

**Society and Burials from Central-Western Macedon, 550–300 BCE:  
Intersections of Gender, Age, and Status**

by

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*Äidilleni*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Dedication  | ii   |
| Acknowledgments   | iii  |
| List of Tables  | x    |
| List of Figures   | xiii |
| List of Maps  | xv   |
| List of Abbreviations   | xvi  |
| Abstract  | xvii |
| <b>Part I: Mortuary theory and Macedonian mortuary behavior</b>                           |      |
| Chapter 1: Introduction   | 1    |
| 1.1 The periphery: early scholarship  | 5    |
| 1.2 What is Macedon? A working definition   | 7    |
| 1.3 Toward synthesis: scholarship and fieldwork since 1980                                | 11   |
| 1.4 Limitations and future directions   | 17   |
| 1.5 Overview of the dissertation  | 18   |
| Chapter 2: Theoretical frameworks<br>and methodological approaches to the mortuary record | 20   |
| 2.1 “Multiply-burdened”: identity theory and intersectional feminism                      | 21   |
| 2.1.1 Approaches to identity in archaeology: a brief history                              | 23   |

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 2.1.2   | Gender, feminist theory, and intersectionality                  | 29  |
| 2.1.3   | The individual in archaeology                                   | 37  |
| 2.2   | Writ in water, carved in stone: mortuary archaeology            | 39  |
| 2.2.1   | Agency and the ontology of the mortuary record: a brief history | 40  |
| 2.2.2   | Landscape approaches  | 47  |
| 2.2.3   | Mortuary expenditure  | 50  |
| 2.3   | Operationalizing identity and feminist theory: methodology      | 52  |
| 2.3.1   | Database  | 56  |
| 2.3.2   | Analytical methods  | 58  |
| 2.3.3   | A note on terminology   | 59  |
| Chapter 3: Macedonian mortuary behavior       |   | 61  |
| 3.1   | Spatial and chronological boundaries                            | 63  |
| 3.2   | Key sites   | 71  |
| 3.3   | Mortuary customs  | 84  |
| 3.3.1   | The location and spatial organization of cemeteries             | 84  |
| 3.3.2   | Types of burials  | 85  |
| 3.3.3   | Body treatment  | 95  |
| 3.3.4   | Assemblages   | 98  |
| 3.3.5   | The afterlife and ancestors                                     | 100 |
| 3.4   | Conclusion: narrative of a burial                               | 107 |
| <b>Part II: Social personae</b>               |   |     |
| Chapter 4: War and wine sacks: Macedonian men |   | 111 |
| 4.1   | Studies of ancient masculinity and the Homeric model            | 112 |

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| 4.2  | Osteological evidence   | 117 |
| 4.3  | Grave types and orientation   | 122 |
| 4.4  | Warriors and military equipment: Homeric warriors and <i>hetairoi</i> ? | 125 |
| 4.4.1  | Macedonian warriors in literary sources                                 | 126 |
| 4.4.2  | Prevalence of military equipment  | 129 |
| 4.4.3  | Sets of weapons: Archaic Arkhontiko                                     | 132 |
| 4.4.4  | Diachronic change   | 137 |
| 4.4.5  | Hellenistic elite warriors  | 139 |
| 4.4.6  | Discussion: military equipment  | 142 |
| 4.5  | Vessels for drinking and feasting                                       | 144 |
| 4.5.1  | Macedonian drinking in literary sources and scholarship                 | 145 |
| 4.5.2  | Ceramic vessels   | 148 |
| 4.5.3  | Metal vessels   | 151 |
| 4.5.4  | Discussion: vessels   | 153 |
| 4.6  | Body treatment  | 154 |
| 4.7  | In search of athleticism  | 156 |
| 4.8  | Observers of the skies, salt of the earth: other aspects of manhood     | 158 |
| 4.8.1  | Learned men   | 158 |
| 4.8.2  | Farmers and hunters   | 160 |
| 4.9  | Conclusions   | 161 |
| Chapter 5: Phialai and family feeling: women |   | 164 |
| 5.1  | Textual and other sources: rulers, warriors, priestesses                | 166 |
| 5.2  | Osteological evidence   | 174 |



|   |  |     |
|---|--|-----|
| 5.3   | Grave types and orientation                          | 179 |
| 5.4   | Groupings within and among graves                    | 180 |
| 5.5   | Beauty and personal adornment                        | 190 |
| 5.5.1   | Toiletry vessels                                     | 190 |
| 5.5.2   | Jewelry and mirrors                                  | 193 |
| 5.5.3   | Dress  | 196 |
| 5.6   | Evidence for religious practices                     | 198 |
| 5.6.1   | Ritual vessels                                       | 198 |
| 5.6.2   | Figurines  | 200 |
| 5.6.3   | Ladies of Arkhontiko and Aegae: Archaic priestesses? | 203 |
| 5.7   | Production and ownership                             | 207 |
| 5.8   | Encroaching on the male realm: vessels and weapons   | 210 |
| 5.8.1   | Ceramic and metal vessels                            | 211 |
| 5.8.2   | Vase-painting  | 214 |
| 5.8.3   | Weapons and feminine jewelry: female warriors?       | 217 |
| 5.9   | Conclusion   | 220 |
| Chapter 6: “Arrows in the hand of a mighty man”: children |  | 224 |
| 6.1   | Previous scholarship and literary sources            | 226 |
| 6.2   | Osteological evidence and spatial distribution       | 230 |
| 6.3   | Status and wealth                                    | 235 |
| 6.4   | Gendering  | 239 |
| 6.5   | Conclusion   | 245 |

### **Part III: Hierarchy and variation**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 7: Visible monuments, hidden value: hierarchy | 248 |
| 7.1    Historians' approaches                         | 251 |
| 7.2    In search of value: cost and rarity            | 256 |
| 7.2.1  Prevalence                                     | 257 |
| 7.2.2  Cost   | 259 |
| 7.2.3  The intersection of cost and value             | 268 |
| 7.2.4  The cost of grave types                        | 272 |
| 7.3    Inequality                                     | 274 |
| 7.4    Viewsheds                                      | 278 |
| 7.5    Conclusion                                     | 289 |
| Chapter 8: Diachronic and regional variation          | 292 |
| 8.1    Regional variation                             | 295 |
| 8.1.1  Balkan or Greek? – Balkan <i>and</i> Greek     | 295 |
| 8.1.2  Local wares versus imports                     | 299 |
| 8.1.3  Variation by region                            | 302 |
| 8.2    Variation by date                              | 310 |
| 8.3    Conclusion                                     | 317 |
| Chapter 9: Conclusion                                 | 320 |
| Works cited   | 329 |

## LIST OF TABLES

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1.1. Chronology of the main textual and archaeological sources   | 3   |
| 2.1. Tendencies and hierarchies in the study of the past   | 29  |
| 3.1. Classification of the sites discussed into groups using two different systems   | 70  |
| 3.2. Overview of the data by site  | 72  |
| 3.3. Prevalence of artifact classes across all burials   | 99  |
| 4.1. Burial types of osteologically studied males  | 123 |
| 4.2. Burial types of osteologically studied females  | 123 |
| 4.3. Real and expected counts for different types of burials across the entire dataset and by<br>gender  | 124 |
| 4.4. Prevalence of weapons by type   | 131 |
| 4.5. Most common sets of weapons   | 131 |
| 4.6. Archaic Arkhontiko warrior burials by category  | 133 |
| 4.7. Summary of weapons sets from Archaic Arkhontiko   | 135 |
| 4.8. Prevalence of military equipment across all the sites by period   | 137 |
| 4.9. Counts of weapons from Classical and Hellenistic graves that are among the top-25%<br>wealthiest graves and which contained more than three items of military equipment | 141 |
| 4.10. Prevalence of vessel shapes as percentage of graves<br>which contained each given shape  | 148 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 4.11. Prevalence of metal vessels by period  | 152 |
| 5.1. Graves with multiple individuals  | 182 |
| 5.2. Prevalence of toiletry vessel shapes in percentage                                      | 191 |
| 5.3. Distribution of askoi and unguentaria   | 191 |
| 5.4. Distribution of jewelry by type of grave  | 193 |
| 5.5. Prevalence of vessel shapes as percentage of graves<br>which contained each given shape | 211 |
| 5.6. Motifs on painted vases   | 214 |
| 6.1. Prevalence of vessel shapes as percentage of graves<br>which contained each given shape | 236 |
| 7.1. Prevalence of grave types and grave goods   | 258 |
| 7.2. Grave types by richness of metal goods  | 273 |
| 7.3. Gini coefficients for different subgroups   | 276 |
| 7.4. Number of other tumuli visible from each viewpoint                                      | 282 |
| 7.5. Viewshed area by tumulus  | 287 |
| 8.1. Military equipment and jewelry  | 306 |
| 8.2. Ceramic vessels by functional category  | 307 |
| 8.3. Ceramic vessels, local shapes   | 307 |
| 8.4. Ceramic vessels by ware and origin  | 308 |
| 8.5. Prevalence of grave goods by site   | 310 |
| 8.6. Burial types and cremation  | 311 |
| 8.7. Metal and ceramic vessels   | 312 |
| 8.8. Ceramic vessels, in graves with and without metal vessels                               | 314 |

|                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| 8.9. Ceramic wares and finishes   | 315 |
| 8.10. Other grave goods by period | 316 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 3.1. Pit grave LST from Asomata   | 87  |
| 3.2. Monumental cist grave B from Derveni   | 89  |
| 3.3. A sarcophagus (T53) from Finikas   | 91  |
| 3.4. Tomb II at Vergina   | 92  |
| 3.5. A 3D model of the Tomb of Persephone at Vergina  | 95  |
| 4.1. Mortality curve for males of known age in the dataset (N=43)                               | 118 |
| 5.1. Mortality curve for females of known age in the dataset (N=40)                             | 175 |
| 5.2. Plan of Asomata, Archaic burials   | 185 |
| 5.3. Plan of the western cemetery at Arkhontiko   | 186 |
| 5.4. Plan of Edessa   | 187 |
| 5.5. Plan of Mieza  | 188 |
| 6.1. Mortality curve for the subadults of known age in the dataset (N=29)                       | 231 |
| 7.1. Prevalence of grave types and grave goods across the entire dataset                        | 258 |
| 7.2. Distribution by wealth index,<br>including only graves with a wealth index less than 500   | 265 |
| 7.3. Distribution by wealth index,<br>including only graves with a wealth index less than 2,000 | 265 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 7.4. Object types plotted against both rarity and cost                                       | 270 |
| 7.5. Example of the viewsheds:<br>a composite showing all the viewsheds for Vergina's tumuli | 281 |
| 7.6. Viewsheds for Vergina tumuli 8 (blue) and 12 (purple)                                   | 283 |
| 7.7. Composite of all the tumuli viewsheds, Veria  | 285 |
| 7.8. Composite of all the viewsheds, Lefkadia  | 286 |
| 8.1. Grave types overall (top) and by region   | 304 |
| 9.1. A schema of the hierarchy of social identities in ancient Macedon                       | 326 |

## LIST OF MAPS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 1.1. The location of Macedon in the Eastern Mediterranean | 7  |
| 3.1. Overview map of all the sites in the database        | 63 |
| 3.2. Map of group 1                                       | 66 |
| 3.3. Map of group 2                                       | 67 |
| 3.4. Map of group 3                                       | 68 |
| 3.5. Map of group 4                                       | 69 |
| 3.6. Key sites discussed in the dissertation              | 73 |
| 3.7. Distribution of Macedonian tombs                     | 93 |



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*AEAM* = *To Αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Άνω Μακεδονία*

*AEMTh* = *To Αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*

*AEphem* = *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*

*Ancient Macedonia* = *Αρχαία Μακεδονία*

*ArchDelt* = *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*

*JHS* = *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*

*IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*

*SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies Macedonian mortuary behavior between 550 and 300 BCE to learn more about the society that performed it. The topic has rarely been studied using a large dataset, and much can be learned, especially about women, children, and non-elites. This work moves away from a focus on a handful of exceptional graves and also works from the archaeological record outward instead of assuming an athenocentric model that places Macedon as “the Other.” To do this, a feminist, intersectional framework is used to investigate how different facets of identity interacted, both at the level of individuals and groups. In the process, this study questions overarching historical arguments based on textual and ethnographic sources, in many places either nuancing or contradicting narratives about Macedonian society.

The work is divided into three parts. Chapters 1 through 3 introduce the theoretical frameworks and methodology used as well as providing an overview of Macedonian mortuary behavior and the data available. The second part focuses on social personae, with Chapters 4–6 devoted to men, women, and children, respectively. Chapter 4 argues that while weapons and military associations were important for many Macedonian men, they were far less universal than one might expect and, importantly, dwindled in importance just as Late Classical and Hellenistic armies began to expand. Chapter 5 looks at women, concluding that women’s status was possibly related to fertility but that they were also active in religious life and even

production or property ownership. There is no unequivocal evidence for female warriors in the archaeological record to support textual sources mentioning them, but elite women were buried with more objects usually associated with men, perhaps speaking of an intersection between gender and wealth where similar symbols were used to indicate status or gender depending on the context. Chapter 6 on children yields some of the most surprising evidence for intersections of the different aspects of identity. While the vast majority of infants and young children were buried in ways or in places that have not been archaeologically recovered, the burials that have been published paint a rich picture of how Macedonians conceived of childhood. Status was clearly ascribed at least in some cases and could be aspirational, but some graves have also yielded evidence for children being seen as in need of special care-taking and looking after. Crucially, the differences between wealthy and poor child burials are dramatic, perhaps reflecting the importance of dynasties and family lineages to the elites, ideologies not shared by those less well off.

The final part, consisting of Chapter 7 to 9, looks at the big picture: hierarchy and change over time and space. While the graves contained differing amounts of grave goods, the distribution is a continuum rather than forming clearly identifiable classes that could be mapped on to groups mentioned in textual sources. Macedon was a profoundly unequal society throughout the period under study, but interestingly the wealth supposedly flooding into the area in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods seems to have trickled only to a narrow elite, with the majority of burials getting poorer. Variation seems to be driven mainly by diachronic shifts rather than regional differences, although certain local idiosyncrasies can be pointed to. The Hellenistic period seems to have accommodated more individual variation and a broader range of grave goods.

## **PART I**

### **Mortuary theory and Macedonian mortuary behavior**

#### **CHAPTER 1**

##### **Introduction**

*“But when Alexander heard that Hephaestion was seriously ill, he left the course and hurried to him, but found him no longer living. At this point historians have given varied accounts of Alexander’s grief. That his mourning was great, all have related; as to his actions, historians differ, according to the good-will or the ill-will felt towards Hephaestion or indeed towards Alexander himself. Of these, those who have recounted scandals appear to me partly to have thought that all redounds to Alexander’s credit that he did or said in his excess of grief for one who was of all men most dear to him; or else, that all was to his discredit, as not really fitting either for any king or for Alexander himself.”*

- Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.14

The historian Arrian’s disclaimer before launching into the speculative details of Alexander the Great’s excessive grieving (ὄσα ὑπεραλγήσας) on the death of his friend Hephaestion captures many recurring motifs regarding Macedon that are attested in antiquity and still resonate today. Alexander was a controversial figure, often evoking strong emotions; his character still resonates with many, inspiring movies and even playing a central role in modern ethnic and political tensions.<sup>1</sup> His behavior was seen as excessive and melodramatic by Arrian

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<sup>1</sup> The most recent blockbuster film on Alexander is Oliver Stone’s 2004 *Alexander*. For the ethnic and political tensions, see below for a discussion of the “Macedonian question.”

and others, in stark contrast to the Stoicism that would emerge as a leading philosophical trend shortly after his death; this view of Macedonians as prone to excess is echoed by other ancient sources and, in a refined form, can still be seen in how modern scholars emphasize lavish Macedonian gold treasures and contrast it with Athenian austerity. His loyalties lay with his Companions rather than the state – a stance the nuances of which are still a source of debate between those calling ancient Macedon an absolute monarchy and those emphasizing robust political bodies in addition to the king. Finally, mortuary behavior and grieving were clearly important for him – a preoccupation this dissertation shares.

This work looks at the mortuary behavior not just of Alexander but of thousands of ancient Macedonians, and in the process touches on the tropes of excess and absolutism appearing in the ancient sources already. More important for this dissertation, however, is what is lacking from the picture painted by Arrian. The passage captures one exceptional person's reaction to one event, recorded about 450 years after it occurred; the work thus elides the experiences of almost all Macedonians and does not account for centuries of potential forgetting, misremembering, and reinterpreting. The same limitations apply to pre-Hellenistic Macedon in general: the extant literary sources are late, not written by Macedonians, and focus on the royal Argead family (Table 1.1). This is why the archaeological record is a precious source of information for those interested in ancient Macedon beyond Alexander the Great. The mortuary record, for its part, is the most abundant class of archaeological evidence and, as argued below, particularly helpful for answering many questions about Macedonian society at large.

| <b>Century</b>     | <b>Textual sources</b> | <b>Main archaeological sites</b>  |
|--------------------|------------------------|---|
| Sixth century BCE  |                        | Arkhontiko, Asomata   |
| Fifth century BCE  | Herodotus, Thucydides  | Aeane, Arkhontiko, Mieza, Paliouria at Deskati, Pydna, Vergina                |
| Fourth century BCE |                        | Aeane, Arkhontiko, Edessa, Mieza, Paliouria at Deskati, Pella, Pydna, Vergina |
| ***                | ***                    | ***   |
| First century BCE  | Diodorus Siculus       |   |
| First century CE   | Arrian, Plutarch       |   |
| Second century CE  | Athenaeus              |   |

Table 1.1. Chronology of the main textual and archaeological sources.

This dissertation studies the mortuary record from central-western Macedon to improve our understanding of Macedonian society from the Archaic to the start of the Hellenistic period (550–300 BCE).<sup>2</sup> More specifically, it asks whether we can see variation based on gender, age, social status, region, and period. In the process, it also looks at models derived from literary sources, finding that the material record rarely fits them. Indeed, one of the most important findings is how much variation existed among groups such as women and children, and how much of this variation is not attested in the literary sources.

This work has one broad goal and four subsidiary ones. The broad one is to reconstruct Macedonian society using the mortuary record. Central issues regarding social organization, ranging from socioeconomic stratification to gender roles, are still relatively poorly understood in the case of Macedon, and the mortuary record forms the richest dataset available for studying these issues. A better understanding of Macedonian society also has implications beyond the region itself, as it can help us nuance and question Classical archaeology’s often athenocentric narratives, enriching our understanding of how ancient societies worked. Of course, no one work and no one source of information can accomplish the reimagining of an entire field, but as

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<sup>2</sup> From here on, all dates are BCE unless otherwise noted.

argued below, Macedonian studies seem well poised to start investigating big questions on a more ambitious scale; as such, this dissertation asks such big questions on the scale of Macedon and, in places, notes similarities and divergencies from Athens to place the findings in a broader context.

The four smaller goals all feed into the larger one. The first is to move away from a handful of exceptional graves which have previously been the focus of discussion and to look at the broader picture. This is facilitated by systematically collecting and synthesizing materials that have been published in different media and at different levels of detail, thus allowing for comparisons and the aggregation of data. The first goal provides a basis for the realization of the second: it allows us in places to move away and in others critically question narratives based on literary sources inevitably based on exceptional individuals and events. The third goal, in turn, relates to the second and is perhaps the most important one pursued here: to incorporate women, children, and the middling<sup>3</sup> classes into ancient Macedonian history in ways the written sources do not. Here, the mortuary record offers unique insight into groups of people entirely absent from the literary sources and similarly not highly visible in many archaeological contexts. Finally, an intersectional lens is used to try and see the multitude of criss-crossing fracture lines underlying the aggregate data.

The rest of this introductory chapter offers the reader a roadmap of sorts. An introduction to the study of ancient Macedon discusses previous scholarship and some of the main issues, challenges, and potential involved. The last section outlines the structure and the main arguments

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<sup>3</sup> The term “middling” is here used as a broader, less specific alternative for “middle class.” The term is not meant to have derogatory connotations; instead, it could be compared to Athenian middle classes that formed the backbone of the army and, one might argue, Athenian democracy. For one view on the importance of Athenian middling classes, see Morris (1996).

of the dissertation.

## **1.1 The periphery: early scholarship**

Archaeological work in the area of what is now the Greek region of Macedonia<sup>4</sup> was initially slow to start because the region was only incorporated into the Greek nation-state in 1913 after the Balkan Wars between the Ottoman empire and the Balkan states. (The area roughly corresponding to the Peloponnese, Attica, and Boeotia was recognized as the Greek state much earlier in 1832.) The first publications on the antiquities of Macedon date back to the 18th and 19th centuries. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who were among the first to carefully measure and draw Greek monuments, included some antiquities from Thessaloniki in their 1762 work, *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece*. William Martin Leake, a captain of the British navy as well as an antiquarian and a topographer, traveled around northern Greece in the early 19th century and in 1835 published a detailed account of his travels and antiquities in Epirus and Macedon called *Travels in Northern Greece*. Slightly later, Léon Heuzey, a French archaeologist, explored multiple sites in northern Greece, including Dion and Vergina. These early explorations were followed by a lull before the emergence of what one could call a modern archaeology in the region. The most important of these early modern archaeologists is probably Konstantinos Romaios who excavated at Vergina in the first half of the 20th century, discovering the “Romaïos tomb.”

If the political unrest before and after the region’s annexation to Greece made sustained archaeological work difficult,<sup>5</sup> it is only a partial explanation for the field’s late development. As

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<sup>4</sup> See section 1.2 for definitions of Macedon and Macedonia.

<sup>5</sup> Kotsakis 1998, 46.



has been extensively argued in recent scholarship, both foreigners and Greeks long focused on sites known from written sources and ones that could be seen to strengthen the case for Classical Greece as the cradle of Western civilization.<sup>6</sup> Northern Greece was considered peripheral to this search for a unified Western history because its Greek status was deemed suspect based on both ancient and contemporary evidence. The speeches of Demosthenes attest to this ambivalence in the ancient world, famously placing Philip II below Greeks, those related to Greeks, and even barbarians from more respectable places.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, to the 19th- or early 20th-century visitor northern Greece offered a disappointing mixture of Byzantine, Ottoman, and Slavic monuments, languages, and heritage, in stark contrast to the soothing Classical white marble being unearthed (and, in some cases, scrubbed until it turned white) at major sanctuaries in southern Greece.<sup>8</sup> The nationalistic interests of the new state dictated an awkward silence about the region's past.<sup>9</sup> In this way, geopolitical and ideological factors converged to make northern Greece less attractive to early archaeologists and other scholars.

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<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Hamilakis 2007, Borza 1982a, and Kotsakis 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Dem. 9.31.

<sup>8</sup> See Danforth (1993) for a detailed discussion of the ethnic and cultural landscape of the region.

<sup>9</sup> Kotsakis 1998, 47. Although the trajectory for prehistoric archaeology in the region has been somewhat different, Kotsakis also notes a scarcity of archaeological work on the prehistoric period of the region, both early on and even in recent years (1998, 47, 52).

## 1.2 What is Macedon? A working definition



Map 1.1. The location of Macedon in the Eastern Mediterranean. Inset by Marsyas (data from M. Hatzopoulos: *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, Athens, 1996), CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=59915>.

The silence mentioned above was soon to change, although the ambivalence would remain. Before delving into why this happened, some terms need to be clarified. There is no simple definition for Macedon(ia), now or in the past. (The term “Macedon” is often used to distinguish between the ancient entity and the modern Macedonia(s). This practice is followed here.) A lack of textual evidence makes speculating about the exact definition or bounds of “Macedon” in the Archaic and early Classical periods difficult. Even after Philip II and

Alexander the Great established their hegemony, Macedon consisted of multiple regions such as Eordaea and Bottiaea, and of course the territory under direct or indirect rule of the Argead rulers expanded and contracted almost continuously.<sup>10</sup> The focus of this dissertation, however, is on the central and western core of Macedon as defined by, e.g., Thucydides and supported by the presence there of the large early centers of Arkhontiko, Vergina (Aegae), and Pella. In this dissertation, then, the terms “Macedon” and “Macedonian” refer to areas, people, and culture in what is now northern Greece, and the more specific focus is on what is now central and western Greek Macedonia: the region north of Mount Olympus, west of Thessaloniki, east of Grevena, and south of Kilkis and the current Greek-FYROM border.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to ambiguous ancient definitions, difficulties with defining Macedon also stem from more recent history. In the final decades of the 20th century, interest in northern Greece gradually increased, although at least initially driven by the very same reasons that had delayed the development of Macedonian archaeology. The so-called “Macedonian question” is a complex issue with its roots going back at least to the collapse of the Ottoman empire in the early 20th century, and the scope of this dissertation does not allow for a lengthy discussion. Briefly, the formation of nation-states in the Balkans after the fragmentation of the Ottoman empire immediately led to territorial squabbles that sometimes blossomed into full-blown wars. Fuel for these quarrels was provided by the multitude of ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups that did not conform neatly to state lines, no matter where they were drawn. Importantly, these issues still remain unresolved, and especially the name and historical pedigree of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) continue to be focal points of contention despite recent

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<sup>10</sup> See Chapters 3 and 8 for further discussion.

<sup>11</sup> The vast majority of the sites are south of Arkhontiko and Edessa, but a handful of graves have been published from as far north as Paionia and Pontoirakleia at Kilkis.

strides. Debates about who has the right to the name “Macedonia” have made their way up to the UN, but underlying the supposed debate over a name are complicated questions about heritage, ethnicity, and territorial claims.<sup>12</sup>

While the Macedonian question initially caused reticence among excavators, some scholars have identified the 1977 discovery of the tombs inside the Great Tumulus at Vergina as a watershed moment.<sup>13</sup> One of these tombs, Tomb II, was identified by the excavator Manolis Andronikos as belonging to Philip II. The discovery gave rise to feverish archaeological activity – not only in terms of excavations but in terms of presentations, the creation of museums, and opening sites to visitors – in order to establish northern Greek Macedonia as stoutly ethnically Greek. Much of this work was funded by the Greek government, with politicians occasionally explicitly stating they wanted to fund archaeology in order to advance the nationalistic agenda – or at least to combat nationalistic propaganda emanating from north of the border.<sup>14</sup> In the process, Macedonian heritage became something no longer suspect nor something to keep quiet about; instead, Philip II went from a northern conqueror precipitating the downfall of Greece to a figure at the very center of Greek history.<sup>15</sup> The recent discovery of and discussion around the Amphipolis Kastas tomb, suggested to belong to Hephaestion, shows the potential northern Greek burials still have to attract wide-spread interest and to evoke strong feelings.<sup>16</sup>

Because of the charged nature of this question, a disclaimer about what this dissertation

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<sup>12</sup> As this dissertation was being finalized in June 2018, Greece and FYROM had settled on the name North Macedonia for FYROM but the votes required for the name change were still pending.

<sup>13</sup> Kotsakis 1998, 53.

<sup>14</sup> Kotsakis 1998, 53.

<sup>15</sup> Hamilakis 2007, 132.

<sup>16</sup> On the excavator Katerina Peristeri’s interpretation of the tomb: <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/09/30/hephaestions-monogram-found-at-amphipolis-tomb/>. Accessed May 6, 2018. The tomb has been briefly reported on in *Archaeological Reports* 60, p. 10.

does and does not do is in order here. The current work is, of course, influenced by debates surrounding the Macedonian question, at the very least because they in part affect what sites and materials are published. (For example, the great public interest has led to many exhibition catalogs and the publication of rich materials.) Despite this, the author strongly feels that she has neither the desire nor expertise to contribute to discussions of Macedonian ethnicity<sup>17</sup> in terms of the Greek versus Slavic debate. Where arguments are made about regional identities, they concern relatively small, local communities that are more pertinent to questions of social organization and regional cohesion than tracing ethnic traits. Instead, this dissertation builds more on work done by historians and archaeologists over the past three decades, typically less characterized by strong nationalism.

A crucial part of the debate concerning Macedon revolves around whether Macedonians were Greek (or “Greek,” given the ambiguity of the term itself) or not. This dissertation makes no claims one way or the other not only because of a desire to focus on other aspects but also the well-established problems with studying ethnicity archaeologically, the sensitivity of the topic in a contemporary context, as well as the fact that decades of scholarship have not found adequate evidence to settle the debate one way or another. It therefore needs to be explained why and how, despite this, the dissertation in places contrasts Macedon with “southern Greece.” This comparison is shorthand for city-states south of Thessaly such as Athens, Corinth, and Thebes, which typically inform studies of “Greek culture.” Of these, Athens looms the largest, and in many cases comparisons are *de facto* made between Macedon and Athens or Attica. This dissertation is explicit whenever possible about whether a comparison is based on Athens, but

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<sup>17</sup> The author understands ethnicity as an identity based on a perceived shared ancestry. See Chapters 2 and 8 for further discussion.

the phrase “southern Greek” is used for many comparisons that either incorporate many city-states or where the authors cited only use the general term “Greek.” The distinction is therefore a geographical one, but one closely tied to political organization and presumed cultural differences. Any comparisons in this dissertation should not, however, be taken to imply that there are neat lines, ethnic or cultural, to be drawn between southern Greeks and Macedonians; instead, all comparisons are done at the level of individual aspects of culture. For example, certain differences in drinking culture are discussed in Chapter 4 and comparisons drawn between the drinking paraphernalia used by Macedonians and southern Greeks, but this does not amount to a cohesive “Macedonian” culture that is separate and distinct from “Greek” culture – indeed, many similarities are noted, and we should resist the temptation to emphasize difference over similarity in our conclusions.

### **1.3 Toward synthesis: scholarship and fieldwork since 1980**

The years since the discovery of Tomb II have seen extensive work by archaeologists and historians but with very different scopes. Even as archaeological work increased in the aftermath of the discovery of Tomb II, it was largely left to historians to write synthetic works on Macedon – indeed, this is still the case. (It should be noted that this bibliographic essay does not include the multitude of works on Hellenistic history, as such works do not tend to focus on Macedon; nor does it include the myriad publications focusing solely on Philip II or Alexander the Great.) Between 1972 and 1990, three works by British and American historians were published that remain seminal reading for anyone interested in ancient Macedon. N. G. L. Hammond (with help from G. T. Griffith and Frank W. Walbank) wrote a magisterial three-volume *History of Macedonia* that was published between 1972 and 1988. While Hammond used archaeological

evidence in places, much of the work relies on a detailed reading of historical sources as well as ethnohistorical observations often based on his own extensive exploration of the region. Parts of his work can be critiqued as environmentally deterministic and anachronistic, but it still remains the most exhaustive diachronic history of the region. R. Malcolm Errington (1986 in German; 1990 in English) and Eugene N. Borza (1990) have also written synthetic historical overviews.<sup>18</sup> Borza's is the better known, partly because he got involved in the debate over Macedonian ethnicity, arguing for a distinct Macedonian ethnicity in antiquity. (His words have been taken out of context by both sides of the debate and he has faced considerable backlash from the American scholarly community, proving how delicate the topic remains.<sup>19</sup>) In recent years, companions written by anglophone and Greek archaeologists and historians have been published which provide valuable up-to-date information, including on on-going excavations. Of these companions, Robin Lane Fox has edited one more geared toward archaeology and material culture, while Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington's volume relies more on historical sources and historians.<sup>20</sup> The companions are valuable but attempt no overarching narrative. In contrast, Carol King has recently written a history of Macedon, intended as an introductory text but one that incorporates more recent evidence than what was available to the authors of earlier overviews.<sup>21</sup>

In terms of archaeological work, the history of uninterest and marginalization on one

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<sup>18</sup> Errington 1990; Borza 1990.

<sup>19</sup> Evidence for this is largely in the form of personal communications and online resources that combine scholarship and propaganda. On the side arguing for Greek ownership to Macedon, the website <http://macedonia-evidence.org/> has both scholarly articles arguing against Borza's views and a letter signed by many American academics calling the Macedonian question "silliness"; while the two are separate, it is easy to gather how the signatories might view Borza's views disagreeing with their own. For the other side of the argument, see <http://www.historyofmacedonia.org/> that uses carefully selected lines from Borza's works to argue for a uniquely Macedonian ethnicity that has existed from antiquity until the modern day.

<sup>20</sup> Lane Fox 2011a; Roisman and Worthington 2010.

<sup>21</sup> King 2018.

hand, and politically charged focus on the other, has cast a very long shadow. Even now, most foreign-run projects in Greece take place south of Mount Olympus or in the colonies of southern Greek poleis. The fervor following the discovery of Tomb II has largely calmed down, and most of the work occurring in northeastern Greece is rescue archaeology performed by Greek state archaeologists and research projects conducted by Greek universities. This work has, especially over the last few decades, led to tremendously important finds and a rapid expansion in our understanding of the region's past, but the nature of salvage excavations also creates limitations. First of all, by definition, rescue projects only occur in areas that are being developed or are otherwise at risk of destruction; as such, the boundaries of a project are not defined by research questions, much less the extent of a site, but rather by modern boundaries of roads, railways, and buildings. Similarly, the areas where excavations take place are defined by construction activity. While large-scale road, railway, and other infrastructure projects have brought to light many sites in rural areas, other areas remain largely unexplored because of a lack of development projects. Secondly, the hectic pace of rescue work sometimes makes timely publication difficult. This issue cannot be blamed on the archaeologists, because their workloads often make it impossible to find time for the analysis, research, and writing required to publish an excavation. Finally, the economic crisis that has gripped Greece since 2008 has had, in places, a debilitating effect on salvage projects, both because of a reduction in construction and because of lack of funding for rescue archaeology. The metro system of Thessaloniki is a prime example of this: a lack of funding, combined with the discovery of important finds requiring additional resources, caused a delay of several years where practically all construction and archaeological work was halted.

Despite these challenges, much work has been undertaken and published especially over the past three decades. Public and other monumental buildings have been excavated at Aeneas,



Vergina, and Pella, and domestic and farm buildings at Pella and in the coastal Pieria region.<sup>22</sup> Cemeteries, however, form the most extensive body of material. Several factors might conspire to explain the prominence of the mortuary record in northern Greek archaeological work. First, it is becoming increasingly clear that stone masonry was in limited use in the region until the Hellenistic period; while the scarcity of excavations used to explain the meager numbers of domestic, public, and religious buildings, enough excavation and survey work has now taken place to suggest that archaeological remains of Archaic and Classical buildings are either of a less visible type (such as postholes from wooden structures) or thinner on the ground than in southern Greece. Much of the bias might also be tied to the nature of the archaeological work being done as well as the interests of the public. Monumental tumuli get excavated because they are highly visible, attractive to looters (much rescue work takes place after looting is reported at a site), and because there is great public interest in the rich finds that can come out of them. Road construction seems to often hit cemeteries, perhaps because of their prevalence and extent, perhaps because new roads often follow ancient ones and ancient roads were often lined with burials.

Turning to publications on the mortuary record specifically, recent years have seen a great increase in published materials, most falling into one of three categories: reports of fieldwork in annual publications, exhibition catalogs, and systematic publications of a few graves or a part of a cemetery.

As discussed above, the rescue nature of most mortuary excavations makes timely analysis and publication difficult. As such, annual fieldwork reports play an important role – and,

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<sup>22</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008 (Aeane); Drougou 2011 (Vergina); Akamatis 2011 (Pella); Adam-Veleni, Poulaki, and Tzanavari 2003 (farmhouses).

indeed, form a large portion of the data used in this dissertation. Such publications have become increasingly detailed in recent years, although many of them still remain cursory or summary. *To αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* (*Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace*, or *AEMTh* for short) is the most important, consisting of reports presented each spring at a large conference in Thessaloniki. The conference and the published papers include Greek, foreign, rescue, and university projects, but the emphasis is on rescue excavations done by the archaeological service. There is often a delay in publication, and as a result, this dissertation is based on fieldwork done up to about the year 2010, published in 2014. The *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* published by the Archaeological Receipts Fund also includes reports on important discoveries, often providing a more limited scope but more details; for this dissertation, the volumes were browsed through but yielded relatively little material for the database because of a scarcity of relevant finds reported in enough detail.

Exhibition catalogs and site guidebooks are increasingly detailed and often written by specialists and excavators intimately familiar with the material. Some examples from recent years from the English-speaking world include *Alexander the Great: Treasures from an Epic Era of Hellenism* (2004) edited by Dimitrios Pantermalis for an exhibition at the Onassis Cultural Center in New York, and *Heracles to Alexander the Great: Treasures from the Royal Capital of Macedon, a Hellenic Kingdom in the Age of Democracy* (2011), edited by Angeliki Kottaridi and Susan Walker for an exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum. Among Greek-language publications, an excellent museum catalog on Sindos was published as early as 1985 for an exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (*Σίνδος: Κατάλογος της έκθεσης*, edited by Ioulia Vokotopoulou), and there have since been many publications with an eye to the museum and site visitor, although usually without a strong focus on mortuary sites or finds. In

general, the target audience for these publications is not a scholarly one, and artifact assemblages, especially, are often broken up as finds are presented thematically or by type instead of by context. For this dissertation, catalogs were thus used mainly for their discussions of sites and themes, with only a few graves that could be reconstructed included in the database.

There has also been a steady trickle of site publications on cemeteries or parts of them. Many although by no means all of them are published through The Archaeological Society at Athens (Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία). These publications have often taken the form of highly detailed discussions of a handful (or even just one, in the case of the Tomb of Lyson and Callicles at Lefkadia or Tomb II at Vergina) Macedonian tombs.<sup>23</sup> More important to this dissertation have been publications with a broader scope. Mieza, Asomata, Edessa, and Pella have had sections of their cemeteries published systematically.<sup>24</sup> These publications include both discussion and, importantly, complete catalogs describing each grave and the goods within. Sindos was also published by Aikaterini Despini in three volumes, but the 2016 (available in 2017) publication came too late to be incorporated into the database and instead is only included in the form of a handful of qualitative observations in the footnotes or in the text. Hans von Mangoldt's complete and detailed study focusing on the architecture of Macedonian tombs from 2012 was used as the main source for graves of this type, although it was in places supplemented by site publications.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, several theses have been or are being written on Macedonian mortuary customs. Of these, Meg Butler's (2008) and Nathalie Del Socorro's (2017) dissertations are referenced

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<sup>23</sup> Miller 1993 (Lyson and Callicles); Franks 2012 (Tomb II). For publications of a handful of graves, see, e.g., Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997, Derveni) and Tsimbidou-Avloniti (2005, Agios Athanasios and Finikas).

<sup>24</sup> Romiopoulou 1997 (Mieza); Kefalidou 2009 (Asomata); Chrysostomou 2013 (Edessa); Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014 (Pella).

<sup>25</sup> Von Mangoldt 2012.

extensively here. Tasos Kakamanoudis is also writing a dissertation on a similar topic, but the work was not available to the author.

#### **1.4 Limitations and future directions**

Macedonian burials could be said to be a low-hanging fruit for scholars looking for a topic ripe for study – the evidence is prolific and increasingly well published, but there is still much room for synthetic, analytical work. The burials also pose challenges. As already mentioned, cemeteries are often only partially excavated and similarly partially published. Publications skew toward elite burials, especially monumental Macedonian tombs but also the wealthy cist and pit burials from Derveni and Arkhontiko. Because of both limited resources and the broad target audience, publications often do not include all of the relevant information. This is especially true of osteological data, which are rarely published for graves of the historical period from Macedon. This is due to several reasons: limited time and money, poor preservation (Angeliki Kottaridi mentions that human remains are hardly ever preserved at Vergina),<sup>26</sup> and, until recently, the scarcity of bioarchaeology programs in Greece and the resulting scarcity of trained specialists. As a result, graves are typically assigned a gender based on artifacts rather than a sex based on osteological analysis. It is even rarer to have information available on things such as health, trauma, or diet.

The future looks bright, however. The annual *AEMTh* conferences allow for quick distribution of information about new finds and have greatly increased interest in northern Greek archaeology. There now seems to be a critical mass of published burials available; this

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<sup>26</sup> Kottaridi 2011a, 120.

dissertation is based on a thousand graves, which, while a small fragment of all the graves excavated in the region, is still a sizable number. There is also hope for increased publication activity, for example as students graduate from the MA program in Macedonian archaeology and history at the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki. In brief, this dissertation is hopefully one contribution toward a field that will blossom in the near future.

## **1.5 Overview of the dissertation**

This dissertation is organized into three parts. The first, consisting of this chapter along with Chapters 2 and 3, lays out the framework and main evidence. Chapter 2 first introduces a range of theoretical approaches and then discusses the methodology used to connect these frameworks to the material. It discusses identity theories and approaches to the mortuary record, with feminist approaches and questions of agency proving particularly germane to the present work. In addition, two more material-specific approaches are introduced because they are used in the later chapters: the study of landscapes and cost analysis. Chapter 2 also introduces the database used as well as addressing some of the analytical methods applied to the data. Chapter 3 introduces the material proper in order to provide a baseline of Macedonian mortuary behavior and material culture to compare specific groups to. The main sites and regions discussed are introduced, and the range of material culture discussed.

Chapters 4–6 form the second part and discuss three social personae: men, women, and children. Literary and historical models are compared with the material record, and while certain core assumptions such as masculinity being associated with warfare and femininity with personal adornment prove true, there are also many divergences. Indeed, Macedonian men were not depicted as being nearly as war-like in death as one might expect, and the importance of military

connotations dwindle just as late Classical and early Hellenistic armies boom. Women had access to ritual participation, and elite women in some cases were presented with symposiastic goods, suggesting they encroached on the male realm. Children, however, show the greatest differences depending on social class: while poor child burials were the poorest of them all, wealthy ones competed with the absolute richest burials. It is here suggested that dynastic lineages were particularly important to socio-economically powerful families, thus explaining the emphasis on aspirational and ascribed status even for very young children.

The last part, consisting of Chapters 7 and 8, splits the data along different axes and moves from social personae to questions of social organization and change across space and time. Chapter 7 uses different methods to look at hierarchy, first searching for value, then measuring inequality using the Gini coefficient, and finally looking at tumulus viewsheds to answer questions about the role of the landscape in making claims to power. The results all point toward persistent inequality that increases after the Archaic period but is better described as a continuum rather than clear classes. This lack of conformity to historically-named groups of people is perhaps not shocking as archaeology is not particularly well-suited to find such groupings, but it gives food for thought for those arguing for strong, established political entities in ancient Macedon. Chapter 8 looks at diachronic and regional variation to account for the fact that much of the dissertation combines vast areas and long periods of time. It concludes that the burials resist a simple classification as “Greek” or “Balkan” and also notes that diachronic changes seem to explain variation more than regional differences do. The overall wealth of graves drops dramatically after the Archaic period, but variation in grave goods increases. In other words, there is little support for the hypothesis that there was a flood of eastern goods into Macedonian graves, but there is a shift from communal to more individualistic burials.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches to the mortuary record**

A theoretical framework informs scholarship in at least two distinct ways: as a *zeitgeist*, influencing how we perceive the world around us, and as a tool, inspiring our organization of these observations. In other words, theory affects both the questions we ask and how we answer them. This chapter accordingly focuses on illuminating what kinds of questions this dissertation asks and why, followed by a discussion of how they are answered. Section 2.1 aims to make transparent many of the underlying questions, premises, and lenses guiding the analysis, as identity and feminist theories drive much of this dissertation but often in ways that are implied rather than explicit. Section 2.2 discusses currents within mortuary archaeology that inform many of the approaches used. Finally, section 2.3 discusses the implications of these approaches for the study of Macedonian burials and the specific methods used.

## 2.1 “Multiply-burdened”: identity theory and intersectional feminism

*“The problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend differences, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite – that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences.”*

- Kimberlé Crenshaw<sup>27</sup>

*“You should be focusing on what unites people and not what drives them apart. You shouldn’t give a shit about skin color, you shouldn’t give a shit about sexuality. You shouldn’t give a shit about gender, and you should be deeply suspicious of the people who do.”*

- Milo Yiannopoulos<sup>28</sup>

Milo Yiannopoulos, purveyor of offensive ideas and once-upon-a-time darling of the alt-right, expressed opposition to “identity politics” in lieu of “aspiring to values and to ideas” in a speech he delivered on a Colorado campus in 2017. The implications of his phrasing are two-fold: firstly and explicitly, that identity matters less than values and ideas, and secondly and implicitly, that those values and ideas probably line up better with the priorities of white alt-right supporters than the people whose skin color, sexuality, or gender frequently make them targets of alt-right hostility.

Archaeologists critique the study of identity in much more polite ways than Milo Yiannopoulos does, and hopefully without sharing his ideologies, but critique it they do. Indeed, the topic sometimes seems, to take Kimberlé Crenshaw’s words out of context, “multiply-burdened”: those of a processualist bent find it too unmeasurable and intangible, while some

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<sup>27</sup> Crenshaw 1991, 1242.

<sup>28</sup> The quote comes from a speech given at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, Jan 26, 2017, which is viewable at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywmd8kR-AmI>. Accessed Oct 18, 2018.



postmodernists similarly despair of the whole pursuit because of the impossibility of ever capturing the ever-shifting webs of identities simultaneously constituted and reflected by every interaction individuals have with humans or objects alike.<sup>29</sup> Yet, what do we study if not different aspects of identity? Identity is not only pertinent for “specialized” studies on women, children, or ethnic minorities; domestic life, social complexity, even trade and economic structures are all research topics that involve drawing lines around groups of people. Whenever archaeologists make observations from the material record, they attempt to link those not just to behaviors and actions of people but also to groups of people, in the process labeling different facets of identity – accurately or inaccurately. This observation has been made by many proponents of the archaeology of identity.<sup>30</sup>

Much of this dissertation, particularly Chapters 4–6 and 8, revolves around identity, and this chapter justifies how and why that is done. In addition to establishing that we cannot escape identity as a research question, this chapter argues there is some middle ground to be salvaged between positivist and post-modern critiques. A brief outline of some trends in the study of identity is followed by a deeper plunge into the study of gender and the theory of intersectionality as the two frameworks that will drive most of this dissertation.

First, however, a note on terminology is in order. While both the singular and plural forms of the word “identity” are used, the preferred phrases in this dissertation are “facets” or “aspects” of identity. While a monolithic, unchanging identity is not only contrary to lived experience but also to current scholarly views on identity theory, ghettoizing “identities” into neat, separate boxes also seems counterintuitive – although some parts of this work do exactly

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<sup>29</sup> Meskell and Preucel 2004, 122. For Crenshaw’s quote, see Crenshaw (1989, 140) and below.

<sup>30</sup> Barbara Voss points out that identity has been much critiqued but no better alternative has yet emerged (2008, 13), while Timothy Insoll argues there cannot exist “an archaeology that is *not* concerned with identity” (2007, 1).

that. Aspects of one's identity can clash and contradict each other, but more often people, whether they are actively aware of it or not, reconcile these different facets into a coherent whole forming a sense of self rather than a constellation of discrepant identities.<sup>31</sup> To use contemporary American categories, whether white, male, and straight, or Black, female, and queer, facets of identity work together either to prop up or to challenge one's position in a community. This is the core tenet of intersectionality, but it is also an intuitive truth to many: just as idiolects (individual ways of speaking) in linguistics are greater than the sum of a handful of dialectical features, identity seems resistant to neat splintering into its constituent parts. While speaking of facets and aspects might not be a perfect solution, it seems like a satisfactory compromise to the tension between coherence and nuance.

### **2.1.1 Approaches to identity in archaeology: a brief history**

There are two quite different ways of approaching the field of identity studies. One is an “if it quacks” definition, which would include under identity studies any research that is interested in a group defined by a shared facet of identity: women, children, and ethnic, occupational, or religious groups, and so on. Although some point to the Romantics' fascination with both the past and the nation-state – a logical precursor to an interest in national identity and ethnicity – most scholars trace the archaeological study of identity in this sense to V. Gordon

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<sup>31</sup> Socio-cultural anthropologists have written extensively about the distinctions between identity, self, and personhood. Martin Sökefeld (1999) has critiqued anthropology for reducing the objects of its study to shared identities, denying them a self, which he sees as an important concept creating coherence and reconciling often clashing aspects of identity. His critique is well-taken, but here the term identity is used because approaching the self in Sökefeld's sense (an individual – in our case, the deceased individual – creating coherence) through archaeology seems unfeasible; burials are, by their nature, more reflective of the community of survivors than the inner thoughts of the deceased person. See Sökefeld (1999) and Smith (2012) for extensive discussions of the debate on identity, personhood, and self.

Childe.<sup>32</sup> Childe's interest in linking attributes of material culture to a social group remains, although in much-nuanced form, the underpinning of archaeology.<sup>33</sup>

Another definition of identity studies is scholarship that is self-consciously guided by identity theory and that centers the concept of identity rather than simply studying a particular manifestation of it. This type of scholarship is more commonly associated with a push against grand narratives such as Childe's or the processualist interest in broad systems. Instead of migrations of large, monolithic groups driven by economic and political forces beyond their comprehension, most scholars studying identity are interested in how people in the past perceived themselves as social beings. This simple turn of phrase has two implications: an attention to groupings other than those historically covered under "cultures," and a desire to arrive at an emic view – moving beyond modern (etic) categorizations to classes people in the past would have recognized and demarcated through material culture. As such, most archaeologists studying identity have more comfortably fallen into the postprocessualist camp and, indeed, have often grounded their work in a criticism of processualism which, to them, reduces human agency and lived experience to, as famously defined by Leslie White and Lewis Binford, "extra-somatic means of adaptation."<sup>34</sup>

The study of identity in this second sense mostly took off in the 1980s and, especially, in the 1990s. This strand of research is closely related to, although not identical to, "social

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<sup>32</sup> Jones 1997, 16–17; Hodos 2010, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Cultural-historical narratives have rightly been heavily critiqued over the decades. Even so, one can think of many examples of how archaeologists continue to connect material culture to group labels: typological and chronological frameworks associate certain types of finds with a certain label representing a group of people; the spread of technologies is taken to represent interaction between these labeled groups; studies on women, children, or men rely on identifying differences in the material record associated with gender or age.

<sup>34</sup> The most famous phrasing, quoted here, is Binford's (1962, 281), but he is paraphrasing Leslie White (1959, 8).

archaeology” as promoted by Ian Hodder, Lynn Meskell, and others.<sup>35</sup> Especially studies of ethnicity embraced these approaches, although from the very beginning the research was more often oriented toward what could be better described as the study of the *interactions* of different ethnic identities: syncretism, bricolage, middle ground, hybridity, etc.

All these approaches to ethnic identities were adopted by archaeology from the fields of sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and post-colonial studies, and applying them to the material culture of the past has proven challenging. An early realization was that “pots are not people” and that the spread of a material trait does not imply an identical movement of people.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, inherent in many of the more nuanced theories is a deep ambiguity. For example, Homi Bhabha’s theory of hybridity and Richard White’s middle ground have at their core the observation that the sum is greater than its parts: encounters give birth to new behaviors that might include elements from two groups of people but which frequently create something new and unique in the process.<sup>37</sup> It is impossible and reductive to disentangle the elements that form the whole. For the archaeologist interpreting material culture, this poses a dilemma since much of the time, the best she can hope for is tracing the spread and development of material traits. To arrive at a nuanced, detailed interpretation, one has to know – often from historical sources – what went into the mix and risk finding exactly what one is looking for. This tension is visible in many ambitious publications such as Siân Jones’s fundamental monograph on ethnicity in archaeology.<sup>38</sup> The monograph includes a thorough overview and critique of identity theory

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<sup>35</sup> See Meskell and Preucel (2004), which includes contributions on varied topics but mostly revolves around gender, age, and ethnicity.

<sup>36</sup> Often referred to as Carol Kramer’s “dictum,” the phrase is actually an outgrowth of the title of her 1977 article, “Pots and Peoples.”

<sup>37</sup> White 1991; Bhabha 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Jones 1997.

along with a model for a nuanced identity theory of material culture, but the brief case-study on Roman Britain vacillates between reifying the categories “Roman” and “native” (for example taking baths and villas as signifying a Roman identity) and talking about “variation” in fairly generic terms, raising more questions than answers. It is, of course, perhaps unfair to expect simultaneously an introduction of a theoretical model and a flawless application of it, and Jones’s work highlights the need for brave experimentation and the application of theory to case-studies.

Further complicating the picture is the well-established idea that aspects of identity can be actively performed, dormant, or to a large extent subconscious. The philosopher Judith Butler is an advocate of performed identities, and her ideas are appealing to the archaeologist from a heuristic point of view.<sup>39</sup> According to this view on identity, certain aspects of identity are actively brought to the fore and performed, at least in certain situations. This potentially imbues the archaeological record with meaning and intent: not only can we argue that grave goods are not random, but we can take a step further and argue they were chosen to reflect facets of identity that were important to the community.

A very different but popular idea has been Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice and the concept of *habitus*. *Habitus* is difficult to pin down, but Bourdieu defines it, among other things, as “systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*,”<sup>40</sup> and describes how it is simultaneously created and sustained thus:

“In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history. The system of dispositions – a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured

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<sup>39</sup> Butler 2011.

<sup>40</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 72 (original italics).

according to its principles, an internal law relaying the continuous exercise of the law of external necessities (irreducible to immediate conjunctural constraints) – is the principle of the continuity and regularity which objectivism discerns in the social world without being able to give them a rational basis. And it is at the same time the principle of the transformations and regulated revolutions which neither the extrinsic and instantaneous determinisms of a mechanistic sociology nor the purely internal but equally punctual determination of voluntarism or spontaneist subjectivism are capable of accounting for.”<sup>41</sup>

Despite the convoluted prose, practice theory and habitus have gained almost universal traction within studies of identity. Indeed, Butler has since clarified her stance on performed identities and introduced the concept of materialization, defined by her as “a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter.”<sup>42</sup> This, of course, sounds an awful lot like practice theory, especially as she continues by saying that construction of identity “not only takes place in time, but is itself a temporal process which operates through the reiteration of norms; sex is both produced and destabilized in the course of this reiteration.”<sup>43</sup> Within archaeology, practice theory has presumably gained its popularity partly as the result of a push-back against cultural-historical baggage – the idea that pots *are* stand-ins for people and tracing the former is the same as tracing the latter – and partly because the approach is nuanced and intuitively accurate. Anyone who has traveled abroad or interacted with a new group of people has come face-to-face with things one takes for granted and which are only thrown into sharp relief on encountering something different. This is at the heart of Bourdieu’s habitus: identity is both shaped by and shapes behaviors and material culture in ways that are often subconscious or at least not something

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<sup>41</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 82.

<sup>42</sup> Butler 2011, xviii–xix.

<sup>43</sup> Butler 2011, xviii–xix. She and her followers such as Barbara Voss are also influenced by Anthony Giddens’s (1979) ideas of agency and structuration, similar to Bourdieu’s vision but with more space given to self-aware action by individuals.

actively thought about. For an archaeologist, this is a challenge. How does one distinguish elements that reflect a certain facet of identity if we are unaware of such elements even in our own culture and group?

For many, the answer has been to give up on identity, especially ethnic identity, as a useful framework. The number of publications on ethnicity in an ancient context appears to have peaked in the late 1990s and early 2000s.<sup>44</sup> Others have suggested fruitful ways forward and have managed to bridge the gap between theory and method. The study of foodways is a quickly emerging field doing just that. Some studies approach foodways as performative (to use Butler's framing) and focus on elements such as feasting as a display of power. Building on practice theory, other analyses focus on behaviors that are commonly assumed to be closer to habitus than performance – research on cooking and coarse wares is perhaps the prime example of this.<sup>45</sup> This makes the slightly uncomfortable assumption that things we deem mundane or unremarkable are taken to have held similar meanings in the past and that such mundaneness translates to a lack of awareness, but it still seems like a good way to push against a much more common emphasis on elites, loaded symbolism, or precious goods. This does not mean that elite luxuries have been forgotten: Yannis Hamilakis has studied wine and oil consumption in Bronze Age Crete, arguing that as the fortunes of the palaces turned, elites used especially wine to assert their status and to compete against each other; he never mentions ethnicity or identity, but his ideas have clear

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<sup>44</sup> This is the author's impression. A Google Books Ngram search on September 28, 2017, showed that the prevalence of the term "ethnicity" more than doubled between 1990 and 2000 in the books included in Google Books, followed by a sharp dip between 2004 and 2007, after which there are no data available. The term "identity" follows a similar trajectory. Unfortunately, the search engine does not allow searches with the phrase "ancient Greek ethnicity." Google Scholar similarly mostly shows results from 1995 to 2005 when searching for "ancient Greek ethnicity" or "ancient Greece identity."

<sup>45</sup> For an overview, see Lucy (2005, 102–105).

implications for the role of consumption in thinking about group membership.<sup>46</sup>

### 2.1.2 Gender, feminist theory, and intersectionality

Whereas the study of ethnicity incorporated nuanced critiques almost as soon as it emerged as a field unto itself, such complications were not immediately introduced to the study of gender or age, and many scholars have, until relatively recently, been content to study “women” and “men” in the ancient world without much concern for the past pertinence of these categories or to the possible permeability between them.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, as observed by Bettina Arnold and Nancy L. Wicker in 2001 but still pertinent today, the study of gender – which typically means “non-male gender” – is often “ghettoized” as a “‘special’ area of inquiry.”<sup>48</sup> Even now, there are fascinating hierarchies within research that could be summed up in table form (Table 2.1):

|  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Large-scale (architecture, urban planning) | Small-scale (“small finds”) |
| Grand narrative                            | Individualistic narratives  |
| Political history                          | Social history              |
| Male                                       | Female                      |
| Important                                  | Niche                       |

Table 2.1. Tendencies and hierarchies in the study of the past.

Male is the unstated default, as evidenced by there being plenty of studies on “women in X” but few about “men in X.” In certain special contexts, the default becomes reversed: in Classical archaeology, men are rarely looked for or found in domestic archaeology (outside of a

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<sup>46</sup> Hamilakis 1999.

<sup>47</sup> One assumes this is largely driven by early studies being based on textual sources that mostly distinguish very clearly between men and women. See, e.g., Pomeroy (1975) and Cantarella (1987).

<sup>48</sup> Arnold and Wicker 2001, vii.



symposiastic context) or doing activities such as weaving. Such gendered assumptions might in many cases be proven to be correct, but the key is to at least pose the question, and this is where critical feminist theory can be a very useful tool. This section starts with a brief history of the main currents in feminist theory, introduces the theory of intersectionality, and discusses a handful of examples of archaeological applications.

The development of the study of gender in archaeology has followed developments in sociological studies, although with a lag.<sup>49</sup> Second-wave feminism brought with it the assertion that women are equal to men and an awareness of systems of oppression that hide this truth. Instead of studying oppression in the past, however, most feminist scholars of this wave focused on either “finding” women or pictured the past as a utopia of matriarchies long lost.<sup>50</sup> Either way, women were now something worth looking for in the archaeological record. In a specifically Classical context, one might argue that most work – especially archaeological work – has operated and continues to operate using the second-wave framework of “finding” women: Ian Morris tellingly titled an article “Remaining Invisible” to describe how difficult it is to identify the archaeological traces left behind by women and slaves at Thorikos and Athens.<sup>51</sup> Earlier studies of Classical Greek households, for their part, often focused on trying to identify distinctly male or female spaces, but even as the focus has now shifted toward variation between households and a broader range of activities (such as household production), the core categories of the genders are rarely questioned and critiques stemming from intersectional theory (see below) have rarely been fully incorporated.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Meskell (2001) provides a good overview.

<sup>50</sup> On an idealized feminist past, see Meskell (1999, 56–57).

<sup>51</sup> Morris 1998a.

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., Nevett (1999) that focuses on questions of gendered spaces, in contrast to Ault and Nevett (2005) that looks at diversity but largely ignores questions of gender.

Third-wave feminism has questioned the coherence of the categories “woman” and “man.” This deconstruction has taken two broad forms. The first involves tackling the very categories of gender and sex. Judith Butler has taken on the conventional binary of sex and gender, one a biological and the other a social construct, arguing that even sex is only conceptualized as such because of cultural features.<sup>53</sup> Others have noted that cultural practices affect the biological body in very concrete ways, such as ideas about women as delicate leading to them literally becoming “the weaker sex.”<sup>54</sup> These critiques are welcome reminders against imposing modern categories on past contexts, but they have done little to shake the heuristically useful dichotomy in practice, presumably because biological sex is one of precious few “independent” lines of evidence that can be used to nuance our reading of material culture’s relationship to gender. Genetics has blurred the distinction between the sexes with the discovery of people carrying unusual multiples of sex chromosomes such as XXY, XYY, or XXXY,<sup>55</sup> but because of the rarity of such conditions and the question about how pertinent such genetic categories are in an ancient context, this line of argument has mostly been restricted to theoretical critiques. Much more work has been done surrounding non-binary gender and queer identities, but even these studies have mostly been done in ethnographic and rich historical contexts.<sup>56</sup> Purely archaeological applications have proven more elusive. One suspects this is partly an accurate reflection of past perceptions of gender; ethnography suggests that non-binary

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<sup>53</sup> Butler 2011, Introduction.

<sup>54</sup> Voss 2008, 23.

<sup>55</sup> Joanna Sofaer (2006, Chapters 2 and 5) has discussed this, although she questions the pertinence of the rare genetic types to studies of the past.

<sup>56</sup> Meskell (1999) has called for an archaeology of intimacy and desire, but in her conclusions (212–213) notes that in her case-study, the historically attested romantic feelings are poorly reflected in the archaeological record. For an overview of work on sexuality, mostly based on iconography, see Joyce (2008, Chapter 4). For an edited volume on the archaeology of sexuality, see Schmidt and Voss (2000).

gender systems are the exception rather than the rule. In addition, our ability to correctly read gender systems different from ours is limited and might lead to us missing evidence or misinterpreting it.

The second fruit of third-wave critical feminist theory is the realization that even among women experiences vary so much that to discuss women as a single category is problematic at best and violently silencing at worst. I would argue that most archaeological research as well as this dissertation have had more success taking this approach – studying the differences between women’s experiences – than deconstructing gender categories wholesale. Here, Kimberlé Crenshaw’s concept of intersectionality offers fertile ground. The rest of this section focuses on intersectionality and its applications because, as will be argued, intersectionality is a versatile and powerful framework for approaching gender in archaeology.

Crenshaw originally came up with the concept of intersectionality to study and explain discrimination against Black women in a legal context: A group of women had sued a company for discrimination but struggled to make a case because they could not prove that either Black people or women were discriminated against wholesale.<sup>57</sup> Black (and white) men could work on the factory floor, and white women could work as secretaries for the factory. The experience of Black women could only be explained as them being “multiply-burdened” as their gender and racial identities came together to make them unemployable.<sup>58</sup> Intersectionality, then, is defined as the interplay between different aspects of identity but also the acknowledgment that they form a whole that is difficult to disentangle. Using this lens, lines can be drawn in many ways depending on the context and situation, creating potential for either inclusiveness (Black Lives

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<sup>57</sup> Crenshaw 1989.

<sup>58</sup> Crenshaw 1989, 140.

Matter) or exclusiveness (historically, the exclusively Black and female Combahee River Collective). Despite occasional criticisms over a Black womanist concept being co-opted to apply to other groups, the theory has gained huge popularity because of its potential for expansiveness. Even though its origins are firmly embedded in the study of marginalized and oppressed groups, the framework has also been used to study privilege and the interactions between facets of identity that add to or reduce a person's social and political capital.

All these qualities make intersectionality an exceptionally good tool to think with, and alongside gender/queer studies it has helped push archaeology beyond “filling in the blanks” and toward reorienting our research questions.<sup>59</sup> The approach is, however, not without its challenges, from the risk of imposing modern categories onto ancient societies to the evidence not allowing the kind of detailed analysis encouraged by the framework.<sup>60</sup>

As with applications of most identity theories, the biggest successes in using intersectionality in archaeology have been in contexts with ethnographic, textual, or historical sources. In a Classical context, an entire volume was dedicated to the intersections of gender and slave-free status as early as the 1990s, but all except one of the contributions were based on textual sources, with the one archaeological contribution being the article by Ian Morris mentioned above concluding that we cannot “find” women or slaves.<sup>61</sup> In a specifically Macedonian context, however, the fluidity of gender roles has been noted based on archaeological evidence – see Chapter 5 for further discussion on this.

Outside of a Classical context, Barbara L. Voss studied an 18th–19th-century Mexican

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<sup>59</sup> Although she was working outside the intersectional framework, Elizabeth M. Brumfiel (1992) sounded an early call for studying gender, class, political factions, and agency as pertinent if separate fields.

<sup>60</sup> For modern concepts versus past identities, see Insoll (2007, 4) and Meskell (2001).

<sup>61</sup> Joshel and Murnaghan 1998. University of Edinburgh Press now has a series titled “Intersectionality in Classical Antiquity,” but no books have been published as of the time of writing (August 2018).

colony in San Francisco using a theoretical framework combining gender and queer studies, materiality, postcolonial theory, critical race theory, and the concept of “overdetermination,” which based on her definition seems very similar to intersectionality, although she classifies intersectionality as one of many approaches falling under the umbrella of overdetermination.<sup>62</sup> (Overdetermination means that the end result cannot be easily deduced from the elements that feed into it; cause-and-effect narratives are simplistic; and the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.) She carefully analyzed ceramics, architectural remains, evidence for clothing (buckles, etc.), and foodways through vessel sizes and faunal and botanical remains.

Despite the admirable range of archaeological materials studied, the richness of Voss’s narrative comes mainly from the historical and ethnographic evidence, and the results never quite deliver the promised deep study of sexuality, construction of masculinity, or moving beyond balkanized identities and into the realm of overdetermination. For example, while she observes that certain ceramic wares were overrepresented in certain shapes, her conclusion that this is evidence of households using sets that were a mix of wares on one hand and that the households used homogeneous sets to “[pursue] an aesthetically conservative strategy that minimized the appearance of differences” on the other is undermined by the fact that the ceramics come from a mixed midden deposit (making assigning them to separate households impossible). Furthermore, it seems to take one possible interpretation (each household using a mixture of wares rather than the different wares being favored by different households) and use it to explain what is partly assumed, partly known from the documentary evidence: the creation of a collective identity as settlers. Indeed, her careful interweaving of documentary and archaeological evidence in places

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<sup>62</sup> Voss 2008.

serves to highlight the perils of archaeology. She notes a scarcity of artifacts associated with Native traditions within the settlement but also notes that the documentary sources attest to a Native presence.<sup>63</sup> As for concepts of masculinity and sexuality, the discussion mostly relies on documentary evidence of rape and the archaeological and historical observation that men's dress varied by rank.

The above criticism is not to diminish the ambitious work Voss has done synthesizing different lines of evidence, but it is a reminder of the limitations facing archaeologists working in contexts without or with very scarce documentary sources and perhaps also a reminder that the nuance postulated by many social theories is not often achievable even in historical contexts.

Scholars have, however, had success especially when combining aspects that archaeologists are good at measuring and interpreting: sex, age, and wealth; these will serve as the main intersecting axes for this dissertation as well. The success with studying these particular variables is in part due to sex and age being aspects of identity that are both archaeologically measurable but also have some permanence. Timothy Insoll, among others, has pushed back against deconstructing identity as a heuristic category because of its constantly shifting character, pointing out that there is continuity and stability as well, stemming from biology but sometimes also from ethnic or religious identities.<sup>64</sup> Lynn Meskell's study of New Kingdom burials from Deir el Medina is one of the best-known applications of third-wave feminist theory to the archaeological record and hinges mostly on the variables of gender, age, and wealth. While there is some slippage between the conclusions drawn from material evidence in contrast to textual sources, the core of her study, which found that hierarchies vary by wealth class (with elites,

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<sup>63</sup> Voss 2008, 160.

<sup>64</sup> Insoll 2007, 5.

gender influenced status most strongly, while in poorer burials, age mattered more), remains an inspiration.<sup>65</sup> Rosemary A. Joyce has combined the variables of age, gender, and status in many of her analyses of Mesoamerican burials. Once more, she benefits from ethnographic evidence, historical sources, and iconographic evidence, but she moves from these sources to the prehistoric record. Based on two 16th-century (i.e., post-contact) ethnographic manuscripts, she identifies potential indicators of age and gender in Aztec society: hair, dress, piercings, and scars, as well as a general tendency to start “gendering” children from a very young age, although these gender indicators changed with age. Looking at the archaeological record from almost three thousand years earlier, she notes ear ornaments were restricted to adults, reflecting the fact that already at that point piercings were part of the transition into adulthood.<sup>66</sup> It should give one pause that out of the four types of indicator she notes, only one is likely to be archaeologically visible, but the applications are also readily appreciated: for example, in a Macedonian context, one could focus on jewelry, hair ornaments, and pins (as proxies for dress) to study how age and gender play out in the adornment, covering, or emphasizing of parts of the body.

Finally, a key takeaway of intersectionality is a view of the facets of identity as situational and an awareness of the tension between a self-assigned label and a label assigned to one.<sup>67</sup> (In a modern context, the question of and debate around “passing” as white, man, woman, etc., is a manifestation of this tension.) This topic has been extensively discussed among archaeologists, usually using the concept of “agency” (see section 2.2.1 below), but it is worth commenting on since this tension of self-assigned and imposed labels plays out in a very unique way in the mortuary context. As the cliché goes, the dead do not bury themselves and as such

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<sup>65</sup> Meskell 1999.

<sup>66</sup> Joyce 2000.

<sup>67</sup> Voss, for example, has noted this tension (2008, 14–15).

they potentially provide a blank canvas to paint on. Even so, this dissertation is built on the assumption that just as the mortuary record at large is some kind of a reflection of the society of the living – even if a distorted one – so are the aspects of identity seen in burials. As will be seen below, a girl buried with some of the trappings of an adult woman does not mean she was perceived as an adult woman, but it is still telling that she was not buried like an adult man. To the degree to which it is possible to answer the question, it seems Macedonian burials reflect aspects of identity that were probably also manifested in life. There is no reason to suspect Macedonians imposed labels on their dead that would have seemed inappropriate to them in life, although the evidence is not adequate to comment on whether the facets emphasized in death would have been seen as particularly important in life, either by the deceased individual or others. Unearthing tensions between the labels imposed by the self and by others is impossible in this context, but this dissertation assumes that no society was without such tensions.

### **2.1.3 The individual in archaeology**

It is in the mortuary record that archaeologists get closest to the individual, and as such the relatively small and controversial strand within identity theory that focuses on the individual is worth discussing, especially since intersectionality theory emphasizes individual experiences. The problems are manifold: Can we really speak of an individual when the burial was probably done by a community? Can we impose our concept of the individual onto the past and onto societies who might not even have made such a distinction? On a practical level, as a field that is at its strongest when noting persistent and repeated patterns, how do we interpret the evidence – especially if an individual seems unique or unusual?

Lynn Meskell has been the most famous proponent of the archaeology of the individual,



and she has approached the topic through case-studies, many of them on particularly evidence-rich graves from Egypt where objects are marked with the name of the owner, allowing for a detailed analysis such as a comparison between two individuals buried in the same grave.<sup>68</sup>

Rosemary A. Joyce has found individuality through quantitative analysis, singling out costume as a “medium for the creation of individuality” and interpreting the lack of strong associations between features in her mortuary dataset as reflecting freedom and individuality.<sup>69</sup> In her work, she has noted broader patterns but also seeming idiosyncrasies such as a handful of graves lined with red pigment, thus showing the potential for simultaneously studying individuals and groups.<sup>70</sup>

In general, this dissertation pushes against the tendency to use individual burials to simultaneously weave together individualistic life-stories and to generalize from them to discuss all of “Macedonian” society.<sup>71</sup> The bulk of the analysis is based on aggregate data and patterns seen across many burials, but case-studies are used. These two types of analysis are clearly distinguished. While the case-studies are used to add color and depth to the analysis in places where a given subset is too small for any kind of quantitative approach, they will be presented as individual stories that inform us about the realm of possibilities but neither exhaust all variation nor tell us what the common practice was.

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<sup>68</sup> Meskell 1999.

<sup>69</sup> Joyce 1999.

<sup>70</sup> Joyce 1999, 23.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapters 4 and 5. Tomb II is the prime example of this fluctuation between emphasizing individuality and generalization: it is used, on one hand, to create a narrative specific to one named individual – either Philip II or III – but also to illustrate things such as the “Homeric” nature of Macedonian culture or the role of women in Macedon. Similar examples from the Archaic period include the Ladies of Aegae and Arkhontiko, or the wealthiest male warriors from Arkhontiko.

## 2.2 Writ in water, carved in stone: mortuary archaeology

*“This Grave contains all that was Mortal, of a Young English Poet,  
Who on his Death Bed, in the Bitterness of his Heart,  
at the Malicious Power of his Enemies,  
Desired these Words to be engraven on his Tomb Stone:  
Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water.”*

- Epitaph of John Keats,  
written by Joseph Severn and Charles Armitage Brown

*“Full fathom five thy father lies.  
Of his bones are coral made.  
Those are pearls that were his eyes.  
Nothing of him that doth fade,  
But doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something rich and strange.”*

- William Shakespeare, Ariel’s Song, *The Tempest*,  
(also partly quoted on the tombstone of Percy Bysshe Shelley)

This section covers topics within mortuary archaeology that are particularly germane to the questions asked in this dissertation. It begins with a discussion on agency and the ontology of the mortuary record, which serves as a historical outline but is also important for explaining the approach taken in this dissertation and the assumptions underlying it. After this overview, two specific subfields are explored: landscape approaches, because of their pertinence to the study of the tumuli used in Macedon for a millennium, and expenditure, relevant both to studying the exceptionally wealthy tombs famed for their golden treasures and to comparing burials across sites and periods.

### **2.2.1 Agency and the ontology of the mortuary record: a brief history**

After the death at sea of the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, who at that time had a cult rather than a broad following, his mortal remains were cremated, buried, exhumed, and reburied in Italy, with the exception of his heart – according to lore snatched from the pyre by his friend Edward Trelawny – which migrated to a family tomb in England. Meddling friends and family members divvied up his remains and moved them so they could be buried next to their famed loved one. John Keats's friends and fervent fans – most importantly Joseph Severn – insisted on expanding the poet's minimalist epitaph to deliver a jab at his critics, and they also collected enough relics to ensure a steady trickle of tourists visiting the museum in Rome housing locks of his hair and his deathmask. The fascination with bodily proximity to the poets' mortal remains continues as well: the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome where both are inhumed had to recently add a sign explicitly forbidding the scattering of human ashes on the graves. The mortuary record is, indeed, rich and strange, frequently transformed by competing interests and ideas about both the living and the dead. Scholarly ideas of how to approach the mortuary record have similarly changed, and this section discusses these developments with a special focus on archaeologists' attempts to tackle questions of agency such as that so vigorously displayed by characters like Trelawny or Severn.

