The Making of Philip's Macedonia: The archaeology of the Macedonian kingdom from the Persian Wars to the fall of Perdiccas III (*c.*510-359BC)

Volume I

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Abstract

This thesis aims to present and examine the archaeological material from the Macedonian kingdom between *c.*510 and 359 in order to provide an insight into Macedonian society, culture and religion at this time. This period is often neglected by scholars since it is bookended by the wealthy burials of the late sixth century, and Philip II's rise to power and subsequent domination of the Hellenic world. Given this broad remit, the main body of the study is divided into four chapters, each of which deals with a discrete archaeological context or class of material.

Chapter two examines the evidence from settlement contexts, considering factors such as settlement location, layout, and the use of landscape, looking in particular at the exploitation of topographical features and natural resources. The architectural remains from the period, although limited, are also surveyed. This evidence is used to examine the extent to which the Macedonian kingdom can be considered 'urbanised' during the period under study, which is then assessed against the opinion promulgated in ancient literary sources that the region was urbanised only during the reign of Philip II.

The third chapter focuses on the mortuary evidence. The burial customs and eschatological beliefs of the Macedonians are explored through an examination of the treatment of the body and the choice of burial rite, tomb type and grave furnishings. The objects placed in the grave are also studied to establish how they were affected by factors such as the age, gender and socio-economic status of the deceased, since this provides an insight into how the Macedonians perceived and presented themselves.

In the fourth chapter, an analysis of the material relating to religion and cult is undertaken to ascertain the use of sanctuaries and cult spaces in the Macedonian kingdom, and glean an insight into Macedonian religious customs and beliefs. The resulting narrative is then compared to what is known of the better documented late Classical period, in order to establish

whether the religious phenomena apparent from the reign of Philip II were rooted in earlier traditions.

Finally, a diachronic survey of the regal issues of the Macedonian kings is used to examine the economic position of the Macedonian kingdom during their reigns. Within this, the denominations and weight standard on which such coins were minted is analysed to establish the markets for which they were intended. The types chosen for Macedonian regal coins are additionally used to elucidate the cultural and political ideologies of the kings who issued them.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandma.

Conventions and Abbreviations

All dates are BCE unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

AAA - Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
ΑΔ - Αρχαιολογικον Δελτίον
AEMTh – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology
AJN – American Journal of Numismatics
AM - Athenische Mitteilungen
BCH – Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
CH – Coin Hoards
Ελληνικά – Ελληνικά Φιλολογικό, ιστορικό και λαογραφικό περιοδικό σύγγραμμα
GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
IGCH – Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards
NC – Numismatic Chronicle
OCD – Oxford Classical Dictionary
PAE - Πρακτικά της εν Αθηναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
PAPS - Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
RBN - Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie
SEG – Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
ZPE - Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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- I -
Introduction

The region of Macedonia in Northern Greece has been the focus of intense archaeological exploration and research since Andronikos' discovery of the royal tombs beneath the Great Tumulus at Aigai in 1977. The period from the Persian encroachment into the Northern Aegean *c.*510 to the death of Perdiccas III in 359 is, however, underrepresented in extant scholarship, which has instead tended to focus either on the wealthy late Archaic graves or subsequent historical periods, particularly the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great. The aim of this study is to begin to address the imbalance in the extant scholarship by presenting and examining the archaeological material from *c.*510 to 359 in order to provide an insight into Macedonian society, culture and religion during this formative period in the kingdom's history.

These chronological limits are of considerable interest to studies of the Macedonian kingdom since they encompass both the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars; long periods of factional strife between the various branches of the Temenid house; and Macedon's struggle to retain power and relevance in the Northern Aegean in the face of the rising hegemony of the Chalcidic League and repeated invasions by the Illyrians in the fourth century. It is also the time in which the Macedonian kings first begin to show an interest in the South, and, at the same time, that external powers begin to involve themselves in Macedonian affairs.

This introductory chapters provides an overview of the wider context in which this material will be considered. It is thus first necessary to define the geographical limits and features of the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study, outlining when the various territories that made up the kingdom were first acquired, and from whom. A summary of the extant epigraphic evidence from the period is then provided, so that its nature and relative scarcity can be fully appreciated. The ancient literary sources pertaining

to Macedonia in the fifth and fourth centuries are similarly reviewed, and are used to provide a brief outline of the major historical events of the period, since these will be referred to throughout this thesis. Finally, the method and manner in which the archaeological material will be studied, and the limitations of this, are briefly discussed.

Defining 'The Macedonian Kingdom'

In antiquity, the term Macedonia did not denote a set geographical area, but was instead used to designate the territory which was ruled by the Macedonian kings[1]. The geographical limits of the Macedonian kingdom are hence difficult to define for the period under study, for two reasons. Firstly, its borders were subject to considerable fluctuation and change as the Macedonians gained and lost control of various areas throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, with the territory of the Macedonian kingdom more than doubling during the reign of Alexander I alone[2] [*figure 1.1]*. Temenid rule also appears to have manifested in different ways in various parts of the Macedonian kingdom. It is therefore necessary to define what is meant by the term when used in this thesis.

Central Macedonia; The 'Old Kingdom'

The heartland of the Macedonian kingdom encompassed the territories of Emathia/Bottiaia[3] and Pieria, which extended from the foothills of Mt. Bermion in the west, to the Axios river in the east, and centred around the slopes of the Emathian plain, which were made fertile by the alluvia of its various rivers [*figure 1.3]*.

[1] Archibald (2000): 220; Hatzopoulos (2011): 43.
[2] Thomas (2010): 76.
[3] For problems associated with the name of this territory, see Hatzopoulos (1996): 239.

Ancient narrative accounts suggest that the Macedonians were not indigenous to this area[4], but rather that they migrated to it at some point in the seventh or early sixth century. Reconstructions of this early migration are based on the scant information provided in the ancient narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides. The former, when recounting the origin myth of the Temenid house, narrates that the three descendants of Temenus had been "dispelled from Argos", taking refuge in Illyria before moving to Lebaea in Upper Macedonia, where the story proper occurs[5]. That the brothers are said to be from Argos is thought to be of significance – while this was interpreted in the fifth century as meaning the Peloponnesian Argos, and was hence used as evidence that the Temenids were of Greek descent[6], scholars have alternatively proposed that the Argos mentioned is that of Argos Orestikon, a town near the source of the Haliakmon in Orestis [*'A' in figure 1.7]*. It is hence proposed that the Macedonians migrated from this territory to Pieria and the Emathian plain[7]. The account of Thucydides, following that of Herodotus, suggests that the Macedonians either wholly annihilated or expelled the indigenous ethnic and/or tribal groups from this region, including the Bottians, Paionians and Edonians[8]. This process may either have entailed the complete destruction of their settlements, and thus the foundation of new, exclusively Macedonian ones[9], or the preservation of existing settlements under the control of Macedonian settlers[10].

[4] This reconstruction is being challenged by some scholars, such as Archibald (2013): 54, who argue that continuities apparent in the archaeological evidence suggest that the ruling house of the Makedones, and thus the Macedonians themselves, were indigenous to the area.
[5] Herodotus: 8.137.
[6] The idea that the Temenids were of Argive descent was widely propagated from the fifth century onwards. See, for example, Sprawski (2010): 128-130; Lane Fox (2011): 25-26.
[7] Hatzopoulos (2003).
[8] Thucydides: 2.99.3-6.
[9] Hatzopoulos (1996): 70.
[10] Hansen (2004): 120-122.

Eastern Macedonia; The 'New Kingdom'

At some point during the reign of Alexander I[11], the eastern frontier of the Macedonian kingdom was extended from the Axios river to the Strymon valley and Mount Pangaion through the acquisition of the territories of Krestonia, Mygdonia and Bisaltia [*figure 1.2]*. It is, however, uncertain to what extent these territories were integrated into the Macedonian kingdom proper during the period under study[12]. Macedonian hegemony in Bisaltia was, for example, contested throughout the fifth and early fourth centuries, and so does not appear to have been definitively incorporated into the Macedonian kingdom before the reign of Philip II[13]. Similarly uncertain is the status of Krestonia and Mygdonia. Given the lack of consensus between the archaeological, epigraphic and onomastic evidence[14], it is argued either that these territories featured mixed settlements formed of a native contingent to which Macedonians were added, meaning that they were probably fully integrated into the Macedonian kingdom at the time of their acquisition[15], or that they were inhabited exclusively by non-Macedonians, and so were subject to the Temenids but were not fully incorporated into kingdom proper[16]. This ambiguity with regards to the ethnic and social structure in this part of the Northern Aegean means that the eastern frontier of the Macedonian kingdom is difficult to define during the period under study and thus the definition adopted in this thesis is somewhat arbitrary. Given the Macedonians' transient

[11] The date and method by which these territories were acquired is a subject of debate among scholars. See *intra*: The Numismatic Evidence, The source of the Macedonian silver supply for a summary of the extant scholarship.
[12] Flensted-Jensen (2004): 810.
[13] Until this territory was brought definitively under Macedonian control, its possession was contested by the Thracians, Thasians, Greek colonists, Athenians and Macedonians, and was possessed at various times by each throughout the course of the fifth- and fourth-centuries. See Picard (2006): 283.
[14] For an overview of this material, see Hatzopoulos (2000): 109-117.
[15] Hatzopoulos (1996): 170; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 794.
[16] Hatzopoulos (1996): 174-176 argues in favour of the latter by citing Thucydides' description of Perdiccas II's offer of Mygdonian lands around Lake Bolbe to the Chalcidians in 432, since this action suggests that the Macedonian king owned the land, but that Macedonians had not yet settled there. See also Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 794.

hold on Bisaltia throughout the fifth and early fourth centuries the archaeological material associated with this territory will be only tangential to this study, while that of Krestonia and Mygdonia will be more fully examined.

Western (Upper) Macedonia

Scholarly opinions differ as to which territories constituted Upper Macedonia, the area to the west and south-west of the Emathian plain which stretched to the Pindus mountain range. The territories of Derriopus, Elimeia, Eordaia, Lyncestis, Orestis and Pelagonia are variously featured as part of this region in scholarship, but it is uncertain which of these, if any, were considered part of the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study[17].The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, the geographical limits of Macedonia's western frontier are unknown before the reign of Philip II, since this region appears to have been subject to frequent incursions by the Illyrians[18]. Secondly, the nature of Temenid influence and/or control in the region is the subject of much debate[19]. Although Thucydides notes that the Macedonians established a degree of suzerainty over some of the kingdoms of Upper Macedonia, to the effect that the inhabitants of these regions were "*allies and dependents of the Macedonian king, but [had] separate kings of their own*[20]*",* it is uncertain how, and where, this relationship would have manifested in actuality. For example, though some of the kingdoms of Upper Macedonia were linked to the Temenids through dynastic ties[21], ancient sources also record hostility from various cantons of Upper Macedonia

[17] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 163-164; Hatzopoulos (1996): 463; Xydopoulos (2012).
[18] Dell (1970): 117; Greenwalt (2010): 282.
[19] See Xydopoulos (2012).
[20] Thucydides: 2.99.
[21] Touratsoglou (2010): 205.

throughout the period[22], such as is suggested in Perdiccas' attempt to subdue the Lyncestian monarchy with the aid of Spartan forces in 423[23].

The area defined as Upper Macedonia in this thesis is therefore again somewhat subjective and is based either on the geographical proximity of the kingdoms to the Macedonian heartland, or on the information provided by the ancient sources in cases where the relative relationship between the two entities is more explicitly noted[24]. The archaeological evidence from Elimeia and Eordaia will thus be examined closely, while that from other regions in Upper Macedonia will be explored more tangentially.

***

The Macedonian kingdom was thus an area with few firm frontiers in the Archaic and much of the Classical period. The differing policies of the Macedonians regarding the indigenous populations that they encountered also meant that different types of communities, encompassing diverse ethnic and cultural elements, existed within the Macedonian kingdom at this time, including: (1) populations formed predominantly of Macedonians; (2) mixed settlements formed of a native contingent to which Macedonians were later added and (3) communities brought under the hegemony of the Temenids which otherwise retained a degree of independence. It should be noted that the focus of this investigation is only those areas which fell under Macedonian hegemony or influence - the Greek cities and acquisitions in the Northern Aegean will hence be looked at only as a point of comparison.

[22] Hammond (1994): 15.
[23] Thucydides: 4.83.
[24] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 14-22; Xydopoulos (2012): 525-530.

The Epigraphic Evidence

At present, relatively few inscriptions dating to the period under study have been unearthed in the Macedonian kingdom[25]. These consist primarily of those inscribed onto pottery sherds or as epitaphs on funerary monuments[26]; they are consequently generally short, and mainly shed light on Macedonian personal names, over two hundred of which have been identified from extant inscriptions[27]. The main exception to this is a fourth-century curse tablet from Pella[28], which is considered the first extant 'Macedonian' text[29]. The Macedonian royal court does not, at any point in its history, appear to have developed the habit or desire to publish state documents in numbers comparable to that of Southern Greek *poleis* such as Athens. Only one inscription of this type has consequently been dated to the period – although extremely fragmentary, it appears to refer to a treaty with the Spartans[30].

Inscriptions from non-Macedonian sources which shed light on the period are slightly more numerous but, by their nature, relate primarily to political alliances[31]. These consist of:

- a fragmentary inscription (dated variously by scholars between 435-415) which outlines an alliance between Perdiccas II and others, including Arrhabaeus, that was brokered by Athens[32].

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[25] For brief overview of the epigraphic material recovered in Macedonia to date, see Gonzalez and Paschidis (2017); Hatzopoulos (2018): 301-303.
[26] See *intra*: Appendix 1.
[27] As the vast majority of these appear Greek in character, onomastic evidence is among that used to suggest that Macedonian was derived from Greek. Other categories identified among extant Macedonian personal and place names include: 1) names with Greek etymology which should be considered local because they diverge from the phonetic standards of Attic-Ionic *koine*; 2) Panhellenic Greek names; 3) identifiable foreign names, mainly from Thrace and Illyria; 4) names without a recognisable Greek etymology that cannot be ascribed to any identifiable non-Greek linguistic group. See Crespo (2012): 125. For a summary of scholarship on the nature and origins of the Macedonian language - Engels (2010): 93; Giannakis (2012): 79; Hatzopoulos (2018): 299.
[28] For a reproduction of the inscription, in addition to a discussion of the context and cultural significance of the tablet, see *intra*: Macedonian religion; The Epigraphic Evidence.
[29] *OCD*: s.v. Macedonian Language
[30] Uncovered in the area of the theatre at Aigai, the inscription has been dated to the late fifth/ early fourth century - *SEG* 59: no.634; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2002).
[31] Rhodes (2010): 34-35 provides a summary and brief commentary on these.
[32] Hoffman (1975), with commentary.

- two decrees dating from 430 to 423 which outline details of the Athenian arbitration between Perdiccas II and Methone[33].
- an Athenian decree of 407/6 honouring Archelaus with the titles of *proxenos* and *euergetes* for his provision of timber and ship-building facilities to the *polis*[34].
- two treaties providing the terms of the alliance between Amyntas III and the Chalcidians, created *c.*393. These include a fifty-year mutual defence pact, and the terms by which the Chalcidian League could export pitch and timber from Macedonia[35]. It also prohibits the Macedonians from forming an alliance with Amphipolis, Akanthos and Mende unless this is first ratified by the Chalcidians.
- fragments of a treaty between Athens and Amyntas III, dated to either 375 or 373[36], thought to have been occasioned by the expedition of either Chabrias (if 375) or Timotheos (if 373)[37]. The details of the treaty have not survived, the two extant fragments outline the travelling expenses that should be paid to ambassadors.

The Literary Evidence and Historical Narrative

It is only upon the accession of Philip II to the Macedonian throne in 359 that events in Macedonia become, as far as ancient authors were concerned, part of mainstream Greek history. Prior to this, when the region is referred to in ancient sources, it is typically peripheral to larger events in Greek history. The main sources for the fifth century are thus Herodotus and Thucydides, who wrote about events in Macedonia when related to the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars respectively. The first half of the fourth century is elucidated by incidental references by the likes of Xenophon, Diodorus (who used Ephorus as his main

[33] Meiggs and Lewis (1969): no.65.
[34] Meiggs and Lewis (1969): no.91.
[35] Harding (1985): no.21.
[36] Harding (1985): no. 43.
[37] Harding (1985): 60, footnote 1.

source), Plutarch, Justin's epitome of Trogus (drawing from Theopompus) and the speeches of the Athenian orators[38]. There are therefore large lacunae regarding historical and political events in Macedonia throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, extending even to the dates of the successions and deaths of the Macedonian kings[39]. What follows is an outline of the historical narrative that can be reconstructed using the above sources[40].

Historical background

Macedonia was brought under the suzerainty of Persia in the late sixth century[41]. Though the precise nature of the relationship between the two is uncertain[42], their arrangement appears to have been of considerable benefit to the Macedonian kingdom, strengthening its economy and infrastructure, and expanding its trade networks[43]. Persian favour may also have enabled Alexander I to extend his influence into Upper Macedonia and, following Persian withdrawal from the region *c.*480, into the territories east of the Axios and Strymon rivers. The power vacuum left by the Persians in the Northern Aegean also, however,

[38] See, for example, Demosthenes, *Letter of Philip*: 12.21; *On Organisation*: 13.24; *Against Aristocrates:* 23.300; Andocides, *On His Return*: 2.11.

[39] Conflicting accounts given in the ancient sources have resulted in divergent chronological reconstructions of the reigns of the Macedonian kings. For example, the narrative of Diodorus (14.84.6) entirely omits the reign of Amyntas II. For an overview of the chronologies proposed by various scholars, see Hammond and Griffith (1979): 168; March (1995): 257-282 and Lane-Fox (2011): 209-234.

[40] Only a brief overview of the major events of the period is provided here, since a detailed analysis of the history of the Macedonian kingdom can be found elsewhere. See, for example, Hammond and Griffith (1979); Roisman (2010); Mari (2011).

[41] Herodotus: 5.17; 6.44.1.

[42] Herodotus: 8.136 notes that Alexander I was connected to the Persians by marriage, through Gygaea and Bubares. In his account, there are also two mentions of the Macedonians serving in the Persian army: once when he describes the composition of Xerxes' forces in their totality (7.185) and once at Plataea (9.31). However, for the majority of Herodotus' narrative, the reign of Alexander is portrayed as a series of philhellenic exploits against the Persians such as: the plot by Alexander to kill the Persians envoys who had come to demand Macedonian submission to Darius *c.*510BC (5.18-5.21); his warning of the Greek troops at Tempe Pass about the strength of the encroaching Persian army (7.173); his garrisoning of the cities in Boeotia to show that they had 'Medised', thus saving them from destruction by the Persian army (8.34) and his advice to the Greeks before the battle of Plataea (9.44). For the problems inherent with this narrative: Sprawski (2010): 137-138.

[43] Fol and Hammond (1988): 249; Olbrycht (2010): 343-345; Touratsoglou (2010): 206.

facilitated its penetration by southern Greek powers, who sought to acquire the region's abundant natural resources. Most notable among these was Athens, which expanded its hegemony in the region by colonising the area and incorporating existing cities located along the coast of the Thermaic Gulf into the newly-founded Delian League[44].

The death of Alexander I *c.*452 was followed by a period of instability in Macedonia. Resulting in part from the problematic succession of Perdiccas II to the throne[45], internal problems were further compounded by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, which facilitated further foreign intervention in the Northern Aegean. During this time, Perdiccas appears to have been forced to ally himself variously with pro- and anti-Athenian powers to maintain his kingdom[46]. Perdiccas' military activity during the war appears to have been almost negligible[47], with the king unable to garner sufficient military forces even when Macedonian territory was directly threatened; Thucydides reports that the Macedonians were forced to retreat to strongholds situated throughout the kingdom during an invasion by the Thracian king Sitalces in 429, leaving him to ravage the countryside of Mygdonia, Krestonia and Anthemus[48]. Perdiccas' policies during the war instead appear to have centred around diplomatic action, and in particular the strengthening of his allies in the Chalcidic

[44] Mari (2011): 88; Psoma (2014): 135-137.

[45] The date of Perdiccas' accession to the throne is not recorded in ancient sources and is debated because of discrepancies regarding the reported length of his reign, which varies between twenty-three and forty-one years. These discrepancies have been linked to a struggle between Perdiccas and his two brothers for the Macedonian throne, with Athens continuing to support a rival claimant, Philip, late into Perdiccas' reign. Thucydides: 1.57; Chambers (1986). Such struggles, the result of the polygamous marriages of the Macedonian kings, appear to have been a relatively common occurrence in the Macedonian royal house. Despite this, evidence for the established rules of succession is lacking. While Herodotus implies that royal succession passed by primogeniture, it has alternatively been posited that it passed by porphyrogeniture (with the title passed to the first prince born to a king during his actual reign). See Hammond (1994): 13; Lane Fox (2011): 29.

[46] See, for example, Thucydides: 1.57-62; 2.29; 4.128; 4.131; 5.80; 7.9. For a brief commentary of Atheno-Macedonian relations during the Peloponnesian War see Roisman (2010): 146-154; Psoma (2014): 137.

[47] Perdiccas appears to have used military force only during a failed attempt to extend his hegemony into Lyncus by defeating Arrhabaeus, the King of the Lyncestians, with the assistance of Spartan reinforcements in 424 - Thucydides: 4.124-128.

[48] Thucydides: 2.100; Zahrnt (2015): 41.

peninsula, including his encouragement of the synoecism of its coastal cities at Olynthus in 432[49].

Although the reign of Archelaus is referenced only sporadically in ancient sources, the Macedonian kingdom appears to have benefitted from the decline of the Greek powers in the Northern Aegean in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War. Athens in particular appears to have become increasingly dependent upon Macedonia and its timber as a result, encouraging friendly relations between the two powers[50] - Archelaus is, for example, able to quash the revolt of Pydna in 410 with Athenian assistance[51]. The king appears to have capitalised upon this period of relative peace and prosperity – Thucydides credits him with a series of reforms, largely military in nature, that "*put the country in a stronger position for war than it had even been under all eight kings who ruled before him.*[52]"

By contrast, the reigns of the fourth century Macedonian kings are characterised by dynastic struggles between different branches of the Temenid house[53] [*figure 1.62]*, which resulted in civil wars and the rapid succession of a number of kings to the Macedonian throne, with most ruling for less than two years[54]. During this period, the kingdom was also subject to frequent incursions by the Illyrians[55]. Although this typically resulted in the extortion of annual tribute and/or hostages from the Macedonians[56], a large invasion during

[49] Thucydides: 1.58.2; Psoma (2011): 114.
[50] Roisman (2010): 155.
[51] Diodorus: 13.49.1-2; Xenophon, *Hellenica*: 1.1.12.
[52] Thucydides: 2.100.
[53] That of the line of Perdiccas and of Menelaus - Hammond and Griffith (1979): 170.
[54] Diodorus: 14.37.6; 14.89.2; 15.60.3; 15.77.5; 16.2.4-13
[55] Hammond (1994): 75-77; Roisman (2010): 159-160.
[56] Diodorus: 16.8.1; Dell (1970): 121.

the reign of Amyntas III[57] resulted in the king losing both territory[58] and his throne[59], which were recovered only with foreign assistance[60]. The weakened position that Macedonia found itself in as a result of these circumstances was then additionally exploited by its immediate neighbours, particularly the Chalcidic League (which rose to prominence during the first half of the fourth century[61]), resulting in further territorial losses. The continued survival of the Macedonian kingdom under Amyntas and his successors therefore necessitated frequent allegiances with various foreign powers, including Athens[62], Thebes[63] and Sparta[64], who often forced the Temenid kings to agree to terms which were ultimately detrimental to their kingdom[65].

Macedonian military and diplomatic policy was hence limited primarily to defensive action during the period under study. The main exception to this is the repeated attempts of the Macedonian kings to extend their influence into neighbouring Thessaly at the behest of the ruling families of the region[66]. Archelaus, for example, attempted to establish a garrison in Larissa in order to restore the Aleuadae to power in the region *c.*400[67], while Alexander II

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[57] If one is to believe the account of Diodorus, Macedonia was subject to two Illyrian invasions during Amyntas' reign, first in 393/2 (14.92.3) and then again *c.*383 (15.19.2). However, the similarity of the circumstances between these two invasions as recounted by the historian has caused some scholars to posit that this is a doublet within his narrative. It is therefore possible that only a single invasion occurred. See March (1995): 269; Stylianou (1998): 211-213 *contra* Lane Fox (2011): 231.
[58] Xenophon, *Hellenica*: 5.2.13.
[59] We know from literary sources (Diodorus: 14.92.3) that, at some point in Amyntas' reign, Argaeus, a pretender to the throne, was installed as king of Macedon for two years. The exact circumstances by which the occurred are unknown, and scholars debate whether Argeaus was installed on the Macedonian throne after Amyntas had reigned for one or six years. Additionally, consensus has not yet been reached on whether this was part of or independent to an Illyrian invasion - Lane Fox (2011): 223.
[60] Roisman (2010): 159.
[61] For a summary of relations between Macedonia and the Chalcidic League, see Psoma (2011).
[62] Aeschines, *On the Embassy*: 26-28.
[63] Plutarch, *Pelopidas*: 26.3-4; Diodorus: 15.67.3-4; Aeschines, *On the Embassy*: 29.
[64] Diodorus: 15.19.3
[65] The allegiance between Amyntas III and Athens necessitated, for example, that Amyntas ratified the Athenian claim to Amphipolis at the Congress of Sparta in 371, as attested in Aeschines, *On the Embassy*: 32. A later alliance between the polis and Perdiccas III involved Athens gaining possession of Pydna, Methone and Potidaea, and securing Macedonian assistance in a campaign against the Chalcidians.
[66] Graninger (2010): 309-313 provides an overview of the relationship between Macedon and Thessaly prior to the accession of Philip II.
[67] Graninger (2010): 311.

gained control of Larissa and Crannon, garrisoning them for a brief period before their liberation at the hands of Pelopidas[68]. The Macedonians also attempted to use military force against the Illyrians during the reign of Perdiccas III, a campaign which ended in the death of the king, alongside four thousand of his men, in 359[69]. This provided an opportunity for the enemies of Macedon, including the Thracians, Athenians and Chalcidians, to launch further attacks against the Macedonian kingdom[70]. Amidst this, rival branches of the Argead house also sought to claim the throne, with Philip II eventually emerging victorious[71].

Research aims and limitations

Despite its significance to studies of the formation of the Macedonian kingdom, an overall study of the archaeological material from Macedonia dating to the fifth and first half of the fourth century has not yet been attempted, and not without reason. Firstly, most of the archaeological exploration of the region to date has taken the form of rescue excavations prompted by modern expansion and public works. The various limitations imposed by the nature of such excavations, including financial and time constraints, has meant that the majority of excavations conducted in Northern Greece have thus, by necessity, been relatively limited in scope. In addition, rescue excavations have typically focused on necropoleis, meaning that few settlement and sanctuary contexts have been explored in Macedonia thus far. The nature of the evidence from the region, as outlined in the gazetteer, is thus very uneven, a factor which is reflected in the respective lengths of the various chapters of this thesis.

[68] Diodorus: 15.61.3; 15.67.3; Graninger (2010): 312.
[69] Diodorus: 16.2.4-13.
[70] Psoma (2014): 140-141.
[71] Lane Fox (2011): 30ff.

A further limitation is the somewhat piecemeal publication of the extant findings from the region in annual journals such as Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη, Αρχαιολογικον Δελτίον, Εγνατία and Μακεδονικά. These are largely preliminary in nature, and generally focus more on providing a broad overview of the excavation season than on detailed inventories of the finds. This style of publication generally precludes the possibility of systematic analysis, particularly with regard to the number and types of objects found in a given context. It also prioritises the publication of new material over more generalised studies of the region and its different historical periods. In addition, there has been a tendency among some scholars to focus on the ethnicity and 'Greekness' of the Macedonians, often as a way to comment on modern territorial disputes in the Balkans[72].

Nevertheless, a study of the archaeological material from the Macedonian kingdom is particularly opportune in the current academic climate. The intensive archaeological activity in Northern Greece has, for example, prompted much scholarship on the region, which can be found in Companions[73], conference proceedings and honorary volumes[74]. Increased public interest in the Northern Aegean has also resulted in the curation of a number of museum exhibitions relating to Macedonia in recent years[75], which have facilitated access to previously unpublished or unseen material. Neighbouring regions have also been the subject of increasing research and investigation, permitting comparisons between the various entities that existed in the Northern Aegean[76].

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[72] Saripanidi (2017): 73 features a summary of these.

[73] Most notable among these are *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (2010) and *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* (2011).

[74] For example *Μνήμη Μανώλη Ανδρόνικου* (1997); *Μύρτος. Μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου* (2000) and *Δινήεσσα.Τιμητικός τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμιοπούλου* (2012)

[75] As in *Alexander the Great: treasures from an epic era of Hellenism* (2004); *Herakles to Alexander the Great: treasures from the royal capital of Macedon, a Hellenic kingdom in the age of democracy* (2011); *Au Royaume d'Alexandre le Grand. La Macedoine Antique* (2011) or *The Greeks: Agamemnon to Alexander the Great* (2014).

[76] See, for example, Archibald (1998); Stamatopoulou (1999) or the *Companion to Ancient Thrace* (2015).

This thesis therefore aims to examine the material evidence from the Macedonian kingdom to assess what it can contribute to our understanding of Macedonian society, culture and religion between *c.*510 and 359. Its basis is the archaeological material recovered from settlement, sanctuary and burial contexts. The latter of these has yielded the largest body of extant material from the region, and so forms the crux of this investigation. By contrast, the evidence from settlements and sanctuaries is far more limited, and so is admittedly not fully informative, but provides a wider context for the period which, in turn, permits a more holistic insight into the Macedonian 'way of life'. The numismatic evidence from the region is also investigated to provide an insight into the Macedonian economy and its trade relations. Although domestic production was also of interest to this study, the scope of this thesis has meant that discussions relating to it are unfortunately somewhat limited, and have been subsumed within chapters pertaining to the above.

Given the broad remit of this thesis, the research aims for each chapter are provided in their respective introductions. A common theme throughout is the evaluation of conclusions which have been formulated about the Macedonian kingdom using the literary evidence alone. Although this was primarily a tendency in early scholarship, due to the relative absence of archaeological material, the conclusions reached as a result are still sometimes propagated in more recent publications. The most pervasive among these is the notion that parts of the Macedonian kingdom were a cultural "backwater" with limited political and economic development before the reign of Philip II[77]. This thesis also aims to provide a counterpoint to scholarship which uses the wider historical and political events outlined above as a starting point for investigations. This is because, in such cases,

[77] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 95.

archaeological evidence is often invoked only to support this narrative, rather than being examined in its own right.

- II -
Settlement and domestic contexts

"[Philip II] brought you down from the mountains to the plains; he made you a match in battle for the barbarians on your borders, so that you no longer trusted for your safety to the strength of your positions so much as to your natural courage. He made you city dwellers and established the order that comes from good laws and customs."

~ Arrian 7.9.2.

Although many of the settlement sites in the Macedonian kingdom appear to have a long history of continuous habitation[1], the literary and epigraphic evidence pertaining to them is rare, and is often comparatively late, reflecting the delayed interest of southern Greek authors in the region[2]. Despite this, judicious studies of extant literary accounts (even when literary constructs, such as Alexander the Great's purported speech at Opis[3]) have done much to colour scholarly opinion on the nature of Macedonian settlements, and have led to the perpetuation of a number of theories regarding their status and evolution in early scholarship. Foremost among these is the idea that urbanisation occurred in parts of the region, particularly Upper Macedonia, only under the impetus of Philip II in the mid-fourth century[4]. Since urbanism has traditionally been seen as central to complex political development in modern Classical scholarship[5], the existence and/or nature of political and civic institutions in Macedonia during the period under study has consequently also been called into question – with some scholars positing that certain areas in Macedonia saw no real political activity until after the Roman conquest of the region[6].

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[1] See *intra*: Gazetteer, which provides a brief overview of the habitation history of each site.
[2] The literary sources which shed light on Macedonian settlements date primarily from the Hellenistic period onwards – these include Polybius, Livy, Pliny and fragments preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium. Papazoglou (1988): 15-16. Pages 17-36 provide a summary of what is said in the primary source material.
[3] Arrian 7.9.2; For a commentary on this part of the speech, see Bosworth (1988): 108-110; Raynor (2014): 23.
[4] See, for example, Ellis (1976): 58-59; Hammond and Griffith (1979): 659-660 or Papazoglou (1988): 39.
[5] For the problems associated with this, see Morgan (2003): 48, with footnote 16.
[6] For a summary of the scholarship on this subject, see Hatzopoulos (2003): 128.

Such conclusions are now being either challenged or wholly disproven by emergent epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Yet theories based on extant ancient narrative accounts continue to persist, in part because the archaeological exploration and investigation of settlement contexts in the Macedonian kingdom is still in its relative infancy. Excavations conducted across the region to date have, as discussed previously, typically focused on funerary contexts – the region has thus not been the subject of excavations and/or surveys that would provide a broader insight into the settlement types and patterns of the Macedonians[7]. Consequently, many settlement sites in the region remain undetected or, though known to archaeologists, have not yet been investigated[8]. Hence, although the names of numerous Macedonian cities are known from literary sources, few of these have been securely identified, and fewer still have been excavated[9].

Our understanding of those sites which have been more extensively explored, such as Aiani [2], Aigai [3], Pella [20] and Pydna [24], is also far from comprehensive. The piecemeal nature of rescue excavations has meant, for example, that such sites have often not been systematically investigated, with specific areas or monuments (particularly agorae, palaces and theatres) prioritised over exploring the site as a whole. The evidence derived from settlement sites is thus highly uneven – domestic architecture dating to the period under study is, for example, almost entirely lacking, with the exception of limited evidence from Pydna [24], and that recovered from sites in the region of Thessaloniki, particularly Toumba Thessaloniki [28] and Pylaia [23]. The limits imposed on modern excavations also mean that it is often difficult to establish the physical extent of a settlement site and its hinterland, meaning that the size of the territory of some of the more important centres of Macedonia,

[7] Milett (2010): 480; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 795.
[8] Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 795.
[9] Adam-Veleni (2008): 10.

including Aiani [2], Edessa [8] and Mieza [18], is still unknown for any historical period[10]. Research into Macedonian settlements is further hindered by the lack of thorough publication of such sites, in which ground plans are either incomplete or entirely lacking. The scant nature of the extant evidence relating to settlement is particularly acute for the period under study, since the continuous habitation of settlement sites has often resulted in the whole or partial destruction of Archaic and Classical settlement phases. This is exacerbated by a tendency evident throughout the Macedonian kingdom, discussed below, to use the foundations of a previous building phase in the constructing subsequent buildings[11]. Our knowledge of the nature and evolution of settlements in Macedonia is therefore rather limited before the late Classical/ early Hellenistic period.

Despite these limitations, this chapter aims to provide an overview of the extant archaeological evidence relating to Macedonian settlement sites in order to shed light on the way in which the region was inhabited. The nature of the extant evidence means that this study will focus primarily on factors such as settlement types and their pattern of distribution in the local landscape. It will also examine the layout and architecture of settlements, looking at the evidence for domestic and public buildings and built fortifications to establish whether there are any consistencies in the types of structures found in the region. Finally, this chapter will evaluate whether the extant archaeological evidence ratifies or raises questions about the conclusions scholars have drawn from the literary evidence regarding the nature of settlements in the Macedonian kingdom prior to the reign of Philip II.

[10] See Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 797-805.
[11] Gimatzidis (2010): 82.

Settlement location and distribution

The examination of settlement sites in their geographic context serves as a way of identifying some of the factors and concerns that contributed to site selection.

Central Macedonia

The heartland of the Macedonian kingdom centred around the Emathian plain, which was bounded to the north by Mt. Paiko, to the south by the Pierian mountains and to the west by Mt. Bermion. Formed from the alluvia of the Haliakmon, Axios, Loudias and Echedoros rivers[12] [*figure 1.3]*, the plain was extremely fertile in parts, but was also subject to frequent inland flooding, which appears to have rendered parts of it largely uninhabitable in antiquity[13]. Settlements located in the territory of Emathia/ Bottiaia, including Aigai [3], Beroia [6], Edessa [8], Mieza [18] and Pella [20], were hence typically situated on the elevated ground at the edge of the plain *[figure 1.3]*. Such sites therefore overlooked the arable land that had formed in the foothills of the surrounding mountains, and which stretched down to the plain below. These settlements were, in addition, located on the main thoroughfares in the region. Pella [20], for example, was positioned at the centre of the main route which ran eat-west through Lower Macedonia[14], and also sat on a navigable offshoot of the Axios river, which provided direct access to the Thermaic Gulf and thence the sea[15]. Similarly, Aigai [3], Beroia [6], Mieza [18] and Edessa [8] were located on the route which led from the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf to Thessaly[16], and Pydna [24] on the road leading south.

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[12] For a reconstruction of the courses of these rivers during the period under study, see Hammond (1972): 145-146.
[13] Homer, *Iliad:* 21.157-8; Hammond (1972): 205; Borza (1990): 38.
[14] For details, see Hammond (1972): 153; Borza (1990): 41.
[15] Strabo: 7.20, 7.23; Greenwalt (1999): 160; Thomas (2010): 68; Kremmidi (2011a): 160.
[16] Kottaridi (2011): 154.

Eastern Macedonia

The region defined in modern scholarship as Eastern Macedonia encompassed an area which reached from the narrow plain of the Axios river (later the territory of Amphaxitis) in the west to the hilly region west of the Dysoron Kerdylion mountain range [*figure 1.5]*. The topography of this region, while varied, was not dissimilar from that of central Macedonia, but was less extreme, with fewer rivers and mountains. The majority of settlements in this region were concentrated in the plains which formed around its rivers, such as Nea Philadelphia [19] and Sindos [26], or in close proximity to the coastline of the Thermaic Gulf, such as Phoinikas [23]. Such settlements were often situated on a large tell[17], whose typically steep topography would have afforded a naturally defensible position, as in the case of Toumba Thessaloniki [28] [*figure 1.59]*. Locating settlements in the plains also facilitated their access to and control of the major thoroughfares in the region. Aghios Athanasios [1] was, for example situated on the road leading from Mygdonia in the east to Bottiaia in the west; a route which was later to become part of the Via Egnatia.

Upper Macedonia

The area to the west and southwest of the Emathian plain, which constituted Elimeia and Eordaia, comprised primarily of the Pindus mountain range, an extension of the Dinaric Alps which stretched from Epirus to Northern Greece and Thessaly, culminating in the Corinthian Gulf. Its mountainous topography was punctuated by a small number of mountain passes, which could be traversed east to west, and the corridors formed by the Haliakmon river, which provided one of the major routes from northern to central Greece [*figure 1.6*].

[17] Two different types of tell are distinguished in scholarship of the region – the term 'toumba' is used to designate a tell whose height is large relative to the diameter of its base, while 'trapeza' is used to denote a tell that is flatter, with a large surface area and a height that is small relative to the diameter of its base - Gimatzidis (2010): 59.

The majority of the settlements excavated in this region to date appear to have been founded in the plateaus which had formed within these river corridors, such as Aiani [2] [*figure 1.10*]. Otherwise, they were located near the natural crossing points in the mountains, like Polymylos [16], which was situated on a passage in the Bermion mountains which led from Upper to Lower Macedonia[18]

In addition to geographical considerations, the location of settlement sites in Macedonia can thus be linked to a number of additional factors:

1. Proximity to fertile land and/or good pastureland

Agricultural exploitation and animal husbandry appear to have been the basis of Macedonian society and its economy from its earliest history[19]. However, although early studies of the Macedonian kingdom, such as those of Hammond[20], proposed that the region supported communities whose economy was based almost exclusively around transhumant pastoralism and hunting, archaeological, historical and ecological data suggests that pastoralism would not have been practiced exclusively in the region[21]. Instead, pastoral activities were likely practiced concurrently with arable. Factors which affected such activities thus had a significant impact upon land use and the location of settlements throughout Macedonian history. In central Macedonia, for example, it was typical for settlements to develop over a wide area, thus facilitating the supervision and control of large quantities of fertile land. These sites were also situated in the terraced plains which had formed in the foothills of the

[18] Kakamanoudis (2017): 45.
[19] See, for example, Archibald (2013): 129-131.
[20] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 22; Hammond (1989): 2.
[21] Archibald (2013): 183 notes that itinerant pastoralism may have not have been necessary in a region with a temperate climate, like Macedonia. The complex patterns of land ownership extant in the Balkan region may also have made transhumance difficult.

mountains in Emathia, which had adequate natural drainage, therefore preventing the problems with flooding and waterlogging found on the plain. Arable land generally also appears to have been deliberately conserved throughout a settlement's history – the majority of necropoleis in Macedonia were, for example, located in areas unsuitable for cultivation, as is evident at Asomata [5], Beroia [6], Mieza [18] and Sindos [26]. Similarly, those settlements which were founded on a tell often did not extend beyond its slopes, thus reserving the plains for cultivation, as can be seen at Aiani [2] and Toumba Thessaloniki[22] [28].

2. Control of trade and communication routes

Because of its mountainous topography, the number of traversable lateral (east-west) land routes throughout the Macedonian kingdom was limited, making both internal communication and access to neighbouring regions difficult[23]. Settlements were hence often situated in locations which granted them control over part of one or more of these land routes, since this was would have facilitated both communication and trade[24]. Given the lack of land routes, rivers also served as a particularly important means of transport and communication, as north-south travel through the Macedonian kingdom could be achieved using its extensive river networks[25].

3. Proximity to exploitable natural resources

Unlike other regions of the ancient Mediterranean world, the Macedonian kingdom had the capacity to be largely self-sufficient, lacking only the olive tree[26] and a ready supply of mineral sources, the latter of which could be found in the contested territory of Bisaltia on the

[22] Soueref (2003): 249.
[23] Sivignon (1994): 12-15.
[24] Milett (2010): 483.
[25] Thomas (2010): 70; Milett (2010): 483.
[26] Kasseri (2015): 233.

eastern frontier of the kingdom [*figure 5.1]*. The region was known for the quality and abundance of its timber, which was taken from the heavily forested areas around the mountains which bounded the kingdom to the north, east and west[27], and which provided shelter for a variety of animals, including deer, wolves, and probably lions[28]. Both these and the timber would have been an attractive commercial commodity for traders[29]. The abundant rivers and lakes that ran through the region also provided a ready stock of fish[30], and irrigated land for agricultural purposes. Settlements hence appear to have been founded in areas where its population could take particular advantage of these natural resources. The settlement at Sindos [26] was, for example, founded in close proximity to the gold-bearing Echedoros river. This perhaps accounts for the abundance of the metal in the Archaic graves of its necropolis[31] and the large quantity of imported southern Greek vessels found at the site from the mid-Geometric period, which both the Euboeans and Athenians appear to have traded for gold[32].

Settlement types

The classification of ancient Mediterranean settlements into: first-order sites (towns), second-order sites (villages) and third-order sites (farmsteads) in modern scholarship is typically based upon an assessment of: (a) the function of the settlement; (b) its physical size and (c) its population[33]. Such classification is, however, difficult for sites in the Macedonian kingdom, since the archaeological data linked to settlements is limited. For example, the

[27] Sivignon (1994): 25. Although densely forested, the region of Eastern Macedonia was not as fertile as central Macedonia in antiquity, as conditions resulted in the leaching of soil. See Borza (1990): 46.
[28] Herodotus: 7.125; Hammond (1972): 209; Thomas (2010): 71.
[29] Kasseri (2015): 229.
[30] Herodotus: 5.16.4; Thomas (2010): 70.
[31] See Despini (2016c).
[32] Tiverios (1998): 249.
[33] Hansen and Nielsen (2004): 74-76.

extent of the territory controlled and occupied by a settlement is often difficult to establish, which has implications for the estimation of population sizes, as does the lack of data regarding the number and density of occupied buildings at a given site[34]. The limited number of settlement contexts excavated in the region also largely prohibits comparative studies, making it difficult to gain an overview of the different types and functions of settlements in the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study. Those sites which have been more extensively excavated and published are also, as discussed previously, typically larger settlements which had a wider regional or national significance. They hence do not represent a 'typical' Macedonian settlement site – Aigai [3], for example, was the capital of the Macedonian kingdom, and Pydna [24] its port, while Aiani [2] was the capital of Elimiotis. Yet such sites, by necessity, form the basis of any current investigation into Macedonian settlements.

Large urban nucleations appear to have been a comparatively late phenomenon in the Macedonian kingdom, with most belonging to the Hellenistic period[35]. Settlements extant in Macedonia prior to this instead consisted of two main types: small nucleated settlements, or a series of settlements of different sizes scattered around a central core. At present, the former appear to be confined largely to sites which developed on tells and thus were contained within a smaller area with predetermined geographical limits, for example Nea Philadelphia [19] and Toumba Thessaloniki [28]. Those of the second type developed in areas

[34] Morgan (2003): 54; Price (2011): 19-20. For the methodological problems associated with the classification of settlements see Hall (2014): 73-74.
[35] Archibald (2013): 150.

without these geographical confines, such as Beroia[36] [6], Mieza[37] [18], Pella[38] [20] and Pydna[39] [24]. Indeed, the territories of these settlements encompassed a considerable area, which varied from approximately twenty-five square kilometres to, in the case of Beroia[40] [6] and Pella[41] [20], almost five hundred square kilometres.

