

A SHIELD MONUMENT FROM VERIA AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF MACEDONIAN SHIELD TYPES

In the summer of 1978 I noticed a sculpture in relief of shields and corselets on a marble wall situated on a main street of the ancient city of Dion in Macedonia; Demetrios Pantermalis, the archaeologist in charge of the excavations, told me of a series of blocks with carved shields in Veria in the sculpture garden of the Archaeological Museum and in a tower of the old city wall.¹ The sculptures appear to have been part of the same ancient monument, and I observed that traditional Greek hoplite shields with offset rims about 95 cm in diameter appeared side by side with rimless shields of relatively flat curvature about 70 cm in diameter.² To my knowledge, this combination of both types of shields on the same structure is unique in the archaeological remains of Macedonia. The smaller shields resemble in size and shape the shields employed by the Macedonian phalanx, as described by Asclepiodotus (*Tactics* 5.1). They were smaller than the traditional Greek hoplite type and, instead of being fitted on the inside with

1. I would like to thank, in addition to Demetrios Pantermalis, Homer Thompson and Margaret Miles for advice and help in the beginning of my study of the marble blocks belonging to this monument; neither of them has seen the results of my reconstruction and so must not be taken to agree with it. I have also been assisted with problems in the reconstruction by master builder Kevin Fox. I am thankful for the encouragement of Photis Petsas, one of the archaeologists chiefly responsible for the establishment of the Archaeological Museum at Veria, who as ephor worked to preserve the tower and who published the first photographs of the structure. I am most grateful to curators Katerina Tsakalou-Tzanavari and Victoria Allamani-Souri, who supported me in my application

for a permit and placed the facilities of the museum at my disposal, and to Maria Siganidou for allowing me to spend so much time distracting the curators, guards, and workmen in her ephoria. Thanks also to the museum guard, Giannis Papadopoulos of Nea Nikomedia, whose excellent English was frequently brought to the aid of my inadequate Greek and who was the first to make me feel welcome. Scholars who have heard this article presented as a paper at seminars and conferences and whose comments have influenced my revisions are Willie Childs, Julia Vocotopoulou, Malcolm Errington, and Eugene Borza. I am grateful, as always, to Nicholas Hammond, who first suggested to me at a seminar at the University of Queensland in 1984 that the monument might celebrate the

victory of Pyrrhus over Demetrius at Veria. Most recently, Stella Miller-Collett has sent me photocopies of relevant material so that I could update this article, and I am most grateful for her help, as most of these publications are not yet available in Australian libraries.

A short, unrevised version of this article was given as a conference paper to the Second International Congress on Macedonian Studies at the University of Melbourne in July 1991, and has appeared in *Ancient Macedonia: An Australian Symposium*, P.J. Connor, ed. (*MeditArch* 7 [1994]), pp. 83–97.

2. I first published my opinion about the significance of these shields with a photograph of the tower and a line drawing in Markle 1981, p. 93, figs. 9, 10.



Figure 1. Veria, tower of ancient city wall, north front

a central arm-ring and handle, were equipped with a strap, or *telamon*, to enable the infantryman to have both hands free to hold the long and cumbersome *sarissa*. At the time I first saw this monument none of these small shields had yet been identified in the archaeological record.³ Since then, however, other representations of this shield type have been found, and a fragment in bronze of one such shield was recently found and published.⁴

I have identified thirteen blocks of marble as belonging to this monument, five of which have representations of shields in sculptured relief; eight blocks without shields can be assigned to the monument with certainty because they share the same crown molding as two of the shield blocks and because of their size and general appearance. Study of the blocks has indicated that they originally formed part of a freestanding monument base of which only the front side had representations of shields in relief; the base would probably have supported a statue or statue group. Following a detailed account of my reconstruction of the monument base will be a list of other examples of the use of shields in relief sculpture as architectural decoration in Greece, especially on tombs, battle trophies, and monuments.

I will argue that although one of the types of hoplite shield represented on this monument was employed by the Macedonian infantry, in particular the *hypaspists*, from about 360 to about 300 B.C., the monument itself was erected later and represents an earlier style of hoplite shield.

3. See, e.g., Hammond and Griffith 1979, p. 421 and notes 3 and 4. Hammond, who is very knowledgeable about the archaeological evidence, writes regarding the smaller shield used with the *sarissa*, "I have not seen a representation of a Macedonian shield which illustrates this" (note 4).

4. For representations on tombs, see Karametrou-Menteside 1987, figs. 1, 7, photographs on pp. 35–36, and esp. p. 30, where the description and dimensions of the shields are given; also Andronikos 1993, pp. 198–199, the facade of the "Prince's Tomb"; dimensions of shields are not given, but the absence of an offset rim denotes the smaller type of shield. For bronze fragments of this type of shield, see Adam-Veleni 1993; estimated diameter given on p. 19, photographs on pp. 25–28. Possibly also of this type is the fragment of a bronze Macedonian shield

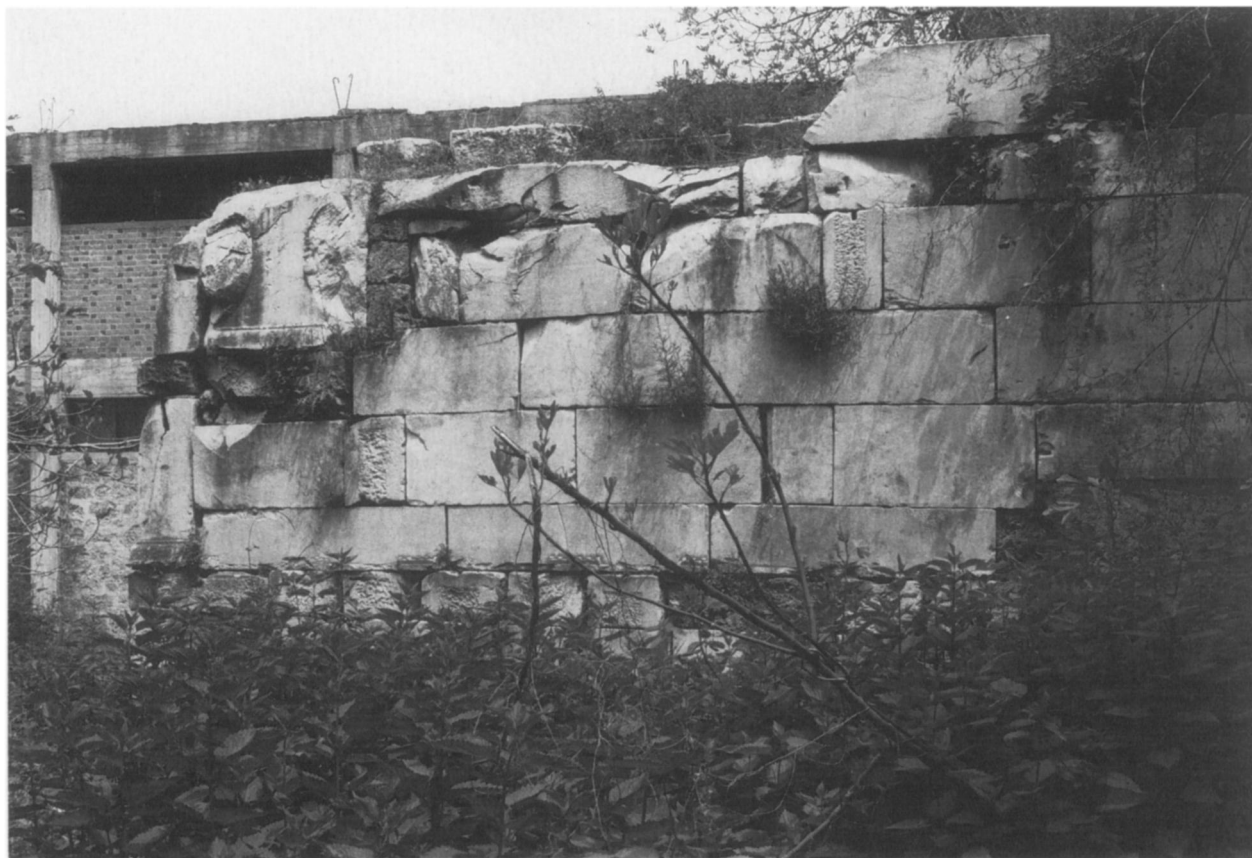


Figure 2. Veria, tower of ancient city wall, west side

from Dodona dedicated by King Pyrrhus from the spoils of the battle against the Macedonian king Antigonos Gonatas at Aous Gorge in 274 B.C.: Dakaris 1993, pp. 15 and 19, fig. 13. Though no estimate of the diameter is given, the fragment has an offset rim and resembles closely the fragment published by Adam-Veleni.

5. For a detailed map of the city of Veria, see the foldout map included at the end of Drougou and Touratsoglou 1980. For an account of the wall and its history, see Petkos 1997.

6. The molding is a cyma recta type identified as a crown molding by Lucy Shoe (1952, pl. XXX: Cyma Recta, I. Sima [1–7]; II. Miscellaneous [8–10]). None of these moldings precisely resembles that on the shield monument, but the closest would be no. 1 on this plate, but without the lower end terminating in a convex curve.

The combination of these two kinds of shields on one monument is likely to have been intended to commemorate an infantry victory, and the monument may possibly have celebrated the bloodless victory of King Pyrrhus of Epirus over Demetrius in 287 B.C.—which took place at Veria—after which Pyrrhus was proclaimed king of Macedonia by the army assembly, the infantry holding the majority. It must be stressed, however, that the purpose attributed to the monument is only a suggestion, since very little material culture pertaining to Veria in this period has been recovered and contemporary sources are extremely scarce.

CATALOGUE OF BLOCKS

The blocks designated by the letters C, D, and E and by the numbers 1 to 8 are to be found on the north front and west side of a tower forming part of the fortification wall of Veria of the 3rd century A.C. (see Figs. 1, 2). This tower is located about 80 meters east of the modern road to Thessalonike where it enters the old walled city.⁵ In the construction of the tower the blocks from the shield monument were placed upside down; the crown moldings are presently at the bottoms rather than at the tops of the blocks.⁶ The blocks I have called A and B are to be found in the sculpture garden of the Archaeological Museum of Veria (Figs. 3–10).

BLOCKS WITH SHIELDS

Block A

Figs. 3–6

L. 2.035; H. 0.500; Th. (excluding shields) 0.280 m. Though considerable damage has occurred to this block at the back, the face is in quite good condition, and overall the state of the block is such that the dimensions given above are reliable. Dimensions of shields (see Fig. 3): left shield: Diam. 0.760, Th. at center 0.080 m; right shield: Diam. 0.730, Th. at center 0.095 m.

Other features: (Figs. 3, 4): on the top a pry hole is located 0.935 m

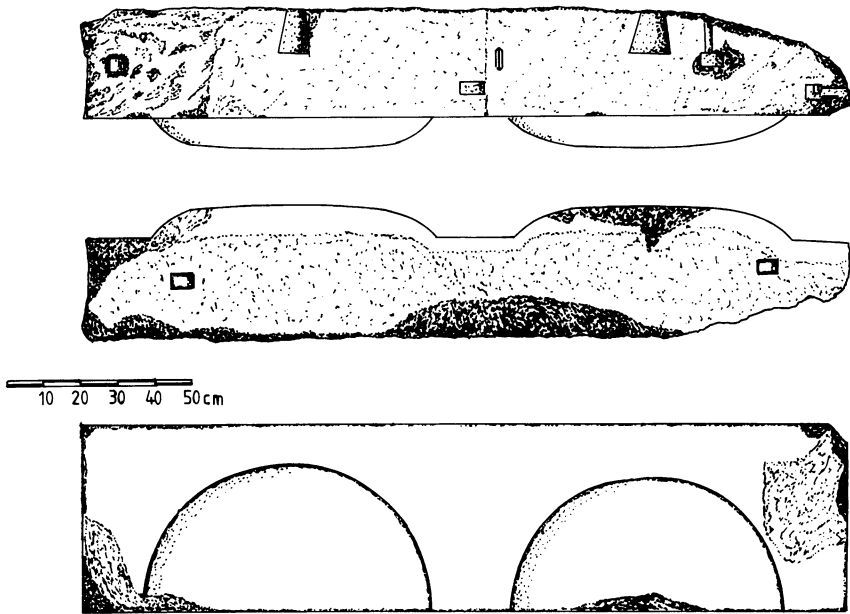


Figure 3. Block A

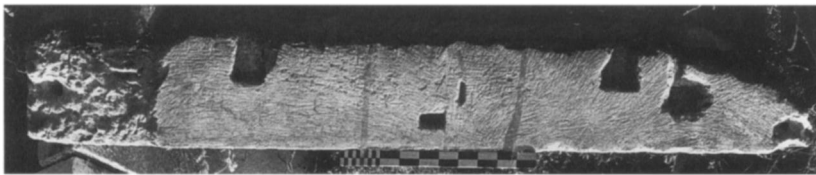


Figure 4. Block A, top

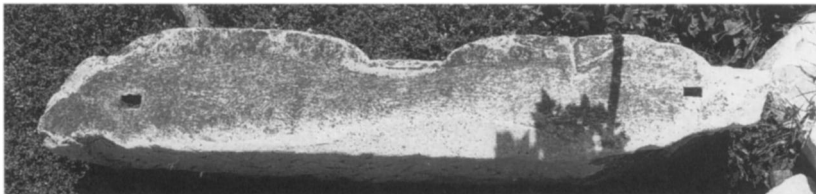


Figure 5. Block A, bottom



Figure 6. Block A, front

from the right end, and 0.025 m to the left of the pry hole is a weather line produced by the vertical joint of two blocks placed on top of block A; a rectangular dowel hole touches this line to the left, and two swallowtail clamp cuttings are found in the rear; square dowel holes are located close to both ends of this block, the one on the right with a channel cutting leading toward the rear side, and, finally, there is a badly worn rectangular dowel hole with a channel cut extending from the rear of it to the back of the block about 0.09 m to the right of the right-hand swallowtail cut, the purpose of which is not at all clear to me. The bottom of block A (Figs. 3, 5) has two rectangular dowel holes, each about 0.20 m more or less from the ends. The horizontal joint at the face of the block was made smooth by anathyrosis, which extends back to a depth of 0.08 m where the shields joined with their lower halves, and to a depth of 0.03 m where the face of the block between the shields joined with the face beneath.