Mortuary archaeology has followed the major trends of archaeology in general. Initially, burials were mainly studied with an eye to chronological sequences and migration patterns. The closed nature of the contexts, the frequently good preservation of intact objects, and public fascination with showy Egyptian tombs made burials attractive to looters and archaeologists alike (a situation that still persists) from the very early days of antiquarianism. In these early studies, objects stood for peoples (rather than just people) and were frequently removed from

their context without much thought to what the burial assemblages could tell about the past.

Discussion about the ontology of the mortuary record began in earnest with processualism. The so-called Binford-Saxe paradigm established a hypothetico-deductive approach linking the society of the dead with the society of the living, arguing both that there is a close relationship between the two and that this relationship is dictated by societal structure rather than individual choices. Lewis Binford dismissed historical explanations and the idea of the mortuary record as a reflection of beliefs specific to the realm of the dead. Instead, he developed three hypotheses applicable to every society:

- 1) Mortuary complexity reflects a society's complexity.
- 2) Increasing social complexity leads to an emphasis on rank as opposed to other distinctions (such as gender or age).
- 3) The amount of societal disruption is correlated with the status of the deceased: the higher the status of the deceased, the more disruption the death causes.<sup>72</sup>

Binford tested his hypotheses against ethnographic studies and tellingly dismissed the fact that his first hypothesis was not supported by his case-studies on settled agriculturalists. Arthur A. Saxe, in what is probably the most widely-read dissertation within archaeology, formulated eight hypotheses which use convoluted language (such as “given disposal domains...partitioning the universe”) but make intuitive sense, here heavily paraphrased into simpler prose:

- 1) Elements of a burial map onto living society.
- 2) Social relations seen in the mortuary record are “congruent with” those of the living

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<sup>72</sup> Binford 1971.

society.

- 3) High-status individuals are buried with more elements signifying identities.
- 4) High-prestige identities are emphasized above lower-prestige ones.
- 5) Complex societies show a tree-like (redundant and dependent) relationship of burial attributes, while less-complex ones show a paradigmatic (independent) pattern.
- 6) Complex societies are more likely to have distinct classes manifested through material culture, while simpler ones show a spectrum of grave goods, etc.
- 7) Complex societies indicate “deviant social personae” more clearly than egalitarian ones.
- 8) The stronger a lineal descent system and the more tightly controlled resources are, the more distinct and formal disposal areas for the dead become.<sup>73</sup>

Saxe himself found that hypotheses 1, 2, 4, and 8 were supported by his case-studies, with 3 and 6 partly supported and 5 and 7 inconclusive or untested.<sup>74</sup> The implications of his work, then, are similar to Binford’s: mortuary identities map onto lived ones, and rank is favored over other aspects of identity. The appeal of Saxe’s hypotheses, however, is that they are more specific and offer more tools for the archaeologist than Binford’s rather generic formulations. For the archaeologist studying complex societies and interested in identities, the idea of high-prestige identities being emphasized as well as lineal descent manifesting in formal cemeteries provide concrete criteria to think about and also emphasizes the need to look carefully for low-prestige identities which might not be as clearly signaled in the mortuary record.

The Binford-Saxe paradigm, while added to and nuanced, has shown remarkable

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<sup>73</sup> Saxe 1970.

<sup>74</sup> Anthony Snodgrass has looked at Classical Greek cemeteries in light of hypothesis 8 and concluded, somewhat ambivalently, that the patterns are “just about compatible with the predictions” of the hypothesis (2009, 106).

longevity: an edited volume from 2005, calling for “perspectives on mortuary archaeology for the new millennium” in its very title, notes that Binford and Saxe still maintain hegemony as the mainstream approaches.<sup>75</sup> No corresponding theoretical canon for post-processual approaches to death has emerged. Two broad criticisms, however, can be and have been directed at the Binford-Saxe paradigm. The first one is one of relevance: especially with complex societies with a wealth of archaeological, iconographical, and often textual evidence, does testing the hypotheses reveal to us anything we did not already know, or do they fall into Kent Flannery’s “Leapin’ lizards, Mr. Science!” category?<sup>76</sup>

The second criticism, spearheaded most prominently by Ian Hodder, questions whether the foundational premises of the paradigm are true. Experience alone is enough to show that mortuary commemoration does not always mesh well with the life of the deceased, either at the level of the individual (the cranky, abusive grandfather being lamented as a saint in the obituary) or of a group or community (an impoverished family takes out a loan to bury their loved one with pomp and circumstance). John Keats’s tombstone, quoted at the start of this section, encapsulates this tension, as his friends and most devout fans ignored the poet’s wishes for a simple epitaph, instead opting for a wonderfully passive-aggressive one in response to literary critics.

Ethnographic case-studies take these observations from the realm of impressionistic to undeniable. While Hodder’s critiques often ring similarly to those of the devil reading the Bible, his study of Sudanese tribal communities does convincingly show that cemetery layouts can be conservative and reflect an earlier status quo or can emphasize matrilineal ideals as opposed to

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<sup>75</sup> Rakita and Buikstra 2005, 5.

<sup>76</sup> Flannery 1973, 51.

patriarchal realities.<sup>77</sup> Many other examples can be cited as well, including ones that highlight the potential for misinterpreting the archaeological record. For example, the Huron of the American Great Lakes area practiced secondary burials in collective ossuaries.<sup>78</sup> Prior to the secondary burial, each individual's remains were lovingly tended to, and during both primary and secondary burials lavish gifts were given to the family of the deceased but not deposited with the burials. While the secondary burials can be taken to accurately reflect the importance of community-belonging and ancestry, there is little in the archaeological record that would clue us in to the expenditure associated with mortuary rituals or reflect distinctions of status, wealth, age, and gender that we know existed in the community.

Based on ethnographic examples such as the ones above, post-processualism has attacked the idea that the mortuary record reflects a living society. Instead, graves tell lies and are a theater for the negotiation of identities. Increased attention has been given to "anomalous" burials, such as biological females buried with weapons or evidence for pathologies consistent with fighting on female skeletons in societies where warfare was (or is assumed to have been, even in the absence of solid evidence) mostly a masculine activity.<sup>79</sup> The gendering of other objects has been questioned as well: studying Varangian burials, Anne Stalsberg has argued that the presence in female graves of scales and weights, typically taken to be masculine objects, is a sign of active female participation in trade rather than a reflection of women working in trade on behalf of their husbands under special circumstances.<sup>80</sup> Some have also argued against Binford's emphasis on rank: James Whitley has studied Iron Age burials from Greece and noted that

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<sup>77</sup> Hodder 1980.

<sup>78</sup> See Kidd (1953) for ethnographic sources and also the excavation report of an ossuary.

<sup>79</sup> Doucette 2001; Hollimon 2001.

<sup>80</sup> Stalsberg 2001.

female burials fall somewhere between male and child burials. His interpretation is that gender, age, and rank were intermingled in a system where the main dichotomy was adult man–child, with women falling somewhere in between.<sup>81</sup> In his other work, he has noted that in Aegean prehistoric contexts, weapons are not always associated with either pathologies consistent with fighting or adult males, leading him to argue that rather than weapons reflecting a warrior identity, they were used to construct it.<sup>82</sup> Graves not only “hide” identities that exist in living society, they also introduce distinctions not necessarily pertinent in life.

Of course, the above does not mean that graves lie, per se. The examples listed illustrate two things, neither of which falsifies the mortuary record. First, mortuary behavior can reflect wishes, aspirations, and ideas about people and society. Secondly, finding objects we feel should be masculine or feminine in graves of the opposite sex implies that our conception of gender within that society is quite possibly incorrect. While both these things pose heuristic challenges, they should be embraced as points of interest, not as threats to productive scholarship.<sup>83</sup>

Another element to arise from ethnographic studies is the importance of mortuary rituals as a process where the deposition of human remains to their “eternal rest” (either in an enclosed space or exposed) is only the last step. Increased attention has been given to funerary rituals and the experiences of the mourners. Many of these steps might be impossible or very difficult to see in the archaeological record: verbal prayers, and often also grave visitations or libations, do not leave a mark permanent enough for us to find. There are, however, many behaviors that are archaeologically visible, and other elements that can be used to indirectly infer something about

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<sup>81</sup> Whitley 1996.

<sup>82</sup> Whitley 2002.

<sup>83</sup> See especially Chapter 5 and the discussion on “masculine” goods in female graves, which, it is argued, tell us about differences between the portrayal of elite and non-elite women.



mortuary ritual. An entire edited volume was devoted to archaeological studies of mortuary ritual in 2007, showing the great potential of the approach and also highlighting how this move from “snapshots” to “process” requires pulling together multiple strands of evidence.<sup>84</sup> One of the most successful contributions, by Ellen F. Morris, studies human sacrifice in honor of Egyptian First Dynasty rulers by synthesizing osteological data, patterns in grave-goods, and even patterns of looting as a proxy for the wealth of graves. Morris discovers neatly-ordered groups of contemporary burials organized by wealth, types of offerings, and to some degree age and sex.<sup>85</sup> Her conclusions nuance a simplistic view of mortuary retainers (companions): it seems the sacrifice of some of the retainers warranted more acknowledgment (and presumably more disruption, to use Binford’s paradigm), while others were sacrificed less ceremoniously. Other fruitful ways to approach death and mortuary behavior as processes are, for example, the close study of post-mortem modifications and analysis of secondary or group burials. In a Macedonian context, we shall see evidence of grave visitations, secondary burials, and burials done in haste or prepared for at length, painting a patchy but in places nuanced picture of mortuary behavior leading up to the “still image” facing the excavator.

Burials, then, have gone from being considered a clear reflection of society writ large to being seen as a much more complicated web of aspirations, tensions, ideologies, and individual quirks reflecting the actions of the deceased (in the form of decisions and behavior prior to death), the mourners, and the broader community. In addition to grave goods, evidence for mortuary ritual is nowadays closely studied. This has enriched mortuary analysis, but just as in the case of identity studies, it creates potential for deconstruction. As already suggested in the

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<sup>84</sup> Laneri 2007.

<sup>85</sup> Morris 2007.

discussion on identity theory, I call for a pragmatic take. Graves do not lie, per se, although often they will not reflect all the aspects of either mortuary ritual or a society. As will be shown in Chapters 3–8, grave goods and other features of graves are not random, and furthermore it is no coincidence that in many ethnographic and historical cases the afterlife resembles the life of the living to *some* degree. While post-processualist critiques invaluablely guide us to study a broad spectrum of mortuary elements and to not assume one-to-one correspondences, the argument will be made that mortuary distinctions, as far as we can tell, largely map on to broad distinctions in Macedonian societies. (Importantly, however, it will also be argued that some of the more granular distinctions known from historical sources are not archaeologically visible.)

### **2.2.2 Landscape approaches**

Landscape studies have an obvious appeal in a Macedonian context, where tumulus burials were in use from the prehistoric until the Roman period (see Chapter 7), but attention has focused much more on the contents of the tumuli than on their imposing presence.<sup>86</sup> Landscape approaches can cover topics as varied as studying the distribution of objects (whether burials, houses, or roads) across space, analyzing natural landscapes and how humans interacted with them, or focusing on a specific type of monument, but this section focuses on monumental mortuary landscapes.

Landscape approaches have a bad ring in the minds of many because of the more postmodern examples of phenomenological landscape studies, encapsulated in the image of Christopher Tilley, Barbara Bender, and Sue Hamilton traversing the English countryside with a

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<sup>86</sup> See Henry and Kelp (2016) for a thousand pages of case-studies, including Alessandro Naso's contribution (9–32) which offers a partial overview.

picture frame, supposedly putting themselves in the mindset of a Neolithic person.<sup>87</sup> Other attempts have, however, been more down-to-earth and prove there is much to be learned by looking at how burials and funerary monuments create and influence landscapes. Richard Bradley, for example, has traced the development of Neolithic monuments across Europe, noting similarities between longhouses and longmounds, arguing for a conscious link between domestic structures and burials that would have been readily visible because of the prominence of the monuments.<sup>88</sup>

Moving from observation to interpretation and unpacking the ideologies behind mortuary landscapes can be tricky, but scholars have increasingly tried to do just that. In her studies of the Abydos cemetery, Janet Richards has drawn on the written and pictorial evidence of Egyptian beliefs about the cosmos and the afterlife, and this allows her to connect the natural and built landscape to cultural ideas about the afterlife and kingship.<sup>89</sup> It should, however, be noted that the data she has at her disposal are quite extraordinary, and most archaeologists struggle much more with finding good evidence to support their interpretations of the landscape in terms of ideology and belief systems.

Tumuli have been studied extensively because they are not only prominent but also a near-global phenomenon. The results frequently revolve around ancestry but are often tentative at best. Bettina Arnold has studied tumuli in Iron Age western Europe, associating them with families and ancestor cults.<sup>90</sup> Similar arguments have been made about Macedonian and Lydian

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<sup>87</sup> Bender, Hamilton, and Tilley 1997. Michael Shanks, Tilley's collaborator, continues to explore phenomenology in inventive but, to some, not particularly scientifically valid ways, most recently together with Mike Pearson by thinking about theater performance unfolding in space (Pearson and Shanks 2017).

<sup>88</sup> Bradley 1998.

<sup>89</sup> Richards 2005.

<sup>90</sup> Arnold 2002.

tumuli.<sup>91</sup> These arguments are usually made simply based on continued use or reuse of tumuli, without any evidence of grave-visits, offerings, or other features that might suggest ancestor worship. The longevity of many tumuli across cultures certainly supports this emphasis on ancestry, although it is usually impossible to know whether the multiple individuals were related, either biologically or through a constructed ancestry; given the occasional break in continuity, we can assume the latter to be true in at least some of the cases.

Perhaps more interestingly, other uses for tumuli have been suggested in contexts with either historical sources or other lines of evidence that can be combined with the study of the mounds. Olivier Henry has argued Lydian tumuli in Caria were used to assert authority over the conquered Carians, and Christina Luke and Christopher H. Roosevelt have suggested Lydian tumuli at Bin Tepe might harken back to memories of Bronze Age citadels and trade routes, even though these had been abandoned long before.<sup>92</sup> The evidence is circumstantial, but the case-studies point out a potentially fruitful avenue which involves moving away from the lamentable tendency to study and publish tumuli individually or in small groups, largely removed from a broader context.<sup>93</sup>

In addition to context, some recent work has aimed to study tumuli in larger groups, often using GIS and survey. For example, Leon van Hoof and Marlen Schlöffel have participated in an ambitious interdisciplinary research program in the Azov Sea region, mapping and studying tumuli (kurgans) that span from the fourth millennium to the Greek and Roman periods.<sup>94</sup> Their tentative results provide food for thought: rather than offering a single explanation, they trace

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<sup>91</sup> Kyriakou 2016; Luke and Roosevelt 2016.

<sup>92</sup> Henry 2016; Luke and Roosevelt 2016.

<sup>93</sup> In Henry and Kelp (2016), the majority of the contributions are descriptive case-studies.

<sup>94</sup> Van Hoof and Schlöffel 2016.

how both diachronic (Bronze Age to Iron Age) and cultural (Meotian to Sarmatian) factors influenced the use of tumuli – in clusters or in lines, on isolated high places or next to settlements, for individual burials or dozens of them.

### **2.2.3 Mortuary expenditure**

This section looks briefly at attempts to estimate mortuary expenditure. This is important because, as will become apparent, Macedonians chose to spend more on their burials than their neighbors to the south and also because expenditure is one common way to approach hierarchy, one of the topics of this dissertation. Wealth indices and expenditure estimates used in this dissertation are discussed in Chapter 7, while this section discusses some of the inspiration behind them.

Measuring expenditure is, of course, far from straightforward, and all applications are compromises of some sort. Inspired by Binford's hypothesis stipulating that the two were correlated,<sup>95</sup> early processualist scholarship was very interested in the relationship between rank and energy expenditure, although studies frequently settled for relative measures. Joseph A. Tainter, for example, identified the complexity of body treatment, the form or location of the mortuary facility, the duration and extent of rituals, material contributions to the ritual, and human sacrifice as his criteria for measuring energy expenditure, but he did not discuss exactly how these were measured and one can only assume he created relative rankings.<sup>96</sup> Recently, David Stone has drawn on the experiments of Charles Erasmus to evaluate the man-days required to construct burial mounds in North Africa, something that has immediate pertinence to

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<sup>95</sup> Binford 1971.

<sup>96</sup> Tainter 1975, 55.

Macedonian tumuli.<sup>97</sup> Importantly, Stone takes the further step of connecting these estimates, rough as they may be, to divide tumuli into those probably constructed by immediate family and close relations (in the case of fewer than 100 man-days), a broader community (100–500 days), or by extraction of “unequal labour” (more than 500 days).<sup>98</sup> The intricate masonry of Macedonian tumuli has its own added implications (mainly making it unlikely they were built by family), but the principle is worth keeping in mind when making expenditure estimates.

Many applications, particularly within Classical archaeology, have focused on expenditure estimates for objects. Anthony Snodgrass has used absolute counts of different types of metal finds from sanctuaries and burials in his foundational work on Archaic Greece, but he does not attempt to compare their relative cost (e.g., how much more valuable one bronze tripod is than one bronze fibula).<sup>99</sup> Ian Morris has looked at quantities of metal objects and ceramic vessels for his study of Iron Age Attica, work which has proven to have a lasting impact but which has also been criticized for simplifying matters too much in an effort to see broad patterns.<sup>100</sup> Later on, Morris incorporated Gini’s coefficient, a measure of inequality developed in sociology, into both ceramic and metal object distributions but still treated the two materials separately and only discussed them in relative terms.<sup>101</sup> More detailed approaches have revolved around the cost of materials: for example, Michael Vickers has estimated that silver vessels in Classical Athens had a value at least 300 times that of painted ceramic vessels.<sup>102</sup> Other studies

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<sup>97</sup> Stone 2016.

<sup>98</sup> Stone 2016, 49.

<sup>99</sup> Snodgrass 1980, 52–54.

<sup>100</sup> Morris 1987. Morris (1998b) himself has discussed and conveniently summarized the critiques against his 1987 book (mainly revolving around his use of statistics, generalizing from small sample sizes, and being unclear about his categories).

<sup>101</sup> Morris 1992, 138–139.

<sup>102</sup> Vickers 1985, 116.

account for variation, rarity, and transportation costs. Susan Shennan came up with an early nuanced approach for the Bronze Age cemetery at Branč in Slovakia, taking into account the variety of grave goods, the quantity of certain (unspecified) types of artifacts, difficulty obtaining raw materials, and the time required to produce the object.<sup>103</sup> This was supplemented by a follow-up analysis identifying which artifacts were characteristic of only the wealthiest graves and would thus have indicated a wealth status. Unfortunately, it is unclear exactly how each criterion was coded and how much emphasis was given to each. More recently, Janet Richards has taken into account both objects and grave construction by using measures of expenditure that include grave volume in cubic meters, a diversity measure that is a simple count of artifact categories, and a wealth index that combines distance, mode of transport, extraction, processing, and hardness, and finally an index based on literary sources.<sup>104</sup>

### **2.3 Operationalizing identity and feminist theory: methodology**

Chapter 1 and the first part of this chapter mapped out a broad outline of the data available on Macedonian burials as well as the identity, feminist, and mortuary approaches that were selected as germane lenses for studying the data. It remains to pull together these strands by describing the methods used to make the two connect. At the end of the day, a theory is a tool, a framework for collecting and interpreting observations. Often its most important contribution comes in the form of framing questions. While trying to squeeze the archaeological record for nuance such as described by Bourdieu has led to much disappointment, the questions inspired by him have given birth to an entire subfield. Similarly, archaeologists have rarely had success in

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<sup>103</sup> Shennan 1975, 284.

<sup>104</sup> Richards 2005, 108–111.

finding a “third gender” without ethnographic information guiding their search, but our understanding of gender relations – and especially women – in the past is now much better and more nuanced than it was before gender became a topic worth studying.

Identity theories have several implications for how the material is handled in the coming chapters. Identities as represented in the mortuary record seem particularly prone to performative aspects, as the realm of mortuary behavior – as will be seen in the coming chapters – would have been laden with potential for symbolism, display, and aspirations in ancient Macedon. As such, this dissertation is guided by the belief that identity is in part performative (as theorized by Butler) and thus visible in choices made regarding material culture (in contrast to Bourdieu’s largely subconscious model of practice). This stance is nuanced by the knowledge that facets of identity are complex and intersecting (as discussed by Crenshaw). One of the most basic yet challenging lessons from feminist theory is to not make assumptions about gender and other facets of identity but instead to study them. The groupings studied in Chapters 4–7 – men, women, children, and groups with access to different levels of material wealth – are therefore never assumed but rather hypothesized to exist, followed by testing these assumptions. Nor are the groups assumed to be monoliths, and especially Chapter 6 indeed discusses drastic differences in the treatment of children between the wealthy and those less well off.

Chapters 4 and 5 show that many aspects of Macedonian gender roles are in line with current Western ideas (or should one say those of 1950s American suburbia?), but others are not. Where possible, biological sex should be used to anchor claims about gender performance at all levels of analysis: the “gender” of an object should never be assumed, and even if an object is most commonly associated with one gender, its appearance in a grave of another gender should not be explained away but rather studied as having potential to further our understanding of



gender in ancient Macedon. Although plenty of evidence from ancient Macedon implies it might not be an unreasonable assumption in most cases, binary gender should similarly not be assumed. Indeed, some Macedonian graves do not seem to fit the mold of an average Macedonian woman or man; in explaining how these graves came into being, answers might be elusive, but asking the question is important if we hope to make headway in future analyses – and, indeed, perform more analyses in the future, especially osteological ones.

The avoidance of assumptions logically lends itself to an exploratory approach. Instead of setting up one or a handful of null-hypotheses and testing them, experimenting with multiple angles of attack can reveal, for example, associations one has not thought about. One way to mitigate biases is to draw boundaries along many axes by splitting the data using different criteria. This method is used across most of the chapters, splitting the data chronologically, spatially, and based on osteological data, wealth, and certain artifacts associated with men or women. This allows for a flexible approach combining inferential statistics and qualitative study as certain subsets are large enough for the former approach while others lend themselves best to the latter. Furthermore, looking at the same question using both the entire dataset and subsets of it can show where patterning is more consistent and where it changes drastically depending on what subsets are included.

The question of agency and representation was brought up earlier in this chapter: whose ideas, norms, wishes, and judgments do we see when we approach the mortuary record, and how closely aligned are they with lived every-day reality? The underpinning stance taken here is a compromise between processualist and post-processualist views: mortuary behavior is not a straightforward, one-to-one reflection of lived reality, but neither is it completely untethered from it. Chapter 6 on children, especially, offers hints that the Macedonian mortuary record

could reflect hopes and aspirations (in the form of weapons given to very young boys) but also counters this observation with miniatures and terracottas of wetnurses showing that lived reality did influence mortuary behavior. In investigating this balance between mundane realities and wishful thinking, two approaches seem particularly apt. Firstly, comparing different lines of evidence can allow contrasting behavior in life and in death. The ethnographic and ethnohistorical records that have so enriched many studies are not available for ancient Macedon, but the limited historical sources will be looked at and epigraphy informs certain parts of the analysis. For reasons of time and scope, other archaeological contexts (such as domestic structures, public buildings, etc.) are only included in a peripheral manner, but iconography forms a sub-category of the archaeological record that is explored especially with regards to vase-painting. Secondly, the shift from viewing burials as “snapshots” to seeing them as complex aggregates of behaviors unfolding in time means that more attention needs to be paid to process. Reconstructing mortuary ritual step-by-step can shed light on who was involved in the process at any given time: the preparation of the grave, body treatment, selecting the grave goods, visitations to the grave, curation or abandonment of the grave site, looting, and archaeological excavation are just a few chapters in the biography of a death. Wherever possible, this evidence that goes beyond looking at the artifact assemblage of a grave will be incorporated into the analysis, both by looking at different steps of mortuary behavior and by taking into account how post-depositional processes affect the mortuary record as it is available to archaeologists.

The rest of this section moves through the research and writing process from start to finish. The database, which forms the foundation of this dissertation, is first described, and some of the decisions taken in compiling it are discussed. This is followed by an overview of the analytical methods used and the challenges the data posed to quantitative analysis, although

specific statistical methods are discussed as they come up in the text. The chapter concludes with a section on terminology, both for the sake of clarity and because certain terms used throughout this dissertation are ambiguous and/or controversial.

### 2.3.1 Database

The backbone of the dissertation is a database of 990 burials from central and western Macedon dated 550–300 BCE. The database aims to be as comprehensive as possible, including burials reported in scholarly monographs, journals, and publications aimed at tourists and site visitors, and even a few artifact assemblages reconstructed on the basis of museum displays.<sup>105</sup> This motley collection of sources potentially introduces biases: the wealthier the burial, the more likely it is to be reported on outside of a systematic site publication. Mieza, Asomata, and some of the cemeteries from Pella and Edessa can counter this trend as they have been systematically published, but any conclusions drawn from the database as a whole come with the caveat that they skew towards the wealthy and monumental.

The database was built in FileMaker. The main types of information recorded, apart from site and grave ID, describe the grave (grave type, orientation, dimensions), the deceased (sex, age, body treatment, orientation), metal finds (jewelry, weapons, metal vessels), ceramics (vessel shape, imports/local productions, surface treatment), and other types of objects (such as funerary couches, coins, or terracottas).

Because of different levels of detail across publications, decisions had to be made about what to include and exclude based on the research goals, which on one the hand necessitate some

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<sup>105</sup> The main sources, apart from site-specific publications, are *AEMTh* and *AEAM*. Data collection was completed in the fall of 2016; in the case of *AEMTh*, this means the cut-off point for inclusion is volume 24, which came out in 2014 but is a collection of papers given in 2010.

level of detail but also require as large a sample as possible. There are many sets of incomplete data published, either in aggregate form (“We excavated 400 graves, most of which were inhumations”) or in incomplete reports of individual graves (“From this grave, we found, among other things, three terracottas and some pins”). These data were ignored in almost all cases, with some exceptions where the attributes of an individual grave could be reconstructed almost completely based on the publication and images.<sup>106</sup> In general, all graves where the artifact assemblage has been reported in its entirety are included. This is not the same as “in detail”: for example, for many of the graves included, the vessel types found are known but the surface treatments are not. The artifact assemblage is used as the touchstone because it is the one aspect of the graves that is frequently reported on while still providing a moderate level of information. Body treatment, orientation, or even grave type are often not included in publications. Osteological information is only rarely available, and using that as a criterion would have reduced the dataset to fewer than 100 burials or even fewer if limiting the scope to individuals where both sex and age are known (much less pathologies, diet, etc.).

Similarly, decisions needed to be made about what kinds of attributes to include and how. The general guideline used was to be comprehensive but emphasize attributes that seemed likely to be pertinent to analysis. Ceramic shapes were recorded with high resolution (using conventional categories such as *skypnos* or *alabastron*) because of the success many studies have had in associating shape distribution with gender, age, and status, but in ensuing analyses the shapes were at times grouped by function (see Chapters 4–8) to bulk up the sample sizes. Jewelry and weapons were recorded carefully because of their potential for looking at gender and

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<sup>106</sup> This applies especially to the Kozani burials which are interesting because they offer a rare glimpse into a poorly-understood region but where no systematic publications are yet available.

wealth, and especially Chapters 4 and 5 prove the utility of this effort. In contrast, certain features were recorded either in the notes section (iconographic motifs on vases) or grouped into categories (terracotta figurines); this approach seemed justified in order to keep the database manageable while still retaining a record of details that might prove useful at some point (which, indeed, happened with both vase iconography and terracottas – see Chapter 5). Some of the choices made proved limiting during analysis: finger rings, for example, were not divided into types common for men versus for women, meaning they could not be used when discussing graves without other gendered objects such as weapons or earrings. Overall, however, the database offers a highly flexible tool for studying the graves at both the aggregate and individual level.

### **2.3.2 Analytical methods**

This dissertation uses qualitative and quantitative methods, and both descriptive and inferential statistics. Purely qualitative approaches are used mainly with literary sources and previous scholarship, and they are mostly used to identify models to compare to the archaeological data. Because this is an archaeological dissertation rather than a historical one, there are no detailed attempts at source criticism or disentangling exactly how much weight should be placed on one passage in Diodorus versus another one. As discussed above, ancient literary sources offer a useful point of comparison but have severe limitations both in terms of their scope and biases, and in many places it will become apparent that the pertinent historiographical (mainly political) questions do not align particularly well with the archaeological (mainly social) ones. Models suggested by scholars, for their part, often generalize based on a small body of evidence or are based on literary or ethnographic sources.

This dissertation argues that many of these models are not supported by the mortuary evidence.

Quantitative approaches initially seemed particularly appealing because of the frequent tendency in previous scholarship to discuss one or two exceptional burials without placing them in a broader context. For analysis, SPSS was most heavily used, supplemented by R, Python, JMP, and Excel. Most of the quantitative analysis in this dissertation looks at distributions and cross-tabulations.<sup>107</sup> The methods used are briefly explained as they are introduced in the text. It should be noted that even with statistical approaches, the results are descriptive rather than conclusive: given the size of the dataset and the inherent biases in it, any patterns could be changed if broader-ranging or additional data became available. An effort has been made to be transparent about low case counts so the reader can decide what arguments pass muster. One could argue that low counts require a (descriptive, not inferential) quantitative approach with all the *more* reason, because qualitative analysis can mask the scantiness of cases.

### 2.3.3 A note on terminology

Finally, a few notes on terminology are necessary for clarity. The terms “woman” and

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<sup>107</sup> Two features of the research goals made using inferential statistics (in contrast to descriptive ones such as distributions) especially challenging: the fact that the research questions often require looking at small subsets of the data and a desire to use statistics for exploratory rather than hypothetico-inductive analysis (in order to find new, unexpected facets of, for example, gender, rather than testing pre-existing assumptions). As a result, the process of searching for suitable analytical methods at times conjured up the image of throwing everything and the kitchen sink at the data, often with disappointing results. Despite best efforts, the sample sizes were frequently not large enough to draw statistically valid conclusions. For example, principal component analysis and binary logistical regression require, depending on the source, five to fifty cases per variable used, making them ill-suited for an exploratory approach to identifying patterns in this context. Other methods, mainly Bayesian ones, designed for coping with small sample sizes and missing data, often rely on the introduction of prior assumptions to help guide the analysis; while, as discussed below, such subjective decisions were utilized in places, they mostly seemed to run contrary to the goal of exploration and were not deemed particularly helpful, either. (Bayesian statistics have been successfully used with scanty or patchy archaeological data. In short, it is a philosophical (rather than strictly methodological) approach that allows for modeling that takes into account known priors to give better results and reduce variance. It has been particularly widely adopted within the field of radiocarbon dating. The cluster analyses within this dissertation to some degree apply the ethos of Bayesian statistics, but no formal application was attempted because introducing many priors seemed contradictory to the goal of exploratory analysis.)

“man” are, in general, used in contrast to “female” and “male.” As discussed earlier in this chapter, some scholars have, with some reason, questioned the dichotomy of (cultural) gender and (biological) sex. Even so, making the distinction is heuristically important if we ever wish to move away from assumptions about gender performance, and it is therefore used here. “Female” and “male” refer to individuals whose skeletal remains have been sexed by bioarchaeologists, while “woman” and “man” are used to discuss gender as a social persona. There is some leakage, because “female” and “male” are, in English, more often used as attributes than “womanly” and “manly”; these usages should be clear from the context.

Furthermore, the adjectives “feminine” and “masculine” are used for a very specific purpose. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, there are good reasons to assume most graves containing weapons belonged to men and those with a bracelet, an earring, or a pendant, to women. These observations are used as proxies for sex to increase sample sizes. Since constantly repeating “graves containing a bracelet, an earring, or a pendant” gets cumbersome, “feminine-type grave” is used as a shorthand, and the same is done for “masculine-type graves” which include weapons. In other words, these terms refer to graves where the biological sex is unknown but which analysis has shown can be gendered with a relative degree of confidence. Finally, graves containing (supine) inhumations measuring less than 1.31 m are assumed to have belonged to children in most cases. In the text, the distinction between osteologically identified subadults and those presumed to be children is marked with the terms “subadult” and “(individuals/burials in) small graves.”

## CHAPTER 3

### Macedonian mortuary behavior

*“When the money talks, what is there to say?  
Blow away, watch it blow away  
When I die, can’t take it to the grave.”*

- “Swang,” Rae Sremmurd

Like Rae Sremmurd, Macedonians believed that wealth mattered, but unlike the hiphop duo, they also very much believed they could take their wealth to the grave with them. (As will be seen below, they also sometimes chose to have great wealth “blow away” in ashes as part of cremations.) Macedonians did not have a monopoly on conspicuous consumption nor were all of their graves lavish, but they were clearly different from southern Greeks in their willingness to deposit expensive objects in graves and to build monumental tombs during a time of mortuary modesty in places such as Athens.<sup>108</sup> In light of this and other differences, it is important to establish what Macedonian mortuary behavior looked like in general before delving into

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<sup>108</sup> The differences between Athens and Macedon were not, of course, simply a matter of personal preference. Sumptuary legislation (Cic. *Leg.* 2.66 for the famous restriction on expenditure by Demetrius of Phaleron; Dem. 43.62 for one example of attempts to govern and regulate burials through other means under Solon already) limited mortuary behavior in Athens from the sixth century onwards, and scholars have studied how this shifted the display of wealth to either sanctuaries or to an emphasis on prominent family burial plots instead of lavish monuments (e.g., Small 1995 and Snodgrass 1980). Even so, the existence of the sumptuary laws in and of itself shows ideological differences between Macedon and Athens, as does the fact that the laws seem to have been obeyed fairly consistently in Athens.



discussions of specific groups of people.

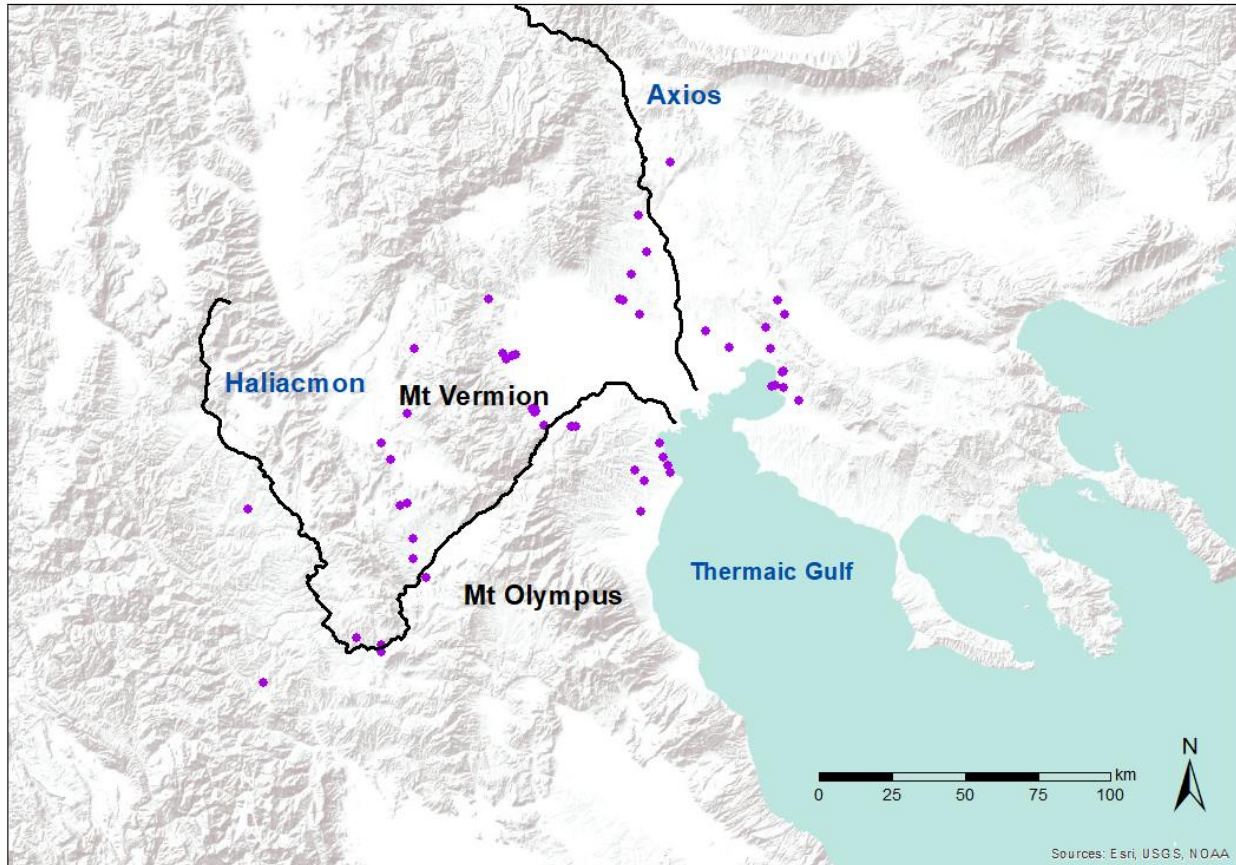
Much anthropological and archaeological discussion has been devoted to the challenges and limitations of reconstructing mortuary behavior based on archaeological remains; Chapter 2 addressed some of these issues. In the case of Macedon, literary sources are of limited utility as well: descriptions exist of grandiose pyres, funerary games, and the transportation of the body of Alexander, but there is little to go on for earlier periods or for less exceptional funerals. The authors writing about the funerals of Hephaestion and Alexander do so with the clear implication that the expenditure and lavishness were truly exceptional.<sup>109</sup> By looking at the mortuary data as a whole, however, we can piece together a picture that, while not complete, is more comprehensive than the one offered by either the literary sources or looking at one or a handful of burials.

This chapter introduces and contextualizes the data used in the ensuing analyses. First, the geographical and chronological scope of the dissertation is discussed and its boundaries justified. This is followed by an introduction to the most important sites in order to provide a context for the burials and cemeteries. The last several sections provide a broad overview of Macedonian funerary customs by looking at different aspects of mortuary behavior: the location of graves, burial types, body treatment, common artifact assemblages, and finally beliefs in the afterlife and reverence toward ancestors. (More detailed discussions on the variation of these aspects can be found in later chapters, especially Chapter 8.) The chapter concludes with a narrative of fictional but plausible burials pieced together based on strands of evidence from different sites.

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<sup>109</sup> For Hephaestion's burial, see Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 72; Arr. *Anab.* 7.14; and, at greatest length, Diod. Sic. 17.114–115. For Alexander's burial, see especially Diod. Sic. 18.26–28.

### 3.1 Spatial and chronological boundaries



Map 3.1. Overview map of all the sites in the database.

While the boundaries of this dissertation could have been drawn in many different ways, they are far from arbitrary. The region of central and western Macedonia was chosen because it captures the early core of the Macedonian kingdom according to Thucydides and other historical sources and because it largely excludes nearby cities founded by southern Greeks, especially in the Chalcidice (see Map 3.1).<sup>110</sup> Studying the boundaries of this region and comparing it with

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<sup>110</sup> Thuc. 2.99–100. The question of Greek colonization and the ethnic and other identities involved in the process has been intensively studied over the past decades, with the results usually pointing to a picture much more nuanced

surrounding areas, including Chalcidice, a peninsula dominated by “Greek” cities, is a fruitful exercise that will hopefully be pursued further by scholars in the future; for the purposes of this dissertation, however, it was important to identify a set of sites at the heart of the Macedonian kingdom to study dynamics *within* the region.<sup>111</sup>

The region under study can be further divided into smaller parts, but this task is not a straightforward one. Ancient authors, numismatic evidence, and inscriptions all attest to the fact that both outsiders and the people living in the region used labels to distinguish between different communities in the area. These entities, however, changed form over time, and attempting to draw precise boundaries between them was once described by Nicholas Hammond, who favored geographical over ethnic categories, as “chasing a chameleon through the centuries.”<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the inscriptional evidence is mostly Hellenistic and Roman, meaning that associating specific sites with a specific named region during the Archaic and Classical periods relies on retrojecting evidence. Coin evidence, for its part, is poorly suited to pinpointing locations, given how money – particularly early money – was specifically used to facilitate trade between communities. Even so, a glance at a map of the region and the distribution of cemeteries shows geographically distinct groupings, making clear the utility of providing labels to these groups. The following definitions are largely although not entirely in line with Eugene Borza’s study of the region, drawing on both geographical divisions and historical sources.<sup>113</sup>

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than a southern Greek contingent sailing to an empty landscape and building a Greek community from scratch. Even so, both literary and archaeological sources suggest that the Chalcidice had much closer ties to southern Greece than areas to the west of it did. For a discussion on mortuary evidence of ethnic differences in the region, see Panti (2012).

<sup>111</sup> Comparative work on Macedon and surrounding areas has already been undertaken by many scholars, and the results are briefly discussed in Chapter 8. Some examples of comparative work include Butler (2008), Panti (2012), Archibald (2000), and Bouzek and Ondrejova (1988).

<sup>112</sup> Hammond 1972, 3.

<sup>113</sup> Borza 1990, 30–57.

The cemeteries studied in this dissertation fall quite naturally into either three or four groups, each constrained by natural landscape features. These, in turn, fall into what were called Upper (groups 1 and 2, see below) and Lower (groups 3 and 4) Macedonia by Thucydides.<sup>114</sup> Much has been made of this division, especially the idea of Upper Macedonians as pastoralist and “tribal” in contrast to Lower Macedonians who were agriculturalists and had a more hierarchical social organization.<sup>115</sup> In recent years, however, this division has been called into question, especially because finds from Aeane attest to centralized power and urbanization in areas previously considered the mountain hinterlands.<sup>116</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, it seems wiser to follow the spatial clustering of sites instead of the broader labels that carry so much baggage.

Of the four groups, the westernmost is the smallest (Map 3.2). This is likely partly explained by limited archaeological activity in the area; recent work associated with dam construction in the area has yielded many sites. Apidea Voion, Prionia at Grevena, Ktio and Panagia at Diporo, and Paliouria at Deskati all line up along the “Haliacmon corridor” as defined by Borza and correspond roughly to Orestis, Tymphaea, and partly Elimaea using ancient terms. The sites do not perfectly line up along the current course of the river, but given how the river is still changing its course,<sup>117</sup> it is difficult to say whether the sites would have been situated on the Haliacmon in antiquity or not.

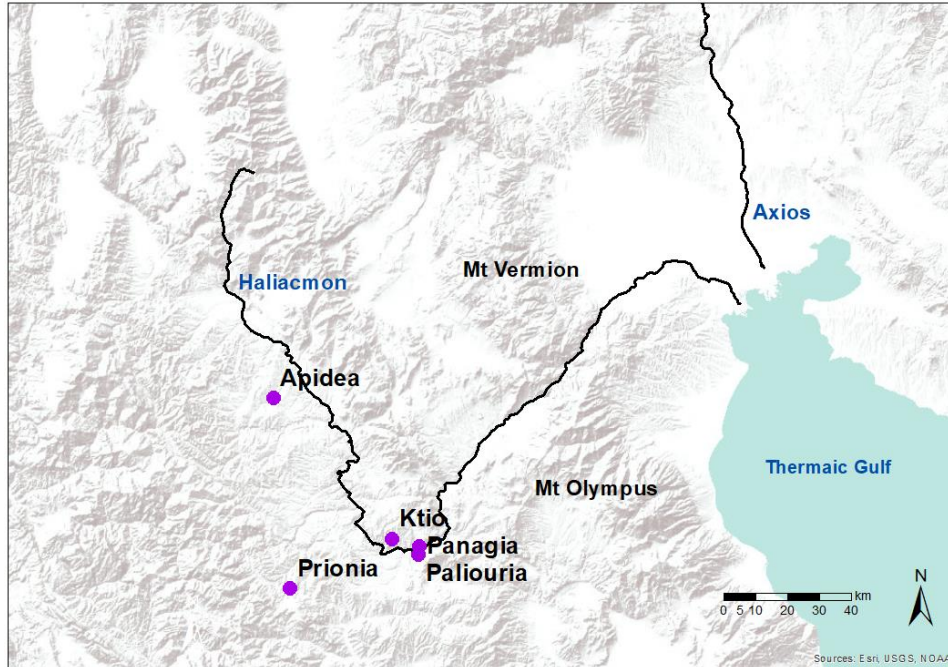
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<sup>114</sup> Thuc. 2.99. See Xydopoulos (2012) for an overview of the sources on the boundaries, especially those of Upper Macedon.

<sup>115</sup> Hammond (1972) is one of the most famous proponents of this divide, but, e.g., Hatzopoulos (1996) echoes this idea.

<sup>116</sup> On Aeane, see, e.g., Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2011).

<sup>117</sup> Borza 1990, 33.

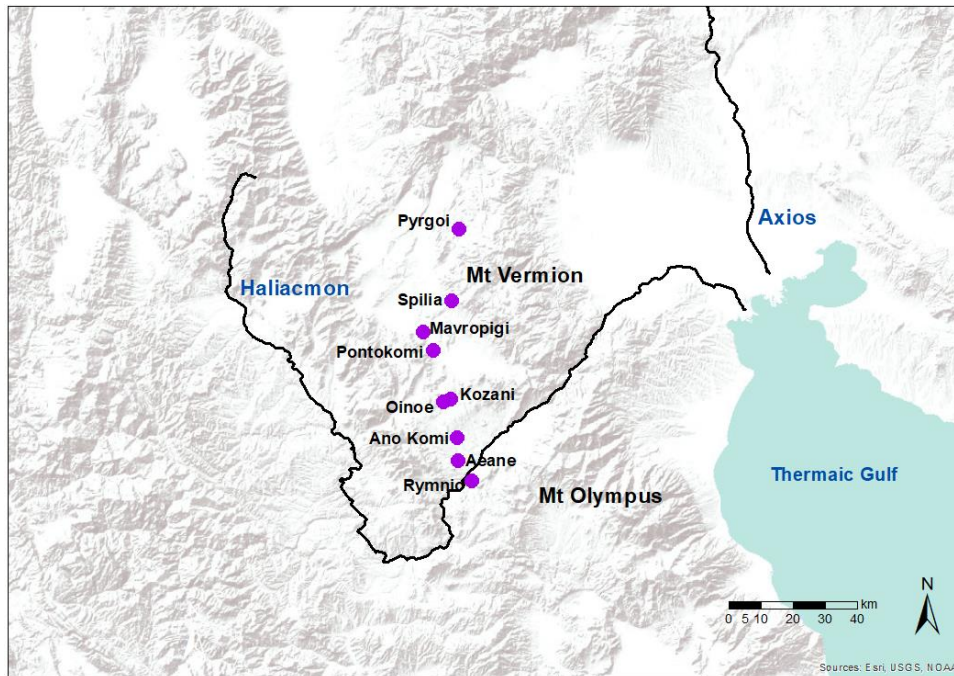


Map 3.2. Map of group 1.

The second group runs parallel to the first one in what is called the Bitola-Kozani corridor by Borza,<sup>118</sup> corresponding to Lyncus, Eordaea, and partly Elimaea (Map 3.3). As with group 1, much of the archaeological activity in this area has been in the form of recent rescue excavations, notably at Mavropigi (due to mining activities). Sites belonging to this group are Spilia Ptolemaidas, Pyrgoi, Mavropigi, and Pontokomi, all near modern Ptolemaida; Oinoe at Kozani and Kozani proper; and, south of Kozani and where the Haliacmon turns and cuts through the mountains, Ano Komi, Rymnio at Kozani, and, most famously, Aeane.

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<sup>118</sup> Borza 1990, 35.



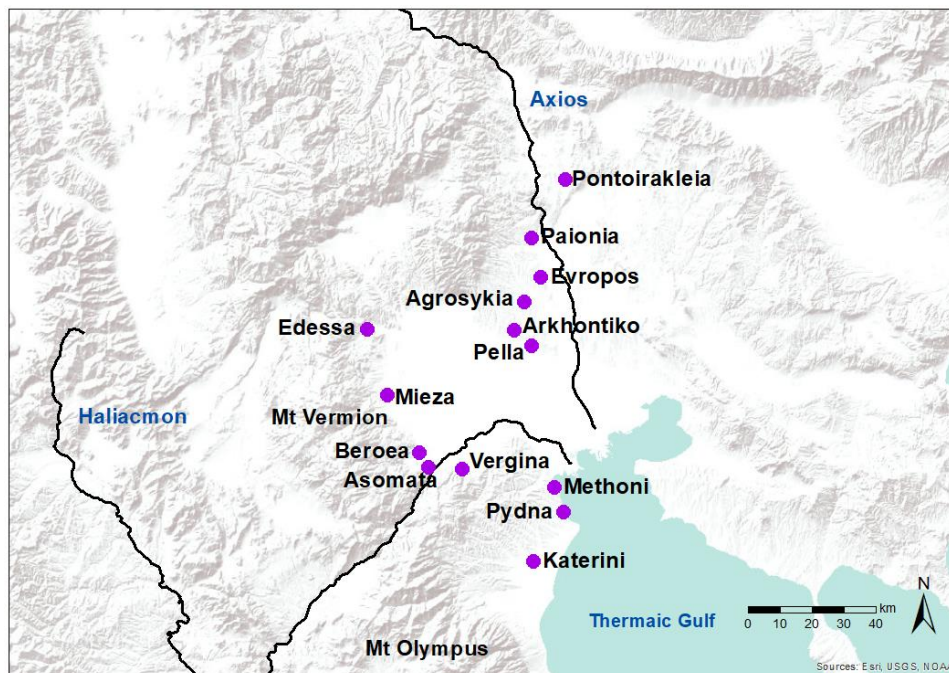
Map 3.3. Map of group 2.

The entire region surrounding the Thermaic Gulf is by far the largest subset whether measured by the number of burials, number of sites, or land area (Map 3.4). This most likely reflects ancient realities (the largest cities attested were in this area) but also the extensive archaeological work done in the area because of intense development activity in Thessaloniki and in the holiday resort area around Pydna. The region could be studied as one entity, but it is here split into two because of chronological and geographical differences: the cluster to the east of the Axios river is mostly dominated by Late Classical and Hellenistic burials, in sharp contrast to the many Archaic cemeteries to the west of it. The proximity to the Greek colonies of the Chalcidice might also have influenced the eastern communities more than their neighbors further to the west.

Group 3, then, consists of the plain to the north of Mount Olympus and west of Mount

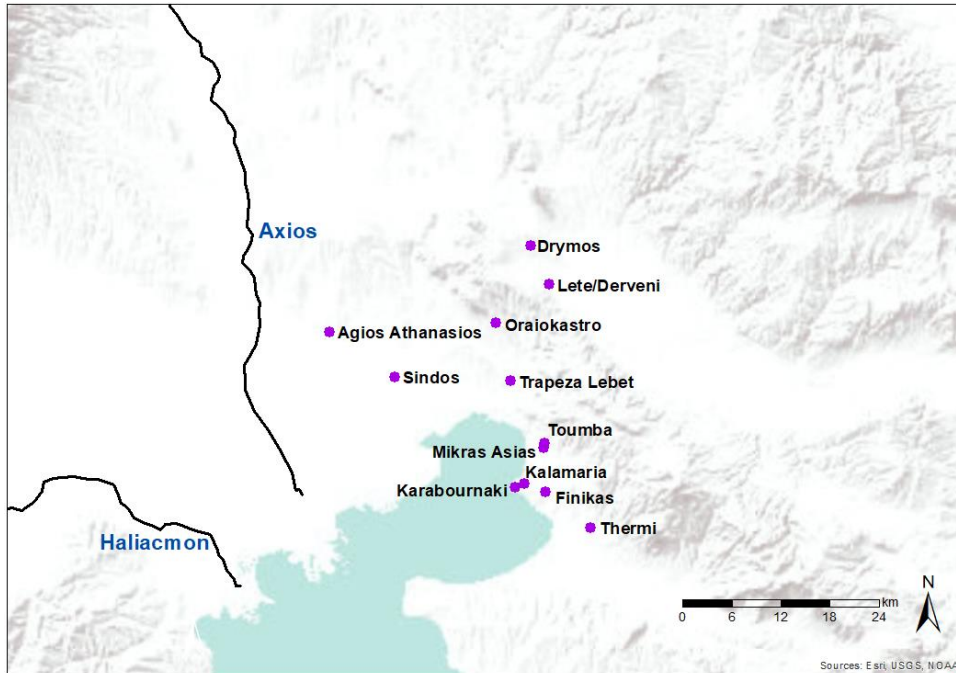


Vermion as well as the area to the west of river Axios. The ancient toponyms are Pieria, Bottiaea (Borza uses the later term Emathia), and Almopia. Sites belonging to this group are Evropos, Agrosykia at Pella, Pella, Arkhontiko, Mesiano at Arkhontiko, Edessa, Mieza, Beroea (Veria), Vergina (Aegae), Asomata, Methoni, Katerini, Pontoirakleia and Paionia at Kilkis, and several sites around Pydna.



Map 3.4. Map of group 3.

Group 4 lies east of the Axios, largely in and around the current extent of Thessaloniki (Map 3.5). It includes Drymos, Derveni (or Lete), Agios Athanasios, Sindos, Finikas, Karabournaki, and Thermi, as well as a number of sites in Thessaloniki: Oraiokastro, Trapeza Lebet, Mikras Asias, Kalamaria, and Toumba. This area corresponds roughly to ancient Aphaxitis and Anthemus.



Map 3.5. Map of group 4.

In most of the analyses, more detailed divisions are used in order to further disentangle chronological and other variation as well as isolate exceptional areas such as the environs of Vergina and Thessaloniki. Group 3, for example, includes both the very wealthy area of Bottiaea and the much poorer South Bottiaea; separating the two when analyzing wealth is obviously important. These two different ways to split the data are summarized in Table 3.1.



| <b>Four regions</b> | <b>More detailed divisions</b>   |
|---------------------|--|
| Group 1             | Orestis (Apidea Voion)   |
|                     | Tymphaea (Ktio and Panagia at Diporo, Paliouria at Deskati, Prionia at Grevena)  |
| Group 2             | Elimaea (Aeane; Agios Markos and Mikro Livadi at Mavropigi; Ano Komi; Kozani; Oinoe, Pontokomi, Pyrgoi and Rymnio at Kozani; Spilia Ptolemaidas)                                 |
| Group 3             | Bottiaea (Agrosykia at Pella, Arkhontiko, Evropos and Paionia at Kilkis, Mesiano at Arkhontiko, Pella)   |
|                     | South Bottiaea (Edessa, Mieza)   |
|                     | Pieria (Aliki Kitros, Koukko, Makriyalos and Sevasti at Pydna; Katerini; Methoni; Pydna)   |
|                     | Vergina region (Asomata, Beroea, Promithea and Sarantovrisis at Veria, Vergina)  |
|                     | Almopia (Paionia and Pontoirakleia at Kilkis)  |
| Group 4             | Thessaloniki (Agios Athanasios; Derveni (Lete); Drymos; Finikas; Karabournaki; Kalamaria, Mikras Asias, Oraiokastros, Toumba, and Trapeza Lebet at Thessaloniki; Sindos; Thermi) |

Table 3.1. Classification of the sites discussed into groups using two different systems.

The time period chosen, 550–300 BCE, is arbitrary in the sense that, as taught in many an Archaeology 101 class, no one woke up one morning in 550 or 299 BCE and decided they now lived in a different era. The range also does not conform to the conventional periodization into the Archaic (650–480), Classical (480–323), and Hellenistic period (323–30). There are, however, good reasons for choosing these dates as approximate bookends. While there are continuities between Iron Age and Archaic burial customs, there are also many differences. Meg Butler’s ambitious dissertation studied graves ranging in date from the Iron Age until the Hellenistic period and identified the late sixth century as a turning point: large bronze jewelry gets rarer, the average wealth of graves drops, more southern Greek artifact types are adopted, and tumuli are to some degree abandoned until their re-emergence in the late Classical period.<sup>119</sup> Even if in part an illusion created by dating conventions and the scope of excavation, the boom

<sup>119</sup> Butler 2008; Schmidt-Dounas 2016 (tumuli).

around 550 BCE at Arkhontiko and Sindos also speaks of the emergence of new centers in the region. Interestingly, this period also corresponds to the first Argead ruler firmly attested in historical sources, Amyntas I (c. 540–498).<sup>120</sup> In other words, what comes after 550 BCE does seem like the start of a new era. Similarly, by around 300 BCE – despite the conventional wisdom of 323 as the watershed – Hellenistic burial customs kick fully into gear, for example in the form of so-called Macedonian tombs (see below). Choosing 300 as the end date allows for the inclusion of the full period of about 350–300 during which Macedon went through consolidation, rapid expansion, and an emergence from a periphery to a powerhouse in Mediterranean politics.

### **3.2 Key sites**

The database includes entries from 48 sites; however, as Table 3.2 shows, many of the sites are only represented by a handful of graves. Arkhontiko, Edessa, Mieza, Paliouria at Deskati, Pella, and Vergina are the only ones with more than 50 published graves each. This section introduces key sites to provide a context for the graves discussed and also to make clear the strengths and limitations of using data from each site. These key sites do not always correspond to major settlements or sites that have in general yielded significant archaeological remains; instead, the criteria used for selection are quantity (and the resulting influence on any numerical analysis) and utility for detailed study (such as published osteoarchaeological data). Unfortunately, the list includes no sites from group 4 and is heavily focused on group 3 – this is a function of the published material available (Map 3.6).

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<sup>120</sup> Sprawski 2010, 131. Amyntas's reign was, depending on the tradition, anywhere between the sixth and ninth in the Argead line, but his predecessors are only briefly mentioned in the sources, with little information to allow us to pin them down on a historical timeline.

| Site                    | Total number of graves | Archaic    | Classical  | Hellenistic | Osteological data available | Looted     |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| Aeane                   | 31                     | 16         | 21         | 6           | 0                           | 11         |
| Agios Athanasios        | 8                      | 1          | 7          | 7           | 1                           | 3          |
| Agios Markos, Mavropigi | 4                      | 0          | 2          | 2           | 0                           | 1          |
| Agrosykia, Pella        | 2                      | 0          | 2          | 2           | 0                           | 2          |
| Aliki Kitros, Pydna     | 7                      | 0          | 7          | 6           | 0                           | 0          |
| Ano Komi                | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 1           | 0                           | 1          |
| Apidea Voion            | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 1           | 0                           | 1          |
| Arkhontiko              | 205                    | 152        | 42         | 23          | 9                           | 55         |
| Asomata                 | 28                     | 15         | 0          | 0           | 19                          | 25         |
| Beroea                  | 18                     | 4          | 15         | 8           | 3                           | 4          |
| Derveni (Lete)          | 18                     | 0          | 18         | 15          | 1                           | 4          |
| Drymos                  | 12                     | 3          | 8          | 1           | 2                           | 0          |
| Edessa                  | 69                     | 11         | 55         | 14          | 44                          | 18         |
| Evropos, Kilkis         | 1                      | 1          | 1          | 0           | 1                           | 1          |
| Finikas                 | 19                     | 0          | 16         | 3           | 1                           | 3          |
| Kalamaria, Thess.       | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 0           | 0                           | 1          |
| Karabournaki            | 12                     | 7          | 7          | 0           | 1                           | 1          |
| Katerini                | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 0           | 0                           | 1          |
| Koukko, Pydna           | 4                      | 0          | 4          | 4           | 0                           | 1          |
| Kozani                  | 6                      | 2          | 6          | 1           | 0                           | 0          |
| Ktio, Diporo            | 12                     | 8          | 7          | 1           | 0                           | 0          |
| Makriyalos, Pydna       | 25                     | 1          | 24         | 12          | 3                           | 4          |
| Mesiano, Arkhontiko     | 20                     | 16         | 3          | 1           | 0                           | 2          |
| Methoni                 | 4                      | 0          | 3          | 2           | 0                           | 2          |
| Mieza                   | 156                    | 23         | 94         | 13          | 0                           | 33         |
| Mikras Asias, Thess.    | 3                      | 0          | 3          | 3           | 0                           | 2          |
| Mikro Livadi, Mavropigi | 2                      | 0          | 2          | 1           | 0                           | 1          |
| Oinoe, Kozani           | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 1           | 0                           | 0          |
| Oraikastro, Thess.      | 4                      | 0          | 3          | 0           | 0                           | 2          |
| Paionia, Kilkis         | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 1           | 0                           | 1          |
| Paliouria, Deskati      | 67                     | 32         | 65         | 30          | 0                           | 60         |
| Panagia, Diporo         | 1                      | 1          | 1          | 0           | 0                           | 0          |
| Pella                   | 119                    | 0          | 87         | 68          | 33                          | 99         |
| Pontoirakleia, Kilkis   | 2                      | 1          | 2          | 1           | 0                           | 0          |
| Pontokomi, Kozani       | 8                      | 8          | 5          | 5           | 0                           | 1          |
| Prionia, Grevena        | 2                      | 2          | 0          | 0           | 0                           | 0          |
| Promithea, Veria        | 1                      | 0          | 0          | 0           | 0                           | 0          |
| Pydna                   | 6                      | 1          | 5          | 3           | 2                           | 2          |
| Pyrgoi, Kozani          | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 1           | 1                           | 1          |
| Rymnio, Kozani          | 1                      | 0          | 0          | 0           | 0                           | 1          |
| Sarantovrises, Veria    | 10                     | 0          | 10         | 8           | 0                           | 1          |
| Sevasti, Pydna          | 2                      | 0          | 2          | 0           | 0                           | 0          |
| Sindos                  | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 0           | 0                           | 0          |
| Spilia Ptolemaidas      | 1                      | 0          | 1          | 1           | 0                           | 1          |
| Thermi                  | 6                      | 2          | 2          | 1           | 1                           | 1          |
| Toumba, Thess.          | 24                     | 9          | 12         | 2           | 3                           | 2          |
| Trapeza Lebet, Thess.   | 10                     | 5          | 10         | 9           | 1                           | 2          |
| Vergina (Aegae)         | 52                     | 2          | 45         | 29          | 7                           | 20         |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>990</b>             | <b>323</b> | <b>605</b> | <b>287</b>  | <b>133</b>                  | <b>371</b> |

Table 3.2. Overview of the data by site. Note that the total of the graves by period is larger than the absolute total because many graves cannot be securely dated to one period; they are instead included in the counts for each relevant period. The “looted” category includes all looted or disturbed graves, across different periods and with or without osteological data.



Map 3.6. Key sites discussed in the dissertation.

***Group 1: Tymphaea***

*Paliouria at Deskati* is located on the Haliacmon river, about 50 km southeast of Grevena and about 40 km south-southwest from Aeane. Archaeological work there has been conducted as part of the Ilarion dam construction, and the finds or sites have not yet been systematically published. Finds from the area date from the Neolithic period onward. A multitude of finds as well as remains of Hellenistic buildings attest to inhabitation in the area, but it is unclear exactly what site is associated with the cemeteries. The annual reports in *AEMTh* are detailed enough to reconstruct the assemblages from 67 graves situated on two hills, one used in the Archaic and

Classical periods and the other one only in Classical times.<sup>121</sup>

### **Group 2: *Elimaea***

*Aeane* is located close to the river Haliacmon, south of Kozani and west of Servia, and it is one of the most important sites in Macedon but not as of yet systematically published. The site has been excavated since at least the 1980s, with recent work focusing on rescue excavations, reported in *AEMTh* and the *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίον*, conducted because of drainage work in the area. (Prior to the modern excavations, Léon Heuzey found inscriptions referencing the city in the 1860s.<sup>122</sup>) Aeane is a very rare example of a site with early monumental buildings and graves from “Upper Macedonia,” the mountainous inland part of Macedon – or, indeed, from anywhere in Macedon. The excavator, Georgia Karamitrou-Mentessidi, identifies the city as the capital of the region of Elimaea from “a very early date” and calls the graves “royal,” while the site is often singled out as crucial evidence against any conception of mountainous Macedon as a primitive backwater.<sup>123</sup> (Karamitrou-Mentessidi’s views regarding the special status of Aeane are supported by the presence in the graves of gold-sheet *epistomia* or mouth coverings and the Vergina star/sun symbol, both rare elements, the latter limited to only Vergina and Aeane.<sup>124</sup>) The site at Megali Rachi, associated with ancient Aeane, was inhabited continuously from the Neolithic period until the first century BCE.<sup>125</sup> Public buildings, workshops, and houses have been found, with the earliest historical ones (one built over Bronze Age structures) dating to the

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<sup>121</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi in *AEMTh* 20, 875–894 and *AEMTh* 21, 23–36.

<sup>122</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 93.

<sup>123</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 93, 109.

<sup>124</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 101.

<sup>125</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 96.

fifth century.<sup>126</sup> The site has also yielded distinctive local polychrome pottery dated to the fifth century.<sup>127</sup>

The cemeteries associated with Aeanē also cover a broad diachronic range from the Bronze Age to the Roman period.<sup>128</sup> The settlement had multiple cemeteries, with the monumental tombs built on the side of the hill the best-known but another, more extensive cemetery located almost a kilometer from the site.<sup>129</sup>

The monumental tombs have been published in detail, while other assemblages entered into the database were pieced together from reports in *AEMTh* and, in a few cases, museum exhibit cases. One assumes a bias towards wealthier graves in both the publications and the museum displays. There is no osteological information available, and in many cases it is unclear whether the entire assemblage or only a part of it has been published. As such, individual Aeanē burials are useful case-studies – especially given the scarcity of published burials from the region – but they cannot be taken to paint a representative or complete picture.

### ***Group 3: Bottiaea***

*Pella*, located about 3 km from the modern Nea Pella, 8 km from Giannitsa, and about 40 km northwest of Thessaloniki, was the main city of the Macedonian kingdom starting with Archelaus I and therefore has more than local significance. Like most of the sites in group 3, Pella was built on a plateau, in this case at the foot of Mount Paiko. In antiquity, the site would have been located close to the sea.<sup>130</sup> The city has been extensively excavated and has yielded a

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<sup>126</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 97–98.

<sup>127</sup> Aiani Museum display; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 99.

<sup>128</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 99.

<sup>129</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 100.

<sup>130</sup> Alluvial processes have pushed the coastline of the Thermaic Gulf further south and east since antiquity.

palace, sanctuaries, an agora, workshops, and luxurious Hellenistic houses as well as multiple cemeteries.<sup>131</sup> While mortuary evidence from the area reaches back to the Bronze Age, almost all of the evidence for settlement at Pella dates to the fourth century BCE or later.<sup>132</sup> The city is known from both literary and epigraphic sources.

Multiple cemeteries dating from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period are known from Pella, but the excavations in the Eastern Cemetery in 1989 and 1991–2007 have been fully published by Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati and Nikos Akamatis and therefore form the bulk of the graves used for analyses in this dissertation.<sup>133</sup> The Eastern Cemetery is located southeast of the city’s agora. It was in use from about 500 onwards but saw most activity in the latter half of the fourth century, with 29 graves dated to 325–301 and 17 to 350–326 out of a total of 104. (Thirty-two of the graves have no date, and 10 fall outside the chronological parameters of this dissertation.<sup>134</sup>) This period corresponds to the expansion of the city under Cassander.<sup>135</sup> Of the 104 graves, only two were found undisturbed (graves 92/8 and 92/48);<sup>136</sup> despite this, many of the graves were found with some grave goods. Skeletal material from the site is poorly preserved;<sup>137</sup> a full osteological report is not available, but many of the grave entries mention “some bones” and 27 of the entries list a sex, age, or both. There is no complete plan showing the excavated burials, and furthermore the excavations were done piecemeal as parts of various construction projects and rescue excavations and as such do not constitute a full cemetery. Even

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<sup>131</sup> For an overview, see Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2014) or Akamatis (2011).

<sup>132</sup> Akamatis 2011.

<sup>133</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati in *ArchDelt* 44–46, 73–152 (1989 excavations); Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014 (1991–2007 excavations).

<sup>134</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 263–265.

<sup>135</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 289.

<sup>136</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 22.

<sup>137</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 21.

so, the Eastern Cemetery graves are an important example of burials during the late Classical and (especially) Hellenistic heyday of the city.

*Arkfontiko* at Pella is located on the foothills of Mount Vermion, 14 km west of the Axios river and about 6 km northwest of Pella. The site was settled from the Early Neolithic until the Late Byzantine period, and it seems to have been the most important northern Bottiaean settlement until the rise of Pella in the late fifth century.<sup>138</sup> It might be associated with the ancient Tyrissaei mentioned by Pliny.<sup>139</sup> The settlement, located on a mound and a surrounding plateau, was excavated in the 1990s but yielded mostly prehistoric structures and has not been systematically published.<sup>140</sup> The site is more famous for its graves, which range in date from the Early Iron Age until the Hellenistic period but are mostly Archaic. A total of 1,001 burials, 474 of which are Archaic and 261 Classical or Early Hellenistic, were excavated by Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou in 2000–2010 as part of rescue excavations in the area.<sup>141</sup> Four cemeteries have been excavated around the site: one with Iron Age graves, another with Hellenistic ones, and two with graves from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.<sup>142</sup> Little bioarchaeological analysis has been done, and instead graves have been assigned a gender based on grave goods.<sup>143</sup> A full publication has not come out, but reports in *AEMTh* describe about 200 graves in detail and the excavators have written articles and book chapters on the cemetery, resulting in a broad if not comprehensive picture of the cemetery.<sup>144</sup> Some of the graves were found looted, but the looting had often been quite selective, enabling the excavators to

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<sup>138</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 367.

<sup>139</sup> Pliny 4.34, discussed in Chrysostomou (2011, 301).

<sup>140</sup> See Chrysostomou (2011, 299–300) for an overview.

<sup>141</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 491.

<sup>142</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *AEMTh 20 Χρονιά*, 489.

<sup>143</sup> Anastasia Chrysostomou, personal communication.

<sup>144</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a; 2012b.



reconstruct most of the assemblages. All of the published burials are elite ones, but their sheer number (171 of 474 Archaic burials and 225 out of 735 Archaic-Hellenistic ones) shows that the group represented is quite large and not limited to one or two particularly powerful families. The burials take the form of pit-graves and are famous because of the rich panoplies of weapons, jewelry, and gold ornaments made of sheet gold found in many of them. Despite the bias toward wealthy burials, Arkhontiko forms the largest subset in the database and will frequently be used as a case-study.

### ***Group 3: South Bottiaea***

*Edessa*, on a plain about 40 km west of Giannitsa and 40 km north of Naousa, was settled from the Neolithic period on.<sup>145</sup> Most of the ancient city's infrastructure dates to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but mortuary and textual evidence attests to the importance of the city throughout the centuries. (In early scholarship, *Edessa* was taken to be the location of *Aegae*, the royal center.<sup>146</sup>) The town had multiple ancient cemeteries. The so-called South Cemetery in the area of *Haos*, about 1400 m from the ancient town walls, was excavated in 2002–2007 as part of construction projects and has been published by Anastasia Chrysostomou.<sup>147</sup> Fifty-two graves dating from 550 to 300 BCE have been published along with some Early Christian ones. Twenty-five of these are dated to the second half of the fifth century, with 21 dating to the end of the century. The excavators came across more graves and know that the cemetery extends further but were unable to secure funding to excavate them.<sup>148</sup> Sixteen of the burials had definitely been

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<sup>145</sup> Chrysostomou 2008, 29.

<sup>146</sup> Kottaridi 2011c, 300.

<sup>147</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 330. Chrysostomou also notes that, despite the distance from the town walls, the cemetery should be associated with *Edessa* and that there are cemeteries even further away on the northern side (33).

<sup>148</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 301.

disturbed based on plans and descriptions; for others, information is not available.

Bioarchaeological analysis was completed for all the remains, with an age category assigned to all but four of the deceased but the sex known in only 15 cases. The remains from Edessa are also rare and precious for the fact that data on pathologies have been published; pathologies were difficult to diagnose due to poor bone preservation, but few of the individuals showed signs of poor health although three individuals had serious dental issues including abscesses.<sup>149</sup> Edessa is a valuable case-study because the graves have been systematically published regardless of their level of wealth and because of the rare glimpse the site offers into health and demographic profiles.

*Mieza* is famous for being the location of Aristotle's school that Alexander the Great attended, and archaeological remains such as a theater and Macedonian tombs confirm that by the Hellenistic period the site housed a considerable city. Earlier phases are, however, largely speculative, with the excavators believing the Archaic-Classical cemeteries were associated with earlier villages in the area.<sup>150</sup> The site, also known by the modern name Lefkadia, is located on a plain close to Mount Vermion, about 4 km northeast of Naousa. Out of the many cemeteries at Mieza, the one that is most important to this dissertation is located on the Mitsianis property at Kamara, Naousa.<sup>151</sup> The site has yielded 150 graves dating from about 525 to the late fourth century.<sup>152</sup> It is unclear whether this represents an entire cemetery or part of a larger one. The site is located about 600 m south of Lefkadia. The Mitsianis cemetery was excavated in 1972–1975 as a salvage excavation project and was published in 2002 by Katerina Romiopoulou and Ioannis

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<sup>149</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 313.

<sup>150</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 129.

<sup>151</sup> There are many other graves, monumental and not, nearby, including roughly contemporary graves at the site of Kapsoura (Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 129).

<sup>152</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 129.

Touratsoglou. The preservation of the graves is not systematically discussed in the publication; based on plans and descriptions, 30 of the graves were definitely found disturbed. Twenty-four included jewelry, suggesting these were not (completely) looted. There is no osteological analysis available, and individuals were assigned genders by the authors based on grave goods.<sup>153</sup> The site is significant in part because all the excavated graves were published and because many of them contained relatively humble assemblages, thus providing insight into non-elite burials in the area. (The excavators, for example, noted a lack of perfume vessels, pyxides, kantharoi, and figurines from the graves.<sup>154</sup>)

### ***Group 3: Vergina region***

*Asomata* is a cemetery located about 5 km southeast from modern Veria and 7 km east of Vergina. It was constructed on a plateau below Mount Vermion and close to the Haliacmon river. No associated settlement dating to the Archaic period has been identified, although some indications of habitation have been found in the area.<sup>155</sup> The site was excavated as part of road construction work in 2000 and 2002 under the direction of Angeliki Koukouvou, and burials ranging in date from the Iron Age to the Byzantine period were found. Of these, only the 28 graves that date to the Archaic period have so far been published by Eurydice Kefalidou (in 2009), but these graves form a valuable dataset because of the careful bioarchaeological analysis that was conducted and published. All but three of the published graves had been disturbed prior to excavation, 10 severely enough that even dating them was done based on their proximity to

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<sup>153</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 130.

