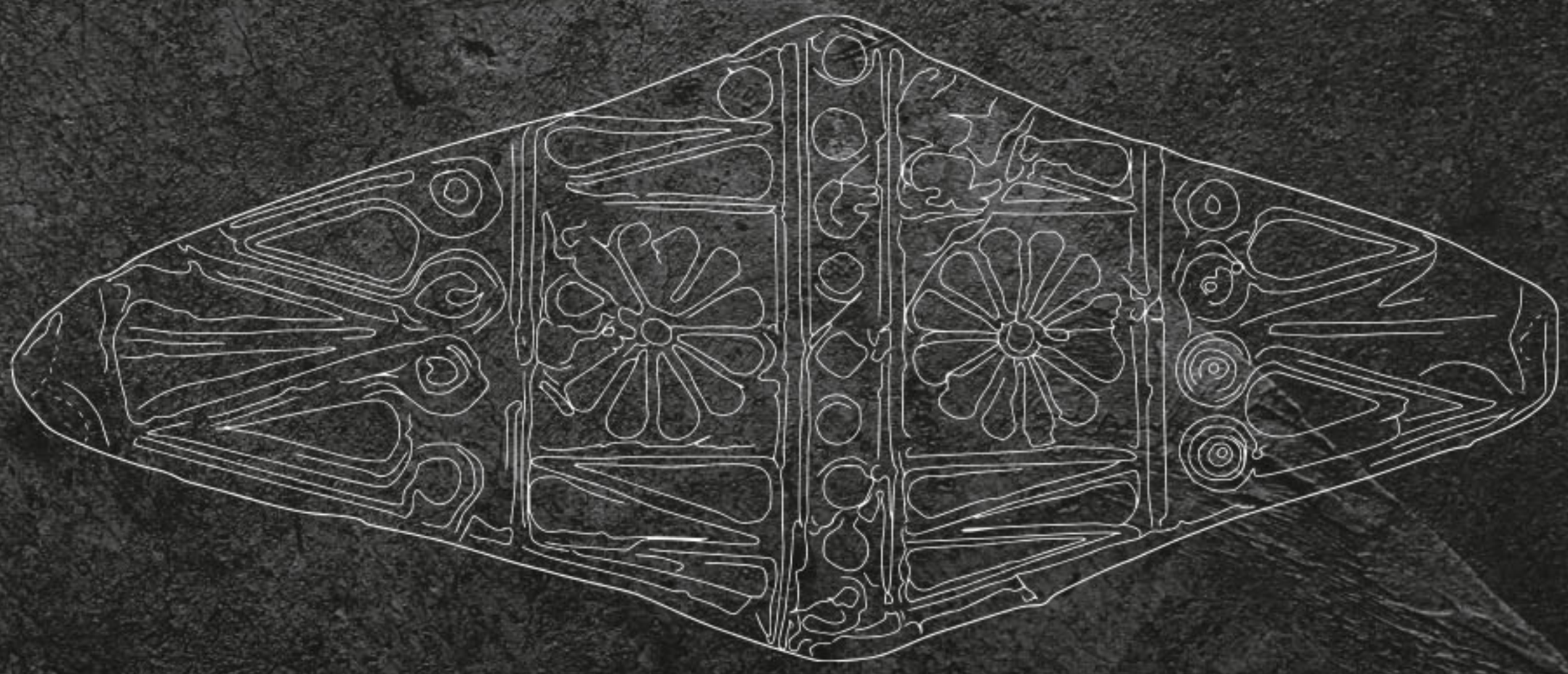
IDENTITY, POWER AND GROUP FORMATION

IN ARCHAIC MACEDONIA (600–400 BC)



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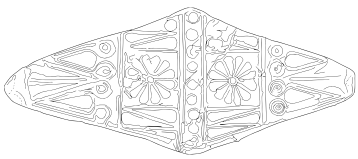

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Contents

To Ioannis Xydopoulos for being the most inspiring teacher one could ever ask for

To my parents Vasilis and Sofia, and my sisters Despoina and Alkisti for their constant support

And to Zoe Pisourika for always putting a smile on my face and for making every minute of this journey called life worthwhile...

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I always thought that writing the acknowledgements would be the simplest part of the process. I was wrong. The present book might bear my name but it is actually the outcome of a long journey along which I was lucky enough to meet and be inspired by many people who consciously or unconsciously contributed to the present study.

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my book was in press. I regrettably did not include these in the discussion presented here but I hope to do so in future publications.

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Sheffield
31 March 2024

1

Introduction

The present study is concerned with the expressions of identity and power as displayed in the funerary sphere in the context of the early Macedonian kingdom. Its chronological scope is the mid-sixth to mid-fifth century BC during which the kingdom underwent a series of profound socio-political transformations linked to its territorial expansion (Edson 1970, 20-24; Hammond 1972, 436-439; Zahrnt 1984; Borza 1990, 84-89). More specifically, during this period, elaborate 'warrior' burials along with lavishly decorated female and child burials appeared across numerous cemeteries in early Macedonia (Chysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012; Chysostomou 2016; Saripanidi 2017; Xydopoulos 2017). These differed significantly from both the burials in the preceding chronological period (e.g. Andronikos 1969; Bräuning and Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013; Chemsseddoha 2019) and also from the ones in the succeeding one (e.g. Andronikos 1984; Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002; Besios 2007). Past approaches interpreted the appearance of these elaborate burials as evidence of the Macedonian expansion linking them to a Macedonian ethnic identity as reflected through the burial goods and practices (Bouzek and Ondřejová 1988; Despini 2009; Pabst 2009; Saripanidi 2017). However, these approaches overlooked the presence of local and regional power dynamics and their relation to identity arguing instead that an ethnic identity closely associated with 'newcomers' in the region, i.e. the Macedonians would be passively reflected on the archaeological record. Instead, the aim of the present book is to interpret the attestation of these elaborate burials though a systematic analysis which will situate them within the wider framework of their local communities co-examining them along the rest of the burials found at a selected number of sites across the region. It is only through this holistic approach that the role of funerary ritual and material culture in the emergence of identities and subsequent development power dynamics at local and regional level can be fully understood.

1.1 Scholarly Context and Contribution

Placed in their wider scholarly context, the emergence of these elaborate burials in early Macedonia has been traditionally linked to the expansion of the kingdom in the 6th – 5th centuries BC (Bouzek and Ondřejová 1988; Despini 2009; Pabst 2009; Saripanidi 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Xydopoulos 2017). This phenomenon has been typically examined through a cultural-historical lens, associated with the expansion of the Macedonian state, with scholars arguing in favour of top-down modes of dissemination and subsequent adoption of distinctive burial goods and practices associated with these elaborate burials

(Kottaridi 2016; Saripanidi 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Chrysostomou 2019). These are ultimately connected to the Macedonians and are seen as markers of their ethnic identity. The main implications of these arguments is that by mapping out the spatial distribution of these patterns we can essentially reconstruct the expansion of the Macedonians as a distinct population across the region.

However, such approaches focus on essentialist ethnic identities, neglecting the evidence for different local identities and power dynamics. By simply linking certain material assemblages to either the Macedonians or the pre-Macedonian populations as these are mentioned in the literary sources, they treat identity as something passively reflected in the material record. Power dynamics developed both at local level (micro) – that is within each individual site – but also at a regional level (macro) between different sites remain largely unnoticed while the reasons behind the adoption of this funerary *koine* are still underexplored. This is of course not to deny the influence of external factors such as the 'coming' of the Macedonians in the region (Giamakis 2023) but to acknowledge the presence of equally important internal factors leading to the suggestion of more nuanced approaches similar to the ones suggested elsewhere (e.g. Riva 2010; Dolfini 2021). The present study focuses on the funerary ritual and the expression of identities through a spectrum of different funerary 'kits' both at local and regional level as shaped by social interactions at both levels. This phenomenon was subject to power dynamics that both influenced and were influenced by the emergence of individual and collective identities. It is these intersections between identity and power that lie at the core of the present monograph, and it is to them that I will be frequently returning to throughout the text.

1.2 Research Aims

There are three main aims regarding the present monograph. The first is to suggest a new theoretical framework that will co-examine identity and power and will argue that burials are a nexus between individual and collective identities influencing and influenced by power dynamics. Even if we accept that burials are highly ritualised phenomena in which individuals have the potential for transformation (Bruck 2001; Routledge 2013, 101-113; Nilsson-Stutz and Tarlow 2013), these processes are subject to social norms and limitations. People do not freely choose the identities bestowed upon their dead as power dynamics influence these decisions (Insoll 2007; Fernández-Götz 2014). Similar to this, the development of collective identities is not something that simply happens through the attestation of similarities in the material record but their formation and, perhaps more importantly, their preservation is subject to local and regional power dynamics (Mac Sweeney 2011, 35-59; Arnold 2021). Equally, the expression of specific aspects of individual identities and the potency of certain collective identities over others influence the way people self-define and self-differentiate while also affecting the power dynamics at both local and regional level.

All of these themes are discussed here through both their material and spatial expressions across nine sites in early Macedonia, most notably Sindos, Archontiko, Aegae, Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi, Agia Paraskevi, Aiani and Trebeništa (Figure 1). Therefore, the second aim of the monograph is to examine the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials and that of the elaborate female and child burials in light of the proposed framework briefly described above. In doing so a holistic and systematic approach will be adopted, one that would encourage the co-examination of the burials displaying what

I term 'full funerary kit' observed for all genders within each cemetery alongside the rest of the burials. Particular emphasis is then given to the emergence of a spectrum along which different versions of these kits co-existed. Intra- and inter- site analysis showcases that the emerging image is a much more complicated one than previously suggested since the emphasis on specific aspects of identity, patterns of inclusion and exclusion, a hierarchisation in terms of burial goods and practices and a spatial expression of this were all present across the region.

The ultimate goal of the present study is to situate all of the above within the socio-political developments in the early Macedonian kingdom. What follows, using the framework and the analysis mentioned above, is a discussion focussing on exploring the reasons behind the adoption of a common funerary language. The intricate motives behind these are then linked to the organisation of the early kingdom and in particular to the relationship between different dominant groups across the region and the Macedonian king at Aegae. Intra-site hierarchical relations and inter-site heterarchical ones are all studied concomitantly as part of the same ontology which influenced the formation of both individual and collective identities in early Macedonia and their material and spatial expressions.

1.3 Structure of the Present Book

The present monograph is essentially organised in three parts. The first parts consists of chapters 2-4 all of which provide general background information. Chapter 2 serves as a general introduction to the people and areas of the early Macedonian kingdom. In this, I examine the literary sources on the geographic limits of the different parts of Macedonia, the origins of the Macedonians and their royal house. In the same chapter, I also discuss the Macedonian expansion, an event of paramount importance for the arguments of the present study. At the end of the chapter, I provide a critique of past approaches before proposing a new theoretical framework in the next chapter. In Chapter 3, I argue in favour of a new theoretical framework which co-examines identity and power. After introducing and briefly discussing each of those concepts separately, I then combine all the different analyses to suggest a new framework for the examination of the intersections between identity and power in the funerary sphere. Chapter 4 serves as a methodological introduction to the more data-heavy chapters 5-6. Brief notes on the selection process of the sites along with practical issues such as the nature of the data and their publication are all discussed before focusing on the data itself on the next chapters.

The second part of the book consists of Chapters 5 and 6 in which I discuss all of the sites presented here. Site maps, information of grave types and burial goods, level of looting and osteological data – where available – are all taken into account to draw a holistic picture of all the cemeteries. Chapter 5 deals with the two main sites, Sindos and Archontiko, while Chapter 6 with Aegae, Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi, Agia Paraskevi, Aiani and Trebeništa. This grouping allows for a better comparison since Sindos is the only fully published site while Archontiko, despite not fully published, is well-known through numerous preliminary reports. Less well-published sites are grouped together in Chapter 6. In Chapter 5, I analyse a number of key themes such as the chronological distribution of burials, methods of aging and gendering followed at Sindos and Archontiko, the attestation of various grave types, the levels of looting, gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods, and the display of a 'full funerary kit'. At the end of

the Sindos section and before moving to Archontiko, I provide a GIS-based analysis of the Sindos cemetery. The two main themes arising from this spatial study, that is the presence of patterns of inclusion and exclusion and a sense of hierarchy attested in both the use of space and burial goods and practices are then employed to inform similar discussions for the less well-published sites in Chapter 6. At the end of chapter 5, I present a first comparison between Sindos and Archontiko the outcomes of which form the basis of the final part of the thesis. In Chapter 6, I discuss all the remaining sites in early Macedonia where the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials and elaborate female and child burials is attested. A similar template as to the one used for Sindos and Archontiko is employed here to organise the data, with modifications where needed. In the final section of Chapter 6, I provide a comparison between all of these sites similar to the one between Sindos and Archontiko found at the end of the previous chapter.

Chapters 7 and 8 form the last part of the monograph in which I provide a synthesis of all the data and analyses as discussed in previous chapters. I begin the chapter by summarising the main arguments of past approaches in regard to 'warrior' burials and their link to the Macedonian expansion. I then draw attention to the main theoretical argument made earlier in the monograph before examining the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials in both local and regional level. I approach its regional aspects through the concept of Costly Signaling Theory before turning to its local aspects which I examine through a careful examination of the various 'funerary kits' with the emphasis being on the 'full kit'. Subsequently both local and regional patterns are brought together before co-examining everything described above in the context of the early Macedonian kingdom. Finally, Chapter 8 consists of some closing remarks in regard to the whole monograph.

2

The land and the people: A re-examination of past approaches

2.1 Introduction

Almost every book on ancient Macedonia begins with a chapter – or at least a section of a chapter – on the geographical features of the area (Hammond 1972, 3-213; Borza 1990, 23-57; King 2018, 3-10; Chemsseddoha 2019, 17-22; Hatzopoulos 2020, 4-48). This is due to the notoriously difficult task of defining the area in question which would unavoidably affect themes like the expansion of the early Macedonian state and the role of burials in this. The present monograph is – for better or worse – no exception to this rule regarding the geographical scope of the study. I begin this chapter by providing a note on the geographical limits of the region that lie within the scope of the present book. A few general observations are made before the brief description of every part of the region where elaborate burials have been found. In the next part of the chapter, I briefly discuss the literary sources regarding the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom and its subsequent expansion. In the third section of the chapter, I initially provide a short definition of the term 'warrior' burials in Macedonia. After this I summarise and critique past approaches and their interpretations of 'warrior' burials as evidence of expansion of the Macedonians, while I conclude this chapter by arguing in favour of a new theoretical framework which will examine identities as influenced by power dynamics present in early Macedonia.

2.2 A note on the geography of the region

The sites discussed in the present monograph are all found within the areas forming the core of the early Macedonian kingdom including its first expansion in the 6th century BC. Aegae and Archontiko are located in Bottiaea and Emathia, Aiani in Elimeia, Sindos, Nea Philadelpheia, Agia Paraskevi and Agios Athanasios in the neighbouring areas of Amphaxitis, Mygdonia and Anthemus. The only place outside of Greece where 'warrior' burials equal in 'riches' have been found is Trebeništa in the Republic of North Macedonia near lake Ohrid. The similarities between Trebeništa and Sindos led some archaeologists to argue that these sites belonged to the same cultural background (Bouzek and Ondrejova 1988). It is because of these similarities that this site acts as a comparative

study, cross-cutting nation state borders as a first attempt at approaching the history of the area without being influenced by contemporary politics (Karakasidou 1997).

Settlements and cemeteries in early Macedonia

Before delving into the description of the areas in which the cemeteries examined here are located, I briefly mention a few general observations attested across the region. With the exception of Trebeništa and quite possibly Aiani, the rest of the sites are roughly located within the so-called 'core' of the Macedonian kingdom in the broader area around the Thermaic Gulf. All of them are associated with a nearby *toumba* (mound) or *trapeza* (flat mound). In most of these cases the proximity of the *toumba/trapeza* was enough for this association to be suggested. Despite the fact that the correlation of a burial ground to a nearby settlement is typically based on common sense, other parameters such as chronological inconsistencies should be consider (Fahlander 2003, 4). In regard to the areas under examination here, these inconsistencies are mainly due to the fragmentary nature of chronological evidence and a lack of systematic study of the landscape. That is not to say that every association of a burial ground to a settlement on a *toumba/trapeza* is erroneous but rather that more research is in fact needed.

The presence of four large rivers in the region adds another layer of complexity to the landscape of the region. Due to the effects of fluvial sedimentation, the ancient territory might have been quite different than the current one to such an extent that the distribution of sites based on contemporary maps may be inaccurate. Processes such as erosion and redistribution of artifacts might have taken place, affecting the settlement pattern (Gimatzidis 2010, 24-27). It is because of these phenomena that it is very hard to detect any flatland settlements which might have co-existed along with the ones found on a *toumba/trapeza*. Therefore, it should be noted that the geographical distribution of settlements and subsequently cemeteries that is evident today is subject to archaeological biases (Gimatzidis 2010, 48-49).

In all of the cases presented in this study, the cemeteries were associated with a settlement on top of either a *toumba* or a *trapeza*. Nevertheless, in the only available so far thorough analysis of an extended area conducted in the geographic region of Greek Macedonia around Langkadas, 20km northeast of Thessaloniki, Andreou and Kotsakis (1994) discovered that flat land settlements did in fact exist at least during the Neolithic period. These were large settlements found on a specific type of soil which was water-retentive and particularly fertile (Andreou and Kotsakis 1994, 20-21). Yet, the fact that at least three out of the nine settlements examined here were found either on a *toumba* or a *trapeza* and had a continuous habitation from the Neolithic period indicates that perhaps settlements on these hilly terrains were more resilient (Archontiko: from Neolithic to Late Byzantine Period, Chrysostomou 2011, 299-300; Aiani: from Neolithic to Roman period, Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011, 96-99; Agios Athanasios: from Neolithic to Hellenistic, Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 369).

The intricate relationship between settlements and cemeteries becomes more complicated when chronological gaps are traced in the archaeological record. The most prominent of these is the fact that despite the intensive archaeological research undertaken at Aegae, the Iron Age settlement with which the extensive tumuli cemetery is thought to be associated is yet to be found. According to Kottaridi (2008, 778) this might be due to the fact that Aegae consisted of numerous habitation sites around the main city which

Figure 1. Map of all the sites discussed in the present monograph. Created by the author on QGIS.

are still largely underexplored. At Agia Paraskevi, despite the fact that the settlement to which the cemetery is linked to was inhabited continuously from the Bronze age onwards, the overwhelming majority of the total number of burials found at its cemetery is dated during the Archaic period (Sismanidis 1987), while evidence of the existence of other cemeteries is still lacking. Similar to this, at Archontiko while habitation evidence dated from the Neolithic to the late Byzantine Period can be found on the settlement, the four cemeteries discovered so far are mainly dated during the Archaic and Classical periods (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2009, 20). The only site in which Late Bronze Age burials bearing Mycenaean influences were found was Aiani (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2013a). The Mycenaean influence in Aiani and in the wider geographical region of modern day Kozani is well documented (Tiverios 2008, 11 n.55). In that regard, Aiani, being in the 'periphery' of both the Mycenaean world and the Macedonian 'core' but also in close proximity to the so-called 'Haliacmon corridor' (Borza 1990, 33-35) constitutes a unique case where different traditions and influences came together to create a multifaceted burial record.

Bottiaea and Emathia

The central plain of Macedonia is dominated by a number of rivers, most notably Haliacmon, Loudias, Axios, Echedoros/Gallikos and their numerous tributaries. The part of this area west of the river Axios and further down south, until the point where the rivers Haliacmon and Loudias are combined before ending up into the sea, was called Bottiaea. This particular region was delimited by mount Vermion to the west, the Pieria

mountains to the south, the region of Almopia to the north and the region of Amphaxitis to the northeast (Hdt 7.123.19, 7.127.6; Xydopoulos 2017, 71-74 and esp. 73 n.7). In some cases the abovementioned area is conterminous with the region of Emathia. Mallios (2011, 138-139) suggests that the plain north of the Pieria region and west of Axios was identified as Emathia. In contrast to that, Borza (1990, 40-42) argues that the region north of Haliacmon was in fact called Bottiaea and probably, although not mentioned explicitly, situates Emathia south of Haliacmon, in the small plain where Aegae is located. However, both of them agree that in later years, Emathia was the term that described either the whole plain (Borza 1990, 42) or even Macedonia as a whole (Mallios 2011, 139). The term is also attested in Homer (*Iliad* 14.225-226), something that has been interpreted as evidence in favour of the use of this term as an earlier one describing the specific area, information also repeated by Strabo (7.11). Given the fluidity of boundaries, in the present monograph, I am using the term Emathia to refer to the region around Aegae, north of the Pieria mountains and the term Bottiaea to describe the area further north towards Pella.

Elimeia

Following Karamitrou-Mentesidi's (1997, 57-101; 2011, 95) definition of Upper Macedonia, this included the areas of Elimeia, Tymphaea, Lyncestis, Orestis, Pelagonia, Derriopus, Eordaea, Atintania and Dassaretis. So far Elimeia is the only one of those in which lavishly decorated 'warrior' burials have been found. More specifically, within Elimeia itself, there is only one site that has yielded such evidence: Aiani, the mythical capital of the kingdom of Elimeia (for its inhabitants and the foundation myths regarding them see Xydopoulos 2012, 526-537). If we were to loosely situate Upper Macedonia within the contemporary states at the Balkan peninsula, we would trace the largest part of it in northwest Greece and lesser parts of it in Albania and in the Republic of North Macedonia (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011, 93-94). Regarding especially Elimeia, despite the fluidity of geographical terms, it can be suggested that it was mostly comprised of a rough and mountainous terrain, crossed by the river Haliacmon and its two large tributaries Pramoritsa and Grevenitikos (Hammond 1972, 116-117; Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011, 93). This rugged terrain in combination with the few archaeological remains were the two main reasons that until recently this area was regarded as a remote, somewhat backward one. Nonetheless, recent excavations especially in Aiani have negated this claim rendering past approaches outdated (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011, 95; Xydopoulos 2012, 523).

Amphaxitis, Mygdonia and Anthemus

Amphaxitis is situated to the east of Bottiaea and delimited by the west bank of the Axios river and the Loudias river to the east (Hammond 1972, 176-179; 1979, 78-79; Papazoglou 1988, 174). The term was probably unknown to historiographers of the Classical period, as its first attestation can be traced in the work of Polybius (5.97.3) and Strabo (7.11) (Papazoglou 1988, 174-177). In spite of the fact that the terrain is mostly a hilly one, it is nonetheless fertile as well as an important source of timber (Borza 1990, 42). However, the most important feature in the area around Axios is the valley itself. Waterways provide interconnections between different areas and settlements, contributing substantially to the movement of both goods and people. Naturally, the Axios valley is typically considered as the major link between the north Aegean and the Balkans (Borza 1990, 42; Thomas 2010, 70; King 2017, 8-9).

Mygdonia and Anthemus are situated in the wider region around the Thermaic Gulf. The southern part of the area later known as Amphaxitis, east of the river Axios, around the lakes of Koroneia and Volvi and up to the river Strymon was identified as Mygdonia as early as in 5th century BC (Thuc. 2.99.4, Strabo 7.41). To the north it was designated by the mountains Vertiskos and Kerdyllion and to the south by mount Holomontas. According to Herodotus (7.123), the river Axios, was the boundary between Bottiaea and Mygdonia, while at the same passage the settlements of Sindos and Chalastra are mentioned as sites found in the west part of Mygdonia. Once again, the area was rich in timber while its soil, particularly in the area around the lake, was fertile (Hammond 1972, 182-186).

Southwest of Mygdonia, the small valley of the Anthemus river is to found. Despite its size, this region features a coastal plain and wooded hinterland (Hammond 1972, 190-191). The area is mentioned both in Herodotus (5.94.1) and Thucydides (2.99.6, 100.4) as a distinct district of Macedonia. However, few years after Thucydides, Aeschines (2.27) refers to Anthemus as a town in the same area. It might be suggested that the name originally indicated the region as a geographical entity but over the course of the centuries and the establishment of the homonymous town it became more closely associated with the latter one (Flensted-Jensen 2004, 824-825). Another peculiarity is the fact that this specific area might have constituted a personal possession of the Macedonian crown. In Herodotus's passage mentioned above, king Amyntas offers Anthemus to Hippias, the expelled tyrant of Athens and son of Peisistratus (Hammond 1972, 190-191; Xydopoulos 2012). Regardless of these historical circumstances the fact remains that Anthemus along with Amphaxitis and Mygdonia were all areas rich in raw materials with easy access to trade routes situated around the Thermaic Gulf. Consequently, it is these areas that hosted numerous elaborate cemeteries such as Sindos, Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia and Agia Paraskevi.

The curious case of Trebeništa

The first excavations in Trebeništa during World War I in 1918 revealed seven lavishly decorated 'warrior' burials with elaborate imports and golden masks (tombs I-VII Filow and Schkorpil 1927). Subsequent excavations carried out in 1930-1933 by Nikola Vulić revealed another six 'princely' tombs as well as a number of 'poor' ones (Vulić 1932; 1933a; 1933b; 1934). While no other 'warrior' burials were ever found there, the 'poor' graves that Vulić discovered proved to be a part of an extensive generally 'poorer' cemetery, which was excavated in 1953-1954 (Lachtov and Kastelic 1957) and again in 1972 (Kuzman 1985). Unfortunately, the cemetery is not accessible today. The earliest tombs attested are not visible, whereas the most recent ones were buried underneath the modern highway constructed in the area (Stibbe 2003, 59-60). A still unanswered question is that of the connection of the cemetery to a specific settlement (Popovic 1994, 39). Vulić (1934, 35-36) suggested that ancient Lychnidos, modern day Ohrid, at a distance of 10 km from the cemetery was too far to be associated with it. Instead, he argued that the settlement to which the cemetery was connected to ought to have been situated at the village of modern day Gorenci, 1.5 km to the east of the cemetery, where he excavated the remains of ancient walls. Despite his significant discovery, he was unable to identify and date the ruins due to the lack of smaller finds that would have assisted him in doing so (Vulić 1934, 35-36; 1932, 42).

Regarding the location of the cemetery, it could be argued that this was of the highest importance. Situated around and in close proximity to Trebeništa were numerous silver mines. However, the real importance of the site was due to its position on the trading

crossroads between the Adriatic shores, north Aegean and the Balkans (Ilieva and Penkova 2009, 195). Furthermore, it has been proposed that the theme of cultural and trading interactions across valleys might be present in the case of Trebeništa and its relation to the valley of the river Axios (Babić 2002, 74-76). West of the lake Ohrid is a plain crossed by the river Drin. This area is separated from the Adriatic sea by a mountainous region in modern day Albania and it is only connected with the coastline thought the valleys of the two rivers, Genusus (Skumpi) and Apsus (Semeni). It is at the Adriatic coast that numerous Greek colonies were to be found. It has been therefore suggested that these colonies greatly affected the populations around them including the one in Trebeništa (Konova 1995, 195-196).

2.3 Literary Sources

The ancient historians on the origins of the Macedonians

The first detailed information about the Macedonians is to be found in Herodotus (Xydopoulos 2006, 50-60; 2007). In the passage 1.56, Herodotus mentions a migrating population which belongs to the *Hellenikon ethnos* (Sakellariou 2018, 429-440) and describes its journey towards Macedonia. The original region of this particular *genos* was Phiotis. From there they moved in Histaiotis and then near the mountain range of Pindos. There, Herodotus says that they were named *Makednon ethnos.* Afterwards, they moved in Dryopia and finally in the Peloponnese, where they were eventually named *Dorikon genos* (Sakellariou 2018, 355-428). Apart from the difficulty in interpreting the terminology used in the aforementioned passage – that is the differences between *ethnos* and *genos* (Morgan 2003, 10-18) – Herodotus links Macedonians to Dorians. He implies that the Dorians which came to be called Macedonians were related to his contemporaries Macedonians who inhabited the region called Macedonia (Sourvinou-Inwood 2002, 180-181). If one was to follow this narrative to the letter then in a highly hypothetical scenario not all of the Dorians might have ended in the Peloponnese. Some of them might have stayed back and it is from this population that Herodotus's contemporary Macedonians were descended. A different suggestion might be that another group could have even 'returned' from Peloponnese and Argos in order to claim the power in the lands of their ancestors. Regardless of these scenarios, the relation between Dorians and Macedonians is further reaffirmed in the passage 8.43, in which Herodotus mentions that at the time of the Persian wars, a number of populations inhabiting in Peloponnese, were still thought to be both Dorians and Macedonians (Sourvinou-Inwood 2002, 180-181; Xydopoulos 2006, 50-52; Mari 2011, 81-82).

Things get even more complicated when an attempt is made to study the foundation myths regarding the Macedonian royal house (Mallios 2011, 177-290). The earliest of them is attested in Herodotus in the passages 8.137-138, where the Macedonian king, Alexander I, is sent by Mardonius to the Greeks before the battle of Plataea in 479 BC. It seems that Herodotus feels that he should inform his readers on the identity of Alexander I, his ancestors and his ethnicity. It is in these same passages that he provides us the lineage of the Macedonian royal house. Firstly, he informs us that there were six kings before Alexander I, with the founder of the house being Perdiccas, although other mythical progenitors such as Archelaos (Harder 1985; Scullion 2003; Collard et al . 2004, 330-362; Mallios 2011, 187-188) and Caranos (Greenwalt 1985; Mallios 2011, 192-194) have

also been suggested. After Perdiccas, the kings in chronological order were: Argaeus, Philip, Aeropus, Alcetas and Amyntas. Perdiccas and his brothers, Gauanes and Aeropos, descendants of Temenus, left Argos, moved in Illyria and then crossed the mountains to Upper Macedonia. There, they reached the town of Lebaea and worked as shepherds in the court of the local king. According to Herodotus, the ruling families of this age were actually poor, so the wife of the king used to bake their own bread. She noticed that Perdiccas' bread was always double in size than the rest of them and reported this to the king, who regarded it as a bad omen and ordered the brothers to leave. When they demanded their wages, the king indicated a patch of sunlight shining through the smoke hole as their reward. The older brothers were infuriated by the king's behaviour, but Perdiccas drew a line around this patch of earth and gathered soil from it, placed it into his garment and then departed with his brothers. This was interpreted as a bad omen which prompted the king to send riders after them to kill them. The three brothers managed to cross an unnamed river, which then turned into an unapproachable hurdle for the riders due to its ardent water. They finally settled in 'another part of Macedonia' in the area around Mount Vermion where the gardens of the mythical king Midas were located (Vassileva 2007) and having this as their base they eventually expanded their kingdom so as to include the 'rest of Macedonia'.

Perdiccas once again features as the progenitor of the Macedonian royal house although in a much later source. According to Diodorus (*Bibliotheca Historica* 7.16), Perdiccas, wishing to strengthen his kingdom, sent an envoy to the oracle at Delphi. The priestess told the envoy to return to the king and inform him that he should make sacrifices and found its new capital at the place where he would find 'white-horned goats with fleece like snow'. Its name would be Aegae, a name possibly with the same etymological origin as '*aiga*', meaning goat in Greek (Fowler 1988, 102-105). An earlier version of this myth despite not explicitly mentioned might have been known to Herodotus, who describes Perdiccas as a 'goats' shepherd' (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 8).

It is highly probable that Herodotus was actually present in the court of the Macedonian kings during the last years of Alexander's I reign or the early years of Perdiccas's II (Hammond 1979, 3; Mallios 2011, 182). Even so, suggestions have been made that the Temenids' origin myth is completely fabricated and promoted by the Macedonian court, in order to emphasise its 'Hellenicity' (Xydopoulos 2006, 52-54 n.87). Its political use aside, it should be noted that in the aforementioned foundation myth, motifs and characteristics of both ancient and modern Greek folklore tales and songs can all be found. This might be an indication that the myth, as written down by Herodotus, was actually based on a widely known, pre-existing oral tradition (Mallios 2011, 183-184). Furthermore, the fact that the same structure in regard to the Temenids' myth has been used by Herodotus when narrating the origin stories of other populations such as the Scythians (Hrdt 4.5; Sprawski 2010, 127-128) indicates that this myth's structure might not be unique to the Macedonians and therefore not a particularly reliable source of information. Yet, myths do have historic implications, especially in regard to notions of self-perception and perception by the 'Other' (Asirvatham 2010, 100-104) and therefore cannot be ignored.

The descent from Temenus, the Argive connection (Xydopoulos 2019) and the royal lineage in the very same order are all repeated by Thucydides (2.99-100, 5.80.2). Yet, it is often suggested that Thucydides's only source on early Macedonia was Herodotus and that the former did not cross-examined his information on early Macedonia against

other sources simply because this period lied outside of his interests (Sprawski 2010, 128). However, it is hard to accept that a historian with such critical and analytical skills like Thucydides would not cross-check his sources even if an examination of the early period of the Macedonian kingdom was not among his primary goals. Having said that, it is indeed true that in contrast to Herodotus, Thucydides is more interested in later events like Perdiccas's switching alliances and the reorganisation of the army and the state by Archelaus, his contemporary Macedonian king (Rhodes 2010, 25; Mari 2011, 83). Yet, in the brief space that he dedicates to the early Macedonian kingdom he provides us with invaluable information not only on the Macedonians themselves but also in the pre-Macedonian populations that inhabited the region.

The Macedonian expansion

The ambiguities surrounding the Macedonian expansion as described by Thucydides (2.99) have been intriguing scholars since at least the 1970s (Edson 1970, 20-24; Hammond 1972, 436-439). In the much-analysed passage, Thucydides, while discussing the Macedonian state under Perdiccas II in 429 BC, briefly narrates the expansionist policy followed by the Macedonian king's predecessors. As it has happened in other instances, Thucydides complements Herodotus's work by adopting a 'migrationist' approach to the kingdom's origin and expansion similar to the one described above (Karttunen 2002; Rood 2006; Mari 2011, 82-83). Unlike Herodotus though, Thucydides is more interested in later events which would help him to contextualise the state of the Macedonian kingdom during the Peloponnesian War (Mari 2011, 82-83).

He therefore starts his narrative by stating that Perdiccas II controls Lower Macedonia and that the Lyncestians and Elimiots are populations living in Upper Macedonia' who are both *ξύμμαχα μέν ἐστι τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα* – allies and subjugated to the Macedonians while each one still has its own king. He then focusses on events that happened before Perdiccas II's reign stating the coastal areas of what is now the coastal part of the Macedonian kingdom were first conquered by Alexander I and his ancestors who were Temenids originating from Argos in the Peloponnese. In the main part of his chapter he narrates the expansion which started with the expulsion of Pierians from Pieria, who then settled in the area near Mount Pangaion near the Strymon river. After that the Macedonians conquered Bottiaea driving Bottiaeans away who then settled in Chalkidiki. They also expanded their territory towards Axios river into Paionia occupying the area around Pella while also claiming Mygdonia after driving out the Edonians. Additionally, they attacked and killed most of the Eordians from Eordaia and Almopians from Almopia. In the last phase of this early expansion, Thucydides argues that 'these' Macedonians – *οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι* – expanded their kingdom so as to include Anthemus, Crestonia and Bisaltia. He concludes his narrative by arguing that all of these lands are now called Macedonia and Perdiccas II is their king.

Surprisingly enough, there is a lot to unpack within such as small chapter. Given that a thorough analysis has been already conducted by past scholars (e.g. Zahrnt 1984; Borza 1990, 84-89) only a brief discussion focussing on the issues relevant to the present thesis is provided here. Thucydides mentions that some *ethne* in Upper Macedonia (Xydopoulos 2012; King 2018, 4-6) – that is the mountainous area north of Thessaly – are both allies and subjugated to the Macedonians while they still have their own kingships. He therefore provides us with an invaluable piece of information on the organisation of

the early Macedonian state to which I will return in chapter 7. However, the exact way that this relationship worked is far from clear. Since these populations had their own kings they might have been able to engage with the Macedonian king though diplomacy. Yet, the fact that they are described as being subjugated to the Macedonians implies an imbalance in the power dynamics between these kings and the one at Aegae. Furthermore, the fact that the lands in Lower Macedonia (King 2018, 7-8) – that is the coastal plains of Pieria and Emathia up to the Axios river – were not granted the same privileges might presuppose a different mode of organisation at least during the reign of Perdiccas II. It is unclear whether these lands were originally organised in a similar fashion to Upper Macedonia.

What is also unclear is the very nature of the expansion and in particular the fate of the past populations mentioned by Thucydides. An interesting observation has been made by Sławomir Sprawski (2010, 133) who argued that since Thucydides had family residing near the Strymon River he might have associated the names of Pierians and Bottiaeans living there with the territories of Macedonian from which they might have been driven out. In contrast to that and due to the lack of a homonym for Eordians, he suggested that the Macedonians might have completely annihilated them. Yet, it's very hard to see whether the expulsions of all of these past populations really happened and their exact nature (King 2018, 17-19; Hatzopoulos 2020, 18-19). Even if part of these past inhabitants was indeed killed and their territories conquered by the Macedonians it is very hard to believe that they were completely exterminated or expulsed (Xydopoulos 2017; 2018) for practical and logistical reasons linked to, if nothing else, the raising of cattle and the cultivation of the land. Therefore, at least a part of them must have been left there and probably assimilated by the Macedonians since they are not archaeologically distinguishable from them.

Pierians (Vasilev 2011, 94-96), Bottiaeans (Xydopoulos 2017), Paionians, Edonians and Almopians (Xydopoulos 2018) might all have been incorporated by the Macedonian kingdom and therefore considered Macedonians in a political sense. Thucydides (2.99) himself seems to be distinguishing between two kinds of Macedonians: the ones who spearheaded this expansion from their core around Aegae and the rest ones who were now considered as his contemporary Macedonians. Yet, it is very hard to understand when exactly this process started, in how many stages it was concluded and whether any of these left any material remains. It is now time to turn to the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials since this is typically perceived as the material expression of everything discussed here.

2.4 The chronology of the Macedonian expansion and its association to 'warrior' burials

The dating and character of the Macedonian expansion

The dating of the Macedonian expansion has itself been the subject of intense debate among scholars who typically divide this into two phases (Xydopoulos 2017, 72-73 n.6). An earlier phase includes the occupation of territories like Pieria and Bottiaea and is dated around 650-550 BC, while a later one is usually associated with the expansion of the Macedonians beyond the Axios river and is dated around the beginning of the 5th century BC (Xydopoulos 2016, 253-256). These are primarily based on literary sources and epigraphic data, both of them typically dated much later than the events of the expansion (Borza 1990, 84-90; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 30-31, 65-67, 117-122; Xydopoulos 2016, 253-256; Hatzopoulos 2020, 29-33). Regardless of these discrepancies,

an overreliance on historical accounts led archaeologists in search of archaeological data which would confirm this expansion (Desponi 2009; Kottaridi 2016; Chystostomou 2019; Saripanidi 2017; 2019a). Given the scarcity of data from settlements the only available information and the only domain where scholars tried to find material evidence in support of this was the cemeteries. According to the prevailing approaches, the appearance of numerous elaborate 'warrior' burials almost simultaneously across the areas mentioned above has been interpreted as direct evidence of the expansion of the Macedonians and the complete incorporation of these territories in the Macedonian kingdom (Kottaridi 2014; Saripanidi 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Chystostomou 2019). However, before delving into the main arguments of past approaches a short note on the terminology regarding 'warrior' burials is required.

On 'warriors' and 'princesses'

Obviously, burials with weapons are nothing new in the area since they have also been found in 'Mycenaean' burials more sporadically (Koulidou et al. 2017, 221-222) and in Iron Age burials more systematically (Bräuning-Dirlmeier 2013; Chemsseddoha 2019). However, what happened during the Archaic Period and more specifically between 550-450 BC was a standardisation of the burial goods and practices associated with these elaborate burials. This process has been repeatedly linked to a 'warrior' identity (e.g. Treherne 1995; van Wees 1998; Babić 2002; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007; Lloyd 2014, 1-6; Saripanidi 2017, 93-99; Dolfini 2021). This idea of a link between notions of masculinity and arms and armour is of course nothing new as is the debate as to whether these were used to designate real life warriors or not (Lloyd 2014, 1-6). Yet, in the case of Macedonia an added layer of complexity is the frequent link of these practices to the Homeric burial rites. Certain aspects of the burial practices attested at the elaborate male burials have been frequently interpreted as traditions echoing practices found in Homeric Epics (Saripanidi 2017, 93-99) with some scholars implying that these can be used as evidence of the 'Greekness' of the Macedonians (Despoini 2009; Kottaridi 2001; 2016; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012).

Similar to male burials, female ones have also been linked to the appearance of 'newcomers' in the region, i.e. the Macedonians (Chrysostomou 2012; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012; Kottaridi 2012). While male burials have been frequently characterised as 'princely' or 'heroic' with an emphasis put on the arms and armour found in them, elaborate female burials have been typically identified as 'princesses' or 'priestesses' with the emphasis being on jewellery and adornments (Kottaridi 2004; 2012; 2018b; Ignatiadou 2012; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012; Chrysostomou 2012; 2019a). For example the 'Lady of Aegae' whose burial contained numerous gold jewellery such as a diadem, a hair ornament, a ring, earrings, bracelets, a pendant and a necklace along with dress ornaments such as fibulae and pins, a broad rectangular gold sheet with relief rosettes, long gold bands and even an object identified as a sceptre has been interpreted in various ways all of them associated with some kind of elite identity. The burial has been successively identified as a well-known Macedonian princess by the name Peperias (Kottaridi 1996, 85), as a priestess and wife of king Amyntas III and mother of Alexander I (Kottaridi 2004, 140), as queen and mother to Gygaea but not to Alexander I (Kottaridi 2012, 423) and finally as a Lydian princess who married Amyntas III and became queen and priestess (Kottaridi 2016, 623; 2018b, 439). Similar to this, the elaborate burial

T67 found in Sindos was also identified as one belonging to a priestess of an unknown deity (Ignatiadou 2012). Equally, T458 at Archontiko has also been identified as 'a member of a powerful clan of the local Macedonian aristocracy and possibly a priestess' by the excavators (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 373).

Whether these 'warriors' (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007; cf. Xydopoulos 2017) were truly warriors during their lives or these 'princesses' or 'priestesses' (Kottaridi 2004; 2012; 2018b; Ignatiadou 2012; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012; Chrysostomou 2018a; 2018b) were indeed princesses or priestesses is a question which we might never answer. Regardless of this, what matters is that people in early Macedonia consciously chose to the bury their dead with certain objects following specific practices not necessarily linked to their ethnicity as this is but one of the aspects of collective identities (Mac Sweeney 2009). Past approaches have largely neglected the fact that multifaceted phenomena such as individual and collective identities are embedded within wider local and regional power dynamics. Therefore, in order to better understand the way identities were materialised and to argue in favour of a more holistic approach that will move beyond monolithic explanations such as ethnicity, a new model exploring the intersections between identity and power is needed. What follows is a short critique of past approaches before the introduction of a new theoretical framework for the study of the early Macedonian history.

A critique of past approaches

The unique character of this phenomenon has been interpreted in early Macedonia as proof of the expansion of the Macedonians into the wider region (Bouzek and Ondřejová 1998; Despoini 2009; Chrystostomou and Chrysostomou 2007; 2012; Saripanidi 2017). What is typically assumed is that the victorious Macedonians incorporated all of these territories either by expulsing or exterminating the local populations (Xydopoulos 2016; 2017). Since Macedonians were supposedly a homogenous population they were associated with a specific material 'culture' traces of which we find in the material record (King 2018, 17-19). Therefore, we can essentially map out the expansion of the Macedonians by emphasising the similarities between people burying their dead in an elaborate manner (Pabst 2009, 31-45; Saripanidi 2017, 117-124; cf. Gimatzidis 2018). In a similar vein, micro-differences regarding individual categories of burial goods have been frequently interpreted as traces of the pre-Macedonian populations (Kottaridi 2014; 2016; Chrysostomou 2019a; 2019b). For example it has been suggested that the elaborate 'warrior' burials found at Archontiko actually belonged to Bottiaeans and not to Macedonians (Kottaridi 2016; cf. Chrysostomou 2019a). It follows that every change in the burial goods and in the funerary practices is interpreted as a population change with the newcomers displaying a new ethnic identity different from the one of the past populations (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2010, 90; 2012, n.126; 2013, 204).

These past approaches, despite the rigorous examination of the data, all reproduce the same fallacies. The first fallacy is an old methodological problem which can be summarised in the phrase 'pots equal people' (Tzifopoulos 2012). These cultural-historical approaches presume that changes in the ethnic identity of the populations will be passively reflected on the material record and especially in the cemeteries while an 'ethnogenesis' is frequently regarded as the corollary of these shifts in the patterns of funerary behaviour (e.g. Despoini 2009; Pabst 2009). It follows that in the case of early Macedonia differences in the burial record imply the presence of different pre-Macedonian populations, while

similarities as expressed through the supposed uniformity in the funerary rites would imply the presence of an ethnically homogenous population, i.e. the Macedonians (Saripanidi 2017; cf. Misailidou-Despotidou 2018). This is of course not the place to provide a thorough critique of the shortcomings of cultural-historical approaches (Trigger 2006, 211-313; Harris and Cipolla 2017, 16-19; Barrett 2021, 39-58). It would suffice to argue that in the case of ancient Macedonia these narratives are still the dominant ones in current research due to the present political situation between the Republic of North Macedonia and Greece and the deeply rooted Balkan nationalisms (Gimatzidis 2018; Gori 2014; 2018; Clementi 2020; Giamakis 2022).

The second point of criticism, which is more relevant to the present study is the fact that these past approaches do not really provide an explanation as to why the appearance of these lavishly decorated burials had such a tight chronological span or to how and why they became the dominant model of elite display in numerous sites across the region. Attempts to answer these questions have focussed on proving a direct link between the geographic distribution of these elaborate burials rites and the political developments of the early Macedonian kingdom most notably its territorial expansion (Despoini 2009; Saripanidi 2017, 117-126). In other words, all of these elaborate burials that were found across the region belonged to Macedonians who were buried in a similar fashion to one another in order to distinguish themselves from the rest of the populations inhabiting the area (e.g. Kottaridi 2014; 2016; Saripanidi 2017, Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012; Chrysostomou 2019a; 2019b; cf. Babić 2002; Xydopoulos 2017; Misailidou-Despotidou 2018).

Both of these points of criticism are embedded within a wider theoretical problem which is the way these past studies approach identity as a theoretical concept. They assume that identity is something primordial that simply pre-exists within groups. It is therefore identifiable though certain goods and practices that can be safely linked to specific groups as these are mentioned in the literary sources (Despoini 2009; Kottaridi 2014; 2016; Chrysostomou 2019a). Subsequently, they approach data with a predetermined outcome essentially examining the archaeological material in order to find evidence in support of their theses (Hall 2015; cf. Vlassopoulos 2015). They treat identity – both individual and collective – as something that exists outside of social interactions and power dynamics, as something that is simply there ready to be expressed through either material culture or literary sources (Borza 1990, 90-97; Theodossiev 1998; 2002; Tzifopoulos 2012; Hatzopoulos 2020, 18-19; see also Xydopoulos 2006, 47-114) . This monolithic perception of identities denies the chance for concepts like power relations, social dynamics and agency to enter the dialogue. This is precisely the aim of the next chapter; to offer a new methodological framework which will propose a more nuanced approach to expressions of identity in early Macedonia.