Block B

Figs. 7–10

p. L. 1.580; H. 0.500; p. Th. (excluding shield) 0.400 m. Dimensions of shield: Diam. 0.950, Th. at center 0.105 m.

The top (Figs. 7, 8) can be identified by a pry hole located 0.490 m from the right end of the block; a weather line formed by the vertical joint of two blocks placed above block B in the original monument can be clearly discerned running across the anathyrosis of the lower half of the hoplite shield to touch the right edge of the pry hole; immediately on the right of this weather line is a trapezoidal dowel hole about 0.080 m back from the outer surface of the shield; in the center of the rear of the top surface of the block is a large swallowtail clamp cutting; anathyrosis ensures a smooth horizontal joint to a depth of 0.130 m at the center of the shield and to a depth of 0.060 m from the plane surface of the block. The absence of dowel holes in the bottom of the block (Figs. 7, 9) and the broken and uneven state of both ends of the block perhaps indicate that as much as 0.400 to 0.500 m is missing from its original length, if we can compare this block with block A, where the dowel holes in the bottom were each about 0.200 m from the two ends and the total length is about 2.0 m. Anathyrosis to a depth of 0.075 m from the surface of the block ensures a smooth horizontal joint where this block rested on the blocks beneath in the original monument.

Block C

Figs. 11–13

L. 1.600; H. 1.030 m; Th. could not be ascertained because of the position of the block in the tower. Dimensions of shields (for identification of left and right shields, see Fig. 11): left shield: Diam. 0.740 m; right shield: Diam. 0.760, Th. at center of right half-shield 0.100 m (Fig. 11 shows profile of right half-shield). Crown molding (Fig. 13) in profile cyma recta: H. 0.160; max. Th. ca. 0.047 m.

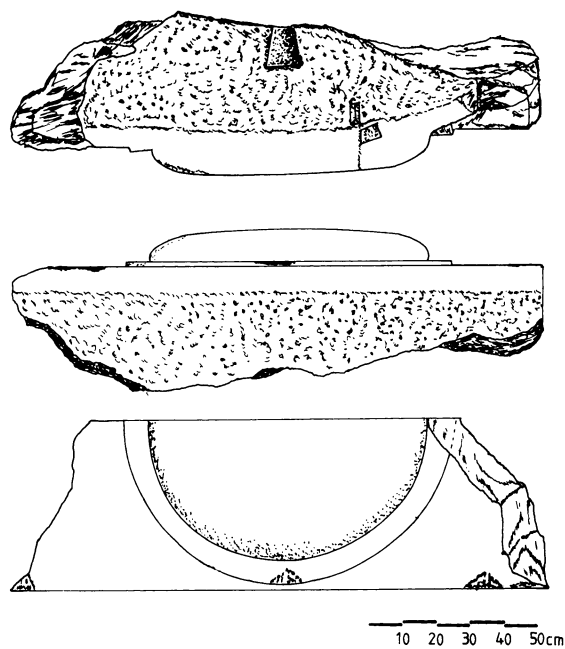


Figure 7. Block B

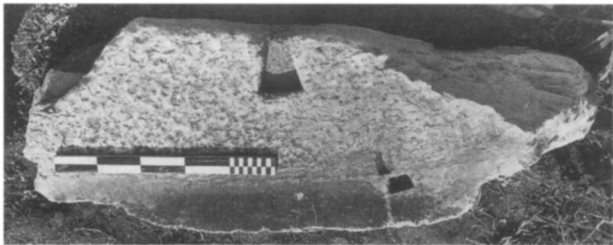


Figure 8. Block B, top

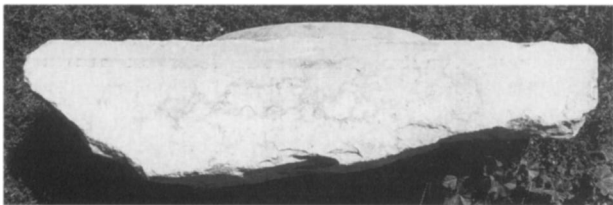


Figure 9. Block B, bottom

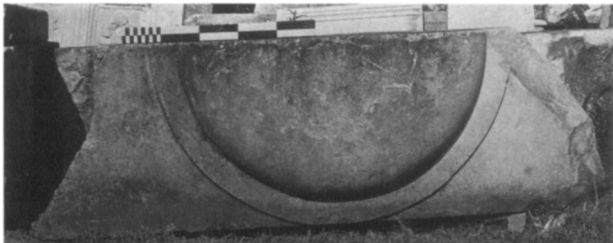


Figure 10. Block B, front

Figure 11. Block C,
front and right profile

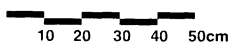
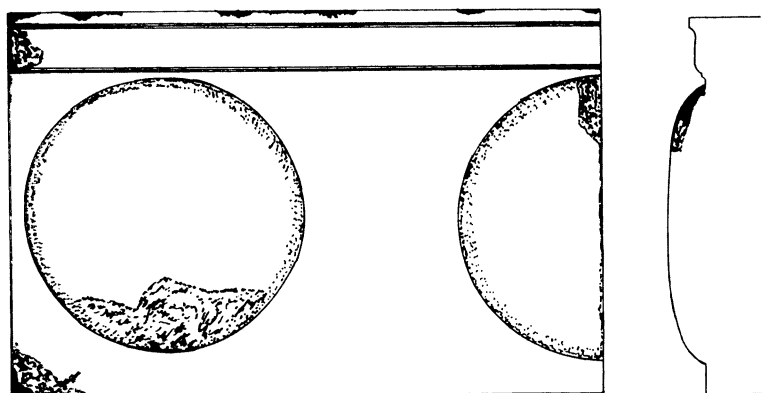
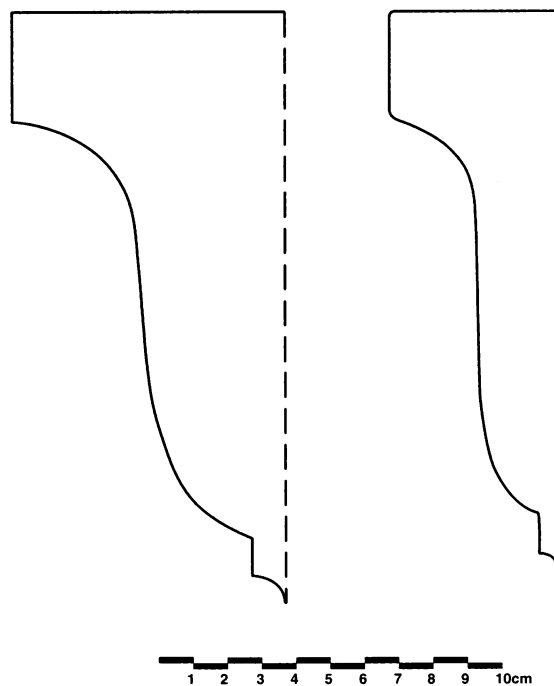


Figure 12. Block C, front



Figure 13. Profiles of molding,
block 6 and block C

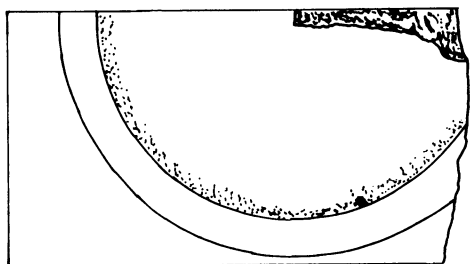
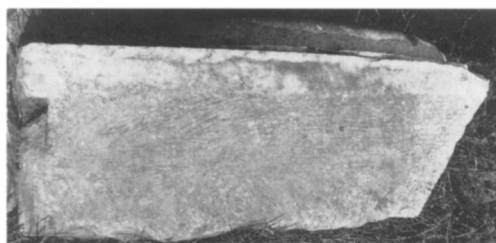
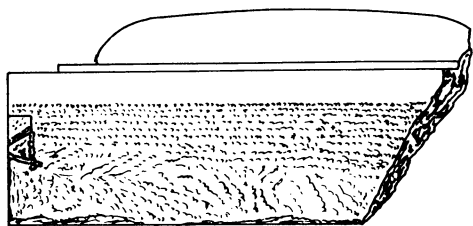


Block D

Figs. 14–16

p.L. 0.900; H. 0.500; Th. (excluding shield) 0.320 m. Dimensions of shield: est. Diam. ca. 0.920; W. of rim 0.070; Th. at center 0.130 m.

Several features aid in reconstruction of the original monument. This block now forms part of the tower and could not be removed for examination of what is now its underside; examination of the “top” indicates that it would have been the bottom of the block in the original monument (Figs. 14, 15), as there are no pry holes and no weather marks. The stonemason chiseled an outline of a swallowtail clamp cutting at the left edge, and then, realizing that he was working on the bottom of the block, cut a dowel hole. Anathyrosis to a depth of 0.080 m from the face of this block would have ensured a smooth horizontal joint where the bottom of this block rested on the blocks beneath in the original monument.



10 20 30 40 50cm



Figure 14 (*left*). Block D

Figure 15 (*top, right*).
Block D, bottom

Figure 16 (*above, right*).
Block D, front

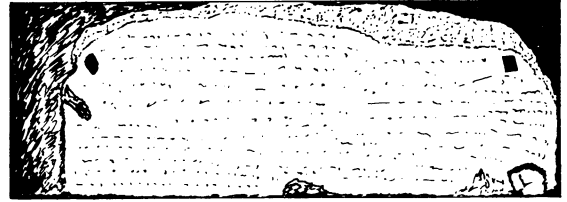


Figure 17 (*right*). Block E

Figure 18 (*top, left*).
Block E, bottom

Figure 19 (*above, left*).
Block E, front

10 20 30 40 50 cm

Block E

Figs. 17–19⁷

L. 1.120; H. 1.030; Th. 0.400 m (excluding molding and surviving sculpture in relief of one half-shield). Est. Diam. of shields 0.760 m. Crown molding: H. 0.160; max. Th. 0.049 m.

The original bottom of this block, which has been placed upside down in the wall, can be seen on top of the tower (Fig. 18). Two dowel holes are preserved, each about 0.080 m from the two ends of the block and about 0.110 m back from its face. There appears to be the beginning of a cutting for a swallowtail clamp hole, unfinished, near the right rear corner. The absence of a weather line and pry holes indicates that this was the bottom of the original block, and this is confirmed by the crown molding at the opposite end that marks the top.

BLOCKS WITH CROWN MOLDING AND WITHOUT SHIELDS

These blocks are numbered from the left 1 to 4 on the front of the tower, where the series is broken by shield block C and continues on the same level with 5 and 6 to the right corner of the front of the tower; then above block C and to the right of hoplite shield block D are blocks 7 and 8 (see Fig. 1).

7. Rods were attached to block E bottom (Fig. 18), block 7 bottom (Fig. 33), block 8 bottom (Fig. 32), and block 8 right side (Fig. 36) when Petsas was ephor in order to secure these blocks on top of the tower.



