

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

ScholarWorks@UARK

Anthropology Undergraduate Honors Theses

Anthropology

5-2024

Archaic Burials in the Necropolis of Aigai and the Manufacturing of Significance in Archaeology

Abigail Chapman

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/anthuht>



Part of the [Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity Commons](#), [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Citation

Chapman, A. (2024). Archaic Burials in the Necropolis of Aigai and the Manufacturing of Significance in Archaeology. *Anthropology Undergraduate Honors Theses* Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/anthuht/13>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Anthropology at ScholarWorks@UARK. It has been accepted for inclusion in Anthropology Undergraduate Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UARK. For more information, please contact scholar@uark.edu, uarepos@uark.edu.

**Archaic Burials in the Necropolis of Aigai and the Manufacturing of Significance in
Archaeology**

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Honors Studies in
Anthropology

By
Abigail Chapman

Spring 2024
Anthropology
Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences
The University of Arkansas

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank ArchaeoSpain programs and especially Catalina Urquijo, for providing a way for students like me to have the opportunity to excavate in Greece. I would also like to thank the town of Vergina and all its residents for their kindness, generosity, and their genuine excitement for the excavations being done at their home. As well as Dr. Angeliki Kottaridi, who allowed students of foreign institutions to excavate at Vergina and gave us the opportunity for hands on work with archaeology in the Mediterranean. Special thanks to those professors, graduate students, and researchers in Vergina, especially Dr. Anastasios Kakamanoudis, who without their research, this thesis wouldn't have been able to be done. I would also like to thank Dr. Rhodora Vennarucci, whose guidance and patience throughout this thesis was wholly invaluable.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	3
Chapter 1: Reconstructing Macedonia in the Archaic Period.....	8
Chapter 2: Archaic Burials in Aigai.....	20
Chapter 3: Discussion	36
Conclusions.....	47
Bibliography	49

Introduction

Ancient Aigai, now modern Vergina in Greece, was the early capital of the Macedonian Empire, fostering the Macedonian royal family, notable members being Philip II (382-336 BCE) and his son Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE), and remained the administrative capital of Macedon when the official capital moved to Pella in 399 BCE. Excavation at the site date back to 1861 when a Macedonian tomb was first discovered by Leon Heuzey and Henry Daumet,¹ one of over 540 extant tombs in the city's necropolis, which was in use from the Early Iron age (11th-7th century BCE) to the Roman period (146 BCE-324 CE). Subsequent work undertaken from 1937-1976 uncovered the remains of a palace complex southwest of the necropolis and its surrounding boundary walls while from 1977-1980, Manolis Andronikos oversaw the excavation of the *Megali Toumba*, or the Great Tumulus, which he attributed to the Macedonian royal family and claimed that intact burials found within belonged to Phillip II and his Grandson Alexander IV.² Due to the challenges that come with the interpretation of archeological evidence, scholars have debated the identity of those buried in the Great Tumulus ever since.³

While scholars have traditionally assumed the wealth displayed in the Great Tumulus is indicative of the royal status of the deceased,⁴ Andronikos has been accused of searching for evidence of historical figures without allowing the material remains to speak for themselves.⁵ Andronikos' scholarship operated on the assumption of "otherness" within the Royal Tombs, but evaluating archeological remains with personal conjectures and preconceived assumptions can bias the results. Recent scholarship has, instead, attempted to reflect critically on past

¹ Heuzey and Daument, 1876.

² Andronikos, 1978.

³ Bartsiakos, 2015; Foxhall, 2017.

⁴ Hammond, 1991; Musgrave, 2010.

⁵ Lehmann, 1980.

assessments, which were based on the goals of finding named historical individuals, to reassess how the architecture, burial goods, and evidence for mortuary practices in the Royal Tombs may have been used to construct the identities of those interred.⁶

Scholarly attention, however, is still focused on the elite burials at Aigai in the Hellenistic period. Very little is known about the identity of Macedonians from other periods and from lower social strata.⁷ To address this gap in scholarship, this study conducts a comparative analysis of a selection of Archaic burials in Aigai's necropolis to explore how variations in burial practices might reflect differences in status and identity⁸ in a transitional period when the Macedonian state and identity were first emerging against a backdrop of intensified interactions with the Persian Empire and Greek World.⁹ The ancient city of Aigai is very closely associated with the modern settlement of Vergina as the modern town was constructed over much of what was the ancient necropolis, and because of this, these names may be used interchangeably in this paper. In contemporary historical analyses, the time periods of Greece are divided predominantly based upon events and cultural changes that occurred in Attica. Macedonia has a long history of fighting for "Greek" Identity, and part of this is evident in how their cultural periods are different from those in Attica. The Early Iron Age starts from the late 11th or early 10th century BCE, and the Archaic period spans from around the mid 7th century BCE to roughly 479 BCE with the removal of Achaemenid power from Macedonia. The Argead dynasty had maintained rule over Macedonia from around 700 BCE until the end of the Hellenistic period in 311 BCE.

The reason that scholars have historically focused so heavily on elite burials in the Hellenistic period is, in part, due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. We rely on Greek

⁶ Salminen, 2017.

⁷ Engles, 2010.

⁸ Musgrave, 1990.

⁹ Sprawsky, 2010.

texts like Herodotus' *Histories* or Thucydides' *The Peloponnesian War* or Roman texts like Pompeius Trogus' *Philippic Histories*, which has itself been lost and is preserved only in excerpts with an anti-Macedonian bias that focuses on big men and centers on major political and military events. Few inscriptions survive from Aigai, as the language spoken by Macedon's tribes is known as Macedonian, but it was not a written language, so inscriptions in Macedon were written in Greek, and those inscriptions were likely commissioned or created by those considered "elite" enough to be literate.¹⁰

In *Organization of Cemeteries in Ancient Macedonia* (2017), Dr. Anastasios Kakamanoudis' Ph. D dissertation, he undertook the herculean task of analyzing burial practices in Macedonia across time and space, compiling in the process a large amount of data and synthesizing excavation records from numerous sites across the Imathia region of Greece, including Aigai. While it is freely accessible through Academia publishing, his Ph.D. thesis is yet to be published and is written entirely in Greek, making the large swaths of information – data on demographics, burial goods, grave typologies - inaccessible to the greater academic community. I am indebted to Kakamanoudis' research because of his compiled data on burial practice in the settlement of Aigai, but as an American undergraduate student, I have had difficulty accessing his source materials, especially the unpublished excavation records and materials in museum storage in Vergina that are only accessible with special permission. Elina Salminen's approach to understanding the identity of the deceased in Vergina's Tomb II in her article "The Tomb Doth Protest Too Much?: Constructed Identity in Tomb II at Vergina" is another source I am building my arguments upon. Most of my other sources come from

Commented [AC1]: More about the pre-Greek Macedonian language, or at least an explanation of what it was, and that it was a Hellenic tongue? And since you mention these inscriptions, please let the reader know when the Macedonians first used them.

¹⁰ Palairot, 2016, pg. 21; Hammond, 1979, pg. 14.

independently published articles and papers uploaded to Academia and research and books published by the officials in charge of the archaeology in the region of Imathia.

Attempting to understand and dissect the anthropological reasonings behind Greece's laws and order regarding archeological finds is beyond the scope of this paper. Understanding Greece's long history of dealing with looting of cultural artifacts by non-Greeks is however important in understanding the defensiveness that Greece has over its cultural heritage. Nonetheless, the inaccessibility of information or data to those also within the academic space can largely limit the development of collaborative research in Macedonia. This protectiveness also extends to burials in Vergina that are not considered to be "significant" in the eyes of local archaeologists or the cultural ministry. My research has revealed a "poor game of telephone" of information and excavation data between scholars in Greece about the archaeological record in Vergina. This is likely a side effect of the protectiveness that Greek archeologists are predisposed to, and the inability to properly catalog or even make available excavation information can create debates like the one about the "Lady of Aigai" and her death mask.¹¹ Because of the great number of disturbances to the Necropolis from continuous occupation, the looting of the Gauls, and the modern settlement of Vergina, it's incredibly important that care must be taken not just during excavation but also when interpretation is done over what has been found in the material record.

The proof of a hypothesis often depends on the 'randomness' of an excavation, the understanding of entering an excavation or site without predisposed goals for findings. The danger of looking for what is being requested or searched for lurks in the minds of archeologists, resulting in, not infrequently, hypotheses that have not been proven to be repeated uncritically,

¹¹ Kottaridi, 2012; Chrystostomou, 2019.

even if they do not correspond to the archaeological findings. Researchers like Chrystostomou have approached the work done in Aigai with a critical lens, dissecting the findings in Aigai though a broader cultural and historical context without attempting to search for significance in the material record. This by no means makes the finds in Aigai any less significant than what is understood by the archaeological community today, however, Aigai is victim to the manufacturing of significance that is prevalent in archaeology and the search for monumental discoveries. The manufacturing of significance is a problem that modern archaeologists and scholars are attempting to deconstruct and limit, and my paper is no different. Modern excavation practices in Greece are regulated by legislation and cooperation between archaeologists and the Ministry of Culture to determine significance and impact that archaeological sites may hold.¹² Approaching archaeological finds is not determined solely on what may make a site monumental, but rather from local cultural impact and how the site may be significant in the broader analysis of the archaeological record.

What I will attempt to do in this paper is understand how the manufactured significance that is prevalent in the excavations done in Vergina have shaped current ideas on Archaic burial practices done by the people of Aigai. I will then conduct an analysis to reconstruct Aigai and Macedonia in the Archaic period to understand how the organization of the city and the region can correspond to the organization of the necropolis and shed light on social structure during the Archaic period. Finally, I will look to the Archaic burials to understand the problems with interpretation and what may truly make Aigai significant in terms of Archaic period burial practices, social structures, and broader cultural context for the people of Macedonia.

¹² *On the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General*, Law 3028 (2002).

Commented [AC2]: Double check law citation.