3

The intricate relationship between Identity and Power

3.1 Introduction

It is often stated that identities are fluid, relational, socially mediated and acquired through choice and agency (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005, 1-2). However, people do not always freely choose their identities, both individual and collective ones. The presence of power relations permeates these choices as it establishes certain aspects of identity as more desirable and less accessible than others. The following chapter focusses on the interplay between these two, not treating them as two completely different, rigidly defined concepts but rather as two constituents in the creation of multiple social realities (Fernández-Götz 2014, 15-16). Cemeteries, due to their liminal nature as locations where the living and the dead interact with each other, constitute a prime example where identities and power overlap and influence one another. People do not necessarily become something different from what they have been during their lives. However, their identities do indeed go through a transformation process as their group members trying to process death and loss as communal phenomena. Power relations pervade all of the stages involved in burials, from the treatment of the body, to the choice of burial goods and tomb types affecting the re-negotiation of both individual and collective identities. Given that all of these dynamics are constantly at play both within each individual cemetery but also across different sites, albeit not necessarily in the exact same form, a micro and a macro approach are needed to comparatively study multiple sites and regions, in order to identify site-specific tactics and region-wide strategies. Following this approach, the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials along with lavishly decorated female and child burials could be examined more holistically by comparing these burials to the remaining ones within their local communities but also to other, equally elaborate ones across the region. In this way local expressions of identity will be contextualised within wider networks of power influencing those while at the same time contributing to the emergence of supra-local collective identities.

What therefore follows is an analysis of this approach. I begin by introducing identity and then focusing specifically on funerary contexts and the treatment of burials as a nexus between individual and collective identities. Then, I explore the multiple ways in which these are materialised in death before turning to power discussing its material manifestations in cemeteries and its role in group formation. After that, I concentrate on the spatial aspects of power in cemeteries reviewing both tactics and strategies at local and

regional level. In the last section, I bring everything together suggesting a methodological framework on the intersections of identity and power which will frame the discussion that follows in later chapters.

3.2 Identities

Identity remains a hotly debated theme of many archaeological studies. As aptly noted by Catherine Steidl (2020, 27), even studies not specifically focused on identity usually involve some kind of discussion around it. Yet, the inherently elusive definition of the term along with its frequent 'uses' and most importantly 'abuses', have contributed to a long lasting academic debate around both the meaning of the term and its methodological implications (Chapman 2013). Identity becomes an even more complicated theme when explored in the realm of funerary archaeology. Death, which is frequently regarded as much a cultural phenomenon as it is a biological one and its subsequent reception and treatment by the community (Nilsson-Stutz and Tarlow 2013, 6), serves as a prime example of a nexus between the individual and the collective, between two different, albeit interrelated, types of identity. It follows that cemeteries, given their liminal nature, act as the material and spatial expressions of both individual and collective identities, as it is there that their re-negotiation and re-configuration takes place. The way identities are materialised can be approached through two main mechanisms, frequently attested in academic literature as micro and macro (e.g. Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 2002; Jenkins 2014, 49-50). Given that multi-scalar phenomena like identities are active at an individual and collective level, both within each community, i.e. micro as well as between sites across the region, i.e. macro, these two mechanisms frequently co-occur (e.g Schortman, Urban and Ausec 2001; Riva 2010; Iaia 2013; Sayer 2020). Since identity is a continual process of self-definition stimulated by social interactions, active within the limitation of socially accepted norms, subject to agency (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005, 1-2), micro and macro approaches should be considered simultaneously in order to recognise the different factors influencing the formation of identities.

Burials as a nexus between individual and collective identities

Death is a biological ending as the body ceases to be able to sustain itself and a cultural one as the community now has the responsibility of disposing the body, normally in a socially respectful manner. It creates both a socially and emotionally charged loss. This loss is perceived as a social phenomenon, since the deceased was a member of the local community, performing specific duties and carrying out certain roles within its boundaries. It also has an emotional aspect, as the dead are mourned and their relatives need some kind of socially performed ritual to address the trauma caused by the death of loved ones (Nilsson-Stutz and Tarlow 2013, 6). It therefore becomes evident that despite its obvious individualistic nature death has an impact on the community within which is happening (Nilsson-Stutz and Tarlow 2013). The burial as a process with multiple stages, all with different material aspects, is the physical manifestation of this collective effort to deal with trauma (Robb 2013; Engelke 2019). As such, burials act as a nexus of multiple beliefs, emotions, converging and conflicting interests and ultimately individual and collective identities.

All of these various aspects of identity should be imagined as an interweaving nexus of constituents of the same phenomenon (Meskell and Preucel 2004). This of course does

not mean that every facet of one's individual identity will be present in the burial record or that it will be archaeologically visible to the same degree. Rather, the potency of the many facets of their identities could significantly vary across time and space, at a local, regional and inter-regional level (Shepherd 2013, 553). People's agency should always be taken into consideration when discussing this multifaceted nature of identity. Social constraints which dictated the potency of certain identities over others did of course exist but people were still able to exert agency influencing the degree of potency of each of their interweaved identities. In order for an identity to become salient a verification process is required. If a specific identity is considered as more important compared to the remaining ones by the people who hold it or it is perceived as such by the people around them, then its verification is also more important than that of the other ones (Burke and Stets 2009, 133). Hence, by studying the ways this variable degree of potency was manifested materially, one can understand which aspects of identity were considered as the most important by both the individuals and the community. Given the fact that burials, as discovered by archaeologists, are the final outcome of a series of highly ritualised actions (Härke 1997; Ekengren 2013, 180), the deceased were bestowed with a multidimensional identity, expressed through the deposition of specific burial goods. People would therefore act as 'containers' for multiple individual identities which are either forced on or freely chosen by them (Burke and Stets 2009, 144-145). Subsequently, a nexus between the individual and the collective is created as burials are expressions of multiple individual identities which are nonetheless active within a specific social context permeated by collective norms.

It is through burials that different meanings regarding both individuals and the community around them are communicated by their subsequent materialisation. However, these meanings do not exist in an ahistorical vacuum but they are instead socially defined and shared (Burke and Stets 2009, 11). It follows that, as mentioned above, burials are a nexus of interactions between individual and collective identities, agency and structure alike. Much of the material aspect of these interactions is expressed through controlling the necessary resources which sustain them while at the same time encouraging the symbolic activity to both take place and manifest materially (Burke and Stets 2009, 15). Material culture may not directly reveal the individual or collective identities that people had in their daily lives but by studying the interactions between people and things we might be able to understand what each given community regarded as important or even ideal (Fowler 2013, 524). Identities, both individual and collective, are constantly negotiated and reconfigured during the process of 'dying'. On an individual level, analysis on identities usually focuses around the deceased. Apart from the change in its ontological status, the dead body still exerts an idiosyncratic form of agency to the participants in the funeral. Regardless of its transformation, the deceased still has the ability to affect the way in which its presence is perceived by the rest of the community (Barrett and Boyd 2019, 128). The 'dead do not bury themselves' (Parker 1993, 203) but the choices that the living made were regulated by power dynamics and social norms that ultimately influenced their individual and collective identities. Each step in the sequence of the burial ritual, each object deposited in the grave, its specific location within it, the quality and quantity of burial goods are not randomly assigned but rather consciously chosen, influenced by the socially accepted norms (Boyd 2016, 211).

The materialisation of identities

Regardless of the way in which they are acquired, identities could additionally be described as relational, transient and reliant on the recognition of others (Williams and Sayer 2009, 1-2; Fowler 2013, 512; Barrett and Boyd 2019, 51). This recognition usually involves some sort of materialisation of identities, traces of which are evident in the archaeological record (Gkiasta 2010). Identities are therefore expressed through objects used in specific contexts conveying information at this given moment in a way that is understandable for the individuals present in this instance. Information regarding personal relationships, wealth, status, emotions, religious and ontological beliefs is initially communicated horizontally and subsequently passed on vertically (Heersmink 2021). 'Evocative objects' (Turkle 2007) are employed to externalise identities hence entangling humans and objects in intricate relationships which are materially manifested (Hodder 2012; Oliver and Cipolla 2017, 87-108). However, behind all of these there is a thought process, one that dictates that no matter how limited by social norms someone is, they cannot be completely denied of their agency. Deeply ingrained societal norms are of course constantly at play, but the final word rests with the individuals who are the ones choosing the way in which they want their identities to be expressed. This aspect of materiality (Meskell 2005; Hodder 2012), that is that people create the material world which it turns affects them implies that material culture in turn influences the creation of identities (Fernández-Götz 2014, 15). This observation holds particularly true for burial assemblages, as the grave is frequently seen as a locale in which a nexus of multiple social identities can be observed. Since identities are deeply rooted in social practices they can be both embodied and manifested through material culture (Hamilakis 2013; Mina, Triantaphyllou and Papadatos 2016). Death might be the inevitable biological end all living beings experience but it is certainly not the end to the constantly reassessed and transformed identities accompanying each individual.

Similar to individual identities, collective identities also need to be manifested materially in order to become potent and reproduced over the course of time. In that regard materiality is inextricably linked to the formation of collective identities (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010), as identity is far from being simply an abstract theoretical creation since people are responsible for the creation of their world both physically and mentally. In so far as collective identities presuppose a sense of sharing and collectivity, they are not an intrinsic characteristic of human behaviour but rather both a relational phenomenon and a shared experience (Heersmink 2021). Objects act as conduits of collective identities as they are actively initially employed in their formation as well as in their subsequent strengthening and reproduction. Shared objects attested in related contexts and practices and used by people in a similar fashion frequently imply a sense of collectivity between different individuals, their desire, belief and confidence that are important members of the given group. However, in some instances shared material culture does not suffice for a group to become distinct. This is because the sharing of a similar material culture among people does not necessarily prove the existence of a sense of collectivity among them. Evidence of this collectivity in the form of practices and rites contributing to the development of this shared identity should also be explored if one is to infer the emergence of a collective identity. These are the cases in which a complimentary mechanism, that of a sense of 'otherness' comes into play through the tactic of exclusion. By excluding other individuals from participating in shared material culture and shared

practices, certain individuals manage to strengthen the internal bonds of the group they belong to and solidify the potency of their collective identity (Mac Sweeney 2011, 44-50).

In regard to specifically burial goods, discussions around them frequently focus around the issue of their origin resulting in an oversimplified debate, perfectly encapsulated in the phrase 'personal possessions versus grave gifts' (Ekengren 2013, 175). On the one hand, the main drawback in interpreting burial goods as merely reflections of the deceased's personal possession overlooks the important observation that burials are opportunities for people to reconfigure both their world order and their identities by manipulating the material world to their or their family's advantage. On the other hand, by choosing to interpret burial goods as mere gifts from the various mortuary practices, societal norms, beliefs and ideals are compressed into one amorphous mass dictating the deposition of these objects. Hence, as aptly described by Ekengren (2013, 175-176), graves are frequently regarded as a kind of 'black box' or 'flight recorder', comprising of all the important information crucial for the reconstruction of events or hierarchies. More often than not, archaeology focuses on reconstructing these past events in the form of consecutive actions, formulating specific sequences in an attempt to discover the meaning of things (Barrett and Boyd 2019, 50). Despite any merits that these approaches may have, it is futile to think that objects have had the same meaning across time and space, a meaning which was preserved unaltered till the moment that these were discovered by archaeologists (Barrett and Boyd 2019, 168-169). Even if we accept that the meaning of objects deposited in the grave was the same as it was in a daily context, it was the living who selected these specific items from a wide array of possible choices (Ekengren 2013, 183). Regardless of whether burial goods were gifts or personal possessions one should always remember that the living choose these specific burial goods and that their choices were limited by the ever present power dynamics and social norms (Ekengren 2013, 180). Burial goods could be interpreted as personal possessions functioning as an extension of one's identity or as grave offerings through which collective beliefs about the deceased were expressed. What is true in both cases is that the specific goods deposited in the grave constituted a highly ritualised assemblage of objects curated by the living for the dead. Therefore, they can be interpreted as both expressions of individual identity through their association with specific facets of one's identity and as manifestations of the groups' identity, since it was the living who made the choices influencing the depositional patterns and the wider community the social norms of which made certain identities more desirable and potent than others.

Consequently, people and things are inextricably linked to one another through their multivariate interactions. Objects are actively employed during all of the stages in the burial process. They could be involved in specific burial rites, deposited in tombs by participants as offerings or the deceased's own personal possessions (Boyd 2016, 210). The funeral is a not a projection of a static identity but rather an opportunity for reconfiguring social relations and power dynamics (Ekengren 2013, 176). A plea for multivocality should therefore be made, as many different interpretations of the contributing factors in the deposition of burial goods can co-exist alongside or contrary to one another, in the same way that multiple identities can become salient at different times during the process of 'dying'. Personal possessions, objects of emotional value, grave gifts, adornments specifically designed for funerary contexts, objects involved in funerary rites such as communal feasting can all be considered as equally valid and intersecting reasons behind the deposition of burial goods.

Micro and macro approaches to identity

The materialisation of both individual and collective identities could be explored through two main approaches: a micro and a macro one. A micro approach refers to the different facets of both individual and collective identities within the same cemetery, while a macro one to similar themes attested between cemeteries across regions. A micro stance allows us to compare and contrast the material manifestations of individual identity as these greatly varied between burials within the same cemetery space. These various manifestations may be grounded on a vast array of themes including ethnicity, age, gender, sexuality, kinship, prestige and wealth (e.g. Treherne 1995; Jones 1997; Whitehouse 1998; Voss and Schmidt 2000; Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Herring and Lomas 2009; Carroll 2018). At the same time, patterns of common behaviours and attitudes implying the existence of different subgroups within the same community buried at each given site, can also be studied. The groups' cohesion is not automatic but has to be consciously achieved (Mac Sweeney 2011, 37) through the sharing of not only common material cultural but of funerary rites as well, while it is also usually spatially expressed in the organisation of the cemetery space.

As for the macro approach, this enables the comparison between different sites across the region. Material expressions of individual identities can in this instance be explored not just within the cemetery but across different cemeteries. Objects or combination of objects functioning as indicia of certain aspects of individual identities such as gender or age may well be compared to the ones attested in other cemeteries in order to draw useful comparisons about the intricate ways in which individual identities were expressed. Equally, collective identities attested at one site, can be examined against the ones found elsewhere. This can be applied at both an intra-communal group identity as well as to the whole community identity – if such thing is observable – across different sites. Consequently, collective identities as materially expressed through similarities in the depositional patterns, shared funerary rites and spatial patterning can be studied in comparison with those observed in other sites across the region under study in the present study.

Regarding especially collective identities, regardless of a micro or a macro approach, these are materially expressed through two mechanisms which frequently co-occur. The first is the development of a sense of internal cohesion between the members of each group while the second is the recognition of the 'Other' and the subsequent self-definition by comparison to that external 'Other' (Jenkins 2014, 22-25). In regard to the first one, internal cohesion is frequently achieved through 'sameness'. This does not only refer to similarities in the material record or its provenance but also on shared practices and their spatial aspects. Movement and communication between people, facilitated by changing technologies, should also be considered as contributing factors in the creation of collective identities (Barrett and Boyd 2019, 168). People buried with similar objects do not necessarily belong to the same social group. Such claims should be validated by considering a wide range of available datasets such as depositional patterns, funerary rites, the organisation of cemetery space and where available osteological reports. Significant emphasis should also be attributed to consumption patterns, not only production ones (e.g. Dietler and Herbich 1998). The physical traits of the objects, the particular circumstances in which these were involved in and the intricate ways in which these were used under those specific circumstances, all constitute contributing factors in the creation of collective identities (Mac Sweeney 2011, 52-53).

As for the second mechanism, that is the creation of the 'Other', it is often stated that in order for a collective identity to become potent, physical or mental boundaries should be drawn between this group and the external 'Other' (Barth 1969; Anderson 1983; Mac Sweeney 2011, 39). Regardless of whether this oppositional form of identity should be framed along strict lines (e.g. Hartog 1988; Hall 1989) or more transient ones, promoting social interactions (e.g. Burket 1992; West 1997; Gruen 2011; Mac Sweeney 2011, 49-50; Vlassopoulos 2013, 1-4; Iacono 2019), selected traits should be adopted in order to distinguish one group from another (Mac Sweeney 2011, 48-50). In funerary contexts this 'otherness' may be observed between groups within the same cemetery or between groups attested across different sites. In the first case, 'otherness' is employed through the exclusive use of specific burial goods or at least the more elaborate version of them along with specific funerary rites and location within the cemetery in order to emphasise the differentiation between a certain group of people and the rest of the burials within the same cemetery (e.g. Cannon 2002; Riva 2010; Dimakis and Dijkstra 2020). Similar to these, 'otherness' might be employed by whole communities in order to distinguish themselves from others around them (Mac Sweeney 2011, 48-57; Fontijn 2021). This tendency is materially expressed through the same methods as the ones described above. The differences need not be striking, as communities might belong to the same cultural or socio-political networks (Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2021). Subtle differences, such as minor variations in the depositional patterns or the specific types of burial goods attested across different cemeteries as well as the organization of the cemetery space along similar albeit not identical lines should suffice for a community burying its dead on a specific ground to differentiate itself from another one burying its dead elsewhere.

It therefore becomes evident that both micro and macro approaches towards the formation of identities and their multivariate material expressions are subject to social norms which they in turn influence. It is through these norms and the constant reproduction of the interplay between the individual and the collective that people reproduce an orderly world by living among things and using them in various ways. Burials in early Macedonia were not just passive displays of a predetermined social reality but rather active constituents of the multiple identities emerging at both local and regional level. Power dynamics, as well as expressions and materialisations of power hold a key role in this approach as they influence the way people interact with each other as well as with objects. Subsequently, identities are unequivocally affected by the landscape of power within which they emerge. Cemeteries constitute a prime example of such loci and it is to the manifestations of power within them that the next section focuses on.

3.3 Defining Power in Cemeteries

Defining an elusive term such as power has proved to be challenging, as different school of thoughts have suggested diverse theories or terminologies. In the present study, a broad definition is adopted as power is defined here as an agent's ability to consciously influence other agents' actions or even intentions to act in a certain way (Menge 2018, 23). While research has acknowledged the role of power in hierarchies and pyramid-shaped schemes (Earle 1997, 2002, 2011; Kienlin and Zimmermann 2012) or its sources and 'networks' (Mann 1986; Schortman 2014) its material expression within the funerary sphere remains largely underexplored. More often than not, elaborate burial goods are interpreted as evidence of powerful individuals, conventionally named 'princely' burials,

which were supposedly the ones possessing power (e.g. Morris 1999; Babic 2002; Iaia 2013; Crielaard 2016; Babbi 2021; Dolfini 2021). In contrast to that, the present monograph would argue that power is not possessed by someone but rather exercised, in both everyday life as well as in special, highly ritualised occasions such as burials (DeMarrais et al. 1996; Robb 1998; 1999).

Regarding especially cemeteries, these are often viewed as sites of manifested and frequently contested power (e.g. Alexandridou 2016; Dimakis 2016; Saripanidi 2017, 2019; Sayer 2020). Similar to the way that power is exerted in the world of the living though the concepts of 'power to people' and 'power over people' (Miller and Tilley 1984, 7-8; Pansardi 2012), the world of the dead, as communicated materially through cemeteries, is also governed by analogous dynamics. Härke (2001) has argued that the various notions of power, evident in the funerary sphere could be divided into three broad categories: power *of* cemeteries, power *over* cemeteries and power *in* cemeteries. The first category, that is power *of* cemeteries relates to 'power to people'. The dead buried at the cemeteries exert power over the landscape around them in a similar fashion to the way that groups of people influence matters around them. Equally, power *over* cemeteries can be equated to 'power over people' as both refer to external agents exerting power over either the dead or the living.

The third notion of power which is more relevant to funerary contexts, that of power *in* cemeteries, refers to the internal social dynamics as they become materialised within these contexts. These power dynamics are manifested in the cemetery space at two levels, a micro and a macro one. The definitions of 'tactics' and 'strategies' are useful in this regard, as the former refers to conscious choices that people made in their daily lives and in highly ritualised instances such as burials, while the latter to larger social patterns consisted of multiple decisions made on a daily basis (De Certeau 1984; Foucault 1990; Lynch 2011). Yet, tactics deployed by different individuals at a micro level often have unintended consequences at a macro level. Therefore, macro-phenomena do sometimes occur as a result of a combination of many micro-phenomena, yet without stemming directly from any particular ones. Hence, purposeful actions might, in some cases, have unpremeditated outcomes (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984; Roscoe 1993; Barrett 1994; Schortman 2011, 29). Nevertheless, the individuals' agency is not erased, as agents still have to make choices no matter how constrained these might be due to external factors (Lynch 2011, 23-25). People have at their disposal a wide array of political, economic, social and ideological resources which could be combined in a variety of ways in order to exercise power and achieve their goals (Schortman 2011, 28).

Tactics and strategies are linked to the micro and macro approaches discussed above in relation to the formation of identities. Tactics observed at micro level, that is within an individual cemetery might refer to the exclusion of parts of the community from incorporating certain categories of burial goods when burying their dead or to the reservation of a specific location within the cemetery for a selected few individuals. These tactics at site level are then linked to strategies observed at macro level across the region. What becomes evident by the co-examination of the depositional patterns and the organisation of the cemetery space across the region is that site-specific tactics were embedded in region-wide strategies. The level of success of tactics and strategies depends upon two conditions the controlling of resources and the agents' social alignments. Typically people with more resources both in terms of quality and quantity are able to

exercise power more dominantly and effectively (Schortman 2011, 28-29; Eriksen 2015, 196-197). These assets can vary significantly as land, energy expenditure, social status, objects with a high financial or symbolic value or a combination of both can all be classified as resources associated with networks of power (Giddens 1984, 258-261). In funerary contexts these resources translate to the reservation of specific burial goods, rites, tomb types and exact location within the cemetery space for a selected few.

Yet, one should be always mindful of the fact that these resources need not be the same in every context, as the ones employed by the agents in each context depend on their desired outcomes (Menge 2018, 29). Since people do not possess power itself but rather the resources to exercise it, controlling and accumulating them holds the key in developing and maintaining this ability. This is reflected in the depositional patterns as people who can afford to bury their dead in an elaborate manner, hence making a statement to the rest of the community, necessarily control access to the resources used in the burial context (Barrett 1994). This means that regardless of whether or not burial goods were a reflection of the social realities evident in the community (Ekengren 2013), the fact that only a handful of people were able to use specific aspects of the material culture to make ideological statements proves their ability to efficiently exercise power and distance themselves both socially and even spatially from the rest of their community (Quinn and Beck 2016).

In order to further strengthen this, people were constantly re-negotiating their social alignments (Menge 2018, 31-36) as these are not at their strongest when used by individuals. On the contrary, their effect is maximised when the agents' interests align with that of other agents (Schortman and Urban 2012, 501). These social alignments need constant reproduction if they are to remain active . This means that mutually responsive agents are continuously interacting with one another re-negotiating and re-aligning their interests, obligations, intentions and aims. When these agents form a group, they would subsequently seek to align their interests with the ones of the prototypical members, that is the more dominant ones, of this group. This is because it is precisely these prototypical members of groups that will dictate the appropriate direction, judgement and behaviour that other members of the group should adopt (Haslam et al. 2011). Therefore by aligning their interests with that of other agents and by forming distinct groups, agents can work towards creating future desired social realities. The corollary of this is the subsequent potency of a common collective identity, an outcome which is crucial in the transformation of a simple aggregation of individuals to a distinguishable group with its own aims and objectives (Jaspal and Breakwell 2014).

The two main contributing factors as discussed above regarding the extent to which agents can effectively exert power are not always archaeologically visible to the same degree. While the accumulation of resources might be easier to uncover archaeologically (Quinn and Beck 2016), social alignments and the subsequent adoption of specific behavioural patterns as influenced by interpersonal relations and promoted by the prototypical members of groups, might not be so discernible. Power is intrinsically linked to material culture through at least three broadly defined ways. The first point concerns the very nature of objects as something that is human-made. Control over the means of production, craft specialisation, storage, transportation and usage of objects by certain agents and the exclusion of others from these processes reinforces the agents' ability to exert power more effectively (e.g. Iacono 2019, 17-18). Secondly, objects can act as symbols,

contributing to the distinction of certain members of any given community at the expense of others. Thirdly, objects can be regarded as the materialisation of the interpersonal relationships through which the social alignments of different interested parties is manifested (Schortman and Urban 2012, 502). Material culture is therefore crucial insofar as it could be regarded as proxy for the materialisation and reproduction of interpersonal interactions and social alignments of multiple interests between different agents who wish to strengthen their ability to exert power (Schortman and Urban 2012, 502; Iacono 2019).

Power and group formation in the funerary sphere

Going back to cemeteries, what all of the above clearly indicates is that power dynamics are of paramount importance in the formation of groups, a number of which is archaeologically visible. As aptly stated by Foucault (1990, 93) 'power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere'. Power, in the shape of controlling resources and negotiating social alignments and the material and spatial manifestations of these within the cemetery space, is frequently linked to the most influential members of the community. By burying their dead in a certain way and in a specific location, these dominant members are establishing both themselves and their dead as the prototypical figures within their society, that is who and what people are looking for in a leader (Haslam et al. 2011, 87). These power dynamics indicate the simultaneous existence of multiple groups depending on the approach. Leading members and their followers are joined together as members of the same social group based on their shared attributes. The use of the same cemetery space, the attestation of similar categories of burial goods and tomb types as well as burial rites can all be classified as part of these shared traits responsible for the perception of people buried at a specific site as members of the same group.

However, at the same time, leading groups reserve certain locations within the cemetery exclusively for use by themselves (Shepherd 2018a). The same holds true for tomb types and burial goods, certain types of which are typically associated with them given their scarcity and their deposition in the most elaborate burials (Quinn and Beck 2016). Consequently, even though people buried within the same cemetery space, might be regarded as part of the same group from outside of the community, the presence of intra-communal power dynamics leads to the emergence of intra communal groups. Powerful groups co-exist alongside powerless 'muted' groups (Lukes 2021) in a similar way that power co-exists alongside resistance (Lynch 2011, 25). This means that even though people buried in the same cemetery space might share some of the dominant group's or groups' traits, they are nonetheless excluded from others. Their resistance towards this kind of power exercised on them is materialised at cemeteries through either direct or subtle tactics, or a combination between both. Direct tactics might include differences in the organisation of specific parts of the cemetery used by them or their association with specific tomb types. Subtler forms of resistance would involve the adoption of similar depositional patterns or burial rites to those promoted by the powerful groups, albeit expressed through less elaborate burial goods given the control of the powerful groups over the most elaborate ones.

Spatial aspects of power within cemeteries

Mentioned above but not discussed explicitly are the spatial aspects of power dynamics as expressed within the cemetery space (Grau-Mira 2019, 157-159). Aspects of power as expressed in the cemetery space through tactics and strategies are often archaeologically visible (Dimakis 2015). At site level, spatial patterns linked to tactics emerge when studying data sets like the synchronic depositional practices and distribution of tomb types within individual cemeteries. Using GIS we can map out the attestation of burial goods within the cemetery and the distribution of different tomb types across the site in order to examine variability as this is spatially expressed (Beeby 2019; Voutsaki et al. 2021). Power is materially expressed through these differences which pertain to systems of inclusion and exclusion (Quinn and Beck 2016). This means that specific burial goods might be only found at a certain part of the cemetery (Shepherd 2018a). The same holds true for the burial rites and tomb types which again might be only discovered at certain areas within the cemetery space. An added level of spatially expressed tactics of inclusivity and/or exclusivity, is the organisation of the burials in which all of these features were attested at in clusters. However, such a blunt form of social differentiation might not be always so spatially visible. What is usually archaeologically visible is the desire of powerful groups to bury their dead in an elaborate manner as these people would receive preferential treatment in death by the rest of their group members. This variability evidenced in the material record might be therefore linked to spatial patterns which would either reinforce already existing inequalities or create new ones (Babić 2002; Grau-Mira 2011, 164-168; 2019, 157-159).

At a regional level, there are two ways in which tactics mentioned above such as depositional practices, tomb types and organisation of cemetery space could evolve into macro-phenomena, in the form of strategies. The first is the attestation of common patterns of behaviour in relation to those themes not within just an individual site but across different ones. Common patterns regarding the themes mentioned above if materially expressed in a similar fashion between multiple sites and spatially manifested across a certain region, might indicate the presence of interrelated power dynamics within those sites, especially when those sites are in close proximity to one another (Blake 2014, 88-89). The second way in which micro-phenomena may develop into macro-ones is by mapping out their diachronic attestation. It is expected that within a dynamic space such as a cemetery used by multiple groups of people usually over a long period of time a degree of variability in burial goods, practices and rites would be observable (Beeby 2019; Dimakis and Dijkstra 2020). However, persistent motifs could also be present in the material record. Continuous use of similar tomb types, the insistence of various groups burying their dead at a specific location, the use of similar types of burial goods by related groups of people within burial clusters as well as the treatment of the body in similar fashion are all examples of these motifs (Fogelin 2007; Dimakis 2016; Engelke 2019). This diachronic attestation of micro-phenomena making up macro-ones, is observable at both an individual site level and across cemeteries belonging to the same region (Knodell 2021). This means that the first step is to observe continuities and changes at individual site level and then co-examine those with the rest ones found elsewhere in order to identify any larger macro-phenomena, evident at regional or even interregional level.

Moving beyond questions of scale, what is true for both tactics and strategies is that they are frequently linked to group formation (Mac Sweeney 2011, 35-58; Steidl 2020).

However, as already noted, they are dependent upon the successful controlling of the resources by certain members of the community and their social alignments. Both of these means of expressing power are frequently spatially observable (Quinn and Beck 2016; Schortman and Urban 2011; 2012). Controlling the necessary resources for the creation of elaborate burials is reflected spatially, since these burials are frequently found in one or more specific locations within the cemetery space, in some cases in close proximity to one another (Shepherd 2018a; Beeby 2019). Burials containing elaborate burial goods are typically found at certain parts of the cemetery, while these burial goods are absent from other burials within the same site. When statistically examined, this data can indicate the exclusive use of both objects and space by certain groups which monopolised the exertion of power. The deceased members of these groups might be buried at certain location or even in clusters in order for the living to demonstrate their control over resources, be they may objects or space and to perpetuate their unity (Shepherd 2007; 2018a; Voutsaki et al. 2021). Consequently, this spatial aspect of the control of resources by certain groups creates in turn a specific form of spatial organisation which in some instances might be expressed through either clusters or the attestation of only elaborate burials in close proximity to one another at a specific part of the cemetery.

These patterns can also be regarded as evidence of the social alignments and the subsequent group formation within cemeteries. Social alignments, as created and promoted by the living influence the organisation of the cemetery space. Given that a burial is, in all of its stages, a communal phenomenon with mourners and participants typically present (Boyd 2016), it provides a great opportunity for the re-affirmation and re-negotiation of social alignments. These can be in turn spatially expressed through the formation of specific patterns. As already noted above people want to associate themselves with the prototypical members of their community. However, not all of them are permitted to do so by the omnipresent social dynamics and power relations both between individuals and among groups. The alignments of these selected few individuals with the prototypical members of their community regardless of whether these were based on real life connections or not are spatially expressed since they are buried one next to the other in specific locations in the cemetery. It is precisely through this spatial expression of social alignments that powerful groups distinguish themselves from the rest of their community, not only in terms of social structure but also physically.

3.4 Intersections between identity and expressions of power in the funerary record

As already stated above, burials are arguably a great opportunity for the re-negotiation of past identities and creation of new ones. However, not all of the deceased or their group members have the same potential for these transformations as these are subject to everchanging power relations and social dynamics. Given their dynamic character, long term use, multi-faceted variability and overall influence on their local community, cemeteries emerge as a prime example of a location where all of the above are materialised (Iaia 2013).

Identity and expressions of power intersect with one another at both an individual site level and at a regional one. This is why both a micro and a macro approach should be concomitantly adopted in order to fully understand the multiscalar dynamics that are constantly at play (Molloy 2016). Both individual and collective identities are expressed at

an individual site level. Different categories of individual identity are materialised through the deposition of certain burial goods and the various correlations between different categories of them, their taphonomic arrangement within the grave and the link between specific tomb types and elaborate burials. As for intra-site collective identities, these are mainly formed through mechanisms based on 'sameness' and 'otherness' between burial goods and practices among burials.

Inter-site comparison explores the ways in which different populations materially expressed different facets of individual identity. Objects functioning as markers of status, age or gender might not be the same between different sites. Additionally, group identities, both in terms of their material and spatial manifestations could also be compared between different sites. Powerful groups across different sites could use material culture in either similar or different ways depending on the dynamics present at their respective communities. However, all of the above are not only subject to individuals' agency and subsequent choices but also to power relations present in the funerary contexts.

Both the tactics and their possible development into strategies as described above are influenced by the control of the resources and social alignments as well as by the interplay between power and resistance (Ames 2007; Quinn and Beck 2016; Lukes 2021). At site level, burials might contain qualitatively different objects that nonetheless belong to the same type expressing similar facets of individual identity. Due to the control of the resources by powerful groups, the same facets of individual identity might be expressed through different versions of the same burial goods or even through completely different objects. Additionally, some aspects of individual identity might be altogether reserved for specific people or groups of people with the rest of the community excluded from the ability to display them in death (Crielaard 2016; Dimakis 2016; Babbi 2021). The same holds true for collective identities, the materialisation of which through specific burial goods and tomb types may differ between groups within the same cemetery space (Brück 2004). Groups controlling resources or access to them, might do so in order to reserve certain burial goods and practices for their exclusive use in order to differentiate themselves from other groups (Mizoguchi 2008).

Apart from this control over the resources, the social alignments of the agents within the cemetery space are also evident (Parker Pearson 1999, 72-94). Burials clustered together or at least buried within a close proximity to one another and displaying similarities in terms of burial goods and practices, could be interpreted as evidence of the social alignments of the living (Shepherd 2018a; Voutsaki et al. 2021). It is them who decide what exactly is that they want to achieve by aligning themselves with certain agents (Knappet 2011; 2013; Donnellan 2020). For it is these decisions that permeate the burial of the deceased within a specific area of the cemetery as this is evidenced by the spatial organisation of the site. Social alignments in their physical form are related to notions of 'sameness' and 'otherness' since they add a spatial dimension to these. Not only groups are created on the basis of these two mechanisms but more often than not intra-group relationships are further strengthened by spatial expressions of the social alignments.

At a regional level, the control of resources is evidenced by the variability in which similar facets of identities are materially expressed in a different way between sites. This means that status, age and gender might be materially expressed differently across sites. These differences might not pertain necessarily to different object types but could be subtler, in the form of variations of the same objects. Additionally, given their differential

access to resources, some aspects of individual identities might not even considered as important for one site as for another one. Collective identities can also be expressed differently subject to control of the resources across communities. What this means is that groups might differentiate themselves from the rest of their community in different ways across sites. Even if their goal is the same, their means might be different as diverse resources might be mobilised by them subject to their availability.

Social alignments are also present in strategies across sites especially in regard to collective identities. In contrast to their manifestation within cemeteries, where they had a physical aspect, in a comparative study between cemeteries this might not have been the case. Social alignments between agents across cemeteries would be expressed by the adoption of a similar 'funerary language', that is a similar use of related resources to express common themes in regard to collective identities (Riva 2010, 72-107). These networks of power might refer to powerful groups with supra-site influence, participating in wider alignments beyond the limits of their local communities (Schortman and Urban 2011; 2012; Schortman 2014). Over time, these alignments could potentially lead to the development of a supra-site collective identity between groups dominant enough to overcome the strict limitations of their local communities and expand their influence beyond them (Blake 2014, 66-86).

What permeates all of the above is a constant interplay between power and resistance. Dominant groups present at either each individual cemetery or across cemeteries exert power through two main mechanisms. The first is the control of certain resources (Ames 2007; Quinn and Beck 2016) while the second their social alignments, active at both and regional levels (Knappet 2013; Iacono 2019; Donnellan 2020). They do so in order to promote their internal cohesion by distancing themselves from others within their local communities while at the same time aligning themselves with similar groups across the region. This means that certain burial goods, especially the ones related to elaborate rites and therefore of exclusive use are reserved for as a selected few (Quinn and Beck 2016). Consequently, similar patterns of behaviour even though not identically expressed are nonetheless present at all sites across the region.

However, less powerful groups are capable of resisting to this exertion of power by the most dominant ones both within their local communities and at a regional level as they too want to preserve the internal cohesion of their respective groups. Yet, they are in a disadvantaged position compared to the most dominant groups. For they also want to participate in more exclusive rites and try and align themselves with the prototypical groups within their communities and even beyond them in order to strengthen their position (Schortman 2014, 175-176). Their resistance can take up many forms. One of the most well attested forms is their claim to the cemetery space itself. Different groups of people are claiming their right to formal burial within the same burial ground as the more powerful groups (e.g. Morris 1987). Despite the powerful groups' control over the resource that the site itself is, less powerful groups tend to bury their deceased at the same location even if they do so in a less elaborate manner (Lemos and Mitchell 2011). They can also express facets of their individual identity in a different way than members of the most powerful groups. Yet, this needs to be in a completely different manner from those individuals that were the recipients of the most elaborate burials. Members of less dominant groups might still want participate in rites reserved for a selected few for both their own benefit and their group's one. On an individual basis, this might be due to social

mobility or to strengthen their intra-group position (Arnold 2021). On a collective level, different groups might have the same cultural background and therefore the desire to participate in the same burial rites and practices (e.g. Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2021). Alternatively, from a more socio-economic perspective, less powerful groups imitating dominant groups do so in order to participate in the regional or inter-regional sharing of a common 'funerary language' so as to strengthen their social standing both within and outside their local community (Glatz and Plourde 2011; Schortman and Urban 2011; Legara Herrero 2016; Grau Mira 2019).

The main outcome of all these factors is the emergence of multiple collectivities, at both site and inter-site level. The nexus between individual and collective identities, the presence of both tactics and strategies, the adoption of the two mechanisms that is the control over the resources and the constant re-negotiation of people's social alignments, and the materialisation of all of the above within the cemetery space is what leads to the emergence of multiple social realities. Identity and power, as inextricably linked to one another, permeate and shape those, a process, aspects of which are manifested materially. This is why I now turn to the examination of the funerary data at each individual site starting with Sindos. However, before this, a short note on the methodology employed in the study of the funerary data in the present study.

4

A methodology of fragmented data

4.1 Introduction and site selection

The present monograph is not an overview of all the cemeteries found within the boundaries of the Early Macedonian kingdom dated during the Archaic period. Nor is it a reconstruction of the political history of the pre-classical Macedonia in chronological order. After all, both of these themes have been thoroughly explored by other, better suited colleagues (e.g. Saripanidi 2012; Del Socorro 2017; Kakamanoudis 2017; Papakostas 2017; King 2018). Instead, its aim is rather different. It focuses on the expressions of identity and power as displayed in the funerary sphere and their role in the emergence of different social dynamics at local and regional level within the early Macedonian kingdom. In order to do that, data regarding the organisation of the cemetery space, burial goods and practices, grave types and osteological reports were drawn from nine sites across the region. Despite the wealth of information derived from the study of the cemeteries, it is always useful to remember that they are only half of the bigger picture with the other one being the data from settlements. However, since these remain considerably underexplored, the scope of this thesis was limited to intersections between identity and power specifically on the funerary sphere.

As stated above it was not my ambition to provide the reader with a survey of all the Archaic cemeteries. I instead limited my research to nine sites across the region most notably Sindos, Archontiko, Aegae, Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi, Agia Paraskevi, Aiani and Trebeništa, where the best preserved, excavated and published examples were found. The material from all of these cemeteries is roughly dated between 600-400 BC. Most of them are large cemeteries which were in use in preceding but also succeeding historical periods. Sindos, Agios Athanasios and Agia Paraskevi are the only cemeteries where burials dated only during the Archaic Period were found. Furthermore, what all of these cemeteries share is the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials and elaborate female and sub-adult burials. Burials lavishly decorated to the same degree as the ones found in these cemeteries might have been also found in other unpublished burials within the target region. However, for the scope of this study, I only focused on the sites where a significant number of them was excavated and at least preliminary published. The majority of these sites are situated in areas which were part of the so-called core of the early Macedonian kingdom primarily found within the boundaries of the modern Greek state. The only exception to this is the cemetery near Trebeništa, in the Republic of North Macedonia, which despite its geographical distance from the rest of the sites was included

in this study, as the material discovered there is almost always included in conversations on themes such as the ones studied in my research.

4.2 Nature of data and publications

Although these cemeteries represent key evidence for early Macedonia, especially in absence of settlement data, information stemming from those does come with its own limitations. The first is looting, a practice that took place both in antiquity and in present day while the second one is the state of the publications regarding the sites discussed in the present study. Total or partial looting of tombs was observed in almost every site mentioned here. In many occasions, only burial goods made of precious materials were missing, while other, less valuable goods, such as pottery or certain weapons like spearheads, were left behind. Looting repeatedly took place in antiquity with grave robbers usually digging a hole near the deceased's heads, grabbing whatever they could find and then hastily filling the hole with dirt and pebbles to avoid *miasma* (Skarlatidou 2009, 334). This phenomenon which was more widespread in female burials due to the fact that most of the valuable burial goods such as jewellery and adornments were worn on the head, demonstrates that there might have been some sort of grave marker which assisted the grave robbers in the looting (Skarlatidou 2009, 334-335). Unfortunately, looting is far from an obsolete practice as it was also observed in modern day, with some archaeologists even noting that this took place while the excavations were still ongoing (Chrysostomou and Chysostomou 2002, 476-477; 2004, 465; 2007, 435; 2011, 119). This tactic was further ignited by the fact that many archaeological finds were subsequently illegally exported outside of the country and sold to private collectors. This time, the looting was more destructive, as grave robbers became interested in every category of burial goods, with a large number of tombs suffering from recurrent attempts of illicit digging (Chrysostomou and Chysostomou 2002, 476-477).

To make matters worse, the study of the data was further impeded by the nature of the publications. Data from the cemeteries significantly varied from one another as, apart from the notable exception of Sindos (Despoini 2016a; 2016b; 2016c), all of the remaining ones presented here are not fully published. The main source of information for these sites are the proceedings of the *Annual Meeting for the Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace*, the largest annual archaeological conference in Greece. The reports of the excavators and the presentation of preliminary data and results in this annual conference provided most of the data analysed in the present study. Additionally, other publications of selected parts of the material from the various cemeteries were found in edited volumes and in rarer occasions in journals. Osteological analyses of the skeletal remains are scarce, as they were only available for three sites, Sindos (Musgrave 2016), Agia Paraskevi (Triantafyllou 2004) and Nea Philadelpheia (Milka and Papageorpoulou 2004). Site plans, photographs of the material, description of tomb types, the total number of burials and their chronological distribution, the percentages of looted graves and the demographics of each local population are not always available. Even in cases where some of this information is available it is nonetheless reported in a non-systematic way but rather according to the organisation system adopted by each excavator in charge of the site. Therefore, there is indeed a need for a standardised approach when cataloguing and publishing the archaeological material if we are to move from studying individual sites to syntheses regarding larger regions. This is exactly what this monograph attempts to do.

4.3 A standardised approach to the data from Archaic cemeteries

In total, I collected data from 949 burials found in nine sites across the region with the more detailed information coming from Sindos (121 burials) and Archontiko (237 burials). My data collection process consisted of two main stages. During the first one, I collected all the available data through the preliminary reports and the proceedings of the *Annual Meeting for the Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace.* As information regarding detailed inventories were only available for Sindos and to a lesser extent Archontiko, I then inputted this on a database created on Microsoft Excel. In the case of Sindos, it was possible to catalogue the exact number of all the different types of burial goods. Conversely, at Archontiko the data was more unclear regarding the exact number of the different types of burial goods per grave. While detailed inventories were available for some burials, this was not the case with all of the graves found there. For instance, the precise number of spears per grave was not always known, as the phrase repeatedly used by the field archaeologists when referring to their quantity was 'at least one'. However, where possible, I tried to provide the exact number while following the field excavators' terminology for the rest of the burials. Other differences between the data from the two key sites are the partial lack of precise dating for some of the burial at Archontiko, along with information regarding looting, the deceased's age, the various tomb types and the prevalence of ceramic and metal pots. Unfortunately, osteological data is almost completely absent from Archontiko. Detailed spatial data available in the case of Sindos also allowed me to conduct a GIS-based analysis which showed the reservation of specific parts of the cemetery by dominant groups engaging in a regional, funerary *koine*. All of the data above were then included in a first comparison between the two key sites, that is Sindos and Archontiko. The results of both the detailed analysis of these cemeteries but also of their comparisons were subsequently used to inform the discussion of the rest of the sites.

After the analysis conducted on the two main sites, I started drawing data in regard to the rest of the sites – Aegae, Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi, Agia Paraskevi, Aiani and Trebeništa. Unfortunately, this data was not sufficient for the creation of a database similar to the one composed for Sindos and Archontiko as this was not permitted by the level of detail available through the publications. However, I tried to be consistent in describing data from all of these sites by grouping all the available information under similar headings. The first part typically forms an introduction to the site, along with details on the total number of burials, their chronological distribution, sexing, gendering and aging of the burials. I then proceeded with discussing the level of looting and the distribution of grave types by providing either the exact numbers of the looted tombs or their percentages depending on the availability of data. Subsequently, I focused on the burial goods starting with the gender specific ones and moving to the gender non-specific ones. I started off with the gender specific ones by cataloguing and describing arms and armour as well as jewellery. Wherever it was possible, I stated the exact number of weapons and jewellery per individual grave along with the materials involved in their creation. This level of analysis was primarily feasible in Sindos and Archontiko and to a lesser extent in Aiani and Trebeništa. As for the rest of the sites, I tried to accommodate the need for uniformity by providing the total number of these objects and their typology. A similar approach was adopted for the gender non-specific burial goods which included ceramic and metal pots, miniature objects, clay figurines, masks and mouthpieces. Some

of the themes that I explored were their typology and material properties, distribution within each cemetery, depositional patterns, provenance and theories regarding their function especially in regard to the miniatures objects and the clay figurines.

After the study of the various types of burial goods, I cross-examined all of them detecting any possible emerging correlations or sets of objects present in the burial record. Co-presence of different objects were identified between male and female tombs. Given the state of the publications I was only able to do that primarily in Sindos and Archontiko as well as in Aiani and Trebeništa, albeit to a lesser extent, while only a short cross-examination, if any, is provided for the rest of the sites. Spatial patterns arising from the GIS-based analysis on Sindos were analysed in regard to the rest of the cemeteries all of which were discussed in a comparative section at the end of both the two major data chapters (5 & 6).

What became evident especially in the cases of Sindos and Archontiko was the presence of two 'full kits', one for male and one for female burials. Due to the lack of information, burials with the 'full kit' were primarily observed in Sindos and Archontiko and to a certain degree in Aegae, Aiani and Trebeništa while information stemming from these sites was subsequently extrapolated to the rest of the sites. In the present study, the term is used to describe the co-occurrence of specific burial goods which were frequently attested together while providing each individual burial with a multifaceted set of social roles and subsequently identities. This does not mean that the 'full kit' consisted of the most frequently attested categories of burial goods but rather of a combination between those and other more exclusive ones. More specifically the 'full kit' as attested in elaborate male burials across the region typically included arms and armour, pots, primarily made of clay, miniature objects, clay figurines, gold decorative pieces and a gold face covering in the shape of either a mask or a mouthpiece. As for the 'full kit' found in elaborate female burials in the cemeteries presented here, this frequently consisted of jewellery and adornments of various shapes and metals, and similar to men, pots, primarily made of clay, miniature objects, clay figurines, gold decorative pieces and a either a gold mask of a mouthpiece.