Figure 20. Block 2, block 1 right side, block 1

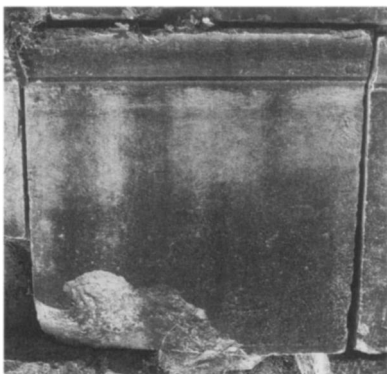


Figure 21 (*left*). Block 2, front



Figure 22 (*right*). Block 1, front



Figure 23. Block 1, exposed side

Block 1

Figs. 20, 22, 23

L. 0.980; H. 1.020; Th. 0.400 m (excluding crown molding); projection of crown molding 0.080 m beyond the front surface of the block.

The profile of this molding resembles that of blocks 6 and 8, but differs from that of shield block C (cf. Fig. 13, blocks C and 6, molding profiles).

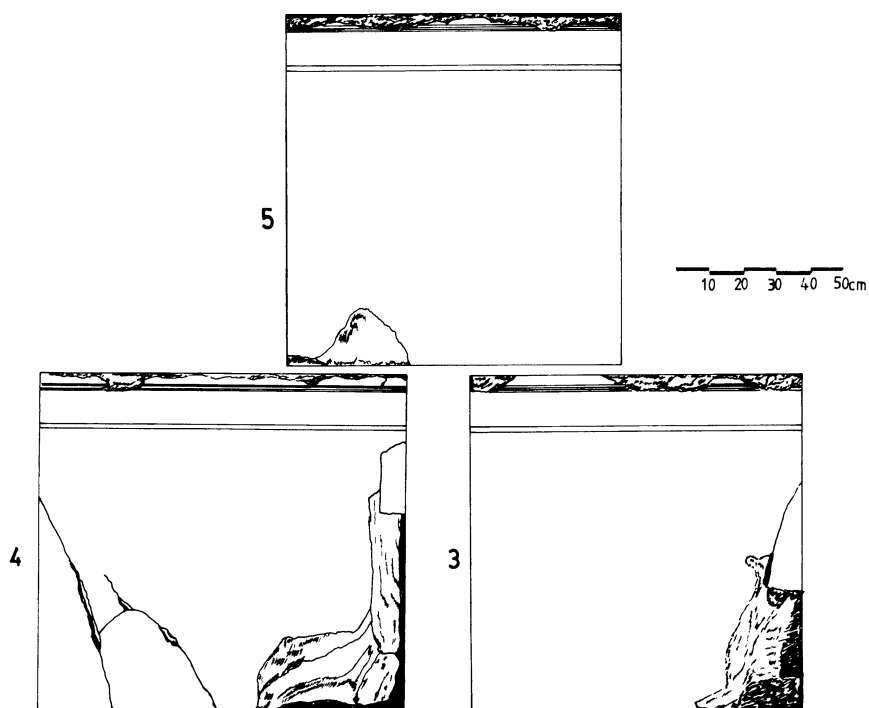


Figure 24. Blocks 3, 4, and 5

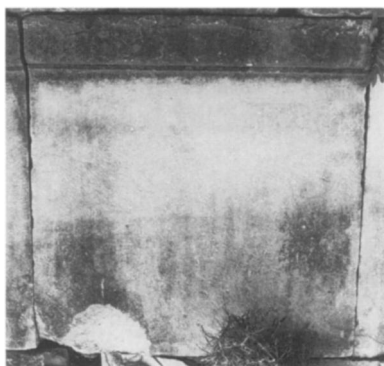


Figure 25. Block 5, front

Figure 26 (*left*). Block 4, front



Figure 27 (*right*). Block 3, front



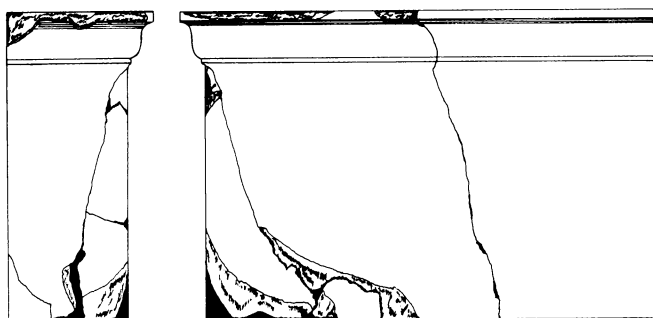
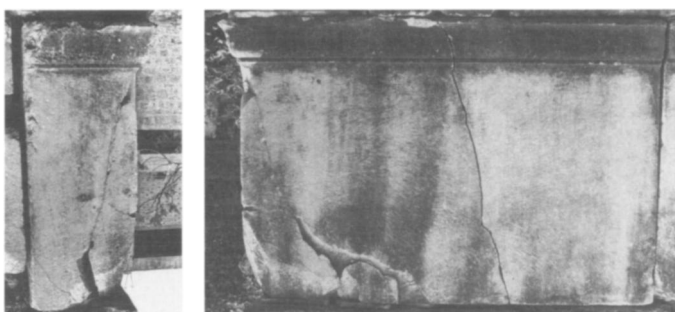


Figure 28 . Block 6

Figure 29 (*left*).

Block 6, corner block, exposed side

Figure 30 (*right*).

Block 6, corner block, front

Block 2

Figs. 20, 21

L. 1.000; H. 1.020 m; Th. could not be determined because of the position of the block in the tower.

Block 3

Figs. 24, 27

L. 0.980; H. 1.000 m; Th. could not be determined.

Block 4

Figs. 24, 26

L. 1.090; H. 1.000 m; Th. could not be determined.

Block 5

Figs. 24, 25

L. 0.990; H. 1.040 m; Th. could not be determined.

Block 6

Figs. 13, 28–30

L. 1.500 (excluding the projecting crown molding), 1.580 (including the crown molding); H. 1.030; Th. 0.400 (excluding crown molding), 0.480 m (including crown molding). Crown molding: Th. 0.080 m.

The sole surviving corner block from the monument. The thickness of the crown molding is the same as that of blocks 1, 7, and 8 but differs from that of block C (Th. 0.047 m), a shield block (Fig. 13). This difference will be important in the reconstruction of the monument.

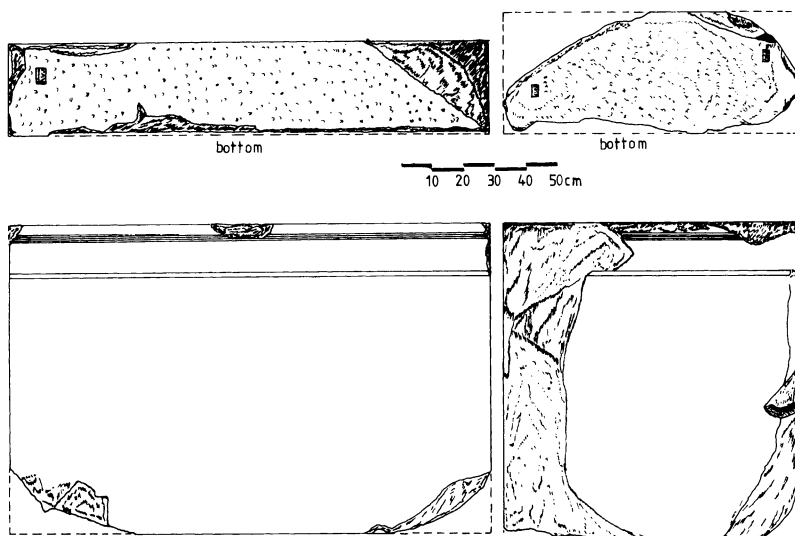


Figure 31. Blocks 8 and 7



Figure 32 (*left*). Block 8, bottom

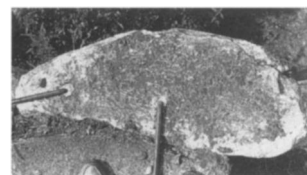


Figure 33 (*right*). Block 7, bottom



Figure 34 (*left*). Block 8, front



Figure 35 (*right*). Block 7, front



Figure 36. Block 8,
exposed part of right side

Block 7

Figs. 31, 33, 35

L. 0.960; H. 1.030; Th. 0.390 m (excluding the projecting crown molding). Crown molding: max. Th. 0.080 m.

The damaged bottom of this block can be seen on top of the tower. Almost all of its front edge has been broken off except for a short section in the middle where some faint traces of anathyrosis can be found. Two rectangular dowel holes survive: the right (see Fig. 31) about 0.100 m from the right end and 0.130 m from the face of the block, and the left about 0.090 m from the left end and 0.230 m from the face of the block.

Block 8

Fig. 31, 32, 34, 36

L. 1.540; p.H. 1.000; p.Th. 0.290 m (excluding crown molding). Crown molding: Th. 0.080 m.

Dimension of this crown molding is the same as the molding on blocks 1, 6, and 7 (see Fig. 13 for the profile of the molding on block 6). Its bottom can be seen on top of the tower but is so damaged that only the left dowel hole is to be found, about 0.090 m from the left end and about 0.080 m from the face of the block (see Figs. 31, 32). Although most of the front edge has survived, there are no traces of anathyrosis; instead, the rough chiseling of the stone extends to the edge. Anathyrosis is evident on the exposed upper part of the right side of block 8 (Fig. 36), and it is present on the bottoms of blocks A, B, and D, though not on E where the front edge has been completely broken off. The condition of the bottom of block 8 indicates that the original bottom has been chiseled off. Moreover, its thickness is 10 to 11 centimeters less than that of the other blocks on the top course of the monument. No examination of the back could be made without excavation, but I would assume that the alteration to the thickness was made at the same time that the height was modified.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENT

ASSUMPTIONS AND GUIDELINES

First, I have assumed the existence of only so many other blocks representing parts of shields as are indicated by existing blocks with sections of shields. Second, I have arranged existing blocks representing shields to provide a symmetrical and balanced decoration that is consistent with the dimensions of the blocks, with the relief sculptures of shields and moldings, and with features such as weather lines, dowel holes, and pry holes. Third, among the blocks with crown moldings but without sculptures of shields in reliefs only one corner block has been found. If the monument base was originally attached to another architectural structure—for example, as a porch connected to a larger building—one other corner block must be assumed to have existed. If, on the other hand, the monument

base was freestanding, then three corner blocks are missing. For aesthetic reasons, which I will explain, and because the crown moldings on shield blocks C and E exhibit dimensions different from those of the moldings on the blocks without shields (blocks 1, 7, 8, and 6, the corner block), as I have indicated above, I believe that the base was freestanding. Other characteristics that indicate a solid structure are: first, anathyrosis is found on the tops, bottoms, and sides of only the outer faces of all blocks; second, no attempt was made to produce a uniform thickness of the blocks located beneath the top course, some of these blocks (A and B) requiring backing blocks to support the course above. Except for the missing three corner blocks and a front block indicated by the weather line on the top of hoplite shield block B, I have assumed that we have all the remaining blocks with crown moldings that permit the reconstruction of the entire upper part of the monument base.

If it is assumed that the monument base projected from a building, then the line of shields in relief, which occupies a space 5.200 m in length, either would have been isolated in the middle of a long expanse of wall about 13 meters in length with two side walls each about 3 meters in length, or would have dominated a front wall of about 6.5 meters in length with side walls equal in length to the front. The latter possibility seems to me more likely than the former, but a square porch with only the front wall decorated is not a pleasing conception. The two side walls equal in length to the front of the base would have presented a bleak and barren prospect, and it is difficult to imagine what the enormous top of the base, an area of some 42.25 square meters, would have supported; it is surely too large for a statue group.

The molding on those blocks featuring shields in relief projects only 0.047 m beyond the plane surface of the blocks, while the molding on blocks having no sculpture projects 0.080 m (see Fig. 13, where the profiles of the moldings of blocks C and 6 are contrasted). This difference indicates that none of the blocks having crown moldings without shields can belong to the same side of the monument as the blocks having crown moldings with shields. Moreover, the extant corner block (block 6), which is without shields and has a crown molding projecting 0.080 on both its outward-facing finished sides, cannot have been joined to either of the two corners of the front face of the monument, of which the crown molding projects only 0.047 m. Thus, the only remaining possibility is that it represents a corner of the rear wall of a freestanding monument.

If it is assumed that the monument base was freestanding, then the shape becomes rectangular, with the length somewhat more than twice the width. The shields in relief sculpture dominate the surface of the front wall 6.390 m in length (excluding molding), while the side walls, 2.860 m in length (excluding molding), and rear wall are undecorated apart from the crown molding (see Fig. 37). The top of the base would have had an area of 18.275 square meters, suitable for a large statue group, and the height of the base would have been about 2.5 meters.