Chapter 1: Reconstructing Macedonia in the Archaic Period

Historical Outline of Rise of Macedonia

Modern views of the history and institutions of Macedonia were almost exclusively based upon ancient Greek literary sources, providing a biased and incomplete view of Macedonia. Archaeological work in Macedonia in the past few decades has filled out our understanding of the material culture and historical geography of the Macedonian region during the Proto-Archaic periods. Prior to the Archaic period, the region of Macedonia had close ties to other parts of the Balkans and with the Mycenaean world.¹³ Regular trade relationships existed between western Macedonia and Thessaly during the Bronze Age, and Mycenaean products widely spread through the region that would become Macedonia.¹⁴ Along with looking at trade goods, many sites in central Macedonia show a growing number of local imitations of pottery and vessels. In the late Bronze Age, the way the manufacturing processes were organized suggests that in some parts of Macedonia social structures were more compact and centralized.¹⁵ During the Bronze and early Iron Age, the region of Macedonia was not isolated, and even during the Dark Ages contact persisted with southern Greece.

Ancient historical narratives begin much later, with Herodotus, a Greek historian writing in the late 5th century BCE, focusing on the origin of the kingdom of Macedonia in the Proto-Archaic period, starting with the first Temenid king of Perdiccas I. According to foundation legend, Aigai was originally a Phrygian city called Edessa, and the name of Aigai was first given to it by its Greek conquerors who would later become the Macedonians. Three young men,

¹³ Hammond, 1979, pg. 4.

¹⁴ Hammond, 1979, pg. 7.

¹⁵ Hammond, 1979, pg. 52.

Herodotus says, came for refuge to the king and queen of the Macedonians and were hired, with one tending the horses, another the cattle, and the youngest, named Perdiccas, the sheep and the goats. The queen used to bake, and the loaf she baked for Perdiccas always rose higher than the other's loaves. She told the king, and he realized that it portended to something serious, so he sent for the young men and discharged them. When they asked for their wages, he pointed to a patch of sunlight that shone through a smoke-hole in the roof and said, "That is the wage you deserve, I give it to you." Perdiccas said "we accept, O king, what you give," and with his knife he drew a line around the patch of sunlight on the dirt floor. He collected the sunlight three times into the folds of his clothing and he and his brothers left. Years later, he returned to take that patch of sunlight as king of the Macedonians.¹⁶ Thus, as Perdiccas I, he founded the dynasty to which Philip and Alexander belonged.

Pieria, meaning "rich land," was famous for lush pastures, fine timber, and fertile lowlands of a whitish stoneless soil, which fall gradually eastwards to the shore of the Thermaic Gulf.¹⁷ The Pierian range is dominated by the north-facing precipices of Mt. Olympus. Pieria and Olympus constituted a self-contained and self-sufficient area in terms of a simple life. For the lowlands produced cereals, vegetables, and wine, and the extensive pastures of the mountains and of the coastal plain made the practice of pastoralism possible within its own confines.¹⁸ When the Macedonians moved their flocks from the mountains into the Pieria, they stayed there for centuries, content with the summer and winter pastures of their own locality. And as they move to and from across the region, they had no need for a settled center.¹⁹ When Perdiccas proclaimed himself king of the Macedonians, he decided to build himself a capital and with this

¹⁶ Herodotus 8. 137-139.

¹⁷ Hammond, 1979, pg. 3.

¹⁸ Hammond, 1979, pg. 4.

¹⁹ Hammond, 1979, pg. 9.

in mind he consulted the Oracle at Delphi and was told to seek a land of “shiny-horned, snow-white goats.” It was said the goats did indeed lead Perdiccas to the site, and in gratitude for the goats’ services he named the city “Aigai” or “Goat-town” (*αἶζ*, *αἰγός* being Greek for goat).²⁰ From then on it was the Temenid capital, and it remained a part-time royal residence even after the transfer of the usual residents to Pella under King Amyntas III.²¹ It however, remained the location of the royal cemetery at least until the end of the Temenid dynasty.

The early ways of Greek monarchy were inherent in the tribal systems of the nomadic pastoralists, and they were likely to have regarded themselves and an enlarged family, in which the patriarchal rights of a head of a family were granted to a tribal chief who was appointed for life.²² The office of “king” was often vested in a chosen family and so became hereditary, the reason being that the king and his successors within that family were believed to enjoy the favor of the gods and thereby to promote the welfare of the ethnos.²³ The tribes which made up the Macedonian ethnos seem to have coalesced at some time before the 8th century under a royal house or tribe. Its members called themselves ‘Argeadea,’ descendants of Argeas, who was believed to be the son of Macedon, the son of Zeus.²⁴ When the last king of the house was displaced by Perdiccas in the mid 7th century, Perdiccas was received into the Argead tribe. The Temenids claimed to be descendent of Temenus, whose ancestry was Heracles, son of Zeus, so Perdiccas came to Macedonia with the aura of divine favor, and he could claim that the Temenids were descended from Zeus.²⁵ Given the perceived notion of divine favor, when Perdiccas took over Macedonia and established himself king, he essentially tied the Argeads to

Commented [AC3]: Make sure the iotas export and print

²⁰ Diod. 7. 16; Justin 7. 1. 1.

²¹ Hammond, 1979, pg. 5.

²² Hammond, 1979, pg. 2-3.

²³ Hammond, 1979, pg. 16.

²⁴ Hammond, 1979, pg. 16-17.

²⁵ Hammond, 1979, pg. 18

the Temenids, making them interchangeable from then forward. The traditional practices which ensured the prosperity of the people were taken over by the new royal house, and there are accounts²⁶ from the reign of Alexander the Great that a priestly server was an expert in the ‘Argeadic and Bacchic’ rites which were evidently performed at Pella and were to be carried out also by Alexander in Asia. Each new king undertook to preserve the ancestral territory of the Argeadae, and he and the Macedonians carried out the customary rites in honor of the Argeadae.

27

Herodotus made a special point of emphasizing that the royalty of Macedonia was Greek by descent.²⁸ Thucydides, an Athenian historian documenting the history of the Peloponnesian War in 5th century BCE., who questioned much of what Herodotus said, concurred with him and called the Macedonian kings the “Temenids from Argos.”²⁹ Macedonians themselves imagined their past since the foundation of the Temenid kingdom in urban, not ethnic terms. The Macedonians perceived the state founded by the Temenids as a city. They saw Aigai, surrounded by its territory, and its subsequent expansion as a process which was not basically different from that of a city-state from Argos.³⁰ It is uncertain the extent of possible autonomy neighboring communities, like those in Beroia and Edessa, had in respect to the “central” authority in Aigai before the Persian wars.

The Macedonian State expanded following the capture of land owned by Thracians in Pieria, and the expulsion of the Bottians from their land “Bottia.” The king distributed this land, first taking for the royal family all timberlands, all sources of precious metal, and some estates,

²⁶ Athenaeus 14. 78.

²⁷ Pseudo-Callisthenes, so called “Will of Alexander.” See Hammond, 1979, pg. 17.

²⁸ Herodotus 5. 22

²⁹ Thucydides 2. 99. 3, 5. 80. 2.

³⁰ Hammond, 1979, pg. 18.

primarily to be used as hunting grounds.³¹ He settled the Macedonians on the rest of the new land in already constituted communities. Each of them was an offshoot or fragment of one or two existing communities in the homeland, each with its own pastoral tradition. The settled community was its own entity, managing its own affairs, raising its own taxes, having its own citizenship, and making marriages only within its membership.³² Each community called itself a *polis*. The territory of each of these communities was probably fixed by the king, and we find that later delineations of territory for newly founded cities were decided in consultation with the king. A man's first loyalty was to his city. These Macedonian cities seem to have been singularly free from the internal strife, or *stasis*, which tore many Greek city-states apart.³³ Reasons for this lack of *stasis* may have been seen in the citizens' traditional sense of community, a general lack of social inequalities in that they were all cultivators of the soil, a freedom in managing the city's internal affairs, and no responsibility for foreign or military policy.³⁴ There was no substructure of slaves or of subjected people in Pieria and Bottiaea and no foreign element in the Macedonian cities, and such a substructure came in only with the expansion of Macedonia which followed the conquests of Alexander the Great.³⁵

The Persian expansion westward marks the beginning of Greek interest in Macedonian events in the historical record, with Herodotus and Thucydides providing detailed accounts on the actions of the Macedonian kingdom during and after the Persian war. During the rule of Amyntas I, who reigned between late 6th century BCE and early 5th century BCE, Macedonia became a "vassal state" of Persia, and it remained so under Alexander I until the retreat of the

³¹ Hammond, 1979, pg. 11-12.

³² Hammond, 1979, pg. 9.

³³ Hammond, 1979, pg. 9-10.

³⁴ Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5. 2. 13.

³⁵ Hammond, 1979, pg. 10.

Persian army in 479 BCE.³⁶ Alexander I, who reigned from 498 to 452 BCE, is written about more substantially by Herodotus' telling of the Persian War. Alexander pushed the bounds of Macedonian rule to the coastal plains, displacing the Pierians in the west, and securing the mouth of the Axios river.³⁷ Following the Persian collapse of 479 BCE, Alexander seized gold and silver mines near Amphipolis. Their revenues supplemented state earnings from the export of timber, and mining grew to a much greater importance in Macedonia.³⁸ This wealth allowed Alexander I to issue Macedon's first silver coins and dedicate statues of himself at Delphi and Olympia. Thanks to the mineral wealth coming into Macedonia, it was able to expand in territory and affluence. However, following the death of Alexander I in 454 BCE, the following rulers until Philip II in 359 BCE would experience consistent turmoil with involvement in the Peloponnesian War and civil strife over succession battles.³⁹ This period marks the end of the Archaic period, and the brief emergence of classical influence in Macedonia.

To summarize, the Archaic period is marked by the establishment of the Macedonian kingdom by Perdiccas I, the growth of wealth, power, and territory that established Macedon as a great power. Following this, the classical period is simply described as a period of violent upheaval which led to the loss of precious mines with consequent losses of wealth and the military power that Macedonia had built up.⁴⁰ The end of the classical period is marked by the assassination of Philip II in 336 BCE, who had worked to restore the power and wealth that Macedonia had claimed centuries before, and expanded the power of the kingdom across Greece, handing a well-funded and established military to his son, Alexander the Great.⁴¹

³⁶ Palaiet, 2016, pg. 20-21.