Naturally, differentiation did occur at both local and regional level in terms of burial goods. This means that both less elaborate and more elaborate version of the 'full kit' co-existed within each cemetery since individuals still found a way to differentiate themselves from the remaining group members. Yet, when examined collectively within each site, these burials formed a designated social group, distinguished from the rest of the burials at the same cemetery. In addition to this, the 'full kit' was characterised by a high decree of standardisation as the categories of burial goods forming its core were shared among dominant groups across the region. All of these indicate that the 'full kit' is more than just a heuristic device employed in the present study. The high level of standardisation, the fact that only certain categories of burial goods were classified as belonging to this, its attestation only in certain burials found within specific tomb types at certain areas of the cemetery space all indicate its highly exclusive character. Therefore, the 'full kit approach' constitutes a more nuanced one than past classifications of these burials simply as 'wealthy' since it takes into account all of the contributing factors employed in social differentiation as these were mentioned above. While past definitions and identifications have focused on individual outliers identifying them as 'princesses' or 'warriors', the 'full kit approach' allows us to examine these burials within their socio-political context and

study the power dynamics that affected both its formation and its subsequent adoption across communities in early Macedonia. The presence of the 'full kit' within a spectrum along which multiple expressions of identity co-existed provides the basis for a more holistic approach to the interactions between identity and power in early Macedonia. The sharing of certain burial goods and practices in combination with the presence of regional networks of power are all studied concomitantly as part of the same ontology within which identities in early Macedonia were conceived and ultimately expressed (Chapter 7).

5

A ‘full funerary kit’? The cases of Sindos and Archontiko

The two cemeteries with arguably the largest number of ‘warrior’ burials are these of Sindos and Archontiko. Sindos is the only fully published site presented in this study. As for Archontiko, despite not being fully published, the large number of preliminary reports published in the proceedings of the *Annual Meeting for the Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace* provided a lot of useful information which allowed an examination of the material almost to the same extent as Sindos. Unfortunately, the only really important thing that was missing from Archontiko was a full cemetery plan which made the spatial analysis at Archontiko significantly less thorough than that at Sindos (see below). All of the remaining parameters in the analysis of these two sites were similar with the material being organised under the same headings. A first comparison following the detailed analysis of each of those sites is provided at the end of the chapter before continuing with the discussion of the rest of the cemeteries in the next chapter.

5.1 Sindos

Probably the most important settlement in the area of the Thermaic Gulf was the one near the modern day town of Sindos. Situated 23km west of Thessaloniki, the site would have been at the coast of the Gulf in antiquity (Gimatzidis 2011, 97; 2010, 34-43), west of the Gallikos river. The settlement located at the well-known double trapeza of Anchialos, first excavated during WWI (Rey 1921, 74-77; Tiverios 2009) was inhabited from the Late Bronze Age (13th-12th centuries BC) to at least the Roman period, with its most flourishing periods being the Late Geometric and the Archaic one (Saripanidi 2012, 10-11), despite the presence of humans in the wider area since the Neolithic Age (Tiverios 2009, 399-401). Regarding its identification, it has been suggested that this settlement was either ancient Chalastra or Sindos (Gimatzidis 2010, 50-54) with some arguing that it might even have been an *emporion*, a site with mixed population (Tiverios 2009, 402).

However, the most impressive findings came from the excavations conducted during the 1980s on the Archaic/Classical cemetery located in a short distance to the south of the settlement. Situated on top of a low hill, this cemetery has been excavated to its full extent measuring 125x80m. Moreover, excavations to the east and south of the core of the cemetery have confirmed the existence, during antiquity, of a marsh which frequently flooded the area around it. Due to the alluvial deposits carried away by the Gallikos river,

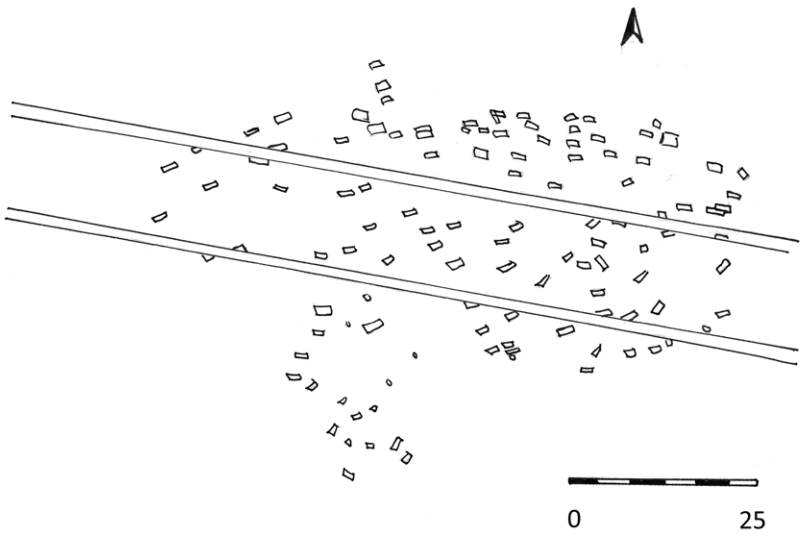

Figure 2. Map of the Sindos cemetery. Drawn by the author (after Despoini 2016a, pl. A).

the whole area has now been flattened while the low hill is barely visible (Despoini 2016a, 13-19). One hundred twenty one graves were found in total at Sindos, with most of them dated during the Archaic/early Classical period (Despoini 2016a, 25-102; Saripanidi 2012, 251-263). Unfortunately 59 of them were looted in antiquity and four of them destroyed by modern farming activities. According to the excavator, the looting must have occurred some time soon after the burial since the grave robbers knew exactly were to dig just to remove the most precious burial goods (Despoini 2016a, 110). Interestingly enough the most elaborate tombs in the cemetery remained intact (Despoini 2016a, 109-110). The site was probably used as the main burial ground of the adjacent settlement between the second quarter of the 6th century BC and the late 5th century BC (Despoini 2016a, 14), while later or contemporary extensions might have included other burial plots apart from the one at the low hill (for the burials at OT54 see Keramaris 2007, 841-842; OT55 Keramaris et al. 2002, 233-240; Henninger factory Misailidou-Despotidou 1997; 'north' cemetery Mosxonisiotou 1991). In most of these cases the burials are either later or contemporary with the burials at the low hill cemetery. However, a few graves found at the burial plot in OT54 were dated during the early Iron Age. Regardless of the expansion of the cemetery, the phenomenon of the 'warrior' burials is mainly attested at the low hill cemetery, although scattered weapons or epistomia (gold mouthpieces) have also been found in limited numbers in the rest of the burial grounds. Similar observations hold true for the rest of the elaborate burials at Sindos, as all of them were found at the cemetery in the low hill south of the double *trapeza*. The finds, first presented in 1985 (Vokotopoulou et al. 1985) in an exhibition organised at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, are arguably among the most important found across the region.

However, before discussing the Sindos cemetery in more detail, a note on the structure of the present section is required. In the introductory part of the chapter the chronological distribution of burials, their sexing and aging, the levels of looting and the various tombs types are all discussed. Then, the focus is shifted to the gender specific burial

goods by examining mainly arms and armours and jewellery in male and female burials respectively, while knives are studied in relationship to their attestation in graves of both genders. In the third section, pottery, gender non-specific burial goods such as miniature objects, clay figurines, masks and mouthpieces are described and subsequently analysed. Next, a cross-examination of all the different categories of burial goods is presented by showcasing the co-occurrences of various objects across all of the burials in the cemetery. From the general examination of the whole cemetery we then focus on the limited number of cases in which a 'full kit' is observed, while discussing the main constituents of this in relationship to both male and female tombs.

Chronological distribution, gendering and aging of the burials

Forty seven male and 64 female graves, dated between the mid 6th and the late 5th centuries BC based on the pottery (for a full publication of both the local and imported pottery see Saripanidi 2012b; 2016, 31-246), have been excavated at Sindos. The most elaborate burials are to be found between 550-500 BC with almost all of the unlooted ones described below belonging to that specific period. More specifically, 19 male tombs and 22 female tombs are dated during this period. The burials were gendered based on a combination of the study of burial goods, the deceased's head orientation and the osteological evidence. In the vast majority of the tombs, the chief excavator's opinion regarding the deceased's gendering is in total accordance with the osteologist's sexing of the burials, although there is a disagreement in a limited number of cases (Despoini 2016a, 24). Nonetheless, it seems possible that the various aspects of the burial rituals, including the grave types, the categories of the deposited burial goods and the orientation of the deceased's head, were consolidated, at least to a certain extent, from this period onwards. These characteristics were manifested in male burials through the construction of several grave types, i.e. sarcophagi, cists and pits and the deposition, as well as the co-occurrence of certain burial goods, such as arms and armour, vases, miniature objects, clay figurines, masks and mouthpieces (Despoini 2016a, 111). As for the female burials, the same three grave types are also attested there. Burial goods commonly associated with female burials such as jewellery, vases, miniature objects, clay figurines, masks and mouthpieces all first appeared in tombs dated between 550-500 BC.

A note on looting and the distribution of grave types

Unfortunately, 22 of the male and 31 of the female graves had already been looted in antiquity, while another six male and eight female tombs were partly destroyed due to the construction of a modern sewage pipeline crossing the area of the cemetery (Saripanidi 2012, 13; Despoini 2016, 23-24). The looting usually took place in the upper part of the body through a hole dug in either the east or the west side of the grave, depending on the deceased's gender, an intriguing observation, probably suggestive of the fact that this was known to the grave robbers (Despoini 2016, 109-110). Luckily enough, looting in almost all of the cases was partial, as the grave robbers were mostly interested in metal objects. Therefore, based on pottery, the type of the tomb and the remaining objects that escaped looting, useful observations using statistical analysis can be made with regard to various aspects of both the male and female graves found in the specific cemetery. While archaeologists have claimed that the modern, mainly binary perspective of gender, evident in the western world might not have been the only possible classification in

all the communities of the ancient world (Toms 1998, 173-174), the cemetery at Sindos provides clear evidence against this suggestion. Weapons and jewellery seem to have been gender specific, essentially dividing the population buried there into two major categories. Age on the other hand, does not appear to have been a main factor contributing to this division, since boys and girls, as young as five years old, were given burial goods and subsequently attributed characteristics of older, adult people (Saripanidi 2016, 86-87). It therefore becomes evident that children were invested with a gendered identity by the adults and that the burial goods reflect this construction of gender. This clear distinction between male and female is further manifested through the position of the deceased's head. Almost all men have their head turned to the west, while the majority of women are facing eastwards (Despoini 2016, 115). More specifically, in 37 out of the 47 male burials, the deceased's heads are facing westwards, while in 47 out of 64 female burials, their heads are turned towards the east, a trend also observed elsewhere in Archaic Macedonia.

But before delving into the study of the burial goods, a few notes on the typology of the graves attested at Sindos are indeed essential. As the excavator has already noted, it is possible that the tombs were marked with some sort of wooden *sema*, which was unfortunately not preserved. This explanation was given based on the looting levels and on the fact that, as stated above, the gender and the location of the burial were both known to the grave robbers (Despoini 2016, 110). The typology of the graves themselves is varied, as simple pits, in numerous cases containing a wooden larnax, cists, limestone sarcophagi and cists are all found at Sindos. The most numerous category in regard to the male tombs is the 22 pit graves (47%), followed by 13 sarcophagi (28%; all of them limestone) and eight cists (17%; all of them limestone, two of them built limestone cists) (Figure 3). Similar observations could be made concerning the female tombs, as 39 of them are simple pits (61%), 16 of them sarcophagi (25%; two of them clay, the rest of them limestone), six of them cists (9%; one stone, the rest of them limestone), two of them cremation urns (3%) and only one of them Ionian larnax (2%) (Figure 4). Based both on the burial goods and the considerable smaller percentage of cists and sarcophagi, it could be suggested that there was a strong correlation between these specific types of graves and elaborate burial assemblages. Regarding especially the limestone cists, which were probably reserved for the upper social strata, three out of the total of 14 graves had been looted, while another three were partly destroyed. However, the rest of them have yielded such an outstanding amount of burial goods that are considered the most, or at least along with few sarcophagi, among the most elaborate ones. It is therefore probable that there was a close association between these types of tombs i.e. cists and sarcophagi and the quality and quantity of burial goods deposited in them. The distribution of gold masks may act as an indication of this correlation, since three out of five of them found in the male tombs and three out of four of them found in the female tombs were discovered in cists. Statistical analysis has shown that no chronological development from one type of burial to another could be established, as all of them are coexistent in the period during which the cemetery was in use, therefore emphasising the interpretation that grave types typically reflected social status (Figure 5).

In contrast to wealth and social status, age does not seem to have been a decisive factor when selecting a tomb type appropriate for a specific age group. A clear link between a certain type of grave and the deceased's age should be excluded, as at least in the case of Sindos, both adults and children were buried in interchangeable grave types, regardless of their specific age. Further evidence of this, is the fact that even the youngest male

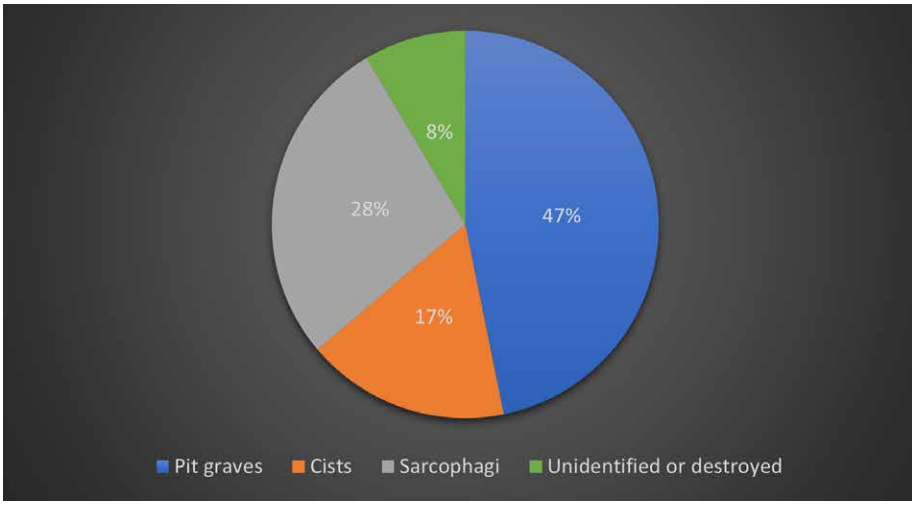

Figure 3. The distribution of grave types (male burials) found at Sindos.

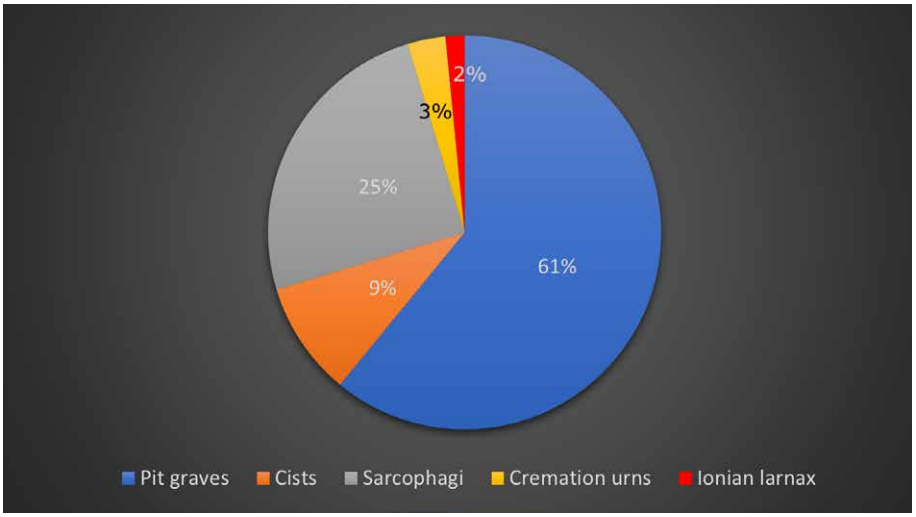

Figure 4. The distribution of grave types (female burials) found at Sindos.

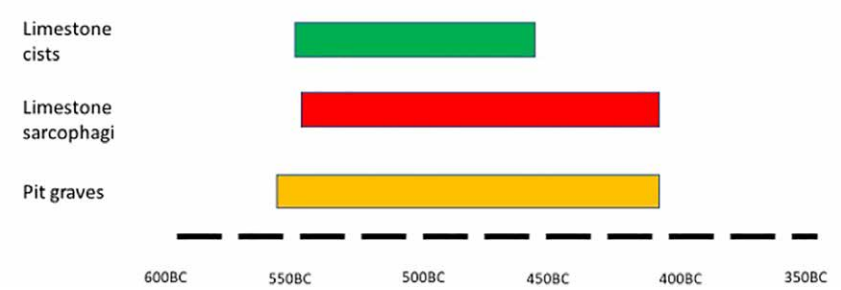

Figure 5. Chronological distribution of grave types at Sindos.

burial in the cemetery at Sindos (T66; five years old) was the recipient of burial goods typically found in males across the whole cemetery irrespective of their age, such as a sword, two spearheads and a gold mouthpiece. Similarly, the youngest female burial (T68) accompanied with burial goods, was aged 12-14 months old and it was lavishly decorated with gold and silver pendants, gold bracelets and numerous clay figurines. Despite her young age, the toddler was buried in a limestone cist, an observation confirming once more that wealth and social status, not age, were the definitive criteria affecting every aspect of any given burial at Sindos.

Gender specific burial goods: weapons, knives and jewellery

In male burials, weapons and defensive equipment such as spearheads, swords, knives, helmet and shields were the most commonly attested gender specific burial goods (Figure 6; Figure 7). It is probable that initially all of the male burials or at least the vast majority of them were furnished with weapons. Unfortunately, the few male burials (T37, T46, T70, T71, T74, T77, T85, T94, T107; Table 1) without any kind of weapons, presented in the following table, are all either looted or partly destroyed making it impossible to prove this hypothesis.

At least one spearhead was found in 30 tombs. However, 22 of these tombs contained two spearheads each (T25, T31, T42, T52, T57, T58, T59, T62, T65, T66, T76, T79, T82A, T87, T90, T91, T93, T105, T109, T111, T115, T118). While a spear is somewhat ambiguous in function, since it could both have a battle and a hunting function, swords might more safely designate a 'warrior' (Lloyd 2014, 20-24). Twenty three out of the 47 males buried at the Sindos cemetery were interred with a sword. In addition, 11 of these 23 tombs with swords were found unlooted (see Table 1; T25, T52, T59, T62, T65, T66, T90, T97, T105, T111, T115) and two only partially destroyed (T87 and T114) and therefore are regarded as invaluable sources of information, when examining the co-occurrence of swords with other types of arms and armour. Moreover, in all of the burials containing a sword, this was placed upon the deceased's chest with the left arm holding it in place (Despoini 2016, 118). Interesting observations could also be made regarding any possible correlations between offensive and defensive weapons. There seems to be a close connection between swords and helmets, as in 11 out of the 13 graves mentioned above a helmet, decorated or not with gold foils, was also found (T25, T52, T59, T62, T65, T87, T97, T105, T111, T115). In a limited number of cases this co-occurrence of swords and helmets were further complimented by a shield (T25, T52, T57, T89, T115). As noted by Despoini (2016, 316) the shields belonged to the 'Argive' type and were wooden, therefore only their bronze parts were preserved. In all of the five tombs in which shields were found, swords and helmet were found as well, hence forming a certain assemblage of weapons. Yet, it is possible that arms and armour made from organic material were also included in other burials, similarly to other parts of the ancient world (Kristiansen 1999, 178), with the metal weapons and armour representing most elaborate versions of them.

The only type of weapon which defies the strict designation of them as gender specific to men are knives, since they were found in both male and female burials. As shown in Table 1, knives were excavated in 20 male burials. While knives were typically attested once per grave, a few burials contained multiple ones (T25, T57, T59, T65, T115; Table 1). Regardless of their function, it seems that there is a possible correlation between the number of knives and the deceased's social status, as these few graves containing multiple knives were among the ones in which a full male kit was to be found. It is true that as Saripanidi (2017, 102) notes,

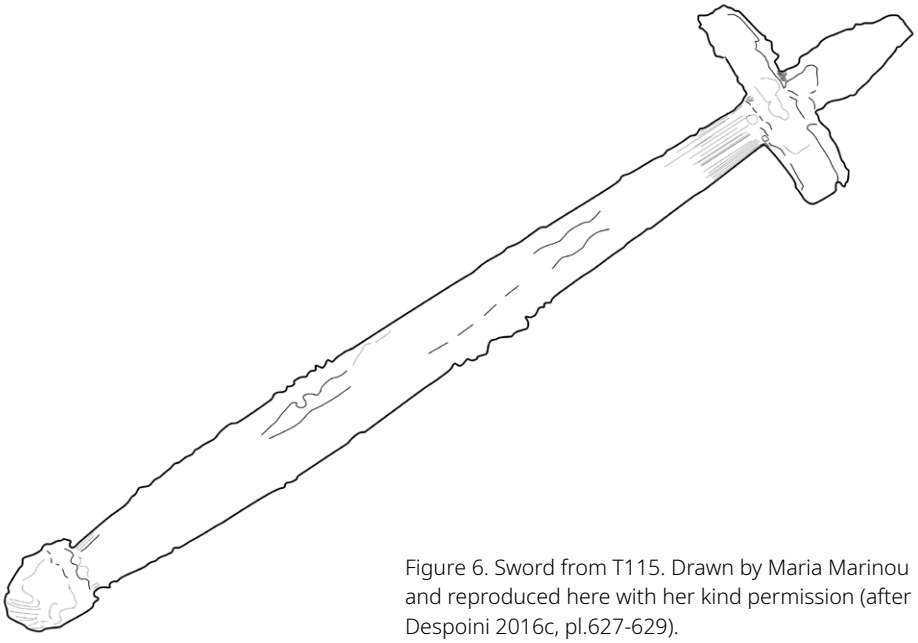

Figure 6. Sword from T115. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Despoini 2016c, pl.627-629).

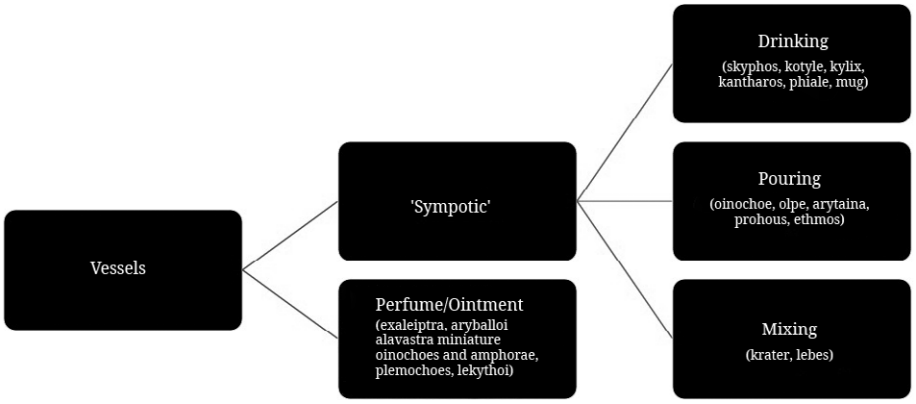

Figure 7. Vessel shapes in Sindos.

knives depending on their size could have been used in various ways, from hunting to feasting utensils (for their uses and typology see Bräuning and Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 79-82). According to her, in the case of Sindos, most of the knives belonged to the latter category, as they were usually found along with other feasting utensils. The problem arising from this correlation is to what exactly the term 'feasting utensils' corresponds to, as this in not defined by Saripanidi. If it refers to hooks, spits or even iron figurines (see below) then the correlation is not really convincing, as their numbers are significantly lower than that of knives in both males and female tombs. On the contrary, if it denotes the drinking vessels, which are abundant in both genders, then once again the association is weak, since, due to their widespread presence, drinking vessels could be connected to multiple things. That is not to say that Saripanidi's suggestion is erroneous, but rather that there is a significant piece of information missing.

Grave/Tomb	Looted	Spearheads	Swords	Knives	Helmet With Gold Decorations	Helmet	Shield
T6	Y			1			
T8	Y	1					
T11	N						
T14	Y		2				
T19	Y	1		1			
T25	N	2	3	3	1		1
T31	Y	2					
T35	Y	1					
T37	Y						
T40	Y		1				
T42	Y	2					
T46	Y						
T51	Y	1	1	1			
T52	N	2	1	1	1		1
T53	Y		1	1			
T55	Y	1	1	1			
T57	Des.	2	2	4	1		1
T58	Des.	2					
T59	N	2	1	5	1		
T62	N	2	1			1	
T65	N	2	2	5	1		
T66	N	2	1	1			
T70	Des.						
T71	Y						
T74	N						
T76	N	2				1	
T77	Y						
T79	Y	2	1	1			
T80	N			1			
T81	Y	1	1				
T85	N						
T87	Des.	2	1			1	
T89	Des.	1	1				1
T90	N	2	1	1			
T91	N	2		1			
T93	N	2		1			
T94	Y						
T97	N	1	1			1	
T100	Y					1	
T105	N	2	1	2		1	
T107	Y						
T109	Y	2	1				
T111	N	2	1			1	
T114	Des.		1	2			
T115	N	2	2	5		1	1
T118	N	2		1		1	
T82 A	N	2					

Table 1. Arms and armour in the male burials at Sindos.

Knives are far more common in male tombs, where they were found in 20 out of the 47 graves (42.5%) in contrast to nine out of 64 in the female ones (14%). This trend of male burials containing more knives that the female ones, which can be observed in other regions of the ancient Greek world, as for example in Athens, Lefkandi and Halos (Bräuning and Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 81), might be indicative of the difficulties surrounding the debate of the uses of the knives. The fact remains that regardless of their purpose i.e. weapon, feasting utensil, hunting or agricultural tool, or even part of a grooming kit, their occurrence is observable in burials belonging to both genders. However, knives found in female burials are usually associated with the most elaborate burials, an observation not applicable to the male burials, where their presence is more widespread. Therefore, it could be implied that, while Saripanidi's interpretation might be valid for the female tombs, the phenomenon is far more complex and a monolithic explanation about the use of the knives should be avoided.

Jewellery and adornments are the predominant types of burial goods usually associated with women. Brooches, pins, earrings, necklaces, pendants, bracelets, diadems, hair spirals and rings are all attested at the female tombs in Sindos. However, pins and rings could be characterised as exceptions to the strict association of jewellery with women, as they were also found in male graves, albeit in smaller numbers. Pins were found in 18 out of the 47 male graves, while rings in just 10 of them. Thirteen rings were found in total (eight gold, three silver, one bronze, one iron) in the male graves with almost all of the graves containing one of them with the notable exception of tombs T6 (two silver) and T59 (one gold, one silver and one bronze). Going back to the female burials where jewellery and adornments were found in vast quantities, the most frequently used metals, involved in their creation, were silver and gold (see Table 2). Approximately 283 pieces of jewellery were found in the 64 female burials. 49% of those were made of silver, 23% of gold, 15% of iron and 8% of bronze, while jewellery made of ivory constituted a miniscule percentage around 0.7%, with amber and bone having an even smaller percentage of 0.5% each. Still, jewellery items are not evenly distributed, as their numbers in each grave range from one to 13 pieces of jewellery, with an average of six objects per burial. The most common piece of jewellery is pins, as they are found at 31 out of 64 graves, with brooches being the second most prevalent ones found at 25 out of 64 graves. Another interesting observation might be the fact that, while generally equipped with at least one piece of jewellery (47 out of 64 graves contained one piece of jewellery as a minimum), almost none of the 64 female graves contained jewellery made only from one material. There are however two notable exceptions, tombs T4 and T29, the only ones containing a cremation urn, a kalpis and krater respectively and intriguingly enough jewellery made only from silver. However, since the sample is too small, it is difficult to identify a certain link between this type of burial and the presence of jewellery made only from a specific material, in their case silver.

Gender non-specific burial goods: pottery, miniature objects, clay figurines, masks and mouthpieces

By far the most frequently excavated category of burial goods was pottery. Pottery vessels found in Sindos are usually divided into two categories: sympotic vessels of the type of skyphos, oinochoe, krater, kotyle, olpe, lebes, kylix, arytaina, kantharos, prohous, phiale, ethmos or simple mug and pots used for perfume and ointment such as exaleiptra, aryballoi, alabastra, miniature oinochoes and amphorae, lekythoi and plemochoes (Figure 7; Saripanidi 2017, 89). A total of 131 clay vessels have been found at the 47 male

Grave/ Tomb	Looted	Pendants	Brooches/ Fibulae	Rings	Necklace	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Pins
T1	Y			1 Silver						1 Iron
T2	Y									
T3	Y		1 Bronze							2 Iron
T4	N		3 Silver				2 Silver			
T5	Y									
T7	Y		3 Silver							1 Iron
T12	N									
T13	Des.									
T15	N	1 Silver	2 Iron							
T18	Y		1 Silver							
T20	Des.		2 Silver	2 Gold	1 Amber, 1 Gold	2 Silver	2 Gold	1 Gold	2 Gold	5 Silver
T21	Des.			1 Bronze			2 Silver			
T22	N	1 Gold	4 Silver		1 Silver			1 Gold		1 Iron
T23	Y	2 Bone		1 Silver						
T24	N	1 Gold	5 Silver, 1 Iron				2 Gold	1 Gold		
T26	Y		1 Bronze							
T27	N									
T28	N			1 Gold	1 Gold	2 Bronze	2 Gold	1 Gold		2 Gold, 2 Iron, 5 Pins With Ivory Heads, 8 Iron
T29	N						1 Silver			2 Silver
T30	Y									
T32	Y		1 Bronze							1 Silver
T33	Y									
T36	Des.		2 Iron				2 Silver			
T38	Y									
T39	Des.									
T43	Y									
T44	Y		1 Silver							
T45	Y									
T47	Y									
T48	N		2 Silver		1 Gold		2 Gold	2 Gold	2 Gold	2 Silver
T49	N		4 Silver, 1 Bronze	1? Silver		2 Silver	2 Silver			1 Silver
T50	Y	1 Gold		1 Silver						
T54	Y			1? Silver						1 Silver

Table 2. Jewellery discovered in the female burials at Sindos and the materials used in their creation.

Grave/ Tomb	Looted	Pendants	Brooches/ Fibulae	Rings	Necklace	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Pins
T56	N				1 Gold (In Pieces) 1 Silver	1? Iron	2 Gold	1 Gold	2 Gold	2 Silver, 5 Iron
T60	Y							1 Gold (In Pieces)		
T63	Y	1 Amber								
T64	Y									
T67	N	2 Silver	2 Gold	1 Gold	4 Gold	2 Silver	2 Gold	1 Gold		2 Gold, 1 Silver
T68	N	1 Gold, 1 Silver				2 Gold	2 Gold			
T73	N		2 Bronze	1? Silver			2 Silver			2 Silver, 2 Iron
T75	Des.									2 Silver
T82b	N	1 Gold	1 Silver	1? Silver			2 Silver			2 Silver, 2 Bronze
T83	Y									2 Iron
T84	N									
T86	N									2 Iron
T88	Y									1 Iron
T95	Y		1 Silver	1? Silver			2 Silver			
T96	Des.	1 Gold	4 Silver	1 Silver	1 Silver		2 Silver			1 Silver, 1 Iron
T98	Y									1 Silver, 1 Bronze
T99	Y		2 Silver		1 Silver					1 Silver
T101a	N	1 Gold					2 Gold	1 Gold		1 Bronze, 1 Iron
T102	Y									
T103	Y			2? Silver		2 Silver				1 Silver
T104	N					4 Bronze				2 Pins Iron
T106	Des.	1 Silver	1 Iron				2 Silver			2 Iron
T108	N	1 Gold					2 Silver	1 Gold		1 Bronze, 2 Iron
T110	Y					1 Bronze				3 Iron
T112	N									
T113	N	1 Gold	4 Silver	1 Silver		2 Silver	2 Silver	1 Gold		
T116	Y									
T117	N	1 Gold	2 Silver	1? Silver	1 Silver	2 Silver	2? Gold			3 Silver
T119	N	1 Gold	4 Silver	1 Silver			4 Silver			3 Silver
T120	Y									1 Iron
T121	N		2 Bronze	1 Silver, 1 Bronze	1 Bronze		1 Silver			

tombs in Sindos with the vast majority of them being imported mainly from Corinth and Attica and to a lesser extent Eastern Greece (Figure 8; for a detailed analysis on them see Saripanidi 2012). It is also noteworthy that only a very small percentage of 11% of all the pottery attested at the male burials is local (15 out of the 131 vases).

Clay vessels were sometimes complemented by bronze ones, usually of the type of *phiales*. Both clay and bronze vessels were found in 19 graves (Table 3). Additionally, T52 and T57 contained respectively one and two pots. Besides clay, bronze and silver pots, glass vessels have also been excavated at Sindos, where they are usually attested in combination with clay ones (T11, T40, T46, T52, T82 A). Glass vessels of the type of alabastron or miniature amphora and oinochoe were probably imports from Rhodes, where they were created by implementing the core-forming technique (Despoini 2016, 224 n.864). Faience vessels have also been excavated in the male burials at Sindos, although to a much lesser extent, as they were only found in tombs T25 and T59. T52 could be designated as an outlier, as it is the only burial which included a minimum of one vessel from every category (nine bronze, one silver, seven glass, one clay).

Similar observations could be drawn regarding the presence of pottery in the female burials. Despite being a common burial good in the female graves as well, ceramic pots were found in significantly lower numbers and percentages than at their male counterparts. A total of 120 ceramic pots was found in 56 of the 64 female graves at Sindos, while pottery was not found in the remaining eight of them. Once again, the most commonly attested kind of pottery is imported, with local pottery comprising only 17% of the total number of ceramics (21 out of 120). Of the remaining 99 vessels, the vast majority are imports from Corinth and Attica and to a lesser degree from Eastern Greece and Euboea (Figure 10).

Apart from clay and bronze, silver and glass were also used for the production of vessels deposited in the female burials (Table 4). In contrast to the male burials, faience vessels were not attested in the female ones. Only 11 tombs contained vessels made from more than one material. In eight of these tombs, at least one clay pot and one bronze are attested. Silver vessels are rare, attested only at the two cases (T20 and T67), in which all four materials (clay, bronze, glass and silver) were found. The typology of the pottery is

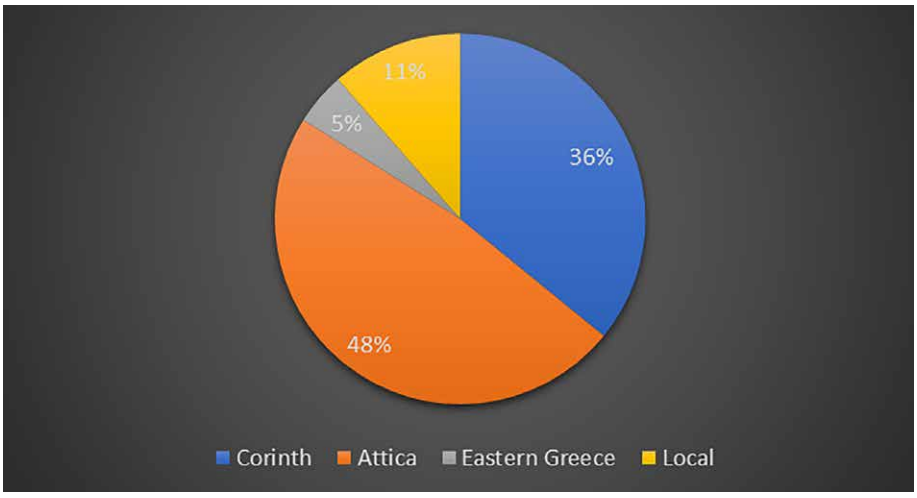

Figure 8. Pottery provenance of the male burials at Sindos.

Grave/Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T6	3				
T8	1				
T11	1		1	1	
T14	1				
T19	2		1		
T25	12		17		2
T31	2				
T35					
T37	2		5		
T40	16			7	
T42					
T46	3			1	
T51	1				
T52	1	1	9	7	
T53	2		3		
T55	5				
T57	1	2	4		
T58	1				
T59	6				2
T62	2		2		
T65	12		8		
T66	4				
T70	4				
T71					
T74					
T76	4		1		
T77					
T79	6				
T80	3				
T81					
T85	1				
T87	1		1		
T89					
T90	1		1		
T91	2				
T93	1				
T94	3				
T97	3		1		
T100	6				
T105	3				
T107					
T109	4		1		
T111	2		1		
T114	3				
T115	3		17		
T118	4				
T82 A	3			1	

Table 3. Co-occurrence of vessels made of different material found in the male burials.

again rather limited, with the vessels categorised in two big groups, these with a sympotic function and those used for perfumes and ointments. An intriguing find is the consistent use of a specific type of vessel used for ointment purposes, the *exaleiptron*, which was found in both the male and the female burials. The *exaleiptron* was primarily imported from Corinth and to a much lesser extent either manufactured locally or imported from Athens. This particular vessel, despite being very common among the population at Sindos, it has never been found in funerary context at Corinth. What is therefore puzzling is how and why this particular vessel found its way into Macedonia and what exactly prompted its widespread appropriation (Saripanidi 2012).

Another two categories of burial goods shared between male and female graves, attested in admittedly few of them are the miniature metal objects and the clay figurines. The miniature objects are attested in 15 graves in total across the whole cemetery (T20, T22, T25, T28, T52, T53, T57, T59, T65, T66, T67, T70, T89, T105, T115; Table 5), while the clay figurines are found in 18 graves (T11, T13, T15, T22, T25, T28, T36, T38, T40, T46, T50, T53, T55, T63,

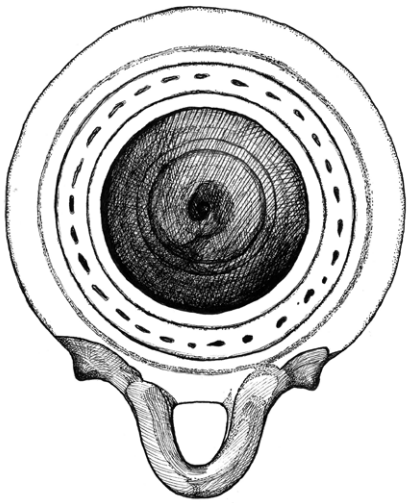

Figure 9. Corinthian exaleiptron from T1. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Saripanidi 2019b, fig. 11).

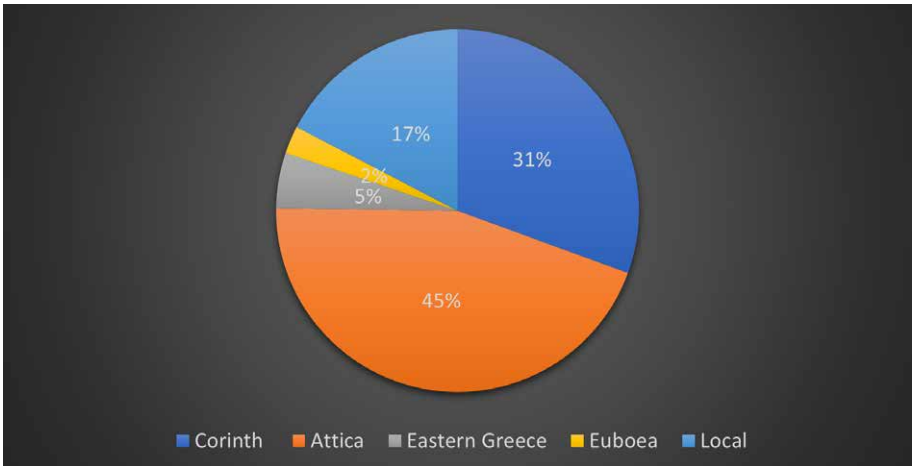

Figure 10. Pottery provenance of the female burials in Sindos.

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T1	2				
T2					
T3	2				
T4	4		1		
T5	1				
T7	1				
T12					
T13	1				
T15	1				
T18	1				
T20	1	1	6	2	
T21					
T22	2		2		
T23	1				
T24			1	1	
T26	4				
T27	1				
T28	11		5		
T29	1				
T30	2				
T32	1				
T33	3				
T36	1				
T38	2				
T39	1				
T43					
T44	2				
T45	1				
T47					
T48	1		3		
T49	2				
T50	4				

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T54	2				
T56	5		3		
T60	1				
T63	2				
T64	1				
T67	3	1	15	3	
T68	2			1	
T73	3				
T75	2				
T82B	3			1	
T83	2				
T84	2				
T86	3				
T88	3				
T95	2				
T96	1				
T98	1				
T99	1				
T101A	2				
T102	3				
T103	3				
T104	2				
T106	1				
T108	2				
T110	3				
T112					
T113	1				
T116	1				
T117	4		1		
T119	2				
T120					
T121	2				

Table 4. Co-occurrence of vessels made of different material found in the female burials.

T68, T70, T109, T114; Table 7). Only seven tombs across the whole cemetery contained both of these objects (T22, T25, T28, T52, T53, T57, T70). In almost all of the remaining cases where miniature objects were found, they were discovered in both male and female burials alongside other elaborate burial goods such as jewellery, various types of vessels, gold decorative pieces, weapons and mouthpieces. Moreover, they tend to be very consisted in their typology, as they always depict the same five objects in both the male and the female tombs: a chair, a three-legged table, a wheel cart, spits and firedogs (Table 5). That is not to say that all five of them are always found together, as their number in each grave ranges from one to three (contra Del Socorro 2013, 53). However, none of the types is attested more than once in each tomb. Spits and firedogs, were mainly discovered in male tombs, apart from the ones found in T28, T67 and perhaps T30. In seven tombs these two categories of

miniature objects were found together, while another five tombs contained only spits. Their consistency in typology aside, there is an indeed puzzling difference observed specifically in the miniature objects depicting wheel carts. Despite being found in the graves of both genders, the ones excavated in male tombs were two wheeled carts, while the ones attested in female tombs were always four wheeled carts (Table 6).

This phenomenon has been explained as a chronological development between the two types of carts (Del Socorro 2013, 59). This approach, however, does not take into consideration the chronological co-existence of both the two types of carts, rendering a distinction between them based on the deceased's gender as a more plausible explanation. Furthermore, latest reports from across the region reaffirm the gender specific distinction between the two types of carts in at least another three cemeteries, those of Archontiko, Aegae and Edessa (Chrysostomou 2009, 124). Regarding especially the case of Sindos, both the two-wheeled and the four-wheeled carts co-occur during the same time period and therefore is impossible to detect any development pattern from the one type, to the other. As for the symbolism of this particular type of burial good, the most recent interpretation suggests that both of its variations belonged to the 'agricultural type', miniature objects imitating real life carts with an agricultural function (Despoini 2016, 212). Nonetheless, it is very difficult to distinguish between the various uses of carts, as they could have served interchangeably agricultural, military or transportation purposes (Del Socorro 2017, 109).

The second large category of objects excavated at the tombs of both genders is clay figurines or eidolia. The earliest ones are dated in the 6th century BC and are following the eastern-Ionian style, attested mainly in parts of Eastern Greece. Gradually over the course of the 5th century BC, eidolia belonging to other styles such as the Attic, Corinthian or Rhodian also started appearing within the graves. However, according to Vasiliki Misailidou-Despotidou (2016, 321-327), it is very hard to distinguish between figurines actually made at these workshops and subsequently imported to Northern Greece and local ones, imitating them. Despite that difficulty, she notes that in the case of Sindos, it might be better to argue that at least some of the eidolia were imports based on three main reasons: i) that some of them are actually plastic vases containing expensive aromatic oil, ii) that they are of the highest quality and subsequently the perfumes in them would be expensive ones probably originated in Anatolia and iii) if the eidolia functioning as clay vessels would have been imports, then so would the rest of them had been, since they share similar manufacturing techniques and clay composition. Nevertheless, as with many other hypotheses, it remains to be seen after the conclusion of the excavations at various settlements whether local workshops producing eidolia will be discovered in Macedonia (for an exception regarding Nea Anchialos see Tiverios 1991/1992). In addition, as already mentioned above, eidolia were found in few tombs and characterised by a large typological diversity, with their numbers varying from one to 12 located in each grave (Table 7). Once more, there seems to be an overlap in their typology, although some minor gender specific peculiarities could be observed. Female figures either seated or of the kore type, as well as animals, are commonly found in both male and female tombs. However, figurines depicting male figures and couples, a black man's head and two male figures with demonic faces were discovered only in male tombs (see Misailidou-Despotidou 2016, 329-370 for the different types of eidolia attested at Sindos). Still, it should be noted that the two last types of figurines were attested only once each and in the same tomb (T40).

Grave/Tomb	Gender	Total number of miniature objects	Chair	Three-legged table	Two-wheeled cart	Four-wheeled cart	Spits	Firedogs
T20	F	2	✓	✓				
T22	F	2	✓	✓				
T25	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T28	F	5	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
T37	M	1					✓	
T52	M/F (double burial)	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T53	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T57	M	3			✓		✓	✓
T59	M	4	✓	✓	✓		✓	
T61	Possibly F	1				✓		
T65	M	4	✓	✓			✓	✓
T66	M	2	✓	✓				
T67	F	5	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
T70	M	1			✓			
T89	M	1			✓			
T105	M	4	✓	✓			✓	✓
T115	M	4	✓	✓	✓		✓	

Table 5. Different types of miniature objects attested at Sindos.

Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Gender	Type of cart
T25	545-535 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T28	560 BC	F	Four-wheeled cart
T37	Late 6th BC	M	Fragments of a two-wheeled
T52	500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T52	500 BC	F	Fragments of a four-wheeled cart
T53	550 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T57	530-510 BC	M	Fragments of a two-wheeled
T59	530-520 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T61	460 BC	Possible F	Fragments of a four-wheeled cart
T67	510-500 BC	F	Four-wheeled cart
T70	480-470 BC	M	Fragments of a two-wheeled
T89	Late 6th BC	M	Fragments of a two-wheeled
T115	520 BC	M	Two-wheeled

Table 6. Distribution of two-wheeled and four-wheeled carts in Sindos.

Similar to this, figurines depicting fruits, commonly associated with notions of fertility, were discovered in only one female tomb (T38) across the whole cemetery.

The third large category of burial goods attested in both male and female tombs encompasses all the gold objects. More specifically, gold bands, foils and small triangular shaped pieces were attached to clothes, functioning as adornments. In terms of relief

Grave/Tomb	Gender	Eidolia (inc plastic vessels)	Seated Female Figure	Standing Female Figure	Couples	Animals (or mythical creatures)	Fruits	Male figure	Male fig. with demonic faces	Black Man	Potbelly Dwarf
T11	M	1				✓					
T13	F	1		✓							
T15	F	1	✓								
T22	F	2	✓								
T25	M	12	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓
T28	F	8	✓			✓					
T36	F	1		✓							
T38	F	3				✓	✓				
T40	M	10		✓				✓	✓	✓	
T46	M	1	✓								
T50	F	2		✓							
T53	M	3	✓	✓							
T55	M	2	✓	✓							
T63	F	3	✓	✓							
T68	F	6		✓		✓					
T70	M	2		✓							
T109	M	1	✓								
T114	M	2	✓	✓							

Table 7. Different types of eidolia attested at Sindos.

decorations, all of the gold bands or foils found in the female tombs had depictions of flowers engraved on them, while the ones discovered in the male tombs presented a large variety of decorations, ranging from animals to flowers and rosettes while some of them were completely undecorated. The triangular shaped pieces were decorated only with floral depictions regardless of the deceased's gender. A separate group of gold bands and rosettes were used as diadems. According to the excavator, these were only located in 11 female graves (T20, T22, T24, T28, T48, T56, T60, T67, T101, T108, T113; Table 2), while, as she points out, male tombs could have contained wreaths made of actual flowers. As for their decorations, these were mainly comprised of relief flowers and in fewer instances rosettes (Despoini 2016, 33-34).

