMBS
AT VERGINA¹

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Read 1 November 1979

THIS is the third time that I have had the opportunity of presenting, in London, the results of the excavation which was begun 27 years ago and of the seventh season of excavation at Megale Toumba, Vergina. I assume that by now the importance of this small village in the north of Greece is well known and, similarly, the very significant finds yielded so far by three tombs revealed—so significant that their characterization as royal is entirely justified. In my two previous lectures I considered it expedient to present the finds, with slides, and to confine myself to the necessary commentary. It is now, I think, time to embark on a first evaluation of the results of the excavation, attempting to identify the points where the contribution of the finds to the study of history and archaeology is pertinent.

Before any evaluation we are obliged to establish the dating of the finds, for only thus can we accommodate them correctly in their historical and archaeological context and proceed to feasible conjecture.

It is absolutely certain that all three tombs date from the fourth century BC. Certain opinions expressed immediately following my first announcements and suggesting a date within the third century BC I do not consider valid. Even less worthy of discussion is another suggestion which connects the large tomb at Vergina with Philip V, that is dating it to the second century BC. Further restricting the chronological limits, I exclude the early years of the century with certainty and, in all probability, the closing years also. The most likely date offered by the finds *in toto* is the third quarter of the fourth century, that is the period between 350 and 325 BC. The sherds found inside the 'Tomb of Persephone' and above the two vaulted tombs, the clay-lamps from within the vaulted tombs, as well as the red-figured

¹ Thanks are due to Mrs A. Doumas for the translation of my Greek text.

askos and black-glazed oinochoe in the large one, are placed clearly in this period. Within the same time limits all the other finds can be placed quite easily, the silver vases (for both their form and their relief decoration), the bronze vases, and the ivory sculptures. Moreover, the paintings and architectural façade of the tombs not only do not conflict with such a dating but reinforce it.

If, however, these two viewpoints—royal tombs and a date in the third quarter of the fourth century BC—are correct, it immediately follows that Megale Toumba must be located in the area of Aegae, the old capital of the Macedonians, where, according to tradition, all the kings were buried. Thus is confirmed Nicholas Hammond's hypothesis of 1968 which he developed, with strong supporting evidence, in the first volume of his *History of Macedonia*.

This explains the existence of the splendid palace at Vergina, which must date from the late fourth century BC (and not to the third as has been supposed until now) and sheds new light on the extensive cemetery of tumuli, the oldest of which belong to the tenth century BC while the latest are from the final years of the Hellenistic period. So we know that this settlement, which constituted the first capital of the Macedonians, thrived continuously for a very long time. It affords a wealth of material not only for the archaeologist but also for historical research in Macedonia. Investigation of the cemetery has yielded a wealth of information, mainly concerning its first phases, the Early Iron Age (M. Andronikos, *The Cemetery of the Tumuli*, Athens 1969). Nevertheless, many tombs of the fourth century and later have already been excavated, although the majority have been found despoiled. But the picture of the cemetery of this period (fourth to third century BC) has been completed by the unprecedented finds derived from the filling of Megale Toumba.

This enormous tumulus (diam. 110 m, height 12–14 m) required immense quantities of earth and stone for its construction. Its excavation has shown that it consisted of gravel, red earth, a grey clayey earth, and many rough stones. All this material must have come from the surrounding region. In its filling have been found dozens of broken funerary monuments, the majority of marble. Most of these are grave stelae. A few are in relief, the majority painted. Most of them preserve their inscription, which is, as a rule, the name of the deceased person or persons (three examples of funerary epigrams have been found so far).

The number and quality of these monuments indicates that the city to which they belonged must have experienced special flowering from the middle of the fourth century BC, but there are some which must belong to the beginning of the third.

It is certain that all belonged to ordinary Macedonian citizens and not to eminent persons. So we have been able to learn from them common Macedonian names. If we accept the dating of most of them to around 330 BC and postulate that the mean age of the dead was 30 years, this means that we know the names of people born in and around 360 BC. Because, in the majority of cases, we have also the patronyms we are able to go back to around 400–390 BC, that is, many years before Philip's reign.

As an example I mention a few: Alketas, Alkimos, Harpalos, Antigonos, Adymos, Akylas, Berenike, Drykalos, Hermon, Euxinos, Theokritos, Theodoros, Theophanes, Herakleides, Kleagoras, Kleoboulos, Laandros, Lysanias, Militeia, Menandros, Nikostratos, Xenokrates, Peukolaos, Proxenos, Pierion, Philistos, Philotas, etc. Many of these are typically Macedonian, while all of them make manifest their Greek root. This means that as a whole the Macedonians in the era around 400–350 BC had Greek names, a fact which conclusively reinforces the view that the Macedonians were a Greek tribe without either Illyrian or Thracian intrusions.

