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MOUNTAINOUS IMATHIA IN THE EARLY IRON AGE  
(11<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC)

The surveys that have been conducted in the last fifteen years around Aigai and in the wider area of Pieria Mountains in Imathia<sup>1</sup>, together with a series of accidental events (illicit archaeological excavations, road or irrigation networks construction etc.), yielded numerous previously unknown ancient sites, more than twelve of which date back to the Early Iron Age.

Only three of those sites are located in the lowland Haliacmon riverside area; one to the northwest of the Cemetery of the Tumuli of Aigai<sup>2</sup>, next to the current river bank, the second one to the northwest of the settlement of Metochi<sup>3</sup>, and the third one around 25 km to the southwest, at Kato Longa of Daski, in the narrow valley between the mountain and the river<sup>4</sup>. There probably is an abundance of antiquities hidden under the dense vegetation, which, if discovered, could alter this conclusion, but based on the so far revealed finds, at least as far as the geographical distribution of sites is concerned, it seems safe to say that people in the Early Iron Age preferred the mountain to the plain<sup>5</sup>.

This might come as a surprise to the modern observer, whose daily routine and, therefore, his/her conception of space and its use is defined by the presence, even dominance, of cars, tractors and bulldozers; however, it is in complete harmony and continuity with the models outlining the traditional way of life in the Greek countryside up until the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War and the Greek Civil War, when convenience and comfort had not yet become fundamental, self-evident, uttermost and exclusive life principles.

In the beginning of the first pre-Christian millennium, a large part of modern-day Imathia plain was covered by sea and another, maybe even larger, was covered by

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Kottaridi, Ch. Brekoulaki, «Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στα ημαθιώτικα Πιέρια», AEMTh (Archaeological Work in Macedonia & Thrace) 11, 1997, 109-114; A. Kottaridi, «Από τη νεκρόπολη των Αιγών στο νεολιθικό οικισμό των Πλέρων», AEMTh 14, 2000, 527-536; *id.*, «Οι ανασκαφικές έρευνες της ΙΖ' ΕΠΚΑ στην ορεινή Μακεδονία και η ταύτιση της αρχαίας Λεβαίης», AEMTh 18, 2004, 543-550.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 5, 1991, 23-30.

<sup>3</sup> This site was found in February 2005 during excavation works performed by the contractor of the project for the construction of a man-made lake to the east of the Haliacmon River Dam; further investigation of the site is still pending

<sup>4</sup> See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 18, 2004, 543.

<sup>5</sup> The same stands for the northern part of the Prefect and the Vermion mountain area, where investigation has significantly progressed, since the only known lowland site dating back to the Iron Age was found at Angelochori tumulus. See also L. Stefani, «Η τοπογραφία του νομού Ημαθίας», in *Γνωριμία με τη γη του Αλέξανδρου: Η περίπτωση του Νομού Ημαθίας (Ιστορία-Αρχαιολογία)*, Minutes of a Scientific Conference held on 7-8 June 2003, Thessaloniki, 2004

marshes<sup>6</sup>. If we also consider the uncontrollable river forces, the icy northern wind blowing unobstructed, all kinds of raiders and invaders, and the hot springs, this silent enemy that domineered over the land until well into the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., it is no longer a mystery why the old populations in the area preferred the mountain. Besides, the mountainous and, all the more, the semi-mountainous zones, where archaeological sites are more densely distributed, are ideal for sheep and goat farming, which was, and still is, the central economic activity of the area's population.

This trend is manifested in the location of the major cities on Vermio Mountain (Veroia, Mieza-Naousa, Edessa), all of them important urban centres that prospered through time, as well as in the location of Aigai, the first full city of the area, lost along with the kingdom of Macedon after first having been the cradle of Macedonian kings. Here, in the first Macedonian centre that can be considered a *polis*, the living seemed to prefer inhabiting the low hills at the foot of the mountain and to leave the plain to their dead, since the majority of the settlements, mainly the earliest ones, as well as the walled *polis* itself, are located on the hills, while the huge necropolis spreads over the flat plain<sup>7</sup>.

As for the Early Iron Age, the impressive size of the Cemetery of the Tumuli<sup>8</sup>, the large number of graves and the grave offerings of amazing quantity and outstanding quality are all evidence of an exceptionally significant -maybe the most significant of all- urban centre in the area of Aigai, unique in terms of its size, population, wealth, form, and longevity compared to the rest of the settlements in the wider area of Imathia and beyond.