METHOD AND DEFENSE

FRONT ELEVATION

Reconstruction of the front wall must begin with block A. The height of this block, 0.500 m, and the absence of a crown molding show that it cannot belong to the top course of blocks. A pry hole and weather line identify the top of this block and show that the two half-shields in relief sculpture on the front of the block represent the upper halves of shields that would be completed by missing blocks of the course beneath. The weather line near the pry hole indicates the vertical joint of two blocks of the course above block A, and this was probably the joint between blocks C and E: the half-shield at the right of block C joins neatly with the half-shield at the left of block E (Fig. 37).

One objection could be made to this reconstruction: the left dowel hole in the bottom of block E (Figs. 17, 18) does not correspond to any dowel hole to the right of the weather line on the top of block A (Figs. 3, 4). The answer to this objection may lie in a decision made by the builders. The pry hole shows that construction was carried out from left to right, block C being lowered onto block A and levered into place, where it was then secured by a large dowel precisely at the joint. With such strong support at the joint, perhaps the masons, believing that there was no need for additional securing of the left part of block E, did not bother to chisel out a corresponding dowel hole in the top of block A. Alternatively, if the laying of blocks took place inward from each corner, block E may have been inserted last and left undoweled; the dowel hole in the bottom of block E might have been cut before the decision was made. In any case, the presence of an unused dowel cutting at the bottom of block E is not surprising in the light of other mistakes made by the masons (see, e.g., the outline of a swallowtail clamp hole chiseled on the bottom of block D). Moreover, weight must be given to the close correspondence of the two half-shields that unite at the joint between blocks C and E. Variation in the diameters of other small shields, from 0.730 to 0.760 m, and the correspondence of orientation of the relief sculptures of the half-shields on the two separate blocks increase the probability that these two halves were intended to join.

The heights of blocks B and D, each 0.500 m, show that they cannot belong to the top course of blocks on this monument, all of which equal approximately one meter in height. The pry hole and weather line identify the top of block B and show that the half-shield represented on the front of the block is the lower half of a hoplite shield that would have been completed by two missing blocks above joined at the weather line. The position of this weather line and the pry and dowel holes associated with it indicate a feature of the monument not indicated by the other extant shield blocks. Of the latter group of blocks only block C exhibits a whole shield, but the half-shield on this block and all the other half-shields on other blocks are divided along their horizontal or vertical axes, and the missing halves of these shields can each be assumed to have been provided by a single block—these characteristics all attesting the best methods of construction, whereby joints dividing sculpted decoration would be least ob-

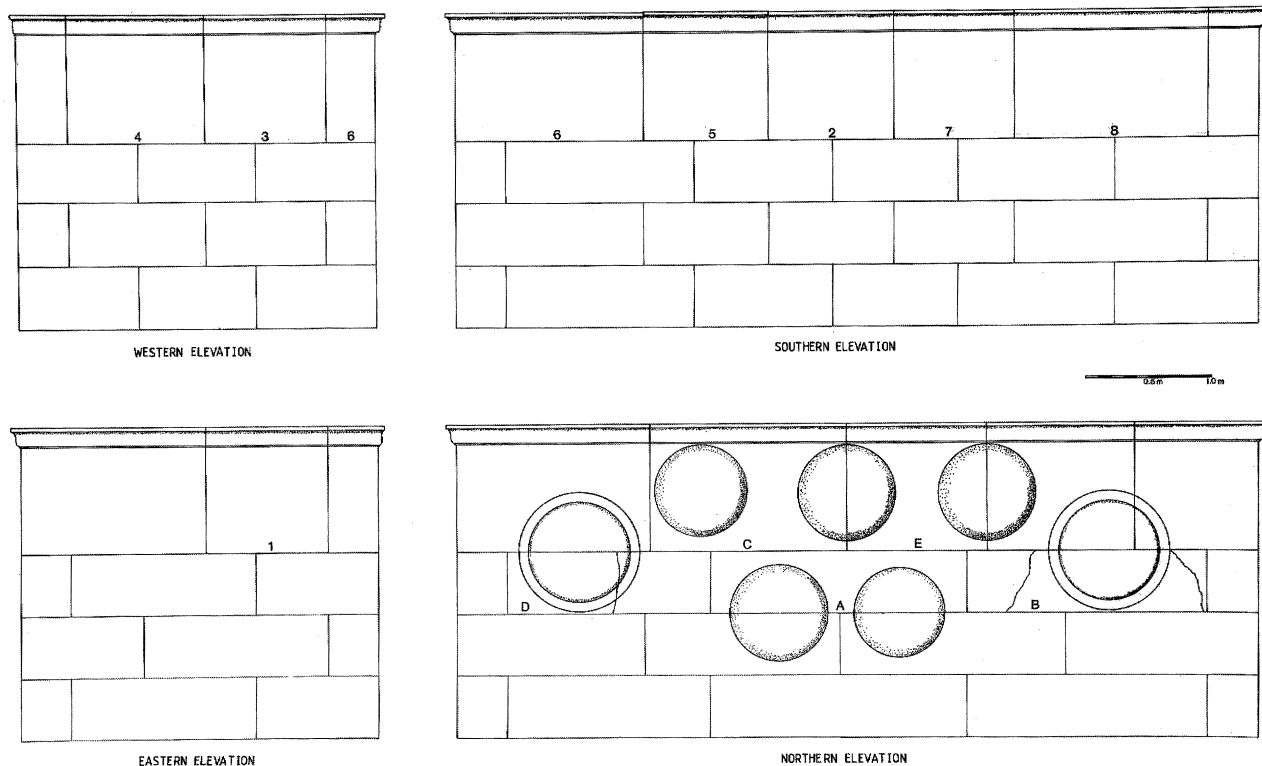


Figure 37. Reconstruction of the shield monument of Veria: elevations

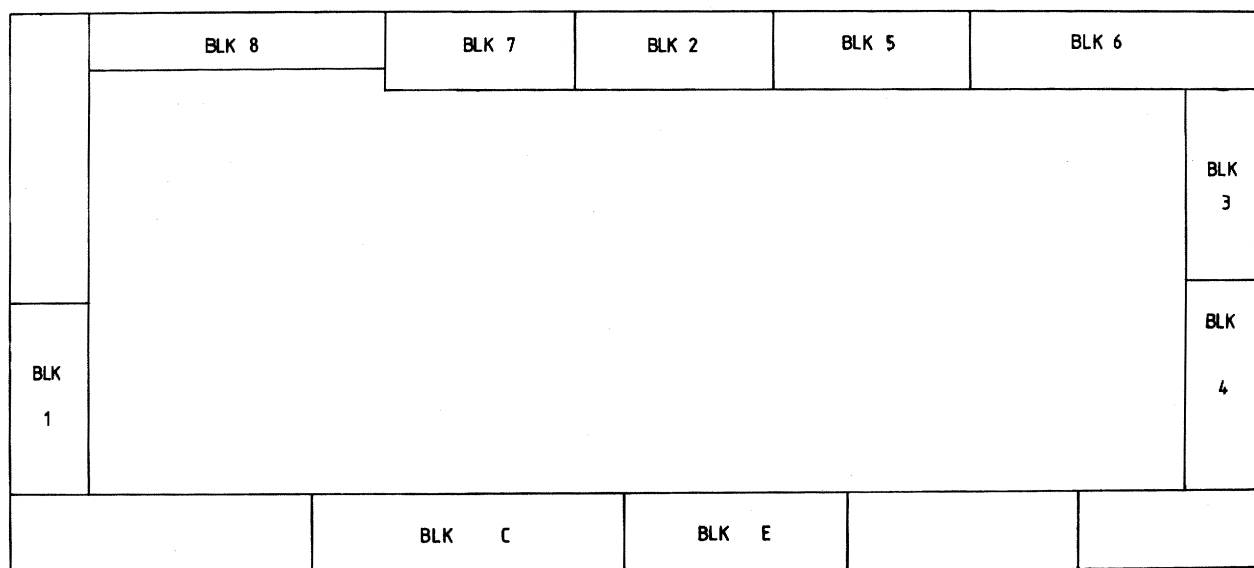


Figure 38. Reconstruction of the shield monument of Veria: top plan

trusive. On the other hand, for the completion of the shield represented on block B, one must assume two blocks, and the vertical joint of these blocks is not even along the axis of the shield but about 0.205 m to the right of the axis. Consequently, the block on the upper right would have contained a considerably smaller segment of the shield than the block on the upper left.

I have assumed that the block on the upper left also contained the missing right half of the shield represented on block E. Also, I have assumed that the missing block above block B on the right was a corner block, and bonding of joints would result from the assumption that the block to the right of block B was the narrow end of a corner block. The width of the narrow end of the extant corner block, block 6, is 0.400 m, and the depth of most of the blocks for which measurement of that dimension was possible is 0.400 m. Therefore, I have assumed that the block to the right of block B extended 0.400 m to the right corner of the monument.

The height of block D indicates that it does not belong to the top course of blocks, and identification of the original bottom of this block shows that the sculpture in relief represents most of the lower half of a hoplite shield. Since this block is completely broken off at the right, no doubt the remainder of the lower half of the shield would have been represented on the original block. To obtain a balanced and symmetrical design, I have placed this block to the left of the group of smaller shields and on the same course as block B. I have also located it so that the reconstruction of the shield would result in its being the same distance from the group of smaller shields as the shield of block B. Further, I have assumed that the block above block D and joining block C on the left both would have had the entire upper half of the hoplite shield in sculptured relief and would have been a corner block. Consequently, the block joining block D to its left would have been the narrow end of a corner block, producing proper bonding of joints, and 0.400 m to the left of block D would be the left corner of the monument's front face. Unfortunately, the lower half of the hoplite shield on block D has been carved closer to the outer edge of its block than the shield on block B, and this difference has resulted in the restored symmetrical design being about 0.23 m closer to the left end of the wall. The total length of the reconstructed front of the monument would have equaled 6.390 m.

With regard to the height of the monument, if the bottom of the monument had consisted of the course of blocks 0.500 m in height that is below the course including blocks B, A, and D and which completes the lowest two shields, then the lower edges of these shields would have been only 0.150 m above the ground, which is too low. On the wall at Dion, the structure most closely analogous to this monument, shields and corselets are represented alternately in relief sculpture in a long single row and two courses of blocks, each about one-half meter in height, separate the lowest edge of the armor from the ground.⁸ Therefore I have assumed that a course of blocks 0.500 m in height beneath these shields would have served as the lowest course of the monument. Examination of the tower on the north and west sides (see Figs. 1, 2) and on the east side (which could not

8. For illustrations of this wall, see Marker 1988, and D. Pantermalis in Hatzopoulos 1993, pp. 99–100, fig. 87.

be photographed because of the close proximity of a factory wall) shows a large number of marble blocks 0.500 m in height varying in length between about one and two meters; these could have belonged to this monument, but this possibility cannot be proved without dismantling the tower, which probably contains the remains of more than one Hellenistic structure.⁹ In any case, the assumption of the lowest course of blocks gives the monument a total height of 2.540 m.

THE OTHER THREE ELEVATIONS

I have assumed that blocks 1 through 8 represent all the remaining blocks of the top course of the monument except for the one missing corner block. Attempting various arrangements of these blocks, I produced a rear wall almost precisely equal in length to my earlier reconstruction of the front wall, with the two side walls equal in length on the assumption that the narrow end of the hypothetical corner block, equaling 0.400 m in width, completed the rear wall of the monument (Fig. 38). This reconstruction of the other three walls seemed to add some confirmation to my earlier line drawing of the front elevation in that I had to modify it only three or four centimeters over a length of about six and a half meters to bring it into perfect alignment with the rear elevation. Moreover, the long side of the hypothetical corner block, its length estimated to be 1.480 m (west elevation, southwest corner, top course), was almost precisely equal in length to the long side of the only extant corner block of the monument (block 6), 1.500 m in length. This arrangement of blocks has resulted in each of the two side walls having a total length of 2.860 m.

Variations in the height of the blocks constituting the top course of the monument require an explanation (Fig. 37). The heights of blocks C and E on the north front of the monument are both 1.030 m, and so it is a safe assumption that the three missing blocks from the top course of the front would have been this height. Moreover, block 6, which I have located at the southwest corner, has a height of 1.030 m, and also on the south side, or rear, block 7 has a height of 1.030 m. Blocks 1 and 2, each 1.020 m in height, and block 5, 1.040 m in height, do not constitute significant variations from the norm of 1.030 m as the height of the top course of blocks of all four sides of the monument base. But blocks 3 and 4, which I have located on the west side, and block 8, which is placed on the south side, each have a height of only 1.000 m. The lower heights of blocks 3, 4, and 8 would result in the lines of the crown molding being offset by 0.030 m from the higher blocks to which they are joined, an unacceptable arrangement.