As is well known, one tomb, the smallest, had the form of a rectangular room, while the other two were vaulted, with chamber and antechamber ('Macedonian'). The small one was found plundered: the two others were unlooted.

The contents of the tombs consisted of pottery vases (very few) and metal objects (iron, bronze, silver, and gold). But within the two vaulted tombs remains of organic matter were also found, from wooden furniture (beds), leather, and cloth. Finally, in all three tombs wall-paintings, in relatively good condition, are preserved.

Most of the finds are of great artistry and exceptional quality. A few are unique. It is impossible to estimate their value. We can, however, make a preliminary relative classification of them on the criterion of their contribution to the knowledge of ancient art specifically and Greek civilization in general.

In such an evaluation the wall-paintings should occupy first place. From absolute ignorance of great Greek painting we are suddenly confronted with certain exceptional examples of this art. For the first time we are able to understand why the

Greeks of the fourth century BC and their successors, up to the years of the Roman Empire, expressed their unlimited admiration for the painters and paintings of this era.

As luck would have it, the wall-paintings found in the three tombs not only have entirely different subjects but also represent different trends in painting during virtually the same period of time. The third tomb—I shall call it ‘the tomb with the chariot races’—had, like the large Macedonian one, a painted frieze on its façade; but while on the larger tomb the wall-painting had been made on plaster (fresco), on this the painting had been made on a portable panel which was fixed to the frieze; the panel was of organic material (most probably wood and leather) and therefore perished. Fortunately, this loss is partially compensated by a narrow frieze on the walls of the antechamber. Even though this was purely decorative and cannot be considered an example of great painting, it testifies to the artist’s knowledge, sensitivity, and draughtsmanship. The subject is a chariot race, if we can speak of a uniform subject in such decoration. A great number of two-horse chariots move in one direction all around the walls and are interrupted only by the openings for the two doors. The background is deep blue, the horses white. The freedom in the drawing and the clear understanding of perspective combine with the artist’s imagination and desire to display his draughtsmanship by placing each chariot at a different optical angle; this gave him the opportunity to render different views of the horses and to indicate, with enviable dexterity, the unevenness of the ground, upon which he also marked the shadows cast by the animals. Independently of the date of the objects within the tomb, we are able to say that this wall-painting can be placed at around the middle of the fourth century BC, if we recall the morphological relationships between the chariots and the sculptures on the Mausoleum, particularly the form of the chariot-race in both works.

In the other two tombs wall-paintings have survived which I venture to designate as works of very great painters. I think that the more significant painting of the two is the ‘wall-painting of the hunt’ which is on the frieze of the façade of the ‘large tomb’, even though the better-preserved and freer and more daring drawing of ‘the rape of Persephone’, on the ‘small tomb’ gives a more intense impression and provokes in the beholder a more enthusiastic reaction.

The ‘wall-painting of the hunt’ is situated on the highest point of the façade of the ‘great tomb’. It is relatively well