The rest of the Early Iron Age sites -settlements and cemeteries- found in the Pieria Mountains are much smaller in size and, according to the available finds, much more short-lived, while a noteworthy density of settlements was identified in the south-facing fertile plateau of Sfikia<sup>9</sup>. Relatively small are also the cemeteries linked to these settlements, mostly located on hills having an unobstructed view over the plain, e.g. the cemetery of Koukos in Sykia to the east and the cemetery of Rovia to the west of Aigai. In Rovia, a small excavation<sup>10</sup> helped us gain a clearer image and realize the

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. N. Merousis, L. Stefani, «Κατοίκηση και φυσικό περιβάλλον στην προϊστορική Ημαθία. Συμπεράσματα και προοπτικές από την επιφανειακή έρευνα των ετών 1993-1996», *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* VI.2, 1999, pp. 735 *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> See A. Kottaridi, "Discovering Aegae, the old Macedonian capital", in *Excavating classical culture*, Oxford 2002, pp. 75-83, and A. Kottaridi, «Αιγαί, η πρώτη πόλη των Μακεδόνων», in *Γνωριμία με τη γη του Αλέξανδρου: Η περίπτωση του Νομού Ημαθίας (Ιστορία-Αρχαιολογία)*, Minutes of a Scientific Conference held on 7-8 June 2003, Thessaloniki, 2004., pp. 81-102.

<sup>8</sup> See M. Andronikos, *Βεργίνα I. Το νεκροταφείο των τύμβων* (1969), F. Petsas, "Ανασκαφαί αρχαίου νεκροταφείου Βεργίνας", *ADelt* 17 (1961/1962), Μελέται, p. 218 *op. cit.*, *ADelt* 18 (1963), Β' Χρονικά, p. 217 *op. cit.*, K. Romiopoulou, I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, "Neue Funde aus der eisenzeitlichen Nekropole von Vergina", *Griechisch Makedonien*, *PZ* 64 (1989), pp. 86-151.

<sup>9</sup> See A. Kottaridi, *AEMTh* 14, 2000, 531 *op. cit.*, *AEMTh* 18, 2004, 543 *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> See A. Kottaridi, *AEMTh* 15, 2001, p. 509 *op. cit.*

difference between the quantity and quality of the grave offerings in the tombs of this small group of stock farmers buried here and those of their neighbours in Aigai.

Based only on surface surveys and random finds our observations regarding the “land of Macedon” in the Early Iron Age would have remained vague, had modernization not once again run into the past. In 1999, works for the construction of the Egnatia Motorway commenced at the southeast slope of Vermio Mountain. The need to shorten the route over the mountain, in conjunction with modern highway construction requirements, led the designers and the construction authorities of the Egnatia Motorway to come up with an alignment that runs through a relatively passable, currently uninhabited mountainous area.

It appears that the same reasons and more made this land appealing to populations of earlier periods as well. In the land extending between Asomata and Lefkopetra (an area covering just a few kilometres) a series of important ancient sites was unearthed<sup>11</sup>, the density of which once more demonstrates the significance of the mountain for the survival of traditional populations in the area. Particularly in the case of the Early Iron Age, these finds substantiated the interpretations we established after investigating the Pieria mountains, completed, in a rather unexpected way, the vague picture we had created in our minds; our working assumptions gave way to an abundance of solid excavation data that promise to shed more light on this unknown yet critical time period, which marks the passage from the prehistory to the history of Macedonia, and at the same time to open a new page in “mountain archaeology” and the field of comparative ethnoarchaeological research.

On the relatively smooth slope that stretches from Asomata to the steep mound of Kallipetra, where the Egnatia Motorway follows the route of the old pathway connecting the city of Veroia to the only river crossing the area, “the ford of Vossova”, over a stretch of land 3 km long now crossed by the modern highway, we identified five cemeteries and four settlements dated back to the Early Iron Age. At the same time, on the highest and steepest mound prevailing over the Haliacmon river crossing, we located a fortification wall, an “acropolis” controlling the strategically critical passage as part of the defence network of the whole area.