The manner in which settlements of the second type developed is uncertain. While it is possible that they may have been founded as a single urban core which later expanded outwards, they may otherwise have been formed through the agglomeration of a number of smaller residential cores into larger territorial entities[42], resulting in the development of a 'town in clusters' (*kata komas)*. The latter theory has principally been used to explain the extended layout of Aigai[43] [3]. It is, however, perhaps applicable to other sites, particularly those where different burial grounds are associated with the central core of a settlement (such as at Beroia[44] [6], Edessa[45] [8] and Mieza[46] [18]), since such necropoleis perhaps belonged to the various komai that pre-existed the agglomerated settlement of later periods. This spatial formation perhaps also reflects the social and political structure extant in the region previously, which was based on the pre-eminence of a small number of aristocratic kinship groups[47]. Significantly, the relative political and economic relationship between the

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[36] The settlements of Kyneoi, Autanton, Kannonea and Droga have been identified within the territory of Beroia to date. See Hatzopoulos (1990): 59, with footnotes 12-23; Hatzopoulos and Pachidis (2004): 799-800.
[37] See, for example, the settlements of Gaimeion and Nea [----] - Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 804-805.
[38] The settlements of Archontiko, Damianon, Agroskyia, Leptokarya and Aghios Nikolaos have been identified within the territory of Pella to date. See Chrysostomou (1990); Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 805-806.
[39] Besios and Pappa (1995): 10.
[40] Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 799.
[41] Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 805.
[42] Drougou (2011): 251.
[43] Kottaridi (2011): 155.
[44] Stefani (2004): 491.
[45] Chrysostomou (2009): 468.
[46] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 15.
[47] Kottaridi (2011): 155; Haggis (2013): 63.

central core of settlements of this type and the smaller sites in their hinterland is, at present, unknown.

If the *kata komas* model does indeed account for the formation and development of many of the larger urban centres in Macedonia, and particularly its heartland, then it follows that smaller second- and third-order sites were, at least historically, the most common settlement type in the Macedonian kingdom. However, it is uncertain if this continued to be the case during the period under study, since the investigation of smaller settlements sites and rural areas in the Macedonian kingdom is limited at present.

Poleis in Macedonia?

A number of the first-order sites in Macedonia have been classified as *poleis*, either in ancient narratives[48] or modern scholarship, most notably in the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (2004)[49]. The term has, however, a variety of meanings in both ancient and modern literature – denoting both a town with a territory/hinterland and a political entity[50]. Associating Macedonian settlements of the fifth and first half of the fourth century with the latter is problematic at present – although the 'polis' model proved pervasive throughout the Greek world, it is unclear if it should be applied to sites in Macedon, particularly those which were ethnically mixed[51]. And though examples such as Boiotia, Arkadia and Thessaly show that *poleis* could exist within the territory of an *ethne*[52], further investigation is required before such conclusions can be drawn about the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study.

[48] Hatzopoulos (2003): 129.
[49] This volume identifies 17 polis sites in the region of Macedonia prior to the reign of Philip II – at Aiani, Aigai, Alebaia, Allante, Aloros, Veroia, Dion, Edessa, Europos, Herakleion, Ichnai, Kyrrhos, Leibethra, Methone, Mieza, Pella and Pydna. For a brief commentary about these identifications, see Archibald (2014).
[50] Hansen and Nielsen (2004): 34.
[51] Archibald (2013): 61.
[52] Morgan (2003): 6, with footnote 34.

Settlement Layout and Architecture

Settlement organisation and infrastructure

The manipulation of the local landscape to improve the topography of a site is found throughout the Macedonian kingdom, at settlements such as Aiani[53] [2], Nea Philadelphia[54] [19] and Toumba Thessaloniki[55] [28]. This was typically achieved through the construction of retaining walls, made of mudbrick and filled with rubble. These often date to the earliest phases of a site's habitation but show evidence of repair in subsequent historical periods. Such methods were also used to secure the foundations of buildings in unstable terrain. This is thought to explain in part why the foundations and lower courses of a building's walls were often retained and used in subsequent phases. Hence at Sindos [26] the only buildings which were not constructed atop the foundations of existing structures were those located in an area with a hard clay substructure, which would have been innately stable[56] . The steep topography of a site was otherwise considered in the use of staircases, as at Aiani[57] [2], or in the construction of radial roads around the outskirts of a tell, as at Toumba Thessaloniki[58] [28].

'Hippodamian' town planning is generally attested in the Macedonian kingdom only from the late Classical/ early Hellenistic period. Pella [20] perhaps provides an exception to this, as the walls of an as yet unidentified building dated to the first half of the fourth century found under the sanctuary of Darron in the agora follow the same orientation as those of subsequent buildings. This has led to their excavator suggesting that the Macedonian settlement at Pella may have been constructed on a grid plan from its foundation[59]. Evidence

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53 Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1996a): 27.
54 Gimatzidis (2010): 83.
55 Soueref (2009): 346.
56 Gimatzidis (2010): 82.
57 Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1996a): 27.
58 Soueref (1996a): 393.
59 Lilimpaki-Akamati (2007): 587; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2015): 153.

of wider planning is also evident at Toumba Thessaloniki [28] and Pylaia [23], whose houses, discussed below, appear to have been organised into insulae which were separated by narrow roads that featured grooves or clay pipes for drainage [60]. However, it is presently unclear if this arrangement extended to other 'zones' or sections of the settlement.

Domestic architecture

A limited number of sites in the Macedonian kingdom have yielded examples of domestic architecture dating to the period under study, namely: Phoinikas [23], Pydna [24], Sindos [26] and Toumba Thessaloniki [28]. The evidence from these sites indicates that the walls of residential buildings were typically constructed either entirely of stone[61] or, more typically, of mudbrick with stone foundations[62]. Their floors were made of compact earth, which was sometimes covered with a thin layer of clay or small pebbles. In instances of the latter, which is attested predominantly at Sindos [26], it is thought that these may have acted as the base for wooden boards, although there is no extant evidence to support this[63]. That some houses may have had a second floor is suggested by the presence of flat circular stones, which are thought to have acted as the foundations for wooden support columns[64]. The evidence for the roof structure of residential buildings is largely lacking, although they appear to have been covered with terracotta roof tiles. Additionally, the recovery of disc-shaped tiles at Sindos suggests that some houses may have had a small opening in their roof[65].

The fragmentary nature of the architectural remains at each site does not permit a reconstruction of the internal organisation of such buildings, with the plans of specific

[60] Soueref (1990): 302; (1996a): 393; (2003): 249; (2009): 358; Misailidou-Despotidou (2012): 291.
[61] Misailidou-Despotidou (2012): 292.
[62] Soueref (2009): 346;
[63] Gimtazidis (2010): 81.
[64] Soueref (2009): 346.
[65] Gimatzidis (2010): 81.

residences currently unknown for any site[66]. The remains of the residential buildings excavated at Toumba Thessaloniki[67] [28] and Phoinikas[68] [23] appear, however, to have been comparable to the *pastas*-type houses excavated at Olynthus[69] [*figure 2.1]*, with lower levels that featured a covered portico, andron, kitchen, storage areas and, occasionally, a residential workshop[70]. The remains of an andron with a 'junk floor' mosaic has also been excavated at Pydna [24], in addition to a series of rooms with sand floors that have been interpreted as storage areas[71]. The size of the rooms and thus the houses at each site has not yet been published, so they cannot be compared to the domestic contexts of later periods, such as those excavated at Pella[72] [20]. However, it has been observed that the houses excavated in the north-west section of Toumba Thessaloniki [28] appear more spacious than those uncovered in other areas of the tell[73], perhaps indicating that the residences of the socio-economic elite were segregated from those of the lower classes.

A further feature of the settlement at Toumba Thessaloniki [28] are the subterranean structures (constructed with stone walls and clay floors) found at the site[74]. These appear to have been used as storage areas, as associated finds consist largely of clay storage vessels, particularly pithoi. Large examples of these structures are found at various points throughout the site in the early Archaic period, but by the Classical period they are confined almost exclusively to individual households, and are far smaller[75]. This has been interpreted as

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[66] Muller (2012): 107.
[67] Soueref (1999): 178-182; (2003): 245-249; (2009): 346-348.
[68] Misailidou-Despotidou (2012).
[69] For a general discussion of the houses excavated at Olynthus, see Cahill (2002): 75-82.
[70] The finds from such houses are also comparable, consisting of textile tools (loomweights and spindle whorls), stone and metal tools, and pottery which would have been used for the storage, preparation and consumption of food. Soueref (2009): 346; Misailidou-Despotidou (2012): 293.
[71] Besios and Athanasiadou (2001): 365.
[72] See, for example, Lilibaki-Akamati (2011c).
[73] Soueref (2009): 348.
[74] Soueref (1998): 196; (1999): 180.
[75] An exception to this is a series of larger structures unearthed to the south of the tell, which contained pithoi dating to the fifth century - Soueref (1999): 182.

evidence that the role of the state in the provision or storage of surplus food was 'privatised' by the Classical period, perhaps reflecting a wider societal change[76].

Fortifications

At present, fortification walls dating to the period under study are attested archaeologically only at Aigai[77] [3] [*figure 1.18]*, Pella[78] [20] [*figure 1.41]*, Pydna[79] [24] and Toumba Thessaloniki[80] [28]. However, the numerous problems associated with the preservation of fortifications in the archaeological record[81], coupled with the limited archaeological exploration of the Macedonian kingdom, means that this list is likely incomplete – for example, literary accounts of sieges that occurred in the Macedonian kingdom during the Peloponnesian War suggest the existence of some form of fortification at Beroia[82] and Europos[83].

The extant fortifications, of which only small sections have typically been excavated, consist either of a double-faced/ two-shelled wall (a front and rear wall of polygonal stones which were filled with soil and rubble[84] or stone foundations/ socle with a mudbrick superstructure[85]. Additional defensive features are attested at Pydna [24], whose wall was fronted by a ditch/moat constructed during the reign of Archelaus[86] and Aigai [3], where

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[76] Soueref (2009): 345.
[77] Kottaridi (2011): 161 dates a section of the wall to the fifth century.
[78] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2009): 207 have dated a section of the fortification to the late fifth/ early fourth century, *contra* Siganidou (1987) who dates it to the reign of Philip II.
[79] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 17 date a section of the wall to the fifth century.
[80] Soueref (2009): 346 dates the wall to the fifth/ fourth century. A more precise dating is difficult because of problems with the associated stratigraphy.
[81] Hammond (1989): 94; Frederiksen (2011): 41-49; Hall (2014): 74.
[82] Thucydides: 1.61.4; Hatzopoulos (2003a): 129; (2011): 235.
[83] Thucydides: 2.100.3.
[84] See Frederiksen (2011): 51 for further details on the construction of fortifications of this type, including fig.3, a cross-section diagram.
[85] Frederiksen (2011): 55, including fig. 5.
[86] Besios (1986): 144.
Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 147; Besios and Athanasiadou (2001): 365-366.

traces of what may have been a moat and a tower have been detected during preliminary excavations[87]. These fortifications appear to have been constructed primarily to protect the central urban nucleus of the settlement[88]. The extent of the area that they enclosed is, however, largely unknown at present, although that of Pydna [24] is estimated to have bounded an area of around twenty-five hectares[89].

As built fortifications appear on present evidence to have been limited primarily to larger sites of particular strategic and/or regional importance, it is probable that the average Macedonian settlement remained unfortified during the period under study. This conclusion is supported also by the literary evidence – Thucydides, for example, refers not to fortified towns in his narrative, but to naturally fortified areas and strongholds[90]. Although seemingly lacking built fortifications, many of the settlements in the Macedonian kingdom may, however, have been fortified through other means. For example, it has been proposed that the exterior walls of buildings at the limits of a settlement's territory or urban nucleus may have been used as a form of fortification, as has been suggested by the excavators of Aigai[91] [3] and Aiani[92] [2]. Settlements also appear to have been founded in locations where geographical features could be used for defensive purposes; as discussed above, many settlements throughout the Macedonian kingdom were situated on tells, which would have provided a naturally fortified position. The wider territory of Macedonia may also have been protected by extra-urban/ rural fortifications[93], as has been suggested for the remains of a tower and fort excavated at the Demir Kapu pass, which have been dated to the late-fifth

[87] Kottaridi (2004): 532-533; (2011): 161.
[88] Archibald (2013): 68.
[89] Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 806.
[90] Thucydides: 2.100, with commentary in Hammond and Griffith (1979): 145-146.
[91] Kottaridi (2004): 532.
[92] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1996a): 27.
[93] Thucydides: 2.100.

century[94]. Whatever fortifications did exist during the period under study were evidently considered inadequate in later periods, however, since a number of the larger settlement sites in the Macedonian kingdom, including Aigai[95] [3], Beroia[96] [6] Edessa[97] [8] and Dion[98] [7], were either fortified for the first time or refortified during the late Classical/ early Hellenistic period.

Public/civic buildings

Given our current state of knowledge, the identification of a building or building complex as being public or civic in nature is generally based primarily on its comparative size and/or architectural elaboration. Four buildings of this type have been provisionally identified to date, in the royal capitals of Aigai [3] and Aiani [2]. At present, none of these have been fully published[99]. Unfortunately, the finds associated with these buildings consist primarily of clay vessels, and so provide no real indication as to their use or function. Their plans, where discernible [*figures 1.11 and 1.18*], are also not diagnostic, consisting mainly of elements which lack defining features or characteristics. Perhaps most indicative are the two stoa found at Aiani, which have been used by their excavator to suggest that the buildings may have been part of an agora or palace complex[100].

Present evidence thus suggests that public/civic buildings may have been confined exclusively to regional capitals during the late Archaic and Classical period. This picture may, however, change following further archaeological exploration of the region – seemingly large building complexes are, for example, currently being investigated at Phakos [22] [*figure 1.46]*

[94] The site of Demir Kapu was located on a route which would have provided access to lower Macedonia from Paeonia. Hammond (1979): 146; Greenwalt (1999): 166, with footnote 24.
[95] Kottaridi (2011): 163; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 799.
[96] Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 800.
[97] Chrysostomou (1996): 173-174.
[98] Pingiatoglou (2010a): 215.
[99] See *intra*: Gazetteer for a summary of the published evidence.
[100] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2006b): 20.

and Sindos [26] [*figure 1.54]*. If this is, however, the case, and regional capitals were indeed the only political and administrative centres in Macedonia, then this raises questions about the degree of autonomy that individual settlements would have had within this centralised system.

The absence of extant public/civic buildings may not, however, necessarily reflect a lack of localised political/ civic institutions in Macedonia – as in southern Greece, the nature of such spaces was perhaps fluid, and not yet defined by specific physical architecture[101]. It has been noted, for example, that some of the events detailed in the literary sources, such as the revolt of Pydna in 410[102], would have been difficult without the existence of some form of autonomous civic institution/s. Aiani [2] and Aigai [3] should also not be considered representative of a typical settlement – as regional capitals they would, arguably, be more likely to have monumental architecture which could be detected during excavations. Aiani [2] in particular is notable for its preference for such, as is exemplified in its use of marble sculpture in the round to mark the graves of the exalted deceased, as discussed in the next chapter. And though Aigai [3], which was the royal capital and administrative centre of the Temenids, has yielded limited evidence of public/civic buildings dating to the period under study, archaeologists have proposed that a palace must have existed at the site at this time[103], although this has not yet been verified through excavation[104].

Conclusions

The evidence relating to settlement contexts in the Macedonian kingdom during the Archaic and Classical period is, at present, extremely disparate and fragmentary. This largely

[101] Hall (2014): 81-85; Haggis (2015): 223.
[102] Diodorus: 13.49.1.
[103] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001): 207; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 798.
[104] For the role of the palace in Macedonian court and society from the late Classical period see, for example, Nielsen (1994); Lilibaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2003): 135-136; Kottaridi (2011c).

precludes the possibility of reconstructing the elements of a 'typical' Macedonian settlement, beyond the notion that they were primarily residential and probably lacked built fortifications[105]. The nature of the evidence is such that many questions cannot yet be answered. For example, while it is apparent that certain settlements in the Macedonian kingdom had urban features by the period under study, it is uncertain whether these urban features are indicative of an urbanised population. There is little indication as to the size of the resident population or density of occupied buildings at such sites at present, and it is also unclear how these compare to other historical periods. The sole exception to this is Pydna [24], where a significant increase in the population of the settlement during the fifth century can be traced in the burial record[106]. This may be symptomatic of a wider shift from rural to urban habitation in Macedonia at this time. Pydna should not necessarily be considered representative, however, since it was the main port of the Macedonian kingdom and was perhaps its largest settlement. Similarly, although settlements throughout the Macedonian kingdom have been treated as a homogenous group in this chapter, it would be interesting to establish whether any physical differences can be discerned between the settlements which the Macedonians annexed from other social/ethnic groups and those founded by the Macedonians themselves. Once a clearer picture has emerged about the nature of civic/public architecture in the region, and thus the institutions extant during the period[107], it would also be valuable to learn whether the settlements in the annexed territories enjoyed the same prerogatives afforded to those in the Macedonian heartland.

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[105] Winter (2013): 235.
[106] Besios (2007): 645.
[107] Present evidence for Macedonian institutions before the reign of Philip II come from later epigraphic sources - Hatzopoulos has identified three terms from Macedonian institutional vocabulary that are not Attic in origin, and consequently most likely derive from institutions extant before Philip adopted Attic *koine* as the official language of the Macedonian court. These terms - the *peliganes* ("the grey ones"), the *tagoi* ("the ordinators") and the *skoidos* – are believed to be the equivalent of the Southern Greek *bouletai, arkhontes* and *epistates.* See Hatzopoulos (2003): 133-134; (2011): 241.

The question of urbanisation

The accounts of ancient authors, such as Arrian, credited the urbanisation of the Macedonian kingdom to Philip II. Early scholars extrapolated this to mean that the vast majority of the region, particularly Upper Macedonia, was not urbanised to any degree before the late Classical period. Yet the archaeological evidence indicates that this was a fallacy. Identifying precisely when, and under whose impetus, this urbanisation occurred is, however, a major historic problem, since urbanisation typically manifests in the archaeological record as a long-term phenomenon with no single impetus[108]. It is thus not possible to ascertain whether the Macedonian kingdom developed and urbanised as a result of Temenid intervention, or was a process facilitated by the conquering and adoption of pre-existing urbanised settlements. Certainly, the urbanisation of the region was not the prerogative of the Temenid kings alone, as is indicated by the existence of an urbanised centre with possible political/civic buildings dating to the late Archaic or early Classical period at Aiani [2], the royal capital of the Elimiote house. Nor is it currently possible to establish at which point subsequent urbanisation occurred in the region, although scholars have used the ancient literature to attribute this to Archelaus[109].

While the evidence suggests that Philip did not provide the initial stimulus for the urbanisation of the Macedonian kingdom, the process undoubtedly continued in earnest during his reign. This is suggested, for example, in the agglomeration and/or reorganisation of

[108] Haggis (2015): 220.
[109] This interpretation is based on the presumption that the social restructuring required to create and sustain the various classes of a standing army (as the king is credited with by Thucydides: 2.100) would have necessitated the development of an urbanised population. That Macedonians begin to be identified with civic ethnonyms following the reign of Archelaus is then cited as evidence of this, since it appears to indicate the development of civic identity in the region. See Hatzopoulos (2003): 130-131; (2011): 238; Greenwalt (2007): 90-91.

settlements in the region, such as Lete[110] [17] and Mieza[111] [18], from the second half of the fourth century. That civic institutions further developed in Macedonia during his reign is perhaps indicated also in the epigraphic evidence, particularly a comparison of the *theodorokoi* from different sanctuaries, since the list from Epidaurus in 360 names Perdiccas as the sole *theorodokos*, while that issued by Nemea forty years later lists individual Macedonian cities, including Lete, Allante and Pella, suggesting that they had acquired political autonomy during this period[112].

[110] Tzanavari and Filis (2009): 375-377.
[111] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 15.
[112] Hatzopoulos (2003): 132-133; (2011): 239.

- III -
The Mortuary Evidence

The evidence recovered from burial contexts constitutes the largest body of archaeological material available to scholars studying the Macedonian kingdom, yet an overall study of this material has not been attempted for the period under study. The reasons for this are numerous. Firstly, burial grounds in Macedonia have largely been uncovered during rescue excavations, the problems of which have been discussed previously[1]. Few cemeteries have thus been explored to their full extent, making it difficult to gain an understanding of the organisation of funerary space, or the relationship between burial grounds and their associated settlements. Detailed data regarding the number and distribution of surveyed graves for each historical period is also lacking. In publications, there has additionally been a tendency to focus more on graves with wealthier assemblages than on those with few to no offerings[2]. Burials of the late Archaic period are therefore generally more frequently documented and discussed than those of the fifth and first half of the fourth century, while graves of the elite are privileged over those of low socio-economic status[3]. Efforts to gain a fuller appreciation of the funerary material are also hampered by the widespread looting of sites, both in modern day and antiquity[4], and the heavy reworking of land for agricultural purposes, which has resulted in either the complete or partial destruction of some graves in the region, and the loss of their associated funerary markers.

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[1] See *intra*: Introduction, Research Aims and Limitations.
[2] The wealth of a grave is assessed by numerous factors, including the size and construction/type of the grave, the number of objects found in the grave, the types and variety of objects included in the assemblage and their intrinsic value. Ucko (1969): 266; Aleshkin (1983): 141.
[3] The publication of the cemetery in the Metsianis plot at Mieza is a notable exception to this – see Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002).
[4] The degree to which the burial grounds of the Macedonian kingdom were looted varies considerably. The necropolis of Aigai provides an extreme example of the problem, since over 90% of the burials excavated to date were disturbed in antiquity, a phenomenon linked with the invasion of Pyrrhus and the Gauls. Kottaridi (2009): 147. Modern looting remains a problem throughout the region, as evidenced, for example, at Archontiko, see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2003): 509.

It is, nevertheless, possible to attempt a survey of Macedonian burials, especially in light of the increased interest in the region over the past few decades. Some necropoleis, such as Aigai [3], Aiani [2], Pydna [24], Archontiko [4] and Sindos [26] have, for example, become better known in recent years, either through published excavation reports or because of the catalogues which accompanied exhibits of the excavated material. Many of these sites also had a long period of use [*figure 3.1*], often extending from the Iron Age to the Roman Imperial period, making it possible to observe changes in burial customs over time. Although this chapter will inevitably focus upon these cemeteries, any bias which may result from this can be off-set to some degree by the summative reports of other, smaller, burial grounds in the region, which have been excavated in increasing numbers over the last few decades. This permits a comparison of cemeteries of different sizes and in different regions of the Macedonian kingdom.

Methodology in the absence of physical anthropology

Factors such as the large number of graves excavated, the rescue nature of excavations and the acidic soil conditions[5] prevalent in some parts of the region mean that anthropological and scientific analysis have generally not been conducted on the skeletal remains found in Macedonia[6]. The identification of both the gender and the age of the deceased is therefore based upon other factors. Diagnostic finds are most frequently used to determine gender, with male burials identified through the presence of weapons in the

[5] Soueref (1994b): 443.
[6] For examples where osteological analysis has been conducted on both human and animal remains see the reports of Antikas and Wynn-Antikas (2005); (2009a); (2009b); Chrysostomou (2013b): 341-342; Despini (2016a): 127-168. It also appears that an analysis was carried out on some of the remains in the Queens' Cluster at Aigai, such as the skeleton from L2, to determine age and gender, although the reports are not currently available. See Kottaridi (2004): 140. Similarly, for Pella – Akamatis (2011): 42. For the state and development of the discipline of osteoarchaeology in Greece as a whole, see Nikita and Triantaphyllou (2017).

grave, and female burials by the presence of jewellery[7]. The sex of the deceased can hence only be identified in graves where part of the funerary assemblage has been recovered intact. Diagnostic grave offerings are also occasionally used to determine the age of the deceased, in addition to factors such as grave type and dimensions – the graves of children are therefore identified by the smaller size of the grave, the near absence of skeletal remains and the presence of objects such as toys, knucklebones (*astragaloi*) and animal figurines in the assemblage[8]. While such methods mean that it is usually possible to distinguish between adult and sub-adult burials, further differentiation is highly problematic.

Why study burials?

Given that many aspects surrounding the disposal, commemoration and memorialisation of the dead are largely invisible in the archaeological record, much of what is known about death and burial in the ancient world is gleaned from contemporary literary and iconographic sources, as in the well-documented case of Athens[9]. However, such evidence is almost completely lacking for the Macedonian kingdom. Studies into death and burial in Macedon are hence almost wholly reliant on the archaeological evidence. Fortunately, mortuary contexts in Macedonia generally yield a vast array of material, from the tombs themselves to grave markers and the offerings that formed the funerary assemblage. Much can be learnt from this - for example, examining the process by which bodies were disposed of provides an insight not only into the cultural and ritual practices associated with burial, but

[7] This criterion is applied to Macedonian burials from the Early Iron Age to the Roman conquest of the region in 168. See, for example, Tsigarida and Ignatiadou (2000): 52; Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997): 203. For the limitations inherent using such methodology, see Morris (1992): 90; Sofaer and Sørensen (2013): 531.

[8] Bobou (2015): 39. For a summary of current scholarly opinion on detecting 'childhood' in funerary contexts, see Dasen (2010).

[9] See, for example: Kurtz and Boardman (1971); Morris (1992); Garland (2001); Oakley (2004).

is also an indication of Macedonian attitudes towards death and the deceased[10]. A study of the grave goods and funerary markers afforded to the dead also reveals which factors were considered most important when constructing the identity of the deceased, and how this was expressed through material culture. Additionally, a comparative examination of the burial practices evident in different areas of the Macedonian kingdom may allow for a partial reconstruction of any cultural or social elements distinct to the Macedonian *ethnos*.

Cemetery Organisation

As was customary in the ancient world, burial grounds in the Macedonian kingdom were situated beyond the boundaries of the settlements they served, extending into their hinterland[11], often following the path of major roads[12], as is exemplified in the case of Pydna [*figure 1.51]*. They were additionally often located in areas unsuitable for cultivation, or where the ground/ soil type permitted the easy construction of graves. Very few burial grounds have been excavated to their full extent in Macedonia, making it difficult to draw conclusions about their size. Their limits are also generally difficult to establish with any certainty – present evidence suggests that they were not officially delineated by walls or *horoi*, although some appear to have been deliberately bounded by natural features such as rivers[13], as was the case for the south-eastern boundary of the cemetery at Aigai[14] [3].

[10] Aleshkin (1983): 137-149; Pearson (1999); Ekengren (2013): 173-192.
[11] The proximity of burial grounds to their associated settlement appears to have varied considerably. While some were located within its immediate vicinity, others are found a considerable distance away, such as the Leivadia necropolis at Aiani or the Eastern and Western cemeteries of Archontiko, which were located approximately 1km from the settlement proper. See Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2008): 45; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 477. As the excavations of these urban centres are still ongoing, it is possible, however, that these relative distances may change.
[12] For example, the graves at Pydna appear to have radiated from three major roads – two leading north-west, the other north – making it possible to trace their path. Besios and Athanasiadou (2001): 363; Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 131. This also appears to be the case at Beroia – Graekos (2006): 824.
[13] Kakamanoudis (2017): 425.
[14] Kottaridi (2009): 145.

That many of the settlement sites in Macedonia were continuously inhabited from the Archaic to the Classical period means that their associated burial grounds persisted in the same location, and show a remarkable degree of continuity in burial types and customs[15]. Most burial grounds thus developed diachronically, with their form dictated largely by considerations of topography and space – they hence expanded either horizontally, as at Aiani [2] and Aigai [3] [*figure 1.17]*, or vertically, with graves constructed at various levels, as is attested at Archontiko [4] and Pydna [24] [*figure 1.50].* The care that was afforded to existing graves during the construction of new ones typically varied accordingly. Thus cemeteries with a high burial density often include graves which were either wholly or partially destroyed during the construction of subsequent burials, as is evidenced at Kaloki Karia[16] [27], Lete[17] [17], Mieza[18] [18] and Pydna[19] [24]. By contrast, it has been noted of Aigai [3] that the necropolis expanded into fertile land (perhaps because of its abundance) to ensure that existing burials were not disturbed[20].

In many instances, multiple burial grounds are associated with a single settlement. These consisted both of larger necropoleis and smaller burial clusters located remote from the necropolis proper, such as at Aigai[21] [3] or Pydna [22] [24]. In larger burial grounds, graves

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[15] Kakamanoudis (2017): 458.
[16] Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 111.
[17] Tzanavari and Filis (2009): 375.
[18] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 18.
[19] Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 147. In some cemeteries, however, efforts were made to repair the damage caused to earlier strata, such as in the agora cemetery of Pella, where small walls were constructed between the two burials to ensure that they remained separate entities. Akamatis (2006): 621.
[20] In instances where damage is attested in this necropolis, it is often the result of activity which occurred in the area centuries later. For example, the space occupied by the early Iron Age cemetery at Aigai was re-used in the third century BC. Kottaridi (2002): 77; (2009): 145, nt.6. This may be significant, for it suggests a continued knowledge of the location of older graves, perhaps indicating that they were marked/ demarcated in some way, even though there is little other evidence that such a practice was widespread.
[21] Two spatially demarcated clusters of burials are attested at Aigai during the period under study: the Queens' Cluster and the so-called 'Temenid cluster', which was located between the early Iron Age tumuli cemetery and the archaic necropolis. Kottaridi (2009): 151.
[22] Two examples of these clusters have been excavated in the locality of Pydna. The first, at Kitros, contains 19 graves dating from the mid-5th to the end of the 4th century – see Besios (1987): 210; Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 131. The second, located in the so-called 'Pappa toumba' included three graves of the fourth century, the oldest of which dates to 380 - Besios (1987): 211.

could be arranged either in roughly parallel rows [23] or, less commonly, in small clusters[24], which could be delineated by narrow pathways[25] or covered with a tumulus[26]. As both types of burial clusters typically contained a combination of male, female and child burials, they are generally thought to be familial groupings formed across a limited number of generations[27]. There are, however, a few instances where the use of a single cluster appears to have been sustained for far longer, such as at Archontiko [4], where a single burial cluster was used from the late Iron Age to the early Hellenistic period[28]. In cases such as this, it is thought that the cluster may have belonged to a local ruling family or *genos*, especially when given the comparative affluence of the burials in these groups.

That some burial clusters were deliberately constructed remote from the necropolis proper suggests that spatial segregation may have been used as a means of differentiation during the period. Such clusters were also, notably, generally situated in positions which would have increased their visibility in the local landscape. For example, the Queens' Cluster at Aigai [3] was located next to a road on the immediate outskirts of the settlement [*figure 1.17*]*;* the burial clusters in plot 471 at Makrygialos, in the northern cemetery of Pydna [24], were situated on a low hill to the north of the settlement, which was traversed by two of its major roads, while the wealthy grave clusters in the western cemetery of Archontiko [4] were located alongside and at the junction of two roads at the base of the eastern hill[29] *[figure 1.27]*. It is as yet uncertain to what extent spatial segregation was employed as a means of

[23] For indicative examples, see: Aigai - Kottaridi (2009): 143; Kaloki Karia, Western Pieria - Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 111; Mieza - Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 18-19.
[24] See, for example: Aigai - Kottaridi (2006): 773; (2009): 143; Archontiko – Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 390; Mieza - Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 18; Pella – Akamatis (1990): 147; Pydna – Besios (1990): 242.
[25] As at Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2007): 90; Pella, where a group of fourteen burials were found arranged in two rows with a three-metre corridor between - Akamatis (2005): 422; Veroia, for example the group of graves at Monastiriou street - Stefani (2004): 485.
[26] For the use of tumuli in Macedonia, see the section on grave markers in this chapter.
[27] See, for example, Besios (1988): 181.
[28] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2007): 90.
[29] Besios (2007): 647; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 515.

differentiation in larger necropoleis. It has been noted, however, that the eastern cemetery at Archontiko [4] appears to have been reserved primarily for the lower socio-economic classes, and the western necropoleis for wealthier burials[30]. Similarly, at Phoinikas [23] 'poorer' grave types, such as tile graves, are found almost exclusively in the northern section of the cemetery, while more elaborate types, particularly cists and monumental stone sarcophagi, are confined to the south[31].

Burial orientation

In many burial grounds, graves appear to have been constructed following the same approximate orientation. The precise axis used varied, however, between cemeteries – for example, in the archaic cemetery at Aigai [3] the graves were mostly orientated N-S[32] [*figure 1.20]*, while at Pella[33] [20], Archontiko[34] [4] and Pydna[35] [24] they were orientated E-W, or NE-SW at Aiani[36] [2] and Mieza[37] [18]. Within some of these cemeteries it was common for the heads of the deceased to follow the same orientation - hence the deceased were typically all buried with their heads to the south at Aigai[38] [2], while at Pella[39] [20] and Pydna[40] [24] they faced east. However, in some cemeteries, such as Archontiko[41] [4], Aghios Athanasios[42]

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30 Chrysostomou and Zarogiannis (2005): 432.
31 Tsimbidou-Avoliniti (2009): 440.
32 Kottaridi (2002): 499. Interestingly, the orientation of the graves appears to change, to E-W, around the reign of Philip II. See Kottaridi (1998): 405.
33 Lilimpaki-Akamati (2002): 85.
34 Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2003): 151.
35 Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 148.
36 Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2008): 79.
37 Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 19.
38 Kottaridi (2002): 499.
39 Akamatis (1990): 147.
40 Besios and Tziphopoulous (2010): 133.
41 Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2001): 480.
42 Tsimbidou-Avloniti (1993): 251.

[1], Toumba Thessaloniki[43] [28], Nea Philadelphia[44] [19], Sindos[45] [26] and certain remote burial clusters at Pydna[46] [24], the orientation of the body within the grave appears to have been dictated by the gender of the deceased – females were buried with their heads facing to the south or east, and males to the west or north. The prevalence of this trend, which applied to both adults and children, in such necropoleis means that, in the absence of other diagnostic indicators, the orientation of the body is sometimes used to identify the gender of the deceased. The reasoning behind this practice is currently unknown. It is notable, however, that the custom ceases in some cemeteries, such as that of Nea Philadelphia[47] [19], in the fourth century, or is otherwise only adopted at this date, such as in the northern cemetery of Pydna[48] [24].

FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE AND GRAVE TYPES

Pit graves, including rock-cut cists[49]

Pits cut into the earth or local bedrock were the predominant grave type in the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study[50]. Although often considered the simplest type of grave, significant variations are apparent in their form, dimensions and the method by which the burial was sealed. Pits could be unroofed[51], or, more commonly, closed

[43] Soueref (2002): 281.
[44] Misailidou-Despotidou (1995): 315.
[45] Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 13.
[46] Besios (1988): 183; Kotitsa (2012): 79.
[47] Misailidou-Despotidou (1995): 315.
[48] Besios (2010): 135.
[49] A common type of grave in some necropoleis, such as Pella or Asomata, during the period under study was a rectangular trench hewn out of the natural bedrock. These tombs are, in some publications, characterised as 'rock-cut cists', but should be distinguished from cists proper since slabs of stone were not used in their construction. Kefalidou (2009): 132; Lilimpaki-Akamati (2002): 85; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2012): 13.
[50] This is in contrast to neighbouring Chalkidiki, where cist and stone sarcophagi were the most common grave type. Panti (2012): 481.
[51] Panti (2012): 471 suggests that this trait was particularly common in cemeteries located in the hinterland of the Thermaic Gulf, such as Archontiko and Aghios Athanasios. This is perhaps linked with the frequent use of wooden coffins at these sites.

by one or more slabs of stone or wood, some of which rested on a shallow ledge cut into the edge of the pit during its construction[52]. In inhumation burials, the average pit grave was usually roughly rectangular in shape, though a limited number of ovoid pits are attested in necropoleis such as Mieza[53] [18], Toumba Thessaloniki[54] [28] and Pella[55] [20]. In many cases, their dimensions appear to have been largely dictated by the height of the deceased, who were inhumed in a supine position. However, in some necropoleis, such as Pydna[56] [24] and Archontiko[57] [4], pit graves generally increase in size throughout the course of the fifth and fourth centuries. This trend has been linked to the corresponding prevalence for the placement of a wooden sarcophagus or bier/kline in the grave. Pits of more monumental proportions, often two or three times that of the average[58], appear to have been reserved for the upper strata of Macedonian society. Such graves were often constructed at a greater depth than the average, reaching ±3-4m rather than ±0.50-1.20m[59]. Some of these had secondary pits, whose dimensions matched or exceeded that of the average pit grave, at their bottom to house the body and associated grave offerings[60]. Because of their depth, a step or series of steps was, in many cases, cut into one of their sides to accommodate the placement of the body and the funerary assemblage in the grave[61] *[figure 3.2].*

[52] See, for example, Besios (1994): 150; Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 18; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2012): 13.
[53] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 18.
[54] Soueref (2002): 279.
[55] Akamatis (2002): 440.
[56] Besios and Athanasiadou (2010): 129, e.g. tombs 9 and 14, which date to the early fourth century.
[57] Kottaridi (2016): 629.
[58] For example: Aigai, e.g. graves L2 and L3 of the Queens' Cluster - Andronikos (1988): 1, Kottaridi (1989): 1; Pella, e.g. a pit 7m in length - Akamatis (2003): 423, Siganidou (1983): 46; Pydna, e.g. grave 1 of the Pappa Toumba (*c.*380.370) which measured 6.50 x 4.00m, at a depth of 3.50m - Besios (1987): 211, with image or grave 3 at Loulodia (Kitros), a cremation which measured 4.00 x 2.35 x 2.95m - Vokotopoulou (1983): 276.
[59] Such graves are hence sometimes characterised as shaft graves in scholarship.
[60] As, for example, in Beroia - Stefani (2004): 485 and Aigai, e.g. grave L2 of the Queens' Cluster – Andronikos (1988): 1.
[61] See, for example: Pella - Akamatis (1990): 146; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamati (2003): 143; Pydna – Besios (1987): 209.

Cist graves

Cist graves are found throughout the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study, albeit in more limited number than pit graves. They vary considerably in form, ranging from basic pits lined with rough stone slabs to carefully constructed chambers assembled from thick worked blocks. More frequently resembling the former, the vast majority of cists were made of stone slabs which formed the bottom and vertical sides of the tomb, although there are some instances where mudbrick was used instead[62]. The type of stone used in their construction appears to have largely depended upon local availability, although cists constructed of different materials are found in the same necropolis. Of the fourteen cists excavated in the cemetery of Sindos [26], for example, one was constructed of green shale rock, eleven from local poros slabs and three from re-used limestone which is believed to have been taken from a large local building, perhaps a temple[63]. In most cases, the stone which was used to construct the walls of the tomb was also used for its cover slab, although there are some instances where wood may have been used instead[64]. As with pit graves, the dimensions of cists varied considerably during the period under study. While most were roughly equivalent to that of the average pit grave, others were of such large dimensions that they required an interior support for their cover slab, such as tomb A at Aiani [2] (dated to the early fourth century), which measured 4.50 x 4.50m and was found to contain an unfluted column used to support its roof[65] [*figure 3.3*].

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[62] See, for example, some of the graves in the cemeteries of Aigai - Kottaridi (1991): 24; Aghios Athanasios, e.g. grave 2 - Tsimbidou Avloniti (1992): 372; Sindos - Moschonisiotou (1988): 287.
[63] Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): 12.
[64] For example, Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 104 suggests that the cover of tomb E at Aiani may have consisted of a nexus of timber and branches, since the sockets which were usually built into the walls of cists to support the wooden beams for the roof are absent. Morizot (2011): 512 has suggested that the cists closed with wood may also have been covered with clay or tiles, although, at present, there is little evidence to support this.
[65] The exterior of the tomb measures 10.30 x 10.30m, as its walls (constructed of stone blocks) were 3m wide. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 100.

In addition to their size, cist graves belonging to the socio-economic elite were also distinguished through their decoration, as their walls were dressed with mortar or stucco and painted. In the fifth century, this typically consisted of a painted band which ran continuously across each of the walls, as in K1 of the Queens' Cluster at Aigai[66] (430/420) or Tomb E of the Leivadia necropolis at Aiani[67] [2] (dated to the early fifth century). Uniquely, bone plaques (featuring scenes of women, warriors, chariots and animals) were used to decorate the walls of tomb I at Leivadia, which has been dated to the first half of the sixth century. These appear to have been attached to wooden boards which were nailed to the walls of the tomb – two rows of iron nails were found *in situ* in the walls, above a painted purple band, while the plaques themselves were found scattered in the grave[68]. In the fourth century, painted architectural details were gradually introduced, such as the Ionic moulding which decorated tomb A at Aiani[69] [2].

Sarcophagi

In addition to the wooden coffins that were used in combination with other grave types (described below), both stone and clay sarcophagi were used as standalone tombs in Macedonia, although neither was common during the period under study. Differentiated from cist graves in their monolithic construction, stone sarcophagi were simple rectangular boxes covered with a flat or gabled cover slab [*figure 3.4]*. Found in cemeteries including Aghios Athanasios[70] [1], Nea Philadelphia[71] [19], Phoinikas[72] [23], Pydna[73] [24], Sindos[74] [26]

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[66] Kottaridi (1989): 5.
[67] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 103.
[68] Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2011): 106.
[69] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 101. Additional painted decoration in the tomb included two female figurines and a palmette.
[70] Tsimbidou-Avloniti (1993): 251.
[71] Misailidou-Despotidou (1995): 314; Descamps-Lequime and Charatzopoulou (2011): 221.
[72] Tsimbidou-Avloniti (2009): 440.
[73] Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 149; Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 133.
[74] Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 12; Moschonisiotou (1988): 287; Misailidou-Despotidou (1997): 153.

and Toumba Thessaloniki[75] [28], their size was roughly commensurate to that of the deceased, who were inhumed in a supine position[76]. While most appear to have been undecorated, some may have been painted, as is indicated by the fragments of coloured mortar uncovered in the stone sarcophagi at Pydna[77].

Clay sarcophagi were used far less than their stone equivalents and are attested in only a limited number of cemeteries in the Macedonian kingdom, namely Pella[78] [20] and Sindos[79] [26]. These consisted of a rectangular box with a sloping lid formed from two parts. While those excavated at Pella [20] were undecorated, examples from Sindos [26] feature relief Ionic moulding around the interior and exterior of their rims [*figure 3.5*], a feature found also on clay sarcophagi originating from sites in the Eastern Northern Aegean, such as Akanthos, Abdera, Thasos and Thrace[80].

Pot burials (*enchytrismoi)*

Pot burials were uncommon in Macedonia during the period under study. Where attested, the custom appears to have been reserved primarily for infants and young children, as in the necropolis of Pydna[81] [24]. This trend is similarly attested in other burial grounds in the coastal regions of the Northern Aegean, including Akanthos[82] and Mende[83], although the rite is far more prevalent in these areas. The type of vessel used for *enchytrismoi* in

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[75] Soueref (1996a): 398; (1996b): 433.
[76] The inner dimensions of extant stone sarcophagi measure, on average, 1.80-2.00 x 0.50-0.70m. Misailidou-Despotidou (1997): 154-158.
[77] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 133.
[78] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamati (2003): 142.
[79] 3 clay sarcophagi have been excavated at Sindos. See Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 12.
[80] Kaltsas (1998): 311; Ilieva (2009): 69. This type of moulding, which was perhaps based on architectural decoration, is thought to have derived from Ionia at the end of the sixth century.
[81] Besios (1990): 242; Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 149; Kotitsa (2012): 81.
[82] Kaltsas (1998): 311.
[83] Moschonissioti (1998): 259.

Macedonia varied, although larger vessels intended for storage and transport, particularly pointed amphora and pithoi, appear to have been preferred[84].

Tile graves

While clay roof tiles were widely used in the construction of graves in the ancient world by the fifth century, they were not commonly used in Macedonia until the late Classical/ Hellenistic period[85]. From the few instances that are mentioned in publications[86], it appears that tile graves constructed in this period were reserved primarily for the burial of young infants, as is attested at Pella [20], where newborns were inhumed between large Laconian pan tiles[87].

Hypostyle/pillared chamber tombs

Exceptional for the period are the hypostyle/ pillared chamber tombs uncovered in the so-called 'Temenid Cluster' at Aigai [3], of which only two have been excavated to date. Currently the subject of only preliminary publication[88], these consist of a rectangular chamber, accessed by a stone staircase, whose interior was decorated with architectural features such as full, half and quarter columns, the former of which supported the stone roof. The best preserved of these (Y1), dated by its excavator to the mid-fifth century[89], measures 7x5m and survives to a height of 4.50m [*figure 1.23*]. Extant traces of red and blue pigment suggest that parts of its interior were plastered then painted. Opposite its monumental entranceway was a stone pedestal, which would have functioned as a funerary kline.