³⁷ Palaiet, 2016, pg. 22.

³⁸ Palaiet, 2016, pg. 28-29.

³⁹ Hammond, 1979, pg. 73-74; Palaiet, 2016, pg. 28-31.

⁴⁰ Palaiet, 2016, pg. 28-29.

⁴¹ Hammond, 1979, pg. 170-171; Palaiet, 2016, pg. 44-45

Urban Development at Aigai

An important debate among scholars in the early 20th century was the location of Aigai. It was especially important because the Macedonian tradition was that all kings of the Temenid line, except Alexander the Great, were buried at Aigai, and archaeologists hoped to find their tombs. Hammond was one of the earliest in claiming that Aigai was located in the modern town of Vergina and his identification was confirmed when Malinois Andronikos discovered three royal tombs under the Great Tumulus in 1977.⁴² The newly constructed Polycentric Museum of Aigai takes a more “holistic” approach to analysis of the ancient city of Aigai, looking at the entire archaeological site to attempt to visualize and display the material remains from the city as a whole. Bringing out artifacts that sat in storage for years, displaying them and giving a voice to even the smallest iron nail, the museum is a step in the right direction for analysis of the city of Aigai. While the museum does well in displaying and explaining the material culture of the people of Aigai, there is a remaining focus on looking at Alexander the Great, attempting to show his connection to Aigai and his conquest of the “inhabited world.”

There is little direct evidence for the earliest phases of occupation at Aigai, but Hammond argues that Aigai first developed into a center in the 7th century BCE although the site was occupied even earlier, argued by Kottaridi.⁴³ The connection of its cults to royalty is close, at least in the buildings and areas where cults have so far been identified. They also influenced city planning and the ordering of space, as the royal family was responsible for carrying out ancestral rites of the Argeadae. In Kyriakou, 2015, the Temple of Eukleia is analyzed in terms of the periods of construction and use, especially in terms of how its construction was shaped by the

⁴² Palairot, 2016, pg. 62

⁴³ Hammond, 1979; Kottaridi, 2020.

funds provided by member of the royal family like Eurydice, mother of Phillip II.⁴⁴ Excavations in the city and finds in the oldest graves allow an indirect tracing of the older phase of the city, but it is difficult to describe yet whether it was a group of townships or settlements, or whether there was a dynamic core of settlement which developed outwards. As the ancient city grew, it appears to have developed organically according to an irregular urban plan in an extended area on the slopes of Pieria, securing the routes from the mountainous hinterland and towards the sea, safeguarding the control of the rich valley of the Haliacmon river (Figure 2.1).⁴⁵ This is supported in part by the fact that the western part of the city still maintained an irregular plan up to the 4th century, perhaps maintaining and reflecting the original form and structure of an older core that had been constructed during the original growth that was experienced in the Archaic period. In contrast, remains of 4th century BCE buildings discovered under structures dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the areas north and east of the palace complex (see below), appear, according to A. Kottaridi, to be public buildings built following a more gridded orientation, reflecting more Greek influence in the Macedonian region.⁴⁶ The walled area of the acropolis forms the highest part of the city area, over the west side and the palace area, while the rest of the city spreads mainly north and east of the palace, sloping down towards the valley. Excavations have shown that the natural inclination of the slope had been steeper than it looks today.⁴⁷ The vast mass of ruins from the ancient city, but also the clay-like nature of the soil has created a large fill in the original slope, so that today its earlier steep incline has decreased.

⁴⁴ Kyriakou, 2015.

⁴⁵ Fox, 2011.

⁴⁶ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁴⁷ Kottaridi 2020; Fox, 2011.

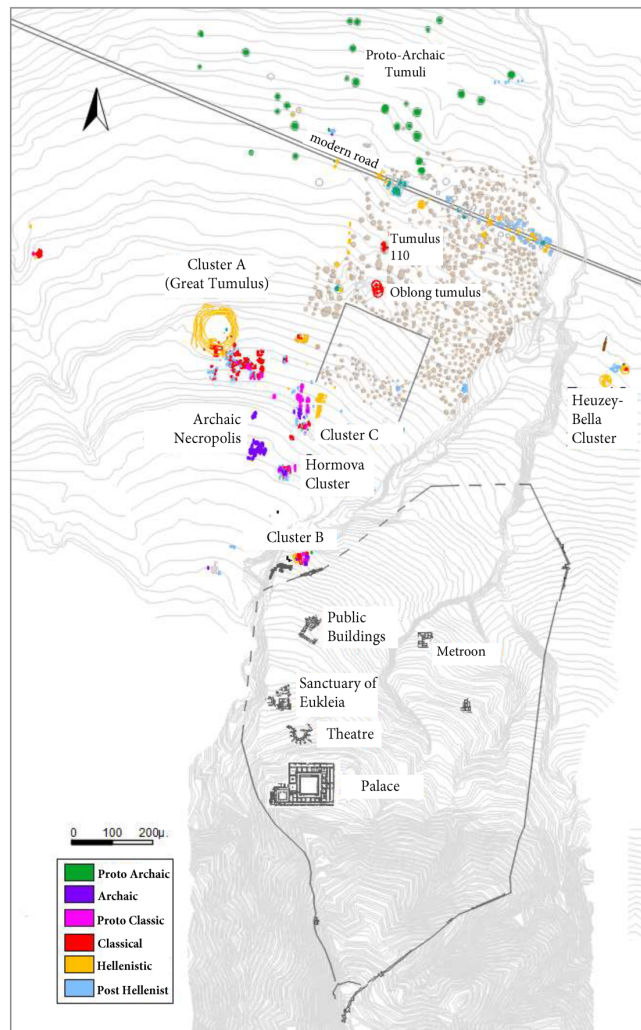


Fig. 2.1: Vergina (Aigai). General Topographical plan with the burials of all periods. (*Ephorate of Antiquities of Imathia*) (Edited with English translation).

The palace was built on a raised outcrop of the slope during the reign of Philip II (359-336 BCE), almost between the acropolis and the northwest gate outside which burial Cluster B, the so-called tombs of the queens discussed below, was discovered next to the western wall of

the city.⁴⁸ The monumental complex, estimated to be three times the size of the Parthenon,⁴⁹ was visible from the basin of Macedon. To the north of the palace, in direct contact with it, sits the theater, built in the mid 4th century, and just below that, the Sanctuary of Eukleia, established roughly at the turn of the 4th century.⁵⁰ The identical orientation of these buildings is important, especially since much of the town is established to have a more organic structure. Their dating and the inter connections of their construction show that they were likely part of a great building program whose aim was to modernize and improve the image of the ancient city.⁵¹ This was likely to redefine the urban space following the desires of the Macedonian kingdom to be seen as more “Greek,” unifying Macedonian religious and political spaces with traditional Greek architecture.⁵² Unfortunately, after the discovery by Leon Heuzey, the east side of the palace was robbed of its stones and important parts of the architectural remains were removed.⁵³ Hundreds of pieces and fragments were strewn about the area of the propylon and the south stoa. Kottaridi understood that Philip II was likely the one who started the planning and reorganization of Aigai in the early half of his rule, following the planning of a bigger Pella that was intended to be the new capital of the Macedonians.⁵⁴ The old city of Aigai was embellished with walls and buttresses, sanctuaries, temples, and a renovated theater, which obscured the earlier phases of the city.

The necropolis of Aigai provides substantial evidence for the beliefs and actions of the inhabitants of the Macedonian capital along with the attention afforded it by rulers, possibly as part of a political decision-making process. The burial ground of the old capital constituted a

⁴⁸ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁴⁹ Kottaridi, 2020; Fox, 2011.

⁵⁰ Kottaridi, 2011; Kyriakou, 2015.

⁵¹ Kottaridi, 2020; Andronikos, 1987.

⁵² Andronikos, 1984; Kottaridi, 2020.

⁵³ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁵⁴ Kottaridi, 2020.

sacred space for the Macedonians, and especially for the Temenid royal family. Tradition claims that when Perdiccas I, the first Temenid king, was dying, “he showed to his son Argaeus where his bones and those of his ancestors were to be buried, and he prophesied that the kingdom would remain in his family as long as the remains of his posterity were buried there.”⁵⁵ The extended necropolis, apart from its Early Iron Age date, has produced ordinary, elite, and elaborate burials spanning across the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, and corresponding conditions of a community where ruling power legitimized through lineage ties, and was bound with the societal structure.

The formation and the development of the large and rich cemetery outside the city is also important for understanding urban growth. The boundaries of the grave groups of each major chronological unit are not strictly defined, but parts clearly belong to specific periods.⁵⁶ The cemetery was developed on an extensive flat area. From current data, it appears that the group of older “prehistoric,” or Early Bronze Age, tumuli forms a dense zone to the northeast, this does not mean that examples of earlier tombs are not also present in a wider area, as a prehistoric burial is evident inside the boundaries of the Great Tumulus.⁵⁷ Most of the Archaic and Classical tombs are concentrated to the northwest of the city while the Hellenistic tombs are found strewn throughout the whole area. The older examples of the tomb complexes from the 6th to the 4th century BCE are mostly close to the city, especially its western side. All these elements together show that the cemetery was planned and grew according to the boundaries and growth of the city. The existence of earlier finds in more southern mounds, however, points to the gradual development of the cemetery from separate centers, and not a linear expansion.⁵⁸ Burial overlaps

Commented [AC4]: Find Hammond's go source

⁵⁵ Hammond, 1979.

⁵⁶ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁵⁷ Andronikos, 1987.

⁵⁸ Kottaridi, 2020.

are rarely observed, indicating that when placing new burials in the mounds, the existence of the older ones was considered, perhaps indicative of shared knowledge across generations.

It is currently estimated that the expanse of the city from the 4th century BCE to the Hellenistic period occupied an area of around 46-50 hectares.⁵⁹ It is difficult, however, to estimate the number of inhabitants, especially in the Archaic period, because it is not yet known how densely built the city was at different periods and there is no clear idea of the extent of the city walls. Beyond the fact that the king resided here, the ordinary life of the city is also poorly understood. The city's economy appears to have consisted of animal husbandry, agriculture, forestry, and crafts production.⁶⁰ The development of the cemetery, however, reflects the rapid growth that the Macedonian kingdom saw during the Archaic period, and the material evidence discovered in the burials (esp., gold objects,) is our best evidence for the general economic growth and a broadening social stratification this period experienced.

