

Eurydice of Macedon and Memory of the Past (1)

(2) This photograph from the December 19, 2022, issue of the *Greek Reporter*, shows Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis at the opening of the new museum of Aegae in Vergina, Greece. The statue on the left was dedicated by Eurydice, wife of Amyntas III, mother of Philip II, and grandmother of Alexander the Great and may also have been understood as a portrait of her. I want to talk about how Eurydice shaped her public image and how it continued to be employed, altered, and expanded for more from the 4th century BCE to the first century CE, to include herself, her sons, later the entire Argead dynasty, and ultimately the kingdom of Macedonia itself. Obviously, she is not forgotten in the present.

Before the 1977 discovery of the royal tombs at Vergina (Aegae, the original capital of Macedonia and burial place of the Argead kings), study of ancient Macedonia depended heavily on literary sources. This dependence generated narrow readings of

the Macedonian past, ones that considered royal women the window dressing of monarchy rather than participants in it.

Literary evidence about Eurydice transmitted mostly Roman memory of Eurydice. Here's what survived. Her maternal grandfather was Arrhabaeus, ruler of Lyncestis, a region not fully under the control of the Argead dynasty until the reign of Philip II. Eurydice's father Sirras was once allied with Arrhabaeus against the Macedonians (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b; Strab. 7.7.8). Three sources describe Eurydice as an Illyrian, a people northwest of Macedonia.¹

Eurydice married Amyntas III toward the end of the 390s BCE. They had three sons, all of whom became kings (Alexander II, Perdiccas III, and Philip II). After a long but sometimes unstable reign, Amyntas died in 370/69. Two versions of Eurydice's actions between the end of her husband's reign and Philip II's accession in 359 survive. One portrays her as adulterous, treacherous, and murderous, even of her own sons. The works

that preserve this “Bad Eurydice” tradition, though late, could derive from fourth century sources. Justin (7.4.7-8, 5.4-8) claims that Eurydice, having taken her son-in-law as a lover, tried unsuccessfully to kill her husband to put this lover on throne and that she did subsequently manage to kill both Alexander II and Perdiccas III.

Since Perdiccas III died in battle in 359 (Diod. 16.2.4-5), Justin’s accusation about Perdiccas must be false but there could be some truth to the story about Alexander II’s death. He had succeeded Amyntas as king but his reign was chaotic and he was assassinated, about 368/7. A scholiast, possibly writing in the fourth century, says that Ptolemy and Eurydice together arranged Alexander II’s murder and that Ptolemy married Eurydice. Justin’s narrative is salacious and improbable, the scholiast’s statement is not, though three other sources specify that Ptolemy and/or his faction assassinated Alexander II and make no mention of Eurydice (Diod. 15.71.1, 16.2.4 Ath. 14.629d; Plut. *Pe/lop.* 27.1-3).

Eurydice might have married Ptolemy as part of a settlement between two court factions, possibly inspiring the rest of the story since she would have married her eldest son's murderer. Ptolemy may have briefly served as regent but Perdiccas III managed to murder Ptolemy and rule in his own right until the Illyrians slaughtered him, along with 4,000 other Macedonians, and Philip II took the throne.

In the "good Eurydice" tradition, Eurydice is a dedicated mother who defended the rights of her sons to rule. This version of her appears in a fourth century speech of Aeschines, supposedly delivered to Philip in 346, but describing Eurydice's actions in 368.² Aeschines asserts that the scene he relates was as all who were present described it (2.28).

According to Aeschines, soon after the deaths of Amyntas III and Alexander II, when Eurydice had been betrayed by those who had seemed to be her friends and when her sons were still minors, a pretender to the throne named Pausanias, with a

military force, had gained support in Macedonia. Eurydice summoned the Athenian general Iphicrates and reminded him that Amyntas had adopted him as a son and had considered the Athenians friends, thus effectively employing the Greek diplomatic tool of *philia* (ritualized friendship and fictive relationship) to safeguard the succession of her remaining sons. Iphicrates did indeed preserve rule for Philip (and Perdiccas).³

Another literary passage indicates that Eurydice strove to shape public memory about herself to favor the super mother version of her past. Probably in the 360s, Eurydice made a dedication with an inscription, preserved in the works of Plutarch (*Mor.* 14b-c). The author says the reader should imitate Eurydice, though she was an Illyrian and three times a barbarian, because, late in life, she took up education for the sake of her children (in the inscription she does not claim this motivation for herself). Here's a translation of the inscription: "Eurydice, daughter of Sirras, dedicated this for/to citizen women, having gained the

desire of her soul, through the Muses. She, already the mother of sons who had reached adolescence, labored to learn letters, which are the memory of words.” She celebrates her own achievement, implying that she saw herself as a model for citizen women.