The solution to this problem lies in modifications of the blocks to fit them in other structures after their original use in the monument base and before their incorporation in the tower of the wall of Veria. Such later alterations can be demonstrated by an examination of block 8. The condition of the bottom of block 8, the only one of the three which could be examined, does indicate a later modification. As pointed out in the description, no anathyrosis can be found, but, instead, crude chisel marks extend to the front edge of the bottom. This is totally out of character with

9. In the tower are, for example, several large Ionic architrave blocks (see Fig. 1) and other sculpted moldings, and in the adjacent wall (not shown) are column drums. None of these can be connected with the shield monument. A considerable number of blocks 0.500 m in height have been placed in the tower so that only their narrow ends are visible, and these blocks show anathyrosis on both sides of the ends, indicating that these blocks were intended to be viewed from both front and rear, a feature shared by none of the blocks from the shield monument, which were designed to be seen only from the front. Moreover, blocks of a half-meter in height are used in various Macedonian buildings. For these reasons, no purpose would be served by cataloguing and describing the other blocks in the tower, which may or may not belong to the shield monument.

the other blocks whose bottoms can be examined: on the front edge of the bottoms of these blocks anathyrosis can be clearly observed. Moreover, the one surviving dowel hole in the bottom of block 8 could have been cut, or the original hole been deepened, for the later use made of this block.

The date of the tower cannot be determined without excavation, but, since the tower is constructed exclusively from marble blocks from Hellenistic structures, it is possible that the tower dates from the restoration of Veria's walls undertaken in the second half of the 3rd century A.C. as a defense against the invasions of the Herulians.¹⁰ In this event, the materials employed in the construction would have been taken from the buildings destroyed in the invasion of the Carpi in A.D. 246–247 or in later incursions of the Goths in A.D. 254 and 268.¹¹ It is a reasonable hypothesis that blocks 3, 4, and 8 were cut short by 0.030 m for some purpose after the destruction of the monument and before their incorporation into the tower.

SHIELDS AS ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

Shields sculptured in relief served as ornaments on several buildings in Hellenistic Greece. The Bouleuterion of Miletos, built in the early 2nd century B.C., was a rectangular building of two stories measuring 25 by 35 meters. The upper story resembled a pseudo-peripteral Doric temple whose columns were all engaged. Most of the intercolumniations, which contained no windows, were decorated with traditional Greek hoplite-type shields sculpted in relief on the upper part of the wall immediately beneath the Doric architrave.¹² The tomb of a Syrian Hamrath, built in the early 1st century B.C. at Suweida, consists of one story, and each of the four sides is constructed with six columns engaged. There appeared in relief sculpture circular and oval shields, corselets, and helmets, which singly decorated the upper part of each intercolumniation just under the Doric architrave.¹³ A similar motif is employed as decoration on a monument of Mithradates VI, erected on Delos in 102–101 B.C. The structure resembled a porch (L. 4.96 m) with two Ionic columns in antis which supported an entablature of a plain frieze beneath dentils. In the center of the pediment, the hoplite-style shield sculpted in relief has become a medallion framing a bust, and on the upper part of the inward rear wall of the porch are a row of six shieldlike, medallioned busts.¹⁴ The shields featured on these buildings could be regarded merely as architectural decoration, but at the same time they may have been intended to indicate the military strength of the people or individuals who erected them.

A somewhat different use of shields in relief sculpture is represented by the statue bases of marble from the Odeion of Agrippa in the Athenian Agora.¹⁵ The best-preserved base is semicircular in plan with a height of 0.815 m, and its front is decorated with two round shields resting on edge, the top with a third shield lying flat (Fig. 39). Thompson argues that these bases would probably have been located outside the building on the ledge "formed by the stylobate of the main order between the great pilasters." Again, these representations of shields must have been intended not only

10. Petkos 1997, p. 272, referring to a Latin inscription recording a letter from the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253–268) to the Macedonians in answer to their previous request for his support against the Herulians and other Germanic tribes who were pillaging their land. Petkos infers from the fact that Procopius does not include Veria among the many cities whose walls were repaired under Justinian that the Macedonian city's defenses were still sound in the 6th century. Of course, the defenses of Veria may have been breached later during the invasions of Avars and Slavs in the late 6th and early 7th centuries and of Bulgars in the late 8th century, but the materials from which the visible part of the tower is constructed lead me to think that it goes back to the 3rd century, if not earlier.

11. Sakellariou 1983, p. 199.

12. An illustration and description can be conveniently found in Robertson 1929, pp. 179–180 and pl. VIII:a. A restored corner of the Bouleuterion from Miletus is displayed in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin; for a photograph, see Kunze 1992, p. 69; it is the building in the far right corner of the room. For a detailed study, see Knackfuss 1908 and, more recently, Kleiner 1968.

13. For an illustration and description, see Lawrence 1957, p. 221 and pl. 110. A drawing of the tomb was first published by Vogüé (1865–1877, pp. 29, 39); subsequent studies include *Syria* II, pp. 324, 327; Bruennow and Domaszewski 1909, p. 88; Murray 1921, p. 8.

14. Lawrence 1957, p. 219 and fig. 122.

15. Thompson 1950, pp. 80–82 and pl. 53.

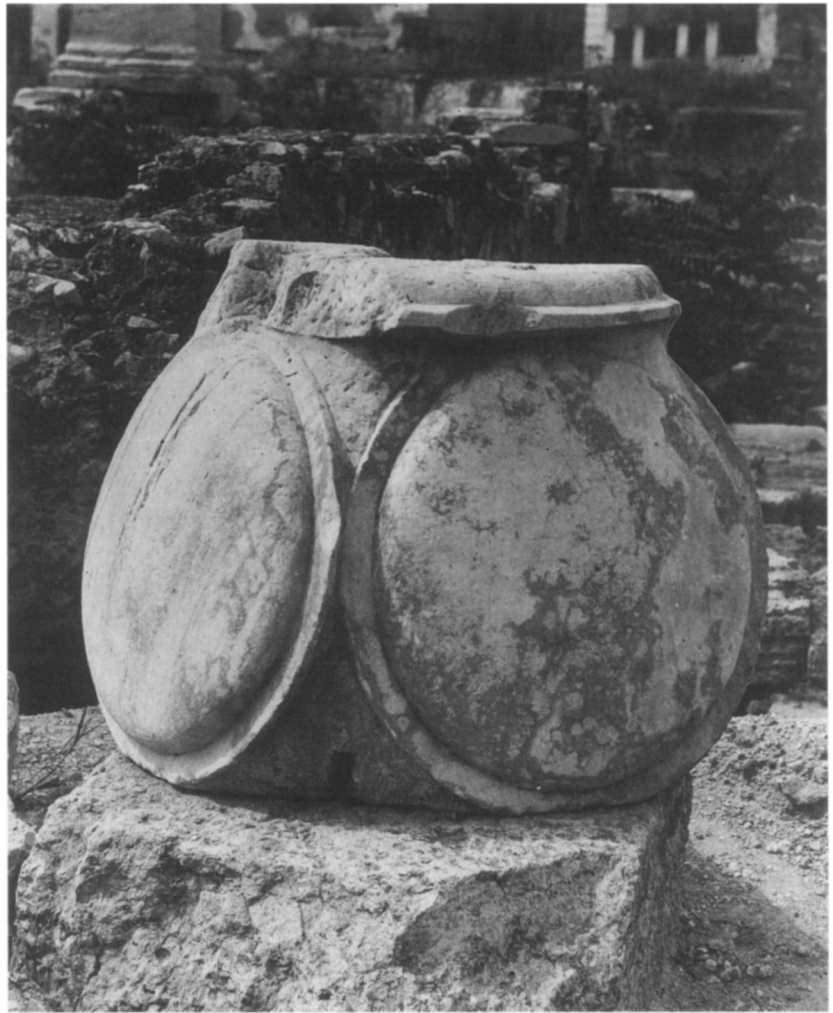


Figure 39. Shields on statue base from the Odeion of Agrippa in the Athenian Agora

as decoration but as an indication of the martial character of the statues once supported by them.

In Macedonia representations of shields on buildings from the middle of the 4th century to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. are not uncommon. Since it will be necessary to discuss these examples in greater detail in relation to establishing a date for the shield monument at Veria, I will list them only briefly here. Representations of the small type of Macedonian shield in relief sculpture, identical to the small shields on the monument at Veria, have been found on a Hero's Shrine at Archontikos Giannitson near Pella that is dated to the reign of Antigonus Gonatas (mid 3rd century B.C.).¹⁶ Representations of the small shield are also found on tombs: on the "Prince's Tomb" at Vergina two such shields are formed with stucco and have painted decoration on their surfaces (date ca. 325 B.C.).¹⁷ Second, the tomb at Spelia, Eordaia, north of Kozani, has two rimless shields of the smaller Macedonian type formed in relief on its facade, and this tomb is dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.¹⁸ Wall paintings of two Macedonian small shields, along with other armor and weapons, are found in the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, which dates ca. 200 B.C.¹⁹

16. Chrysostomos 1987, pp. 154–155, and 1990, p. 225, figs. 6 and 7.

17. Andronikos 1993, pp. 198–199.

18. Karametrou-Menteside 1987, p. 30, and 1991, pp. 148–151.

19. Miller 1993, p. 55.



Figure 40. Shields on the battlefield trophy at Leuctra.
Orlandos 1958

That all these representations of the smaller Macedonian shield employed by the sarissa-armed phalanx are the same size as those shields actually used by the infantry is shown not only by the evidence of Asclepiodotus (*Tactics* 5.2), as mentioned above, but also by the bronze fragments of a shield recently published in an excellent article by Polyxeni Adam-Veleni. The diameter estimated from the fragments of the outer edge is 0.736 m.²⁰ This shield is dated to the time of Antigonos Gonatas “at the beginning of the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.,” though the name of Demetrius would fit equally well the gap in the inscription.²¹

The traditional Greek hoplite shield with offset rim about 95 cm in diameter is also represented in art and architecture both in Macedonia and in areas influenced by the Macedonians from about the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. Again, since the development in the design of these shields is relevant to the dating of the shield monument, I will mention them as parallels only briefly here. Traditional Greek hoplite shields are represented on the interior walls of a tomb near Katerine which is dated to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.²² Next, Macedonian infantry fighting with spears, swords, and battle axes are shown in relief sculpture on the Alexander Sarcophagus, dated to 312 B.C., and they are equipped with the traditional Greek hoplite shields (see below).²³ The hoplite shield is also represented in relief sculpture in the reconstruction of a wall at Amphipolis, where it is located between engaged half-columns on the upper part of the wall. No date, however, is assigned to this wall.²⁴

The traditional hoplite shield is also depicted as part of the armor of soldiers in Macedonian tomb paintings. Representations of Macedonian infantry with shields have recently been discovered on the painted frieze of a Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios near Thessaloniki.²⁵ Though no official publication has been made of this tomb, photographs have been published in newspaper articles and a 1997 calendar, and Stella Miller-Collett informs me that it is firmly dated in the second half of the 4th century B.C. by “solid evidence” from “an unlooted cist grave sunk into the

20. Adam-Veleni 1993, p. 19.

21. Adam-Veleni 1993, p. 23.

22. Despoine 1980.

23. Markle 1977, pp. 326–331; 1981, p. 94, fig. 11.

24. Miller and Miller 1972, pp. 150–158.

25. Tsimpidou-Aulonite 1995. An earlier article by journalist A. Panagiotarea entitled “Στα ίχνη μιας νέας Βεργίνας,” in *Η Καθημερινή*, Athens, February 5, 1995, based on an interview with Tsimpidou-Aulonite, contains useful information, including a date for the painting in the 4th century B.C.

mound that covered this tomb." Two of these shields, which rest on the ground with their upper edges leaning against the hips and steadied by the left hands of the two warriors to whom they belong, appear to be hoplite in type as indicated by their size of about 90 cm in diameter, and by the fact that the soldiers who are equipped with them are armed not with the long Macedonian sarissa, employed only with the smaller telamon shield, but with the short hoplite spear of about 2 meters in length.²⁶ A third shield appears to be the smaller Macedonian type having a diameter of about 70 cm and supported by the warrior on his left shoulder, and significantly he alone is not represented as carrying a spear but is armed only with a sword, the sheath of which can be seen projecting diagonally downward from beneath the lower rim of his shield. His sarissa would have been of no use to him and too cumbersome to have been carried outside of formation, and he and his fellow soldiers appear to be relaxed and off duty as they stand at ease, perhaps conversing and gazing toward the symposium, represented in the middle of the frieze, which he and his companions are approaching.