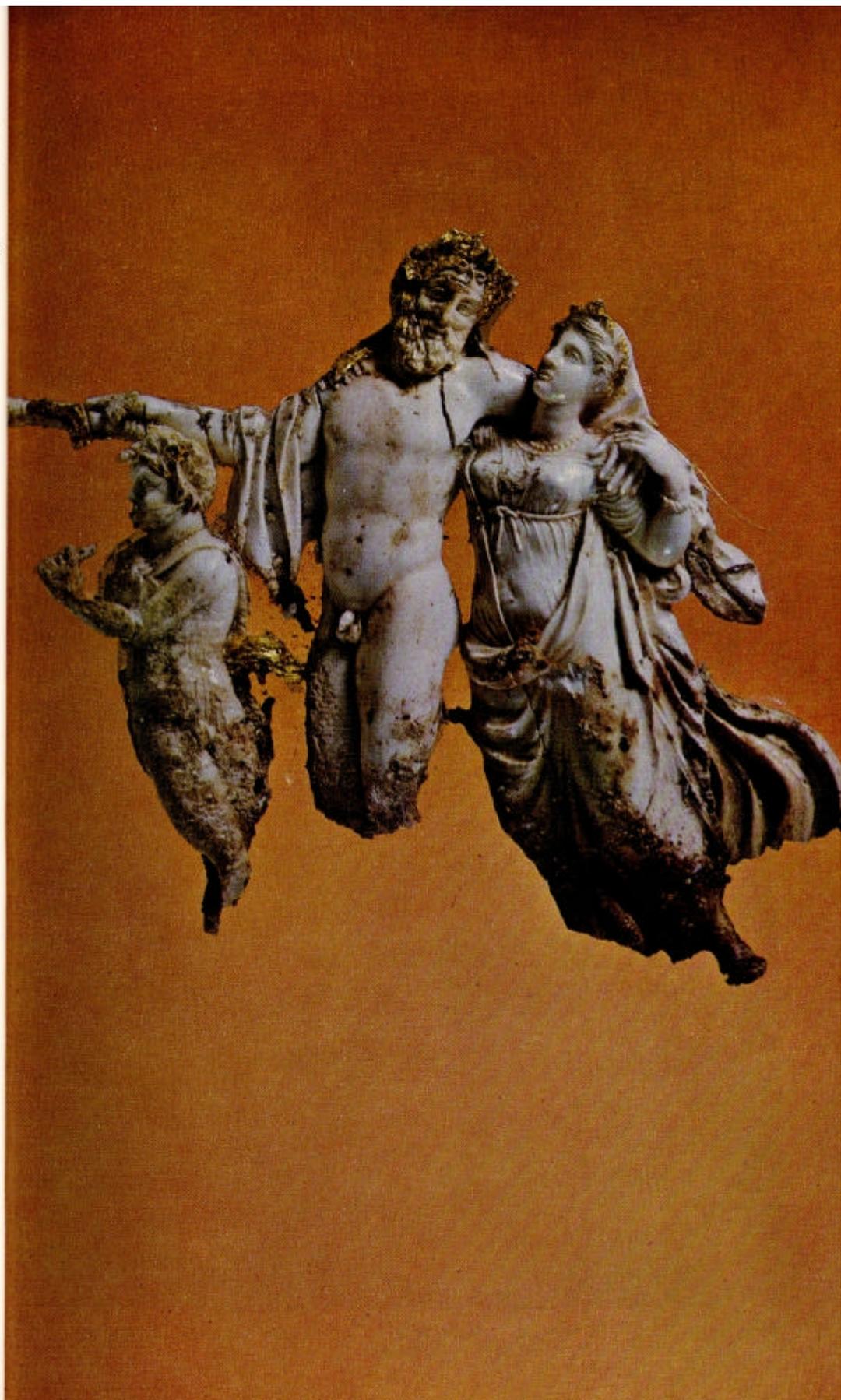


PLATE XL



(a) Purple and gold textile covering the bones in the smaller larnax



(b) Chariot race; frieze on the walls of the antechamber of the third tomb

PLATE XXXIX (*previous page*). Three figures from an ivory relief representing the god Pan and a Dionysiac couple. From the third tomb