At the site called “Tzamala”<sup>12</sup>, which is located to the northwest of this hill, the whole

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<sup>11</sup> See L. Stefani, «Ανασκαφή στον άξονα της Εγνατίας: δύο προϊστορικές εγκαταστάσεις στην περιοχή της Λευκόπετρας Ημαθίας», ΑΕΜTh 14, 2000, 537-554; *id.*, «Ανασκαφική έρευνα στον άξονα της Εγνατίας: η έρευνα στις περιοχές της Λευκόπετρας και της Μ. Σάντας», ΑΕΜTh 15, 2001, 559-574, and Α. Κουκουνοβου, «Ανασκαφική έρευνα στον άξονα της Εγνατία οδού: Ασώματα Βέροιας», ΑΕΜTh 14, 2000, 563-574, and ΑΕΜTh 15, 2001, 575-587

<sup>12</sup> See Α. Κοτταρίδη, “Τζαμάλα”, ΑΕΜTh 15, 2001, 501-508 and ΑΕΜTh 16, 2002; *id.*, *ADelt* (2003), Β' Χρονικά.

Egnatia Motorway expropriation area was turned into a vast archaeological excavation trench covering an area of over 45.000 m<sup>2</sup> (4.5 ha). From 2000 to 2003, the ancient remains were unearthed, studied and fully recorded, the artefacts were removed, the walls were demolished, the bulldozers were brought in, the land was flattened... The memory of the ancients now haunts the modern road that has opened to traffic and we once again realized how much our work resembles the vain struggle of Sisyphus...

From north to south, the following were investigated in Tzamala:

1. Part of a cemetery located on a hill, dated back to the Early Iron Age (Tzamala Ia)
2. Part of a late Hellenistic settlement built in a natural cavity (Tzamala I)
3. Part of an Early Iron Age settlement with timber-post framed structures located on a hill (Tzamala II)
4. Part of a settlement in a natural cavity comprising stone-built structures dating back to the Early Iron Age and the late Classical times (Tzamala III)
5. Part of a cemetery dated to the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, as well as the remains of a settlement comprising timber-post framed structures dated to the Early Iron Age located on a hill (Tzamala IV)
6. Part of a large settlement dated to the Early Iron Age comprising stone-built structures in a natural cavity (Tzamala V, VI)

The first conclusions drawn up could, to a certain extent, be considered our working assumptions in the interpretation of the finds and are the following:

#### **A. The organization of space**

The sites of permanent inhabitation characterized by rubble masonry structures are small clusters (the revealed size of the largest one does not exceed 1 ha) of few households, possibly belonging to members of the same or related clans. Exactly like modern traditional mountainous villages, these settlements are built in cavities that are as much protected and windless as possible -small ravines or natural basins- close to springs or streams. The majority of the structures tend to be located at the northernmost side of the cavity, so as to benefit from the more favourable southerly orientation.

Worthy of note is the spatial persistence and long inhabitation of these sites. In the smallest of the two settlements (Tzamala III), where many building remains were carried away by the stream flow, we managed to identify at least two building phases of the Early Iron Age and another two of the 4<sup>th</sup> pre-Christian century, while in the largest one (Tzamala V and VI), in its most protected north section at least four consecutive building phases were located dated back to the Early Iron Age and, at

some points, we identified almost entirely surface traces of late Hellenistic and of Modern times.

A crucial element in the organization and use of space in these mountainous settlements is the construction of terraces. Enclosures (*periboloi*) and dry stone retaining walls running alongside or intersecting each other, the longest one with a revealed length of almost 90 m, follow or more frequently interrupt the natural terrain and form superimposed narrow terraces similar to the traditional farming ledges found in the mountainous Peloponnese, in Crete and on the Greek islands. Thus are constructed the terraces on which the settlement itself, as well as all other productive activities, is developed.

These stone constructions, the *trochaloi*, as they call them in Crete, have multiple uses:

1. As retaining walls they hold the scarce fertile soil on the mountains, forming the ledges used to cultivate cereals, fruit trees, vines and vegetables. It is worth noting that the longest retaining wall of the latest building phase in the north slope of Tzamala V continues to mark the hypsometric curve and managed to retain 70 cm of valuable fertile soil until today.

2. When their height exceeds the ground, these rubble masonry structures with mud as their bonding material are used as fences closing in the farming ledges, providing protection against the activity of herbivores -goats are the crops worst enemies- and, at least in some cases, possibly also demarcating different properties. I believe that this is the case at the lowest section of the settlement, in Tzamala V, where two such fences run along the excavated area (approx. 50 m) almost parallel to each other, leaving between them a 1.5 to 2 m wide passage, i.e. a road wide enough for a rider or a pack animal to pass. During rainfall this small road would turn into a small rivulet that channelled the rainwater from the mountain slopes towards the neighbouring stream leading to Haliacmon River. The significance of these two fences that marked the length of this small road is evident in the fact that the inhabitants of the settlement spared no time or effort to construct a safe foundation and used the limited technical means available to dig deep foundation trenches in the hard bedrock that constitutes the area's subsoil.