In addition, a tomb near Vergina, tentatively dated to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., has on its facade a painting which includes a hoplite on whose left sits a man with a traditional Greek hoplite shield.²⁷ Other representations of the hoplite shield are found in the paintings on the facade of a Macedonian tomb at Leukadia. In the battle scene of the frieze above the Doric entablature two infantrymen carry hoplite shields that can be clearly identified by their central arm-rings and handles inside the rims.²⁸ Petsas in his monograph dates this tomb, on the basis of architectural features and the cuirass of the corpse, early in the 3rd century B.C.²⁹

A closer parallel to the shield monument of Veria is provided by the battlefield trophy at Leuctra erected by the Thebans after their victory over the Spartans in 371 B.C. (Fig. 40).³⁰ The circular base of this trophy exhibited in its lower part a frieze of triglyphs and metopes, supported originally by a foundation no longer extant. Immediately above the frieze came a cornice, then eight blocks of parabolic section bearing hoplite-type shields sculpted in relief. These shields measure 0.970 m in diameter, the life-size representation of the hoplite shield and a precise parallel to the hoplite-type shields on the monument at Veria (diameter 0.950 m, see block B, Figs. 7, 10).³¹ It would seem that on battlefield trophies and battle monuments representations of arms and armor were life-size. Such accuracy may have been a necessary part of the thanksgiving and dedication to Zeus Tropaïos.³²

The closest parallel to the shield monument at Veria is the wall exhibiting alternating hoplite shields and corselets sculpted in relief at Dion.³³ The method of construction is very similar: upper halves of shields and corselets are sculpted on separate blocks, and, so that the upper course might bind the course beneath, the lower halves of the shields and corselets are divided by vertical joints. The corselets are represented as pierced by weapons, and Pantermalis told me that he accordingly believes that the sculptures represent armor captured from enemies. The wall would therefore commemorate a particular battle, though no precise date has been

26. Application of a scale to the photographs shows a ratio of the smaller shield to the larger shields of about 7 to 9.

27. Andronikos 1981, pp. 59–60 and pl. 68.

28. Petsas 1966, pls. A, Z', l' 2, 27–30; pp. 160–170 for the battle scene. This monograph of 1966 and Stella Miller's monograph of 1993 on the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles are the most complete studies published of any of the Macedonian tombs discovered thus far, and one hopes that these studies will soon be equaled by detailed analyses of the great tombs at Vergina, whose publication was interrupted by the death of Manolis Andronikos.

29. Petsas 1966, p. 179.

30. Orlandos 1958; Daux 1959.

31. Lorimer (1947, p. 76 and note 30) asserts that the size of the hoplite shield was fixed within comparatively narrow limits, since the radius must be "approximately equal to the length of the owner's forearm measured from the inside of the elbow to the finger tips" and "17 inches or very little less appears to be an ordinary measurement for a man of medium height, which give a diameter of 34 inches for the shield; . . . The diameters (of hoplite shields) excavated at Olympia varied between 80 and 100 centimeters—roughly 31 to 39 inches."

32. See the discussion of the battlefield trophy in Pritchett 1974, pp. 246–275.

33. For photographs of the wall at Dion, see references above, note 8.

established, but Pantermalis told me at the Melbourne conference in 1991 that recent excavations have shown that the wall would be later than 200 B.C. Like the shield monument at Veria, the armor represented is life-size.

DATE OF THE SHIELD MONUMENT AT VERIA

Any attempt to assign a date to the shield monument must begin with the two types of shields represented in relief on its front wall and the establishment of their period of use by the Macedonians. The monument may represent styles of shields employed in the past by the Macedonians but no longer in use at the time the monument was set up. Moreover, the character and location of the monument imply the circumstances in which it was constructed. It would have been very expensive to erect: the marble is of good quality, the blocks were skillfully worked, and the size was large for its purpose. Therefore, it was probably built by a wealthy person or by public subscription at a time when Veria had political importance and power. In addition, it may well commemorate an event of great importance.

The shields displayed on the monument are infantry shields, and their arrangement could suggest the Macedonian phalanx as it was organized under Philip II and Alexander the Great. The larger hoplite shields were carried by the hypaspists under Alexander, and he usually stationed them on the right flank of the Foot Companions. The smaller shields were used by the sarissa-armed Foot Companions, and the number of these shields seems to represent the brigades of Foot Companions which Alexander deployed in the middle of his battleline in the major battles in Asia.³⁴ He did not station hypaspists on the left flank of the Foot Companions, but for symmetry one hoplite shield has been placed on both sides of the group of five smaller shields.

Although it could be argued that this is circular reasoning based on our knowledge of the organization of the Macedonian phalanx, the point remains that regardless of how the shields on the monument are arranged, the two types of shields uniquely represented together allude to the Macedonian phalanx, and the features of the small shield blocks require that they be placed together, just as the sarissa-armed infantry who carried those small shields were always deployed together in the middle of the battleline. On the other hand, it *would* be possible to place both hoplite shield blocks on the right side of the group of small shields (to the viewer's left), which would indeed more accurately represent the arrangement of the phalanx, but, because this arrangement would result in an unbalanced design, I have chosen not to do so. Moreover, some explanation is required for the fact that both kinds of shields are combined on the same monument, for which no parallel exists. I would suggest that a majority of adult male Macedonians who would see the monument daily would have employed those two kinds of shields in training and in battle and would have regarded their combination as an allusion to the phalanx. In addition, the blocks representing the small type of shields can be reconstructed to represent only five shields, and the number of *taxeis* of sarissa-armed "pezetairoi" and "asthetairoi" under Alexander varied from five to seven.³⁵ Fi-

34. Arr., *Anab.* 1.14.2–3, describing deployment for the battle at the Granicus River, mentions the pattern with the hypaspists on the right wing and next to them the six *taxeis* of the Foot Companions, identified by their commanders, whose special equipment comprised the sarissa and small shield. For similar deployment at other major battles, see *Anab.* 2.8.3–4 (Issus); 3.11.9–10 (Gaugamela).

35. From five at the Battle of Hydaspes (Arr., *Anab.* 5.11.3–12.2; 16.3; 17.3–18.1 with Fuller 1958, pp. 187–199, esp. battle plan, p. 192) to six at the battles of Granicus (Arr., *Anab.* 1.14.2–3 with Bosworth 1980, pp. 117–118), Issus (Arr., *Anab.* 2.8.3–4), and Gaugamela (Arr., *Anab.* 3.11.9–10 with Bosworth 1980, pp. 300–301), to seven after 330 with the introduction of the Asian "pezetairoi" (Hammond 1981, p. 240).

nally, the two hoplite shields might represent the division of the hypaspists into the *agema* of the *hypaspistai* and the rest of the *hypaspistai*.³⁶

A *terminus post quem* for the monument can be easily demonstrated, since it must fall within a period when infantry had importance in Macedonia and when the sarissa was employed as an infantry weapon, since the small shield came into use only with the sarissa. Establishing a *terminus ante quem* presents a more difficult problem. First, a date must be determined when either or both of the two types of shields featured on the monument were no longer in use among the Macedonians and their enemies. Second, if no event can be identified within that period to which the monument can be related, the possibility must be considered whether there is a later event that the monument commemorates by referring to types of shields earlier than those employed by the Macedonians and their enemies at the time the monument was erected.

A *terminus post quem* for the date of the shield monument at Veria is the beginning of the reign of Philip II because he "first organized the Macedonian phalanx" (Diod. 16.3.2). Philip's elder brother Alexander II, who ruled only one year (370/69), is credited in a much disputed passage of Anaximenes (*FGrH* 72, F 2) with establishing the Foot Companions, but the usurpation of Ptolemy of Alorus must have frustrated this reform. The young prince Philip was sent as hostage to Thebes, where from the age of fourteen to seventeen he was under the influence of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Only after the accession of his elder brother Perdiccas did Philip return to Macedonia and develop the infantry, which he employed with such success against the Illyrians in 358 B.C.³⁷ All rulers of Macedonia preceding Philip were dependent on Greek hoplite forces that they obtained by alliance or employed as mercenaries whenever the need arose, since no native Macedonian hoplite infantry was available.³⁸

Representation of the small Macedonian shields on the shield monument establishes decisively the reign of Philip as a *terminus post quem* for the monument. Such shields were carried only by infantry armed with sarissae, and Philip was the first Macedonian king to arm his infantry with this weapon. Indeed, its use is attested in battles only late in his reign, and the earliest detailed accounts of its effectiveness in combat relate to the reign of Alexander the Great.³⁹ The earliest battles in which infantries armed with sarissae fought against each other were in the wars waged among the Successors of Alexander.

THE MACEDONIAN HOPLITE SHIELD

Since the traditional Greek hoplite shield is represented on the shield monument in Veria, it is necessary to determine how long this style of shield was employed by Macedonian infantry. The earliest representation of traditional Greek hoplite shields on a Macedonian building dates to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. The prothamos of a tomb near Katerine is decorated with round shields on the upper part of three of its walls. The best-preserved shield on the north wall features a black hunting dog and is of the traditional Greek hoplite type with offset rim and outer surface of a relatively flat curvature. This tomb is firmly dated by its con-

36. Arr., *Anab.* 2.8.3; 3.11.9. Also 1.1.11, where the *agema* is named without the qualification of the *hypaspistai*. It was an elite corps of *hypaspists*, and the term is sometimes translated as "the Guard."

37. For the development of Macedonian infantry, see Markle 1978, esp. pp. 484–486; cf. Hammond 1980.

38. An anonymous referee of this article posed two questions about hoplite infantry employed, or fought against, by the Macedonians before Philip II. To the first, regarding the representation of weapons used by Greek mercenaries in the army before Philip, I would answer that mercenaries would not be commemorated or honored in a large public monument. Though their help was welcomed by the rulers and states who employed them, they fell into the despised category of "hirelings"; all obligations to them were discharged upon their receipt of wages. Their numbers were so great in the 4th century B.C. and their character such that they were regarded as a threat: see, e.g., Isocr., *Phil.* 96, 120, 121. A second question suggested that this monument represented spoils from a battle: this interpretation would be possible if hoplite shields only were displayed on the monument, but they are represented in conjunction with the small shields which were employed only by sarissa-armed infantry. The sarissa was used before Philip neither by the Macedonians nor by their enemies.

39. All scholars are now in agreement that Philip's infantrymen were the first to use the sarissa. I would no longer maintain that Philip employed the sarissa only as a cavalry weapon and that Alexander first adopted it as an infantry weapon. Instead, Philip may well have employed it at Chaeroneia in 338 as an infantry weapon: see Markle 1978; cf. Hammond 1980.



Figure 41. Hoplite shield represented on the Alexander Sarcophagus.

Archaeological Museum, Istanbul:
Markle 1981, fig. 11

tents to ca. 375 to 350 B.C.⁴⁰ The best representation of the use of this shield in battle is found on the Alexander Sarcophagus, dated to 312 B.C., and this scene is generally and correctly regarded by scholars as accurately portraying Macedonian arms and armor of the period of Alexander (Fig. 41).⁴¹

The latest representation on a Macedonian building of the traditional Greek hoplite shield is found on a tomb at Vergina tentatively dated to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. On the facade of this tomb above the lintel is painted a young hoplite standing up and holding a spear in his right hand. He wears a cuirass and high sandals, and on his left a woman offers him a golden stephanos. On his right is a seated young man with chlamys, sword, and shield, which leans against the right side of his seat. This shield is clearly the traditional Greek hoplite type with a rather flat curvature and offset rim. The only decoration is a central zone painted in a darker color.⁴²

The Macedonians' use of the traditional Greek hoplite shield until about 300 B.C. is also attested by its appearance on coins. The reverse of a Macedonian tetradrachm dated by Price to ca. 325–ca. 300 B.C. displays in the field to the left a shield of the traditional Greek hoplite type with no decoration except for ΑΣ on its face (Fig. 42).⁴³ Again, a tetradrachm from Marathus, dated by Price ca. 323–ca. 300 B.C. and identified as from the issues of Philip III and early posthumous Alexanders, displays the traditional Greek hoplite shield with offset rim.⁴⁴

The earliest change in the design of the Macedonian hoplite shield

40. Despoine 1980; see especially the line drawing of the tomb in cross-section for the location of the shield (fig. 3 on p. 201) and a photograph of the shield (fig. 4 on p. 203).

41. It is not necessary to cite the large number of finds that confirm the sculptor's attention to accurate detail. This matter, so far as I know, is not disputed.