<sup>154</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 133.

<sup>155</sup> Kefalidou 2009, 17.

better-preserved Archaic burials.<sup>156</sup> Nineteen of the burials preserved enough osteological remains for any level of analysis to be possible. Pathologies are reported in three instances (trauma on the thigh of a young adult female, hypoplasia on a child, and osteoarthritis and bone spurs on a mature female), but the poor preservation of most of the skeletal remains means that commenting on the overall diet or health of the population is impossible.<sup>157</sup> The Archaic graves, including poor ones, were all systematically published, meaning that Asomata offers a precious glimpse into non-elite Archaic burials from the region.

*Vergina* or ancient Aegae is the most famous ancient Macedonian site.<sup>158</sup> The site is located southeast of modern Veria, close to the Haliacmon river and on the same plain as Pella and Arkhontiko. The site has been intermittently excavated for 150 years, starting with Heuzey in the 1860s. Work has been continuous since the 1976 discovery of Tomb II, the monumental tomb argued by some to belong to Philip II. Aegae was the main center of the Macedonian kingdom until it was replaced by Pella in the fourth century. Most of the attention has been taken up by Tomb II, but Vergina overall is a rare example of a Macedonian city where much is known about its infrastructure. A palace, sanctuaries, a theater, city walls, and extensive cemeteries have been found, allowing us to form a well-rounded picture of the ancient city.<sup>159</sup>

The earliest burials from the site date to around 1000 BCE, and burials continued until the first century CE.<sup>160</sup> The so-called Macedonian tombs (see below) are the most carefully (although still patchily) published ones, but Stella Drougou, Angeliki Kottaridi, and others have

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<sup>156</sup> Kefalidou 2009, 17 and individual grave entries.

<sup>157</sup> Kefalidou 2009, 123, 131.

<sup>158</sup> The identification of the site has been debated over the years, but nowadays an almost universal consensus has been reached. For a rare dissenter, see Faklaris (1994a).

<sup>159</sup> See Drougou (2011) for an overview.

<sup>160</sup> Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1999, 9.

published cists and other types of graves from the site as well.<sup>161</sup> Osteological information is available in only a handful of cases, in part because bones tend to preserve poorly at the site.<sup>162</sup>

Vergina is an important case-study because of the known location of an associated settlement, the remarkable continuity of the site's cemeteries, and the exceptional quality of the graves inside the Great Tumulus. It is not, however, representative of broad patterns, and the wealthy graves have largely overshadowed more mundane ones.

### ***Group 3: Pieria***

*Pydna* has seen many rescue excavations in recent years, partly driven by development in an area popular among beach-goers. (Léon Heuzey excavated in the area in the 1860s, but modern excavations began in the 1970s.<sup>163</sup>) The ancient city itself is located 2 km south of the modern Makriyalos, but cemeteries have been found all around it as well as along roads leading to and from the city. Evidence for habitation begins in the Late Bronze Age and continues until the Byzantine period, with the city flourishing in the fifth century. The city seems to have been an important center, not least because it provided access to the sea. Fortifications, domestic buildings, and a sanctuary have been excavated, but the focus has been on burials.<sup>164</sup> Spectacular mortuary finds, only partly published, attest to the wealth of the city in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The burials included in the database mostly come from *AEMTh* reports by the site's excavator, Manthos Besios. Osteological information is available for a handful of the burials.

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<sup>161</sup> Drougou 2005; Drougou in *AEMTh* 20; Kottaridi in *AEMTh* 3–5, 16; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli and Kyriakou in *AEMTh* 20; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli *et al.* in *AEMTh* 24.

<sup>162</sup> Kottaridi 2011a, 120.

<sup>163</sup> Besios and Pappa 1995/1996, 10.

<sup>164</sup> Besios and Pappa 1995/1996, 12.

The status of Pydna as a “Greek” or a “Macedonian” city is contested. Pseudo-Scylax lists Pydna as a “Hellenic city” (πόλις Ἑλληνίς) within Macedonia, and scholars often mention Pydna as a Greek settlement.<sup>165</sup> They also cite Hellenistic and Roman sources distinguishing “Macedonians from Pydna” as evidence of the city as a whole being Greek.<sup>166</sup> Historical sources indeed attest to the city changing hands between Macedonians and southern Greeks during the fourth century, but the city seems to mostly have been part of the Macedonian kingdom. Thucydides mentions it belonging to Alexander I during the Persian wars when Themistocles fled there.<sup>167</sup> In 432, Athenians besieged the city before allying themselves with Perdiccas – clearly suggesting Pydna was under Perdiccas’s rule at the time.<sup>168</sup> Finally, Archelaus I temporarily moved the city inland to what is now Kitros in retaliation for a revolt, implying that the city was under Macedonian rule although clearly with some hopes of autonomy.<sup>169</sup> In light of this and following the arguments of Besios, Pydna is here included among Macedonian sites.<sup>170</sup> The question of the nuances of a distinctly Pydnaian identity are well worth exploring and will be studied by the author in the future using the database, but it falls beyond the scope of this dissertation which focuses on variation by gender, age, and region rather than by individual site.

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<sup>165</sup> Pseudo-Scylax 66; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 65, 194. Borza (1990, 99) mentions Pydna as a Greek foundation without citing any sources but on page 40 notes that Macedonians early on drove out the inhabitants (citing Thuc. 2.99.3).

<sup>166</sup> Hammond and Griffith 1979, 356; Butler 2008, 43.

<sup>167</sup> Thuc. 1.137.

<sup>168</sup> Thuc. 1.61.

<sup>169</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.49.

<sup>170</sup> Besios and Pappa 1995/1996.

### 3.3 Mortuary customs

This section provides an overview of the different aspects of Macedonian mortuary behavior that helps put the following more detailed analysis into perspective. After a brief discussion of the spatial distribution of graves, different types of burials are introduced, along with the parameters used to distinguish between them. Moving to the contents of the burials, body treatment and artifact assemblages are discussed. Finally, several strands of evidence are pulled together to reconstruct beliefs in the afterlife and reverence (or lack thereof, as will be seen) to ancestors.

#### 3.3.1 The location and spatial organization of cemeteries

As in most of the Greek world, Macedonian graves were, in general, located outside of settlements.<sup>171</sup> This generalization is complicated by the fact that in some cases, cemeteries have been found but the location of the accompanying settlement remains unclear. Sites such as Edessa and Pella, however, attest to an avoidance of burials inside settlements: At Pella, the cemetery near the agora fell out of use as the city expanded and was replaced by the East Cemetery located further away from the settlement, presumably to avoid burial inside the city.<sup>172</sup> At Edessa, some of the cemeteries were located almost a mile from the settlement, showing how they could sprawl outward from major centers.<sup>173</sup> While cemeteries were placed outside of settlements, they were integrated into settlements by road networks. At Edessa, Arkhontiko, and

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<sup>171</sup> One exception includes an urn burial from a sanctuary in the agora area of Vergina, dated to Cassander's reign. The excavators suggest the burial is that of Heracles, the son of Alexander the Great and Barsine, and that the exceptional social and political position of the deceased as well as the unrest of the period explain the unusual decision to bury him inside the settlement. See *AEMTh* 23, 117–130.

<sup>172</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 289.

<sup>173</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 33.

Pella, roads have been identified running through cemeteries or by graves, and at Pydna graves cluster along major roads.<sup>174</sup>

Plans of Macedonian cemeteries, when available, often look quite haphazard, with different orientations and seemingly little organization. Some cemeteries, such as Edessa, show graves organized in lines, while at Pella burials are described as clusters.<sup>175</sup> There is, in places, evidence for organized development over time as well: Anastasia Chrysostomou has observed that at Edessa one of the cemeteries expanded in a coherent way, with graves gradually spreading first south and then to the outskirts of the cemetery over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>176</sup> Chapter 5 looks at groupings within cemeteries in more detail.

### 3.3.2 Types of burials

People living in central and western Macedon used a broad range of burials. This section provides a description of each type as identified for the database, while later chapters (in particular Chapter 8) look at variation in their popularity. It should be noted that there is leakage between the categories, especially between cists, sarcophagi, and sometimes chamber tombs. The typology, as defined here, is driven by construction technique (especially built versus dug) and the materials, scale, and effort involved. Differences in body treatment and chronological distribution also help delineate the boundaries of the categories, with for example larnakes typically containing cremations while cists could contain inhumations. In the database, the classification described below was used whenever possible; in instances where no images were

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<sup>174</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 330 (Edessa); Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *AEMTh* 19, 435 (Arkhontiko); Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 290 (Pella); Besios and Athanassiadou 2014 (Pydna).

<sup>175</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 290.

<sup>176</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 53–54.



available or they were ambiguous, burial type was assigned following the excavator's terminology.<sup>177</sup>

*Pit burials* (Figure 3.1) are by far the most common type and come in many subtypes ranging from irregularly shaped small holes to monumental pits as large as 9x5 meters with steps cut into their sides and *klinai* (couches or beds) or wooden sarcophagi placed inside them.<sup>178</sup> The dimensions show a continuum, making it difficult to divide pit graves into categories based on size alone. Out of the 922 graves in the database for which the burial type has been published (out of a total 990), 733 or 80% are pits, and given the bias towards reporting more monumental grave types as well as the tendency to take pit graves as the unstated default (leading to most “unclassified” graves most likely being pits), this number is probably an underestimation. A further 5% are pits lined with tiles, which were recorded as their own category in the database. Pit-graves could be dug into soil or cut into bedrock, and they are sometimes either lined or filled with rubble. This sometimes seems intentional – as in the case of the otherwise empty pits found from Mieza – but could also be associated with rubble-pile grave markers collapsing inside the grave pit during looting or after the wooden structures supporting the grave ceiling caved in.<sup>179</sup> Sometimes stones are arranged in a circle around the grave to form a *peribolos*.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> In the absence of images, the terms used by excavators were taken at face value and their categories used in most of the analyses. Since a great number of pits were simply listed as such, however, a category called “unspecified pit” was introduced and used in some analyses.

<sup>178</sup> Pydna especially has many of these monumental pits.

<sup>179</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002 (Mieza); Kottaridi in *AEMTh 20 Χρονιά*, 143–153 (Vergina); Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *AEMTh 18*, 561–571 (Arkhontiko).

<sup>180</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi in *AEMTh 23*, 63–73 (Aeane); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli and Kyriakou in *AEMTh 20*, 759–766 (Vergina).



Figure 3.1. Pit grave LST from Asomata, 500–480. The grave is lined with stones on two sides. Source: Kefalidou 2009, 160.

*Cist burials* (Figure 3.2) of stone constitute 80 cases or 9% of the total. Cist graves are here defined as graves with built sides, usually of ashlar blocks or stone slabs. In publications, rock-hewn pit-graves are sometimes referred to as cist graves, but this practice has not been followed here. While digging a grave into rock requires more effort than digging into soil, a cist grave is different in concept as it is a built grave and would have required the preparation and

transport of the blocks or slabs. (Sarcophagi, by contrast, are made of a single block of stone and could be placed inside larger monuments such as Macedonian tombs (see below).) The length of cists ranges from 1 to 3.5 m and their width from 0.45 to 3.4 m. In other words, some of them are monumental; in contrast to chamber tombs, however, they are not designed to be tall enough to accommodate people entering them. The graves were covered with either stone slabs or wooden planks, and they often contained funerary biers or klinai made of perishable materials, as evidenced by small cuttings to accommodate the legs. Their walls could be painted or plastered as well.<sup>181</sup> Cists are known from the Archaic period in Macedon, but they greatly increase in popularity during the fourth century. They are found at many sites but especially at Vergina, Pella, and Derveni.

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<sup>181</sup> Examples come from Pydna, Pella, and Methoni, among other places.

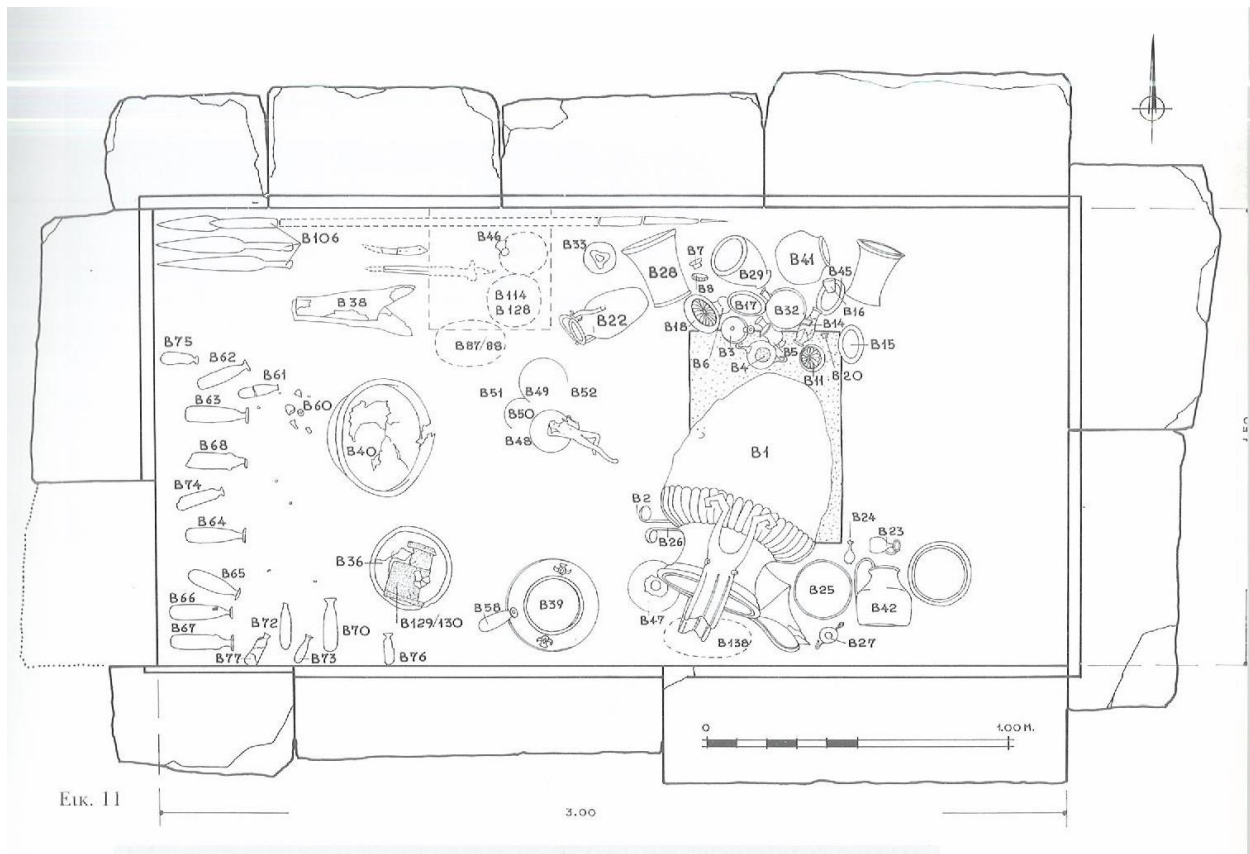
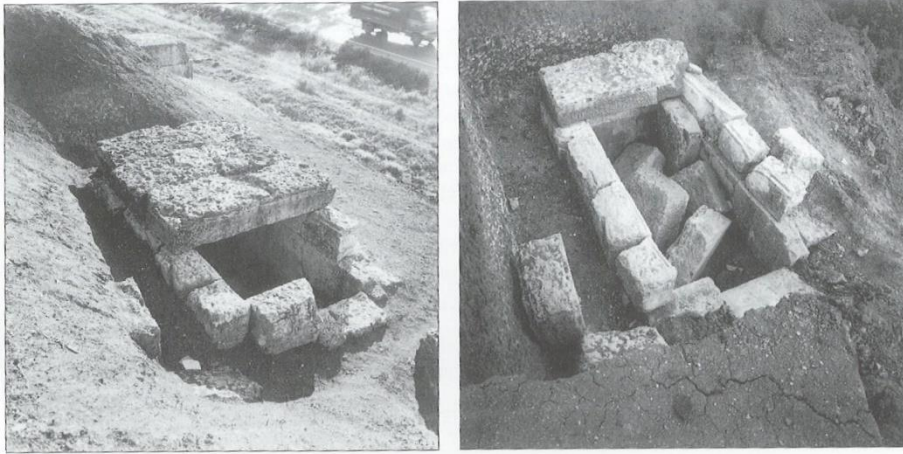


Figure 3.2. Monumental cist grave B from Derveni, exterior and plan of interior. The cremated remains were placed inside the krater, marked with B1 in the drawing. Source: Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 60–61.

*Mud-brick constructions* form a small group with only five examples, four of which come from Vergina. They are all dated to the second half of the fourth century. They all seem to have

been built inside pits, but the level of elaboration varies from simple unburnt clay walls to the top of the grave being lined with rubble and, in one case, the walls being plastered in white.

*Larnakes* or *osteothekai* are similarly a small group (N=12) but a varied one. The category does not include larnakes placed inside Macedonian tombs, most famously in the tombs of the Great Tumulus at Vergina (see below). Instead, the group includes cremains placed in a range of containers which were then either deposited in a pit, nested inside another container, or (in one instance, from Veria<sup>182</sup>) placed inside ashlar blocks carefully carved to fit the urn. The dimensions typically range between 0.5 and 1 m, but some of the pits containing a larnax are larger. Larnakes seem to be a late Classical and Hellenistic phenomenon, with a handful of early-to-mid fourth century ones known from Finikas.

*Sarcophagi* (Figure 3.3) mostly come from Thessaloniki or areas just to the east of it. All of the 15 cases in the database are Archaic or Classical, and the type seems to have been more common in the fourth century than in earlier periods. Measurements are available in only a few cases but range from 0.7 by 2 m to 3.5 by 3.8 m. As suggested by the name, sarcophagi normally contained inhumations.

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<sup>182</sup> Tzanavari in *ArchDelt* 35 B'2, 408.



Figure 3.3. A sarcophagus (T53) from Finikas, 350–300. Unusually, it contained a cremation. Source: Tsimbidou-Avloniti in *Ancient Macedonia* 7, 694.

*Macedonian tombs* (Figure 3.4) that fall within the scope of this dissertation number 17 (2% of all graves in the database). They are the best-known and best-published graves from the region, but they form a small portion of the dataset and all date to the very end of the period studied. The term “Macedonian tomb” refers to a specific type of monumental chamber tomb with a vaulted ceiling and temple- or palace-like façade. They are treated as a separate category in the analysis because both their monumental scale and their chronological distribution separate them from other kinds of chamber tombs.



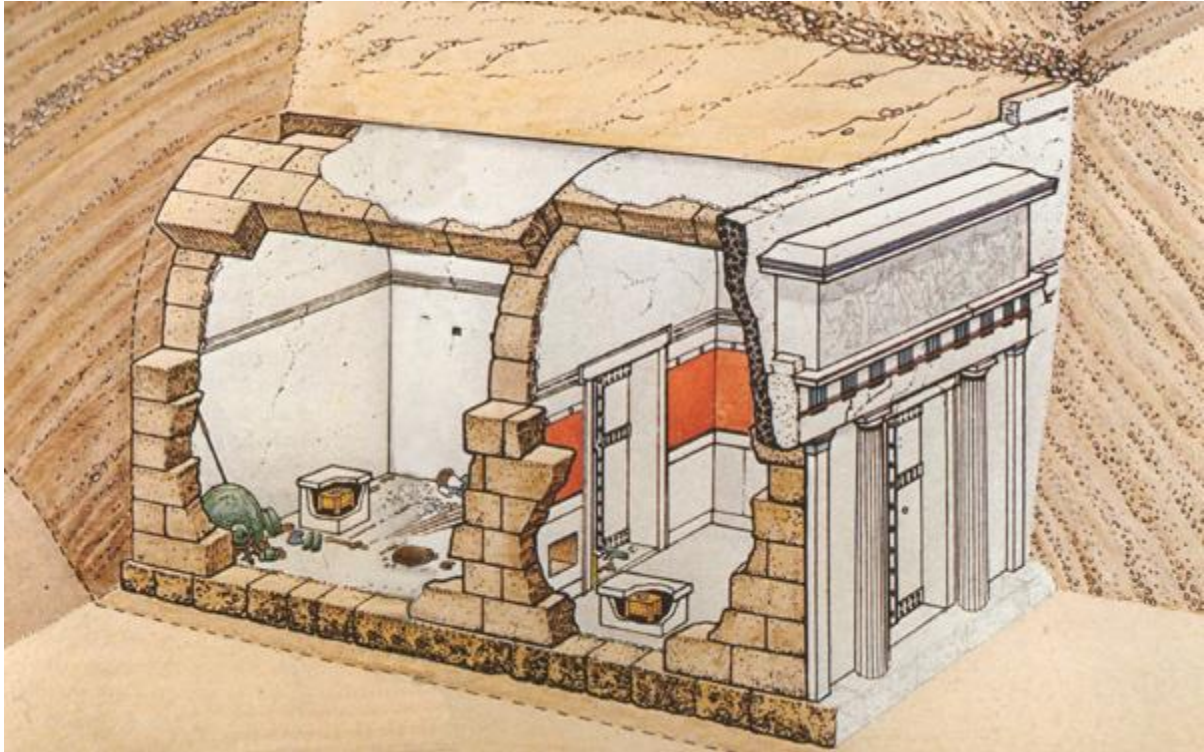


Figure 3.4. Tomb II at Vergina. Source: Andronikos 1984: 98–99.

The tombs can have one or two chambers, and they are frequently intricately painted. The tombs developed around 340 BCE and had their floruit in 325–275 BCE. Despite their name, the tombs are not exclusive to the region of Macedon, although they are most common there; Macedonian tombs have been excavated in Athens, the Peloponnese, and Rhodes, among other places (Map 3.7).<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> The origin of the tomb type, especially its vaulted ceiling, has been discussed at length, not least because it is linked to a debate about the dating of Macedonian tombs (and, in particular, Tomb II at Vergina). Lehmann (1980) has argued for the vault being introduced from the Near East around the time of Alexander the Great's conquests. Tomlinson (1987) has argued they were an indigenous development, perhaps inspired by Persian vaults. Tzochev (2018) has pointed to similar Thracian tombs but concludes the type was a Greek innovation.



Map 3.7. Distribution of Macedonian tombs.

Macedonian tombs were often covered with tumuli that could enclose one or more tombs and frequently other types of graves as well. Tumuli were constructed in the Iron Age as well, and while the continuity of traditions from the prehistoric to the historical period falls outside the scope of this dissertation, Chapter 7 touches on the question of ancestral landscapes.

*Other chamber tombs* (Figure 3.5) form a category that includes all chamber tombs except for Macedonian tombs. It is a small group with 17 cases (2% of all graves). Almost half of them were found at Aeane and three were excavated at Vergina, meaning that the type is associated with major centers and perhaps associated with royal presence. The dates of the tombs



span almost the entire period of study, but only three are securely dated to the Hellenistic period. Their measurements range from 1.2x2.2 m to a 10.3-meter square, with most about 3–4 m in length and 1.5–3 m in width. The walls are typically of ashlar blocks and are often plastered, giving the impression of a monumental cist grave. Depths range from a shallow 0.9 m to 3 m, with most but not all being large enough to stand in. Chamber tombs were often elaborate. The Tomb of Persephone from Vergina is famous for its wall paintings, while the tombs from Aeneas often had fragments of columns, stelae, or statues either inside or near them, taken by the excavator to be the remnants of funerary markers and, in one case, possibly a “temple-like” edifice for a building above the tomb.<sup>184</sup> At Aeneas, there were also enclosures surrounding the graves.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 101.

<sup>185</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 100.

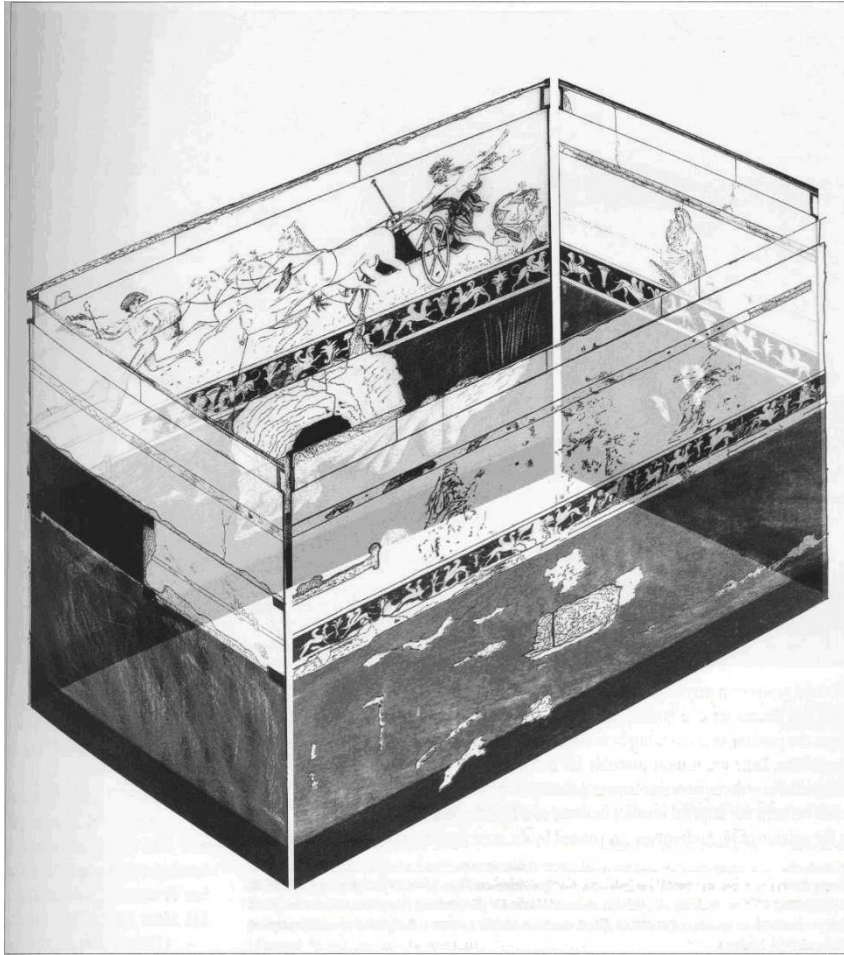


Figure 3.5. A 3D model of the Tomb of Persephone at Vergina, 350–325. Source: [http://bosporuscrypt.ru/content/library/text\\_04\\_05.htm](http://bosporuscrypt.ru/content/library/text_04_05.htm), based on Andronikos 1994.

### 3.3.3 Body treatment

An important aspect of mortuary behavior is body treatment, both because of its potential symbolic meanings and also for the more pragmatic question of cost: while Macedon was rich in timber, a cremation was still a costly affair requiring additional resources in comparison to inhumation.

Inhumation was the norm in Macedon. Inhumed bodies were laid out in a supine extended position. As mentioned above, the bodies were frequently placed on a wooden kline or in a wooden sarcophagus. (Evidence for these comes in the form of nails, cuts at the bottoms of

graves for the placement of kline feet, and sometimes what are described by the excavators as remnants of decomposed wood.)

Cremation was used in 73 or 12% of the 595 burials where the type of body treatment is known. This number is probably slightly high, given that cremation was common in Macedonian tombs that are more likely to get published than humbler types; on the other hand, cremations are rare at Arkhontiko, which forms a large part of the database, making it unlikely that the rate is completely unrealistic. Cremations were performed either inside the grave pit or somewhere else, with the burnt bones then later moved into the grave (typically in an urn). In a handful of cases, there is published evidence of the cremation and burial process: ashes from the pyre spread on top of the container holding the bones or on top of the covering slabs of a cist,<sup>186</sup> clean bones piled in the middle of the grave with grave goods laid out as if surrounding an inhumation,<sup>187</sup> and, rarely, the remains of the pyre itself.<sup>188</sup>

In many cases, no remains of the pyre are associated with the burial of cremated remains. In some instances, this might be because the cremains were moved around. Literary sources mention the practice of cremating the deceased and either transporting or holding off on burying the remains: according to Plutarch, when Demaratus, a Corinthian supporter of Philip and Alexander, died in India, Alexander built a tumulus for him but his remains (τὰ λείψανα) were transported to the sea – and presumably home to Corinth.<sup>189</sup> In the Hellenistic period, the body of Eumenes was burned and the cremains placed in an urn so that they “might be returned to his wife and children”; Demetrius’s ashes were paraded and honored around Greece until burial at

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<sup>186</sup> Three osteothekai from Finikas. See *Ancient Macedonia* 7, 677–678.

<sup>187</sup> Arkhontiko T739. See *AEMTh* 22, 121–122.

<sup>188</sup> A famous example of this are the remains of a pyre on top of Vergina’s Tomb II. See Drougou *et al.* (1994, 53).

<sup>189</sup> Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 56.2.

Demetrius; Ariston tended to the bones of Craterus until handing them to his former wife Phila; and Ptolemy sent the remains of soldiers home to family and friends (πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τε καὶ φίλους).<sup>190</sup> These passages tell us several things: the mortal body was considered important, family and friends were seen as the appropriate custodians of it, and increased mobility during the Hellenistic period necessitated making arrangements for the transportation of remains over long distances.

Cremations monopolize Macedonian tombs, other chamber tombs, and (rather obviously) osteothekai. More interestingly, 31% of all cremations are in pit-graves, so while cremations represent a minority, they are not limited to the more monumental grave types. This is an important observation to keep in mind because cremation gains popularity at the start of the Hellenistic period and it might be tempting to explain it through a change in grave types alone (with the introduction of more monumental tomb types). Moving from the Archaic to the Classical period, cremations increase from 4% to 18%, and in 325–300 form 30% of burials. This is consistent with the gradual shift towards more expensive grave types but, as said, there is no one-to-one correlation between grave type and body treatment. It is possible that a combination of new trends (introduction of Macedonian tombs) and new necessities (more Macedonians dying far from home) encouraged the shift in body treatment. The diachronic trends in general are quite different from those of Athens, where Ian Morris notes that cremations drop over the course of the sixth century, going from almost ubiquitous around 700 to less than 20% by 500 BCE.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Plut. *Vit. Eum.* 19.1; Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 53; Diod. Sic. 19.59.3 (Craterus); Diod. Sic. 18.36.1 (Ptolemy).

<sup>191</sup> Morris 1995, 48.

### 3.3.4 Assemblages

As the following chapters discuss artifact distributions across specific subsets of the graves, it is necessary to first establish an overview of what kinds of artifacts most burials contained across time, space, and demographics.

Table 3.3 summarizes the prevalence of different objects across all the burials. Just as in Greece and the Mediterranean in general, ceramic vessels form the most common and prevalent class of artifact. More than three quarters of all graves (including looted ones) contained one or more vessels, with 1–4 the most common range covering almost 55% of all graves but a handful of graves containing 15–34 vessels. The most common shapes are related to drinking and ritual – *skyphoi* (22% of all graves), *phialai* (19%), *exaleiptra* (16%), *lekythoi* (15%), and *kylikes* (14%) – but the full range also covers personal adornment and oils, serving of both food and drink, cooking, transportation (amphorae), and miniatures.

Metal vessels are quite common, with 22% of all graves containing them, although publication bias doubtlessly partly explains their prevalence. Here, ritual, serving, and cooking vessels are most common, and bronze is by far the most common material.

Weapons, most commonly spears, are found in 27% of all graves; jewelry, particularly pins and rings, from 47%. Knives, coins, figurines, and strigils all occur in 10–20% of the graves, with glass, bone or shell, stone objects, mirrors, funerary couches and markers, and weaving equipment all quite or very rare (0.3–6%).

| <b>Artifact category</b>   | <b>Prevalence</b> |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Any ceramic vessels</b> | <b>75%</b>        |
| Drinking                   | 46%               |
| Ritual                     | 34%               |
| Toiletry                   | 32%               |
| Pouring liquids            | 24%               |
| Serving and cooking        | 7%                |
| Transportation (amphorae)  | 5%                |
| Miniatures                 | 2%                |
| <b>Any metal vessels</b>   | <b>22%</b>        |
| <b>Any weapons</b>         | <b>27%</b>        |
| Spear                      | 24%               |
| Sword                      | 11%               |
| Helmet                     | 6%                |
| Shield                     | 2%                |
| Arrow                      | 1%                |
| Breastplate                | 1%                |
| Greaves                    | 1%                |
| <b>Any jewelry</b>         | <b>47%</b>        |
| Pin                        | 28%               |
| Ring                       | 20%               |
| Wreath                     | 11%               |
| Pendant                    | 10%               |
| Earring                    | 9%                |
| Bead                       | 7%                |
| Bracelet                   | 4%                |
| Buckle                     | (0.4%)            |
| Knife                      | 18%               |
| Coin                       | 16%               |
| Figurine                   | 15%               |
| Strigil                    | 10%               |
| Funerary couch             | 6%                |
| Glass                      | 5%                |
| Lamp                       | 5%                |
| Animal bone and shell      | 4%                |
| Stone alabastron           | 3%                |
| Lithics                    | 1%                |
| Mirror                     | 1%                |
| Weaving equipment          | 1%                |
| Funerary marker            | (0.3%)            |

Table 3.3. Prevalence of artifact classes across all burials, by object type and in descending order of prevalence. All numbers rounded to the nearest whole number, except for figures under 0.5, shown in parentheses.

Table 3.3 makes it clear that rarity and cost do not go hand in hand: loomweights, lamps, and miniature vessels are rarer than metal vessels, for example; wreaths, which would have taken a considerable amount of time to make and been expensive as a result, are more common than beads, which could be made of exotic materials (such as amber) but also of clay covered very thinly with gold. Chapter 8 addresses the question of what constitutes a luxury item in a Macedonian context more closely; here, it suffices to say that ceramic and metal vessels, weapons and knives, jewelry, coins, and figurines form the bulk of grave goods.

### **3.3.5 The afterlife and ancestors**

Given the scarcity of textual evidence, there is much about Macedonians' views of the afterlife that is, and might well remain, a mystery, especially when it comes to the Archaic period. The mortuary record does, however, allow us to make observations based on how the dead were treated and how they were commemorated, and this in turn provides clues about how they were perceived socially. Burials from Macedon show that the deceased were treated as individuals with needs not dissimilar to those of the living and that there was care given to the body. Chthonic cults familiar from southern Greece were important to Macedonians as well, at least in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The mortuary record also shows there was some degree of grave visitation and an awareness of ancestral burials but a perhaps surprising lack of evidence for reverence toward them.

While their exact beliefs and motivations are unknown, it is significant that Macedonians buried their dead showing great care for the body. Inhumations were placed in a supine position reminiscent of sleep or rest, and frequently laying them onto biers or klinai further shows a desire to protect the body from exposure to dirt, presumably mimicking behaviors observed

while alive. Most were buried individually, including three infants from Sindos who each received a small ceramic larnax inside a single grave cut, attesting to effort expended in instances where group burial would have been simpler.<sup>192</sup> Rare but important examples of large vessels found nearby but outside of graves at Aegae and Arkhontiko, taken by the excavators to have been used to wash the deceased and for other funerary rituals, further show the importance of caring for the dead.<sup>193</sup> The gold sheets used to cover parts of the face, especially the mouth, also seem to imply a desire to cover up signs of death or perhaps protect the body. Cremations show that even after the flesh was gone, it was important to keep the remains together: unless the cremation took place in the burial pit, the cremains were afterward carefully collected and in some cases wrapped up in fabric.

The deceased are depicted as having bodily needs similar but not identical to the living. From the pyre at Vergina's Tomb II, charred seeds attest to food being included in mortuary rites.<sup>194</sup> Vessels, which are discussed at length in Chapters 4–9, skew towards drinking and personal toiletry vessels but are still well within the purview of every-day life. While certain objects, mainly miniatures, were probably manufactured specifically for mortuary or ritual contexts, most of the goods could have been used in life as well.<sup>195</sup> At least at Vergina, large

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<sup>192</sup> Despini 2016, 109.

<sup>193</sup> Kottaridi 2004a, 139 (“Lady of Aegae”); Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 511 (Arkhontiko).

<sup>194</sup> Kottaridi 1999; the Museum of the Royal Tombs of Aigai display. Given that the seeds (and presumably the foodstuffs they came from) were placed on the pyre, the food seems more likely to have been an offering to the deceased individual than something used for a funerary meal.

<sup>195</sup> Use-wear analysis of ceramics from Macedonian sites is not available as far as the author knows. At Olynthus, preliminary use-wear analysis on cooking vessels from graves has been done by Drew Cabaniss, although it should be noted that Olynthus is located in central Chalcidice and, as argued above, is thus quite different from Macedon. Cabaniss reports (personal communication) that the vessels show signs of use in cooking, and they would therefore have been used primarily as cooking vessels and secondarily as grave goods. Interestingly, a miniature salt cellar has been found in recent excavations from a house at Olynthus; the interpretation of the context it was found in is still a work in progress.



vessels were placed by the feet of the deceased and smaller ones by the upper body;<sup>196</sup> this seems to reconstruct the common physical relationships between different vessels and the body, with large vessels down on the floor by the feet and small ones close to the hands and the mouth as they would have been used in life.

In contrast to some of the grave goods recalling every-day life, the bodies were often buried wearing clothes, ornaments, and armor as they presumably would have done during particularly important moments in their life – as attested to by pins, fibulae, jewelry, armor, and decorations. Armor was surely not worn on a daily basis, and some of the jewelry, especially gossamer-fine wreaths and diadems of thin gold sheet, would have been impractical in every-day life. Mortuary accoutrements, then, look like a mixture of every-day objects, Sunday finest, and perhaps some ornaments reserved solely for the mortuary realm.

The evidence, when taken together, suggests there was a persistent perception throughout the period of study of the deceased as an individual (in the sense of an entity separate from others) and some concept of the body – either in its fleshed or “cleansed,” cremated form – continuing on into the afterlife. This belief is in keeping with Greek culture’s (and many others’) concern for bodily integrity as a necessity for a good afterlife.<sup>197</sup>

While the body was important, so was navigating the underworld. From the Archaic period onward, imagery with chthonic deities attests to their pertinence in ensuring a good afterlife. Figurines and wall paintings depicting Hades, Persephone, and Dionysus were

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<sup>196</sup> Drougou 2005, 22.

<sup>197</sup> See, e.g., Sophocles’s *Antigone*, which revolves entirely around the desperate need to bury the body of Polyneices to ensure that the living do not commit a terrible mistake by exposing his remains to the elements. This does not, of course, mean that the dead were conceptualized as residing in the body; literary sources are explicit about the separation of the *psyche* and the physical body, although the *eidolon* or psyche continues to move, look, and act quite similarly to a living body. For a synthesis and discussion of the sources, see Burkert (2012, Chapter 4).

deposited in graves throughout the period of study. In the fourth century, coins were sometimes placed inside the mouth or near the head of the deceased, clearly linked to the tradition of Charon's obols.<sup>198</sup> Even before this, two Archaic burials had a bead and a pebble placed inside the mouths of the dead, although it is unclear whether this was part of the same tradition or not.<sup>199</sup> The Tomb of Judgment from Lefkadia, dated to 325–300, provides further details and parallels to southern Greek beliefs with its paintings showing a man descending into Hades guided by Hermes and judged by the mythological wise kings Aeacus and Rhadamanthus.<sup>200</sup>

More tantalizing clues about Macedonian beliefs come from Vergina, from two graves dated to about 480 which have yielded large quantities (25 and 26) of terracotta heads.<sup>201</sup> In one of the cases, the large terracottas were found in the fill above a grave and have been suggested to come from life-size “scarecrows” with bodies made of organic material.<sup>202</sup> Because of their uniqueness, it is difficult to establish their meaning. In southern Greece, *kouroi* and *korai* were placed above graves as well as in sanctuaries, but the Macedonian terracottas are quite different in their appearance, their multitude, and of course their rarity. Terracotta masks have been found in an Archaic burial on Samos, with one scholar suggesting a possible link to Sparta's cult of Artemis Orthia but not commenting at length on the specific meaning of the masks in a funerary (as opposed to a sanctuary) context.<sup>203</sup> The figures may have served as guardians not dissimilar to the terracotta army of Qin Shi Huang, or as depictions of deities, or votives. The female heads

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<sup>198</sup> E.g., Besios in *AEMTh* 2, 188.

<sup>199</sup> For the bead, see Soueref in *AEMTh* 16, 282 (Toumba at Thessaloniki); for the pebble, see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2003 in *AEMTh* 15, 482 (Arkhontiko).

<sup>200</sup> Romiopoulou 1997, 26.

<sup>201</sup> The heads have only been published in passing in *AEMTh* 3, 1–3 and in Ginouvès and Hatzopoulos (1994, 38). It is, indeed, unclear whether the two publications refer to the same grave given the similarities in the description of the heads, although the grave goods listed are very different.

<sup>202</sup> Exhibition in Pella Archaeological Museum, 2014.

<sup>203</sup> Mariaud 2015. The Orthia masks, for their part, have been reasonably suggested to have been used in ritualistic reenactments, perhaps ones based on Near Eastern myth (Burr Carter 1987).

seem idealized, while two male heads are individualistic and realistic with deep furrows on the foreheads and, in one case, an almost anguished look. Given that the depictions of gods found in Macedonian burials are either Attic productions or look very similar to southern Greek iconography, it seems likelier that the heads represent ancestors, living family members or close associates, or other mortals, rather than deities whom one would expect to be idealized. (The question of the female heads looking idealized still remains, and one immediately thinks of parallels in Hellenistic and Roman sculpture where women were more likely to be depicted as eternally young and beautiful in contrast to more individualistic male portraiture.<sup>204</sup>)

From the Hellenistic period, there are few but important clues pointing towards orphism. The Derveni papyrus, an Orphic text, is briefly discussed in Chapter 4, but two other finds should be mentioned here: two gold sheets with the names Persephone and Hegesiska were found at Pella (in graves 89/1a and 92/8). These seem related to golden sheets with Orphic instructions known from later periods (mainly the early Hellenistic period) and other areas such as Thessaly and Magna Graecia in addition to Macedon.<sup>205</sup>

Moving from the graves themselves to the mortuary rituals surrounding them, evidence for commemoration and offerings at the graveside is fairly rare but convincing. Cups and other vessels found outside of tombs and graves in all likelihood mean there were offerings and commemorations performed (although sometimes looting or later disturbance also result in vessels ending up outside graves). At Mieza, several hemispherical pits were found empty, and the excavator has suggested they were for sacrifices.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Smith 1991, 75; Dillon 2010.

<sup>205</sup> For a synthesis and the edited texts of Orphic gold tablets, see Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008), who also make a compelling argument for interpreting the texts as Orphic.

<sup>206</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 129.

While burial rites themselves were lavish, there is a surprising scarcity of evidence for later reverence, commemoration, or even caring for the dead beyond sacrifices most likely taking place relatively soon after death. Graves were marked in some but not most cases. At Sindos, highly targeted looting in antiquity suggests that there were grave markers, perhaps wooden, that allowed the robbers to identify the location and gender of the graves.<sup>207</sup> At Aeane, sculpture and stone tombstones were placed over the monumental graves.<sup>208</sup> Painted tombstones have been preserved from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, although typically not *in situ*. The ones from Vergina's Great Tumulus, dated around 350–275, typically list the personal name and patronym of the deceased; tombstones from the fourth century BCE onwards from Beroea use similar formulae.<sup>209</sup>

Despite the use of patronyms (i.e., ancestry) as an identifier, a diachronic look at the data yields plenty of evidence for continuity but not much for respect toward ancestors. At Pella, recent excavations have revealed Bronze Age burials, stones from which were reused to pave roads in the Classical or Hellenistic period.<sup>210</sup> Vergina is not only one of the most important but also one of the longest-lived cemeteries in the region, but even there, one is hard pressed to identify reverence for ancestors. Iron Age tumuli were reused during the Hellenistic period, but it seems there was not much care taken in the process; Manolis Andronikos has mentioned that prehistoric graves were often destroyed in the process of constructing the later tombs, with seemingly little care for the curation of the earlier burials.<sup>211</sup> Also at Vergina, Andronikos identified a heröon, but the structure is poorly preserved and its identification seems based on its

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<sup>207</sup> Despini 2016, 109–110.

<sup>208</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 101.

<sup>209</sup> Andronikos 1984, 83–84 (Vergina); Tataki 1988, 502 (Beroea).

<sup>210</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2012, 9.

<sup>211</sup> Andronikos 1961, 89.

small dimensions and location next to tombs and as such is far from secure.<sup>212</sup> No matter what the case, there are no indications that the “heröon” was visited over a long period of time or that a sustained ancestor cult was practiced there. In other words, burials continued at sites and sometimes even disturbed older graves, but the evidence does not point to a reverence toward ancestors’ mortal remains. This is, of course, in sharp contrast to many sites in southern Greece.

Looking at cemeteries in use only during the period of study leads to a similar conclusion. Many cemeteries were in use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, and excavators have identified clusters corresponding to “clans,” “phratries,” and families.<sup>213</sup> Most of the published plans, however, look quite improvised, with little obvious structure suggesting an organized expansion of cemeteries or either a conscious avoidance of, or attraction to, earlier burials. The disturbance of earlier burials similarly suggests a lack of reverence for even relatively recent burials. The vast majority of the evidence regarding this comes from Mieza, where disturbance and cuts have been published in detail. Eighteen out of the 150 burials have been cut into by later graves or pits, although importantly the pits (which were all found empty) have been suggested to have been for making sacrifices.<sup>214</sup> In the few cases where both the earlier and later grave have been dated, the cuts are very close in time (for example T86, dated to around 450, cutting into T87, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century, and T127 from the third quarter of the fourth century being disturbed by another grave of the Hellenistic period). Similarly, at Edessa, a grave (T40) from 375–350 was cut by another one dated to 350–325 (T46). At Arkhontiko, such cuts are rare but include Archaic graves being cut into by late Classical and Early Hellenistic graves as well as one Archaic grave cutting into an Iron Age one.

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<sup>212</sup> Andronikos 1984, 65.

<sup>213</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>214</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 129.

In sum, the great care taken in the act of burial was not echoed by later commemoration or curation.

### 3.4 Conclusion: narrative of a burial

*Lord Byron, Mr Leigh Hunt, Mr Shenley & myself, gathered round, throwing in frankincense, salt, & wine. Lord Byron looking at the shapeless, limbless mass as it was dragged from out its sandy grave said “What is a human body! Why it might be the rotten carcase of a sheep for all I can distinguish” and further continued, pointing to the black handkerchief, “Look! An old rag retains its form longer than he who wore it. What an humbling & degrading thought that we shall one day resemble this!”*

- Edward Trelawny’s account of the death of and cremation of Percy Bysshe Shelley<sup>215</sup>

Lord Byron’s mixture of respect and callousness regarding Shelley’s body captures many of the observations about Macedonian mortuary behavior discussed in this chapter. On the one hand, bodies warranted care and respect, but on the other, this respect was of very limited duration, fading much faster than the golden gleam of the grave goods surrounding the decaying body. Bodies could also be “deformed” (to follow Byron’s commentary) as new trends as well as the practicalities of military campaigns made cremation more popular in order to enable the transportation of human remains – just as happened in the case of Shelley, whose remains went on to have multiple travels and modifications. As discussed in Chapter 2, archaeologists have begun to emphasize mortuary ritual as a process rather than taking a “snapshot” approach to burials. Many steps of this process might be invisible to us, but this section combines evidence

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<sup>215</sup> British Library Ashley MS 915, available at: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/account-of-the-death-and-cremation-of-p-b-shelley>. Accessed Oct 18, 2018.

from different sites to piece together a narrative describing the steps we do have evidence for, some but not all of them discussed above.

Preparations for death probably sometimes began before it actually occurred, as monumental tombs would have taken an extended period to prepare. Textual evidence does mention the burial of cremains months after death, but Tomb II had the remains of a pyre above it and in addition shows signs of hasty finishing – it seems the tomb was begun before the death of the occupants but was rushed to a conclusion so they could be deposited in a timely manner.<sup>216</sup> For humbler burials, there probably was no similar planning, as supported by the rather haphazard organization of many cemeteries.

The people responsible for the burial would almost always find a spot outside of the settlement. Sometimes they would probably inter the deceased next to his or her ancestors; they certainly sometimes buried them in tumuli that had been in use during the Iron Age or in cemeteries that were in use for centuries. Most of the time, however, they seemingly had little care for whether the new burials would disturb old ones, implying a lack of reverence for the graves of their ancestors. We do not know exactly who was typically in charge of a burial, but textual evidence suggests it was family and friends, while the scale of monumental burials and tumuli, even if commissioned by a small group, would have involved the participation of many workers.

Typically, a pit-grave was dug, either into soil or into rock, and the deceased was laid inside in a supine position, dressed and with various items of practical, ritual, and personal use. (The supine position is very common across cultures, but it is worth noting it is typically

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<sup>216</sup> E.g., Plut. *Vit. Eum.* 19.1; Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 53; Diod. Sic. 19.59.3 (Craterus); Diod. Sic. 18.36.1 (Ptolemy); Andronikos 1980, 170.

contrasted with either positions mimicking a “life-like” state, such as sitting, or a prone position, sometimes suggested to be reserved for individuals seen as abnormal and dangerous in some way.<sup>217</sup> The supine position, then, is taken to be the “norm” and to symbolize rest.) In many cases, the deceased was placed in a wooden coffin, on a wooden kline, and/or had the grave covered with slabs or planks. This may have been for practical reasons but also seems to imply some concern for bodily integrity and isolating the deceased from soil, vermin, and the like. For the Archaic elites at Arkhontiko and Sindos, gold sheets were used to cover up signs of death.

Sometimes, the ritual was more elaborate and included cremation. This could take place inside the grave cut, near it, or (given the absence of an associated pyre in many cases) somewhere further afield. In at least some of the cases, grave goods were burned on the pyre along with the body. In the case of secondary burial, the bones were carefully collected but the grave goods were sometimes left where they lay and a separate set of offerings was placed inside the grave. Even bones burnt clean of all flesh still needed nourishment.

Exactly what kind of rituals took place at the grave is unclear. Large vessels found nearby a grave at Aegae have been suggested to imply the washing of the dead, but this is a lone example suggesting that if such rites were commonly practiced, they were done elsewhere or the vessels were taken away afterward. There was clearly a concern for the well-being of the deceased and perhaps a belief in an afterlife: the dead received not only jewelry and weapons but also vessels with functions ranging from drinking to cooking and ritual. In rare but important cases, metal finds attest to more specific beliefs about the afterlife. Obols for Charon and gold

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<sup>217</sup> John Howell Rowe (1995) describes seated burials from Peru with masks showing their eyes open, intended to invoke an impression of an alive and alert person. Anastasia Tsaliki (2008) provides an overview of deviant burials, including prone ones. Others have questioned the assumption of prone burials as having negative connotations; see Murphy (2017) for an overview.



sheets with words like “Persephone” were placed with the dead to help them navigate the afterlife successfully; the Derveni papyrus presumably served a similar purpose. Dionysiac imagery in the form of terracottas and on vases is fairly common and, along with imagery of Persephone and Hades, attests to the importance of chthonic cults. From the Archaic period onward, Macedonians shared iconography and probably also ideology about the afterlife with southern Greeks.

Once the grave was covered up or sealed, it was seemingly largely forgotten – or commemorated in ways that have left few traces. In some cases, graves were marked either with tomb stones or markers made of organic materials. Cups and other vessels found outside of tombs and graves probably mean there were offerings and commemorations made, but there is no evidence for extensive or extended respects paid to ancestors. It seems that for Macedonians, the expenditure and display during the burial process was more important than the curation of the graves afterwards.

## **PART II**

### **Social Personae**

#### **CHAPTER 4**

##### **War and wine sacks: Macedonian men**

The previous three chapters established the theoretical and methodological frameworks and introduced the main features and variables of the Macedonian mortuary record. This and the following two chapters form another entity where theory and data come together to sketch three social personae: men, women, and children. As argued in Chapter 2, such categories should not be taken for granted, but the division will be justified during analysis and the boundaries drawn around categories supported by patterning seen in the data.

#### 4.1 Studies of ancient masculinity and the Homeric model

*“Come then, let any of you strip and display his own wounds, and I will display mine in turn; in my case there is no part of the body, or none in front, that has been left unwounded, and there is no weapon of close combat, no missile whose scars I do not bear on my person, but I have been wounded by the sword hand to hand, shot by arrows and struck by a catapult, and I am often struck by stones and clubs for your interest, your glory and your riches, while I lead you as conquerors through every land and sea, river, mountain and plain.”*

- Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.10

*“You wine sack, with a dog's eyes, with a deer's heart. Never once have you taken courage in your heart to arm with your people for battle, or go into ambushade with the best of the Achaians.”*

- *Iliad* 1.225–227

Alexander the Great's speech at Opis, given after his troops' mutiny and followed by immediate sulking and eventual tears and kisses, captures many of the elements often associated with Macedonian men. Alexander was a true warrior: he engaged in one-on-one combat, prevailed despite injuries, and braved battle alongside his men. He was perhaps accused of drinking excessive amounts of wine, but he was no wine sack and he identified with Achilles, the speaker in the second quote above, rather than Agamemnon, the deer-hearted leader Achilles was railing against. Modern scholars have often built on passages such as Alexander's speech, invoking the idea of heroic, Homeric Macedonians. This chapter aims to unpack and largely dismiss such ideas, but first an overview of approaches to ancient masculinity is in order.

While scholarship on the ancient Mediterranean world has been and continues to be dominated by *de facto* studies on men and masculinity, the explicit study of masculinity in

ancient Greece had its heyday in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when several volumes were dedicated to the topic.<sup>218</sup> Many of the studies focused on literary evidence, but sculpture and vase-painting have also been used to make arguments about Greek men.<sup>219</sup> Such work usually concludes that there was a strong core concept of manliness and masculinity that aligns well with contemporary ideas about physical power, bravery, and the display of status, but that there was also nuance both in terms of the specific manifestations of masculinity (such as weeping in Homer) and, indeed, in just how restricted to gender *andreia* or masculine courage was (such as Herodotus noting that some women, notably the Carian queen and general Artemisia, possessed this virtue).<sup>220</sup>

In a specifically Macedonian context, the study of gender has focused on women, often highlighting the great power wielded by exceptional women such as Eurydice or Olympias.<sup>221</sup> The underlying assumption, however, is that Macedonian society was first and foremost a society of men, fond of displays of stereotypical masculine prowess such as hunting, drinking and brawling, warfare, and athletics.<sup>222</sup> This assumption seems validated by the ancient literary sources, which largely focus on the military exploits of (mostly Hellenistic) kings and generals, with some anecdotes about drunken excesses mixed in for good measure. (These are discussed in sections 4.4.1 and 4.5.1.) Although the exact forms of Macedonians' social organization from the Archaic down to the Hellenistic period have been a source of hot debate, all the models share a

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<sup>218</sup> E.g., Foxhall and Salmon 1998a and 1998b; Rosen and Sluiter 2003; and many more specialized works such as Bassi (1998) and Hobbs (2000).

<sup>219</sup> See below for literary arguments; for sculpture and vase-painting, see, e.g., Osborne (1998) and Barringer (2002).

<sup>220</sup> Van Wees 1998 (tears and weeping in Homer); Harrell 2003 (Herodotus and Artemisia's *andreia*). Nick Fisher (1998, 69–70) has conducted a helpful comparison between David Gilmore's indicators of a masculine culture (building mostly on work with Andalusian groups) and Athenian ones, concluding that "masculine" elements including clear gender, marital, and sexual roles, ideas of masculine competitiveness, and reacting to personal insults are all present in Athenian society in the Classical period.

<sup>221</sup> E.g., Carney 2012.

<sup>222</sup> E.g., Lane Fox 2011b, 358–359.

fair number of similar implications for the status and behavior of men. Macedonian communities have been described as chiefdoms, “tribal,”<sup>223</sup> or forming a full-fledged state, but the consensus is that they were largely governed by the rule of the strongest, were prone to warfare and conflict, and were characterized by delicate relations between local aristocracies and the kings hoping to rule them.<sup>224</sup> This tension between powerful men eventually led to the development of the institution of *hetairoi*, the Companions to the kings. These companions were members of aristocratic families from among whom generals and leaders were selected, largely to prevent unrest and competition.

These ideas of Macedonian masculinity are often conceptualized through comparisons of Macedonian customs, mortuary or otherwise, with Homer’s epics. These “Homeric” tendencies are noted from the Archaic down to the Hellenistic period, and this model serves to portray Macedonians as different from – more backward, traditional, and conservative than – southern Greeks, while still including them in the cultural sphere of Greeks and Greekness. Homeric tendencies are most often discussed in the context of Macedonian kingship and the highest elites (although Chapter 5 gives examples of how, in the case of women, Homeric models have been extended to the female population at large), not entirely without justification given Alexander the Great’s reported fondness for the epics. These same ideas, however, have also been brought up in protohistorical contexts: Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou, for example, have

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<sup>223</sup> See Chapter 7 for further discussion. The term “tribe,” of course, evokes strong feelings among the anthropological community, sometimes because it is seen as pigeon-holing, sometimes for its vagueness, and sometimes for its (mis)use in a sense different from that proposed by Elman Service. The term will only be used in scare quotes in this dissertation, as none of the communities discussed could be called tribal in the strict anthropological sense. The term is, however, used by scholars on Macedon as well as in translations of authors such as Thucydides. When used by the former, it is often with associations of being rough around the edges, as will be seen shortly.

<sup>224</sup> Eugene Borza (e.g., 1990 Chapter 10; 1999) has been one of the scholars most consistently arguing for a military chiefdom up until Alexander the Great’s rule. Robin Lane Fox (2011, 358–259) has argued for strong kingship by the time of Philip II, but believes it was still one based on military prowess.

described the Archaic burials from Arkhontiko as both “Homeric” and “heroic.”<sup>225</sup>

Other scholars have discussed the same issue but have helpfully noted specific material manifestations of the Homeric ethos. Manolis Andronikos argued that the burial in Tomb II at Vergina was “a deliberate imitation of the Homeric description in every detail,” referring to the burial of Hector where his bones were collected “in a golden casket” and wrapped in “soft robes of purple,” similarly to the deceased inside Tomb II.<sup>226</sup> He noted that the similarities could be explained by the “archaic structure of the Macedonian kingdom” but also argued that the graves do not reflect “common custom” but perhaps Alexander the Great’s personal fondness for Homer.<sup>227</sup> Angeliki Kottaridi, discussing royal graves more broadly (and, presumably, wealthy graves in general, as in no case can we identify a grave’s resident as royal with certainty), has pointed to mythology connecting Macedonian kings to Zeus, arguing that this link necessitated heroic burials; accordingly, she has emphasized the role of pyres, rich grave offerings, and funeral games.<sup>228</sup> Others have added qualifiers to their categories: Robin Lane Fox has pointed out that “pseudo-Homeric” would be a more accurate descriptor of Macedonian kingship because the kingship described in the epics themselves is a fictional amalgamation of different practices from different periods never fully realized in any society.<sup>229</sup> Key elements of this “Homeric” society, according to him, are an emphasis on the king’s personal prowess in battle and hunting, drinking parties, gift-giving by the king, the importance of Companions, and the king’s central

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<sup>225</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 511.

<sup>226</sup> Andronikos 1984, 170; Hom. *Il.* 24.793–796.

<sup>227</sup> Andronikos 1984, 170.

<sup>228</sup> Kottaridi 2011b, 2. She also makes the Homeric link in *Ancient Macedonia* 6, 631–642.

<sup>229</sup> Lane Fox 2011, 358. Pierre Carlier (2000) offers the most extensive comparison of Homeric and Macedonian kingship, but his focus is on political institutions and powers described based on literary sources. He argues for very strong autocratic Macedonian rulers (with more power than Homeric kings) but also acknowledges the importance of the *hetairoi* as giving counsel to the kings.

role in making offerings to the gods.<sup>230</sup>

While the above discussion emphasizes Homeric comparisons because of their prevalence, these analogies also reflect broader tendencies in scholarship. Ideas about a testosterone-filled Macedon are largely the result of the competing and sometimes simultaneous tendencies to retroject later evidence on one hand and to depict Macedonians as conservative – almost primitive – on the other. The scarcity of contemporary textual sources has encouraged scholars to turn to ethnography, Hellenistic and Roman sources, or Homer. The Homeric model is a useful way to pull together multiple similar strands of scholarship in order to study their veracity, but the mortuary record offers a contemporary, primary source that allows us to interrogate these models as well as see whether they only apply to a very select few or to society at large.

This chapter, then, has a dual approach. On one hand, it uses the Homeric paradigm to help organize the argument and to see how well the Homeric model holds water. More importantly, however, it builds on the mortuary record in an effort to move away from simply testing and either accepting or rejecting the Homeric model, instead observing tendencies in the data and then trying to explain them. As will be seen, certain elements predicted by the model are reflected in the mortuary record, others are notably absent or marginal, while other observations require stepping away from the model entirely.

The bulk of this chapter looks at elements that can be approached through the mortuary record and which might be construed as “Homeric”: the link between athletics and burials, a connection between athletics and military prowess, the prevalence of cremation, hunting, and

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<sup>230</sup> Lane Fox 2011, 358.

drinking parties, and an emphasis on individualistic military valor. (As it turns out, most of these elements are not widely signaled in the mortuary record.) For a better-rounded picture of masculinity, however, the chapter begins and ends with insights that can be gained only from the mortuary record and can be used to incorporate those to whom Homer paid little attention: the poor to middling classes and the young. The movement is from the body outwards. An overview of the meager osteological evidence is followed by a discussion of grave types. After that, artifact classes are discussed, starting with the “Homeric” ones and followed by others rarely discussed: miniature ox carts linked to farming and paraphernalia associated with learning and medicine.

As will be seen, any Homeric echoes to be detected in Macedonian burials are a relatively late and rare phenomenon. The results – especially when compared to women’s graves in Chapter 5 – show that while men were often associated with masculine characteristics such as warfare or hunting, the picture is more varied than previously portrayed and even sets of armor hardly correspond to what literary models suggest. Importantly, the archaeological record also allows us to investigate aspects of identity that do not immediately emerge from literary models as obvious topics of query: for example, mortuary demographics suggest that Macedonian men perhaps engaged in battle until middle age or achieved a higher status at that age, resulting in their overrepresentation in the mortuary record.

## **4.2 Osteological evidence**

Osteological data are scarce, but it is all the more important to start by looking at them since so much scholarship is based on assumptions made about gender and sex based on artifacts rather than on bioarchaeological analysis. Of the individuals buried in the 990 graves included in



the database, 44 have been osteologically studied and categorized as male or probably male. This is close to the number of females (40), and there is no evidence for overall inclusion or exclusion in cemeteries based on sex nor any indication of drastically different mortuary treatment between the sexes. It seems likely we are seeing a fairly well-balanced mortuary population in terms of sex although not in terms of wealth or age.<sup>231</sup>

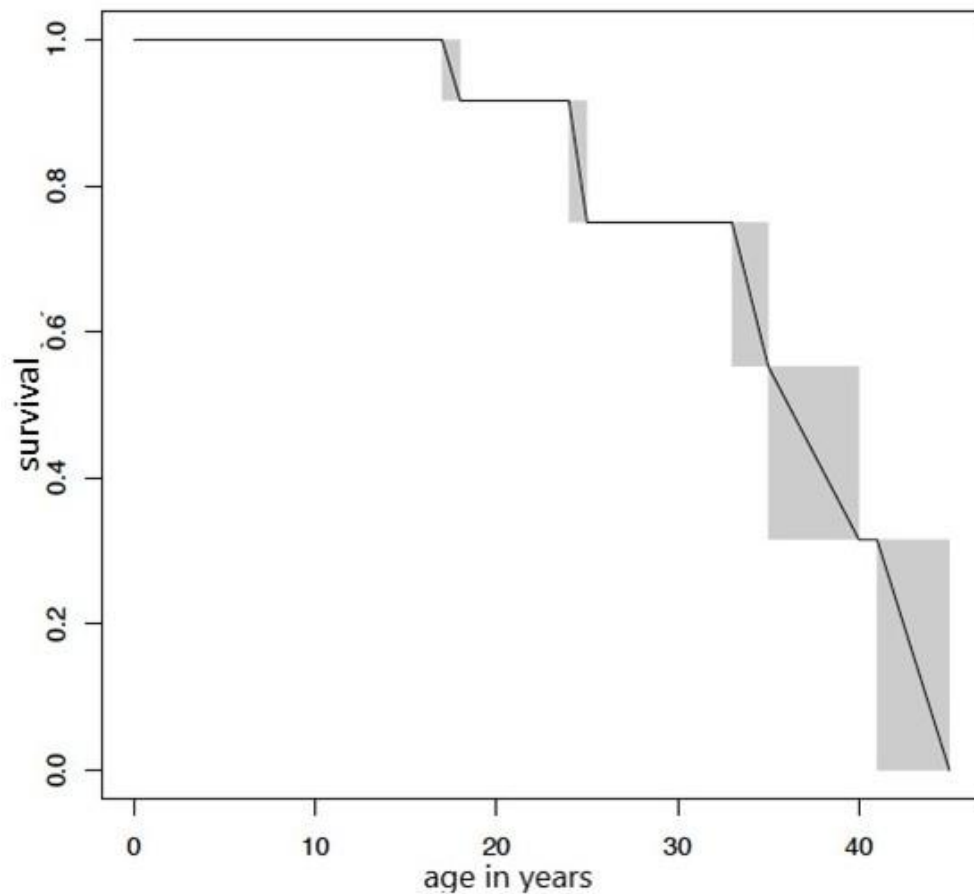


Figure 4.1. Mortality curve for males of known age in the dataset (N=43). The shaded areas represent uncertainty due to large ranges in the age-at-death estimates, and mortality begins around age 17 because of the exclusion of prepubescent individuals (who cannot be sexed accurately). The line indicates the proportion (out of 1.0, i.e., 100%) of the population that survived until a given age.

<sup>231</sup> See Chapters 6 and 7 on age and wealth, respectively.

Figure 4.1 shows the mortality curve for males of known (approximate) age at death. The curve was created using a method based on the Kaplan-Meier estimator statistic, which deals especially well with age ranges.<sup>232</sup> The dip in the curve only begins around age 17, because telling the sex of pre-pubescent subadults is contested, and as such all the individuals included are past puberty; subadults are discussed separately in Chapter 6.

Of the adult individuals with a reasonably precisely known age at death, almost 80% died between ages 25 and 50, while one fifth died before age 24 (but post-puberty). Looking at the mortality curve, age 35 to 45 is a period of precipitous mortality for males.<sup>233</sup> Both cultural factors and analytical bias are possible explanations. There is a common and well-observed tendency in osteological studies to underestimate the age of old individuals,<sup>234</sup> but the fact that most of the reported ages are quite specific (“35 to 40” or “35 to 45”) suggests that not many of the 35–45-year-olds would have been considerably older at death – i.e., we are probably not misaging a large group of old people. Secondly, a mortality peak at 30–45 years of age has been commonly observed in archaeological populations but never in historical demographic data.<sup>235</sup> The specific causes for the phenomenon are debated, but most agree it is a combination of bias in analysis and the better preservation of the bones of young adults. If this was the case here,

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<sup>232</sup> The Kaplan-Meier estimator is mostly used in longitudinal medical studies to estimate survival rates. It was chosen because it is designed to accommodate censored data, i.e., partial data. In a medical context, this might be a patient who withdraws from a study or is lost track of. In our context, it is individuals with imprecise estimates for age at death; the age estimates are all ranges of varying narrowness, from “one to two years old” to “45+” to “adult” (the last one coded as 17+ in the database). The Kaplan-Meier allows for a probabilistic estimate of age-at-death for each of the individuals, and, when visually rendered using the `icfit` function (part of the `Interval` package) in R, also provides a confidence interval of 0.95 based on 200 bootstrap replicates (a resampling technique) showing where the curve is fairly closely defined and where it is not; this interval, shown as a shaded area, indicates that the age at death of the individuals falls within the shaded area with 95% likelihood.

<sup>233</sup> High mortality rates between ages 30 and 40 have been observed by Sevasti Triandafyllou and Penelope Malama at Amphipolis, which falls outside our area of study but is a useful comparison regardless. See *AEMTh* 15, 127–136.

<sup>234</sup> Krogman and İşcan 2013, 88.

<sup>235</sup> Chamberlain 2006, 83, 90.

however, one would expect a similar drop among females as well; as will be discussed in Chapter 5, females show a drop-off at a younger age – around 20.

It therefore seems possible we really are seeing a disproportionate representation of males who died in their prime. Explaining this pattern requires a process of elimination rather than a straightforward argument for a single cause. Warfare and violent trauma typically most heavily impact males in their late teens or early twenties rather than ages 25–50, and the pattern seen here does not conform to those expected due to disease (which typically impacts the very young and the old), either.<sup>236</sup> Unfortunately, there are no published data on the prevalence of skeletal trauma (with the exception of the much-debated cremation in Tomb II, said to possibly show an injury to the eye).<sup>237</sup> There are similarly very meager data on health and diet, but the palaeopathological study of the Edessa population suggests that on the whole, individuals were in good health and not exposed to long-term stress.<sup>238</sup> In light of this, two explanations – or perhaps a combination of them both – seem most likely. First, there perhaps was a substantial segment of the male population participating in violent conflict in middle adulthood. While later than our period of study, literary sources confirm that Alexander's generals kept fighting to a mature age, even into their eighties in the case of Antigonus I Monophthalmus.<sup>239</sup> Second, middle-aged males were perhaps more likely to be buried in ways that make it more likely their graves are excavated and also carefully analyzed and published. For many, early middle age might have been the point at which they became the senior male member of their family as their fathers died; this may have been marked by a more prominent burial. There are, however, limits

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<sup>236</sup> Chamberlain 2006, 74–80.

<sup>237</sup> Musgrave, Neave, and Prag (1984) see an injury; Bartsiokas (2000) does not.

<sup>238</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 313.

<sup>239</sup> Plut., *Vit. Demetr.* 29.4–5.

to this second explanation: included in the data are middling graves from Asomata as well as wealthier ones from Pella, so discrepancies in lavishness are an inadequate explanation on their own. A third explanation was proposed by Ian Moyer in a personal communication: perhaps the young died abroad in the battlefield while middle-aged men stayed behind and were buried at home. While this is a possibility, there is little literary evidence one way or another; Alexander's body famously traveled from Babylon toward Macedon before ending up in Egypt, while Hephæstion is assumed to have been laid to rest in Babylon.<sup>240</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 3, there are also several instances where the bodies of soldiers were transported back to Macedon. In addition, the pattern holds for different periods even though this scenario of burial abroad seems more likely during the Hellenistic period.

Sample sizes for individual sites are very small, but it is perhaps worth noting that at Edessa, all known males died aged 25–50 and most were aged 35–50, while at Pella 64% were over 25 and just 27% were over 35. At Asomata, all males of a known age were 35 or under (but the total count is a meager four). The low counts make it difficult to say whether the differences are meaningful rather than happenstance and whether Pellaians and Asomataians truly had shorter life-spans.<sup>241</sup> Certainly, chronological change does not explain the differences, as graves at Asomata date to the Archaic and Classical periods while those from Pella include Hellenistic ones.

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<sup>240</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 7.14 discusses Hephæstion's funeral in Babylon. With the excavation of the Amphipolis Kastan Tomb, the location of Hephæstion's tomb has been suggested to not be Babylon but rather Amphipolis. Given the current state of the evidence and in the absence of a systematic publication, there is not much to be said to either defend or dispute the excavators' identification. In November 2017, Katerina Peristeri argued that the tomb belonged to Hephæstion (Ancient Macedonia 8 conference, Thessaloniki). For a brief report on the identification, see: <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/09/30/hephaestions-monogram-found-at-amphipolis-tomb/>. Accessed Aug 25, 2017.

<sup>241</sup> See Chapter 5 for discussion on grave groupings; it is possible but not particularly likely (and definitely not supported by current evidence) that different age groups were buried in different areas of the cemetery, resulting in us happening upon only people from certain age categories.

### 4.3 Grave types and orientation

Grave type and orientation often relate to patterns of social organization such as gender, hierarchical status, or religion; some of these broader patterns are further discussed in Chapter 7.<sup>242</sup> In Macedon, however, the two elements seem rather fluid and variable. Orientation is sometimes linked to sex, but there is much chronological and local variation with orientation rarely adhering to clear patterns, much less gendered ones. In the case of Archaic Arkhontiko, the excavators have stated that men were buried with their heads to the west, north, or south (but never to the east), but they base this on gendering by grave goods rather than on osteological information.<sup>243</sup> At Archaic and Classical Sindos, men were mostly buried with their heads to the west and women to the east, although there are exceptions.<sup>244</sup> The Hellenistic subset (across all sites, not only Arkhontiko) with information on orientation is small, but it is in keeping with the observation by multiple excavators that during this period east-west or west-east burials were favored.<sup>245</sup> At Edessa, the heads of males were to the (north)west, and this may reflect a broader pattern.

Looking at burial types by sex reveals a pattern that is very likely the result of publication bias. In comparison to the entire dataset (including all graves without osteological data), all “complex” (and expensive) types of burials are overrepresented among known males:

Macedonian tombs, other chamber tombs, rock-carved pits, sarcophagi, and larnakes. This same

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<sup>242</sup> For cemeteries showing a systematic link between body orientation and gender, see the Bronze Age cemeteries of the Maros group in what is now Hungary, Serbia, and Romania (O’Shea 1996, 153). Christian inhumations facing east is a prime example of grave orientation linked to religion. As already touched on in Chapter 2, grave type and expenditure have clear implications for hierarchical status across many cultures.

<sup>243</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 491.

<sup>244</sup> Despini 2016, 115.