However the most impressive burial good belonging to the same category as the objects mentioned above are masks and mouthpieces or epistomia (Figure 12; see Despoini 2016, 14-31). Wherever they were attested, these objects were mutually exclusive, since no tombs has yielded both of them (masks: T20, T25, T56, T59, T62, T65, T67, T115, 117; epistomia: T22, T24, T28, T48, T49, T52, T57, T58, T66, T75, T76, T82B, T87, T88, T96, T97, T101A, T104, T105, T108, T111, T113, T118, T119). Moreover, almost

all of them, with the notable exception of the silver gold plated mask found in tomb T62 were made out of gold, a metal usually associated with beliefs related to immortality (Despoini 1996, 15-16; 2016, 16 n.25). In total nine masks and 26 mouthpieces have been found in the archaic tombs at Sindos: five masks and 10 mouthpieces at the male tombs and four masks and 16 mouthpieces at the females ones. After studying the data regarding both the male and the female tombs it could be safely assumed that the presence of both of these types of objects seems to have peaked between 550-500 BC (Figure 11). More specifically, the vast majority of the aforementioned objects found in the male burials is dated between 550-500 BC, with only three of them dated later than 500 BC. The same holds true for ones excavated at the female tombs, since of all the masks and mouthpieces found in them, only five are dated after 500 BC.

Another tested hypothesis was that of the chronological development of either the type of masks or the relief decorations found in both masks and mouthpieces. Besides the 'normal' type of masks, resembling human like features in similar fashion to the Mycenaean masks, gold sheets were sometimes placed upon the deceased's face providing an alternative to masks. For example, in the case of tomb T59, a set of seven gold bands was used as a replacement to a 'normal' mask. Similarly to that, the 'mask' found in tomb T117 was actually consisted of a gold sheet in the shape of spectacles, which in combination with the mouthpiece found in the same tomb, formed a distinct type of mask. The mask decorations ranged from human facial features to representations of flowers or, more seldom, animals. As for the mouthpieces, almost all 26 of them had flowers or rosettes as decorative elements on them, created by using similar moulds with the prominent exception of the mouthpiece found in tomb T28, on which a ship and a number of dolphins were engraved by hand (Despoini 2016, 23-24). However, the chronological co-presence of the different types of masks and the decorations found in both them, as well as on the mouthpieces, hinder the attempt to establish any diachronic patterns. Instead, it could be argued that this presence of multiple styles, in both design and decorations, may be indicative of various economic or social factors behind their conscious or subconscious choice.

A cross-examination of all burial goods in male and female burials

Interesting patterns start to emerge when cross-examining the different categories of burial goods attested in both the male and female graves. To begin with, offensive arms i.e. spearheads, swords or knives are by far the most common burial good associated with male burials, as they were found in 37 out of the 47 graves (Table 1; Table 8). The remaining 10 are badly looted and therefore it would not be improbable to hypothesise that they too originally contained some sort of weapon. Conversely, defensive equipment, shields, helmets or even both, are more scarce, as they were found in 15 graves. In 14 of those, the defensive equipment co-occurred with some sort of offensive equipment, either a sword or a spearheads or even both (T25, T52, T57, T59, T62, T65, T76, T87, T89, T97, T105, T111, T115, T118; Table 8). The only case in which the defensive equipment was not accompanied by either a sword or a spearhead was tomb T100 but that was due to its extensive looting.

In addition to the link established above between the offensive and defensive equipment another burial aspect, that of the presence of masks or mouthpieces, could also be added. These particular objects, made exclusively from gold, with the notable exceptions of the mask found in tomb T62, were only discovered in tombs containing both of the two aforementioned categories of burial goods i.e. offensive and defensive equipment. However,

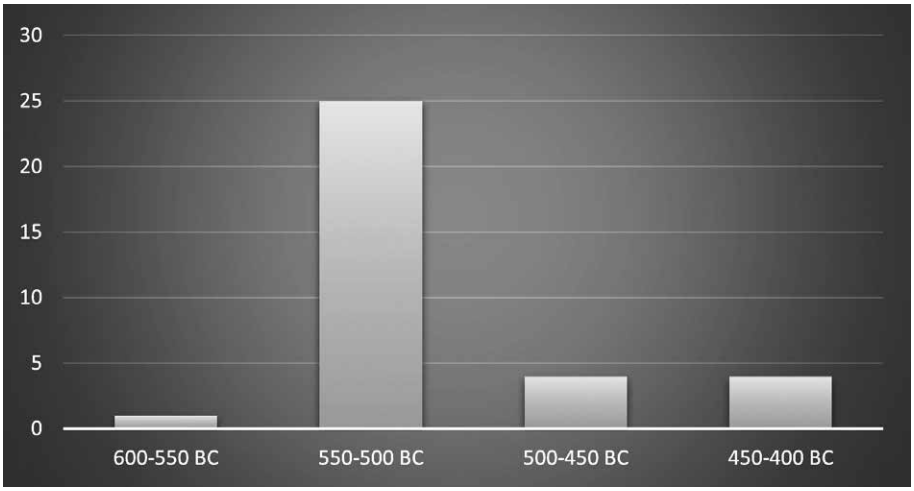

Figure 11. Chronological distribution of masks and mouthpieces (epistomia) at Sindos.

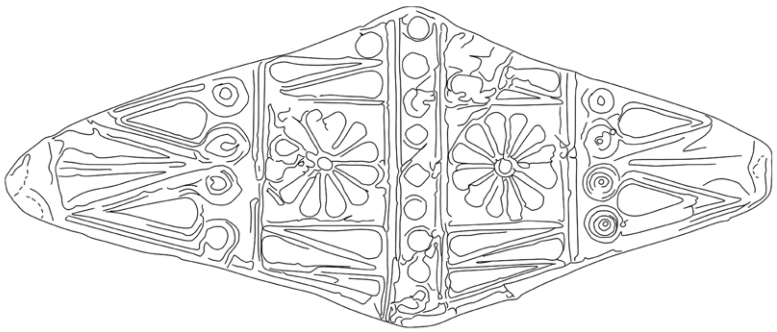

Figure 12. Gold epistomion decorated with relief flowers from T66. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Despoini 2016c, pl.9).

masks and mouthpieces were not the only gold objects found in these burials. Numerous gold decorative pieces, attached either on the deceased's garments or on his equipment were found in 15 graves, while in 10 of them these were found along with offensive and defensive equipment and masks or mouthpieces (T25, T52, T57, T59, T62, T65, T87, T105, T115, T118; Table 8). Furthermore, a specific category of gold items, that of gold decorative bands, were once more strongly associated with burials containing arms and armour, masks or mouthpieces and other gold decorative pieces, as they were solely found in tombs containing all of the above, probably rendering them as a high status marker. In this slowly emerging 'warrior kit', miniature objects could also be added, as in seven out of the 11 in total tombs in which they were found, they were accompanied by arms, armour and masks or mouthpieces (T25, T52, T57, T59, T65, T105, T115; Table 8). Regardless of the fact that they were made of iron and not a precious metal, such as gold or silver, their representation of chairs, tables and two-wheeled carts should not go unnoticed. More specifically, a possible interpretation might be that the depiction of chairs and tables might have conveyed notions

of communal feasting, since their attestation occurs only in burials containing multiple goods and in which high status deceased were interred.

Another intriguing category of burial goods is the clay figurines or eidolia. Discovered in only nine male tombs, with their numbers per grave generally varying from one to 12, a specific pattern was difficult to be established. More specifically, the vast majority of the tombs where eidolia were found, contained one to two eidolia. T25 and T40 are considered as exceptions to this trend, as the former contained 12 eidolia, while the latter 10 (Table 8). In five (T25, T52, T53, T57, T70) out of the nine tombs in which they were found, they did so alongside miniature objects, while four (T25, T52, T57, T70) of these burials were cists containing almost every category of burial good mentioned above. It might not be impossible to suggest that T40 and T109, a limestone cist and sarcophagus respectively, also contained both miniature objects and eidolia, but the former did not escape looting. Overall, it could be argued that eidolia were more frequently present in burials in cists or sarcophagi which rank among the most elaborate ones and in rarer cases in pits. Of similar exclusive nature were the bronze vessels found in the male burials. Bronze vessels were discovered in consistently larger numbers (between 5 and 17) in burials containing both offensive and defensive equipment, pottery, epistomia or masks, gold decorative pieces and miniature objects than the rest of the tombs (T25, T37, T52, T65, T115; Table 3).

As already noted, the female tombs were badly looted, due to the presence of jewellery which made them extremely appealing to grave robbers. Thus, when proceeding with the study of the various valuable burial goods, it is considered to be more fruitful to focus our research on the unlooted ones (Table 9; T20 is an exception as despite being partly destroyed yielded numerous burial goods). Jewellery in these tombs could be divided into two major categories: worn jewellery and adornments attached on garments or footwear. Subsequently, the former group could then be broadly subdivided into six main groups according to the part of the body on which the jewellery was worn: pendants/necklaces, rings, bracelets, earrings, diadems and hair spirals. On the other hand, pins, brooches/fibulae and possibly gold decorative pieces and bands could be classified as jewellery attached on garments or footwear. What becomes evident after a statistical analysis of the types of worn jewellery found in the female tombs at Sindos is that there was not a standarised set evidenced in every burial. By far the most common combination, observed in 16 tombs, was that of a piece of jewellery worn around the neck, either a necklace or a pendant and at least one pair of earrings (T20, T22, T24, T28, T48, T56, T67, T68, T73, T82 B, T101, T108, T113, T117, T119, T121; Table 9).

However, there were multiple variations of the jewellery sets, with others adding for example bracelets or swapping them for rings or even having both of them. A limited number of burials were also complimented by a gold diadem and/or a gold hair spiral. It should be noted that not all of these were necessarily among the most elaborate ones. For instance, regardless of the fact that tombs T101 and T108 did contain diadems, other pieces of jewellery were absent and the total number of the various jewellery types found in them did not exceed three out of six. The only tomb containing all six types of jewellery was T20, while the majority of the graves, as hinted above, had jewellery belonging to at least three out of the six categories. Nevertheless, what could be deduced from the study of jewellery is that generally the more types were attested in a tomb, the more elaborate the burial, an observation reinforced by the cross-examination of the rest of the burial goods discovered in the female burials.

Grave/Tomb	Looted	Age	Tomb Type	Off. Equip.	Def. Equip.	Masks/Epistomia	Gold Decorative Pieces/Bands	Miniature Objects	Eidolia	Rings
T6	Y	45-50	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓						✓
T8	Y	Over 35	Pit	✓						
T11	N	5-6	Pit						✓	✓
T14	Y		Destroyed							
T19	Y	40-50	Pit	✓						
T25	N	12-14	Limestone Cist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T31	Y	Under 16	Destroyed	✓						
T35	Y	17-18	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓						
T37	Y		Limestone Sarcophagus							
T40	Y	20-25	Limestone Built Cist	✓			✓		✓	
T42	Y	35-40	Pit	✓						
T46	Y	50+	Limestone Sarcophagus							
T51	Y	35-45	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓						
T52	N	23-25	Limestone Cist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T53	Y	Adult Male	Pit	✓			✓	✓	✓	
T55	Y	Mature Adult	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓						
T57	Des.	36-45	Limestone Cist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T58	Des.	40-50	Pit	✓		✓				
T59	N	7-8	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
T62	N	25-30	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓	✓	✓	✓			
T65	N	12-14	Limestone Cist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
T66	N	5	Pit	✓		✓	✓	✓		
T70	Des.		Limestone Cist					✓	✓	
T71	Y	35-45	Not Identified							
T74	N	40-50	Pit							
T76	N	21	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓	✓	✓				
T77	Y	40	Pit							
T79	Y	40-45	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓						
T80	N	25-30	Pit	✓						
T81	Y	25-35	Pit	✓						
T85	N	40+	Pit							
T87	Des.	35-45	Pit	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
T89	Des.		Destroyed	✓	✓			✓		
T90	N	25	Limestone Built Cist	✓						
T91	N	40-45	Pit	✓						
T93	N	40-50	Pit	✓						
T94	Y	40-45	Pit							
T97	N	50+	Pit	✓	✓	✓				✓
T100	Y	30-35	Limestone Sarcophagus		✓					
T105	N	25	Pit	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
T107	Y	35-45	Pit							

Grave/Tomb	Looted	Age	Tomb Type	Off. Equip.	Def. Equip.	Masks/Epistomia	Gold Decorative Pieces/Bands	Miniature Objects	Eidolia	Rings
T109	Y	35-45	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓			✓		✓	
T111	Y	30-35	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓	✓	✓				✓
T114	Des.	10-11	Pit	✓			✓		✓	✓
T115	N	25	Limestone Cist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
T118	N	25-30	Pit	✓	✓	✓	✓			
T82 A	N	40-50	Pit (Double Burial)	✓						

Table 8. Table showing the co-occurrence of the main types of burial goods found in the male burials at Sindos.

Grave/Tomb	Necklace /Pendant	Rings	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Total number of categories
T4				2			1
T12							
T15	1						1
T20	1	2	2	2	1	2	6
T22	1	1		2	1		4
T24	1			2	1		3
T27							
T28	1	1	2	2			4
T29				1			1
T48	1			2	2	2	4
T49		1	2	2			3
T56	1		1	2	1	2	5
T67	1	1	2	2	1		5
T68	1		2	2			3
T73	1	1		2			3
T82 B	1	1		2			3
T84							
T86							
T101 A	1			2	1		3
T104			4				1
T108	1			2	1		3
T112							
T113	1	1	2	2	1		5
T117	1	1	2	2			4
T119	1	1		4			3
T121	1	2		1			3

Table 9. Table showing the unlooted female burials at Sindos and the distribution of jewellery in them.

Jewellery attached to garments or footwear was a common burial good at Sindos. Twenty out of the 25 unlooted female tombs contained a pin or a brooch/fibula as a minimum, with eight of them having both. A more exclusive type of this kind of jewellery was the various gold decorative pieces and bands which were only uncovered in four of the unlooted tombs. Interestingly enough, these four burials were also the burials yielding the most types of worn jewellery (T20 6/6, T56 & 67 5/6, T28 4/6; Tables 10 and 11). Hence, as in the case of the male burials, this specific form of burial goods was used in order to designate high status burials. Furthermore, another possible observation regarding both categories of jewellery could be that almost all of the unlooted furnished female burials had a piece of worn jewellery and a type of attached adornment, with the notable exceptions of tombs T68 and T86.

Apart from jewellery, another two valuable burial goods, made exclusively from gold, also attested in the female burials, were masks and mouthpieces. These were found in 15 graves and could be subdivided in four masks and 12 mouthpieces. Moreover, this distinction probably had a hierarchical connotation, as the masks were only found in graves where five out of six, or all six of the worn jewellery categories were evidenced, while mouthpieces were more widely distributed (T20, T56, T67, T117; Table 9; Table 10). Additionally, in three of these cases in which a mask was discovered, they were accompanied by large amounts of gold decorative pieces, an association also attested in the male tombs described above.

The fact that this combination is not present in the case of the mask found in tomb T117 should not be unanticipated, since, as already mentioned above, this specific one was consisted of seven gold bands, vertically arranged so as to cover the deceased's face. Some of these tombs, which displayed a variety of burial goods, also had miniature objects, albeit to a much smaller extent than that of the male burials. While these objects were found in 11 out of the total 47 male burials, their number drops to four out of 64 when examining the female ones. Moreover, they co-occur only in few of the most elaborate burials (T20, T22, T28 and T67; Table 10) and are usually discovered along at least four of the aforementioned worn jewellery types and one of the attached jewellery, along with masks or mouthpieces. Despite the extensive looting of the cemetery, it seems probable that the distribution of miniature objects was more widespread in the male tombs, while they might have been more of an exclusive set of objects for the female burials, an appealing yet hard to confirm hypothesis. As in the case of the male tombs, eidolia were also discovered in the female ones. Once more, a specific pattern was hard to be identified, as eidolia were attested across all different age groups and both lavishly decorated burials and more modest ones. They were excavated in nine tombs with their number per grave varying from one to eight. T28 contained eight eidolia and T68 six, while the rest of them contained one to three. Admittedly, in some of the tombs, in which they were found, most notably T28, T22 and T28, they were accompanied by a number of jewellery, iron figurines, pots and in some cases mouthpieces. However, as these were not the most elaborate ones, it is once again difficult to argue in favour of them being considered as valuable goods, reserved only for the elites, therefore implying that perhaps the reasons dictating their deposition within the graves should be looked for elsewhere.

The final co-occurrence of different categories of burial goods relates to the various vessel assemblages. The focus of this section is the total number of graves as, in contrast to other valuable goods, pottery was largely intact, even in the extremely looted tombs. As

already mentioned above, vessels could be divided into two main categories: one consisted of pots associated with some kind of communal feasting i.e. sympotic and one comprised of pots used for perfumes and ointments. The first large category could then be subdivided into three groups: vessels for drinking, pouring and mixing. A combination of at least one object, each from one of the two main categories, is attested in 28 of the 47 male tombs (Table 11). Moreover, concerning particularly the sympotic vessels, the triplet of them, i.e. drinking, pouring and mixing, is found in 11 burials (T25, T37, T52, T55, T57, T59, T62, T65, T97, T100, T115; Table 11), in nine of them accompanied by an ointment/perfume vase (T25, T52, T55, T59, T62, T65, T97, T100, T115; Table 11). This double correlation between on the one hand the three types of sympotic vases and on the other hand between this kind of vessels and the ones used for perfumes and ointment, could hardly be a coincidence, especially when examined in the wider context of the funerary practices witnessed in Sindos. In other words, it seems that there was a close association between the co-existence of this 'feasting kit' described above and the overall status of the burial, as the nine tombs in which the triplet of sympotic vases and the vases for perfume and ointment was excavated, also contained a large number of arms and armour, masks or mouthpieces, various decorative gold pieces and in some cases in miniature figurines.

The same holds true for the female tombs. A combination of at least one sympotic vessel and one used for ointment or perfumes could be observed in 31 of the 64 female tombs (Table 12). What is interesting in these tombs is the fact that in 22 of them, one pot specifically used for drinking and one for ointment and perfumes were found together, creating a different kind of 'funerary set', especially when compared to the one related to the male tombs (T1, T3, T4, T22, T48, T49, T50, T54, T63, T73, T75, T82B, T83, T86, T88, T101A, T102, T103, T108, T110, T114, T121; Table 12). That is not of course to say that the full triplet of sympotic vases accompanied by one used for ointment was not found in the female tombs, but rather to suggest that is was simply rarer in them, as it was documented in just four tombs (T20, T28, T56, T67; Table 12). However, these tombs, as in the case of the male ones, were amongst the most elaborate ones, containing numerous types of jewellery, both worn and attached, and masks or mouthpieces. Consequently, after taking into consideration the abovementioned observations regarding the vases found in both the males and the female tombs, it could be suggested that the attestation of all four categories of them constituting a particular 'feasting kit', was an honour reserved only for the members of the highest social stratum of the local community. Therefore, it becomes evident that the display of one's social identity as a participant in some sort of feasting was manifested thought the deposition of a specific assemblage of vessels, an important aspect, which, in combination with others, indicated via the presence of different burial goods, contributed to the creation of a nexus of social identities, all attributed to the same person.

The male and female 'full kit' at Sindos

Having discussed the burials at Sindos in their totality, it is now time to focus on the few in which a 'full funerary kit', consisting of specific tomb types and burial goods, could be observed. The burials with the 'full kit' should not be confused with other terms applied by past research such as 'rich' or 'wealthy' (e.g. Despoini 2016a, 110; Saripanidi 2012, 211; Kakamanoudis 2019, 160). By definition a burial displaying the 'full kit' tends to be 'wealthy' but a 'wealthy' burial does not necessarily equate to one with the 'full kit'. A burial might be 'rich' in terms of one category of burial goods but this is not the same as displaying

				Jewellery							Adornments							
Grave/Tomb	Looted	Age	Tomb Type	Pendants	Rings	Necklaces	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadems	Hair Spirals	Pins	Brooches	Decorative Gold Bands	Masks/Epistomia	Knives	Eidolia	Miniature Objects
T1	Y	Adult	Pit		✓						✓						
T2	Y	Adult	Clay Sarcophagus												✓		
T3	Y	35-40	Pit								✓	✓					
T4	N		Cremation Urn					✓				✓					
T5	Y	18-25	Pit														
T7	Y	30	Limestone Sarcophagus								✓	✓					
T12	N	4-8 Weeks	Pit														
T13	Des.	3-4	Pit													✓	
T15	N	3	Pit	✓								✓				✓	
T18	Y	40-50	Limestone Sarcophagus									✓			✓		
T20	Des.	Adult but not middle aged	Limestone Cist		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
T21	Des.	Under 30	Pit		✓			✓									
T22	N	40-50	Pit	✓		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
T23	Y	35-40	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓	✓										✓		
T24	N	45+	Pit	✓				✓	✓			✓		✓			
T26	Y	35-40	Pit									✓					
T27	N	35-40	Pit/Cremated?														
T28	N	20-25	Pit		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
T29	N	Young Adult	Cremation Urn					✓			✓						
T30	Y	25-30	Pit										✓				
T32	Y	45+	Pit								✓	✓					
T33	Y	40-50	Clay Sarcophagus														
T36	Des.	2-3	Pit					✓				✓				✓	
T38	Y	17-18	Limestone Sarcophagus													✓	
T39	Des.		Pit												✓		
T43	Y	45+	Pit														
T44	Y	3-4 And 5-6	Pit									✓					
T45	Y	35-40	Limestone Sarcophagus														
T47	Y	25-30	Limestone Sarcophagus														
T48	N	35-40	Pit			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			
T49	N	30-40	Limestone Sarcophagus		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓			
T50	Y	23-25	Stone Cist	✓	✓											✓	
T54	Y		Limestone Cist		✓						✓						

				Jewellery							Adornments						
Grave/Tomb	Looted	Age	Tomb Type	Pendants	Rings	Necklaces	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadems	Hair Spirals	Pins	Brooches	Decorative Gold Bands	Masks/Epistomia	Knives	Eidolia	Miniature Objects
T56	N		Limestone Cist			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				
T60	Y	Mature but not elderly	Limestone Sarcophagus						✓								
T63	Y	35-40	Limestone Sarcophagus	✓												✓	
T64	Y		Limestone Sarcophagus														
T67	N	25	Limestone Cist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
T68	N	12-14 Months	Limestone Cist	✓			✓	✓								✓	
T73	N	40-50	Clay Ionian Larnax		✓			✓			✓	✓					
T75	Des.	40-50	Limestone Sarcophagus								✓			✓			
T82B	N	25-30	Pit/Double Burial	✓	✓			✓			✓	✓		✓			
T83	Y	25	Pit								✓						
T84	N	40	Pit														
T86	N	35-40	Pit								✓						
T88	Y	35-40	Pit								✓			✓			
T95	Y	Mature but not elderly	Limestone Sarcophagus		✓			✓				✓					
T96	Des.	35-45	Pit	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓			
T98	Y	35-50	Limestone Sarcophagus								✓						
T99	Y	30	Limestone Sarcophagus			✓					✓	✓					
T101A	N	25	Pit/Double Burial + Infant	✓				✓	✓		✓			✓			
T102	Y	30-35	Pit												✓		
T103	Y	25	Pit		✓		✓				✓						
T104	N	6-7	Pit				✓				✓			✓			
T106	Des.	35-40	Pit	✓				✓			✓	✓					
T108	N	30-35	Pit	✓				✓	✓		✓			✓			
T110	Y	45-50	Pit				✓				✓						
T112	N	1-3 Weeks	Pit														
T113	N	35	Pit	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓			
T116	Y		Pit														
T117	N	40-50	Pit	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		
T119	N	45, 30-35	Pit/Double Burial	✓	✓			✓			✓	✓		✓			
T120	Y	35-40	Pit								✓						
T121	N	4-5	Pit		✓	✓		✓				✓					

Table 10. Table showing the co-occurrence of the main types of burial goods found in the female burials at Sindos.

Grave/Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T6	✓	✓		
T8	✓			
T11	✓			
T14				✓
T19	✓	✓		
T25	✓	✓	✓	✓
T31	✓		✓	
T35				
T37		✓	✓	✓
T40	✓	✓		
T42				
T46	✓		✓	
T51	✓			
T52	✓	✓	✓	✓
T53	✓	✓		✓
T55	✓	✓	✓	✓
T57		✓	✓	✓
T58	✓			
T59	✓	✓	✓	✓
T62	✓	✓	✓	✓
T65	✓	✓	✓	✓
T66	✓		✓	✓
T70	✓	✓		
T71				
T74				
T76	✓	✓		
T77				
T79	✓			
T80	✓	✓		
T82A	✓	✓		
T81				
T85		✓		
T87	✓			✓
T89				
T90		✓		
T91	✓	✓		
T93	✓			
T94	✓	✓	✓	
T97	✓	✓	✓	✓
T100	✓	✓	✓	✓
T105	✓			✓
T107				
T109	✓	✓		✓
T111	✓	✓		
T114	✓	✓		
T115	✓	✓	✓	✓
T118	✓	✓		

Table 11. Different categories of vessels in the male burials at Sindos.

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T1	✓	✓		
T2				
T3	✓	✓		
T4	✓	✓		
T5		✓		
T7	✓			
T12				
T13		✓		
T15	✓			
T18			✓	
T20	✓	✓	✓	✓
T21				
T22	✓	✓		
T23	✓			
T24	✓			✓
T26	✓	✓		✓
T27		✓		
T28	✓	✓	✓	✓
T29				✓
T30	✓			
T32	✓			
T33	✓	✓	✓	
T36	✓			
T38	✓			
T39		✓		
T43				
T44	✓		✓	
T45	✓			
T47				
T48	✓	✓		
T49	✓	✓		
T50	✓	✓		

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T54	✓	✓		
T56	✓	✓	✓	✓
T60	✓			
T63	✓	✓		
T64		✓		
T67	✓	✓	✓	✓
T68	✓			
T73	✓	✓		
T75	✓	✓		
T82B	✓	✓		
T83	✓	✓		
T84		✓		
T86	✓	✓		
T88	✓	✓		
T95	✓			
T96		✓		
T98			✓	
T99		✓		
T101A	✓	✓		
T102	✓	✓		
T103	✓	✓		
T104	✓			
T106		✓		
T108	✓	✓		
T110	✓	✓		
T112				
T113		✓		
T116	✓			
T117	✓	✓		✓
T119		✓		
T120				
T121	✓	✓		

Table 12. Different categories of vessels in the female burials at Sindos.

a recurrent combination of objects belonging to multiple categories. It is therefore the combinations between specific categories of burial goods that make up what is defined here as the 'full kit'. Notwithstanding some expected variations in the types of burial goods included in this 'kit', its basic characteristics, forming its core, could be identified in at least 11 male (Table 13) and seven female burials (Table 14). All of these burials were dated during the same time period. More specifically, with the notable exception of T111, all of the burials are dated before 500 BC, with the earliest male burial at around 545 BC, while the female one at 560 BC.

A characteristic example of a male tomb containing the 'full kit' is tomb T25 (Despoini 2016a, 38-41). The burial was placed in a limestone cist which was discovered unlooted. Numerous pieces of arms and armour were deposited in it such as two spearheads, three swords, one of them belonging to the type of *machaira*, three knives, a helmet with gold decorations (Figure 13) attached to it and an Argive shield decorated with depictions of an fighting scene between two fully equipped warriors. An impressive number of 12 clay pots, 17 bronze vessels and 12 eidolia and relief vessels were also found in the same burial. The tomb also included vast amounts of gold decorations, either attached to the deceased's garments or burial goods, some of them decorated with relief rosettes. Pins, rings, miniature objects and a gold sheet covering the deceased's face functioning as a substitute for a mask were the final constituents of the male 'full kit', as this was evidenced by the finds from Sindos.

It also seems plausible that the 'full kit' was primarily found in cists and sarcophagi containing burials of adolescents and young adults and to a lesser extent middle aged or elderly people. Of the eight male burials under the age of 35 in which the 'full kit' was discovered (T25, T52, T59, T62, T65, T105, T111, T115) with the notable exception of T105, all of them were found in cists or sarcophagi. The same trend is also observable across the total extent of the male burials in Sindos, although to a lesser degree. Twelve of the total 21 cists and sarcophagi belonged to men under the age of 35, two of them were either looted or destroyed by modern agricultural activities and therefore impossible for the osteological remains to be aged, while only seven contained burials of middle aged or elderly people over the age of 35.

Not only was the 'full kit' mainly found in cists and sarcophagi containing male burials of individuals under the age of 35, but also the total number of burials with the 'full kit' belonging to the same age group of men under 35 regardless of the grave type, is significantly higher than the one corresponding to older people. Based on the following table, eight out of the 11 graves in total containing the 'full kit' belonged to men under the age of 35 (T25, T52, T59, T62, T65, T105, T111, T115; Table 13), while only three of them to older people (T57, T87, T97). This trend cannot be simply explained by the total number of male burials under 35 across the whole cemetery, as 20 of the total 47 graves belonged to men under 35 years of age. What could be safely deduced though is that the minimum age at which the 'full kit' is observed is 12, while the maximum over 50, with the overwhelming majority being men under the age of 35.

Other attempts were also made in order to further explore if these age related trends, as described above, were also associated with the quality and quantity of burial goods. Interestingly enough, the levels of looting vary dramatically between burials containing individuals under 35 and over 35. From the 20 male burials of individuals under the age of 35 across the whole cemetery, only six were looted (30%), while of the 21 ones over 35,

Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Age	Tomb Type	Looted	Off. Equip.	Def. Equip.	Epistomia	Masks	Gold Adornments	Miniatures	Clay Vessels	Bronze Vessels	Rings	Eidolia
T25	545-535 BC	12-14	Limestone Cist	N	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T52	500 BC	23-25	Limestone Cist	N	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
T57	530-510 BC	36-45	Limestone Cist	Y	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
T59	530-520 BC	7-8	Limestone Sarcophagus	N	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
T62	520 BC	25-30	Limestone Sarcophagus	N	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		
T65	540-530 BC	12-14	Limestone Cist	N	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
T87	500 BC	35-45	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	
T97	520 BC	Over 50	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	
T105	500 BC	25	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	
T111	440-420 BC	30-35	Limestone Sarcophagus	N	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	
T115	520 BC	25	Limestone Cist	N	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Table 13. Male burials with the 'full kit' at Sindos.

'Full kit'										'Optional' kit			
Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Age	Tomb type	Looted	Jewellery (at least 4 types)	Adornments	Mask/Epistomia	Clay vessels	Bronze vessels	Knives	Gold decorative pieces	Miniatures	Eidolia
T20	Late 6th	35-45	Limestone cist	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T22	500 BC	40-50	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
T28	560 BC	20-25	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T48	530-510 BC	35-40	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
T56	510 BC	-	Limestone cist	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
T67	510-500 BC	25	Limestone cist	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T117	500 BC	40-50	Pit	N	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			

Table 14. Female burials with the 'full kit' at Sindos.

12 were looted (57%). The remaining six tombs were not given a specific age due to the condition of the skeletal remains. The 13 (T11, T25, T52, T59, T62, T65, T66, T76, T80, T90, T105, T115, T118) securely designated as unlooted male burials under 35 contained on average burial goods belonging to six categories. This number dropped to one and a half when examining the six (T74, T82 A, T85, T91, T93, T97) unlooted tombs of people over 35 or to three if we were to add T57 and T87, which despite being partly destroyed by modern construction work contained numerous burial goods. Consequently, it might be tempting to hypothesise that burials of younger men included more categories of burial goods but

Figure 13. T25 Sindos. Helmet with gold decorations. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Despoini 2016c, pl.754-758).

the higher percentage of looted burials of men over 35 is a data bias that needs to be acknowledged. However, there is an exception to the lack of a strict correlation between specific burial goods and age, as one particular type of object that stands out is masks, which were only discovered in tombs containing burials of individuals younger than 35 years old.

Arms and armour were the main constituents of the male funerary 'kit'. Offensive equipment typically included at least two spearheads, a sword and multiple knives. Defensive equipment most often was evidenced by the presence of a helmet, decorated or not with gold foils and in rarer instances of a shield. The deceased's face was usually covered with either a mouthpiece (*epistomion*) or a mask, objects almost exclusively made of gold. Gold, in forms of bands or small foils, was also used to decorate the deceased's garments, thus forming along with pins, a male 'adornment pack'. As for jewellery, the only type accompanying the male burials at Sindos was rings, which were generally discovered once per grave. Vessels, in types associated with either communal feasting or perfumes and ointments, were also attested in the graves, with the most common combination being that of clay and bronze pots, which in limited cases were accompanied by silver, glass or faience ones. The triplet of sympotic vessels along with at least one vessel for ointment was only found in burials displaying the 'full kit' therefore implying a strong link between this specific combination of vessels and the wider 'full kit' assemblage (T25, T52, T55, T57, T59, T62, T65, T97, T100, T115). Only T55 and T100 were equipped with both the triplet and an ointment vessel but did not display the 'full kit' probably due to the fact that they are severely looted. Conversely, the triplet was not attested T87 and T111 which are nonetheless classified among the ones displaying the 'full kit' given the various remaining co-attestations of different categories of burial goods found in them. Another addition in this kit was the presence of miniature objects depicting chairs, tables, two wheeled carts, spits and firedogs. Despite not necessarily attested all together in each tomb, miniature objects, in various combinations, were an essential part of the 'male funerary kit' in Sindos. As a final element of it, one may also add two specific types of graves, cists and sarcophagi, where the funerary 'kit' was overwhelmingly present, especially in comparison to burials in simple pits, in which significantly fewer parts of the 'kit' were found.

Turning our focus to female burials, tomb T67 (Figure 14; Despoini 2016, 71-72) could be regarded as a typical example of a burial displaying the full 'female kit'. Placed once again in a unlooted limestone cist, the burial yielded an impressive number of jewellery and adornments. More specifically, one gold ring, four gold necklaces, two gold earrings, one gold diadem, two silver bracelets and two silver pendants along with two gold brooches, gold and silver pins and numerous gold pieces and bands attached to the deceased's garments were all found in the grave. As already mentioned the tomb was the only one in which clay, bronze, faience and glass vessels were all attested. Bronze vessels were found at a staggering number of 15, alongside three clay and glass ones and a faience one. Moreover, three miniature objects, three knives and a gold mask were also discovered in the burial while eidolia are completely absent.

In contrast to the close link between the existence of the 'full kit' and its attestation at cists and sarcophagi observed in the male burials, the situation is far from clear in regard to the female ones. Of the seven tombs (T20, T22, T28, T48, T56, T67, T117; Table 15) in which the female 'full kit' was identified, only three are cists (T20, T56, T67) while none of them sarcophagi. Conversely, the remaining four burials were discovered in pit graves which were no less elaborate in terms of burial goods when compared to the cist tombs. However, it is possible that the 'full kit' was also initially displayed in more cists and sarcophagi. Further evidence of this may be the level of looting that was targeted at these burials in contrast to the one observed at pit graves. Despite the fact that one might argue that this is an argument *ex silentio*, the sheer difference in the percentages regarding looting (pit graves looted at a rate of 38%; sarcophagi and cists at 73%), in combination with the presence of arguably few remaining precious burial goods in the sarcophagi and cists which might have contained the 'full kit', could hardly be interpreted as a coincidence.

Regardless of their grave type, most of the burials (T20, T22, T48, T117) belonged to people over the age of 35, only two to people younger than 35 (T28, T67), while the skeletal remains of T56 were not examined by the osteologist. Therefore, the minimum age at which the 'full kit' is observed is 20, while the maximum 50. However, while

Figure 14. T67 Sindos. Gold fibulae and pendants in the shape of pomegranate. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Ignatiadou 2012, pl. 6, 10).

the female 'full kit' is attested slightly more frequently in the over 35 female burials, their number across the whole cemetery is actually smaller than the one attributed to graves containing the burials of younger women. Of the 64 female burials in the cemetery, 32 belonged to women under 35, 24 to women over 35, while six were not attributed a specific age. The percentage of the looting observed in the tombs of women under 35 is 43% (14 out of 32), while of the ones over 35 62.5% (15 out of 24). Given the high level of looting two important observations should be made. First, the association of specific graves types, such as cists and sarcophagi with more elaborate burials should not be dismissed despite the attestation of the 'full kit' to marginally more pits graves. Since this observation holds true for the male burials it could be a probable reality regarding the female burials too, if it was not for the high percentages of looting. The second consideration concerns the relationship between burial goods and the deceased's age. On the one hand, the 11 (T12, T15, T28, T49, T67, T68, T82 B, T101A, T104, T112, T121; Table 10) tombs which accommodated burials of women under 35 and could be safely classified as unlooted contained on average burial goods belonging to five categories. On the other hand, the 10 (T22, T24, T27, T48, T73, T84, T86, T108, T113, T117; Table 10) unlooted ones where female burials of over the age of 35 were discovered, included on average burial goods belonging to five categories. Therefore, it becomes evident that age was not a major contributing factor effecting the level of elaboration of the female burials in both the burials with the 'full kit' and those without it. As for the link between specific burial goods such as masks and certain age groups observed in the male burials, it was hard to be established during the examination of the female burials due to their extensive looting. Regarding especially the four masks in the female tombs, two of them were discovered in burials which were not aged due to the poor preservation of the osteological remains, while one mask per burial was found in graves containing women under and over 35 respectively, rendering the formulation of any further observations extremely difficult.

As already mentioned, jewellery was the most frequent type of burial good typically associated with a standardised female 'full kit'. It seems that there was not a specific jewellery set, as various combinations between different jewellery types, such as rings, bracelets, earrings, diadems, hair spirals, necklaces and pendants were all discovered in Sindos. However, what could be argued is that generally, jewellery in the female tombs with the 'full kit', differed from jewellery found in the rest of the tombs, both quantitively and qualitatively. While individual exceptions did of course occur, burials in sarcophagi and cists often had more jewellery pieces with most of them made mainly of gold and to a lesser extent silver. On the contrary, burials in pit graves had fewer pieces of jewellery in total, with most of them made of bronze and iron and in scarcer cases of gold and silver. Nonetheless, despite this difference, jewellery was undoubtedly situated at the core of what formed the female 'full kit'. The female dress was kept in place with the help of pins and brooches (fibulae), some of which frequently bear very elaborate decorations made of precious metals, such as gold or silver. Apart from the jewellery and the adornments, another integral part of the 'kit' was the face coverings, either in form of a mouthpiece (epistomion) or mask, with the latter ones being rarer than the former ones. The third type of burial good that is regarded as one of the key elements of the female 'kit' at Sindos, was vessels, which in their vast majority were ceramic, while metal ones, typically made of bronze, were limited. As with jewellery,

while the deposition of pots was a widespread practice, the more elaborate burials, usually in cists or sarcophagi, tended to have multiple clay and especially metal vessels, with minor exemptions to this rule. Similar to the male burials, female burials decorated with the triplet of sympotic vessels along with an ointment one also displayed the 'full kit'. Burials found in T20, T28, T56 and T67 were all equipped with both of these material assemblages. Conversely T22, T48, T117 despite not being adorned with the triplet could nonetheless be associated with the 'full kit' given the attestation of numerous correlations between different categories of burial goods found in them.

Apart from the basic kit described above, it might be more efficient to add a second one, 'optional kit', in which one could categorise all these burial goods, which they might have been either reserved for more elaborate burials and therefore part of a more ostentatious kit or not regarded as crucial as the rest of the burial goods, in emphasizing different aspects of funerary behaviour. Unfortunately, given the levels of looting and disturbance of especially the cists and sarcophagi and based solely on their remaining burial goods, any assumptions about these graves are far from certain and thus remain hypothetical to a large extent, as they are extrapolated based on the few unlooted ones. Knives could be one of those categories of objects classified as belonging to this 'kit', as they were rarely attested in female graves. Yet, even if they were deposited in a grave belonging to a female, their number was usually limited to one, in contrast to the existence of multiple knives in male burials. Both clay figurines and miniature metal objects were only seldom found in female tombs, even in the ones, which were otherwise lavishly decorated with a wide variety of burial goods. This inconsistency in their presence in burials is what renders them as optional, rather than key constituents of the female full 'kit' at Sindos. Gold decorative bands or foils also belonged to the same category, as they were only attested in five female tombs, three of which were either limestone sarcophagi or cists. Given the level of looting, it is impossible to argue with utter certainty about their presence or not in other graves. Nonetheless, judging from the present data, it seems highly probable that gold decorative pieces functioning as adornments were also deposited in other tombs and especially in cists and sarcophagi.

Finally, both male and female burials, containing the 'full kit', were located in the same area of the cemetery. Individual exemptions naturally did occur but the vast majority of the rest of the graves seems to have been concentrated in the innermost area of the cemetery's east part. That is of course not to say that other burials with the 'full kit' could not have existed in more areas within the cemetery, but rather to suggest that based on the available data, the emerging pattern about the distribution of the 'full kit' is as described above. If however, the hypothesis that limestone sarcophagi and cists typically contained burials demonstrating the 'full kit' becomes accepted, then the current presentation of the data is accurate, since a very limited number of limestone sarcophagi and cists, dated before 500 BC, is to be found outside of this 'core' area in which such elaborate burials were discovered. In order to further explore such spatial patterns a GIS-based analysis of the data is provided below.

5.2 Sindos: A geospatial analysis of the cemetery space

Introduction and methodological remarks

As already mentioned above, Sindos is the only fully published site presented in this monograph. For this reason, it was the only one with sufficient data to create a GIS-based model. The base map used for this model was the topographical one found in the Sindos publication (Despoini 2016a, pl. III-IV). Due to the pandemic and restrictions on traveling I did not have access to a physical copy of the publication. The map, which is split over numerous pages was scanned by Mrs Sue Willetts at the Institute of Classical Studies in London and emailed to me. I then used Photoshop to stitch together all of the parts and create the base map for my project. This map was then georeferenced based on the geographical features found in the area on Google Maps and more specifically the low hill south of which the cemetery is located. I georeferenced all of the available maps from the Sindos publication creating a model with different layers moving from the more distanced one to the closest one in which the exact location of the graves was shown. I then added a point to each grave and linked this to the database which I had previously compiled on excel. I subsequently added all the available information including the burial number, the looting status, the dating of the burial, tomb types, age and gender as well as the quantity and quality of burial goods.

The only thing I edited was the dating and the age as the data provided by the chief excavator at Sindos were not always very consistent in their form. For instance, I merged the various age groups into four large categories, each one of them lasting 50 years, starting with the earliest period during which the cemetery was in use, that is 600 BC and working my way till 400 BC. I classified burials with a precise dating which coincided with the 50 years limit to the age group starting with that date. For example T87, dated in 500 BC, was classified as belonging to the chronological group 500-450 BC. Similar to this approach, I combined all the various description of age and the different numbers in four categories, 0-18 for non-adult burials, 18-30 for young adults, 30-45 for mature adults and 45+ for burials belonging to older people. Of course, one could argue that the age group limits are arbitrary and influenced by modern standards whereby a person under the age of 18 is considered a child (Scott 1999, 2-5). Even if this is the case, the classification of age along these arbitrary lines, greatly assisted me in the analysis of the data as it provided me the necessary consistency required by GIS in order to showcase any patterns. In burials of people whose age did not exactly fall into one of the categories I classified them using their lower limit of their age range. For instance, I included T73, a woman aged 40-50 years old according to the osteoarcheological report, in the 30-45 age group. I subsequently followed the same approach in every burial that fell in between of two age groups in an attempt to be as consistent as possible. I then analysed all of this using a number of tools such as grouping my data through categorised or graduated symbology or by using rule-based symbology for more complicated queries, for instance when examining the co-attestation of different burial goods. For point proximity questions such as the burial density discussed below, I used heatmaps to showcase the high concentration of burials in specific areas of the cemetery.

Description of data

The cemetery at Sindos is located at a hilly area on the base of a low mound. Its east and south sides were framed by the presence in antiquity of a marsh which frequently flooded the area partly destroying the nearby graves. As it will become clearer in the following pages, the cemetery space can be conventionally divided into two parts, its west and east sides. This arbitrary line running from north to south between graves T82 and T83 through grave T48 and further south ending up in an open space is based on a number of factors such as differences in the depositional patterns, the types of graves attested at each side, the burial density and the different spatial organisation between the two parts in regard to age.

As noted above looting was commonly attested in Sindos, an observation that one should keep in mind when discussing the spatial patterns mentioned in the rest of this chapter. Looting unquestionably influences the data, making it challenging to distinguish between patterns intentionally made and others which emerged as an unintentional consequence. The only way to tackle this problem is by examining every argument against a combination of different data sets and sources in order to limit the margin of error. Regardless of the limitations imposed on the study due to the nature of the data, the patterns briefly discussed in the previous section also have a spatially expressed aspect as evidenced by the mapping out of the depositional practices. Two main observations arise after the thorough examination of the archaeological record at Sindos. The first refers to the demographic make-up and the diachronic evolution of the cemetery space, while the second to the distributional patterns attested in the cemetery.

Chronological development of cemetery space and distribution of grave types

The first observation is that the density of burials on the east side of the cemetery is much higher than the one observed on its west side (Figure 15). More specifically, 66 burials were discovered in the east part of the cemetery against 43 on the west side. The number of looted tombs is equal at 27 burials in both sides of the cemetery, an observation which implies that the west part of the cemetery is proportionally more heavily looted. This is an important factor, as looting unquestionably distorts the surviving depositional patterns, an observation to which I will come back later on when examining the attestation of burial goods.

The development of the cemetery space in regard to the number of burials in each side gradually took place over the two centuries during which the cemetery was in use. The two initial burials at the east part of the cemetery were followed by the first development of the cemetery between 550-500BC. The total number of accurately dated burials peaked over the next 50 years (500-450 BC) with an increase of more than 150% while no intercutting of past burials was observed. Subsequently, the number of additional burials slowly declined over the last 50 years that the cemetery was in use (450-400 BC). More specifically, the east side in which 24 burials dated during 550-500 BC were found, received another 30 burials in the subsequent chronological period, that is 500-450 BC, an increase of 125%. Following this period, the trend generally observed in the cemetery the number of burials added over the next 50 years dropped to 13. As for the west side of the cemetery this too followed the same patterns outlined above in regard to the east side. No burials excavated there were dated between 600-550 BC. The six earliest burials found there were dated in 550-500 BC, while another 16 were added between 500-450 BC. In the last period of its use, the west

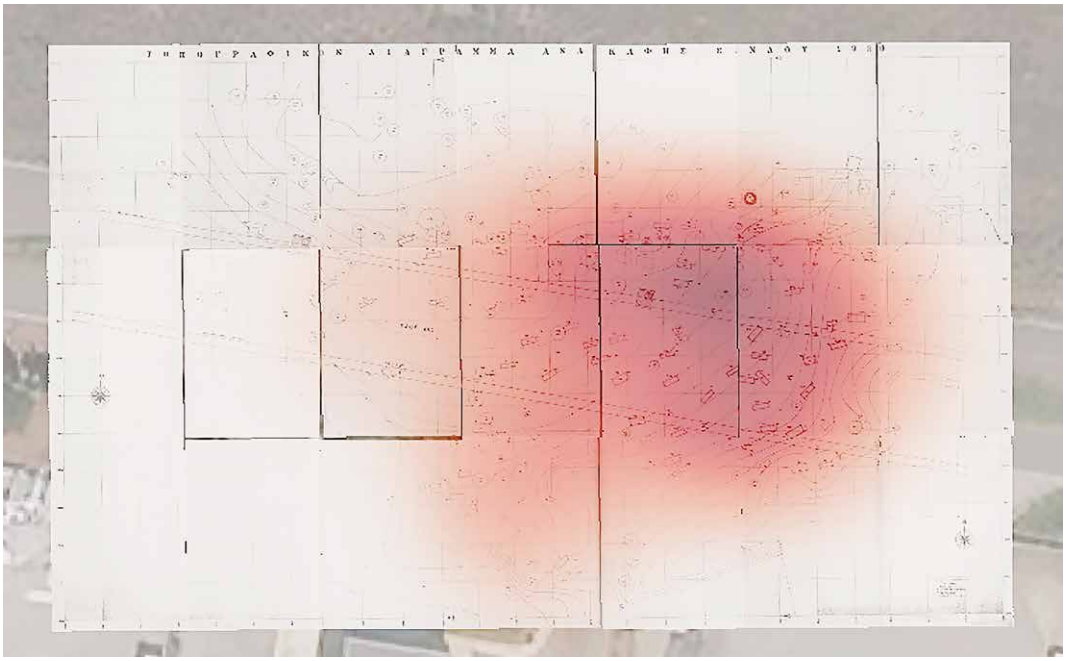

Figure 15. Heatmap showing the burial density in the cemetery at Sindos.

part of the Sindos cemetery received nine burials. It therefore becomes evident that the east part was consistently receiving more burials than the west one, even though it was becoming increasingly saturated. This persistence of a part of the local community to keep burying its dead at the specific part of the cemetery is a recurring theme to which I will frequently come back to in the following sections.