42. Andronikos 1981, pp. 59–60 and pl. 68.

43. Price 1991, II, pl. XL: no. 811; for a line drawing of the coin, see Mueller 1855, no. 1473.

44. Price 1991, I, pp. 433–435 and II, Marathus, no. P165.



Figure 42. Rev.: Macedonian tetradrachm representing hoplite shield, ca. 325–ca. 300 B.C.
Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

from the flat curvature of the traditional Greek type to a more bowl-like, convex profile is shown on a Macedonian tetradrachm, dated by Price to ca. 320–ca. 317 B.C. (Fig. 43).⁴⁵ The shield, shown in side view, is very convex but with an offset rim of the hoplite type. It lacks the characteristic Macedonian decoration but seems to display some device along its vertical profile which cannot be identified. The Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios, dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C., shows hoplite shields with the characteristic Macedonian decoration painted on the outer surface, but because of the angle at which they are shown it is impossible to determine whether they are of flat curvature or more bowl-like.⁴⁶

The alteration of the Macedonian hoplite shield to a more bowl-like shape is illustrated also by the Athena Alkidemos (the Macedonian goddess whose statue was at Pella) series of coins. The cult statue of the goddess is shown on coins of different dates as equipped with different types of shields, and it seems most probable that the actual statue was adorned with new kinds of armor as soon as these came into fashion. One reminds oneself that the Greeks commonly washed and renewed the dress of the statues of their gods and goddesses. Alternatively, the artist who designed the particular coin would be likely to have represented the statue as armed in the contemporary fashion. A silver tetradrachm of Ptolemy I Soter dated 315/314 B.C. represents on the reverse Athena Alkidemos carrying the traditional Greek hoplite shield with flat curvature and offset rim (Fig. 44). The shape of this shield resembles that of the shields carried by Macedonian infantry on the Alexander Sarcophagus, which is contemporary with this coin. In contrast, Antigonos Gonatas issued a coin of the Athena Alkidemos type in 277 B.C. to commemorate his victory over the Gauls (Fig. 45).⁴⁷ On the reverse, Athena Alkidemos carries on her left arm a hoplite shield with offset rim, but its shape is more bowl-like than that of the shield carried by the goddess on the coin of Ptolemy I.⁴⁸

Other coins dated around 300 B.C. show that by this time a more convex, bowl-like hoplite shield had come into use among the Macedonians. A silver tetradrachm of Seleucus I (ca. 303–300 B.C.) represents on the reverse Victory crowning a trophy (Fig. 46). The shield on this trophy is more bowl-like than the traditional Greek hoplite shield, and its offset rim is bent inward to make it much more hollow within. A silver tetradrachm of Lysimachus (300–298 B.C.) shows on the reverse a seated Athena Nikephoros with a hoplite shield resting against her chair (Fig. 47). The offset rim of this shield resembles closely that of the traditional Greek hoplite type, but the rest of the shield is more convex or bowl-like.

It is impossible to determine whether the hoplite shield in the wall painting of the tomb dated by Andronikos to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. is convex in shape or not, since it is shown face-on, but the shading indicates a more bowl-like design than the traditional Greek flat curvature.⁴⁹ The sum of all this evidence from sculpture, painting, and coins does indicate that the Macedonians began to modify their hoplite shields to a more bowl-like shape from about 315 to 300 B.C.

Eventually the Macedonian hoplite shield was to lose its offset rim, gain the decoration of concentric circles, bows, asterisks, and so forth, which,

45. Price 1991, II, pl. XXIII: no. 136a.

46. For references, see note 25.

47. Brett 1950, p. 63 and pl. XII: 14.

48. For other photographs of these two contrasting coins of Athena Alkidemos, see Markle 1981, p. 95, fig. 12, cf. p. 96, fig. 15 reverse.

49. Andronikos 1981, pp. 59–60 and pl. 68.



Figure 43 (left). *Rev.*: Macedonian tetradrachm representing a more bowl-like shield, ca. 320–ca. 317 B.C. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 44 (center). Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I Soter, 315/314 B.C. *Rev.*: Athena Alkidemos carrying hoplite shield. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society

Figure 45 (right). Tetradrachm of Antigonus Gonatas, 277 B.C. *Rev.*: Athena Alkidemos carrying hoplite shield. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society

as we shall see, characterized the smaller shields, and become even more convex and bowl-like in profile. The monument of Aemilius Paulus at Delphi celebrating his victory over Perseus at Pydna in 168 B.C. shows Macedonian hoplite shields of this type, identified with certainty by the inner arm-ring and handle inside the rim shown on one of these shields.⁵⁰ The question of when this development took place still cannot be answered. I have argued that the shields represented in the wall paintings of the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles were Macedonian hoplite shields, because they are displayed in contexts of the hoplite panoply and the decoration of the one on the south wall is very similar to that of the Macedonian shields in the monument of Aemilius Paulus.⁵¹ However, Stella Miller-Collett, in her monograph on the tomb, which she dates to about 200 B.C., has expressed some valid objections to my view and has said that the problem needs to be reconsidered.⁵² Her publication of the measurements of all the arms and armor depicted in the tomb has convinced me that my previous conclusions are incorrect and that the shields must be identified as the smaller type which was employed with the sarissa. The measurements indicate that the painter has represented all the arms and armor as life-size. Indeed, by applying a metric tape to myself I discovered that I could wear the greaves, helmets, and corselets if they could be made three-dimensional in the actual size in which they are represented. I would, therefore, conclude that the shield on the north wall having a diameter of 0.73 m and that on the south wall having a diameter of 0.75 m must be identified as the small type of Macedonian shield.⁵³ Thus, we are unable to determine how long before the Battle of Pydna the Macedonian hoplite shield reached its ultimate development of a bowl-like shape without an offset rim.

THE MACEDONIAN TELAMON SHIELD

Representations of this smaller shield, which was used with the sarissa, on coins and on buildings show that two types of small shield were employed concurrently. These differed only in shape: one had a convex and bowl-like profile, and the other had a more flat curvature.

50. Markle 1981, p. 93, fig. 8, p. 98, figs. 19–21; for a different view on these shields, cf. Anderson 1976.

51. Markle 1981, pp. 96–97, figs. 16, 17.

52. Miller 1993, p. 55.

53. For measurements of all arms and armor, see Miller 1993, pp. 51–55. For the starburst shield on the north wall, Miller has observed beneath the paint a preliminary sketch (p. 55) which would have produced a shield of ca. 0.86 m, the size of a rather small hoplite shield. Perhaps the artist originally intended to represent such a shield but changed his mind.

Figure 46 (left). Tetradrachm of Seleucus I, ca. 303–300 B.C. *Rev.*: Victory crowning a trophy with a bowl-like shield. Theodora Wilbour Fund in memory of Charlotte Beebe Wilbour, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 47 (right). Tetradrachm of Lysimachus, 300–298 B.C. *Rev.*: Athena Nikephoros with bowl-like hoplite shield. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



THE CONVEX, BOWL-LIKE SMALLER SHIELD

The earliest representation of this small, rimless shield is found on a coin dated ca. 336/5–ca. 329/8 B.C. (Fig. 48).⁵⁴ On the reverse of this coin is a rider on a horse facing right with the legend “Philippou” between the head and tail of the horse, and under the horse is a round Macedonian shield with its strap hanging down. The shield has the characteristic Macedonian decoration of circles and bows, only in part visible, on its outer surface. The detail of the strap is of crucial importance in identifying this as the small Macedonian shield, which lacked the central arm-ring and handle of the hoplite shield and was fastened by a strap, or telamon, to the left shoulder of the sarissa-armed infantryman to permit him to use both hands to carry the sarissa.

The other identifying feature of the small shield was that it lacked the offset rim of the hoplite shield, and it is this characteristic that allows us to identify the smaller shield on other coins, the two earliest of which are dated to ca. 323/2–315 B.C. (Fig. 49).⁵⁵ The reverses of these two coins feature a horseman holding a palm, the legend “Philippou” to his front, and to his rear a round Macedonian shield. On both coins the shields have faint decoration, but only on one is the center decorated with a device resembling the Greek letter *pi*, the central zone of the other being clear.

The entire obverse of a bronze coin of Alexander IV represents a round Macedonian shield whose perimeter is defined by three circular ridges, inside of which is a circular zone of floating “bows,” each containing an asterisk, surrounding a central reserve defined by a circular ridge containing a large asterisk (Fig. 50).⁵⁶ This shield can be identified as the small Macedonian type by its lack of an offset rim and by the fact that Macedonian hoplite shields of this period were not decorated in this manner. Coins minted in the name of Alexander IV would have been intended to circulate “in Macedonia and the Balkan area from 315 until his death was officially announced.”⁵⁷ The coins of Eupolemos, the Macedonian dynast of Mylasa in Caria (314 B.C.), provide additional early evidence for the bowl-like, small Macedonian shields with their outer surface decorated “with a series of shallow bow-like motives arranged within a zone around a central medallion delimited by concentric ridges.”⁵⁸ Two coins of Eupolemos each

54. Le Rider 1977, p. 50 and pl. 16: no. 383.

55. Le Rider 1977, p. 59 and pl. 9: nos. 460, 461.

56. Gaebler 1935, p. 172 and pl. 31: no. 33.

57. Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 162.

58. Callaghan 1979, p. 55.



Figure 48 (left). Macedonian tetradrachm, ca. 336/5–329/8 B.C.
Rev.: rider on a horse facing right.
Courtesy Staatliche Museen, Berlin

Figure 49 (right). Macedonian tetradrachm, ca. 323/2–315 B.C.
Rev.: rider on a horse facing right.
Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

display on the obverse three such Macedonian shields heaped together (Fig. 51).⁵⁹

Moreover, coins dated to about 300 B.C. illustrate that the convex, rimless shields, some of which were decorated in the characteristic Macedonian style, were in general use among the Successors. A coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes displays on the obverse a shield similar in decoration to that represented by the coin of Alexander IV (Fig. 52).⁶⁰ Additional evidence showing that the fully developed small Macedonian shield was in general use is a silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas issued to commemorate his victory over the Gauls in 277 B.C.⁶¹ The entire obverse is taken up by a small Macedonian shield with its characteristic decoration. A coin employing another similar coin of Antigonos as a model was issued by Pyrrhus after his second conquest of Macedonia in 274–273 B.C. (Fig. 53).⁶² The entire obverse of this coin represents a small Macedonian shield with the monogram of Pyrrhus enclosed in the central medallion decorating the outer surface.

Finally, fragments of a bronze bowl-shaped Macedonian small shield of an estimated diameter of 0.736 m have recently been published and dated to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.⁶³ These bowl-shaped small shields suspended by a telamon from the left shoulder of sarissa-armed Macedonian infantry were in use from the reign of Philip II in the mid 4th century until the Roman defeat of Perseus in the mid 2nd century B.C., yet only once in the archaeological record are they shown in use. Among the objects excavated at Pergamon was a bronze plate (L. 0.24 m) representing in relief a battle scene. The combat has been identified as a scene from the Battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. (Fig. 54).⁶⁴ On the left, in front of a rallying standard, two infantrymen are equipped in the Macedonian manner, with sarissae and with shields supported on their left shoulders and arms in such a way as to leave both hands free to hold their sarissae. They are assailed by cavalry armed with lances and circular shields and by Roman infantry armed with oval shields and swords.⁶⁵ The shields held by the sarissa-armed infantrymen have about the same relative diameter as the smaller shields on the monument from Veria, but they are more bowl-like in shape and have decoration similar to the small Macedonian shields represented on coins.

59. Gaebler 1935, pp. 177–178, pl. 32: nos. 15 and 16.

60. Gaebler 1935, pl. 33: no. 20.

61. Gaebler 1935, pl. 34: no. 1.

62. Gaebler 1935, pl. 33: nos. 22, 23, and see Lévêque 1957, pp. 561–565 and pl. 7: no. 17.

63. Adam-Veleni 1993, p. 19.

64. For the bronze plate, see *AvP* pp. 250–251. Callaghan (1981, p. 117) argues that this relief represents a scene from the Battle of Magnesia. I am not convinced by Callaghan's identification of the cavalry with that of Eumenes. Is there any evidence that Pergamene cavalry carried shields? Roman Republican horsemen did carry shields precisely like the one carried by the forward rider on the bronze plate, as shown by a relief from the Lacus Curtius in the Forum at Rome; see illustration in Connolly 1981, p. 133, fig. 9.

65. The infantry fighting with swords are surely Roman: see the description of Romans fighting with swords against Pyrrhus' sarissa-armed phalanx at Asculum (Plut., *Pyrr.* 21.6).