<sup>245</sup> See, e.g., Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 290 (Pella); Tsimbidou-Avloniti in *Ancient Macedonia* 7, 678 (Finikas); Besios in *AEMTh* 2, 182 (Pydna). This tendency has also been noted for earlier periods at some sites: see Moschonisiotou in *AEMTh* 2, 285 (Archaic-Classical Thermi).

phenomenon is, however, observable for known females and can therefore be explained by the tendency to conduct osteological analyses for wealthier burials and graves of a more showy type.<sup>246</sup>

| <b>Burial type</b>             | <b>Count</b> | <b>Prevalence</b> |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Larnax (osteotheke)            | 1            | 2%                |
| Pit lined with tiles           | 3            | 7%                |
| Macedonian tomb                | 2            | 5%                |
| Other chamber tomb             | 1            | 2%                |
| Pit                            | 1            | 2%                |
| Rock-carved pit                | 17           | 39%               |
| Sarcophagus                    | 1            | 2%                |
| Stone cist                     | 2            | 5%                |
| Unspecified pit (rock or soil) | 14           | 32%               |
| Unknown                        | 2            | 5%                |
| <b>Total</b>                   | <b>44</b>    | <b>100%</b>       |

Table 4.1. Burial types of osteologically studied males.

| <b>Burial type</b>             | <b>Count</b> | <b>Prevalence</b> |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Pit lined with tiles           | 1            | 3%                |
| Macedonian tomb                | 1            | 3%                |
| Other chamber tomb             | 2            | 5%                |
| Pit lined with stones          | 1            | 3%                |
| Rock-carved pit                | 17           | 45%               |
| Stone cist                     | 4            | 11%               |
| Unspecified pit (rock or soil) | 10           | 26%               |
| Unknown                        | 2            | 5%                |
| <b>Total</b>                   | <b>38</b>    | <b>100%</b>       |

Table 4.2. Burial types of osteologically studied females.

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<sup>246</sup> Another possible explanation for the difference is preservation, as especially well-sealed Macedonian tombs can sometimes protect the remains against degradation.

|             | Unkn.           | Larnax (osteoth.) | Mud-brick grave | Chamber tombs (Macedonian and other) | Pit (incl. lined with stones or tiles) | Pit filled with rubble | Rock-carved pit | Stone cist and sarcophagus | Unspec. pit (rock or soil) | Total        |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| Unknown sex | C 65<br>EC 63.3 | 11<br>11.0        | 5<br>4.6        | 28<br>31.2                           | 144<br>137.6                           | 15<br>13.8             | 95<br>118.3     | 89<br>88.1                 | 457<br>441.2               | 909<br>909.0 |
| Female      | C 2<br>EC 2.6   | 0<br>.5           | 0<br>.2         | 3<br>1.3                             | 2<br>5.8                               | 0<br>.6                | 17<br>4.9       | 4<br>3.7                   | 10<br>18.4                 | 38<br>38.0   |
| Male        | C 2<br>EC 3.1   | 1<br>.5           | 0<br>.2         | 3<br>1.5                             | 4<br>6.7                               | 0<br>.7                | 17<br>5.7       | 3<br>4.3                   | 14<br>21.4                 | 44<br>44.0   |
| Total       | C 69<br>EC 69.0 | 12<br>12.0        | 5<br>5.0        | 34<br>34.0                           | 150<br>150.0                           | 15<br>15.0             | 129<br>129.0    | 96<br>96.0                 | 481<br>481.0               | 991<br>991.0 |

|                    | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|--------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 74.592 <sup>a</sup> | 16 | .000                              |
| Likelihood Ratio   | 59.031              | 16 | .000                              |
| N of Valid Cases   | 991                 |    |                                   |

a. 14 cells (51.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .19.

Table 4.3. Real and expected counts for different types of burials across the entire dataset and by gender, using Pearson's chi-square test which tests for a goodness of fit. Similar grave types were grouped together to produce a more robust dataset. While the table with Pearson's value is included, it is worth highlighting that more than half of the cell counts are less than five, which means the table should be taken as descriptive rather than inferential. C=count, EC=expected count.

It is therefore more informative to compare burial types between known males and females (Tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3). There is no straightforward link between the cost of burial type and sex, with the exception of Macedonian tombs which were in a league of their own in terms of cost (see Chapter 7). Males were almost twice as likely to be buried in Macedonian tombs as women, but women received burials in other types of chamber tombs more often. Pit graves for males were more likely to have tiles lining them, but pits were more likely to be hewn into rock for women. Males received sarcophagi, but women were more often buried in stone cists. The differences therefore seem to be of kind, not rank. In addition, with the exception of larnakes and sarcophagi (which are very rare among males as well), there are no types of burials only attested for males. In short, while there are differences in distribution, the use of prestigious (or non-prestigious) burial types does not seem strongly associated with sex.

#### **4.4 Warriors and military equipment: Homeric warriors and *hetairoi*?**

Now that some general physical properties, both of individuals and of graves, have been established, we can return to the masculine ideals discussed above. The bulk of this chapter discusses several of the elements mentioned at the start of this chapter that are invoked by scholars as both Macedonian and Homeric: military prowess, drinking and feasting, the importance of cremation, and athletics.

This section approaches warrior identity and military equipment from several angles. Since the time period covered is long and the range of topics is vast, the different sections can be thought of as case-studies of a sort, offering glimpses into specific questions that fall under the umbrella of warfare and warrior identities. First, two very different models stemming from literary sources are introduced: one of the Homeric warrior and the other of the phalanx soldier.



The following sections all work up from the archaeological record toward models, not merely in order to compare and contrast it with the literary models but, in many places, to note wholly different patterns. An overview of the prevalence of military equipment introduces the types of objects found in Macedonian graves. Arkhontiko then serves as the best available dataset for a case-study on sets of weapons to see whether one can identify different categories of Archaic soldiers; as will be seen, the answer is a qualified “yes,” with most falling into a spearman category quite different from the Homeric ideal. This is followed by a diachronic study that reveals a decrease in military equipment toward the Hellenistic period, which feeds into an interesting overall picture of a shifting emphasis on mortuary expenditure, with decreased finds but more expensive grave types (see Chapter 8). Finally, a small group of Hellenistic elite burials is studied, again showing that even the *crème de la crème* was presented with surprisingly modest sets of military paraphernalia not dissimilar to the humble spearmen found in much poorer graves.

#### **4.4.1 Macedonian warriors in literary sources**

Aristotle noted that “at one time there was also a law in Macedonia that a man who had never killed an enemy must wear his halter instead of a belt,”<sup>247</sup> with the implication that to not be a successful warrior was to not be fully masculine and mature. Whether Aristotle’s anecdote is accurate or not, centuries of scholars have been inspired by its ethos, explicitly or implicitly arguing that Macedonian men were, first and foremost, warriors. Such arguments are supported by literary sources filled with lore about the heroism of Alexander the Great and his military

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<sup>247</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1324b.

tactics. The latter sections of this chapter look at how well the mortuary record aligns with the literary sources, but first we must introduce two of the models for Macedonian warfare that have been reconstructed based on literary evidence.

As was mentioned above, Macedonian warriors have often been seen as Homeric. What exactly “Homeric” warfare means has been greatly debated,<sup>248</sup> but it seems that rather than specific pieces of military equipment, scholars have invoked the Homeric spirit: aristocratic warriors, roughly equal in status, fighting one-on-one battles and displaying courage through individual feats. If there was a “King of Kings” similar to Agamemnon, he would have been kept in close check by other leaders. While ancient sources say almost nothing about the relations between earlier kings and their men, literary accounts of Alexander the Great’s exploits seem to support this model. An enlightening scene reported by Arrian (*Anabasis* 6.9–10) takes place in India when Alexander nearly dies after scaling a wall into hostile territory to encourage his men to do likewise. In addition to Alexander’s bravery, Arrian also carefully notes the men who followed him: Peucestas, Abreas, and Leonnatus. (Lest one get carried away with Homeric ideas, it is also enlightening to note that the three men are described as a shield-bearer, a bodyguard, and a soldier receiving “double pay for distinguished services” – hardly aristocratic warrior leaders.) The close and egalitarian relationship between Alexander and his troops, both elite and not, is similarly attested in various passages, such as his troops’ mutiny in India, or Cleitus’s candid comments about Alexander allowing the mockery of Macedonians while mingling with “begging Persians.”<sup>249</sup> Finally, in support of more direct Homeric parallels, Alexander, of course,

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<sup>248</sup> See Van Wees (1994) for an overview and one attempt to reconcile poetic license and military realities.

<sup>249</sup> Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 50–51 (Cleitus); Arr., *Anab.* 7.8–11 (mutiny).

saw himself as Achilles and Hephaestion as Patroclus.<sup>250</sup>

In sharp contrast to Homeric ideas, Macedonians are also famed for their phalanx. As with all sources on the Macedonian military, ancient authors writing about Macedonian troops (as opposed to individual fighters) are mostly Hellenistic and Roman and their focus is on Alexander the Great's army. Many of the features of Alexander's army might have been introduced under Philip II, but for the periods preceding Philip and Alexander, the archaeological record is the only line of evidence available.<sup>251</sup> While many subdivisions among social groups have been made and debated by modern scholars, the main classes the literary sources mention are the *hetairoi*, who formed the cavalry, and the *pezhetairoi*, who seem to have included everyone else.<sup>252</sup> Our knowledge of the exact equipment for these troops is imprecise. Cavalry would have been armed with a wooden lance and sometimes cuirasses and helmets.<sup>253</sup> The *pezhetairoi* would have worn either helmets, *pelta* shields, greaves, and *sarissai*, or hoplite armor which would have included a cuirass (although this could have been made of leather or linen),<sup>254</sup> a heavier shield, and sometimes a sword in addition.<sup>255</sup> We also know of archers starting with Philip II's reign.<sup>256</sup>

Hellenistic and Roman literary sources, then, offer two models: valiant elite individuals fighting one-on-one, and cavalry and phalanx troops. These later sources have frequently been retrojected and used to argue, most often, for Archaic Macedonians as "Homeric" soldiers. Let

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<sup>250</sup> Aelian *VH* 12.7 is explicit on this. For Alexander's interest in Homer and Troy, see Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 8.2, 15.4; Arr., *Anab.* 1.11.5.

<sup>251</sup> Sekunda 2010, 446–447.

<sup>252</sup> Sekunda 2010, 447.

<sup>253</sup> Sekunda 2010, 469.

<sup>254</sup> Wheeler and Strauss 2007, 195, footnote 45.

<sup>255</sup> Sekunda 2010, 449. Arrian's *Anabasis* (2.4.3) mentions *hypaspistai* in contrast to heavier-armed troops; based on this, Sekunda (2010, 455) has argued they perhaps would have carried a hoplite shield but no cuirass.

<sup>256</sup> Sekunda 2010, 451.

us now turn to the archaeological evidence in search of support for either model or both.

#### 4.4.2 Prevalence of military equipment

Material evidence for military equipment from mortuary contexts includes both depictions of weapons and actual military equipment. Warriors and military paraphernalia were occasionally painted on the walls of Macedonian tombs in the early Hellenistic period, although most of the evidence dates to after 300 BCE. A tomb from Agios Athanasios shows a group of men with varied military equipment: four with only spears, two with shields and helmets, one with a shield and a spear, and two more leaning on spears with shields shown above them as decorative elements.<sup>257</sup> A tomb from Finikas shows two figures, one with a helmet and cuirass and another with a spear and shield.<sup>258</sup> Finally, the Tomb of Judgment from Mieza shows a warrior with a spear, a sword, and a cuirass.<sup>259</sup> In sum, the military sets depicted during the early Hellenistic period mostly seem quite light, although Edward M. Anson has noted that the shields depicted on the tomb from Agios Athanasios are of the type associated with heavy hoplite armor, thus representing the heavier version of pezhetairoi armor.<sup>260</sup>

The physical weapons and pieces of armor found in graves include spears, swords, shields, helmets, greaves, arrows, and breastplates. (Knives are not included here because while there seems to be an association between them and weapons (out of the 182 graves with knives,

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<sup>257</sup> Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 208.

<sup>258</sup> Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 206.

<sup>259</sup> Romiopoulou 1997, 26–28.

<sup>260</sup> Edward Anson (2010) has also reported a similar shield painted on the Tomb of Judgment at Mieza, but the author was unable to verify its presence. Based on Anson's discussion, the shields could have belonged to either *asthetairoi* or *hypaspists*. Despite looting, traces of armor and weapons were found from both the Agios Athanasios tomb and the Tomb of Judgment. In both instances, the sets were more extensive than the ones shown in the painted imagery, featuring more protective armor.

119 also contained weapons), other uses cannot be excluded. Furthermore, unlike weapons, knives have been found from about 13% of female graves, while among males their prevalence is 29%, indicating they were used differently from weapons proper and that women had ready access to them.) Weapons seem to have been, with perhaps the one exception of Tomb II at Vergina, exclusively for males.

Of all the graves in the database, 73% included no weapons or armor, while the corresponding figure for known male burials was 61%. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say how much of this might be due to looting; although all the definitely unlooted male graves included weapons, these graves are only three in number – all the others were either looted, or it is unknown whether they were looted or not. Of all definitely unlooted graves without regard to sex (N=45), 44% included weapons or armor. (Somewhat astonishingly, no graves from Pella yielded any military equipment, but this might be because nearly all of them were found disturbed or looted.) Publication bias is also a factor: at Mieza and Asomata, where both wealthy and poor graves were published, only 16% and 7% of graves included military equipment. Edessa was similarly systematically published, and yielded weapons or armor from 25% of graves. For Arkhontiko, the figure is a very high 59%; here one assumes publication bias plays a large role because of the emphasis on the wealthiest burials, which typically contained weapons. It is therefore exceedingly difficult to estimate how prevalent military equipment would have been overall, but it seems to have been fairly common among males and certainly not limited to a small elite class.

Spears were the *sine qua non* of the military assemblage, and they are quite often the only piece of weaponry found in a grave (Table 4.4). About a quarter (243) of all graves included one or more spears or javelins, with 155 containing two or more; 131 or almost half of the graves

with weapons included only spears but no other military equipment. Whether an accurate reflection of lived practice or not, most men received burials as either weaponless or as spearmen.

| <b>Weapon</b> | <b>Count (out of 990) / prevalence</b> |
|---------------|--|
| Spear/javelin | 243 / 25%                              |
| Sword         | 114 / 12%                              |
| Helmet        | 62 / 6%                                |
| Shield        | 18 / 2%                                |
| Breastplate   | 15 / 2%                                |
| Arrow         | 9 / 1%                                 |
| Greaves       | 7 / 1%                                 |

Table 4.4. Prevalence of weapons by type.

| <b>Sets of weapons</b>                    | <b>Count (out of 990)</b> |
|---|---------------------------|
| Spear                                     | 131                       |
| Spear, sword                              | 39                        |
| Helmet, spear, sword                      | 39                        |
| Breastplate, helmet, shield, spear, sword | 5                         |
| Sword                                     | 7                         |
| Helmet, shield, spear, sword              | 4                         |
| Helmet                                    | 3                         |
| Arrows, spear                             | 3                         |

Table 4.5. Most common sets of weapons, as counts out of 990.

Swords are also found relatively commonly, with 114 graves containing 137 of them, but they are only rarely (in 10 cases) the sole piece of military equipment. Arrows included in the database come from only nine graves but, interestingly, in most cases from small assemblages with just one or two additional pieces of weaponry, typically a spear. Helmets have been excavated from 62 burials, typically accompanied by three or more other pieces of equipment. Shields have been found in 18 graves, most of which also contain five or more pieces of military equipment in addition. Clearly, a shield made of non-perishable materials was not part of the core set of armor for most, or it was too precious to get placed in a burial. Breastplates are

known from 15 graves, again usually with five or more additional pieces of military equipment. Greaves are the rarest item, found in only seven graves, almost all of them Hellenistic in date.

In sum, especially spears and to some degree arrows seem like the humbler parts of a military get-up, with swords and metal helmets more rarely included in burials. Protective armor such as shields, cuirasses, helmets, and greaves could often have been made of perishable materials, with only the wealthiest getting metal versions of them; as discussed below, however, the rarity of these items even from wealthy graves with good preservation suggests that here, absence of evidence might be evidence of absence. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to help determine whether this is because the armor became an heirloom, it was recycled, or because it was rare to begin with.

#### **4.4.3 Sets of weapons: Archaic Arkhontiko**

As seen above, while a spear or two formed the mainstay of the military suite, sets of weapons were not uncommon. Looking at these sets is important when trying to reconstruct possible classes of warrior such as those implied by Homer or discussed by later authors; it is similarly important to try to quantify them to move away from the tendency to discuss either individual examples or generalized models. Sets of weapons have been studied and described most extensively at Arkhontiko, and the Archaic phase of the site here functions as a case-study. The case-study was largely inspired by a curiosity to see whether the categories and labels placed on warriors in publications could be replicated using the published data; the discussion below shows mixed results, again showing how Macedonian sets of armor seem much more varied and *ad hoc* than any typologies we impose upon them.

The excavators of Arkhontiko, Anastasia and Pavlos Chrysostomou, have identified four

classes of Archaic warrior characterized by different aggregate sets of military equipment as well as differences in other grave goods. The first class of burials features spear(s), a knife, and some other (unspecified) grave goods; for the second class, the knife is replaced by a sword, and jewelry as well as clay and bronze vessels are added. The third and fourth classes both include spears, a sword, a helmet, a gold *epistomio* (a thin sheet covering the mouth), and clay and bronze vessels, but the fourth class is distinguished by a gold-decorated helmet and more grave goods.<sup>261</sup>

Unfortunately, not all graves have been yet published, nor is it clear exactly how many graves fit into each category. Table 4.6 lists three different published subsets with known categories, none of them covering all of the graves excavated. Based on three years of excavation data (out of a total of 11), the excavators calculated the breakdown as follows: 35% belonging to the first category, 44% to the second, 17% to the third, and 2% to the fourth.<sup>262</sup>

|            | Three years' total<br>( <i>Ancient Macedonia</i> 7) | Annual reports with<br>breakdowns | Goods associated with each<br>category         |
|------------|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| Category 1 | 35%   | 24%                               | Spear, knife, other goods                      |
| Category 2 | 44%   | 34%                               | Spear, sword, jewelry, metal vessels           |
| Category 3 | 17%   | 32%                               | Spear, sword, helmet, epistomio, metal vessels |
| Category 4 | 2%  | 9%                                | Spear, sword, helmet, epistomio, metal vessels |

Table 4.6. Archaic Arkhontiko warrior burials by category, based on different publications.

Looking at the subset of annual reports which do list a breakdown without providing details of each grave that would allow the reader to confirm the classification, the percentages

<sup>261</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 493.

<sup>262</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *Ancient Macedonia* 7, 118.



are more even: 24%, 34%, 32%, and 9%.<sup>263</sup> It is similarly unclear how large a proportion of all burials the warriors form, as in some years all excavated graves that were deemed “male” (based on the gendering of grave goods rather than osteological analysis) seem to have been warrior graves but in others they formed fewer than half of the total. What can be said with certainty is that warriors falling into the four categories laid out by the excavators number at least 100, which is 21% out of all Archaic burials regardless of sex (N=474). (Of the 474, 223 were classified “male” based on grave goods.) This is a high number as it translates to about half of all male burials being warrior graves, but it is in keeping with the overall diachronic picture discussed above.

Of the 474 Archaic graves excavated, 153 have been published in enough detail to be included in the database, and an analysis of them partly supports the categories laid out by the excavators. The distribution of the categories, however, is quite different, presumably because of a strong preference for publishing the wealthiest graves in detail. Fifty-six, i.e., 37% of the Arkhontiko graves included in the database contained no weapons or armor; this figure drops to 29% if knives are counted (Table 4.7). Only eight or 5% of the graves included just one piece of military equipment, typically a spear. In other words, 58% of the graves had a set of military equipment in them – an impressive figure. Furthermore, about a fifth of the graves included three items, and another fifth included four items, meaning that almost half of the graves included more than two pieces. When looking at only the subset of graves with weapons, by far the most common (published) combination was the triad of helmet, spear, and sword (37% of Archaic Arkhontiko graves with weapons); this corresponds to the excavators’ categories 3 and 4. Spears

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<sup>263</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *AEMTh* 14–24.

and swords (category 2) were found as a set 28% of the time, spear(s) and a knife (category 1) in only 7% of the graves with weapons, and a lone spear was found in 8% of the cases. Other combinations were marginal and include a breastplate and/or a shield in addition to the three most common items. Table 4.7 summarizes the weapons sets and illustrates two points: First, weapons sets were common, and even extensive sets were not limited to a handful of people. Secondly, publication bias is particularly acute with category 1 graves, with the database including only 7% of these while the excavators estimate their prevalence as 24–35%.

| Weapons                  | Prevalence (out of subset with weapons, N=97) | Correspondence to Chrysostomou category | Prevalence of categories as stated in publications |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| Helmet, spear, and sword | 37%   | 3 and 4                                 | 19–41%   |
| Spear and sword          | 28%   | 2                                       | 34–44%   |
| Spear and knife          | 7%  | 1                                       | 24–35%   |
| Spear                    | 8%  | N/A                                     | N/A  |

Table 4.7. Summary of weapons sets from Archaic Arkhontiko.

The above Table 4.7 does not distinguish between categories 3 and 4. This is, indeed, more difficult to do than identifying category 1 and 2 burials. Some published helmets are decorated with gold, but it is difficult to justify how these burials are different from burials lacking the helmet decoration but including gold sheets decorating clothing and covering the body. In light of this, two other avenues were attempted to see if the data clustered into clear groups. First, the distribution of bronze vessels was looked at. It is difficult to see a bimodal distribution, certainly not with a cut-off point that would isolate eight category 4 burials from the rest. Another attempt to replicate the categories was done by plotting the count of pieces of military equipment against the count of bronze vessels. The results were mixed: there is a moderate positive correlation between the two (Pearson's  $r=0.460$  for only the graves with

weapons, and 0.246 for all of Archaic Arkhontiko<sup>264</sup>), but the categories produced do not map onto the ones laid out by the excavators. Graves with six pieces of military equipment stand out because of consistently high numbers of bronze vessels, while those with four or five pieces of equipment show more variance. The group of graves with six pieces of military equipment itself includes four out of the seven graves listed under category 4 (T131, T145, T279, T692) and includes one classified as category 3 by the excavators (T194).<sup>265</sup>

At Archaic Arkhontiko, then, it is possible to see three (perhaps four) categories of warrior, one characterized by a spear (and a knife), another by a spear and a sword, and finally one with a helmet added to the mix.<sup>266</sup> The distribution between categories, however, is quite clearly influenced by publication bias. More importantly, the graves with helmets are very varied and dividing them into two neat groups is impossible, even when using the excavators' own criteria. This does not mean such schemas are not useful, but it should serve as one more warning that Macedonian sets of grave goods are highly varied and point toward great flexibility in mortuary behavior that seems to defy our desire for clear-cut classification. Finally, whether the wealthiest warriors at Arkhontiko fought with individualistic distinction or not, they certainly coexisted with spearmen and soldiers with more humble sets of spears and swords; as discussed in the next section, the prevalence of these spearmen was to increase over time.

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<sup>264</sup> Pearson's *r* measures the strength of a linear correlation, ranging from -1 (total negative correlation) to 1 (total positive correlation).

<sup>265</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 493–497.

<sup>266</sup> Some knives could be quite large, and thus telling them apart from swords is not a given. In the absence of systematic measurements, the classification used by the excavators was used. This division is vindicated by the fact (discussed above) that knives, unlike swords, do not have a clear association with male burials.

#### 4.4.4 Diachronic change

|             | Archaic | Classical | Hellenistic |
|-------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Arrow       | 2%      | 1%        | 1%          |
| Breastplate | 2%      | 1%        | 2%          |
| Greaves     | 0%      | 1%        | 2%          |
| Helmet      | 17%     | 2%        | 1%          |
| Shield      | 3%      | 1%        | 1%          |
| Spear       | 41%     | 20%       | 18%         |
| Sword       | 28%     | 4%        | 3%          |

Table 4.8. Prevalence of military equipment across all the sites by period.

It is important to take a quick look at diachronic change, because the military wealth of Arkhontiko described above was not to last. Of the Archaic graves at the site, over 63% contained weapons. For the Classical period, the numbers drop to 48%, and in the Hellenistic to 30%. This is an extreme case of a general tendency: looking at all cemeteries except Arkhontiko, the prevalence of military equipment drops from 27% (Archaic) to 20% (Classical), but it remains almost constant between the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. This drop is seen across most categories of equipment but more strongly with some (Table 4.8). These observations can be used as a starting point for looking into diachronic change in how the deceased were represented – and perhaps how they fought.<sup>267</sup>

The changes are clearest with the most common types of military paraphernalia. Spears are less than half as common in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but the changes are even more drastic with helmets and swords: the prevalence of swords is literally decimated from the

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<sup>267</sup> The identification of usable versus ceremonial military equipment is a vexing one, with important implications for studies wishing to make the leap from military equipment in burials to fighting practices. Publications in almost no cases make it clear whether the weaponry excavated seems like it had been in use during life. In rare cases, we know a piece of armor was an heirloom. In other cases, such as with the delicate gold-sheet decoration on the Arkhontiko helmets, we can assume the gold sheets were either not worn in battle or had at least been replaced after.

Archaic to the Hellenistic, while helmets go from about one in six graves to one in a hundred. Proportionately, then, the later periods were characterized by more and more spearmen and fewer and fewer warriors with anything even resembling a full hoplite armor.

Protective armor apart from helmets was very rare throughout the period of study, in sharp contrast to the iconographic and historical sources discussed above, which still describe even phalanx soldiers as having quite substantive sets of armor. A few different explanations are possible. An overall tendency towards lighter and more minimalist armor has been noted by scholars in a Greek context.<sup>268</sup> The cuirass was the most expensive part of armor, so it is quite likely they were often passed down from one person to the next.<sup>269</sup> Greaves and shields – as well as body armor – could have been made of organic materials, although one would still expect reports of metal reinforcements and decorations (as are often noted for very wealthy graves, where shields are identified by exactly these details even when the bulk of them has rotted away), or, for greaves, of some traces of leather (as traces of wooden elements and fabric are reported by excavators with some regularity, leather should similarly occasionally preserve). Finally, the rise of the phalanx with its sarissae (which were lumped together with spears in the database since the two types are rarely distinguished in publications) might explain the prevalence of spears/sarissae; perhaps an increased reliance on tightly-packed phalanx lines reduced the importance of protective armor despite some of our sources claiming otherwise.

In sum, as time went by, fewer men were buried with military paraphernalia, and they were buried with poorer sets. Spears came to dominate over assemblages closer to a hoplite set, although care should be taken not to try and fit the assemblages into historical categories,

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<sup>268</sup> Hunt 2007, 115.

<sup>269</sup> Hunt 2007, 113.

especially given how even textual sources indicate there was much variation among “hoplites” or “pezhetairoi.” The broader implications are difficult to pin down. The overall historical narrative would suggest an increased importance and spread of military identity, as vast armies were needed to fight the battles of Philip II and Alexander the Great. It is puzzling why this is not reflected in the mortuary record, although the recycling of weapons mentioned above might be part of the explanation. Even so, if a military identity was crucial to the deceased and to the community, one would expect this to be reflected in the mortuary record; indeed, the next section shows how even Hellenistic elites rarely chose to be buried with full sets of armor, making it clear this was not simply a question of affording to take armor out of circulation. Paradoxically, while armies grew, military identity was emphasized less and less. It is interesting to note that around the same time, there was a shift in Athens toward “civilian” and individual identities;<sup>270</sup> Macedon might have seen a similar shift.

#### **4.4.5 Hellenistic elite warriors**

As a conclusion to this section, our attention now turns to Late Classical and Early Hellenistic burials to see how much changed among the wealthiest between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods and also to circle back to the categories discussed in literary sources. Two indicators are used to identify such wealthy graves: a wealth index based on cost estimates for each type of grave good<sup>271</sup> and horse tack (given that Macedonian elite troops were, according to literary sources, cavalry).

As mentioned, the literary sources make a division into hetairoi or cavalry, and

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<sup>270</sup> Houby-Nielsen 1996.

<sup>271</sup> This wealth index is discussed in detail in Chapter 7; in brief, cost estimates were assigned based on inscriptional evidence for metals and ceramic vessels, while other categories such as terracottas were estimated based on these.

pezhetairoi or infantry. The cavalry formed the elite troops, and one would expect them to be buried more lavishly than the other soldiers. No chariots have been found in the graves, and horse tack is a rare occurrence limited to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, with the exception of one burial from Pydna (Makriyalos) dated to 425–401. Seven graves, or fewer than 1%, have yielded items associated with horsemanship. The horse tack comes mostly from wealthy burials from Pella, Pydna, Vergina, and Derveni, but there is one Late Classical example from Agios Markos at Mavropigi, an Upper Macedonian area typically poorer than sites further east; indeed, this one example yielded only one spear, a strigil, and some pottery in addition to the tack, although it is not specified whether the grave was found unlooted.<sup>272</sup> Most of the graves with horse tack, however, also contained a plenitude of other armor, and all of them contained some weapons. In other words, while individuals whose identities were constructed as horsemen were few and far between, they all seem to have been cavalrymen, they were almost all wealthy, and they were a phenomenon of the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period with the exception of Pydna, which is often different from the rest of Macedon (perhaps because of its proximity to and connections with southern Greece).

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<sup>272</sup> T18, published by Karamitrou-Mentessidi in *AEAM* 1, 292–293.

| Grave                   | Arrow | Helmet | Shield | Spear | Sword | Cuirass | Greaves | Horse tack | Looted  |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|---------|---------|------------|---------|
| Agios Athanasios T1     |       |        |        | 4     |       |         |         | X          | No      |
| Agios Athanasios 4      |       | 1      | 1      | 2     |       | 1       | 2       |            | Yes     |
| Derveni A               |       |        | 1      | 4     | 15    | 1       | 2       | X          | No      |
| Derveni B               |       |        | 1      | 3     | 1     | 1       | 2       | X          | No      |
| Derveni D               |       |        |        | 4     |       |         |         |            | No      |
| Edessa T9               |       | 1      |        | 3     | 1     |         |         |            | Unknown |
| Koukko at Pydna T5      | 3     |        |        | 3     | 1     |         |         |            | Unknown |
| Mieza T33               |       |        |        | 4     |       |         |         |            | Yes     |
| Mieza Tomb of Judgement |       |        | 1      | 3     |       | 1       |         |            | Yes     |
| Sevasti at Pydna T2     |       |        |        | 5     |       |         |         |            | Unknown |
| Vergina/Tomb II         | 74    | 1      | 3      | 13    | 4     | 6       | 8       |            | No      |
| Vergina/Tomb III        |       |        |        | 4     |       | 1       | 2       |            | No      |

Table 4.9. Counts of weapons from Classical and Hellenistic graves that are among the top-25% wealthiest graves and which contained more than three items of military equipment. The presence of horse tack is marked with “X,” since it is usually impossible to quantify exactly how many or which elements were present.

As seen above, most Classical and Hellenistic graves included assemblages that were humble in terms of military equipment. Using a wealth index, discussed at length in Chapter 7, we can look at the prevalence of weapons as it relates to overall wealth. Out of the wealthiest classes (constituting about 17% of all Classical and Hellenistic graves), only 22% included any weapons and only 7% included more than three items of military equipment. In other words, during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, even the wealthiest graves rarely contained extensive sets of military equipment and, indeed, included weapons less often than poorer graves did. (The overall prevalence of military equipment was 48% among Classical and 30% among Hellenistic graves.) Looting could, of course, play a part, but it seems unlikely only the military



equipment would be looted while leaving metal vessels and jewelry alone.<sup>273</sup>

The graves with extensive military equipment are focused on a handful of sites: Vergina, Derveni, Pydna, and Agios Athanasios, with one additional grave from Edessa (Table 4.9). Even here, however, the assemblages are surprisingly homogenous. Helmets were only found in three out of 12 graves. Shields and swords were placed in five of the graves each. Even the Derveni graves, which otherwise contained the most extensive sets of military gear, lacked helmets. Spears, on the other hand, were universal, often in large numbers. There is some variation, however: spear-and-sword sets come from Edessa and Pydna, larger sets with protective armor from Agios Athanasios and Derveni, while Tomb II at Vergina is exceptional in its broad range of military paraphernalia. Horse tack is not linked to only the largest assemblages, as Agios Athanasios T1 contained relatively modest assemblages and Mavropigi as well as Pydna have yielded a grave each with horse tack in an otherwise modest context. It seems, curiously, that even wealthy burials conformed to the general tendency towards “spearmen,” without much emphasis on protective armor and often even without swords. This is, of course, in contrast with literary sources that suggest that even as the phalanx was introduced, elite troops continued to fight on horseback outside the phalanges.

#### **4.4.6 Discussion: military equipment**

Based on military equipment found in burials, it seems safe to say that the Homeric warrior, while perhaps a literary ideal, was not the reality among either the middling or the wealthy classes – at least not one manifested through mortuary practice. Military activity and

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<sup>273</sup> Of all Classical and Hellenistic graves with weapons, 22% included metal vessels while 42% included jewelry. These figures are similar to the overall prevalence of jewelry and metal vessels, indicating the presence or absence of military equipment is not associated with the presence or absence of jewelry or metal vessels.

being a man went hand in hand in Macedon, as evidenced by weapons being an exclusively male purview, but not all men received weapons to accompany them to the afterlife. The Archaic period was characterized by very varied sets, defying our attempts at neat categorization and perhaps speaking of flexible ideas about what a warrior should look like. Even during the Archaic period, spearmen formed the majority of burials with weapons. During the Classical and Hellenistic periods, however, warrior identity (as manifested in burials) seemed to fall by the wayside, paradoxically even as more and more men would have been recruited to battles. Furthermore, the artifact assemblages associated with warfare shrank and became more monotonous. Even elite burials show few signs of the fabled *hetairoi* (cavalry) and instead project a similar image of the humble spearman – indeed, a spearman with little of the armor described by historical or iconographical sources.

Several things might explain the scarcity of rich military assemblages and the changes over time. Metal weapons were expensive and durable, so even men who could afford them in life might not be buried with them. This does not entirely explain the diachronic changes or the lack of full military suites from the wealthiest burials. The diachronic changes might reflect actual tendencies toward lighter armor as large Late Classical and Early Hellenistic armies were formed. The question of who provided the weapons is also worth asking, even if the evidence is limited. As armies became increasingly professionalized, leaders and rulers sometimes provided military equipment. Both Diodorus and Polyaeus mention Alexander providing armor but do not mention what became of it at the end of each soldier's service;<sup>274</sup> perhaps it was collected back. This still leaves the question of the very wealthy, who surely could have afforded their own

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<sup>274</sup> Diod. Sic. 17.95; Polyaeus. 4.3.11.

armor and to be buried with it. Here, it seems a choice was made not to include the kind of dizzying array of weapons one sees with Tomb II at Vergina (which is the exception), but the reasons can only be speculated about. Perhaps mobility was valued over protection. Perhaps showier pieces existed but were passed along as heirlooms: Panagiotis Faklaris has dated the greaves from Tomb II to an earlier period than the rest of the military equipment in the tomb, suggesting such items could at least sometimes remain in circulation for periods of time.<sup>275</sup>

The trends, however, are so pervasive and consistent across graves rich and poor, that one wonders if they might not reflect a shift in values. If so, they are similar to changes observed in Athens by Sanne Houby-Nielsen.<sup>276</sup> The next section, focusing on drinking and feasting, continues this comparison between Macedon, Homer, and Athens.

#### **4.5 Vessels for drinking and feasting**

When they were not fighting, Homer's warriors were drinking. Drinking and feasting were some of the core features of "Homeric" society – take, for example, the famed Nestor's cup.<sup>277</sup> Later on, in Archaic and Classical Athens, symposia were central to the functioning of society as locations for discussing politics and culture, as well as for creating and maintaining social groups. Macedonians were similarly fond of drinking, but in both antiquity and modern scholarship, there has been much ambivalence and disagreement over whether their drinking habits constitute one more Homeric element, symposia, or something uniquely Macedonian – whether admirable or, more often, degenerate. This section looks at drinking and eating among Macedonian men using models based on literary sources and the distributions of ceramic and

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<sup>275</sup> Faklaris 1994b, 113. Unfortunately, he does not specify how much earlier the greaves are in date.

<sup>276</sup> Houby-Nielsen 1996.

<sup>277</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.632–637.

metal vessels. As argued below, drinking played an important role in the world of the dead but Macedonian men were less dipsomaniacal (at least in death) than sometimes proposed – and certainly more pious.

#### 4.5.1 Macedonian drinking in literary sources and scholarship

As with warfare, scholars' comparisons between Homeric and Macedonian imbibing seem generic: drinking culture is just one part of a set of Homeric traits manifest in Macedonian culture, regardless of the exact specifics. Comparisons between Macedonian drinking and Greek symposia can and have been made in more detail. A wall-painting from Agios Athanasios, dated to the early Hellenistic period, shows a scene very much like a Greek symposium. Banqueters recline behind tables bearing snacks, some of them holding cups and one a *rhyton*, while women entertain them with music.<sup>278</sup> Looking at just one literary example shows the differences as well as similarities between Macedonian and Greek symposia. Plutarch tells the tragic incident leading to Alexander the Great killing Cleitus the Black.<sup>279</sup> The setting is a banquet attended by Macedonians, Greeks, and “barbarians” (βάρβαροι). Songs mocking the Macedonian generals' military failings inspire an exchange about politics and ideology. Cleitus is incensed over the mockery, perceived slights against Macedonians, and favoritism towards Persians, while Alexander feels threatened by Cleitus's criticism and is contemptuous of behavior he compares to that of “wild beasts” (θηρία). The subversive songs, ideological discussion, and drinking are well in keeping with typical Greek symposia, as is the group of people in attendance: military elites, one assumes, based on Cleitus's presence as well as the special mention of how

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<sup>278</sup> Tsimbidou-Avlotini 2005, 208.

<sup>279</sup> Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 50–51.

inappropriate and aggravating the songs about the generals were – presumably because at least some of the generals were in the audience themselves. What is not typical (of idealized Greek symposia<sup>280</sup>) is how excessive drinking leads to excessive violence: after Cleitus airs his grievances using iambs, Alexander runs a spear through him. This tragic ending fits well with critiques against Macedonians for their excessive drinking and, occasionally, drinking their wine unmixed.<sup>281</sup>

Modern scholars have questioned the accuracy of these literary sources, working from both the textual and archaeological evidence. Looking mainly at literary sources, Frances Pownall has built a case arguing that such anecdotes, even if based on real drunken revelry, were malicious misinterpretations by Greek authors.<sup>282</sup> She argues that the anecdote about Alexander the Great dying after drinking a huge cup of wine is meaningful for two reasons: it shows that such extravagance was out of the ordinary for Macedonians and that Alexander used the cup as a conscious reference to Nestor or Homeric customs in general.<sup>283</sup> Instead of excess, she emphasizes the importance of Macedonian symposia as rites of passage, with the young wine-pourers being integrated into society and with a careful distinction between those reclining and those sitting up because they had yet to hunt a boar without the use of a net.<sup>284</sup> Elizabeth Carney has argued along similar lines that Macedonian symposia were purposefully different from southern Greek ones and served to equalize the king and his men.<sup>285</sup> Working from the archaeological evidence, Angeliki Kottaridi has pushed against the idea that a scarcity of kraters

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<sup>280</sup> Eubulus, quoted by Athenaeus (2.36), discusses how drinking can end in madness and violence, but this is hardly presented as the norm nor a desired outcome.

<sup>281</sup> Dem. 2.18.

<sup>282</sup> Pownall 2010, 63–65.

<sup>283</sup> The size of the cup is mentioned in Ath. 10.434, referencing Ephippus. (See also *FGrH* 126 F3.)

<sup>284</sup> Pownall 2010, 63. For the right to recline at a symposium, see Ath. 1.18a.

<sup>285</sup> Carney 2007.

means Macedonians drank their wine unmixed, arguing that Macedonians would mostly have mixed their wine in small *situlae* instead of kraters.<sup>286</sup> Rooms for dining – *andrones* to use the usual term – have been found at Vergina and Pella, attesting to areas that were probably specifically designed for male dining and drinking.<sup>287</sup>

In sum, there are multiple competing versions and interpretations of the Macedonians' drinking habits, with some seeing them as Homeric, others as similar to southern Greece, and still others as unique to Macedon. Modern historians also tend to disagree with the ancient sources, seeing them as often willful misinterpretations of Macedonian customs. Primary evidence from Macedon can serve as another valuable angle from which to tackle the question. Below, both ceramic and metal vessels from graves are studied to see if an emphasis on drinking culture is justified by the material record and also to try and reconstruct Macedonian drinking and feasting in the afterlife.

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<sup>286</sup> Kottaridi 2004b, 71.

<sup>287</sup> Girtzi-Bafas 2009.

## 4.5.2 Ceramic vessels

| Shape                      | Biological men (N=44) | Masculine-type graves (N=266) | Biological women (N=38) | Feminine-type graves (N=163) | Biological children and adolescents (N=17) | Small graves (N=56) | Archaic (N=324) | Classical (N=605) | Hellenistic (N=287) | Overall (N=990) |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Metal <sup>288</sup>       | 25                    | 38                            | 16                      | 30                           | 29   | 5                   | 37              | 15                | 19                  | 22              |
| Drinking                   | 5                     | 3                             | 0                       | 6                            | 6  | 0                   | 1               | 3                 | 4                   | 3               |
| Toiletry                   | 7                     | 3                             | 0                       | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 6                   | 2               |
| Pouring liquids            | 9                     | 10                            | 3                       | 6                            | 12   | 0                   | 7               | 4                 | 5                   | 5               |
| Serving and cooking        | 14                    | 21                            | 0                       | 20                           | 18   | 2                   | 22              | 5                 | 5                   | 10              |
| Ritual                     | 16                    | 23                            | 16                      | 23                           | 12   | 2                   | 27              | 4                 | 4                   | 12              |
| <b>Drinking</b>            | <b>54</b>             | <b>65</b>                     | 34                      | 53                           | 59   | 16                  | 65              | 42                | 34                  | 46              |
| Krater                     | 5                     | 12                            | 0                       | 2                            | 6  | 2                   | 8               | 3                 | 2                   | 4               |
| Kantharos                  | 7                     | 5                             | 0                       | 3                            | 12   | 2                   | 2               | 5                 | 9                   | 4               |
| Skyphos                    | 14                    | 26                            | 24                      | 25                           | 24   | 7                   | 15              | 28                | 22                  | 22              |
| Kotyle                     | 0                     | 7                             | 3                       | 6                            | 0  | 2                   | 10              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 3               |
| Kylix                      | 23                    | 24                            | 5                       | 18                           | 12   | 2                   | 33              | 6                 | 4                   | 14              |
| Kantharoid cup local       | 11                    | 6                             | 3                       | 7                            | 6  | 2                   | 13              | 2                 | 0                   | 5               |
| <b>Toiletry</b>            | <b>34</b>             | <b>32</b>                     | 37                      | 41                           | 53   | 23                  | 27              | 37                | 38                  | 32              |
| Pyxis                      | 2                     | 1                             | 8                       | 6                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 5                   | 3               |
| Unguentarium               | 9                     | 2                             | 8                       | 8                            | 0  | 5                   | 0               | 8                 | 18                  | 6               |
| Aryballos                  | 5                     | 13                            | 0                       | 10                           | 6  | 2                   | 21              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 7               |
| Lekythos                   | 11                    | 11                            | 24                      | 16                           | 25   | 16                  | 5               | 23                | 15                  | 15              |
| Alabastra                  | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 4                   | 2               |
| Askos                      | 5                     | 5                             | 0                       | 4                            | 0  | 0                   | 0               | 5                 | 5                   | 3               |
| <b>Pouring liquids</b>     | <b>23</b>             | <b>36</b>                     | 21                      | 24                           | 29   | 14                  | 36              | 23                | 24                  | 24              |
| Oinochoe                   | 14                    | 9                             | 5                       | 9                            | 18   | 5                   | 9               | 8                 | 10                  | 8               |
| Olpe                       | 0                     | 1                             | 8                       | 3                            | 0  | 4                   | 2               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |
| Cutaway prochous           | 5                     | 19                            | 3                       | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 17              | 4                 | 1                   | 8               |
| Prochous                   | 2                     | 4                             | 0                       | 2                            | 0  | 2                   | 4               | 3                 | 4                   | 3               |
| Pelike                     | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 4                            | 0  | 2                   | 0               | 5                 | 7                   | 3               |
| Hydria                     | 0                     | 2                             | 0                       | 5                            | 0  | 2                   | 4               | 3                 | 3                   | 3               |
| <b>Serving and cooking</b> | <b>11</b>             | <b>10</b>                     | 8                       | 8                            | 6  | 7                   | 8               | 6                 | 9                   | 7               |
| Plate                      | 2                     | 3                             | 3                       | 3                            | 0  | 0                   | 0               | 3                 | 6                   | 2               |
| Salt cellar                | 2                     | 2                             | 0                       | 2                            | 0  | 4                   | 0               | 2                 | 2                   | 1               |
| Lebes                      | 2                     | 5                             | 3                       | 1                            | 6  | 2                   | 6               | (0.3)             | 0                   | 2               |
| Lekane                     | 5                     | 1                             | 3                       | 3                            | 0  | 2                   | 2               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |
| <b>Amphorae</b>            | <b>7</b>              | <b>7</b>                      | 3                       | 10                           | 6  | 2                   | 5               | 5                 | 8                   | 5               |
| <b>Ritual</b>              | <b>43</b>             | <b>47</b>                     | 34                      | 41                           | 35   | 16                  | 43              | 32                | 40                  | 34              |
| Exaleiptron                | 18                    | 29                            | 16                      | 23                           | 18   | 4                   | 39              | 7                 | 2                   | 16              |
| Phiale                     | 25                    | 19                            | 18                      | 20                           | 24   | 13                  | 5               | 25                | 39                  | 19              |
| <b>Miniature vessels</b>   | <b>2</b>              | <b>2</b>                      | 5                       | 1                            | 6  | 4                   | 3               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |

Table 4.10. Prevalence of vessel shapes as percentage of graves which contained each given shape. The rows with bolded headings list the total for a functional category, consisting of the vessel types listed below it. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, with the exception of figures less than 0.5%, shown in parentheses.

Masculine-type graves contained weapons, feminine-type graves included bracelets, earrings, or pendants, and small

<sup>288</sup> The overall percentage of graves with metal is sometimes larger than the sum total of the subcategories, because certain rare shapes such as basins were counted under metal vessels but not recorded as part of any of the subcategories.

graves measured under 1.31 m. The columns by period include all graves dated to a specific period, regardless of age or sex.

Table 4.10 lists how many percent of graves of a certain category contained a given type of metal and ceramic vessel. A few notes are necessary here, especially since the table makes a reappearance in Chapters 5 and 6. The table includes all graves, looted or unlooted. To see how much bias looting might introduce, the same analysis was run with the graves known to be looted removed. (The analysis, however, still included graves where the authors do not mention looting one way or another; this was done partly on the assumption that silence often implies there was no evidence for looting, and partly because the number of graves specifically noted to be unlooted is very small.) The results were largely similar, especially in relative terms. As such, Table 4.10 is used for most analyses but with comments here and there based on the not-definitely-looted subset (including all graves that are not specifically mentioned to have been looted). Secondly, since osteological information is available so rarely, proxies were used to create gendered categories as well as sexed ones. Given how weapons seem to (almost) always correspond to male graves, both the “biological men” and “graves with weapons” columns can be taken to represent men. (Similarly, “graves with pendants, earrings, or bracelets” stands for women, and “graves less than 1.31 m long” stands for subadults; see Chapters 5 and 6.)

As a baseline, men received more of almost every kind of ceramic vessel than women did, with miniature vessels and vessels for oils, perfumes, and ointments (such as *lekythoi* and *alabastra*) forming the only exceptions. Overall, men were slightly more likely to be buried with ceramic vessels (84%) than women (79%), although this difference is not statistically significant at the 0.05 level ( $p=0.219$ ); men did, however, receive more vessels on average. More specifically, the evidence of the ceramics points toward drinking rather than eating being



emphasized in death. The mortuary assemblages are dominated by vessels associated with ritual and drinking, while serving, cooking, and storage vessels are relatively scarce, and vessels for pouring liquids and for unguents fall somewhere in the middle. This pattern mostly holds true from the Archaic to the Hellenistic, with the exception of the proliferation of vessels for unguents (mainly *lekythoi* and *unguentaria*) after the Archaic period.

Of pouring vessels, *oinochoai* and *prochoes* were the most popular. Of the *prochoes*, the locally-produced version with a cutaway spout was distinctly an Archaic phenomenon, while the *oinochoe* remained consistently popular. Vessels associated with the consumption of wine, including *kraters* (in contrast with other pouring vessels, which could have been used to pour liquids other than wine), stand out as the single most common type of ceramic included in male burials. (In the subset excluding looted burials, their prevalence reaches 74% in graves with weapons and 65% among male burials.) Except for the *skyphos* (and possibly *kotyle*), drinking vessels are strongly associated with males, with *kylikes* and *skyphoi* the most common shapes. The gendering of drinking vessels does not seem to have changed over time: *skyphoi* remained more common in female graves during all three periods. The popularity of shapes did shift: *kraters*, *kotylai*, *kylikes*, and especially the local “kantharoid cup” shape were most popular during the Archaic period. In keeping with trends in southern Greece, *kantharoi* gained popularity with time, while *skyphoi* peaked in the Classical period.

Typically, only one drinking vessel or one pouring vessel was placed in a given grave: fewer than 17% of all graves included two or more drinking vessels, while 2% contained two pouring vessels. (No graves have yielded more than two ceramic pouring vessels.) There is also remarkably little overlap between the functional categories, with only about 5% of graves containing a ceramic drinking vessel and a pouring vessel. Whether due to economic

considerations or not, the mortuary assemblages were mostly prepared for feasts of one and also imply that the vessels were meant as offerings for the grave rather than used in funerary ritual (where one would expect to see many vessels used by a group of people). (In a southern Greek context, an argument has been made that people would bring their own cups to symposia, and this might be reflected here as well.<sup>289</sup>)

Vessels for cooking or serving food are rarely found in burials and, with the exception of salt cellars, do not seem to have been strongly gendered. These vessels consist of plates, salt cellars, *lebetes*, and *lekanai* – in other words plates, small serving containers, and vessels used as cauldrons or cooking pots. *Lebetes* were mainly an Archaic phenomenon, while salt cellars and plates gained popularity in the Classical and especially the Hellenistic period. Overall, these trends are in keeping with Athenian ones, where Agora well deposits (presumably consisting mostly of domestic assemblages) have yielded very few plates and serving vessels in contrast to many cups.<sup>290</sup> Kathleen Lynch has argued plates were mostly used as votive objects in Athens, and Elizabeth Carney has stated, without citing her evidence, that Athenians used a table for a surface to place food on.<sup>291</sup> Carney has further noted plates were more common among Macedonians; even if this is true, in a mortuary context the emphasis was clearly on drinking, not feasting.

### 4.5.3 Metal vessels

The prevalence of metal vessels is no doubt partly a product of publication bias, but it is nonetheless remarkable. Of biological males, 25% received a metal vessel of some sort; after

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<sup>289</sup> Lynch 2015, 233.

<sup>290</sup> Lynch 2015.

<sup>291</sup> Carney 2007, 160.

removing looted graves, the figure goes up to 45%. For graves with weapons, the corresponding figures are 38% and 36%. Looking at subcategories reveals that both sexes were equally likely to receive a *phiale* as a grave good, but men were more likely to be buried with every other category of metal vessel. Men were also overall more likely to be buried with metal vessels, with a larger margin than is seen with ceramic vessels – indicative of overall wealth discrepancies between grave assemblages by sex (although as discussed in Chapter 7, jewelry, more commonly associated with females, could be extremely valuable). Bronze is the most commonly found metal, with lead, iron, and gold only marginally represented, and silver similarly limited to a fairly small subset (and mostly to the Hellenistic period; see Table 4.11). Most assemblages contained one or two vessels, but sets of 3–7 items were not uncommon.

|        | Archaic | Classical | Hellenistic |
|--------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Bronze | 37%     | 13%       | 14%         |
| Silver | 1%      | 2%        | 2%          |
| Gold   | 0%      | 0.2%      | 0.3%        |
| Iron   | 0.3%    | 0.3%      | 0.3%        |
| Lead   | 0.3%    | 2%        | 3%          |

Table 4.11. Prevalence of metal vessels by period, across all graves (regardless of sex or gender). All numbers rounded, except for those under 0.5%.

Metal vessels have a partly complementary distribution to ceramic vessels: drinking cups, the most frequently attested clay shapes, are the scarcest category among metal vessels. Of all graves sexed male or with weapons that contained a metal pouring vessel, 85% also included a drinking vessel either of metal or, more often, of clay. This does not hold true for the reverse, however, with most clay pouring vessels not accompanied by a metal cup nor clay cups by metal pouring vessels. In other words, a metal pouring vessel was the favored showpiece, while metal cups were not as popular even among those who could presumably afford one. Measured by ratios between the functional categories, serving vessels, mainly lebetes, lekanai, bowls, and

ladles, are much better represented in metal than in clay. They are also, curiously, exclusive to males within the osteologically studied subset but about equally distributed between feminine- and masculine-type graves (with feminine jewelry and weapons, respectively); this might be a product of the small size of the osteologically studied subset. Kraters were very rare and usually used as urns, but lebetes could possibly have functioned as mixing vessels as well as cauldrons.

Finally, many of the wealthy Archaic graves included obols, iron spits. These objects could function as spits for roasting meat and as such could have been associated with feasting, but they were also used as a form of currency, of course later giving their name to the monetary unit obol. They are found only in male or masculine-type graves, with the notable exception of Vergina's "Lady of Aegae," a wealthy female burial (see Chapter 5).

#### **4.5.4 Discussion: vessels**

The vessels from Macedonian mortuary assemblages for men revolve around drinking and libations. As at Athenian symposia, there was seemingly little concern for feeding the deceased beyond wine and other libation offerings – whether due to beliefs about the afterlife or in imitation of the symposia of the living.<sup>292</sup> Ceramic cups dominate the assemblages, along with exaleiptra and phialai, used for offerings, and lekythoi and unguentaria that could have been used for offerings, cosmetics, or serving oil (in the case of lekythoi). Symposiastic sets, however, were rare: most people had a cup, others had a pouring vessel, but few had both. This is in contrast to certain other shapes, mainly lekythoi, that are often found in large quantities. This is

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<sup>292</sup> The absence of ceramic plates does not, of course, exclude the presence of food in the graves; indeed, seeds from the pyre of Tomb II at Vergina (see Chapter 2) attest to food offerings. The scarcity of ceramic serving vessels across types, however, supports the idea of emphasis on activities other than eating. It is possible the graves contained vessels of wood or other organic materials; these have not been reported in publications.

particularly curious since cups are usually considered the *sine qua non* of symposia, and one wonders what the purpose of pouring vessels without a cup was. Metal pouring vessels were usually accompanied by a cup of some sort, but mostly clay ones. In an Athenian context, Kathleen Lynch has proposed that common sense would suggest people would be more likely to afford a metal cup than a larger metal vessel,<sup>293</sup> but in Macedon the preference seems to be toward metal “centerpieces,” whether pouring or serving vessels, with people seemingly happy with clay cups even in a luxurious setting. Perhaps this could be labeled conspicuous consumption, with people investing in one lavish piece rather than an entire set of cheaper wares. Finally, kraters were rare, but actually more common than in the Agora deposits studied by Lynch, especially during the Archaic period.<sup>294</sup> Lebetes were fairly common in metal, and they might have been used for mixing as well. In other words, while there is little incontrovertible evidence for the mixing of wine among the grave assemblages, one cannot show that Macedonians were any less likely to mix their wine with water than Athenians were.

#### **4.6 Body treatment**

Two more aspects of burials related to the Homeric model remain to be discussed: body treatment and evidence for athletics. Homer’s lavish funerals always include the cremation of the body on a showy pyre, and scholars point to this feature when arguing that Macedonian warriors were Homeric (see above). Body treatment might, indeed, be associated with military valor, but qualifiers are needed. Importantly, cremation was exceedingly rare in the Archaic period, suggesting that any potential ideas about heroic warrior cremations were a late development – in

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<sup>293</sup> Lynch 2015, 244.

<sup>294</sup> Lynch 2015, 242.

sharp contrast to the desire to depict Archaic burials, such as those from Arkhontiko, as particularly “Homeric.”<sup>295</sup> Cremations form 12% of all the burials where the body treatment is known. Cremains have been sexed in only a few cases, but there men constitute a slight minority (three out of eight). Of all the graves with weapons, 9% are cremations, so those awarded weapons were seemingly slightly less likely to be cremated than those without them. This, however, changes drastically when limiting the analysis only to burials that were definitely found unlooted: out of this admittedly small subgroup of graves, 42% were cremated (46% during the Classical period, 56% during the Hellenistic, and none during the Archaic). Macedonian tombs and other types of chamber tomb, which typically contained cremations, are favorite targets of looters, and this might be skewing the overall picture as burials with cremations are more likely to have their metal objects (including weapons) stolen. In sum, it seems possible that in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, cremation was deemed more appropriate to those depicted as warriors in death. In addition, some of these cremations and burials could have been quite lavish affairs, although there is no evidence for the megalomaniac scale of, for example, Hephaestion’s burial as described by Arrian and Plutarch.<sup>296</sup> Instead, there is sometimes evidence for the burning of one set of grave goods, including weapons and jewelry, on the pyre, with a second set placed in the grave; this additional expense would have been compounded by the fact that cremations are expensive by default because of the large quantities of wood needed.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Cremations were also rare in the area in the preceding Early Iron Age; see Kottaridi (2001).

<sup>296</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 7.14; Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 72.

<sup>297</sup> The most famous example of this is the remains of a pyre on top of Vergina’s Tomb II. See Drougou *et al.* (1994, 53).

#### 4.7 In search of athleticism

The final element to look at under the umbrella of “Homeric” burials is athletics, although finding proxies for it proves difficult. Athletics play an important role in Homer’s epics, but there is also evidence that Macedonian elite men – just like southern Greek ones – had an interest in them. Famously, Alexander I was (supposedly) allowed to compete in the Olympic Games in a footrace after proving his Argive pedigree, and Philip II sponsored a victorious horse and later a chariot in the same games.<sup>298</sup> For the period of Alexander the Great’s rule, literary sources describe funeral games for Hephæstion and, soon after, Alexander himself.<sup>299</sup>

There is also archaeological evidence for athleticism from the mortuary record, although most of it is limited to a handful of exceptional elite graves. A tripod from the games of the Argive Heraion, as well as three bronze *hydriai* with inscriptions from the same games, were found in Tomb II and attest to the appropriateness of placing athletic trophies inside graves if nothing else.<sup>300</sup> Additionally, a chariot race is depicted on the walls of Tomb III at Vergina. Finally, Panathenaic amphorae have been found from at least three graves (from Aeane and Vergina), although their wide circulation and sale should caution against assumptions of participation in the Games.<sup>301</sup>

Unlike tripods and wall-paintings, strigils and alabastra (of both alabaster and clay) were more wide-spread and allow us to explore athleticism more broadly among the aristocracy and middling classes. Strigils have been found in almost a tenth of the graves, although this still

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<sup>298</sup> Hdt. 5.22 (Alexander I); Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 3.5 and 4.5. The historicity of Alexander’s race has been questioned by, e.g., Borza (1990, 111–113), but scholars agree that Herodotus’s narrative demonstrates, at the very least, the importance of the *idea* of the Games to Macedonian rulers.

<sup>299</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 7.14.10; Diod. Sic. 18.28.4.

<sup>300</sup> Andronikos 1984, 164–166.

<sup>301</sup> See Boardman (1974, 170), who notes that over a hundred were sold in the aftermath of the mutilation of the herms alone, coming from the estates of Alcibiades and others.

makes them rarer than metal vessels, spears, or even swords. They go from being exceedingly rare (0.6% of all graves) in the Archaic to a 14% and 21% prevalence in the Classical and Hellenistic periods; this is in keeping with their introduction in southern Greece.<sup>302</sup> They were certainly prestige items, as evidenced by the fact that only 2% of the graves from Mieza (which includes Classical and early Hellenistic graves) yielded them. (For Pella, the figure is 23%, and for Vergina, 19%.) Within the subset of burials of known sex, they are only marginally more common in male burials than in female ones, with seven male and six female graves containing a strigil. When combined with the observation that about 60% of the burials with strigils included no weapons, their distribution suggests that athletic and military prowess were not closely linked nor were strigils gendered objects. They may have been objects of personal grooming rather than associated with athletics; there is no evidence for Macedonian women exercising, although the possibility cannot be excluded. Either way, the distribution of strigils seems to fit poorly with the idea of athletic, Homeric warriors.

Like strigils, alabastra were a Classical and Hellenistic phenomenon and similarly mostly encountered at wealthier sites such as Pella and Vergina. Of the Archaic graves, a measly 1% have yielded them, while for later periods the numbers rise to 8–9%. Although the subset is very small, alabastra were found twice as often in female burials as they were in male ones based on graves of known sex.<sup>303</sup> This is echoed by the fact that 33% of graves with alabastra included weapons; this is almost identical to the proportion of all graves that had weapons, suggesting that there is no significant correlation, positive or negative, between weapons and alabastra.

Similarly, there is no linear relationship between strigils and alabastra (either stone or ceramic)

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<sup>302</sup> Boardman 1971, 136.

<sup>303</sup> This is similar to Athenian practice. See Houby-Nielsen (1995, 141).



nor is there a complimentary distribution. 2% of graves included both a strigil and an alabastron; this represents 33% of all graves with alabastra and 18% of all graves with strigils. So not only are we not seeing many sets of strigils and alabastra for oiling the body, but neither of the items is clearly associated with warfare.

None of this, of course, excludes the possibility that masculine athleticism was expressed in some other way in the mortuary record that is either invisible or unclear to us. What can be said is that there is no evidence to support strigils and alabastra being exclusively associated with males, with weapons, or with each other. In other words, wall-painting and the rare object from the Games remain our best windows into Macedonian athleticism as manifest in the mortuary record.

#### **4.8 Observers of the skies, salt of the earth: other aspects of manhood**

Even though this chapter has been organized around the Homeric model, not all of the characteristics expressed in the mortuary record fit under its umbrella. This section looks at two topics that are not often discussed in a Macedonian context in general and which do not logically fall under “Homeric” behaviors: erudition and agriculture.

##### **4.8.1 Learned men**

Evidence for literacy, writing, and medicine is scarce but all the more significant for balancing out caricatures of brutish Macedonians drinking and warring their days away.

There is little evidence for writing from the graves. This is in keeping with the general scarcity of writing from pre- and Early Hellenistic Macedon, from inscriptions to literary sources. The two exceptions that shed light on the literary or philosophical leanings of

Macedonians are cist graves A and B from Derveni, both dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE but probably containing some earlier objects.<sup>304</sup> The remains of a pyre placed on top of Tomb A included a papyrus commentary on an Orphic poem, now referred to as simply “the Derveni Papyrus.”<sup>305</sup> The text is fragmentary and complex, but whatever its exact interpretation and authorship, the papyrus attests to at least a marginal interest in philosophy, mystery cults, and afterlife in late-fourth-century Macedon. Tomb A probably belonged to a man, based on the extensive set of military equipment found inside, and the excavator agrees with this view even though no osteological analysis was possible. Tomb B, containing the cremains of a male and a female, included two bronze boxes holding writing equipment as well as bronze spatulas which may have been used for cosmetics but also for medicine.

Objects associated with cosmetics or medicine come from a handful of other sites as well. From a Late Classical or Hellenistic grave from Aeane (T192), a vessel of lead and bronze was found that has been described as suitable for mixing either cosmetics or medicine.<sup>306</sup> Metal spatulas have also been found from a few Hellenistic graves at Pella, one grave at Pydna, and, interestingly, an Archaic burial at Paliouria at Deskati. Of the spatulas, two came from graves with males. It is worth noting that literary or possible medical leanings could happily co-exist with a warrior identity: Tomb A and B from Derveni contained remarkable numbers of military paraphernalia as well as horse tack.

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<sup>304</sup> Published in Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997).

<sup>305</sup> Multiple editions and a commentary are available through the Center for Hellenic Studies, <https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5418>. Accessed Dec 29, 2016.

<sup>306</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi in *AEMTh* 21, 41–43.

#### 4.8.2 Farmers and hunters

In addition to prowess in battle against humans, Macedonian men seem to have taken pleasure in showing off their skills in hunting. The most famous iconographic source on this is, of course, the hunting frieze from Tomb II at Vergina, which has been studied extensively.<sup>307</sup> Literary sources, for their part, mention that at a symposium, Cassander had to sit up at age 35 because he had yet to kill a boar without the use of a net; the historian telling the anecdote immediately adds that the general was, despite this, a brave hunter.<sup>308</sup> No gear used explicitly for hunting or fishing has been found from any of the graves, but spears, knives, arrows, and swords could have naturally doubled – or even primarily functioned – as hunting weapons. No fish-hooks or evidence of nets have been reported.

Less talked about is farming. Despite Arrian's testimony of the wild mountain existence of the Macedonians, and the pastoralist models this has inspired, there is no serious reason to assume farming was not practiced in the area.<sup>309</sup> While no farming tools have been found from the graves, miniature farmcarts made of metal (mostly iron but sometimes of lead) attest to agricultural interests. These farmcarts, like the miniature pieces of furniture that often accompany them, were an Archaic phenomenon. (There is one exception from Makriyalos at Pydna, dated to 450–425.) Almost all of them have been found at Arkhontiko, with the remaining few found at Vergina, Aeane, and Makriyalos. (There are many examples from Sindos, but the cemetery was published too late to be included in the database.) Very few of the individuals in these graves have received osteological study, but going on gendering based on artifacts, the excavators have deemed 16 of them men, 9 women, 1 a child (“girl”), and 5

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<sup>307</sup> For a recent and comprehensive study, see Franks (2012).

<sup>308</sup> Ath. 1.18a. This estimation comes from either Athenaeus himself or from Hegesander, whom he is paraphrasing.

<sup>309</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 7.8–11; Hammond 1979, 22–24.

unknown (although one of these 5 graves contained weapons and presumably belonged to a man). Aikaterini Despini has also noted, at Sindos and elsewhere, that the cart type seems to vary by gender, with men receiving two-wheeled and women four-wheeled carts. In other words, while there may have been a preference for men, the farmcarts were also suitable grave goods for women – but not often for children, and they therefore are not to be interpreted as toys. What all the graves do have in common is wealth. Every single one of them included bronze vessels, often many. Almost all included extensive sets of military equipment, several pieces of metal jewelry, or both. The only exception is the grave from Aeane (T1989/1), which included six bronze vessels, a bundle of obols, and the farm cart; the grave was found partly looted, which might explain the lack of other types of finds.

It is difficult to interpret the farmcarts' specific purpose, but it seems they were mainly placed in the graves of people unlikely to spend their days toiling in the fields – or, at the very least, were not more likely to toil in the fields than all the other individuals who were not buried with farmcarts. They may have been displays of wealth, a stand-in reminder that the deceased could afford ox-drawn carts and practiced agriculture on a larger scale than most, but this must remain speculative for now. The gender distribution raises interesting questions about women's role in farming and managing land, and this is discussed further in Chapter 5.

#### **4.9 Conclusions**

Macedonian men of middling or great wealth were often presented in death as warriors, but ones quite different from the “Homeric” warriors described in the introduction. It is possible they experienced violence: many Macedonian men died in their prime, aged 35–45, and it has been argued above that this was perhaps due to military conflict and violence. The fact that

violent death is cross-culturally most prevalent among young men suggests Macedonian troops skewed older than most. Alternatively or in addition, it is possible that by 35 men had achieved a position that warranted a more lavish and therefore more archaeologically visible burial – this might be related to them becoming the senior male in their family. In terms of grave types, men were distinct from but not drastically unequal to women: their burials took different forms such as Macedonian chamber tombs, tile-lined pits, and sarcophagi, and were costlier than women's graves but not greatly so. Cremations might, in keeping with Homer, have been associated with a warrior identity, but they are a late phenomenon, showing that Homeric echoes are late introductions at best.

Weapons and armor were a male prerogative (one of seemingly few), but apart from that, their distribution is defined by great variability, particularly in the Archaic period. An attempt to reconstruct (and construct) clear categories of warrior based on the data from Archaic Arkhontiko was not successful, suggesting that there probably was no “standard” set of military equipment, leaving room for individual preferences and choices.

Already during the Archaic period, many men were buried with modest sets of weapons more characteristic of a spearman than someone engaging in one-on-one heroic battle. This trend became much stronger in the Classical and Hellenistic periods – in stark contrast with literary and iconographic evidence. The scarcity of protective armor, especially, is pronounced during these periods. This might partly reflect a shift from one-on-one combat to a reliance on the famed phalanx. Even so, it is striking that even elite individuals, who one supposes would have belonged to the cavalry, largely followed the same trend. Furthermore, many men received no military equipment at all. It is interesting that just as armies were growing, a warrior identity seemed to become less important. As noted above, this might echo similar trends in Athens.

Macedonian men also drank but did not seem overly concerned with full symposiastic sets and showed almost no interest in eating in the afterlife. Either a cup or a pouring vessel was deemed adequate, although the wealthy might have a metal showpiece used for pouring or mixing wine accompanied by more modest clay cups. Finally, athleticism was not linked to military prowess (and is, indeed, difficult to identify in the mortuary record), while references to philosophy, medicine, and farming in some cases were. These interests seem limited to the few and the wealthy, and the metal miniature farmcarts should be taken as references to being able to afford moving agricultural goods on a larger scale (helped by ox-drawn carts) rather than toiling away in the fields.

The less well-off, of course, had quite different burials. While underrepresented in the archaeological and publication record, sites like Mieza, Asomata, and Edessa give us a more complete cross-section of communities: here, weapons accompanied as few as 7% of the deceased and were almost always limited to spears. It seems not everyone could afford to be a warrior, or at least they could not afford to have their weapons buried with them instead of passed on. Their vessels were limited to ceramic ones, and usually to one or two items, although with an emphasis on drinking culture similar to that of the wealthy.

## CHAPTER 5

### Phialai and family feeling: women

*Of Thetima and Dionysophon the ritual wedding and the marriage I bind by a written spell, as well as (the marriage) of all other women (to him), both widows and maidens, but above all of Thetima; and I entrust (this spell) to Macron and the daimones. And were I ever to unfold and read these words again after digging (the tablet) up, only then should Dionysophon marry, not before; may he indeed not take another woman than myself, but let me alone grow old by the side of Dionysophon and no one else. I implore you: have pity for [Phila?], dear daimones, [for I am indeed bereft?] of all my dear ones and abandoned. But please keep this (piece of writing) for my sake so that these events do not happen and wretched Thetima perishes miserably. [---] but let me become happy and blessed. [---]*

- Curse tablet from Pella, translation by Emmanuel Voutiras<sup>310</sup>

A curse tablet buried at Pella in the mid-fourth century by a woman, pleading with *daimones* to let her keep her lover to herself while cursing her competition, provides an entry point to the complexities of being a Macedonian woman. The female author is merciless and aggressive, yet pitiful and, one presumes, largely powerless to change her lover's plans to abandon her for another. She is also terrifying and impressive in her ability to call on the dead to haunt Thetima.

To some degree, women haunted the previous chapter, as it is impossible to talk about

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<sup>310</sup> Voutiras 1998, 15–16.

men without talking about women. Even this chapter at times chases after ephemeral beings, as the literary sources either mention Macedonian women as an afterthought or portray them as terrifying valkyries, choosing who lives or dies. As will be seen, however, the mortuary record provides quite a different picture of women whose lives (or at least deaths) revolved around religion and personal beauty but who could possibly also own property and certainly sometimes warranted burials as lavish as those of wealthy men. It is argued women's status was possibly often tied to fertility, but in some rare cases women's burials evoke symposiastic and high-level ritual participation, suggesting they were active outside the domestic sphere as well. Studying women also yields information on society at large: Communal burials featuring women and children show an array of potential relationships between the deceased, raising important questions about both the concept of a family and the decorum involved in choosing who is buried with whom. Looking at jewelry, for its part, makes us question the idea of loot flooding Hellenistic Macedon and benefiting its residents.

The structure of the chapter mirrors that of the previous one in many ways. The introduction discusses literary sources and how modern scholarship has interpreted them. Attention then turns to the archaeological material, once more moving outward from the body toward cultural concepts: osteological evidence, grave types, and grave groupings are followed by discussion of classes of items that emerged as particularly relevant in the course of the analysis – objects related to beauty, agricultural and craft production, property ownership, and religion. Finally, the last section studies the boundaries between men and women: the co-occurrence of weapons and feminine jewelry, drinking vessels, and similarities and differences in vase-painting motifs.



## 5.1 Textual and other sources: rulers, warriors, priestesses

Textual sources on Macedonian women are surprisingly plentiful if often very brief. Even though the latter half of this section discusses why many of the sources are deeply problematic, it is worth first introducing the material and certain recurrent themes within in.

The bulk of the textual evidence comes from first- and second-century CE authors describing events under Philip II, Alexander the Great, and the Successors: Plutarch (*Moralia* and the *Lives* of Alexander, Demetrius, and Eumenes), Diodorus (especially books 17–19), and Justin (who wrote an epitome of a work by Pompeius Trogus; especially books 9, 14, and 16). Women who lived prior to the fifth century are not written about in any preserved textual source. Mentions of Macedonian women who lived in the fifth century and the first half of the fourth are found in Herodotus, Thucydides, and both Athenian and Roman authors, but these women are largely discussed in passing, typically noting how a royal Argead woman was given in marriage to a powerful man to appease him. This was the case with Gygaea, the sister of Alexander I, and Stratonice, his daughter, who were given to a Persian and a Thracian man respectively to end hostilities.<sup>311</sup> Eurydice, the mother of Philip II, introduces another literary trend: women meddling in dynastic struggles on behalf of their children. She is shown as a caring mother by Aeschines and a ruthless murderess by Justin, but both sources as well as Plutarch agree that she showed incentive in advancing her own agenda.<sup>312</sup>

The wives of Philip II – he and some other kings were polygamous, although it is unclear how common this custom was in Macedon<sup>313</sup> – and their offspring are better represented in the ancient sources and three broad themes can be identified, from the most sensationalist to the

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<sup>311</sup> Hdt. 5.18–21; Thuc. 2.101.5–6.

<sup>312</sup> Aesch. 2.26–29; Justin 7.5; Plut. *Mor.* 14b–c.

<sup>313</sup> See Ogden (2011) for a listing of ancient texts mentioning polygamy in ancient Macedon.

most mundane: participation in warfare, using political or informal power, and participating in religious activity.