Philip II took the throne after Perdiccas III’s death and, having dealt with the Illyrians, several pretenders to the throne, and other threatening powers, he rapidly transformed Macedonia into a great power. Eurydice lived to see some of this transformation but likely died in the 340s before her son’s victory at Chaeronea in 338 put the Greek peninsula in his power and before her grandson Alexander III conquered the Persian Empire.

According to Pausanias, after Philip II’s victory at Chaeronea, the construction of the Philippeum at Olympia was arranged. It was a round, roofed structure. Inside five statues stood on a high semi-circular base (3,4). In the middle was Philip, on either side of him stood his father and Alexander, and at the

two far ends, his mother Eurydice and Alexander's mother Olympias (Paus. 5.17.4, 20.9-10). This was neither an extended ancestral lineage nor a portrait of Philip's entire immediate family: his other wives, three daughters, and son Arrhidaeus did not appear. Instead, the statues depicted the line of succession of the dynasty that now dominated the Greek world. Philip included Eurydice and Olympias in the dynastic image he presented to the Greek world, literally making them public figures. They were there not because they were king's wives but because they were kings' (or future kings') mothers.

The first archaeological information about Eurydice emerged at Vergina in 1982, when the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, with Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli as principal archaeologist, began to excavate an area now known as the sanctuary of Eucleia. She and her team found dedications by Eurydice to the goddess Eucleia, indications that veneration of her dedications continued into the first century CE, as well as other evidence

about Eurydice. This archaeological evidence derives from the actions of Eurydice, Philip, and the practices of generations of Macedonians. The literary and archaeological testimonia do not contradict each other but do offer different pictures of Eurydice's past and that of Macedonia. This physical evidence indicates how memory of Eurydice, her family, the Argead dynasty, and the Macedonian kingdom, evolved: It gives us a more Macedonian Eurydice.

About the middle of the fourth century, after Philip had acquired considerable wealth by asserting himself around the Greek peninsula, at Aegae, he built a palace, a nearby theatre, and established other aspects of the city grid. **(5,6,7)** At this time, a Doric temple (II) with a stoa or portico was constructed on the edge of the agora/marketplace. **(8)** The complex, with subsequent additions, is conventionally known as the Eucleia sanctuary, though at least one other deity was worshipped there as well.

In front of this temple stood an altar and three bases that once supported dedications **9**.⁴ One, still in place when excavation began, bore an inscription: “Eurydice, daughter of Sirras, to Eucleia.” **(10,11)**.⁵ Subsequently, an identical inscription was discovered on a second base, found in a pit next to the temple. **(12)**. Near this second base were fragments of a slightly larger than life size female statue **(13,14)** as well as two other statue heads. Intriguingly, the statue probably stood on the base found in front of the temple, not the one buried near it. Statues of women often had separately carved and attached heads, necks, and limbs **(15)**. The statue wears old-fashioned garb (a peplos), has holes on the forehead to support some sort of headdress, and the right hand has a hole, possibly for holding an offering cup or flower. The statue resembles those of female divinities, specifically Cephisodotus’ statue of the goddess Eirene (Peace) **(16)**.

Was this statue intended to represent Eurydice or the goddess Eucleia, the deity to whom it was dedicated? Traditional practice often involved setting up one's own image, a portrait, as a gift to a god, in a public sanctuary, an action that both honored the deity but also asserted the excellence and presence of the individual making the dedication. Greek female portraiture was never literally realistic, but slight indications of age (since goddesses don't) suggest a statue intended as a portrait (17).⁶

The statue may originally have been intended to represent the goddess, but the face may have been replaced with one taken from another statue, to make it more portrait-like, perhaps as part of other changes that the sanctuary underwent in the second century BCE.