⁵⁹ Fox, 2011.

⁶⁰ Hammond, 1979; Palairot, 2016; Fox, 2011.

Chapter 2: Archaic Burials in Aigai

As discussed in the previous section, reconstructing Archaic Aigai has its challenges. The historical sources, written from Greek and Roman perspectives, focus on big men and political and military events while the archaeological evidence for the city is limited because of later development. Our best evidence for studying the Macedonian people of Aigai in this important transitional period comes from their graves. This chapter will provide an overview of the Archaic burials excavated at Vergina while the following chapter will offer an analysis of what this evidence might reveal about the identities of the people who lived and died in the city.

Problems with the Evidence

Today, the modern town of Vergina covers the western part of the necropolis, and any surface features like burial mounds or tombstones have long since vanished from millennia of urban occupation.⁶¹ As a result of heavy cultivation with mechanized agriculture, the more open areas in the northern zone where the Early Iron Age burials were found have suffered the same fate. At its center, however, in an area of almost 50 hectares, 540 tumuli or tumulus-like structures of medium or smaller size are still preserved.⁶²

Outside of human interference, there are greater problems of preservation in the necropolis. The soil in Vergina is known to be acidic, which is excellent for the figs and nectarines that local farmers cultivate on their land, but detrimental to the preservation of organic material, with a large portion of graves dating from the Roman period and earlier showing little to no osteological remains.⁶³ Due to the acidic soil conditions and the effects they have on

⁶¹ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁶² Kottaridi, 2020.

⁶³ Tziachris, Panagiotis, 2022.

organic material, it is extremely difficult to retrieve osteological data and organic grave goods are rare finds. In fact, the preservation of organic material is primarily seen in grave goods that have been carbonized or placed into the funerary pyre.⁶⁴ This contributes to the skewing of our data sets, since people who were afforded the privilege of a cremation were likely affluent individuals, cremations, being reserved for members of the royal family and high-ranking military members.⁶⁵ Despite these issues, scholars have been able to trace the chronological development of the necropolis between the Early Iron Age and Roman periods.

Chronological Development of the Necropolis

A little before 1000 BCE the first graves appear in the northern area of what would later become the necropolis of Aigai (Figure 3.1).⁶⁶ The early burial mounds are scattered tens or even hundreds of meters apart over an area of about 90 hectares. At the beginning of the first millennium BCE the tumuli were still few and scattered across a large area, however, they slowly increased in number. The funerary tumuli of the Early Iron age (11th-7th century BCE) are circular mounds of clean red soil, which had been transported from elsewhere and appears to have been sieved.⁶⁷ They are relatively low, with a height between .5 and 3 meters, with a diameter varying between 20-25 meters, covering groups of graves, frequently more than a dozen. When there is a central grave, it usually belongs to an adult male. The remaining graves are arranged radially around that central burial, with the heads of the deceased towards the center of the tumulus. The graves are relatively shallow pit graves that are almost always cut into the original surface below the tumulus. Graves in the fill of the tumulus were rare in this period as

⁶⁴ Kakamanoudis, 2017.

⁶⁵ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁶⁶ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁶⁷ Kottaridi, 2020.

well as the presence of a stone peribolos, or a circular stone wall used to define the edges of the burial mound.⁶⁸

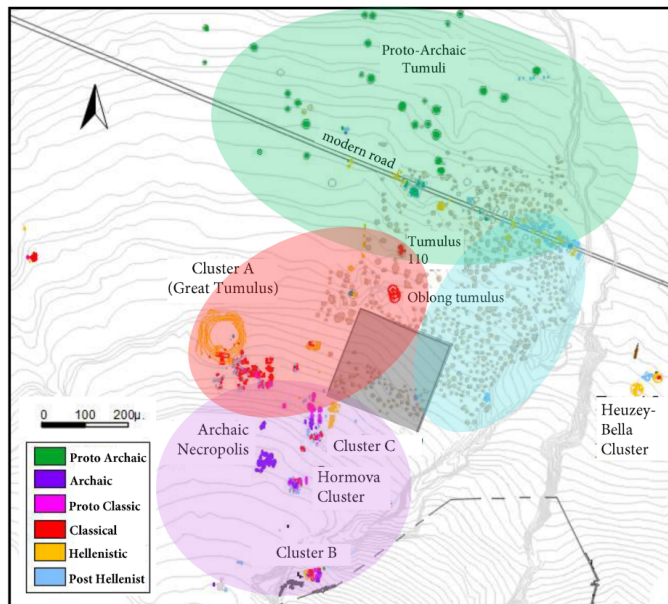


Figure 3.1. Map of the whole necropolis of Vergina, with areas of use separated by general time of use. Modified from a map provided by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Imathia. (Kakamanoudis, 2017).

At the beginning of the 6th century BCE in an open area to the southwest of the Early Iron Age tumuli, the first graves started to appear that would form the center of the Archaic necropolis.⁶⁹ Graves of the transitional period covering the end of the Early Iron age and the Early Archaic Period (700-600 BCE) are scattered between the Iron Age tumuli and this new area of development, covering a range of about 500 meters, illustrating a gradual shift south. The expansion towards the south continued and around 575 BCE an interesting grave cluster, Cluster B, developed in an empty area much closer to the presumed boundaries of the city. This cluster is

⁶⁸ Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁶⁹ Kottaridi, 2020.

now considered to belong to the royal family. The area surrounding the Hormova cluster became the center of the Archaic necropolis, as slowly more graves filled in this empty area, spreading out from this Cluster in all directions throughout the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.⁷⁰

The tumuli mounds here, if they existed, have not survived. It is possible that still extant piles of stone, often scattered and disturbed from subsequent building phases over the western part of the necropolis, could have originated from stone mounds or periboloi related to tumuli.⁷¹ Instead of tumuli, the Archaic graves form small, dense clusters, each cluster perhaps belonging to a family. The organization of these clusters reflect the general organization of the cemetery and allow for the identification of the main roads that would have led into the city of Aigai in the Archaic period.⁷² Burial pits were oriented towards features on the north-south or east-west axis. From the beginning of the 6th century to the middle of the 4th century BCE, most graves were oriented along a north-south axis, and all the deceased, regardless of sex, were found extended with their heads to the south.⁷³ However, the burial cluster, called 'Cluster B' or the 'cluster of the queens,' is an exception to this practice, and these exceptions will be looked at in further detail later in this chapter. The cemetery continued to expand in the 4th century BCE, with graves increasing in number until they bounded very close to the stream, which had created a natural border of the necropolis to the southeast.⁷⁴

In the next phases, the necropolis expanded to the northwest, where the so-called grave of Philip II was to be built in the late Classical period. In the early Hellenistic period, the area between the river, called in the present day the 'palaiopanagias,' the burial cluster of Philip II

⁷⁰ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁷¹ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁷² Kottaridi, 2020.

⁷³ Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁷⁴ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2019.

and the 'old tumuli cemetery' had become choked full of tombs.⁷⁵ Before the end of the 4th century BCE, a large rectangular enclosure, known today as the 'great enclosure,' was constructed, with its primary purpose to define an area of about 5 hectares to prevent burials from being placed there.⁷⁶ This structure is understood little, as it has been greatly deteriorated by occupation and use following the collapse of the Macedonian empire, however it may have served ritualistic purposes outside of preventing burials from clustering too close to the river. In the 3rd century BCE, the area was no longer used for new burials, scattering new burials across any available space, returning to the area of the older cemetery of the late Iron Age, and in parallel, important clusters, like the 'Heuzey Cluster' emerged to the very far eastern boundary of the necropolis.⁷⁷

Following the conquest of the kingdom by the Romans in 168 BCE, the tombs and tumuli began to increase again in an area to the east of the Archaic necropolis, and in some cases disturbing older monuments, many of which were likely no longer marked or recognized.⁷⁸ It can be inferred from current archaeological findings that the construction of tumuli continued throughout the Hellenistic period up until the late Roman period, where the use of the city of Aigai began to fall and the deceased would be buried under existing tumuli, rather than taking the expense of creating a new burial mound.⁷⁹ The practice of bringing in red soil, as was observed in the Early Iron Age through the late Archaic, was not seen as frequently in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, rather tumuli were constructed with local soil.⁸⁰ At this point, the use of one or two rows of circular periboloi marked the periphery of the tumuli in larger

⁷⁵ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁷⁶ Kottaridi and other scholars have debated the use and purpose of this structure, but the structure eventually fell out of use and burials began to occupy its southern boundary around the Roman period. Kottaridi, 2020.

⁷⁷ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁷⁸ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁷⁹ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁸⁰ Kottaridi, 2020.

numbers and became the norm. It is believed that the city of Aigai was abandoned or reduced to a shadow of its former power in the 1st century AD when it was converted into a Roman province.⁸¹ In the Roman period, graves were scattered everywhere, reaching across the whole of the necropolis and some even occupying the previously prohibited area of the ‘great enclosure,’ but were more densely packed into the northeast.⁸²

Archaic Burials

To date, more than 80 tombs have been excavated from the Archaic necropolis (see Figure 3.1 above), 60 of which were found in the center, concentrated in an area of about 500 meters.⁸³ They are all simple, generously sized pits, whose dimensions varied according to the age and the wealth of their occupants.⁸⁴ Apart from two, which appear to have held children, as mentioned in the section above, all the other pit burials are oriented on a north to south axis while the deceased are all, regardless of sex, lying with their heads to the south. Two clusters associated with the Archaic period are standouts to these typical trends, Clusters B and C, and these clusters will be discussed later in this chapter.

Hormova Cluster

The “Hormova cluster” is named after the owners of the home around which the excavations took place from 2000-2002 (Figure 3.2).⁸⁵ This cluster demonstrates the “typical” Archaic burial practices discussed above but was disturbed by later Hellenistic burials as the

⁸¹ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁸² Kottaridi, 2020.

⁸³ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁸⁴ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2019.