Spatial and chronological distribution of grave types

As already noted when discussing the Sindos material, a strict diachronic evolution from one grave type to another was not established. What is however interesting in Sindos is that while most of the tomb types are evenly distributed across all the cemetery, all of the cists, with the exception of T40 were exclusively found in the east part of the cemetery (Figure 18). Another emerging pattern is that it most of the cists and sarcophagi were placed in the innermost part of the cemetery while pit graves were subsequently located at the fringes of the cemetery. This is particularly true for the east part of the cemetery where it appears that this pattern was more strictly followed than at the west part, where the organisation of the cemetery space in regard to the tomb types appear to be looser. More precisely, it is very rare for the east part of the cemetery for a cist or sarcophagus to be on the outer edge of the cemetery space, as these type of tombs seem as if almost encircled by an outer area consisted of pit graves. With the exception of burials T32 and T75 which were placed in a sarcophagus and were located in the outer edge of the east part of the cemetery all of the remaining cists and sarcophagi were found in the innermost core of that part of the cemetery.

In terms of chronological patterns (Figure 16), it appears that the innermost part of the east side of the cemetery which consisted of burials in cists and sarcophagi was mainly dated between 550-450 BC. Contrary to both the development of the cemetery in terms

of the overall number of burials and the chronological distribution of all the rest of the tomb types most of the cists were dated between 550-500 BC (550-500 BC: T20, T25, T56, T57, T65, T67, T115; 500-450 BC: T50, T52, T54, T68, T70; 450-400 BC: T90). In contrast to the peak in the number of cists in 550-500 BC, the numbers of the sarcophagi peak in the subsequent chronological period, that is between 500-450 BC (550-500 BC: T59, T62, T63, T98; 500-450 BC: T23, T33, T49, T55, T61, T75, T95, T99, T109; 450-400 BC: T51, T60, T64, T100, T111). While cists and sarcophagi were found in the innermost area of the east part of the Sindos cemetery, pit graves were, with the exception of T21, T53, T58, T101, only found in the outermost area of the east part of the Sindos cemetery with their numbers increasing in each subsequent period in which the cemetery was in use till 450 BC when they started to decline (600-550 BC: T28, T94; 550-500 BC: T53, T59, T66, T97, T104, T106, T110, T119; 500-450 BC: T21, T22, T24, T27, T30, T81, T82, T91, T101, T105, T108, T114, T117, T121; 450-400 BC: T26, T32, T93, T96, T103, T113, T118).

Despite the fact that certain sarcophagi and cists (T40, T41, T45, T46, T47) were discovered in the core of the west part of the Sindos cemetery surrounded by pit graves the exact spatial patterning found in the east part was not observed in the west one. All of the remaining sarcophagi and cists found in the west part of the cemetery were scattered across this side, frequently found in the fringes of the cemetery space. A co-examination between specific tomb types, their location and dating showcased that the organisation of the cemetery space is much more fluid in the west part, as pits and sarcophagi are frequently intermingled with one another creating an almost even spatial distribution pattern. Also noteworthy is the complete absence of cists with the exception of the burial found in T40 dated between 500-450 BC. Similar to the east side, sarcophagi, were found between 550-400 BC with most of them dated between 500-450 BC (550-500 BC: T37; 500-450 BC: T2, T18, T38, T45, T79; 450-400 BC: T6, T7, T46, T76). However, unlike the east side, sarcophagi were found both in the innermost part of this specific side and on its fringes. Pits were also scattered across the area albeit to a lesser extent as only a handful of them was found in the innermost part in the west side of the cemetery (T1, T3, T5, T42, T43, T48) with all the remaining ones found in the outer edges of the west part of the cemetery. As for their chronological distribution, this follows the general development of the cemetery with their numbers gradually increasing till 450 BC and then declining (550-500 BC: T39, T42, T48, T83, T86; 500-450 BC: T1, T3, T5, T8, T9, T11, T15, T36, T87, T88; 450-400 BC: T13, T44, T80).

To sum up, a number of patterns emerge through the spatial analysis in terms of tomb types. The east part of the cemetery was consistently receiving more burials throughout all the periods that the Sindos cemetery was in use than the west part (Figure 17). The number of all the different tomb types in both sides of the cemetery increase exponentially till the last 50 years when their number significantly declined. The only exception to this is cists tombs, whose numbers, after their initial peak between 550-500 BC, gradually declined. This peak is only observable in the east part of the cemetery where cists and sarcophagi are almost found at equal numbers as pits. However, cists and sarcophagi were found in the innermost part of the east side while pits were scattered mostly on the outer edges. As for the west part, the earliest burials there were found in pit graves on the outer edges of the cemetery with only one cist and a few sarcophagi being added during the subsequent periods. It therefore becomes evident that the east part started expanding from a core with cists and sarcophagi outwards with pit graves in its periphery, while the west part developed inwards from pit graves in its periphery in earliest phases to one cist and sarcophagi in its

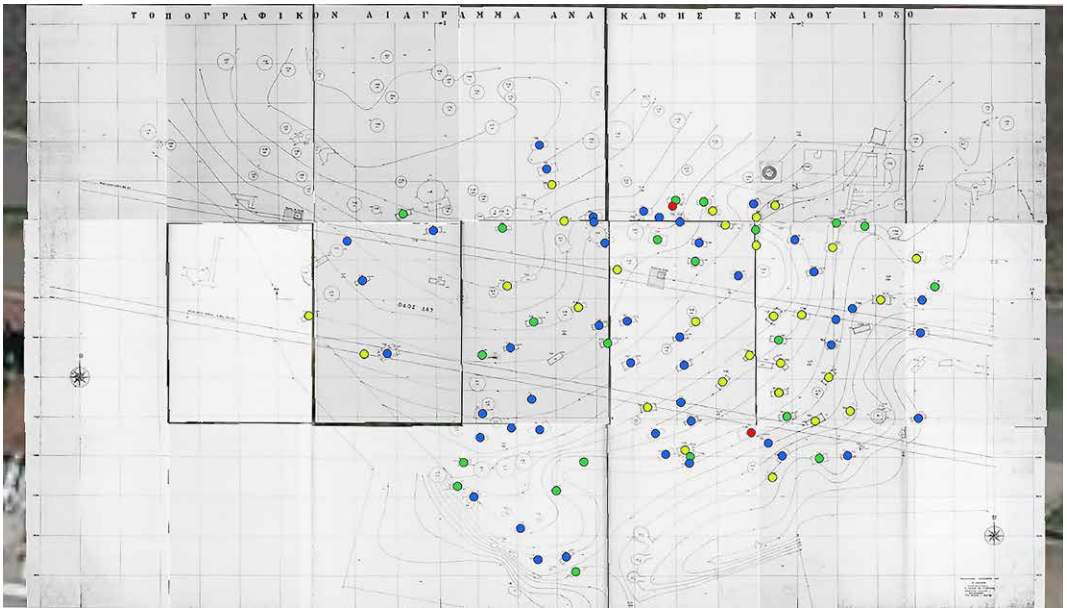

Figure 16. Chronological distribution of the burials found at Sindos. Red dots 600-550 BC, yellow dots 550-500 BC, blue dots 500-450 BC and green dots 450-400 BC.

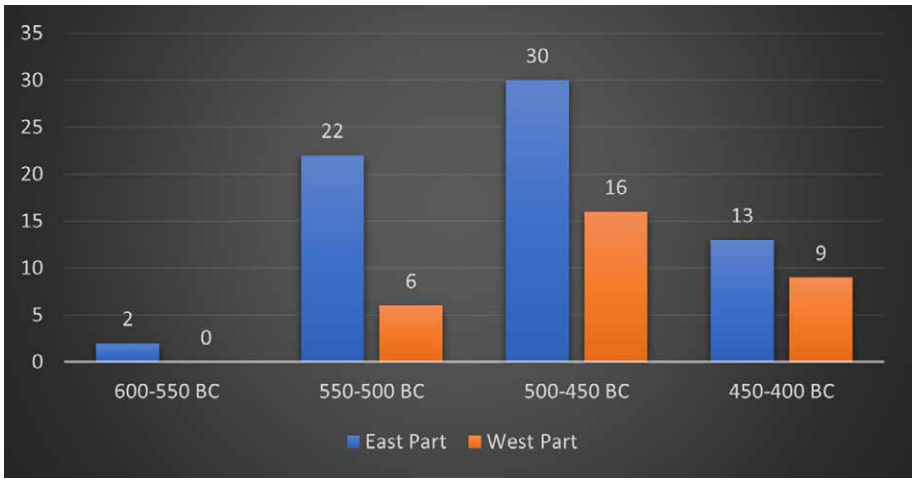

Figure 17. Chronological distribution of burials between the east and west part.

core in subsequent periods. Despite following different development patterns in both parts of the cemetery a decline in the number of burials was observed during the last 50 years that this was in use, i.e. 450-400 BC. This decline is not only quantitative but also qualitative as the numbers of individual tomb types indicate. The most dramatic drop is noted for pit graves in both sides of the cemetery as for the first time their number almost equals that of sarcophagi found there. Consequently, differences both between individual grave types within each part of the cemetery and their overall number as divided among the two sides seem to be dwindling in the last period of the cemetery's use.

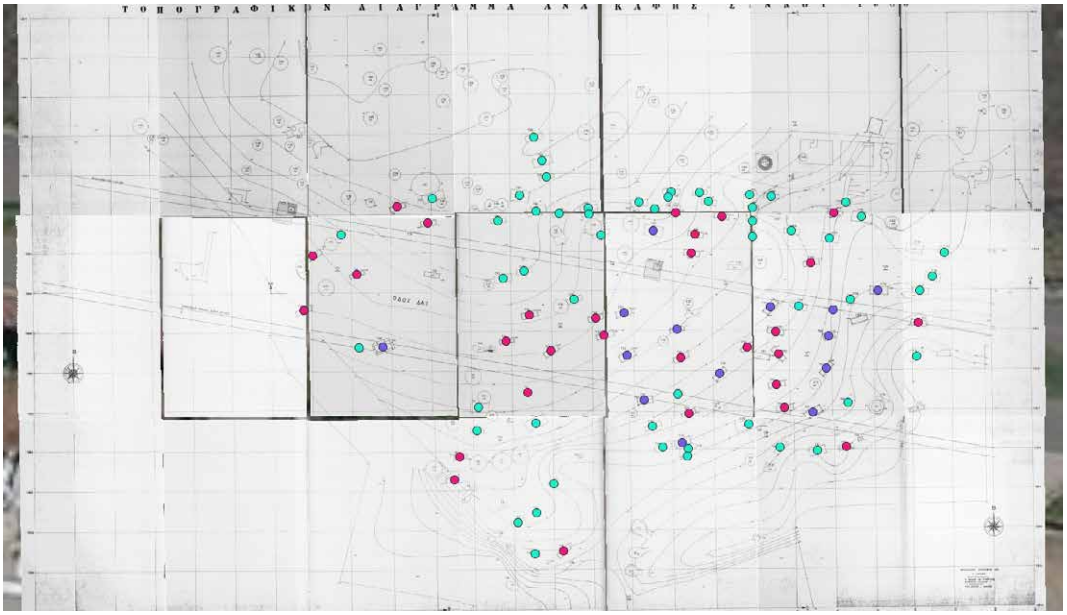

Figure 18. Distribution of grave types in the cemetery at Sindos. Pit graves are marked with light blue, sarcophagi with red while cists with purple.

A short note on the spatial organisation of the cemetery in terms of age and gender

Other correlations regarding the spatial distribution of burials based on gender or age were also part of the analysis (Figure 19). Heatmaps were used to study the possible presence of gender or age clusters but yielded no results in regard to gender. Age however is indeed a peculiar category. As already noted it appears that age did not really affect the quality and quantity of burial goods nor the specific location of the graves in the cemetery space. The only exception to this rule which calls for a re-examination of the material is infants (see below). A closer look at the material might indicate that while age might not have had a major contributing factor in distributional or depositional patterns in the east part, it might have had one in the west one. Burials of children were completely integrated in the distributional patterns in the east part of the cemetery but not in the west part of the cemetery, where they were clearly buried in two separate clusters, both found in the fringes of the cemetery. Cluster A (T35, T36, T38) was discovered in the westernmost part of the cemetery space, while cluster B (T9, T11,T12, T13, T15) in the southernmost. Both of them, and particularly cluster A, seem quite separated from nearby adult burials therefore providing a very different image regarding the age patterns related to children between the west and east part of the cemetery. By linking each age group to a certain value with the highest one being attributed to the age group 0-18 and then creating a heatmap based on this the two 'age' clusters clearly emerge as distinct features of the cemetery space.

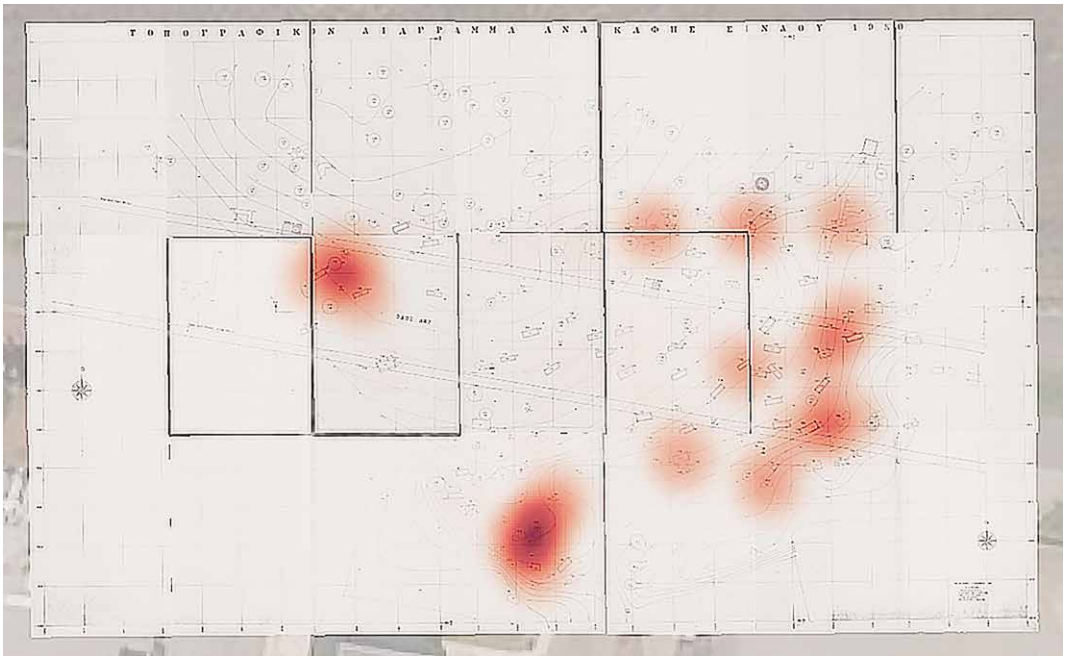

Figure 19. Heatmap displaying age-based clustering. Cluster A is located at the westernmost part of the cemetery while cluster B at the southernmost one.

The spatial distribution of burial goods

As noted above the second outcome that the spatial analysis showed relates to the spatial patterning of burial goods and burial assemblages. Certain categories such as pots, spearheads, certain types of jewellery in small quantities were commonly attested across the whole cemetery. However, others such as clay figurines and miniature objects were exclusively or, like jewellery and adornments (Figure 22) the triplet of offensive equipment, helmets with or without gold decorations (Figure 20; Figure 21), masks or epistomia (Figure 23), primarily found in burials in its east part (jewellery 82%; adornments 77%; off. eq. 91%; all helmets 86%; masks or epistomia 88%). Helmets, however, were found across the cemetery. Yet, helmets bearing gold decorations were only found towards its east part. Similar to this, while epistomia were found across the cemetery with their vast majority in its east part, masks were exclusively found in the east part.

Even categories of objects which were widely attested across the cemetery, such as pots, differed between the two parts of the cemetery. The sympotic triplet was almost exclusively found at the west part of the cemetery (Figure 25). Ceramic pots were evenly distributed across the cemetery, while bronze and glass ones were primarily found in burials in the east part (73% and 70% respectively). Silver pots were only discovered in the east part. A similar internal hierarchy is noted on offensive and defensive equipment as well as jewellery. Offensive equipment frequently consisted of spearheads, swords and knives. While objects like these were found across the cemetery the vast majority of them especially in regard to swords were found in burials in the east part of the cemetery (spearheads: 77%; swords: 83%; knives: 77%). Defensive equipment frequently consisted of helmets with or without gold decorations and a shield was even more exclusive as

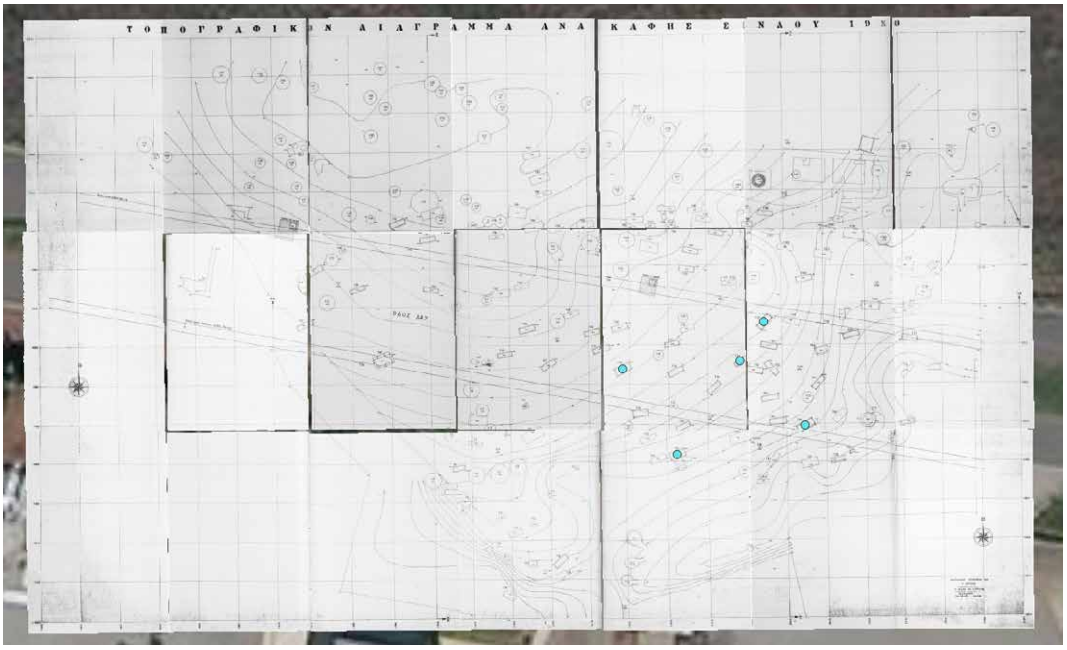

Figure 20. The spatial distribution of helmets bearing gold decorations.

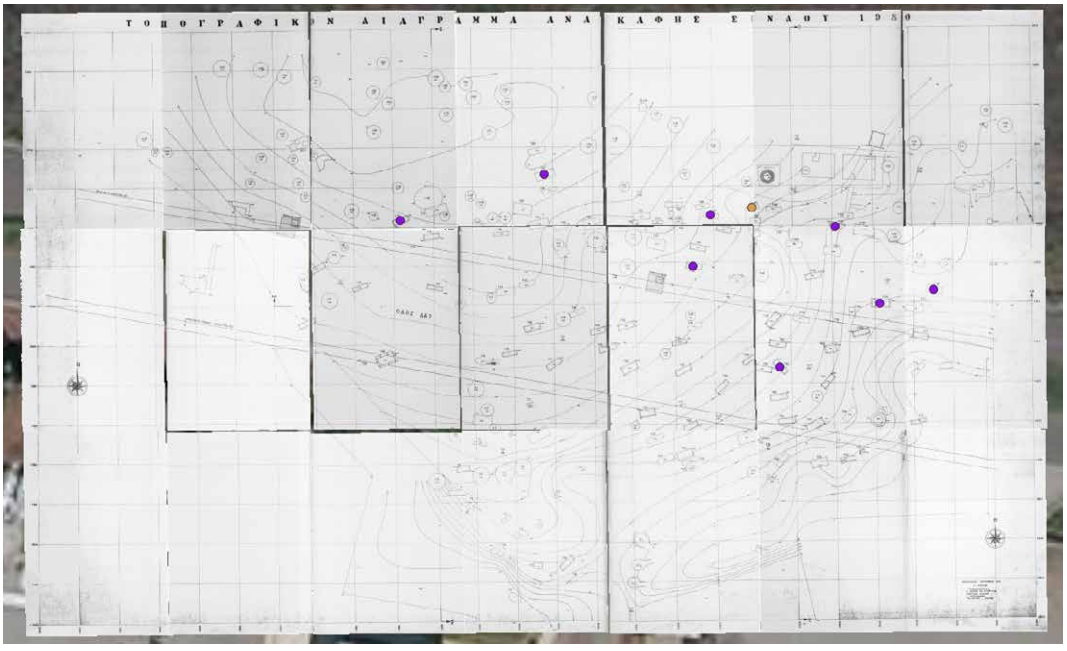

Figure 21. The spatial distribution of helmets.

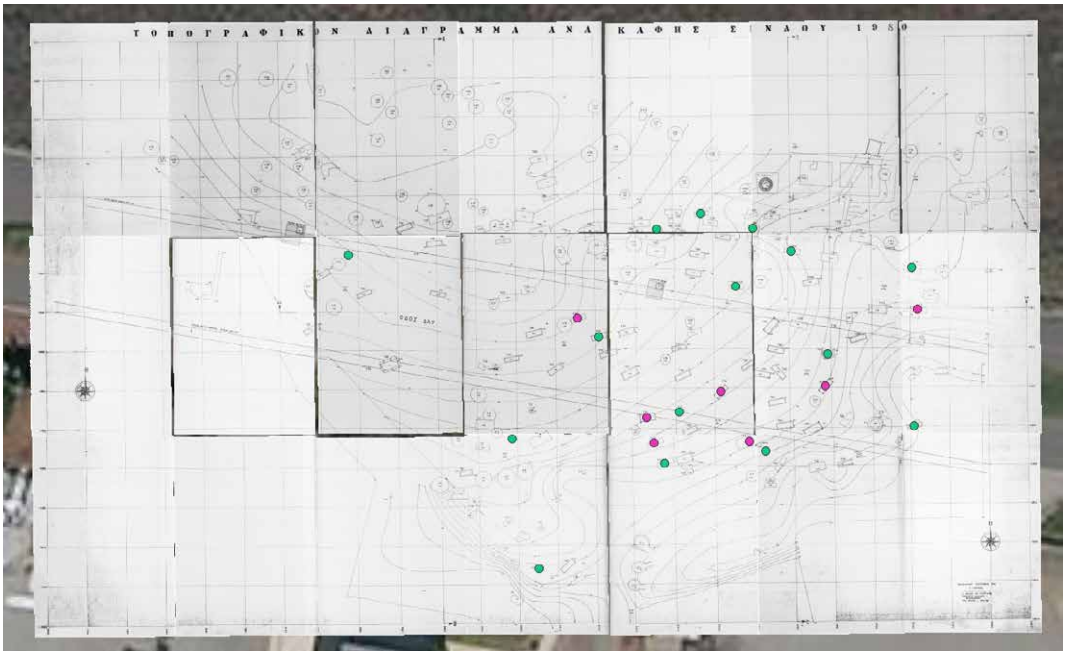

Figure 22. The spatial distribution of different combinations of jewellery. A combination of four types of jewellery is marked with pink while that of three types with green.

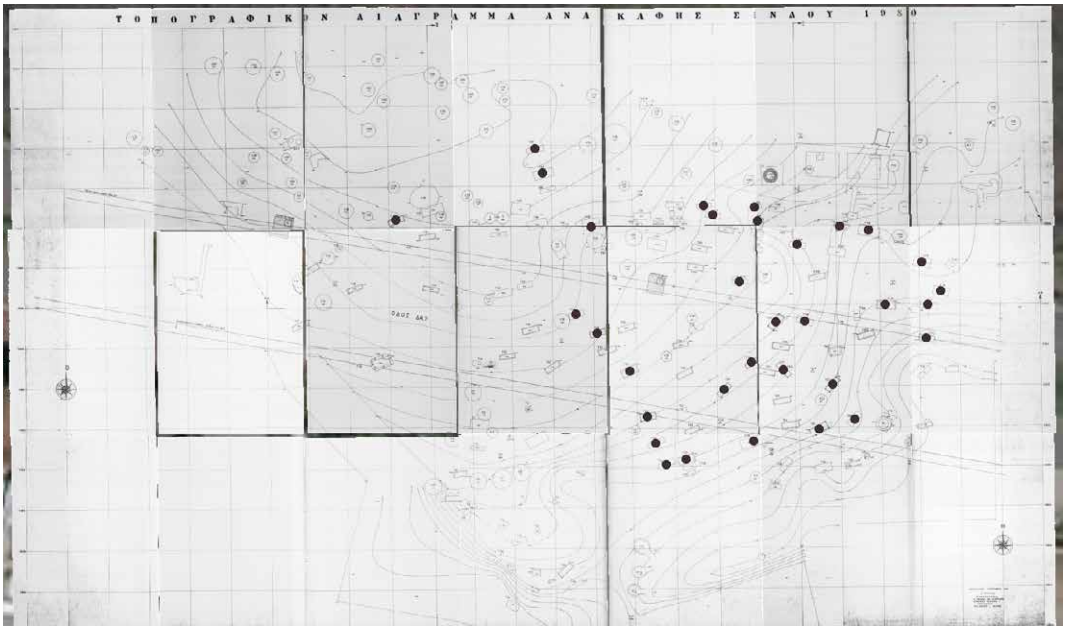

Figure 23. The spatial distribution of masks and epistomia.

it was almost entirely found in burials located in the east part of the cemetery. More specifically, helmets with gold decorations and shields were only found in the east part of the cemetery, while undecorated helmets were all discovered with the exception of two found in the west part (T76, T87).

As for the most distinctive category of burial goods found in the female burials, that is jewellery, similar patterns seem to emerge when examining their distribution (Figure 22). Female burials typically included one to three jewellery types. However, burials at the higher end of this spectrum, that is the ones with three or four types of jewellery were mainly found in the east side of the cemetery. More specifically, burials containing three types of jewellery were only found in the east side of the cemetery. As for the more lavishly decorated ones, they usually included at least four types of jewellery with the most elaborate ones containing up to six of them. With the notable exception of T48 which was furnished with at least four types of jewellery all of these burials were found in the east part of the cemetery. However, tomb 48 might not necessarily be an outlier as the arbitrary line that distinguishes the west from the east part crosses through it, making its classification tricky. In any case this burial does not differ in any aspect when compared to the rest of the female burials with four types of jewellery. Not only did the east part of the cemetery contain more burial goods but also multiple combinations between these objects were observed there. The various correlations between objects making up the male and female 'full kits' were perhaps unsurprisingly only attested at this area of the cemetery. The same holds true for the triplet of sympotic vessels as defined by Saripanidi (2017). The existence of this 'feasting kit' was only attested in the east part of the cemetery with T37 being a notable exception.

It therefore becomes evident that the east part of the Sindos cemetery was qualitatively and quantitatively different than the west one. A number of facts such as that the most elaborate grave types were primarily found in the east part, the exclusive attestation of certain burial goods only in that area of the cemetery or the discovery of qualitatively different burial goods belonging to the same category, the presence of the 'full kits' (Figure 25) for both genders only in that specific area and the insistence of part of the population to keep burying their dead there despite the fact that the west part were less crowded, all denote the significance of the east part. The question arising from all these is what exactly this spatial analysis indicates about the intra-communal social dynamics in the community of Archaic Sindos.

The differential treatment of sub-adult burials and the divide between the west and the east part of the cemetery

The fact that the east part of the cemetery contained the 'wealthiest' burials is mentioned but not discussed by Despoini (2016, 110), Saripanidi (2012, 211) and Kakamanoudis (2019, 160). Additionally, the term 'wealthy' itself is problematic due to its a vague nature and no two people agree on its exact definition when it comes to describing burials. Being 'wealthy' is only based on economic criteria often influenced by contemporary, mainly 'Western'-centric, views on the matter. However, not all of the 'wealthy' tombs contained the 'full funerary kit', hence the two terms, despite frequently overlapping, should not be used interchangeably. People buried with the full kit displayed a multifaceted social persona as evidenced by the presence of different types of burial goods. Their 'wealth' consisted precisely of this bestowment upon them of multiple social roles. For instance,

T40 which all of the researchers mentioned above consider as a 'wealthy' one, primarily due to the fact that it is a cist burial containing multiple burial goods, is not listed in this study as one in which a 'full male kit' was discovered. It is arguably impossible to know whether this burial originally contained more objects which would allow us to classify it as one decorated with the 'full kit'. This is of course not to deny that this could be down to looting from which the tomb suffered, but rather to argue that a more precise term should be used when describing the various hierarchical relations in regard to burials. The example regarding T40 also adds a spatial aspect on the relationship between 'wealthy' and the 'full kit'. While 'wealthy' burials could potentially be found across the cemetery space, burials with the 'full kit' were specifically found in the east part. This further showcases the importance of burials with the 'full kit' which were not simply burials with multiple burial goods, but ones displaying a certain social status which was closely linked to a specific group of people, buried in a specific way at close proximity one another within the same part of the cemetery. All these imply the existence of a distinct group or groups of people who might not have been necessarily just 'wealthy' but they were viewed as important by certain parts of their local community.

Due to numerous factors such as the burial density, the preservation of and respect towards past burials, the equal distribution of gender and age categories across the area, it is often assumed that this area was probably used by prominent families (Saripanidi 2012, 211; Despoini 2016, 110; Kakamanoudis 2019, 160). Since tombs are often located in close proximity to one another, more often than not relationships, actual or imaginary, are spatially expressed (Boyd 2016, 217). Family clustering would of course not be anything new in the area given the organisation of cemetery spaces in tumuli during the Iron Age (Chemsseddoha 2019). However, even if kinship bonds continued to play a role in the selection of a specific burial ground, this is not always archaeologically visible in the archaic cemeteries of the region (Kakamanoudis 2019, 157).

What is visible in Sindos though is a differential treatment on the basis of age between the west and east parts of the cemetery in regard to children. As already argued above, the burial density in the west part, which unequivocally affects the spatial patterning of burials, is much lower than at the east part, as it received 23 less burials. Additionally, two age-based clusters were also discovered there. While adult male and female burials are evenly distributed, the same cannot be said about children, since they were primarily found in two clusters in the periphery of the cemetery. No burial belonging to a person younger than 18 years of age was found anywhere in the west part of the cemetery apart from these two clusters. None of the burials belonging to these two clusters were found near the burials of an adult in similar fashion to the east part of the cemetery. Granted, the burials found in these clusters and especially the ones in cluster A are of older children (T35: 17-18 years old; T36: 2-3 years old; T38: 17-18 years old). However, most of the burials in cluster B are of very young children but instead of being buried next to an adult they are clustered together (T9: 3 years old; T11: 5-6 years old; T12: 4-8 weeks old; T13: 3-4 years old; T15: 3 years old).

In contrast to the observations made for the west part of the cemetery, child burials in the east part of the cemetery were fully incorporated into the general organisation of the cemetery space, buried among people of different age and gender (e.g. Dimakis 2020, 103 n.4). Additionally, T34, T72, T92 and T101B, all of them containing burials of children of a maximum age of 2 years (T34: neonate; T72: 1-2 years old; T92: 1 year old; T101B: neonate), were all buried next to adults with whom they might have been related. The

only peculiar exceptions in this case were T68 (12-16 months) and T112 (neonate). As the excavator of the site observes (Despoini 2016a, 109), it is probable that these children were buried next to their mothers as T73 was linked to T72 and T101A to T101B, with both T73 and T101A identified as female burials, contemporary to the child burials found next to them (e.g. Houby-Nielsen 1995; 1997; Carroll 2018, 16-17). T33 which was found next to T34 was identified by the excavator as a female burial (Despoini 2016, 45). However, the osteoarchaeological analysis showed that the skeletal remains found there actually belonged to a male (Musgrave 2016, 141). This should not come as a surprise as cases of young children being buried with their fathers are also attested elsewhere (Agelarakis 2016, 5, 19). Perhaps less complicated than T33 and T34, T91, found next to T92, was identified as a male by both the excavator and the osteoarchaeologist.

Apart from the differences in terms of spatial patterns based on age (Carroll 2018, 16-26) some common attitudes towards children were also observed between the two parts of the cemetery. First, it could be argued that neonates at both parts did not receive any burial goods and that the child should have been at least 12 months old in order to receive any form of burial good. This should not come as a surprise since some researchers have gone as far as to suggest that neonates were not even considered as persons by the rest of the community or their social group unless they survived past a certain age (e.g. Scott 1999, 90; Crawford 2000, 173; Rubertone 2001, 140-148). A possible exception to this rule might have been T68 which belonged to a young child aged between 12-16 months. This child burial, located in the innermost area of the east part of the Sindos cemetery, aged slightly above 1 year should be regarded as an exception given the fact that it is among the most elaborate burials found in the whole cemetery. Additionally, with the exception of this burial, it might be plausible to suggest that children were generally furnished with gender neutral objects till the age of seven for males (T59) and three for females (T15, T36, T121). However, while this age limit seems to be the same for young females in both parts of the cemetery, it differs for young male burials. The age limit stated above, that of seven years, is only found in the east part as male children of similar age buried in the west part were accompanied by gender non-specific burial goods. Another similarity attested across the cemetery in the internment of children in pit graves regardless of whether they were buried in the east or west side of the cemetery. With the exceptions of T59 (limestone sarcophagus) and T68 (limestone cist), both of them among the most elaborate burials found in the core of the east part of the cemetery, all of the remaining burials belonging to sub-adults under the age of 10 were buried in pits (T9, T12, T13, T15, T36, T66, T44, T104, T121, T112).

Therefore the only major difference is terms of attitudes towards sub-adult burials is their spatial patterning, the interpretation of which constitutes the most challenging task. In the case of Sindos it might be plausible to suggest the presence of two major distinct social groups with similarities and differences alike in their attitudes towards the treatment of the deceased children. The organisation of child burials in separate clusters might not be a phenomenon particular to Sindos as it is evidenced in other places in the ancient Greek world (e.g. Shepherd 2018b, 530-531; Dimakis 2020, 103-104; Kaklamani 2020). The first hypothesis regarding this patterning might be that these younger community members did not belong to a specific family but they were raised either as orphans or for whatever reason, by the community as a whole. Therefore, they were not buried in family clusters because they simply did not belong to one. The second possible explanation, that is the fact that these burials might have actually belonged to the same family with all of the

children being related to one another is not an easy one to prove either. The dating of the burials and the very same location of both clusters within the wider cemetery has further implications for this hypothesis. All of the burials found in the smaller cluster on the westernmost part of the cemetery are dated between 500-450 BC. In the second cluster which is considerably larger, all the burials are dated between 500-400 BC. The dating is based on pottery and therefore not precise for all the burials. Yet, it is hard to imagine these burials as connected to each other through family bonds, as in that case there would be no reason for them to be buried in that manner and their overall distribution should look like the one attested in the east part of the cemetery. Additionally, the large chronological gap between burials especially the ones found in cluster B makes the family theory even less plausible. Consequently, it is perhaps tempting to hypothesise that these groupings were not on the basis of biological relatedness but due to socio-political factors such as the promotion of the groups' cohesion (Dimakis 2020, 104). Children in this part of the cemetery might not have been viewed as full members of their local society and were instead used in order to serve other socio-political purposes (Kaklamani 2020, 97). People burying their children in this clusters found in the west part of the Sindos cemetery might wanted to promote a sense of a shared collective identity, as these children constituted their common future bounded together in eternity.

In contrast to that, as already mentioned above, children in the east part of the cemetery were buried either next to what is often assumed one of their parents or simply dispersed among adult burials depending on their age. What is interesting is that younger children usually received unfurnished burials next to their parent while older children were the ones which were frequently furnished with burial goods and buried among the adult population in the east part of the cemetery. In regard to the first group of burials, it could be argued that a strong sense of attachment (Cannon and Cook 2015) to the parent was evident. Furthermore, similar to the west part, these children might not have been viewed as full members of the society. However, unlike the west part, child burials next to adults found in the east part of the cemetery might have been invested with a sense of inherited status. These children were buried next to their parents as important family members which would inherited their social status if not for their untimely deaths. As for child burials dispersed among adult burials these usually belonged to older children frequently invested with a gendered identity. Their burials among the adult population served a twofold purpose. The first was to establish them as full members of their social groups while the second was to strengthen the cohesion of the group burying their dead in the east part. By not burying them next to their parents but instead burying them in a similar fashion to the adult burials, the group burying their dead in the east part of the Sindos cemetery promoted a strong collective identity as children were fully incorporated in the social fabric of the part of the community buried there (Calliauw 2017, 150-151).

Consequently, as it is evidenced through this comparative study between age patterns in the west and east part of the cemetery, younger children received differential treatment in both areas. Children in the west part were buried next to one another, as family and its inherited status might not be present there. As for the east part, even if strictly organised family clusters are not archaeologically visible, a link between certain adults and younger children did exist. This implies the importance of family ties, especially for people buried in the east part of the cemetery where the most elaborate burials were discovered. This might indicate that children belonging to elite groups had

a different social status than the ones belonging to other communal groups, buried in the west part, since this difference is also spatially expressed (Shepherd 2007). Furthermore, what is also evident in both parts of the cemetery is the manipulation of the child burials by remaining members of their social groups in order to establish a sense of belonging and continuity. While the intention might have been the same, different mechanisms were adopted in its materialisation. The two age-based clusters as opposed to the simple distribution of burials among the adult population as observed in the west and east part correspondingly were distinctive yet interrelated spatial patterns adopted by different groups in order to promote their cohesion.

It therefore becomes evident that the east part of the Sindos cemetery was qualitatively and quantitatively different than the west one. A number of facts such as that the most elaborate grave types were primarily found in the east part, the exclusive attestation of certain burial goods only in that area of the cemetery or the discovery of qualitatively different burial goods belonging to the same category, the presence of the 'full kits' for both genders only there and the insistence of part of the population to keep burying their dead there despite the fact that the west part were less crowded, denote the significance of the east part. Consequently, it seems that despite the fact that the cemetery was quite possibly representative of a large part if not of the whole community, prominent social groups, be they kinship based or otherwise, reserved the use of designated areas for dead. Not only did they reserve the use of this space for themselves but they also emphasised the continuity of their social status diachronically by continuously burying their dead in the same part of the cemetery, while respecting past burials, even when the area started to become saturated as evidenced by the high burial density. Personal memory regarding the ancestors, passing down from generation to generation was in this instance conflated with social memory (Cannon 2002, 192). By burying their dead at the east part of the cemetery elite groups within the local population in Sindos created a link with them, a sense of diachronic continuity. Over the course of time, this specific area of the cemetery was so closely linked to specific members of the society that the burial ground ended up receiving only elaborate burials. It is precisely this exclusivity that in turn created a sense of social status for burials located in that part of the cemetery and consequently for the living associated with them. Given the fact that cemeteries unquestionably have the power to dominate landscapes (Chapter 3), this status quo was ultimately imprinted of the community's social memory for the process to come in a full circular way.

As aptly noted by Fahlander (2003, 354) similar to social structures, the landscape with all its features is both a medium for and an outcome of social action. In light of this observation, the cemetery at Sindos with its two distinct parts appears to be both reinforcing the already existing social dynamics present among the living while simultaneously being influenced by them, as this phenomenon is expressed spatially though the organisation of the cemetery space. Thus, the organisation of the cemetery space could be described as a balancing act between the representativeness of the whole community and the preservation of the status and social standing of the prominent groups within each given community. The place, status and identity of the living were constantly negotiated in relation to that of the dead (Barrett and Boyd 2019, 128), as certain people were being persistently buried in the east part of the cemetery, while others, less elaborate burials were buried wherever there was available space but not in the east side.

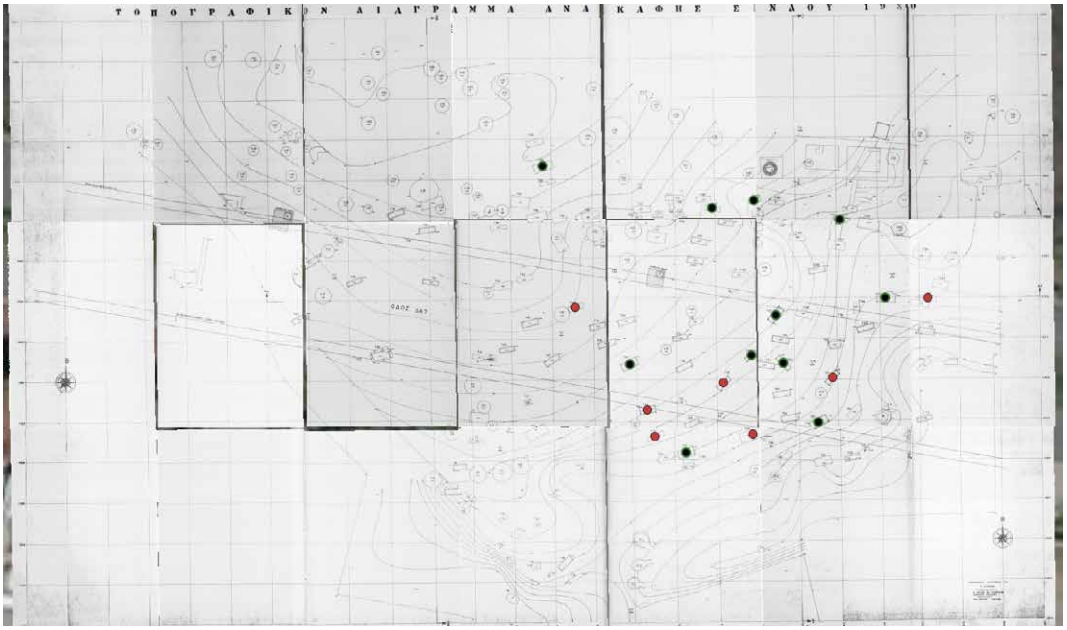

Figure 24. Spatial distribution of male and female ‘full kits’. Male burials are marked with black dots while female ones with red dots.

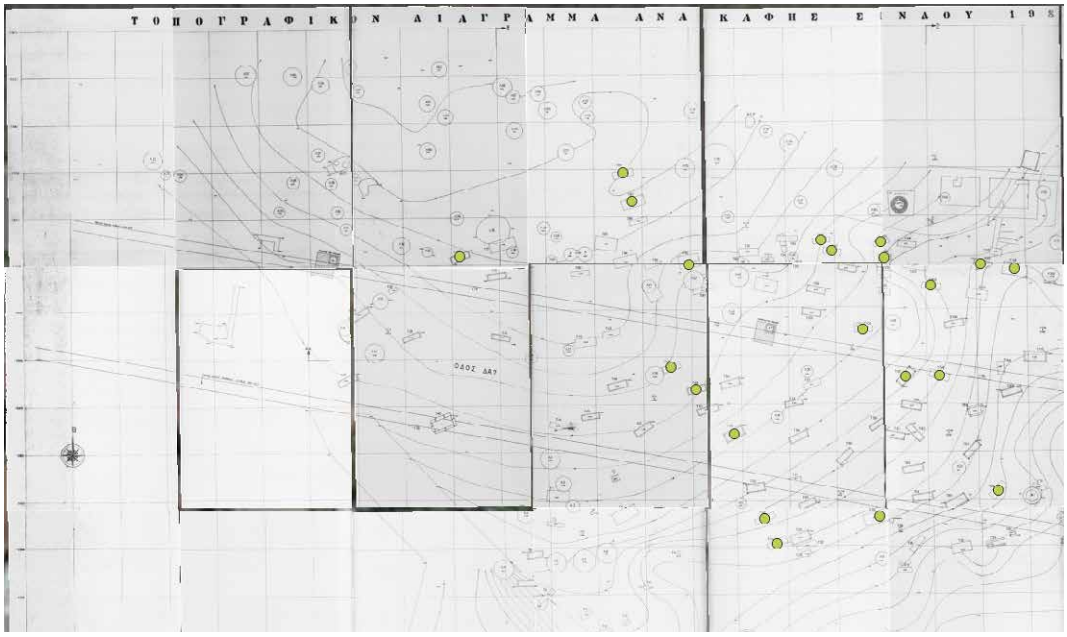

Figure 25. The spatial distribution of the sympotic triplet.

A hierarchy of burial goods and practices?

The attestation of a sort of 'hierarchisation' in regard to the quantity and quality of burial goods provides further evidence of the existence of social dynamics within the community at Sindos. It is indeed a sense of hierarchy and not just variability that permeates burial goods and subsequently mortuary practices attested across the cemetery. While some categories of burial goods are more widely found than others, others remain highly exclusive. What is particularly interesting though is that in the case of burial goods widely attested in the cemetery, there seems to be qualitative differences when the same categories of burial goods are found in more elaborate burials and definitely in the ones containing the 'full funerary kit'. For instance, helmets were generally found in the east part of the cemetery and to a lesser extent in the west part. However, a sense of hierarchy existed even among burials found in the east part. While female burials furnished with the 'full kit' were all found between the innermost towards and the southern areas of the east part, male burials did not do so as a greater hierarchised diversity was observed among them. This internal hierarchy within the east part is also spatially expressed as most of the burials with the 'full kit' were found in close proximity between the innermost and the south areas of the east part. T87, T97, T105 and T111 while containing the 'full kit' were all found in the northernmost part of the east side. With the exception of T111 all of them contained burials in pits. T111 while being a sarcophagus, is also an exception as it probably one of the latest burials in the cemetery dated between 440-420 BC. Also worth mentioning is that despite the fact that these burials did contain the 'full kit' they nonetheless included a less elaborate version of it when compared to the ones located in the innermost/southern areas of the east part. More specifically, no shields, masks or helmets with gold decorations were found in these burials with epistomia and undecorated helmets acting as substitutes for the latter two categories.

Going back to the notion of hierarchy between the west and east parts, this is further evidenced not only by the existence of simple burial goods but perhaps more importantly by the presence of objects related to specific rites. Ointment vessels such as aryballoi or exaleiptra, frequently linked to post-death treatment and pre-interment preparation of the dead body (Saripanidi 2012b), were found across the cemetery in burials of both genders and different ages. If the correlation between the type of vessels and their use stands, then the rite of using ointment and aromatic oils as part of the pre-interment preparation seems to have been widely adopted by the population at Sindos. In contrast to that, the attestation of other types of pottery is scarcer. The sympotic triplet of drinking, pouring and mixing vessels that Saripanidi (2017, 99-104) identified and linked to some sort of communal feasting was, with the exception of T37, exclusively found in the east part of the cemetery. No burial discovered in the west part of the cemetery had pottery belonging to all of the three categories mentioned here. Therefore, regardless of the exact meaning of the triplet, that is whether this was a testament to the participation of the deceased in communal feasting during their lives or just objects involved in mortuary rites attested around the grave and performed by people burying their dead, it is safely to assume that this was a rite reserved only for a selected few. Both an ointment vessel and the sympotic triplet were found together in a limited numbers of instances (T20, T25, T28, T52, T55, T56, T59, T62, T65, T67, T97, T100, T115). All of the burials in which this combination of burial goods were attested at, were located in the east part of the cemetery. With the exception of T55 and T100 all of the remaining ones were elaborate burials containing either the male

or the female 'full kit'. Given their specific location, the fact that both of these burials were deposited in a sarcophagus and that they were both looted, it would not be improbable that these two were also originally furnished with the 'full kit'. Both these two burials along with the ones containing both combination of ointment and feasting vessels along with the 'full kit' were once again only located in the innermost to southern area of the east part of the Sindos cemetery, providing further evidence of the existence of an intra-group hierarchy, between people burying their dead there.