Participation in warfare has been one of the most-studied aspects of Macedonian women, both because of literary testimony and because of the tantalizing weaponry from the antechamber of Tomb II at Vergina (see section 5.8.3 below). The royal women Olympias, Cynnane, and Adea Eurydice are all said to have appeared in front of armies. Cynnane, the daughter of Philip II by an Illyrian wife, “was famous for her military knowledge,” as Polyaeus, a second-century CE author, reports, and she trained her daughter Adea as well.<sup>314</sup> She died challenging the troops of Alcetas after Alexander’s death, but her sacrifice moved the troops into pressuring the Successors to arrange a marriage between her daughter and Philip III Arrhidaeus. Olympias and Adea Eurydice then faced off, although with them there is no evidence of participating in actual physical battle. Duris, a Hellenistic historian and tyrant of Samos, paints a dramatic picture, with Olympias dressed as a bacchant and accompanied by drums and Adea wearing the armor of a Macedonian infantryman as their two armies met at Euia (where Olympias was entering Macedon from Epirus).<sup>315</sup> Diodorus’s more matter-of-fact but extensive narrative tells what happened next: without any fighting, the Macedonian troops accompanying Adea went to Olympias “out of respect for the position of Olympias and remembering the benefits that they had received from Alexander.”<sup>316</sup> Indeed, while the two instances are different and end very differently for Adea Eurydice, they both share the element of women’s appearance in front of armies swaying the opinion of the Macedonian troops. The at times moralizing, at times glorifying tone of Polyaeus, Athenaeus, and Diodorus makes it difficult to take the descriptions

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<sup>314</sup> Polyaeus. 8.60.

<sup>315</sup> Duris, as cited in Ath. 13.560f.

<sup>316</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.11.

of military prowess seriously, but these passages are sometimes brought up especially when discussing Tomb II at Vergina. The extent and the details of the passages suggests there is at least some nugget of truth to them.<sup>317</sup>

While Late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonian royal women continued to be married off as pawns like their predecessors were, characters such as the above-mentioned Olympias, Cynnane, and Adea Euridice, as well as Philip II's daughter Cleopatra, are reported to have participated in politics (using both official channels and downright violence), large economic transactions, and strategy in addition to the odd military feat. Many of the sources are somewhat sensationalist, and it is difficult to know what to make of Justin and Pausanias telling how Olympias killed the competing wife Cleopatra and her child showing fantastical cruelty.<sup>318</sup> There are, however, other sources that are closer to contemporary and pointedly less spectacular, yet still point in the same general direction toward Macedonian royal women having political power and playing an active role in organizing state matters. Olympias and her daughter Cleopatra seem to have formed a powerful team, at times acting as regents in Epirus and Macedon, respectively.<sup>319</sup> It is difficult to gauge their exact position, but both epigraphic and literary sources attest to their special status. Aeschines, a contemporary, speaks of an envoy sent to Cleopatra from Athens to offer condolences on the death of her husband, the king Alexander of Epirus; and Lycurgus, another contemporary, mentions her selling grain to Corinth.<sup>320</sup> She is mentioned in two inscriptions: one from Argos that lists her as a *thearodochos* (an official receiving envoys to an oracle) and another from Cyrene listing her as a recipient of grain on a list

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<sup>317</sup> Carney (2000, 129 and personal communication) gives these passages, especially Duris (in Athenaeus) credence, arguing for the importance of "symbolic leadership" on the battlefield even if the women did not actually fight.

<sup>318</sup> Ath. 13.560; Justin 9.7.12; Paus. 8.7.7.

<sup>319</sup> Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 68.3.

<sup>320</sup> Aesch. 3.242; Lyc. *Leoc.* 26–27.

otherwise mostly including states.<sup>321</sup> Olympias is mentioned on the same list as a recipient of grain, and Hyperides, yet another contemporary Athenian orator, describes her as complaining about Athenian offerings at Dodona because “the country of Molossia, in which the temple stands, belonged to her, and that therefore we [Athenians] had no right to interfere with anything there at all.”<sup>322</sup> Whether their positions were contested or not (and there are indications they were: according to Plutarch, when Alexander heard his mother and sister were ruling northern Greece, he joked about Olympias wisely picking Epirus, since Macedonian men would not submit to being ruled by a woman),<sup>323</sup> the two women certainly seem to have been comfortable acting as leading representatives of the state, and at least Athens and Cyrene seem to have treated them as such.

The last recurring literary theme, and one also supported by epigraphy, is religion. According to Plutarch, Olympias was deeply involved in religion: she met Philip II at the mysteries of Samothrace, saw premonitions, and slept with snakes, in the process terrifying her own husband.<sup>324</sup> As already mentioned, in battle she chose to dress up as a bacchant, surely evoking religious associations.<sup>325</sup> While these anecdotes seem at best exaggerated and arguably entirely fictitious, conforming to the general hostility of sources toward Olympias,<sup>326</sup> there is some less lurid evidence for her religiosity. Hyperides mentions her dedicating a cup to a statue of Hygiaea (much to the ire of some Athenians).<sup>327</sup> An inscription from Delphi has been

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<sup>321</sup> *SEG* XXIII 189; *SEG* IX 2.

<sup>322</sup> *SEG* IX 2; *Hyp. Eux.* 19.

<sup>323</sup> *Plut. Vit. Alex.* 68.4.

<sup>324</sup> *Plut. Vit. Alex.* 2.2, 2.5–6.

<sup>325</sup> *Ath.* 13.560f.

<sup>326</sup> Carney (2000, 63, 65) has dismissed the stories as entirely made up but has argued they might still reflect Olympias’s religiosity in general.

<sup>327</sup> *Hyp. Eux.* 19.

interpreted either as Olympias making a dedication or as a dedication being planned in her honor; in either case, it attests to a connection between her and the panhellenic sanctuary.<sup>328</sup>

There is also epigraphic and historical evidence for royal women at sanctuaries before Olympias's time. Eurydice, the daughter of Sirtas, wife of Amyntas III, and mother of Philip II, set up two offerings at the sanctuary of Eucleia at Vergina, with a third inscription found reused in a church in nearby Palatitsa.<sup>329</sup> The epigraphic evidence is complemented by literary sources, as Plutarch reports yet another offering set up by Eurydice, thanking the Muses for the fact that she learned to read when already a mother.<sup>330</sup> It seems that just as for their southern Greek contemporaries, religion formed one important sphere of participation in public life for Macedonian royal women.

The list above covers the prevalent themes of the literary sources but only hints at the severe limitations and biases of the body of evidence. Literary sources on Macedonian women are very restricted in scope and depth, dubious in accuracy, often heavily biased, and very few of them are contemporary with the events described.

Almost all of the textual evidence concerns royal women, meaning that we are almost entirely in the dark about the lives of any women but the topmost elite. Plutarch is the only author to mention non-royal Macedonian women, and the passages are moralizing parables more than anything: he has both Philip II and Demetrius neglect their subjects, be harshly rebuked by an old woman, and change their ways afterward.<sup>331</sup> Tellingly, the stories are almost identical, and

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<sup>328</sup> *SEG* XXXV 470. For interpretations of the inscription, see Carney (2000, 34) and *SEG*'s commentary.

<sup>329</sup> Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000.

<sup>330</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 14b–c. Different editions and interpretations of the text exist, disagreeing on whether Eurydice made the dedication as a citizen or on behalf of (or to) citizens and whether the inscription specifies what the dedication was. The different readings all agree that she made a dedication when she had adolescent children and that the text mentioned her learning to read. See Le Bohec-Bouhet (2006, 190–192) for discussion.

<sup>331</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 179c–d (Philip II); Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 42.

the most to be gained from them is that Plutarch thought that Macedonian women could be assertive even with their rulers. The first-century CE collector of anecdotes, Valerius Maximus, has a similar anecdote, but it features a foreign woman criticizing Philip for addressing her complaints while drunk; again, not very much is to be learned from this passage.<sup>332</sup>

All other literary sources concern royal women. A thread of misogyny is woven through many of these sources. One is hard-pressed to identify even a single source that should be taken as reliable, but the Roman authors Diodorus and Justin seem particularly hostile. For example, the contrast between Aeschines' account of Eurydice (wife of Amyntas III) pleading for the support of the Athenian general Iphicrates to protect her family, placing her two children in the general's lap, and Justin's description of her as a blood-thirsty plotter, murdering her own children and attempting to kill her husband to marry her son-in-law, should be enough to give the reader pause.<sup>333</sup> Olympias is, of course, the extreme example of this hostility against Macedonian women. Diodorus is explicit in his verdict: after overcoming the threat of Eurydice, Olympias "did not carry her good fortune as a human being should," instead torturing her captives, killing Cassander's supporters in great numbers, and even desecrating the grave of a man she blamed for Alexander's death. The passage concludes by harkening back to Antipater's dying words about never allowing a woman to hold first place in the kingdom, driving home the moral of the story.<sup>334</sup> Other Macedonian women get their share as well: Simache, the mother of Archelaus, and Philinna, the mother of the Philip III Arrhidaeus, are described as a slave and a courtesan

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<sup>332</sup> Val. Max. 6.2. ext. 1.

<sup>333</sup> Aesch. 2.26–29; Justin 7.5.

<sup>334</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.11.

respectively.<sup>335</sup> Cleopatra turned Philip II's life "unquiet and troubled" and ultimately "ruined" his life by making Olympias feel slighted, leading her to plot his murder by Pausanias.<sup>336</sup> Elizabeth Carney has rightly called for special care and skepticism when reading the sources, arguing that because they did not conform to southern Greek or Roman ideals about womanhood, Macedonian women have been willfully misrepresented by the ancient sources.<sup>337</sup>

Carney has also done the most extensive and nuanced analyses of these texts and has noted many other caveats to any (historical) study of Macedonian women as well as problems with modern scholarship regarding them.<sup>338</sup> Some tendencies have already been noted above, but Carney adds to the list. Compounding the meagerness of sources is the fact that many of the royal "Macedonian" women were, in fact, from outside of Macedon as a result of political marriages. Modern scholars, for their part, Carney says, have either been uncritical of the sources or influenced by their own assumptions about women in the ancient world at large. She has noted that Macedonian women are often assumed to have been just like southern Greek women but herself argues the opposite, attributing the many seemingly Greek features to a relatively late process of Hellenization; this, of course, makes drawing on comparative material from Athens and elsewhere particularly difficult.<sup>339</sup>

With other lines of evidence, the main issues are scarcity and the lack of early sources. Inscriptions only crop up in the area in the Late Classical period, and only a minority of these pertain to women. Hellenistic inscriptions are often extrapolated from to make arguments about

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<sup>335</sup> Ael. *VH* 12.43 (Simache); Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 77.5; Justin 9.8.2, 13.2.11; Ath. 13.578a (Philinna). Ogden (2011) has provided a helpful list of all the "sins" of Macedonian women, from killing competing wives to incest, with references.

<sup>336</sup> Ath. 13.557 (quoting Dicaearchus), 13.560c–d.

<sup>337</sup> Carney 2000, 10–11.

<sup>338</sup> Carney 2000; 2012.

<sup>339</sup> Carney 2000, 8–10.

earlier periods, but this seems especially risky and even contradictory considering how scholars have also argued that women's roles changed quite drastically during the Hellenistic period both within and outside Macedon.<sup>340</sup>

Archaeological evidence apart from the mortuary record is similarly scant regarding the realms in which women are typically studied. Domestic evidence is largely limited to the Hellenistic luxury houses at Pella and the palaces at Pella and Vergina. The dates of the palaces are debated; the structures possibly have their roots in the Late Classical period, but the bulk of what is preserved is Hellenistic in date.<sup>341</sup> From the Pella houses, *andrones* have been identified, but nothing clearly identifiable as a *gynaikonitis*; this, of course, is not unique to the Macedonian context.<sup>342</sup> Farmhouses have been excavated in Pieria in recent years, but they are also almost all Hellenistic.<sup>343</sup> They have yielded valuable information about household production and storage but have yet to feed into a discussion on gender roles in ancient Macedon.

Based on the rather meager textual and archaeological evidence coming almost entirely from the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, scholars have done their best to reconstruct a picture of Macedonian women reaching back to the Archaic period. Royal women have been seen as political pawns, powerful but ruthless schemers, or – just as with men – as vaguely Homeric characters similar to Penelope, mostly constrained to the home but with some influence and autonomy.<sup>344</sup> Non-royal women have been seen as humbler versions of royalty, and it has been argued that Macedonian women perhaps enjoyed slightly more freedom and a more public

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<sup>340</sup> Carney 2000. See Houby-Nielsen (1997) for women's changing roles in Hellenistic Athens.

<sup>341</sup> Akamatis 2011; Kottaridi 2011c.

<sup>342</sup> Girtzi-Bafas 2009; Nevett 1999.

<sup>343</sup> Adam-Veleni, Poulaki, and Tzanavari 2003.

<sup>344</sup> Carney (2000) brings up all of these motifs, critiquing the caricaturing of Macedonian women but approving of the Homeric comparison.



role than their Athenian counterparts; they have been, like their husbands and royal women, compared to Homeric characters although never with much elaboration.<sup>345</sup> As discussed above, active participation in religious life could be added to this list.

The scarcity as well as the problematic nature of other kinds of evidence means there is potential to learn much from the study of women's burials from Macedon – particularly when it comes to non-royal, non-Hellenistic women. This chapter, like the one on men, examines and tests some of the assumptions mentioned above. It also explores avenues emerging from the mortuary record that are not predicted by the literary sources.

As in Chapter 4, two subsets of data have been used. One includes only graves with skeletal remains of a known sex, which is the safest starting point for analysis but is small, making interpretation difficult. The other includes all graves from which pendants, earrings, or bracelets have been found, since analysis showed these objects were strongly associated with female sex (see below). Wherever the latter set has been used, it is mentioned in the text.

## **5.2 Osteological evidence**

As discussed in Chapter 4, fewer than a tenth of the graves have had osteological information published. Forty out of the eighty-four individuals of known sex are female, indicating an equal distribution by sex and that there were no systematic differences in mortuary customs that would result in women being less visible archaeologically.

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<sup>345</sup> Kottaridi 2011a, 93.

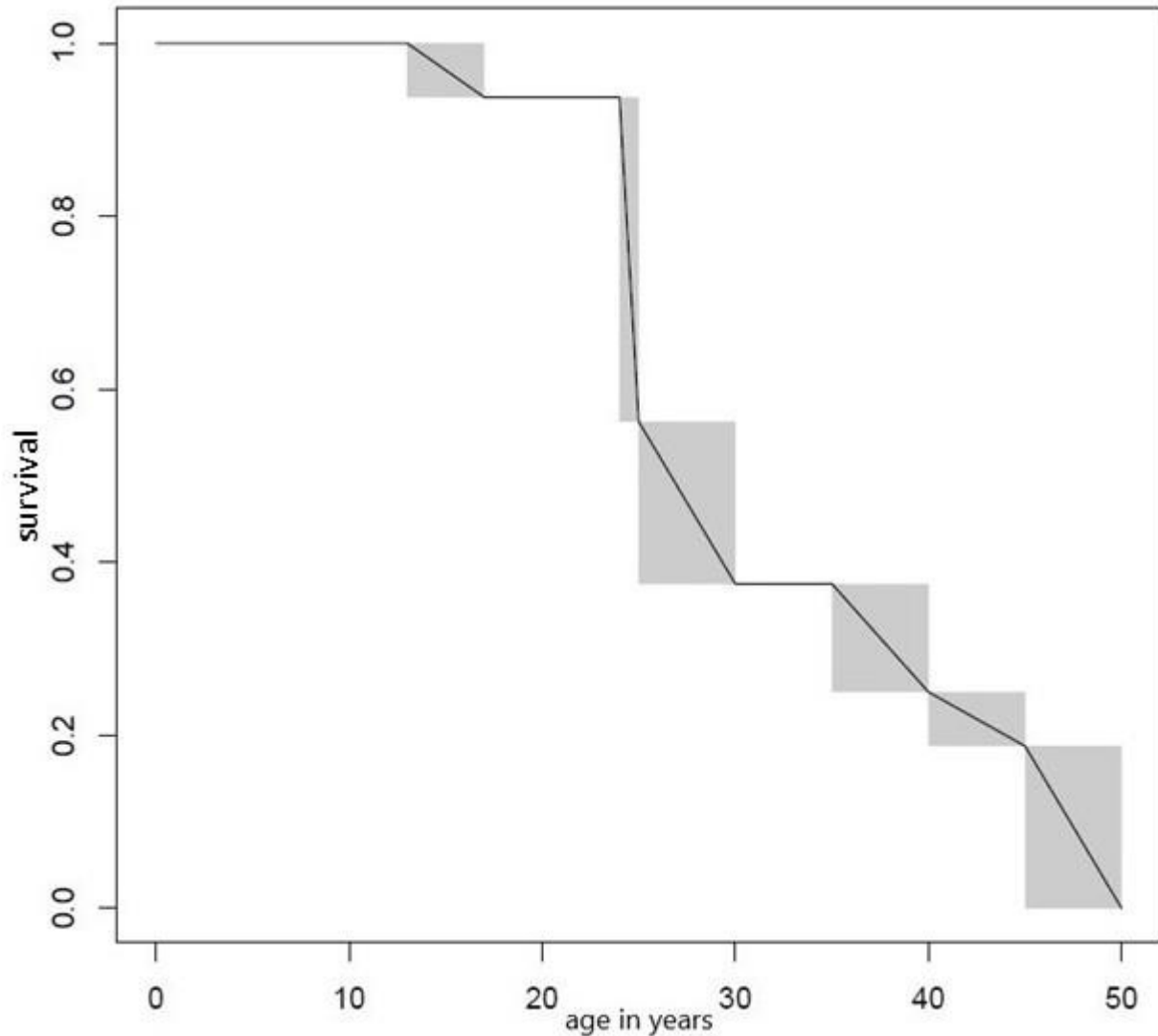


Figure 5.1. Mortality curve for females in the dataset (N=40). The shaded areas represent uncertainty due to large ranges in the age-at-death estimates, and mortality begins around age 17 because of the exclusion of prepubescent individuals (who cannot be accurately sexed). The line indicates the proportion (out of 1.0, i.e., 100%) of the population that survived until a given age. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the Kaplan-Meier estimator used.

Comparing the mortality curves of males (Figure 4.1) and females (Figure 5.1) is interesting. While men experienced the highest mortality between 35 and 45, women show a dramatic period of mortality between the ages 17 and 35, with 63% falling into this category and 32% between ages 18–25 alone. This is followed by a gentler slope from age 35 onwards. It is

worth noting that 19 individuals were either aged merely “adult” or had no age estimate at all. The mortality curve using the Kaplan-Meier estimator provides a “best guess” incorporating all female individuals with even categorical (“adult,” translated into 17+ in the dataset) age data; this method estimates that over 50% of the females in the database died between ages 22 and 30. Just as with males, Pellaian females seem to have been short-lived: two thirds of them died by 25, while Edessa shows a very even spread from 25 to 55. At Asomata, the number of females with precise age estimates is a mere three, but those few individuals do not show the relative longevity the males do.

Unlike in the case of men, this pattern does not match the one observed by Sevasti Triandafyllou and Penelope Malama at Amphipolis, where mortality was high between ages 30–40.<sup>346</sup> (It is worth noting, however, that at Amphipolis, most of the graves were male and no mortality curves by sex were published; it is therefore unclear whether the female mortality curve would look similar to the overall pattern which is dominated by males.) Whether the pattern in our data eventually finds parallels elsewhere or not, possible causes for it can again be approached through a process of elimination.

Infection typically impacts the very young and the very old, as does conflict mortality; neither of these fits our data.<sup>347</sup> Maternal mortality immediately springs to mind as a cause of death for young females, but both ancient and modern data imply that death from obstetric causes was not endemic, much less epidemic.<sup>348</sup> Studies of early modern societies show a risk of death in childbirth consistently at around 1% (or about 10 for 1,000 births) or less, meaning that

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<sup>346</sup> See Chapter 3 and *AEMTh* 15, 127–136.

<sup>347</sup> Chamberlain 2006, 74–80.

<sup>348</sup> Many thanks to Anna Bonnell-Freidin for sharing her ideas, expertise and literature on the topic of maternal death in antiquity.

maternal mortality alone is an unlikely explanation for the pattern observed in the data.<sup>349</sup> Nancy Demand, however, has made the important observation that malaria might have posed a significant risk to women during pregnancy and childbirth and that symptoms consistent with this are described in the Hippocratic corpus;<sup>350</sup> maternal mortality could have been higher in Macedon because the region was, until the early 20th century, largely swampy and prone to malaria outbreaks.<sup>351</sup>

In modern populations with life expectancies lower than 60, maternal death is the highest between puberty (c. 14) and 33, peaking in the 20s and early 30s.<sup>352</sup> Evidence from 16th–18th-century England and Wales suggests that the risk of maternal death is highest during the first or second childbirth, with the risk getting smaller with ensuing births; others have suggested (in an ancient context) that maternal mortality would have risen with multiple births.<sup>353</sup> If we assume that the admittedly anecdotal evidence of Macedonian royal women marrying slightly older than their southern Greek peers applies to Macedonian women in general, many women might have been giving birth for the first time in their late teens and early twenties.<sup>354</sup> As noted above, however, maternal mortality should not be enough to explain such stark patterns. In addition, the scarcity of young women buried with newborns or fetuses (see below) further undermines this explanation, although maternal death does not, of course, assume the death of the child nor do mother and child need to be buried together.

While death in childbirth might have certainly contributed to the patterns observed, a

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<sup>349</sup> Schofield (1986) arrived at this estimate after comparing English, Swedish, and other mortuary data from the early modern period.

<sup>350</sup> Demand 1994, 81–86. See also Morgan-Forster (2011, 41) for more recent work on the topic.

<sup>351</sup> Borza 1979. The prevalence of malaria has been debated and was denied by Nicholas Hammond (1972, 160).

<sup>352</sup> Preston 1976.

<sup>353</sup> Dobbie 1982 (England and Wales); Hong 2012, 86n3 (ancient Greece).

<sup>354</sup> Greenwalt (1988) has noted that most fourth-century Argead women seemed to marry around the age 18 or up.

status distinction seems like a more plausible explanation. Scarce textual evidence suggests that Macedonians, both male and female, married older than their southern Greek counterparts, but that wives were usually younger than their husbands: Demetrius Poliorcetes was reportedly reluctant to marry Phila, who was older than he was.<sup>355</sup> If we assume that published male burials skew towards middle age because by that age men had achieved a prestige status associated with burials that are particularly archaeologically visible, the same might apply to their younger wives. The fact that women were sometimes buried together with children might suggest that this status is conditional on motherhood, but since most women were buried alone, this hypothesis must remain tentative; see also below where it is argued that most of the child-woman pairings were not mother and child. In other words, even if motherhood was being signaled, it probably was done on a more abstract level by associating *a* woman with *a* child rather than a mother with *her* child.

The tail of the mortality curve, however, gives further credence to the idea of highly visible burials being linked to fertility or motherhood. The mortality curve shows relatively low numbers of women aged 35–45, followed by an increase between ages 45–50. Perhaps highly visible burials were especially common among women at the peak of their fertility and dwindled as they approached menopause. The higher numbers for ages 45–50 could in part be explained by the tendency to underestimate the age of older individuals, leading to both middle-aged and older people being lumped into the same category; however, similarly to men as discussed in Chapter 4, the age ranges given by bioarchaeologists are quite narrow, speaking of a confidence in their age estimates.<sup>356</sup> Whether older individuals are overrepresented or not, it is less

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<sup>355</sup> Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 14.2–3.

<sup>356</sup> Krogman and İşcan 2013, 88.

surprising to see higher mortality at 50 than at 25 in a pre-modern society. Modern mortality tables of societies with low life expectancies show that an increase in mortality at this age is largely due to cardiovascular disease.<sup>357</sup>

In sum, the mortality pattern for females does not conform to any model life tables, and the patterning is therefore most likely a combination of excavation and publication bias and cultural factors. These factors might relate to a status distinction having to do with motherhood and, more specifically, fertility. Chapter 6 argues that especially for the elites, offspring was hugely important as evidenced by their lavish burials; the significance of female fertility would be in keeping with this pattern.

### **5.3 Grave types and orientation**

As with men, there are no overarching patterns in terms of the orientation of burials when looking at the database as a whole, despite patterns suggested by excavators. Based on gendering rather than osteological analysis, Anastasia and Pavlos Chrysostomou have noted that women were buried with their heads to the north, south, or east at Arkhontiko.<sup>358</sup> From Edessa, four out of five bodies with their heads to the east were female, which lends credence to the idea of a Hellenistic tendency to have men with their heads to the west and women east, but the subset for which both the sex and the orientation are known is very small and the overall picture is of a roughly even distribution of orientation.

Women were buried using almost all of the different grave types attested in the region. Looking at graves with osteological data, the exceptions are larnakes<sup>359</sup> and sarcophagi (both

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<sup>357</sup> Preston 1976, 91.

<sup>358</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 491.

<sup>359</sup> Note that “larnax” here refers to monumental larnakes, not small boxes such as the ones from Vergina’s Tomb II.

burial types which are very rare in general), but both types of burial are attested in connection with pendants, earrings, and bracelets, i.e., feminine-type graves. The picture changes depending on which of the two subsets (one based on skeletal remains, one on jewelry) one uses: the former indicates that chamber tombs of the non-Macedonian tomb type, stone cists, and rock-hewn pit graves were slightly more common among women, while the latter implies that chamber tombs and rock-hewn pits were quite rare while supporting the prevalence of stone cists. As already noted in the previous chapter, women seemed to have had access to most grave types and certainly were not buried preferentially in either particularly expensive or low-cost graves.

#### **5.4 Groupings within and among graves**

While multiple individuals within one grave are rare in the dataset, women and children were much more likely to be buried with other individuals than men were.<sup>360</sup> As such, this seems an apt point to discuss multiple burials and grave groupings in general. Grave stelae and dipinti in tombs from later or incompletely published contexts attest to families sometimes being buried in the same tomb, but the database unfortunately does not include any examples where the exact relationships of the deceased are known.<sup>361</sup> Even so, something can be said based on the bioarchaeological remains (Table 5.1). Most graves with multiple burials included in the database contained two people, but one (the so-called Tomb of Persephone from Vergina) included seven. Multiple burials are most common in Macedonian tombs, one might assume

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<sup>360</sup> Sindos was not included in the analysis, but there the excavators have emphasized how strong the norm for individual burials was, including one case of newborn triplets each getting his or her own clay coffin (Despini 2016, 1:108).

<sup>361</sup> The Tomb of Lyson and Callicles, although dated later than our period of study, contained at least four generations of people (Miller 1993). Stelae bearing more than one name, probably belonging to the same family, have also been reported from Veria and Vergina (“Ancient Macedonia 8” conference, Nov 23, 2017; comments made by Angeliki Koukouvou and Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli).

because of the available space and the ease of re-entry (depending, of course, on how the tomb was sealed). Unfortunately, the published data do not usually allow us to determine whether the burials were simultaneous or not, except in cases where the reuse of the tomb was much later. It is similarly difficult to say whether such burials were dynastic; clusters of tombs dated closely together, such as those found at Vergina (the Great Tumulus), would imply so, but other tombs which were reused a century or centuries later (including in the Roman period) seem less likely to be dynastic.



| Grave (N=17)          | Grave type         | CI | CC | CU | AI | AC | UI | UC | F | M | Total | Details   |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|-------|---|
| Arkhontiko T501       | Pit                | 2  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |   | 2     |   |
| Edessa T47            | Pit                | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    | 1 |   | 2     | F 45–55; infant 6–16 months                               |
| Derveni B             | Stone cist         |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1 | 1 | 2     |   |
| Derveni T2            | Macedonian tomb    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |   | 2     |   |
| Evropos at Kilkis T51 | Other chamber tomb |    | 1  |    |    | 2  |    | 2  |   |   | 5+    | 2 adults; 1 subadult                                      |
| Finikas               | Macedonian tomb    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |   |   | 2     | M and F?  |
| Makriyalos at Pydna   | Macedonian tomb    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 3+ |   |   | 3+    |   |
| Pella 94/3            | Pit                | 1  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    | 1 |   | 3     | F adult; 3 children                                       |
| Pydna                 | Macedonian tomb    |    |    |    |    |    | 1+ | 1  |   |   | 2+    |   |
| Pyrgoi at Kozani      | Macedonian tomb    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1 | 1 | 3     | M 35–50; F 50+; child 1–2.5                               |
| Vergina T1            | Stone cist         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |   | 2     |   |
| Vergina T2            | Macedonian tomb    |    |    |    |    | 2  |    |    | 1 | 1 | 2     | M 41–49; F 30–34  |
| Vergina K3            | Stone cist         |    |    | 2  |    |    |    |    | 1 |   | 3     | F adult; girl 13–15; infant                               |
| Vergina (2009)        | Osteotheke         |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |   |   | 2     | Adult; child 3–7  |
| Vergina Persephone    | Chamber tomb       |    |    | 5  |    |    |    |    | 1 | 1 | 7     | M adult; F adult; 4 infants 8–10 months; 1 fetus; 1 child |
| Vergina (Stenomakri)  | Unspecified pit    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |   | 2     |   |
| Veria T6              | Pit                |    |    | 1  | 1  |    |    |    | 1 |   | 2     | F adult; infant   |
| <b>Total</b>          |                    | 4  | 3  | 9  | 2  | 6  | 1+ | 8+ | 8 | 4 |       |   |

Table 5.1. Graves with multiple individuals.

Key:

CI child, inhumation

CC child, cremation

CU child, unknown body treatment

AI adult, inhumation

AC adult, cremation

UI inhumation, age unknown

UC cremation, age unknown

F female

M male

Male-female couples are relatively rare with only two examples, although it is possible some of the dual burials without osteological information fall into this category, too. The pairings do not consistently fit the model of younger women marrying older men if, indeed, these pairs are spouses. In one instance, a younger female accompanied a middle-aged male, while in

another pairing the female was older.

There are no groupings with one male and multiple females; whether polygamy was purely the purview of kings or not, there is no evidence in the groupings to support its prevalence. Groups with a male, female, and children number two, and in four instances a lone female was buried with one or more children. There is only one example of two adolescents buried together; typically, children were buried with an adult or adults (see Chapter 6 for the implications of this). Most of the children seem to be infants and young children, but one individual aged 13–15 was buried with an adult female.

There is very little evidence of mothers who died in childbirth being buried with their infants. Only one adult female-infant pair could possibly be a woman who died in childbirth and was buried with her newborn, while the other pairings include slightly older infants, children, or include multiple subadults. In two cases, a middle-aged female probably in her 50s was buried with a very young child; it is possible but quite unlikely they would have been mother and child and more likely they could have been a grandmother and grandchild.<sup>362</sup>

Looking at the multiple burials as a whole, the picture is one of great variability. The groupings do not represent couples or nuclear families but perhaps members of an extended family who happened to die around the same time. It is clear that women and children were buried together more often than men, and that children were deemed unfit to accompany each other in the afterlife without an adult to go with them. This applies to pit burials as well as to Macedonian tombs which, as mentioned above, could be and sometimes were re-opened to accommodate more burials.

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<sup>362</sup> From Kerameikos in Athens, an inscription (*SEG XXI 208*) attests to a grandmother buried with her grandchild.

Moving from individual graves and tombs to cemeteries, groupings have been identified by excavators, consisting of clusters of graves. These groupings, however, are often difficult to distinguish based on the published plans and other data. In the case of Asomata, Eurydice Kefalidou has suggested the graves are clustered and belong to “families and clans.”<sup>363</sup> Based only on the Archaic burials (later burials from the site have yet to be published), seeing such clusters is difficult (Figure 5.2). Graves KST and M, and possibly Z and H, seem to form pairs; other graves are linked by neither immediate proximity nor orientation. The development of the cemetery over the course of the Archaic period similarly seems very organic, with no patterning such as a clear direction of expansion.

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<sup>363</sup> Kefalidou 2009, 130.

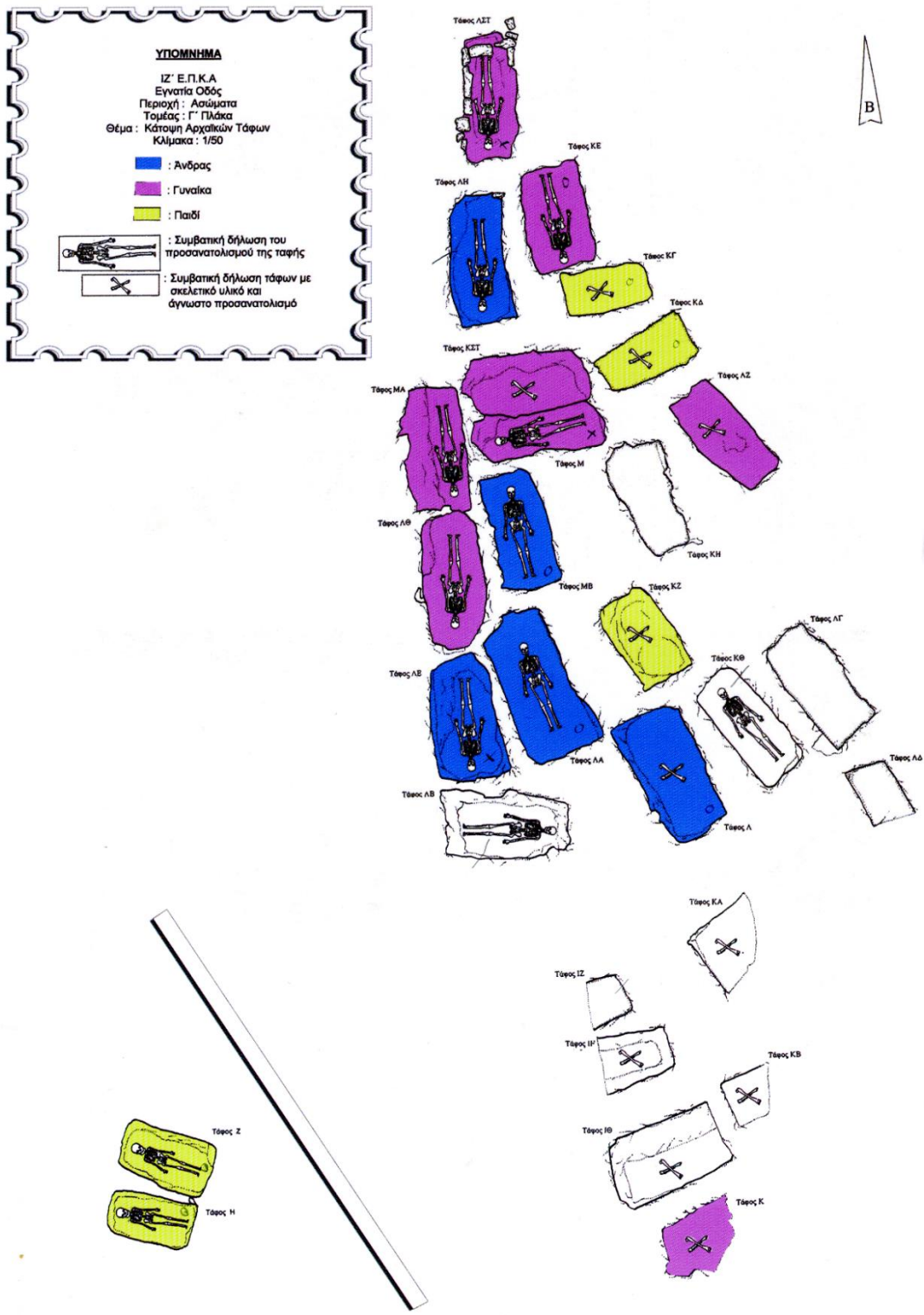


Figure 5.2. Plan of Asomata, Archaic burials. Blue indicates male, purple female, and light green children's burials. Source: Kefalidou 2009.

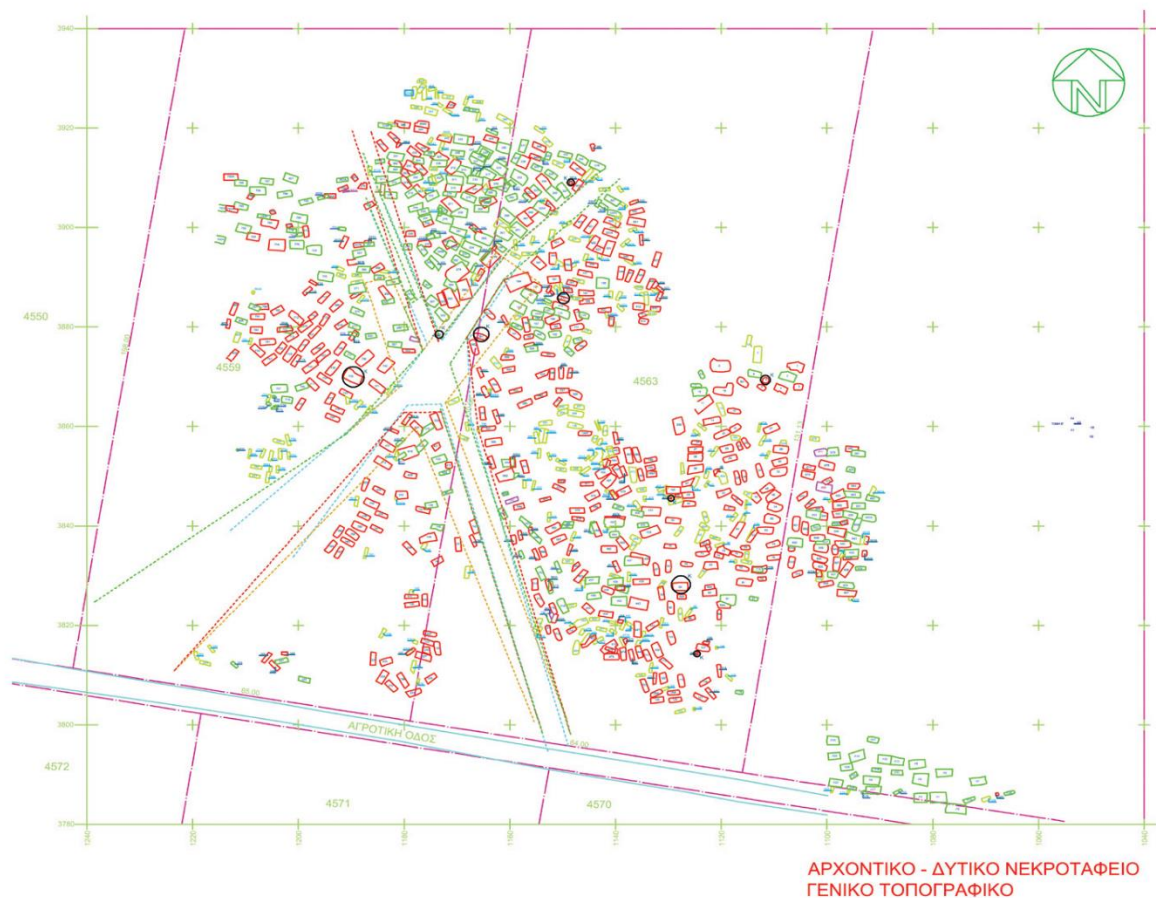


Figure 5.3. Plan of the western cemetery at Arkhontiko. Archaic burials are shown in red. Source: Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a.

Arkhontiko (Figure 5.3) is another site where groups have been identified, forming families, clans (called phratries by the excavators), and tribes (*gene*).<sup>364</sup> This argument is based on the observation that men, women, and children were buried side-by-side in the same clusters instead of separate ones. While it is not clear from the published plan exactly where the excavators identify these different levels of clusters, nor is the information available to map women, men, and children onto the published plans, some clusters can be visually identified.

<sup>364</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 511.





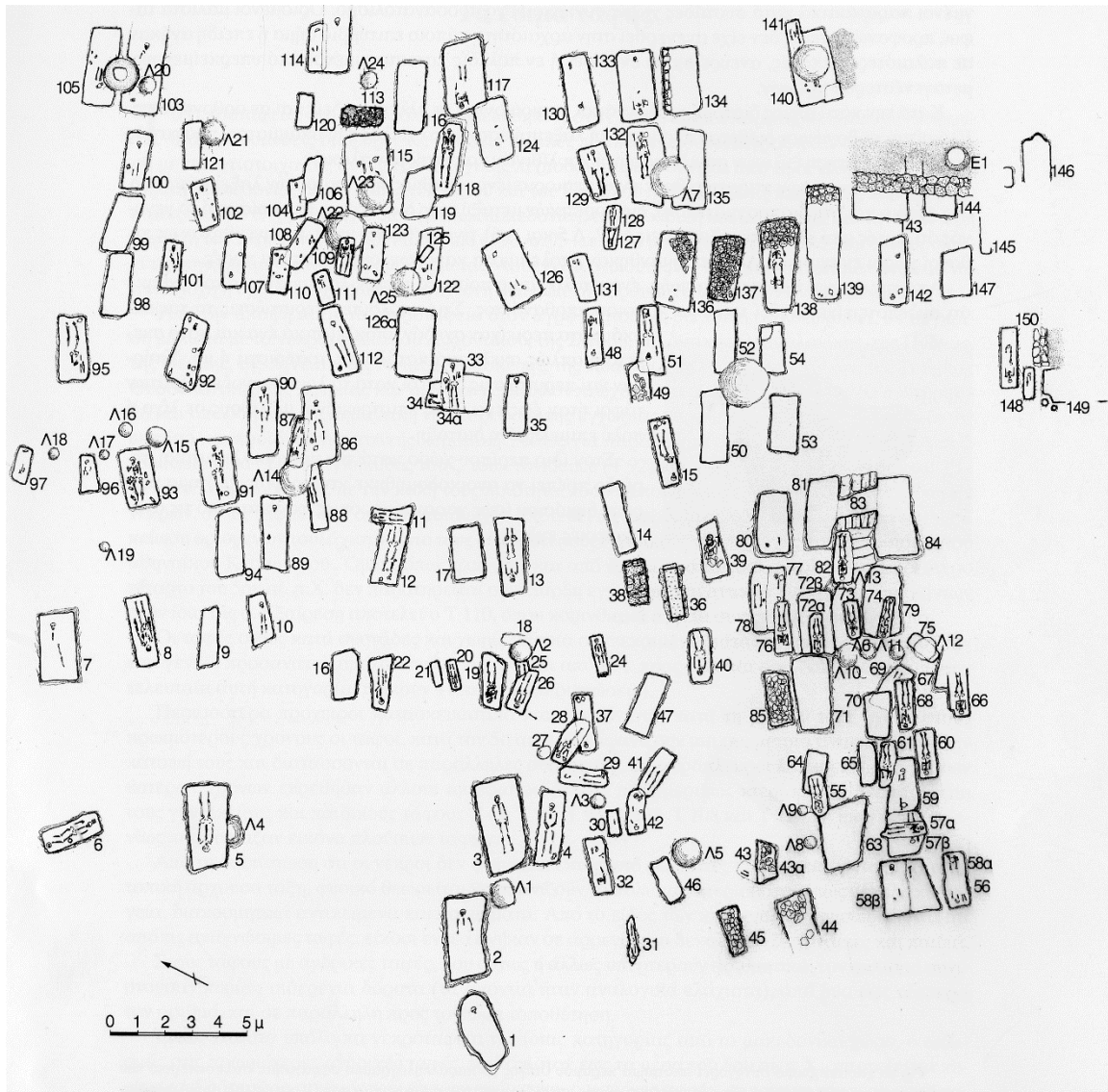


Figure 5.5. Plan of Mieza. Source: Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002.

Moving to the Classical period, the burials at Edessa do not seem to form any larger subgroups but there are some paired burials (such as graves 57 and 64, 42 and 43, and 35 and 36; Figure 5.4).<sup>365</sup> At Mieza, the cemetery seems mostly to have been organized in irregular rows, with few obvious groupings (Figure 5.5). There is a dense cluster of about 30 burials in the

<sup>365</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 149.

southwestern quadrant of the cemetery, which is especially clear in contrast to the dozen or so graves in the southeastern quadrant that are spaced more evenly and organized in short rows.<sup>366</sup> Graves 81–84 are connected to each other in the published plan, but unfortunately not discussed further by the authors.

In sum, despite great variation, some observations emerge from the spatial grouping of individuals. Firstly, and importantly, there clearly were no strict norms governing whom to bury together and how. Whatever the relationships between the individuals sharing a grave, they would have been varied. Secondly, women and children were more likely than men to share their burials with one or more other individual, and this pattern does not seem related to mortality in childbirth. The small sample makes identifying a cause for this impossible: perhaps women and children were seen as more family-oriented; perhaps they were more closely bound in a collective community; perhaps they were deemed to deserve less space and expenditure in death. The last option seems unlikely, given how some of the burials in question are very lavish.

Groupings both inside individual tombs and in clusters of burials seem more characteristic of extended families or other similarly-sized groupings than nuclear families or spouses, but they range in size from two to more than forty individuals. Because of this variation and because of a lack of detailed plans that would allow us to look at spatial distributions by sex, gender, or age, it is difficult to say exactly what the groupings are: kin (genetic or perceived), communities from a specific area, outgrowths determined by the organic expansion of the cemeteries, or something else.

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<sup>366</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 130.



## 5.5 Beauty and personal adornment

After looking at the osteological and spatial features of the graves, the rest of this chapter focuses on artifact categories grouped into themes pertinent to Macedonian women: beauty, production and ownership, and religion, before turning to the “grey areas” of women and symposia and women as warriors. Whereas Macedonian men have been associated with weapons, chapters on Macedonian women often revolve around personal beauty and especially jewelry. This approach, while revealing underlying assumptions about femininity, is not unwarranted as long as qualifiers are added. This section discusses jewelry, dress, and toiletry vessels as categories where the evidence is far from exclusive to women but which skew female in their distribution.

### 5.5.1 Toiletry vessels

Drinking and libation vessels are discussed below, but toiletry vessels are the one category where female and feminine-type graves are richer than male and masculine-type ones and thus deserve pride of place. These vessels include *pyxides* used for storing jewelry, make-up, or knick-knacks, and *unguentaria*, *aryballoi*, *lekythoi*, *alabastra*, and *askoi*, all of which were used to hold and pour oils that could have cosmetic uses for the living but could also be used to prepare the deceased for burial.<sup>367</sup> (For pouring actual offerings, *phialai* are more commonly mentioned, but that should not be taken to exclude such uses for toiletry vessels.<sup>368</sup>) The chronological distribution of the vessels is to some degree complementary: *aryballoi* were the dominant shape in the Archaic but almost non-existent during the later periods; *alabastra*, *askoi*,

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<sup>367</sup> See Kanowski (1984) for discussion of different shapes and their uses, including iconographic and textual evidence.

<sup>368</sup> Kanowski 1984, 116. See also discussion on ritual vessels below.

and pyxides were modestly popular in the Classical and Hellenistic periods; lekythoi peaked in popularity in the Classical period, being by far the most popular shape; in the Hellenistic, they remained popular but were overtaken by unguentaria which are largely a Hellenistic phenomenon (Table 5.2).

| Shape                   | Biological men (N=44) | Biological women (N=38) | Masculine-type graves (N=266) | Feminine-type graves (N=163) | Biological children and adolescents (N=17) | Small graves (N=56) | Archaic (N=324) | Classical (N=605) | Hellenistic (N=287) | Overall (N=990) |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Toiletry vessels</b> | <b>34</b>             | <b>37</b>               | <b>32</b>                     | <b>41</b>                    | <b>53</b>                                  | <b>23</b>           | <b>27</b>       | <b>37</b>         | <b>38</b>           | <b>32</b>       |
| Pyxis                   | 2                     | 8                       | 1                             | 6                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 5                   | 3               |
| Unguentarium            | 9                     | 8                       | 2                             | 8                            | 0  | 5                   | 0               | 8                 | 18                  | 6               |
| Aryballos               | 5                     | 0                       | 13                            | 10                           | 6  | 2                   | 21              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 7               |
| Lekythos                | 11                    | 24                      | 11                            | 16                           | 25   | 16                  | 5               | 23                | 15                  | 15              |
| Alabastra               | 2                     | 5                       | 2                             | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 4                   | 2               |
| Askos                   | 5                     | 0                       | 5                             | 4                            | 0  | 0                   | 0               | 5                 | 5                   | 3               |

Table 5.2. Prevalence of toiletry vessel shapes in percentage. The row with a bolded heading lists the total for the functional category, consisting of the vessel types listed below it. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, with the exception of figures less than 0.5% (shown in brackets).

| <b>Biological male/female</b> | <b>Archaic male (N=17)</b> | <b>Archaic female (N=9)</b> | <b>Classical male (N=26)</b> | <b>Classical female (N=22)</b> | <b>Hellenistic male (N=11)</b> | <b>Hellenistic female (N=9)</b> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Askos                         | 0                          | 0                           | 8                            | 0                              | 0                              | 0                               |
| Unguentarium                  | 0                          | 0                           | 15                           | 14                             | 18                             | 33                              |
|                               |                            |                             |                              |                                |                                |                                 |
| <b>Gendered man/woman</b>     | <b>Archaic man (N=143)</b> | <b>Archaic woman (N=78)</b> | <b>Classical man (N=134)</b> | <b>Classical woman (N=97)</b>  | <b>Hellenistic man (N=58)</b>  | <b>Hellenistic woman (N=48)</b> |
| Askos                         | 0                          | 0                           | 10                           | 7                              | 12                             | 10                              |
| Unguentarium                  | 0                          | 0                           | 3                            | 11                             | 9                              | 25                              |

Table 5.3. Distribution of askoi and unguentaria, prevalence in percentage.

Moving from an overall picture to individual shapes, most but not all shapes show clear gendered patterns. Pyxides, lekythoi, and alabastra are much more commonly found in female, feminine-type, and child burials than male or masculine-type ones. Aryballoi are more popular in male and masculine burials, while the patterns for askoi and unguentaria change significantly from the biological-sex subset to the gendered set: biological males were more often buried with askoi and unguentaria than females were, but this pattern is evened out (askoi) or reversed

(unguentaria) when looking at graves with weapons and feminine jewelry. Breaking these groups further into smaller subsets by period sheds a little bit of light on the distribution of unguentaria (Table 5.3). The subsets are small but suggest that the prevalence of unguentaria in biologically male graves may not reflect actual patterning but might be the result of the size of the subset. Both the Hellenistic subset of sexed burials and the Classical and Hellenistic gendered subsets consistently show that unguentaria were more common in female or feminine burials. Askoi, for their part, were less common in feminine-type graves during both the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but the bigger difference in the biological subset is entirely explained by two Classical male graves – it therefore seems likely that askoi were more common in male burials but were by no means limited to them. Overall, these trends are in keeping with Athenian ones, with the exception of lekythoi which maintained some popularity among males into the Classical period in Macedon while becoming associated with women in Athens.<sup>369</sup>

There is a great risk of circular argumentation when using gender to make assumptions about vases or vice versa: vessel functions are often suggested based on their association with a certain gender (women's graves often contain lekythoi, meaning they were used for feminine activities), and gendered activities are often suggested based on vessel shapes (all lekythoi must be used for female cosmetics). Even so, it is interesting to combine the evidence from Macedonian sexed or gendered burials with southern Greek (largely Athenian) evidence. In a southern Greek context, a combination of iconography, literary sources, and burials has allowed for reasonable arguments regarding vessel functions, although most of these studies also note great variation and flexibility.<sup>370</sup> As noted, the vessels found from Macedonian burials follow

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<sup>369</sup> Kanowski 1984; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 141.

<sup>370</sup> E.g., Kanowski 1984; Kreuzer 2009. It should be noted that specific terms for vessel shapes can be particularly problematic. Lisa Nevett (1999, Chapter 3) has done a study of vessel shapes, names, and associations using ancient

chronological and gendered trends attested in southern Greece as well. Based on this, perhaps aryballoi were, both in Macedon and southern Greece, associated with athletics and masculinity, while pyxides and alabastra were associated with cosmetics and femininity. The differences need to be highlighted as well, however: lekythoi are more commonly found in Classical Macedonian male burials than in southern Greek ones, perhaps speaking of conservatism on the part of the Macedonians but also possibly of differing uses of the vessel type.<sup>371</sup>

### 5.5.2 Jewelry and mirrors

Jewelry is far from exclusive to women in a Macedonian context, but it is more prevalent and varied (both in terms of assemblages and the range of types) in female burials and therefore warrants a discussion as a category particularly informative of women.

|                  | Female (N=38) | Male (N=44) | Feminine-type graves (N=163) | Masculine-type graves (N=265) |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Bead             | 8 / 21%       | 1 / 2%      | 43 / 26%                     | 6 / 2%                        |
| Bracelet         | 2 / 5%        | 0           | 39 / 24%                     | 1 / (0.4%)                    |
| Buckle           | 1 / 3%        | 1 / 2%      | 2 / 1%                       | 1 / (0.4%)                    |
| Earring          | 11 / 29%      | 0           | 90 / 55%                     | 3 / 1%                        |
| Pendant          | 7 / 18%       | 0           | 101 / 62%                    | 7 / 3%                        |
| Pin              | 10 / 26%      | 13 / 29%    | 90 / 55%                     | 98 / 37%                      |
| Ring             | 13 / 34%      | 11 / 25%    | 67 / 41%                     | 76 / 29%                      |
| Wreath/diadem    | 3 / 8%        | 6 / 14%     | 45 / 28%                     | 33 / 13%                      |
| Mirror           | 4 / 11%       | 0           | 8 / 5%                       | 1 / (0.4%)                    |
| Any jewelry      | 12 / 58%      | 20 / 45%    | 163 / 100%                   | 138 / 52%                     |
| 1 pc of jewelry  | 5 / 13%       | 7 / 16%     | 19 / 12%                     | 57 / 22%                      |
| 2 pcs of jewelry | 3 / 8%        | 8 / 18%     | 19 / 12%                     | 40 / 15%                      |
| 3 pcs of jewelry | 4 / 11%       | 2 / 5%      | 18 / 11%                     | 20 / 8%                       |
| 4 pcs of jewelry | 0             | 0           | 14 / 9%                      | 4 / 2%                        |

Table 5.4. Distribution of jewelry by type of grave. All numbers are in the format N/% (count and percentage). All are rounded to the nearest full number, except for values less than 0.5%, shown in parentheses.

textual sources, modern usage, and iconography. The results show that labels assigned by modern scholars rarely correspond to those used in antiquity and furthermore that there was great variation in the use of terms for shapes in the ancient world.

<sup>371</sup> It needs to be noted, however, that lekythoi could have had many uses in Athens, at least outside of a mortuary context. In an Archaic Athenian context, Kathleen Lynch (2011, 140) has argued that lekythoi could have held oils for cleaning the body, perfume, or food flavoring, and has suggested they were perhaps used in symposia as well.

The gendering of jewelry varies greatly by type: pins and wreaths or diadems are more commonly found in male burials, although this is reversed when looking at feminine- and masculine-type burials, perhaps partly because the feminine-type group is smaller and possibly represents a narrower group of wealthy individuals. (Diadems were more common in the Archaic period, while wreaths were mostly a Hellenistic phenomenon; the two were not distinguished during data collection.) Buckles were about equally rare for all. Rings are more commonly found in female burials but are not uncommon among males, either. Bracelets, pendants, and earrings were reserved for females in almost all cases (for exceptions, see section 5.8.3), hence their use in identifying “feminine-type” graves. Similarly, mirrors are rarely found but seem exclusively female.

The distribution and prevalence of different types of jewelry is very varied. Looking only at (osteologically studied) female graves, more than 40% contained no jewelry. Among the graves with pieces of jewelry, rings (34% of graves), earrings (29%), and pins (26%) were the staples. Beads and pendants were similarly fairly common, while wreaths/diadems, bracelets, and buckles were rare. Bracelets, in other words, seem to have been the rarest form of exclusively female ostentation. The quantities per grave vary as well: while pins, bracelets and earrings often come in pairs, the deceased were usually accompanied by only one ring, pendant, or wreath. This could be simply a question of desire for symmetry with certain adornments, or it could be due to other reasons. In the case of rings, they are more commonly found in middling graves (i.e., among people who perhaps could only afford one piece of jewelry); wreaths, on the other hand, were probably expensive enough that one was quite enough for even a wealthier person. (It is also impossible to wear more than one wreath at a time – in contrast to, e.g., rings – but some graves contained multiple wreaths, attesting to jewelry not being deposited only based

on what could be worn at one time.)

In addition to simple prevalence by type, looking at combinations of jewelry items shows differences between women and men, with women's sets showing more variation. Of the 22 female graves with jewelry, about 23% (or 13% of all female graves, with or without jewelry) contained one item, 14% (or 8%) two items, and 18% (11%) three items, while the wildest outlier included 34 items. In other words, a great many graves included high numbers of items. There is, however, some "redundancy" in the sets. While more than half of the female graves with jewelry contained two or more *types* of jewelry, such as a ring and an earring, five graves or about 23% of female graves with jewelry contained four different types, while the most varied was one grave with six types of items. This variation is distinct from, although not exclusive to, women: female graves have yielded 17 different combinations of jewelry types and feminine-type ones 59; for male graves, the corresponding figures are 8 and 18. Similarly, among male and masculine-type graves the combination of a ring and a pin is clearly the predominant one, but the distribution of different combinations in female and feminine-type graves is much more even. In other words, while men probably had a limited range of common or acceptable jewelry sets, women's sets were more idiosyncratic, perhaps even individualized.

Diachronic analysis of all graves including jewelry (since subsets by sex or gender would be very small) shows that the quantity and distribution of jewelry is remarkably similar in the Classical and Hellenistic graves while the Archaic period stands out. Jewelry was more common in the Archaic period, with a mean twice that of Classical and Hellenistic graves (3.0 to 1.5). The Archaic graves both had jewelry more frequently (over 63% in comparison to 47%) and had more items per grave (68% having two or more items in comparison to 29%). Breaking things down into categories once more, it turns out the differences are not explained by the waxing and

waning of one particular type of jewelry. Almost all types of jewelry were more common in the Archaic than in the later periods, with pins more than twice as common in the Archaic as in the Classical and over five times more common than in the Hellenistic. Only wreaths/diadems were more common in the Hellenistic period. Mirrors were introduced in the Classical period but remained rare grave goods throughout the period of study.

The diachronic distributions raise some interesting questions. Elisavet-Bettina Tsigarida, among others, has noted that the height of Macedonian goldsmithing came in the aftermath of Philip II's takeover of the mines of Mount Pangaeum and Alexander the Great's conquests and the resulting loot; in a recent article, she has emphasized the post-Alexander return of the veterans as a driver for the increased presence of gold.<sup>372</sup> While this could be argued to be true based on the finest specimens from wealthy tombs such as those at Derveni or Pydna, the overall picture looks quite different. Once more, looting and publication bias doubtlessly play a role, but the differences are striking enough that one wonders if the trends reflect either increased inequality or a divergence in how people chose to display their wealth, with fewer placing it inside graves. This is a question to which we return in Chapter 8 on wealth and hierarchical status.

### **5.5.3 Dress**

Looking at women's dress is informative; changing trends are of interest in and of themselves but can also tell something of conservatism versus the adoption of new fads. Studying dress through the mortuary record is, however, challenging. Fabrics have only been

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<sup>372</sup> Tsigarida 2012, 332–333; 2018.

preserved in a few instances. In Tomb II at Vergina, the bones of the deceased were found wrapped in purple cloth decorated with floral patterns of gold thread. Some other reports of Hellenistic burials mention remains or residues of cloth used for wrapping remains in, but nothing substantive remains to reconstruct dress instead of bone wrappings.<sup>373</sup> Hence, most of our knowledge of Macedonian dress comes from paintings, terracottas, and from the quantities, sizes, and placement of pins found in graves.

The reduced size of fibulae found in burials shows that starting in the Archaic period, the *peplos*, a dress pinned together at the shoulders, began to lose popularity to the *chiton*, a tunic often pinned along the arms.<sup>374</sup> This was often supplemented by a *himation*, a large piece of fabric that could be wrapped around the body and over the head in myriad ways, similar to a shawl or a wrap. Terracottas show that the chiton and himation combination remained popular in the Hellenistic period, and the fabric could be draped and girded around the body in complex ways allowing for many different looks; Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati has argued that by this period, peploi were seen as conservative, as evidenced by them being shown mostly on religious or mythological figures.<sup>375</sup>

From this, it might be expected that the number of fibulae and pins would have gone up in the Classical and Hellenistic periods as chitones got pinned in increasingly complex ways and all along the arms. The number of pins from graves, however, actually drops, and fewer and fewer graves contain any pins: of the Archaic graves, over 50% contained pins and 18% had two or more; for the Classical period, the figures are 22% and 6%; for the Hellenistic, 15% and 4%.

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<sup>373</sup> Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2007 in *Ancient Macedonia* 7, 677–678 (Finikas T4); Paliadeli *et al.* 2014 in *AEMTh* 24, 97–100 (Vergina 2008 and 2009 urn burials); Besios and Noulas 2014 in *AEMTh* 24, 135 (Koukko at Pydna T1); Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997 in *AEMTh* 10, 431 (Agios Athanasios T2).

<sup>374</sup> Kottaridi 2011a, 106.

<sup>375</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati 2004, 92–93.



It is possible that pins were to a degree replaced by girding using belts or ropes, which is shown on many Hellenistic terracottas. The general tendency toward less wealthy graves also probably explains much of the difference. As there is no fabric remaining, it is impossible to speculate whether Macedonian women were wearing peploi into the later periods, but given the other lines of evidence, either a reluctance to place as many pins into graves or trends favoring the girding of chitons instead of pinning them together seem more likely.

## **5.6 Evidence for religious practices**

As mentioned in the introduction, literary sources imply that elite women, at least, participated actively in public religious life. Olympias was notorious for her own intimate contacts with the divine, and while it seems safe to assume many of the anecdotes in the literary sources are fictional, there is also epigraphic evidence linking both Olympias and Eurydice (mother of Philip II) to sanctuaries at Vergina and beyond. Women's active connections to the religious realm are supported by a plentitude of religious paraphernalia found in their graves. Much religious activity might escape our attention due to our inability to correctly interpret finds, but there are some object categories that can be used to try and study religion in the mortuary sphere. Terracotta figurines and libation vessels are here especially important; in addition, two extraordinary graves associated with "priestesses" are studied below to further our understanding.

### **5.6.1 Ritual vessels**

As with other vessel shapes, there was potentially much variation in exactly how the shapes we call phialai and exaleiptra were used. In a general Greek context, phialai are typically

associated with libations, but Maxwell G. Kanowski has also noted evidence for their use as drinking vessels.<sup>376</sup> Exaleiptra have been found in domestic contexts, but they have also been argued to have had athletic associations and to have contained talcum powder-type substances or cosmetics.<sup>377</sup> (It should also be noted that the term “exaleiptron” as it is used in publications on Macedonian burials corresponds to what some scholars call a *kothon* and what Kanowski calls a “kothon with ribbon handle.”<sup>378</sup>) In a specifically Macedonian context, however, both phialai and exaleiptra seem to have had a strong ritual and mortuary association. Aeane’s necropolis has yielded many bronze phialai pierced at their bottoms or crushed, which Georgia Karamitrou-Mentessidi has reasonably taken as proof they were used to make libations and were part of a mortuary ritual.<sup>379</sup> Katerina Romiopoulou and Ioannis Touratsoglou have discussed exaleiptra from burials at Mieza and concluded that unlike at Corinth (where such vessels are often found in a domestic context), at Mieza they have a clear ritual connotation.<sup>380</sup> They can therefore serve as a useful way to study religious and ritual activities.

The distributions of the ritual vessels vary depending on their material. They are no more common among female than male burials, and ceramic ritual vessels are indeed more rarely found in female burials, but they stand out as the only category of metal vessels that women had equal access to. (This is in marked contrast to all other types of metal vessels and ceramic drinking vessels.) Over a third of biological females and 41% of graves with feminine jewelry were accompanied by a ceramic libation vessel; for metal vessels, the figures are 16% and 23%.

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<sup>376</sup> Kanowski 1984, 116.

<sup>377</sup> Kreuzer 2009, 27–28; Kanowski 1984, 35.

<sup>378</sup> Kanowski 1984, 118.

<sup>379</sup> Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 103.

<sup>380</sup> Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 22. They also include kantharoid vases and jugs with cutaway spouts in this group of ritual vessels.

Metal ritual vessels were overall more common in the Archaic period, while ceramics show a rather stark transition from Archaic exaleiptra to Classical and Hellenistic phialai.

In other words, women did not have more access to ritual vessels in absolute terms, but they did in relative ones. Especially among luxury items (metal vessels), it seems ritual vessels were the one category women were consistently presented with in death. Here, the (largely southern Greek) stereotype of the pious, modest wife seems to hold true, but it also indicates that women might have been both active participants in religious life and worth pouring libations to after their deaths. The inscriptions discussed above show this participation could sometimes be very public, but of course the mortuary record does not tell us whether the vessels harken to domestic or public rituals or purely to mortuary ones.

### **5.6.2 Figurines**

Terracotta figurines are introduced here because their distribution skews female and because they often depict deities, but a brief overview is in order first. Terracotta figurines were found in 150 or 15% of all graves. Female figures constitute the vast majority of all figurines: 95 out of the 150 graves included figurines depicting women either seated (found in 46 graves), standing (26), reclining (2), or female protomes (41). Animals come second in popularity (31). Roosters, doves, and other birds were the most common, but boars, dogs, lions, deer, goats, and monkeys also accompanied the dead. Male figurines are a much rarer type and mostly consist of symposiasts. Importantly, a male figure is very rarely found as the sole terracotta in a grave: while having only one female figure or animal in a grave is not unusual, male figurines are almost always part of a large collection of varied terracottas. Ten graves included terracottas depicting children.

Just as terracotta types are dominated by female figures, their distribution skews female. Of osteologically studied females, 29% were buried with figurines, while only 18% of biological males received them; for feminine-type graves, the figure is 26% and for masculine-type ones, 14%.<sup>381</sup> Linking different types of terracottas with sex is complicated by small sample sizes. Among the subset of graves with osteological data, male figurines come from three male graves, one child grave, and one female grave which, however, included an infant (who might have been male). Figurines depicting animals come from three female adult graves, one child grave, and two adult male graves. Protomes have only been found in female graves, while other types of female figurine are evenly distributed.

Expanding our analysis to graves gendered by weapons or feminine jewelry, however, some of the patterns vanish and others change. Animals are equally common, while male figurines are more common in feminine-type graves and non-protome female figurines more common in masculine-type graves. The biggest differences are in the distribution of protomes, whose prevalence is 10% for women's and 3% for men's graves, and mythological themes, where the numbers are 3% to 0.8%. Figurines of children have only been found from feminine-type graves. It's unclear what explains these differences: perhaps it is partly linked to wealth (as feminine-type graves are wealthy by definition).

In other words, protomes are the only type of terracotta that shows a fairly consistent pattern in skewing female both across osteologically-studied and feminine-type graves. They, along with enthroned female figures, are of particular interest here since they are often

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<sup>381</sup> The difference is not statistically significant (using chi-square  $< 0.05$  as the criterion) for the osteologically defined groups. The difference between the gendered groups is, however, significant at the 0.001 level. Given that the distributions are similar across both the osteologically studied and the gendered groups, it is likely that the osteologically defined groups are simply too small for the chi-square test to work.

interpreted as depicting divinities. Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati has noted that the specific associations of protomes are difficult to decipher because they have been found in graves and sanctuaries dedicated to multiple deities, but based on her analysis she has concluded that they probably represented chthonic deities.<sup>382</sup> Anastasia and Pavlos Chrysostomou, discussing Arkhontiko, have argued that enthroned female figures, attested from the Archaic period onwards, can often be interpreted as divine because of the *poloi* they wear.<sup>383</sup> In addition, other divine figures have been identified by excavators, sometimes as simply divine, at other times as specific deities. The named deities mostly have chthonic and mystery-cult associations, although often through Dionysiac and erotic spheres; the list as reported by excavators consists of Hades, Persephone, Aphrodite, Adonis, Eros, Dionysus, Ariadne, Pan, Attis, and Cybele. The popularity of Dionysiac themes is also echoed by the mythological creatures found in graves, mainly satyrs or silenoi, Pan, and ithyphallic figures. The terracotta divinities mostly come from the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, with the exception of a Hades and a Persephone who were found in an Archaic grave. No clearly identified deities have been found from graves that are male or contained weapons. This does not, however, imply that only women were buried with figurines of deities: as has already been mentioned, protomes have been found in male graves, as have enthroned figurines; furthermore, many of the figurines depicting recognizable deities come from graves of unknown sex and gender.

The most interesting, yet mystifying, terracottas come from two graves from Vergina, both dated to around 480 BCE. One of the graves, found looted, contained the silver soles of sandals and 25 life-size terracotta heads. It has been suggested the heads were placed over the

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<sup>382</sup> Lilimbaki-Akamati 2004, 104.

<sup>383</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 372. Vasiliki Misalidou-Despotidou (2016, 328) has also noted at Sindos the prominence of seated female figures, identifying them as unspecified deities.

grave, perhaps akin to “scarecrows” with wooden supports for bodies.<sup>384</sup> The female heads seem idealized, with features combining the Archaic smile and the Severe Style, while the male ones look more individualized with heavy wrinkles on their foreheads. Another set of 26 life-size terracotta heads comes from a grave that was also looted but contained many more finds: several bronze vessels, gold-leaf decorations, a gold pendant, and terracotta figurines.<sup>385</sup> According to the excavator, the heads were intentionally broken and showed idealized women and two realistically depicted men. The same excavator made the tentative suggestion that some of the women may have represented Persephone and Demeter and the men “demonic” figures of the underworld.<sup>386</sup>

In sum, terracottas are one of the clearest sources for religious beliefs as reflected in the mortuary record. They suggest that people, especially women, were accompanied in death by divinities chthonic, Dionysiac, mysterious, and erotic. This is in keeping with observations about Macedonian sanctuaries, where the popularity of especially Dionysus has been noted.<sup>387</sup> Most commonly, however, both males and females were accompanied by divine female figures whose exact identity is unclear to us, in the form of protomes and enthroned women.

### **5.6.3 Ladies of Arkhontiko and Aegae: Archaic priestesses?**

Two Archaic female burials with religious associations – the so-called Ladies of Aegae and Arkhontiko – are often discussed in publications and displayed in exhibitions because of how striking they are. They also make for good case-studies because they are well-published and

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<sup>384</sup> Ginouvès and Hatzopoulos 1994, 38–39.

<sup>385</sup> Kottaridou 1992 in *AEMTh* 3, 1–3.

<sup>386</sup> Kottaridou 1992 in *AEMTh* 3, 3.

<sup>387</sup> Christesen and Murray 2011, 430.

have been closely studied. They also help counterbalance the Classical-Hellenistic bias otherwise dominating both scholarly discussion on ancient Macedon more broadly and this chapter more specifically.

The “Lady of Arkhontiko,” more mundanely known as T458, is one of the wealthy burials from the Bottiaean center near Pella excavated by Pavlos and Anastasia Chrysostomou.<sup>388</sup> The burial, said to be of a female although without published osteological data, dates to about 540–530 BCE. The Lady’s face was covered with a gold mask, and she was surrounded by gold jewelry, figurines, and metal vessels. Many of the objects found inside the grave are linked to the ritual sphere. Several terracotta figurines in the shape of enthroned women wearing polos headdresses have been convincingly identified as deities by the excavators.<sup>389</sup> In addition, a full 15 bronze phialai were found; while phialai, as discussed above, are quite common, their multitude is exceptional. Smaller details can be added as well: the excavators have pointed out that some of the gold-and-silver pins have heads shaped like the pods of poppies, a plant associated with divinities (due to its psychotropic effects), especially divinities related to fertility and the afterlife; furthermore, plastic ivory vessels shaped like hedgehogs found from the grave might have similar connotations.<sup>390</sup> The gold mask that covered the woman’s face has embossed imagery of dolphins, leaves, and stars over the eyes – argued to represent the sea, the land, and

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<sup>388</sup> Initially published in *AEMTh* 19. For the most extensive publication, see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b.

<sup>389</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 372.

<sup>390</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 370–371. Theocritus, writing three hundred years after the burial of the Lady, refers to Demeter as holding poppies (*Idyll* 7.156–157). E. Anne Mackay (2016) has written an overview of hedgehog iconography from ancient Greece and concluded that the animal had sinister connotations since it was frequently shown together with snakes, scorpions, and other dangerous animals; she, however, also acknowledges possible associations with the afterlife and rebirth, given how depictions are found in mortuary contexts and given the animal’s pattern of hibernation and re-awakening. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012b) see the hedgehog as standing for rebirth and the afterlife. Whether hopeful or baneful, the hedgehog seems loaded with heavy symbolism beyond every-day concerns.

the sky by the excavators.<sup>391</sup> The burial is one of just four female-type burials the excavators have classified as “category 4” (the wealthiest and rarest category), a group characterized by many metal vessels, pieces of jewelry, and terracottas.<sup>392</sup> The Lady’s burial contained more than 10 each of metal vessels and pieces of jewelry, and it also included several terracottas. The other three graves belonging to the same category have not been discussed as belonging to priestesses, so it seems T458 is unique even among the wealthy few.

The so-called Lady of Aegae was excavated from a cluster of wealthy burials at Vergina that is separate from the larger necropolis and which has been interpreted as a royal burial ground. This cluster predates the one containing Tomb II and perhaps included the burial of Eurydice, Philip II’s mother.<sup>393</sup> The tomb of the Lady dates to about 500 BCE and contained the remains of a female in her early 30s.<sup>394</sup> The burial was lavishly wealthy: the clothes of the woman were covered with jewelry and sheets of precious metal, including silver soles for her shoes, and she was buried with over a dozen metal vessels, mostly bowls but also a phiale and an exaleiptron.<sup>395</sup> In addition, the grave contained iron spits or obols, a miniature model of a farmcart made of iron, and six terracotta protomes interpreted as depicting a goddess by Angeliki Kottaridi.<sup>396</sup> Outside the wooden cist used for burial but within the larger grave cut, a large bronze cauldron and a jug were found, and they have been suggested to be for the heating of water for a ritual bath for the deceased.<sup>397</sup> A “strange, hollow silver wand,” “a silver-and-gold

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<sup>391</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 374.

<sup>392</sup> The burials in question are T198, T262, T458, and T505 (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 501). As was discussed with masculine-type burials in Chapter 4, the categories are not always intuitive and obvious to the outsider; here, T505 seems to lack much of the wealth of the other three burials, despite being classified together with them.