⁸⁵ Some sources translated from Greek to English also call this cluster “Chormova,” and its likely a phonetic spelling of the Greek pronunciation of the name. Kottaridi, 2020. This is also because the letter Chi is sometimes transliterated from Modern Greek as Ch and sometimes as H.

necropolis began to get overcrowded. Also, many of these burials were looted by the Gauls after Pyrrhus took Macedonia in about 274 BCE.⁸⁶ The looting is usually limited to the head and chest of the deceased, showing calculated assumptions on where the looters thought they might find metal jewelry, weapons, or valuable objects. All the burials in this cluster are pit graves, or “laccoid” type (the name given to the oblong shape of the pit dug for the burial). However, excavators also found large boulders that had fallen into the pits.⁸⁷ It is possible that the stones were placed on low mounds of earth to serve as grave markers and fell into the pit during looting. Unfortunately, I have not been able to access the excavation records on what exactly was excavated in the Hormova cluster, and this material is still largely unpublished. As a result, I am unable to discuss individual burials and their material goods in detail. Instead, I will be discussing the finds from the Hormova cluster in a broader context. If I were to do further research on this cluster, I would seek permission to access the excavation records to understand the material finds in a more individual sense. Much of the published finds from the burials inside the Archaic cemetery are published by Kottaridi, who had worked very closely with the excavation records at Vergina since she studied under Andronikos. The finds published in *Macedonian Fragments* (2020) are vital for my study as it is the most comprehensive collection of finds in the Hormova cluster that’s currently available in English.

⁸⁶ “But the Gauls, a race insatiable of wealth, set themselves to digging up the tombs of the kings who had been buried there; the treasure they plundered, the bones they insolently cast to the four winds.” Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 26. 6.

⁸⁷ Kottaridi, 2020.

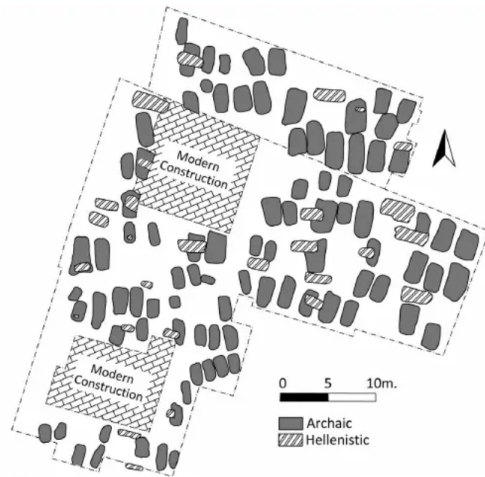


Figure 3.2. Part of the Archaic necropolis of Aigai where modern construction is illustrated. (Also considered the Hormova cluster) (Kakamanoudis, 2019).

Some grave goods did escape the looters. Excavators found pottery vessels at the feet of the deceased, and in looted graves, pottery fragments scattered in the fill of the grave belong to Archaic pottery production.⁸⁸ These vessels are typically related to funerary rituals associated with the commemoration of the dead, such as perfume bottles and cups and jugs. Other vessels associated with the symposium, like kraters and dinoi were often buried with the deceased. In some cases, objects like figurines or model chariots/wagons were also included in the burial, likely for their association to social symbolism or possible religious practice.⁸⁹ Jewelry that remains after the looting of the graves is limited; however, the Hormova Cluster retained some artifacts like garment pins made from bronze, silver, or iron. Also found are simple bronze bracelets and necklaces with glass or amber beads.⁹⁰ In one grave, a necklace with bronze bicone beads was found, similar to necklaces from the Early Iron Age that may represent the

⁸⁸ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁸⁹ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2017.

⁹⁰ Kottaridi, 2020.

continuation of earlier styles or the handing down of this object as an heirloom. In one other rare exception, a thin gold and silver band was also present in a grave in the cluster, showing evidence of material wealth that the individuals interred here possessed.⁹¹ This precious piece suggests that there may have been even more evidence of luxury goods in the graves if not for the looters, drawing into question how different these graves originally were from the so-called royal burials in Clusters B and C discussed below.

Cluster C

During the early Archaic period, 17 burials were placed in the center of the Archaic necropolis, forming part of a larger concentration of burials that amassed in the transition between the Late Iron Age and Early Archaic period.⁹² These burials all contained cinerary urns with cremated remains. In many cases, the urns consisted of simple, clay jars standing on a two-legged stand.⁹³ The burials also contained offerings of jewelry and pottery, but the most common offerings were weapons, like an iron spear head and two knives.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁹² Kottaridi, 2020.

⁹³ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁹⁴ Drougou, 2011; Kottaridi, 2020.

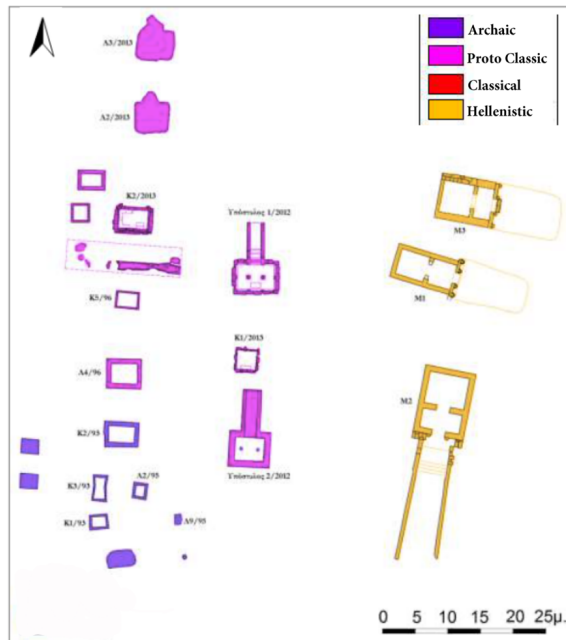


Figure 3.3. The plan of Cluster C, or the “Cluster of the Temenids.” (Kottaridi, 2020).

One or two generations following these cremation burials, the ‘Temenid Cluster’ or ‘Cluster C’ was created in the early 6th century BCE with evidence of cremation and large funerary pyres accompanied by rich grave offerings.⁹⁵ This cluster is characterized with the royal family of the Temenids due to the difference these clusters exhibit in funerary practices,⁹⁶ although there are no clear names or inscriptions to identify the burials with members of the royal family. Cluster C contains a total of 12 graves: 5 pit graves, 6 cist graves, and one Macedonian tomb, a stone built subterranean chamber underneath a constructed tumulus

⁹⁵ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁹⁶ These differences are largely associated with the high rate of cremation found in the cluster. Identifying cremated remains is almost as difficult as identifying osteological remains as the Gallic looters would take the entire urn containing the cremains, scattering the remains in the plundered grave. It could be possible rates of cremation may be higher in the cemetery, but extant cremains are rare to find. Kakamanoudis, 2017; Kottaridi, 2020.

mound.⁹⁷ The earliest graves are pit graves, dating to the early half of the 6th century BCE, and two of the stone-built cist graves date to the latter half of the 6th century BCE. The remains of funerary pyres were found in the soil surrounding the Cluster and in the fill over the graves. One cist tomb from the latter half of the 6th century BCE contained objects that had been burned on a funerary pyre before carefully being arranged in a pile.⁹⁸ These artifacts included a bronze helmet, two swords, a dagger, spear points, metal fittings (possibly associated with a breastplate), fragments of bronze vessels, and fragments from a horse bit.⁹⁹ Cremation, however, did appear to have been a privilege reserved for royal Temenid men with women being inhumed, at least until the end of the Persian wars.¹⁰⁰ Figure 3.4 below represents the rarity of cremation at Aigai, with cremation rising in popularity through the centuries, though remaining only a fraction of all burials excavated to date.

⁹⁷ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁹⁸ Kottaridi, 2020.

⁹⁹ Pyre offerings range from goods the deceased would have used in life, like weapons or pottery, to food and libation vessels, and in some cases animals like boar, horse, and dog were also placed into the pyre. Kottaridi, 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2017.

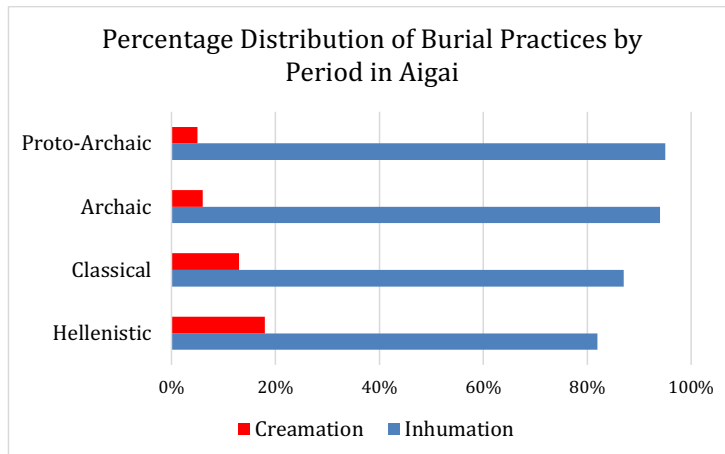


Figure 3.4. Percentage distribution of burial practices by period in Aigai (Data collected from Kakamanoudis, 2017).

Cluster B

Cluster B, also considered the ‘cluster of the queens,’ deviates from the standard Archaic practices of orienting the deceased in pit graves with their heads facing to the south (Figure 3.5). Instead of south, the burials in this Cluster are oriented east to west.¹⁰¹ This new east to west axis became the standard orientation from the middle of the 4th century BCE. There is also a new development in the positioning of the deceased within the grave with women’s heads pointing to the east and men’s to the west.¹⁰² Further gender differentiation is seen in separate treatment of the body: women were inhumed, wrapped in gold and purple cloth, decorated in jewelry, and buried with offerings of vessels and sometimes even ritualistic iconography, such as terracotta figurines of goddesses, while their male counterparts were almost always cremated.¹⁰³ The

¹⁰¹ Kottaridi, 2020.

¹⁰² Kakamanoudis, 2017.