3. When these stone fences are even higher, they are used as the walls of houses and auxiliary roofed or semi-open spaces that form integral parts of the farming ledges following their contour.

The versatility and the effectiveness of these rubble masonry *periboloi*-terraces are substantiated by the fact that such structures are also identified in other Early Iron Age

sites on the Pieria and Vermio Mountains<sup>13</sup>, as well as by their repeated use in the late Hellenistic settlement of Tzamala I<sup>14</sup>, in the Aigai area, where they continue to be constructed through Late Antiquity<sup>15</sup>, and also in the plateau of Sfikia, where their use has been documented as late as during the Turkish rule<sup>16</sup>.

## B. The houses

The best preserved houses belong to the second building phase of the large settlement in Tzamala V and Tzamala VI and form interestingly dense clusters in a protected area deep in the natural cavity previously mentioned, at the north side of the ancient road. At least four have been identified so far with relative certainty, while the existence of a fifth one is also possible. We deliberately indicated these houses on the plans as *oikoi*, consciously retaining the multiple meanings of the term (private dwellings).

Having a size of 50-60 m<sup>2</sup> and usually oblong but not absolutely rectangular floor plans, these plain structures seem to follow the shape of the terraces they stand on. Their foundations are made of rubble masonry, most probably the construction material for these structures' entire height as well, since stone is the most common and abundant building material in the area and soil is scarce and prized for cultivation. Let's imagine these structures covered with a roof made of organic materials -reeds, wooden sticks, tree branches etc.- and mud, with wooden posts supporting the roof. Such a wooden post has been revealed, although, due to the intense and repeated building activities, these kinds of traces are generally not easily detected.

One of the revealed houses had a floor of trodden earth. Hearths were found in all of the houses, one of which contained the remains of a clay furnace. In the majority of the cases, a very large *pithos* was half-buried in the floor next to the hearth (three were found *in situ* and one shattered), which was possibly used for storing grains and protecting them against moisture, ants and mice. Next to the *pithoi* a stone-paved working surface was usually formed.

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<sup>13</sup> The presence of *periboloi* remains dating back to the Early Iron Age is also documented by the excavator A. Koukouvou, *loc. cit.* (footnote 11) for Asomata area. Furthermore, it is very possible that some of the rubble masonry structures revealed in Kalipetra and Lefkopetra areas had the same function and use, L. Stefani, *loc. cit.* (footnote 11).

<sup>14</sup> See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 15, 2001, 506 *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 18, 2004, 538.

<sup>16</sup> Dry stone wall remains with incorporated spolia from the ancient marble temple, retaining walls and *periboloi* marking different properties and defining pathways are visible in the wider area of "Marmara" site to the south of Sfikia, as well as at other locations around the mountainous Municipality of Makedonida. These structures are probably dated back to the Late Antiquity onwards and continue to be constructed and used up until the 20<sup>th</sup> c., when intensification of cultivation and generalized use of machinery (tractors, milling machines, combine harvesters, etc) started to demolish and destroy them.

### C. Other structures

Apart from and, at first glance, in no apparent relation to the stone-built settlements, there were various timber-post framed structures, which sometimes take the form of shallow depressions with *pithoi*, hearths and pits. Based on the pottery unearthed, these structures were used simultaneously with the stone-built settlements and were located on at least two neighbouring hills.

The timber-post framed structures located on the peak of the hill between the two settlements and partially torn down to make room for the westward expansion of the cemetery were, as it seems, incorporated into the rubble masonry *periboloi* system that probably expanded to the north slope of the hill. This probably was the case on the second hill as well (Tzamala II), where the highway construction machinery cleared the land and removed the surface soil thus erasing the remains of any *periboloi* that might have been there<sup>17</sup>. As if to compensate for the lost evidence, the building remains in this case were more: depressions with floors of trodden earth, post holes, pits of several storage *pithoi*, even an intact *pithos* found with its stone cover in place next to the hearth of the house.