Figure 50 (*left*). Macedonian bronze coin of Alexander IV, 315–307 B.C. *Obv.*: round Macedonian shield. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum



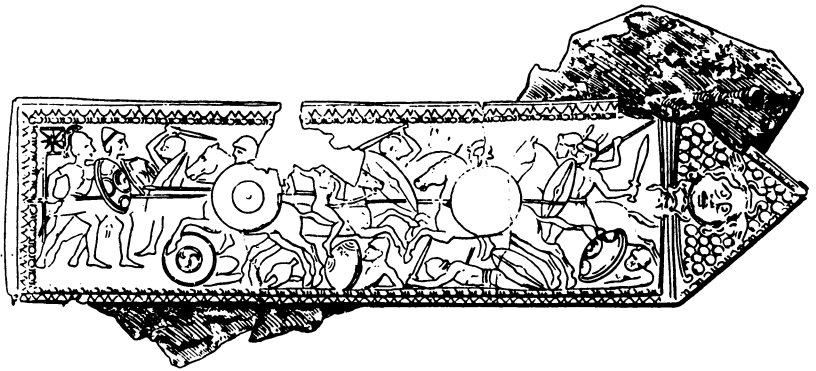
Figure 51 (*right*). Coin of Eupolemos of Caria, 314 B.C. *Obv.*: three Macedonian shields. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 52 (*left*). Coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, ca. 300 B.C. *Obv.*: round Macedonian shield. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 53 (*right*). Coin of Pyrrhus, 274–273 B.C. *Obv.*: Macedonian shield with monogram of Pyrrhus in central medallion. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 54. Bronze plate from Pergamon, ca. 190 B.C., representing a battle scene with sarissae and shields. *AvPI*, p. 251, fig. 1



SMALLER SHIELD WITH FLAT CURVATURE

The smaller shields on the monument at Veria resemble the telamon shields represented on the coinage and on the Pergamene bronze plate in that they lack the offset rims of the hoplite shields, but they differ from the shields on the coins and the plate in two significant respects: they lack any decoration, and they are not bowl-like in profile but exhibit a relatively flat curvature. The absence of decoration may not be important: the sculptor might have wanted to represent them, as he did the hoplite shields, without decoration, and in some depictions of these shields the decoration was painted on applied stucco.

The difference in shape is more significant and requires comment. Asclepiodotus' description of the shield employed by the sarissa-armed Macedonian phalanx applies more precisely to the smaller shields on the Veria monument than to the more bowl-like shields represented on the coins and the bronze plate. Asclepiodotus writes (*Tactics* 5.1): "The best of the shields employed by the phalanx is the Macedonian of bronze, eight palms in diameter, and not too hollow." The Greek palm equaled 0.0775 m, and the diameter of this shield was then 0.620 m. The additional qualification of Asclepiodotus that the shield must not be too hollow would imply that these shields would not be bowl-like and convex in outer profile, which was, as we have shown, an alternative shape of Macedonian small shields in use from the time of Philip II to Perseus.⁶⁶ The smaller shields on the monument from Veria satisfy Asclepiodotus' description in all respects except that they are about 12–14 cm larger in diameter.

Evidence shows that the relatively flat small rimless shield was used at the same time as the more bowl-like shields represented on coins and other artifacts. This shield with its flat curvature appears on tombs and other buildings that are variously dated from the middle of the 4th century B.C. to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. First, on the "Prince's Tomb" at Vergina two rimless shields are formed with stucco on the upper parts of the walls between the pilasters at the corner and the door jambs. Poorly preserved painted decoration can be discerned on their outer convex surfaces, one of which had a garland of leaves on its outer edge. The dimensions of the shields are not given, but a comparison of them with the higher frieze, which is described as 0.63 m high, indicates that they are about 0.70 m in diameter. Andronikos convincingly dates this tomb to about 325 B.C., and he excludes any date earlier than 350 or later than 310 B.C.⁶⁷ These shields clearly represent the small Macedonian shield, but, unlike the bowl-like shields represented on the contemporaneous coins of Alexander IV and Eupolemos, they have a relatively flat curvature.

The small shield represented on the frieze of the tomb at Agios Athanasios is shown face-on, and so it is impossible to determine whether the profile is flat or bowl-like. Its rim is distinctly defined by a narrow band of red paint, but only a profile view could determine whether the rim is offset.⁶⁸ Similar shields carved in stone and without decoration, precisely like the small shields on the monument at Veria, decorated the great circular Hero's Shrine at Archontikos Giannitson, 4.5 km northwest of Pella. In a preliminary report of the excavations, Chrysostomos describes a large circular foundation built in seven courses (perimeter 158.5 m, H. 4.20 m), which he identifies as that of a hero's shrine containing a tomb. He writes: "Representations of circular Macedonian shields, without rims and sculptured decoration, were borne by the blocks of the sixth course at intervals. . . . The shields have a diameter of 62 cm. and a maximum sculptured elevation of 6.5 cm." Chrysostomos dates this monument on the basis of ceramic finds "to the years of Antigonus Gonatas (276–239 B.C.)."⁶⁹ Finally, the Macedonian tomb at Spelia, Eordaia, is decorated with two relatively flat small Macedonian shields with painted ornamentation, located on the right and left of the tomb entrance on the wall between Doric

66. The view expressed here differs from my earlier argument: see Markle 1981, pp. 92–94.

67. Andronikos 1993, description on p. 198; discussion of dates, pp. 221–224.

68. For references, see note 25.

69. Chrysostomos 1987, pp. 154–155 (my translation of his Greek text), and 1990, p. 225.

half-columns immediately beneath the epistyle. These shields were initially carved in relief on the stone and then coated with layers of plaster on which decoration was painted. The shield to the viewer's left had a diameter of 0.720 m, and the one to the right 0.690 m. This tomb is dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.⁷⁰

Since the relatively flat type of smaller shield represented on the monument at Veria was in use from the mid 4th to the mid 2nd century B.C., its presence can provide only limited evidence for the date of the structure. For that purpose, the style of the hoplite shields is more useful. These shields are of the traditional Greek type, and there is no indication that this style of shield was used by the Macedonians after about 300 B.C. There is no event before this date recorded in the ancient sources that could explain the erection of such a monument at Veria, although it must be conceded that evidence of the event commemorated by the monument might only incidentally not be preserved in the ancient sources. Of course, this city is scarcely mentioned in extant accounts of events of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. Indeed, the proclamation of Pyrrhus as king of Macedonia, which took place in Veria in 287 B.C., is the only recorded event during this period in which the city played an important role, and the possibility that the monument celebrates this occasion is worth examining. The allusion to the phalanx of Alexander the Great must be explained.

INTERPRETATION OF THE SHIELD MONUMENT

According to Pausanias (10.40.7–9), the Macedonians did not customarily raise battlefield trophies because a lion had once destroyed a trophy set up by Caranus, legendary founder of the Macedonian royal house. Instead of erecting a trophy representing, or adorned with, the captured weapons and armor of the defeated enemies, Philip II set up imposing statues of lions at Chaeronea and at Amphipolis to commemorate his most important victories.⁷¹ Like his father, Alexander did not set up battlefield trophies to commemorate his victories, but the Successors changed this tradition. A coin of Seleucus I displays on the reverse Victory crowning a trophy that had probably been erected at Ipsus in 301 B.C. (Fig. 46). Alexander, however, did commemorate his victory at the Granicus River by having bronze statues of his twenty-five Companions who fell in the first assault set up at Diom.⁷² The monument of Veria is consistent with this tradition established by Alexander.

I here propose that the shield monument at Veria celebrates a bloodless victory that took place in the following way. As the sources indicate, in 288, fearing Demetrius' great military preparations to reclaim his father's empire in the East, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus formed an alliance against him; they then urged Pyrrhus to disregard his truce with Demetrius and to cooperate with them in making war on him. In the spring of 287, Ptolemy sailed to Greece to raise revolts against Demetrius; at the same time, Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus came from

70. Karametrou-Menteside 1987, pp. 30 and 33, note 32; note esp. fig. 7 on p. 32, which shows the shield's profile in cross-section. For the date, see Karametrou-Menteside 1991, p. 148.

71. The Athenian orator Lycurgus, quoted by Diodorus (16.88.2), confused the lion monument at Chaeronea with a trophy. Diodorus also attests a trophy for Philip's important victory over the Illyrians in 358 B.C. (16.4.7), but the location of this battlefield is unknown. For a recent discussion, see Pritchett 1974, pp. 262–263.

72. Arr., *Anab.* 1.16.4; cf. Aristobulus in Plut., *Alex.* 16.7.

Epirus.⁷³ Demetrius, leaving his son in charge of the military preparations in Greece, hastened to the rescue of Macedonia, setting out first against Lysimachus, who had already captured Amphipolis. Meanwhile, Pyrrhus captured Veria; when news of this exploit reached the army of Demetrius, many deserted to Lysimachus.

Demetrius decided to abandon the struggle with Lysimachus and lead the remainder of his army against Pyrrhus; he reckoned that his army had deserted because Lysimachus was, like himself, a Macedonian, while Pyrrhus was a foreigner and so would not be preferred by the Macedonians to himself. But when Demetrius had encamped near Pyrrhus' army, many Verians came to his camp and praised Pyrrhus' military skill and his kindness to captives. Others, sent by Pyrrhus and pretending to be Macedonians, stressed his sympathy with the common people and his love for his soldiers. They compared these qualities with Demetrius' severity and urged his soldiers that the occasion was favorable to rid themselves of Demetrius. Consequently, the army began to desert Demetrius, eventually in large numbers, and joined Pyrrhus. Finally, "some men ventured to approach Demetrius and to urge him to go away and save himself; for the Macedonians, they said, were worn out fighting wars to support his luxurious way of living." Demetrius followed the advice and, disguising himself, stole away to find refuge with his wife at Cassandreia. So Pyrrhus took over the camp without striking a blow and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.⁷⁴

The shield monument at Veria possibly commemorates Pyrrhus' proclamation as king of Macedonia. The shields on its front wall perhaps allude to the Macedonian phalanx; it was the Macedonian infantry that proclaimed Pyrrhus.⁷⁵ A quality of Pyrrhus that gained him the support of the common soldiers at the expense of Demetrius was that Pyrrhus was believed to be *demotikos* and *philostratiotes* (Plut., *Pyrr.* 11.4). The ancient accounts give no indication that the cavalry deserted Demetrius and supported Pyrrhus. The second aspect of the monument that could be related to Pyrrhus' "victory" is the fact that the phalanx is not the contemporary Macedonian phalanx of the Successors or indeed of Pyrrhus himself, but of Alexander the Great. There could have been two reasons for this allusion. The Macedonians regarded Pyrrhus as another Alexander because of his military skill and valor, and, second, Pyrrhus credited his proclamation as king to Alexander's support. In 289 Pyrrhus defeated the Macedonian phalanx under Pantauchus, a general of Demetrius, and took 5,000 prisoners, "but this defeat did not lead the Macedonians to hate Pyrrhus; it rather led those who beheld his exploits to esteem him highly. For they likened his aspect and his swiftness and his movements to those of Alexander" (Plut., *Pyrr.* 8.1). Demetrius had assumed the oriental aspects of Alexander's kingship: dress of purple embroidered with gold, remoteness from his subjects, cruelty, and harshness. The Macedonians were unused to such qualities in their kings, and so preferred Pyrrhus, whom they regarded as an Alexander unspoiled by Persian influences (Plut., *Demet.* 41.2–42.3).

But even more to the point, Pyrrhus believed, or claimed to believe, that he owed his elevation to the Macedonian throne to Alexander. En

73. Plut., *Demet.* 44.1; *Pyrr.* 11.1. Dates from Walbank in Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 227.

74. I have compiled this account from Plut., *Demet.* 44 and *Pyrr.* 11, which are in agreement on all essential facts.

75. Walbank's argument against Errington's view that the men who urged Demetrius to go were "influential nobles" is convincing: see Hammond and Walbank, p. 228, note 4. Tataki (1988, p. 420) argues convincingly that epigraphic evidence indicates that Veria was the "native city of Antigonos I, Monophthalmos," a view proposed by Edson "about 50 years ago," and that the local aristocracy was "bound by ties of kinship to the royal family." The common people of Veria may not have shared the affection of the aristocracy for Demetrius.

route with his army toward Veria the night before he captured Veria, "Pyrrhus dreamed that he was called by Alexander the Great, and that when he answered the call he found the king lying on a couch, but was met with auspicious words, kind treatment and promises of opportune assistance. Then he himself ventured to ask, 'And how, O king, when you are ill, would you be able to help me?' And he replied, 'By my name itself' and mounting a Nisaian horse, he led the way" (Plut., *Pyrr.* 11.2). Plutarch in his accounts of Demetrius and Pyrrhus frequently cites Hieronymus of Cardia, and Hieronymus made use of the *Memoires* of Pyrrhus, to which I would attribute the record of this dream.⁷⁶ I would like to suggest that this great marble base at Veria once supported a magnificent statue of Alexander mounted upon a Nisaian horse leading Pyrrhus to the throne of the Macedonian kings.

76. Plut., *Pyrr.* 17.4, 21.8–9
(Hieronymus cites Pyrrhus' *Memoires*).

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