¹⁰³ Kottaridi, 2020.

cluster is also located right beside the northern city boundary, which is odd as it is currently the only burial cluster excavated so close to the city walls.¹⁰⁴



Figure 3.5. The plan of Cluster B, or the 'burial cluster of the queens.' And the city walls. (Kottaridi, 2020)

Inside of Cluster B there are nine graves. Four are large pit graves dating from 540 to 470 BCE, and one of these contains the remains of the so-called 'Lady of Aigai,' whose burial is considered the richest one discovered in the whole of Macedonia.¹⁰⁵ The Cluster also contains three large cist graves that date to 5th and 4th century BCE and two Macedonian rock-cut tombs, all of which have appeared to have been looted at some period in antiquity.¹⁰⁶

The so-called 'Lady of Aigai' is the most well-documented burial from this cluster as it was the one burial that went unlooted, leaving behind a wealth of grave goods to analyze. This grave was oriented east to west with the deceased's head pointing east, their arms extended along their torso, and their body was placed slightly off center to make room for the scepter on the

¹⁰⁴ Kottaridi, 2012, 2020.

¹⁰⁵ Kottaridi, 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Kottaridi, 2020.

right.¹⁰⁷ The scepter denotes a religious office that women held in the Early Iron Age in the city, continuing the tradition of wielding a triple bronze double axe, an object reflected in Iron Age burials in the same necropolis.¹⁰⁸ A golden diadem, golden hair ornaments, hoop earrings, pendants and necklaces, pins and fibulae, arm cuffs, and rings are just a sample of what was found in this burial. Although this burial is highly ornamental and quite expensive, the burial itself was simply a pit, not a more lavish rock-cut cist tomb, with little evidence of a large wooden coffin at the bottom of the burial.¹⁰⁹ The skeletal material in this burial is completely absent, leaving an imprint of the deceased just from their adornments and little remains from their clothing; golden discs and trim sewn onto the fabric and very little organic remains are evidence of a lavishly decorated peplos, possibly dyed purple.¹¹⁰ The grave also contains a silver rod with applied gold decoration, a chain hanging from one end, and a bead attached to the other like a spindle whorl, possibly part of a luxurious spindle.¹¹¹ This is particularly interesting as this is the first artifact of its kind to be identified with the domestic sphere so closely in the Archaic necropolis, at least in published data that I'm able to access. This rod was broken into three pieces before being deposited into the grave, likely as a form of ritualistic 'killing' of the object, so that it may follow the user to the underworld.¹¹² Kottaridi argues that the grave did not contain a death mask; however, it can be seen in excavation pictures and sketches that there was a golden death mask.¹¹³ It was possibly so thin that it deteriorated to a point where it didn't survive

¹⁰⁷ This mirrors warrior graves from Macedonia, where the spear is placed on the right. Kottaridi, 2012.

¹⁰⁸ Kottaridi, 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Kottaridi, 2012.

¹¹⁰ Traces of this purple cloth are evidenced and identified by Kottaridi, supposedly during excavation near the deceased's right hand. Kottaridi, 2012.

¹¹¹ Kottaridi, 2012.

¹¹² Kottaridi, 2012, 2020.

¹¹³ Kottaridi believes that the gold sheet laying where the decedent's head would have been is associated with the garments of the deceased. Chrystostomou argues the gold is a remnant of a death mask, similar to other Archaic kingdoms nearby like Archontiko. Both claims tie into deeper analysis and studies as to what it meant to be "Macedonian" during the Archaic period, as the golden death mask is associated with Lydian burial practices to

excavation, just further proving how difficult it is to preserve finds in Vergina and how important it is to have accurate and accessible documentation on what is being excavated.



Figure 3.6. The "Lady of Aigai" upon discovery. (Kottaridi, 2012)

Entering the Archaic period in the early part of the 6th century BCE, burials in Aigai moved to an open field to the south, utilizing the space to shape a new area of the necropolis. Burial practices shifted away from family focused tumuli structures towards more linear burial arrangements, with burials oriented North to South and placed very close to one another, utilizing all the space possible. The modern settlement of Vergina, unfortunately, was built right on top of where the center of the Archaic necropolis is assumed to have been, obscuring any surface level structures that may have formed the boundaries of the cemetery. The Hormova cluster is representative of what could be considered burial practices for the wider population of the city. Cluster B is largely associated with the Macedonian royal family, particularly the women, due to the way the burials had been placed so far out of the Archaic necropolis center and the wealth of finds found on the so-called 'Lady of Aigai.' Academia remains primarily

Kottaridi, but Chrystostomou argues their presence in other Macedonian cemeteries could be proof that the gold mask is also associated with displays of "Macedonian" identity. Kottaridi, 2012; Chrystostomou, 2019.

focused on the finds associated with the Macedonian royal family, to the point where the recently constructed museum at Vergina detailing the city and burials in ancient Aigai across time, are centered around the finds in the ‘cluster of the queens.’ Burial goods associated with the Hormova cluster or the other “average” clusters in the Archaic necropolis are grouped together, removing their association, context, and significance to the general viewer of the museum. Ignoring the significance of those ‘ordinary’ burials ignore the growth and changing perceptions among the larger population of citizens at Aigai, and in understanding these ‘ordinary’ people’s burial practices, the ancient city of Aigai can be understood in deeper contexts.

Chapter 3: Discussion

The Great Tumulus, built in the Hellenistic period, is considered to be the star attraction of Vergina and has been since Manolis Andronikos first excavated it from 1977 to 1980. As mentioned in the Introduction, debates continue to rage over the dating of the tomb and the identities of the deceased, especially in Tomb II. Many scholars want to connect the tomb to Philip II and his family based on readings of the monumentality of the tomb, material wealth within, and fragmented osteological evidence.¹¹⁴ This interpretation is presented to the public in the museum and site at Vergina as historical fact, proudly linking remains to famous historical figures in their labels and displays. It has also influenced modern Greek nationalism and the construction of a modern Greek identity anchored in a “glorious” past. The association with the ancient Macedonian royal family is, moreover, intrinsic to the economy of the town of Vergina, which attracts tourists who come to see the town of Alexander the Great and the final resting place of his relatives. Moreover, there seems to be a reluctance to entertain alternative interpretations that might challenge the links to the royal family. The Greek Ministry of Culture and regional Ephorate of Imathia, who exclusively decide what gets excavated when, what gets preserved and conserved, and what can be published and by whom, and when those publications are to be released, appear to prioritize large monumental, wealthy burials over modestly outfitted burials constructed with humble materials like mud brick and tile, the latter of which are often quickly documented in rescue excavations and rarely published.¹¹⁵ Masses of materials sit unstudied in storage while plans are in place to reconstruct the palace of Philip II and restore the theater where he was assassinated. There seems to be a concern that if it is not Philip II’s body

¹¹⁴ Andronikos, 1987; Kottaridi, 2020; Salminen, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Law 3028/2002, On the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General

and tomb at Vergina, tourism would fall off and funding for work would slow when cultural heritage is already underfunded.

While I do not dispute that Philip II and his family resided at Vergina or that the Great Tumulus may, in fact, belong to the royal family, we must step away from 30 years of debate if we want to move beyond naming historical figures to a more complete understanding of the deceased's identity and role in Macedonian society. Elina Salminen attempts to do just this in her article, "The Tomb Doth Protest Too Much?: Constructed Identity in Tomb II at Vergina" (2017). Rather than attempting to assign the tomb to Philip II or others in his family, Salmien emphasizes the importance of looking at an identity as constructed through the archaeological record, letting the material record speak for itself. Salminen's work is influential for archaeologists attempting to work with burials like Tomb II in Vergina, or burials that have been previously studied, hotly debated, and considered to be of great archaeological importance. She concludes that the burial of Tomb II is significant in terms of otherness and as a display of one's identity. However, she makes clear in her conclusion that while the material remains of the tomb may display a prominent warrior identity, it may be so because it was contrary to reality, or a presentation of an ideal over the individual.¹¹⁶ Salminen says herself that her analysis will not solve the debate on the identity of the individuals in Tomb II, but rather that it serves as a lesson that careful study and theoretical approaches can only go so far, and conclusions on identity can only remain suggestions.

I wanted to apply Salmien's approach to a reconsideration of the Archaic burials at Vergina, which are traditionally identified as "royal, Temenid" (Cluster C) and the "burial of the queens" (Cluster B), with some scholars going as far as to identify the "Lady of Aigai" as the

¹¹⁶ Salminen, 2017.

wife of King Amyntas I,¹¹⁷ even if there is no evidence to prove this conclusively in the material record. This scholarly obsession with linking historical figures from the Macedonian royal family to burials in the necropolis means that the 90% of people living at Aigai have been overlooked, their burials and their identities appear as footnotes or are subject to comparison to the wealthier burials associated with the royal family. For instance, the burials in the Hormova Cluster, which produced fewer luxury goods and precious object, are interpreted as non-elite in comparison to the wealth found in Clusters B and C. In the following discussion, I try to step away from the trend of labeling burial Clusters B and C as belonging to members of the Macedonian royal family, but rather would like to assess the significance of the burials in the Archaic necropolis in terms of socio-economic status, ritual practices, and cultural hybridization. I realized in my work on this thesis, however, how difficult it is to access detailed excavation data and publications, very few of which are published in English, and analyze the material evidence associated with the necropolis as an American student, and so my analysis here is broad strokes. However, with the large amounts of research focused on the Hellenistic tombs of the Great Tumulus, the analysis and understanding of how they created and constructed burial spaces could be applied to the study and analysis of burials from the Archaic period, as much of the Archaic cemetery is destroyed by the modern town. Using the well-studied organization and content of the so called “elite” burials as a template for the more ordinary spaces can help to differentiate and interpret either continuity or deviation of practice.

¹¹⁷ Chrystostomou, 2019; Kottaridi, 2012.