(b) The Rape of Persephone by Pluto



(a) A rider from the hunting scene; wall-painting on the frieze of the big tomb

PLATE XLII



(b) A painted tombstone from the filling of the Great Tumulus



(a) The Cuirass with the gold decoration



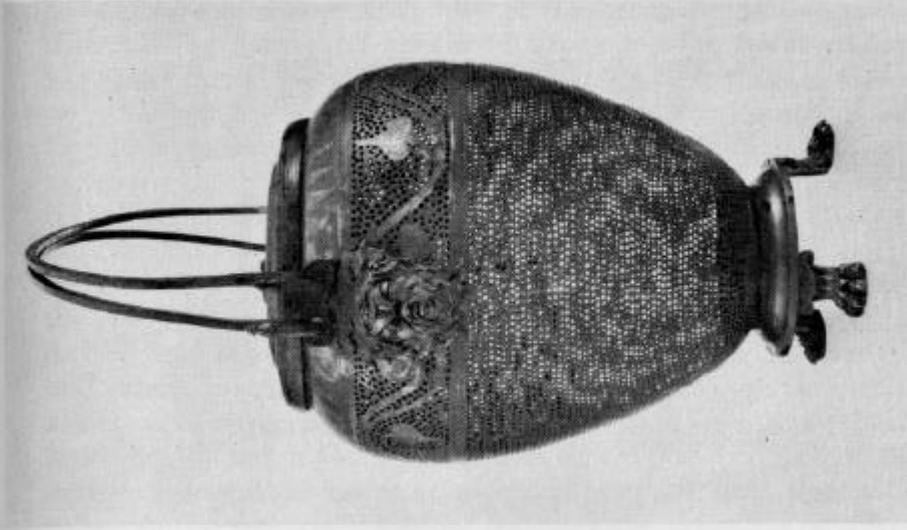
Iron Macedonian helmet



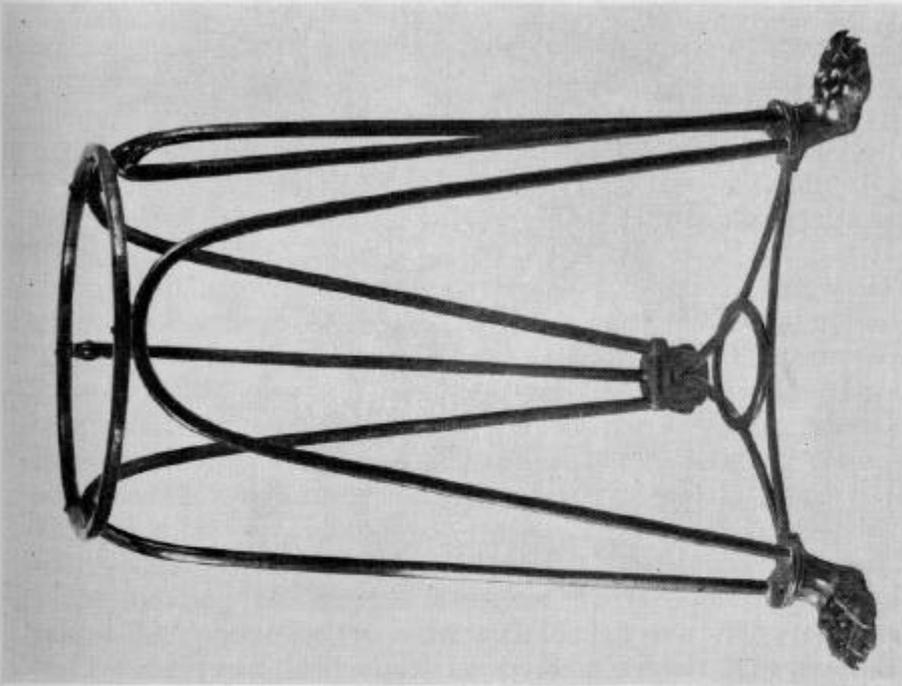
(b) Hermaic stele; ivory relief



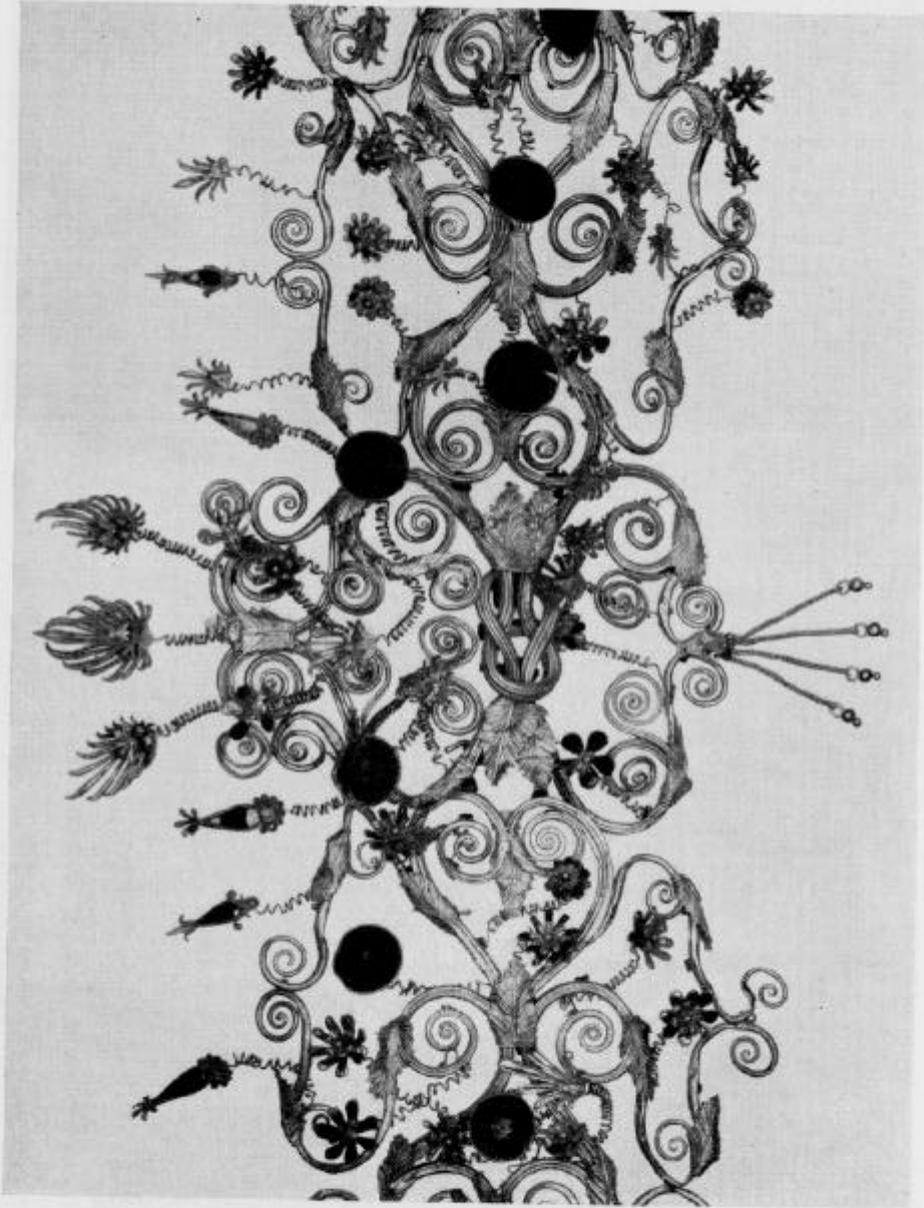
(a) Silver head of a drunken Silenus. Medallion decorating the bottom of a silver bowl