Eucleia personified good repute, exactly what Eurydice needed, granted the scandal about her. The other god worshipped in the sanctuary was perhaps Zeus Melichius, a deity popular with women, as were cults of Eucleia or Artemis Eucleia.

Elite women often served as priestesses of cults, but no evidence confirms that Eurydice did or that she had the temple itself built; she may have done both or neither.

These are not the only traces of her at Aegae from her own life- time, or soon thereafter. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli found another inscribed statue base near Vergina, from roughly the same period. This inscription reads simply “Eurydice daughter of Sirras,” indicating that it was the label of a portrait statue, not a dedication. Granted the location of the inscription on the stone, the statue must have stood at one end of a rectilinear base for a statue group, likely a family group. (18). The group may have duplicated that of the Philippeum or it could have depicted Eurydice, Amyntas, and their three royal sons in between.

In 1987 Manolis Andronikos excavated a large tomb at Vergina he called the “Tomb of Eurydice.” The burial dates no earlier than 344/43. While the antechamber of the tomb is bare, the main chamber of the tomb is eerily unique. The back wall of

the burial chamber looks like the front of other Macedonian type tombs, so convincingly so that tomb robbers tried to break through the false door. **(19)** Equally striking and eerie is the marble chair or throne on which the container holding the remains of the dead once sat. On the back of the chair is a painting of Hades and Persephone. **(20)** This tomb suits our sense of who Eurydice was and what kind of tomb she should have had. Its conventional name is a kind of memory history, by a modern Macedonian.

Eurydice was not forgotten during another succession crisis, more than forty years after she had convinced Iphicrates to solve the one she confronted. When Alexander the Great died at Babylon in 323, there was no obvious heir to the throne: his half-brother Arrhidaeus was understood to have mental limitations; his only living son Heracles was illegitimate; one of his wives, Roxane, was pregnant. Alexander's generals did not want to choose Arrhidaeus, but the troops forced them to accept him, as

part of a compromise. He would be king but so would Roxane's child, if it proved male. Arrhidaeus then took the name Philip, emphasizing his connection to his father. Roxane delivered a son, who became Alexander IV. The elite rejected Heracles, Alexander's other son.

Soon after these decisions, Cynnane (Alexander's half-sister, a daughter of Philip II), hoping to marry her daughter (Adea) to the new co-king Philip Arrhidaeus, appeared near the Macedonian forces in Asia. Though Cynnane was murdered, the army, enraged by the murder, insisted the marriage take place. Adea, like her new husband, then took a new name, "Eurydice." Though only a teenager, she played an aggressive role in events; she was Argead on both sides and her husband did not, apparently, act for himself. Eurydice, daughter of Sirras, was her great grandmother but also served as a model, as her new name choice suggests. Adea Eurydice tried, by speeches to the troops, to wrest control of the army away from the generals and nearly

succeeded. Later she and her husband led the Macedonian army out against the forces of Olympias, Alexander's mother, but the Macedonian army went over to Olympias; Adea Eurydice and her husband were killed.

Recently, excavators have uncovered three burials on the northern edge of the Eucleia sanctuary, in a ditch (8 x 8.5 m.) near the pit where the Eurydice statue was found. **(21)** They appear to date to the end of the fourth century. My discussion of them depends heavily on the work of Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Athanasia Kyriakou, and Alexander Tourtas. These atypical burials lack any funerary structure and lie within city walls, not in the nearby burial ground. A building was soon constructed over the burials, possibly to conceal them.⁷

The burial found in 2008 contained a large cylindrical lidded bronze vessel which itself held a large lidded, golden pyxis.⁸ **(22)** Inside were the cremated remains of a 14-18- year-old male, once

wrapped in gold and purple fabric. A golden oak wreath accompanied the remains. (23, 24).

Two more atypical burials were found in 2009, about 5 meters south of the 2008 burial, in the same fill (25).⁹ One, of an adult of unknown gender, was placed in a silver hydria. The other was inserted inside a unique silver panathenaic type vase with gold embellishments and an incised scene on its exterior. (26, 27) These remains were those of a 3 to 8- year-old child. The vase also contained ornaments and a golden olive wreath (28).