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[84] Besios (2007): 646.
[85] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 134; Morizot (2011): 512.
[86] See, for example: Archontiko, plot 4564 - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2000): 480; Beroia - Stefani (2004): 490, nt.49; Pella – Akamatis (1990): 147; Pydna, Makrygialos plot 934 – Besios (1987): 364.
[87] Akamatis (2011): 40.
[88] See Kottaridi (2012).
[89] Kottaridi (2012): 149.

The considerable economic expense inherent in the construction of tombs of this type means that they would have been reserved exclusively for the upper echelons of Macedonian society. In this the hypostyle/ pillared chamber tomb parallels the Macedonian tomb, a type (consisting of a subterranean chamber tomb roofed with a barrel-vault[90]) introduced in Macedon around the middle of the fourth century, and for which it may be a precursor[91].

Architectural elaboration in tombs – possible explanations

A feature of the more monumental cist tombs and hypostyle/ pillared chamber tombs described above is the use of architectural elaboration – particularly columns – to decorate their interior[92]. There has been much speculation as to the meaning of these architectural features. While some scholars have seen them as purely decorative[93], or have interpreted them as an allusion to sumptuous domestic architecture[94], others see them as an imitation of temple architecture intended to symbolise the sanctity of the tomb and thus the higher/heroized status of the deceased[95]. At present, no single theory appears to account for the variety of form and decoration apparent across graves dating both to the period under study and after. Yet it should be noted that the use of architectural elements as decorative features persists, and becomes increasingly elaborate, from the end of the fourth century, particularly in Macedonian tombs, which often featured an embellished interior and external façade [*figure 3.6*].

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[90] Miller (1994): 1.
[91] For an overview of current scholarly thought on the origins and evolution of the Macedonian tomb type, see: Andronikos (1987); Tomlinson (1987); Miller (1994): 101-102.
[92] The practice of decorating cist tombs with Ionic columns is attested also at Aghios Achillios in Florina, and Pherai in Thessaly. See Psarra (1999): 601, with images.
[93] Miller (1993): 11.
[94] Kurtz and Boardman (1971): 272; Fedak (1990): 177.
[95] See, for example, Rhomiopoulou (2000): 21; Fedak (2006): 87.

The extant literary and iconographic evidence pertaining to the rituals associated with death in the ancient Mediterranean suggest that burials were generally conducted according to a tripartite system which consisted of the laying out of the deceased before burial (the *prothesis)*, the transportation of the body to the grave (the *ekphora*) and the interment of the remains[96]. As is common, the archaeological evidence from the Macedonian kingdom relates primarily to the final stage of this process – namely the rite used to dispose of the body. Only fragmentary evidence pertaining to the rituals and customs conducted before and after the burial exists in the region, making a reconstruction of Macedonian funerary customs *in toto* difficult.

Rituals preceding interment

Dressing the body

Evidence, particularly that originating from Attica, indicates that it was typical for the body to be washed, ritually anointed and dressed prior to burial, as part of the *prothesis*[97]. Although there is no extant written or iconographic testimony for the performance of such customs in Macedonia, the frequent finding of metal dress fastenings and decorative elements in the grave suggests that the deceased were usually clothed for interment[98]. The excavation of such objects *in situ* on the skeleton permits a provisional reconstruction of this funerary cerement.

[96] For the study of Greek burial rites in general, see for example: Kurtz and Boardman (1971); Kurtz (1984): 314-328, particularly 324-325 for representations of the prothesis and ekphora; Morris (1992); Garland (2001): 21-37.
[97] Kurtz and Boardman (1971): 143-144 on the prothesis, 207 for the dress of the deceased.
[98] The clothing itself has not survived from the period under study, although purple and gold fabric has been found in wealthy Macedonian tombs of the Late Classical period – see, for example: Chrysostomou (1992): 137-139; Tsimbidou-Avloniti (1996): 431.

When their position in the grave is recorded[99], dress fastenings in female burials (typically arched- and bow-fibulae, straight dress pins and double pins) are generally found by the shoulders, above the breasts and/or around the upper arms of the deceased[100]. Figural representations on Macedonian grave stelai and contemporary coroplastic art suggests that these would have been used to fasten a peplos or chiton[101]. In male burials, dress fastenings were typically located by the shoulders, chest and, occasionally, the thighs of the deceased. Fibulae and double pins recovered by the shoulders are thought to have fastened a chitoniskos[102], while double pins found by the chest would have secured a chlamys[103]. In some cases, it is possible that the deceased was buried only in, or additionally in, a funerary shroud[104].

In instances where multiple pairs of fastenings of the same type are found in the grave, it is possible that more than one garment was worn by the deceased, as is proposed for the 'Lady of Aigai' (the designation given to the female buried in L2 of the Queens' Cluster at Aigai), who is thought to have worn a chiton, peplos and epiblema (an outer garment that covered the body and was fastened at the waist by a double pin[105]). Alternatively, such fastenings may have been used to attach jewellery or other decorative items to the funerary cerement[106], as is suggested for grave 67 at Sindos (510/500), where fibulae found beneath the armpit may have secured an ornament over the deceased's chest[107]. Certainly, jewellery,

[99] Generally, the location of fastenings in the grave are so consistent that it is generally taken for granted in preliminary excavation reports, and so is not explicitly stated. Tsigarida (1998): 50.
[100] For indicative examples, see Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 482; Paliomelissa – Kottaridi (2004): 545; Pella – Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2003): 143; Akamatis (2011): 42; Phoinikas – Tsimbidou-Avloniti (2009): 440.
[101] For the results and problems associated with this methodology, see Lilibaki-Akamati (2006): 92-93; Lee (2012): 179-190.
[102] For indicative examples, see Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 22; Lilibaki-Akamati (2004): 92.
[103] See, for example, the late sixth/ early fifth century burial of a male at Aigai - Kottaridi (2001): 510.
[104] Ignatiadou (2012): 391.
[105] Kottaridi (2004): 141.
[106] Chrysostomou (2016): 96.
[107] Ignatiadou (2012): 394.

along with pieces of armour and items of headdress (to be discussed below) are also found *in situ* on the body, suggesting that they too were worn during interment. There is also evidence indicating that the deceased would have been buried wearing shoes, as gilt soles[108], thin gilt silver strips[109] and shaped embossed gold sheet[110] have been found positioned by the feet in the grave [*figure 3.7*]. This adornment would probably have been attached to leather or cloth shoes, which have subsequently perished – shoes are hence attested archaeologically only in wealthy burials, although the practice would likely have been far more widespread.

In addition to these, various items that were used to decorate the funerary cerement of the deceased have been found in wealthy graves, both male and female, of the late Archaic period in Macedonia[111]. These consist of thin embossed gold or gilded silver sheet which was cut into a variety of shapes, including rosettes, triangular plaques and thin strips, which were embossed with vegetal or geometric motifs[112]. Small perforations found in their corners suggest that they would have been sewn onto a garment[113]. When found *in situ*, these decorative elements are usually clustered around the upper torso and/or legs, or positioned as if following the hemline of a garment, as in the burial of the 'Lady of Aigai'[114] [*figure 3.8*]. At present, it is uncertain if the clothing and items worn by the deceased were

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[108] Thick silver gilt soles covers were found in L2 of the Queens' Cluster, and gold sole covers in L4. Andronikos (1988): 1; Kottaridi (1989): 4.

[109] Thin silver strips were found by the feet in four male (52, 57, 59, 115) and one female (67) grave in the necropolis of Sindos. Despini (1998): 76.

[110] Both gold strips and rosettes have been found by the feet in Archontiko, for example in graves 197, 198 and 272, while triangular gold pieces were found by the feet in tomb 1 at Nea Philadelphia. See Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2003): 508; (2009): 482; (2012): 503 and Descamps-Lequime and Charatzopoulou (2011): 221 respectively.

[111] See, for example: Aiani - Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1998): 399; Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2002): 473; (2003): 506-507; Sindos - Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 13; Toumba Thessaloniki - Soueref (1994): 193.

[112] An exception to this are the gold strips which adorned the 'Lady of Aigai', which were decorated with mythological scenes including the return of Hephaistos to Olympus, Theseus and the minotaur and the blinding of Polyphemus. These same scenes were repeated on the gold diadem/stephane worn upon the head of the deceased, and so were probably embossed on the same moulds. Kottaridi (2004): 145.

[113] Despini (1998): 68.

[114] Kottaridi (2004): 141.

intended to replicate a costume of particular social and/or ideological significance, or were instead simply an emulation of that which may have been worn by the deceased in life[115].

Burial rites

Single burial, in which the deceased was interred individually, was the norm in Macedonia during the period under study. Double burials are attested in only a limited number of cases and are thought to have been used to emphasise the familial relationship between the deceased. Of the three instances of double burials excavated in the agora cemetery at Pella [20], for example, two contained the bodies of a man and a woman, interpreted by their excavator as husband and wife, and one that of a woman and baby, presumed to be mother and child[116]. Inhumation and cremation were used concurrently to dispose of the dead throughout the Macedonian kingdom, although inhumation was by far the predominant rite; cremation was used only rarely in Macedonia before the reign of Philip[117].

Inhumation

In inhumation burials, the deceased was usually interred in a supine position, either with both arms at their side or with one or both arms extended over the abdomen, although the use of a contracted position is attested sporadically in some cemeteries of the period, such as Archontiko[118] [4], Nea Philadelphia[119] [19] and Pella[120] [20]. While most of the

[115] Castor (2008): 124-126.
[116] Akamatis (1990): 147. Other examples of double burials dated to the period under study include graves 82 (of a man and a woman) and 119 (two women) at Sindos and a male/female double burial at Pydna. See Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 13 and Besios (1987): 210 respectively.
[117] Kottaridi (2001b): 361.
[118] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2001): 480.
[119] Misailidou-Despotidou (1996): 443.
[120] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamati (2003): 143.

furnishings which may have been used in the grave have now perished, the regular finding of fragments of wood, iron nails and small iron studs in funerary contexts suggests that the deceased were often interred in a wooden coffin, or upon a stretcher or bier, rather than being placed directly on the floor of the grave[121]. The nature of such evidence means, however, that it is often difficult to distinguish between the different types of furniture that were used. Diagnostic finds are arguably more apparent in the case of stretchers/ biers, since the small cavities that were carved into the ground to accommodate their legs are evident in some tombs[122] [*figure 3.9*]. Traces of blue and red pigments found on wooden fragments in graves at Pydna [24] and Kaloki Karia [27] suggest that some of this funerary furniture was painted[123]. Evidence for more elaborate decoration has also been found in some of the wealthier burials in Macedonia – bronze rings which protected the legs of a bier/ kline were found in grave 15 of Makrygialos plot 947 in Pydna[124] [24] (dated to the last quarter of the fifth century), while fragments of ivory moulding thought to have adorned a bier were excavated in tombs K1 (*c.*430/20) and K3 (*c.*350) of the Queens' Cluster at Aigai[125] [3]. Exceptionally, courses of mudbrick appear to have been used as the base of the funerary furniture in some of the graves designated by their excavators as royal, including tombs A and B in the Leivadia necropolis of Aiani[126] (which date to the early fourth and second half of the fifth century respectively) and grave K3 of the Queens' Cluster[127].

[121] For illustrative examples, see: Aiani - Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1989): 50; (2008): 68; Aigai - Kottaridi (2002): 79; Aghios Athanasios, e.g. archaic tomb 21, where traces of wood were found on the walls of the trench - Tsimbidou-Avloniti (1993): 251; Archontiko, for example male grave T253 (dated to the last quarter of the fifth century) - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2003): 506; Pella - Akamatis (2011): 42; Pydna - Besios (1987): 209; Sindos – Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 12, Keramaris *et al* (2002): 235; Toumba Thessaloniki - Soueref (2009): 354.
[122] For indicative examples, see: Akamatis (2011): 42; Moschonisiotou (1988): 287. For a typological analysis of the different types of cuttings that were made in the tomb for this purpose, see Besios (1988): 182-183, with images pages 183-188.
[123] Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 111; Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 133.
[124] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 137.
[125] Kottaridi (1989): 6; (1990): 36.
[126] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2008): 52; (2011): 101.
[127] Kottaridi (1990): 36.

Cremation

Two types of cremation are attested in Macedonia during the period under study: primary and secondary/inurned. Primary cremation, in which the body was cremated *in situ* in a shallow pit, is attested in limited cases throughout the region, such as in the cemeteries of Archontiko[128] [4], Pydna[129] [24] and Kaloki Karia[130] [27]. More common (although still rare compared to inhumation) was secondary cremation, where the ashes of the deceased were collected from a funerary pyre and placed into an urn or chest (*larnax*[131]) and then buried. In these instances, the urn containing the remains of the deceased was typically placed in the middle of a burial pit, and the funerary assemblage deposited around it, as in grave 836 at Makrygialos [*figure 3.10*], dated to the end of the fifth century[132]. There is also evidence to suggest that the cremated remains of the deceased and/or elements of their funerary assemblage were sometimes washed prior to their interment, as iron weapons placed alongside a cist tomb in the Temenid cluster at Aigai (dated to the second half of the sixth century) appear to have been cremated alongside the deceased, and then washed in water, wine or oil[133]. The custom of washing and wrapping cremated remains in cloth is attested also among particularly wealthy graves in Macedonia from the Late Classical period[134].

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[128] Preliminary reports record the primary cremation of an individual of indeterminate gender in a circular pit (grave 5) and a female in a shallow pit grave (tomb 89). Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 495, nt.2.
[129] A limited number of primary cremations conducted directly in rectangular pits are recorded in the North cemetery from the early fifth century. Besios and Athanasiadou (2001): 364; Besios (2007): 646.
[130] Preliminary excavation reports from Kaloki Karia mention only a single primary cremation, of a male in the Late Archaic period. Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 111.
[131] For examples where the remains of the deceased were buried in a wooden larnax, see graves 2 and 3 in Louloudia (dated to the end of the fifth century). Vokotopoulou (1983): 276.
[132] See also the cremation of a young girl at Archontiko (grave 810, dated 480-450), where the remains of the deceased were placed in a stamnoid pyxis, and the ash and charcoal from the pyre deposited in the surrounding pit. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2010); 169.
[133] Ignatiadou (2016): 426.
[134] See, for example, Musgrave (1990): 320-321; Chrysostomou (1998c): 59; Kottaridi (2002): 78; Morizot (2011): 513.

Although relatively little information about the pyres associated with this rite has been published thus far, it seems reasonable to presume that they must have been erected in relatively close proximity to the eventual place of interment, since the remains of the funerary pyre were often thrown into the grave or the fill which covered the burial[135]. The cremation of the body within or upon an elaborate built structure is attested in a number of instances in Macedonia from the Late Classical period onwards[136], but does not appear to have been a feature of the secondary cremations conducted during the period under study, with the possible exception of a cremation in the agora cemetery at Pella [20], which is described as having *"been conducted in a wooden temple-like structure[137]."*

Both clay and metal vessels were used as cinerary urns during the period under study. Their shapes, where published, include lebetes[138], hydriai[139] and kraters[140]. At present, it is not possible to discern if any significance was attached to the use of a particular vase shape. While heirloom vessels do not appear to have been used as cinerary urns during the period under study, metal vessels from the Archaic and early Classical periods were used for such a purpose in later periods[141].

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[135] Kottaridi (1998): 407.

[136] For example, the remnants of the pyre found in the fill of the 'Tomb of the Throne' in the Queens' Cluster at Aigai yielded hundreds of bronze and iron nails and the cladding for a door, suggesting to its excavator that the deceased was cremated inside a wooden oikos. This practice is similarly attested in Tomb II, where the remnants of the pyre suggest that the deceased was cremated inside a monumental structure constructed of wood and mud-brick. Kottaridi (2011): 145-147. See also tomb A at Derveni, where the deceased appears to have been cremated upon an elaborately decorated kline which was erected upon or within a structure which incorporated clay columns, the capitals of which were found within the fill of the tomb. Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997): 206.

[137] Akamatis (2011): 40. Although no date for this burial is given, it must date between the late-fifth century and the third quarter of the fourth century, the chronological limits of the cemetery.

[138] See for example, burial 836 (dated to the late fifth century) in Makrygialos plot 951 at Pydna – Besios (1991): 173; Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 170, with image.

[139] Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 150; Akamatis (2011): 43.

[140] Both calyx and bell kraters are attested. See, for example Besios (1997): 660 and Akamatis (2011): 40 for instances at Louloudia and Pella respectively.

[141] For example, in grave 109 at Pydna, a bronze hydria of the sixth century was used as the cinerary urn in a burial of the mid-fourth century. Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 96, with image. Also notable are two vessels excavated in the southern cemetery of Pydna which are identified through inscriptions as prizes awarded in athletic competitions at festivals in Sounion and Athens. See SEG 46 (1996): nos.801-802; Besios and Pappa (1995): 63 and 65, with images; Kefalidou (1996): 117, nos.22 and 24.

The choice of burial rite

The motivations behind the choice of burial rite afforded to the deceased in Macedonia are, at present, largely uncertain. While the limited use of cremation in the ancient world is often attributed to its expense, since a significant amount of timber (a valuable commodity) was required to ensure that a pyre burned effectively and sufficiently[142], this would arguably have been less of a consideration in Macedonia, given its plentiful timber supply. Yet the rite appears to been a 'privilege of power', which was reserved primarily for the socio-economic elite, during the period under study[143]. It must therefore have had ideological significance to the Macedonians. Wealth was not, however, the only prerequisite for the rite, since some of the richest graves in the region were inhumations. Factors additional to the socio-economic status of the deceased must therefore have influenced the type of burial rite that was chosen. One such factor may have been the gender of the deceased. At Aigai [3], for example, cremation is attested among the burials of Temenid males from the sixth century[144], but is first evidenced in the Queens' Cluster only from the late fifth century, in grave K1 (*c.*430/420)[145].

The Funerary Assemblage

The typological variety of goods afforded to the dead in Macedonia means that the various components of a funerary assemblage are often classified according to their presumed function as either ritual paraphernalia, personal possessions or grave gifts during publication and analysis[146]. This function is, however, often difficult to discern, and is

142 Mee (2011): 240.
143 During the reign of Philip II, the custom of cremation was adopted by a wider proportion of the social hierarchy in Macedon, but remained an uncommon rite - for example, at Aigai cremations account for just 7-8% of the excavated burial total. Kottaridi (2016): 361.
144 Kottaridi (2002): 78; (2016): 359-360.
145 Kottaridi (2016): 361.
146 Pearson (1999): 94; Ekengren (2013): 174.

sometimes arbitrarily assigned according to a scholars' beliefs about the overall purpose of the funerary assemblage. Various explanations have been offered to account for the ideological and economic investment apparent in Macedonian funerary contexts. The most predominant of these links this trend to the eschatological beliefs of the Macedonians – namely that there was a meaningful existence after death, in which it was assumed that the dead would have the same needs as in life[147]. The goods placed in the grave are hence thought to have functioned as provisions for the deceased in the afterlife[148]. Funerals may also, however, had a wider social function, acting as consciously staged activities which, in commemorating the deceased, potentially allowed also for the display of an individual's (and by extension their *oikos*') wealth and status[149]. To avoid the possible pitfalls associated with assumptions regarding the function of specific objects in the grave, the grave goods outlined here will instead by categorised according to their type, with their possible function discussed where relevant.

Clay vessels

Clay vessels were the most common objects placed in Macedonian funerary assemblages. Their ubiquity in the grave can, however, hinder their study, since they are frequently classed as 'typical offerings' by scholars and therefore often receive little attention in preliminary publications. Thus, while it is common for popular vessel shapes to be listed in excavation reports, these are generally not accompanied by details regarding their numbers or position in the grave. In the absence of full publication, it is hence difficult to discern wider patterns of use according to factors such as the age or gender of the deceased, or regional

[147] For scholarship on Macedonian beliefs in the afterlife, the majority of evidence for which dates from the late fourth century onwards, see for example Parker and Stamatopoulou (2004); Christesen and Murray (2010): 431-435; Bernabe and Jimenez San Cristobal (2011); Mari (2011): 457-458.
[148] Ucko (1969): 264; Noulas (1998): 156.
[149] Sofaer and Sørensen (2013): 528.

preferences. It is apparent, however, that larger vessel shapes were less common in the grave[150], and were confined primarily to wealthier funerary assemblages. When the position of vessels in the grave is recorded, they appear to have typically been placed by the feet or shoulders of the deceased[151] or, in some female burials, by or between the thighs[152].

Three different categories of pottery are evident in Macedonian funerary assemblages: those produced locally; domestic imitations of foreign types and imported vessels. Local vessels are widely attested in funerary contexts throughout Macedonia during the period under study. Such vessels, of which skyphoi, hydriai, kantharoid-kotylai and cut-away jugs were particularly numerous, are notable for their traditional shape[153]. Otherwise, local potters imitated foreign types, wherein they were particularly influenced by the Attic and Corinthian models prevalent during the period[154]. Imported vessels originated from the main production centres of the Greek world[155], including Corinth, Athens, Eastern Greece[156] and Laconia[157].

Vessels used to hold perfume and oil were particularly numerous in both male and female graves in Macedonia. Commonly attested shapes include aryballoi, alabastra, amphoriskoi, lekythoi and exaleiptra, although the wealthiest assemblages also contained rare shapes such as plastic anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels[158]. Generally, shapes of

[150] Besios (2007): 647.
[151] See, for example, Kottaridi (1997): 733; Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 22.
[152] Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 112.
[153] Tiverios (1988); Karamitrou-Mentesidi and Kephalidou (1999): 540-543.
[154] Tiverios (2012a): 47-48.
[155] As an indicative example, the vessels excavated in the cemetery of Sindos consisted of: 122 Attic, 86 Corinthian, 12 Eastern Greek, 4 Euboean, 1 Boeotian, 40 domestic and 14 of uncertain origin. See Tiverios (2016): 15.
[156] See, for example, Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012).
[157] Pipili (2012).
[158] A vessel shaped like an enthroned goddess was found in a female burial at Kaloki Karia, while vessels in the shape of girls and birds have been excavated at cemeteries including Aiani, Aigai and Archontiko. See Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 113; Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1990): 77; Kottaridi (2009): 149; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 393-398 respectively. For more on plastic vessels in Macedonia, see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2017b): 149-151.

different types coexisted in the same assemblage, although closed vessels were deposited in greater numbers than open vessels[159]. While Corinthian aryballoi were predominant in Macedonian funerary assemblages of the Archaic period, their presence in the grave declines in the Classical period in favour of the Attic lekythos - black-figure lekythoi were common in the first half of the fifth century, and red-figure squat lekythoi from its end. Additionally, white-ground lekythoi are found in graves from the mid-fifth century. Although these are attested sporadically in a number of cemeteries in the Macedonian kingdom[160], they have been excavated in particularly large numbers in wealthy graves at Pydna[161] [24] and Aigai[162] [3] [*figure 3.11*]. Exaleiptra were also a common burial offering in Macedonia and its neighbouring territories from the sixth to the beginning of the fourth century[163]. These were often imported from Corinth, although domestic imitations of the Corinthian type and a locally produced 'Ionising' type are also attested. The function of this vase in Macedonia is unknown[164], although its prevalence in funerary assemblages suggests that its contents may have been used during burial rites, perhaps to wash or anoint the deceased[165].

Clay vessels used for drinking were also commonplace in the grave during the period under study. Commonly attested shapes include skyphoi, oinochoai, kylikes, kantharoi, lebetes and kanastra. Of these, the skyphos was the most common[166], replacing the kotylai that were favoured in funerary contexts in the sixth century. It was typical for different types of drinking vessels to be placed in the same grave, with cup shapes predominating. Unlike

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[159] Saripanidi (2012): 284.
[160] As in grave 7 at Mieza (dated to the mid-fifth century) or the graves of Toumba Thessaloniki. See Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 49 and Chavela (2012): 188 respectively.
[161] Besios and Pappa: 57-61, with images.
[162] K1 of the Queens' Cluster contained 10 Attic white-ground lekythoi, one of which is attributed to the Woman Painter and the others to his followers. Kottaridi (1989): 6.
[163] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 22.
[164] Given that the exaleiptra found in Macedonian burials were frequently Corinthian, it is notable that the vessel is generally not excavated in funerary contexts in Corinth itself, but is instead found predominantly in domestic settings. Saripanidi (2012): 287.
[165] Saripanidi (2012): 287.
[166] Chrysostomou (2013b): 336.

perfume vessels, which were often imported, drinking vessels appear to have more typically been of local manufacture, with both domestic and imitation shapes and types used. When such vessels were imported, there appears to have been a preference for those from Athens[167].

Metal vessels

Metal vessels are found in funerary assemblages throughout the Macedonian kingdom. The vast majority of these were made of bronze[168]; silver vessels are rare in Macedonia before the second half of the fourth century, although they are found in limited numbers in late Archaic graves at Sindos[169] [26], Aigai[170] [3] and Archontiko[171] [4] and a grave of the early fourth century at Gephyra, Thessaloniki[172]. As in other periods of Macedonian history, the possession of such objects appears to have been linked with, and an expression of, the socio-economic status of the deceased, since they are generally confined to burials with wealthy assemblages[173]. Notably, the number of metal vessels placed in the grave declines during the period under study[174] – while they are found with relative frequency in rich burial assemblages from the second quarter of the sixth century to the beginning of the

[167] Lioutas and Gimatzidis (2012): 348.
[168] Sideris (2016): 493 has calculated that bronze vessels comprise 75% of the total number of metal vessels, from all periods, excavated in the Macedonian kingdom to date.
[169] Graves 67 (female) and 52 (male) each contained a silver omphalos phiale, while grave 20 (female) contained a silver kantharos. All are dated to *c.*510/500. Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): catalogue nos. 309, 374 and 135 respectively.
[170] The assemblage of grave L2 of the Queens' Cluster, dated to *c.*500, contained a silver omphalos phiale.
[171] Male grave 272 contained a silver phiale. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 487.
[172] Karamanoli-Siganidou (1968): 341.
[173] Themelis (2000): 499.
[174] Vokotopoulou (1997): 126; Touloumtzidou (2011): 57.

fifth century[175], they are far rarer from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards[176]. Metal vessels dated to the sixth century hence constitute 25% of the total number excavated, while those of the fifth century make up just 11%[177] [*figure 3.12*].

Attested shapes include phialai, lebetes, exaleiptra, kantharoi, hydriai and jugs, in addition to utensils such as ladles and sieves. Of these, the most common type, in both male and female graves, was the phiale[178]. These are thought by some scholars to have had a ritual function at the grave, being used by those attending the funeral to pour libations for the dead[179]. They have also, however, been interpreted as vessels used for drinking wine[180]. Certainly, vessels associated with feasting were common in Macedonian funerary contexts throughout its history, particularly in male graves, which generally appear to have contained a wider range of vessel shapes than female[181]. Vessels used for feasting and/or drinking were often deposited individually in the grave during the period under study. However, there are a limited number of instances where they were found as part of a larger set, such as in grave 47 at Makrygialos, Pydna (dated to the third quarter of the fifth century), which contained a bronze trefoil oinochoe, strainer and ladle[182] [*figure 3.13].* These smaller sets are perhaps a

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[175] The number of bronze vessels that were placed in the grave during this period varied considerably. While it was typical for just one or two metal vessels to be placed in wealthy assemblages, there are instances where upwards of ten bronze vessels were buried alongside the deceased, such as in late Archaic grave 283 at Archontiko, which contained two lebetes, a trefoil oinochoe and eight phialai. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2003a): 509, 511.

[176] Touloumtzidou (2011): 57. For graves of this date containing metal vessels see, for example, male grave T47 at Makrygialos (dated to the third quarter of the fifth century) which contained an oenochoe, strainer and ladle, or K1 of the Queens' Cluster (dated 430-420) which contained a bronze pyxis, bronze phiale and two bronze omphalos phialai. See Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 148; and the exhibition catalogue *Herakles to Alexander the Great*: nos.226, 227 and 231.

[177] Sideris (2016): 492.

[178] Sideris (2016): 493.

[179] There are a limited number of instances where a phiale may have been the personal possession of the deceased, such as in the case of the silver omphalos phiale found in L2 of the Queens' Cluster, which was inscribed with the name Πεπερίας - SEG 46 (1996): no.831. In cases such as this, it is proposed that such objects may have been intended to denote the piety of the deceased, or indicate that they held a religious position. Kottaridi (2011): 101; Ignatiadou (2012): 395.

[180] Saripandi (2017): 100.

[181] This trend is apparent also in Late Classical graves in Macedonia. See: Kottaridi (2004): 68; Zimi (2011): 15.

[182] Besios and Tziphopoulous (2010): 137, 149 with images.

precursor to the far more elaborate sets of vessels and feasting paraphernalia found in funerary contexts from the second half of the fourth century[183].

Glass vessels

The use of glass vessels as grave goods was limited in Macedonia before the Hellenistic period[184]. Confined exclusively to wealthier assemblages[185], the most common shapes of the fifth and fourth centuries were those intended to hold perfume and oil[186], such as pointed amphoriskoi and globular aryballoi[187]. The majority of these vessels were core formed and made of a white or, more typically, dark blue glass which was decorated with an opaque trailing of different colours [*figure 3.14*]. Such vessels, which were based on contemporary Attic shapes, are found throughout the ancient world in the Archaic and Classical periods[188]. A limited number of glass vessels from Phoenicia have also been excavated in the region[189]. Generally, only one or two glass vessels (often a pair of the same type[190]) are found in a grave, although there are instances where larger numbers are

[183] Kottaridi (2011d): 174-179. Our knowledge of feasting practices in Macedonia during the period under study is limited. For a reconstruction of the practice as evident from the reign of Philip II onwards, see Carney (2007); Powall (2010).
[184] Ignatiadou (2010a): 23.
[185] See, for example: Aiani - Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2012): 104, 107; Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 487; Mieza, e.g. graves 92, 108 – Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 90, 103; Pydna - Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 133; Sindos, e.g. graves 40, 52, 67 and 68 – Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985). Glass vessels continued to be a luxury product designed for the upper classes throughout the Classical period, although vessels made of colourless glass predominated from the mid-fourth century - Ignatiadou (2013).
[186] It is uncertain, however, if these vessels would have contained anything when placed in the grave – Ignatiadou and Antonaras (2010): 121.
[187] Open-shaped glass vessels related to drinking appear in Macedonian funerary assemblages from the second half of the fourth century – Ignatiadou (2013): 325.
[188] Harden (1981): 58ff; Weinberg and McClellan (1992): 19, 80-94; Ignatiadou (2010a): 21.
[189] A Phoenician aryballos was found by the pubic area in L2 of the Queens' Cluster, and a bowl in L4. Phoenician vessels are also reported among the graves found in assemblages of Pydna in the fifth century, although further details are not given. See Andronikos (1988): 2; Kottaridi (1989): 3; Tsigarida (1998): 48.
[190] See, for example, graves 52 and 67 (*c.*510) at Sindos which contained pairs of pointed glass amphoriskoi. Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): catalogue nos. 307-308, 339-340. For graves containing only a single glass vessel, see for example graves 92 (mid-fifth century) and 108 (first half of the fifth century) at Mieza. Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 92, 104.

recorded, such as in the assemblage of grave 40 at Sindos (dated *c.*460/450) which contained two pointed amphoriskoi and five globular aryballoi[191].

Gold masks and epistomia

A custom notable among wealthier burials in the region of Macedonia was the use of thin metal sheet to cover parts of the body of the deceased and/ or elements of their funerary assemblage. For example, the graves of eleven Archaic 'warrior' burials at Archontiko [4] included a piece of foil positioned by the right hand of the deceased, which may have been sewn onto a glove[192]. Particular care was taken, however, to adorn the face, where shaped bands were used to cover the eyes and mouth, or a mask the face in its entirety[193].

Funerary masks

Funerary masks made of gold or silver sheet have been excavated in only two cemeteries in Macedonia to date – Archontiko [4] and Sindos [26] – in graves which date from the middle to the end of the sixth century. Two different types of masks are attested. The most common of these[194], created by hammering metal sheet over a wooden matrix[195], were roughly circular or triangular in shape, and either lacked decoration or were incised and

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191 Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): catalogue nos. 18-23.
192 See, for example, graves 194 and 279 (dated to the mid-sixth century) or grave 283 (*c.*530-510). Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 497-501.
193 Small holes pierced into the corners of such objects suggest that they were stitched onto a perishable material, such as fabric or leather, which was worn by the deceased during interment, just as with the sheet metal that decorated the funerary cerement in wealthy burials. Despini (1998): 68; Chrysostomou (2016): 77.
194 Funerary masks of this type were found in four male graves (245, 270, 280, 269) and three female graves (198, 262, 458) in Archontiko, and two male graves (62 and 115) and three female graves (20, 56 and 67) at Sindos. See Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 509 and Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): catalogue nos. 451, 239, 115, 282, 322.
195 Chrysostomou (2016): 90.

embossed with a schematic rendering of the face, including features such as eyebrows, eyes (which were depicted both open and closed), ears and a nose (which was attached separately) [*figure 3.15*]. In a limited number of cases a second type of mask, which consisted of a large rectangular sheet decorated with repousse details, was used[196] [*figure 3.16*].

Epistomia and epopthalmia

In contrast to funerary masks, epistomia had a far larger chronological and geographical distribution in Macedonia[197], where they were used from the end of the Iron Age to the Roman Imperial period[198], having gained particular popularity in funerary contexts from 570[199]. These consisted of either a rhomboidal or ellipsoidal plaque (measuring, on average, 11-12 x 5-6cm) which was usually decorated, wholly or partially, with repousse vegetal or geometric patterns such as palmettes and rosettes[200] [*figure 3.17*]. In the grave, they have been found either between the jaws of the deceased[201] or, more typically, around the sternum or chest, where they are presumed to have slipped from their original position[202]. Epistomia appear to have been worn by the deceased, both male and female, either in isolation or paired with a shaped band/s that covered the eyes (epopthalmia). Two

[196] A gold mask of this type (measuring 11x13cm) was found in male grave 131 at Archontiko, and a gilt-silver example (measuring 9.6x15cm) in female grave 505 - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 507, 509; Chrysostomou (2016): 81.
[197] See, for example: Aiani - Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1988): 20; Aigai - Kottaridi (2009): 149; Aghios Athanasios – Tsimbidou Avloniti (2007): 170; Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 481; Nea Philadelphia - Misailidou-Despotidou (1996): 443; Paliomelissa – Kottaridi (2004): 545; Toumba Thessaloniki - Soueref (1995): 272; (1996): 433; (1998): 198.
[198]An early attestation of a gold mouthpiece, dated to the Iron Age, was found at Nea Philadelphia - Misailidou-Despotidou (1998b): 266, and two examples at Archontiko - Chrysostomou (2016): 76. See also Despini (1998): 73; Archibald (1998): 171.
[199] Saripandi (2017): 108.
[200] Exceptions to this decorative trend typically feature animals. For example, an epistomion which was decorated with lions and eagles was found at Aiani, while an epistomion with animals at its centre and dolphins at its corners was excavated at Archontiko, in burial T458. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1988): 20; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 481.
[201] As in burials T28, 82b, 87, 88, 97, 101a, 105 and 108 at Sindos. Despini (1998): 66.
[202] Despini (1998): 65.

different types of epopthalmia were used – the first consisted of two gold leaves connected by a narrow gold strip [*figure 3.18*], such as was found in tomb 117 at Sindos[203] (dated to c.500). A second type was formed from two separate gold pieces, which would have been attached to a fabric band that was laid across the eyes[204].

<u>Explaining 'the dead with golden faces'</u>

Since a funerary mask and epistomion have not yet been found in the same grave, it is presumed that they performed the same approximate function, although the nature of this function is the subject of much debate. Given that such objects were produced exclusively for the grave, it is often assumed that they had eschatological significance. As they were placed on areas of the body where the flesh was exposed it has been suggested, for example, that they may have been intended to symbolically prevent decay[205], since gold was associated with permanence in the ancient world[206]. Some scholars have also proposed that their use may have been a deliberate revival of Mycenaean funerary customs, intended to convey heroizing notions by forging a link with the past and with myth[207], although the large chronological gap between these practices makes any connection unlikely[208].

Alternatively, the gold masks and epistomia have been interpreted as 'prestige items', intended to denote the elevated socio-economic position of the deceased[209]. In this context, the use of epistomia rather than masks is thought to have been based on economic considerations, since partial coverage of the face would have been cheaper than

[203] Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): catalogue no.57.
[204] Chrysostomou (2016): 78.
[205] Theodossiev (1998): 345; Despini (1998): 75; Chrysostomou (2016): 83.
[206] Eleuere (1993): 31.
[207] Kottaridi (2016): 635. An extension of this interpretation is that the masks were used to further highlight the Argive origins of the Temenids. This seems unlikely, however, given that they have not been found in the cemetery used by the Macedonian kings.
[208] Saripandi (2017): 104.
[209] Chrysostomou (2016): 83.

commissioning a mask in its entirety[210]. This explanation does not, however, account for the use of epistomia (and so the absence of masks) in the exceptionally wealthy, potentially royal, burials of the Queens' Cluster at Aigai, or the exclusive use of epistomia throughout the Macedonian kingdom in the prosperous late Classical period.

Since the use of funerary masks appears, at present, to have been limited to cemeteries situated beyond the borders of the Macedonian kingdom at the time of their burial, it is possible that their use was not a 'Macedonian' custom, but instead reflects the practices of a different cultural group/s based on the fringes of Macedonian territory in the late Archaic period[211]. Funerary masks typologically similar to those found at Archontiko [4] and Sindos[212] [26] have, for example, been recovered from burial contexts in the Republic of Macedonia, such as the late-sixth/early-fifth century graves at Trebenishte[213], grave 132 from necropolis of ancient Lichnidos, at modern Gorna Porta (dated first half of the fifth century) and a burial dated *c.*500 at Petilep[214]. The masks uncovered at Archontiko [4] are consequently thought by their excavators to have belonged to the ruling elite of the Bottiaians, a tribe which inhabited the region in the sixth century, before its territory was annexed by Amyntas *c.*513[215]. This theory is thought to explain why the use of funerary masks in the Macedonian kingdom appears to cease around the end of the sixth century, as the Temenids expanded their hegemony into neighbouring territories, subsuming the local elite into their own social hierarchy. Following this argument, epistomia are therefore interpreted as the 'Macedonian' equivalent of these funerary masks. However, this explanation does not

[210] Despini (1998): 74; Chrysostomou (2016): 77.
[211] Kottaridi (2016): 636.
[212] Despite typological similarities, it should not noted that these masks do not have the same production origins as those found at Archontiko and Sindos, as the source of gold is different. Saripandi (2017): 111, with footnote 304.
[213] Vulić (1934); Vasic (1999): 1297; Theodossiev (1998): 345; Stibbe (2003); David (2017).
[214] Saripandi (2017): 110; http://uzkn.gov.mk/otkritie_ohrid_en.html.
[215] For arguments surrounding the identification of the ethnicity of the dead at Sindos see Theodossiev (1998): 354; Kottaridi (2016): 635ff.

satisfactorily explain why both funerary masks and epistomia have been found in the cemeteries of Archontiko [4] and Sindos [26]. The motivations behind the use of such objects, and the choice between them, must therefore be more nuanced than a single explanation allows, and requires further investigation.

Diadems and wreaths

Various items of headdress have been found in wealthy burials throughout the Macedonian kingdom. Their position *in situ* near the skull suggests that they were typically worn by the deceased during interment. The most common extant type is the diadem/ *stephane*, which is found sporadically in Macedonian funerary contexts from the Archaic period onwards[216], but is particularly prevalent in wealthy female burials of the late Archaic and early Classical periods.

Two different types of diadem are attested. The first, more common, type was fashioned entirely from gold or silver strips, which were sometimes embossed with decorative geometric or vegetal motifs[217] [*figure 3.19*]. Holes punctured at either end of the strip indicate that they would have been fastened around the head with a perishable material[218]. The second type consisted of an organic material, such as leather, which was decorated with embossed gold roundels or rosettes[219] [*figure 3.15*]. A limited number of metal wreaths have also been found in graves provisionally dated to the late fifth/ early fourth century, namely the gilt wreaths found in Tomb A at Aiani[220] [2] and grave 126 at

[216] Tsigarida (2006a): 141ff.
[217] For indicative examples, see: Archontiko, e.g. female graves T221, T298, T712, T458 - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012); Chrysostomou (2016): 75.
[218] Chrysostomou (2016): 75.
[219] See, for example, Archontiko, e.g. graves 197, 198, 433, 688 - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012); Aghios Athanasios – Tsimbidou-Avloniti (1996): 428. For a detailed discussion of this typology, see Chrysostomou (2016): 75-76.
[220] Preserved in a fragmentary state, extant pieces of the wreath include: 22 pieces of gilded bone, 26 gilded oval berries and gilded bronze leaves. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1988): 19; Jeffreys (2014): 87, no.20 in catalogue.

Mieza[221] [18]. These are of a type (Tsigarida's type III[222]) which became especially popular in Macedonia from the second half of the fourth century following the influx of wealth into the region[223].

The function of such headdress in the grave is the subject of much speculation. It is possible that they were simply an aspect of personal adornment, perhaps serving as a more permanent alternative to the flora which may otherwise have adorned the head of the deceased[224]. Otherwise, they may have had a symbolic function, either denoting the social status of the deceased or their participation in certain religious or social activities[225]. Since the diadem/ *stephane* is prevalent in iconographic representations related to weddings, especially in Attica, such items may also have had nuptial symbolism, which may explain their popularity in female graves[226].

Jewellery and dress fastenings

While some types of jewellery, particularly finger rings made of iron or bronze, are found in male graves in Macedonia[227], the majority of jewellery found in burial contexts accompanies female remains. Its prevalence in the funerary assemblage is hence used as a diagnostic indicator through which to gender a burial. The position of jewellery when found *in situ* suggests that it was mostly worn by the deceased during interment, although some may also have been offered as grave gifts. While much of the jewellery placed in the grave was

[221] Gilt clay pieces, imitation fruits, sections of stems and fragments of gilt bronze sheet were found in the tomb. Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 114.
[222] Tsigarida (1993): 1632, 1637.
[223] Ignatiadou and Tsigarida (2011); Jeffreys (2014): 105. The presence of wreaths in graves dating to the late fifth/ early fourth century is hence somewhat anomalous.
[224] Kurtz and Boardman (1971): 144; Jeffreys (2014): 84.
[225] Tsigarida (2006b): 159; Ignatiadou and Tsigarida (2011); Jeffreys (2014): 79.
[226] For the differences of between male and female headdress in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, see Tsigarida (2006a): 141; (2012): 337.
[227] For indicative examples, see: Aigai – Kottaridi (2002): 79; Kaloki Karia - Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (19970: 111; Mieza, e.g. graves 8, 51 and 92 - Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 51, 77 and 93.

robust enough to have been worn by the deceased in their lifetime, some pieces appear to have been commissioned specifically for funerary use – these consisted of simplified imitations of contemporary types made of thin sheets of hammered metal[228].

Earrings

Two types of earrings were predominant in Macedonian graves during the fifth and fourth centuries: taenia and omega-shaped[229]. The latter, which first appears in funerary contexts in Northern Greece, the Balkans and the Black Sea region in the late sixth/ early fifth century, consisted of a cast Ω-shaped body which terminated in snake-heads [*figure 3.20*]. More elaborate was the taenia type[230], which was typically made using the filigree technique for the band, to which a 'head' comprised of a disc-shaped plate (often adorned with a rosette with granulation detail) was added [*figure 3.21*]. Although it was typical for just one pair of earrings to be found in the grave, there are instances where multiple pairs were buried with deceased[231].

Finger rings

Finger rings made of gold, silver, bronze and iron have been found in Macedonian funerary assemblages, both male and female, in the Classical period. These typically consist of a simple band, which was made either of hammered metal sheet (that may have been

[228] For examples of the type, see Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): catalogue nos. 58 and 110 (found in female graves 22 and 117, both dated to *c.*500); Despini (1986): 159-169. Such jewellery is attested in Macedonia from at least the Archaic period, but appears to have been used with frequency only from the late Classical period onwards.
[229] For an overview of the earrings found in Macedonian graves, see Despini (1986): 159-169; Miller-Collett (1998): 24; Trakosopoulou (2006): 116; Castor (2008); Misailidou-Despotidou (2011): 317.
[230] This type appears to have been confined geographically to Macedonia..Castor (2008): 21.
[231] See, for example, tomb 48 at Sindos (dated to the last quarter of the sixth century) – Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): 306, 310.

attached to a core made of perishable material[232]) or a soldered rod[233]. Some rings additionally featured an oval bezel, which could be decorated with figural scenes, such as that excavated in a late-fifth century grave at Aigai which features a standing young female looking at a mirror [*figure 3.22*].

Necklaces

Necklaces, which were especially prevalent in assemblages of the Archaic period, consisted either of simple chains (usually with snake-head terminals) or more elaborate composite forms with additional decorative elements. In the case of the latter, shaped pendants were used both as single ornaments or as part of more elaborate designs which additionally included beads[234]. These could be made of metal, or more exotic materials such as glass, amber, faience, bone and semi-precious stones. Their form varied, although globular, biconical and vessel-shaped decorations were the most common.