Similar observations apply to the mortuary rite of covering the deceased's face or part of it with a gold object, either an *epistomion* or a mask. This practice, as expressed through both of these objects, is found in burials at both sides of the cemetery. Yet, the majority of these burials is found in the east part of the cemetery. Even if we suppose that this is due to the burial density, the presence of masks only in the east part further indicates the presence of an internal hierarchy even among the people buried in the east part. Access to raw materials and the ability to acquire certain goods, might not have been the primary reasons behind differences between these objects. Instead this differential expression of the same rite might be better understood as varying degrees of power and social status. Similar to the differences in the male 'full kit' described above, all of the masks were found in burials in the innermost to southern area of the east part, hence attributing a spatial aspect to this sense of hierarchy even among burials in what is frequently viewed as the most elaborate location within the Sindos cemetery. Of course one could counter-argue that since the west part is severely looted, more correlations between objects, as for example between the ones forming the triplet might have originally existed. However, this is highly unlikely since objects with more economic value such as epistomia were in fact recovered from that part of the cemetery. Given that these objects did escape looting in arguably a small number of cases, one would expect that pottery and especially vessels making up the sympotic triplet would have been found in larger quantities in the west part.

Differentiation and variability

Following up on the various combinations between burial goods as attested in Sindos, we might argue that this infers the presence of various power relations and social dynamics concomitantly active within the local community. The mapping of this variability clearly demonstrates a series of patterns most of them stemming from the fact that the east part of the cemetery consistently received more elaborate burials. While a traditional top-down approach, whereby the presence of an elite is evidenced through spatial and depositional patterns, might in some cases be considered as outdated (e.g. Kienlin and Zimmermann 2012; Moore and Armada 2012), in the case of Sindos it should not be quickly disregarded. Various calls have been made to move beyond the elites in our approaches to social structure in antiquity, with researchers offering different explanatory models such as lineages and kinship groups, household groups or even tribes (Kienlin 2012, 18). In Sindos though, family clustering or indeed any other form of clustering, with the exception of the two clusters in the west side consisting of child burials and the attestation in the east part of the cemetery of a limited cases in which child burials were found next to their parent, was not archaeologically visible.

Furthermore, as already noted above, many of the funerary practices are shared across the cemetery implying the possible existence of a common cultural background.

Variations of similar practices should therefore be attributed not to distinct ethnic groups but social ones, with differential access to power and social status. This is further evidenced through both the depositional and the spatial patterns, which could be interpreted as expressions of dominance of certain group or groups of people over the parts of their local community buried in the same cemetery. The fact that children, adult males and females all received elaborate burials and were buried in the same part of the cemetery testifies to the existence of prominent groups within the local community (Ames 2008, 498). Their insistence of burying their dead at this exact location, in combination with the attestation of similar practices to the ones found in the rest of the cemetery, albeit in their more elaborate version, all pinpoint to the fact that these people were considered as important members of their community.

The fact that this phenomenon was attested in a cemetery which was seemingly representative of the whole community implies that the social status of both the dead and the living associated with them was socially acceptable by the community. However, rather than turning this argument into an elite/non-elite one, it is more fruitful to treat the variability observed in burial goods and practices in Sindos as a spectrum. Equally, it is very hard to argue whether the local community at Sindos was a strictly stratified or an egalitarian one. This is actually a pseudo-dilemma, as it needs not to be one of the two (Wengrow and Graeber 2015, 613). What we see in Sindos, is a blend between elements belonging to both types. People in stratified societies have differential access to resources and social status (Ames 2008, 490). The variation in the quality and quantity of burial goods demonstrate that certain groups of people received special treatment by the living. At the same time, some practices were indeed shared among the majority of people buried in Sindos creating some sort of commonality between them. Yet, as it is well-known, certain members of the community are more equal than others. This is further evidenced by the attestation of more elaborate versions of these practices pertaining to the presence of an intra-group hierarchy, operating at two levels, an intra-cemetery one between west and east part and an intra-group one among burials in the east part. I now turn to the study of the second major site, that of Archontiko before co-examining both Archontiko and Sindos later in the chapter.

5.3 Archontiko

Arguably, the largest assemblage of warrior burials in Archaic Macedonia was found in the area around modern-day Archontiko, between the rivers Loudias and Axios, in the ancient region of Bottiaea. The excavations at the settlement commenced in 1992 by the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the Department of History and Archaeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The prehistoric settlement, dated during the early Neolithic period was occupying the top of a mound (*toumba*) found in the middle of a fertile plain situated between two rivers (Papaeuthymiou-Papanthimou and Pilali-Papastergiou 2004, 457 n.2). The lowlands (*trapeza*) which were inhabited during the Iron Age and the subsequent historical periods, were located in front of the prehistoric settlement. The settlement's high strategic importance was also evidenced by the fact that its location allowed it to control the east-west and north-south roads of the region (Xydopoulos 2017, 78). Based on evidence from the excavation at the *trapeza*, the excavators suggested that the settlement suffered a severe blow, from which it never recovered, around 279 BC, due to the invasion of the Gauls in Macedonia (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 1997, 183-184).

Regarding its identification, the site's excavators, Anastasia and Pavlos Chrysostomou, proposed that Archontiko is probably ancient Tyrissa, a town between Kyrros and Pella (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2011, 127 n.14) although Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004, 806) argue that Tyrissa was actually a settlement in Pieria. On the other hand, Kottaridi (2016, 627) does not excludes the possibility of this site identified as Vounomos or Vounomeia. However, there is also the view that situates Vounomos or Vounomeia further north near Pella (Akamatis 2009, 525; Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2012, 8-10). In addition to this, it is highly probable that the settlement had access to the sea, given that it was situated 3km from the ancient coastline of the Thermaic gulf (Chrysostomou 2011, 299-300), although Kottaridi (2016, 627) disagrees with this noting that a direct link with the sea was difficult to be established since the terrain was too swampy. Instead, she counterargues that this connection was only possible through another site 5km south-eastern from Archontiko, which later became known as Pella.

Regardless of the debate around the identification of the settlement, the most impressive discovery was that of the four cemeteries, constructed around the settlement and situated on the slopes of nearby hills. The south and the southwestern ones were already known in the 1980s. The former was in use during the Iron age, while the latter was used during the Classical and the Hellenistic periods. In 2000, due to numerous arrests of graverobbers by the police and their subsequent questioning, the west cemetery of Archontiko, with its huge number of lavishly decorated burials was discovered (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2009). Reportedly, 1001 tombs were unearthed in an total area of 1.1 hectares, which amazingly constitutes only the 3% of the total estimated area of the cemetery. The cemetery was in use from the Iron Age until the Hellenistic period, with the majority of the burials dated during the Archaic period (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 495). Furthermore, another cemetery with its peak in the number of burials dated once again during the Archaic period was excavated in the east of the settlement in 2005 (Chrysostomou and Zarogiannis 2005). Interestingly though, no golden burial goods were found inside its graves, a striking difference in contrast to the archaeological finds from the west cemetery. Moreover, the west cemetery along with the settlement and the east cemetery seem to form an horizontal axis, with the lavishly decorated burials located on a hillslope on the west side of the settlement and the less sumptuous ones located opposite of them on the slope of the eastern hill, an indication perhaps of social dynamics to which I will come back to in later chapters.

Chronological distribution, gendering and looting of the burials

Despite the fact that the west cemetery at Archontiko is not fully published, and therefore the analysis of the material to the same extent as the one from Sindos was not possible, the meticulous excavations of Anastasia and Pavlos Chrysostomou and their preliminary reports provide us with enough details to obtain an informed image of the specific site. The excavations undertaken by the local *Ephoreia* between 2000 and 2010 revealed 1001 graves dating from the Iron Age to 279 BC, when the Gauls invaded Macedonia. More specifically, 260 of them are dated between the mid-seventh century BC and 580 BC, 474 during the Archaic period (580-480 BC) and 261 during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (480-279 BC), with the remaining six being chronologically undetermined (Chrysostomou 2017, 233). From the 474 burials dating to the Archaic period, 233 belonged to males, 213 to females, while 38 could not be gendered (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 491). However,

for the purposes of the present study, I was able to catalogue 237 of the 474 burials dating to the Archaic period, as only these were mentioned in the preliminary reports. From the 237 graves in total, 58 belonged to female, while 178 to males. In the following pages, the chronological distribution of burials and their sexing are first analysed. Subsequently the various degrees of looting and its implications for the data are presented, followed by a short discussion on the various grave types attested in Archontiko. The emphasis is then placed on the study of each individual category of burial goods, starting with an analysis of the gender-specific burial goods and then moving to gender non-specific ones. Following this, a cross examination demonstrating the various co-occurrences of the different categories of burial goods is offered, resulting in the definition of male and female 'full' burial kit.

Moreover, before proceeding further with the analysis of the data from Archontiko, two crucial facts should be underlined. The first one is the practice of looting, either in antiquity or in recent years. Looted burials were rarely published as looting and especially the contemporary aspect of this practice represents a very important problem in the case of Archontiko, an unfortunate practice repeatedly noted by the excavators, with the grave robbers active even at night during the excavation period (Chrysostomou and Chysostomou 2002, 476-477; 2004, 465; 2007, 435; 2011, 119). Furthermore, even in the case of the published graves, the excavators do not specify which ones were looted and which ones were not. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between burials that did not contain any given type of burial good in the first place and the ones in which that absence is due to looting. The second one concerns the gendering and aging of the graves. In spite of the excavators' claim (Chrysostomou 2017, 233) that these were based on both the burial goods and the skeletal remains, what becomes evident from the publications is that the main source of information on these matters is primarily the burial goods and the direction towards which the deceased's head is facing. Regarding especially the aging of the burials, this was almost entirely based on the grave size. Some pathological observations and general remarks on the aging of the osteological remains were only possible in the case of eight female and 10 male burials. In regard to the head orientation, it is noted that females always faced east, north or south but never west, while the males west, north or south but never east (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007, 115; 2012, 491). Since a detailed osteological analysis is still unavailable from Archontiko, the gendering of the burials was predominantly based on the burial goods. Here, as in Sindos, weapons and jewellery seem to have been gender specific, at least as the genders themselves were identified by the excavators, designating male and female burials respectively. Age was generally not a decisive factor contributing to the overall 'wealth' of the burial. Nonetheless, according to the excavators, only individuals over the age of five were buried with any form of burial good (Chrysostomou 2018, 90).

In terms of the typology of the graves, in contrast to Sindos, only two types are attested at Archontiko: pit graves and cremation burials. However, the latter constitutes a miniscule proportion of the total number of burials, as it is estimated at around 2% (Chysostomou 2018, 89). Therefore, the vast majority of the remaining ones consisted of pit graves containing wooden sarcophagi. Unfortunately, since the final publication is still pending, it was impossible to estimate the exact percentages of each grave type. Nonetheless, based on the preliminary reports, the largest category should be the simplest form of pit graves in which the dead were buried on their backs in wooden sarcophagi. According to

the excavators, in some cases, the tombs were marked with large white stones, functioning as grave markers, however without specifying the existence or not of a mound of earth. Pebbles were placed at the bottom of the pit forming some sort of layer on top of which the wooden sarcophagus was deposited. Other types of larger stones were then positioned on top of the sarcophagus creating a stone barrier protecting the dead. Concerning especially the size of the pits, while most of them are large enough to accommodate an adult or a child, a few of them are significantly larger. In those monumental graves, which are essentially a larger than normal pit grave (e.g. T262 [3.40m X 2.15m], T279 [4.25m X 2.90m], T280 [3.70m X 2.30m], T283 [3.70m X 1.76m] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2005, 508-512; T458 [3.40m X 2.00m] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 367), a step was typically found on one of the two longer sides to facilitate the placement of the wooden sarcophagi. Unfortunately, their exact dimensions are not always stated in the preliminary reports. Additionally only a handful of these tombs is specifically mentioned in the excavation reports (male burials T194, T254, T258A, T271, T279, T280, T283, T705,T774; female burials T198, T262, T268, T738), although, as admitted by the archaeologists, many of the more elaborate burials were also placed in similar size graves. According to the excavators, it is precisely these elaborate graves that are better protected with pebbles and stones as they contained the most elaborate burials. Therefore, it has been suggested that an association between the 'wealth' of the burials and the grave's dimensions could be observed in the west cemetery at Archontiko (Chysostomou 2017, 233). Similar to Sindos, it is social status that determines the grave type and not age, despite the fact that children are usually buried in smaller pits, probably due to practical reasons. Indeed, there are no differences between the adults and the children buried at the cemetery in terms of the quantity or quality of the burial goods (Chysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 491; Chysostomou 2017, 233; 2018, 89).

Gender specific burial goods: weapons, knives and jewellery

As stated above, weapons and jewellery were the two major categories of gender specific burial goods. The vast majority of the male burials found at Archontiko and discussed here contained multiple pieces of arms and armour (Table 15). Of the 178 graves presented in this study, 155 contained iron spearheads. However, as stated above, in most cases, it is difficult to distinguish between the ones that did not contain any spearhead in the first place and the ones in which that absence can be attributed to looting. Of the 23 graves without spearheads, nine of them are only briefly mentioned in the publications without any information on their burial goods (T81, T89, T574, T579, T616, T682, T684, T697, T698; Table 15), while the remaining 14 possibly contained at least one spearhead which was not found due to the partial looting of these graves (T258A, T271, T396, T403, T405, T526, T558A, T609, T627, T648, T666, T766, 785, Λ2; Table 15).

The general trend is, as at Sindos, the deposition of a pair of spearheads per grave, evidenced by the occurrence of them in 94 out of the 155 burials, while 12 burials contained only one spearhead (T32, T283A, T330, T473, T481, T491, T495, T607, T715, T763A, T83, T85; Table 15). The classification of the remaining 49 burials is difficult, as the excavators were not explicit in their reports as to the exact number of spearheads per grave, simply referring to them as having 'at least one'. Swords, of considerable variety in terms of typology but unfortunately not yet identified (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 498-499) were another type of burial good commonly attested at male tombs at Archontiko, found in 125 tombs. The only distinct type that the excavators were able to identify was

that of the *machaira* found in five graves (T45, T330, T396, T405, T765; Table 15). In almost every case in Archontiko, swords were found only once in each grave. However, some notable exceptions include tombs T194 and T279, which had a pair of swords, and T280, in which three swords were excavated. Swords generally appeared in graves along with spearheads. Nonetheless, here too there are some exceptions, as at least four burials (T627, T651, T699A, T766; Table 15) did contain swords but not spearheads. Turning to armour, defensive equipment is less common among the male graves at Archontiko. In the 178 male graves mentioned above, a total of 59 helmets, some decorated with gold foils around the face opening, was excavated. Forty four helmets were found intact while the rest of them were found in pieces, as the graves in which they were deposited had been looted. However, the total number of helmets could have been even higher, as the excavators argued that apart from the 44 helmets safely recovered, another 38 were looted by modern graves robbers (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 497). The vast majority of the remaining helmets belonged to the so-called 'Illyrian' type, while three tombs (T145, T279, T692; Table 15) contained a distinct type of helmet called 'Illyro-Corinthian', which combined features attested in both types. Furthermore, of the total 44 helmets, 12 were decorated with gold foil, attached around their face opening (Table 15) with a limited number of them depicting rosettes, flowers or lions facing each other.

Helmets were always accompanied by swords and spearheads and in a few cases by shields, thus forming a distinct assemblage of weapons. Shields were a very rare type of burial good, as they were discovered in only eight tombs (T131, T145, T258A, T279, T280, T283, T443, T692; Table 15). In contrast to the ones found at Sindos, these were bronze and belonged to two different types. Six of them were 'Argive' shields, while the remaining two were smaller ones of the 'breastplate' type (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012, 497-499).

As already noted when discussing the archaeological material from Sindos, knives comprise a particular kind of burial good, since they may have served multiple purposes. Knives are far more common in the male burials than at the female ones. One hundred and thirty six out of the 178 male graves at Archontiko contained at least one knife, a total percentage of 76.5%. Their numbers vary usually between one and three, with T795A containing four of them, representing an exception. On the contrary, only 12 of the 59 female graves contained at least one knife (20%), while their numbers once again vary between one and three (Table 24). However, there are two main factors influencing the observable distribution patterns in the female graves. First, the number of female burials presented in this study is significantly fewer than the male ones. This problem stems from a bigger one, which is no other than the overwhelming emphasis put on the most elaborate female burials by the excavators in their preliminary reports. As for the distribution of knives in the male burials, it could be argued that this was more prevalent, since they were found in both lavishly decorated burials and burials containing a very small number of objects. Therefore, the trend of knives being more commonly attested in male than female graves observed in Sindos, as well as in other places of the Greek world (Bräuning and Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 81), is also noted at Archontiko.

The main category of burial goods closely associated with female burials is jewellery. Necklaces, bracelets, earrings, hair spirals, diadems, brooches, pins and rings were all attested in the female graves at Archontiko (Table 16). Nonetheless, it must be stressed that diadems, pins and rings were also excavated in male burials while all of the remaining jewellery types were gender specific to women. Based on the information in

Grave/Tomb	Spearheads	Swords	Knives	Arrowheads	Helmet With Gold Decorations	Helmet	Shield
T1	1 or more		1 or more				
T3	1 or more		1 or more				
T4	2	1	1 or more			1	
T9	2	1	1 or more			1	
T10	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T13	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T21	1 or more		1 or more				
T23	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T25	1 or more		1 or more				
T27	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T29	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T32	1	1	2			1	
T33	1 or more		1 or more				
T38	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T42	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T45	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T47	1 or more	1	1 or more			1	
T48	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T54	1 or more		1 or more				
T57	1 or more		1 or more				
T61	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T72	1 or more		1 or more				
T81							
T82	1 or more		1 or more				
T83	1	1	1				
T85	1	1	2				
T87	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T89							
T98	1 or more	1	1 or more			1	
T102	1 or more		1 or more				
T104	1 or more		1 or more				
T117	1 or more		1 or more				
T119	1 or more		1 or more				
T121	1 or more		1 or more				
T123	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T125	1 or more		1 or more				
T127	1 or more		1 or more				
T131	2	1	2		1		1
T132	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T133	1 or more	1	1 or more			1	
T135A	2	1	1 or more			1	
T136	2	1	1			1	
T143	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T145	2	1	1		1		1
T150	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T157	2	1	1				

Grave/Tomb	Spearheads	Swords	Knives	Arrowheads	Helmet With Gold Decorations	Helmet	Shield
T160	1 or more		1 or more				
T163	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T170	2	1	1				
T188	1 or more		1 or more				
T189	2	1	3			1	
T190	1 or more		1 or more				
T191	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T193	1 or more		1 or more				
T194	2	2	1		1		
T227	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T235	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T239	2	1	3			1	
T240	1 or more	1	1 or more				
T246	1 or more		1 or more				
T256A	2	1	1			1	
T258A							1
T271					1		
T279	2	2	2		1		1
T280	2	3	1		1		1
T283	2	1	2		1		1
T283A	1						
T315	2	1	1				
T330	1	1			1		
T334	2	1	1			1	
T354	2	1	2			1	
T358	2	1					
T360	2	1	3			1	
T361	2	1	1				
T392	2	1	1			1	
T396		1					
T399	2						
T403	1	1	1			1	
T405		1					
T410	2	1	1			1	
T412	2	1	1			1	
T417	2	1	1		1		
T425	2	1	1				
T436	2	1	1			1	
T443	2	1	2			1	1
T447	2	1	1			1	
T467A	2	1	1				
T473	1		1				
T475	2	1	1				
T481	1		1				
T488	2	1	1				
T491	1		1				

Grave/Tomb	Spearheads	Swords	Knives	Arrowheads	Helmet With Gold Decorations	Helmet	Shield
T495	1		1				
T497	2	1	1				
T506	2	1	1				
T510	2	1	1				
T522	2	1	1			1	
T524	2	1	1			1	
T525	2	1	1			1	
T526		1					
T530	2	1	1				
T541	2	1	1			1	
T544	2	1	1				
T546	2	1	1			1	
T558A			2	1			
T559	2	1	1				
T574							
T576	2		2				
T579							
T584	2	1	1				
T587	2	1	3			1	
T593A	2	1	1				
T599	2	1	1				
T601	2	1				1	
T603	2	1	2			1	
T607	1		1				
T609			1				
T610	2		1				
T612	2		3				
T616							
T625	2	1	1				
T627		1				1	
T637	2	1				1	
T644	2	1				1	
T648	2	1				1	
T651		1				1	
T666	2						
T682							
T683	2	1	1				
T684							
T685	2	1	1				
T689A		1				1	
T692	2	1	2		1		1
T697							
T698							
T703	2	1	2				
T705	2	1					
T709	2	1				1	
T711	2	1	1				
T715	1		2				
T717	2	1	1				
T719	2						
T720	2	1	1			1	
T726	2						
T727	2	1	1				
T728	2	1	1				
T730	2						
T731	2	1	1				
T734	2						
T735	2	1				1	
T736	2	1					
T739	2	1	1			1	
T740	2	1	1				
T741	2	1	2			1	
T742	2	1				1	
T746	2	1					
T750	2	1					
T759	2	1	3			1	
T761	2	1	1				
T763A	1						
T765	2	1	2				
T766		1				1	
T774	2	1	3		1		
T777	2	1				1	
T782	2	1	1			1	
T785	2	1	1			1	
T788	2	1	1			1	
T789	2	1	2			1	
T790	2	1	1				
T795A	2	1	4		1		
T803	2						
Λ1	1 or more	1	1 or more				
Λ13	2	1	1				
Λ16	1 or more	1	1 or more				
Λ2		1					
Λ22	1 or more	1	1 or more				
Λ25	1 or more	1	1 or more				
Λ5	1 or more		1 or more				

Table 15. Arms and armour in the male burials at Archontiko.

Grave/ Tomb	Pendants	Brooches/ Fibulae	Rings	Necklace	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Pins
T20B	1 Gold		1 Gold			2 Silver			1 Iron, 1 Bronze
T89A					At Least 2 Bronze				1 Iron
T152				1 Amber	4 (NS)				2 Iron, 2 Bronze
T197	1 Gold				16 Bronze	2 Gold			At Least 2 Iron
T198			1 Gold	1 Gold		2 Gold		2	2 Silver
T221	1 Gold					2 Silver	1 Gold		2 Silver
T225	1 Gold		1 Bronze						3 Iron
T229	1 Gold		1 Bronze		At Least 2 Bronze	1 Silver			At Least 2
T231	1 Gold				At Least 2 Bronze				4 Iron, 1 Bronze
T232	1 Silver				2 Bronze				3 Iron, 2 Bronze
T233	1 Silver	2 Bronze	1 Silver	1 Amber, Faience And Glass	At Least 2 Bronze	2 Silver			3 Iron, 2 Bronze
T234									2 Bronze, 1 Iron
T262	1 Gold		1 Gold	1 Gold			1 Gold Plated		6 Silver, 2 Gold Plated
T268							1 Gold		
T296	1 Gold						1 Gold		2 Iron
T319									2 Iron
T348			1 Gold						
T359	3 Gold			1 Silver	2 Silver	2 Gold	1 Gold		2 Silver
T390	1 Gold		1 Silver						4 Iron
T414	1 Gold		1 Gold, 1 Silver						2 Silver, 1 Bronze, 2 Iron
T431	1 Gold		1 Gold				1 Gold		
T433	1 Gold		1 Gold						4 Iron
T458	1 Gold		1 Gold	1 Gold			2 Gold		Over 10 Silver, Iron, Bronze (Ns)
T465	1 Gold								At Least 2 Iron
T470		2 Bronze		1 Amber					
T474	1 Silver					2 Bronze			
T478			1 Bronze						
T503	1 Gold				4 Bronze				
T505	1 Gold	2 Iron				2 Gold			2 Silver, 2 Iron
T513	1 Gold		1 Bronze		At Least 2 Bronze	2 Silver			
T525A	1 Gold		1 Gold	1 Glass And Amber	At Least 2 Bronze	1 Silver			
T526A	1 Gold		1 Silver			2 Silver	1 Gold		2 Silver

Grave/ Tomb	Pendants	Brooches/ Fibulae	Rings	Necklace	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Pins
T548									2 Iron
T571	1 Silver		1 Bronze		2 Bronze	2 Bronze			3 Iron
T572			1 Bronze	1 Shells					
T575									2 Bronze, 1 Iron
T605			2 Bronze		3 Bronze				2 Iron, 2 Bronze
T613					2 Bronze				4 Iron
T646									
T652			1 Bronze					1	
T665				1 Amber					1 Iron, 1 Bronze
T686			1 Bronze		2 Bronze				2 Iron
T687	1 Silver				2 Bronze	2 Silver			1 Bronze, 6 Iron
T688			1 Gold	1 Glass	4 Bronze				2 Silver, 2 Iron, 1 Bronze
T704					2 Bronze				6 Iron
T712	1 Gold		1 Gold				1 Gold		3 Iron, 2 Bronze
T714			1 Bronze						2 Iron
T721									2 Iron
T722			1 Bronze		2 Bronze	2 Silver			
T732	1 Gold				2 Bronze	1 Gold			3 Iron, 1 Bronze
T733	1 Gold		1 Silver						1 Iron
T738	1 Gold		1 Gold				1 Gold	2	3 Bronze, 6 Iron
T742							1 Gold		
T747	1 Gold					2 Silver			3 Bronze,2 Silver
T748	1 Gold		1 Silver		2 Bronze				
T758			1 Bronze						4 Iron
T793A			1 Gold						4 Iron
T800B									

Table 16. Jewellery types discovered in the female burials at Archontiko and the materials used in their creation.

the preliminary reports, it was possible to catalogue approximately 344 pieces of jewellery which were found in the 59 female graves with their number per grave varying between one to 19 and an average of six pieces per grave. The most frequently attested type of jewellery is pins, as they were found in 40 graves out of the 59, with the second most commonly found types being rings and pendants, both of which were found at 30 graves in Archontiko, although not necessarily always together. As for the materials used in the creation of the jewellery, 30.5% were bronze, 26.5% iron, 19.5% gold, 16.3% iron, 1.5% amber, 0.8% glass and 0.3% faience. It should be noted, however, that not even in a single burial were all of the jewellery pieces made from the same material. On the contrary,

jewellery items, discovered in the female graves, were consistently made of a variety of materials found in numerous combinations. In contrast to what one might have expected, that perhaps the most elaborate burials should have only contained jewellery made of the most valuable raw materials, such as gold or silver, as the main feature of the burials at Archontiko is the variability in terms of the materials involved in the production of jewellery. It is therefore, tempting to hypothesise that it is precisely this variability that was used to indicated the most elaborate burials within the cemetery.

Gender non-specific burial goods: pottery, miniature objects, clay figurines, masks and mouthpieces

Pottery at Archontiko, as at Sindos, was found in most of the burials. In the 178 male graves presented here, a total number of 311 ceramic vessels were documented and briefly discussed in the preliminary reports. These can be subdivided into major categories: sympotic vessels and vessels used for ointments and perfumes. Sympotic vessels include the shapes skyphos, oinochoe, krater, kotyle, olpe, lebes, kylix, arytaina, kantharos, prohous, phiale, ethmos, simple mug, and hydria, used in mixing, pouring, and drinking wine, while containers used for ointment and perfumes consisted of exaleiptra, aryballoi, alavastra, miniature oinochoes and kotyles, lekythoi and plemochoes (Figure 26).

Based on information derived from the preliminary reports (Chystostomou and Chrysostomou 2007, 116; 2012, 507-508), it was possible to observe that 72 of these vessels were imports from Corinth (kraters, aryballoi, kotyles, miniature amphorae and kotyles, exaleiptra, oinochoes, alavastra), 37 from Attica (kylikes, skyphoi, olpes, oinochoes, hydriai, lekythoi, plemochoe, lekanides, alavastra, amphorae, miniature hydriai and oinochoes), while 19 are of 'Ionian origin' (Rhodian 'bucchero', kraters, amphorae, oinochoe, phiales, aryballoi, alavastra, kylikes, miniature oinochoes) (Figure 26; Figure 27). However, it is unclear whether the rest of the 311 vessels were local, as they have not yet been fully published. It remains to be seen if the majority of pottery vases presented here will prove to have been imported. In 58 cases ceramic pots were complemented by bronze ones, usually of the type of phiales or lebes (Table 17). However, silver and glass vases are extremely rare, attested only once in T279, in which a silver phiale was found, and in T399 in which a glass *aryballos* was discovered. Given the scarcity of these vessels, it is perhaps not surprising that none of the graves contained pots made of all four of the materials mentioned above.

Female graves contained proportionally more pottery than the male ones, as 205 ceramic vessels were excavated in 58 female graves. The distinction between sympotic vessels and vessels used for ointments and perfumes holds true for the female graves too. No definitive remarks concerning the origin of the vessels can be made, however, based on the preliminary reports, 53 vessels could be identified as Corinthian, 21 as Attic and 12 as Ionian (Figure 28). Pottery vessels in 34 cases were discovered along with bronze ones in similar types as the ones found in the male tombs (Table 18). Silver vessels were attested once in T738, whilst glass vases were only found in T369 and T268. As one might have anticipated, there is not even one grave in which clay, bronze, silver and glass vases were all attested.

Another category of burial good found in both male and female graves are miniature metal objects; these are attested in 35 out of the 237 graves, 27 male and eight female. Usually made of iron and, more rarely, of bronze, these objects were consistent in their typology, as they only depicted spits and firedogs, two types of furniture, i.e. a chair and a three-legged table, a two wheeled or four wheeled cart, depending on the

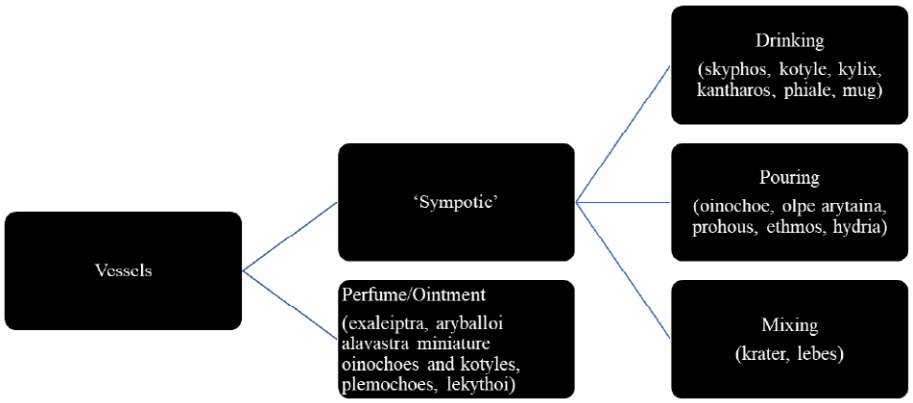

Figure 26. Vessel shapes in Archontiko.

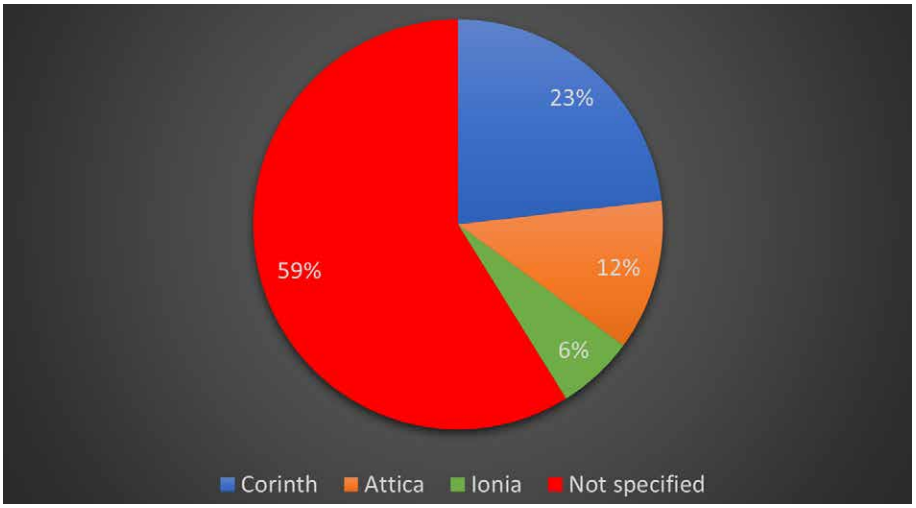

Figure 27. Pottery provenance of the male burials at Archontiko.

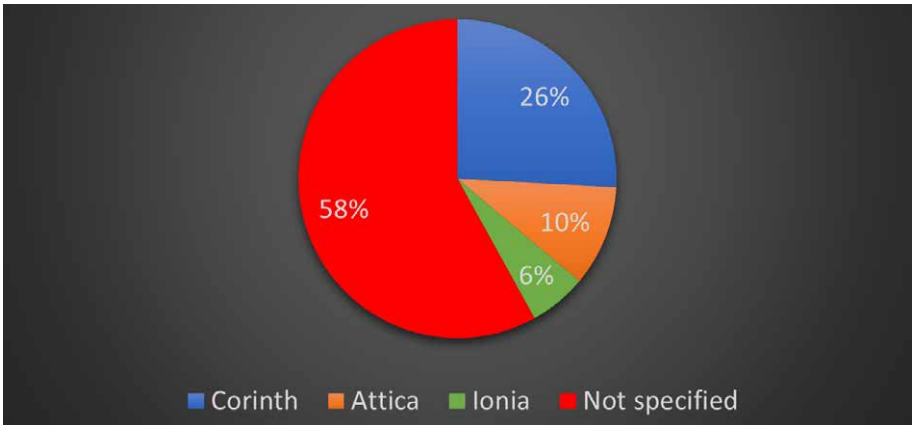

Figure 28. Pottery provenance of the female burials at Archontiko.

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T1					
T3					
T4	2		1		
T9	4		n/a		
T10	n/a				
T13	n/a				
T21	n/a				
T23	n/a				
T25					
T27					
T29	n/a				
T32	2				
T33	n/a				
T38					
T42					
T45					
T47					
T48					
T54	n/a				
T57					
T61					
T72					
T81					
T82					
T83	6		5		
T85	2		5		
T87					
T89					
T98					
T102	n/a				
T104					
T117					
T119	n/a				
T121					
T123					
T125					
T127					
T131	4		9		
T132					
T133					
T135A			2		
T136			1		
T143					
T145	1		6		
T150					

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T157	4				
T160					
T163					
T170	3				
T188					
T189	7		1		
T190					
T191					
T193					
T194	9		7		
T227					
T235					
T239	4		1		
T240					
T246					
T256A					
T258A					
T271			3		
T279	4	1	11		
T280	8		3		2
T283	6		10		5
T283A			3		
T315	5		1		
T330	1		3		
T334	3		1		
T354					
T358	5		4		
T360	4		1		
T361	3		1		
T392	5		5		
T396					
T399	2			1	
T403	2		2		
T405					
T410	2		7		
T412	3		2		
T417	4		5		
T425					
T436					
T443	2		7		3
T447					
T467A					
T473					
T475					
T481					

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T488					
T491					
T495					
T497					
T506					
T510					
T522	3		1		
T524	3		1		
T525	3		2		
T526					
T530					
T541	3		3		
T544	3				
T546	4		2		
T558A	4		1		
T559	4		1		
T574					
T576	3				
T579					
T584					
T587	4		3		
T593A					
T599					
T601	3				
T603	5				
T607	2				
T609	4				
T610	5		1		
T612	2		1		
T616					
T625	3		1		
T627	3				
T637	3				
T644	3				
T648	3				
T651	3				
T666	4		1		
T682	2				
T683	3				
T684					
T685	2				
T689A					
T692	4		8		
T697					

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T698					
T703	3				
T705	4				
T709	3				
T711	3		1		
T715	4				
T717	7		1		
T719	1				
T720	1		2		
T726	3		2		
T727	2		2		
T728	2				
T730	3				
T731	3				
T734	2				
T735	3				
T736	4				
T739	2		4		
T740			3		
T741	3		4		
T742	4		8		
T746	3		1		
T750	6		3		
T759	5		2		
T761	8		1		
T763A	3				
T765	5		5		
T766	1		1		
T774	5		9		
T777	7		2		
T782	2		1		
T785	3				
T788	3				
T789			8		
T790	3		6		1
T795A	1		14		
T803	2		1		1
Λ1					
Λ13					
Λ16					
Λ2	2		2		
Λ22					
Λ25					
Λ5					

Table 17. Co-occurrence of vessels made of different material found in the male burials.

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T20B	2		2		
T89A	4		2		
T152					
T197	7		12		
T198	3		12		
T221	3		1		
T225	2		2		
T229	4				
T231	3		1		
T232	2		1		
T233			4		
T234	2				
T262	2		14		
T268			2	1	
T296	2		2		
T319			5		
T348	6				2
T359	4		6	1	
T390	6		1		
T414	3		5		
T431	10		5		
T433	5		5		
T458	3		17		
T465			7		
T470	9		2		
T474	4		2		
T478	7		1		
T503	4		1		
T505	5		2		

Grave/ Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T513	5		1		
T525A	2		2		
T526A	3				
T548	3		1		
T571	5				
T572	1				
T575	6				
T605	2				
T613	4		1		
T646	4				
T652	4		1		
T665	4				
T686	4		2		
T687	2		1		
T688	6		5		
T704	4		3		
T712	15		6		
T714	2				
T721	1				
T722	3				
T732	1				
T733	3				
T738	4	1	7		
T742					
T747	3		2		
T748	5				
T758	3				
T793A	4		5		
T800B					

Table 18. Co-occurrence of vessels made of different material found in the female burials.

deceased's gender, and in very few instances a cheese grater (Table 19). While most of the miniature objects depicting chairs, three-legged tables and cheese graters were found in tombs belonging to both genders, spits and firedogs were only discovered in 12 male burials, always in combination with some other miniatures (see also Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007, 117). Carts constitute a unique case, as, despite being excavated in both male and female burials, there was a clear distinction between them in terms of typology. Two-wheeled carts were found solely in male graves, while four-wheeled carts were deposited in female ones (see also Chrysostomou 2009, 116) (Table 20). Cheese graters were found in only three burials (T262, T145, T279), a female one and two male ones. This discovery, according to the excavators, constituted further evidence of the

Grave/Tomb	Gender	Total number of miniature objects	Chair	Three-legged table	Two-wheeled cart	Four-wheeled cart	Spits	Firedogs	Cheese graters
T9	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T83	M	2	✓	✓					
T131	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T135	M	4	✓	✓			✓	✓	
T145	M	6	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
T194	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T197	F	3	✓	✓		✓			
T198	F	3	✓	✓		✓			
T262	F	2				✓			✓
T279	M	1							✓
T280	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T283	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T358	M	3	✓	✓	✓				
T390	F	1				✓			
T392	M	(2)	(✓)	(✓)					
T414	F	1				✓			
T417	M	1			✓				
T443	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T458	F	3	✓	✓		✓			
T465	F	1				✓			
T558A	M	1		✓					
T559	M	2	✓	✓					
T575	F	2	✓	✓					
T587	M	4	✓	✓			✓	✓	
T612	M	2					✓	✓	
T692	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T741	M	3			✓		✓	✓	
T742	M	3			✓		✓	✓	
T761	M	1		✓					
T765	M	3			✓		✓	✓	
T774	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T777	M	2		✓	✓				
T789	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
T790	M	3			✓		✓	✓	
T793A	F	1				✓			
T795A	M	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	

Table 19. Different types of miniature objects attested at Archontiko (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2006, 563 describe T392 as containing a miniature object vaguely termed a furniture without specifying whether it is a chair or a table.

Grave/ Tomb	Chronology	Gender	Type of cart
T9	550-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T131	550-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T145	550-525 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T194	550 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T197	575-550 BC	F	Four-wheeled
T198	After 550 BC	F	Four-wheeled
T258A	550-525 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T262	550-500 BC	F	Four-wheeled
T279	510-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T280	560-550 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T283	550-525 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T358	525-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T410	525-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T417	525-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T443	550-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T458	550-500 BC	F	Four-wheeled
T465	550-500 BC	F	Four-wheeled
T692	550-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T741	530-520 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T742	525 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T765	550 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T774	540-530 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T777	560-550 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T789	550-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T790	550-500 BC	M	Two-wheeled
T793A	550-500 BC	F	Four-wheeled
T795A	550 BC	M	Two-wheeled

Table 20. Distribution of two-wheeled and four-wheeled carts in Archontiko.

identification of the site of Archontiko with the ancient city of Tyrissa, the place that produces a lot of cheese (*τυριά*) (Chrysostomou 2017, 239). As one might have expected, not all four types of miniature objects were always discovered together, as in some cases only one to two were excavated in each grave. Moreover, none of them is attested more than once per grave. In terms of dating there is an important observation to be made, as all of them are found in burials dating between 550-500BC, while they are absent from the graves belonging to the subsequent period.

Clay figurines or eidolia and relief vessels were found in 43 graves at Archontiko, 29 male and 14 female (Table 21). In the male burials, their numbers varied from one to 20, while in the female ones from one to 28. However, in most of these cases, their number per grave did not exceed 10, male burials T194 and T283 and female burial T458 being the only notable exceptions. Besides T194, T283 and T458, which are among the ones containing the largest number of burial goods in the whole cemetery, the rest of the figurines were not necessarily found in the most elaborate burials. For example, while T145, T688 and T712 were all lavishly decorated, only two clay figurines were discovered in T145 and none both T688 and T712. On the contrary, burials such as T135 and T465, while they did have considerable less burial goods, they were nonetheless equipped with six and seven eidolia respectively. Therefore, since their meaning is still debated, eidolia cannot be exclusively linked only to the most prestigious burials, as their distribution is more widerspread across the cemetery. As for their typology, it could be argued that while most types were common between burials which were invested with the same gender, a few of them tend to be gender specific. More precisely, female figures of both seated and of the kore type and animal figurines are commonly found in tombs belonging to both genders. Nonetheless, male burials also contained figurines depicting, among others, sirens, feet wearing sandals, lying male figures participating in some sort of communal feasting, male figures of the kouros type, a monkey holding a human baby, a black male figure, and female figures of the fertility goddess type. The only type found exclusively in female burials was of a group portraying a couple of chthonic entities, possibly Hades and Persephone, but this is attested only once in T465.

Gold or gold-plated burial goods, including diadems, rosettes, masks and mouthpieces, were discovered in both the male and female graves at Archontiko. Despite the fact that diadems were gender specific in Sindos, in Archontiko they were also found in male burials, although more rarely than in the female ones. Based on the burials presented in this study, 12 diadems, most of them gold, were found in 58 female burials at Archontiko, while four in the 178 male ones. In addition, as reported by the excavators (Chrysostomou 2016, 75), another 11 unpublished diadems have been found in female graves of Archontiko, raising their total number to 23. While no other information is given on the diadems found in the male burials, the ones attested in the female ones can be subdivided into two main categories. The first one corresponds to diadems consisting of a single gold band with relief decorations of flowers and animals, while diadems made of a number of separate gold rosettes, probably attached to a piece of cloth, make up second group. (Chrysostomou 2016, 75-76). Varying in numbers between one to 24 per grave, rosettes had multiple uses, such as forming a set which was subsequently used as diadem, as adornments attached to garments or shoes, or even as *epothalmia*, i.e. little pieces of gold covering the deceased's eyes. Based on the information from the burials that I was able to catalogue and from preliminary reports mentioning other burials, these precious objects were unearthed

Grave/Tomb	Gender	Eidolia (inc plastic vessels)	Seated Female Figure	Standing Female Figure	Female Bust	Couples	Animals (or mythical creatures)	Fruits	Male figure	Fertility Goddess	Foot with sandal	Black Male Figure or potbellied dwarf
T9	M	2					✓					
T20B	F	2			✓							
T131	M	6	✓				✓					
T135	M	6		✓			✓			✓		
T145	M	2	✓		✓							
T194	M	16					✓			✓		
T198	F	6		✓			✓					
T262	F	6	✓	✓								
T268	F	1		✓								
T271	M	n/a										
T280	M	10	✓	✓					✓		✓	
T283	M	20	✓	✓			✓		✓			
T296	F	n/a										
T319	F	2	✓	✓								
T348	F	n/a										
T392	M	4		✓			✓					✓
T399	M	1			✓							
T410	M	9					✓					
T414	F	6	✓	✓			✓					
T417	M	1					✓					
T443	M	8	✓	✓								
T458	F	28	✓	✓			✓					
T465	F	7	✓	✓		✓	✓					
T503	F	1		✓								
T541	M	1			✓							
T571	F	1	✓									
T587	M	2		✓			✓					
T610	M	1					✓					
T692	M	6		✓			✓		✓			
T711	M	1		✓								
T715	M	1					✓					
T717	M	1		✓								
T738	F	4	✓	✓								
T739	M	4	✓	✓								
T741	M	3	✓						✓			
T742	M	6		✓	✓		✓					
T765	M	3		✓			✓					
T774	M	8	✓	✓			✓					
T777	M	2		✓			✓					
T789	M	5	✓	✓					✓			
T790	M	3	✓	✓								
T795	M	8	✓				✓		✓			✓
T800B	F	2					✓		✓			

Table 21. Different types of eidolia attested at Archontiko.

in 21 female and 11 male ones (see also Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2013, 200 n.13). Yet, it is unclear from the current state of the publications which burials contained rosette diadems and which ones rosettes for other uses.

Masks and mouthpieces or epistomia represent the final category of burial goods in gold (Chrysostomou 2015; 2016, 77-83). These mutually exclusive burial goods were attested only once in each grave. A total of seven gold masks has been discovered in Archontiko, four in the male burials and three in the female ones. The vast majority of them are dated between 550-500 BC (Figure 45). Their decoration varies from conventionally depicting facial features (T198 and T262), to a mask (T458) with relief rosettes covering the eyes and a relief epistomion with small flowers covering the lower part. Two of the male burials (T145 and T279) contained masks depicting facial features, one of which also had two relief rosettes covering the eyes. The mask discovered in T280 constitutes a unique case as it is the only one with an opening for the nose and the mouth. Furthermore, it is decorated with relief flowers and a big relief rosette at the top, essentially covering the eyes. Another unique case is that of the mask found in T692. This particular mask had an oblong and triangular opening below, probably to facilitate its deposition on the face of the deceased. While the forehead, the eyebrows and the nose were conventionally illustrated, the eyes were covered with two elaborate geometric motifs. These consisted of four small circles surrounded by a larger one supposedly portraying a shield. A separate category of a peculiar type of mask were two quadrangular gold (T131) and gold-plated silver sheets (T505), with the former bearing a depiction of two lions facing each other, and the latter one was decorated with flower and rosettes. Before focusing on the mouthpieces, it is worth mentioning that in similar fashion to the observations made for the masks found at Sindos, no chronological typological development was noted, nor was any particular correlation between a specific age group and the use of masks established during their analysis, as the tombs have not yet been precisely dated or aged.