(b) Bronze 'lantern' (*Apyroōchos*) in which a clay-lamp was placed



(a) Bronze tripod dated c. 460-450 BC. On the circular crown the Argive inscription



Central part of the gold diadem found in the smaller gold 'larnax'

preserved—despite the many cracks on the surface—if we remember that immediately after it was created it was covered with earth-gravel—and remained concealed for twenty-three whole centuries. The painted composition of the hunt extends on a surface 5.50 m long and 1.20 m high: seven hunters on foot and three mounted on horses move within a landscape indicated by the trees, a tall stele in the form of a pillar and rocks. The animals, a wounded roebuck on the left, a boar, a lion, and a second boar above and to the right, have been trapped by the hunters and their dogs. The foremost virtue of the work is its composition; with ease and confidence, yet daring and imagination, which are proof of both knowledge and talent, the men and animals, trees and rocks are arranged so as to create the pictorial space and illusion. This composition, however, demands unusual drawing powers, knowledge of perspective and ability to render it, sensitivity of line and colour and a feeling for masses and their architectural equilibrium with an equivalent chromatic and plastic expressiveness.

I believe I am not far from the truth if I say that this work is the creation of a great painter of the fourth century BC. Even further, both the composition and the attitude of some of the figures and the rendering of the bare trees along with other details permit us to discern similarities between this wall-painting and the well-known Alexander Mosaic in Naples. Knowing that the artist made the prototype of the mosaic in around 320 BC, I venture to suggest that we can attribute the wall-painting, which must date to around 336 BC, either to the same artist or to his workshop.

The 'small tomb' (which was found plundered) had wall-paintings on three of its four walls: the south, west, and north. The most important is located on the north one and depicts the rape of Persephone by Pluto. The composition is developed on one surface 3.50 m long and 1.01 m high, with exceptional freedom, daring, and ease of design. In the top left corner something like lightning can be discerned (Zeus' thunderbolt); Hermes runs in front of the chariot with his caduceus in his hand. The chariot, which is drawn by four white steeds, is red; Pluto, holding the sceptre and reins in his right hand, has seized Persephone by the waist with his left one. She stretches out her arms and throws back her body in despair. The god has his right foot inside the chariot while the sole of the left one still touches the ground, where one can see the flowers which Persephone and her friend Kyane were gathering at the moment

A a

of her capture. Behind the chariot Kyane is portrayed on her knees, terrified.

The composition, more of a drawing than pictorial, confirms that it is the work of a first-class draughtsman who knew how to draw quickly and with absolute certainty, endowing his lines with fullness of expression and intensity. Furthermore, his colour range, the red of the chariot, the violet of Pluto's himation, the yellow and violet of Kyane, the brown shades of Hermes, as well as the orange brush-strokes in Pluto's hair, attest that the artist had perfect knowledge of chromatic expression in the composition as a whole.

Without a doubt, this wall-painting of 'the rape of Persephone' is a creation of one of the great painters of the middle of the fourth century BC. From the first I suggested that it could be attributed to Nikomachos. Pliny's information that Nikomachos painted not only perfectly but also quickly would not suffice to support such a hypothesis, if it were not supplemented by a second piece of evidence: that Nikomachos had painted the rape of Persephone, and from the fact that this subject was extremely rare in Greek painting in those days.