Bracelets

Bracelets were the least common type of jewellery in Macedonian funerary assemblages, a trend evident throughout the ancient world during the Classical period[235]. From their position in the grave it appears that, in addition to the wrists, they were also worn on the upper arms and, in some cases, were used as anklets, as in grave 24 at Pontokomi[236] [14], grave 159 at Pydna (dated to the second half of the fifth century)[237] or the graves of Paliomelissa[238]. The bracelets worn by the deceased in Macedonia from the late Archaic

232 Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 511.
233 For rings in general, see: Boardman (2001): 189-191; Tsigarida (2012): 350-351; Kottaridi (2013): 90.
234 Trakosopoulou (2006): 116.
235 Deppert-Lippitz (1998): 91-94; Trakosopoulou (2006): 118; Tsigarida (2006): 118; Castor (2008): 127.
236 Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2009): 118.
237 Tsigarida (1998): 50.
238 Kottaridi (2004): 545.

period onwards generally follow the types attested in southern Greece, which consisted of simple bands with zoomorphic terminals, especially snake-heads [*figure 3.23*]. This is contrary to the practice attested in Macedonia from the eighth century to the ripe Archaic period, where spiral bracelets of a local type were prominent[239].

<u>Dress fastenings</u>

The dress fastenings attested in Macedonian burials, namely arched- and bow-fibulae, straight dress pins and double pins, are based on types found in the Northern Aegean or wider Greek world from at least the Archaic period[240]. Such fastenings were made from, or were gilded using, a variety of metals, including iron, bronze, silver and gold. Although they served a utilitarian function, some were also ornamental objects in their own right, and could be decorated with knots or beads, or had catch-plates that were incised or embossed with patterned motifs – the gold arched-fibulae found in the grave of the 'Lady of Aigai', for example, was decorated with three ribbed beads and had a catch-plate terminal in the form of a snake-head, complete with two gold beads for eyes[241] [*figure 3.24*]. While each type of dress fastening was used in Macedonia throughout the period under study, straight dress pins which typically measured 17-20cm[242] [*figure 3.8*] appear to have been used predominantly in the Archaic period. Their popularity appears to have significantly declined from the turn of the century, in favour of fibulae and/or double pins [*figure 3.25*], which consequently increased variety and their degree of elaboration during the period under study[243]. Though most fastenings are found *in situ* on the body (as discussed previously), it is

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[239] Misailidou-Despotidou (2011): 316.
[240] Blinkenberg (1926): 204ff; Higgins (1961): 120; Misailidou-Despotidou (2011): 95ff; Chrysostomou (2016): 94-95.
[241] Kottaridi (2004): 142.
[242] However, straight dress pins as small as 7cm and as large as 25cm have been recovered from funerary contexts. Chrysostomou (2016): 96.
[243] Tsigarida (1998): 51; Misailidou-Despotidou (2011): 70; Chrysostomou (2016): 104.

possible that some may have been placed in the grave as independent funerary offerings, perhaps alongside fabric, as is suggested in a burial in Kaloki Karia [27], where a number of pins appear to have been gathered in a box or bag which was placed by the thigh of the deceased[244].

Overall trends

Wealthy burials of the late Archaic period are notable for the quantity of jewellery, typically fashioned from gold and silver, included in their assemblages, which featured the common types listed above, often worn by the deceased as a complete set. An especially elaborate example of such an assemblage is that of the 'Lady of Aigai' (*c.*500) who was buried wearing gold fistulae[245], gold strap earrings, two gold necklaces (one with a pyramidal pendant and beads, the other consisting of sixty-one ribbed gold beads), a braided silver chain with snake-head terminals, a gold ring, and two gold spiral bracelets, in addition to dress fastenings[246] [*figure 3.8*]. This practice does not persist throughout the period under study – elaborate jewellery assemblages are generally not found in funerary contexts from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards. From this date, far fewer pieces adorned the body, and there is no consistency in the number and/or types of jewellery buried with the deceased – for example, tomb 9 at Pydna [24] contained just two finger rings, while the assemblage of tomb 78 in the same necropolis included a pair of omega-shaped earrings and a necklace with bone shaped beads[247]. The amount of gold jewellery placed in the grave also

[244] Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 112. See also grave T89 at Archontiko, where pins were found at the feet of the deceased – Chrysostomou (2016): 95.
[245] Gold *fistulae* are particularly rare. These coils of wire were either woven into the hair of the deceased, or were worn about the neck. Despini (2012): 325, with nt.17. In addition to Aigai, such ornament has been found in Sindos, e.g. in tomb 67 (*c.*510) – Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): catalogue no. 320, with image page 193 and Archontiko, e.g. tomb 198 - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 481.
[246] Kottaridi (2004): 145-147, with images; Tsigarida (2007): 518-524.
[247] T9 dates to the mid-fifth century, T78 to the first half of the fifth century. Tsigarida (1998): 49. For a catalogue of the jewellery found in the fifth-century assemblages of Pydna, see 49-51.

declines from this period: wealthy burials of the fifth and early fourth centuries generally contain pieces fashioned primarily from silver or bronze, while poorer burials included jewellery made from bronze or, occasionally, iron[248]. Additionally, although the types of jewellery found in Archaic burials in Macedonia are still produced in the Classical period, they generally become plainer in style as the use of elaborate filigree and granulation declines[249].

Weapons and armour

Military equipment was regularly placed in male graves, both adult and child[250], in Macedonia. The prevalence of this trend throughout Macedonia's history suggests that an affinity for warfare and/or hunting was considered an integral component of male identity in the region. Of the various types of weapons that were offered to the deceased, iron spears/ javelins (of which only the metal head is now extant) were the most common[251] [*figure 3.26]*. In the fifth century, the average male burial contained multiple spears, with blades of various lengths, which were typically deposited in a pair/s[252]. These were placed to the side of the deceased, parallel to the body, with the spearheads at the level of the head. The dead were also frequently equipped with iron knives or daggers, the number of which generally varied between one and four. These often appear to have been placed in the grave with no discernible pattern – for example, at Archontiko [4] they are found variously by the legs, head

[248] This typifies the first two classes of female burials identified by the excavators in the cemeteries of Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2005): 440; (2009): 478. This trend is attested also in other burial grounds in the region, including Aigai – Kottaridi (1998): 407 and Pella - Akamatis (2002): 440.
[249] Tsigarida (1998): 53.
[250] For military equipment in the graves of young boys see, for example, the assemblage of grave 59 at Sindos (*c.*520), which contained an iron sword, knife and bronze helmet of the Illyrian type. Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): catalogue nos. 211-213. It is worth noting that these objects were all full-sized.
[251] It is presumed that these blades would have been mounted on a wooden shaft. Evidence for this was found in a grave of the mid-4th century at Sindos (E2), where a fragment of wood still attached to a spearhead survived intact. Misailidou-Despotidou (1997): 162.
[252] As, for example in the assemblages of: Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2004): 567; Edessa – Chrysostomou (2014): 148-150; Mieza, e.g. graves 8, 33 and 51 - Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002); Kaloki Karia - Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 111 and Sindos, e.g. graves 25, 57, 66 and 115 - Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 138, 170, 229, 302.

and hands[253] - although in some cases they appear near the pelvis, as if once hung from a belt[254]. Knives are the only type of weapon that are also found in female graves in Macedonia, although their occurrence in such contexts appears, at present, sporadic, and was more common in some necropoleis than others, such as Archtoniko [4], where knives are found in the graves of both women and girls[255]. The placement of knives in female burials has led some scholars to suggest that they should not be interpreted as weapons in funerary contexts, but instead as feasting utensils[256].

The rarest weapon placed in the grave was the sword. These usually consisted of short iron blades (around 40cm in length) with a hilt made of perishable material such as wood or, more rarely, ivory[257] [*figure 3.27*]. When excavated *in situ*, they are often found either lying to the left of the pelvis, as if once sheathed in a scabbard, placed diagonally across the chest of the deceased, or held with the base of the hilt at the height of the sternum[258]. In instances where more than one sword was deposited in the grave, they are often of different types. Among these is the *kopis*, a single edged weapon with a long slightly curved blade believed to have been used predominantly by soldiers who fought on horseback[259] [*figure 3.28*]. Burying the deceased with a *kopis* may have characterised him as a

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[253] Knives were found by the legs in T239, by the head in T157 and next to the right hand in T194. Chrysostmou and Chrysostomou (2002): 471- 473.
[254] As at Kaloki Karia - Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 113; Paliomelissa - Kottaridi (2004): 545.
[255] See, for example, the assemblages of T571, T575 and T613 in Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2006): 707-708. Daggers have also been found in female graves in Aiani - Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1989): 50; Edessa – Chrysostomou (2014): 150; Kaloki Karia - Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 113 and Sindos, e.g. tomb 28 – Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): catalogue no. 446.
[256] Saripandi (2017): 102.
[257] Adam-Veleni (2004): 50.
[258] See for example, Kaloki Karia – for one example of former, two of latter, or Paliomelissa, where swords were found in the right hand of the deceased, at the level of the chest. Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 111; Kottaridi (2004): 545; Chrysostomou (2013b): 333.
[259] The majority of evidence, both literary and iconographic, concerning the use of the *kopis* by cavalrymen in Macedonia dates from the reign of Alexander the Great onwards, for example Arrian: 1.15.8; Xenophon, *On horsemanship:* 12.11 – *"I recommend a kopis rather than a xiphos, because from the height of a horses' back the cut of a machaira will serve you better than the thrust of a xiphos."* For details on the equipment used by the Macedonian cavalry, see: Snodgrass (1967): 114ff; Hatzopoulos (2001): 51; Adam-Veleni (2004): 57; Sidnell (2006): 75ff; Faklaris (2011): 262-263. For the use of cavalry in ancient warfare in general, see Sidnell (2006).

cavalryman, and thus a member of the military and social elite, especially since the *kopis* is generally found in graves which contained other 'prestige' items, such as imitation model wagons and helmets[260].

In comparison to the volume of weaponry recovered from burial contexts in Macedonia, defensive items are extremely rare[261]. While the remains of shields have been found in a limited number of Archaic graves in Macedonia[262], and parts of the wider panoply, such as greaves, in tombs of the Late Classical period[263], the armour buried with the deceased during the period under study was limited primarily to bronze helmets. From the mid-sixth century, the majority of these helmets were of the so-called 'Illyrian' type[264] [*figure 3.29*], although a few examples of Corinthian, Illyriocorinthic and Chalcidian helmets are also attested[265]. The rarity of such objects in the archaeological record suggests that helmets were placed only in the graves of the socio-economic elite in Macedonia, likely because of their intrinsic value. It is possible, however, that wooden and/or leather helmets, which have subsequently perished, were sometimes used as an alternative. Bronze strips thought to have decorated a helmet or hat were, for example, found positioned near the skull in burials 47

[260] See, for example, tomb 25 at Sindos or the funeral pyre in the Temenid cluster at Aigai – Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): 168-169 and Ignatiadou (2016 respectively. This trend is apparent also in Thrace, where the weapon appears only in the graves of chieftains - Archibald (1998): 203.
[261] The comparative frequency of offensive and defensive military equipment is apparent in the report of the excavation season at the Archaic cemetery of Aghia Paraskevi in 1987 in which: 249 spearheads, 156 knives, 62 swords and just 7 helmets were excavated. Sismanidis (1987): 795-796. This pattern is representative of necropoleis throughout the Macedonian kingdom.
[262] The remains of Argive shields have been found in six Archaic burials at Archontiko (131, 258a, 279, 280, 283 and 692); four Archaic burials at Sindos and one late Archaic grave (T25) at Edessa. See Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 485, with fig.9; (2012): 503; Despini (2003): 69-690; (2006): 165; Chrysostomou (2007): 67 respectively.
[263] As, for example, in tombs A and B at Derveni – Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997): 193, 195.
[264] This type, which originated in the Peloponnese, consisted of a single hammered plate that covered most of the face and the back of the neck, leaving exposed only the rectangular opening at the front. Moustaka (2000): 394; Adam-Veleni (2004): 54.
[265] Moustaka (2000): 398; Adam-Veleni (2004): 51.

and 617 at Pydna [24]. The crown of the skull in grave 401 at Louloudia [25], was also covered in organic remains, thought to consist of wood and leather[266].

Given the social and ideological significance that appears to have been attached to the representation of males as hunters/ warriors in Macedonian society, it is notable that the custom of burying them with weapons and armour becomes increasingly uncommon in some Macedonian cemeteries during the course of the period under study. In some instances, such as at Toumba Thessaloniki[267] [28], Edessa[268] [8], Nea Philadelphia[269] [19] and Mieza[270] [18], the quantity of weaponry and armour placed in the grave declines significantly during the fourth century – in Mieza, for example, many assemblages of this date feature just a single spearhead, compared to the three or four which were placed in the grave during the fifth century. Similarly, at Pydna [24] weapons are, by the end of the fifth century, typically found only in burial clusters which have, because of their wealth and the spatial segregation of the burial group, been identified as belonging to the local ruling classes[271]. By contrast, the graves located in the cemetery proper of Pydna contain very few weapons, but many strigils (as discussed below).

Strigils

Bronze and iron strigils were a common funerary offering for males (both adult and child) in Macedonia from the late Classical period, yet their occurrence in the grave is sporadic during the period under study. While it is generally noted that they are included in funerary assemblages with increasing frequency throughout the course of the fifth century[272],

[266] Besios (2007): 648-649.
[267] Soueref (1996): 398; (2002): 282.
[268] Chrysostomou (2014): 148.
[269] Misailidou-Despotidou (1995): 315.
[270] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 21.
[271] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 133.
[272] See, for example, Edessa - Chrysostomou (2013b): 340.

their use varies considerably between cemeteries - for example, while only one strigil has been excavated at Mieza [18] to date[273], they are a common occurrence in the graves of Pydna[274] [24]. Since weapons were not frequently buried with the deceased at the latter, as discussed above, it is possible that strigils were placed in the grave in their stead, to alternatively characterise the deceased as an athlete or civilian[275]. They may otherwise, however, have been linked with notions of leisure, and so were perhaps symbols of status[276]. That strigils were increasingly featured in Macedonian funerary assemblages over the course of the fifth century may hence reflect the gradual adoption, emulation and veneration of the culture surrounding athletics and the gymnasium, which was already pervasive in southern Greece at this time[277]. In those instances where the position of the strigil in the grave has been recorded, they are typically located by the thighs of the deceased, as if once held in their hand[278]. Although generally only a single strigil was placed in the grave, they were occasionally deposited in far greater numbers in the burials of the socio-economic elite, such as that of grave 15 at Pydna (dated to the last quarter of the fifth century), which contained eight[279].

Clay figurines and protomai

Clay figurines and protomai were placed in Macedonian graves throughout its history, but do not appear to have been especially numerous during the period under study – they

[273] The strigil (made of iron) was found in grave 4, which has been dated to the first quarter of the fourth century. Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 22, 43.
[274] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 133.
[275] Houby-Nielsen (1997): 226.
[276] Houby-Nielsen (1997): 242.
[277] For a summary of the archaeological evidence relating to athletics in Macedonia see Carney (2015): 205, 265-266.
[278] Akamatis (1990): 147.
[279] Besios (1989): 156.

are reported as uncommon funerary offerings at sites including: Aigai[280] [3], Archontiko[281] [4], Edessa[282] [8], Mieza[283] [18], Paliomelissa[284] [27] and Pella[285] [20], although are found in comparatively larger quantities at Pydna[286] [24]. The figurines found in Macedonia appear to have derived from a variety of production centres throughout the ancient world. Most were products of Eastern Ionian workshops[287], such as Samos and Rhodes[288], although limited numbers of Attic, Corinthian and Boeotian coroplastics are also attested[289]. Some figurines are also thought to have been produced in local workshops[290]. A large variety of figurines are attested in Macedonian funerary contexts, the most common of which were standing males or females; seated females; female protomai and figurines of animals, particularly birds, pigs and horses. Different types typically coexisted within the same burial, although animal figurines were especially popular in the graves of men and children[291].

As the figurine types placed in the grave in Macedonia are found also in sanctuary and domestic contexts in the wider Northern Aegean, it appears that they were not made specifically for the grave[292]. Their intended function in funerary assemblages is hence uncertain. It is possible that they, as in other contexts, retained their purpose as votive

[280] Kottaridi (2002): 499.
[281] Of the 474 burials of the Archaic period that have been excavated at Archontiko, only 184 (39%) contained figurines and protomai. A similar trend is attested for the period under study. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2012): 513.
[282] Chrysostomou (2013b): 333.
[283] Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 22.
[284] Kottaridi (2004): 545.
[285] Akamatis (2002): 440.
[286] Noulas (2014): 407.
[287] Misailidou-Despotidou (2011): 187; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 393; (2017a): 70; Naoum (2017): 79.
[288] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 479.
[289] Akamatis (1990): 147; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 393; (2017a): 70; Noulas (2014): 411.
[290] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 393; (2017a): 70.
[291] Akamatis (2005): 423; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 392; (2017a): 70.
[292] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006); Naoum (2017): 77. See, for example, the figurines associated with the temple of Demeter at Dion - Pingiatoglou (1991): 149; the figurines found in the metroa of Aigai and Pella - Lilimpaki-Akamati (2000): 235 and those found in a domestic shrine in plot D at Amphipolis - Malama and Salonikios (2002): 151.

offerings[293]. When placed in the graves of children, they have been interpreted as toys[294], which may explain their large numbers in child burials[295]. However, particular religious significance is often attributed to seated female figurines and protomai, which have been interpreted as representations of the chthonic deities Demeter and Persephone, placed in the tomb to protect the deceased in the afterlife[296]. Although the gold tablets and wall-paintings found in late Classical Macedonian graves [*figures 4.1 and 4.2*] suggest that Macedonian religious and chthonic beliefs may have centred in part around these goddesses[297], this interpretation is problematised both by their lack of identifiable attributes and their ubiquity in contexts throughout the ancient world[298]. That these figurines cannot be identified with any specific deity perhaps instead suggests that the objects were deliberately generic, so that they could cater to different needs in the grave[299], such as having nuptial or kourotrophic symbolism[300] or serving an apotropaic function.

Coins

The placement of a coin/s in the grave is attested in Macedonia only from the second half of the fifth century[301]. Generally, a single small denomination coin was placed in either the mouth[302] or right hand of the deceased[303], although there are some instances where two

[293] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006): 18.
[294] *OCD: s.v.* toys; Robinson (1942): 196; Garland (1990): 125; Kotitsa (2012): 90; Selekou (2015): 361; Naoum (2017): 78.
[295] See, for example, Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 489; Pella - Akamatis (1990): 147; Pydna - Besios (1990): 242; Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 149; Kotitsa (2012): 90; Noulas (2014): 407.
[296] Muller (2009): 82; Sabetai (2015): 154; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller (2017): 59.
[297] Mari (2011): 457-458.
[298] For the use of protomai in different contexts in the Greek world see Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006): 16-24.
[299] Sabetai (2015): 154; Naoum (2017): 78.
[300] Chidiroglou (2015): 93; Sabetai (2015): 155, 159; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller (2017): 59.
[301] Grinder-Hansen (1991): 210.
[302] For coins in the mouth of the deceased see, for example, the graves of Pydna - Besios (2007): 646.
[303] For coins placed in the right palm of the deceased, see Nea Philadelphia, grave 81 - Misailidou-Despotidou (1998a): 64, 68; Toumba Thessaloniki, graves 3 and 5 - Soueref (2002): 283.

or three coins are found in a grave[304]. While this custom was initially practiced only sporadically, it becomes increasingly common in the late fifth/ early fourth century, perhaps because the circulation of small denomination bronzes in Macedonia around this time made the practice more economically viable for a larger portion of society[305]. The custom was not, however, universal – the percentage of graves in Macedonia that contain a coin/s is low in proportion to the total number of graves that have been excavated in the region, a trend apparent throughout the ancient world[306]. Although there is no conclusive evidence regarding the function of the coins found in Macedonian graves, their placement in the hands or mouth of the deceased might suggest that they were 'Charon's obols', intended to secure the safe passage of the deceased in the afterlife[307], a function which would shed light on the eschatological beliefs of the Macedonians. Suggestions that the coins may alternatively have been placed in the grave to highlight the wealth of the deceased are problematic[308], given that they are generally of low intrinsic value.

Imitations of furniture and wagons

Miniature models of chairs, tripod tables, spits and carts made of iron, bronze and lead[309], have been found in a limited number of graves throughout the Macedonian kingdom,

[304] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006): 93.
[305] For information on the circulation of bronze coinage in Macedonia during the period under study see *intra*: The Numismatic Evidence, table 40.
[306] Grinder-Hansen (1991): 210-212, with comparative examples.
[307] Stevens (1991); Grinder-Hansen (1991): 215.
[308] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006): 96.
[309] Usually these objects were fashioned from metal rods which were folded and soldered together. Del Soccoro (2013): 53. However, the assemblage of grave 47 at Pydna (dated to the third quarter of the fifth century) may have contained a wooden model of a wagon, since a miniature bronze wheel was found in the tomb. Bessios (2007): 648.

in cemeteries such as Aiani[310] [2], Aigai[311] [3], Archontiko[312] [4], Edessa[313] [8], Pydna[314] [24]and Sindos[315] [26]. These objects were typically deposited as a set in adult graves[316], sometimes with the addition of miniature bundles of obeloi and/or firedogs[317]. Gender distinction is apparent in the type of cart that was buried with the deceased – since four wheeled carts, interpreted as wagons [*figure 3.30*], are found exclusively in the graves of women, and two-wheeled carts, thought to be chariots [*figure 3.31*], in those of men[318].

The function of these objects, which were made specifically for the grave, is uncertain, and has been the source of varied speculation by scholars. Since they are found exclusively in burials with wealthy funerary assemblages, it has been proposed that they were prestige objects that were used to denote the wealth and status of the deceased, perhaps symbolising that which had been owned or used by them during their lifetime[319], or as part of their funeral[320]. Within this, it has been proposed that they may have symbolised the sacred office held by the deceased and were thus meant to represent priestly thrones and offering tables[321]. Otherwise, they may have been intended to serve the needs of the dead in the afterlife, functioning as a form of funerary furniture[322]. Notably, such objects, which first feature in Macedonian funerary contexts *c.*570, generally cease to be placed in the grave around 500[323].

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[310] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1998): 399.
[311] Kottaridi (2009): 149.
[312] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2002): 470.
[313] Chrysostomou (2007): 67.
[314] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 131.
[315] Vokotopoulou *et al* (1985): 13.
[316] This contrasts with the custom in Epirus, where such objects are found primarily in the graves of children. Stamatopoulou (1999): 148. Garland (1990): 125 suggests that they, in this context, were toys.
[317] Notably, these are found in both male and female graves in Sindos[317], but were limited to male graves in Archontiko. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 481.
[318] Del Socorro (2013): 56.
[319] Andrianou (2009): 125.
[320] Del Socorro (2012): 64.
[321] Ignatiadou (2012): 397, (2016): 428.
[322] Tomlinson (1993): 1495-1499; Theodossiev (2000): 190; Del Socorro (2013): 57.
[323] Saripandi (2017): 94.

Games and knucklebones

Knucklebones (*astragaloi)* were among the objects offered to the deceased in Macedonia. As in other regions of the ancient world[324], they appear to have been especially prominent in the graves of children, as is attested at Archontiko[325] [4] and Pydna[326] [24] . *Astragaloi* recovered from funerary contexts have traditionally been interpreted as toys/ game pieces[327], although their purpose and intended symbolism in the grave is currently the subject of debate[328]. Dedicated game pieces, such as coloured glass *pessoi*, coloured stones and dice have been found in adult male burials of the fourth century[329]. A Corinthian clay tile which may have been used as the board for a game was also found in a grave dating to the first half of the fourth century at Pydna[330] [24]. Such objects perhaps represented the favourite pastime of the deceased or were used to indicate that their lifestyle afforded them time to follow leisurely pursuits.

Post-burial rites and customs

Libation and purification at the graveside?

In a number of cemeteries throughout the Macedonian kingdom, including Archontiko[331] [4], Aigai[332] [3], Beroia[333] [6] and Sindos[334] [26], it has been noted that vessels

[324] For example, of the forty-one graves in Olynthus which contained astragaloi, thirty-three of these belonged to children, and just eight to adults. Robinson (1942): 198.
[325] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 489.
[326] Besios (1986): 143; (1988): 183.
[327] Astragaloi were used for a variety of games in the ancient world, and also functioned as dice. See: *OCD s.v.*: toys; *s.v.* astragalus; Beck (1975): 51; Amandry (1984): 376-378; Robinson (1942): 198; Durand (1991): 80; Caré (2013): 91.
[328] See, for example, Caré (2012), (2013), whose discussions focus on the large number of astragaloi found at Locri.
[329] Ignatiadou (1996); (2013): 330.
[330] In Makrygialos plot 951, ditch 20. Thessaloniki Museum no. ΠU 8899.
[331] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2003): 508.
[332] For example, graves L2, L3 and L4 of the Queens' Cluster. Andronikos (1988): 2, Kottaridi (1989): 1-3.
[333] Stefani (2004): 485.
[334] For example, female grave 67 (510/500) - Ignatiadou (2012): 398.

and utensils such as oinochoai, lebetes, lekanides, kylikes and phialai have been found either above the layer at which a burial was sealed, or upon the steps which provided access to the tomb. This placement suggests that such vessels were perhaps not intended as part of the main funerary assemblage[335] but may have been used in associated rituals and subsequently deposited by the grave, perhaps because of the associated miasma[336]. Given the traditional use of such vessel shapes, it is possible that they may have been used to pour liquid offerings (*choai)* for the dead immediately after the burial was sealed. The importance of the phiale in the performance of such customs may explain their prevalence in Macedonian funerary contexts[337] - some one hundred bronze phialai, which appear to have been ritually pierced and then crushed, have, for example, been found scattered throughout the Leivadia necropolis at Aiani[338] [2]. The larger vessel shapes, such as the lebes, may then have been used when washing the body of the deceased or, alternatively, by those who attended the funeral to perform purifying rites at the graveside. Although the vessels themselves provide the only evidence for the performance of such a custom in Macedonia, the use of water for purifying rites is widely attested in both the literary and archaeological record of Athens[339].

The destruction of effigies at the graveside?

Unique to the fill of grave L3 of the Queens' Cluster at Aigai [2] (dated c.480) are a series of twenty-six life-sized clay heads, twenty-four female and two male, which were ritually destroyed at the graveside once the burial had been sealed. They have been loosely

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335 *Contra* Saripandi (2017): 85, who has suggested that such objects may have been placed outside the grave simply because they would not fit inside it.
336 The Greeks believed that certain acts and rites of passage, including death, resulted in pollution, which could afflict those individuals and objects that came into contact with the deceased. This malady could be cured only through ritual purification. See Parker (1983): 35-38; *OCD*: s.v. pollution, the Greek concept of; purification, Greek.
337 Kottaridi and Brekoulaki (1997): 112.
338 Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2008): 56.
339 Kurtz and Boardman (1971): 149-150; *OCD*: s.v. purification, Greek.

categorised by their excavator into four types: idealised female head wearing a diadem; idealised female head without a diadem; male beardless head with realistic features and old male head with veristic features[340] [*figure 3.32*]. Since each head was formed from two moulds so as to be hollow with an open neck, their excavator has suggested that they may have been mounted upon dressed wooden poles at the graveside. They have hence been identified as *xoana* of Persephone, Demeter and *daimones* of the underworld, whose effigies were used in the performance of a final religious ceremony at the graveside, reflecting the deceased's status as a priestess[341].

Assigning a religious function to these objects is not without precedent, since life-sized clay heads of deities which were secured to wooden posts have been recovered in a variety of sanctuary contexts, such as the clay head (presumed to be of Zeus Melichios) which was recovered in a votive pit in a sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai, Thessaly[342]. It is, however, difficult to assess the efficacy of this theory when applied to a funerary context given the lack of material by which it can be compared. Indeed, although clay or wooden heads have been found in a limited number of late Classical graves in Macedonia, such as in grave 2 at Kastania Kolindrou in Pieria[343] [*figure 3.33*], these have been interpreted as representations of the deceased which were included in their funerary assemblage, and there is no evidence that they were involved in a ritual comparable to that performed at L3. The ritual destruction of grave goods was, however, evidently imbued with religious/ eschatological significance in Macedonia, as the remnants of clay and metal vessels which had been deliberately smashed

[340] Extant traces suggest that the eyebrows of the female heads were rendered in light blue, their pupils in red and their hair in dark brown. While only the details of the female heads were painted, the male heads were painted red in their entirety. Kottaridi (1989): 1.
[341] Kottaridi (1989): 2.
[342] Chrysostomou (1998): 233-235.
[343] Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 294. Additionally, the assemblages of tombs A and B at Derveni contained pairs of ivory and glass eyes which are thought to have been attached to clay or wooden masks placed in the tomb. These are thought to have represented either the deceased or a chthonic demon. See Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997): 207.

or crushed prior to their placement in/near the grave have been found in funerary contexts throughout the Macedonian kingdom[344].

Arguably the closest extant parallel is that of a group of life-sized clay statues of the late Classical period uncovered during excavations of tumulus 77 at Salamis, Cyprus, [*figure 3.34]* which appear to have been erected around a pyre and subsequently ritually destroyed[345]. In this context, the statues have been interpreted as portraits of the family of Nikokreon, the last king of Salamis, who is reported to have died, along with this family, in the suicidal holocaust of his palace in 311/310[346]. Just as the monument is presumed to be a cenotaph of the king, so the statues are seen as effigies intended to replace the bodies of his family, which could not be recovered[347]. However, though it is possible that the heads in L3 could also be interpreted as family/ ancestor portraits, it is difficult to account for the gender bias apparent among the effigies using this explanation. Similarly, if the heads and associated ritual were intended to signify the important religious position held by the deceased, it is unusual that they are, to date, unique among the finds uncovered in Aigai, given that all the deceased in the Queens' Cluster are thought by their excavator to have been priestesses[348].

Marking and demarcating the grave

Current evidence suggests that the use of worked stone funerary monuments to mark the site of a grave became widespread in Macedonia only from the late sixth century,

[344] See, for example, Kyriakou (2008): 275; Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2008): 56; Ignatiadou (2016): 428. For other instances of this practice in the wider ancient world, see Aström (1987); Alexandridou (2013).
[345] It is variously proposed that these statues were attached to nails driven into wooden posts, or were supported by an internal armature of wood, nails and metal rods, remnants of which have been found in the fill of the tumulus. Cheal (1973): 47.
[346] Diodorus Siculus: XX.21.
[347] Karageorghis (1970): 202.
[348] Kottaridi (2011): 101. Grave goods thought to denote the sacred office held by the deceased have been found in other graves in cluster, such as the object interpreted as a hieratic sceptre excavated in L2 (c.500). For scholarship which discusses the possible representation of priesthood/ sacred office in funerary contexts in Macedonia, see Kottaridi (2011); Ignatiadou (2012a), (2012b).

although other methods of demarcating a burial, such as tumuli and periboloi, are attested in the region far earlier. The *semata* used in the Macedonian kingdom in the fifth and fourth centuries varied significantly in type, ranging from small stone cairns to shaft stelai with relief decoration or sculpture in the round. When found *in situ*, funerary markers, particularly stelai, can elucidate much about the deceased, including their gender, social status and, potentially, the familial links that they shared with others in a given burial cluster. Unfortunately, their frequent reuse as building material or disturbance as a result of modern agricultural activity means that most markers cannot be associated with a specific grave or context in Macedonia. However, even when studied largely as independent objects, grave markers are nevertheless informative. In some cases it may, for example, be possible to discern regional preferences in the types of *semata* used. Additionally, the figural decoration and epitaphs found on funerary monuments shed light on Macedonian self-representation by highlighting the characteristics and ideals that were venerated within Macedonian society, both on a familial and state level.

Tumuli

The custom of covering burials with an earthen mound had a long tradition in Macedonia, with the earliest examples in the region dating to the Bronze Age[349]. Yet it is difficult to assess exactly how common their use was in antiquity, since erosion and modern agricultural work have significantly altered the landscape in Northern Greece[350]. It is possible, for example, that many graves in the region were covered with small tumuli which have simply eroded over time, leaving no trace in the archaeological record[351]. Tumuli were used

[349] For details regarding the use of tumuli in the ancient world, and the longevity of their use in Macedonia, see Fedak (1990): 56-64, 165; Rhomiopoulou (2006): 302; Schmidt-Dounas (2016).
[350] Schmidt-Dounas (2016): 110-111.
[351] This is, for example, thought by the excavators to be the case at Archontiko. See Saripandi (2017): 94, footnote 144.

to cover both individual and clusters of graves during the period under study[352], including those located remote from the necropolis proper[353] [*figure 1.52*]. In instances where tumuli were used to cover a burial cluster this is thought to have been a way to express a familial relationship or ties of kinship [354], with new graves often simply opened in the fill of an extant tumulus. There are also instances in which a larger tumulus was eventually formed through the agglomeration of the small mounds which had been erected over individual tombs, as was the case for the Great Tumulus at Aigai[355].

As with individual graves, the bases of tumuli were sometimes delineated with an enclosure of unworked stones, as is attested at Pella[356]. In addition, it is possible that larger stones may have been placed atop a tumulus to act as an additional marker, since these have been found within disturbed burial pits of the Archaic period at the eastern edge of the necropolis at Aigai[357]. The sizes of tumuli are not typically recorded in archaeological reports. It has been noted, however, that relatively small tumuli were used to cover elaborate tombs down to the fourth century, after which far larger tumuli were used to cover less elaborate graves[358].

Cairns and stone periboloi

The practice of demarcating a single burial with an enclosure is attested in some cemeteries from at least the Early Iron Age and continues throughout the period under study. As the publication of most burial grounds in Macedonia is still in the preliminary stage, little

[352] For indicative examples, see Akamatis (2011): 42; Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2009a): 69; Schmidt-Dounas (2016): 112. Kakamanoudis (2017): 459-460 also provides an overview of the use of tumuli in Macedonia during the Classical period.
[353] Schmidt-Dounas (2016): 103-104, with appendix 3.
[354] Saripandi (2017): 92.
[355] Andronikos (1991): 65; Schmidt-Dounas (2016): 109.
[356] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2003): 143.
[357] Kottaridi (2009): 146.
[358] Schmidt-Dounas (2016): 111.

attention had been paid to the form and structure of periboloi in the region. Thus although it appears that most of the enclosures erected in the fifth and fourth centuries were formed from rows of unworked local stones[359], it is not possible, at present, to discern if any patterns, regional or otherwise, are apparent in their construction. The only exception to this is a trend apparent among the tombs categorised by their excavators as 'royal', which generally feature periboloi made of comparatively elaborate materials – white river pebbles were used to demarcate three of the graves (L2, L3 and L4) of the Queens' Cluster at Aigai[360] [3], while worked poros blocks surrounded four of the tombs in the Leivadia necropolis at Aiani[361] [2].

In addition to periboloi, small stone cairns have been excavated in a number of necropoleis, including Aiani[362] [2], Aigai[363] [3], Asomata[364] [5], Karathodoreika[365] [10] and Toumba Thessaloniki[366] [28]. While these mostly appear to have functioned as *semata* to mark the site of a burial or burial cluster, there are some instances where they may instead have been used to reseal a grave after it was plundered[367]. In these instances, the cairn is typically positioned by the head or upper torso of the deceased, since this area was most typically the target of looters[368].

[359] For indicative examples, see: Archontiko - Chrysostomou and Chrystomou (2001): 480; Pella - Akamatis (1999a): 485; (2005): 423; Toumba Thessaloniki - Soueref (1994b): 443; (1998): 198.
[360] Andronikos (1988): 2; Kottaridi (1989): 1-3.
[361] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1988): 19.
[362] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2009a): 69.
[363] The use of cairns as semata appears to have been a fairly widespread custom at Aigai, which continued until the Roman period. A notable variation on the type is attested in grave L3 of the Queens' Cluster, where the cairn, made of white river pebbles, was surrounded by a thick layer of sieved sand. Kottaridi (1989): 1; (2009): 147.
[364] Kefalidou (2009): 133.
[365] Savvopoulou (1994b): 462.
[366] Panti (2012): 477.
[367] This trend is attested, for example, in the necropolis of Aghia Paraskevi, where ancient looters covered the hole they made to enter the grave with stones or tiles. Sismanidis (1987): 791.
[368] When looting did not empty a grave of its entire contents, it was typically confined to the head and upper body of the deceased, where the wealthiest components of the assemblage must have been concentrated. Often, the area around the legs was left undisturbed. For examples of this selective looting, see: Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1990): 77; Besios and Krahtopoulou (1994): 149; Kottaridi (2009): 149.

'Plain' shaft stelai

Roughly shaped stone slabs have been found in funerary contexts throughout the Macedonian kingdom, such as in the necropoleis of Aiani[369] [2], Beroia[370] [6], Pella[371] [20] and Pydna[372] [24]. These were generally made of locally available stone, particularly limestone (of which poros was especially common), and were decorated to varying degrees. Some were left entirely plain[373], while others featured a funerary inscription, engraved on their front side (either horizontally or vertically) [*figure 3.35*]. Exceptional are the stelai associated with tombs E and ΣT of the Leivadia necropolis at Aiani[374] [2], which were decorated with painted Ionic palmette finials [*figure 3.36]*. As funerary markers of this type are found in the same cemeteries as other types of *semata*, their use was clearly not a local or regional preference but may be linked to the wealth of the deceased, perhaps functioning as a cheaper alternative to the elaborate figured stelai described below.

Figured stelai[375]

Shaft stelai crowned with either a pediment or palmettes and decorated with a figural scene are attested in Macedonia from the late sixth century, although they appear to have become widespread only from the second half of the fourth century onwards[376] - extant stelai dating to the period under study number in the tens[377]. Most bore relief figural decoration of

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[369] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1990): 79-80.
[370] Tataki (1998): 107, no.175.
[371] Chrysostomou (1998): 365.
[372] Makri (1989): 181.
[373] Kalaitzi (2016): 13-14.
[374] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 103-104.
[375] For an overview, commentary and catalogue of the figured stelai found in Macedonia in the fifth and fourth centuries see Kalaitzi (2016).
[376] The majority of stelai excavated in Macedonia thus far date to the late fourth century. It is uncertain, however, if this reflects patterns of use or is instead an accident of preservation, since a significant proportion of the stelai which survive from the late Classical period were uncovered in the fill of the Great Tumulus at Aigai, where they were thus protected from looting and re-use – Kalaitzi (2007a): 213.
[377] Kalaitzi (2007a): 29.

the deceased, typically framed by a narrow projecting border, on their front side[378]. A preference for single figured scenes meant that such stelai were typically taller than wide, although broader stelai featuring multi-figured scenes (usually featuring just two individuals) were introduced towards the end of the fifth century[379].

The few extant figured stelai which date to the fifth and early fourth century generally seem to have originated from one of the four major urban centres in Lower Macedonia – Aigai [3], Dion [7], Pella [20] and Pydna[380] [24]. While the majority appear to have been produced by local artists[381], both their style and iconography were heavily influenced by the major Greek workshops of the Classical period – firstly those of the Eastern Aegean islands and then, towards the end of the fifth century, those of Attica[382]. Following the precedent established in these regions, the deceased in Macedonia were characterised using a series of stock images appropriate to their age and gender.

Macedonian men were typically depicted as men in arms. In single figure scenes, the deceased were usually shown in profile, either wearing local costume, which consisted of a short chiton, chlamys and petasos, as on a stele found in the Great Tumulus at Aigai [*figure 3.37*], or nude[383], with a chlamys thrown over their shoulder [*figure 3.38*]. In addition, they were equipped with weapons, including a sword (which was often sheathed in a scabbard), two spears and a shield. In some multi-figured scenes, the deceased were further

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[378] Paint appears to have been used on both the background and figural decoration of such stelai, as is apparent on the stele of Xanthos from Pella, which retains traces of the blue pigment used for the background, and brown, light red and gold on the figure itself. Akamatis (1987): 29.
[379] Kalaitzi (2016): 26.
[380] Kalaitzi (2007a): 29; Bosnakes (2013): 205.
[381] An exception to this is an early fourth century stele from Pella (Pella museum BE1999/1) representing two women, which is thought to be the work of an artist from Attica – Kalaitzi (2007b): 36.
[382] Kalaitzi (2007a): 43; Bosnakes (2013): 204.
[383] Male nudity, whether total or partial, was an element of representation on Macedonian stelai, as in other areas of the Classical world. This contrasts with the custom of neighbouring Thessaly where male nudity was rarely depicted in funerary contexts. For nudity in Classical art, see Bosnakes (1989), with additional bibliography on page 543, nt.1; Hallett (2005): 5-60. For representations on grave stelai in Thessaly, see Stamatopoulou (1999): 169; Bosnakes (2013): 211.

characterised as cavalrymen, as on a stele from Pydna (Dion Museum 5716) which depicts a soldier, equipped with a spear, advancing on a horse against a fallen enemy [*figure 3.39*]. Less commonly, Macedonian men were depicted as hunters. The stock figure of the naked athlete prevalent in Attica was used as the basis for such representations[384], with the addition of identifying attributes such as hunting implements or a hunting dog[385]. A variant of this type, in which a naked youth, accompanied by a dog, is seated upon a rock is attested on a stelai from Pydna (Dion Museum 2600) which dates to the first quarter of the fourth century [*figure 3.40*].

Women were almost exclusively depicted in an implied *oikos* setting on Macedonian grave stelai. Their dress consisted of either a chiton or peplos, sometimes with the addition of a himation covering the back of the head, which perhaps implied the matronly status of the deceased. They more typically feature in multi-figured scenes, where they are shown examining objects belonging to their household; interacting with children, especially young infants [*figure 3.41*]; or in the company of other women, as in Pella Museum BE1991/1 [*figure 3.42*]. Women do not appear to have been depicted in the company of men during the period under study; such scenes occur in Macedonia only from the second half of the fourth century[386].

[384] Bonfante (1989): 556; Bosnakes (2013): 211.
[385] Hallett (2005): 27. These attributes were similarly used to represent a hunter in Athens, such as in the stele of Menon and Kleoboulos from Brauron (CAT no.3195/200), in which Kleoboulos, accompanied by a hunting dog, holds a rabbit by its ears in his right hand.
[386] Bosnakes (2013): 213.

Younger children (namely infants and toddlers[387]) do not appear to have been commemorated individually on grave stelai in Macedonia[388]. They are depicted only as secondary figures in multi-figured scenes. Without accompanying inscriptions, it is almost impossible to discern whether their death is being commemorated alongside that of the adult they accompany, or if their representation instead served to further characterise the life of the adult that had died[389], perhaps underscoring the loss of a mother or a woman of childbearing age[390]. By contrast, older (but still prepubescent) children were commemorated in single-figure compositions during the period under study. These depicted the deceased in profile and accompanied by toys such as balls, or animals like dogs and roosters. Birds, particularly doves, are commonly held by the deceased in such scenes (not only in Macedonia, but also in areas such as Thessaly, Boeotia and Attica) – these perhaps symbolised or alluded to the early death of the figure represented[391]. Girls were typically shown wearing either a chiton or peplos, with their hair tied back in a fillet or sakkos, while boys were depicted naked, as in the stele of Xanthos from Pella [*figure 3.43*].

Sculpture in the round

The use of sculpted figures in the round as funerary markers was limited in Macedonia during the period under study. Of those extant, the vast majority were excavated

[387] It is difficult to precisely identify the age of individuals depicted on grave stelai. Prior to adulthood, it appears that the broad age bands depicted were that of infant; toddler; prepubescent child and adolescent. In the case of the latter two, these depictions were more likely to be based on social/ cultural criterion than biological age/ physiological appearance – females, for example, may have been distinguished by their being wed or unwed. See Beaumont (2000): 40; Sofaer Dervenski (2000): 8; Kalaitzi (2010): 328; Bobou (2015): 42-46.
[388] Although this could, given the meagre number of extant stelai from the period under study, be an accident of preservation, it has been noted that the burials of children are found undisturbed far more frequently than those of adults. This is perhaps because their graves lacked individual markers through which they could be identified by looters.
[389] For the problems inherent in the interpretation of such scenes, see Johansen (1951): 20; Kalaitzi (2010): 323.
[390] Burnett Grossman (2007): 312.
[391] Woysch-Méautis (1982): 39-46. For pets in the ancient world, see: Beck (1975): 49; Garland (1990): 127.

in the so-called 'royal' necropolis at Leivadia, Aiani [2]. The column drum and Ionic capital found outside Tomb I (dated to the first half of the sixth century) are thought to have supported a statue of a sphinx[392], while the head of a kore (dated to *c.*510[393]) and a bearded male (dated to *c.*500[394]) were found inside Tombs Z and Γ respectively [*figures 3.44-3.45*]. The statue of a lion (dated to *c.*500) was also found a short distance northwest of Tomb E[395] [*figure 3.46*], and the head of a lion in Tomb Θ[396] [*figure 3.47*]. These perhaps provide a rare example of contextualised grave markers in the Macedonian kingdom, since most are thought to have been buried either within or in close proximity to the tomb they marked after it was pillaged[397]. In addition, fragments of kouroi of various sizes were found scattered throughout the Leivadia necropolis, while the leg of a rider and part of a man's arm were found in the vicinity of tomb E[398]. Funerary sculpture of this type is otherwise rare in contemporary necropoleis in the Macedonian kingdom – extant examples consist of a single kouros from Europos[399] [9] *[figure 3.48]* and two sphinxes from Archontiko[400] [4] and Pentavrysos[401] [21].