However, masks were not the only type of face-covering gold objects found in Archontiko. Lozenge shaped mouthpieces or epistomia were discovered in 83 tombs in total in the west cemetery of Archontiko, with the excavators estimating that another 62 graves might have contained mouthpieces prior to looting (Chrysostomou 2016, 76). In the 237 graves presented in this study, 61 mouthpieces, 35 in male and 26 in female burials, were catalogued (Table 22; Table 24). Unfortunately, in only 24 out of the 61 cases were the mouthpieces discovered in precisely dated burials, so their chronological distribution can only be determined once the detailed publication of the site appears. With two notable exceptions, the gold-plated epistomion in T157 and the silver one in tomb T586, these precious objects were made of solid gold and they were attested only once per grave. They were also decorated with a large variety of relief motifs, ranging from flowers, rosettes and astral depictions to opposing lions, lions with their cubs, and mythology-inspired decorations, such as the gorgoneion engraved on the epistomion from tomb T795A (Chrysostomou 2016, 77). In a few cases, mouthpieces were found along with eyepieces or epophthalmia, two disconnected gold sheets covering the eyes, so that all together they formed a kind of substitute mask. A combination of both epistomia and epophthalmia was found in 10 graves, seven in the male and three in the female ones. In anticipation of the final publication of the site, a preliminary observation can be made. It seems possible that this particular combination of epophthalmia and epistomia might have had some gender-specific characteristics. More specifically, the epophthalmia found

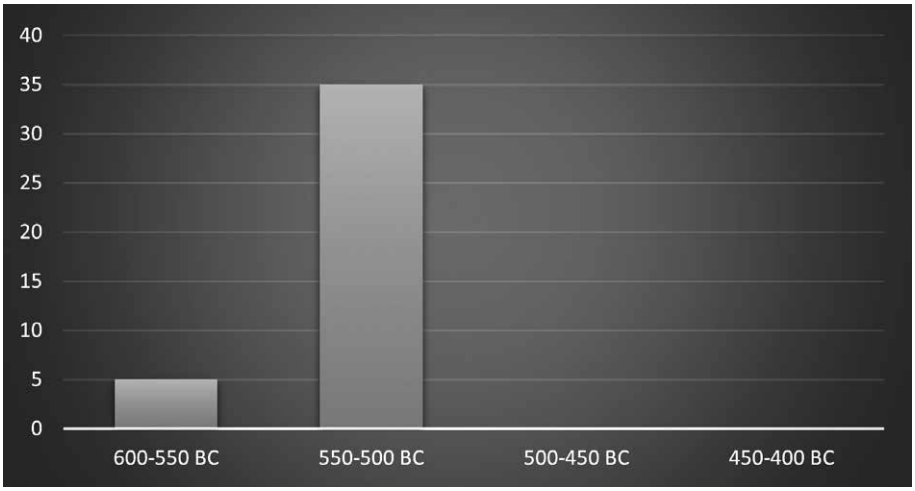

Figure 29. Chronological distribution of masks and mouthpieces (epistomia) at Archontiko.

in the male burials consisted of two separate gold leaves depicting geometric and astral patterns, rosettes and dots, while the ones found in the female burials are fashioned from two connected gold leaves depicting eyes and floral motifs (Chrysostomou 2016, 77-78). Nonetheless, it remains to be seen if the same distinction can be applied to the rest of the eyepieces found in Archontiko.

A cross-examination of all burial goods in male and female burials

In order to detect any possible correlations between the various types of burial goods or any emerging sets of objects in the burial record, it is necessary to cross examine all the different objects found in both male and female burials. Starting with the male burials, offensive equipment such as spearheads, swords or knives are by far the most common burial offering, as at least one is attested in 167 out of the 178 male graves. In 61 cases, graves were also furnished with some sort of defensive equipment such as helmets, some of them decorated with gold foils, and shields, while only three burials contained some sort of armour but not a single arm (Table 22). These numbers might give the impression that all of the burials were actually furnished with arms and armour. However, this might not have been the case, as the excavators have pointed out that from the 77 graves excavated up to 2002, about 14% did not contain any form of offensive or defensive equipment (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007, 118). By analogy, it is possible that in the 233 male burials found in total in Archontiko dated during the Archaic period, a substantial percentage was not equipped with neither arms nor armour. Yet, since the final publication is still pending, it is unclear whether this lack of offensive and defensive equipment was due to a conscious choice or looting. It should, nonetheless, hypothesised that at least a small percentage of them might have been originally buried without weapons or armour.

Spearheads and knives were found in 134 graves, while the triplet of offensive equipment consisting of spearheads, knives and swords, was attested in 103 graves (Table 15). In 10 cases, this set of arms was accompanied by a helmet decorated with gold, and in another 36 burials by a simple undecorated helmet usually that of the 'Illyrian' type. Consequently, the total number of graves in which the triplet of offensive weapons

Grave/Tomb	Off. Equipment	Def. equipment	Masks/ Epistomia	Gold decorative pieces/bands	Miniature objects	Eidolia	Rings
T1	✓						
T3	✓						
T4	✓	✓		✓			✓
T9	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
T10	✓						
T13	✓						
T21	✓						
T23	✓						
T25	✓						
T27	✓						
T29	✓						
T32	✓	✓					
T33	✓						
T38	✓						
T42	✓						
T45	✓						
T47	✓	✓					
T48	✓						
T54	✓						
T57	✓						
T61	✓						
T72	✓						
T81							
T82	✓						
T83	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
T85	✓		✓				✓
T87	✓						
T89							
T98	✓	✓					
T102	✓						
T104	✓						
T117	✓						
T119	✓						
T121	✓						
T123	✓						
T125	✓						
T127	✓						
T131	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T132	✓						
T133	✓	✓					
T135A	✓	✓			✓	✓	
T136	✓	✓	✓				
T143	✓						
T145	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T150	✓						

Grave/Tomb	Off. Equipment	Def. equipment	Masks/ Epistomia	Gold decorative pieces/bands	Miniature objects	Eidolia	Rings
T157	✓			✓			✓
T160	✓						
T163	✓						
T170	✓						
T188	✓						
T189	✓	✓	✓				✓
T190	✓						
T191	✓						
T193	✓						
T194	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T227	✓						
T235	✓						
T239	✓	✓		✓			✓
T240	✓						
T246	✓						
T256A	✓	✓	✓				✓
T258A		✓					
T271		✓		✓		✓	
T279	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
T280	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T283	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
T283A	✓			✓			
T315	✓		✓				✓
T330	✓	✓					
T334	✓	✓	✓				✓
T354	✓	✓					
T358	✓				✓		
T360	✓	✓	✓				
T361	✓						
T392	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T396	✓						
T399	✓					✓	✓
T403	✓	✓	✓				✓
T405	✓						
T410	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T412	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
T417	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T425	✓						
T436	✓	✓					
T443	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T447	✓	✓					
T467A	✓						
T473	✓						
T475	✓						
T481	✓						

Grave/Tomb	Off. Equipment	Def. equipment	Masks/ Epistomia	Gold decorative pieces/bands	Miniature objects	Eidolia	Rings
T488	✓						
T491	✓						
T495	✓						
T497	✓						
T506	✓						
T510	✓						
T522	✓	✓	✓				✓
T524	✓	✓	✓				✓
T525	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
T526	✓						
T530	✓						
T541	✓	✓		✓		✓	
T544	✓						✓
T546	✓	✓	✓				✓
T558A					✓		✓
T559	✓				✓		✓
T574							
T576	✓						
T579							
T584	✓						
T587	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
T593A	✓						
T599	✓						
T601	✓	✓	✓				
T603	✓	✓		✓			✓
T607	✓						
T609							
T610	✓					✓	✓
T612	✓				✓		
T616							
T625	✓						✓
T627	✓	✓					
T637	✓	✓					
T644	✓	✓					
T648	✓	✓					
T651	✓	✓	✓				
T666	✓						
T682							✓
T683	✓						
T684							
T685	✓						
T689A	✓	✓					
T692	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T697							

Grave/Tomb	Off. Equipment	Def. equipment	Masks/ Epistomia	Gold decorative pieces/bands	Miniature objects	Eidolia	Rings
T698							
T703	✓						✓
T705	✓						✓
T709	✓	✓	✓				
T711	✓					✓	
T715	✓					✓	
T717	✓					✓	
T719	✓						
T720	✓	✓	✓				
T726	✓						
T727	✓						
T728	✓						
T730	✓						
T731	✓						
T734	✓						
T735	✓	✓	✓				✓
T736	✓						
T739	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T740	✓						
T741	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T742	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T746	✓						
T750	✓						
T759	✓	✓	✓				✓
T761	✓		✓		✓		
T763A	✓						
T765	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T766	✓	✓					
T774	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T777	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
T782	✓	✓	✓				
T785	✓	✓					
T788	✓	✓	✓				✓
T789	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T790	✓			✓	✓	✓	
T795A	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T803	✓		✓				
Λ1	✓						
Λ13	✓						
Λ16	✓						
Λ2	✓		✓				
Λ22	✓						
Λ25	✓						
Λ5	✓						

Table 22. Table showing the co-occurrence of the main types of burial goods found in the male burials at Archontiko.

was found along with a helmet is 46. Shields, constituted the rarest form of defensive equipment, were found in only eight burials and always discovered in graves containing all three types of offensive arms, along with a helmet. More specifically, in six burials (T131, T145, T279, T280, T283, T692; Table 15) shields were discovered along with both the full triplet of offensive equipment and a decorated helmet, while in only one burial with the full triplet and an undecorated helmet (T443; Table 15). The remaining one shield was unearthed in T258A in fragments, as the specific grave was badly looted. No other burial goods were discovered intact, but according to the excavators it is possible that in this case also this burial contained spearheads, knives and swords, as evidenced by the a remaining fragments of them (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2005, 507).

Graves in which both arms and armour were found also contained more precious items such as mouthpieces or masks. Twenty nine of the 35 mouthpieces or epistomia were attested in burials in which both offensive and defensive equipment was discovered (Table 22; T131, T145, T 279, T280, T443, T692, T774 had masks), while, due to their extensive looting, at least 10 more graves, not presented here, had epistomia but not weapons. Furthermore, at least 15 of the 35 graves which contained epistomia, also contained some sort of gold adornments attached to the clothing of the deceased or jewellery such as gold bands, sheets, rosettes or diadems (T194, T392, T410, T412, T417, T443, T525, T739, T741, T742, T765, T774, T789, T795A, T83; Table 22). That is of course not to say that every grave with an epistomion also had these specific types of jewellery and adornments, as in the remaining 20 graves, epistomia were found without being accompanied by neither jewellery nor adornments. However, the situation is very different in regard to the masks, as every single burial that had a mask, also had a large a variety of gold adornments and jewellery, thus forming an impressive assemblage of gold artifacts.

To this emerging 'warrior kit' one may add miniature objects and eidolia. Miniature objects were primarily associated with the most elaborate burials, in which all of the burial goods mentioned above were found. T559, T358 and T612 constitute exceptions in this aspect, as, despite the presence of miniature objects, they lack other precious items and more importantly gold ones, while it is not specified by the excavators whether or not these had been looted. Eidolia were more widely distributed than miniature objects, as they were found in tombs containing a large variety of burial goods as well as in tombs with a limited numbers of them. Nonetheless, the burials in which all of the above were excavated usually had a larger number of eidolia (e.g. T194, T280, T283, T795; Table 22; Table 24), than the ones in which a numerically and typologically limited amount of burial goods was present. The same trend holds true for the bronze vessels. Bronze vessels were discovered in consistently larger numbers (at least 6 or 7) in graves containing both offensive and defensive equipment, pottery, epistomia or masks, gold decorative pieces and miniature objects than the rest of the tombs (T131, T145, T194, T279, T283, T410, T443, T692, T742, T774, T789, T790, T795A; Table 17; Table 22).

Female burials were looted to a larger extent that the male ones, due to the jewellery deposited in them. However, since the preliminary reports do not specify which graves were looted and which were not, apart from a few obvious cases, it is preferable to include all of the female burials in the present cross examination. Jewellery found in these graves can be divided into two major categories: worn jewellery and jewellery attached to clothes or shoes as adornments. The first major group can be divided into six smaller ones, depending on the part of the body on which the given type of jewellery

Grave/Tomb	Necklace/ Pendant	Rings	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Total number of categories
T89A			At least 2				1
T152	1		4				2
T197	1		16	2			3
T198	1	1		2		2	4
T20B	1	1		2			3
T221	1			2	1		3
T225	1	1					2
T229	1	1	At least 2	1			4
T231	1		At least 2				2
T232	1		2				2
T233	2	1	At least 2	2			4
T234							
T262	2	1			1		3
T268					1		1
T296	1				1		2
T319							
T348		1					1
T359	4		2	2	1		4
T390	1	1					2
T414	1	2					2
T431	1	1			1		3
T433	1	1					2
T458	1	1			2		3
T465	1						1
T470	1						1
T474	1			2			2
T478		1					1
T503	1		4				2
T505	1			2			2

Grave/Tomb	Necklace/ Pendant	Rings	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadem	Hair Spiral	Total number of categories
T513	1	1	At least 2	2			4
T525A	2	1	At least 2	1			4
T526A	1	1		2	1		4
T548							
T571	1	1	2	2			4
T572	1	1					2
T575							
T605		2	3				2
T613			2				1
T646							
T652		1				1	2
T665	1						1
T686		1	2				2
T687	1		2	2			3
T688	1	1	4				3
T704			2				1
T712	1	1			1		3
T714		1					1
T721							
T722		1	2	2			3
T732	1		2	1			3
T733	1	1					2
T738	1	1			1	2	4
T742					1		1
T747	1			2			2
T748	1	1	2				3
T758		1					1
T793A		1					1
T800B							

Table 23. Table showing the distribution of jewellery in the female burials at Archontiko.

would be worn. These six subcategories are as follows: necklaces and pendants; rings; bracelets; diadems; hair spirals; and, finally, earrings. What is noteworthy in the case of Archontiko is that most of the graves yielded jewellery belonging to at least three of the six categories mentioned above (Table 23). Furthermore, no grave, even the ones with the largest amount of burial goods contained more than four out of the six categories of jewellery. Interestingly enough, not all of the graves in which four out of six categories of jewellery were found are considered to be among the lavishly decorated ones, discovered in Archontiko. Despite jewellery being made of precious metals, this was not the only expression of wealth, as tombs rich in jewellery often lacked other expressions of wealth and status, such as masks and epistomia, gold decorative pieces, miniature objects, eidolia or bronze vases. Furthermore, no standardised set of jewellery was found in Archontiko, as jewellery is attested in various combinations, very different from one another (Table 23).

	Jewellery							Adornments							
Grave/Tomb	Pendants	Rings	Necklaces	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadems	Hair Spirals	Pins	Brooches	Decorative gold bands	Rosettes	Mask/Epistomia	Knives	Eidolia	Miniature objects
T20B	✓	✓			✓			✓				✓		✓	
T89A				✓				✓			✓				
T152			✓	✓				✓							
T197	✓			✓	✓			✓		✓	✓		✓		✓
T198		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T221	✓				✓	✓		✓		✓		✓			
T225	✓	✓						✓				✓			
T229	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓							
T231	✓			✓				✓							
T232	✓			✓				✓							
T233	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓			✓			
T234								✓							
T262	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
T268						✓				✓		✓		✓	
T296	✓					✓		✓			✓			✓	
T319								✓		✓				✓	
T348		✓												✓	
T359	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓					
T390	✓	✓						✓			✓	✓			✓
T414	✓	✓						✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T431	✓	✓				✓				✓		✓			
T433	✓	✓						✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
T458	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓
T465	✓							✓			✓	✓		✓	
T470			✓						✓			✓	✓		
T474	✓				✓										
T478		✓													
T503	✓			✓							✓	✓		✓	
T505	✓				✓			✓	✓			✓			
T513	✓	✓		✓	✓							✓			
T525A	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓			✓	✓			
T526A	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓		✓			
T548								✓				✓			
T571	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
T572		✓	✓												
T575								✓					✓		✓
T605		✓		✓				✓							
T613				✓				✓					✓		
T646															
T652		✓					✓					✓			
T665			✓					✓							
T686		✓		✓				✓				✓			
T687	✓			✓	✓			✓							
T688		✓	✓	✓				✓		✓	✓	✓			
T704				✓				✓			✓	✓			
T712	✓	✓				✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		

	Jewellery							Adornments							
Grave/Tomb	Pendants	Rings	Necklaces	Bracelets	Earrings	Diadems	Hair Spirals	Pins	Brooches	Decorative gold bands	Rosettes	Mask/Epistomia	Knives	Eidolia	Miniature objects
T714		✓						✓							
T721								✓							
T722		✓		✓	✓										
T732	✓			✓	✓			✓				✓			
T733	✓	✓						✓				✓			
T738	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T742						✓									
T747	✓				✓			✓			✓	✓			
T748	✓	✓		✓											
T758		✓						✓							
T793A		✓						✓					✓		✓
T800B											✓			✓	

Table 24. Table showing the co-occurrence of the main types of burial goods found in the female burials at Archontiko.

The material belonging to the second major group of worn adornment can include two subcategories of burial goods, one containing objects with both a utilitarian and a decorative value, such as pins and/or brooches or fibulae, and another one consisting of items with only a decorative use, such as various gold decorative pieces, bands or rosettes. However, a combination of at least one item from each category was attested in only 20 out of the 58 female burials (T197, T198, T221, T262, T296, T319, T359, T390, T414, T433, T458, T465, T526A, T571, T688, T704, T712, T738, T747, T89A; Table 24). In all of the 20 cases, the object from the first category was at least a pair of pins, as brooches are extremely rare in the burial record of the female burials presented here. In 13 of these 20 graves, pins were accompanied by gold decorative bands or pieces, while in the rest seven with rosettes, with another six graves containing both kinds of objects.

Nevertheless, despite their various differences in quantity and quality, a combination of at least one piece of jewellery and one of adornments was discovered in all of the female tombs. Almost all of the female burials (51 of them) contained at least one ceramic vessel, while in 34 of them both ceramic and bronze vases were excavated. Less prevalent burial goods included masks and epistomia. While the latter are more widespread, the use of masks is more limited as they were only found in three burials (T198, T262, T458; Table 24) which also contained large amounts of jewellery, adornments and both ceramic and bronze vases. Yet, while bronze vessels are commonly attested in the female burials in Archontiko, the ones in which the masks were discovered usually contained a large number of bronze vessels (more than 12 per grave). In a limited number of instances, knives did occur in female tombs, usually accompanied by all of the burial goods mentioned above (Table 24). To this gradually developing funerary set of female burial goods, one might also include miniature metal objects and eidolia. Miniature objects are consistently attested in the most elaborate burials in which jewellery, adornments, ceramic and bronze vases,

masks or epistomia and knives were also found, while any exceptions are due to extensive looting. On the other hand, eidolia were not necessarily found exclusively in the most elaborate burials containing all of the above. However, their numbers were consistently larger in those graves than in the rest of them.

Regarding the pottery assemblages in the burials of Archontiko, similar preliminary conclusions, as to those formulated for Sindos, could be drawn on their typology and the appearance of any correlation between the various types of pots. As earlier noted, pottery types can be conventionally subdivided into two major categories: sympotic vessels and containers used for ointments and perfumes. Of course, there are exceptions to this categorization, as few types of pots, such as amphorae, lekanis and chytra could not be classified as belonging to either of the two categories. As far as the male burials at Archontiko are concerned, 76 contained at least one vessel of each one of the two major categories (Table 25). Subsequently, sympotic pots can be categorized on the basis of their use in three groups: drinking, pouring and mixing vases. The most elaborate burials in the cemetery contained at least one pot from each group, therefore forming a triplet, a certain 'feasting kit'. In fact this set was found in 33 male burials, with 30 of them also containing an ointment vessel. Moreover, these tombs were consistently lavishly decorated with almost every type of burial good described above. Similar to this, a combination of at least one sympotic and one ointment pot was noted in 45 out of the 58 female burials. The triplet of sympotic pots was also observed in female burials, although to a lesser extent as it was only found in 15 instances, while in 14 of them it was accompanied by an ointment vase (Table 26). Once again, these burials were regarded as being among the most elaborate ones, as they also contained jewellery, adornments, masks or epistomia and in fewer cases knives, eidolia and miniature objects.

The male and female 'full kit' at Archontiko

Defining a burial 'full kit' in the case of Archontiko is a rather difficult task, especially when compared to Sindos, mainly due to the lack of information regarding graves types, precise dating or aging or even the level of looting. This kind of information is given in the tables depicting the 'full kit' of both genders where available by the excavators' preliminary reports, but as expected limited analysis was conducted on them. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to identify the existence of such a 'kit' consisting of specific types of burial goods in at least 11 male and 10 female burials. Another nine burials (highlighted in yellow in Table 27) could also be added in the male ones despite the absence of only one category of burial goods belonging to the 'full kit' in each grave. The majority of the dated tombs belongs to the second half of the 6th century BC, with the earliest male burial at around 560 BC, while the female one at 550-525 BC.

The term 'full kit' is therefore used to describe the co-occurrence of specific burial goods, each category of which, adds another symbolic dimension to the burial. Similar to Sindos, burials with the 'full kit' should not be equated with what is simply described as 'wealthy' burials. Graves containing multiple objects do not automatically guarantee that the burial could be described as belonging to the ones in which the 'full kit' was evident. This observation holds true for both male and female burials. More specifically, regarding male graves, T83, T135A, T189, T239, T256A, T525, T541 and T777 (Table 15; Table 22) are all excellent examples of elaborate burials which, while including multiple objects, do not necessarily display the 'full kit'. Equally, female burials such as T359, T470, T505, T571,

T732, T747 and T739A (Table 16; Table 24), while being lavishly decorated with a wide variety of objects, cannot be classified among the ones with the 'full kit'. In other words, while burials with the 'full kit' were naturally among the most elaborate burials, not all of the most elaborate burials were furnished with the 'full kit'. Of course, in anticipation of the final publication of the site any suggestions should remain preliminary, since it is unclear whether the most elaborate burials did originally contained even more burial goods which would identify them as the ones bearing the 'full kit'. Yet, based on the currently available scanty data, this may not be the case, since only two out of the eight male burials and one out of the seven females ones, were partly looted, as at least stated by the archaeologists in their preliminary reports (males: T135A, T541; females: T732).

Starting with the male burials, T131 could be considered as a representative example of a male one in which the 'full kit' was deposited (Figure 30; Figure 31). The deceased was buried with many pieces of arms and armour, such as two spearheads, two knives, one swords, a large 'Argive' shield and a helmet decorated with gold bands attached to it around the face opening. Apart from these, other burial goods included a large gold foil, depicting opposing lions, functioning as a mask, another gold foil covering the back side of his hand, numerous gold decorative pieces of various shapes adorning his garments and shoes, a ring and pins. This 'kit' was also complemented by miniature objects depicting a two wheeled cart, a chair, a table, spits and firedogs and eidolia portraying among else, a reclining deer being attacked by a feline and seated female figures. Moreover, the tomb also contained four clay and nine bronze pots of various shapes, among which an impressive Attic black-figure *kylix* with a scene of Theseus slaying the Minotaur painted on both of its sides (Chysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007, 125-126; 2009, 484-495; 2012, 492, 494).

With the exception of T739, all of the male 'full kit' burials were deposited in pit graves, some of which were of monumental dimensions (T279, T280, T283, T692, T774; Table 27). It is also possible that pending upon the final publication of the site, even more of these burials were placed in monumental graves. Moreover, it is unclear whether graves such as T145, where the wooden sarcophagus was placed upon a layer of pebbles and covered with a second one, also had monumental dimensions or vice versa i.e. if all of the monumental graves were covered with a layer of pebbles and larger stones. This is something that still remains unclear and it is only after the final publication of the site that hypotheses such as the one made above could be validated. Regarding especially the age of the deceased and its plausible association with the attestation of the 'full kit', this too is hard to be proven based on the currently available data, since only two burials (T131, T194), both of them under 30 years old, have been accurately aged so far.

Moving to the specific burial goods which are regarded as constituents of the 'full kit' it can be argued that both offensive and defensive equipment is situated at its core. Of the total 20 male burials presented here, with the notable exception of T742, the overwhelming majority had two spearheads and at least one knife and sword. This triplet of offensive equipment was complimented in all of the 20 graves with a helmet, decorated or not with gold bands and in rarer instances even with a shield (T131, T145, T279, T280, T283, T692; Table 15). The apparent absence of helmets in tombs T587 and T765 should not come as a surprise, since according to the preliminary reports these graves also originally contained helmets, which were subsequently looted (for T587 see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2008, 706-707; for T765 see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2013, 199). Clay and bronze pots were attested in all of the 20 tombs, while T279 had also silver

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T1				
T3				
T4				✓
T9	✓	✓		
T10				
T13				
T21				
T23				
T25				
T27				
T29				
T32		✓		
T33				
T38				
T42				
T45				
T47				
T48				
T54				
T57				
T61				
T72				
T81				
T82				
T83	✓	✓	✓	✓
T85	✓	✓	✓	
T87				
T89				
T98				
T102				
T104				
T117				
T119				
T121				
T123				
T125				
T127				
T131	✓	✓		✓
T132				
T133				
T135A		✓		✓
T136	✓			✓
T143				
T145	✓	✓	✓	✓
T150				

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T157	✓	✓	✓	
T160				
T163				
T170	✓		✓	✓
T188				
T189	✓	✓	✓	
T190				
T191				
T193				
T194	✓	✓	✓	✓
T227				
T235				
T239	✓		✓	
T240				
T246				
T256A				
T258A				
T271		✓		
T279	✓	✓	✓	✓
T280	✓	✓	✓	✓
T283	✓	✓	✓	✓
T283A	✓	✓		
T315	✓	✓	✓	✓
T330		✓		
T334	✓	✓	✓	✓
T354				
T358	✓	✓		✓
T360	✓	✓		
T361	✓		✓	✓
T392	✓	✓	✓	✓
T396				
T399	✓	✓		
T403	✓	✓		
T405				
T410	✓	✓	✓	✓
T412	✓	✓	✓	✓
T417	✓	✓	✓	✓
T425				
T436				
T443	✓	✓	✓	✓
T447				
T467A				
T473				
T475				
T481				

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T488				
T491				
T495				
T497				
T506				
T510				
T522	✓	✓	✓	✓
T524	✓	✓	✓	✓
T525	✓	✓	✓	✓
T526				
T530				
T541	✓	✓	✓	✓
T546	✓	✓	✓	✓
T544	✓	✓		
T558A	✓	✓	✓	✓
T559	✓	✓	✓	✓
T574				
T576	✓	✓		
T579				
T584				
T587	✓	✓	✓	✓
T593A				
T599				
T601	✓		✓	✓
T603	✓	✓	✓	✓
T607	✓		✓	
T609	✓	✓		
T610	✓	✓		
T612		✓	✓	
T616				
T625		✓	✓	
T627	✓		✓	✓
T637	✓			✓
T644	✓		✓	✓
T648	✓		✓	✓
T651	✓		✓	✓
T666	✓	✓	✓	
T682				
T683	✓		✓	✓
T684				
T685		✓		✓
T689A				
T692	✓	✓	✓	✓
T697				

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T698				
T703				
T705				
T709	✓		✓	✓
T711	✓	✓	✓	
T715	✓		✓	✓
T717	✓	✓		✓
T719		✓		
T720		✓	✓	✓
T726	✓	✓		✓
T727		✓	✓	✓
T728	✓			✓
T730	✓	✓	✓	
T731	✓			✓
T734	✓	✓		
T735	✓		✓	✓
T736	✓	✓	✓	
T739	✓	✓	✓	✓
T740		✓		✓
T741	✓	✓	✓	
T742	✓	✓	✓	✓
T746	✓	✓		✓
T750	✓	✓	✓	✓
T759	✓	✓	✓	✓
T761	✓	✓	✓	✓
T763A		✓	✓	✓
T765	✓	✓		✓
T766		✓		✓
T774	✓	✓	✓	✓
T777	✓	✓	✓	✓
T782		✓		✓
T785	✓		✓	✓
T788	✓		✓	✓
T789		✓		✓
T790	✓	✓	✓	✓
T795A	✓	✓		✓
T803	✓	✓		
Λ1				
Λ13				
Λ16				
Λ2				
Λ22				
Λ25				
Λ5				

Table 25. Different categories of vessels in the male burials at Archontiko.

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T20B	✓	✓		✓
T89A		✓	✓	
T152				
T197	✓	✓	✓	
T198		✓		
T221	✓	✓	✓	✓
T225	✓	✓		
T229	✓	✓		
T231	✓	✓		✓
T232	✓	✓		✓
T233		✓	✓	
T234	✓			
T262	✓	✓	✓	✓
T268	✓	✓		
T296		✓		
T319		✓	✓	✓
T348	✓	✓	✓	
T359	✓	✓	✓	
T390	✓	✓	✓	✓
T414	✓	✓	✓	✓
T431	✓	✓	✓	✓
T433	✓	✓	✓	✓
T458	✓	✓	✓	✓
T465		✓		✓
T470	✓	✓	✓	
T474	✓	✓		✓
T478	✓	✓		
T503	✓			✓
T505	✓	✓	✓	✓
T513	✓	✓	✓	✓

Grave/ Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T525A	✓	✓		✓
T526A	✓	✓		
T548	✓	✓		
T571	✓	✓		
T572		✓		
T575	✓	✓		✓
T605	✓	✓		
T613	✓	✓		
T646	✓	✓		
T652	✓	✓	✓	✓
T665	✓	✓		
T686	✓	✓	✓	✓
T687	✓	✓		
T688	✓	✓	✓	✓
T704				
T710	✓	✓		
T712	✓	✓		
T714	✓	✓		
T721		✓		
T722	✓	✓		
T732		✓		
T733	✓	✓		
T738	✓	✓	✓	✓
T742				
T747	✓	✓	✓	✓
T748	✓	✓		
T758	✓	✓		
T793A	✓	✓	✓	
T800B				

Table 26. Different categories of vessels in the female burials at Archontiko.

ones, while faience ones were found in T280, T283 and T443. The triplet of sympotic vessels along with at least one vessel for ointment was found in burials displaying the 'full kit' but not strictly limited to them. Fourteen of the total 31 male burials buried with the triplet and an ointment vessel also displayed the 'full kit' (T145, T194, T279, T280, T283, T392, T410, T417, T443, T587, T692, T730, T742, T774; Table 25). Of the few remaining 'full kit' burials only T9, T131, T741, T765, T789 and T795A were not decorated with the sympotic triplet accompanied by an ointment vessel. It follows that 'full kit' burials were typically equipped with the sympotic triplet and an ointment vessels but burials decorated with the latter did not necessarily display the former. The deceased's garments were decorated with gold bands and foils, while their whole faces or part of it were covered with gold masks or epistomia. Notable exceptions include T587, which did not contain any gold adornments and T9 and T283, which had neither a mask nor an *epistomion*. T443 and

Figure 30. The male burial found at T131 as decorated with the 'full kit'. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Chrysostomou 2018, pl. 21). The deceased was buried with a large hoplite shield, a helmet, various decorative gold pieces, weapons, miniature objects, eidolia and various vessels.

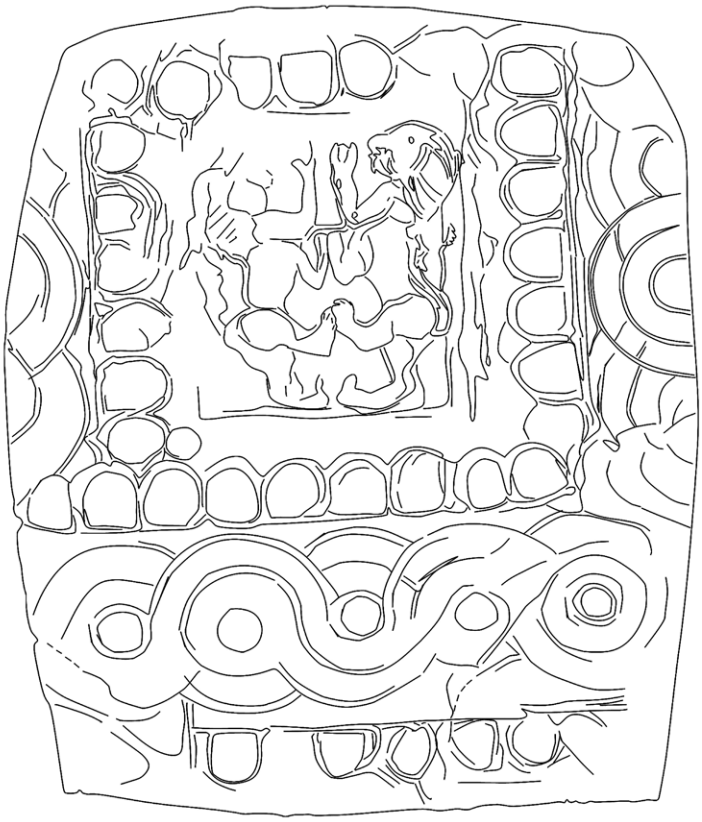

Figure 31. Gold sheet decorated with lions and flowers covering the deceased's face. T131 Archontiko. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Chrysostomou 2016, pl. 6-5).

T774 constitute unique cases, since a combination of a mouth covering (*epistomion*) with an eyes covering (*epothalmion*) functioned as a substitute for a mask. Rings, discovered once per grave, were also included in the male 'full kit', as did miniature objects and eidolia, both belonging to various types.

In regard to the female burials with the 'full kit', T458 (Figure 32; Figure 33; Figure 34) represents a typical grave in which this was displayed. The deceased was placed into a wooden sarcophagus, which was subsequently deposited into a large pit grave of monumental dimensions, protected with a layer of pebbles and larger stones. This elaborate burial contained an impressive amount of jewellery, among which three diadems, one pendant, one necklace as well as one ring. Her garments and shoes were adorned with gold rosettes, bands and triangular pieces while her face was covered with an ornate gold mask, decorated with four different matrices, each one representing a different motif. Other burial goods included over 10 gold, silver and iron pins, three clay and seventeen bronze shapes, miniature objects depicting a four wheeled cart, a table and a chair and an astonishing number of twenty eight eidolia of various types (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2007, 442-443; 2012).

Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Age	Tomb Type	Off. Equip.	Def. Equip.	Epistomia	Masks	Gold Adornments	Miniatures	Clay Vessels	Bronze Vessels	Rings	Eidolia
T9				✓	✓	-		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T131	530-520 BC	25		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T145	late 6th BC		Protected with pebbles and larger stones	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T194	550 BC	Under 30	Monumental	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T279	After 550 BC		Monumental	✓	✓		✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-
T280	560 BC		Monumental	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
T283	530-510 BC		Monumental	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T392				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T410				✓	✓	✓		✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
T417				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T443	After 550 BC			✓	✓		(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
T587	550 BC			✓	(✓)	✓		-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T692	After 530 BC		Monumental	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T739			Secondary cremation	✓	✓	✓		✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
T741	530-520 BC			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T742	525 BC			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T765	550 BC			✓	(✓)	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T774	540-530 BC		Monumental	✓	✓		(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T789				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
T795A	550 BC			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 27. Male burials with the 'full kit' at Archontiko. The shaded rows are almost complete 'full kit' burials, each missing only one category of the typically associated burial goods.

Similar to the situation in the male burials, the lack of data regarding the distribution of grave types and the age of skeletons, in which the female 'full kit' was discovered in, implies a challenge when analysing both of these aspects of funerary behaviour. More specifically, information on grave types were provided for four burials, all of which (T221, T262, T458, T738; Table 28) were protected with layers of pebbles and larger stones, while two of them were additionally of monumental dimensions (T458, T738). It is impossible to know whether these two features were always attested together or the exact number of burials in which each of them was discovered. However, it is perhaps tempting to hypothesise that the 'full kit' was more present in tombs having at least one of these two features, which when combined with the 'full kit', helped define a specific group of elaborate female burials. As for the age of skeletons, unfortunately this was available only for T198 (20 years old, Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2004, 469-470), rendering the establishment of any age patterns impossible.

'Full kit'									'Optional' kit			
Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Age	Tomb type	Jewellery (at least 3 types)	Pins/ Brooches	Masks/ Epistomia	Clay vessels	Bronze vessels	Knives	Gold decora-tive pieces	Miniatures	Eidolia
T20B	Late 6th BC			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓
T198	510-500 BC	20		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T221	510-500 BC		Protected with pebbles and larger stones	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
T262	510-500 BC		Protected with pebbles and larger stones	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T414					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T458	550-525 BC		Both monumental and protected with pebbles and larger stones	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
T525A	525-500 BC			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
T688	510 BC			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
T712	After 550 BC			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
T738			Both monumental and protected with pebbles and larger stones	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓

Table 28. Female burials with the 'full kit' at Archontiko.

Despite the difficulties described above, a 'full kit', was identified after a careful cross-examination of the various categories of burial goods attested in the female burials. Similar to the female burials at Sindos, this 'full kit' could be then conventionally divided into two smaller groups, one including at least three pieces of jewellery, adornments such as pins and brooches, masks or epistomia, clay and bronze vessels, while the other one, more rarely attested items such as knives, gold decorative pieces, miniatures objects and eidolia constituting an 'optional' kit. With the notable exceptions of T414, jewellery, pins and brooches, masks or epistomia, clay and bronze pots were attested in nine out of 10 female graves with the 'full kit' (Table 28). T414 contained fewer than three pieces of jewellery but was nonetheless included in the following table given the attestation of all the remaining categories of burial goods. In regard to the association between the triplet of sympotic vessels accompanied by an ointment one and the presence of the 'full kit' in the female burials of Archontiko this is a weak one. Five out of the thirteen burials with the triplet of sympotic vessels along with an ointment one also displayed the 'full kit' (T221, T262, T414, T688, T738; Table 18). Conversely, the remaining five 'full kit' burials were not decorated with this particular assemblage of vessels indicating that it was not among the main constituents of the female 'full kit' at Archontiko. As for the objects belonging to the second group, i.e. knives, gold decorative pieces, miniatures objects and eidolia, the

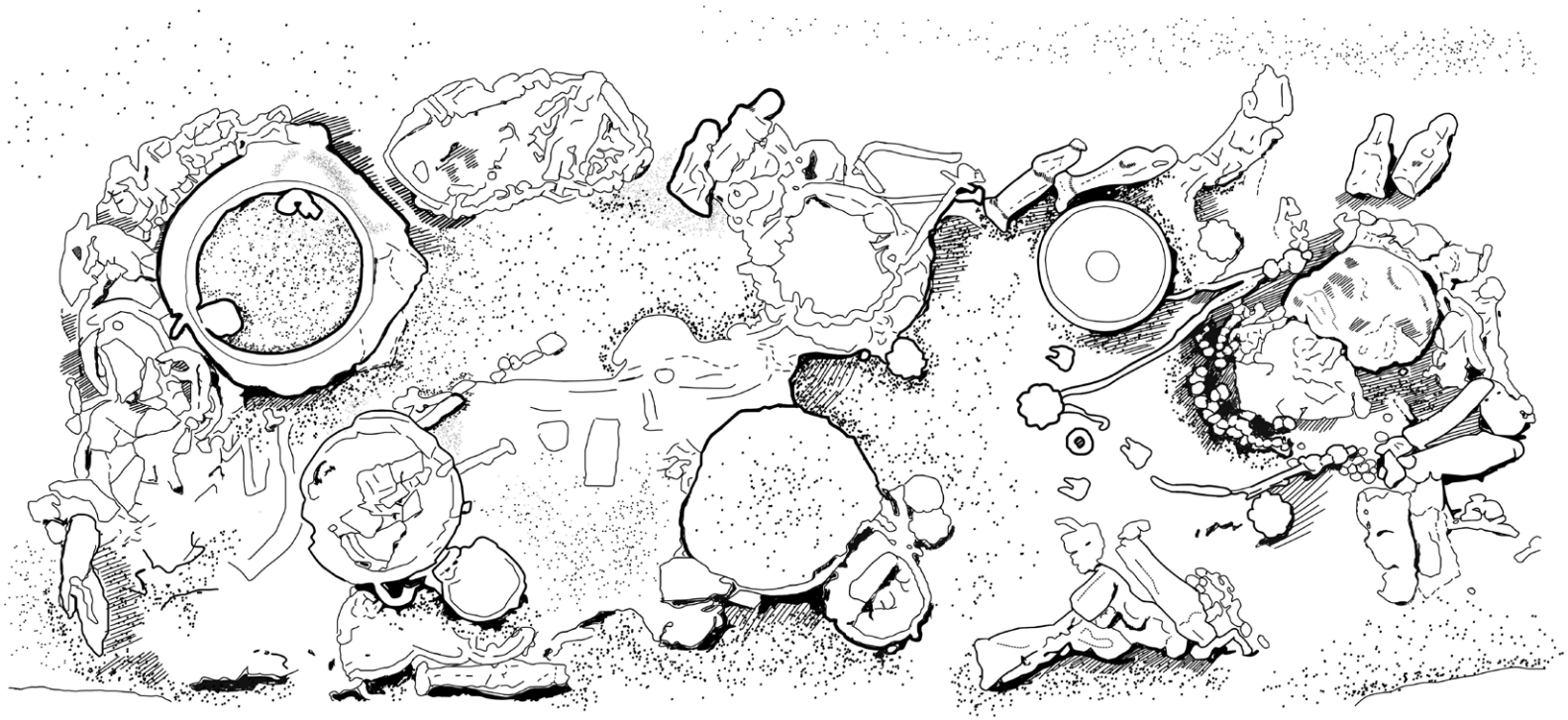

Figure 32. The female burial at T458 as decorated with the ‘full kit’. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Chrysostomou 2012, pl. 1).

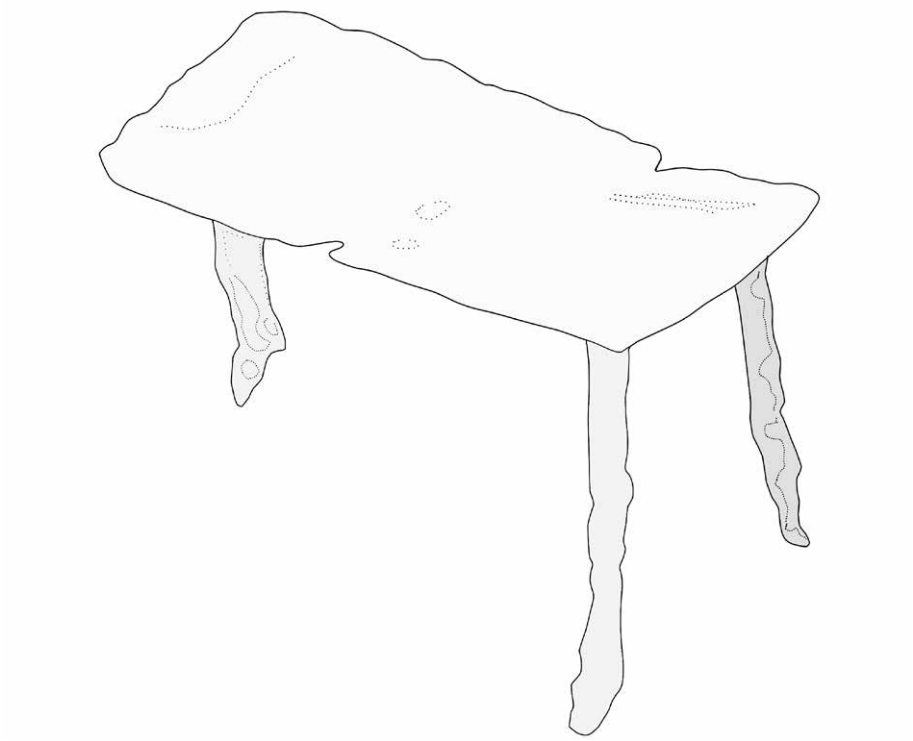

Figure 33. Miniature objects depicting a table, a four-wheel cart and a chair found at T458. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Chrysostomou 2012, pl. 16-18).

number of the categories of burial goods discovered in each grave varied from just one (T20B, T221, T525A, T688) to four (T198, T262, T414). Finally, one might add as a closing observation that tombs T198 and T262 stand out as the only ones out of the 10 female burials in total in which every single category of burial goods is represented.

Patterns of inclusion/exclusion and a hierarchy of burial goods and practices

Given that grave inventories were available for Archontiko albeit to a less detailed extent than Sindos, one might have hoped that the same level of analysis in regard to spatial patterns would have been conducted at this cemetery. Unfortunately, the main problem in the case of Archontiko is that a high resolution image of the cemetery space in its totality is still missing. All of the published maps are in very low resolution which make the tomb numbers illegible. Additionally, most of the maps depict only parts of the cemetery and therefore a comparative study between different groups similar to the one conducted on the Sindos material was not possible. However, some preliminary observations regarding the spatial patterns based on the available data can also be suggested in the case of Archontiko.

As already suggested by the excavators of Archontiko the most elaborate burials were found near the crossroad in the middle of the cemetery (Figure 35). Not all of them were bearing the 'full kit' as this was defined in earlier chapters. However, most

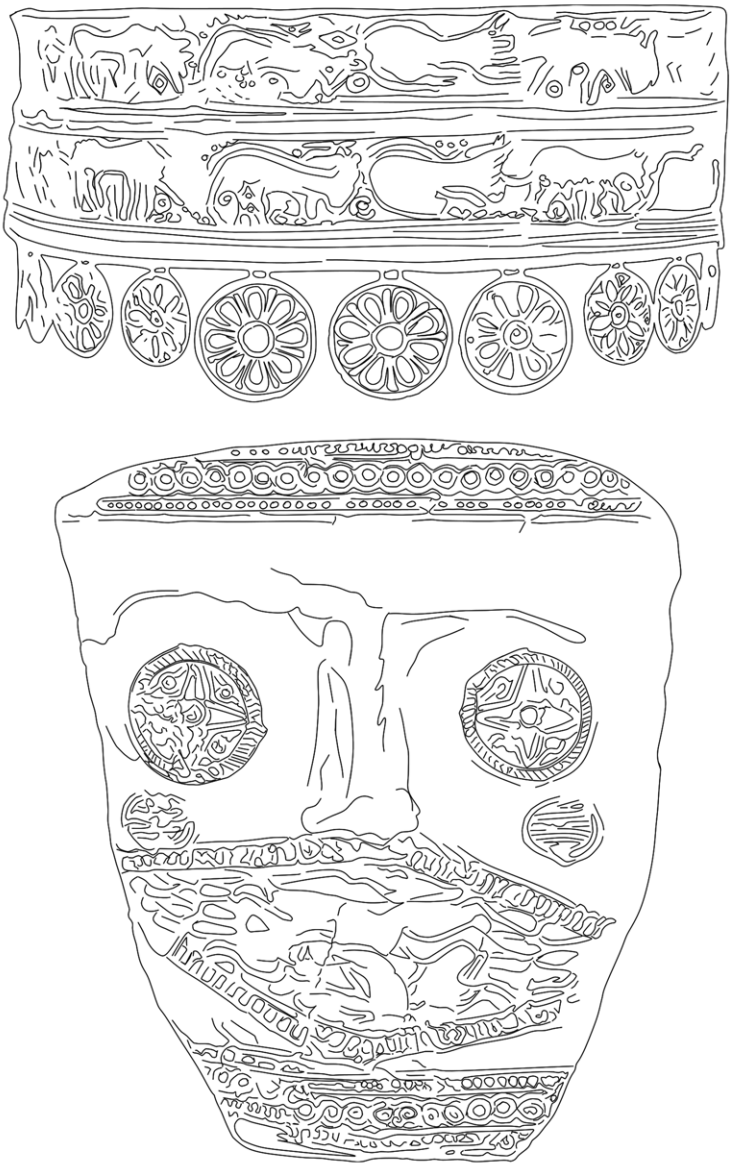

Figure 34. The gold mask and diadem in T458. Drawn by Maria Marinou and reproduced here with her kind permission (after Chrysostomou 2018, pl. 13).

of the 'full kit' burials – at least to the extent that the available maps from Archontiko show – were indeed found around the crossroad. It follows that this area was reserved for exclusive use by the most dominant groups within the local community since it only received elaborate burials. The fact that not all of those burials were invested with the 'full kit' indicates the presence of an intra-elite hierarchy. Yet, this sense of hierarchy was expressed in a subtler way between the 'full kit' burials and the elaborate ones found in the same vicinity as them, than between these two categories and the burials belonging to less powerful groups buried elsewhere within the same cemetery. People at

Figure 35. Partial map of the cemetery at Archontiko depicting the Archaic burials found around the crossroad. Drawn by the author (after Chrysostomou 2019b, pl. 9).