I have also to observe that a second major benefit from the excavations is the buildings themselves. The wealth of the movable finds makes us forget that we have intact and in very good condition two architectural monuments of the fourth century BC which preserve all their details; apart from familiar architectural elements, we have their painted decoration untouched and so gain a clear and untainted picture of a Greek building. And something more: for the first time edifices have been revealed with their portals preserved *in situ*. The impression which the two marble outer doors make on the visitor to the monument is truly remarkable. But, leaving aside these impressions, we may add that for the first time we have direct and specific evidence for the mechanism of the doors, which is simple yet ingenious.

If my dating of the monuments is correct, then these vaulted buildings are the oldest known in Greece. Thus the view that knowledge of the arch came from the East and was introduced into Greece after the campaign of Alexander the Great is shown to be erroneous and confirms that Plato's text, which speaks of an arch made of porous stone, was inspired by the existence of Macedonian tombs, which seem to have been known to the Athenian philosopher.

If the objects made of organic material (wooden furniture

etc.) had been perfectly preserved, or if the processing of their residues had proceeded further, we should give them third place in this evaluative classification. Even so, at this stage we have sufficient facts to confirm that the wooden furniture of the tombs must have been unique and that the three couches, which most probably stood in them, were truly works of art and, indeed, of a very high quality of craftsmanship.

We can say with certainty that all three couches were lavishly decorated with ivory, glass, and gold. It is highly likely that a band between the feet of the bed bore relief ivories in a composition of human and animal figures; the former were in high relief and their heads rendered in a remarkable manner the features of specific persons, offering us some of the earliest authentic portraits of the fourth century. Among these I believe that we have a portrait of Philip and of Alexander. In a second row of low reliefs we can make out mythological figures such as a seated Dionysos and a Muse, and there are a Hermaic stele and a tripod.

It seems that the feet of the bed had the richest decoration; apart from the *kymatia* which bordered the upper part we have been able to reconstruct, in an initial phase, the representation of one such leg from the third tomb. A three-figured composition, it consisted of the young Pan playing his flute, and a Dionysiac couple dancing frenziedly behind the god; this is truly a masterpiece and (in the opinion of a German colleague) perhaps the most beautiful ivory carving in the whole of the ancient world.

We are also certain that the legs of the furniture were decorated with palmettes of glass leaves inlaid in a plaque of ivory which was stuck on to the wood. The ornamentation of the leg was completed by ivory volutes with a fine glass eye.

In numerous representations of couches and thrones on Attic and Italiote vases we discern on the upper part of the leg ornamentation which consists of an abacus of small rectangles, nine as a rule. On the couches from the tombs at Vergina these nine rectangles were found; they were small pieces of transparent glass covered by an extremely thin layer of gold with very low relief representation. Many of these depict *quadrigae* driven by *Nikai*, while on others three or four female figures can be made out, more than likely mythological (goddesses or *maenads*). Finally, to some other part of the furniture belong other surfaces of glass which are covered by pairs of gold-winged cupids.

I hope I shall not be thought to exaggerate if, in the light of

the provisional information at our disposal, I express the opinion that the furniture in the two tombs consisted of true works of art of high quality, and not the products of run-of-the-mill artisans for ordinary purchasers.

At this point I should note another find which, although it might belong to an entirely different category, easily fits into the group about which we are speaking and must have been made by the same craftsmen. I am referring to the shield, or more precisely the remains of one of the two shields, the one which has been called ceremonial since it was found.

Its restoration will still require some time. From the facts which we have at our disposal today we may say that it must have had a wooden and leather frame, which has totally disappeared. But on top of this had been placed, both on the outer and inner face, precious materials worked in a unique and (as far as I know) unprecedented artistic manner. The rim consisted of an ivory spiral meander; in the spaces between the spirals there were very fine leaves of gold covered with pieces of glass. It seems that the entire surface was gilded and in the centre, in the position of the blazon, there was an ivory group, about 0.35 m high, depicting a young man violently seizing a woman. On the inside of the shield there were four gold bands terminating in palmettes and adorned with embossed figures of Nikai in flight, holding in their hands the fillet for crowning the victor. In the centre, where the handle was, there was also a gold plaque decorated with four heraldic lions.

I know of no other example of such a shield in the whole of the ancient world; only the mythical shield of Achilles springs to mind, but that, of course, is a poetic vision. I believe that such a shield would have belonged not only to a king but to a great and exceptional king.

The gold objects from the large tomb are well known, of course: the two larnakes, the three wreaths, the quiver, the pectoral, the diadem, and the two heads of Medusa. The abundance of this precious metal is impressive and attests, I think, royal wealth. But more impressive than the glittering gold is the exceptional artistry, especially of the two crowns and the diadem. The crown of oak leaves and acorns is the most impressive example of its kind that has survived from antiquity, while the smaller one, of myrtle leaves and flowers, charms us with the refinement and elegance of its workmanship, and the third, like the first one, also claims an exceptional place.