The relevant ethnological parallel may help us comprehend the use of these structures. In modern mountainous settlements, where the main activity of the population is stock farming, sheep pens -structures that until very recently were mainly timber-post framed- are gathered on hills surrounding the villages. I believe that Early Iron Age Tzamala is a similar case; the timber-post framed structures that 'surround' the small settlements from a distance were most probably the pens built for the sheep and goats reared by the mountainous population of Vermio mountain.

The presence of hearths and *pithoi* in the sheep pens can be easily explained; first, some members of the family had to stay there on an everyday basis taking care of the animals, and second, fire was necessary for cheese-making, an activity which took place in the sheep pen, since the lack of refrigerator trucks made the transportation of milk an almost impossible task. This might explain the abundance of *pithoi* found here, usually smaller than the storage *pithoi* unearthed in the houses; they could be used for the storage and maturing of cheese. It is possible that the *chytrae* found half-buried in the floor of the timber-post framed hut to the north of the large settlement of Tzamala

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<sup>17</sup> Site clearance, which technically also means the removal of the surface soil through mechanical means, was the method mostly applied by the construction contractors of the Egnatia Motorway, which destroyed valuable evidence at least in the mountainous areas crossed by the road, where building remains are mainly found on the ground surface. However, in Tzamala, the prompt and well-substantiated intervention of the 17<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities helped in restricting the use of machinery during site clearance only to Tzamala I and II. The rest of the site was cleared by hand preventing the disturbance of the surface ground layers and thus enabling us to identify the existing *periboloi*. This intervention could be a point of reference in future similar cases as to how to prevent the occurrence of such problems.

V and fitting to cover each other were also used in cheese-making.

#### **D. The artefacts**

Thick clay handmade legged *chytrae*, *pithoi*, large bowls and flat dishes (*lopas*) are the most common pots that are found in shards in the settlements and pens of Tzamala. Much rarer are the “symposium vessels” -jars, cups, *amphoriskoi*- which mainly come from the area of the cemeteries. Fragments of wheel-made vessels are rarely found, painted vases almost absent. Wooden pots and vessels, leather bottles and wineskins, panniers and baskets, objects less fragile and lighter would supplement the households of the mountainous populations of Vermio Mountain; yet the impressed image is that of austerity, even poverty.

The complete absence of metallic objects and other artefacts in the habitation strata constitutes an evidence of how careful these poor populations were with their belongings, as well as of the fact that these sites were not faced with a sudden destruction, but were rather peacefully abandoned and their inhabitants had the opportunity to take with them everything of use...

#### **E. The cemeteries**

Here too, as on the Pieria Mountains, the cemeteries are located on neighbouring hills, mounds that offer unobstructed view, where the deceased, not fearing the chilling winds anymore, could safeguard the well-being of their living neighbours and descendants. The best known cemetery is the one on the hill between the two settlements (Tzamala IV).

This cemetery expanded from the east to the west displacing the sheepfold located there, and was in use since the Late Bronze Age, as indicated by the easternmost burial mound covering six pit graves of children and infants dating back to this period. Later, this burial mound was partially covered by an Early Iron Age one. The remaining nine burial mounds that were unearthed in the expropriation zone of the Egnatia Motorway and were carefully excavated seem to belong to the earliest phases of the same period. All tumuli were circular or almost circular with a diameter of 8-12 m and a height of approximately 1 m.

Most of them covered just one grave located in their centre. The largest and better preserved tumulus covered two graves; at its centre, the grave of a man and next to it the grave of a little girl, which revealed the richest burial in the cemetery in terms of grave offerings. Two male graves were covered by one of the earliest mounds, completely destroyed due to its being located on the steep slope at the north side of

the cemetery, while another one covered four more burials -one woman, one couple, one child and one infant.

All burial mounds were carefully built. All of them display a remarkable repetition of the same construction techniques and patterns. A small ellipsoid rubble masonry *peribolos* marks the central grave, and a second one usually consisting of two rows of well jointed crude stones, circular and significantly larger than the previous one, marks the mound's perimeter. Stone-built low walls radially segment the space between the two concentric *periboloi* and forms large six-radius or eight-radius "wheels", a structure that is, as far as we know, unprecedented. A low stone pile covered both the central and the peripheral graves and partially the "wheel" as well; nevertheless, during the excavation works, we relatively easily managed to distinguish between the stone structures and the filling.

Given that the peripheral sections remain empty, even in the three cases where the burial mounds cover more than one burials, their presence probably has to be interpreted within an ideological rather than practical context...