These burials can be understood as pared down versions of those in Tombs II and III from the Great Tumulus, burials generally agreed to belong to Argeads from the second half of the fourth century. Significantly, while the specific identities of the man and woman buried in Tomb II are, notoriously, disputed, Tomb III preserved the remains of an adolescent male, widely believed to be those of Alexander IV. Cassander, one of the

Successors of Alexander, had Alexander IV and his mother imprisoned and later murdered, in 310 or 309.¹⁰

There are three points of similarity between the two “sets” of burials. First: both the man in Tomb II and the youth in Tomb III were buried with golden oak wreaths **(29)**. The wreath found in Tomb III is very similar to that found in the 2008 atypical burial. **(30)** The oak was sacred to Zeus, supposed ancestor of the Argeads. Golden oak wreaths, however, have also been found in a two non-royal 4th century Macedonian burials.¹¹

Second: the only burials in Macedonia which enclose the remains of the dead in a golden vessel are those in the main chamber and in the antechamber of Tomb II and the 2008 atypical burial.¹² **(31)**

Third: a silver hydria, specifically adapted for funerary purposes, contained the remains of the youth in Tomb III and a very similar silver hydria held the adult remains in the 2009 burial. **(32)**.

The excavators have suggested that the adolescent in the 2008 burial may be Heracles, Alexander's son by Barsine. After the murder of Alexander IV, Polyperchon encouraged Heracles to come to Macedonia to be recognized as king. Naturally, there was support in Macedonia for Heracles, the last living male Argead, but Cassander—who had been ruling Macedonia as though he were king--somehow persuaded Polyperchon to murder Heracles, in about 309. Justin (15.2.3) asserts that Cassander ordered that the murder and burial be secret, though his death soon became public knowledge.¹³ Heracles was either 17 or 15 at the time of his death.¹⁴ The adult from the 2009 burial could be Heracles' mother Barsine, said by Justin to have accompanied her son and to have suffered the same fate. The identity of the child is a mystery, but reconstruction of the incised design on the panathenaic type vase containing the child's remains may suggest a connection to Alexander the Great. (33,34)

While the excavators have concluded that these burials could well be those of the last Argeads, Angeliki Kottaridi, director of the Museum of Aegae, has suggested that they are reburials meant to protect the remains from Pyrrhus' mercenaries, who looted the royal cemetery c. 274/3.¹⁵ This does not answer the question of whose remains they were and why they were singled out for reburial in this location. Restoration and evaluation of objects from these burials is ongoing. They could be burials of the last Argeads, entombed, discretely, in sacred ground associated with Eurydice and the Argeads, perhaps part of a compromise allowed by their murderer.¹⁶

Memory of Eurydice at Vergina outlasted the Argead dynasty, that of Cassander, and the chaotic period from 297-272. Antigonus Gonatas finally established the rule of the Antigonid dynasty in Macedonia in the 270s. After Pyrrhus' mercenaries looted many tombs at Vergina, he likely built the Great Tumulus over Tombs I, II, III, a memorial to the previous dynasty and an

assertion that he was their legitimate successor. A second somewhat smaller temple was added to the Eucleia sanctuary, probably during his reign and possibly under his patronage. (35)¹⁷

The Antigonids, however, did not, apparently, continue Argead practice and bury members of their dynasty at Vergina.

In the second century BCE, during the reign of one of the last two Antigonids Philip V (221-179) or Perseus (179-168), another (south) stoa, of much rougher work was built. It encompassed the still standing statue base and, presumably, its statue, singling it out, protecting it with a roof, yet making it slightly less visible.¹⁸ If the statue's face was ever changed out, this is likely when.

Laodice, wife of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, also made a dedication to the male deity of the sanctuary, but we do not know if the smaller temple, second stoa, and changes to the Eurydice statue happened under royal patronage, perhaps in the context of Antigonid opposition to Rome. Focus on Eurydice's statue could

reference the glory days of Philip II and Alexander and the *kleos* of Macedonia and Macedonians more generally.