However, it is the female diadem which surpasses all in

sensitivity, elegance, inspiration, and perfection of form. The juicy stems which unfurl into innumerable braids, the flowers which project above their gold twisting stems, the palmettes which crown the entire composition, and the bees which collect the pollen from the blooms create a composition which is unique. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that this diadem constitutes the most elegant piece of jewellery we know from the ancient classical world.

The most significant group of objects is, surely, that of the silver vases; eighteen from the large tomb and twenty-eight from the third one. Such a collection of silver vessels from the fourth century BC is, as far as I know, unique. Within this group there are shapes which we see for the first time (such as the two amphorae in the form of an alabastron with lid) or which we know of for the first time in this material (such as the 'fish-plate'). Yet again they furnish the best examples of their kind. Worthy of note is the difference in the quality of the silver vessels in the two tombs. All the silver vessels in the large tomb are of exceptionally high quality, such that we may unhesitatingly qualify them as great works of art. Apart from the very careful manufacture and their outstanding shape there is also their decoration of relief heads—Herakles, Pan, Silenoi—which enable us to evaluate Greek chasing of the fourth century BC and to appreciate the true expression of Greek sculpture in this period from authentic creations of great artists, relieved of the adulterations of Roman copies which deceive us with either their sweet charm or their rhetorical pomposity.

This contribution to the knowledge of plastic art is supplemented by comparable examples on bronze vases, such as the jug and the lantern. With the addition of the ivory sculptures we have a totality of over 30 figures, mythological as well as portraits, the study of which will, I hope, help historians of Greek sculpture of the fourth century BC a great deal in their evaluation of this crucial phase, when the Classical tradition was proceeding with daring yet caution towards the creation of that which is called Hellenistic Baroque.

I have considered it expedient to include in the group of miniature works of art in ivory the ceremonial shield which was found in the large tomb. It is essential, however, to add that in this tomb as in the third one many interesting weapons have been found, which enable us to form a clear and certain picture of the arms of the Macedonians, and indeed of the weaponry of the supreme leader.

First and foremost we have a whole series of iron spearheads and sarissa- (pike-) and javelin-points. Their study will contribute to our knowledge of Macedonian weapons which still remains an open question for the specialists. At the same time, however, we can say that these arms are not works of mass-production. Among them there is also the bottom part of a spear which was gilded, while its head preserves traces of gold decoration; such a spear is, as far as I know, unique.

The group of greaves is also rich. Three pairs of bronze and two pairs of gilded ones, of which one was in the large tomb and the other in the smaller, reinforce their identification as royal tombs.

But in the group of weapons there are three completely unusual and unique examples of their kind: the iron Macedonian helmet, the sword with ivory scabbard and gold hilt, and the iron cuirass with rich gold decoration. The helmet brings to mind Plutarch's information that Alexander, at the Battle of Gaugamela, wore an iron helmet which shone like silver and was the work of the artist Theophilos. The iron cuirass, an extraordinary creation of an advanced technology combined with artistic sensitivity, had a lining of leather and cloth. Its type is very reminiscent of the cuirass worn by Alexander in the well-known mosaic in Naples. It is worth mentioning that Demetrios Poliorketes accepted two iron cuirasses as exceptional presents from the Cypriot emissaries, a fact which testifies to their value even after the campaign of Alexander.

All these objects—iron, bronze, gold, silver, ivory, glass—provide a wealth of material for the study of ancient Greek technology in the fourth century BC. Examination of the materials and the way they were worked will help, I hope, in gaining a more complete knowledge of one sector of the ancient Greek world which is not sufficiently well known.

Before we proceed to the systematic study of all this material it is not wise to risk premature conclusions. Nevertheless, one question which I myself posed and which, as I have noticed, has been posed by other colleagues is the following: What is the provenance of all these works? or, in another form: To which workshops can we attribute all these creations? And the answer to this question is neither easy nor can it be given at this stage of research. While maintaining every reservation for a more exact and better-documented reply later, I now venture to express my preliminary thoughts.

For the execution of the wall-paintings, artists had been invited and worked on the spot. We know that this was the usual way in which ancient artists worked; they themselves moved with their assistants wherever work was available. I believe that the same thing holds for the creations in ivory, as well as for weapons and other works. It is known that Macedonia had the raw materials at its disposal: gold, silver, bronze. The finds of the last few years in Macedonia show that there was a great demand for all these metal vessels. It is, therefore, most logical to suppose that all the workshops that produced the works revealed in recent excavations were in Macedonia. I consider it entirely absurd to suppose that the Macedonians would have sent the raw materials at their disposal to the south of Greece, and then buy back from there the works which they used. This point of view does not, however, elucidate the problem in its entirety; we still have to look for the artistic workshops in southern Greece, where the artists originated, at least to discern related tendencies in these works. (Even though the reply to this question requires careful study and research, I hope I am not far from the truth if I say that we must look for the artistic homeland of these works in the vicinity of Athens.)