<sup>393</sup> Kottaridi 2004a.

<sup>394</sup> Kottaridi 2004a.

<sup>395</sup> Kottaridi 2004a, 139–147.

<sup>396</sup> Kottaridi 2004a, 139.

<sup>397</sup> Kottaridi 2004a, 139.



tubular object, perhaps a distaff” (but see below), and a “wooden scepter, adorned with amber and ivory” have also been mentioned by Kottaridi in publications, but unfortunately only the “distaff” has accompanying images.<sup>398</sup>

Kottaridi has argued the artifact assemblage of the Lady of Aegae is evidence of a “special sacerdotal office” and that the miniature model of a farmcart is evidence for participation in public events in a manner similar to the mother of Cleobis and Biton.<sup>399</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou have struck a more careful tone with the Lady of Arkhontiko, noting that the woman was a member of the local aristocracy with some sort of religious power.<sup>400</sup> In addition, they have pointed out the presence of symposiastic vessels (a prochous and a kylix-skyphos) and hunting scenes embossed on the gold diadems, and they have emphasized how these, together with miniature iron furniture (including a farmcart), paint a picture of the afterlife as something joyous and as something that requires material goods for the use of the deceased.<sup>401</sup> (The extent of female participation in Macedonian symposia is uncertain; Herodotus describes how outrageous the Persians’ request to have Macedonian women join them for dining (δειπνον) was to the young Alexander I, but the role of Alexander I in Herodotus in general seems to be to convince the reader of just how Greek or Argive the Macedonians were.<sup>402</sup> See below for further discussion.)

It seems impossible to determine whether or not these two women were priestesses.

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<sup>398</sup> Kottaridi 2004a, 139.

<sup>399</sup> Kottaridi 2004a, 139–140.

<sup>400</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 373.

<sup>401</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012b, 374.

<sup>402</sup> Hdt. 5.18.3, discussed by Sylvie Le Bohec-Bouhet (2006, 187–188). Elizabeth Carney (2015b, 38) has argued that showing Argead women on public monuments as well as the Vergina palace being embedded in the city make it more likely women might have participated in symposia, but also concludes there is no explicit evidence to help us decide one way or another.

Instead, inferring information about cosmological and religious views seems more feasible. In addition to the heavy investment in burials observed across Macedon, the practical items found tell us something about the conceptualization of the afterlife. Archaic elite women, just like elite men, were associated with hunting and perhaps drinking at least in an idealized afterlife if not in life. The multitude of libation vessels speaks to a special connection to rituals or a large number of participants making libations in the women's honor.

### **5.7 Production and ownership**

As with men, there is not much material from the graves that is informative about production or property ownership, but this section discusses the few tantalizing strands of evidence available: evidence for weaving, farmcarts, and miniature furniture.

However much weaving women did while living, weaving equipment is rare in the mortuary context. Just two (5%) out of 38 biological females were buried with loomweights. For feminine-type graves, the number is vanishingly small: one out of 163 graves (or 0.6%). No male burials contained loomweights, but one grave containing weapons, gendered male by the excavator, included one (1979/3 from Vergina). Above, a long, tubular silver-and-gold object suggested to be a distaff found with the Lady of Aegae was mentioned, and this would indicate elite women were participating in weaving as well; however, based on one published image, the object seems to consist of three tubes and a chain, making it difficult to envision how it would have functioned as a distaff.<sup>403</sup>

As discussed in the introduction, textual sources imply that at the start of the Hellenistic

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<sup>403</sup> Kottaridi 2011a, Figure 122.

period, royal women could act as recipients of grain on a state level: Olympias and Cleopatra are mentioned side-by-side with cities on a list of grain shipments from Cyrene.<sup>404</sup> Inscriptions also suggest that some women, royal and otherwise, could be party to important financial transactions, such as the manumission of slaves, or could be owners of property, including houses and land (given to them by men), but the sources are scarce and almost always Hellenistic.<sup>405</sup> In terms of the mortuary record, the best body of material for approaching issues of production and financial transactions are the miniature models found in Archaic burials. In Chapter 4, it was already noted that almost a third (11 out of 39) of the miniature models of farmcarts and furniture came from graves gendered female (but without osteological information available). Angeliki Kottaridi, as mentioned above, has linked the farmcarts to the story of Cleobis and Biton and their priestess mother. A less speculative narrative can perhaps be attempted.

As discussed above, the graves with miniature farmcart models were all wealthy, and as such it is more likely that the farmcarts stood in for the ability of the deceased to afford ox-drawn carts rather than them toiling away in the fields and carrying produce. The fact that a substantial portion of the carts comes from feminine-type graves raises interesting questions about women's ability to own land and property, and about their role in agriculture. The role of farmcarts becomes especially interesting when noting patterns of co-occurrence with other objects. Terracottas and jewelry and/or weapons are almost universal across these graves. Miniature pieces of furniture – tables and chairs – and obols, on the other hand, are clearly gendered. Four feminine-type and 19 masculine-type graves contained miniature furniture, with or without

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<sup>404</sup> *SEG IX 2.*

<sup>405</sup> Le Bohec-Bouhet 2006.

farmcarts. The co-occurrence of furniture and farmcarts is also gendered: in male graves, farmcarts were accompanied by miniature furniture two thirds of the time, while in female ones, less than a third of the time. Obols have been found in more than half of the male graves with farmcarts and in 19 graves total, but in only one female grave.

In other words, it is not the farmcarts that are particularly strongly gendered, but obols and miniature furniture. Nathalie Del Socorro has suggested the metal miniatures were symbols of items used for the transportation of the dead body (in the case of the farmcarts) and the wake (in the case of tables and chairs).<sup>406</sup> The current evidence is inadequate to confirm or dismiss the argument, but it still does not address the gendered distribution: if women received as many libation vessels as men and also received carts symbolizing the transportation of the body, why would they not similarly receive miniatures representing the wake? Aikaterini Despini has studied miniature furniture from Sindos, seeing them as symposiastic but admitting this poses problems both because women, as far as we know, did not participate in symposia during this period and because men were expected to recline instead of sitting in chairs.<sup>407</sup> She concludes that women were allowed to participate in certain activities in death that would have been forbidden in life, and that men harkened back to old Laconian ways in their habit of sitting during meals. Her explanation is certainly possible but seems somewhat *post hoc* and she argues for grave goods as realistic in the case of men and aspirational in the case of women.

If we choose to take the objects at face-value instead of interpreting them as aspirational or symbolic, the implications of the distributions are interesting. While restricting women's access to large sums of money or feasting activity, depending on how the spits were used, is in

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<sup>406</sup> Del Socorro 2012, 66–67. Aikaterini Despini (2016, 2:224) has also suggested this interpretation.

<sup>407</sup> Despini 2016, 2:252–253.

keeping with later southern Greek habits, it is more surprising that items referencing the indoor life are more commonly associated with men. This is, of course, in sharp contrast with the ideas, mostly based on southern Greek literary sources, that women were (supposed to be) largely restricted to the home.

### **5.8 Encroaching on the male realm? Vessels and weapons**

The rest of this chapter discusses things as varied as vase-painting and weaponry, but the common thread is to interrogate the boundaries of the male and female realms. It has already been noted that Macedonian female burials do not always support the southern Greek literary models of gender roles. As we shall see, wealth especially seems to blur the lines to some degree, with elite female burials showing affinities with male ones not shared by poorer ones. A discussion of drinking vessels is followed by one on vase-painting, and the section concludes with the question of the presence of weapons in female burials.

### 5.8.1 Ceramic and metal vessels

| Shape                      | Biological men (N=44) | Masculine-type graves (N=266) | Biological women (N=38) | Feminine-type graves (N=163) | Biological children and adolescents (N=17) | Small graves (N=56) | Archaic (N=324) | Classical (N=605) | Hellenistic (N=287) | Overall (N=990) |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Metal <sup>408</sup>       | 25                    | 38                            | 16                      | 30                           | 29   | 5                   | 37              | 15                | 19                  | 22              |
| Drinking                   | 5                     | 3                             | 0                       | 6                            | 6  | 0                   | 1               | 3                 | 4                   | 3               |
| Toiletry                   | 7                     | 3                             | 0                       | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 6                   | 2               |
| Pouring liquids            | 9                     | 10                            | 3                       | 6                            | 12   | 0                   | 7               | 4                 | 5                   | 5               |
| Serving and cooking        | 14                    | 21                            | 0                       | 20                           | 18   | 2                   | 22              | 5                 | 5                   | 10              |
| Ritual                     | 16                    | 23                            | 16                      | 23                           | 12   | 2                   | 27              | 4                 | 4                   | 12              |
| <b>Drinking</b>            | 54                    | 65                            | 34                      | 53                           | 59   | 16                  | 65              | 42                | 34                  | 46              |
| Krater                     | 5                     | 12                            | 0                       | 2                            | 6  | 2                   | 8               | 3                 | 2                   | 4               |
| Kantharos                  | 7                     | 5                             | 0                       | 3                            | 12   | 2                   | 2               | 5                 | 9                   | 4               |
| Skyphos                    | 14                    | 26                            | 24                      | 25                           | 24   | 7                   | 15              | 28                | 22                  | 22              |
| Kotyle                     | 0                     | 7                             | 3                       | 6                            | 0  | 2                   | 10              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 3               |
| Kylix                      | 23                    | 24                            | 5                       | 18                           | 12   | 2                   | 33              | 6                 | 4                   | 14              |
| Kantharoid cup local       | 11                    | 6                             | 3                       | 7                            | 6  | 2                   | 13              | 2                 | 0                   | 5               |
| <b>Toiletry</b>            | 34                    | 32                            | 37                      | 41                           | 53   | 23                  | 27              | 37                | 38                  | 32              |
| Pyxis                      | 2                     | 1                             | 8                       | 6                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 5                   | 3               |
| Unguentarium               | 9                     | 2                             | 8                       | 8                            | 0  | 5                   | 0               | 8                 | 18                  | 6               |
| Aryballos                  | 5                     | 13                            | 0                       | 10                           | 6  | 2                   | 21              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 7               |
| Lekythos                   | 11                    | 11                            | 24                      | 16                           | 25   | 16                  | 5               | 23                | 15                  | 15              |
| Alabastra                  | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 1               | 4                 | 4                   | 2               |
| Askos                      | 5                     | 5                             | 0                       | 4                            | 0  | 0                   | 0               | 5                 | 5                   | 3               |
| <b>Pouring liquids</b>     | 23                    | 36                            | 21                      | 24                           | 29   | 14                  | 36              | 23                | 24                  | 24              |
| Oinochoe                   | 14                    | 9                             | 5                       | 9                            | 18   | 5                   | 9               | 8                 | 10                  | 8               |
| Olpe                       | 0                     | 1                             | 8                       | 3                            | 0  | 4                   | 2               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |
| Cutaway prochous           | 5                     | 19                            | 3                       | 4                            | 12   | 0                   | 17              | 4                 | 1                   | 8               |
| Prochous                   | 2                     | 4                             | 0                       | 2                            | 0  | 2                   | 4               | 3                 | 4                   | 3               |
| Pelike                     | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 4                            | 0  | 2                   | 0               | 5                 | 7                   | 3               |
| Hydria                     | 0                     | 2                             | 0                       | 5                            | 0  | 2                   | 4               | 3                 | 3                   | 3               |
| <b>Serving and cooking</b> | 11                    | 10                            | 8                       | 8                            | 6  | 7                   | 8               | 6                 | 9                   | 7               |
| Plate                      | 2                     | 3                             | 3                       | 3                            | 0  | 0                   | 0               | 3                 | 6                   | 2               |
| Salt cellar                | 2                     | 2                             | 0                       | 2                            | 0  | 4                   | 0               | 2                 | 2                   | 1               |
| Lebes                      | 2                     | 5                             | 3                       | 1                            | 6  | 2                   | 6               | (0.3)             | 0                   | 2               |
| Lekane                     | 5                     | 1                             | 3                       | 3                            | 0  | 2                   | 2               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |
| <b>Amphorae</b>            | 7                     | 7                             | 3                       | 10                           | 6  | 2                   | 5               | 5                 | 8                   | 5               |
| <b>Ritual</b>              | 43                    | 47                            | 34                      | 41                           | 35   | 16                  | 43              | 32                | 40                  | 34              |
| Exaleiptron                | 18                    | 29                            | 16                      | 23                           | 18   | 4                   | 39              | 7                 | 2                   | 16              |
| Phiale                     | 25                    | 19                            | 18                      | 20                           | 24   | 13                  | 5               | 25                | 39                  | 19              |
| <b>Miniature vessels</b>   | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 1                            | 6  | 4                   | 3               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |

Table 5.5. Prevalence of vessel shapes as percentage of graves which contained each given shape. The rows with bolded headings list the total for a functional category, consisting of the vessel types listed below it. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, with the exception of numbers less than 0.5%, shown in parentheses. Masculine-type graves contained weapons, feminine-type graves included bracelets, earrings, or pendants, and small

<sup>408</sup> The overall percentage of graves with metal is sometimes larger than the sum total of the subcategories, because certain rare shapes such as basins were counted under metal vessels but not recorded as part of any of the subcategories.

graves measured under 1.31 m. The columns by period include all graves dated to a specific period, regardless of age or sex.

As already discussed in Chapter 4 and above, women were buried with fewer vessels across almost all categories. This difference is especially stark with metal vessels, with women accompanied by very few vessels except for phialai (Table 5.5). Of ceramic vessels, drinking, toiletry, and ritual vessels were the most common. When it came to drinking vessels, however, women's choices were markedly limited: of the one third who were buried with a drinking vessel, almost all received a skyphos, with kylikes and kantharoid cups of a Macedonian type being much more common in men's burials.<sup>409</sup> Pouring vessels, for their part, show some complementary distributions: while men were buried with oinochoai and prochoes, women received *olpai* and *pelikai*. There is again much ambiguity between the specific shapes, and Kanowski has called the distinction between an olpe and an oinochoe "very arbitrary,"<sup>410</sup> but the complementary distribution points toward a meaningful distinction made in ancient Macedon, whatever terms they would have used for the vessels. (The other alternative is, of course, archaeologists reporting vessels found in feminine-type graves using one term and those from masculine-type ones using another; this, however, seems highly unlikely, especially across many excavations and excavators.) Explaining the precise meaning of this pattern is more difficult, since all of the pouring shapes could be used for wine, water, and sometimes oil.<sup>411</sup> Drinking cups similarly had many uses, although skyphos was the "poor man's cup," in a southern Greek context often attested undecorated or with a simple slip.<sup>412</sup> Even so, the gendered distributions

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<sup>409</sup> Kylikes and kantharoi are associated with male activities in red-figure iconography; see Nevett (1999, 43–47).

<sup>410</sup> Kanowski 1984, 110.

<sup>411</sup> Lynch 2011, 130 (water), 149 (oil).

<sup>412</sup> Kanowski 1984, 138.

are surely meaningful and provide food for thought for those wholly despairing of creating vessel typologies beyond broad functional categories such as “cup” or “pouring vessel.” It seems clear that different types of shapes, not just different functional categories of vessels, were considered appropriate for different genders.

Serving vessels were given to 8% of women, in largely similar quantities compared to men, with the exception of the salt cellar, which was rare for men and unattested for women. Amphorae are very rarely found in women’s graves.

Comparing graves of known sex and those gendered as female based on feminine jewelry, some stark differences emerge. It is not surprising that the graves with jewelry in general contained more vessels across categories, given how the jewelry was made of precious metals and as such was linked to some degree of wealth and luxury. This is especially clear with metal vessels, with the otherwise rare drinking cups and serving and cooking vessels more common or as common as in male burials and graves with weapons.

Comparing vessel distributions between the biological and gendered categories shows some interesting differences, again probably reflecting wealth differences as the graves with weapons and especially jewelry (i.e., the gendered categories) are by definition wealthy. With ceramic vessels, most of the patterns hold across both categories in relative terms: for example, while graves with feminine-type jewelry had many more drinking vessels than female graves and almost as many as male graves did, the number is still lower than for graves with weapons; and while graves with jewelry contained more exaleiptra than male graves, the ratio of male:female graves is similar to that of graves with weapons:graves with jewelry. There are, however, some important differences: while the Archaic drinking shapes (kylikes and kantharoid cups), aryballoi, askoi, oinochoai, hydriai, salt cellars, and amphorae are rare or unattested in female



graves, their prevalence in graves with jewelry is much closer to that of graves with weapons. Miniature vessels are, interestingly, more commonly attested in every other category than among graves with jewelry. Miniatures are rare to the point of marginal in general, making solid conclusions difficult, but if the tendencies in our dataset reflect broader patterns, it might be a sign that in addition to being suitable for children, miniature vessels were sometimes given as proxies for bigger, more expensive vessels. As such, wealthy women were less commonly buried with them as they could afford full-sized ones.

Overall, then, it seems that feminine-type graves were more likely to contain vessels related to drinking, from cups to amphorae, than graves deemed female based on osteological analysis. It is possible that wealthy women participated more actively in “symposiastic” activities, although as discussed in Chapter 4, comparisons between Macedonian practices of social drinking and southern Greek symposia are fraught with problems.

## 5.8.2 Vase-painting

|                | Male (N=44) | Female (N=38) | Masculine-type graves (N=266) | Feminine-type graves (N=163) |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Animals        | 3 / 7%      | 1 / 3%        | 17 / 6%                       | 11 / 7%                      |
| Dionysiac      | 1 / 2%      | 2 / 5%        | 7 / 3%                        | 4 / 3%                       |
| Female figures | 2 / 5%      | 3 / 8%        | 3 / 1%                        | 2 / 1%                       |
| Floral         | 6 / 14%     | 3 / 8%        | 14 / 5%                       | 20 / 12%                     |
| Male figures   | 1 / 2%      | 0             | 19 / 7%                       | 7 / 4%                       |
| Mythological   | 3 / 7%      | 0             | 9 / 3%                        | 4 / 3%                       |
| Other          | 1 / 2%      | 0             | 8 / 3%                        | 3 / 2%                       |
| Total          | 17 / 39%    | 9 / 24%       | 77 / 29%                      | 51 / 31%                     |

Table 5.6. Motifs on painted vases. All numbers are in the format N/% (count/percentage).

Given the differences in the distributions of vessel shapes, vase-painting was identified as a potential avenue for exploring female associations: what kinds of iconographic themes were

considered suitable for women and which ones for men? The inquiry is limited by the fact that frequently the specifics or even the theme of figural decoration are not reported; a vessel is merely said to be “black figure” or “red figure.” The categories in Table 5.6 also require some explanation. “Dionysiac” scenes were isolated as a separate category because several scenes were simply described as “Dionysiac” in the publications, making it impossible to decode whether they showed Dionysus, maenads, satyrs, symposiasts, or something else; because Dionysus and his retinue stand out from the material that otherwise shows few divine figures (one Hades and one Poseidon being the exceptions); and because the Macedonians’ fondness for Dionysus has been relatively well established, further justifying giving him his own category. “Female figures” and “male figures” encompass depictions of men and women which are not clearly identifiable or published as divine or mythological figures. “Mythological” scenes and figures include everything from mythical creatures like griffins to divinities other than Dionysus and to mythological scenes like the amazonomachy.

Based on only the graves with osteological information, there are no clear differences between female and male graves. The most common decorations were geometric or floral for both groups. Female graves had vessels showing Dionysiac scenes (a komast and a scene with a satyr and a woman), female characters and themes (a wedding theme and a female protome with a griffin), and one vase showing roosters. Males had mythological scenes (amazonomachy, Theseus and Minotaur, and pegasuses), animals (including a lion), and figures Dionysiac (symposiast), male (men wearing himatia), and female. One might argue men were more often associated with mythical scenes, but the satyr and griffin vases from female graves show this was not a monopoly.

Expanding to the subsets of graves with weapons and feminine jewelry, some differences

become clearer. Floral motifs were more common in feminine-type burials, although this is largely due to two burials with a handful of floral-patterned lekythoi each. The only other category showing a clear difference is male figures, which were more common in masculine-type burials (7% to women's 4%). While the prevalence of figural vases is almost identical (women's 29% to men's 30%), there are differences in how varied each category is, although this might be partly explained by the sizes of the subsets. Vases from women's graves show roosters, lions, boars, panthers, bulls, swans, and (unspecified) birds, while men's graves have yielded depictions of lions, ibices, goats, swans, and (unspecified) birds, with swans and other birds showing up in 13 out of the 17 vases. On the other hand, the male portrayals accompanying women almost always include men wearing himatia, while male burials contained a whole spectrum of male scenes such as athletic scenes, battle scenes, riders, and nude figures in addition to *himatiophoroi*. Scholars such as Mireille M. Lee have suggested that a correctly-worn himation was a hallmark of a Classical southern Greek gentleman, and one wonders if the same connotations applied here.<sup>413</sup> In either case, it seems significant that nudity, athletics, and warfare were avoided in women's burials. The mythological scenes found are limited to Poseidon chasing a woman and mythical creatures (a gorgoneion, sphinxes, and a siren) for women, while men were accompanied by depictions of amazons, Theseus and Minotaur, Pegasus, Hades, and mythical creatures (a griffin, a sphinx, and a siren). Other rarities on vases from male graves include depictions of a Scythian and an African.

In sum, there are no broad genres to be identified that would have been "taboo" for women. In contrast to vessel shapes, it is noteworthy how similar the iconographic ranges were

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<sup>413</sup> Lee 2015, 115–116.

for both genders. There is nothing to support ideas of quaint, domestic scenes for women. A range of animals were popular among women, ranging from swans to fierce predators like lions (in one scene shown with a boar, presumably attacking it). However, male scenes, especially nude, athletic, and military ones, seem to have been avoided in female burials, with himatiophoroi depicted instead, perhaps showing that masculine portrayals not tempered by the “civilized” himation may have been seen as inappropriate or uninteresting for women.

### **5.8.3 Weapons and feminine jewelry: female warriors?**

As mentioned in the introduction, much has been made of literary sources describing Olympias and Adea Eurydice at the helm of armies and Cynnane actually fighting in battle. While Olympias was, according to Duris (in Athenaeus), dressed up as a bacchant, Adea Eurydice was wearing infantry armor. Since Olympias was Epirote and Cynnane and Adea Eurydice Illyrian, their habits did not, even if there is some truth to Duris’s reports, necessarily reflect Macedonian customs. No one has claimed Macedonian women participated in battle with any regularity, but Tomb II at Vergina has raised some speculation about women being buried with weapons. Inside the tomb, weapons and armor were found both in the main chamber (with a male cremation) and in the antechamber (with a female cremation). Some but not all of the weapons in the antechamber were placed by the door leading to the main chamber, and Andronikos already raised the question of whether those weapons belonged to the male buried in the main chamber or to the female in the antechamber.<sup>414</sup> Since then, the weapons from the antechamber have occasionally entered the debate about the identities of the deceased, with

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<sup>414</sup> Andronikos 1984, 178–179.

scholars arguing for Philip III Arrhidaeus and Adea Eurydice or Philip II and Meda based on the appropriateness of burying these women with weapons.<sup>415</sup> Recently, Elizabeth Carney has drawn attention to both the heterogeneity of the armor and the fact that a spear, a pectoral, and probably a corselet were found close to the dividing wall but not by the door, building a cogent argument that perhaps the motley and symbolically laden collection of weapons in the antechamber was meant for the woman, presented as Amazon-esque.<sup>416</sup>

The database shows that whatever the case with Tomb II, weapons were not rife in female graves. Not a single weapon has been found in the graves known to contain individually buried biological females. Knives, on the other hand, are not a rare occurrence although they are less common than in male burials, found in 13% or 5 out of 38 female graves. Some have pointed to this as evidence of masculine if not strictly military features in female burials, but as was argued in Chapter 4, knives could have had multiple uses and should not be taken as straightforward weapons with military connotations.<sup>417</sup>

Looking at feminine-type graves, the picture gets more complicated. Knives are still roughly as prevalent, but there are also 11 graves that contained both feminine jewelry and weapons.<sup>418</sup> These graves span from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period and were found at multiple sites. None of the graves have published osteological data on sex or age available. The graves form a minority and do not undermine the argument that women were much more likely to be buried with pendants, earrings, and bracelets, and men with weapons: of the graves with weapons, only 1.9% contained pendants, 1.1% earrings, and 0.4% bracelets, in comparison to

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<sup>415</sup> Hammond 1991, 77.

<sup>416</sup> Carney 2017.

<sup>417</sup> Carney 2010, 410.

<sup>418</sup> These graves are Arkhontiko T262, Pydna TB, Sevasti T2 and T3, Finikas 1, Lete/Derveni A, Makriyalos 83/1, Mieza T32, Paliouria T14A and T19, and Trapeza Lebet T7.

18%, 29%, and 5% of female graves. The 11 cases do, however, invalidate ideas of absolute patterns with no exceptions.

Of the 11 graves, two contained multiple burials, which helps explain the seemingly mixed symbolism. Two more graves were found looted, and it is possible that either there were originally multiple burials or the finds were intrusive, ending up in the graves due to looters. (This especially applies to one of the graves, which contained only fragments of both an earring and a spear.) Even so, seven graves remain in this vexing group. Five of them contained necklaces, in four instances made of gilded clay beads. These same four graves seem, in terms of their other finds, masculine, while the fifth, which contained several necklaces of gold as well as glass and amber beads, was thought to belong to a woman by the excavators. One wonders, then, if clay bead necklaces specifically were, in some rare instances, considered appropriate for male burials – or for women who did not conform to the usual pattern of weaponless burials. Earrings and bracelets were rarer, only attested in one case each. It is worth noting that despite most of the burials in the subset being very wealthy, often with multiple weapons and metal vessels, none of the graves included multiple types of feminine jewelry; that is to say, while some included more than one clay necklace, and while many also included non-gendered items like pins, rings, and wreaths, none of the graves included pendants *and* bracelets *and/or* earrings.

Unfortunately, extensive attempts to identify elements the “ambiguous” graves have in common failed. A close scrutiny of the subset revealed no clear patterns: the graves come from different periods, different sites, and contained different kinds of artifacts. Two statistical methods were also attempted, both of which are based on identifying predictor variables whose presence (or absence) makes it more likely that the predicted variable (in our case, the presence of feminine jewelry and weapons) is also present. Binary logistic regression was initially used,

but the method works poorly when the subset being analyzed (“predicted”) is so small, and the results are therefore not trustworthy. Decision tree analysis was also run, but it did not identify any clear predictor variables. One thing all of the graves do have in common is some level of wealth, given that jewelry and weapons themselves are expensive goods. Even here, however, there was great variation, with two of the graves containing little besides an earring and a spear, and the wealthiest example containing 45 strigils, 20 stone alabastra, and a plentitude of other finds.

In short, all that can be said about the subset is that it does not conform to the overall gendered patterns of Macedonian burials; it is small in number, indicating that whatever these people had in common, they did not form a large group; none of them were poor, but the spectrum of wealth represented is broad; and that bead necklaces were common in this group. As it stands, it is impossible to say whether these people were exceptional women, exceptional men, or possibly a third gender. Given how there are no other indications of a third gender in a Macedonian context, either textual, iconographical, or archaeological, the first two options seem more likely. Finally, it is also possible that the “incongruent” objects reflect the identities of whoever was involved in the burial instead of the deceased, but there is at present no evidence to decide this one way or another, and certainly nothing to support this being a common practice.

## **5.9 Conclusion**

Were Macedonian women like Phila, introduced at the very start of this chapter: fierce, religious, powerful, but ultimately presumably similar to their Athenian sisters with feminine and domestic concerns? This chapter has concluded that this image is true to some degree, but the mortuary evidence can nuance these broad strokes and expand our views from Phila and

Olympias to a broader segment of the population.

The fierce (if extreme) family feeling demonstrated by Argead royal women is reflected in the importance of fertility seen in the mortuary record, but group burials also suggest the concept of a nuclear family – or at least of a parent-child relationship – was sometimes irrelevant when making decisions about who got buried with whom. While incomplete osteological data make conclusions difficult, it has been suggested above that Macedonian women may have reached some sort of watershed in their 20s – perhaps related to motherhood or, in particular, fertility – that made them more likely to receive burials that are more archaeologically visible than those of younger or older women. Groupings of burials reveal women were more likely to be buried together with others than men were, but these groupings are more reminiscent of extended families or other larger groups than of nuclear families or spouses.

Certain object categories often associated with women in a broader ancient Mediterranean context were clearly important to Macedonian women as well. Toiletry vessels were prevalent in women's burials, and especially pyxides, lekythoi, and alabastra were associated with women. Certain types of jewelry – earrings, bracelets, and pendants – were almost always the prerogative of women. Interestingly, jewelry in burials decreased in number as the fortunes from Mount Pangaeum and the Near East began flowing into Macedon. Chapters 7 and 8 address this issue further, arguing for either a starker divergence in mortuary customs between economic groups or the loot from the East getting concentrated in the hands of the few.

No matter what we make of the lurid stories of Olympias' religious fervor, the mortuary record shows that religion played an important role in the lives of Macedonian women and also provided an avenue for conspicuous display. While even wealthy women's access to metal vessels was, in general, limited, metal libation vessels formed the exception; overall, libation



vessels were a category where women were on roughly equal standing with men. Terracotta figurines show a confluence of the female and the religious: women were more likely to be buried with them, the figurines were more likely to depict women, and many of the figurines depicted divine figures, especially divine women or Dionysiac figures. While the terracottas mostly come from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the Ladies of Aegae and Arkhontiko show that Archaic women could also be buried surrounded with strong religious symbolism.

The literary sources, as discussed, describe only the lives of the topmost Macedonian elite. Archaeology, in contrast, allows us to study if not the poorest, at least a broader segment of the population. Not all women were created equal in Macedonian society, and there are some indications that they also performed gender differently based on their status. Wealthy women seem to have had more access to objects that are usually associated with men. While women in general were buried with fewer vessels than men were, and the differences were particularly striking when it came to drinking vessels, wealthy female graves contained almost as many or even more drinking vessels than those of males (either wealthy or not). In the Archaic period, wealthy women were buried with miniature farmcarts just as men were, but their burials lacked the miniature pieces of furniture men had, raising the question of why men were more likely to be buried with symbols usually associated with the domestic sphere while women only received items related to agricultural production. Painted vases, another luxury product, suggest that there might have been an aversion to including nude, athletic, or warring male iconography in women's graves, but otherwise the imagery is surprisingly similar for men and women, negating any ideas of delicate motifs reserved for delicate women. Finally, there is a small but significant subset of burials containing weapons and feminine jewelry, which is, however, very difficult to interpret apart from noting that all the graves falling into this group were wealthy. Future

research and publication of more graves of this type will hopefully provide the data needed to answer the questions raised by this small subset.

## CHAPTER 6

### “Arrows in the hand of a mighty man”: children

*“As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that has his quiver full of them: they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate.”*

- Psalm 127

*“And what an excellent example of the power of dress young Oliver Twist was. Wrapped in the blanket which had hitherto formed his only covering, he might have been the child of a nobleman or a beggar; – it would have been hard for the haughtiest stranger to have fixed his station in society. But now he was enveloped in the old calico robes, that had grown yellow in the same service; he was badged and ticketed, and fell into his place at once – a parish child – the orphan of a workhouse – the humble, half-starved drudge – to be cuffed and buffeted through the world, despised by all, and pitied by none.”*

- *Oliver Twist*, Charles Dickens<sup>419</sup>

Discussing children as a category separate from adults is not a given or straightforward, as demonstrated by the might of children in Psalm 127 on the one hand and the fall from grace of Oliver Twist as soon as he is dressed by a nurse in the workhouse he is born in on the other. Children are not a monolithic group, but, more importantly for our purposes, nor is the social construct of childhood. Ethnography, history, and archaeology have shown that childhood,

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<sup>419</sup> Dickens 1839, 6–7.

adolescence, and adulthood are all culture-specific concepts and not particularly applicable to some societies. Differences exist in terms of the age at which childhood starts and ends, how such transitions are marked, and, importantly, whether “childhood” exists to begin with. Some societies do not consider infants and young children persons until they reach a certain point of development. In Greece and Rome, infants were publicly acknowledged only after surviving a week, while in many cultures social personhood is tied to a developmental landmark such as the attainment of speech or the body reaching a suitably vigorous and strong state.<sup>420</sup> In other past societies, childhood was much closer to adulthood than it is in ours: while Philippe Ariès’s argument that in Medieval Europe children were seen as poorly functioning adults has been disputed, there is no denying that childhood ended earlier than in the modern Western world nor that children were often depicted similarly to adults.<sup>421</sup>

This chapter argues that in the case of ancient Macedon, it is not enough to try to reconstruct just one idea of childhood. Children’s burials show a particularly great range, from toddlers used as the arrows of their family and buried with the weapons to show it to others buried with the ceramic equivalents of *Oliver Twist*’s yellowed cotton robes or, indeed, buried in ways or in places difficult to find archaeologically. Furthermore, some children were depicted as “little adults” while others received toys and caretakers to help them in the afterlife.

The chapter’s organization is driven partly by material, partly by questions. The first two sections discuss previous scholarship, literary sources, and osteological data in order to gain insight into age categories and what the burying patterns of very young children, especially, can tell us. After this, wealth and conceptualizations of childhood are looked at using artifact

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<sup>420</sup> McWilliam 2013, 268 (Greece and Rome). See Lancy (2014) for an overview of dozens of cultures with “delayed attachment” practices.

<sup>421</sup> Ariès 1962; see Orme (2001) for a rebuttal.

assemblages. The last section investigates when and how the process of gendering occurred.

## **6.1 Previous scholarship and literary sources**

The study of childhood is a recent development within Greek and Roman studies; while families, particularly Roman ones, have been studied extensively from the 1980s onward, children became a focus only in the 2000s.<sup>422</sup> In recent years, however, childhood in antiquity has grown into its own subfield, with scholars studying children in literature, art, and the archaeological record.<sup>423</sup> This work has, firstly, irrefutably proven the existence of an ancient perception of children as something separate from adults and, secondly, increasingly nuanced our understanding of the topic. For example, John Oakley has shown that in Greek art children changed from Archaic miniature adults to Classical plump and distinctly child-like depictions, while Lesley Beaumont has argued that in Athens gendering was an asymmetrical process, with girls consistently gendered as feminine from an early age but boys shown grouped with and behaving similarly to girls and women until an older age.<sup>424</sup> As a result of such studies, we now have a fairly good picture of southern Greek children as different from adults, as (at least sometimes) cherished by their parents, and as gendered from an early age.

The study of Macedonian children has been much more limited than that of their southern peers. This might be due to a lack of a body of iconographic material like the one from Athens (many studies are based on vase-painting or reliefs, especially funerary stelae), the scarcity of literary sources, or the relatively small number of published child burials. Indeed, these same

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<sup>422</sup> Evans Grubbs and Parkin 2013a, 3.

<sup>423</sup> Evans Grubbs and Parkin (2013b) and Cohen and Rutter (2007) are two recent collections of essays discussing everything from philosophical texts to osteological evidence.

<sup>424</sup> Oakley 2013 (art); Beaumont 2013 (asymmetrical gendering).

factors pose a challenge to the current study and mean that part of the analysis is based on case-studies instead of a larger dataset.

Ancient literary sources tell us little about childhood and adolescence in Macedon, and they furthermore only shed light on the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Even then, the evidence tells us who was deemed an adult and suited for certain responsibilities rather than saying much about children per se. At 20, Alexander the Great was deemed fit to take on the responsibilities of the kingdom.<sup>425</sup> Philip III Arrhidaeus was not fit to rule without a regent even in his 30s due to his developmental disabilities, but it is worth noting he was still deemed worthy of a dynastic marriage (at around age 20) by his father to the daughter of a Carian satrap (although the marriage was sabotaged by Alexander the Great) and he was similarly deemed worthy of killing because he posed a threat to the power of Olympias.<sup>426</sup> In a Macedonian context, it is often emphasized how each ascendant to the throne, even after hereditary kingship was established as the norm, still needed to show his strength and prowess to be accepted as the new ruler, but Philip III shows there was some – if ultimately limited – currency to royal blood; even if Arrhidaeus's worthiness was contingent on the power and wishes of his family rather than his personal characteristics, giving him at least nominal royal duties was not beyond the realm of possibility. Finally, Hegesander's report of a Macedonian rite of passage has already been mentioned in Chapter 4, although it seemingly did little to hinder one's status or ability to get on in society: participants of a symposium were not allowed to recline if they had not caught

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<sup>425</sup> Alexander's birth is dated by Plutarch's (*Vit. Alex.* 3.5) mention of it coinciding with the fall of Potidaea, Philip's horses winning at Olympia, and Parmenion winning over the Illyrians. See Hammond and Griffith (1979, 246–254) for a detailed discussion of the sequence of events and dating. For a detailed discussion of Alexander's accession at around 20, see Hammond (1992, 357), which discusses the sources: Arr. *Anab.* 1.1; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 11.1; Just. 11.1.

<sup>426</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.2.4 (regent); Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 10 (marriage plans); Diod. Sic. 19.11.4–5 (death).

a boar without the help of a net, but this did not stop Cassander from being a powerful general.<sup>427</sup>

Alexander the Great's sons offer more insight into the transition between adolescence and adulthood, at least in terms of political power. The exact ages of Alexander IV and Heracles are debated because of conflicting sources and uncertainty over which years the passages discuss.<sup>428</sup> When they died, Alexander may have been 14 and Heracles 17 (or 14, according to Justin; Nicholas Hammond and Frank Walbank argued this is an interpolation from a source discussing Alexander). Both Justin and Diodorus Siculus mention the concern Cassander had over the sons growing up and possibly getting ready to ascend to the throne.

The importance of teenage years for royalty is echoed by the *basilikoi paides* or royal pages. Hammond and Walbank noted as a fact that 14 was the age at which boys became royal pages, but Elizabeth Carney has pointed out that the age is nowhere explicitly stated and instead suggests a range from mid-to-late teens, given how significant the pages' duties as the king's lifeguards were: Arrian mentions children who had reached adolescence (τοὺς παῖδας ὅσοι ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακιεύοντο καταλέγεσθαι), while Curtius refers to the king's companions with the word *adultus*.<sup>429</sup>

Finally, it is worth briefly noting an important inscription from Beroea which is much later than the scope of this study (second century BCE) but is often mentioned when discussing Macedonian conceptualizations of age. The gymnasiarchal law dictates appropriate behavior at the gymnasium and in the process distinguishes between those under (and by implication, over) 30, “ephebes and those under 22 years” (οἱ [τ]ε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη),

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<sup>427</sup> Ath. 1.18a.

<sup>428</sup> The passages are Diod. Sic. 20.20, 20.28.1, 19.105.2; and Just. 15.2.3. See Hammond and Walbank (1988, 165–172) for discussion.

<sup>429</sup> Hammond and Walbank 1988, 166; Carney 2015a, 209; Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1; Curt. 8.6.2–6.

and *paides*.<sup>430</sup> Contact between the *paides* and the older youth was punishable; Argyro Tataki has argued this was to discourage homosexual behavior, and it seems reasonable to at least assume some sorts of rules of propriety at play here.<sup>431</sup> Whether the rules were intended to discourage homosexual or pedophilic behavior, they pointedly diverge from Athenian practices of pederasty, often revolving around the gymnasium. On the other hand, some Athenian influence might be seen in the age categories, which are closely aligned with Athenian ones rather than congruent with the great responsibilities heaped on the *basilikoi paides*.<sup>432</sup> One wonders if we here see a negotiation between local and Athenian ideals: the pointed prohibition regarding boys and men mingling suggests push-back against the Athenian pederastic system, but the age classes themselves might speak of the adoption of different, more Athenian-looking categories. In either case, the inscription informs us of the existence of (presumably older) children, *ephebes*, young adults under 22, those between 22 and 30, and those over 30; it does not tell us much about young children.

In sum, the textual evidence is meager, not contemporary, relates to royalty or high elites, and almost exclusively sheds light on the transition into adulthood rather than childhood itself. It also offers some age classes, but these again focus on older children and young adults. The years roughly corresponding to the onset of puberty marked a point after which a boy was considered fit to take on adult responsibilities – whether as a royal page or even as a ruler – but textual sources tell us very little about what happened before. In the case of girls, even less is known as they are hardly ever mentioned. This is in itself telling (the hegemony of the adult male seems to

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<sup>430</sup> The inscription is published with commentary in Cormack (1977) and as *SEG XXVII* 261. Tataki (1988, 426) also discusses the text.

<sup>431</sup> Tataki 1988, 426.

<sup>432</sup> For discussion of age categories at Beroea and elsewhere, see Cormack (1977) and Forbes (1933).



hold true here as well), but the archaeological record allows us to see the infants and young children so ignored in the textual record.

## **6.2 Osteological evidence and spatial distribution**

As discussed at several points above, osteological data are scarce for Macedon, and as a result creating a demographic profile is impossible. In the case of children, there are added complications. Tim Parkin (among others) has called for caution when using life tables created based on ethnographic and modern demographic studies, but he has also drawn on a broad sample of societies to estimate that in the ancient world 200 per 1,000 live births might have died as infants and a further 150 by the age of five, for a total 35% mortality rate by age five.<sup>433</sup> Both within and outside of the Mediterranean region, however, children and especially infants are frequently found in much smaller numbers than this.<sup>434</sup> Jane Buikstra has shown that the traditional assumption about the poor preservation of juvenile bone explaining the difference is not adequate; instead, she has argued that cultural factors and incomplete archaeological recovery need to be looked at for an explanation.<sup>435</sup> Work informed by these critiques has yielded interesting results in an Athenian context. Both bioarchaeologists and archaeologists have studied how and why the prevalence of infants and young children under five drops after the Archaic and Early Classical periods and is lower during the Late Classical and Hellenistic.<sup>436</sup> Sanne Houby-Nielsen has argued this reflects a shift in values, with diminished attention given to citizen roles such as “mother” (giving birth to citizens) reflected in a shift toward luxury and

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<sup>433</sup> Parkin 2013, 50.

<sup>434</sup> Lagia 2007, 294.

<sup>435</sup> Buikstra 1997, 370; her observation is discussed in a Mediterranean context by Lagia (2007).

<sup>436</sup> Lagia 2007; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 1996, 1997.

reduced effort toward burying children.<sup>437</sup>

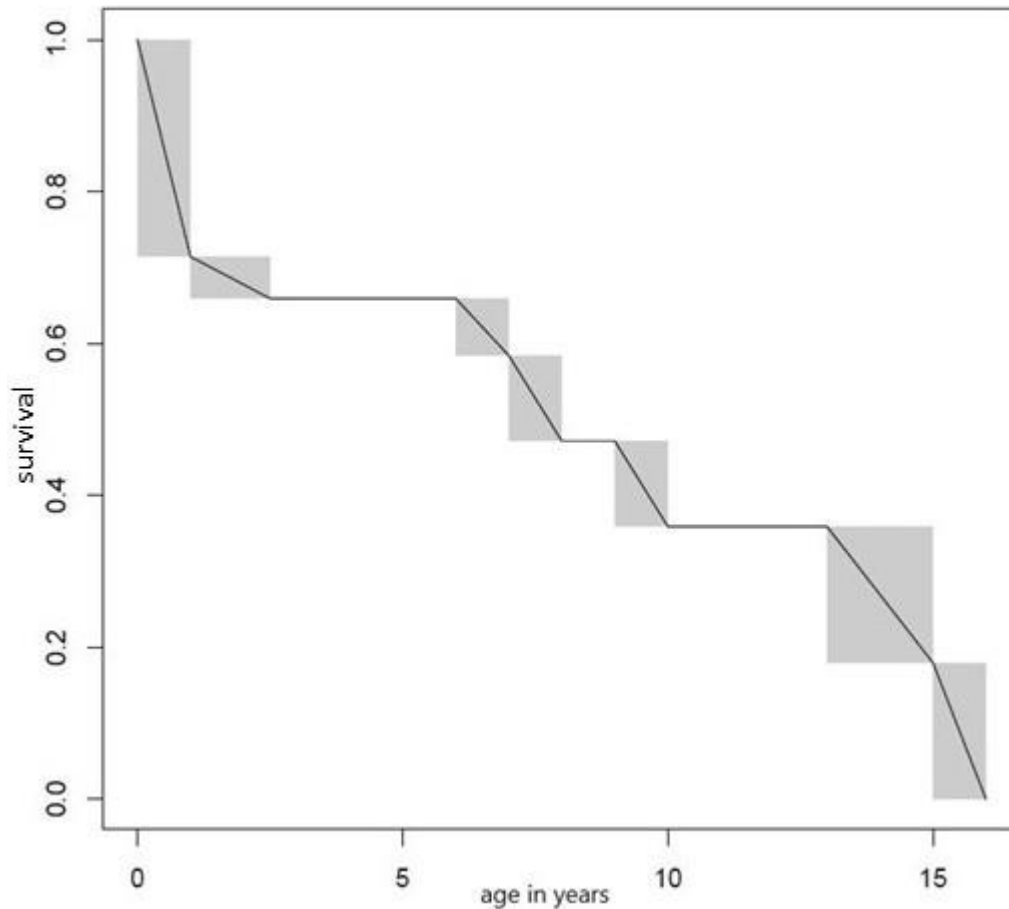


Figure 6.1. Mortality curve for the aged subadults in the dataset (N=29). The shaded areas represent uncertainty due to ranges in the age-at-death estimates. The line indicates the proportion (out of 1.0, i.e., 100%) of the population that survived until a given age. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the Kaplan-Meier estimator used.

The data for Macedon are more similar to Hellenistic than Archaic Athens, with a scarcity of subadults (Figure 6.1). Of the 136 aged individuals in the database, 22 (16%) were 12 or younger at death: 9 (7%) were fetuses or infants, while 13 (10%) were children 1–12 years of

<sup>437</sup> Houby-Nielsen 1995, 1996, 1997.

age. Seven (5%) were adolescents aged 12–17. This means that all subadults, but especially fetuses and infants, are much scarcer than life tables or examples from Athens, Olynthus, Acanthus, and Abdera would lead us to expect.<sup>438</sup> It is, of course, unclear whether this ratio mainly reflects the number of children buried, the number of children’s remains recovered archaeologically, or merely the number of children’s remains analyzed and published. Indeed, the excavators of Trapeza Lebet, northwest of Thessaloniki, report roughly 25% of the burials as belonging to children, while 20–29% of the fourth-century graves from Pydna’s North Cemetery’s contained children; these are still low numbers but closer to what one would expect the mortuary demographics to be.<sup>439</sup> Looking at graves with small dimensions (1.30 m or shorter in length) containing inhumations offers a proxy to help estimate the prevalence of child burials using another line of evidence. (There is no evidence of flexed burials from the dataset, so small graves containing adults in a flexed position are unlikely.) This number does not capture all subadult burials, as many of the osteologically studied subadult remains come from large graves – including monumental ones – but it does broaden the subset of graves most likely belonging to subadults. Here as well, the discrepancy remains and is, in fact, even greater: only 56 or 6% of the 990 graves have these small measurements.

Looking at Figure 6.1 in more detail, it is obvious that the mortality curve is far from smooth. Infancy shows a sharp drop (i.e., high mortality), followed by another drop around 6–10, and another one around 12–16. It needs to be kept in mind that the curve is a “best guess” built partly on very broad age ranges (including 1–17 in cases where individuals were simply described as “subadult”). Even so, the pattern is worth noting because it does not conform to

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<sup>438</sup> Lagia (2007) discusses all these examples with bibliography.

<sup>439</sup> Liontas, Mandaki, and Iliopoulou in *AEMTh* 17, 299–310 (Trapeza Lebet); Kotitsa 2012, 80 (Pydna).

what we would expect: very high infant mortality rates followed by high mortality until about age five, followed by much lower mortality. In light of this, cultural factors affecting burial practices are a likely explanation for the mortality profile.

Burial groupings show interesting patterning that might help explain the mortality curve. As was discussed in Chapter 5, subadults were more likely to be buried together with someone (or some people) and they were almost never buried in a children-only group but instead had an adult to accompany them. Except for one case, infants were not (found) buried alone but as part of a couple or a group.<sup>440</sup> This seems to be a complementary distribution: only in one instance is a teenager buried with other individuals. In other words, very young children and infants were unlikely to be buried alone (at least in ways archaeologically recoverable), while children and adolescents over five years old were typically buried on their own.

The limited number of published plans makes it difficult to say much about the spatial distribution of subadult burials, and excavators have not noted many patterns.<sup>441</sup> At Edessa, the subadult graves seem to lie along the outer edges of the cemetery, but they are not clustered to any one side.<sup>442</sup> At Asomata, two of the three subadult graves are next to each other, but it is difficult to argue for a pattern given the small number of the excavated and published graves. Overview reports on graves not included in the database (due to a lack of detailed artifact assemblages) mention that children were buried among adults at least at Pydna, Vergina, and

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<sup>440</sup> This phenomenon has also been observed by Anna Moles at the Hellenistic North Cemetery of Knossos (Upper House Seminar at the British School at Athens, Jan 22, 2017). She unfortunately does not have data from other contemporary cemeteries or other archaeological contexts at the site that would help explain where all the missing infants are. The fact that there are also many more females than males from the same cemetery suggests that the cemetery is not representative of the overall mortuary profile of the community.

<sup>441</sup> See Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>442</sup> The subadult graves are T10, T39, T51, and T62. See plan in Chapter 3.

Arkhontiko.<sup>443</sup> Kostas Soueref, on the other hand, has noted that different areas around Toumba Thessalonikis have yielded different adult-to-children ratios, suggesting there might be spatial distinctions with certain areas favored for adults and others for children.<sup>444</sup> It seems there was great variation in the organization of cemeteries and age was not used as a criterion consistently.

Getting a broader idea of whether subadult burials were typically scattered among adult ones would help answer the vexing question of where all the “missing” children are. Recent work in Athens, Messene, Astypalaia, and Mende has shown that from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period infants were sometimes buried in separate contexts, mainly in wells or in groups of *enchytrismos* (pot) burials, the latter in either separate cemeteries or in parts of cemeteries.<sup>445</sup> It is difficult to speculate whether this might be occurring on a large scale in Macedon as well, but Angeliki Kottaridi has reported on a fifth-century BCE tomb reused as a tomb for 200 infants and neonates at Vergina; unfortunately the exact date of the reuse of the tomb remains unclear to this author.<sup>446</sup> This is a precious if not generalizable example that might help explain the lack of infants in the cemeteries.

In sum, then, in Macedon as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, subadults are underrepresented in the osteological record. While it is impossible to say how much of this is explained by recovery and publishing bias, the difference is striking enough that it seems likely that subadults were buried in ways or in locations less archaeologically visible to us. The frequent burial of young children, particularly infants, with adults also raises interesting

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<sup>443</sup> Besios in *AEMTh* 2, 188 (Pydna); Kottaridi in *AEMTh* 20 *Χρόνια*, 145–146 (Vergina); Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *AEMTh* 24, 177 (Arkhontiko).

<sup>444</sup> Soueref in *AEMTh* 14, 215–225; 16, 277–286; 17, 245–254.

<sup>445</sup> Hillson 2009 (Astypalaia); Bourbou and Themelis 2010 (Messene); Moschonissioti 2010 (Mende); Lagia 2007 (Athens).

<sup>446</sup> The discovery was reported at the “Ancient Macedonia 8” conference on November 23, 2017. The paper will hopefully be published in the conference proceedings volume.

questions: Were children buried with adults out of fondness and a desire to look after them in the afterlife or out of convenience, with infants lacking a suitable adult grave to be placed in landing somewhere we are unlikely to recover them from archaeologically? How should we interpret the fact that this pattern changes on reaching the preteen years, after which very few adolescents get buried with others? The following sections looking at artifact assemblages from subadult graves help shed light on how children were perceived at different points in their lives by looking at how they were represented in death.

### **6.3 Status and wealth**

Children, when buried on their own, were mostly interred in pit-graves, with the one notable exception of Vergina's "Tomb of the Prince," a Macedonian tomb containing the remains of a 13–16-year-old. The infants buried with other individuals, in contrast, skew heavily toward chamber tombs (Macedonian tombs and other types). This might be partly because chamber tombs both had the space and could be re-opened to accommodate further interments but also provides one piece of evidence in the puzzle of infant burials. Whatever the motivations for depositing infants with adults, it most likely was not done for economic reasons; whoever could afford to build a monumental tomb could surely afford to dig a pit for an infant.

| Shape                       | Biological men (N=44) | Masculine-type graves (N=266) | Biological women (N=38) | Feminine-type graves (N=163) | Biological children and adolescents (N=17) | Small graves (N=56) | Archaic (N=324) | Classical (N=605) | Hellenistic (N=287) | Overall (N=990) |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Metal</b> <sup>447</sup> | 25                    | 38                            | 16                      | 30                           | <b>29</b>                                  | <b>5</b>            | 37              | 15                | 19                  | 22              |
| Drinking                    | 5                     | 3                             | 0                       | 6                            | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>0</b>            | 1               | 3                 | 4                   | 3               |
| Toiletry                    | 7                     | 3                             | 0                       | 4                            | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>0</b>            | 1               | 4                 | 6                   | 2               |
| Pouring liquids             | 9                     | 10                            | 3                       | 6                            | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>0</b>            | 7               | 4                 | 5                   | 5               |
| Serving and cooking         | 14                    | 21                            | 0                       | 20                           | <b>18</b>                                  | <b>2</b>            | 22              | 5                 | 5                   | 10              |
| Ritual                      | 16                    | 23                            | 16                      | 23                           | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>2</b>            | 27              | 4                 | 4                   | 12              |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Drinking</b>             | 54                    | 65                            | 34                      | 53                           | <b>59</b>                                  | <b>16</b>           | 65              | 42                | 34                  | 46              |
| Krater                      | 5                     | 12                            | 0                       | 2                            | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 8               | 3                 | 2                   | 4               |
| Kantharos                   | 7                     | 5                             | 0                       | 3                            | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>2</b>            | 2               | 5                 | 9                   | 4               |
| Skyphos                     | 14                    | 26                            | 24                      | 25                           | <b>24</b>                                  | <b>7</b>            | 15              | 28                | 22                  | 22              |
| Kotyle                      | 0                     | 7                             | 3                       | 6                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 10              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 3               |
| Kylix                       | 23                    | 24                            | 5                       | 18                           | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>2</b>            | 33              | 6                 | 4                   | 14              |
| Kantharoid cup local        | 11                    | 6                             | 3                       | 7                            | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 13              | 2                 | 0                   | 5               |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Toiletry</b>             | 34                    | 32                            | 37                      | 41                           | <b>53</b>                                  | <b>23</b>           | 27              | 37                | 38                  | 32              |
| Pyxis                       | 2                     | 1                             | 8                       | 6                            | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>0</b>            | 1               | 4                 | 5                   | 3               |
| Unguentarium                | 9                     | 2                             | 8                       | 8                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>5</b>            | 0               | 8                 | 18                  | 6               |
| Aryballos                   | 5                     | 13                            | 0                       | 10                           | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 21              | 1                 | (0.3)               | 7               |
| Lekythos                    | 11                    | 11                            | 24                      | 16                           | <b>25</b>                                  | <b>16</b>           | 5               | 23                | 15                  | 15              |
| Alabastra                   | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 4                            | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>0</b>            | 1               | 4                 | 4                   | 2               |
| Askos                       | 5                     | 5                             | 0                       | 4                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>0</b>            | 0               | 5                 | 5                   | 3               |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Pouring liquids</b>      | 23                    | 36                            | 21                      | 24                           | <b>29</b>                                  | <b>14</b>           | 36              | 23                | 24                  | 24              |
| Oinochoe                    | 14                    | 9                             | 5                       | 9                            | <b>18</b>                                  | <b>5</b>            | 9               | 8                 | 10                  | 8               |
| Olpe                        | 0                     | 1                             | 8                       | 3                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>4</b>            | 2               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |
| Cutaway prochous            | 5                     | 19                            | 3                       | 4                            | <b>12</b>                                  | <b>0</b>            | 17              | 4                 | 1                   | 8               |
| Prochous                    | 2                     | 4                             | 0                       | 2                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 4               | 3                 | 4                   | 3               |
| Pelike                      | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 4                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 0               | 5                 | 7                   | 3               |
| Hydria                      | 0                     | 2                             | 0                       | 5                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 4               | 3                 | 3                   | 3               |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Serving and cooking</b>  | 11                    | 10                            | 8                       | 8                            | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>7</b>            | 8               | 6                 | 9                   | 7               |
| Plate                       | 2                     | 3                             | 3                       | 3                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>0</b>            | 0               | 3                 | 6                   | 2               |
| Salt cellar                 | 2                     | 2                             | 0                       | 2                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>4</b>            | 0               | 2                 | 2                   | 1               |
| Lebes                       | 2                     | 5                             | 3                       | 1                            | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 6               | (0.3)             | 0                   | 2               |
| Lekane                      | 5                     | 1                             | 3                       | 3                            | <b>0</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 2               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Amphorae</b>             | 7                     | 7                             | 3                       | 10                           | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>2</b>            | 5               | 5                 | 8                   | 5               |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Ritual</b>               | 43                    | 47                            | 34                      | 41                           | <b>35</b>                                  | <b>16</b>           | 43              | 32                | 40                  | 34              |
| Exaleipteron                | 18                    | 29                            | 16                      | 23                           | <b>18</b>                                  | <b>4</b>            | 39              | 7                 | 2                   | 16              |
| Phiale                      | 25                    | 19                            | 18                      | 20                           | <b>24</b>                                  | <b>13</b>           | 5               | 25                | 39                  | 19              |
|                             |                       |                               |                         |                              |  |                     |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| <b>Miniature vessels</b>    | 2                     | 2                             | 5                       | 1                            | <b>6</b>                                   | <b>4</b>            | 3               | 2                 | 2                   | 2               |

Table 6.1. Prevalence of vessel shapes as percentage of graves which contained each given shape. The rows with bolded headings list the total for a functional category, consisting of the vessel types listed below it. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, with the exception of numbers less than 0.5%, shown in parentheses. measured under 1.31 m. The columns by period include all graves dated to a specific period, regardless of age or sex.

<sup>447</sup> The overall percentage of graves with metal is sometimes larger than the sum total of the subcategories, because certain rare shapes such as basins were counted under metal vessels but not recorded as part of any of the subcategories.

Studying the artifact assemblages of the graves similarly disproves the idea of children as consistently low-status (Table 6.1). Artifact assemblages were studied for two subsets: the 17 osteologically analyzed subadults, and the 56 graves with inhumations measuring less than 1.31 m. (The subset of infants buried with others was excluded, as it is almost always impossible to say which artifacts were associated with which individual.) The artifact distributions for the two groups are drastically different, probably reflecting a tendency to conduct osteological analyses for wealthy graves. The small set of subadults were buried lavishly, with grave goods exceeding averages across almost all vessel categories and in many cases exceeding the subsets of graves with weapons or feminine-type jewelry (i.e., the subsets of wealthy men and women). The small graves, on the other hand, were consistently poorer than average. Weapons or jewelry were found in the majority of subadult graves but rarely in small graves. Metal vessels were found in 29% of subadult graves but in only 5% of small graves (compared to a 22% overall average).

There are also differences in the specific types of vessels buried with children depending on the group. Among the subadults, personal toiletry vessels were particularly prominent, with a 12% prevalence compared to an average of 2%. Toiletry vessels were, however, relatively popular among both the subadult and small-grave groups. With subadults, pyxides, lekythoi, and alabastra, especially, were popular, while the small graves contained unguentaria and lekythoi most often. Interestingly, ceramic drinking vessels were also common among subadults, with kantharoi, especially, overrepresented among them. Among pouring vessels, oinochoai and cutaway prochoes were the most popular among subadults, while the distribution across shapes was much more even among small graves. Ritual vessels were roughly as popular among subadults as they were among the entire dataset, and phialai were, relatively speaking, common among the small graves. Miniatures, while far from very common, were considerably more



popular among subadults (6%) and small graves (4%) than among the overall population (2%); this needs to be nuanced by the note that the subset of females also had a higher prevalence of miniatures at 5%.

A common assumption holds that children were buried with more terracottas than adults,<sup>448</sup> but confirming this is difficult because of the scarcity of osteological data. Out of the 17 individual burials with osteological data proving they were children, three (18%) were buried with terracottas – two, three, and fourteen figurines, respectively. Of the small graves, 13 (23%) contained terracottas. This distribution is similar to individual adult burials, of which 20 (19%) contained figurines, typically one or two. It therefore seems that no clear differences based on age can be noted in the distribution of terracottas. It is, however, worth noting that out of all the graves with animal terracottas and with known grave dimensions, 54% measure less than 1.5 m in length and are quite likely to have belonged to children. Perhaps animal figurines were suitable toys and companions for children in the afterlife.

In sum, the small subset of aged subadult graves and the larger group of graves with small dimensions can tell us a surprising amount about how children were conceptualized. Overall, wealthy children were depicted as fairly similar to adults. Status was clearly ascribed rather than achieved in the case of children from wealthy families. In addition to wealthy grave goods in general, preteens were buried with weapons, surely not reflective of actual military prowess or battle experience. They could receive burials equally or even more lavish than wealthy adults and mostly had artifact distributions similar to those of the overall population. The osteologically studied subset is in drastic contrast to the small graves, which show that

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<sup>448</sup> See, e.g., Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 105.

poorer child burials were very poor not only in comparison to wealthy graves but also to averages. This suggests that poorer families invested less in the burials of their children relatively speaking. One wonders if this reflects a greater importance of dynasties and family lines among wealthier families, especially when combined with the tendency for infants to only be buried with adults in wealthy grave types. In the context of Archaic and Classical Sicily, Sophie Bouffier has suggested that similarly wealthy subadult burials are a sign of the importance of offspring in new states.<sup>449</sup> A lack of resources among the poor would have, of course, also played a role, but this does not negate the fact that even relatively speaking, the wealthy invested more in the burials of their children. This is naturally based on the premise that family members buried their children; see Chapters 2 and 3 for discussion on burials and agency. Finally, there are some differences that distinguish child burials whether rich or poor: animal terracottas might have been seen as suitable companions for children in the afterlife, especially among poorer families.

#### **6.4 Gendering**

Some examples of gendered artifacts in child burials were already mentioned in the previous section. Weapons were placed in graves for children as young as seven. Across both subadults and small graves, toiletry vessels were relatively speaking more popular than among the general population; the fact that few toiletry vessels were found in graves with weapons might speak to gendering, with mostly girls receiving vessels such as pyxides, just as is the case with adult women. This section looks more closely at gendering in the child burials. A general

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<sup>449</sup> Bouffier 2012.

discussion is followed by case-studies, as the small size of the subset makes generalizing difficult and the three examples selected illustrate the diversity and nuances of child burials.<sup>450</sup>

From an osteological point of view, studying girls or boys is challenging because sex is difficult to determine in pre-pubescent individuals: DNA can be used for this, and some argue sex can be determined based on skull and pelvis morphology in subadults, but the former method is often not available or feasible while the latter is still controversial.<sup>451</sup> Instead, girls – in some cases more appropriately young women as we shall see – were identified as the subset of graves that were either shorter than 1.31 m or were osteologically determined to be children and which also contained feminine jewelry. Boys – again perhaps more appropriately young men – were identified similarly but characterized by the presence of weapons, rather than jewelry, in the grave. (For simplicity’s sake, the terms “girl” and “boy” are used for the remainder of this section.) The majority of girls or boys were most likely not caught by this analysis, but it can regardless shed light on how some children were depicted in death. The subsets number only nine boys and ten girls out of a total of 73 children’s graves (based on both osteological data and grave size). Despite this, both groups include burials from many sites and span the entire period under study. As already mentioned, weapons and jewelry were almost exclusive to osteologically determined subadults, which in turn are drastically wealthier than burials in small graves. In short, more so than with adults, looking at the subsets with weapons and jewelry means looking at a wealthy subset very different from their humbler peers.

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<sup>450</sup> Attempts to run a binary logistic regression analysis on the subset of girls – first comparing it to all burials, then to children’s graves – were inconclusive, either because there are no significant associations that distinguish the girls from the rest of the population or because the subset is simply too small for the method to work. The results were poor on two levels: the p-value for the model overall and for individual variables was very high, indicating no significant patterning. Some analysts recommend a minimum of 50 cases per variable for this method – clearly an impossibility for our dataset: <https://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/mike.cox/III/spss10.pdf>.

<sup>451</sup> Fox 2012, 410.

Gendering (in a mortuary context, at least) began at an early age. Looking at graves with weapons, there seems to be no clear breakdown by age: both teenagers and preteens (13–16 and 7–11 years respectively)<sup>452</sup> could be buried with weapons, and preteens, indeed, outnumber teenagers by a small margin. In almost all cases, the weapons of choice were spears, often in a set of two, as is also common in adult burials. A famous exception is the Tomb of the Prince from Vergina, discussed below. Feminine-type jewelry was similarly included in graves for girls as young as three, and indeed some of the largest jewelry assemblages (among children or adults) come from these toddler graves.

The small subsets make it difficult to study distributions of individual vessel shapes, but some patterns emerge, especially when looked at in tandem with vessel distribution across all graves, adult or child. Toiletry vessels were more common in girls' burials (50% to the boys' 22%), as were drinking vessels (60% to 44%). The distribution of toiletry vessels is the same as for the overall population: pyxides, alabastra, and especially lekythoi were more common in girls' burials. Among drinking cups, skyphoi were the most common for girls (40%) but nonexistent in boys' graves, while kantharoid cups and kantharoi were only found in boys' graves. This, again, roughly corresponds to patterns found in adult burials. Girls were much more likely to be buried with terracottas (60% to the boys' 11%), while metal vessels were more common in boys' graves (33% to the girls' 20%).

In short, the general picture seems to correspond fairly closely to patterns observed among adult burials. Three case-studies can add nuance to this picture.

Tomb III or the "Tomb of the Prince" at Vergina, dated to 320–310, is exceptional even

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<sup>452</sup> These age ranges come from individual osteological reports, which explains the "gap" with no 12-year-olds.

among the wealthy subset of subadult interments. It is also the only one in the subset of boys published extensively and in detail, and as such it is the best option for a case-study. The Macedonian tomb with two chambers, decorated with a frieze of a chariot race, contained the cremation of a 13–16-year-old placed in a silver hydria on a table.<sup>453</sup> The tomb contained a spectacular array of metal goods and a surprising lack of ceramics. Gilded greaves, decorations from a cuirass, four spears, and two strigils were found along with two wreaths. Two bronze and a full 38 silver vessels were found, mostly in shapes related to drinking and feasting and often in pairs. The only ceramic vessels found are three amphorae. While Andronikos noted that the quality of the silversmithing is lower for the objects from Tomb III than from Tomb II, there is no denying that Tomb III competes with the very wealthiest Macedonian burials.<sup>454</sup> The almost complete lack of ceramics seems to further amplify the aura of luxury and wealth. The military panoply is also among some of the most extensive from the Classical or Early Hellenistic periods; swords were very rare in graves by this period, so Tomb III lacking one is not extraordinary. In sum, the teenage boy was depicted as a man fighting battles, drinking, and feasting. This was probably at least partly aspirational, although as mentioned in the section on literary sources, Macedonian adolescents could mature early as illustrated by, for example, Alexander the Great participating in battles with his father from a young age. Furthermore, “the prince” was given extraordinarily lavish silver vessels and had his bones wrapped in purple fabric and placed in a metal container, reminiscent of Tomb II. He was clearly depicted as an elite Macedonian male, whether this closely resembled his lived reality or not.

Two further case-studies demonstrate two different ways to treat girls in death. Grave

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<sup>453</sup> The tomb was published in Andronikos (1984). For the human remains, see Xirotiris and Langenscheidt (1981); for ceramics, see Drougou (2005).

<sup>454</sup> Andronikos 1984, 209.

T197 from Arkhontiko is an example of girls from wealthy families being treated similarly to women in death. The individual, who died around 560 BCE, is aged “7–8 years” and identified as a “girl” by the excavators without discussion of osteological evidence; we can then assume they either did osteological study without publishing it or estimated the age based on height.<sup>455</sup> As mentioned earlier, determining the sex of pre-pubescent children is difficult, so only an estimation of gender based on grave goods or mortuary customs is possible. Here, earrings and bracelets make it likely the grave, indeed, belonged to a girl. Despite her young age, her burial was lavish and indistinguishable from an elite adult burial. She was placed in a wooden sarcophagus as were most individuals buried at Arkhontiko. The grave contained a dozen bronze vessels and pottery from Corinth and Ionia. The vessels ranged from a *chytra* (a cooking vessel) to jugs and cups and importantly included over 10 libation vessels (an *exaleiptron* and *phialai*). The girl was buried with two knives, amber, glass and gold jewelry, and an ivory object the excavators have suggested might be a scepter. Finally, her burial contained miniature models of a farmcart and pieces of furniture. In other words, there is nothing differentiating this burial from the *crème de la crème* of adult female burials except for the miniature furniture normally more characteristic of elite male burials. Not only was the girl buried with a wealth of goods, the range of precious imports, prestige items, and items linked to both the spheres of personal adornment and religious activities was similar to that seen with adults. Her status was clearly ascribed rather than achieved, and the mortuary sphere seems to here reflect aspirations rather than lived experience.

Another example comes from Pella and is dated to the end of the Classical period, c.

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<sup>455</sup> Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012a, 499; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou in *AEMTh* 16, 469.

350–325.<sup>456</sup> It tells quite a different story. This grave of a three-year-old child was found looted, but it still contained traces of its original wealth. The rock-hewn pit showed depressions where a funerary kline would have stood, and there was also a miniature copy of one among the grave goods. There was an abundance of terracottas, mostly female protomes and other female figurines but also one depicting a teacher, one a reclining wet nurse, and one a dove. Gold and bronze jewelry, including a bracelet and earrings, were placed in the grave along with a silver drachma of Philip II. Eighteen ceramic vessels accompanied the child. The “adult-sized” set consisted of a skyphos and lekythoi. There was, however, another, more numerous set of miniature vessels. The set covered all a wealthy person could need in the afterlife: alabastra, *phialeidia* (small cups or bowls), a salt cellar, a *kalathos*, a *kados*, an askos, a kalyx cup, a skyphos, hydriai, and a fish plate. Notably, most of these vessels are associated with drinking and dining. Miniature vessels are rare across all categories but are more common in children’s graves; the set found in this grave, however, is exceptionally numerous as in most instances miniatures were limited to one or two pieces. Here, then, is a grave with a clear acknowledgment of the individual’s age but also a reflection of the aspirations of the people laying her to rest. The jewelry and some of the terracottas are identical to what one would expect from an adult grave, but the “caretakers” as well as the dove – a popularly-depicted pet animal for children in southern Greece – seem geared to keep a child company. The miniatures, for their part, simultaneously reflect the fact that the deceased was not ready for adult vessels yet but also a hope that one day she would partake in pointedly adult eating and drinking. Whether they were a toy set or specifically made for a mortuary context is unclear.

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<sup>456</sup> Pella 92/21, published by Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2014, 74–82).

## 6.5 Conclusion

The subset of children's graves, although small, can tell us a surprising amount about how Macedonians treated their youngest – in death if not in life. Status was in some cases ascribed rather than achieved, with children as young as three receiving grave goods that are similar in kind and quantity to those of adults. Some subadults received burials that competed with the very wealthiest of adult burials, and even on average their graves were wealthier than adult burials. This, however, is in sharp contrast to those buried in small graves, which presumably also contained children but for which no osteological data have been published. These graves were drastically poorer, in comparison to both subadult graves and to the overall population. While it is difficult to say, especially in the absence of osteological information, what explains the vast discrepancy, one possibility is the importance of dynastic and family lineages to wealthy families, not shared by poorer ones. Literary sources make it clear that children and youths from powerful families were important (illustrated, for example, by the institution of the *basilikoi paides*), and the mortuary record reflects this. This pattern is not contradictory with but different from patterns observed in Athens: whereas in Athens there was a shift from Classical citizen-focused burials emphasizing the importance of offspring to Hellenistic luxurious individualism, in Macedon children's burials were presumably emphasized (and neglected) for different reasons, emphasizing dynasties instead of the importance of all children as parts of the citizen body. Macedonian children could be their parents' arrows as in Psalm 127, but this sentiment did not extend to all of them.

Gendering began early, with preteen and even toddler graves showing tendencies observed in those of adults: weapons for the boys, jewelry and toiletry vessels for the girls. Despite the overall tendency to bury children similarly to adults, there is some evidence for the



conceptualization of children as different not just in terms of the expenditure they warrant but also in kind. Animal terracottas seem to have been suitable companions for children, in keeping with depictions of children with animals common in southern Greece. The case-study from Pella with its miniatures and terracottas, especially of caretakers and teachers, seems to clearly point to an understanding of the child as something different and as someone in need of caretaking and education; one can only speculate whether the miniatures were deemed particularly fitting because their small size echoed that of the deceased child, but miniatures certainly were more often associated with children than adults. This care is echoed by a grave stele from near Pydna (Makriyalos), showing an adult woman holding a young boy in a scene convincingly argued by Ada Cohen to show tenderness.<sup>457</sup>

The question raised at the start of this chapter regarding infants and very young children remains the most vexing one. Infants and very young children were treated differently from preteens and adolescents. Some infants were buried together with adults, but the vast majority of them are missing from publications. In the absence of evidence, it is difficult to guess how big of a role archaeological recovery or publication bias play and similarly impossible to guess whether infants were buried in specific corners of cemeteries (so far unexcavated), buried outside of cemeteries, or buried in ways that leave scanty archaeological traces. Even the communal burials are difficult to parse, but their tendency to come from chamber tombs as well as the overall strong tendency to bury individuals alone suggest the choice was not mere offhanded pragmatism: the people commissioning a chamber tomb could surely have afforded a pit for an infant and similarly could have afforded not to impinge on the adult individual's burial given

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<sup>457</sup> In Cohen and Rutter 2007, 16. In the same work, Cohen notes how complicated reading emotions into iconography can be and gives examples of projecting inaccurate emotions to pieces of art, but it is difficult to disagree with her reading of this particular stele.

how individual graves were the chosen norm. In other words, infants were probably placed in adult graves purposefully and with intent, rather than as a means of opportunistic disposal. It is possible, although not provable one way or another at this point, that infants of wealthy families were considered significant and valued enough that, given the opportunity, they would be buried with adults for company. The highly varied groupings found in these graves makes it difficult to identify what relationships would have been deemed appropriate for burial together (see Chapter 5), but an extended family might be as good a guess as any.