In 168, the Romans defeated Perseus, ended Macedonian monarchy, and deported most of the male Macedonian elite. Continuing patronage of the sanctuary cannot, therefore, have been royal, though it could have been civic or the work of surviving members of the elite. Aegae, the old capital, experienced considerable damage and some cults ceased to function,¹⁹ but people continued to live there. Worship apparently persisted at the Eucleia sanctuary in the two stoas, the two sanctuaries now apparently rubble.²⁰

Probably because of a natural disaster, Aegae was largely abandoned in early first century CE, but before that happened, the statue erected by Eurydice, though broken, was ritually entombed in a pit (1990) next to the sanctuary.²¹ **(36)** Moving the large and heavy statue can have been no easy task and the care with which it and the other fragments were interred speaks of

reverence. Apparently, the survivors and the statue shared a funerary meal, something that did not happen with the remains placed in the other three pits excavators have discovered,³⁷.²² Nostalgia for a grander lost past, for the Argead dynasty and its two most famous rulers, seems connected to the endurance of the Eucleia cult and to the reverence with which its remains were interred. What began as individual royal advertisement transitioned into communal memory.

In the Greek world, statues of deities and of some human beings received offerings, were touched, anointed, polished, dressed, and sometimes altered or updated or purposely destroyed. The statue dedicated by Eurydice received at least some of this treatment.

Apart from this culturally specific (though hardly unique) treatment, large statues of human beings can acquire a power of their own, especially when erected in a public place. Retaining them, eliminating them, or moving them can relate to changing

understandings of the past, as witness the removal of public images of confederate generals.

Prominently placed statues accumulate layers of significance different from those that originally led to their erection. People pass by public statues daily, yearly; the statues are there when you are young and when you are old; often they remain long after the people or the institution that erected them has gone. The originally assigned identity of the statue may erode, change, even disappear.

This statue stands on the Smith College campus. **(38)**. The grieving parents of Mary Lanning, who died in 1910, erected it and the accompanying fountain. The inscription says the dedication was made “in memory of a beautiful life,” but does not reveal the cause of Lanning’s early death. In the 1960s I was told that she had been shot by a rejected lover. Back for a reunion in 2019, I found that current students knew that story. It isn’t correct but it is an old mistaken story. Lanning died of typhoid fever but, a

year earlier, in 1909, another student was indeed shot by a rejected lover, who then killed himself. A murder/suicide is a better story than death by typhoid. Moreover, although both versions of Lanning's death assume that the statue is a portrait of Mary Lanning, it was not a portrait at all, but a copy of a statue her parents owned. This statue, despite its elusive and eroding identity, has become part of the life of the campus: people get graduation and wedding photographs in front of it (39), buy commemoratives (40) and, sometimes the statue, mainly as a joke, but not entirely, gets cared for as though it were a real person. (41) It has become part of the institution's past as well as part of the past (and present) of many individuals.

The context of the Eurydice statue at Vergina differs from that of the Lanning statue: it was an offering to a deity, along with others Eurydice made, and it was placed and buried in sacred space. It may always have been intended as a portrait, but it and its sanctuary accumulated other layers of meaning; it

encompassed memory and veneration of a grander past and of the family that helped to bring it about and yet linked past glory to a less grand present. It may have become a place for the burial of the very last Argeads. The sanctuary doubled in size under the Antigonid dynasty, in a way that highlighted Eurydice's dedication. After Roman conquest it endured as other cults faded away. When whatever event in the early first century CE caused the city to be abandoned, those still possessing wealth and power, as well as nostalgia, organized an elaborate burial and funeral feast for the remains of the Eucleia cult and the dedications of its most famous patron.

¹ *Suda* s.v. "Karanos; Plut. *Mor.* 14c; Libanius *Argum. Demosth.* 18.

² Vaguer versions of the incident appear in Cornelius Nepos and the *Suda*.

³ Despite Aeschines' claim that Philip himself was a witness to Eurydice's plea and that Eurydice put her sons in Iphicrates' arms and lap, in fact, at the time Philip and his brother were teenagers and Philip was likely in Thebes, not Macedonia.

⁴ The cella was almost square 6.1 x 6.4 and pronaos rectangular 3:5x6.5. travertine (poros) in foundation, used for most secular and funerary buildings at Vergina. No krepis (platform) and no evidence on façade; some conclusions can be made in conjunct with annexed stoa

to the south but from stuff in pits, prob costly bldg.; it was planned to be combined with the stoa: equal parts: porch 4.5 meters wide and three rooms in the rear, each 3x4. 3 Doric columns (.5 m diam) it is tristyle in antis. 2.5 meters between columns. The altar was on same axis and to south three podia that would have carried bases for anathemata.