This pattern of distribution suggests that the use of sculpture in the round as *sema* may not have been a 'Macedonian' custom. Instead, it appears to have been used primarily in important urban centres located on the fringes of the Macedonian kingdom in the late

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[392] The statue itself has not yet been found. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 106.
[393] Object no. 7474. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2001): 59-62; (2011): 104-106.
[394] No.10545. The statue is thought to have measured around 2m in height. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2001): 63-64; (2011): 102.
[395] Object no. 7473. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 104.
[396] Object no. 10563. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 105.
[397] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2001): 65.
[398] These fragments consist of parts of hands (nos. 18614, 10554, 18579); feet (nos. 10541, 10519) and a leg (no. 10517). The torso of a kouros dated to the late sixth century was also found outside the southeastern wall of Tomb A. Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1989): 51; (2009): 70; (2011): 101; Kalaitzi (2016): 16.
[399] Although we lack a secure provenance, tombs have been uncovered in the area where the statue (which is life-size) was found. It is thought to be made of Cycladic marble. Andronikos (1994): 9; Kalaitzi (2016): 17, nt.63.
[400] A seated marble sphinx of the late Archaic period was among the objects which have been handed in at Archontiko, and has not yet been published. Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2000): 476, nt.5.
[401] Tsougaris (2004): 68.

Archaic period - for example, the Leivadia necropolis is thought to be the burial ground of the royal family of Elimeia[402], while the site of Pentavrysos has provisionally been identified as cemetery of the royal house of ancient Orestis[403].

Inscriptions on funerary monuments

There appears to have been no set rule regarding the placement of an epitaph on a funerary monument, although the limited number of inscriptions found on extant *semata* suggests that they may have typically been carved onto their base. Otherwise, they have been found either underneath the crowning pediment of a stele or, more typically, on the lower part of the shaft, below the figured decoration. Most of the extant epitaphs from the period are short, and often provide only the personal name of the deceased, in either the nominative or genitive case[404]. In some instances, the names of those who erected the monument, and their relationship to the deceased are also listed. While typically limited to the patronym, some inscriptions also included the metronym[405], such as the stele of Xanthos from Pella [*Appendix 1, inscription 13*]. Longer inscriptions are rare, and appear to have been afforded only to those with particular social standing, wherein their name and position/ role was commemorated [*Appendix 1, inscriptions 5 and 7].*

The 'heroon' of Aiani and Aigai– evidence of heroization or commemoration?

While the majority of the twelve tombs in the 'royal' necropolis at Leivadia, Aiani [2] were marked with a sculpted funerary monument, three of its built chamber tombs are

[402] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2006b): 9; (2008): 13-18.
[403] Tsouggares (2004): 692.
[404] Kalaitzi (2016): 94-96 provides a brief onomastic study based on extant inscriptions from the fifth to third centuries. For an outline of the inscriptions dating to the period under study, see *intra*: Appendix 1.
[405] Inscriptions which featured the metronym only are attested primarily from the fourth century onwards and appear to have been used in the case of illegitimate offspring – Kalaitzi (2016): 91.

instead notable for their associated architectural remains – fragments of Doric capitals, the base of an Ionic column and cornices with guttae were excavated in the vicinity of tomb A; the drums of Doric columns were found scattered around tomb Δ; while the stone foundations of a building surround the perimeter of tomb B[406] [*figure 1.14*]. These are thought by their excavator to have belonged to temple-like structures constructed over the burial chambers of each tomb, functioning as heroa[407]. It is, however, difficult to ascertain if such monuments are indeed indicative of the veneration of the deceased (implying that some of the ruling family interred at Aiani may have been posthumously heroized), or are instead simply elaborate burial monuments intended to highlight the preeminent status of the deceased.

The reasons for this difficulty are numerous. Firstly, heroa are difficult to identify in the archaeological record since they vary considerably in form, from a single horos to large elaborate sanctuaries[408]. In the absence of literary or epigraphic evidence, it is therefore often difficult to distinguish a heroon from a substantial burial monument for an ordinary person[409], given that the locus of hero cult was often the tomb or cenotaph of the heroized deceased[410]. The cult worship attested at a site can sometimes help with this distinction, since that afforded to a hero was typically more persistent that than afforded to others[411]. Extant evidence in the Leivadia necropolis is, however, too fragmentary to prove diagnostic[412].

The historical context in which the tombs were built also provides little indication as to their function. The heroization of historical persons has not been the subject of systematic

[406] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1988): 19; (2011): 101-103.
[407] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 101.
[408] Ekroth (2010): 110.
[409] Ekroth (2010): 109.
[410] Oikonomou (2012): 205.
[411] Oikonomou (2012): 190.
[412] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 103.

study to date, but in the Classical period appears to have been limited primarily to: individuals who had been killed in war, such as the warriors who died in the battle of Marathon; athletes; or those who had significantly contributed to the life of a city and so were, as *oikists*, subsequently buried within its walls[413]. It was only from the late fourth century that the heroization of the dead became more widespread, a phenomenon seemingly prompted by the changing social ideology and circumstance brought about under Alexander the Great and his successors[414]. Yet Macedonia may not necessarily have adhered to the traditions common in the Greek world during the period under study. Certainly, architectural remains found near tomb I (the so-called Tomb of Persephone) at Aigai [*figure 3.49*] have also provisionally been identified as those of a heroon[415], albeit not without controversy[416]. If members of some of the royal houses in the Macedonian kingdom were indeed posthumously heroized, then this may have provided a precedent for the honours, posthumous or otherwise, granted to later Macedonian kings [417].

It is alternatively possible, however, that the construction of elaborate funerary buildings was instead part of an established means of burying the eminent dead[418]. Evidence for this practice is perhaps apparent in the remnants of the pyre placed in the fill of the 'Tomb of the Throne' in the Queens' Cluster at Aigai [3], which yielded hundreds of bronze and iron nails and the cladding of a door, suggesting to the excavator that the deceased was cremated inside a wooden *oikos*[419]*.* This practice is similarly attested in Tomb II, where the

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[413] For discussions of hero cult in the ancient world, see Kurtz and Boardman (1971): 298; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995): 194-197; Currie (2005); Ekroth (2007): 105-107.
[414] Fedak (1990): 23; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995): 205-216.; Mari (2008): 222.
[415] These consist of poros foundations (measuring 9.60 x 8m) which would have supported a marble superstructure, small fragments of which have been found in the vicinity of the tomb. The northern section of the foundations was constructed on the fill of the tomb, and so must post-date it. See Andronikos (1981): 366; (1986): 30; (1991): 65.
[416] For problems associated with this identification, see Mari (2008): 225; Schmidt-Dounas (2016): 107.
[417] Mari (2008) provides details of the ruler cult attested in Macedonia and among the Hellenistic kings.
[418] Mari (2008): 225.
[419] Kottaridi (2011a): 145.

remnants of the pyre suggest that the deceased was cremated inside a monumental structure constructed of wood and mud-brick[420]. The construction of superstructures atop the burial chambers of the deceased at Aiani may have been in a similar vein, utilising temple architecture to symbolise the sanctity of the tomb and thus the higher/heroised status of the deceased.

CONCLUSIONS

The uneven nature of the archaeological exploration of Macedonia to date means that we are heavily reliant upon the material collected from funerary contexts to provide an insight into the nature of Macedonian society during the period under study. Much can be gleaned from an examination of this evidence, although it is not without its limitations.

As in life so in death? Personal and social identity as expressed through material culture

Since funerals were structured activities informed and influenced by religious and social values, an examination of burial rites and the funerary assemblage can provide an insight into these values as much as into the life of the deceased. In particular, they provide information on how those who buried the dead characterised and commemorated them using material culture[421]. Burials in Macedonia are notable for the consistency in the types of objects that were placed in the grave, with a basic 'funerary kit' consisting of clay vessels, terracotta figurines and either jewellery or weapons. Variations to this basic 'kit', whether through the addition of certain item types or through the quality and quantity of the objects offered, are thus the most revealing, and appear to have been connected primarily to the age, gender and socio-economic status of the deceased.

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[420] *ibid:* 147.
[421] Saripanidi (2017): 75.

Age

Present evidence indicates that there was no substantial difference in the types of objects afforded to adults and children in Macedonian funerary contexts. This suggests that children were not always buried with their personal possessions or objects which conveyed their interests at the time of their death, but were instead afforded items intended to represent their ideal social/gender roles had they reached adulthood. Boys were hence often buried with full-sized weapons, and girls with large quantities of jewellery. While this provides an insight into the perceived social ideals for the period, as discussed below, this trend raises questions about the intended purpose of the funerary assemblage, and thus the accuracy and efficacy of using grave goods when trying to reconstruct the everyday lives of Macedonians, since it is possible that all assemblages should be considered to some extent 'aspirational' and not a true reflection of the life of the deceased. The inclusion of the trappings of adulthood in child graves may otherwise, however, have been a means of highlighting their premature death, thus increasing its poignancy. In light of this, it is interesting that variation is apparent in the quantity of goods buried with children of different ages. While the number of offerings placed in the graves of young infants was typically quite limited, sometimes to nothing[422], or to a single clay vessel[423], particularly rich assemblages appear to have been afforded to older children[424]. It is possible that this reflects contemporary societal values, wherein high infant mortality rates meant that particularly young children were not recognised as full members of society, and were consequently not afforded funerary offerings or grave markers.

[422] Despini (2016a): 91.
[423] Kotitsa (2012): 82.
[424] Saripandi (2017): 88.

Gender

The gender of the deceased appears to have been represented through a binary format in which males were buried with weapons and females with a prevalence of jewellery, a trend apparent in Macedonia throughout its history.

The consistency with which males (both adult and child) were buried with weaponry suggests that war and/or hunting was considered an integral part of male identity. This was likely connected to the wider political and social organisation of the Macedonian kingdom, where the power of the king depended upon the support of a military elite, and important political decisions were made by a military assembly[425]. Certainly, 'warrior' burials are attested in neighbouring regions with similar political structures, such as Thrace[426]. The social stratification implicit in such an arrangement in Macedonia appears to have been reflected in the types of weapons and armour that were placed in the grave, since certain military equipment, such as helmets and swords, were found only in the assemblages of the socio-economic elite [*figure 3.50*]. It is therefore notable that the custom of placing weapons in male graves appears to decline in certain cemeteries during the Classical period, and that this phenomenon is attested at burial grounds throughout the Macedonian kingdom. That strigils often appear to have been placed in the grave in lieu of weapons in such contexts is perhaps an indication that those burying the deceased wished for them to be alternatively characterised as an athlete or civilian. This may possibly have been in emulation of Athenian fashions, a wider trend which proved popular among the socio-economic elite in Macedonia during the period under study, as discussed below. Certainly, the veneration of men as

[425] Literary sources from the Late Classical period onwards suggest that the Macedonians met in an assembly and made decisions by a majority vote. The exact prerequisites for participation in this institution are unknown, but those who attended all appear to have been armed. Hammond (1989): 60-62. 'Warrior' burials are also attested in areas with a similar organisational structure of Macedonia, such as Epirus and Thrace - see Archibald (1998): 197ff. This is in contrast to the majority of Greek polities, where very few weapons are found in funerary contexts after the sixth century.
[426] Archibald (1998): 197-206.

hunters/warriors did not otherwise decline in Macedonia but remained a pervasive component of its elite culture in subsequent historical periods, as is exemplified in the use of such imagery on the external façade of Tomb II at Aigai[427].

Females were not as overtly characterised by the objects placed in their funerary assemblage, somewhat limiting the insight that can be gleaned into their everyday lives and perceived gender roles[428]. However, the prevalence of female figurines in the grave is perhaps indicative of the corresponding prominence of women in the performance of funerary rites and customs in the region[429], as is evident also in the better-documented case of Athens. Representations of women on grave stelai also place them exclusively within the domestic sphere, tending to domestic tasks or caring for children, which perhaps reflects the social reality faced by Macedonian women in the fifth and fourth centuries.

Socio-economic status

Particular emphasis appears to have been placed on representing the affluence of the deceased in funerary contexts – likely because a person's position within Macedonian society would have been determined largely by their economic status. Wealth was expressed in the quantity, quality and variety of goods placed in the grave, with some types of objects, particularly those made of metal, precluded from all but the wealthiest assemblages[430]. Scholars have used this trend to identify four broad social classes among Archaic and Classical burials[431]. These are, however, somewhat arbitrary, and are open to considerable variation

[427] Franks (2012).
[428] For a reconstruction of the lives of Macedonian women based on the archaeological and literary evidence from the late fourth century onwards, see Carney (2000); (2010); Lilibaki-Akamati (2006).
[429] Lilibaki-Akamati (2006): 91.
[430] This arguably raises questions about the visibility of the deceased and the grave at various stages of the funerary process, something for which we currently have little evidence.
[431] As in the case of the excavation at Archontiko, see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2009): 482-484.

and interpretation[432]. They also do not take into account that affluence could have been additionally expressed through the size and elaboration of the grave in which the deceased was buried. Certainly, graves progressively increase in size during the course of the period under study, a trend attributed in part to the increased use of funerary furniture such as sarcophagi and biers. Experimentation with architectural decoration, whether carved or painted, in funerary contexts is also apparent. Spatial segregation and/or the visibility of a grave may also have been used as a method of differentiation[433], since a notable feature of the period is, as discussed above, the formation and use of funerary clusters (typically containing especially rich offerings[434]) in an area distinct from the necropolis proper[435].

Funerary contexts as evidence for the production and consumption of material culture

Macedonian material culture is, throughout its history, notable for having a 'dual character' – being simultaneously innately conservative and open to external cultural influences[436]. This is particularly evident in funerary contexts, where local products, such as traditional pottery shapes, were placed alongside imported goods. The latter, which were an important component of Macedonian funerary assemblages from the second quarter of the sixth century[437], highlight the extensive trade-links which must have existed between Macedon, the wider Aegean world and beyond during the period under study.

This is especially true of the clay vessels and coroplastics found in burial contexts, which were imported from the major production centres of the Greek world, including Attica,

[432] See, for example, Saripanidi (2017): 84, with footnote 76.
[433] Soueref (2000): 220; (2009): 348.
[434] It is important to note that this observation may result, in part, from an accident of preservation, since the burials located in these clusters were often looted to a lesser extent than those in the main burial ground/s - Besios and Tziphopoulos (2010): 131.
[435] Kakamanoudis (2017): 478.
[436] Graekos (2011): 68.
[437] Graekos (2011): 69; Saripandi (2017): 92-93.

Corinth, Eastern Greece and Laconia. As in other areas of the ancient world, vessels from Corinth (particularly small perfume jars) were popular during the sixth century, but were eventually superseded by Attic exports, resulting in a general decline in Corinthian imports in Macedonia from the last quarter of the sixth century[438]. Thereafter, Attic vessels dominate the import market, to the extent that the Macedonian kingdom has, to date, yielded the largest concentration of Attic vessels outside Athens itself[439]. Imported goods were not, however, limited only to those of the Greek world; the graves of the Macedonian socio-economic elite also featured items from further afield, such as ostrich eggs[440] or glass vessels from Phoenicia[441]. Egyptian faience was also used for jewellery[442], vessels and figurines[443]. Questions surrounding the nature and mechanisms of trade in Macedonia, discussed later in this thesis[444], make it uncertain, however, if such items were obtained as a result of direct trade with these regions, or through intermediaries.

Though goods imported from southern Greece were widely consumed throughout the Macedonian kingdom, and were consequently integrated into the cultural repertoire of Macedonia itself from the Archaic period, some objects from these areas remained rarer, more highly valued, commodities. Particularly notable among these are Attic white-ground lekythoi, which are attested only sporadically and in limited numbers throughout the majority of the Macedonian kingdom, but have been excavated in larger quantities in wealthy graves

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[438] See, for example, Kefalidou (1998): 116; Rhomiopoulou and Touratsoglou (2002): 25; Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011): 106; Allamani-Souri (2012): 284.
[439] Tiverios (2012a): 39.
[440] Kottaridi (2002): 79.
[441] See *intra*: The Mortuary Evidence; Glass vessels.
[442] See, for example, the faience bead found in grave 20 at Sindos (dated *c.*510-500) – Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985):95.
[443] Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1990): 77; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2011): 185; (2012): 251; Saripanidi (2012): 283.
[444] See *intra*: Numismatic Evidence; Conclusions.

at Pydna[445] [24] and Aigai[446] [3]. Their presence in such contexts is conspicuous; white-ground lekythoi are not often found outside Attica since the vessel was intrinsically linked with Athenian burial customs[447]. Their occurrence in the grave therefore perhaps reflects an attempt by the Macedonian socio-economic elite to emulate Athenian customs.

Indeed, the presence of such items is the grave is symptomatic of a wider preference for Attic/ Atticising goods and the emulation of elements of Athenian burial custom in Macedonia throughout the period under study. The discontinuity in the deposition of weapons in some necropoleis can perhaps be interpreted in this vein, as could the comparatively simple jewellery assemblages found in female burials from the end of the sixth century[448]. Such a trend, which was particularly prominent among the socio-economic elite, was perhaps a consequence not only of the cultural prevalence of Athens during the Classical period, but also of the active adoption and promotion of Athenian culture by the Temenid royal family[449]. This emulation was not, however, wholesale, but involved the adoption of select elements which more readily fit with the ideology and culture of the Macedonians. For example, given the affinities of Macedonian figured grave stelai with those of Ionia and Attica, the representation of men as himation-clad citizens is conspicuously absent the material record of the region.

The nature and scale of domestic production in Macedonia will be more fully elucidated only following further archaeological investigation of the region. At present, the objects recovered from funerary contexts can therefore provide only an initial insight into the types of goods that were manufactured; little can yet be said about specifics regarding their

[445] Besios and Pappa: 57-61, with images.
[446] K1 of the Queens' Cluster contained 10 Attic white-ground lekythoi, one of which is attributed to the Woman Painter and the others to his followers. Kottaridi (1989): 6.
[447] Kurtz (1975): 137-138; Oakley (2004): 10-11.
[448] Castor (2008): 139.
[449] See, for example, Hatzopoulos (2011): 58-60.

place of manufacture or circulation. For example, although it has been posited that some of the clay figurines found in Macedonian funerary contexts (such as those made from a dark red clay which appear at Archontiko [4] from the mid-sixth century[450]) were produced in domestic workshops, the existence of such during this period has not yet been substantiated by clay analysis or excavation[451]. Similarly, only a small number of domestic pottery workshops dating to the period have been identified, for example at Sindos[452] [26] and in the wider region of Aiani[453] [2]. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Macedonian artisans were open to stylistic and iconographic trends from the major centres of production in the Greek world. This resulted in their imitation of imported vessel shapes, and their adoption of Athenian and Ionic styles during the production of grave stelai[454]. Potters in the region also, however, continued to produce local wares throughout the period, including vessels of traditional shapes (such as dinoi) characterised by their greyish colour[455] [*figure 3.51]*.

Mortuary evidence as an insight into ethnic identity?

The burial grounds examined in this chapter are situated across a wide geographical area, which encompassed not only the Macedonian heartland but also territories which variously retained marginal independence from the Macedonians, or were brought under their hegemony during the period under study. Given this, one of the initial aims of this chapter was to examine whether any similarities or differences are apparent in burial contexts in different parts of the Macedonian kingdom, looking ultimately at if there are any

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[450] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou (2014): 393; (2017a): 70.
[451] Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller (2017): 59. Nevertheless, the existence of such workshops has been proposed at a number of sites, including Pydna and Sindos/ Nea Anchialos – see Noulas (2014): 408; Misailidou-Despotidou (2017): 73 respectively.
[452] Tiverios (1988): 301; (2012b): 17.
[453] Karamitrou-Mentesidi and Kephalidou (1999): 550.
[454] It is also possible that migrant potters and sculptors may have established local workshops in the Macedonian kingdom, particularly during the course of the fourth century. See Graekos (2011): 73. Kalaitzi (2016): 17, footnote 46.
[455] Kottaridi (2011d): 173.

aspects of burial custom that are unique to the Macedonian *ethnos*. Investigations of this type are notoriously problematic[456], however, since material culture is typically not ethnically diagnostic[457].

Indeed, although a range of ethnic groups are thought to have inhabited the Macedonian kingdom by the fifth century, burials throughout the region are notable for their general homogeneity, showing remarkable similarities in terms of grave type, burial rite and the types of objects placed in the funerary assemblage. Rather than highlighting ethnic differences, the mortuary evidence thus perhaps instead indicates the existence of a cultural *koine* among the different tribes and *ethne* of the Northern Aegean, or at least implies that areas on the fringes of the Macedonian kingdom were culturally assimilated with that of the Macedonian heartland prior to their political integration[458]. Extensive interaction between these areas prior to and during the period under study is thus indicated. Few objects found in funerary contexts of the period appear to belong outside this cultural *koine* – the main exceptions being the gold funerary masks excavated at Sindos [26] and Archontiko [4], and the use of sculpture in the round as grave markers at Aiani [2]. While these perhaps provide an insight into indigenous customs, it should be noted that such objects do not necessarily reflect ethnic differences, but may instead reflect the distinct customs of a select elite group, who adopted a particular aspect/s of 'foreign' material culture otherwise uncommon in Macedonia as a means of differentiation, to highlight the socio-economic status of the deceased.

How, then, do the burials in this *koine* compare to other regions? Despite the proliferation of imported goods from southern Greece, and the tendency among the socio-

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[456] For a discussion of the problems related to ethnicity in the archaeological record, see for example Hall (1997): 129-131; Jones (1997): 106-127; Müller (2014): 25-30.
[457] Hall (1997): 130.
[458] Saripandi (2017): 119.

economic elite to emulate aspects of funerary custom from this region, Macedonian burials differ significantly from those of the South. This is primarily because elaborate mortuary display is not attested in the majority of Southern Greece after the Archaic period. 'Warrior burials' are therefore absent from this region, since weapons and armour were among the objects no longer deposited in the grave[459]. Macedonian burials are thus more immediately comparable with those of neighbouring regions such as Thrace, where the conspicuous display of wealth in mortuary contexts continued unabated, and the practice of 'warrior burials' remained commonplace[460]. There are still, however, conspicuous differences between the burials of these regions. The small 'feasting sets' found in Macedonian graves are, for example, not regularly attested in Thracian burial contexts until the mid-fifth century, following the rise of the Odrysian kingdom[461]. Similarly, while gold plate is also found in Thracian graves, it was typically placed on the chest of the deceased and not the face[462], as was customary in Macedonia. The ideological and cultural significance attached to such items thus varied between regions, even though elements of their material culture were comparable. Therefore, even though the Macedonian kingdom was a melting-pot for a variety of different cultures and ethnicities, its resulting burial practices and customs appear distinctly Macedonian.

Burials as evidence for wider economic decline?

It is often noted that burials of the fifth and early fourth century appear 'poorer' and more restrained than those of the sixth and later fourth century. This is due to both the comparative decline in the overall number of objects placed in the grave, and the reduction

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[459] van Wees (1998): 340.
[460] Archibald (1998): 197-206.
[461] Saripanidi (2016b): 89.
[462] Archibald (1998): 172.

in the quantity and types of luxury goods that were afforded to the deceased. For example, the number of metal vessels placed in Macedonian graves declines significantly from the second quarter of the fifth century, while certain types of objects, such as gold decorative elements of dress and imitation models of furniture and wagons, cease entirely, despite their prevalence in wealthy assemblages of the preceding period. Consequently, the wealth attested in graves of the socio-economic elite in the late Archaic period, such as that of the 'Lady of Aigai', is unparalleled for the remainder of the period under study, and is evidenced again only from the reign of Philip II. This comparative modesty has been used by a number of scholars as evidence that Macedonia underwent considerable economic decline at this time.

Using the archaeological evidence from funerary contexts alone to draw such a conclusion is, however, arguably methodologically problematic, since the period is bookended by two seemingly anomalous periods of economic prosperity in Macedonia, prompted first by the Persian Wars and later by the campaigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great[463]. This problematises attempts to assess the mortuary evidence in its wider historical context. It should be noted, for example, that the proliferation of luxury goods, such as metal vessels, in Macedonian burials following the campaigns of Alexander the Great is not attested in subsequent historical periods[464]. Funerary assemblages are therefore not necessarily a safe indication of the prosperity of a particular society[465], especially when examined in relative isolation. Indeed, the lack of material excavated from other contexts in Macedonia, particularly domestic, makes it hard to assess how an oikos' expenditure on a burial compared to that of their total wealth. It is therefore difficult to ascertain if this comparative

[463] For summary of impact of Alexander's campaigns on Macedonian economy see Touratsoglou (2010): 221-223.
[464] Touloumtzidou (2011): 160.
[465] Hall (1997): 123-126.

modesty is indicative of overall economic decline in the region, or is the result of other factors.

One such factor may be a change in burial customs and practices during the period under study, in which the affluence of the deceased was increasingly reflected in their grave architecture, tomb furnishings and funerary monument in addition to their funerary assemblage. Certainly, there appears to have been a tendency towards the monumentalisation and elaboration of graves throughout the course of the fifth and fourth centuries[466], which culminated eventually in the introduction and use of Macedonian tombs by the socio-economic elite. Figured grave stelai were also first introduced in Macedonia during the fifth century. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the comparative decline in the use of gold and silver objects (a primary indicator of a burial's wealth) throughout the course of the fifth century may have been linked to the wider circulation of the metal, which meant that it lost its symbolic value and so was not as readily buried with the deceased[467]. Otherwise, the comparative modesty of funerary assemblages during the period might reflect the increasing gulf between royal and non-royal burials, as the social and political hierarchy apparent under the Temenids became more entrenched throughout the Macedonian kingdom[468].

[466] Noulas (1998): 153.
[467] Archibald (2013): 316; Saripandi (2017): 124.
[468] Saripandi (2017): 124.

- IV -
Macedonian Religion and Cult

Despite numerous investigations into the subject[1], the religious practices of the Macedonians remain, at present, a particularly elusive aspect of Macedonian society. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, for reasons discussed previously, the archaeological exploration of sanctuary contexts in Macedonia has been limited to date, making it difficult to gain a comprehensive overview of the religious infrastructure of the region. Those sanctuaries which have been excavated to date are limited primarily to those situated either within the major centres of the Macedonian kingdom, particularly Aigai[2] [3] and Pella[3] [20], or at Dion [7], the national sanctuary of the Macedonians. Rural and extra-mural sanctuaries hence remain largely unexplored, although these would provide a fuller picture of the sacred landscape. This poses a particular problem for the study of Macedonian religion, as scholars have posited that different regions, cities and social groups possessed unique sets of religious traditions in Macedon, meaning that different groups could worship the same deity in very different capacities[4]. For example, in the late Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods Herakles Kynagidas was variously worshipped as a patron of the high ranking *ephebes* who served as royal hunters (*basilikoi kynegoi)*; was afforded royal dedications by the Antigonid kings; and presided over the manumission of slaves[5]. In addition, deities which otherwise appear to have had a minor role in the Macedonian pantheon could be elevated to a position of importance within a particular city once associated with, or patronised by, the Macedonian

[1] No single, comprehensive survey of Macedonian religion exists at present. For recent summative articles on the extant scholarship, see Christesen and Murray (2010); Chatzinikolaou (2010); Mari (2011); *OCD s.v.* Macedonia, cults.
[2] For example, the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods - Drougou (1990); (1991); (1992); (1996); (2011): 243-256 or the sanctuary of Eukleia – Kottaridi (2013): 222; Kyriakou and Tourtas (2013); Kyriakou (2014).
[3] For example, the Thesmophorion - Lilimpaki-Akamati (1996) or the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods - Lilimpaki-Akamati (2000); (2002).
[4] Mari (2011): 453.
[5] Intzesiloglou (2006): 72 ; Mari (2011) : 461.

royal family, as is the case of the goddess Eukleia at Aigai[6]. To gain a fuller picture of Macedonian religion, it is therefore necessary to ascertain the extent to which the religious practices of ordinary Macedonians differed from those of the socio-economic elite or Macedonian royal family. Yet this is problematic given that much of the extant evidence, both archaeological and literary, is associated primarily with the latter.

The problems inherent to the study of Macedonian religion as described above are further exacerbated for the period under study, since the vast majority of evidence relating to religious and cultic practices in the region dates from the reign of Philip II onwards[7]. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the fifth and first half of the fourth century is extremely fragmentary, making it difficult to reconstruct the religious landscape of Macedonia at this time. What follows is survey of this evidence, presented with the aim of discussing its implications for the study of Macedonian religion, particularly in light of what is known from later periods.

Macedonian religion from the reign of Philip II onwards - a brief summary

While the exact nature and composition of the Macedonian pantheon remains a particularly elusive aspect of Macedonian religion[8], the archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence from the region indicates that it was composed primarily of the Olympian gods. Of these, Zeus and Herakles were pre-eminent – as the ancestral gods of the Macedonians they were worshipped throughout the Macedonian kingdom, under a range of different epithets[9].

[6] A large sanctuary to the goddess, measuring over three thousand square metres, was constructed at Aigai during the royal building program undertaken at Aigai in the fourth century. The sanctuary was then subsequently furnished with lavish sculpted votives dedicated by members of the Temenid house, a tradition later also upheld by the *Diadochoi*. See Mari (2011): 463 ; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2011): 193-194.
[7] Christesen and Murrary (2010); Mari (2011): 453.
[8] Mari (2011): 453.
[9] For the worship of Zeus in Macedonia, including his patronage by the Temenids - Le Bohec-Bouhet (2002): 41-42; Voutiras (2006); Bellas (2007); Christesen and Murray (2010): 430. For Herakles – Christesen and Murray (2010): 430; Chatzinikolaou (2010): 217; Kottaridi (2011c): 326.

Also prominent was a great female divinity who encapsulated the various traits of a kourotrophic fertility goddess[10]. The latter appears to have been worshipped both as a single deity, such as the Mother of the Gods[11], or sometimes as the pairing of Demeter and Persephone[12], who were additionally syncretised with other female deities, particularly Aphrodite and Artemis[13]. Other cults of considerable importance include that of Asklepios[14] and, from the Hellenistic period onwards, Isis and Sarapis[15]. By contrast, Hephaestus, Ares, Poseidon and Hera do not appear to have been widely worshipped[16].

Epigraphic evidence suggests that ritual actions which marked the transitions between different stages of life (whether social or biological) were also an integral part of Macedonian society and religion[17]. These were overseen either by Artemis and Demeter (for females) or Herakles and Dionysos (for males), although the specific rituals involved in these 'rites of passage' are still largely unknown[18]. Deities who presided over the passage from life to death were also of considerable importance. Prominent among these was Persephone[19], whose image was displayed in some Macedonian funerary contexts – for example, one of the

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[10] Hatzopoulos (2002): 12-14; (2006): 131; (2013): 164; Christesen and Murray (2010): 430-431.
[11] The Mother of the Gods appears to have been the focus of popular devotion, private worship and mystery cult in Macedonia. The multifaceted nature of the cult meant that her worship manifested in a variety of ways throughout the region – including at urban shrines (as at Pella and Aigai), extra-urban sanctuaries (such as at Leukopetra and the Tempe Valley in Perrhaibia) and as part of private, domestic cult. See, for example, Drougou (1990); (1991); (1992); (1996); Lilibaki-Akamati (2000); Stamatopoulou (2012): 87. For the evolution of the cult of the Mother of the Gods and its adoption in various parts of the ancient world, see Roller (1999).
[12] Pingiatoglou (1991): 911-913.
[13] Mari (2011): 457. The presence of inscriptions and/or votive dedications to these deities in a sanctuary of Demeter or the Mother of the Gods is typically seen as evidence that these deities were syncretised/conflated with one another. See for example, the dedicatory inscriptions to Aphrodite and Artemis recovered in the sanctuary of Demeter at Dion - Pingiatoglou (1999); 915; (2010a): 210; (2010b): 187; (2016): 34. Aphrodite was also worshipped in a common sanctuary with the Mother of the Gods at Pella - Lilibaki-Akamati (1997): 27.
[14] Hatzopoulos (2006): 131; Mari (2011): 462. For a comprehensive overview of the cult of Asklepios in Macedonia – Akamatis *et al.* (2010).
[15] Christensen and Murray (2010): 435-436; Mari (2011): 462.
[16] Christesen and Murray (2010): 430; Hatzopoulos (2013): 164.
[17] Mari (2011): 456.
[18] Hatzopoulos (1994); (2002): 15; (2006): 131-132.
[19] Hatzopoulos (2002): 21.

internal walls of the 'tomb of Persephone' at Aigai (dated to the mid fourth century) was decorated with a 'rape of Persephone' scene[20] [*figure 4.1*], while the back panel of the throne in the 'tomb of Eurydice' (dated to the mid to late fourth century) featured Persephone and Hades in a quadriga[21] [*figure 4.2*]. A belief in a meaningful existence after death also promulgated the rise of a number of mystery cults in the region – classified variously by scholars as Dionysiac or 'Orphic' – as is evidenced by the placement of gold tablets in select elite Macedonian burials from the fourth century onwards[22]. Persephone also played a role in these, functioning as a presumed intermediary for the deceased[23].

The Archaeological Evidence

As is outlined above, the archaeological evidence relating to sanctuary contexts in Macedonia is limited – few sanctuaries have been excavated in the region thus far and, of these, just one, the sanctuary of Demeter at Dion, has a phase which has been firmly dated to the period under study.

Dion

The sanctuary of Dion [7] is situated below the foothills of Mount Olympus, on the southern edge of the Pierian plain [*figure 1.4]*. This was a strategic position which defined the southernmost frontier of the Macedonian heartland[24], a factor which may account in part for

[20] Andronikos (1994): 49-66.
[21] These tombs have been dated to the mid- and late-fourth century respectively. Although Hades is also depicted in both images, his popularity in Macedonia is difficult to establish at present. See Hatzopoulos (2006): 133.
[22] 'Gold tablets' found in Macedonian burials from the late fourth century appear to have been used by the initiates of mystery rites to secure their place in the afterlife. These tablets functioned either as 'proxies', and thus provided the deceased with a means by which to identify themselves as an initiate, or as 'mnemonic devices', providing a set of instructions that the deceased could follow once in the underworld. On gold tablets in general, see: Parker (1995); Parker and Stamatopoulou (2004); Hatzopoulos (2006): 135-137; Graf and Johnston (2007); Tzifopoulos (2010); Bernabe and Jimenez San Cristobal (2011); Graf (2011).
[23] Parker (1995): 497.
[24] The strategic significance of the site is evident in its fortification, which occurred under Cassander at the end of the fourth century. Pingiatoglou (2010a): 215.

the initial siting of the sanctuary, or its eventual prominence in the Macedonian religious landscape. Archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence suggest that the site played an important role in Macedonian religion by the fourth century, likely functioning as the national sanctuary of the Macedonians[25], since it was at Dion that the Temenid kings held important religious festivals, dedicated expensive votive offerings[26] and erected public documents[27]. While it is uncertain if Dion's status as a national sanctuary can be extrapolated back to the period under study, the site appears to have been a locus for royal initiatives from at least the end of the fifth century, since Archelaus is reported to have established a nine-day festival to Zeus and the Muses at the sanctuary during his reign[28]. This would have involved athletic, musical and dramatic competitions[29], held in the theatre and stadion at Dion. The former of these was perhaps built specifically for this purpose, since its earliest phase dates to the late fifth/ early fourth century[30]. However, although this suggests that a sanctuary for Zeus and the Muses may have existed at the site by the end of the fifth century[31], the extant archaeological evidence for their cult dates almost exclusively from the end of the fourth century onwards[32]. Indeed, the only cultic activity attested archaeologically at Dion during the period under study originates from the sanctuary of Demeter.

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[25] Le Bohec-Bouhet (2002): 45; Mari (2011): 456; Hatzopoulos (2013): 167.

[26] Polybius: 4.62 records that when the sanctuary was sacked by Aetolian troops in 219, Scopas *"overturned all the statues of the kings."*

[27] For the public decrees erected at Dion, see, for example: *SEG* 31 (1981): no.628, 48 (1998): nos.782-783, 785-786. For a commentary on their erection, see Hatzopoulos (2013): 167; Graf (2016): 90-93.

[28] Arrian: 1.11.1; Diodorus: 17.16.3-4.

[29] Mari (2011): 456.

[30] Karadedos (1986): 337-340. Similarly, coinage dating to the reign of Alexander I was found in the backfill of the stadion, suggesting that it was operational during the late fifth century, having been constructed in the late sixth or early fifth century - Pandermalis (1995): 169.

[31] The antiquity of the cult of Zeus at Dion is perhaps attested in fragments of the mythographic Oxyrhynchus papyrus (lines 26-27), which state that an altar to Zeus Olympios was founded at the site of Dion by the Thessalian hero Deucalion – see Voutiras (2006): 335.

[32] The primary exception to this is a coin minted at Dion in the early fourth century, which depicts the head of Zeus on the obverse and a seated Demeter on the reverse. Demetriadi (1998): 116. For the history of the cult of Zeus at Dion, see Bohec-Bouhet (2002): 41-57; Voutiras (2006): 335. For an overview of the excavations of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Dion, see Pandermalis (2009): 261-265. No single place of worship dedicated to the Muses has been uncovered at Dion to date - Mari (2002): 53; Pandermalis (2009): 266.

The sanctuary of Demeter

Uncovered outside the southern boundary of the settlement at Dion[33] [*figure 1.31],* the cult of Demeter was initially identified through diagnostic finds but was confirmed by a fragment of a red-figure skyphos, dated to the fourth century, which had the name of the goddess inscribed on its base[34]. The area occupied by the sanctuary was used from at least the beginning of the fifth century BC until the end of the fourth century AD[35]. During this time, it underwent at least three major building phases[36], the earliest of which dates to the late sixth or early fifth century. Two temples, of the 'megaron' type, date to this phase. Located 12m apart, the northernmost of these [*figure 1.32, no.2*] was partially destroyed during the construction of a later Hellenistic temple, largely obscuring its foundations - only 4.10m of its width and 3.10m of its length are preserved[37]. The remains of an *eschara* dating to the Classical period was found in its vicinity, near what would have been its entrance[38] *[figure 1.32, no.4].* Better preserved are the remains of the southern temple *[figure 1.32, no.1*], which were untouched by subsequent building phases – these consist of a small temple (measuring 6x4m) of the 'megaron' type, comprising of only a pronaos and cella[39]. Although six altars have been excavated in the sanctuary thus far[40], none can be dated with certainty to the earliest phase of the sanctuary's use. However, similarities between the orientation of the altar found 5m east of the southern Hellenistic temple *[figure 1.32, no.5]* and that of the southern late Archaic/ early Classical temple suggest that the two may be contemporary[41].

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[33] Pingiatoglou (1999): 916.
[34] Pingiatoglou (1990): 205; (2010a): 202; *SEG* 43 (1993): no.386.
[35] Pingiatoglou (2005): 97.
[36] Pingiatoglou (2009): 285.
[37] Pingiatoglou (1991): 145.
[38] Pingiatoglou (1992): 229. This *eschara* was found beneath the floor level of the northern Hellenistic temple.
[39] Pingiatoglou (1991): 145.
[40] Pingiatoglou (1990): 206; (1992): 223-227; (2009): 285-288; Pandermalis (1996): 205.
[41] Pingiatoglou (1990): 206. Secure dating of the altar is problematic since it was reconstructed and adapted several times and was used for a prolonged period, with associated finds that date up to the 2nd century AD.

In addition to the two temples, late Archaic/ early Classical remains were also identified in the area of the so-called 'Building with the Wells'[42] [*figure 1.32, no.7*]. This stratum (located 0.55m beneath the floor of the Hellenistic phase) contained two circular pits lined with clay, which were uncovered among the remains of a destruction layer containing traces of fire, bones and numerous offerings of the Classical period, including, unusually, a fragment of a mask and a figurine of a turtle[43]. The use of clay to line the pits suggested to the excavator that they may have functioned as wells, perhaps to receive libations intended for the deity[44], although the quantity of offerings associated with the site means that they may otherwise have been used as offering pits.

The absence of written accounts pertaining to the cult of Demeter at Dion means that these architectural remains and associated small finds provide the only indication as to the nature of the cult practices undertaken in the sanctuary. The small finds at Dion are typical of those found in sanctuaries of Demeter throughout the ancient world[45], including painted lamps[46], black-glazed bowls, fragments of ringed kernoi, skyphoi, hydriskai, terracotta figurines (typically females wearing a polos and holding fruits or small animals in their hands), protomai and hydriaphoroi. Although these were found scattered throughout the site, they were excavated in particularly large concentrations in the cella of both temples, near the interior walls, suggesting that they may have been placed on shelves or other such furniture in this part of the temple[47]. Such votive dedications are notable for being predominantly modest, low-value items, typically made of clay and mass-produced. This trait, common of

[42] For an overview of the various phases of this structure, see Pingiatoglou (1990): 207-208; (2009): 288; (2010a): 204-207; (2010b): 183.
[43] Pingiatoglou (1990): 207-208.
[44] Pingiatoglou (1990): 207; (2009): 288.
[45] See, for example, Lilimpaki-Akamati (1996): 110-111; Pingiatoglou (1999); (2005); Merker (2000): 23-82; Evans (2002).
[46] For a detailed typological study of the lamps found in the sanctuary throughout its history, see Pingiatoglou (2005).
[47] Pingiatoglou (1991): 149.

votives found in sanctuaries of Demeter[48], is perhaps indicative of the 'popular' nature of the cult in Macedonia during the Classical period. Also of interest is the predominance of female figurines among these dedications, which may suggest that the majority of worshippers who visited the sanctuary were themselves female.

The popularity of hydriaphoroi and vessels used for pouring among the votive dedications at Dion also suggests that water, which was abundant throughout the site, played an important role in the cultic rites performed in the sanctuary[49]. While the ritual uses of water in sacred contexts are well attested, it may have had particular significance in sanctuaries of Demeter because of the agrarian nature of her cult[50]. For example, the quantity of hydriaphoroi figurines which were dedicated as votives at Dion could suggest that water jugs were carried as part of a procession undertaken at the sanctuary[51], as is also thought to have been the case in the sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth[52]. Similarly, although terracotta lamps are a common find in most sanctuaries given their utilitarian function and comparatively low-value as offerings[53], the large quantity of lamps found in sanctuaries of Demeter[54], including Dion, suggests that they played an important role within her cult. While their exact purpose at Dion remains elusive, it is possible that they were, as in other sanctuaries of the goddess, required during sacrifice; used for lighting during nocturnal cultic ceremonies; or used in purification rites[55].

Finally, a notable feature of the sanctuary of Demeter at Dion is the construction of two contemporaneous temples, of approximately equal size, throughout each phase of the

[48] See, for example, Bookidis and Stroud (1987): 13; Leventi and Mitsopoulou (2010).
[49] Pingiatoglou (2010a): 212.
[50] For the popularity of such offerings in sanctuaries of Demeter see, for example: Bookidis and Stroud (1987): 29; Lilimpaki-Akamati (1996): 110; Merker (2000): 38; Chatzinikolaou (2011): 62.
[51] For evidence of water carrying in cultic contexts see Parker (2011): 242.
[52] Bookidis and Stroud (1987): 29.
[53] Pingiatoglou (2005): 98.
[54] For example, 2,200 clay lamps were found in the sanctuary of Demeter at Troizen, 3,400 in Rhodes and around 30,000 in Selinus. See Pingiatoglou (2005): 79; Bookidis and Pemberton (2015): 15-16.
[55] Pingiatoglou (1999): 914; Parisinou (2000): 136-149; Bookidis and Pemberton (2015): 15-18.

sanctuary's use, which suggests that two deities were worshipped simultaneously at the site[56]. The identity of the second deity has not, however, been established. While Persephone was often an attendant deity in sanctuaries of Demeter, as, for example at Eleusis, Olympia[57], Thasos[58] or Beroia[59], no epigraphic evidence directly attesting to her worship has been excavated at Dion. Similarly, although cult worship at the site was evidently later extended to incorporate a wide repertoire of fertility gods, including Baubo, Cybele, Aphrodite and Artemis[60], it is uncertain whether the status of any of these deities extended beyond that of 'visiting gods' who shared attributes, and so were conflated with, Demeter[61]. A figurine of Artemis (depicted holding a bow in her left hand, with a deer to her right) dated to the beginning of the fifth century was among the figurines dedicated at the sanctuary[62], but this evidence alone is insufficient to suggest that the goddess had an official cult during the period under study. Indeed, figurines of Aphrodite and Artemis were common offerings in the sanctuaries of female deities throughout the ancient world[63], perhaps because they were mass-produced and as such were easy, and cheap, to procure. However, finds from subsequent periods, such as a votive stele dedicated to Apollo and Artemis, perhaps confirm that the goddess was worshipped at the site[64].