Socio-economic status and Ritual practice

As stated above, the graves in the necropolis from the Early Iron age are usually seen as being radially arranged, with the head of the deceased oriented toward the center of the mound with no form of hierarchical organization in the form of a central burial, except in the case of a few excavated tumuli, where the central burial is associated with a man. It is also present in the Early Archaic period the practice of cremation alongside the covering of cinerary urns with piles of stones.¹¹⁸ There are also cases in which the two practices, burial, and cremation, seem to coexist in the same mound. The Archaic period saw a rise in a shift in burial practices, moving towards linear arrangements, but still maintaining no clear hierarchical organization within clusters like the Hormova cluster.¹¹⁹ In Aigai, the dense use of the space seems to be combined with the horizontal development of the cemetery, with the graves forming parallel rows and the disturbances being relatively rare within the same period, as can be well observed in the Hormova house excavation and the area of Great Tumulus. This dense and well organized formation of the Archaic necropolis denotes a rapid urbanization effort at a time when Aigai would be seeing growing wealth coming into the city. At the same time, the use of the special burial clusters B and C continues, without significant changes in the structure of their own clusters. Clusters B and C maintain no clear form of hierarchical organization while being differentiated on the basis of gender, standing out from every other cluster in the Archaic necropolis. Echoes of older practices remain, while purposefully differentiating themselves from clusters located in the interior of the necropolis, creating a particular identity separate from other burials.

¹¹⁸ Kottaridi, 2020; Kakamanoudis, 2017.

¹¹⁹ Kottaridi, 2020.

The contextual analysis of the Archaic burials and their assemblages will permit the exploration of depositional practices and their relevance to the history and social order of the Archaic people of Aigai. The great destruction caused by the Gauls was followed by a subsequent project undertaken by King Antigonus Gonatas ordered the building of the Great Tumulus that would cover the unlooted royal tombs along with their destroyed monuments, such as the “heroon.”¹²⁰ The mounds excavated by Andronikos consisted mainly of pure red soil, which was brought to the site from another location, with a small content of clay stones. In four cases, a stone platform enclosure in the periphery of the mound was established, consisting of a series of stones placed on a layer of red soil. The mounds investigated by Andronikos within the greater area of the necropolis contained up to 22 burials, which are generally characterized by a radial-concentric arrangement, where the dead are placed with the head towards the center and the feet towards the periphery.¹²¹ The definition of space by creating boundaries or using existing materials and the close relation to constructions played a significant role in the formation of ritual landscapes. There is a mentality of careful and deliberate and ritualized activity and communal human agency that is most likely related to behavioral structures in collective identity and solidarity.¹²² The preserved mounds can be significant in analyzing burials that have been damaged by the establishment of the town of Vergina, as their ritual landscapes have not been preserved. By looking at these other tumuli that have been investigated, we can assume that the burials of the Hormova cluster would have likely had some form of tumuli or tumuli-like structure covering them. Important however, is that the Archaic period is a time where there is a shifting practice in burial arrangement, moving away from the radially arranged burials to a more

¹²⁰ Andronikos, 1987.

¹²¹ Kakamanoudis, 2019.

¹²² Kyriakou and Tourtas, 2015.

linear structure where the deceased are oriented north to south. Outside of the modern town, there are extant Archaic burials that have evidence of tumuli like structures and created burial landscapes, though they may have lacked the size that the early iron age tumuli had, they still existed to denote clusters of possibly familial relation.

Looking into the material remains of the burials, we can identify social and religious practices that possibly crossed boundaries of social status and perceived ethnic backgrounds. Kottaridi identifies criteria that sets the guidelines for identifying the “royal” burial clusters as royal. The clusters identified with the royal family is distinguished in the following ways: the persistent use of a particular space over time, the size and luxury of funerary monuments and assemblages, the presence of vessels associated with the washing of the deceased - like cauldrons, tripod stands, and basins - and in the presence of the practice of cremation. It is not completely understood why the Temenids would have cremated the male individuals, but the women would be interred. Price was not a factor at all for the gender divisions in burial practice, as the burials in Cluster B contained finds of rich bronze and gold jewelry and gifts for the dead and the finds found inside the burial of the “Lady of Aigai” are evidence of considerable cost. The differentiation may lie in the realm of ideology and religious belief amongst those possibly associated with the royal family or even elites of society.

In the graves of the “Lady of Aigai,” a terracotta bust of a woman, bathing and libation vases, and an exaleiptron were found.¹²³ Similar libation vessels and perfume/oil bottles are found in the Hormova cluster, though instead of being made of bronze, iron, or gold, their vessels were created from clay, some local clay and some clay identified as being imported.¹²⁴ Imported goods are a standout to the burials associated with the royal family, possibly alluding to

¹²³ Kottaridi, 2012.

¹²⁴ Kottaridi, 2012, 2020.

the idea that extremely lavish grave goods are reserved to those who could afford them. The continuity of vessels across burial clusters, however, mark their necessity for general funerary practices and possible religious identities that the people of Aigai held. As for identifying particular religious practices and beliefs held within Aigai and possibly Macedonia as a whole, it is a bit harder to identify rituals particular to the people of Aigai. Kottaridi writes of similar practices found across Archaic burials at neighboring kingdoms of Aiiane, Archontiko, and Sindos, echoing and cementing ties to notions of tribal organization.¹²⁵ The continuity of practice echoed at Aigai is what is special, the necropolis preserves burial practices seen across the Macedonian world for a wide span of time, and while location or orientation of these burials does change, the material remains stay consistent to those found from the early bronze age, only growing in quantity and quality to reflect the growing wealth coming into the region. Similar vessels across burials of different social or material wealth reflect a common understanding and respect for burial practices across social status.

Burial	Characterization	Description	Grave Goods
Hormova Cluster	Non-Elite	Mixed gender, North to South orientation	Ceramic pottery (perfume bottles, cups, jugs), figurines, model chariots/wagons, bronze and silver garment pins, bronze bracelets, one gold and silver band
Cluster B	Elite	Female, East to West orientation	Figurines, bronze vessels, gold diadem, hair ornaments, earrings, necklaces, garment pins, purple and gold fabric, silver spindle whorl, possible golden death mask
Cluster C	Elite	Male, East to West Orientation	Cinerary urns (simple ceramic and bronze), funerary pyres, jewelry, weapons (spear head, knives, swords), armor, various metal fittings

Table 4.1. Table of characterization and finds for the Hormova Cluster and Clusters B and C.

¹²⁵ Kottaridi, 2012; Kottaridi, 2020; Chrystostomou, 2019.

To summarize, the burials inside of the Hormova cluster are likely more similar to the so called “elite” burials than current scholarship understands but given how little remains of the central Archaic cemetery, it may be difficult to see the similarities between the identities that are constructed through the burial practices. The manufacture of identity starts at the construction of the cemetery as a whole, and in the case of the “elite” clusters, the creation of a separate place outside of the main cemetery. The uniform and linear depositional pattern reflected in the Hormova cluster could be a signifier of the growing wealth coming into the city, lowering the social stratification amongst the sub-elite groups within the city. Clusters B and C however still maintain their separation and differentiation, not adhering to the well organized and planned system of deposition seen in the Hormova cluster. Within the individual burials its harder to see identity, but what artifacts are found can help to piece together the puzzle. The small displays of wealth from items in the Hormova cluster like jewelry and garment pins are evidence of a larger amount of wealth being accessible to the more general population, allowing for conspicuous consumption in the form of being buried with one’s wealth. The “Lady of Aigai” is a great example of just how much wealth there was to be consumed, associating their identity closely with the wealth and possible power they may have held in order to be buried with so much. The continuity seen in the use of vessels associated with burial is also significant, as it ties closer together the understanding of a ritual form of burial and death ceremony across social lines. While the material record is incomplete for the case of the Hormova cluster, I don’t think its a stretch to claim that the rising wealth in the city and the similarity of ritual practice blurs the lines between who could be considered “elite” or not in the Archaic necropolis.

Cultural Hybridization

As mentioned in the introduction, Macedonian identity is highly debated in the scholarly space, with Greece and the Republic of Macedonia each wanting to claim connection to the homeland and accomplishments of Alexander the Great, and through this desire, excavation work at Vergina has been focused on identifying and classifying burials as belonging to the Macedonian royal family. Another aspect of this has been the desire to specifically identify practices associated with Macedonia and the construction of identities of the deceased who are considered to be Macedonian.

In terms of the Archaic burials and mentioned briefly in Chapter 2, there is a debate over the identity of the “Lady of Aigai.” Kottaridi identifies the deceased as being the Lydian wife of Amyntas I, Eurydice, and at the “Polycentric Museum of Aigai,” the plaque accompanying the grave goods that are on display states “Queen, wife of Amyntas I.” While this burial is one of the most well preserved from the early 5th century, it is still difficult to parse out the exact identity of who was buried here, especially considering the lack of epigraphic texts connected to this burial. Another aspect of identity in this burial is the connections to Bronze Age Macedonia or to near eastern burial and identity practices. Kottaridi believes that there was no gold death mask, which is common to near eastern influence in the Macedonian world at the time, and therefore Eurydice assimilated and identified more with the Macedonians rather than the Lydians.¹²⁶ Chrystostomou however, disagrees, claiming through his analysis of the original excavation records and photographs, that there was a golden death mask that accompanied the deceased alongside their plethora of burial goods. Rather than claiming the deceased is of near eastern origin, Chrystostomou makes the claim that cultural practices in Macedonia were much more

¹²⁶ Kottaridi, 2012.

blended. The decoration on the “Lady of Aigai” was embossed with scenes from the Greek mythological cycles, and it is through this that Chrystostomou concludes that the deceased was Macedonian and not Lydian.¹²⁷

The location of Macedonia, situated strategically between Attica and the near east allowed for cultural exchange, especially given how Macedonia had strong trade ties for centuries. The burials at Archontiko and Sindos that preserved ritual practices associated with, also show evidence of golden death masks of their own, making it clear that either death masks are common in Macedonian death ritual, or were adopted from ties to the near east. This hybridization is also evident in the terracotta statuary at Aigai during the Archaic period, as they resemble Ionic style.

I’m interested if burial clusters like those found at the Hormova house reflect the general population of Aigai, or if there's more information that can be parsed from these burials. Considerable resources have been put into the study and analysis of the burials identified with the royal family of Macedonia, however, I believe this ignores the identities of those who physically built the city. The metalworkers, the ceramicists, the farmers. The royal family may have provided the funding that allowed for Macedonia to prosper, but it was the average craftsman and worker who put in the labor to build not just the city, but also the goods that filled the graves of the deceased. The interior of the city walls has been excavated little outside the palace, theater, and Sanctuary of Eukleia, which makes it hard to identify shops or city activity outside of the royal family. I’m curious if there is an effort to work on excavating more of the city walls since the restoration of the Palace of Phillip II has recently been completed and

¹²⁷ Chrystostomou, 2019.

opened, however it may be too early to know what plans the Ephorate has for further work at Vergina.