⁵ It was the most far south: a poros foundation supports the marble podium for the base of the dedication. It was, formed of 4 massive marble blocks, finely chiseled on outer surface and totally unrefined on inner. Crown block with its bedding for the plinth is missing. The three podia are on same level and set out at regular intervals and differ only slightly in dimension and have same construction features. The marble used is of fine quality; packing of foundation made of poros. It is safe to consider them contemporary dedications, conceived of as an entity. All belong to same building program and create a cult space specifically of about 24 m. (east-w) and 18.5 (n-s). temple and stoa form a unit facing east and deds aligned with the altar, the main component of the sanctuary: symmetry and harmonious level of these structures: temple matched to the altar, the stoa has its pendant 90 in the dedications: central E-W axis of each passes thru middle of each room behind the portico. Even if statues added after structure, were designed to fit into existing complex: worshipers, processions, sacrificers etc would come mainly from the east

⁶ Saatsoglou-Paliadeli herself has concluded that the peplophorus statue does not represent Eucleia

⁷ 8 m. by 8.5 dug in the virgin soil (inside peristyle II. Some sort of structure, possibly cistern, stopped being used and stones and plaster removed. New structure in 3rd BCE-this construction sealed for good all prior remains and no traces of intrusion. Last bldg. there created at beg. of 2nd BC and destroyed in middle of that century.

⁸ 25 meters high, .39 in diameter, 6kg (13.23 lb).

⁹ About 5 meters south (down the hill) of adolescent burial.

¹⁰ Diod. 19.105.1-2; Just. 15.2.3-5; Paus. 9.7.2 cf. Trogus Prol 15)

¹¹ Kyriakou 2014 says gold wreaths with branches, leaves and fruit all dated to second half of 4th. Third century wreaths have no branches at all: Tomb II 714g Eucleia 207.42 g. meaning of wreaths: often put on dead on kline, victor I struggle of life, used in things usually connected to religious rites: feasts, parades, sacrifices, weddings banquet, athletic vics offerings at sanctuaries-gifts of honor. Some clearly used only for funerary but gold and silver during life-some repaired. Cremated dead often associated with items adorning head-often on pyre and removed. Also used in inhumations.

¹² Kyriakou 2014 says these are minimal burials with only most indispensable elements preserved: the gold casket, special fabric

¹³ Just. 15.2.5 says Cassander went on to murder Alexander's other son and his mother "Roxane). Pausanias gets the mother right. Pausanias says Heracles was poisoned. Diod. 20.28.1-2 narrates Polyperchon's betrayal. Wheatley 1998 argues for 309 or better 308 for Heracles and 310 or 309 for Alexander IV. .

¹⁴ He was born in 327/6 or 325/4 (Diod. 20.20.1; Just 11.10.3; Plut Eum 1.7),

¹⁵ Kottaridi 2020: "Aegae in the Hellenistic Period" 163

¹⁶ Kyriakou 2014 says burial in public places and sanctuaries given to eminent persons heroes and mortal founders. Beyond a doubt great honor to be buried in central area of a fortified city. Justin 15.2.3 says Cassander had them killed secretly and buried without ceremony so no one would know violent death. Kyriakou points out that Polyperchon brought Heracles there to Macedon and may have decided on symbols borne by Heracles.

¹⁷ A new temple, smaller than the 4th century one and on a different axis (n-s) 8x5 meters (4.2x 2.45 for pronaos and cella 4.2x4.4 and walls.5 m thick).travertine again used; threshold preserved between the two rooms; at back of cella three statue bases: one in center higher and reused architect member; an offering table stood in front of center

base; discovery of marble foot and finger of over life sized statue has favored interpretation of an acrolith statue. New temple obviously laid out in close connection to 4th century one in such a way as to share the altar but possible that deities here didn't need blood sacrifice; the structure fits into the existing assemblage in such a way as to restrict the available space and accessibility from the east to two of the marble dedes