[56] Pingiatoglou (2010b): 185. The number of altars excavated to date at Dion also appears to indicate that numerous deities were worshipped at the site, although they may otherwise simply reflect the longevity of the cult. See Pingiatoglou (2010): 212.
[57] Liagkouras (2009).
[58] Pingiatoglou (2005): 13
[59] Pingiatoglou (1999): 912.
[60] For evidence relating to the presence of these deities in the sanctuary, see: Pingiatoglou (1991): 150; (1999): 915; (2010a): 210-211; (2010b): 187. A marble base (dated to the late fifth/ early fourth century) dedicated to Praxidika and Hermes Tychon, found re-used near a tower of the northern Byzantine wall at Dion, has also provisionally been associated with sanctuary of Demeter. See *SEG* 61: 490; Pingiatoglou (2011).
[61] For more on the notion of 'visiting gods' see Alroth (1989).
[62] Pingiatoglou (1991): 147.
[63] Alroth (1989): 114-115.
[64] Pingiatoglou (2016): 34.

"Tombs not temples?"

An oft-noted aspect of Macedonian religion is the relative absence of monumental religious architecture in the region, in terms of both the number and size of the temples erected in the Macedonian kingdom[65]. Although true of all periods[66], this is particularly pronounced for the period under study, as very few temples of this date have been unearthed in Macedonia thus far. Except for the two contemporaneous temples at Dion described above, evidence for religious architecture of this date is limited to an architectural member with Ionic molding thought to belong to an Archaic Ionic temple at Pydna[67] [24] and architectural members used in the construction of a cist grave at Sindos [26], which are thought by their excavators to have perhaps originated from a local temple[68]. This stands in contrast to contemporary practice evident in many of the Greek cities in the Northern Aegean, where temples were more numerous and were typically larger and more monumental in form[69]. Thus while those in Macedonia appear to have been 'megaron' type temples of small dimensions, those built by the Greek polities were larger, peripteral and often also had an opisthodomos.

Various explanations, both ideological and practical, have been posited to account for the lack of monumental temple construction in Macedonia during the period under study. Prominent among these is the suggestion that the Macedonians, for a variety of social, political and/or religious reasons, built 'tombs not temples'[70]. However, although economic and ideological investment in funerary architecture and furnishings is apparent in the region

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[65] Christesen and Murray (2010): 436-437; Mari (2011): 454.
[66] Muller (2012): 105.
[67] Marki (1990): 45.
[68] Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1985): 12.
[69] Temples dating to the period under study have been excavated in cities such as Oisyme, Galipsos, Torone and Neapolis. For their details, see Schmidt-Dounas (2004):107-145; (2007): 463-472. Additionally, the itinerant Late Archaic temple excavated in Thessaloniki may have originated in Aineia – see Voutiras (1999): 1329-1343.
[70] See, for example, Christesen and Murray (2010): 437-440.

throughout Macedonia's history, there is no extant evidence to suggest that this was in lieu of religious investment. Indeed, the motivations behind the seeming discrepancy between investment in religious and funerary contexts cannot be determined exclusively through archaeological evidence, and literary accounts do not shed light on the matter.

The construction of monumental religious architecture may simply not have been an aspect of Macedonian religious practice. Certainly, the absence of such architecture is not limited only to the period under study, but is attested throughout Macedonian history, even in times of great prosperity. The temple of Eukleia at Aigai, constructed as part of the royal building program of Philip II, was, for example a distyle in antis Doric temple of small proportions[71]. Yet the Temenids were not averse to religious expenditure - they invested heavily in major sanctuaries of the Greek world from the fourth century onwards, undertaking monumental construction projects as a means of self-aggrandising display which also allowed them to culturally engage and ingratiate themselves with their neighbours in the south[72]. The construction of modest temples may, then, have been a deliberate component of Macedonian religious practice, making it comparable to other *ethne* on the fringes of the Greek world during the period under study. The practice is, for example, seemingly attested also at Epirus, such as in the sanctuary of Dodona, whose primary temple of the fifth century was of the 'megaron' type and measured just 4 x 6.50m[73].

However, given the current nature of the archaeological exploration of Macedonia and the extant evidence, practical considerations also cannot be discounted. The lack of monumental religious architecture in the region may, for example, be the result of the use of predominantly perishable building materials for temple construction; a lack of resources to

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[71] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996): 55-68; Kottaridi (2013): 222.
[72] For a discussion of the presence of the Macedonian kings in sanctuaries of the Greek world, particularly Delphi and Olympia, from the reign of Philip II onwards, see Mari (2002): 75ff.
[73] Dakaris (1971): 40, *contra* Mancini (2015), who has proposed a revaluation of the dates proposed by Dakaris.

invest in monumental building projects; and/or the destruction or re-use of temple remains as a result of the prolonged and continuous occupation of sites in Macedonia[74].

THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Epigraphic evidence linked to Macedonian religion is relatively limited[75]. This is not, however, necessarily reflective of religious customs and practices in the region, but is instead symptomatic of the general absence of known inscriptions dating to the fifth and first half of the fourth century in Macedonia.

Curse tablets (*Katadesmoi)*

Although found in other regions of the Mediterranean world from the late sixth century onwards[76], curse tablets appear in the archaeological record in Macedonia only at the beginning of the fourth century. Three extant examples have been provisionally dated to the period under study: two from the agora cemetery of Pella[77], and one from the cemetery of Oraiokastro, Thessaloniki[78]. Of particular interest is the tablet found in grave 18 at Pella (dated to 380-350[79]), which contained a binding spell intended to prevent the marriage of the *defigens'* love interest to a rival[80] [*figures 4.3 and 4.4].*

[74] Ginouves (1994): 106; Mari (2002): 51; (2011): 454; Muller (2012): 102.
[75] For a comprehensive survey of the epigraphic material related to religion in Macedonia, see the Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion published annually in *Kernos*.
[76] For an overview of the extant corpus of curse tablets, which date from the late sixth century to late antiquity, see: Jordan (1985): 151-152; Gager (1992); Johnston (2013): 71-73; Stratton (2015): 86-90; Versnel (2015): 456-457.
[77] One of these has not yet been opened due to its fragmentary condition. See Akamatis (1999): 485; *SEG* 49 (1999): no. 758.
[78] The tablet was found near a cremation burial (T4) in the north-eastern plot of the necropolis. Dated by letter forms to the fourth century, the tablet gives the names of the sons of a certain Ὥσπερος: Διογένης, Κρίτων, Ἰοβίλης, Ἐπάναρος and Μένων. *SEG* 49 (1999): no.750; Soueref and Matthaiou (1998): 232-233.
[79] The tablet has been dated by letter form, since no other offerings were found in the grave. Voutiras (1998): 5-7.
[80] The tablet was found by the right thigh bone of the deceased. It is uncertain if the tablet may originally have been placed in the hand, subsequently slipping (approximately 15cm) from this position over time, or was found *in situ*. Voutiras (1998): 3.

[Θετί]μας καὶ Διονυσοφῶντος τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν γάμον
καταγράφω καὶ τᾶν ἀλλᾶν πασᾶν γυ-
[ναικ]ῶν καὶ χηρᾶν καὶ παρθένων, μάλιστα δὲ
Θετίμας, καὶ παρκαττίθεμαι Μάκρωνι καὶ
[τοῖς] δαίμοσι · καὶ ὁπόκα ἐγὼ ταῦτα διελέξαιμι
καὶ ἀναγνοίην πάλ̣ιν ἀνορόξασα
4 [τόκα] γᾶμαι Διονυσοφῶντα, πρότερον δὲ μή· μὴ γὰρ
λάβοι ἄλλαν γυναῖκα ἀλλ' ἢ ἐμέ,
[ἐμὲ δ]ὲ συνκαταγηρᾶσαι Διονυσοφῶντι καὶ
μηδεμίαν ἄλλαν· ἱκέτις ὑμῶ⟨ν⟩ γίνο-
[μαι· . . .]αν οἰκτίρετε δαίμονες φίλ[ο]ι, ΔΑΓΙΝΑΓΑΡΙΜΕ
φίλων πάντων καὶ ἐρήμα· ἀλλὰ
[ταῦτ]α φυλάσσετε ἐμὶν ὅπως μὴ γίνηται ταῦ̣τα
καὶ κακὰ κακῶς Θετίμα ἀπόληται·
8 [. . . .]. ΑΛ [- - -].ΥΝΜ. . ΕΣΠΛΗΝ ἐμός, ἐμὲ δὲ
ε̣ὐδαίμονα καὶ μακαρίαν γενέσται·
[- - -]ΤΟ.[- - -] . . Ε.Ε.ΩΑ. .ΜΕΤΕ[- -]

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 to 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 [---][81].

The nature and preoccupation of this tablet is common among the corpus of extant *katadesmoi*, since approximately one quarter of the 1500 tablets attested to date are concerned with relationships, love or the erotic[82]. The formula of the curse/ binding spell also follows established conventions, as most *katadesmoi* appear to have depended upon either chthonic deities or the dead for their enactment[83], and so directly invoked them within the text. In this instance, the tablet is placed in the custody of Macron (who is presumed to be the deceased in whose grave the curse is buried), while chthonic daimones are charged with enacting the spell, highlighting the *defigens'* belief in the existence of such entities. The perceived importance of chthonic beings in the enactment of curses and binding spells

[81] *SEG* 43 (1993): no.434; translation that of Voutiras (1998): 15-16, who also provides an extended commentary for the text.
[82] For an overview of these '*defixiones amatoriae*', see Gager (1992): 78.
[83] Johnston (2013): 71.

perhaps accounts for the frequent placement of curse tablets in funerary contexts in Macedonia, as in other regions of the ancient world. Further to this, it has been noted that some *katadesmoi* may have been specifically placed in the graves of those who had died an untimely death[84] (either in their youth or by violent means), since their souls were thought to remain in a restless condition near the grave[85], thereby ensuring the effectiveness and potency of the curse. Although this is difficult to establish archaeologically, this may be the case in Pella, since elements of the burial appear indicative of the poverty or lower social status of the deceased, or suggest that they died unexpectedly and had to be buried in haste[86]. For example, the dimensions of the grave were too small to adequately accommodate the skeleton of the deceased, who, in addition, and contrary to standard practice, was interred with no funerary offerings - the curse tablet was the only object found in the grave[87].

<u>The grave stele of a priestess?</u>

An inscribed poros funerary base (measuring 64 x 40 x 64cm) was uncovered during a public works project in Pella[88]. It has been dated, through letter forms, to the late fifth or early fourth century.

<table>
<tr><td>Κεῖμαι τẹ[ῖδ]ε θανοῦ-
σα, πατρὶ[ς] δ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἐστ-
ὶ Κόρινθος, ἔνθ᾽ αΐας π-
ρόπολος· τὄνυμα Τιμ-
αρέτη</td><td>Here I lie dead, but my fatherland is Corinth; I am an attendant of (?), Timarete by name[89].</td></tr>
</table>

[84] Jordan (1985): 152ff, with relevant case studies.
[85] Gager (1992): 19.
[86] Voutiras (1998): 96-97.
[87] Voutiras (1998): 3-4.
[88] *SEG* 27 (1977): no.298; Lilibakis (1977): 260-263.
[89] Translation that of Voutiras (1998): 103.

Although interpreted as an epitaph of a Corinthian priestess of Gaia upon initial publication[90], subsequent examinations of the inscription led to the suggestion that ἐνθ᾽ αἴας should alternatively be read as Ἐνοδίας[91]. This prompted a variety of different scholarly interpretations. The first of these takes Ἐνοδίας προπολος to be a designation for a priestess of the Thessalian goddess Enodia[92], whose cult is attested in Macedonia from the Hellenistic period onwards[93]. Assuming this interpretation was correct, the epitaph would then provide evidence for the existence of this cult in Macedonia from a far earlier date: towards the end of the fifth century. However, it is uncertain whether the deceased, a citizen of Corinth, would have been able to hold a priesthood in Macedonia, since the mechanisms by which religious officials were appointed in the region is unknown, and in contemporary Greek practice individuals sometimes had to be citizens to hold a religious office[94]. The deceased may therefore have been a priestess in Corinth but not in Macedonia, or may instead have held a quasi-religious position as an itinerant practitioner of magic and divination, for which Ἐνοδίας προπολος was a euphemism[95]. Alternatively, the phrase Ἐνοδίας προπολος has been interpreted not as a designation of office, but instead as an innocuous way to refer to the death of the deceased, in the same sense that the term is used in Euripides' *Helen* (569ff.)[96]

<u>A boundary stone of a sanctuary of Pan?</u>

A stone block (43 x 9 x 5cm) inscribed with the letters ΠΑΝΝ/ΑΙΟΣ was found during excavations of the northern cemetery of Pydna[97]. Dated to the fifth century, it was initially characterised as a fragment of a grave stele recording the name and ethnic of the

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[90] Lilibakis (1977): 262.
[91] *SEG* 27 (1977): no.1291; SEG 30 (1980): no.579; Sacco (1980): 30.
[92] Voutiras (1998): 103-104; Chrysostomou (1998b).
[93] Pantos (1981): 96-106.
[94] As, for example, in the well-documented case of Athens – Lambert (2010).
[95] Voutiras (1998): 107.
[96] Sacco (1980): 31.
[97] *SEG* 50 (2000): no.622.

deceased[98]. The inscription has alternatively, however, been identified as a boundary stone for a sanctuary of Pan Naios [Παν Ν / αίος], since the bottom of the stone was roughly hewn, perhaps because it would have been hidden by being partially buried in the ground[99]. This epithet, previously attested only for Zeus at Dodona, would characterise Pan as a companion of the Nymphs[100], and provide evidence for the early cultic worship of the deity in the Macedonian kingdom.

<u>A dedication to Dionysos?</u>

Part of an inscribed block, dated between *c.*400-350, was found built into a wall at Pella[101]:

	- - -] ΙΟΥ
- - -] ΡΙΑ	- - -] ΣΩΙ
- - -] ΤΟΥ	- - -] ΕΩΙ
- - -] ΕΝΗ	

The fragmentary nature of the inscription means that it has been variously interpreted: first as a grave stele, since the ending of the first and third line of the inscription appear to be female names in the nominative, and second as a votive dedication, since lines five and six appear to be in the dative[102]. Its excavator has hence suggested that the fifth line could be completed as [ΔΙΟΝΥ]ΣΩΙ.

THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

As the authorities that minted coinage often chose to place an image of a prominent deity from the local pantheon on their coins[103], a study of numismatic types can be a fruitful source of information about religion and cult[104]. Macedonian coins are problematic, however,

[98] Xydopoulos (2000): 35-36 thought that the stone was broken on both sides, and suggested Παννọ[- - - - -]|αῖος for a possible reconstruction.
[99] Tsantsanoglou (2001): 154-155.
[100] Tsantsanoglou (2001): 154.
[101] Akamatis (1988): 188-189.
[102] Akamatis (1988): 189.
[103] Kraay (1976): 3.
[104] Gaifman (2015): 61-62.

in that their nature as royal issues makes it uncertain whether the types used are indicative of the primacy of the deity in the Macedonian pantheon overall, or instead reflect the specific interests of the king who minted them[105]. As the hero from whom the Temenids claimed descent, this is especially true of Herakles, the deity most commonly depicted on Macedonian coins during the period under study. Additionally, it is possible that the use of images/emblems of Greek gods on Macedonian coinage was a method by which the Temenids sought to demonstrate links with the wider Greek world[106]. Caution must therefore be used when studying the numismatic evidence in isolation.

The coinage minted in Macedonia during the period under study typically did not feature portraits of the gods. The primary exceptions to this were Herakles, who was widely depicted on Macedonian issues both as a beardless youth and as a mature bearded figure [*figures 5.36 and 5.38*], and the 'youthful male head with taenia' introduced as an obverse type by Archelaus[107] [*figure 5.29*]. Yet no consensus has been reached over the identification of the latter, who has variously been identified in scholarship as an unknown Macedonian national hero, Ares, Herakles or Apollo[108]. Of these, the identification of the figure as Apollo has garnered the most support, since the deity is depicted on the coinage of Philip II and Alexander the Great[109], and the depiction closely resembles a representation of the god on a later coin of Philip V, which also features known identifying attributes[110]. The use of this type on the coinage of Archelaus and a number of the early fourth century Macedonian kings may therefore hint at the importance of Apollo in the Macedonian pantheon during their reigns. However, Philip's adoption of the head of Apollo as a numismatic type [*figure 4.5*] appears to

[105] Gatzolis (2011): 241.
[106] *OCD s.v.* Macedonia, cults.
[107] The head of Dionysos may also have been featured on rare issues of Perdiccas III, although the size of the coins makes the image difficult to interpret - Hersh (1996): 18, nt.10; Psoma (2002): 29.
[108] Kraay (1976): 144; Westermark (1994): 150; Alexandros (2007): 83-84.
[109] Alexandros (2007): 71-73.
[110] Westermark (1989): 303.

have been politically rather than religiously motivated, since the image of the laureate head of the god (which was the preferred type of the Chalcidian League) was placed on his coinage only after his destruction of Olynthus[111]. This calls into question arguments which use retroactive attribution as a means of identifying the 'youthful male head' as Apollo. Political motivations could also be ascribed to Archelaus' use of the image of Apollo, since Euripides included the god within the Temenid origin story created for his play *Archelaus*, which was performed at the Macedonian court in the late fifth century[112]. If the 'youthful male head with taenia' is to be identified with Apollo, then the use of this type on Macedonian regal issues appears more to reflect the specific interests of the Macedonian kings than the importance of the god in the Macedonian pantheon, especially since there is little other evidence to indicate the importance of the god in Macedonian religion at this date[113].

In lieu of portraits of the gods, religious iconography on Macedonian coins more typically took the form of divine attributes or symbols associated with a particular deity, such as the eagle of Zeus first adopted as a reverse type on the coins of Archelaus [*figure 5.33]*. However, given that coin types could also represent the mercantile or civic interests of a minting authority, or otherwise depicted identifying local features[114], it is uncertain exactly which types and symbols should be interpreted as religious emblems on Macedonian coins[115]. For example, the Illyrian helmet used as a reverse type on the tetradrachms and light tetrobols of Alexander I [*figure 5.9]* has been identified by some scholars as the symbol of a deity of war[116] (namely Athena[117]) but has also been interpreted as a means to represent

[111] Alexandros (2007): 72.
[112] For more information, see *intra*: The numismatic evidence, iconographic types.
[113] For a summary of the archaeological evidence pertaining to the cult worship of Apollo in Macedonia and the Chalcidice, see Alexandros (2007): 13-25; Chatzinikolaou (2010): 201.
[114] Kraay (1976): 3.
[115] For examples in addition to those given below, see Hammond and Griffith (1979): 110, *contra* Raymond (1953): 120, who interprets a number of the supposed religious emblems identified by Hammond (such as the waning moon and ivy leaf) as political symbols.
[116] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 110.
[117] For the worship of Athena in Macedonia, see Voutiras (1998).

Macedonian military interests[118]. Similarly, the goat used as a reverse type on the tetradrachms of Alexander I and light tetrobols of Perdiccas II [*figure 5.8]* has been seen to represent Dionysos[119], but is also otherwise interpreted as a mythological symbol of Aigai, since a herd of goats is said to have marked the site that would become the capital of the Macedonian kingdom[120].

This ambiguity means that the numismatic evidence arguably provides relatively little insight into Macedonian religion at present, although it may elucidate other aspects of Macedonian society. Such ambiguity is perhaps interesting in itself, however, especially when given that religious imagery was far more overt on the coinage of Philip II, Alexander the Great and his successors. Zeus, for example, was represented through an eagle on the coinage of Archelaus and his successors but is directly depicted on the coins of Philip II [*figure 4.6*]. Uncovering the reason/s as to why these developments occurred may be telling.

CONCLUSIONS

As is evident in this chapter, the disparate and limited nature of the extant evidence means that it is difficult to reconstruct the religious landscape of the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study - better insights into the nature of Macedonian religious beliefs and practices will be achieved only as a result of the continued archaeological exploration of the region. Nevertheless, this chapter provides an initial overview of the topic, as well as highlighting some potential lines of enquiry for future investigations.

The above evidence suggests that a number of aspects of Macedonian religion as apparent from the reign of Philip II onwards have a basis in the period under study, countering the notion that Macedonian religion was progressively 'Hellenised' from the

118 Kosmidou (2013): 15-27.
119 Lorber (2000): 121; Gatzolis (2011): 241.
120 Diodorus: 7.16; Hatzopoulos (2011): 47.

fourth century onwards[121]. For example, the importance of Demeter/ a great female divinity within the Macedonian pantheon is suggested in the early date at which a cult to the goddess was established at Dion. Problems inherent to identifying the second deity worshipped in this sanctuary are also perhaps symptomatic of the later tendency to conflate Demeter with other goddesses in Macedonia to create a single deity who embodied a variety of traits. Similarly, the eventual primacy of Herakles and Zeus in the Macedonian pantheon can be attributed in part to their patronage by the Temenid kings during the period. This is evident in the use of images/ emblems of the deities on Temenid royal coinage and, in the case of Zeus, is apparent in the expansion of his cult through the introduction of a nine-day festival to the deity at Dion[122]. Indeed, that the Temenid royal family were able to exert influence over the worship of particular deities and cults is also an acknowledged component of Macedonian religion from the reign of Philip onwards[123]. The seeming patronage of Herakles and Zeus by Archelaus and his immediate successors suggests that this was true also of the period under study. The precise nature and implications of this influence are, however, largely unknown when compared to subsequent periods. For example, while the evidence suggests that the Temenid kings promoted the worship of specific deities for personal and/or political interests, it is uncertain how (or if) this patronage translated into cultic practice, and if this then extended into popular religion, or remained the remit of the socio-economic elite.

Although the Macedonians worshipped the Olympian pantheon, it is apparent that they adopted some distinct regional religious practices, both in regard to which deities were the object of cult, and the means by which they were worshipped. It would be interesting to establish whether the regional and social variations apparent from the fourth century are

[121] For more on this, see Mari (2011): 454.
[122] Mari (2002): 52-60 discusses possible reasons for Archelaus' introduction of this festival, which may have involved integrating numerous existing festivals into a single event.
[123] Christesen and Murray (2010): 440-441; Mari (2011): 463-464.

found also during preceding periods and, if so, if they were more pronounced, especially among those territories recently annexed by the Macedonian kingdom since this would give an insight into which elements of Macedonian religion were part of a wider social and cultural koine extant in Northern Greece. Also of interest is the degree to which the foundation of certain cults in Macedonia reflect its connection and integration with the wider Greek world, especially given that the patronage of Greek sanctuaries by both 'ordinary' Macedonians and the Temenid kings does not appear to have been a common occurrence before the reign of Philip II[124]. The date of the establishment of the cult at Demeter at Dion, for example, corresponds to a period of prosperity at Eleusis, during which the sanctuary strengthened its efforts to promote the cult of Demeter further afield[125].

[124] Literary sources (Herodotus 8.121; Demosthenes 12.20) attribute gold statues at Delphi and Olympia to Alexander I, but these are not recorded among the monuments seen by Pausanias in his tour of Delphi. If they did exist, they must therefore have been destroyed before his visit to the sanctuaries.
[125] Pingiatoglou (1999): 919.

- V -
The Numismatic Evidence

Although the northern Aegean region is referred to and discussed in many ancient sources, extant narratives do not provide a ready means of understanding the economic history of the area, even during the better documented late Classical and Hellenistic periods[1]. For an insight into this, we must rely heavily upon the coinage minted in the region. The first silver coins produced in the Northern Aegean were minted towards the end of the sixth century by the native tribes and Greek polities that inhabited the regions of Thrace and Macedonia. While the exact circumstances by which coinage began in the area are unknown[2], the abundant mineral wealth of the Northern Aegean appears to have encouraged the rapid proliferation of coinage and the founding of a wide number of mints in the region[3], including, in the fifth century, Macedonia.

This chapter aims to provide an insight into the economic history of Macedonia by examining the coinage, both royal and civic, minted in the region in order to establish the economic position of the Macedonian kingdom prior to, and upon, its inheritance by Philip II. It will also assess the oft-held belief that the kingdom had a low level of economic development before his reign[4]. Additionally, weight standards and circulation patterns can elucidate Macedonia's diplomatic and trade relations during the fifth and fourth centuries, while changes apparent in the types, weights and quantity of coinage issued shed light on the possible impact that wider historical and political events may have had on the Macedonian kingdom - something mentioned only fleetingly, if at all, in ancient sources.

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[1] Faraguna (2006): 121; Archibald (2013): 37.
[2] Kraay (1976): 131.
[3] For a summary of these, see Kraay (1976): 133-142; Picard (2000): 16-17; Tsangari (2009): 17-23, 71-119; Psoma (2012).
[4] Hammond (1994): 14; Billows (1995): 9.

The study of Macedonian coinage is not, however, without problems. There are, for example, a number of controversies in numismatics which relate to fundamental aspects of Macedonian coinage, such as the date and circumstances under which coins were first minted in the region. The problems that arise from this, discussed in detail below, have significant ramifications not only for the wider study of Macedonian economic history, but also call into question presumed details about the nature of Macedonian expansion and its relations with its neighbours in the Northern Aegean. There has also been a tendency in scholarship to connect any developments apparent in Macedonian coinage to the few events known to us through literary sources. Although this methodology is not without some merit, it is sometimes undertaken at the risk of forcing the evidence to fit the ancient narrative. For this reason a catalogue of the various denominations minted in the Macedonian kingdom is presented independently to any commentary in this chapter.

At present, no single corpus of Macedonian coinage exists that also includes the finds from recent excavations – the numismatic sample on which this chapter is based is thus a collation of various disparate corpora and archaeological publications[5]. A statistical analysis of the specimens that comprise the data set is therefore provided for each denomination in the main body of this chapter. The data tables for the respective coinages are provided in Appendix II of the second volume of this thesis.

Controversies in Macedonian numismatics, an introduction

The source of the Macedonian silver supply

As the heartland of the Macedonian kingdom appears to have lacked workable mineral sources in antiquity [*see figure 5.1],* the methods through which the Macedonian

[5] This includes Head (1879); Gaebler (1935); Raymond (1953); Greenwalt (1988); Westermark (1994) and finds from hoards published in *Coin Hoards* and the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards.*

kings obtained the resources required to mint their coinage is a major historical problem[6]. A common trend in scholarship has been to correlate the ability of the Macedonian kings to mint coinage with their possession of the mineral-rich territories around the lower Strymon[7], the control of which was heavily contested until the reign of Philip II[8]. Factors which indicate problems with the availability of silver, such as the debasement of silver issues or the minting of only small denominations, are hence often used to infer Macedonian territorial losses in this region[9]. The efficacy of this claim, and thus the validity of using such methods to reconstruct Macedonia's political and geographical borders, will, however, be assessed in this chapter, since the ability of an issuing authority to mint coinage was not necessarily dependent upon the issuer having direct access to silver mines[10]. This is perhaps most apparent in the case of Aegina, which gained the resources required for its prolific mint through trade[11].

Certainly, although the Macedonians do not appear to have had as expansive a trade enterprise, its timber was a valuable commodity which may have promoted trade with silver-rich regions in the Mediterranean world[12], particularly Athens[13]. Given the increased demand for timber apparent throughout various parts of the Greek world towards the end of the sixth

[6] See, for example, Kraay (1976): 324; Howgego (1995): 24.
[7] See, for example, Zimi (2004): 139-140; Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2016): 61. It should be noted that Macedonian control of these mines is referred to only twice in ancient sources (Herodotus 5.17.2, 7.112; Diodorus 16.8.6-7), in relation to the reigns of Alexander I and Philip II.
[8] Until this territory was brought definitively under Macedonian control, its possession was contested by the Thracians, Thasians, Greek colonists, Athenians and Macedonians, and was possessed at various times by each throughout the course of the fifth- and fourth-centuries. For a summary of this, see Picard (2006): 283.
[9] See, for example, Martin (1985): 187; Jessop Price (1987): 47.
[10] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2016): 62.
[11] Kim (2001): 16 highlights that circulating silver coinage was commonly used as the primary source of silver in coin production, with very few issuers relying upon native silver supplies. For the composition of Aeginetan staters, see Kroll (2011): 35.
[12] A number of ancient authors note that Macedonia produced the finest ship-timber in the ancient Greek world, such as Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*: 5.2.1.
[13] Psoma (2014): 134-135, 138.

century[14], it is therefore possible that the exploitation of Macedonia's abundant natural resources, which were a royal monopoly[15], was the source of Macedonia's silver. Certainly, extant epigraphic evidence indicates that the securing of Macedonian timber was a frequent condition of treaties made with the Temenid kings. Honours awarded by Athens to Archelaus *c.*407 show, for example, that the king was granted the titles of *proxenos* and *euergetes* for his provision of timber to the *polis*, and for giving Athens permission to dispatch shipwrights to Macedon to construct triremes in their ports[16]. Similarly, a clause in the alliance between Amyntas III and the Chalcidic League *c.*393 outlined the circumstances under which the Chalcidians were able to export pitch and timber from Macedonia[17]. In addition to these special arrangements, there may also have been an open market for such resources[18]. Factors such as taxation[19], warfare[20] and the possible payment of tribute by subjected peoples[21] would likely also have had an impact upon Macedonian access to silver, although there is too little extant evidence to evaluate how significant such an impact might have been at present.

Dating the introduction of Macedonian coinage

A particular problem in Macedonian numismatics is the date at which coins were first struck in the region. The problem is twofold. Firstly, the identification of the first issue of

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[14] Meiggs (1982): 194; Millett (2010): 484; Psoma (2014): 134-135, 138.
[15] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 157; Hatzopoulos (1996): 434.
[16] See *intra*: Introduction; The Epigraphic Evidence.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Borza (1987): 50.
[19] For example, [Arist] *Oec* 2.22 mentions that Kallistratos helped a Macedonian king double the revenue that he made from harbour duties to over 40 talents annually. The identity of this king is uncertain but is presumed to be Philip II. See Hatzopoulos (1996): 434. The *c.*393 treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalcidic League also references dues to be paid for the movement of goods. For the possible significance of harbour duties and taxation within the Macedonian economy, see Hatzopoulos (1996): 434; Millett (2010): 487; Archibald (2013): 103.
[20] Howgego (1995): 24.
[21] Hatzopoulos (1996): 176.

Alexander I is uncertain. Central to the debate are three series of coins which depict a kneeling goat within a dotted circle on their obverse and a quadripartite incuse square on their reverse[22], and which were either anepigraphic or inscribed with the control mark ΔE or ΛA [*figures 5.2 and 5.3*]. Dated by numismatists to 500-480, these coins have been variously attributed to a number of minting authorities in the Northern Aegean, including Macedonia[23]. Some scholars consider the anepigraphic goat staters to be a proto-regal coinage of Macedon which was minted at Aigai[24], since a coin of this type was uncovered during excavations of the city[25], and the goat was significant to both its mythology and etymology[26]. The use of the control mark ΛA, interpreted as the retrograde initials of Alexander I[27], on a later series of the staters is then taken as evidence that the coin was adopted by the royal mint upon Alexander's accession to the throne[28], with the motif of the goat thereafter used on subsequent coins of the Macedonian king. This theory, if correct, would have significant repercussions not only for the dating of Macedonian coinage, but also for its origins and the impetus behind it.

The weight standard on which the goat staters were minted does not, however, match that used for other Macedonian regal coinage, discussed below, nor is the control mark ΔE found on other Temenid issues. This problematizes its attribution. As the inscription ΔE is, however, used on the obverse of two early octadrachms of the Bisaltai, it has been suggested that this tribe must therefore have been involved in the minting of the goat

[22] Gaebler (1935): 18-20.
[23] For a summary of these attributions, see Head (1879): 37-38; Raymond (1953): 48-52; Lorber (2000): 113-114; Papaefthimiou (2000): 37-38; Psoma (2003).
[24] See Papaefthimiou (2000): 37, 44.
[25] Drougou (2002): 495.
[26] A herd of goats is said to have marked the site that would become the capital of the Macedonian kingdom. See Diodorus: 7.16; Hammond (1989): 4; Hatzopoulos (2011): 47. The type is also associated with the iconographic repertoire of the city, since it has been found stamped on fragments of roof-tiles excavated at Aigai, see Drougou (2002): 491.
[27] Robinson and Clement (1938): 266.
[28] Raymond (1953): 51.

staters, although the absence of the full name of the tribe on the coin (as is typical of their issues) suggests that they were not the issuing authority[29]. It has therefore been proposed that such coins are evidence of an alliance between the Bisaltai and the entity which minted the coin, which has, on stylistic and metrological grounds, been identified as that of a tribe in the region of the Strymon[30]. The use of the control mark ΛA on some goat staters may then be evidence that Alexander entered into a similar agreement with this tribe, suggesting that the expansion of his hegemony beyond the Axios may have been achieved in part through alliances rather than military conquest[31]. Through these the Macedonian king may have been able to exploit the natural resources of the region east of the Strymon, even if he did not have direct control over them[32]. The nature of Macedonian expansion in the sixth and fifth centuries may therefore have to be reconsidered[33].

Problems remain even if these goat staters are not considered an early issue of Alexander I[34]. Since the coins of the Macedonian kings lack features through which they can be externally dated[35], scholars often attempt to correlate the introduction of Macedonian coinage with Alexander's acquisition of the silver-rich Bisaltic mines[36], for the reasons described above. The date at which this occurred is, however, the subject of debate, and is variously placed either at 480/79 or *c.*460. The former date is based on the assumption that Alexander gained control of this area immediately following Persian withdrawal from the region, after which he was able to control the mines around Lake Prasias. However, the

[29] Lorber (2000): 127.
[30] Lorber (2000): 129; Psoma (2003): 238; Dahmen (2010): 48.
[31] Kosmidou (2011).
[32] Lorber (2000): 130.
[33] For a summary of current scholarly opinion on the nature of early Macedonian expansion, see *intra*: Introduction, Defining The Macedonian Kingdom.
[34] Other anepigraphic coins have also been interpreted as early issues of the Macedonian king. See, for example, Raymond (1953): 53-56; Kremmidi-Sisilianou (1999).
[35] The dates proposed by scholars for Macedonian coins are calculated using factors such as stylistic development and the estimated number and length of usage of extant dies, as in Raymond (1953): 94. For the problems associated with this methodology; de Callataÿ (1995): 296.
[36] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 85; Lorber (2000): 130.

contents of the Decadrachm[37] and Asyut[38] hoards appear to indicate that a number of tribal mints located between the Axios and Strymon rivers remained active beyond 480, suggesting that it was a local tribe, such as the Bisaltai, and not Alexander who initially benefitted from Persian withdrawal[39]. The cessation of the Bisaltic mint *c.*460 is thence taken as evidence that Alexander expanded his hegemony into the region at this date[40]. The lack of consensus that arises from these problems means that the introduction of Macedonian coinage is therefore currently dated variously between *c.*500 and 460BC.

The coinage of Alexander I (498-454)

During his reign, Alexander issued five main silver denominations - octadrachms, tetradrachms, octobols, 'heavy' tetrobols and 'light' tetrobols – in addition to fractional pieces. Working with extant specimens, Raymond identified three distinct groups within the coins of the Macedonian king, distinguishable by their denomination, type and style[41], a classification which is continued below. The stylistic progression evident across the various groups identified among the coins of Alexander is thought to indicate that they were produced in succession, with no significant chronological gaps. The number of extant specimens attributable to each group suggests, however, that there may have been a decline in the volume of coins produced towards the end of his reign[42] (those of group 3). While this may simply be an accident of preservation, or because no new coinage was required around

[37] Fried (1987); Kagan (1987).
[38] Price and Waggoner (1975); Kraay (1977); Beer (1980); Jessop-Price (1987): 44-45.
[39] Tzamalis (2011b): 592.
[40] Price and Waggoner (1975): 120; Kagan (1987): 23; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992): 24-25; Tzamalis (2011b): 594.
[41] For the methodology behind the classification of this coinage, see Raymond (1953): 86.
[42] Raymond (1953): 132.

this time[43], Hammond has proposed that this trend was a consequence of Alexander's loss of his source of silver[44], something for which we have little evidence except the coinage itself.

The **octadrachms** of Alexander were issued in three series, distinguishable by a change to the obverse type in group 2. While Raymond proposed that each series of Alexander's octadrachms was issued successively[45], Kraay has instead suggested that groups I and II were issued in parallel[46]. The change made to the obverse type in group II, which adopts the types of the Bisaltians, has been linked by some scholars to Alexander's annexation of their territory *c.*460[47].

obverse - mounted rider wearing a chlamys and petasus and carrying two spears (groups 1 and 3) [*figure 5.4*]
- horse and attendant wearing a chlamys and petasus and carrying two spears (group 2) [*figure 5.5*]

reverse - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ surrounding a quadripartite incuse square [*figure 5.6*]

Table 1 – Statistical analysis of Alexander's octadrachms

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total
No. of specimens	4	13	4	21
Maximum weight (g)	28.60	29.10	29.09	-
Minimum weight (g)	26.44	25.13	26.99	-
Mean (g)	27.77	28.00	28.29	28.02
Median (g)	28.02	28.66	28.54	28.60

[43] Raymond (1953): 132-133 suggests that the financial returns that Alexander I may have made from trade with Athens and the newly formed Delian League would have negated the need to mint any sizeable quantity of coins towards the end of his reign.
[44] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 107.
[45] Raymond (1953): 86.
[46] Kraay (1977): 190. This is based on the fact that both groups I and II of Alexander's octadrachms appear to have been preceded by a phase in which the coins were struck without an inscription. This conclusion resolves the problems faced by Price and Waggoner in reconciling their proposed chronology with the presence of an octadrachm of Alexander in the Asyut hoard. It has, however, alternatively posited that the coin may have been added to the hoard retrospectively, see Kremmidi-Sisilianou (1999): 645.
[47] Psoma (2002): 34.

Tetradrachms were issued throughout the reign of Alexander. The small number of dies attested among the extant specimens, and their degree of wear, suggests that this denomination was struck only occasionally, perhaps to meet a specific demand[48].

obverse - mounted rider wearing a chlamys and petasus and carrying two spears *[figure 5.7]*
reverse - head of a goat within an incuse square (group 1) *[figure 5.8]*
- crested helmet within an incuse square (group 1) *[figure 5.9]*
- ΑΛΕ; forepart of a goat within an incuse square (groups 2 and 3) *[figure 5.10]*

Table 2 – Statistical analysis of Alexander's tetradrachms				
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total
No. of specimens	26	16	13	55
Maximum weight (g)	14.97	13.4	13.6	-
Minimum weight (g)	10.8	11.75	12.25	-
Mean (g)	12.65	12.68	13.02	12.73
Median (g)	12.69	12.65	13.11	12.71

Octobols were struck only during group 2 of Alexander's coinage, where they seem to have replaced the heavy tetrobol.

obverse - horse and attendant wearing chlamys and petasus and carrying two spears *[figure 5.11]*
reverse - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ; quadripartite square *[figure 5.12]*

Table 3 – Statistical analysis of Alexander's octobols	
No. of specimens	23
Maximum weight (g)	4.27
Minimum weight (g)	3.27
Mean (g)	3.97
Median (g)	4.02

Tetrobols of two different weights, distinguishable by their obverse type, were struck concurrently during Alexander's reign. While the difference in their weights is somewhat

[48] Wartenberg (2002): 86.

negligible, neutron activation analysis has revealed that the light tetrobol was far more debased than the heavy, containing 5-15% bronze[49].

<u>'Heavy' tetrobols</u>

obverse - mounted rider wearing a chlamys and petasus and carrying two spears *[figure 5.13]*
reverse - forepart of a lion within an incuse square *[figure 5.14]*

Table 4 – Statistical analysis of Alexander's heavy tetrobols			
	Group 1	Group 3	Total
No. of specimens	20	7	27
Maximum weight (g)	2.53	2.63	-
Minimum weight (g)	2.04	2.28	-
Mean (g)	2.16	2.46	2.31
Median (g)	2.28	2.51	2.51

<u>Light tetrobols</u>

obverse - unattended horse *[figure 5.15]*
reverse - head of a goat within an incuse square (group 1)
- crested helmet within incuse square (all groups) [*figure 5.16*]

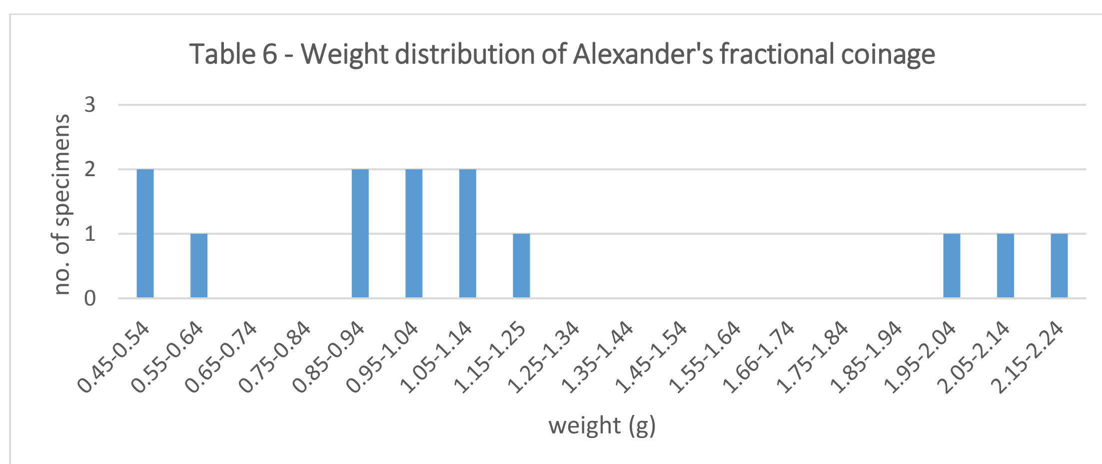
Raymond identified two series of light tetrobols among those which she attributed to group 2, distinguishable from one another by style and inscription - those of series 1 are inscribed with an 'A' and series 2 an 'H'. While some scholars attribute both series to Alexander[50], the absence of the letter H on any other issues of the Macedonian king has prompted others to suggest that one of the tribes of the Northern Aegean, perhaps the Edonians[51], may have issued their own variant of Alexander's tetrobol, using its types but altering the legend to indicate a change in the issuing authority. The attribution of the 'H'

[49] Kraay and Emeleus (1962): 21.
[50] Psoma (1999): 279; Kosmidou (2011): 445.
[51] Hammond (1983): 252 associates this change with Alexander's supposed loss of the silver mines at Lake Prasias to one of the local tribes, such as the Edonians, who used H as an ethnic abbreviation on their coins.

series of tetrobols to Alexander is hence uncertain. The coin was, however, evidently accepted as currency in Macedonia, since it is found in hoards in the region[52].

Table 5 – Statistical analysis of Alexander's light tetrobols					
		Group 2			
	Group 1	A series	H series	Group 3	Total
No. of specimens	32	34	17	20	103
Maximum weight (g)	2.66	2.49	2.75	2.26	-
Minimum weight (g)	1.63	1.76	1.76	1.80	-
Mean (g)	2.05	2.11	2.44	2.05	2.16
Median (g)	2.04	2.04	2.09	2.10	2.05

Fractional silver coinage – The fractional coinage of Alexander used types consistent with the main denominations of the king, depicting the forepart or head of a horse on their obverse [*figure 5.17*] and a quadripartite incuse square on the reverse [*figure 5.18*]. Extant specimens are rare and fluctuate significantly in weight[53] *[table 6].* The denominations minted by the king are thus difficult to identify with any certainty[54], especially as some many have been minted on a reduced weight, with their nominal value indicated through a legend[55].



[52] Notably, no 'H' series tetrobol has been found to the east of the Strymon, the territory which was regarded as the heartland of the Edonians - Psoma (1999): 279.
[53] Specimens in Raymond (1953): 97-98, 123-125, 135. For an analysis, see Psoma (1999): 273-282.
[54] Raymond (1953) proposed that those weighing approximately 0.45g-0.56g may be obols, and those weighing 1.03-1.18g trihemiobols or diobols. This proposal is based on comparing the weights of the coins against the theoretical weight standards of the octadrachm and tetradrachm. See Raymond (1953): 98. Psoma (2015): 173 alternatively divides Alexander's fractional coinage into three denominations: the diobol (weighing 0.60-0.65g); the trihemiobol (weighing 0.41-0.45g) and the hemiobol (weighing 0.25g).
[55] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2016): 63.

Commentary

Following the analysis of Raymond, many scholars have posited that the coinage of Alexander I was struck on the so-called Thraco-Macedonian standard, a complex system of three different loosely interconnected weight standards thought to be based on different divisions of the light Babylonian mina (491g)[56], which was used by tribes in the Northern Aegean from the inception of coinage in the region[57]. Within this, a comparison of the average weight of each denomination with their calculated theoretical weight was then thought to indicate that his two largest denominations were struck on two different standards within this system, with the tetrobols a division of each[58] [*table 7*]. It was hence proposed that Alexander's coinage was intended for at least two different markets. The existence of a Thraco-Macedonian standard has, however, been contested by Psoma[59], who instead argues that the weight standard used by Alexander was based on a reduced version of the Milesian standard[60] (based on a stater of 14.1g), since this was already used by cities in the Chalcidic peninsula because of the prolonged Milesian and Ionic commercial activity in the area[61].