I have spoken about almost all the finds from the two tombs, either directly or indirectly. However, I have left two objects which could not be accommodated in any of the groups mentioned so far, each one for a different reason. They are the bronze tripod and the gold and purple cloth.

The tripod has been distinguished from the rest of the bronze vessels for chronological reasons. A perspicacious archaeologist could easily discern that the form of the lion's feet which support it is much older than the middle of the fourth century BC. Perhaps, however, he could have difficulty in believing that an object found in a tomb from the third quarter of the fourth century BC may be dated a hundred years earlier. And yet on its circular crown there is an inscription which was discovered after cleaning and which reads:

παρ' Ἡέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τῶν ἀφέθλων.

(I am from the games of Argive Hera.)

The archaic alphabet (ε=η, ο=ω, and the existence of H and F) leads to a dating in the middle of the fifth century BC. The form of the characters, which is Argive allows us to be more exact and to place the tripod at c.460–450 BC. But it is not only the time interval which distinguishes this work from all the

others in the large tomb. As the inscription states, this tripod is a prize from the Heraia of Argos, one of the well-known panhellenic games. (Similar inscriptions have survived on bronze hydriae.) This means that its owner must have been victorious in those games. I think it incredible that any ordinary Macedonian would have participated in the Heraian Games in about 460 BC. However, knowing that the royal family of Macedonia were Temenidae and originated, according to tradition, from Argos, and having the information that both Demetrios Poliorketes and Philip V were presidents at the Heraia, we can postulate that in all probability the tripod was won by a Macedonian king. Indeed, if we recall that until 454 BC Alexander I was king of Macedonia, and that he took part in the Olympic games, then our hypothesis becomes even more probable. The conclusion which follows is that the tripod was a very old heirloom of the royal house of Macedonia and was placed in the tomb of a revered successor to the victor at the Heraia.

The cloth is something unique among all the other finds. It was found inside the small gold larnax in the antechamber and covered the bones of the dead. Its state of preservation, especially in the purple part, was very bad. Nevertheless, the conservation staff of the Greek Archaeological Service, under Mr T. Margaritof's supervision, have managed to rescue the greater part of it. Even though work on it still continues, I am certain that in a short time it will be displayed along with the rest of the finds. Its border is embellished with a continuous spiral meander while on the main surface there are mainly floral motifs in purple on a gold ground.

Apart from all these finds, the tombs at Vergina tell us something about the burial customs of the Macedonian ruling class. It is beyond question that the burials in the two tombs at Vergina do not exemplify a typical burial. If we remember that immediately next to the tombs were found the foundations of a quadrilateral building whose purpose could only have been for the cult of the neighbouring dead, that is to say a 'heroon', then we are better able to understand the unique position of the dead in the large tomb. This must also be the reason for the existence of a large brick-built funerary altar on top of the roof of the tomb, on which were found two burnt swords, a spear-head, many pieces of iron harness (evidence of the sacrifice of horses on the pyre of the dead), and numerous pieces of charred ivory. This whole picture brings to mind Homeric burial customs as we

know them from the burials of Patroklos and Hektor. This similarity is explicable if we remember that in Macedonia kingship retained many archaic elements from the Heroic Age, or even if we connect it with Alexander's love for the Homeric epics.

One last item of information is related to the bones of the dead. Inside the large tomb two gold larnakes were found enclosed within marble sarcophagi; the larger in the chamber, the smaller in the antechamber. Inside these the burnt bones of the dead had been placed, covered with a purple cloth in the larger, with the gold and purple cloth in the smaller. The bones from the large larnax belong to a man who, according to the physical anthropological examination, was aged 40–50. The bones in the small one belong to a woman aged 23–27. In the smaller tomb the burnt bones had been placed in a silver hydria and belonged to a youth of 12–14.

These, briefly, are the facts and evaluations I am able to give at this stage of investigation. As is self-evident, only after the excavation (which still continues) has been completed, and all the finds restored, can we proceed to the systematic study of the whole; and I will then be in a position to express more certain opinions and more detailed information which will allow both the archaeologists and historians to reach more valid conclusions.

The author, who holds copyright, wishes to thank Spyros Tsavdaroglou for the photographs which appear in this lecture.