Dr. Angeliki Kottaridi retired from her position as the Director of Ephorate of Antiquities of Imathia, after almost a decade in the position and after having worked at the site of Vergina since 1991. While her analysis of the burials at Aigai can be critiqued for the manufactured identities applied to the deceased, the work Kottaridi has done for Vergina has benefited not just the local economy, but also the archaeological site as a whole. Kottaridi did exceptional work for opening the archaeological site to the wider public, however, this work was focused primarily on the royal family. I don't think any of her work needs to be redone, but it should be expanded on to encapsulate the entirety of the ancient Macedonian identity, not just the royal family. This moment of transition for the Ephorate could be an opportunity to broaden opportunities to either further excavation work within the city or work on excavating burials outside of the clusters associated with the royal family.

Conclusions

The study of burial practices in ancient Macedonia is a valuable area of research that provides insight into the emerging Macedonian identity and social stratification during the Archaic period. While previous research has focused on the elite burials in the Hellenistic period, exploration into the variations in burial practices in the Archaic period can be valuable to understanding the differences in status and identity of individuals in Archaic Macedonia. The necropolis of Aigai serves as a valuable source for burial practices and goods across time with burials dating from the Early Iron age (11th-7th century BCE) to the Roman period (146 BCE-324 BCE). Although Aigai is noteworthy for its continual use, the remains of the cemetery have been decimated from looting, farm work, and the founding of the modern town settlement of Vergina. The fragmentary nature of the evidence and the challenges in interpreting the archaeological data highlight the need for critical reflection on past assessments of individual identity, particularly within the realm of manufactured identities.

The burials found in Aigai reveal social and religious practices that may have crossed boundaries of social status and ethnic backgrounds. Clusters of elite individuals are usually identified as “royal” with criteria focused on the wealth of burial goods, vessels associated with washing, and the practice of cremation. The Hormova cluster, a cluster currently considered to not be associated with elite individuals or the royal family of Macedonia, can fulfill some of these criteria itself. This cluster contains vessels associated with the symposium and bathing culture, displays of metal vessels and jewelry, and in one case even a gold and silver band. If it weren’t for looting and the destruction of many of the graves, it may be that the graves commonly associated with “ordinary” citizens may have looked similar to the wealthy burials associated with the “elite.”

Further research and access to burial data to wider academic institutions would allow for deeper research into broader concepts and burial practices present in the necropolis of Aigai. The current lack of accessibility to information can make it difficult to develop collaborative research on the identities and behaviors of the people of Aigai. Even as I tried my best to parse through data sets in Greek and collect data from archaeologists who worked in Vergina, interpretation of findings based on what material evidence I had access to can lead to flawed perceptions of identity constructed through the lens of those I gathered evidence from. For further research. I hope to gain access to archaeological records or the opportunity to conduct more work at Vergina on looking primarily at burials associated with the “ordinary” people of Aigai. As I advance onto graduate school at the University of Missouri, I would like to continue to do research on death and identity in Macedonia.

Bibliography

- Andronikos, Manolis, and Michalis Fotiadis. "The Royal Tomb of Philip II: An Unlooted Macedonian Grave at Vergina." *Archaeology* 31, no. 5 (1978): 33–41.
- Andronikos, Manolis. "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 82 (1987): 1–16.
- Bartsiokas, Antonis, Juan-Luis Arsuaga, Elena Santos, Milagros Algaba, and Asier Gómez-Olivencia. "The Lameness of King Philip II and Royal Tomb I at Vergina, Macedonia." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112, no. 32 (2015): 9844–48.
- Borza, E. N. "The Royal Macedonian Tombs and the Paraphernalia of Alexander the Great." *Phoenix* 41, no. 2 (1987): 105–21.
- Chrysostomou, Pavlos. "Η Ὑδέσποινα τῶν Αἰγών με τη χρυσή μάσκα: Μακε- δόνισσα και ὄχι Λυδή πριγκίπισσα." *Τῶ διδασκάλῳ. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητὴ Ιωάννη Ακαμάτη*, edited by N. Akamatis, A. Vouvoulis, A. Laftsidis, N. Poulakakis (2019): 387-396.
- Closterman, Wendy E. "Family Ideology and Family History: The Function of Funerary Markers in Classical Attic Peribolos Tombs." *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 4 (2007): 633–52.
- D'Angelo, Belinda. "The Evolution of the Macedonian Tomb: Hellenistic Funerary Architecture Revisited." *Patrimonium* 2010.
- Drougou, Stella and Paliadeli C. "Vergina. The Site and History." Archaeological Receipts Fund: Athens, 2005.
- Drougou, Stella. Macedonian Metallurgy: an Expression of Royalty, in L. Fox (edit.), *Heracles to Alexander the Great* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2011)
- Fox, Robin J. Lane, ed. *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC - 300 AD*. Boston: BRILL, 2011.
- Foxhall, Lin. "Theory and Method in Greek Archaeology: Some Opportunities and Challenges." In *Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Ancient Greece: Manipulating Material Culture*, edited by Lisa C. Nevett, 297–300. University of Michigan Press, 2017.
- Gattinoni, Franca Landucci. "Cult of the Dead and Vision of the Afterlife in Early Hellenistic Macedonia." In *Greece, Macedon and Persia*, edited by Timothy Howe, E. Edward Garvin, and Graham Wrightson, 135–42. Oxbow Books, 2015.

- Hammond, N. G. L. "The Royal Tombs at Vergina: Evolution and Identities." *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 86 (1991): 69–82.
- Hammond, N. G. L., and G.T. Griffith. *A History of Macedonia, vol. II: 550-336 B.C.*, Oxford 1979.
- Hatzopoulos, Miltiades. "The Burial of the Dead (at Vergina) or the Unending Controversy on the Identity of the Occupants of Tomb II." *Tekmeria*, 9 (2008): 91-118
- Heuzey, Leon and Honore Daumet. *Mission archéologique de Macédoine: ouvrage accompagné de planches*. Publie sous les Auspices du Ministère de L'Intruction Publique, Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1876.
- Kakamanoudis, Tasos. "Aspects of Organisation of Macedonian Cemeteries: from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Times." in H. Frielinghaus, J. Stroszeck & P. Valavanis (Eds.), *Griechische Nekropolen. Neue Forschungen Und Funde* (Beiträge Zur Archäologie Griechenlands 5), Möhnesee (2019): 155-174.
- Kakamanoudis, Tasos. (Κακαμανούδης, Αναστάσιος). "Οργάνωση Των Χώρων Ταφής Στην Αρχαία Μακεδονία." 2017.
- Kottaridi, A. "Aegae, the Macedonian metropolis." *Heracles to Alexander the Great. Treasures from the Royal Capital of Macedon, a Hellenic Kingdom in the Age of Democracy*, 2011.
- Kottaridi, Angeliki. "Aigai, the Royal Metropolis of the Macedonians." *Aigai, the Royal Metropolis of the Macedonians* 2013.
- Kottaridi, Angeliki. "The Lady of Aigai." *"Princesses" of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History* (2012): 413-433.
- Kottaridi, Angeliki. *MACEDONIAN FRAGMENTS* (2020).
- "AIGAI 2014 The 'Anatomy' of a Tumulus." 36-44.
 - "Royal Funerary Pyres in the Necropolis in Aigai." 77-88.
 - "The Custom of Cremation and the Macedonians. Thoughts on the Finds from the Necropolis of Aigai." 89-100.
 - "The Necropolis of Aigai in the Archaic Period and the Royal Burial Clusters." 105-111.
- Kyriakou, A., & Tourtas, A. 13. Detecting Patterns through Context Analysis: A Case Study of Deposits from the Sanctuary of Eukleia at Aegae (Vergina). *Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World*. (2015): 357-384.

- Kyriakou, Athanasia and Alexander Tourtas. "After Destruction: Taking Care of Remains in the Sanctuary of Eukleia at Aegae (Vergina)," in *Destruction: Archaeological, Philological and Historical Perspectives, Louvain-La-Neuve 2011*, J. Driessen, ed., Louvain-La-Neuve, (2013): 299-318
- Kyriakou, Athanasia. "Exceptional burials at the sanctuary of Eukleia at Aegae (Vergina): The Gold Oak Wreath." *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 109 (2014): 251–285.
- Kyriakou, Athanasia. "Reconstructing a funerary monument: the biography of the marble crater from the Narrow Tomb of Vergina." Society for the Study of History and Culture of the Prefecture of Imathia, 2013.
- Lehmann, Phyllis Williams. "The So-Called Tomb of Philip II: A Different Interpretation." *American Journal of Archaeology* 84, no. 4 (1980): 527–31.
- Musgrave, Jonathan. "Dust and Damn'd Oblivion: A Study of Cremation in Ancient Greece." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 85 (1990): 271–99.
- Palaioret, M. *Macedonia: A Voyage through History (Vol. 1, From Ancient Times to the Ottoman Invasions)* (1st edition.). Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.
- Salminen, Elina. "The Tomb Doth Protest Too Much?: Constructed Identity in Tomb II at Vergina." In *Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Ancient Greece: Manipulating Material Culture*, edited by Lisa C. Nevett, 273–94. University of Michigan Press, 2017.
- Saripanidi, Vivi. "Macedonian Necropoloeis in the Archaic Period: Shifting Practices and Emerging Identities." In H. Frielinghaus, J. Stroszeck & P. Valavanis (Eds.), *Griechische Nekropolen. Neue Forschungen Und Funde* (Beiträge Zur Archäologie Griechenlands 5), Möhnesee (2019): 175-196.
- Tziachris, Panagiotis, Vassilis Aschonitis, Eirini Metaxa, Areti Bountla. "A soil parameter dataset collected by agricultural farms in Northern Greece." In *Data in Brief*, Volume 23, 2022.