[56] Raymond (1953): 20; Kraay (1976): 329.
[57] Liampi (2005): 239.
[58] Raymond (1953): 18.
[59] Psoma (2015) instead identifies three distinct weight standards operating in various parts of the Northern Aegean, based on a reduced version of the Milesian standard; a reduced version of the Aeginean standard and a reduced version of the Chian standard.
[60] Psoma (2015): 168.
[61] Psoma (2015): 172.

Table 7 – The actual and theoretical weights of Alexander's coinage				
Denomination	Average weight (g)	Median weight (g)	Theoretical weight[62] (g) / proposed system of division	Theoretical weight based on frequency tables[63]
octadrachm	28.02	28.60	29.46 (obol)	29.00
tetradrachm	12.73	12.71	13.09 (drachma)	14.5
octobol	3.97	4.02	4.36 (drachma)	4.83
'heavy' tetrobol	2.31	2.51	2.45 (obol)	2.41
'light' tetrobol	2.16	2.05	2.18 (drachma)	-

Both theories to some extent presume that the weight standard used for Macedonian coinage was predicated by the desire to trade. This is particularly true when the coins are ascribed to the Thraco-Macedonian standard, where it is proposed that they were intended to facilitate trade and exchange with polities using the Attic-Euboeic standard in the Northern Aegean, especially in light of the increased Athenian presence in the region[64]. This theory is largely based around Alexander's substitution of his heavy tetrobols for octobols in group 2, since the theoretical weight of the octobol given by Raymond (4.36g) is roughly equivalent to that of the Attic drachma (4.3g). A similar function is then extrapolated for the tetradrachms and light tetrobols of the king since these, like the octobol, appear to have been struck on the drachma division of the Thraco-Macedonian standard. Literary evidence certainly suggests that trade-links between Athens and Macedon were not without precedent in the fifth century – Herodotus' statement that Alexander was once considered *"a protector and benefactor to the Athenians*[65]*"* has, for example, been used to suggest that the king may have supplied Macedonian timber to support the Themistoklean ship-building program of the late 480s[66], since Archelaus appears to have been made a *proxenos* in Athens for similar reasons in 407/6, as discussed above.

[62] Raymond (1953): 23.
[63] This figure is calculated according to frequency tables and is based on divisions of the octadrachm.
[64] Psoma (2014): 135-137.
[65] Herodotus: 8.136.
[66] Borza (1987): 42; *contra* Meiggs (1982): 124 who argues that the Macedonians could not have supplied timber to the Athenians since the kingdom was under Persian hegemony at the time. South Italy is

Ascribing such a purpose to these denominations of Alexander is, nevertheless, problematic. The denominations are, for example, of such small value that it is unclear what would have been traded in exchange, unless the Macedonian king intended to fund only small market transactions. Current evidence also indicates that these coins were intended primarily for domestic use, since they are found exclusively in hoards deposited within the boundaries of the Macedonian kingdom [*Appendix 2, table A].* The only exception to this among the small denominations of the king was the heavy tetrobol, which has been found in hoards at Olynthus[67]. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that Alexander's small denomination coins struck on the 'drachma' division of the Thraco-Macedonian standard/ the reduced Milesian standard were intended not for trade with Athens or the cities of the Chalcidic peninsula, but were instead minted for use within the Macedonian kingdom.

By contrast, the circulation patterns of Alexander's octadrachms suggest that they were intended for export to the East. The problems associated with the dating of this coinage, discussed above, means, however, that its purpose is the subject of debate among scholars. The payment of mandatory tribute to the Persians had been suggested as a possible motive for the minting of such coinage[68], since tribute was calculated in silver and collected in the form of coins, ingots and silverware[69]. A similar function is ascribed also to the coins issued by contemporary Thraco-Macedonian tribes[70], which have been recovered in hoards within the same areas and were struck on comparatively large denominations – for example, the Ichnaians, Edonians and Bisaltai struck octadrachms of *c.*28g in the first quarter of the

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proposed as an alternative source. Walbank (1978): 65 notes that the honours could alternatively have been granted for the role played by Alexander in the Persian wars, such as his destruction of the retreating Persian army after Plataea, although no such episode is mentioned by Herodotus, who reports little resistance to the Persians in the Northern Aegean.

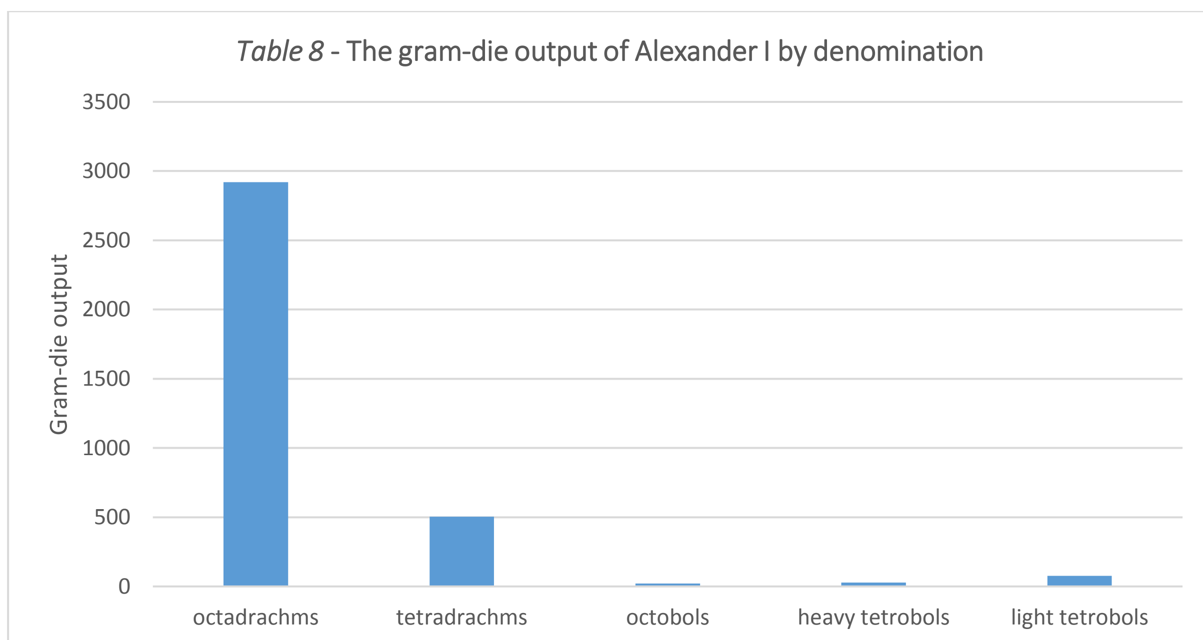
[67] In excavations of Olynthus, 32 heavy tetrobols were found in hoards, and a further 5 around the site. By contrast, no light tetrobols appear to have been hoarded, although six were found scattered throughout the site. Kraay and Emeleus (1962): 22.

[68] Picard (2000): 17; Tselekas (2011): 171; Tzamalis (2011b): 589.

[69] Tuplin (1987); Howgego (1995): 46.

[70] Kroll (2008): 14.

fifth century, and the Derrones decadrachms of *c.*40g[71]. However, this explanation is chronologically problematic if the introduction of such coinage is downdated to *c.*460[72]. Some scholars have hence proposed that Alexander's octadrachms were instead used as bullion[73]. If trade in bullion was the reason that Alexander issued such a large denomination, it would be interesting to know what was imported in return, especially since the plentiful natural resources of the Macedonian kingdom would have allowed for relative self-sufficiency during the period under study[74]. Whatever its intended purpose, Alexander invested considerable resources in the minting of octadrachms, as is apparent in an analysis of the gram-dies calculated for each of his denominations[75] [*table 8*]. The goods/ services received in exchange for this coinage must therefore have been a particular priority for the king.



[71] Kraay and Moorey (1981): 1-19; Dahmen (2010): 44; Psoma (2015): 175.
[72] Wartenberg (2015): 357.
[73] If this is the case, it is uncertain why the silver was coined, unless it served as a guarantee of the silver's origin and quality. This may also explain why the octadrachm was one of the only coins of Alexander to bear his name. Kraay (1976): 143; Howgego (1995): 96; Kremmidi (2011a): 163.
[74] Kasseri (2015): 213, 228.
[75] The gram-die output for each denomination is calculated by multiplying the average weight of a coin by the estimated original number of dies used when striking the coinage. The latter figure is calculated according to the simplified method of Giles Carter (1983), which is based on the total number of obverse dies recorded for a series and the total number of specimens among which these have been observed.

The coinage of Perdiccas II (454-413)

Whereas Alexander had minted five large denomination coins in addition to fractional pieces, Perdiccas appears to have struck just two: the light and heavy tetrobol.

'Heavy' tetrobols – Three series of heavy tetrobols were minted during Perdiccas' reign.

obverse - mounted rider [*figure 5.19*]
reverse - forepart of a lion (the legend ΠΕΡ was added to later series) [*figure 5.20*]

Table 9 – Statistical analysis of Perdiccas' heavy tetrobols				
	Series 1	Series 2	Series 3	Total
No. of specimens	23	62	16	101
Maximum weight (g)	2.73	2.52	2.43	-
Minimum weight (g)	1.82	1.75	1.95	-
Mean (g)	2.22	2.27	2.17	2.22
Median (g)	2.23	2.28	2.15	2.26

'Light' tetrobols – Four series of light tetrobols were issued intermittently during the reign of Perdiccas.

obverse - unattended horse, standing (series 1) [*figure 5.21*]
- unattended horse, walking (series 2) [figure 5.22]
- unattended horse, galloping (series 3 and 4) [*figure 5.23*]

Reverse - crested helmet within incuse square (series 1-3) [*figure 5.24*]
- ΠΕΡΔΙΚ; crested helmet within incuse square (series 4) [*figure 5.25*]

Table 10 – Statistical analysis of Perdiccas' light tetrobols					
	Series 1	Series 2	Series 3	Series 4	Total
No. of specimens	22	17	12	10	61
Maximum weight (g)	2.11	2.07	2.05	1.99	-
Minimum weight (g)	1.65	1.58	1.67	1.57	-
Mean (g)	1.91	1.91	1.93	1.83	1.90
Median (g)	1.93	1.95	1.99	1.85	1.93

Fractional silver coinage

A number of fractional issues appear to have been minted in Macedonia during the reign of Perdiccas – diobols, obols, trihemiobols and hemiobols[76]. Although extant specimens of these denominations are rare[77], it has been noted that they frequently weigh less than their theoretical weight, suggesting to some scholars that Perdiccas may have deliberately overvalued some of his coinage[78]. The types used by Perdiccas on these coins followed those of his predecessor, consisting of a harnessed horse on the obverse [*figure 5.26*] and either a quadripartite incuse square or the head of a lion on the reverse.

Commentary

While Alexander had minted five large denomination coins, in addition to fractional pieces, during his reign, Perdiccas strikes just two – the light and the heavy tetrobol. Rather than minting these concurrently, as his predecessor had done, Perdiccas appears, with one exception, to have issued just one denomination at a time. Through stylistic analysis, Raymond traced different series within each denomination, and established their relative sequence[79]:

Light tetrobols	Heavy tetrobols
Series I	-
Series 2	-
-	Series I
Series 3	Series 2
-	Series 3
Series 4	-

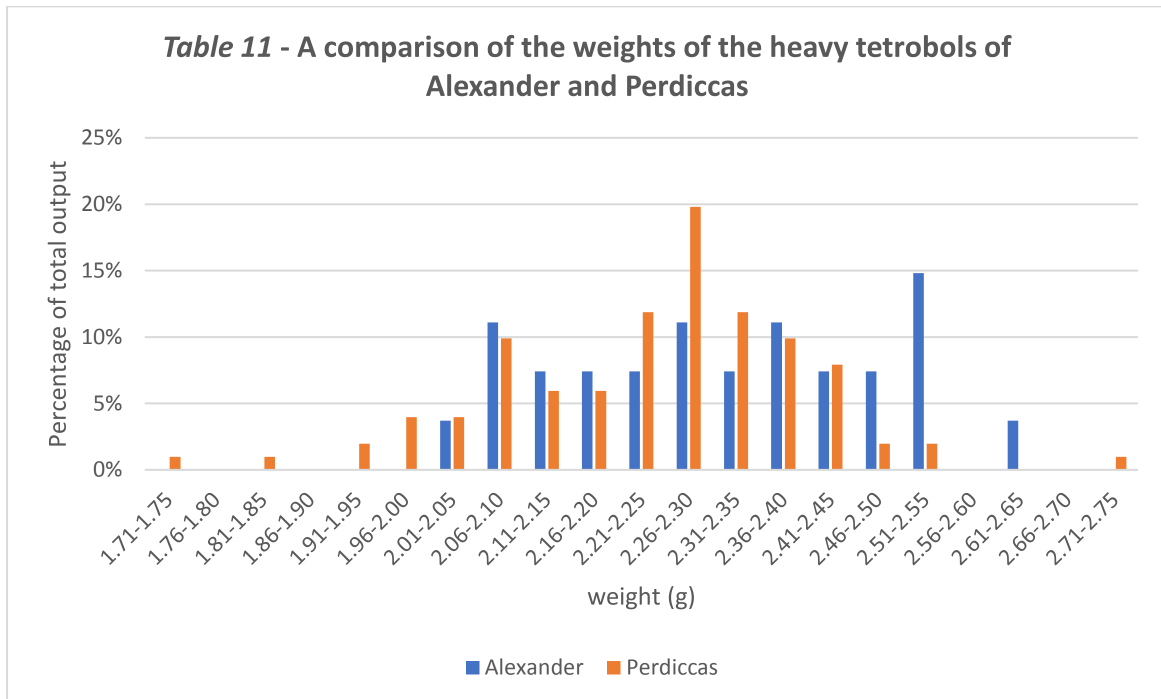
[76] Trihemiobols are occasionally also referred to as triartemoria in scholarship.
[77] For possible extant specimens, see: Psoma (1997): 23; (1999): 274-275.
[78] Psoma (1999): 273; Psoma (2000): 130.
[79] Raymond (1953): 151.

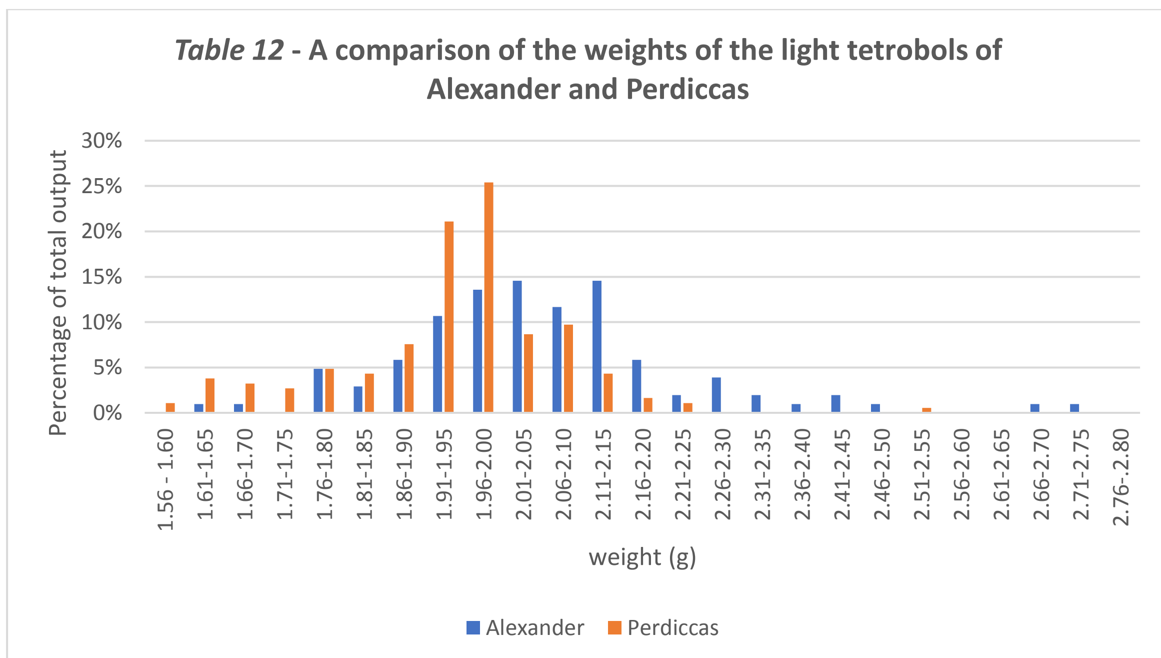
The possible reasons behind the lack of the concurrent minting of light and heavy tetrobols under Perdiccas has been the subject of much debate among scholars, with a number of theories proposed as explanations. The most predominant of these correlates Perdiccas' striking of the different tetrobols to his shifting relationship with the Athenians at various points of the Peloponnesian War[80]. Since the light tetrobol may have been compatible with the Attic-Euboeic weight standard, it has been proposed that those periods in which Perdiccas issued light tetrobols correspond to those in which the king was allied with the Athenians, and those in which he issued heavy tetrobols to periods in which he was allied against them[81]. However, as with the coinage of Alexander, the circulation patterns of Perdiccas' light tetrobols suggest that they were intended predominantly for domestic use [*Appendix 2, table A*]. Perhaps more convincing is the argument that the heavy tetrobol was intended in part to fund anti-Athenian projects, in the form of support for the Chalcidians[82], since this is perhaps reflected in the circulation of this issue, which has been recovered in hoards excavated at Olynthus[83].

Alternatively, it is argued that this monetary policy may have been dictated by the amount of silver available to the king[84]. A number of factors are used to support this hypothesis. Firstly, the light tetrobols of Perdiccas are more debased than those struck by Alexander, containing a bronze percentage of 6-24%, compared with 5-15%[85]. Frequency tables also show that Perdiccas frequently struck his denominations below their theoretical weights (of 2.45g and 2.18g respectively), far more so than is evident under his predecessor [*see below, tables 11 and 12*]. The overvaluation of Perdiccas' coinage is perhaps also evident

[80] For details of this relationship as known from the literary sources, see *intra:* Introduction, Historical Background.
[81] Raymond (1953): 165.
[82] Psoma (2011): 114-119; Tselekas (2011): 176.
[83] Psoma (2001): 175.
[84] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 119.
[85] Kraay and Emeleus (1962): 21.

in the fractional issues minted during his reign as, in some cases, the actual weights of these coins correspond to only half of their theoretical weight[86].





[86] Psoma (1999): 273; Psoma (2000): 130.

Such debasement and overvaluation is typically presented in scholarship as indicative of a desire to conserve resources, which may have been necessary if Perdiccas lacked access to the silver mines of the Northern Aegean during his reign. The striking of an independent coinage by Mosses, the self-proclaimed king of the Bisaltai, in the mid-440s is perhaps evidence for this[87], since it suggests that the Macedonians may have lost control of the mineral-rich territory around Mt. Pangaion and lake Prasias around this time. Some scholars therefore correlate Perdiccas' striking of heavy tetrobols with his regaining control of the Bisaltic mines later in his reign, suggesting that the king could only afford to issue a more debased denomination, the light tetrobol, prior to this[88]. Alternatively, it is possible that Perdiccas lacked a ready source of silver because his turbulent relationship with the Athenians affected trade relations, and hampered the export of Macedonian timber, which was a lucrative revenue stream for the Temenid kings[89].

Whatever the explanation for Perdiccas' monetary policy, the limited number of denominations minted by the king is typically interpreted as evidence of the decline in the economic position of the Macedonian kingdom during his reign. In further support of this, it is also noted that his overall output of coinage is far lower than that of Alexander, although both ruled for approximately the same length of time. A comparison of the gram-die output of both kings indicates, however, that Perdiccas minted tetrobols in far greater numbers than his predecessor [*table 13*]. This suggests that the domestic demand for coinage during Perdiccas' reign may have centred primarily on payments made using this denomination.

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[87] For details on the coinage of Mosses, see Head (1879): 143; Hammond and Griffith (1979): 111-112.
[88] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 121. Hammond dates this to *c.*445, when the production of Mosses' independent coinage appears to cease.
[89] Greenwalt (1994): 117; Psoma (2014): 134-135,138.

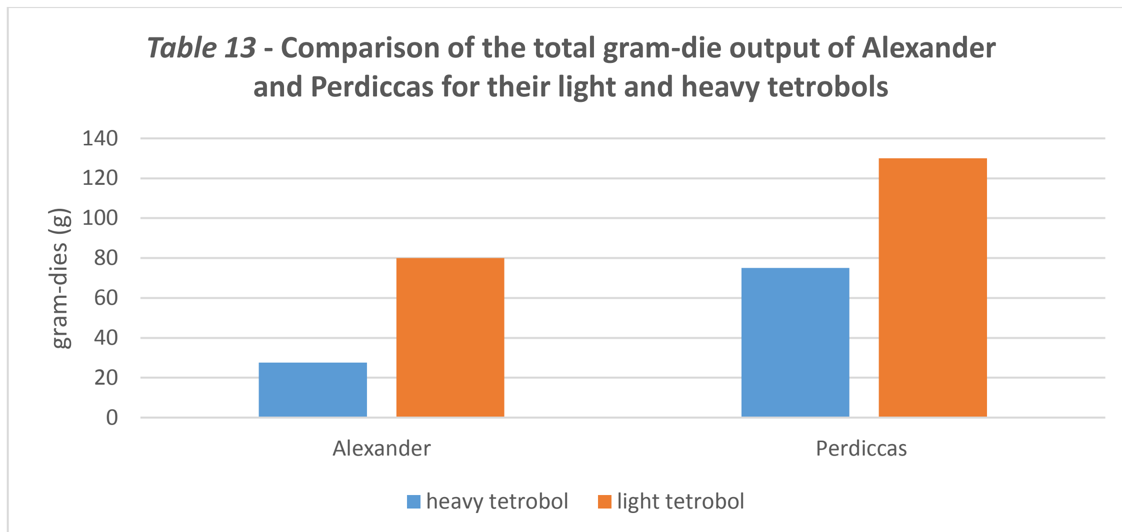

Table 13 - **Comparison of the total gram-die output of Alexander and Perdiccas for their light and heavy tetrobols**

The production of tetrobols may hence have been deliberately prioritised by the king at the expense of some of the larger, rarer, denominations of Alexander I. This is perhaps because the larger denominations of Alexander remained in circulation during the reign of Perdiccas, with a lack of demand for coins of this value meaning that no new ones needed to be struck[90]. That three tetradrachms of Alexander I were found in the fourth-century Ptolemais hoard (*IGCH*: 365) suggests, for example, that these coins remained in circulation in Macedonia for an extended period of time, as is indicated also by their degree of wear. The importance of tetrobols within the Macedonian economic system under Perdiccas is perhaps also implied by the fact that they were forged by tribes that lived on the fringes of the Macedonian kingdom during his reign – these forgeries are distinguishable from authentic regal issues because of stylistic and metrological differences, as they were always struck below the normal weight[91]. The tetrobol is of such small value that it is, however, uncertain what such a denomination would have been used to finance, although the most likely source of expenditure during Perdiccas' reign are costs associated with the Peloponnesian War.

[90] Howgego (1990): 11; (1995): 35.

[91] The seven imitation light tetrobols published by Hersh ranged from 1.31-1.95g, weighing an average of 1.62g. Hersh (1991): 15, 17-18.

Indeed, although Perdiccas' military action during the war appears to have been somewhat minimal, the king would have incurred the costs of paying both his citizen army[92] and hired mercenary forces, such as those of Brasidas[93].

If economic decline, often sought by scholars, is to be detected in Perdiccas' coinage, it seems most apparent towards the end of his reign, for while, according to Raymond, the stylistic progression of series 1-3 of both types of tetrobol suggests that they were produced in succession, the coins attributed to series 4 of the light tetrobols appear notably later in style, suggesting that a significant amount of time may have elapsed before their minting[94]. Although it is possible that this was due to a lack of demand for new coinage during this time, since many mints issued coins only sporadically to meet demand[95], economic problems seem apparent in the coins themselves, as those of group 4 are far more debased than those issued previously, and are, in some cases, plated[96].

THE COINAGE OF ARCHELAUS (413-399)

Archelaus introduced a new weight standard for his silver coinage, of which he minted two large denominations, the stater and the drachma, in addition to fractional pieces. This weight standard appears to have been based on divisions and multiplications of the drachma, whose theoretical weight (2.18g) was the equivalent of the light tetrobol of Alexander and Perdiccas. The king therefore appears to have struck his coins on a light/reduced version of the Thraco-Macedonian standard[97].

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[92] For the composition of the Macedonian army during the reign of Perdiccas, see Thucydides: 4.124.
[93] Thucydides: 4.83.
[94] Raymond (1953): 153.
[95] Howgego (1995): 27.
[96] Raymond (1953): 139.
[97] For details of the weight standards used by the Macedonian kings, see the commentary on the coinage of Alexander I below.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Light Thraco-Macedonian Standard (theoretical)</th><th colspan="2">Weights of Archelaus' coins (theoretical)</th></tr>
<tr><td>Tetradrachm</td><td>13.09g</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td>10.90g</td><td>Stater</td></tr>
<tr><td>Light Tetrobol</td><td colspan="2">2.18g</td><td>Drachm</td></tr>
<tr><td>Diobol</td><td colspan="2">1.09g</td><td>Triobol</td></tr>
<tr><td>Obol</td><td colspan="2">0.54g</td><td>Trihemiobol</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td>0.36g</td><td>Obol[98]</td></tr>
</table>

Staters – Two series of staters, with different obverse and reverse types, were minted during the reign of Archelaus. The lack of dies detectable among the extant specimens of the first series suggests that it was minted in modest quantities, and for only a short duration, before the second series was introduced[99]. Tests conducted on a small sample of extant specimens indicate that the staters of both series were deliberately debased, containing, on average, 70-83% silver[100].

	series 1	series 2
obverse	- mounted rider [*figure 5.27*]	- youthful male head wearing taenia [*figure 5.29*]
reverse	- ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ; forepart of kneeling goat [*figure 5.28*]	- ΑΡΧΕ; unattended horse (group a) - ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ; unattended horse (group b) [*figure 5.30*]

Table 14 – **Statistical analysis of Archelaus' staters**

		Series II		
	Series I	**Group A**	**Group B**	**Total**
No. of specimens	16	45	77	138
Maximum weight (g)	10.67	10.86	10.85	-
Minimum weight (g)	9.35	9.45	9.05	-
Mean (g)	10.21	10.46	10.36	10.34
Median (g)	10.27	10.5	10.43	10.46

[98] Westermark (1989): 303.
[99] Westermark (1994): 18.
[100] Greenwalt (1994): 112.

Drachma – In addition to his staters, Archelaus struck two series of drachms during his reign. These contained an average of 16.5% bronze[101].

obverse - unattended horse, galloping either right or left[102] [*figure 5.31*]
reverse - ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ; Illyrian helmet (series 1) *[figure 5.32]*
- ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ; eagle with spread wings (series 2) [*figure 5.33*]

Fractional Silver Coinage
A number of fractional issues were minted in Macedonia during the reign of Archelaus[103].

Triobol (theoretical weight - 1.09g)
obverse - galloping horse [*figure 5.34*]
reverse - ARXEΛAO; crested helmet within incuse square [*figure 5.35*]

Trihemiobol (theoretical weight – 0.54g)
obverse - bearded head of Herakles wearing a lion scalp [*figure 5.36*]
reverse - AP-X; forepart of a wolf devouring prey; wooden club [*figure 5.37*]

Obol (theoretical weight – 0.36g)
obverse - youthful head of Herakles wearing a lion scalp [*figure 5.38*]
reverse - ΑΡΧ-Ε; forepart of a wolf; wooden club [*figure 5.39*]
- AP-X; head of a lion; wooden club [*figure 5.40*]

Bronze coins were struck in Macedonia for the first time during the reign of Archelaus, although the date at which they were issued is contested by scholars[104]. The king produced three series of bronze coins[105], minted on two different denominations – the dichalkon (B) and the chalkous (C) [*see table 15, below, for additional information*]. For these coins, the king appears to have chosen a unique identifying obverse type which was then paired with a

[101] Kraay and Emeleus (1962): 21.
[102] Chrysostomou (1993): 629.
[103] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 138; Westermark (1989): 303.
[104] The rarity of these coins in the numismatic record when compared to those of his successors has been used to suggest that they were introduced towards the end of the king's reign, *c.*400. Alternatively, it has been proposed that their production started in the last two decades of the fifth century. See Westermark (1987): 181 and Gatzolis (2010): 396 respectively.
[105] For discussions involving the relative order of these series: Westermark (1996): 293; Psoma (2002): 34; Gatzolis (2010): 396.

series of different reverse types, a feature which was to characterise the bronze issues of his successors.

obverse - frontal head of a lion [*figure 5.41*]
reverse - ARXE; forepart of a bull (denomination B)
- ARXE; forepart of a boar (denomination B) [*figure 5.42*]
- ARXE; forepart of a boar (denomination C)

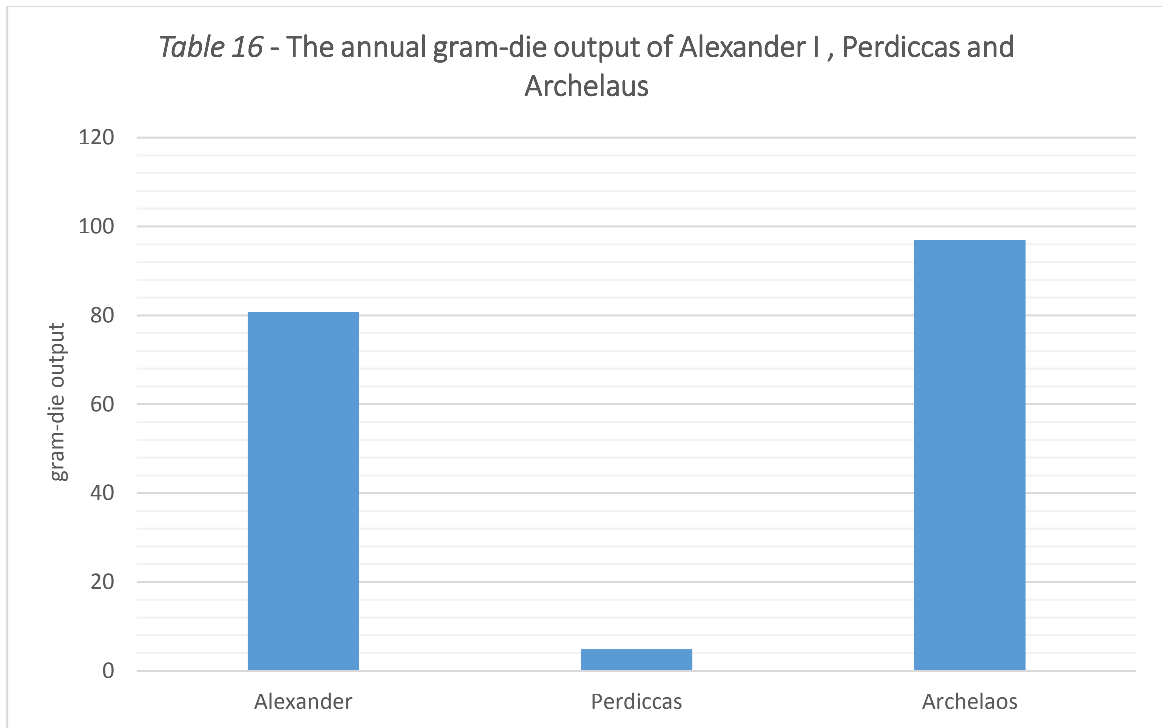
Table 15 - Reference table for the bronze coinage minted in Macedonia[106]			
Denomination[107]	Reference	Weight	Diameter
Octachalkon / obol	AA	8-9g	18-20mm
tetrachalkon / hemiobol	A	4-4.5g	16/17mm
dichalkon / ¼ obol	B	2-3g	13/14mm
chalkous / 1/8 obol	C	1-2g	11mm

Commentary

Since the final series of coins issued by Perdiccas perhaps indicate that the Macedonian kingdom was experiencing financial difficulties towards the end of his reign, if not before, the monetary policies of Archelaus have often been interpreted by scholars as a means by which to conserve Macedon's dwindling supplies of silver. For example, striking coins on the reduced Thraco-Macedonian weight standard would have decreased the amount of silver required for the production of flans, as would his introduction and use of bronze coinage. The silver coins issued by the king are also relatively debased, with his staters and drachmai containing an average of 30% and 16.5% bronze respectively[108]. Yet other aspects of the numismatic evidence do not suggest that the Macedonian economy was resource-poor during his reign. For example, a comparison of the overall gram-die output of the

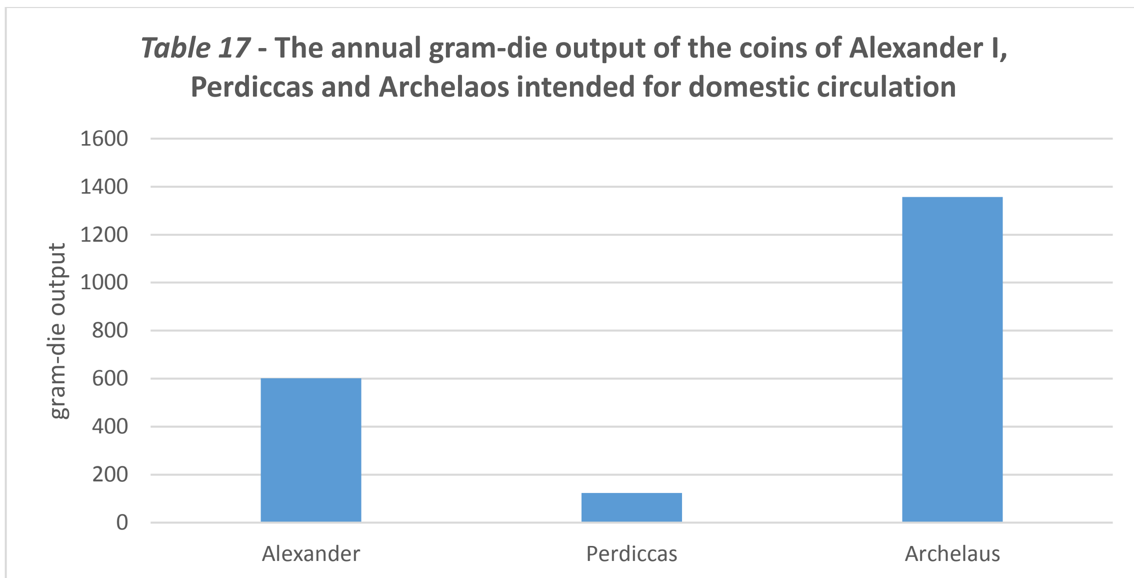
[106] Data set taken from Picard (2003): 77.
[107] Multiple designations have been given to the bronze coins minted by the Macedonian kings, either because the ancient names of the denominations are not known, or because they cannot be applied to a specific coin/weight with any certainty.
[108] Greenwalt (1994): 112.

Macedonian kings when divided by the total length of their reigns [*table 16*] suggests that Archelaus issued more silver coinage per year than both Alexander and Perdiccas[109].



An analysis of the overall gram-die output of each king after omitting those coins which appear to have been intended primarily for foreign markets, namely the octadrachm of Alexander I, also reveals that the amount of resources which the Macedonian kings invested in domestic coinage was significantly greater under Archelaus [*table 17*].

[109] This is based on the assumption that each of the kings minted coinage throughout the entirety of their reigns (44 years for Alexander, 41 for Perdiccas and 14 for Archelaus). This is because the precise periods during which coins were minted under each king is presently unknown.



It thus follows both that the demand for such coinage must have increased during Archelaus' reign, and that the king had the resources available to meet such demand. A possible explanation for the former can perhaps be found in a digression of Thucydides, which credits the king with a series of public building projects and military reforms that would have necessitated significant royal expenditure[110]. The military reforms attributed to Archelaus[111] may also account for the introduction of bronze coinage during his reign[112], as it is possible that it may have been issued as a means to pay a stipend to soldiers for daily expenses, a policy attested in Macedonia from at least the reign of Philip II[113].

Rather than indicating economic problems, the adoption of the reduced Thraco-Macedonian standard under Archelaus may therefore reflect the importance of the light tetrobol/ drachma (both 2.18g) within the economic system of the Macedonians, a feature which is perhaps already apparent in the coinage of Perdiccas. Smaller payments would have

[110] Thucydides: 2.100. For an insight into the correlation between public building projects and state production of coinage in the ancient world, see Howgego (1990): 10.
[111] Although the nature of the military reforms undertaken by Archelaus is not explicitly stated in ancient sources, the king is believed to have established a citizen hoplite force, previously lacking in Macedonia, and improved the extant infantry. See Hammond and Griffith (1979): 148.
[112] Gatzolis (2013): 127.
[113] Picard (2000): 19.

been made using this denomination, while the stater (which weighted the equivalent of five drachmai) could be used to expedite larger payments.

While the source of Macedonia's wealth during the reign of Archelaus is uncertain, it is possible that the kingdom benefitted from the decline of Athenian influence in the Northern Aegean in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, as this may have allowed Archelaus to extend his hegemony to the Bisaltic mines, believed to have been lost under Perdiccas[114]. Alternatively, the improved political and commercial relationship between Macedonia and Athens during the reign of Archelaus may have provided a ready source of silver, with the king able to use Macedon's abundant timber as a valuable commodity.

Macedonian issues of the fourth century (399-359)

A lack of extant specimens suggests that Archelaus' immediate successor, his son Orestes, did not mint any coinage in his own name, perhaps because of the brevity of his reign[115]. The silver specimens of the two kings who succeeded him, Aeropos and Amyntas II, are also rare, although their weight and average silver content (measured at 67.5% and 74% respectively[116]) suggest that both kings attempted to maintain the weight standard and purity used for the coinage of Archelaus[117].

The coinage of Aeropos (397/6-394/3)

Staters

obverse - male head wearing a taenia [*figure 5.43*]
reverse - AEPO; unattended horse [*figure 5.44*]

[114] Greenwalt (1993): 513; Picard (2006): 281.
[115] He is attributed only a single year of rule by Diodorus (14.37.6), although some later ancient chronographers assign him three.
[116] Analysis of the silver content was carried out on only a single specimen of each king's coinage. Conclusions drawn from this data must therefore be made with reservation. Greenwalt (1994): 119, nt.45.
[117] Lykiardopoulou and Psoma (2000): 324.

Fractional silver coinage

	Type 1	Type 2
obverse	- bearded head of Herakles	- youthful head of Herakles [*figure 5.45*]
reverse	- forepart of a wolf; wooden club	- head of a wolf
		- AEPO; head of a lion; wooden club [*figure 5.46*]

Bronze coins

obverse	- young male head with petasus [*figure 5.47]*
reverse	- forepart of boar (denomination B) [*figure 5.48*]
	- ΑΕΡΟΠΟ, unattended horse (denomination B) [*figure 5.49*]
	- forepart of a wolf gnawing a bone (denomination B) [*figure 5.50*]
	- ΑΕΡΟΠΟ, forepart of lion with extended legs (denomination B) [*figure 5.51*]

THE COINAGE OF AMYNTAS II (394/3)

Staters

obverse	- male head wearing a taenia [*figure 5.52*]
reverse	- AMYNTA; unattended horse [*figure 5.53*]

Fractional silver coinage

	Type 1	Type 2
obverse	- head of unidentified male (presumed to be a hero[118])	- male head wearing a taenia
reverse	- AEPO; unattended horse	- forepart of wolf

Bronze coins

obverse	- young male head [*figure 5.54*]
reverse	- AMYNTA; helmet (denomination B) [*figure 5.55*]
	- AMYNTA; forepart of a wolf gnawing a bone (denomination B) [*figure 5.56*]
	- AMYNTA; forepart of a running wolf (denomination B) [*figure 5.57*]

THE COINAGE OF PAUSANIAS (394/3)

Staters

obverse	- male head wearing a taenia *[figure 5.58]*
reverse	- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ; forepart of a lion
	- (?) ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ; unattended horse *[figure 5.59]*

[118] Lykiardopoulou and Psoma (2000): 321.

As the number of staters bearing Pausanias' name is so high given the brevity of his reign, it has been suggested that some of these may have been struck by the 'pretender' Pausanias, who attempted to seize the Macedonian throne in 367[119]. These have been distinguished, although not without controversy[120], by their reverse types – those with the forepart of a lion are attributed to Pausanias the king, and those with an unattended horse to the pretender[121]. While some of the staters attributed to the king appear to have been struck on flans of a good alloy, the majority were bronze-cored with a thin layer of silver plating[122].

Drachma

obverse - galloping horse *[figure 5.60]*
reverse - ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ; forepart of a lion [*figure 5.61]*

The attribution of the drachma struck with the legend ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ has also been questioned, since the average weight of the extant specimens (3.10g[123]) does not match a denomination which was minted by the Temenid kings. This appears to indicate either that the king Pausanias chose to strike heavier silver denominations than his predecessors, or that these drachma were struck by the pretender Pausanias.

Fractional silver coinage

	Type 1	Type 2
obverse	- protome of galloping horse	- galloping horse
reverse	- Corinthian helmet	- forepart of lion

[119] Miller (1986): 23.
[120] The attribution of the staters of Pausanias to two different individuals is questioned by some scholars, who believe that the coinage is too uniform in both metrology and style to have been minted with a twenty-five year gap. Miller (1986): 25-26, Westermark (1989): 306; Greenwalt (1994): 120.
[121] This attribution is based on the assumption that the pretender Pausanias would not use the forepart of a lion as his reverse type, since it was particular to the familial line of Aeropus, to which he did not belong. The walking horse type, on the other hand, was used by many Macedonian kings, and may therefore have been a means through which the pretender could emphasise his legitimacy: Miller (1986): 25-26. For the problems associated with this argument: Psoma (1999): 106.
[122] Borrell (1841):141-143.
[123] Psoma (1999): 109.

Bronze coins

Pausanias issued three series of bronze coins during his reign. All were issued on a new denomination, the tetrachalkon (A), which typically weighed 4-4.5g.

obverse	- young male head with taenia [*figure 5.62]*
reverse	- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ; forepart of a boar with extended legs (denomination A) *[figure 5.63]*
	- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ; forepart of a boar with bent legs (denomination A) *[figure 5.64]*
	- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙ; forepart of a lion with extended legs (denomination A) *[figure 5.65]*

THE COINAGE OF AMYNTAS III (393/2-369/8)

Staters - Amyntas struck two series of staters during his twenty-four year reign. It is uncertain if they were struck successively or concurrently[124].

	series 1	series 2
obverse	- mounted rider (wearing a petasus) aiming a spear *[figure 5.66]*	- head of Herakles wearing the lion scalp [*figure 5.68*]
reverse	- AMYNTA; lion with a spear in jaws *[figure 5.67]*	- AMYNTA; unattended horse *[figure 5.69]*

The respective number of extant specimens of Amyntas' coinage suggests that his second series of staters was issued in far greater quantities than the first. Limited analysis indicates that for his first series Amyntas, like his predecessors, attempted to use the weight standard and silver content introduced by Archelaus for his own issues[125]. This was evidently unsustainable, however, given that the later coins of this series are highly debased, with some containing less than 10% silver[126]. The second series of staters issued by the king, which may have been minted only after a sizeable break in production, were silver plated with a bronze core[127]. The purity of the silver used for the plating declined as the series progressed –

[124] Gatzolis (2010): 407.
[125] Lykiardopoulou-Petrou and Economou (1998): 166.
[126] Greenwalt (1994): 121.
[127] Lykiardopoulou-Petrou and Economou (1998): 163.

while initially struck at 60%, this quality declined in sizeable increments (first 50%, then 25%) until the silver content was almost negligible[128]. In addition to this debasement, the second series of Amyntas' staters were struck at erratic weights[129] [*see table 18*], which corresponded to the decreasing size of the flans used by the king for this issue[130]. As the size of the dies with which the coins were struck remained the same, this change in the size of the flans was evidently rapid, suggesting that some of Amyntas' second series of staters were minted in large volumes over only a short period of time.