## PART III

### Hierarchy and variation

#### CHAPTER 7

##### Visible monuments, hidden value: hierarchy

*LORD DARLINGTON. What cynics you fellows are!*

*CECIL GRAHAM. What is a cynic? [Sitting on the back of the sofa.]*

*LORD DARLINGTON. A man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.*

*CECIL GRAHAM. And a sentimentalist, my dear Darlington, is a man who sees an absurd value in everything, and doesn't know the market price of any single thing.*

- *Lady Windemere's Fan*, Oscar Wilde<sup>458</sup>

Visiting the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, filled with golden treasures from Macedonian burials, one might easily assume Macedonians were cynics, surrounding themselves with objects of great monetary worth. On the other hand, we as scholars might tend toward sentimentalism, truly turning one man's garbage into our treasure – ultimately, most of us are more interested in the ancient value of things than their price. What was the value of grave goods? What was the value of prominent tumuli or the value of having visibility over a large

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<sup>458</sup> Wilde 2007, 519–520.

swath of land? Of course, the reality is messier, and the boundaries between value and price are often blurry. As a result, much of this chapter grapples with the question of using cost as a proxy for value. The question underlying this quest for value, however, is one of hierarchy: How was value linked to social prestige? How can we move from the cost of grave goods, monuments, and land to social organization?

The remaining two body chapters of this dissertation, forming Part III, pull back from social personae to look at society writ large. Chapter 8 looks at diachronic and regional variation, while this one deals with one of the most common themes explored by archaeologists: social organization and hierarchy.

When seeking answers to the above questions concerning social organization and hierarchy, the no man's land that Classical archaeology – and, more specifically, this dissertation – occasionally inhabits between anthropology and Classics is perhaps clearer than ever. On the side of anthropology, the basic bread-and-butter question can be easily answered: Macedonian communities of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods fall under chiefdoms and states in Elman Service's typology.<sup>459</sup> (It needs to be noted that this anthropological typology is in contrast to the use of "tribal" to describe Macedonian society in philological and historical contexts, presumably often as a translation of Thucydides' *ethnos*.<sup>460</sup> The terminology need not occupy us here beyond stating that from an anthropological point of view, Macedonians were no more "tribal" than southern Greeks and this use of the term is not particularly helpful for the archaeologist.)

More nuanced questions asked by both anthropologists and historians, however, are

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<sup>459</sup> Service 1962.

<sup>460</sup> For this use of "tribe," see for example Engels (2010), Sprawski (2010), and Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2011).

trickier. Might the early protohistorical periods in Macedon be more accurately described as heterarchical rather than hierarchical? Can we comfortably describe Macedon as an “individualizing chiefdom” because of the emphasis on personal ranking in the mortuary record, even though Macedonian sanctuaries and other potential avenues for communal display are fairly poorly understood?<sup>461</sup> Which of the 20 types of state listed by John Cherry (if only in order to critique the tendency to not see the forest for the trees) should we pick to describe Macedon?<sup>462</sup> What flavor of monarchy did Macedon have, and did it reflect the priorities of the earlier ranked community?<sup>463</sup> On the history side, can we “find” the Elimiote royal house or settle the debate over whether Argead kingship was “constitutional” or “absolutist”?<sup>464</sup>

The short answer to the above is “no.” To fully explore the detailed social organization of a society, systematic excavation and publication of cemeteries is needed to gain as full a picture as possible of the mortuary population – something unfortunately not yet available for Macedon.<sup>465</sup> Furthermore, a study of social organization should take into account multiple lines of evidence such as public and domestic buildings, trade, religious practices, and workshops; these things fall outside the scope of this dissertation and are as of yet relatively poorly understood and documented.

Instead, this chapter sheds light on aspects of Macedon that might fall through the cracks in anthropological and historical studies, focusing on questions in the middle range: Can we identify clear groups based on wealth and prestige, even if not named ones such as *hetairoi*?

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<sup>461</sup> The distinction between individualizing and group-oriented chiefdoms was made by Colin Renfrew (1974, 74).

<sup>462</sup> Cherry 1978, 413.

<sup>463</sup> Flannery and Marcus 2014, Chapter 17.

<sup>464</sup> The first question was suggested as a study question to the author by a historian; for the second question, see below.

<sup>465</sup> John O’Shea (1996, 16) has emphasized the importance of large sample sizes.

What levels of inequality can we see in the mortuary record, and is the inequality characterized by distinct groups or a continuum? What can mortuary landscapes tell us about group organization, claims to land, and a desire to create long-term monuments, perhaps drawing links between generations or different families?

To answer these questions, three different approaches are used. First, the question of wealth and value is looked at. Because value is highly culture-dependent, a cross-tabulation of rarity and cost is used as a basis to move away from imposing modern western ideas of what is valuable and toward what may have been seen as valuable by Macedonians. The distribution of such valuable goods is then studied, showing that while some classes can be proposed, they are hardly starkly separated from each other. Secondly, inequality is studied using the Gini coefficient, showing increasing inequality in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Thirdly, a viewshed analysis of tumuli is used as a first step toward answering questions about land ownership and the monumentalization of landscapes, and it is argued that in contrast to popular belief, tumuli did not tower over the landscape but were surprisingly insular monuments. First, however, an overview of the major debates and models regarding Macedonian social organization needs to be laid out.

## **7.1 Historians' approaches**

The details of Macedonian social organization during the historical and protohistorical periods have been the subject of much debate, mainly among historians. Macedonian kingship often seems paradoxical, on one hand in sharp contrast with southern Greek democracies and aristocracies, but on the other hand characterized by egalitarianism as attested by the “back-talk”

aristocrats, friends, and soldiers could hurl at the kings.<sup>466</sup> Miltiades Hatzopoulos has argued this tension also extended beyond personal relationships between the king and the aristocrats, claiming that Philip II “had the genius to understand that it was neither possible nor desirable to curb the aspiration to civic autonomy, but that a strong and sufficiently secure central government could integrate, domesticate, the civic movement.”<sup>467</sup> Anecdotes of the simple lifestyle of the royal family, with women tending to the palace themselves, have been used to support views of highly tempered monarchies and overall egalitarianism.<sup>468</sup> This broader view of a society falling short of an absolute monarchy, however, encompasses a multitude of views varying based on the period studied as well as scholars’ individual readings of the sources. The arguments and data points that are the most pertinent to the questions tackled in this chapter are quickly discussed below.

In terms of the Archaic and Early Classical periods, Macedonian society has often been described as tribal, clan-based, or as consisting of chiefdoms, and these arguments are typically supported by evidence of local coinages and named groups mentioned by sources such as Thucydides.<sup>469</sup> There is, however, not much clarity about how exactly these groups would have functioned, how they were organized, and how they interacted with each other. The famous passage in Arrian with Alexander talking about how Philip II civilized barbarous mountain

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<sup>466</sup> See below for the two sides of the debate. Ancient sources for “back-talk” include Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 50–51; Arr., *Anab.* 7.8–11; Plut., *Mor.* 179c. Eugene Borza, who argues for a strong monarchy, has acknowledged the prevalence of Macedonians airing their grievances to the kings (1990, 245); Malcolm Errington similarly sees Macedon as an absolute monarchy but has noted the need to hear petitioners as a trade-off for successfully maintaining their absolute status (1990, 218–229).

<sup>467</sup> Hatzopoulos 1996, 481.

<sup>468</sup> The ancient sources are Curt. 5.2.20 (Alexander the Great’s sisters weaving fabric); Hdt. 8.137; Arist. 2.237. Elizabeth Carney has convincingly argued for such anecdotes probably not reflecting reality (2000, 264; 2015a, 23); the Curtius passage explicitly brings up Alexander’s sisters weaving to discuss cultural differences and contrast Persian luxury with Macedonian customs.

<sup>469</sup> See above and Chapter 4.

people by settling them in cities and giving them laws might suggest genuine changes in lifestyles, but early monumental structures from Aeane make it clear his statement is rather hyperbolic.<sup>470</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, from an anthropological point of view, calling Macedonian communities under the Argeads “tribal” is a misnomer. The specific groupings mentioned in textual sources are discussed in Chapter 8. For the time being, the most important implication of the idea of discrete, local groups is that we should be able to find no one center standing head and shoulders above all others and instead should expect seeing a similar range of wealth replicated between regions.

Scholars studying the later Classical and Hellenistic periods are divided into the “constitutional” and the “royalist” or “absolutist” schools, although the discussion is often quite nuanced, with no one claiming Macedon was at either extreme end of the spectrum. Scholars such as Miltiades Hatzopoulos emphasize the role of the king’s council and even the general assembly, while others, such as Nicholas Hammond and, more recently, William Greenwalt, have argued that any power the council might have had was ultimately subject to the king’s personal wishes.<sup>471</sup> The debate is complicated by the fact that the literary evidence is late in date and often describes exceptional circumstances such as the succession following Alexander the Great’s death. In either case, it is unlikely that archaeological evidence can fruitfully address the specific nuances of how the royal family and aristocracy negotiated their relationships; archaeology can provide answers on social organization in terms of identifying classes and what kinds of resources they each had control over or access to, but it cannot tell us how the

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<sup>470</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 7.9. For Aeane, see Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2011).

<sup>471</sup> Hatzopoulos 1996; Hammond 1989; Greenwalt 2015.



Macedonian council would have acted in a given situation in relation to the king.<sup>472</sup>

While textual sources do not offer many clues regarding specific power dynamics, they do mention several groups that might hypothetically be observable archaeologically. Most of the evidence is (Late) Hellenistic and furthermore highly contested; the following is a list of all the political bodies whose existence has been argued for, regardless of how speculative they are. Probably the most debated group is the council, whose nature and very existence are contested: it has been described as the king's intimate council, a privy council combined with generals and city representatives, or a more formal institution along the lines of a southern Greek *boule*.<sup>473</sup> The king's Companions or *hetairoi* are probably the most oft-cited group, and they are sometimes conflated with the council.<sup>474</sup> This group seems to have expanded drastically under Philip II, perhaps from about 100 to 800.<sup>475</sup> This is a crucial difference: following anthropologist Robin Dunbar's model, a person can maintain a stable social relationship – fittingly enough, described by him as “people you would not feel embarrassed about joining uninvited for a drink

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<sup>472</sup> An interesting attempt at this is a comparison of Hellenistic palaces by Inge Nielsen (1997). She has looked at architecture with the idea that “form follows function,” arguing that palaces of “personal” kings (in contrast to “national” monarchies) were more closed off and had audience and banqueting halls too large to allow for meaningful interactions with the king. Her study is stimulating, but in the case of Macedon slightly problematic as she classifies Vergina under “national” and Pella under “personal” monarchy; this is related to her argument about a changing monarchy but can lead to circular arguments – we know the monarchy was changing because the architecture changed, and we can interpret the changes in architecture based on historically attested changes to the monarchy.

<sup>473</sup> Hammond (in Hammond and Griffith 1979, 158–160) and Hatzopoulos (1996, 139–149, 321–359) support the early existence of a council, Hammond tracing it back to (at least) Alexander I and Hatzopoulos (possibly) to the first half of the fourth century. The former uses Hdt. 8.138, while the latter uses a building from Pella identified as a *bouleuterion*, Hellenistic inscriptions, and (often) arguments from silence. Hammond views the council as limited to *hetairoi*, while Hatzopoulos sees it as a more expansive institution. Borza (1990, 241) has argued against a formal council although he accepts that *hetairoi* could give counsel.

<sup>474</sup> See, for example, Carlier (2000). Hatzopoulos (1996, 346–347) has distinguished between two different kinds of councils, one consisting of the king's Companions and the other one of Companions, army commanders, and representatives of cities, while Borza (1990, 241) only identifies an informal “council” of the *hetairoi*.

<sup>475</sup> Hatzopoulos (1996, 267) does not state where he derives the number 100 from, but Diodorus Siculus (17.16) mentions Alexander the Great setting up a tent with 100 couches for his “friends and generals” (τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας); see also Hammond (1989, 55) and Hammond and Griffith (1979, 395).

if you happened to bump into them in a bar” – with about 150 people, while groups much larger than that require laws and norms to stay cohesive.<sup>476</sup> The duties of the *hetairoi* seem to have been varied, ranging from companionship to warfare.<sup>477</sup> Finally, the assembly is poorly understood and attested prior to the Hellenistic period, and Hatzopoulos has argued it mostly developed in response to the expansion of the *hetairoi* cavalry and mainly represented foot soldiers.<sup>478</sup>

Apart from these groups, all (even if loosely) related to the army, the textual sources have little to say about political entities, agents, and hierarchy. We can assume that textually-attested units such as villages (*komai*), cities (sometimes but not always called *poleis* in the sources), and *ethne* such as Bottiaean had their internal organizations, but we have little access to these.<sup>479</sup>

As mentioned above, the ability of archaeology to address the accuracy of these text-based narratives is limited. The literary evidence can, however, provide hypotheses to test. In the following sections, then, the archaeological evidence is studied mostly to answer the broader questions about wealth groups and the nature of inequality but also to see whether we can find groups fitting into any of the named categories, and whether the overall picture looks “tribal,” “constitutional,” or “royalist.”

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<sup>476</sup> Dunbar 1998, 77.

<sup>477</sup> For an overview, see Hammond and Griffith (1979, 395–404).

<sup>478</sup> Hatzopoulos 1996, 270.

<sup>479</sup> For a discussion on the nature of Macedonian cities, see Hatzopoulos (1996, 464–465). Hdt. 7.123 refers to Sindos and Pella as *poleis*, while Thucydides does not use the term (1.61 and 2.100) and indeed in 2.100.3 instead uses *χωρίον*, a rather generic word referring to “place,” “district,” or “post.” Hatzopoulos has used later authors’ paraphrasings of Diodorus Siculus (7.16) and of Strabo (7, frg. 11) to argue for an early use of the term “polis” – hardly a convincing argument, considering how he uses late sources to argue for early attestations of a term. However, the mere existence of city names (in addition to and in contrast to regional names) in textual sources as well as cities making independent decisions about allying with Athens or the Argeads at various points speak to the presence of urban centers with some political power of their own.

## 7.2 In search of value: cost and rarity

Prestige, value, and wealth are all culture-specific. Something as simple as currency can take shapes as different as silver coins and large boulders.<sup>480</sup> When moving to the study of value, this variability is combined with abstractness, making it even more difficult to pin down the value of something. Here, value is defined as close kin of prestige and luxury and as a way of displaying wealth – with “wealth” not limited to monetary cost but rather also linked to prestige. In its broadest sense, of course, value is not only culture-specific but situational: a gallon of water can be seen as almost worthless until one is lost in a desert, and a piece of paper can seem meaningless until it is the only thing keeping one from being deported. Given how archaeology rarely allows us to accurately analyze these kinds of fleeting nuances, value is here seen as something shared by a group of people: an appreciation of certain objects or behaviors as worth pursuing and as distinguishing their possessors as having prestige.

The fact that value is culturally relative poses a challenge to the archaeologist, as archaeology fares much better with estimating how much labor making something required than what feelings people might have had about said thing. The most common proxies for value are rarity and cost, with cost defined in terms of the labor involved in the extraction of raw materials or the production of the object, and the costs of transporting either the raw materials or the finished product. As such, both objects requiring specialized skill to make or those transported from afar (“exotica”) are typically defined as highly valuable. Notably, due to the limitations of the data available, archaeologists typically use relative or categorical rankings rather than absolute values.<sup>481</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> Gilliland 1975.

<sup>481</sup> See, for example, Renfrew (1983), Byrd and Monahan (1995), Carmichael (1995), and Abrams (1994). A rare example of the use of specific values, made possible by textual sources, is Meskell (1999).

This section studies cost and rarity – but also, importantly, inexpensiveness and mundaneness – using different criteria to try to avoid simplistic categories based on subjective assumptions. As will be seen, breaking away from cost as the factor most strongly contributing to the identification of value is difficult, but the results also partly justify the use of cost as an important predictor of value in Macedonian society. Prevalence is studied first in order to see which elements and objects were common and which uncommon. Secondly, the cost of different objects is estimated, largely based on Michael Vickers’s work on the value of metal and ceramics, supplemented by a rough ranking of grave types by cost. After establishing these two axes, an attempt is made to synthesize them by looking at the intersection of burial types and expensive grave goods, and the relationship between rarity and cost by object type. Finally, a framework developed by Kate Larson is discussed to see if context, appearance, and other factors beyond simple cost and rarity can be incorporated into the analysis.

### **7.2.1 Prevalence**

The easiest-to-define criterion for prestige and value out of the ones suggested by scholars is rarity. This has already been tabulated in Chapter 3 (Table 3.3), but Figure 7.1 shows a visualization with grave types and grave goods plotted on a line based on their rarity in the published record. The same information can be organized into broader categories (Table 7.1), although since there are few clear breaks in the data, the categories are heuristic rather than analytical.

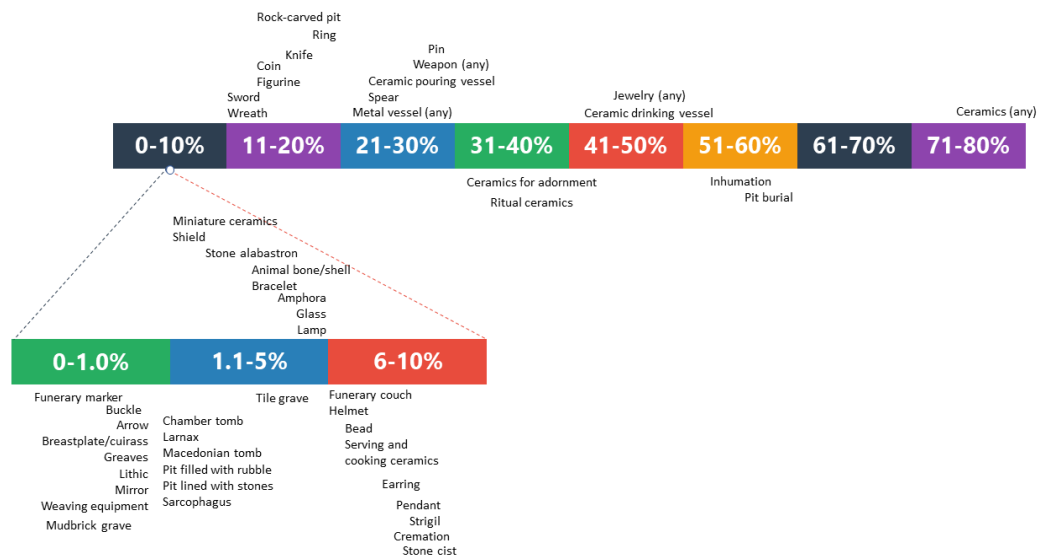


Figure 7.1. Prevalence of grave types and grave goods across the entire dataset.

|                              | <b>Very rare<br/>(0–1.0%)</b>   | <b>Rare<br/>(1.1–10%)</b>  | <b>Moderately common<br/>(11–30%)</b>  | <b>Common<br/>(31–50%)</b>  | <b>Very common<br/>(51–80%)</b> |
|------------------------------|---|--|--|---|---------------------------------|
| <b>Object</b>                | Arrow<br>Buckle<br>Cuirass<br>Greaves<br>Lithics<br>Mirror<br>Weaving equipment | Animal bone/shell<br>Amphora<br>Bead<br>Bracelet<br>Earring<br>Glass<br>Helmet<br>Lamp<br>Miniature ceramics<br>Pendant<br>Serving and cooking vessel<br>Shield<br>Stone alabastron<br>Strigil | Ceramic pouring vessel<br>Coin<br>Figurine<br>Knife<br>Metal vessel (any)<br>Pin<br>Ring<br>Spear<br>Sword<br>Weapon (any)<br>Wreath | Ceramic drinking vessel<br>Toiletary vessel<br>Jewelry (any)<br>Ritual vessel | Ceramics (any)                  |
| <b>Grave type or feature</b> | Funerary marker<br>Mudbrick grave   | Cremation<br>Funerary couch<br>Chamber tomb<br>Larnax<br>Macedonian tomb<br>Pit with rubble fill or lining<br>Sarcophagus<br>Stone cist<br>Tile grave  | Rock-carved pit  |   | Inhumation<br>Pit burial        |

Table 7.1. Prevalence of grave types and grave goods, broken into broader categories.

Ceramics are in a league of their own in their prevalence, while many types of weapons and jewelry are rare. It is difficult to see clear divisions by material or functional category. Furthermore, some fairly mundane-seeming objects are rare: weaving equipment, lithics, lamps, and animal bone or shell. While publication bias doubtlessly plays a role, the lack of patterning based on a simple criterion such as material points toward cultural factors at play; these are discussed after first looking at cost.

### 7.2.2 Cost

Cost estimates in an ancient Macedonian context are difficult given the scarcity of detailed information on the monetary value of grave goods. The sources and, as a result, research focus on labor costs or the cost of high-value commodities. Inscriptions from southern Greece – especially from Athens and Delos – list wages for workers, the inventories of temples, and, famously, the confiscated property of a group implicated in the mutilation of herms in fifth-century Athens, recorded in what are simply referred to as the “Attic stelae.”<sup>482</sup> Below, drachma-based cost estimates are provided for as many categories of objects as possible. These estimates are flawed because they are based on patchy inscriptional data from different periods and areas (but, importantly, very rarely from northern Greece – see below for the exception of inscribed silver vessels from Tomb II at Vergina). Even so, some kind of absolute ranking of grave goods is necessary to move beyond impressionistic “guesstimates.” The drachma-based numbers allow for the creation of a wealth index, which is used to rank graves based on relative wealth.

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<sup>482</sup> For wages in Athens, see Loomis (1998). For the Delian temple inventories, Richard Hamilton (2000) has conducted a careful listing and analysis; the inscriptions from the third century (in contrast to several later ones) are *IG XI 2 154*, *IG XI 2 161B*, *IG XI 2 199B*, *IG XI 2 203B*, and *IG XI 2 287B*. The Attic stelae have been published as *IG i<sup>3</sup> 421–430*.

Prices for weapons would have varied greatly: even excluding Aristophanes's surely exaggerated prices upwards of 1,000 drachmas, inscriptions list prices for a military panoply as ranging from 30 to 300 drachmas.<sup>483</sup> A third-century inscription from Keos (*IG XII 5 647*) lists weapons given as prizes: 7 drachmas for a bow, 8 for a quiver, 3.5 obols for a spearhead, 2 drachmas for a spear shaft, (about) 6 drachmas for a helmet, and 20 drachmas for a shield; while the Attic stelae (415–414 BCE) list two spears at 1 drachma 4 obols and 2 drachmas 5 obols, respectively.<sup>484</sup> We can thus estimate 2 drachmas for a spear, 20 drachmas for a shield, 6 drachmas for a helmet, and, purely as an educated guess, 5 drachmas each for a sword, greaves, and a cuirass. Knives were priced at 3 drachmas in the model given how they are typically smaller than swords.

Michael Vickers has done extensive work comparing metal and ceramic vessels based on documented values, and his work can provide a useful, even if rough, guideline. (His argument emphasizes the low value of ceramics – seen as the poor man's metal by him – but his cost estimates are based on hard evidence.) He found a minimum ratio of 1:333 and a maximum of 1:1000 for silver and ceramics.<sup>485</sup> This, however, seems to compare large vessels; Delian inventories from the third century list a group of metal cups with an average weight/value of 54 drachmas each, which in turn is 18 times the highest recorded price for a (large) painted ceramic vessel.<sup>486</sup> Vickers has also estimated that gold was 1,700 times more costly than bronze, while (based on coinage) the silver:bronze ratio was about 1:100.<sup>487</sup> In other words, the gold:silver

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<sup>483</sup> See Gröschel (1989, 33–36) for an overview. The inscriptions he mentions are *SEG XXIII 1* (30 drachmas) and Pouilloux 1954 No. 141.

<sup>484</sup> Gröschel 1989, 33–36; Pritchett and Pippin 1956.

<sup>485</sup> Vickers 1985, 116.

<sup>486</sup> *IG XI 2 161B*; for the prices of ceramics, see Johnston (1991, 228).

<sup>487</sup> Vickers 1985, 120.

ratio was about 1:17. (In comparison, the corresponding ratios on Jan 29, 2018, were 1:78 for gold:silver and 1:5 for silver:copper.<sup>488</sup> Only scrap-metal prices were available for bronze. Vickers himself has noted the steep drop in silver's value relative to gold over time.<sup>489</sup>) Vickers's work, even if the figures are rough estimates, makes it clear that large gold or silver objects (mainly vessels) would have been astronomically more expensive than even fine painted ceramics; bronze vessels, however, might have been only about three times as valuable as ceramic ones (although they might have been as much as 10 times as valuable). It seems that silver and gold would have been in a league of their own.

The monetary value of silver vessels seems to have been recorded as if it were bullion; i.e., a vessel weighing the equivalent of 100 drachmas (430 grams if using the Athenian standard) was valued at 100 drachmas.<sup>490</sup> This, rather staggeringly, seems to ignore labor costs, but all the available evidence from inscriptions – including a handful of prices inscribed on silver vessels found from Tomb II at Vergina – points toward this practice.<sup>491</sup> No weights were available for the vessels included in the database, and including them individually would be unfeasible in the context of this work in any case. Instead, the following averages were used in the analysis: Since most of the metal vessels are cups, pouring vessels, or phialai, it seemed fair to split the difference between the weights/prices for examples of all three mentioned in the Delian inventories. This resulted in 114 drachmas per silver vessel. This, in turn, resulted in a price of just 1 drachma for a bronze vessel and 1,929 drachmas for a golden one. To the author, the price for a bronze vessel seems very low, but unfortunately coins seem to be the only line of

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<sup>488</sup> According to <https://www.moneymetals.com>. Accessed Jan 29, 2018.

<sup>489</sup> Vickers 2011, 4.

<sup>490</sup> Vickers 1985; Gill 2008, 336.

<sup>491</sup> Gill 2008. He makes a complex argument about the specific weight standards used but does not question the direct link between the weight units recording the cost of silver vessels and the worth of coins.



evidence for the relationship between silver and bronze (and this is what Vickers uses to arrive at his figures). Unlike with silver objects, the Delian inventories do not record weights or costs for bronze goods but instead merely list them – this, of course, might be another clue that bronze was less valued and, as a result, was not usually weighed.

For ceramic vessels, Alan Johnston has recorded known prices from the fifth century as ranging between 3/4 obols and 18 obols (or 3 drachmas); given how prices over 1 obol are only recorded for large vessels and most vessels from Macedonian graves are small, an average price of 3 obols or 0.5 drachmas seems like a fair estimate that also accommodates the 25–50% markup that Johnston has identified for painted vessels (which are relatively common in graves).<sup>492</sup> In the absence of evidence, lamps were similarly given a value of 0.5 drachmas in the calculations, while loomweights were valued at 0.25 drachmas.<sup>493</sup>

Extrapolating from vessels to small items such as jewelry or gold sheets is difficult, and the database is not detailed enough (nor would it be very feasible) to distinguish between nuances such as intricately made gold filigree earrings and a simple bronze ring band. Even more importantly, jewelry items, when mentioned in the temple inventories, are rarely quantified. When they are, the drachma weights vary wildly both between objects and also between inventories done on different years.<sup>494</sup> A sampling of numbers from the 279 BCE Delian inventory (*IG XI 2 161B*) lists two gold earrings weighing 5 drachmas 5 obols, pins weighing 2–15 drachmas, rings weighing 2–6 drachmas, wreaths weighing between 18 and 193 drachmas, and necklaces weighing anything between less than 14 drachmas and 156 drachmas. If converted

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<sup>492</sup> Johnston 1991, 228. See also Chankowski (2013) for a more recent discussion of recorded prices.

<sup>493</sup> Mark Lawall (2014) has discussed markings on loomweights but has not identified any as signifying price.

<sup>494</sup> Hamilton (2000) contains a detailed discussion of the differences between values reported year to year for the same objects.

using Vickers's formula, the (silver-based) weights for gold objects would need to be multiplied by 17 to approximate their value. As a compromise, the estimates "split the difference" between silver and gold jewelry: earrings were priced at 25 drachmas (for one), pins 60, rings at 34, wreaths 340 (using 40 drachmas as the average weight, since 193 seems like an extreme outlier), and necklaces/pendants at 136 drachmas (using 16 drachmas as the average weight, since the 156 one seems to be an extreme outlier). Since bracelets are very rarely listed in inventories, their price had to be estimated; the figure chosen is 50.

Most of the coins found in the graves are bronze, but they represent different kings (and regional mints) and might well represent different denominations as well. (Bronze coins are often merely described as "bronze coin of Cassander" without any details about denominations.) There is, furthermore, great uncertainty about the correspondence of bronze to silver coins. Martin Jessop Price has suggested Alexander the Great's bronzes correspond to a half-, quarter-, and an eighth of an obol.<sup>495</sup> As such, a value of 0.5 obols or one twelfth of a drachma was used in the cost estimate.

In the absence of information on the cost of strigils, stone alabastra, or terracotta figurines (beyond the oft-repeated but unquantified statement that terracottas were inexpensive), in the model their prices were estimated as one drachma for strigils and alabastra and half a drachma for a figurine.

The wealth index based on the cost estimates does not include grave types. Considerable labor would have gone into constructing graves, particularly Macedonian tombs. In the fifth and fourth centuries, an inscription recorded that workers from Athens and Eleusis made roughly one

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<sup>495</sup> Price 1991, 39–40.

drachma a day.<sup>496</sup> Building on David Stone's estimates for tumuli in North Africa, the earthen part of the Vergina Great Tumulus (110 m in diameter and 12 m in height) could have taken anywhere between 2,000 and 4,000 person-days to construct, but it needs to be noted the massive tumulus covering the four tombs was not built until the third century BCE. As such, the largest tumuli falling within our period of study measure about 60 meters in diameter, requiring around 1,600–3,200 person-days.<sup>497</sup> Smaller tumuli, such as those at Lefkadia (Mieza), could have taken as few as 10–20 person-days to build. It would, however, take an entire dissertation to estimate just how many days it would have taken to construct each Macedonian tomb and the tumulus above it (much less incorporate variables such as skilled versus unskilled labor). Furthermore, as discussed below, humbler types of burials could still contain very wealthy assemblages. As such, the cost of burial type is incorporated into the analysis after a calculation of cost based on the objects found within graves.

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<sup>496</sup> Loomis 1998, 104–115.

<sup>497</sup> Jim Coulton's work on the Lefkandi heroon and other mounds provides useful comparanda (1993, 55–56). He has estimated the Toumba, 25 m in diameter, would have taken 2,000 person-days to build, but this includes retrieving the fill from a distance. He notes that the Toumba was almost twice as large as most contemporary tumuli but also puts this into perspective by mentioning that Gordion and Sardis have yielded tumuli measuring one to two million cubic meters, making the Toumba pale in comparison with its 2,000 cubic meters.

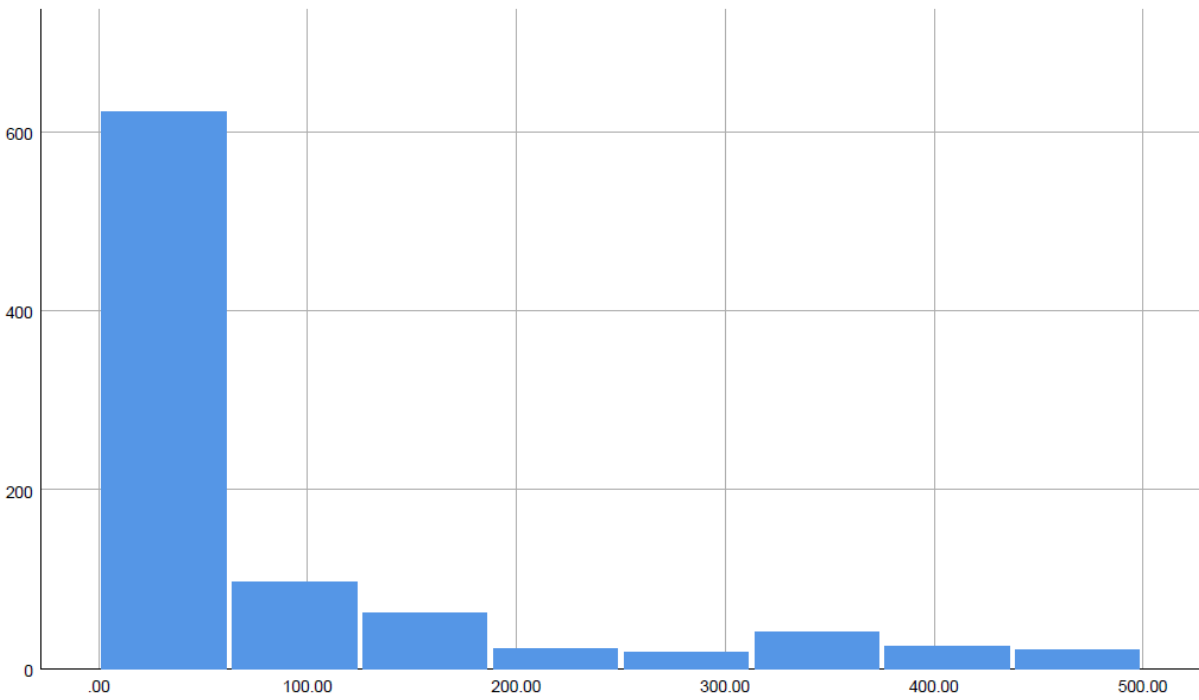


Figure 7.2. Distribution by wealth index, including only graves with a wealth index less than 500. X axis=grave count, Y axis=wealth index.

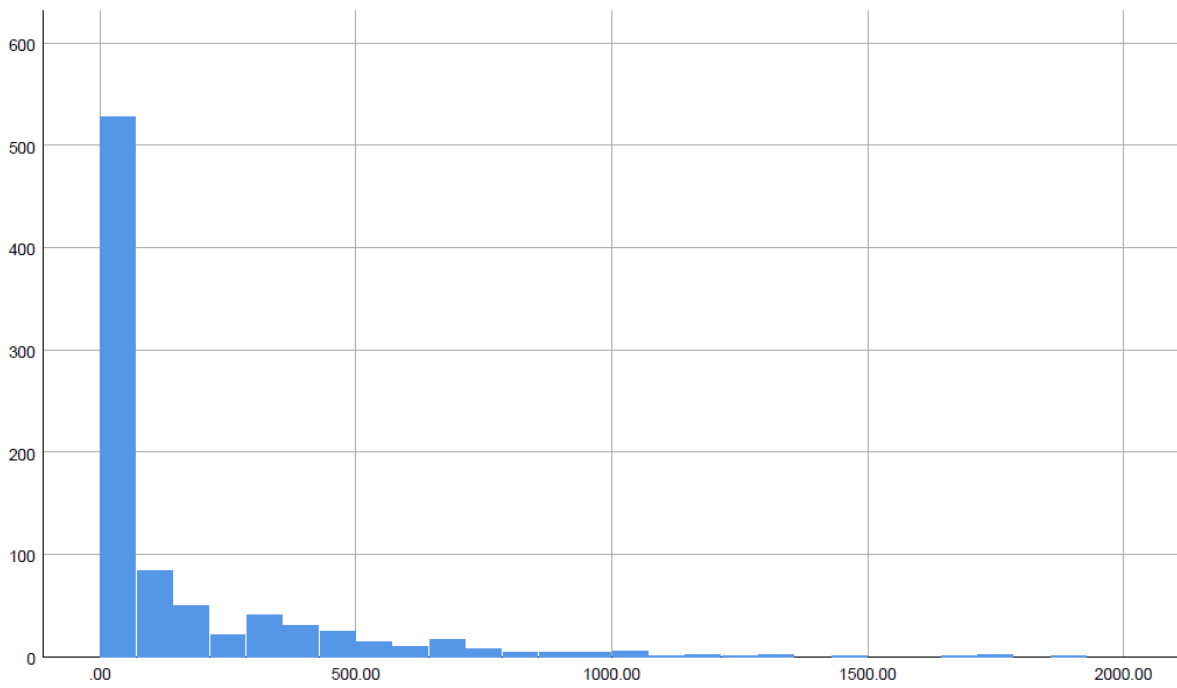


Figure 7.3. Distribution by wealth index, including only graves with a wealth index less than 2,000. X axis=grave count, Y axis=wealth index.

The cost estimates discussed above were used to build a wealth index. The resulting distribution looks fairly continuous with a long tail (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). While the vast majority of graves have a wealth index of less than 500, 9% of the graves are wealthier than this, 2% have an index over 1,000, and five (0.5%) graves range between 2,270 and 5,042. Extreme outliers tend to disproportionately drive analyses, so they were excluded in much of what follows. Looking at histogram distributions at different resolutions for graves with a wealth index under 500, a weakly bimodal distribution can be seen. Grave counts diminish rapidly as the wealth index grows, but there is a small bump around 325. When extending the range, there are even smaller bumps around 700 and 1,000. We can therefore argue that wealth distribution is best characterized as a continuum but that four groupings can be suggested, corresponding to ranges 0–325, 326–700, 701–1000, and 1001+.

Attempts to study these groups using multinomial logistic regression, however, were not very successful. The method calculates the likelihood of a certain outcome associated with a variable: in other words, it calculates whether it is more likely that a grave with terracottas belongs to the wealth category 701–1000 than to the category 1001+, and so on. The utility of the analysis is limited by the fact that many grave attributes are built into the wealth index, making them dependent (i.e., not usable for the analysis). Even so, it is probably telling that the results were only significant for grave type (see below); while categories by wealth can be suggested based on the distribution, they are not easily reducible to one variable and furthermore the categories have a lot in common.

Ignoring the suggested wealth categories, Pearson's  $r$  can be used to look for correlations between variables on a continuum, in this case the wealth index and grave elements. The many variables that were used to calculate the wealth index cannot be used in this analysis as they are

dependent, but other elements such as grave dimensions or specific vessel types can be looked at. The analysis only included graves with a wealth index under 500 to prevent extreme outliers from skewing the results. Many variables showed no statistically significant correlation with wealth, and others showed only a weak correlation. Grave dimensions, especially depth, showed a statistically significant, weak-to-moderate (0.20–0.41) positive correlation with wealth. Beads, not included in the wealth index, have a very weak positive correlation with wealth (0.15), as do glass (0.17), amphorae (0.15), aryballoi (0.16), exaleiptra (0.12), kylikes (0.10), and Corinthian and Ionian imports (0.10 for each). Even weaker statistically significant associations under 0.1 were found with skyphoi, pyxides, plates, askoi, miniature vessels, and alabastra. In other words, grave dimensions and the ceramic shapes listed seem to have a positive relationship with the wealth of a grave, but it is, in a way, more revealing how weak the correlations are and how most variables show no statistically significant relationship. Apart from expensive metal goods such as silver vessels or gold jewelry, various types of grave goods are distributed across graves with very different levels of wealth. Ceramics, for example, are neither much likelier nor much less likely to be present in rich than in poor graves.

In short, the wealth index does not point toward the presence of clear hierarchical groups. Furthermore, it suggests that apart from precious metals, there are no “poor man’s goods” or “rich man’s goods” that characterize either wealthy or poor burials. This is analogous with several observations made in the previous chapters about a lack of clear, standardized sets of grave goods pointing toward room for idiosyncrasies rather than agreed-upon decorum governing mortuary behavior.

### 7.2.3 The intersection of cost and value

Cost, of course, does not equal value, nor does rarity. There are, however, many challenges to applying approaches to value introduced by others to the Macedonian mortuary record. For example, anthropologists have emphasized the importance of exchange in defining value, whether it is the careful and intricate exchange networks for kula rings, the equally intricate although horrifying networks of slave trade, or the fetishization of originally mundane objects as “exotic” goods by Western collectors.<sup>498</sup> Local exchange is difficult to trace in the mortuary context, however, and unfortunately information about imports has rarely been published systematically for Macedonian cemeteries.

Kate Larson has drawn on the work of Colin Renfrew, Arjun Appadurai, and Katina Lillios to define luxury items as not just rare but also curated (and often found in contexts that imply their removal from circulation was a careful, conscious choice), controlled either in terms of requiring specialist knowledge to manufacture or in terms of availability, and conspicuous in how they look or how they are displayed.<sup>499</sup> The definition works well for her research on Hellenistic glass and has potential to be applied to our context as well. The criterion of curation is difficult to apply to a mortuary context, since following Larson’s definition all items placed in a grave could potentially be curated. One can, of course, compare the mortuary contexts to non-mortuary ones to identify objects more typically found in graves. This is somewhat difficult given our limited knowledge of, for example, Macedonian domestic contexts outside of Hellenistic luxury villas at sites such as Pella and farmhouses along the Pierian coast, similarly Hellenistic. An impressionistic dichotomy can be used to identify metal (especially silver)

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<sup>498</sup> Malinowski 1922 and Weiner 1976 (kula); Kopytoff 1986 (slave trade); Appadurai 1986 (collectors).

<sup>499</sup> Larson 2016, 90–91.

vessels, jewelry, and weapons as largely limited to mortuary contexts, while ceramic vessels, terracottas, and coins are commonly found both within and outside graves. Of course, this does not mean metals were not used outside of a mortuary context, but it does mean that they were more often removed from circulation in a mortuary context as opposed to reused or recycled further. Conspicuousness of display is also difficult to evaluate in a mortuary context, since we know little of the grave goods' roles during rituals; whether highly visible or not during the burial, they were of course soon hidden from sight. Determining what would have looked conspicuous to the ancient eye is similarly difficult: surely the gold sheets covering the faces of some of the Arkhontiko deceased would have looked out of the ordinary,<sup>500</sup> but it is more difficult to say whether the shininess of silver vessels would have been more or less conspicuous than brightly colored terracottas. Finally, most objects found in Macedonian graves could be argued to be controlled to some degree, but once more the metal objects would have required the most specialized skills to manufacture, probably followed by red- and black-figure vases, many imported from Attica. In sum, every element of burials could potentially be associated with luxury and prestige by virtue of the context, and ranking them is quite difficult using categorical criteria.

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<sup>500</sup> Renfrew (1986) has come up with a list of reasons for arguing that gold was a luxury item to the prehistoric people at Varna in Bulgaria, and many of the criteria fit Arkhontiko as well: gold was placed close to the face and genitalia, used for objects with symbolic value, and used parsimoniously (in thin sheets instead of solid objects); there were also imitations of gold. Renfrew also argues gold was “inherently attractive” because it is shiny and does not dull over time, but he admits this is a subjective argument.



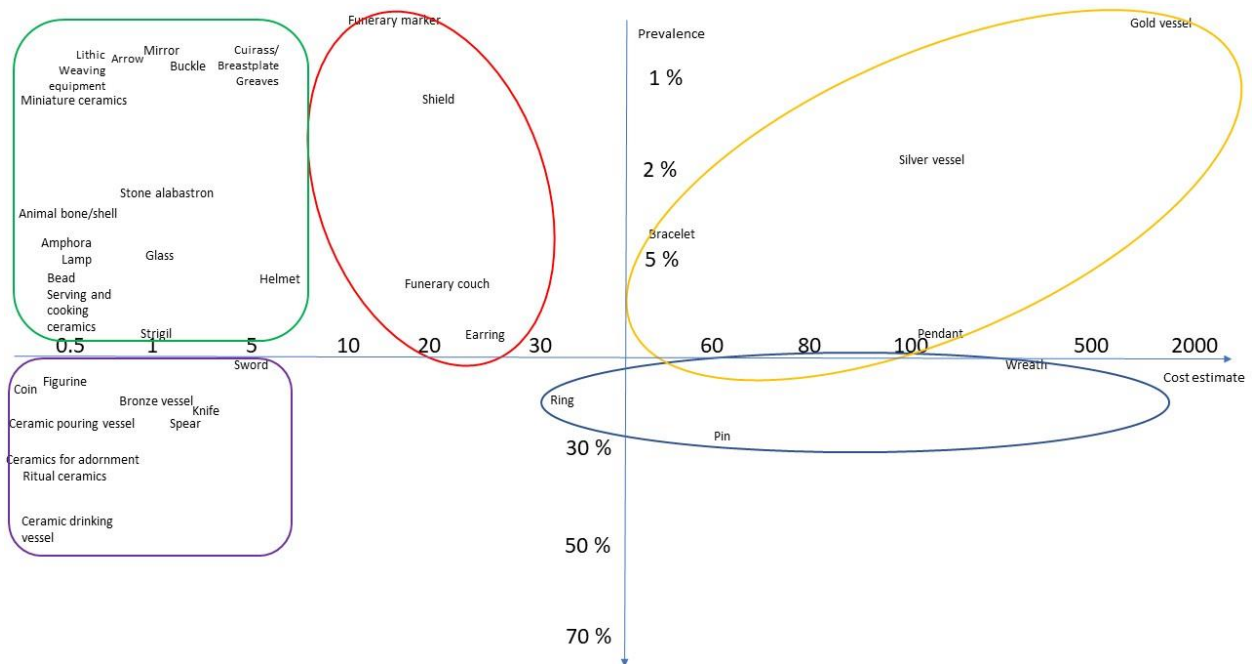


Figure 7.4. Object types plotted against both rarity and cost. Note that the scales are irregular to accommodate all the data; the relationships are relative, not absolute.

In light of the challenges laid out above, looking at the intersection of cost and rarity might let us approximate value in relative terms. Figure 7.2 shows a relative crossplot of different types of objects along the axes “cost” and “rarity.” Based on it, we can start dividing objects into groups, although the boundaries are very fluid. The “expensive and (moderately) common” is the smallest group, with only pins, wreaths, and rings. Expensive and rare objects include pendants, bracelets, silver vessels, and, as the most extreme example, gold vessels. Moderately expensive and rare objects include earrings, funerary couches, shields, and funerary markers. Inexpensive and rare objects form the most varied group: helmets, cuirasses, greaves, buckles, strigils, glass, stone alabastra, mirrors, arrows, lithics, loomweights, animal bone or shell, lamps, beads, miniature vessels, serving and cooking ceramics, and amphorae. Finally, inexpensive and common objects include figurines, swords, coins, bronze vessels, knives, spears,

and various ceramics groups: pouring, ritual, drinking, and toiletry vessels.

In the absence of emic categories known from literary or iconographic sources, our best bet for finding value is looking at the “rare and expensive” category: objects accessible to few both in terms of their prevalence and cost. These include gold and silver vessels, pendants, and bracelets, with wreaths not far removed – in other words, objects related to feminine adornment and drinking or feasting. The common and inexpensive category, for its part, can be seen to represent if not exactly a lack of value, at least the “bread and butter” of burials: things that were, on one hand, valued enough that they were commonly placed in a special, ritualistic context but, on the other hand, nothing that would have stood out as a marker of hierarchical status. This category includes most vessels – ceramic and bronze – as well as the most common weapons, coins, and figurines. As such, it represents a broad range of activities: warfare or hunting, drinking or feasting, ritual (assuming figurines often had religious connotations, and keeping in mind that many of the coins could have functioned as Charon’s obols). As already mentioned, the rare and inexpensive category is a very varied one and covers objects related to the domestic sphere, transportation of goods, warfare, and personal grooming (or athletics, in the case of strigils) as well as tools. Some of the objects are associated with expensive goods, but others are not. As such, the category is even more difficult to interpret than the others. Perhaps it represents idiosyncratic personal items, not following general conventions but somehow meaningful to the deceased and the people preparing the burial.<sup>501</sup> It is worth noting that many of the objects relate to the domestic and agricultural sphere (loomweights, lithics, serving and cooking vessels, lamps, animal bones). Given the emphasis in most burials on drinking, feasting, adornment, and

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<sup>501</sup> This raises the question of whether there were fewer norms for poor graves than rich ones, but the fact that some rare and inexpensive objects (for example weapons and mirrors) are associated with wealthy burials does not allow for this generalization.

warfare, it would make sense that the domestic sphere would be often downplayed. (But see the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 on Archaic miniature furniture and farmcarts.) Animal bone and shell, however, seem mostly associated with wealthy burials, perhaps as a sign of animal sacrifices or feasting, although their scarcity makes it difficult to interpret their presence with confidence.<sup>502</sup>

In other words, our quest for the value of grave goods has led us to objects that probably were valuable. In keeping with observations and arguments made throughout this dissertation, it however seems that valuable objects would often be deposited in graves alongside less valuable ones. There also was room for idiosyncrasies and personal preferences, perhaps especially when it came to references to domestic or agricultural activities.

#### **7.2.4 The cost of grave types**

The above analysis ignored grave types, mainly because the question seemed to warrant a separate approach because of some added challenges to studying their cost. Few would contest that building a Macedonian tomb was more expensive and that, as a result, it was more prestigious than a simple dirt pit. There are, however, more nuanced distinctions, and the picture is complicated by the fact that certain types that are rare do not intuitively seem prestigious. We can guess that mudbrick-constructed graves are rare but not prestigious,<sup>503</sup> but such assumptions should be tested. One relatively quick and simple way to get at least a rough proxy for the wealth

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<sup>502</sup> It is possible animal bone might not have been observed and reported in all instances, but the fact that it sometimes is means it is not systematically ignored. Several publications also list finds very carefully, including small fragments of objects. In light of this, the scarcity in the published record probably at least somewhat reflects a scarcity of animal bones placed in graves.

<sup>503</sup> The mudbrick graves all come from Vergina and Edessa; it is unclear whether mudbrick graves were only used at these sites or whether the mudbrick simply preserved better there, allowing it to be identified.

connotations of different types of burials is to cross-tabulate burial types against expensive goods and to compare the distribution with what we would expect if the variables were independent. This was done (with SPSS’s crosstabs function) using the total number of metal vessels, total number of pieces of jewelry, and the total number of weapons as the dependent variables. Three types of burial consistently had more of each category of grave good than expected: Macedonian tombs, stone cists, and unspecified pits (a category used to label pits that are not specified as being dug into dirt or rock), with Macedonian tombs and stone cists showing the biggest deviations. The fact that unspecified pits contained more expensive goods than expected can be explained by the wealthy Arkhontiko burials falling into this category. While pits as a burial type do not distinguish wealthy from poor graves (as the poorest burials, including from the Archaic period, were done in pits), this observation makes it clear that pits should not be automatically assumed to stand for “poor,” either. Out of the other types, larnakes also skew rich. Chamber tombs have a bimodal distribution: more of them are devoid of metals than would be expected, but the rest included higher-than-expected quantities of metals. Interestingly, the quantities of metals found do not seem related to whether the chambers were found looted or not, suggesting that there was some variation in how wealthy chamber tombs were. On the flipside, tile-lined graves are the only ones consistently containing fewer metal goods than expected.

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Grave types with rich metals | Macedonian tombs, cists, larnakes                       |
| Grave types with poor metals | Tile-lined graves                                       |
| Neutral                      | Pits, mudbrick constructions, sarcophagi, chamber tombs |

Table 7.2. Grave types by richness of metal goods.

Another way to approach the question, already mentioned above, is to look at multinomial logistic regression, which produced statistically significant results for grave type (but not for many other variables). The results confirm the above observations – not surprisingly, given how the wealth index is largely a function of metal objects. The analysis, however, allows for a comparison between three wealth categories (0–325, 326–700, 701 and up – see above) instead of simply saying “wealthy” or “poor.” Larnakes, especially, are associated with wealthy assemblages: a larnax grave is more likely to belong to the wealthiest group than to groups 0–325 or 326–700, and the least likely to belong to the poorest group. (The model does not, unfortunately, allow for specific quantification of the likelihood.) Stone cists and Macedonian tombs are less likely to belong to the poorest group than to one of the two wealthier groups. (There is not a significant difference between the likelihood of cists or Macedonian tombs belonging to group 326–700 or 701 and up.) In other words, larnakes seem associated with wealth, with an increase in wealth increasing the odds of their presence, while stone cists and Macedonian tombs are more common among both the “middling rich” and the “ultra-rich.”

### **7.3 Inequality**

Building on the wealth index, it is also possible to look at overall inequality. The Gini coefficient has been particularly popular among archaeological applications as a measure of inequality.<sup>504</sup> The model measures the distribution of income or wealth across a group, with 0% standing for perfect equality and 100% for maximum inequality with a single individual possessing all available wealth. It is important to keep in mind the coefficient is a relative rather

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<sup>504</sup> For Greek examples, see, e.g., Butler (2006), Morris (1992), and Ober (2017).

than an absolute measure, and results need to be interpreted accordingly: below we see that particularly rich cemeteries can show a more equal distribution than more modest ones, but this should not be taken to mean that Archaic Arkhontiko was an egalitarian community, even disregarding the fact that no one cemetery included in the database represents all the burials associated with a settlement. For this reason, it is helpful to look at the data at different resolutions to see what patterns hold true across sites and periods and which do not. Secondly, it has been noted that wealth inequality is frequently higher than income inequality, with income inequality often ranging between 25–70% but wealth inequality reaching as high as 89% (this for contemporary Sweden, which has a drastically lower income inequality at 31%).<sup>505</sup> Comparisons with modern examples, typically based on income rather than wealth, need then to be made with caution. Finally, comparisons with other case-studies done in an ancient Greek context also need to be made with care, as other models have measured “hypothetical [population group] size and level of income”<sup>506</sup>, calculated wealth based on (extrapolated) land and house prices<sup>507</sup>, or have looked at ceramics and metal counts as a proxy for wealth (without distinguishing between different kinds of objects)<sup>508</sup>. While these are valid approaches with strengths and weaknesses different from the wealth index used here, they are not directly comparable.

The Gini coefficient for all the graves in the database is 78%. To put this into context, although with all the caveats mentioned above in mind, this figure is higher than fifth- to fourth-century case-studies from Greek cities. Josiah Ober has calculated a wealth coefficient of 38% for fourth-century Athens, while Geoffrey Kron has calculated that Olynthus housing has a Gini

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<sup>505</sup> Cowell, Karagiannaki, and McKnight 2012.

<sup>506</sup> Ober 2017, 128.

<sup>507</sup> Kron 2011.

<sup>508</sup> Butler 2006, 155; Morris 1992, 106.

value of just 14%.<sup>509</sup> The figure for Macedon is not, however, drastically higher than Kron’s calculations regarding Athenian wealth in the late fourth century (71%).<sup>510</sup> Meg Butler in her dissertation calculated Gini values for many subsets that included Macedon as part of them, such as “Balkan graves” and “Northern Greek graves,” with the highest figure coming from Archaic Northern Greece at 69%. It is important to note, however, that she only included clay vessels in her calculations.<sup>511</sup>

| Site or period     | Gini coefficient |
|--------------------|------------------|
| Mieza              | 87%              |
| Arkhontiko         | 60%              |
| Vergina            | 86%              |
| Pella              | 84%              |
| Edessa             | 78%              |
| Archaic period     | 68%              |
| Classical period   | 80%              |
| Hellenistic period | 78%              |
| Overall            | 78%              |

Table 7.3. Gini coefficients for different subgroups. Calculated using wessa.net.

A more meaningful comparison might be to look at different sites and periods within the dataset (Table 7.3); this might also help us interpret the overall figure. Mieza, with its mostly modest burials, has a high Gini coefficient of 87%. The high figure persists even when removing extreme outliers. Of course, this does not mean that Mieza was a particularly wealthy site in absolute terms, but it shows that relative inequality was prevalent. In contrast, the coefficient for Arkhontiko is a much lower 60%, because the published burials are consistently wealthy. Vergina, for its part, presumably has a very high coefficient of 86% because of the presence of

<sup>509</sup> Ober 2017, 133; Kron 2014, 129.

<sup>510</sup> Kron 2011, 134.

<sup>511</sup> Butler 2006, 155.

extremely rich graves such as the Tomb of the Prince, which is wealthier than any other tomb by more than a thousand units (over 5,000 in comparison to the second-richest one at 3,800). Pella similarly has a high figure of 84%, despite a lack of extremely wealthy graves. Edessa, which has been systematically published, yields a coefficient of 78%.

Chronologically, it might be a surprise at first glance that the Archaic period, with its showy graves, has a lower Gini coefficient (68%) than the Classical (80%) or Hellenistic (78%) periods. This, however, becomes much less surprising when thinking back on both the averages and case-studies discussed in previous chapters. The wealthy and selectively published Arkhontiko burials drive the model, but it is worth noting that even humbler graves from the Archaic period tended to have more goods than those from later periods. The Classical and Hellenistic periods, on the other hand, show lower average counts of grave goods despite the oft-discussed graves from Vergina and Derveni filled, sometimes literally, to full capacity with precious metals. This, as already mentioned in Chapter 4, should give us pause when discussing assumptions about Philip II's silver mines and Alexander the Great's conquests bringing in a flood of wealth. At least three possible explanations arise. It is possible the avenues of display changed, as has been argued by, for example, Ian Morris regarding houses in Greece between 800 and 300 BCE.<sup>512</sup> There is, however, no evidence for drastically increased monumentalization of sanctuaries or houses in northern Greece until the very late Classical and Hellenistic period; and even if the avenues of display changed, we would expect it to be visible across all burials, i.e., not changing *relative* inequality. Another possibility is that the benefits of the expanding kingdom were reaped by a chosen few. This initially seems contradictory to the historical

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<sup>512</sup> Morris 2005.



sources pointing to the expansion of prestige groups such as the *hetairoi*, but one wonders if this expansion partly explains the extreme displays of wealth, leading to a third possible explanation: Miltiades Hatzopoulos has noted that expanding the *hetairoi* system might have diluted the power of the previous leading families.<sup>513</sup> Perhaps these “old families” chose to distinguish themselves with special vigor through mortuary practices. Unfortunately, there is no way to definitely choose between the two latter scenarios, and perhaps a combination of them is possible: despite the expansion of nominally elite classes, wealth was accrued disproportionately by a much smaller group which, furthermore, was keen to distinguish itself from others. Looked at in a broader context, this partly contradicts Morris’s argument that an overall increase in wealth partly explains why Greek houses grew in size in the fifth and fourth centuries, but his note on the coexistence of both economic and ideological factors is worth keeping in mind.<sup>514</sup> Just as he argues that neither available income nor new ideas about displaying wealth through domestic structures alone is enough to explain the increase in the size and lavishness of houses, Macedonian burials probably changed as a result of both economic and ideological developments.

#### **7.4 Viewsheds**

A completely different approach to social organization is to look at funerary monuments and their positioning in the landscape. In a Macedonian context, the most feasible monuments to study are *tumuli*, as these are prominently visible and their locations are often well-recorded. *Tumuli* are a wide-spread type of burial monument used from the prehistoric period onward in

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<sup>513</sup> Hatzopoulos 1996, 270–271. See Carlier (2000, 261) on the different meanings of “*hetairoi*.”

<sup>514</sup> Morris 2005.

many parts of the Balkans as well as around the world. They are often argued to be prominent features in the landscape and thus having potential to send messages to people near and far.<sup>515</sup>

In a Macedonian context, tumuli contain pit burials, cists, and Macedonian tombs, and they date between the Bronze Age (and possibly even the Neolithic) and the Roman period.<sup>516</sup> Hans von Mangoldt has noted that many of the Macedonian tombs show no traces of having had substantial mounds covering them, perhaps as a result of erosion and agriculture;<sup>517</sup> but others have been found covered by tumuli ranging between 10 and 60 m in diameter.<sup>518</sup> The majority of tumuli contained one burial, but some examples included up to four burials.<sup>519</sup> The tumuli have been argued to line ancient roads, to mark royal and aristocratic abodes, and in general to achieve high visibility and to dominate the landscape.<sup>520</sup> Tumuli have often been associated with continuity and respect for ancestors, but in a Macedonian context, this is uncertain: Barbara Schmidt-Dounas has noted that Classical and Hellenistic tumuli tend to occur where Iron Age ones existed, but she has also observed a break in tradition during the Archaic period as well as noted that later tombs sometimes disturbed and destroyed Iron Age burials, seemingly with little care for the ancestors.<sup>521</sup>

As such, there is much potential symbolism to tumuli, but little systematic research based on broad datasets has been done regarding tumuli's prominence and permanence in the

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<sup>515</sup> See, for example, contributions by Bejko, Henry, Hürmüzlü, and Liebhart *et al.*, all in Henry and Kelp (2016).

<sup>516</sup> Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 102.

<sup>517</sup> Von Mangoldt (2012) lists many tombs with no remains of tumuli associated, sometimes noting a tumulus probably originally existed, other times not; Schmidt-Dounas (2016, 102) has argued the tumuli have perhaps been eroded by agricultural and other disturbances.

<sup>518</sup> Schmidt-Dounas 2016, Appendices. Outside of the study region, the Kastas tumulus is even larger, with a diameter of 165 m; the Great Tumulus at Vergina has a current diameter of 110 m but did not receive its large tumulus until the third century.

<sup>519</sup> Schmidt-Dounas 2016, Appendix VI. Hellenistic examples and tumuli from eastern Macedon sometimes contained as many as 11 burials.

<sup>520</sup> Schmidt-Dounas 2016; Akamatis 2011, 406.

<sup>521</sup> Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 112–113.

landscape. This section uses viewshed analysis to provide one additional avenue to help answer the question. A viewshed analysis calculates which areas were visible from a given point and vice versa, thus allowing for arguments regarding visibility and intervisibility: From how far away were tumuli visible? How far could you see from them? Could you see other tumuli when standing atop one? (The latter question, especially, is unfortunately difficult to test “on the ground” because all the tumuli studied here are now fenced off and do not allow visitors to climb on them.)

The focus is on case-studies from six sites with a total of 39 tumuli, limited to tumuli containing Macedonian tombs and what von Mangoldt has named “forerunners,” chamber tombs approaching the scale and shape of Macedonian tombs. This choice was made largely because tumuli with Macedonian tombs have been well cataloged, allowing for a systematic study, and also because they are a discrete phenomenon in time, allowing a close study of a few generations. All the sites chosen also have multiple tumuli, allowing us to study intervisibility.

The analysis was conducted using ArcGIS and a 30-meter digital elevation model (Figure 7.3). It was immediately clear that in the case of many tumuli, the viewsheds extend over very large areas: most of them have a view of the mountains and highlands surrounding the Thermaic Gulf, while Derveni (Lete) and Veria had views of what is now the plain of the Thermaic Gulf but in antiquity would have been largely water. While these vistas surely may have added to the attraction of the tumuli, they do not provide very much information: the mountains are visible from most points in the area, and given the limitations in human vision, theoretical far-off visibility does not translate to actual visibility in practice. Very large viewsheds also have the downside of making absolute differences in viewshed area relatively smaller, making it more difficult to identify meaningful distinctions. Studies on Attic forts and modern signaling systems

have suggested visibility ranging anywhere between 1 and 15 km.<sup>522</sup> In this analysis, 2.5 km was chosen as the maximum extent of visibility and the viewsheds were limited in ArcGIS accordingly; even this is probably an optimistic estimate.

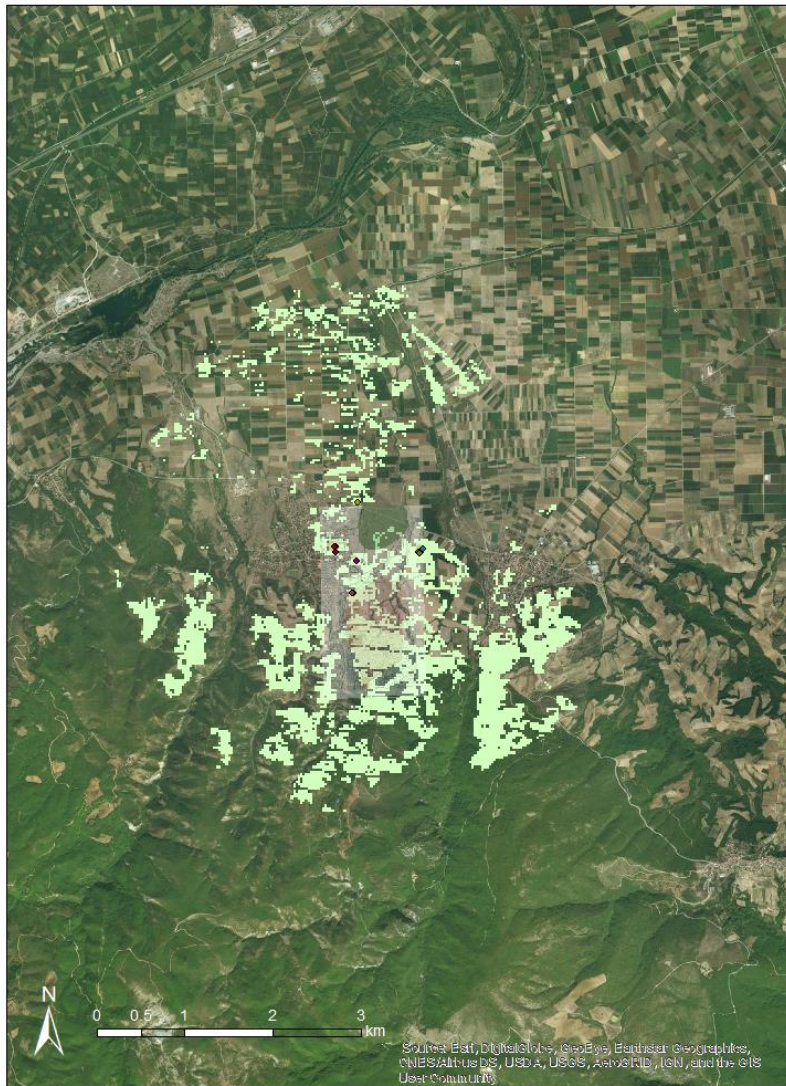


Figure 7.5. Example of the viewsheds: a composite showing all the viewsheds for Vergina’s tumuli, the tumuli marked with dots, and a transparent overlay of the archaeological site’s plan.

<sup>522</sup> Lohmann 1993, 159–160. The longest distances in the tests he summarizes achieved 1 km of visibility with the naked eye; reported ranges between 4–15 km occurred using signaling systems where binoculars and other magnifying tools were available.

|                  | Three or four other tumuli | Two other tumuli | One other tumulus | No other tumuli |
|------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Agios Athanasios | 2, 6VL                     | 1, 4VL, 5VL      | 3, 4, 3VL         | 1VL, 2VL        |
| Derveni          |                            | 1, 2, 3          |                   |                 |
| Lefkadia         |                            | 3, 6, 7          |                   | 1, 2            |
| Pella            |                            |                  | 3, 4              | 2, 5, 6         |
| Vergina          | 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, A    | 9                | 2, 10             | 3, 11           |
| Veria            |                            |                  | 1, 2              | 3, 5            |

Table 7.4. Number of other tumuli visible from each viewpoint. Note that the intervisibility at Vergina is almost entirely explained by the fact that some tumuli are clustered together.

The biggest surprise regarding the results was the relative scarcity of intervisibility (Table 7.4). Three out of five tombs from Lefkadia, all built within one generation, are intervisible; two out of Pella's five tumuli are intervisible. At Vergina, there is only intervisibility between tombs that are clustered together, while at Veria, half of the tombs have intervisibility with one other tomb. Derveni (Lete) and Agios Athanasios show more intervisibility, but even then each tumulus typically only has intervisibility with one or two other tumuli.

As for intervisibility with earlier tombs or settlements, the evidence is mixed. At Vergina, most of the Classical and Hellenistic tumuli either have no or little visibility of the "Cemetery of Tumuli," the Iron Age cemetery with over 500 tumuli; tumuli 2, 7, and 8 overlook small parts of the cemetery, but hardly enough to make it seem that a visual link was of prime importance (Figure 7.4). Several of the tombs are intervisible with the palace, the theater, and the acropolis, as the latter three are located high on a hill. Importantly, one of the tombs is facing in the direction of the hill, "looking" directly up toward the monuments of power. There are, however, five tumuli that did not have such a view (including, significantly, the Great Tumulus); while it is probably no coincidence that the palace had prominent views over the entire settlement and the cemeteries, there seem to be no systematic links between the palace and tumuli. Instead, it seems it was more important to cluster the tumuli together in small groups, quite possibly in family



groupings, without much care for broader visibility.

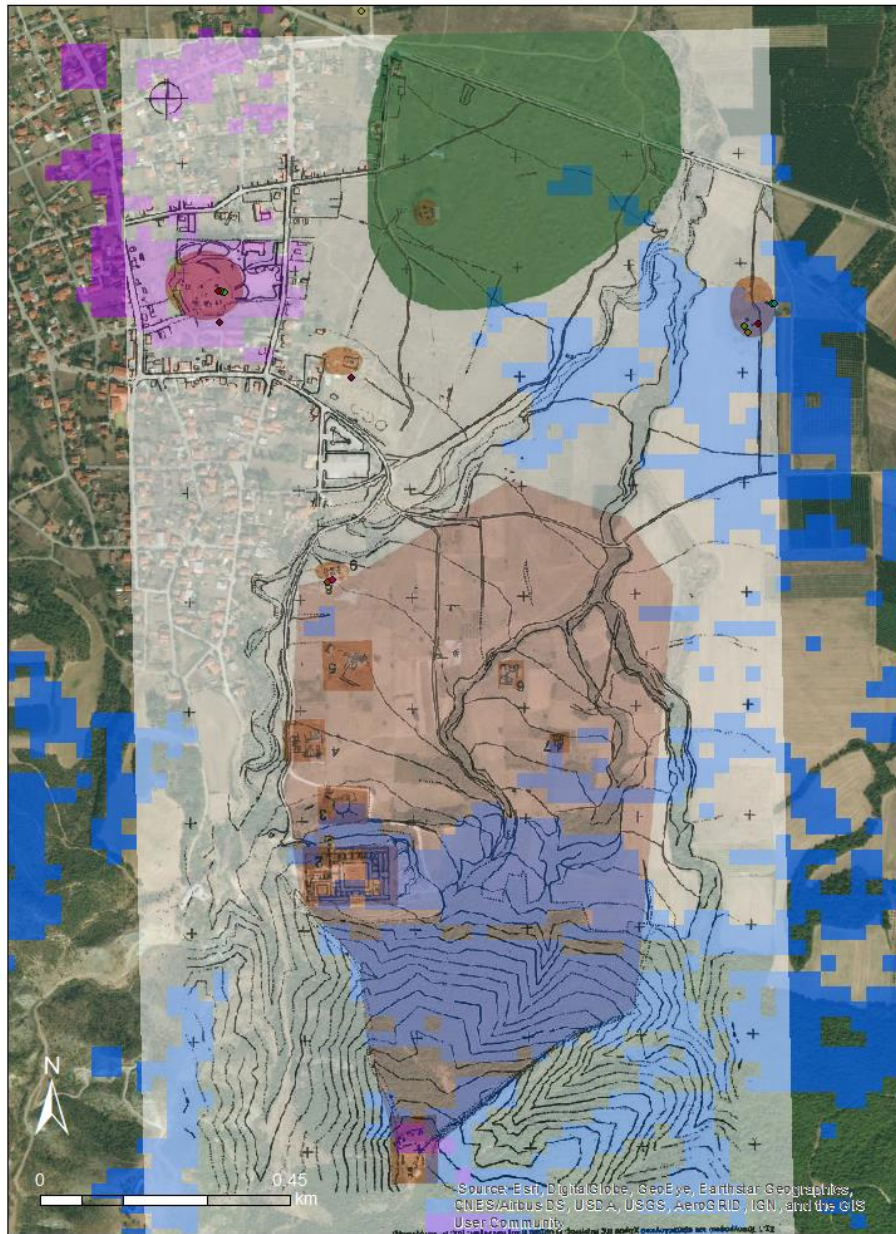


Figure 7.6. Viewsheds for Vergina tumuli 8 (in blue) and 12 (purple). The Cemetery of the Tumuli is shown on the plan in dark green, while the acropolis is at the bottom of the map and the palace and theater directly north from it. The overlaid plan of Vergina comes from Lane Fox (2011).

At Pella and Veria, none of the viewsheds reach the town center area, and the Veria

tumuli, placed right outside the city walls, have views away from rather than toward the city (Figure 7.5).<sup>523</sup> Furthermore, the Veria tumuli were in two cases facing toward the city walls and in another tucked in a small dip between two hillocks; while the views from the top of the tumuli were extensive enough, it is clear that the goal was not for the facades or the tumuli themselves to stand out in the landscape. At Lefkadia (Mieza, Figure 7.6), three out of the five tombs had views of a nearby Bronze Age tumulus, and some had views of Hellenistic rock-cut tombs and public buildings (some probably contemporary with the Macedonian tombs, others post-dating them).<sup>524</sup> For Agios Athanasios and Derveni (Lete), no detailed plans were found, although reports suggest evidence for nearby ancient towns.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> The city plans used are Lane Fox (2011, Pella) and Brocas-Deflassieux (1999, Veria).

<sup>524</sup> See Romiopoulos (1997) for a plan and discussion of the monuments.

<sup>525</sup> Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 207 (Agios Athanasios); Tzanavari and Filis in *AEMTh* 17, 155–172.