Fourteen plain smaller stone piles of varying height and often vaguely demarcated were found next to and between the tumuli. Two of them were almost certainly created after the adjoining mound. A very probable interpretation could be that these small structures were *hermakes* (small stone piles) formed by passers-by placing stones by the grave as a gesture of respect towards the dead, a practice observed in cemeteries of the historical times.

All sixteen Early Iron Age burials were cist graves with walls made of slate and floors often paved with pebbles. Their orientation was exactly or almost along the east-west axis and rarely along the north-south axis. In the first case, men were laid in the grave with their head towards the west and women with theirs' towards the east, while, in the second case, all dead had their head towards the south. No cremations were found. All dead were interred and their bones impressively well preserved.

A looted grave was found containing the double burial of a woman and a little girl, possibly a mother with her little daughter, while four secondary burials were also identified, in which the bones of the initially buried body were put aside to make room for the second dead. In the three secondary burials, the dead were a man and a woman, possibly husband and wife, while in the fourth two young warriors, probably two brothers.

Thirteen of the Early Iron Age dead were men, four were women and three were children. Women wore no jewellery. The only one found bearing rich ornaments was the seven-year-old girl buried next to the warrior in the largest mound. The girl was wearing golden hair-coils, a diadem ornamented with a bronze plate, buttons and grooves, and bronze spiral bracelets and rings on her hands. Bronze rings were the

jewellery often worn by men, who held their knife or dagger with their right hand folded on their chest or stomach. The most common offerings to the thirsty “travellers” are again<sup>18</sup> a cup -a *kantharos*, a kantharos-shaped vessel or a bottle-and/or a small jar -a *prochous*, an *olpe* or an *amphoriskos*.

Unlike the fairly impressive and carefully constructed graves and burial mounds, the offerings seem rather poor when compared to the ones unearthed in the tumuli of Aigai. Given their lack of riches and valuable goods, the mountainous populations dedicated to the deceased the only thing they could offer, the products of their labour...

The understanding of the organisation and use of space through the construction of terraces and *periboloi*, a traditional spatial model commonly used in Northern Greece from the beginning of the last pre-Christian millennium, as our finds indicate, and the identification of the form and positioning of mountainous settlements, sheepfolds, houses and cemeteries in Early Iron Age, facilitated thanks to the expanded excavation at Tzamala, constitute a large benefit for archaeological research. Based on these newly found facts, researchers can identify similar finds and proceed to significant conclusions, even if the facts revealed are disjointed, as they usually are.

However, the most overwhelming find of Tzamala is the piece of information conveyed by the humans themselves. The unexpectedly well-preserved bones<sup>19</sup> help us decipher facts of their rough and difficult life, teemed with pain and hardship: feet deformed by walking on steep and rugged mountainous paths, calves cracked on rough stones and rocks, vertebrae worn by lifting heavy objects, hands ever working, fractures ever aching; women that mothered again and again, who worked through their whole lives crouching on the ground or walking, who got old and died in their forties; men that got injured and survived and continued crippled to bear the cross of their life.

Premature violent deaths, toddlers and children whose life ended abruptly by illness, warriors that were met by death in the battle; the two brothers resting in the same grave, the one in his twenties, he died of blood loss when his enemy’s sword cut his right arm off, the second one, a youth of eighteen years, soon followed his brother after a sword crushed his scalp; tragic stories one and all, repeated life stories that despite the time distance remind me of the words addressed to the Macedonians by Alexander the Great:

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<sup>18</sup> As in Aigai. For burial customs and the different kinds of grave offerings in the area, see A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 10A, 1996, 79-92.

<sup>19</sup> The bones were studied and preserved by Th. Antikatzidis and L. Wyin-Antikatzidi, see the relevant paper in AEMTh 15, 2002.

*Philip found you a tribe of impoverished vagabonds, most of you dressed in skins, feeding a few sheep on the hills and fighting, feebly enough, to keep them from your neighbours –Thracians and Triballians and Illyrians. He gave you cloaks to wear instead of skins, he brought you down from the hills into the plains; he taught you to fight on equal terms with the enemy on your borders, till you knew that your safety lay not in your mountain strongholds, but in your own valour. He made you city-dwellers; he brought you law; he civilized you.*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> TN: Arrian, "The Campaigns of Alexander", translated by Aubrey de Selincourt & revised by J.R. Hamilton (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin 1981).