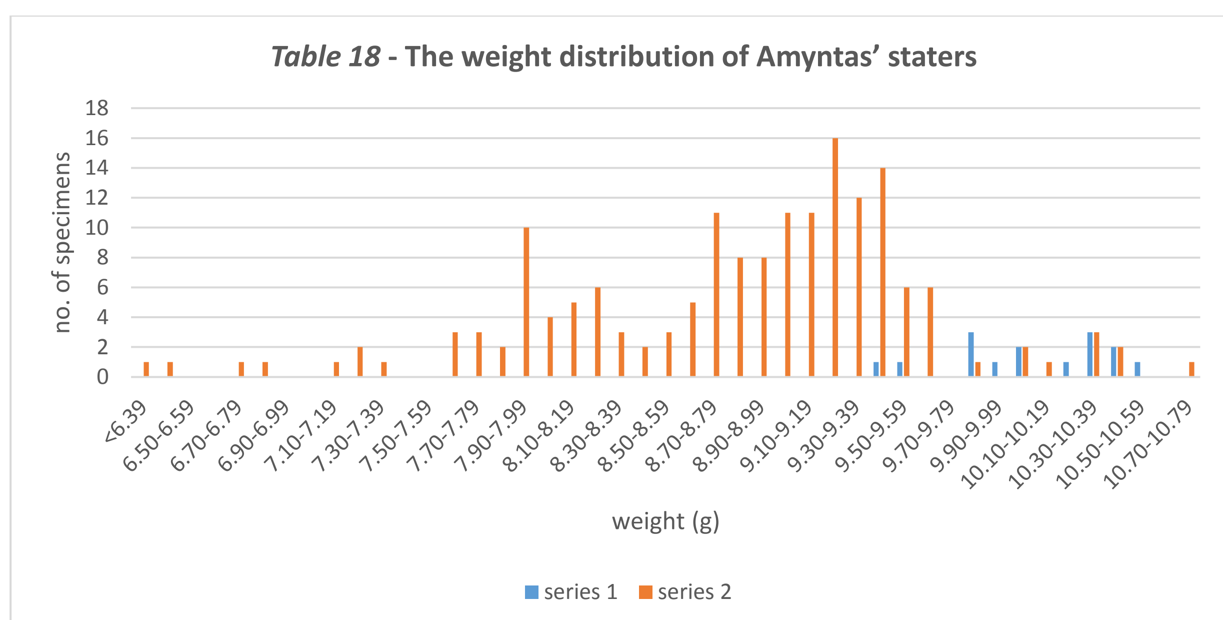


***Table 18* - The weight distribution of Amyntas' staters**

Fractional silver coinage

obverse - youthful head of Herakles *[figure 5.70]*

reverse - AMYNTA; eagle with open wings *[figure 5.71]*

Bronze coins – Amyntas diverged from the pattern typical of the other fourth-century Macedonian kings by using two different obverse types on his bronze coins, that of either a youthful or mature Herakles.

[128] Greenwalt (1994): 121.

[129] His second series of staters ranged between <6.39g – 10.79g in weight, compared to the 9.40g-10.59g range of his first series.

[130] Lykiardopoulou-Petrou and Economou (1998): 162.

	type 1	type 2
obverse	- youthful head of Herakles with lion scalp *[figure 5.72]*	- bearded head of Herakles *[figure 5.74]*
reverse	- AMYNTA; eagle devouring a snake (denomination A) *[figure 5.73]*	- AMYNTA; forepart of a boar above a club (denomination B) *[figure 5.75]*

THE COINAGE OF ALEXANDER II (369/8)

A lack of extant specimens suggests that Alexander may have struck no silver coinage during his reign.

Bronze coins – Perhaps following the precedent of Amyntas, Alexander appears to have struck bronze coins with different obverse types.

	type 1	type 2[131]
obverse	- young male head with taenia *[figure 5.76]*	- head of female facing right; Δ inscribed behind her neck
reverse	- ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟ encircling an unattended horse (denomination A) *[figure 5.77]* - ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟ; unattended horse (denomination A)	- ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟ encircling protome of unattended horse (denomination C)

THE COINAGE OF PERDICCAS III (365/4-360/59)

Staters - Given the small number of extant specimens that can be attributed to Perdiccas III, the king appears to have issued only a limited number of staters during his reign, despite its length. They are, however, notable for their purity, with an average silver content of 96.5%[132].

obverse	- head of Herakles wearing lion scalp
reverse	- ΠΕΡ; cantering horse

[131] Only a single specimen of this coin, which weighs 1.92g, has been published - see Hersh (1996): 9.
[132] Greenwalt (1994): 125.

Fractional silver coinage

Hemidrachms

obverse	- youthful head of Herakles (unbearded) with lion skin
reverse	- ΠΕΡΔ-ΙΚΚΑ; eagle with open wings standing within incuse square
weight (average)	1.90g[133]

Diobols

obverse	- bearded head of Herakles *[figure 5.78]*
reverse	- ΠΕΡ; bow and club of Herakles arranged diagonally within incuse square *[figure 5.79]*
weight (average)	0.83g[134]

Hemiobols[135]

	Type 1	Type 2
obverse	- youthful head of Herakles (unbearded) with lion skin	- male head[136]
reverse	- ΠΕΡΔ-ΙΚΚΑ ; thunderbolt	- ΠΕΡ; frontal head of a bull
weight (average)	0.29g	0.27g

Bronze coins – Perdiccas issued three series of bronze coins during his reign, and for his first series[137], introduced a new denomination, the octachalkon (8-9g), to Macedon[138].

obverse	- youthful head of Herakles *[figure 5.80]*
reverse	- ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑ; lion with a spear between its jaws (denominations AA and A) *[figure 5.81]*
	- ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑ; standing eagle with reverted head (denomination A) *[figure 5.82]*
	- ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑ; butting bull (denomination A) *[figure 5.83]*

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[133] Psoma (2000): 131.
[134] Hersh (1996): 11.
[135] *Ibid.*
[136] Although the size of the coin makes the image difficult to interpret, Hersh has proposed that the male head may be that of Dionysos, suggesting that the figure may have been adorned with an ivy wreath. Hersh (1996): 18, nt.10; Psoma (2002): 29.
[137] Although it is usually difficult to establish the order in which different series of bronzes were minted, the bronze coins of Perdiccas with the lion as the reverse type are often struck over bronzes of Amyntas III and Alexander II, suggesting that these were the earliest issues of the king. Similarly, the bronzes with the butting bull on the reverse were probably issued last, since the same type was used by Philip for his first bronze issues. Hersh (1996): 18, nt.9.
[138] Tselekas (1996): 15; Westermark (1989): 309.

Commentary

Silver coinage

In contrast to their predecessors, the monetary policies of the fourth century Macedonian kings are generally characterised by the limited production of silver coins and/or their heavy debasement. Since the immediate successors of Archelaus appear to have minted either few silver coins or none during their reigns, it is possible that the royal treasury may have been adversely affected by the expense of Archelaus' military and social reforms, with supplies and resources perhaps exhausted[139]. Otherwise, the quantity of coinage minted by the king may have met the immediate demands of the domestic market, meaning that new coinage was not required. Subsequent problems apparent in the royal coinage of the fourth century are likely a consequence of the events described in the scant literary testimony available for the period, which documents frequent incursions by Macedonia's enemies, in particular the Illyrians, and the subsequent intervention of foreign powers in exchange for terms detrimental to the Macedonian kingdom, including the loss of territory and/or resources[140].

Indeed, the economic problems suffered as a consequence of the loss and/or pillaging of large portions of Macedonian territory at the hands of the Illyrians would have been further compounded by its recovery, which would have necessitated significant expenditure that stretched the already limited resources of the Macedonian kingdom. Ancient sources suggest, for example, that Amyntas was, in 382, encouraged by the Spartans to hire additional mercenaries and to create or bolster alliances with his neighbours through payment[141]. The king may also have had to pay a stipend to the armies of Sparta and its allies while they campaigned on Macedon's behalf against the Chalcidic League in the same year.

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[139] Touratsoglou (2010): 60.
[140] For details, see *intra:* Introduction, Historical Background.
[141] Xenophon, *Hellenica*: 5.2.38.

Circumstances such as these might account for the degree of debasement apparent in the coinage of Amyntas III and, in the case of the second series of staters issued during his reign, his rapid minting of large quantities of coins despite an apparent lack of silver. Certainly, the debased staters of the king are found in large quantities in hoards in Macedonia and the Chalcidice, suggesting that they were used to fund activity in these areas.

Although a change in the economic fortunes of the Macedonian kingdom are perhaps suggested in the silver coinage of Perdiccas III, given its purity, any recovery that may have been made during his reign would arguably have been largely negated by the devastating loss of the king and four thousand of his troops in a battle against the Illyrians in 359[142]. However, the fact that Philip II does not appear to have minted silver coinage until 356/5[143] suggests that some funds may have remained in the royal treasury upon his accession to the throne, unless he resorted to other forms of payment to fund the substantial military and political activity undertaken in the initial years of his rule[144].

Bronze coinage

The range and value of the bronze denominations regularly minted by the Temenid kings increased throughout the fourth century, from coins weighing just 1-2g (denomination C) to 8-9g (denomination AA) [*table 19*]. When multiple denominations were issued concurrently, the larger denomination was always minted most frequently[145] - thus, the dichalkon was the predominant regal bronze issue in Macedonia until the introduction of the tetrachalkon/ hemiobol during the reign of Pausanias. This is perhaps because the

[142] Diodorus: 16.2.4.
[143] Le Rider (1996): 79-80 provides a summary of the scholarship on this subject.
[144] Le Rider (1996): 81-82. For example, Philip may have made payments using natural resources, such as crops or the donation of land. For a brief chronology of the reign of Philip, see Ellis (1994): 14-20.
[145] Gatzolis (2010b): 529.

subsequent introduction of large denomination bronzes made the value of smaller fractions so small as to render them redundant[146].

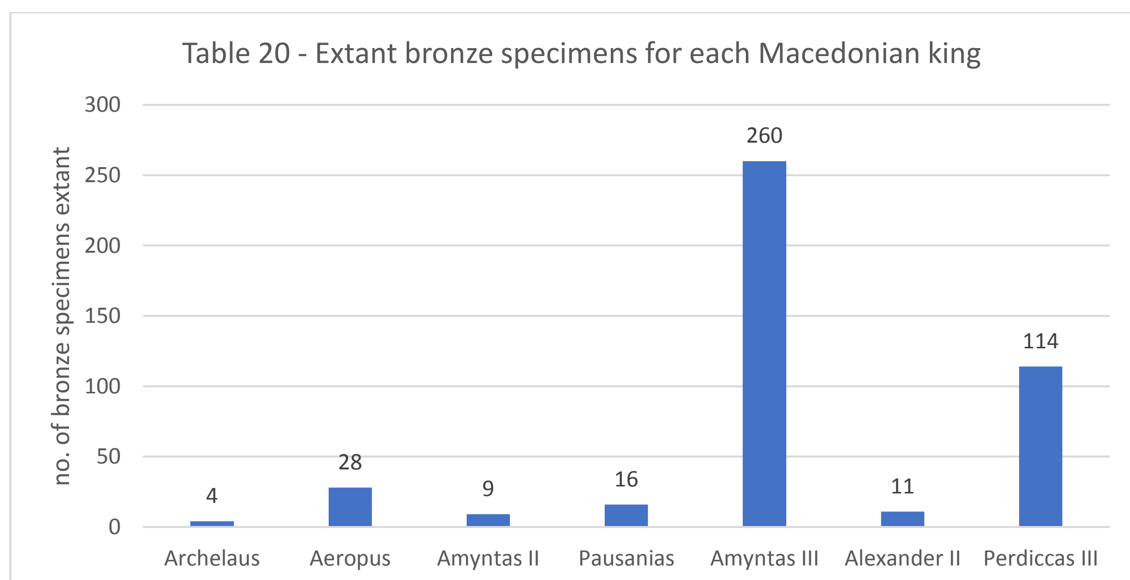
Table 19 – The bronze coins minted by the Macedonian kings	
	Bronze denomination/s minted
Archelaus	- Chalkous / 1/8 obol (C, 1-2g) - Dichalkon / ¼ obol (B, 2-3g)
Aeropus	- Dichalkon / ¼ obol (B, 2-3g)
Amyntas II	- Dichalkon/ ¼ obol (B, 2-3g)
Pausanias	- Tetrachalkon / hemiobol (A, 4-4.5g)
Amyntas III	- Chalkous/ 1/8 obol (C, 1-2g) - Dichalkon/ ¼ obol (B, 2-3g) - Tetrachalkon / Hemiobol (A, 4-4.5g)
Perdiccas III	- Tetrachalkon/ Hemiobol (A, 4-4.5g) - Octachalkon / obol (AA, 8-9g)

The production of a wider range of bronze denominations perhaps suggests greater state application of such coinage throughout the course of the fourth century[147]. Problematic to the interpretation of this evidence is that the function and status of bronze coinage within the Macedonian economic system is largely unknown. Such coins may have been intended primarily for domestic transactions since they, unlike silver, lacked an intrinsic value which could be guaranteed to a foreign authority[148]. Yet the bronze coinage of the Temenids appears to have circulated sporadically throughout the northern Aegean[149], and so may have been readily interchangeable with the bronze coins struck at other mints in the region[150]. That bronze coins eventually replaced both tetrobols and fractional silver coins in the Macedonian kingdom[151], as in the rest of the Mediterranean world[152], perhaps indicates that

[146] Gatzolis (2010b): 530.
[147] Westermark (1987): 183.
[148] Touratsoglou (2010): 216; Gatzolis (2010): 9.
[149] Westermark (1987): 187; Gatzolis (2010): 407; (2011): 190.
[150] This appears to have been the case within Macedonia itself – royal bronze issues of the first half of the fourth century represent just a small fraction (3.8%) of the bronze coinage recovered from hoards situated within the boundaries of the kingdom - Gatzolis (2011): 188-189.
[151] The smallest silver denomination struck by Archelaus and Aeropus was the hemiobol (0.30g). From the reign of Amyntas II, the smallest denomination struck by a Temenid king was the obol. Psoma (2001): 138, nt.265.
[152] Kim (1994): 71.

they were used for an equivalent purpose but were increasingly favoured because no silver was required for their production. However, the minting of bronze coinage in Macedonia was not limited to periods of seeming economic hardship – Philip II, for example, extensively issued bronze octachalkons (denomination AA) and also reintroduced the chalkous (denomination C) during his reign[153], with the circulation and distribution of bronze coins increasing throughout Macedonia and the wider Northern Aegean in the course of the fourth century[154].

The evidence thus suggests that the Macedonian kings issued bronze coinage to serve a specific purpose. As discussed previously, the chalkous and dichalkon may have been introduced during the reign of Archelaus as a means of paying a daily stipend to soldiers[155]. Subsequent Temenid bronze issues may have been minted for a similar purpose. This perhaps explains why bronze coins appear to have been minted in particularly large quantities during the reigns of Amyntas III and Perdiccas III [*table 20],* as the external pressures faced by both kings would have necessitated the intensification of military expenditure[156].



[153] Picard (2003): 75.
[154] Gatzolis (2011): 192-193.
[155] Gatzolis (2013): 127.
[156] Gatzolis (2010b): 530.

Non-royal Macedonian issues

The production of bronze coinage was not a phenomenon exclusive to Macedonian kings during the period under study - throughout the first half of the fourth century mints across the Northern Aegean, including those of cities such as Methone, Argilos and Oisyme, also began to issue bronze coinage[157]. Significantly, a limited number of bronze coins were also minted by some Macedonian cities and individuals during the first half of the fourth century.

Dion

Two series of bronze coins (of denomination B) have been attributed to a mint at Dion[158]. The lack of die-links evident upon an analysis of the extant specimens of this type (of which there are 11) suggests that only a small number of these bronzes were struck, during a brief period of minting[159]. It has been proposed that they were issued at some point in the early fourth century for use during a religious festival/s held at the site, such as that instituted by Archelaus in honour of Zeus and the Muses[160].

	Series I	Series II
obverse	- head of Zeus with hair bound in taenia; thunderbolt	Head of Zeus, without attributes
reverse	- seated Demeter in a chiton, holding a phiale and sceptre *[figure 5.84]*	ΔIAON; seated Demeter in a chiton, holding a phiale and sceptre

[157] Hammond (1989): 95; Tselekas (1996): 13, nt.12.
[158] The attribution of these coins to a mint in Dion (which hitherto had no recorded coinage before the foundation of the Roman colony at the site in the second half of the first century BC) is not without controversy. They have alternatively been attributed to the mint of Dion in Chalcidice or the *polis* Dia in Thessaly. See Demetriadi (1998): 115; Bellas (2007): 32-33.
[159] Demetriadi (1998): 116.
[160] Demetriadi (1998): 117.

Pydna

Two series of bronze coins, minted on three denominations, were produced by the city of Pydna, seventy-three specimens of which have been recovered from excavations and hoards to date[161].

		Series A (denomination A)		Series B (denominations AA, A and B)
Obverse	-	youthful head of Herakles *[figure 5.85]*	-	female head facing right or left[162] *[figure 5.87]*
Reverse	-	ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ / ΠΥΝΔΝΑΙΩΝ; eagle with closed wings devouring a serpent *[figure 5.86]*	-	ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ; owl with closed wings standing on an olive branch *[figure 5.88]*

The dating of these coins is based on the assumption that Pydna adopted the types of its patron when minting its bronze coins. The similarities between the types used on series A of Pydna's coinage and those of Amyntas III thus suggest that they may have been issued when the city was resettled during his reign, with a civic mint operating alongside that of the king's[163]. That the types used on series B of the coinage are not found in the Macedonian iconographic repertoire but are prevalent in Athens is then taken as evidence that they were minted when the city had gained independence from the Macedonian kingdom following its liberation by Timotheus, and thus from *c.*364-357[164]. Although the second series of coins were issued in a wider range of denominations than the first, they appear to have been produced in smaller volumes[165].

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[161] Head (1879): 101; Tselekas (1996): 11-32; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004): 806; Gatzolis (2010): 397.
[162] The identification of this figure (who wears jewellery and has her hair in a sphendone) is uncertain, and is variously suggested to be Artemis, Aphrodite or a nymph. The use of this type is limited not only to the coinage of Pydna, but was used also on the obverse of bronze issues of Scione and Methone, suggesting that these coins were struck around the same time. See Tselekas (1996): 14.
[163] Tselekas (1996): 23.
[164] Head (1879): 101-102.
[165] Gatzolis (2010): 410.

Unknown mint, Upper Macedonia?

A small issue of bronze coins of denomination C, inscribed with the legend ΦΙΛΩ, have been recovered in limited quantities in Macedonia and Thessaly[166].

Obverse	-	Youthful head of Herakles
Reverse	-	ΦΙΛΩ ; eagle holding a thunderbolt

Though they adopt iconographic types used on Temenid royal issues, these coins (of which 19 specimens are extant[167]) are believed by some scholars to have been issued by an independent ruler operating in the southern part of Upper Macedonia during the first half of the fourth century[168].

Commentary

The small number of extant specimens of non-royal bronze coins originating from the Macedonian kingdom during the first half of the fourth century suggests that they, like the Temenid bronzes, were produced in too limited a quantity to have served as a daily currency[169]. These 'civic' bronzes must therefore have served an additional or complementary purpose to the coinage of the Macedonian kings.

That cities were able to mint coinage is in itself significant, since it suggests that civic economies were not abolished or restricted by the royal economy in Macedonia during the period under study. Unfortunately, the extant numismatic evidence does not readily elucidate the nature of the relationship and interaction between these two economic systems[170], civic and royal, and therefore raises many questions about the role of civic coinage within the Macedonian economy during the fifth and fourth centuries, and about the

[166] Wartenberg (1998).
[167] Wartenberg (1998): 13.
[168] Wartenberg (1998): 16-17.
[169] Gatzolis (2010b): 408.
[170] Faraguna (2006): 123.

levels of entanglement between these two economy types. That Macedonian settlements were able to mint such coinage suggests, however, that they should perhaps be ascribed greater political and social agency during the period under study, challenging the notion that cities were largely economically dependent upon the Macedonian kings at this time[171]. Certainly, evidence from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods indicates that royal involvement with the cities was primarily political[172], a feature of Macedonian administration which should perhaps be extrapolated also to the period under study.

Any such conclusions should, however, be tempered by the fact that extant evidence for a civic economy during this period consists predominantly of bronze denominations, which were of limited value and therefore would have funded only small, local transactions. Silver coinage would be more indicative of larger-scale economic activity, and therefore of the economic independence of Macedonian settlements - the evidence for such is, however, sparse for the period under study. A small number of 'civic' silver coins appear to have emanated from the region in the early sixth century, but their attribution is uncertain. Silver staters, featuring a maenad and satyr scene on the obverse and an incuse square on the reverse, have, for example, been tentatively attributed to a mint at Lete[173]. However, a recent review of the coinage has led some scholars to suggest that they should alternatively be attributed to a mint under the control of Berge[174]. The so-called 'goat staters', discussed above[175], have also been variously attributed to Macedonian authorities in the Northern Aegean – it is contested, though, whether they were civic or royal issues[176]. These issues, if

[171] Akamatis (2016):197.
[172] Hatzopoulos (1996): 487-496; Paschidis (2008): 483-486.
[173] Gaebler (1935): 67-72.
[174] Psoma (2006).
[175] See *intra*: 'Dating the introduction of Macedonian coinage'.
[176] Lorber (2000): 129; Papaefthimiou (2000); Psoma (2003): 238; Dahmen (2010): 48.

confirmed as civic, would provide a valuable insight into the nature of the 'civic' economy of the Macedonian kingdom around the time of its inception.

Iconographic Types

The types used on the earliest Macedonian coins, those of Alexander I, are heavily indebted to those struck by various tribes in the Northern Aegean. The favoured obverse of the king, the image of the rider wearing a chlamys and petasos and carrying two spears, was, for example, directly adopted from the large denomination coins minted by tribes such as the Bisaltai and the Orrescii *[figure 5.89].* Although identified by some scholars as a portrait of the king or a local religious/ mythological hero[177], the wide diffusion of this type across various tribal issues, and its comparative absence on those of the Greek polities, suggests that the image may instead represent a tradition shared by these tribes, such as regal power, idealised sovereignty or hereditary kingship[178]. In using such an image, Alexander may therefore have been representing his power and position through a symbol whose meaning was already deeply rooted in the ideology of the Northern Aegean. That the image of the mounted rider had, or eventually came to have, such ideological significance in Macedonia is particularly apparent in the staters of Amyntas III, where the 'wraparound' composition develops the type into that of a royal hunt, a cultural and iconographic trope used by both Macedonian kings and their *hetairoi* to signify their elevated status and position in Macedonian society[179]. The use of such a type may also, however, have encouraged the acceptance of Alexander's coinage as a legitimate currency, both in the Northern Aegean region and the East.

By contrast, the types introduced on the regal issues of Archelaus appear to have deliberately diminished the emphasis on the tribal types used by his predecessors, arguably

[177] Picard (1986): 74; Greenwalt (1994): 128; Wartenberg (1998): 17.
[178] Caccamo Caltabiano (2007): 762.
[179] See, for example, Franks (2012): 52.

resulting in the creation of uniquely 'regal' Macedonian types. It is perhaps because of this that the coins of Archelaus were the first Macedonian regal issues in which every denomination bore the name of the king, either in full or abbreviated form[180]. The new types introduced by the king appear to have been intended to highlight the preeminent position of the Temenid kings and their Argive origins. It is, for example, on the fractions of Archelaus that the image of Herakles, the hero from whom the Temenids claimed descent, first appears on Macedonian coinage – he is depicted either bearded or clean-shaven, and typically with a club or lion's head on the accompanying reverse. Perhaps similarly linked is the figure of the youthful male head wearing a taenia, who is variously identified as a national hero of the Macedonians, Ares, Herakles or Apollo[181]. If the latter[182], Archelaus' use of this type on his coins was perhaps prompted by Euripides' inclusion of the god in the Temenid origin story in the play *Archelaus*, performed at the Macedonian court in the late fifth century[183]. The uncertain dating of Archelaus' issues makes it difficult, however, to prove a definitive correlation between these events.

Although coins are notable for being an innately conservative medium, it is nevertheless interesting to note the lack of typological innovation on the silver coinage of the early fourth century Macedonian kings, which continue to adopt the types of Archelaus. Since the literary testimony on the period suggests continued intra-dynastic struggles between different branches of the Temenid house, it is possible that this was a means through which these kings attempted to reinforce their legitimacy. The same reasoning can perhaps be

[180] Greenwalt (2003): 144.
[181] For more information on this identification, see *intra*: Macedonian religion;
[182] Although widely accepted, problematic to the identification of this figure as Apollo is that the type does not fit with the iconography of the god found on the coinage of neighbouring Chalcidice, where the deity is firmly identified through attributes. See Psoma (2002): 32.
[183] Within this work, a new mythical founder, Caranus, was added to the Temenid lineage, and the figure of Apollo integrated into their origin story through Caranus' use of a Delphic oracle, which guided him to the location of Aigai.

applied to the coinage of Amyntas III, who notably breaks from the iconographic scheme used by his predecessors by adopting the obverse type of Alexander I (the mounted rider) on his first series of staters. It may be no coincidence that the king, who was a direct descendant of Alexander but not of Archelaus *[figure 1.62]*, chose to invoke his own ancestors' types to highlight his lineage and pedigree during the early years of his reign.

Significantly, the fact that Macedonian regal issues appear to have been minted almost exclusively for domestic circulation (as is discussed in more detail below) suggests that any information conveyed through these coin types was intended for the population of the Macedonian kingdom itself. It was thus to their own subjects that the Temenid kings highlighted their Argive origins, and therefore the preeminent position of the Macedonian royal family; and to whom they aimed to legitimise their own rule in light of the dynastic struggles that threatened to divide their kingdom.

Conclusions

As outlined previously, the lack of extant epigraphic and literary evidence relating to the Macedonian kingdom in the fifth and early fourth century means that scholars have often relied upon the numismatic evidence to reconstruct the economic history of the period, especially with regard to Macedonia's diplomatic and trade relations. Raymond's suggestion that the coinage of the early Macedonian kings was minted on two different weight standards to appeal to two different economic systems, particularly that of Athens, had thus coloured much of later scholarship. This argument appears, however, to be flawed; the minting of coinage intended specifically for export appears, on present evidence, to have occurred primarily only in the fifth century, with Alexander's striking of octadrachms. Otherwise, the coinage issued by the Macedonian kings appears, from the circulation patterns evident among coin hoards [*Appendix 2, table A*], to have been intended primarily for domestic use.

The circulation of Macedonian silver coinage beyond its borders was limited primarily to Chalcidice, and Olynthus in particular, a pattern which instead appears indicative of Macedonian activity in this region. This reflects the reported historical narrative. Perdiccas II, for example, is said to have financed Chalcidian operations against the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War, which would account for the circulation of his heavy tetrobols in the region. Similarly, the silver and bronze coins of Amyntas found in the Chalcidice can be linked with military operations that the Temenid king carried out against the Chalcidians between 382 and 379[184].

Notably, coin hoards uncovered within the limits of the Macedonian kingdom indicate the near exclusive circulation of silver Temenid royal issues during the fifth and fourth centuries [*Appendix 2, table B*]. Exceptions to this trend can generally be linked with specific historical circumstances – for example, the hoard at Pella (CH8:88) which contained four tetrobols of Acanthus and eight tetrobols of the Chalcidic League may have been created during the incursion of the Chalcidians, who briefly annexed the city in 383[185]. The Macedonian kings hence appear to have operated a closed economic system, over which they exercised considerable control, during the period under study. The reasons for this cannot be determined with any certainty, although the creation of a closed economic system in other historical contexts has been linked to the control of external exchange, or the need to retain or manipulate the value of silver coinage within a given region[186].

As Macedonian coinage appears to have been minted predominantly for circulation and use within the Macedonian kingdom, it is worth considering the potential purpose of such coinage. However, evidence for the possible motivations behind the striking of coins by

[184] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 177; Psoma (1999): 106, nt.11; (2001): 176; (2002): 41; Gatzolis (2010): 406.
[185] Diodorus 14.92.3; Chrysostomou (1993): 622; Gatzolis (2016): 359.
[186] Howgego (1995): 115; Liampi (2010a): 65; Kroll (2011): 28.

an issuing authority are generally most explicit in literary sources[187], which are largely lacking for the period under study. What follows is thus largely speculative, but is based on what is known about the history of the period, and comparisons with the economic output of other ancient civilisations.

One possibility is that Macedonian royal coinage was struck on behalf of the 'state' to facilitate private trade. Yet the lack of archaeological evidence and ancient sources relating to various aspects of the Macedonian economy means that it is difficult to establish the mechanisms of trade extant during the period[188]. Although transactions could have been conducted using coins of smaller denominations such as those issued by the kings, it is also possible that they were undertaken through the direct exchange of commodities, especially given the region's abundant natural resources[189]. Such mechanisms may also have varied in different parts of the Macedonian kingdom, with rural areas retaining a barter economy while more urban areas monetised[190]. It is therefore difficult to examine the means by which and extent that the Macedonians were involved in the intense trading activity evident across the Northern Aegean during the period under study, even though the small finds recovered throughout the region highlight extensive interactions between Macedonia and other groups in the ancient Mediterranean world[191].

The coinage minted by the Macedonian kings may otherwise have been intended for 'state' payments. Of these, public works often prompted the minting of coinage in the ancient world[192], yet few, if any, substantial building projects dating to the period under study are currently attested in the archaeological record. Additionally, it is uncertain if such projects

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[187] Howgego (1990): 1.
[188] Rhomiopoulou (2013): 171 Kasseri (2015): 213.
[189] Touratsoglou (2010): 212.
[190] Le Rider (1996): 81.
[191] See *intra*: The Mortuary Evidence; Conclusions.
[192] Howgego (1990): 10.

would have fallen under the purview of the Macedonian kings – while the numismatic evidence indicates the existence of both a civic and royal economy in Macedonia during the period under study, it elucidates the limits of neither. It is thus difficult to ascertain the degree to which the Temenids would have fiscally intervened with the settlements in their kingdom; civic building projects may thus have been financed by the cities themselves, as is attested in later historical periods[193].

Given the turbulent nature of the period, costs linked to military expenditure perhaps account for the majority of payments made from the royal treasury[194]. Although little is known about the nature and composition of the Macedonian army during the period under study, it is generally thought to have consisted of mercenaries, allied forces and a citizen army[195]. The small denominations of the Macedonian kings, minted first in silver and later in bronze, were perhaps used in part to pay a stipend to members of the citizen or allied armies[196], or to pay the wages of mercenaries acting in Macedonian interests[197], on which the Temenid kings appear to have been heavily reliant[198]. This would have resulted in considerable economic outlay, especially as the size of the Macedonian army appears to have increased throughout the period, perhaps as a consequence of Archelaus' reforms[199] – thus Perdiccas III was able to muster a sizeable force of four thousand men to fight the Illyrians in 359[200].

Overall, factors such as the deliberate debasement and overvaluation of royal issues, in addition to the occasional minting of coinage intended for different markets, suggests a

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[193] Paschidis (2008).
[194] Howgego (1990): 9; Archibald (2013): 49; Gatzolis (2013): 127.
[195] Hatzopoulos (1996): 443.
[196] Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2016): 63.
[197] Touratsoglou (2010): 212.
[198] Hammond and Griffith (1979): 438; Hatzopoulos (1996): 471. See, for example, Xenophon, *Hellenica*: 5.2.38.
[199] Greenwalt (2007): 90-91; (2015): 42.
[200] Diodorus: 16.2.4.

considerable level of economic sophistication during the period under study. This is at odds with the notion proposed by many scholars that Macedonia had a low level of economic development prior to the reign of Philip II. Indeed, although Philip is typically credited with revolutionising the Macedonian economy, it should be noted that he, in actuality, continued many of the monetary policies introduced by the fifth and fourth century Macedonian kings[201]. For example, he issued bronze and small denomination silver coins aimed at the domestic market throughout his reign[202], albeit in far greater numbers than his predecessors. Arguably, the economic developments that occurred under Philip were largely a consequence of the political stability and territorial expansion wrought by the king, which brought new mineral resources under Temenid suzerainty, enabling him to mint coins in far greater quantities than any previous Macedonian king[203] [*see below, table 21*]. Consequently, while the coinage issued during the period under study was intended primarily for domestic use, that of Philip was created to serve the needs of his expanding kingdom, and was therefore designed to encourage trade. Thus from 356/5, the date at which Philip appears to have first started striking his own coinage[204], he issued silver tetradrachms (of 14.52g) minted on the weight standard of the Chalcidic League[205] and gold staters (known as Philippeioi) of 8.46g[206], which were intended for large purchases outside the Macedonian kingdom[207].

[201] Le Rider (1996): 90.
[202] Liampi (2010b): 83.
[203] Diodorus: 16.8.6-7.
[204] Le Rider (1996): 80-82 provides a summary of the scholarship on the start-date of Philip's coinage.
[205] Liampi (2010b): 83.
[206] See Le Rider (1977) for a catalogue of Philip's gold and silver coinage, in addition to a commentary.
[207] de Callataÿ (2012): 176; Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2016): 65.

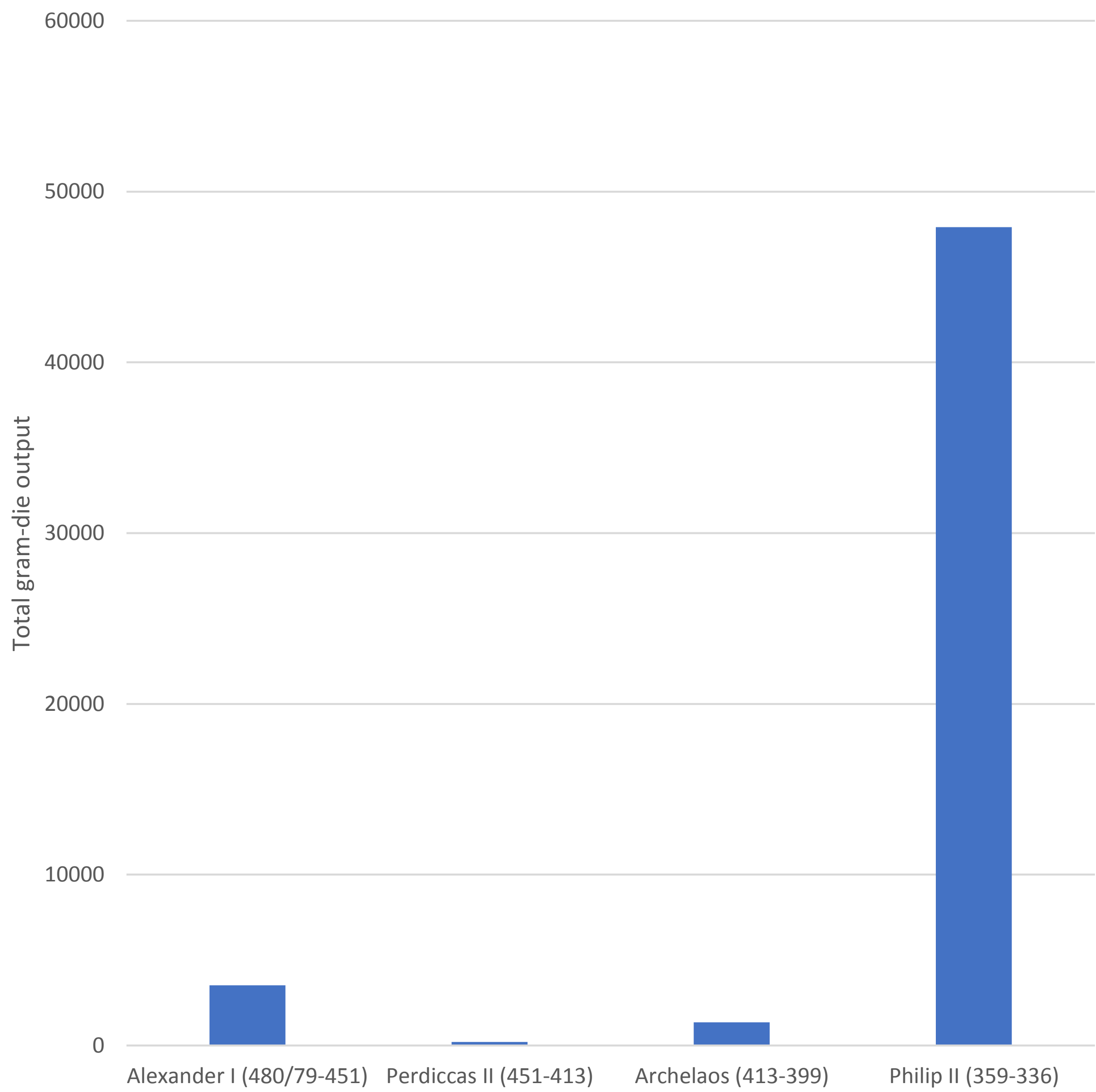
Table 21 - Comparison of the total gram-die output of Alexander, Perdiccas II and Archelaus when compared with Philip II
60000
50000
40000
30000
20000
10000
0
Total gram-die output
Alexander I (480/79-451)
Perdiccas II (451-413)
Archelaos (413-399)
Philip II (359-336)

- VI -

Overall conclusions

The withdrawal of the Persians from the Northern Aegean *c.*480 facilitated the significant expansion of the area over which the Temenids were suzerain, resulting in the incorporation of different types of communities into the Macedonian kingdom. One of the aims of this thesis had been to consider these newly integrated communities alongside those from the Macedonian heartland, to discern any cultural elements unique to the Macedonian *ethnos*. Yet Macedonian expansion is not readily traceable in the archaeological record, which shows a remarkable degree of continuity in the periods both preceding and following the extension of Temenid rule. The evidence, rather than highlighting cultural and ethnic differences, is notable for the homogeneity of the material culture apparent among the various groups that inhabited the Macedonian kingdom, which suggests the existence of a cultural *koine* across the Northern Aegean that significantly predates the political assimilation of these groups under Macedonian rule.

The society over which the Temenid kings ruled was a highly stratified one, in which the status and position of an individual was based largely on their wealth. This is apparent in the mortuary record, where significant resources were expended on the representation of the affluence of the deceased. Different strata of Macedonian society can hence be detected through variations to the quantity, quality and types of objects that were placed in the grave. Particularly diagnostic in this regard are 'prestige' items such as epistomia, bronze vessels, swords and helmets. It is uncertain, however, whether the asymmetric distribution of goods evident in the grave reflects the types of objects that individuals of differing socio-economic status would have been able to afford or access in their everyday lives, or if it merely reflects what those who buried them were willing to lose to the grave. The material from domestic

contexts, once more comprehensive, might shed light on this, since it may provide an indication of how the wealth evident in funerary contexts compares to the overall resources available to the deceased.

The realities of everyday life in Macedonia during the period under study remain largely elusive. Much of what is known stems from funerary contexts, and so may be highly idealised. The characterisation of the deceased on grave stelai, for example, suggests that the average woman was expected to remain within the *oikos*, tending to the household and caring for children. Men, by contrast, were characterised as athletes and warriors, and so were buried with their arms and armour. The persistence of the 'warrior burial' in Macedonia, even when the trend of placing weapons and armour in the grave had otherwise declined throughout the Greek world[1], appears linked to the wider political and social organisation of the Macedonian kingdom, in which the power of the king depended upon the support of a military elite, and important political decisions were made by a military assembly[2].

Given the lack of extant evidence from sanctuary contexts, information regarding the religious beliefs and practices of the Macedonians is also difficult to ascertain. Although it is evident that the Olympian gods were worshipped in various forms throughout the Macedonian kingdom, the precise composition of the pantheon is still unknown. While Zeus and Herakles appear to have been pre-eminent, it is uncertain to what extent the extant evidence reflects 'everyday' cult, compared to that espoused by the Temenid kings. Certainly, it is apparent that propagating the myth of the Argive origins of the Temenids, through their descent from Herakles, was already a concern of the Macedonian court by the late fifth century. 'Everyday' cult practices are perhaps best attested in the sanctuary of Demeter at

[1] van Wees (1998).
[2] Hammond (1989): 60-62.

Dion, which provides the only example of temple architecture from the period under study. The early occurrence of this cult, and its popularity, suggests the importance of a female deity who encapsulated the various traits of a kourotrophic fertility goddess within the Macedonian pantheon. The collated evidence therefore indicates that a number of the religious phenomena apparent in the Macedonian kingdom from the late Classical period were rooted in earlier traditions, refuting the claim that Macedonian religion was progressively Hellenised from the late fourth century onwards[3].

Even though the period was punctuated by frequent political upheaval, the coexistence of local and imported objects, particularly pottery and coroplastics, in funerary contexts appears to indicate unbroken commercial interactions between Macedonia and the major production centres of the Greek world, suggesting that trade was not affected by diplomatic relations, even when unfavourable. Indeed, ongoing interaction with Athens appears to have forged strong cultural connections with the *polis*, which may account for the preference for Attic or Atticising goods exhibited by the Macedonian elite from the fifth century. Macedonian society therefore appears to have had a 'dual character' – being simultaneously both innately conservative in some aspects, yet open to external cultural influences in others[4]. The material culture that emerged from the Macedonian kingdom during the fifth and fourth centuries was hence an amalgamation of Greek and Balkan traditions, which had been selectively adopted, adapted and merged with the local repertoire over time.

The numismatic evidence elucidates the existence of, but not the nature of or interaction between, two different economic systems – one royal and one civic. The coinage of the Temenid kings appears, with rare exceptions, to have been intended exclusively for

[3] For more on this, see Mari (2011): 454.
[4] Graekos (2011): 68.

circulation within the limits of the Macedonian kingdom – they thus operated a closed economic system, which allowed for the deliberate debasement and overvaluation of regal issues when necessary. However, the circumstances that may have necessitated such action are uncertain. While prevalent theories link the limited production or debasement of silver coins by the Temenids to a lack of access to the mineral-rich territories around the lower Strymon, it is possible that they instead gained their supply of silver through other means, particularly the export of shipbuilding timber to silver-rich polities such as Athens. This calls into question the efficacy of scholarship which correlates a seeming decline in the quantity or quality of Temenid coinage with territorial losses along its eastern border [5].

Generally, each Macedonian king issued a single large denomination coin, and a series of smaller fractions, during their reign. The main exception to this is Alexander I who, in addition to producing coins intended for use within the Macedonian kingdom, also minted the octadrachm, either as bullion or as a way of paying tribute to the Great King of Persia. The evidence suggests that the small silver denominations and bronze coins of the kings were predominantly issued to pay a stipend to the soldiers and mercenary contingents they employed. Everyday transactions throughout the Macedonian kingdom were therefore likely conducted through the barter exchange of goods of equivalent value, or the use of the small fractions issued by the Temenid kings.

The limited civic coinage minted during the period appears to have been complementary to, but distinct from, the royal economy. Events which would have adversely affected the political and economic stability of the Macedonian kingdom would therefore have impacted royal and civic economy alike. This is perhaps borne out in the archaeological evidence. Given the importance attached to the representation of wealth in the grave, it is

[5] See, for example, Zimi (2004): 139-140; Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2016): 61.

notable that burials of the fifth and first half of the fourth century appear more restrained than those of preceding and subsequent periods – both because of the comparative decline in the overall number of objects placed in the grave, and the reduction in the quantity and types of luxury goods that were afforded to the deceased. This perhaps indicates that Macedonians of all social strata had less wealth to invest in their funerary customs.

Despite this, the Macedonian elite can be seen to be experimenting with different forms of mortuary display throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, using the elaboration of the tomb, its furnishings and its marker. Over the course of the period under study, the burials of the wealthy increase in size, a trend linked to the frequency with which furniture, such as wooden biers and *klinai,* was used in the grave. Architectural elaboration (or the emulation of such using paint) is also used with increasing frequency among the graves of the upper echelons of Macedonian society – a trend which culminates in the introduction of the 'Macedonian' tomb type from the middle of the fourth century. Figured grave stelai, which provided an additional and alternative means of characterising the deceased using the iconographic repertoire established in regions such as Attica and Ionia, are also first introduced to Macedonia during the period, albeit in limited numbers.

That cities seem to have been able to produce their own coinage indicates that they were, to some degree, financially independent from the Macedonian court. This raises questions about the nature of the relationship and interaction between king, city and citizen during the period under study. The evidence from later periods, for which far more epigraphic evidence is extant, indicates that royal involvement with the cities of Macedonia was primarily political, with civic business conducted through intermediaries and

benefactors[6]. Such a system likely operated also during the period under study, although it is difficult to discern the precise limits of Temenid influence and governance at this time.

The position of Macedonian settlements within the kingdom's economy is, for example, largely unknown, given that the extent of the financial resources at their disposal is uncertain. Individual communities may therefore have been largely reliant upon the kings to fund substantial building projects or, alternatively, may have had considerable agency in developing the physical fabric of their settlements[7]. If the latter, then the lack of substantial building projects evident throughout the Macedonian kingdom during the period under study may, if not simply an accident of preservation, indicate that the local socio-economic elite did not expend significant resources for the benefit of their communities. Rather, their economic and ideological investment was focused on the private sphere, a trend which is apparent in Macedonia throughout its history[8]. During the period under study, Temenid investment was perhaps limited to sites which were of fundamental importance to royal infrastructure, such as the capital at Aigai. Similarly, the public buildings excavated at Aiani may have been financed by the Elimeote dynasty.

Contrary to the pervading opinion of some scholars, the Macedonian kingdom was thus not a cultural or political "backwater" before the ascension of Philip II to the throne, nor does his reign represent a significant break in Macedonian culture and society. Rather, his actions permitted an intensification of the trends already apparent during the period under study. This was facilitated by the influx of wealth that resulted from his securing, and eventual expansion, of the borders of the Macedonian kingdom and his subsequent domination of the Hellenic world.

[6] Paschidis (2008).
[7] Raynor (2014): 342.
[8] Raynor (2014): 342.

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