¹⁸ Philip V and Perseus were the last Macedonian kings; their activity at Aegae traceable in transformation of the sacred area (n.25 again not clear whether kings or city took action) a new 13 m. stoa built, enclosing the sacred area from the south: new wall paralleled retaining wall and was constructed from all sorts of materials, indicating shortages in materials were experiencing: largely composed of fieldstones, some porous blocks: **a rough structure set up between temple I and western stoa. Three rectangular bases .5x.5 a distance of 4 m. from the wall supported posts—possibly wooden.** Intercolumnar space 2.3 m. **Granted that western stoa continued to be used, formed a sort of L shaped stoa. But most intriguing intervention relates to the royal dede: the base bearing Eucleia dede was bordered by the eastern formation of the new stoa and must have been connected to some sort of cultic activity, suggested by few finds in front of statue (hand holding flower bud). New layout could mean new needs related to cult (eg more roofed space for worshippers or a change in the way the particular statue was perceived). 94 was it specific character of the goddess that motivated new attitude toward the statue or did the dedicator play a specific role, almost two centuries after the dede? P**

¹⁹ Pits created in "periods of crisis." Pit 1991 in southeast corner of temple sanctuary, pit opened in foundation of walls and colossal marble snake with many statuary and architectural fragments found, edge of pit defined with raw stone. Well cut porous blocks at edges and bottom of pit. A destruction layer with roof tiles date mid 2nd BCE covered the pit; also coin of Philip V. fragment of Laodice inscription found in destruction layer above this pit. nearby 1993 circular pit related to last

years 1st cen CE. It like statuary pit (1990) shows signs of ritual activity. Both contain large scale and impressive sculpture.

²⁰ . **At sanc big destruction layers attest to big fires that destroyed all wooden structures and caused collapse 95 of the buildings but space continued in use tho can't tell if religious use or not; area used mainly demarcated by the two stoas.** The western was closed cept for except for southern end that communicated with southern stoa (proof from building mat piled up between columns possibly forming a parapet. An aedícula on top of the destroyed middle podium would suggest the continuation of the religious character of the building. Interventions in older bldings eg reused mat in pronaos of temple II definitely imply impoverishment of pop, but despite decline and decadence, certain assemblages give lots of info:

²¹ 1990 pit two meters north of temple II, most impressive, two meters deep irregularly shaped: 8.6 at longest NS 5.2 width. Odd shape possibly quod tree. **Statue base with inscription facing down. K and T 2013 think this is base for statue. Meter north,, draped female statue, its neck and a vase under neath. Statue placed on back and covered with fieldstones. Head with two more marble heads a few meters away. Head of female statue facing up in center to other heads north of statue, encircled with small stones as were other heads. Hand, arm, folds of garment. Pit was "sealed" by a wall on the n-s axis made of fieldstones and marble fragments. Coins and ceramics indicate early imperial: last coin Augustus. In contact with temple, careful and respectful deposition. Reproduces creation of a grave, stone ordering echoes separating world of dead from living and libation common for dead. Ritual burying helped enhance common beliefs, cope, solidarity. A few vase bases upside down indicating libations and cooking pot, ritually broken. Two stoas best place for communal dining, esp. west stoa similar pottery shapes in pit and fill around stoa.-huge statue 1 ton moved with only minor damages, tho obviously not standing there.2003 pit 1.5 meters west of 1990 (statuary pit): this one square, 3**

by 3, 2 meters deep and similar stratig. extensive charcoal and ash. Marble hand id to onw in 1990 pit-clear pits created at same time. Similar material to 1990, coins last minted in Thess. C. 42-34 BC. Pit 1993 east of southern wall of temple another circular pit with architectural remnants and a coin of should be dated 81-96 AD reign of Domitian. Should understand as component of 1990 pit-plust two id marble hands in the two pits with fingers holding slender item. Don't know why not all in one pit.

²² century and half later, early imperial, very large pit right outside temple II and sculps deposited in it that implies ritual activity: central figure peplophorus on back, covered with field stones, cooking pot directly underneath contained burned soil, the remains of a ritual before the burial of the statue; the face of the statue plus two more heads were found in the same pit, encircled by field stones. Next to statue statue base with id inscription: all shows structured deposition. Final pit first AD: just useless building mat but still some care taken for collection and burial. **This end of sanctuary. Insights from pits multiple: one related to collective memory and construction of identity. Esp burial of the sculptures in early Roman period denote high respect, carried out within religious framework almost 4 cens later, implying forging connection with past of glorious era**

Eukleia and Eurydice, daughter of Sirrhas. Revisiting old and newer marble finds from Vergina-Aegae*, 2023 Dr. Maria Lilimpaki-Akamati,