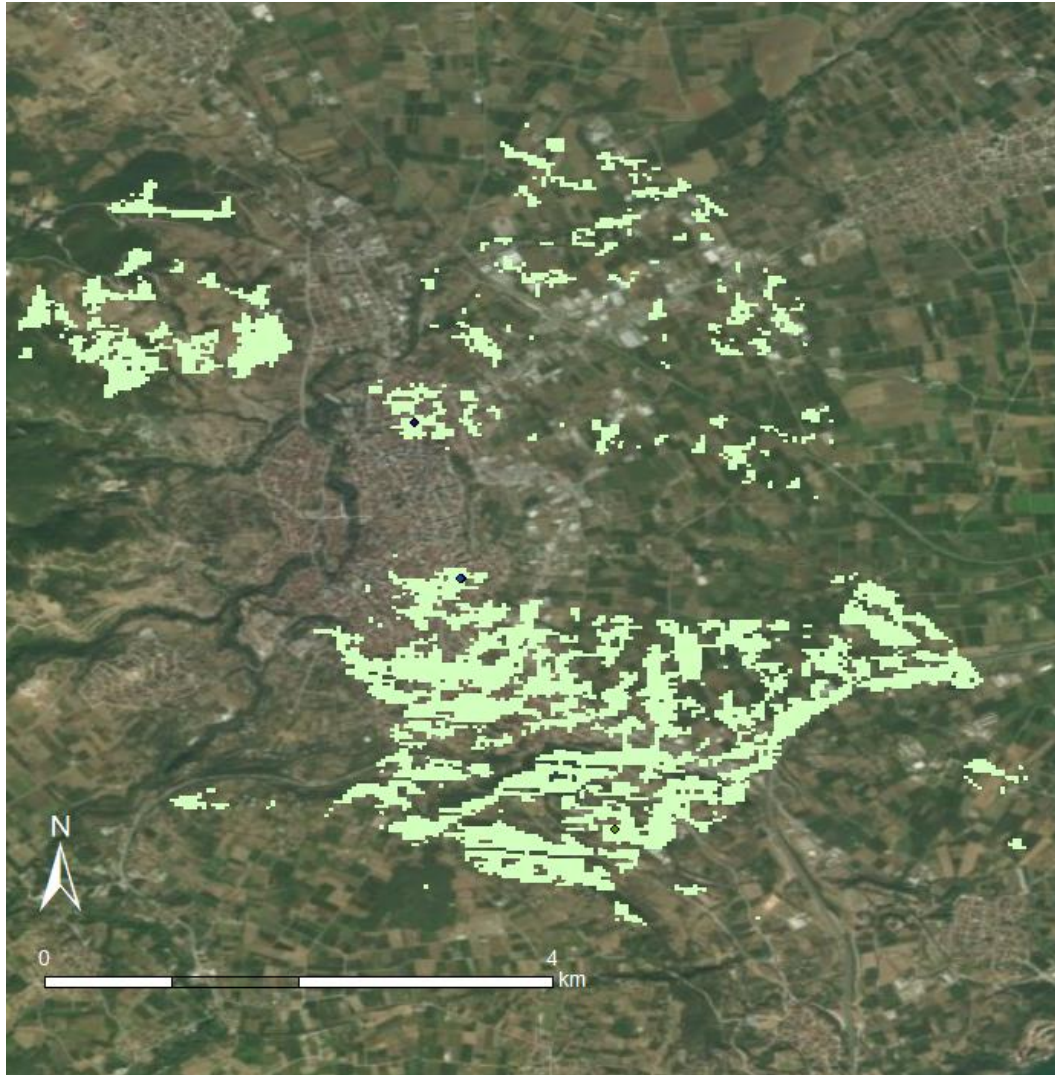


Figure 7.7. Composite of all the tumuli viewsheds, Veria. Note that the viewsheds face away from the ancient city (located where the modern city is).





Figure 7.8. Composite of all the viewsheds, Lefkadia. Number 25 marks the Bronze Age tumulus, while the other points are Hellenistic cemeteries and structures. The overlaid plan of Lefkadia is from Romiopoulou (2000).

| Tumulus              | Viewshed area in sq km | Viewshed area in raster sq | Tumuli visible | Date |
|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|------|
| Agios Athanasios 1   | 1.151                  | 1536                       | 2, 4           | 300  |
| Agios Athanasios 2   | 3.148                  | 4202                       | 1, 3, 5VL      | 300  |
| Agios Athanasios 3   | 2.707                  | 3613                       | 2              | 325  |
| Agios Athanasios 4   | 0.192                  | 256                        | 1              | 310  |
| Agios Athanasios 1VL | 0.157                  | 209                        | none           | 350  |
| Agios Athanasios 2VL | 0.015                  | 20                         | none           | 350  |
| Agios Athanasios 3VL | 2.117                  | 2825                       | 5VL            | 350  |
| Agios Athanasios 4VL | 0.658                  | 878                        | 3VL, 5VL       | 350  |
| Agios Athanasios 5VL | 1.352                  | 1805                       | 2, 3VL         | 275  |
| Agios Athanasios 6VL | 0.509                  | 679                        | 2, 3VL, 5VL    | 325  |
| Derveni 1            | 1.882                  | 2512                       | 2, 3           | 310  |
| Derveni 2            | 1.095                  | 1461                       | 1, 3           | 310  |
| Derveni 3            | 1.773                  | 2366                       | 1, 2           | 305  |
| Lefkadia 1           | 0.323                  | 431                        | none           | 300  |
| Lefkadia 2           | 1.570                  | 2095                       | none           | 200  |
| Lefkadia 3           | 0.552                  | 737                        | 6, 7           | 300  |
| Lefkadia 6           | 0.611                  | 816                        | 3, 7           | 325  |
| Lefkadia 7           | 0.360                  | 481                        | 3, 6           | 310  |
| Veria 1 and 2        | 2.499                  | 3335                       | 1, 2           | 310  |
| Veria 3              | 1.183                  | 1579                       | none           | 300  |
| Veria 5              | 0.555                  | 741                        | none           | 275  |
| Pella 2              | 2.381                  | 3178                       | none           | 210  |
| Pella 3              | 1.355                  | 1808                       | 2, 4           | 300  |
| Pella 4              | 1.675                  | 2235                       | 3              | 300  |
| Pella 5              | 3.295                  | 4398                       | none           | 250  |
| Pella 6              | 1.014                  | 1354                       | none           | 280  |
| Vergina 1            | 2.015                  | 2690                       | A, 7, 8, 9     | 330  |
| Vergina 2            | 1.262                  | 1685                       | 10             | 325  |
| Vergina 3            | 1.017                  | 1357                       | none           | 300  |
| Vergina 4            | 0.727                  | 971                        | 5, 6, 12       | 350  |
| Vergina 5            | 0.745                  | 995                        | 4, 6, 12       | 325  |
| Vergina 6            | 0.783                  | 1045                       | 4, 5, 12       | 310  |
| Vergina 7            | 2.177                  | 2906                       | A, 1, 8, 9     | 250  |
| Vergina 8            | 2.175                  | 2903                       | A, 1, 7, 9     | 310  |
| Vergina 9            | 1.927                  | 2572                       | 7, 8           | 225  |
| Vergina 10           | 1.026                  | 1369                       | 2              | 345  |
| Vergina 11           | 1.533                  | 2046                       | none           | 310  |
| Vergina 12           | 0.882                  | 1177                       | 4, 5, 6        | 300  |
| Vergina A            | 2.048                  | 2734                       | 1, 7, 8, 9     | 350  |

Table 7.5. Viewshed area by tumulus.

Given the scant intervisibility, another metric to use is viewshed area (Table 7.5). This can give an overall impression of how visible a tumulus was. The viewsheds range from about 1.5 hectares (Agios Athanasios 2VL) to 330 hectares (Pella 5). About half of the tumuli have a viewshed between 50 and 150 hectares, while viewsheds larger than 250 hectares are rare. This means that the tumuli might have been visible and had a view ranging over a kilometer each

way, although as noted above, making out something a kilometer away is not a given. The high figures are particularly interesting in light of the relative scarcity of intervisibility between the tumuli; while some tumuli (for example, at Pella) are spaced some distance apart, many of the tumuli are close enough to be well within the range of the viewsheds – but frequently fall outside of them because of terrain. There is no clear association between sites and viewshed size: for example, Agios Athanasios has tumuli with very small and very large viewsheds. The same applies for dates, with no clear trends toward more or less prominent positioning of tumuli throughout time.

In sum, in contrast with some previous discussions on these tumuli, there seems to be much variation between not only sites but individual tumuli regarding their placement and viewshed. There is no evidence for an overarching concern for high visibility, intervisibility, or views of other monuments, in contrast to assumptions often made about tumuli. Indeed, some tumuli seem “burrowed” into hillsides. This does not mean that tumuli might not have been highly visible in other ways. The viewsheds are large, even if they do not seem to target other known monuments. At Pella, it has been noted the tumuli were often located by roads, and they may have been experienced as local markers unfolding as one passed them by rather than as centralized monuments looking toward and being visible from one specific focal point; one purely speculative suggestion is that they could have served as property markers, reminding the passer-by whose land they were walking on. The Vergina clusters, for their part, although not usually visible from other locations, might have been important for family or dynastic cohesion; in light of this, it may not even have been that important that they be visible from a distance, as long as they served as a locus for family memory. Even then, however, this memory was to be a relatively short one, as Hellenistic tumuli were a short-lived phenomenon. (This, again, need not

be surprising considering the major upheavals during this period. It is still noteworthy that later rulers decided not to tap into them as a source for legitimizing their power.)

## **7.5 Conclusion**

The answers to the questions posed at the start of this chapter are clear. Inequality was prevalent and profound in Macedon, but it is better characterized as a continuum than as a system of clear classes. Interestingly, few artifacts or elements were found that are associated with wealth or lack thereof; while grave type and grave measurements are associated with wealth, it is difficult to see clear links between grave goods and wealth. Rare and expensive, jewelry and drinking vessels of precious metals are the best candidates for items that could be described as luxurious or of high value to Macedonians. Vessels of ceramic and bronze, weapons, coins, and figurines were mundane (in a mortuary context), while the heterogeneous group of rare and inexpensive objects might point toward some room for idiosyncrasies in mortuary practices. Overall, while wealthy Macedonians certainly distinguished themselves through monumental tombs and large quantities of silver vessels and gold jewelry, other types of artifacts were not restricted to either the wealthy or the middling classes. This further supports the lack of clear classes or categories of burials, instead pointing to a core of shared but very flexible mortuary behaviors adjusted according to resources available.

Gini coefficients across different sites testify to persistently high levels of inequality, but diachronic changes suggest the Classical and Hellenistic periods, often described in terms of a flood of wealth coming in from the silver mines and, later, from the East, were not a time of plenty for everyone but instead saw increased relative inequality.

The high Gini figures certainly to some degree validate the commonly drawn

comparisons between the falsely-modest Athenian and showy Macedonian mortuary customs. In addition to the Gini coefficient, another way to approach the issue of seeming versus lived inequality is a framework developed by Colin Quinn and Jess Beck.<sup>526</sup> The framework compares the coherence or dissonance between portrayed and lived inequality, using the mortuary record as the “portrayed” aspect and other contexts as the “lived” one. Such dichotomies inevitably simplify matters, but the model can serve as a useful tool to think with. In an Athenian context, it has been convincingly argued that while lived inequality persisted, there was an ideology of egalitarianism in the fifth century that suppressed displays of wealth in the private sphere, including in the mortuary record.<sup>527</sup> This would be described as “dissonance” in Quinn and Beck’s model. The sources are scantier for ancient Macedon, but it can at least be said that inequality was performed more openly and prominently in the mortuary context than in Athens. It then boils down to one’s interpretation of the literary sources whether to emphasize dissonance or coherence: scholars arguing for a “constitutional” model might see dissonance, with performed inequality more pronounced than lived experience; those in the “royalist” camp might argue for coherence, with inequality playing out in everyday life as well as performed in the mortuary sphere.

The study of landscapes, conducted as a case-study on tumuli and their viewsheds, does not negate ideas about the prevalence of inequality, but again brings into question the identification of distinct groups of people with access to symbolic power that others did not have, as well as the importance of ancestral or dynastic claims. The inconsistent intervisibility between tumuli problematizes claims about landscapes of memory, and the fact that tumuli viewsheds

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<sup>526</sup> Quinn and Beck 2016.

<sup>527</sup> Morris 1992, Chapter 4; Humphreys 1993; Small 1995; Osborne 2010.

often face away from public monuments and settlement centers similarly makes it unlikely tumuli were used to create visual links to centralized power. The viewsheds are, on average, large, and it might be helpful to think of them – especially in the case of tumuli placed by prominent roads – unfolding as one traverses the landscape; they were local, individual monuments rather than a network with a clear focal point.

## CHAPTER 8

### Diachronic and regional variation

ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνουσιν, ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ.

- Heraclitus, as quoted in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 15.20.2

Heraclitus's famous quote – or rather one variation of it – is a useful reminder as this dissertation nears its conclusion. Whether Styx or Lethe, the waters navigated by the dead were in constant motion, yet somehow maintained their essence. Similarly, the chronological and geographic scope of this dissertation is vast enough to accommodate many changes and differences despite some persistent elements. While this dissertation has touched on diachronic and regional variation in many places, it has not done so systematically, with particularly regional variation receiving short shrift. In places, indeed, it has been necessary to group together burials from different areas and periods to gain a representative picture, particularly to emphasize groups – such as children – who are reported on rarely enough that studying them by site and by period is difficult. This chapter splits the data along chronological and regional lines in order to complement this picture. Of course, the two axes intersect, and these intersections are in places made explicit, even if for heuristic reasons most of the discussion focuses on one variable at a time. The focus is on regional variation, as diachronic change has already been touched on in

many of the chapters.

First, however, the chronological and regional divisions need to be justified. The chronological divide into the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic period might seem uncontroversial, but shifts in material culture rarely coincide with historical events such as the death of Alexander the Great. In the case of Macedon, the Archaic-Classical boundary is both clearer and more vexing because of a scarcity of burials from the early Classical period (480–450 BCE). Future excavations and publications will hopefully shed light on this transitional period, but it seems relatively clear that the Classical burials seen from 450 onward are quite different from the Archaic ones from Arkhontiko and Sindos. The changes in the mortuary record between the Classical and Hellenistic period are less dramatic than one might expect. This tendency has been noted in the previous chapters as well, and it of course goes against historical narratives of swift, drastic changes at the start of the Hellenistic period.

Questions of regional variation are more contested, not least because of their intersection with questions of ethnicity (see Chapter 1). Ancient literary sources and numismatic evidence attest to groups – sometimes called *ethne* by ancient authors and modern scholars alike – such as Bottiaians or Elimaeans who could either be considered separate entities or members of a broader category of “Macedonians.” The study of such groups through material culture is difficult and often impossible for at least two reasons. First, facile links between features of material culture and groups of people have long since been deconstructed. Secondly, the question of ethnicity – an identification based on an idea of shared ancestry – seems particularly difficult to study using archaeology because, unlike for example gender and age, it cannot be compared with biological features. Flawed as the approach might be, an archaeologist can use a skeleton’s sex and age markers to anchor an analysis of gendered grave goods; with ethnicity, such anchors



are missing (in a Macedonian context).<sup>528</sup> Finally, the scope of this dissertation does not allow for a study of a broader “Macedonian” identity because the database does not include comparative material outside the area of ancient Macedon (and, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the boundaries of Macedon kept changing throughout time as well, further complicating capturing Macedon in its entirety).<sup>529</sup>

This chapter does, however, look at variation by region and even investigates some “Balkan” and “Greek” features. The discussion moves from the largest scale to the smallest. It first looks at “Balkan” versus “Greek” features and imported versus locally-produced ceramics, in doing so confirming that we cannot point to specific traits as ethnic (rather than regional) and also noting the impossibility of fitting Macedonian burials into a “Greek” or a “Balkan” box. Secondly, it compares subsets of cemeteries that fall into geographic clusters (see Chapter 3), mostly noting differences linked to the dates of the cemeteries and their average wealth but also identifying some possible regional idiosyncrasies. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to looking at diachronic change across grave elements, noting that the most dramatic changes occurred between the Archaic and Classical periods and also confirming the observation that has been brought up in previous chapters: the economic boom suggested by the historical narrative is not reflected in the mortuary record.

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<sup>528</sup> One can, of course, think of scenarios where a community decides to explicitly demarcate ethnicity in a way interpretable to an archaeologist: tombstones noting ethnic affiliations, etc. In a Macedonian context, such tombstones are rare, late, and usually separated from their original context. Furthermore, literary sources do not offer any clues about possible differences in material culture between the different groups living in the area.

<sup>529</sup> Meg Butler’s (2008) dissertation, in contrast, extensively compares graves from Macedon and different parts of the Greek world. See below for some issues with her categorization.

## 8.1 Regional variation

Regional variation can operate on different levels, and this dissertation can mainly address differences between sites and small groups of sites, divided into categories such as “Bottiaea” and “Elimaea” introduced in Chapter 3. This section, however, starts from the larger scale. It first draws on other people’s work to look at differences between “Greek” and “Balkan” features, then looks at local and imported pottery as our best case-study for the co-existence of goods and elements with their roots in different locales. Finally, variation between Macedonian regions and individual sites is studied across different variables.

### 8.1.1 Balkan or Greek? – Balkan *and* Greek

As mentioned above and discussed in Chapter 2, the study of ethnicity through archaeology has been extensively problematized, and no attempt is made here to assign ethnic labels in the sense of an identity built on an idea of shared ancestry. Regardless, scholars have frequently used names known from ancient literature to classify elements of material culture. There is East Greek pottery, Thracian jewelry, Macedonian bronzes, even an Elimiote royal center (Aeane). Sometimes these labels are linked to production centers – Rhodian wine was, presumably, made on Rhodes – but in other cases they refer to something less tangible: affinities or stylistic features. As in the case of Macedonian bronzes, the distribution of a type is sometimes later found to be much more expansive than initially thought.<sup>530</sup> The cemeteries studied in this dissertation undeniably share features with communities south, north, east, and

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<sup>530</sup> Perron 2016. Tellingly, he has described “Macedonian bronzes” as “a generic term referring to a wide range of bronze ornaments and jewelry made in the northwest Aegean and south-central Balkans between the late eighth and the first half of the fifth century BCE. Widely distributed throughout the Aegean, the Balkans, and Magna Graecia, they are mostly found in tombs and sanctuaries.”

west of them, in the form of imports, imitations, and shared affinities. Assigning meaningful labels to these features, however, has proven very difficult. This section discusses some of the features identified as “Balkan” (or similar), even if the conclusion is that entire graves can hardly be called either “Greek” or “Balkan.”

Meg Butler, studying Macedon as well as other parts of the Balkan peninsula, has settled on a division into “Greek” and “Balkan” burials to avoid ambiguity and leakage between the labels “Macedonian” and “Greek.”<sup>531</sup> In doing so, however, she unfortunately never clearly defines her criteria for identifying Greek or Balkan burials despite remarking on a high level of coherence among Balkan graves until about 350.<sup>532</sup> She instead indirectly implies certain features are “Balkan.” For example, she emphasizes weapons in her description of “Macedonian” burials and notes that in Thessaly, the “inclusion of weapons may be seen as influenced by Balkan customs.”<sup>533</sup> Elsewhere, she argues gold mouthpieces (epistomia) reflect “Thracian influences across the Balkans”<sup>534</sup> and notes Balkan burials were made primarily in pits and cists (in contrast to a multitude of burial types in Greek communities).<sup>535</sup> Furthermore, among Balkan graves she includes Molossian, Thracian, Illyrian, Macedonian, and Thessalian graves – the last one obviously contradicting her statement about Thessalian graves being “influenced” by Balkan graves.<sup>536</sup>

Jan Bouzek and Iva Ondrejova use a much broader range of terms to discuss myriad distinctions. They have compared cemeteries from Sindos, Duvanli (in what is now Bulgaria),

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<sup>531</sup> Butler 2008, 63.

<sup>532</sup> Butler 2008, 117 (coherence), 124 (breakdown of tradition).

<sup>533</sup> Butler 2008, 76–96, 96.

<sup>534</sup> Butler 2008, 109.

<sup>535</sup> Butler 2008, 118.

<sup>536</sup> Butler 2008, 130.

and Trebenishte (in what is now FYROM), taking them to represent Thrace (Sindos and Duvanli) and Molossus (Trebenishte).<sup>537</sup> They offer a highly nuanced discussion of cultural influences and exchange between groups they call Thracian, Greek, Scythian, Illyrian, Macedonian, and East Greek, to name only some. They, for example, note that fibulae from Sindos (with several knots on the bow) represent a shape from Asia Minor but also a predecessor of Balkan fibulae, while Trebenishte brooches are Balkan types, concluding that “the bulk of the [fibulae] finds is of Balkan character, with parallels in the central Balkans.”<sup>538</sup> Overall, they see closer contacts between Euboea, East Greece, and Sindos; Corinth and Trebenishte; and the east (Odryssean kingdom) and Duvanli.<sup>539</sup> Bouzek and Ondrejova’s discussion is detailed and careful. It, however, ultimately illustrates the difficulty of categorizing objects from Macedon in simplistic terms and, indeed, makes one wonder what the utility of labels is if every object on closer inspection turns out to be a conglomerate of different influences.

At the end of the day, however, it is undeniable that there were differences between southern Greek and Macedonian mortuary customs. For example, in contrast with Athenian elite burials, Macedonians do not seem to have been keen on large funerary markers and seem to have preferred tumuli to the kinds of built stone enclosures one sees at Kerameikos. Cremations also became popular in Macedon long after they had fallen out of favor in southern Greece (see below). From the start of the historical period, however, there was one particularly persistent and significant difference between burials from northern (and to some degree, central and western) Greece and those from southern Greece or southern Greek colonies: expenditure.<sup>540</sup> No

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<sup>537</sup> Bouzek and Ondrejova 1988.

<sup>538</sup> Bouzek and Ondrejova 1988, 89–90.

<sup>539</sup> Bouzek and Ondrejova 1988, 93–94.

<sup>540</sup> Butler 2008, 23–24; Archibald 2010, 333.

comprehensive comparison can be attempted here, but a few examples should hopefully convince the reader.

Zosia Archibald has noted broad differences in expenditure between Greek burials and Macedonian and Thracian ones, particularly in terms of the disposal of metal. Drawing on Ian Morris's work, she has noted how the deposition of weapons and other metals in graves largely ceased by the fifth century in southern Greece but continued in Macedon and Thrace.<sup>541</sup> In addition, there are some distinctly Balkan and costly features such as the (mainly Archaic) use of sheet gold to cover parts of the body, especially the mouth and eyes;<sup>542</sup> this use of sheet gold, of course, recalls Bronze Age Mycenaean burial masks but is very different from Archaic Greek burial customs.

Looking at humbler categories of grave goods also supports the view of Macedonian burials as comparatively wealthy. A comparison with Chalcidicean colonies founded by Greek poleis is interesting because of their proximity to Macedon. The differences are striking: while only 40% of late sixth-century burials from Acanthus contained goods of any kind, even relatively poor Mieza's burials contained goods 75% of the time.<sup>543</sup> A comparison of ceramics from cemeteries in Corinth (North Cemetery), Athens (Kerameikos), and Mieza during the period 350–300 shows that the differences hold for Greek metropoleis as well as their colonies: Athenian burials typically contained 0–2 ceramic vessels and 0–2 other items, burials from Mieza contained about double that, while Corinthian burials typically included 3–4 vessels but were restricted to very standardized sets.<sup>544</sup>

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<sup>541</sup> Archibald 2010, 332–333; Morris 1992.

<sup>542</sup> Archibald 2010, 332.

<sup>543</sup> Butler 2008, 82; Archibald 2010, 333.

<sup>544</sup> Knigge 1976 (Kerameikos); Kovacovics 1990 (Kerameikos); Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002 (Mieza); Blegen, Palmer, and Young 1964 (Corinth). The comparison of the data was done by the author.

In sum, attempts to divide elements of material culture into “Balkan” and “Greek” is fraught and often done based on intuition or assumptions never made explicit. A small number of features seems to recur across analyses and seems more securely “Balkan.” The overall tendency for Macedonian (Balkan) burials to be wealthier than Greek ones seems uncontested. Similarly, certain object types such as sheets of gold used to cover parts of the body seem exclusive to the northern Balkans in the Archaic period. These features, however, co-occur with Greek imports: wealthy burials often included many Attic imports, and the Arkhontiko burials (with their high prevalence of sheet gold) contained above-average numbers of imports from Attica and Corinth. In light of this, it seems impossible and nonsensical to label Macedonian burials either Balkan or Greek; instead, it seems more reasonable to note that they share elements with burials from both the north and the south. The following section looks at this “mixing” through our best line of evidence – ceramics.

### **8.1.2 Local wares versus imports**

While metal workshops are being actively studied, the best proxy for studying local production versus import trade is currently ceramics. There are limits to this approach because many sites have not yet yielded a workshop, although the presence of one is often argued for based on distinct ceramic fabrics or the simple assumption that such local workshops must have existed.<sup>545</sup> Publications accordingly often specify Attic and Corinthian figural wares but are

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<sup>545</sup> Probably the best source on Macedonian workshops is Adam-Veleni, Kefalidou, and Tsiafaki (2013), a conference volume on northern Aegean workshops which discusses evidence for ceramic production at a number of sites, most of them in the Halkidiki but some also in Methoni and Lefkopetra near Mount Vermion. For general notes on our lack of knowledge about workshops, see (in the same volume) Tsiafaki (2013, 10). See also, for example, Chrysostomou (2013, 114, on Edessa), who notes Aeane is an exception to our dearth of knowledge on Archaic-Classical pottery workshops.

silent or unspecific about local wares. Other publications make divisions based on surface treatment: for example, Edessa has yielded a 45% to 55% split between non-decorated local wares and black-gloss or figural vessels, but the analysis does not identify which vessels in the latter group were locally made and which were not.<sup>546</sup> As such, the numbers below are based on what has been mentioned in publications, without accounting for what might have been left unspecified. (Only graves where all of the vessels were recorded have been included in the analysis, so the total counts are accurate even if the categories are vaguer than one would wish.)

Looking at the overall prevalence of imports and local wares, Attic and Corinthian imports form the largest groups. Of all the graves in the database, 21% contained Attic, 19% Corinthian, 4% Ionian, and 1% Chalcidicean imports. Local productions have been identified in 16% of the graves. Site publications do not always provide complete counts of different wares, but the example of Sindos shows that the summative numbers of the database hide variation between sites: at Sindos, Attic and especially Corinthian imports are more prevalent and local productions correspondingly fewer.<sup>547</sup>

Apart from some strikingly-colored local wares from Aeane, so-called greyware pottery constituted the most distinct local ceramic tradition during the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>548</sup> The name is a reference to the burnished (sometimes patterned) grey surface of the vessels. The two greyware shapes typically found in burials are a jug with a cutaway spout and a kantharoid cup, usually with geometric decoration on the rim. Both the shapes and the fabric show

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<sup>546</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 93–115. She also argues that Edessan workshops produced a variety of styles, manufacturing both imitations and local wares in the same workshops.

<sup>547</sup> Tiverios 2016, 15.

<sup>548</sup> For Aeane, see Kefalidou (2001); she has not been able to find any definitive roots for the seemingly idiosyncratic and short-lived polychrome vessels. For examples of greyware, see Chrysostomou 2013 (Edessa) and Panti 2013 (Thermi).

continuity from Iron Age traditions, although there is some evidence for local variation in its use – at Edessa, the ware was adopted later to complement an older Iron Age tradition of orange-fabric wares – but the resolution of the information available for the database does not allow a further analysis of this.<sup>549</sup> Greyware has also been found elsewhere in the Balkans.<sup>550</sup>

Out of the 990 graves, 97 or about 10% included greyware vessels. These graves date from the Archaic period to the fourth century, but the fourth-century examples are few. (There are also many graves with greyware with sweeping date ranges covering the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, but given the presence of greywares, most of them are probably not Hellenistic.)

Importantly, there is no support for a “local or global” dichotomy, although again there seems to be site-by-site variation.<sup>551</sup> Many of the graves with greyware also included imported ceramics: Attic (21% of all graves with greyware), Corinthian (26%), or Ionian (4%).<sup>552</sup> The prevalence of imports in these graves is similar to the overall population, indicating no association between greyware and imports.<sup>553</sup> Nor does there seem to be a difference in terms of association with wealth: the mean wealth index for graves with greywares is 12.5 while it is 11.5 for the entire database, and both groups are equally likely to have metal vessels and jewelry in them. (Graves with greyware had weapons in them more often, but this can be explained by greyware’s prevalence during the Archaic period when weapons were more common across all

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<sup>549</sup> Chrysostomou 2013, 114.

<sup>550</sup> See, e.g., Papazovska (2012).

<sup>551</sup> Vasiliki Saripanidi (2010, 471) has noted that at Sindos all the local wares came from 27 out of the 99 graves studied.

<sup>552</sup> Excavators at various sites have noted this “mixing” as well: see, e.g., Chrysostomou (2013, 114) and Papakostas (2013).

<sup>553</sup> Corinthian vessels are more prevalent among the greyware subset than among all the graves, but this is explained by the date range. While Corinthian wares have been found in 11% of all graves, the corresponding figure is 31% for Archaic graves.



graves.)

In sum, there was a tendency over time toward ceramics that have more affinities with the broader Greek world, but local and imported wares as well as local imitations of Attic and Corinthian wares happily co-existed during the Archaic and Classical periods. Furthermore, greyware and figured vessels were often placed in the same grave, and there are no indications of prestige differences between the two types.

### **8.1.3 Variation by region**

The focus now shifts from trying to find “pan-Macedonian” or “Balkan” features to looking at variation between regions. To do this, the groupings introduced in Chapter 3 were used and frequencies in percentages as well as expected counts were calculated.<sup>554</sup> The results show both overall tendencies and specific local differences. Overall, Bottiaea, Elimaea, and Pieria have a higher-than-average prevalence of most types of grave good, while South Bottiaea and Tymphaea show lower figures. The differences are probably partly explained by chronological differences and publishing bias: South Bottiaea’s Edessa and Mieza are mostly Classical and have been systematically published (including poor graves), while Bottiaea’s Arkhontiko is Archaic and the published graves, similarly to those from Pieria’s Pydna region and Elimaea’s Aeane, have mostly been the wealthiest ones. This is not, however, an adequate explanation for all the variation, as evidenced by the mere fact that out of Mieza’s over 150 published graves only a handful were rich in grave goods, while all of the nearly 300 burials published from Arkhontiko (out of a thousand) were so. In either case, the differences warrant a

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<sup>554</sup> The expected counts were frequently below 5 or even 1, meaning the data requirements for the test were not met. As the expected values were used in combination with prevalence and were used to guide qualitative analysis rather than used as an analytical method, not meeting the data requirements was deemed to not invalidate using the tool.

closer look feature by feature.

*Burial types and body treatment.* The norm for Macedonian burials from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period was inhumation in a pit, and this holds true for all the regions (Figure 8.1). The Vergina region (driven mainly by Vergina itself) shows the broadest range of burial types with larnakes, chamber tombs, and cists all at above-average rates. The Thermaic Gulf region around Thessaloniki also shows great variation with sarcophagi, osteothekai, and Macedonian tombs in addition to cists. This probably reflects the importance of Vergina in the Archaic and Classical period and of Thessaloniki in the Hellenistic (after Cassander founded the city through synoecism).<sup>555</sup> Tymphaea and South Bottiaea have yielded almost exclusively pit graves, while Bottiaea – more specifically, Pella – seemingly had an idiosyncratic tendency for tile-lined pits. Elimaea, Pieria, and Thessaloniki all used monumental tomb types more often, with Elimaea favoring chamber tombs, Pieria cists, and Thessaloniki cists and sarcophagi.

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<sup>555</sup> Strabo 7, frag. 21.

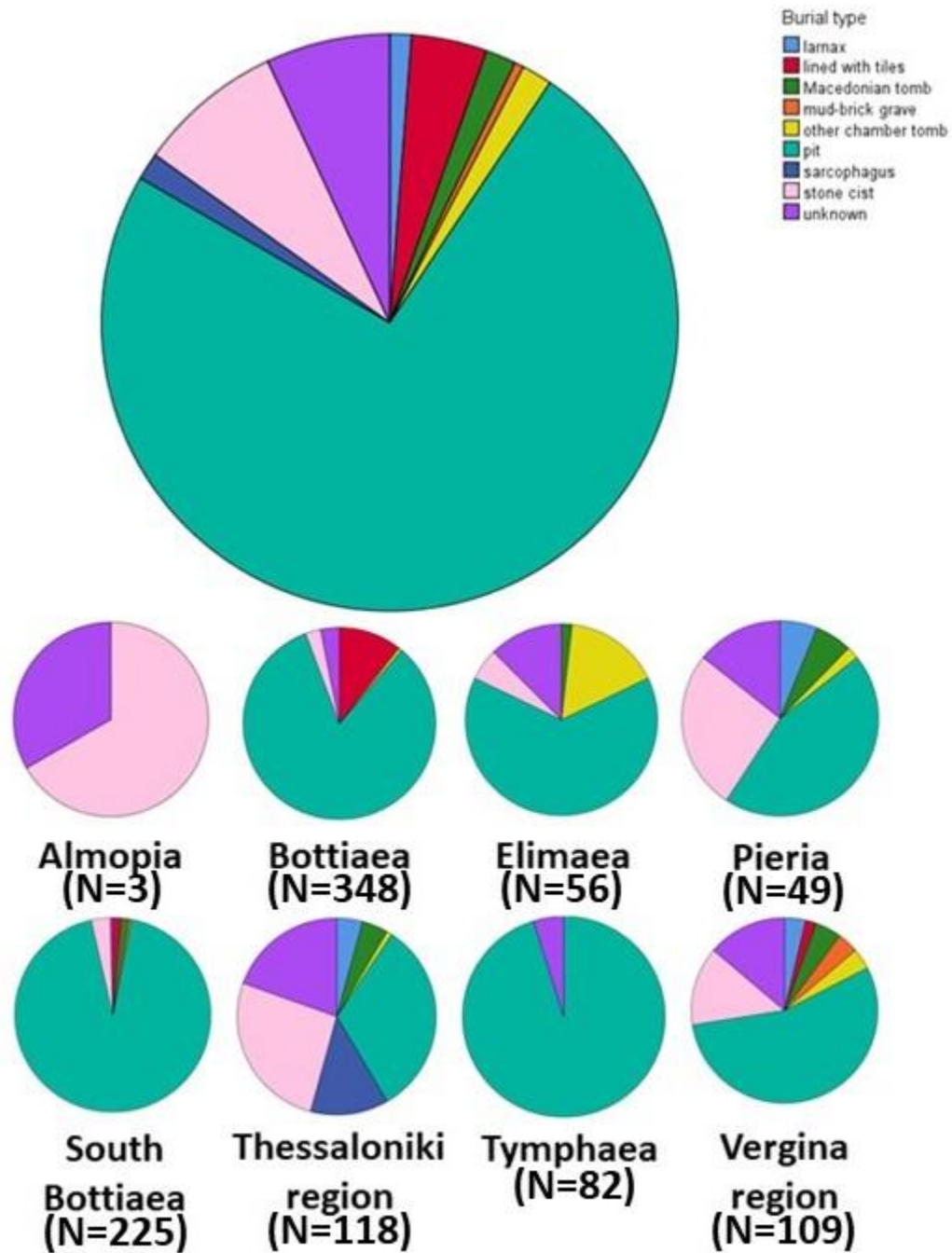


Figure 8.1. Grave types overall (top) and by region. Note that the grave count for Almopia is a measly 3.

As for body treatment, Pieria, the Thessaloniki region, and the Vergina area show a remarkable fondness for cremation with 30–40% cremations. This is in sharp contrast with

Elimaea and Bottiaea and especially South Bottiaea and Tymphaea where cremations were very rare (2–3%). The prevalence of cremation is probably linked to the popularity of larnakes and chamber tombs which often contained cremations. Furthermore, much of the trend is explained by a confluence of chronological and regional differences since the burials from the Thessaloniki region are on average later in date while Vergina shows a move toward cremations over time. Even so, it is striking that at Vergina half of the graves with known body treatment were cremations while Mieza and Asomata have yielded only inhumations and at Paliouria, Arkhontiko, and Edessa, 6% or less of all burials were cremations. Access to timber is an unlikely explanation to the differences: while Eugene Borza has named the Pierian mountains and Mount Vermion, close to Pieria, as important sources of timber, he has also pointed out that mountainous areas were more heavily forested in antiquity, meaning one would expect Upper Macedon to have more timber available than the lowlands.<sup>556</sup>

*Military equipment and jewelry.* Military equipment, mainly swords, spears, and helmets, were by far most prevalent in Bottiaea, doubtlessly driven by the “warrior graves” of Arkhontiko (Table 8.1). This multitude is unmatched even by the (in general) wealthy groups from Elimaea and Pieria; the same is true for the Vergina region, despite the famous tombs from the Great Tumulus. Greaves, unlike other pieces of military equipment, were the most common in Pieria and the Thessaloniki area, while Elimaeans favored spears and Pierians (relatively speaking) swords. In other words, Bottiaean burials most often contained a full military kit, while other regions focused on fewer items, mainly spears and swords.

Jewelry and personal ornaments were relatively common in Bottiaea and Pieria but, more

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<sup>556</sup> Borza 1982b. Recently, William V. Harris (2013) has argued that deforestation in antiquity has been exaggerated and that, with few exceptions, communities would have been able to secure enough timber for their every-day needs locally.

surprisingly, rarer in Elimaea and the Vergina region. Earrings and pendants were popular in Pieria, while pendants and pins were favored in Bottiaea. Tymphaea, with its consistently low prevalence of grave goods, shows a high prevalence of pins. Rings and wreaths were both popular in Bottiaea, Pieria, and the Thessaloniki region.

|             | Almopia*<br>(N=3) | Bottiaea<br>(N=348) | Elimaea<br>(N=56) | Orestis*<br>(N=1) | Pieria<br>(N=49) | S. Bottiaea<br>(N=225) | Thessaloniki<br>(N=118) | Tymphaea<br>(N=82) | Vergina<br>(N=109) |
|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Breastplate | 0                 | 2                   | 0                 | 0                 | 4                | 0.4                    | 3                       | 0                  | 1                  |
| Greaves     | 0                 | 0                   | 0                 | 0                 | 4                | 0                      | 3                       | 0                  | 2                  |
| Helmet      | 0                 | 15                  | 0                 | 0                 | 4                | 1                      | 3                       | 0                  | 2                  |
| Shield      | 0                 | 3                   | 0                 | 0                 | 2                | 1                      | 3                       | 0                  | 1                  |
| Spears      | 33                | 34                  | 32                | 0                 | 16               | 19                     | 20                      | 21                 | 14                 |
| Sword       | 0                 | 24                  | 7                 | 0                 | 12               | 1                      | 6                       | 2                  | 6                  |
| Bead        | 0                 | 11                  | 2                 | 0                 | 6                | 4                      | 7                       | 4                  | 8                  |
| Bracelet    | 33                | 7                   | 2                 | 0                 | 2                | 1                      | 4                       | 6                  | 1                  |
| Buckle      | 0                 | 0                   | 2                 | 0                 | 0                | 0.4                    | 1                       | 0                  | 1                  |
| Earring     | 0                 | 10                  | 2                 | 0                 | 12               | 7                      | 12                      | 9                  | 6                  |
| Pendant     | 33                | 15                  | 5                 | 0                 | 29               | 4                      | 9                       | 5                  | 5                  |
| Pin         | 33                | 43                  | 14                | 0                 | 14               | 17                     | 30                      | 39                 | 10                 |
| Ring        | 0                 | 32                  | 1                 | 0                 | 27               | 11                     | 25                      | 15                 | 6                  |
| Wreath      | 33                | 12                  | 5                 | 0                 | 35               | 2                      | 23                      | 1                  | 13                 |

Table 8.1. Military equipment and jewelry, prevalence in percent. \*The numbers of graves from Almopia and Orestis are too low to make arguments on.

*Vessels.* Metal vessels were most prevalent in Bottiaea and Pieria. There are, however, differences between the types of metal vessels present: while Bottiaea ranks high in serving and ritual vessels of bronze, Pierians favored silver in addition to bronze and preferred serving and drinking vessels. The Thessaloniki region has also yielded many drinking vessels, while they are less prevalent than expected in Bottiaea. These trends are probably linked to diachronic changes and an overall shift in metal vessels from serving to drinking vessels (see below).

|          | Almopia*<br>(N=3) | Bottiaea<br>(N=348) | Elimaea<br>(N=56) | Orestis*<br>(N=1) | Pieria<br>(N=49) | S. Bottiaea<br>(N=225) | Thessaloniki<br>(N=118) | Tymphaea<br>(N=82) | Vergina<br>(N=109) |
|----------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Drinking | 67                | 57                  | 43                | 0                 | 33               | 40                     | 57                      | 31                 | 33                 |
| Toiletry | 33                | 39                  | 33                | 0                 | 51               | 24                     | 35                      | 12                 | 29                 |
| Pouring  | 67                | 27                  | 57                | 0                 | 12               | 19                     | 13                      | 29                 | 23                 |
| Serving  | 0                 | 8                   | 7                 | 0                 | 20               | 4                      | 8                       | 0                  | 7                  |
| Ritual   | 33                | 44                  | 39                | 0                 | 33               | 26                     | 32                      | 17                 | 33                 |

Table 8.2. Ceramic vessels by functional category, prevalence in percentage. \*The numbers of graves from Almopia and Orestis are too low to make arguments on.

Looking at ceramic vessels by functional category, each region shows a slightly different pattern even though Bottiaea, Elimaea, and Pieria once more have the highest prevalence overall (Table 8.2). Bottiaea has higher-than-expected values across all categories except for vessels for personal adornment. Elimaea had a fondness for ritual and pouring vessels, with drinking vessels common but still less prevalent than a normal distribution would suggest. Pieria favored vessels for personal adornment and, in relative terms, particularly serving vessels. (While still not common, they are much more common in Pieria than in the other regions.) South Bottiaea, in keeping with general trends, shows a low prevalence of all types of vessels, although drinking vessels were by far the most popular. The Thessaloniki region favored vessels for drinking and adornment, while Tymphaea preferred pouring vessels alongside drinking vessels. Finally, the Vergina region's figures are consistently lower than expected, but drinking and ritual vessels were the most popular.

|                     | Almopia*<br>(N=3) | Bottiaea<br>(N=348) | Elimaea<br>(N=56) | Orestis*<br>(N=1) | Pieria<br>(N=49) | S. Bottiaea<br>(N=225) | Thessaloniki<br>(N=118) | Tymphaea<br>(N=82) | Vergina<br>(N=109) |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Cutaway<br>prochous | 0                 | 13                  | 25                | 0                 | 0                | 7                      | 1                       | 1                  | 0                  |
| Kantharoid cup      | 0                 | 8                   | 2                 | 0                 | 0                | 6                      | 0                       | 0                  | 7                  |

Table 8.3. Ceramic vessels, local shapes, prevalence in percent. \*The numbers of graves from Almopia and Orestis are too low to make arguments on.

Commenting on individual vessel types is difficult since both their expected and real

prevalence are often so low that the differences might be explained by happenstance. Certain shapes seem to have been almost universally popular (skyphoi, lekythoi, phialai), while others were consistently rare (lebetes, lekanai, miniatures, olpai). Some seeming idiosyncrasies include alabastra, plates, kotylai, and unguentaria in Pieria, aryballoi in Bottiaea, and exaleiptra in Bottiaea and the Thessaloniki region. An important pair of shapes, the kantharoid cup and the cutaway-spout jug, is useful to look at because these vessels are typically locally manufactured and linked to “Balkan” traditions rather than “Greek” ones (Table 8.3). Kantharoid cups were most popular in Bottiaea, South Bottiaea, and the Vergina region, while the jugs were popular in Bottiaea, Elimaea, and (to a lesser degree) South Bottiaea. These trends are certainly partly linked to diachronic changes (with regions with Archaic cemeteries overrepresented), but it is interesting to note the Elimaeans’ preference for greyware prochoes but not cups; this might be a case of a truly local preference.

|                       | Almopia*<br>(N=3) | Bottiaea<br>(N=348) | Elimaea<br>(N=56) | Orestis*<br>(N=1) | Pieria<br>(N=49) | S.<br>Bottiaea<br>(N=225) | Thessaloniki<br>(N=118) | Tymphaea<br>(N=82) | Vergina<br>(N=109) |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Burnished             | 33                | 0.3                 | 2                 | 0                 | 0                | 10                        | 0                       | 1                  | 5                  |
| Black gloss           | 67                | 20                  | 30                | 0                 | 33               | 33                        | 46                      | 6                  | 35                 |
| Black figure          | 0                 | 19                  | 25                | 0                 | 4                | 6                         | 11                      | 6                  | 6                  |
| Red figure            | 67                | 8                   | 16                | 0                 | 25               | 12                        | 20                      | 0                  | 16                 |
| Incised<br>decoration | 0                 | 0                   | 0                 | 0                 | 0                | 2                         | 0                       | 0                  | 0                  |
| Greyware              | 33                | 10                  | 2                 | 0                 | 0                | 22                        | 1                       | 1                  | 8                  |
| Imports Attica        | 0                 | 23                  | 18                | 0                 | 4                | 31                        | 31                      | 4                  | 9                  |
| Imports<br>Chalcidice | 0                 | 2                   | 0                 | 0                 | 0                | 0                         | 1                       | 0                  | 0                  |
| Imports<br>Corinth    | 0                 | 22                  | 4                 | 0                 | 0                | 4                         | 14                      | 2                  | 7                  |
| Imports Ionia         | 0                 | 10                  | 0                 | 0                 | 0                | 0                         | 3                       | 0                  | 5                  |
| Local<br>production   | 33                | 5                   | 38                | 0                 | 2                | 33                        | 17                      | 7                  | 15                 |

Table 8.4. Ceramic vessels by ware and origin, prevalence in percentage. \*The numbers of graves from Almopia and Orestis are too low to make arguments on.

The prominence in South Bottiaea of local shapes is also interesting considering how scanty grave goods from there are overall (Table 8.4). The patterns regarding local shapes are, logically enough, echoed by finishes and the origin of vessels. Locally made vessels were most common in Elimaea and South Bottiaea, while greyware was most common in Bottiaea and South Bottiaea. Black-figure was most popular in Bottiaea and Elimaea and red-figure in Pieria and the Thessaloniki region – surely reflecting diachronic differences. Corinthian imports have been most commonly found in Bottiaean graves. Importantly, however, Attic imports were common in South Bottiaea and the Thessaloniki region; once more, this debunks any hypothesis about local wares being associated with poorer or less “international” (in the sense of containing imports) graves. South Bottiaean graves had fewer grave goods, but they happily mixed imports and local products, implying fairly broad access to both kinds of ceramics.

*Variation between sites* (Table 8.5). Most of the sites in the database have yielded too few graves to make individual comparisons. For this section, only sites with over 20 graves were used: Aeane, Arkhontiko, Edessa, Makriyalos at Pydna, Mieza, Paliouria at Deskati, Pella, Toumba Thessalonikis, and Vergina. Even then, the numbers were in most cases too small to compare individual object types and comparisons were instead made by groups of objects.

Metal vessels were by far the most common at Arkhontiko and Vergina, with Mieza, Paliouria, Pella, and Toumba Thessalonikis being poor in comparison. Ceramic drinking vessels were particularly common at Arkhontiko and Toumba Thessalonikis and rare at Paliouria and Pella. Vessels for personal adornment were most popular at Pydna (Makriyalos) and Pella and were very rare at Paliouria. Pouring vessels were favored at Aeane and Edessa but were particularly rare at Mieza and Toumba. Makriyalos stands out for its preference for serving vessels, while ritual vessels were by far the most popular at Arkhontiko.



Overall and not surprisingly, Arkhontiko has yielded the highest rates of vessels, but looking at individual functional categories shows some idiosyncrasies: Pydna with its fondness for serving vessels, Toumba Thessalonikis with an emphasis on drinking vessels, and Pella's focus on vessels related to personal adornment.

|                  | Aeane | Arkhontiko | Edessa | Makriyalos | Mieza | Paliouria | Pella | Toumba | Vergina |
|------------------|-------|------------|--------|------------|-------|-----------|-------|--------|---------|
| Metal            | 13    | 53         | 10     | 32         | 3     | 5         | 7     | 4      | 27      |
| Ceramic drinking | 42    | 80         | 64     | 40         | 30    | 22        | 13    | 71     | 25      |
| Ceramic toiletry | 39    | 36         | 28     | 48         | 22    | 9         | 43    | 25     | 35      |
| Ceramic pouring  | 52    | 36         | 48     | 12         | 6     | 30        | 10    | 4      | 27      |
| Ceramic serving  | 0     | 10         | 4      | 20         | 4     | 0         | 3     | 8      | 10      |
| Ceramic ritual   | 23    | 61         | 42     | 32         | 19    | 12        | 18    | 25     | 37      |

Table 8.5. Prevalence of grave goods by site, in percent.

## 8.2 Variation by date

As seen above, much of the regional variation seems linked to diachronic changes, especially the overall dramatic decrease in wealth after the Archaic period. This change, however, is not universal across object types and can disguise interesting trends unraveling over time. This section discusses variation by date across the same variables as the previous section.

|                        | Archaic | Classical | Hellenistic |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Larnax                 | 0.3     | 2         | 3           |
| Lined with tiles       | 0       | 4         | 6           |
| Macedonian tomb        | 0       | 2         | 5           |
| Mud-brick grave        | 0       | 1         | 1           |
| Other chamber tomb     | 2       | 3         | 2           |
| Pit                    | 14      | 13        | 13          |
| Pit filled with rubble | 2       | 1         | 0           |
| Pit filled with stones | 3       | 1         | 2           |
| Rock-carved pit        | 5       | 13        | 22          |
| Sarcophagus            | 2       | 2         | 1           |
| Stone cist             | 2       | 11        | 17          |
| Unspecified pit        | 63      | 40        | 22          |
| Cremation              | 3       | 10        | 14          |

Table 8.6. Burial types and cremation, prevalence in percent.

*Burial type and body treatment.* The general tendency is toward an increased range of burial types over time, even though different types of pits dominated during each period (Table 8.6). Archaic burials were limited to variations of pit-graves, stone cists, sarcophagi, osteotheques, and chamber tombs. In the Classical period, mudbrick graves, Macedonian tombs, and tile-lined graves were added to the repertoire. The changes seem linear in the sense that most trends continued in the same direction from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period: stone cists kept getting more popular over time, and unspecified pits kept getting fewer and fewer.<sup>557</sup> Between 325 and 300 BCE, there were no new grave types introduced, but there was a continued profusion at the expense of pit-graves of almost every other type of grave: in the Hellenistic period, pit graves formed 63% of all graves in contrast to the Archaic prevalence of 93% and the Classical prevalence of 74%. While the introduction of Macedonian tombs explains a lot of the difference – and it must again be kept in mind that they tend to be overrepresented because of their high visibility and the desire to publish them – it is worth noting that this expenditure is

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<sup>557</sup> “Unspecified pit” is, of course, a category stemming from unspecific reports rather than a distinct type of grave; however, in light of the proliferation of other, specified grave types, the drop in unspecified pits is probably a reflection of the overall drop in the popularity of pits rather than differences in recording or publishing habits.

echoed, if much more modestly, by tile-covered burials, stone cists, and osteothekes. It seems that in terms of expenditure on grave construction, the start of the Hellenistic period shows an increase across different levels of society. This is, of course, in interesting contrast to the overall trend of fewer costly grave goods.

Cremation was much more prevalent in the Classical and especially the Hellenistic period. It increased in popularity from 4% in the Archaic period to 18% in the Classical, and in 325–300 constituted 30% of burials. As noted in Chapter 5, whatever “Homeric” echoes that can be seen in Macedonian burials seem to be a rather late phenomenon. This diachronic trend is also quite different from that at Athens, where Ian Morris has noted that cremations declined in popularity over the course of the sixth century, going from almost ubiquitous around 700 BCE to constituting fewer than 20% of all graves by 500 BCE.<sup>558</sup>

| Shape                | Archaic (N=324) | Classical (N=605) | Hellenistic (N=287) | Overall (N=990) |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Metal <sup>559</sup> | 37              | 15                | 19                  | 22              |
| Drinking             | 0.6             | 2.5               | 4                   | 2.6             |
| Toiletry             | 0.6             | 3.5               | 6                   | 2.3             |
| Pouring liquids      | 7               | 3.6               | 5                   | 5               |
| Serving and cooking  | 22              | 5                 | 5                   | 10              |
| Ritual               | 27              | 4                 | 4                   | 12              |
|                      |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| Ceramics             |                 |                   |                     |                 |
| Drinking             | 65              | 42                | 34                  | 46              |
| Toiletry             | 27              | 37                | 38                  | 32              |
| Pouring liquids      | 36              | 23                | 24                  | 24              |
| Serving and cooking  | 8               | 6                 | 9                   | 7               |
| Amphorae             | 5               | 5                 | 8                   | 5               |
| Ritual               | 43              | 32                | 40                  | 34              |
| Miniature vessels    | 3               | 2.3               | 2.1                 | 2.3             |

Table 8.7. Metal and ceramic vessels, prevalence in percent. N=number of graves, while the values in the cells are percentages of the graves that included vessels of a given type.

<sup>558</sup> Morris 1995, 48.

<sup>559</sup> The overall percentage of graves with metal can sometimes be larger than that of the subcategories because certain rare shapes such as basins were counted under metal vessels but not recorded as part of any of the subcategories.

*Vessels.* Metal vessels as grave goods plummeted in popularity after the Archaic period, but their types also changed (Table 8.7). Vessels associated with drinking and personal adornment became increasingly common, while the prevalence of serving, cooking, and ritual vessels dropped sharply. This does not necessarily indicate a major shift in the kinds of contexts reflected by grave goods: many of the serving shapes could feasibly have been used in a communal dining and drinking context. Jugs, lebetes (cauldrons that are shown in symposia on vase-painting), and plates could and most likely were used in the same contexts as drinking cups were. The switch in emphasis from communal to individual is, however, interesting. Instead of vessels for serving and sharing wine, for example, the focus shifted to individual cups. This shift seems echoed by the change in emphasis from ritual vessels to those associated with personal adornment as well. A similar move from the communal to the private in burials has been observed by Sanne Houby-Nielsen in Hellenistic Athens.<sup>560</sup>

Looking at ceramic vessels complicates the picture. Just as with metal vessels, lebetes and pouring vessels decreased in popularity while vessels for personal adornment gained in popularity. Drinking and ritual vessels, however, show trends different from those seen in metal vessels: the former dropped in popularity, while the prevalence of the latter dipped much less than in the case of metal. There are also differences between graves containing metal vessels and those that did not (Table 8.8). Among graves with metal vessels, the popularity of ceramic drinking and pouring vessels dropped sharply, while serving vessels such as lebetes increased in popularity. Among graves without metal vessels, the prevalence of drinking and pouring vessels decreased less drastically while vessels for personal adornment increased sharply.

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<sup>560</sup> Houby-Nielsen 1996; 1997.

|               | Archaic | Classical | Hellenistic |
|---------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| With metal    |         |           |             |
| Drinking      | 76      | 34        | 29          |
| Toiletry      | 48      | 52        | 56          |
| Pouring       | 40      | 23        | 22          |
| Serving       | 8       | 15        | 18          |
| Ritual        | 47      | 34        | 42          |
| Without metal |         |           |             |
| Drinking      | 58      | 44        | 35          |
| Toiletry      | 15      | 35        | 34          |
| Pouring       | 33      | 23        | 25          |
| Serving       | 8       | 5         | 8           |
| Ritual        | 40      | 32        | 40          |

Table 8.8. Ceramic vessels, prevalence in percent in graves with and without metal vessels.

In other words, there was no wholesale shift in vessel types but rather changes in what was made in metal and deposited in a mortuary context. This cannot be generalized to a shift in elite activities overall, firstly because ceramics buck some of the trends seen in metal vessels and, more importantly, because the modest increase in metal drinking vessels is not enough to counter the dramatic drop in ceramic ones. Instead, what can be said is that heavy expenditure shifted from serving to drinking and toiletry vessels, but at the same time the overall prevalence of drinking vessels (either in metal or clay) dropped. Perhaps what we are seeing is the development of a new kind of prestige display only partaken in by a relatively small group of people emphasizing lavish drinking vessels and not shared by most.

Individual ceramic vessel shapes and vase decoration are largely in line with trends observed around the eastern Mediterranean. Skyphoi and kantharoi became popular over time at the expense of Corinthian kotylai and local kantharoid cups, while unguentaria took over from aryballoi. Pouring vessels remained more constant, but the local jug with a cutaway spout dwindled in popularity. In the sphere of serving vessels, plates became more popular; in rituals,

phialai replaced exaleiptra. Black-figure gave way to red-figure and black-gloss finishes (Table 8.9). As mentioned above, the figures regarding production centers should be treated with caution because reporting is uneven.

|                    | Archaic | Classical | Hellenistic |
|--------------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Greyware           | 19      | 8         | 2           |
| Burnished          | 3       | 4         | 1           |
| Black gloss        | 12      | 41        | 44          |
| Paint              | 1       | 2         | 1           |
| Black figure       | 29      | 6         | 1           |
| Slip               | 47      | 59        | 56          |
| Red figure         | 1       | 19        | 14          |
| Geometric slip     | 13      | 15        | 15          |
| Incised decoration | 1       | 1         | 0           |
| Imports Attica     | 21      | 23        | 12          |
| Imports Chalcidice | 2       | 0.2       | 0           |
| Imports Corinth    | 31      | 3         | 0.3         |
| Imports Ionia      | 12      | 0         | 0           |
| Local production   | 21      | 17        | 7           |

Table 8.9. Ceramic wares and finishes, prevalence in percent.

*Other grave goods.* Almost all types of military equipment and jewelry became less prevalent after the Archaic period, in some cases by a very large margin; the one exception here is wreaths, which were popular in the Hellenistic period. Instead, new objects were introduced to the mortuary assemblage. Some of these, such as stone alabastra, mirrors, and strigils, are made of valuable materials and might reflect new prestige markers. Funerary couches, for their part, reflect the popularity of more monumental graves (capable of accommodating couches) and perhaps echoes of symposiastic behavior. Other objects, however, are less expensive and reflect an expansion of mortuary behaviors: coins, lamps, and animal bones became quite popular although not ubiquitous, while weaving equipment remained rare but gained in prevalence regardless. Given reports of coins found near the faces of the deceased, they most likely indicate

the introduction of Charon's obols.<sup>561</sup> Lamps could, of course, have had many symbolic meanings from Orphic to Eleusinian mysteries, but their significance is difficult to parse from the scarce data.<sup>562</sup> Animal bones were often in the form of astragaloi, and they thus might be associated with every-day activities, along with weaving equipment.

|                     | Archaic | Classical | Hellenistic |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Breastplate         | 2       | 1         | 2           |
| Greaves             | 0       | 1         | 2           |
| Helmet              | 17      | 2         | 1           |
| Knife               | 41      | 12        | 12          |
| Shield              | 3       | 1         | 1           |
| Spear               | 41      | 20        | 19          |
| Strigil             | 1       | 14        | 21          |
| Sword               | 28      | 5         | 3           |
| Stone alabastron    | 0.3     | 5         | 6           |
| Bead                | 14      | 5         | 3           |
| Bracelet            | 11      | 2         | 1           |
| Coin                | 1       | 23        | 30          |
| Earring             | 12      | 10        | 10          |
| Pendant             | 16      | 8         | 9           |
| Pin                 | 51      | 22        | 15          |
| Funerary couch      | 0.3     | 9         | 13          |
| Ring                | 33      | 16        | 7           |
| Wreath              | 8       | 13        | 22          |
| Lamp                | 1       | 6         | 14          |
| Animal bone/shell   | 0.3     | 6         | 11          |
| Terracotta figurine | 18      | 14        | 20          |
| Mirror              | 0       | 2         | 2           |
| Weaving equip       | 0.3     | 2         | 2           |

Table 8.10. Other grave goods by period, in percentage.

In sum, while there were changes over time, these changes do not correspond to what the historical narrative might lead us to believe. The Hellenistic period did not flood Macedon with treasures, at least not ones placed in graves. (Given the scarcity of very early Hellenistic

<sup>561</sup> See, e.g., Besios in *AEMTh* 2, 188.

<sup>562</sup> For discussions on light being associated with the underworld in Greek rituals (particularly those linked to Hecate, Dionysus, Persephone, and Orpheus), see Christopoulos, Karakantza, and Levaniouk (2010) and Parisinou (2000).

monumental structures from Macedon, it also seems unlikely the funds were being poured into public buildings, sanctuaries, or the like.) Nor was there an immediate emergence of a shared “koine” of Hellenistic culture; in contrast, graves from this period show more variation and idiosyncrasies than earlier periods.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

Meg Butler has compared northern Greek burials with those of the broader eastern Mediterranean and concluded there was a shift from Balkan (as opposed to specifically Macedonian) customs to Greek ones around 500–475.<sup>563</sup> Furthermore, she has identified another major break around 350, marked by increased expenditure.<sup>564</sup> The scope and methodology of this dissertation are quite different from hers, and perhaps the observations made here should be seen as complementary rather than contradictory to her conclusions. Even so, the narrative suggested here diverges from Butler’s as well as from what one might assume based on the historical sources.

Instead of emphasizing a shift from Balkan to Greek traditions, it has here been noted that in the Archaic period already, Greek imports coexisted with features that have been seen as characteristic of the Balkans, such as the use of sheet gold to cover parts of the body. Furthermore, there seems to have been little difference in the amount of prestige conferred by local ceramic productions in comparison with imported vessels. There is no denying that many “Balkan” features such as the aforementioned sheet gold or greyware vessels were over time replaced by more “pan-Greek-looking” objects, but the argument made here is that there never

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<sup>563</sup> Butler 2008, 4.

<sup>564</sup> Butler 2008, 4.



existed any pure “Balkan” burials different and separate from Greek ones in terms of their material culture (just as there existed no one “Greek” style of burial).

As for increased expenditure around 350, the opposite has been argued not only in this chapter but throughout the dissertation. Importantly, however, grave types seem to have been the exception here: over time, their range and overall cost increased. Cremation similarly became popular only after it had fallen out of favor in southern Greece, and this body treatment would have added to the cost of burial. The locus of expenditure may have partly shifted, with highly visible tombs and pyres complementing some of the grave goods. Even so, the relatively few monumental tombs and cremations do not balance out the wide-spread decrease in grave goods, and lavish tombs and grave goods indeed typically co-occur, meaning that grave goods were supplemented with monumental tombs in a few cases while the vast majority of graves became poorer. One is hard pressed to reconcile the impoverished mortuary record with the wealth arriving from the East, unless (as argued in Chapter 7) wealth was distributed in increasingly unequal ways.

Even though this chapter focused on regional variation, many of the differences seem explained by diachronic change: for example, variation in vessel shapes and grave types seems best explained by changing trends rather than regionalism. There is, however, some evidence for local variation and even idiosyncrasies such as Pella’s tile graves. Wealth also explains much of the variation: published cemeteries from Bottiaea, Elimaea, and Pieria skew wealthy, and this is reflected in a high prevalence of almost all categories of grave goods; the reverse is true for South Bottiaea and Tymphaea. Of course, these wealth differences should not be entirely dismissed as the result of happenstance or publication bias: Arkhontiko has yielded hundreds of very wealthy graves while Mieza has yielded almost none – a discrepancy too large to be

explained away as random.

One aspect where this dissertation agrees fully with Meg Butler's is the idea of increased individualism over time.<sup>565</sup> This tendency has also been noted in an Athenian mortuary context as well as in the introduction of lavish Hellenistic houses, in contrast to standardized Classical abodes.<sup>566</sup> In Macedon, the range of grave goods expanded although overall wealth did not. Among the wealthy, there was also a shift in display from communal dining to individual drinking. In this sense, early Macedon was also characterized by collectivism, just a very different kind of collectivism from Athens: while burials were lavish, they were more uniform than in later periods and also showed more emphasis on shared activities.

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<sup>565</sup> Butler 2008, 145.

<sup>566</sup> Houby-Nielsen 1996 (mortuary record); Nevett 1999, 114–123 (Hellenistic houses).

## CHAPTER 9

### Conclusion

*Do not despise death, but be well content with it, since this too is one of those things which nature wills. For such as it is to be young and to grow old, and to increase and to reach maturity, and to have teeth and beard and gray hairs, and to beget and to be pregnant and to bring forth, and all the other natural operations which the seasons of thy life bring, such also is dissolution. This then is consistent with the character of a reflecting man, to be neither careless nor impatient nor contemptuous with respect to death, but to wait for it as one of the operations of nature.*

- Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 9.3

Marcus Aurelius, of course, had philosophical rather than scholarly reasons to reflect on death, but this dissertation has attempted to heed his call to not be careless, impatient, or contemptuous with respect to the mortuary record. To this author, dying and the dead are woven deeply into the fabric of life and have much to teach about life in the past. Accordingly, the present work has focused on mortuary behavior with the conviction that it can tell us about Macedonian society.

The introduction laid out a series of goals for this dissertation. An overarching aim was to reconstruct Macedonian society based on the mortuary record. More targeted goals were moving away from narrow studies to look at the broader picture, synthesizing available data, and interrogating historical narratives and expanding on them, particularly by using an intersectional framework to study women, children, and the middling classes. It now remains to evaluate what

this work has accomplished regarding each goal and to identify some future directions.

The database of almost a thousand graves represents a small part of all excavated burials in the region but still forms (as far as the author knows) the most extensive one to date. The database will eventually be made available online in hopes that others can build on it. Looking at 990 graves instead of a handful of them resulted in most of the conclusions discussed below, so for all its possible biases, the database has allowed us to start making arguments about Macedonian society as a whole instead of about a few exceptional individuals. These arguments can hopefully spark conversation and be nuanced as more material is published.

Many of the observations made here run counter to literary sources and to overarching arguments based on ethnohistorical models. For one thing, despite the trope of conservative Macedonians and the frequent claims that tumuli in general are used to create ancestral landscapes, there is little evidence that Macedonians were sentimentalists when it came to ancestry. Graves were disturbed soon after they were dug, both by looters and by grave-diggers who were seemingly not bothered by whether new graves disrupted older ones or not. Tumuli certainly marked the landscape across centuries, but evidence for grave visitations is scarce and, importantly, the tumuli were not placed with an eye to sightlines either to other tumuli or other monuments. For all their interest in elaborate burials, and Alexander the Great's love for Homer, Macedonians were not ones for nostalgia in this realm and any blanket statements about conservative Macedonians need to be nuanced in light of this.

Somewhat unexpectedly, several further divergences from overarching historical narratives were found as “by-products” of looking at the data carefully by gender, period, and other variables – proof of the value of an exploratory process. Particularly important is the relative impoverishment of burials in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and the increased

idiosyncrasies and inequality of the Hellenistic period. The drop in wealth might be expected during the tumultuous decades of the fourth century prior to Philip II's reign, but the status quo persisted into the Hellenistic period when eastern loot supposedly flooded Macedon. The decreased wealth is observable across object categories and affected men and women alike. At the same time, relative inequality increased, with the emergence of the famous "princely tombs" such as those from Vergina's Great Tumulus. There is little clear evidence for broad shifts in expenditure toward other spheres of activity that might explain the decreased expenditure on graves. For example, lavish Late Classical and Hellenistic houses were probably the purview of narrow elites, and their emergence might indeed further point to increased inequality rather than simply a collective shift in expenditure from the mortuary to the domestic sphere. In other words, perhaps the influx of wealth was uneven at best, and even as literary sources suggest an expansion of elite groups such as the *hetairoi*, elite burials actually decreased in number. The early Hellenistic period is also characterized by increased heterogeneity of grave goods, with seemingly more room for individual preferences – in keeping with ideas about the Hellenistic period emphasizing individualism but in contrast to ideas about a unified Hellenistic *koine*. Finally, there are small hints of diverging social customs in the same period: while metal vessels – characteristic of wealthier burials – show a shift from collective dining (in the form of serving vessels) to individual drinking (cups), ceramic drinking cups actually became much rarer. The elites seem to have emphasized drinking vessels as the "show pieces" in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, in contrast to the Archaic emphasis on metal serving vessels. Perhaps certain drinking customs were changing and were either less accessible or desirable to the middling classes.

Diachronic variation seems greater than regional differences, although certain regions

(Bottiaea and Pieria) consistently buried their dead with more goods than others (South Bottiaea and Tymphaea). Importantly, there is little evidence that local or imported goods were associated with wealth, gender, or age; there was a shift over time to ceramics imported from or resembling southern Greek goods, but local wares happily coexisted with imported ones.

The bulk of the chapters revolved around studying Macedonian ideas about gender and age identities. The results are on the whole in keeping with what we know from the rest of the eastern Mediterranean but add much nuance to the picture.

Weapons seem to have been the purview of men, while pendants, earrings, and bracelets were reserved for women. There is a small number of graves that mix the two, but there is no evidence for a third gender – the exceptional graves might represent exceptional men, exceptional women, or be the result of disturbance.

Despite weapons being almost exclusive to men, they are less prevalent than Tomb II or the richest Arkhontiko burials might suggest. Overall, the “Homeric model” discussed in Chapter 3 fits the material evidence poorly: weapon sets, even in wealthy burials, look more like those belonging to spearmen than hoplites or cavalry, and there is a substantial segment of male burials without any weapons whatsoever. Whether a reflection of actual combat practices or not, protective armor, especially, is scarce among burials. Nor are other “Homeric” elements well attested. Cremation was rare and mostly a Classical and Hellenistic phenomenon – a clear divergence from Homer’s great pyres. Finally, the shift from serving and pouring vessels to drinking ones again attests to any Homeric echoes being late in date.

The mortuary demographics for males – although based on a small sample – do not exclude the possibility that men participated and died in combat in early middle age. Ages 35–45 are overrepresented in the published mortuary record, and whatever caused their deaths, men of

this age certainly seem to have received burials more archaeologically visible than their junior or senior peers. Perhaps by this age they had become the male heads of their families after their fathers' deaths.

Regardless of the explanation for men's mortuary profile, it is quite different from that of women, further suggesting that cultural processes (rather than publication bias or preservation alone) can explain the differences. In the case of women, fertility and marriage were probably crucially important and marked in mortuary behavior: lavish burials for women aged 17–35 point toward the importance of fertile years rather than a steady increase of prestige through seniority.

Women's burials do not, however, point only to their importance as mothers. They received relatively more jewelry and toiletry vessels than men did, but ritual vessels and terracottas attest to their participation in religious life as well. Elite women might have been more "masculine" in having access to symposiastic paraphernalia as well as elite symbols such as miniature farmcarts possibly evoking control over agricultural production. In contrast, there is little evidence for warring women as suggested by literary sources and the weapons found from the antechamber of Vergina's Tomb II. "Masculine" or not, elite women – or women in general – certainly were not categorically less valued than men in terms of grave goods. For example, while Macedonian tombs skew male, other expensive grave types were as common or more common among women. Similarly, metal vessels were equally common in wealthy women's graves as men's, and other distributions show difference rather than inequality.

Children's burials revealed some of the most interesting although most vexing patterns. First of all, it is clear most infants and very young children are not being archaeologically recovered and published. The reasons behind this are impossible to pinpoint, but cultural factors must play some role. This is supported by the fact that while infants and very young children are

usually only found (or published) when buried with adults, children beyond toddler years were typically buried on their own. Individuation may have taken place during this period. Gendering seems to have begun at least as early as individuation did. Furthermore, weapons and feminine-type jewelry placed in the graves of children attest to aspirations rather than lived reality, although toys and miniatures show that childhood was conceptualized as separate from adulthood at least sometimes. The intersection of wealth and age is nowhere as clear as it is with children: the wealth discrepancies between poor and wealthy child burials are extreme. It has been here suggested this is related to the importance of dynasties and family lines to wealthy families, something not shared by poorer ones.

In sum, the categories “woman,” “man,” and “child” seem to apply in a Macedonian context, but there is great variation within each group. Even so, it could be argued that we are seeing a hierarchy of social identities, with wealthy female burials being more “male-like” and wealthy child burials being more “adult-like.” The fact that women and children could co-opt features usually associated with male or adult burials tells us these social identities were not fully exclusive, but it is also telling that they seemingly were something to aspire to and something mostly elites could manipulate or play around with. In an Early Iron Age context, James Whitley has argued for women being somewhere in between men and (non-gendered) children.<sup>567</sup> The situation is not the same in a Macedonian context, where children are clearly gendered and adopt male or female elements accordingly; furthermore, they could receive lavish grave goods in excess of what adults received. Figure 9.1 below proposes a very basic schema of hierarchy for ancient Macedon, but it is once more worth emphasizing that these gender and age categories

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<sup>567</sup> Whitley 1996.



interacted with wealth; so while a very wealthy female child burial is “below” male and female in the hierarchy in the sense that it emulates adult female burials which, in turn, sometimes emulate adult male burials, the resources expended on it mean that using different criteria, the individual was deemed more worthy of expenditure than most adults. Another way to think of this is through symbolism: masculine and adult *symbols* had prestige, but this prestige could be tapped into by people not actually falling into the social categories of “male” or “adult.”

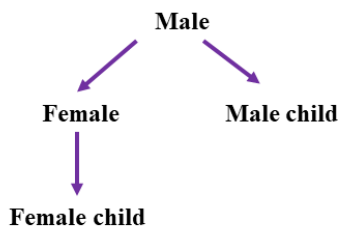


Figure 9.1. A schema of the hierarchy of social identities in ancient Macedon.

Intersectionality has informed much of this work, even though for practical reasons the data often had to be split along one axis at a time. Several intersections have already been mentioned above. Age and wealth intersected dramatically, with children of wealthy families being buried very differently from poor ones. Similarly, wealthy women were sometimes buried with “masculine” symbols, attesting to the fluidity of gender performance depending on socio-economic status. Such observations vindicate the use of this (post)modern approach to ancient material.

In short, this dissertation has both increased our understanding of what it meant to be a man, a woman, or a child in ancient Macedon as well as calling into question models based on historical sources. In doing so, it has allowed us to see beyond stereotypes or caricatures and

notice variation both between individuals and over time. Military identity was not the be-all and end-all for men, and women, for their part, were associated with religion and production or ownership in addition to the domestic sphere. Children were treated dramatically differently depending on the social standing of their families. Similarly, the tendency to assume Macedon was frozen in time or to retroject later evidence to study Archaic Macedon has been proven to be deeply flawed. Major changes occurred during the 250-year period studied here, and many of them do not correspond to turning points we might identify in the historical narrative.

This work is a conversation opener rather than the final word. In many places, the limitations of the data available have been mentioned; as more material is studied and published, many of the questions posed here can be answered more securely. In particular, the study of human remains is a quickly developing field that has potential to truly revolutionize our understanding of ancient communities, including in Macedon. A more comprehensive demographic study can help answer questions about the role of cultural factors in affecting who gets buried and how; extensive sexing and aging can remove the need to make leaps between gendered objects and biological sex and vice versa; the study of health and pathologies can open a whole new window into diet and living conditions; while DNA and isotope studies can answer questions about mobility, ancestry, and potentially even help test whether groups known from textual evidence have a basis visible in the archaeological record. In terms of regions, Upper Macedon is very poorly represented in the database, a situation that will hopefully change in the future. This is especially important given that textual (and ethnographic) sources suggest Lower and Upper Macedon may have been quite different, at least until the Late Classical period. While much can be gained from new data, the data collected here can also be studied from new angles and using new methods: while the current work involved reams and reams of analyses, many

more remain to be performed. For example, case-studies comparing sites or small regions would be helpful in bridging the gap between detailed studies of individual tombs and the mostly macro-level approach adopted here. The future, however, looks bright for Macedonian studies and hopefully this work has helped prove the fruitfulness of looking beyond the glitter of golden masks and into the communities behind them.

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