Archontiko might have buried their dead within the same cemetery space but they did not do so in the exact same manner. These was evidenced by differences in the grave types and in the quality and quantity of burial goods. As already mentioned above, while by far the most common grave type was simple pit ones, the most dominant groups still found a subtle way to differentiate themselves by burying their dead in very large pit graves. All of these graves safely identified as the ones of monumental size were found in close proximity to the crossroad.

The same location-specific peculiarities apply to certain burial goods of the most exclusive nature such as masks, shields and miniature objects all of which were found in the same central part of the cemetery around the two main roads. Other burial goods such as helmets were primarily found in that part of the cemetery – at least based on the available information – but the ones found in the 'full kit' burials at the same part of the cemetery were typically decorated with gold foils around the face opening once again implying a sense of intra-elite hierarchy. As for jewellery, while most of the types were commonly found across the cemetery – with the exception of diadems and hair spirals – the ones discovered in the central part of the cemetery were quantitatively and qualitatively different from the rest ones discovered elsewhere in the cemetery. They were usually made of more exclusive metals like gold or silver and were found in larger and more typologically diverse quantities in the more elaborate part of the cemetery. Similar to this, pottery, while commonly found in all of the cemetery, was discovered in larger quantities and more varied typology in burials around the crossroad in the central part of the cemetery. Additionally, it appears that the triplet of sympotic equipment was also found in this part of the cemetery generally linked to the more elaborate burials including the ones displaying the 'full kit'. Of course all of these observations are subject to review once the material from Archontiko including detailed maps is fully published. This will allow a comparative GIS-based analysis between Sindos and Archontiko. Yet, until then, a first comparison between these two key sites is provided in the next section.

5.4 Sindos and Archontiko: A comparison

Since Sindos and Archontiko, as already stated above, are the two main sites, useful comparisons can be drawn when these two are co-examined. Important commonalities and regional differences alike can all be observed in both of these case studies. Starting with the total number of burials, the cemetery at Archontiko is significantly larger than the one at Sindos, as 474 burials dated during the Archaic Period were found at the former, while 121 at the latter. This is despite the fact that for the purposes of the present study I was able to catalogue only 233 out of the 474 burials at Archontiko, a number significantly higher than the one for Sindos. Another difference influencing the comparison between the two sites is the existence of osteological data for Sindos and its lack for Archontiko. Gendering and ageing of the burials were based on this for Sindos, while at Archontiko gendering was mainly based on burial goods and ageing to the size of the pit. Osteological analysis were provided in a handful of burials at Archontiko and was included in the analysis where available.

Moving to grave types, what is arguably interesting is both the inter- and intra-site variability in terms of these. Pits, cists, sarcophagi, cremation urns and Ionian larnaxes where all found in Sindos. Remains of wooden sarcophagi were sometimes found within pits, while all of the burials seemed to have been marked with some kind of *sema* that was not preserved. In contrast to the grave types found at Sindos, things at Archontiko was much simpler. Two main types were found there: pits graves, usually containing a wooden sarcophagus, and cremation urns. In numerous instances though, some of the pits were of monumental measurements and/or protected with a layer of pebbles and clearly marked with large white stones functioning as *semata*. What is also noticeable in both sites is a strong link between specific grave types and the most elaborate burials. For instance, in Sindos, these were found primarily in cists and to a lesser extent in sarcophagi while in Archontiko in pits of monumental measurement and/or protected with pebbles. These associations of the most elaborate burials with certain graves types was present in both adult and child burials. Age was not a decisive factor in affecting the choices in terms of grave types nor in burial goods, as children at both sites were invested with gendered identities. Moreover, burials of both adults and children at Sindos and at Archontiko all adopted similar patterns regarding the deceased's head orientation. Men in Sindos were buried with their head turned towards the west, while women towards the east. The same burial rite was also observed in Archontiko, as men were buried with their heads towards the north, south or west but never east, while women, with theirs turned towards north, south or east but never west. It therefore seems like there was a close association between the gender of the deceased and the direction towards which their heads were facing. Men were generally buried with their heads facing west, while women east.

Apart from the general observations and the similarities and differences in terms of burial rites, useful conclusions can be drawn regarding the burial goods excavated at both sites. In regard to the gender specific ones, offensive and defensive equipment were the most commonly attested burial goods found in male burials, while jewellery and adornments were typically found in female burials. The objects found in burials at both cemeteries were similar. The only site specific object falling into these categories is the breastplate shield, examples of which were only attested in Archontiko but not in Sindos. A general trend observed in both sites with is the attestation of knives in the mortuary record. While they were found in burials belonging to both genders, they did so in higher numbers in male

burials than in female ones. Given the multivariate uses of knives, a single reason behind this imbalance might be tough to identify. However, based on their difference in regard to the depositional patterns between the two genders – a common observation between the two sites – it can be suggested that, while knives might have been more widespread in male burials, they had a more exclusive role in the female ones indicating perhaps their role as a high status symbol in context of female burials. Furthermore, in regard to the female burials at both sites, while the raw material used in the creation of the jewellery and adornments found in them were the same, their percentages were not. More specifically, in Sindos, almost 50% of these objects were made of silver, with gold, iron and bronze also attested in this order. Amber and ivory were also used although objects made of those did not constitute more of 0.5% of the total number of jewellery and adornments found there. In contrast to Sindos, at Archontiko almost 30% of these two gender specific categories of burial goods were made of bronze, while the rest of them of silver, gold and iron with amber, glass and faience also found there, albeit in negligible percentages. There is therefore a stark contrast between both the primary raw material used at these sites and the order of the rest of the materials involved in the creation of jewellery and adornments.

In terms of the gender non-specific burial goods, by far the most commonly attested category was pots, primarily made of clay. In the case of Sindos, these were mainly imported from Attica and Corinth while locally made vessels were found at a miniscule percentage. Conversely, in Archontiko, based on the so far available data, pottery was primarily local-made with significantly fewer imports. Another pottery-related observation is the fact that at Sindos proportionally more ceramics were deposited in male burials than in female ones. However, once again, Archontiko provides us with a different perspective. Here, the female burials have proportionally more ceramics than the male ones. Yet, both of these suggestions may indeed require revision in the future, in light of the long awaited publication of Archontiko.

As for miniature objects, these were also found in both sites although with minor differences in their depositional patterns as the exact same types found in Sindos were also discovered in Archontiko. However, the miniature objects resembling cheese graters were site-specific at Archontiko, probably related to the ancient name of the nearby settlement. Another difference is that miniature spits and firedogs were found in both male and female burials at Sindos, with their vast majority deposited in the male ones, while at Archontiko they were only attested in male burials. An important similarity between the two sites relates to the presence of two wheeled and four wheeled carts, each one of those corresponds to a specific gender. Two wheeled carts were only discovered in male burials at both sites while four wheeled carts only at female ones. As for their chronological attestation, miniature objects were, with the exception of two instances, found in burials dated between 550-500 BC. Similar to this, based on the available data from Archontiko, all of the miniature objects were found in burials dated between 550-500 BC.

Eidolia were found in similar types across the cemeteries at both Sindos and Archontiko. No specific types of eidolia were gender specific as they were frequently associated with burials of all genders and ages. They were not necessarily found in relation to the most elaborate burials, as their attestation is more widespread. In contrast to eidolia, gold diadems were found in selected burials at both sites. They seemed to have been gender specific at Sindos but not in Archontiko, as they were only discovered in female burials in the former, while they did so in burials of both genders in the latter. However, as it

was suggested by Despoini (2016c, 35), the same rite might have been attested in male burials at Sindos too but instead of gold diadems with floral reliefs, real wreaths, made of flowers, might have been used. As for masks and mouthpieces, these were attested at both sites in both male and female burials with their numbers peaking between 550-500 BC. Site specific objects included, two epothalmia connected to each other, forming a sort of spectacles which combined with a mouthpiece, created a peculiar set of gold coverings place on the deceased's face at Sindos and single rosettes placed on the deceased's eyes at Archontiko. Most of the masks and epistomia found at both sites had floral decorations with the exception of an epistomion in Sindos in which a boat and dolphins were depicted and a mask in Archontiko decorated with relief lions.

Moving away from comparisons between individual types of burial goods, useful insights can also be gain by a co-examination of the various correlations between different burial goods attested at both sites. Starting with the correlations between objects found in male burials at both sites, it can be argued that a combination between offensive and defensive equipment were by far the most common one found at both Sindos and Archontiko. There were numerous variations regarding this combination with burials ranging from having one to two spearheads to the most elaborate ones having a triplet of offensive weapons along with a helmet and in a limited number of instances shields. Furthermore, it appears that all the male burials at Sindos included some sort of offensive and/or defensive equipment. However, the same cannot be said about Archontiko, as a significant number of male burials did not include these types of burial goods. Naturally, looting distorts our perception of the Archontiko data. Yet, the lack of arms and armour cannot be down to looting as it might seem bizarre that objects like gold epistomia were left behind by grave robbers but bronze spearheads were stolen. Based on the full publication from Sindos, this was definitely not the case, as burials with epistomia also contained less valuable objects such as spearheads but not vice versa. It could therefore be suggested that some men in Archontiko might have been the recipients of elaborate burials even though their burials were not furnished with objects traditionally associated with their gender.

In regard to the female burials, by far the most common correlation among burial goods was that of the co-presence of at least one type of jewellery and one type of adornment in both Sindos and Archontiko. No standard combination between these categories of burial goods was observed in neither of the two sites, as variability in the depositional patterns is the main characteristic regarding jewellery and adornments. Moreover, in none of the burials excavated at both sites were all of the various types of jewellery or adornments found deposited together. The general trend as observed in Sindos was that the more elaborate the burial, the more types of jewellery and adornments would include. However, this was not necessarily true for Archontiko, where graves containing large amounts of jewellery lacked other types of burial goods typically associated with more elaborate burials. Granted, given the current status of the data from Archontiko this observation might become null in light of the final publication but it is hard to imagine that someone attempted to loot these tombs and left behind jewellery and adornments. The same observation regarding masks and epistomia found in male burials also holds true for the female burials. At both sites, masks were highly exclusive, while epistomia were more commonly attested. Similar to this, miniature objects were once again associated with the most elaborate burials, whereas eidolia were more widely attested.

Interesting comparisons could also be drawn in regard to the depositional patterns of clay and metal pots found in both sites. Twenty eight of out of the 47 male burials at Sindos, were buried with at least one sympotic and one ointment vessel. The triplet of sympotic vessels was found in 11 burials, nine of which were also furnished with an ointment vessel. Similar to this, in Archontiko, 76 out of the 233 male burials were furnished with at least one sympotic and one ointment vessels while the same triplet found in Sindos was also found in Archontiko in 33 of the 233 male burials. In 30 out of the 33 burials the triplet of sympotic vessels was accompanied by an ointment one. When proportionally compared to the burials with the full sympotic triplet and ointment vessels at Archontiko the percentage of male burial at Archontiko yielding these specific objects is considerably lower (12%) from that at Sindos (19%). Given that a large part of the male burials at Archontiko is published albeit through preliminary reports, these percentages could be accurate enough but subject to re-evaluation once the final publication is made.

As for the female burials in Sindos, almost half of them (31 out of 64) had at least one sympotic and one ointment vessel. Contrary to the male burials where the co-attestation of objects belonging to these two big categories greatly varied in terms of typology, female burials in Sindos, typically included one drinking vessel along with one containing ointment, as this specific combination was found in 22 out from the 31 female burials with similar objects. The full triplet of sympotic vessels along with one containing ointment was found in significantly fewer burials when compared to the male burials in Sindos, that is in only four across the cemetery. In regard to female burials at Archontiko, at least 45 out of the 58 of them had one sympotic and one ointment vessel. However, the combination between a drinking vessels and an ointment one found in Sindos was attested in significantly fewer number at Archontiko (19 out of 45). Fifteen of the female burials were recipients of the full sympotic triplet with 14 of them further equipped with an ointment vessel. It therefore becomes evident that female burials with the full sympotic triplet and ointment vessels were proportionally less commonly attested in Sindos (6%) than in Archontiko (14%). However, as already noted, since the excavators at Archontiko focused mainly in the most elaborate female burials the final percentage, once all the female burials are fully published, might be lower. Notwithstanding the issues regarding the data from Archontiko, what is particularly true for both sites is that the triplet of sympotic vessels, regardless of whether it was accompanied by ointment vessel or not, was found in the most elaborate male and female burials.

The final set of data involved in this brief comparison between Sindos and Archontiko is the 'full funerary kits' attested at both sites. The male funerary kit, which was mostly made up by similar objects found at both sites, was discovered in proportionally larger percentage at Sindos (23%) than in Archontiko (8.5%). Most of the burials with the full kit in Sindos were dated between 550-500 BC and belonged to young adults below the age of 35 years old. However, similar links were not identified in Archontiko given the current status of the data albeit a few of the burials that were gendered and dated successfully seem to fit into this pattern. Furthermore, more parts of the kit and as well as the whole kit was primarily found in cists and sarcophagi than in pits at Sindos. Due to the limited variability in terms of grave types attested at Archontiko, a similar observation was not possible. Subsequently, despite the fact that the 'full kit' was necessarily found in pits, some of them had monumental measurements functioning as means of differentiation from the rest of the pit graves found in the cemetery.

Turning our focus to the female 'full kit' what becomes evident is that at both sites this could be also complemented by the existence of an 'optional' kit less frequently found in female burials. Similar to the male burials at Sindos, the female burials were perhaps originally mostly found in cists and sarcophagi. However, female burials in Sindos were looted (38%) but not as severely as the sarcophagi (73%). This observation in combination with the fact that at Archontiko most of the female burials with the 'full kit' were found in pits with monumental dimensions sometimes layered with pebbles might indicate that this link between certain grave types and the female 'full kit' was also evident in Sindos. In contrast to the link between younger individuals and the presence of the full kit in the male burials at Sindos, in the females ones most of the burials furnished with the 'full kit' belonged to women over the age of 35. Unfortunately, these patterns were not able to be confirmed in the case of Archontiko as information regarding the age of the of the deceased are not available yet. In terms of burial goods what is really interesting is that jewellery and adornments in female burial with the 'full kit' were quantitatively and qualitatively different that the rest burials found in both sites. More specifically, jewellery and adornments found at female burials with the 'full kit' were primarily made of gold and silver and were found so in large quantities. Granted, gold and silver were found in other burials in Sindos but they did so to a lesser extent. Taking into consideration the fact that, as noted earlier in the discussion, almost 30% of the total number of jewellery and adornments found at Archontiko were made of bronze, one could argue that the exclusive nature of gold and silver was further reinforced by their presence at a selected few graves. Therefore, all of the above clearly indicate the existence of a link between specific raw materials and the female 'full kit' at both sites.

Further differences between the 'full kits' as attested at Sindos and Archontiko are noted in regard to the relation of these to the triplet of sympotic equipment typically accompanied with an ointment vessel. At Sindos eight out of the eleven 'full kit' burials were decorated with it, with another two of them possibly originally displayed it before they were looted. At Archontiko this link was observed at 14 out of the 20 male burials with the 'full kit'. However, at Archontiko, the triplet along with an ointment vessel was also found in another 17 burials which did not display the 'full kit'. Despite the fact that it is difficult to say whether at least some of these were originally furnished with it, it seems that this assemblage of vessels was more closely linked to the dominant male groups at Sindos than at Archontiko. As for the female burials, the association between the 'full kit' and the particular assemblage of vessels was found at four out of seven 'full kit' burials at Sindos and five out of ten at Archontiko. Interestingly enough, the remaining three 'full kit' burials at Sindos do not appear to have been looted while the same information is missing in regard to Archontiko. Similar to the male 'full kit' burials at Archontiko, female 'full kit' burials at both Sindos and Archontiko, albeit displaying the assemblage of sympotic and ointment equipment do not do so at the same frequency. The fact that at least in Archontiko this assemblage was also attested at six 'non-full kit' burials indicates that this practice might not have been that exclusive, at least in the case of female burials.

As for the themes emerging from the analysis of the cemetery space both Sindos and Archontiko present a number of similar motifs. First of all, both of them display a loose pattern of organisation with burials scattered across the cemetery space. However, while at Archontiko these are generally found within the same grave type, in Sindos they do not do so with burials on the outskirts of the cemetery space being primarily deposited in pit

graves while the ones in the innermost part of the cemetery in cists and sarcophagi. It seems that in Archontiko, dominant groups were also found in the innermost part of the cemetery although in a less conspicuous grave type since they too were buried in pit graves but of monumental measurements. Consequently, it can be argued that a more exclusive area containing elaborate burials was found at both cemeteries typically in their innermost part. In Sindos this was located in the central part of the cemetery's east side while in Archontiko in the central part around the two main roads. Yet, at both of these sites, these exclusive areas were smoothy incorporated within the wider organisation of the cemetery space, a phenomenon perhaps indicating that boundaries between different groups were not rigid.

These areas reserved for use by the most dominant groups were the exact locations in which the burials with the 'full kit' were discovered. Of course this does not mean that every person buried there displayed the 'full kit'. All of the burials found at these locations were indeed the recipients of elaborate burials but some of them were further elevated by the bestowment of the 'full kit'. In both of the cemeteries the differences between those burials displaying the 'full kit' and the rest of the elaborate ones were subtle. 'Full kit' burials had everything the elaborate burials had but on top of this they also displayed specific co-relations between objects which were absent from the rest of the elaborate burials. This sense of hierarchisation was more evident in the differences between these two categories of burials and the rest of the burials found elsewhere in the cemetery. For example, specific objects like masks, shields and miniature objects were found only in the most exclusive areas of both of the cemeteries and mainly in 'full kit' burials. The deposition of pottery, while a generally inclusive practice, also differed significantly between burials found at the most exclusive areas and the rest of the burials. The former frequently displayed pottery as part of a sympotic triplet while the latter only periodically did so in various shapes, not forming any specific combinations of objects.

These spatial motifs, the hierarchisation of burial goods and practices and the presence of multilevel inclusion/exclusion patterns indicate the presence of social dynamics to which I will return to in the discussion part of the present thesis. These trends are more easily observable in the case of Sindos and to a lesser extent Archontiko, due to the state of the publications based on the material from these two sites. Following the preliminary comparison between these two key sites, I will now proceed to the study of the rest of the cemeteries in order to examine the same themes discussed above for Sindos and Archontiko.

6

Mechanisms of Power across the region

Despite Sindos and Archontiko being the most well published sites in early Macedonia, the phenomenon of 'warrior' burials and elaborate female and sub-adult burials was also observed at Aegae, Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi, Agia Paraskevi, Aiani and Trebeništa. Unfortunately, none of these sites has been fully published. Yet, depending on the availability of information for those, a series of observations regarding the spatial expressions of power and identity, the presence of a 'full funerary kit' and an internal hierarchy between burials displaying this in contrast to the rest of the burials found within the same cemeteries can be made. What follows is exactly that, a site by site examination of the organisation of the cemetery space, the chronological distribution of burials along with information on age, gender and sex wherever osteological data is available, an analysis of tomb types, burial goods and practices as attested at every cemetery. At the end of each site, a short analysis on the two major themes, the spatial expression of power and identity, and the materialisation of a hierarchy in terms of burial goods and practices is provided. At the end of the chapter, I bring together all of these burial patterns as attested in the cemeteries before moving to discuss what these mean in terms of social structure, identity and power in the context of archaic Macedonia in the final chapter.

6.1 Aegae

The most well-known archaeological site in Macedonia, probably with the exception of Pella, is Aegae. The exact location of the first Macedonian capital has spurred a long lasting controversy between scholars, with the majority of them finally accepting the identification of the site with modern day Vergina (Hammond 1972, 155-159; Andronikos 1976, 123-129; 1984; cf. Faklaris 1994). Regardless of the aforementioned dispute, it is commonly argued that the impressive tumuli cemetery dated during the Iron Age dominates the area near Vergina (Andronikos 1969; Bräuning & Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013). The excavations that took place mainly during the 1950s by Andronikos and Petsas, brought to light at least 352 tombs in 41 tumuli (Petsas 1963, 1965; Andronikos 1969; Rhomiopoulou and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1989; Bräuning & Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013). The tumuli cemetery was used mainly during the Iron Age until the earliest phases of the Archaic period and again throughout the Hellenistic period with more than a two centuries chronological gap in

Site	Period in use	Number of burials during the Archaic Period
Aegae	6th – 3rd BC	At least 132 (flat cemetery and tumuli)
Agios Athanasios	6th – 3rd BC	21
Nea Philadelpheia	6th – 3rd BC	168 (their precise dating is still unclear)
Thermi	8th – 1st BC	4.200 (their precise dating is still unclear)
Agia Paraskevi	6th – 5th BC	370
Aiani	Late Bronze, Archaic to Hellenistic	Large but unspecified number, 12 'royal' burials during the Archaic/ Classical Period
Trebeništa	6th – 5th BC	13 'princely' burials, 43 'poor' ones

Table 29. List of the sites discussed in this chapter.

between. This gap, in combination with the lack of another burial ground dated specifically in the Archaic period, were interpreted as signs of a false identification of Vergina with Aegae (Faklaris 1994, 614).

However, recent excavations have unearthed the archaic necropolis, 250m southeast of the tumuli cemetery (Kottaridi 2001; 2002; 2009; Kontogoulidou 2010). Unfortunately, most of it still remains buried under the village of Vergina. By 2009, when a first presentation of the findings was made, 80 burials were found in total, while 60 of them were centred around the core of the cemetery, as identified by the excavator (Kottaridi 2009, 145). The burials were not particularly elaborate and according to Kottaridi, this was attributed to the fact that approximately 90% of them were looted, probably in antiquity by the Gauls serving as mercenaries in Pyrrhus's army (Kottaridi 2009, 147; Plut. *Pyrhus* 26.6-26.7).

Apart from the seemingly 'poor' core of the archaic cemetery two burial tumuli were also excavated at Aegae, at a close proximity to the archaic necropolis. Tumulus B, which was already known to Andronikos (1988; 1991), is situated southeast of the archaic necropolis at a prominent location next to the north-western gate of the walls of Aegae. What is striking is that all of the graves excavated at this tumulus contained lavishly decorated female burials. Hence, it was identified by Kottaridi as the Queens' Tumulus, a mound covering the graves of the most important female figures of the Temenid royal house (Kottaridi 1992; 2006; 2009, 152-153). Tumulus Γ is located south of the Tumuli cemetery and southeast of tumulus A, where the 4th century tomb of Philip was found. The burials covered by the mound belonged to both males and females and were dated between the 6th – 4th centuries BC. Kottaridi (1996; 1999, 114-115; 2001, 359-361; 2002, 530; 2009, 152) once more argued in favour of the identification of this particular tumulus as the burial site for the members of the Temenid royal house, with the only difference being that this time she emphasised the presence of the male burials at this mound. Leaving aside historical interpretations, the tumuli covered a number of elite burials, given both their burial goods and their dominant position within the wider necropolis of Aegae.

An introduction to the chronological distribution, gendering and looting of the burials

Unfortunately, as already noted, a large part of the Archaic cemetery of Aegae is still buried underneath the present day village of Vergina. Since the information about it is only communicated through preliminary reports, an analysis to the same extent as Sindos

and Archontiko was not possible. Nonetheless, useful comparisons between Aegae and the rest of the sites, including Sindos and Archontiko, can indeed be drawn, despite the lack of a detailed full publication of the data. Archaic Aegae had an extended flat cemetery and at least two burial tumuli in a separated, yet nearby area to the former one. The cemetery was in use from the early 6th century BC until the 3rd century BC, with its peak in number of burials observed during the Archaic period (Kottaridi 2009, 143-145). At least 132 graves have been excavated so far, with the earliest of them dated in the early 6th century BC (Kakamanoudis 2017, 104). Moreover, what is striking is the sheer uniformity in terms of grave types, as pit graves are the only ones attested there (Kottaridi 2009, 147; Kontogoulidou, 145). It is also possible that the pit graves contained wooden sarcophagi, as evidenced by the discovery of iron nails in them (Kontogoulidou 2010, 144). Furthermore, the existence of some kind of grave markers should not be considered improbable, as large crude stones, discovered in the eastern part of the cemetery, could have been originally placed on top of some graves, functioning as *sema* (Kottaridi 2009, 146-147).

Unfortunately, the vast majority of the graves in Aegae have been completely or partially looted, to a staggering percentage of somewhere between 75% to 90%. However, looting was usually focused on the upper part of the burials, presumably because that is where the most valuable burial goods were to be found, therefore typically leaving the lower part of the burials undisturbed (Kottaridi 2009, 147-148; Kontogoulidou 2010, 145). It is precisely based on these remaining burial goods that the gendering of the burials was suggested, as very few skeletal remains were preserved, both due to the soil chemistry and to the extent of looting (Kottaridi 2009, 146; Kontogoulidou 2010, 145). Furthermore, the head orientation, indicative of the deceased's gender observed elsewhere in Macedonia, was not detected in the case of the burials at Aegae, as all of the dead, regardless of both their gender and their age, were buried with their head towards the south. The tombs were located one next to another, forming two straight, almost parallel lines giving the impression of a clearly defined and well organised cemetery. It is also possible that two main roads were crossing through the cemetery further dividing it up in different sectors. Moreover, the probable presence of family burial clusters, delimited by simple stone *periboloi* further indicates the conscious organisation of the cemetery space in smaller parts (Kottaridi 2009, 145-146; Kontogoulidou 2010, 144). These various divides were also reflected in the burial goods to which I now turn. What follows is first an overview of the ones found in the flat cemetery and subsequently of the ones excavated in the burial tumuli.

The flat cemetery: Gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods

Starting with the flat cemetery (Figure 36), men were buried with weapons, such as iron spearheads, iron knives and in fewer instances iron swords. Defensive equipment in the form of helmets is rarely attested, as these have only been found in three graves. Moreover, no shield has been found so far in Aegae. Female burials frequently included pins, necklaces, rings, earrings, bracelets, pendants typically made of iron, bronze or silver (Kottaridi 2016, 625). Apart from the burial goods characterised as gender specific, numerous other objects have been discovered in the flat archaic cemetery of Aegae. Clay figurines or eidolia were discovered in Aegae, albeit in very limited numbers. Unfortunately, their typology is not provided in the preliminary reports (Kontogoulidou 2010, 147). Metal miniature objects,

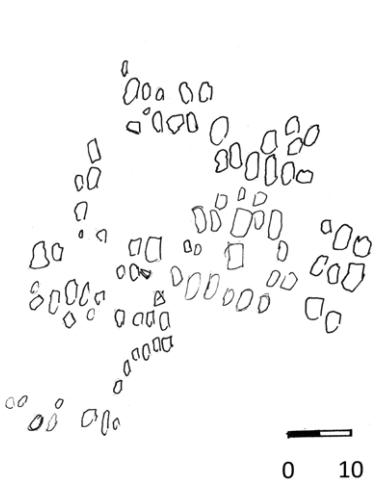

Figure 36. Aegae. Part of the Archaic cemetery. Drawn by the author (after Kakamanoudis 2017, pl. 84).

once more in very limited numbers, were also excavated in Aegae. Spits and firedogs, as well as two wheeled carts were attested in at least two male burials in the cemetery (Kottaridi 2009, 149). An intriguing observation is the puzzling, almost complete absence of mouthpieces or *epistomia*, as only two, one gold and one silver, have been discovered so far at Aegae (Kottaridi 2009, 149; 2016, 625).

Clay and metal vessels were also excavated at Aegae, with the former ones found in significantly larger quantity than the latter ones, as one might have expected. Pottery, both in types used in the context of 'symposium' and in types used for ointment purposes, was widely attested in the cemetery. More specifically, the first group was consisted of imported pots in types kotyle, skyphos, kylix and krater from Corinth, Attica and eastern Greece, as well as locally made products such as kantharos, kotyle, dinos and krater. In the second group, one might include vessels such as aryballos, alavastron and exaleiptron, almost solely imported from Corinth, while local imitations of exaleiptron are also attested in few cases. Furthermore, colourful glass vases were also present in the cemetery of Aegae, even though in limited numbers (Kottaridi 2009,149-151; 2016, 625; Kontogoulidou 2010, 146). Another rare find was metal vessels, which were almost exclusively made of bronze. Most of them are in the shape of phiale, simple undecorated lekanis or miniature oinochoe (Kottaridi 2009, 149; Kontogoulidou 2010, 146-148).

The burial tumulus B

As already mentioned, apart from the extended cemetery at Aegae, two separate burial tumuli were also excavated in close proximity to both one another and to the flat cemetery. At least nine pit graves containing inhumations in wooden sarcophagi have been excavated in tumulus B (Table 30; Figure 37). All of them are dated between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC, while judging from the burial goods found in them they were identified as belonging to female burials (Kottaridi 2009, 152). The earliest four of them ΛΙ, ΛΙΙ, ΛΙΙΙ and ΛΙV are all monumental pit graves with extraordinarily large dimensions, dated during the Archaic period and more specifically between 540-470 BC. Unfortunately,

with the exception of ΛII, all of the nine graves were extensively looted (Kottaridi 2006, 156). Nevertheless, interesting observations could be made despite both their extensive looting and the lack of a full publication of the site.

Tomb ΛI (540-530 BC) is only briefly mentioned in a publication, according to which it contained a variety of gold jewellery and rosettes, clay figurines of several types as well as numerous clay and bronze vases (Kakamanoudis 2017, 107 n.372). Arguably the most complicated interpretation was that suggested for the burial found in tomb ΛII (500 BC), nicknamed the 'Lady of Aegae'. An enormous pit grave containing a wooden sarcophagus, tomb ΛII was excavated near the centre of the tumulus. As the only unlooted tomb found in the tumulus, the specific tomb contained vast amounts of burial objects mostly made of gold. Finds from this grave included jewellery such as a gold diadem, three gold fistulae forming a hair ornament, a gold ring, a pair of gold earrings, gold bracelets, a gold pendant and a gold necklace formed of gold beads. Dress ornaments consisted of gold fibulae and pins, a broad rectangular gold sheet with relief rosettes, long gold bands decorating the outline of the dress, while another 18 shorter gold bands, 23 gold rosettes, four small triangular gold pieces were also attached to her dress. In addition, gold-plated silver sheets covering the soles of her shoes and an inscribed silver phiale was also discovered inside her wooden sarcophagus. Another unique find was that of a sceptre, deposited at the deceased's right side. This extraordinary find consisted of a wooden shaft decorated with amber petals and cores of palmettes and rosettes as well as a curved bone finial. Other finds comprised 11 bronze phiales, a miniature glass amphora, an iron exaleiptron, a bronze hydria, miniature objects such as a four wheeled-cart and spits and six small mask-like female head figures attached along the inside of the sarcophagus. Furthermore, apart from the ones inside the sarcophagus, other burial goods included a clay miniature amphora, an iron tripod, a bronze lebes, a bronze oinochoe and a silver-plated bronze phiale (Andronikos 1991, 1-3; Kottaridi 2004; 2012; 2018b, 442-444; see also Chrysostomou 2019, 388-389 n.10). Strangely enough, according to Kottaridi (2021, 415), despite its wealth, this lavishly decorated tomb did not contain any kind of mask, epistomion or eye covering gold sheet. However, as argued by Chrysostomou (2019), a thin gold sheet, briefly noted in the excavation plan, might have been covering the deceased's face. Due to the subsequent collapse of the wooden sarcophagus caused by the weight of the soil, it was suggested that the mask moved towards the chest, where it was subsequently crushed and divided into many smaller pieces (Chrysostomou 2019, 391-392). As tempting as this hypothesis might be, since no image or even description of this sheet has ever been published, it is better to wait for the full publication of the grave before postulating any further interpretations regarding the existence or not of a gold mask.

Tomb ΛIII, dated around 480 BC, contained 26 life-size clay heads, made of two parts, each created in a separate mould. The heads were hollow and their necks had an opening at their base probably for the fitting of a wooden stick, as their function might have been that of a xoanon. The excavators were able to identify at least four types regarding the style of the heads. Most of them depicted an idealised female figure wearing a diadem and bearing a specific type of hairstyle, others another female figure once again idealised, but this time without the elaborate hairstyle. Two of the heads depicted male figures, one of a realistic portrayal of beardless man, the other of an elderly male while other finds included fragments of eidolia, bronze phiales, jewellery and gold decorative pieces (Kottaridi 1992, 1-3).

Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Tomb Type	Jewellery	Adornments (pins/brooches)	Vessels (clay, bronze or glass)	Clay Figurines	Miniature Objects	Gold Rosettes	Gold decorative pieces
Τ ΛΙ	540-530 BC	Monumental pit grave	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Τ ΛΙΙ	500 BC	Monumental pit grave	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Τ ΛΙΙΙ	480 BC	Monumental pit grave	✓		✓	✓			✓
Τ ΛΙV	470-460 BC	Monumental pit grave	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓

Table 30. The four Archaic monumental pit graves of tumulus B.

Figure 37. The burial tumulus B with the Archaic burials. Drawn by the author (after Kakamanoudis 2017, pl. 85).

Tomb ΛIV, the last archaic grave dated approximately around 470 BC, contained a wooden sarcophagus, located in its centre. The female, who was buried with her head facing eastwards, was lavishly decorated with a gold pendant, numerous amber beads forming a necklace, a few gold rosettes and pieces of a decorative gold band, few bronze phiales, clay figurines, a small glass vessel and an Attic pelike. Moreover, as in the previous case of tomb ΛII, the soles of her shoes were covered with gold sheets. Another similarity between these two tombs might be the combination of objects deposited outside of the wooden sarcophagus. In this instance, an iron tripod with a bronze lebes and a bronze lekanis were discovered, possibly indicating some sort of a ritual performed during the burial (Kottaridi 1992, 3-4).

The burial tumulus Γ

According to Kottaridi another burial Tumulus, conventionally named Γ, was also excavated in close proximity to both tumulus B and the flat cemetery (Figure 38). Twenty one burials, belonging to both males and females, have been excavated so far in tumulus Γ, dated between the early 6th century BC to the early 3rd century BC, eight during the Archaic period, 10 in the classical and three in the Hellenistic period (Kottaridi 2016, 621; 2018a, 157). The oldest of them, dated between 580-480 BC, are simple pit graves, while two of them are built cists (Kottaridi 2009, 152). However, a striking difference with the nearby flat cemetery is that the dead buried in tumulus Γ were cremated, as evidenced by the pyre

Figure 38. The burial tumulus Γ with the Archaic burials. Drawn by the author (after Kakamanoudis 2017, pl. 86).

remains both discovered inside the graves and spread around them (Kottaridi 2001, 359). Unfortunately, all of them have been looted in antiquity, since their imposing presence in the area certainly attracted grave robbers. Regarding especially the burial goods, due to the pending publication of the site, only a brief description of them is available through the preliminary reports, with the emphasis being given on the ones attested in the male burials.

In the earliest of the graves, dated between 580-570 BC the excavators discovered numerous remains of weapons and bronze vessels. In another three graves dated around 560-530 BC, swords, one of them of the type of machaira, spearheads, helmet, pins, bronze oinochoai many sherds of burned pots in the shape of hydria, olpe, amphora, prochous, kylix, kotyle, aryballos, remnants of eidolia, crushed bronze vessels of the phiale type and a horse's bridle were also found there. Another burial, dated this time between 540-530 BC contained a bronze lebes with the deceased's burned bones, ceremonially covered with a piece of cloth, while another bronze lebes acted as a lid, covering the former one. The last burial presented here was that of a clay urn containing the deceased's burned bones, a gold ring, a helmet, two swords, one of them ritually destroyed, two spearheads and a knife (Kottaridi 1999, 114-115; 2001, 359-361; 2016, 622) As for the apparent absence of masks, Kottaridi (2016, 625) argues that no gold sheets covering the mouth, eyes, hands or any sort of masks and mouthpieces, gold or silver, was discovered in Aegae. Interestingly enough, she does not attribute this to the extensive looting but to a rather conscious choice made by the local community, an argument not without opposition as previously discussed in regard to tumulus B.

Patterns of inclusion/exclusion and a hierarchy of burial goods and practices

It is perhaps tempting to hypothesise that Aegae, being the capital of the Archaic Macedonian kingdom, constituted a unique case. However, after studying the burial goods and customs attested there, it seems more probable to suggest that, apart from any local peculiarities, there are also some similarities with other places in Macedonia, such as Sindos and Archontiko. Moreover, the organisation of the cemetery as evidenced by the existence of an internal division of the space between the pit graves and the tumuli

is similar to Aiani's dichotomy between the pit graves and the 'royal' tombs (see below). The existence of the two burial tumuli at Aegae, indicates the presence of a distinction among groups burying their dead at this cemetery. Most of the burials at the cemetery were indeed simple pit graves. However, two certain groups of pit graves were found under tumuli B and Γ respectively at a small distance to the main core of the cemetery. This distinction was not the only one present as differences existed even within these two more exclusionary groups. More specifically, four out of the nine burials found in tumulus B were all monumental pit graves. Similar to this, with the only exception of two burials found in cists, all of the remaining burials in tumulus Γ were found in pit graves. Yet, all of them were cremation burials adding a further layer of differentiation to the groups burying their dead there in contrast to the rest of the community burying its dead at the flat cemetery. Unfortunately, since the cemetery at Aegae is heavily looted, it is impossible to argue with certainty whether these were the burials with the 'full kit'. Still, given their location within the cemetery, their elaborate grave types and based on the remaining burial goods their identification as the ones displaying the 'full kit' would not be improbable. It therefore becomes evident that at Aegae it was only certain groups of people that had access to the tumuli, while others were excluded from them. Groups burying their dead there differentiate themselves not just on the basis of spatial patterning but also on tomb types, burial practices and quite possibly burial goods.

If the hypothesis that despite their extensive looting the 'full kit' burials were found underneath the two tumuli becomes accepted then an internal hierarchy regarding burial goods and practices similar to the one observed in Sindos and Archontiko could also be argued in the case of Aegae. Given their location and the variability in terms of grave types along with the practice of cremation as attested in tumulus Γ, dominant groups at Aegae manipulated resources effectively in order to distance themselves from the rest of their community. This is further evidenced by the remaining burial goods found in those burials that escaped looting. More specifically, weapons seemed proportionally more widely attested in tumuli than in the flat cemetery. Similar to this, jewellery, despite the fact that they were found across the cemetery, are qualitatively different in the tumuli burials than the ones in the flat cemetery. While the former were mainly made of gold, the latter were made of iron, bronze and to a lesser extent silver. Gold decorative pieces in the form of rosettes, sheets or bands are rarely mentioned in regard to the burials at the flat cemetery while they are proportionally more widely found in the tumuli burials. It therefore seems that while most of the patterns were shared across the cemetery, dominant groups distinguished themselves by either reserving for their exclusive use the most elaborate versions of them or by introducing new ones, as the example of cremation in tumulus Γ illustrates. Finally, it should also be stressed that the attempt to both argue for and against the existence of masks or epistomia and the subsequent 'uniqueness' or not of this area is based on methodologically tenuous arguments, as both Kottaridi and Chrysostomou are focusing on the gold sheet found in just one burial. However, it is difficult to establish that masks and epistomia were both completely absent from Aegae due to looting. Their absence is particularly surprising in regard to burials with the 'full kit' as the ones found in tumuli. Even if we accept that this was due to looting, one would assume that something might have survived in the flat cemetery given the sheer number of burials and their less conspicuous physical presence.

6.2 Agios Athanasios

Northwest of Sindos, closer to the western bank of the river Axios, another *trapeza*, called the Toumba Topsin or Gefyra dominates the valley. It is this site that is associated with the cemetery near the modern day village of Agios Athanasios (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 369; Papazoglou 1988, 200 n.66). According to the excavator, the cemetery can be identified as the one related to the settlement of ancient Chalastra (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 376; Herodotus 7.123; see also Gimatzidis 2010, 50-54). It is also unclear whether all the burials found there actually belonged to the same cemetery, as these were clustered under three tumuli. Tumulus 1 is located to the northwest of Agios Athanasios, tumulus 2 to the southeast of the settlement and tumulus 3 further east (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997a, 429 map 1; for tumulus 1 see Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995; 1997a; for tumulus 2 see Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1998a; for tumulus 3 see Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1998b; 2005). All of the tumuli were dated around the 4th to 3rd centuries BC (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997b).

However, during the excavations at tumulus 1, a total of 21 archaic graves were also excavated there, eight during 1992 (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 371-376; Figure 61) and another 13 during 1993 (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997a, 251-252). It has been argued that these formed part of an extensive cemetery, spread towards the north and located on the lower levels of a hill. Unfortunately, the largest part of the cemetery was destroyed due to illegal sand extractions during the 1970s. Nonetheless, some preliminary observations were made especially owing to the meticulous excavations and stratigraphic surveys. Therefore, it has been suggested that the earliest attested burials are dated during the 6th century BC followed by a chronological gap till the 4th century BC, when the first tumulus was created. Human activity in the cemetery continues from this century onwards, with new graves largely respecting earliest ones. Yet, the construction of the Macedonian tomb in tumulus 1 as well as the construction of the tumulus itself actually destroyed a number of archaic graves (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997a, 256-258; Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997b, 428-429).

Gendering, aging and grave types

Unfortunately, demographic data in the case of Agios Athanasios cemetery regarding the age, gender and sex of the burials is not available, since the only information regarding the site is based on preliminary reports with the exact number of male, female and child burials still unknown. With the exceptions of a sarcophagus and two cist graves, all of the remaining graves are simple pits. However, it seems that these certain pit graves had a deeper side, in which the wooden sarcophagus containing the deceased's body was deposited into, and a shallower one which gave the impression of a step (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 372; 1997a, 251). A strict orientation of the graves was not observed in Agios Athanasios. Yet, the deceased in an unspecified number of male burials are all facing westwards (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 372-373), while no similar information is given in regard to the female burials.

Gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods

Burial goods provided the basis for the gendering of the burials. Male burials frequently included one to two spearheads, one to two knives, one sword usually placed on the deceased's chest while defensive equipment in the form of a helmet was only discovered in one burial. Female burials included jewellery and adornments, such as bronze rings and gold rosettes forming a diadem, although no further mention of any more types is

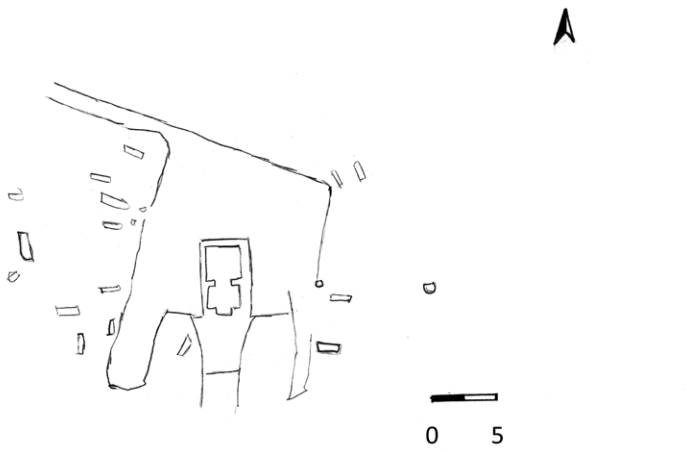

Figure 39. Tumulus 1 at Agios Athanasios with the Archaic burials and the late classical 'Macedonian' tomb in the middle. Drawn by the author (after Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1997a, pl.1).

provided. As for gender non-specific goods, these included iron pins, six gold mouthpieces (epistomia), figurines (eidolia) and plastic vessels, as well as both clay and faience pots. Eidolia were attested in a variety of types among which various ones belonging to the kore type and a faience aryballos in the shape of a hedgehog (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 373; 1997b, 428). Imported pottery from Attica, Eastern Greece and especially from Corinth was discovered along with local pottery in most of the graves at Agios Athanasios. Imported pottery vessels included shapes such as Attic kylix and black-figure painted vessels as well as Corinthian kotyle, aryballos and exaleiptron. Also noteworthy was the presence of local pottery in the form of kylix, lebes and skyphos (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1995, 374-376; 1997a, 252; 1997b, 428). Therefore, it might be tempting to suggest that the community linked to the cemetery near Agios Athanasios adopted similar burial rites to the ones attested at nearby Sindos, a hypothesis that might be answered only in light of the full publication of the site. However, due to the current state of the data, it very difficult to argue in favour of the existence of a 'full kit' similar to the one found elsewhere in Macedonia. Given the absence of an internal division of the cemetery space, the limited number of burials and variability in terms of grave types, dominant groups expressing their collective identity through specific depositional patterns cannot be safely identified in the case of Agios Athanasios. Consequently, themes like patterns of inclusion and exclusion or a hierarchisation of burial goods and practices are hard to establish here.

6.3 Nea Philadelpheia

The modern day settlement of Nea Philadepheia is situated east of the Gallikos river. To the south of the village, an imposing flat mound called trapeza Naresh dominates the area. A large structure comprising of four rooms and linked to the ancient settlement was excavated there on top of the low hill (Misailidou-Despotidou 2000, 259-263; 2008, 28-34). The settlement on top of the trapeza was positioned at a key location near the Gallikos river. The plain around it was highly fertile due to the argillic composition of the soil. Access to water was easy and at close proximity while the Gallikos river was famously known in Antiquity for its gold-bearing banks (Misailidou-Despotidou 2008,

Figure 40. The trapeza Naresh south of which the cemetery was discovered. Created by the author on QGIS.

27-28). Despite the fact that the name of the settlement with which the cemeteries were associated with remains unknown (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 316-317), one could easily identify its strategic positioning near the river.

Excavations towards the south of the site near the rocky hill known as toumba Naresh, unearthed archaeological remains dated during the Bronze Age (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 311-312). Between these two locations but closer to the trapeza and more precisely 350m southwest of it, archaeologists also discovered a large oblong shaped cemetery dated to the Iron Age (Misailidou-Despotidou 2000, 263-266; 2004, 266-267, 2008, 36-44). An astonishing number of 2,228 graves was found in an area covering approximately three acres. The limits of this extensive cemetery have been confirmed at least for its north and east sides (Misailidou-Despotidou 2004, 266) or according to another publication by the same author for its north and west sides (Misailidou-Despotidou 2008, 38). Near the Iron Age cemetery, a separate burial ground which according to the excavator consisted part of a more extensive cemetery in use between the 6th to 3rd century BC, was also discovered there (Misailidou-Despotidou 1997; 1998, 314-316; 1999; 2004, 266; 2008, 37). Unfortunately, no plan of this extensive cemetery has been published so only a map of the area is provided here (Figure 40).

An introduction to the chronological distribution, gendering and aging of the burials

The burials discovered in Nea Philadelpheia formed part of an extensive cemetery, which was in use between the 6th and 3th centuries BC (Misailidou-Despotidou 1997; 1998, 314-316; 1999; Figure 40). One hundred and sixty eight burials were excavated in the cemetery

(Misailidou-Despotidou 2008, 45), with their distribution per period still remaining unclear in anticipation of their full publication, while few details are known about their gendering, aging and looting. The deceased's head in male burials is almost always facing towards the west or the north, while in the female burials towards the east or the south. According to the excavator, this gender division based on the direction towards which the deceased's head was turned to was confirmed by the examination of the osteological material (Misailidou-Despotidou 2004, 268-269). Osteological analysis conducted on an indicative sample of skeletal remains belonging to only nine burials, all of which dated during the 6th-5th centuries BC, showed that 62.5% were females, while 37.5% males. As for the deceased's age, around 45% of them were adults between 30-40 years old, followed by a group of older adults between 40-50 years old comprising 22% of the total number of burials found in the cemetery (Milka and Papageorgopoulou 2004, 271-275, 479-483).

A note on looting and the distribution of grave types

Unfortunately, no further information regarding issues of gendering or aging is known for these burials, while the same also holds true for looting. As for the grave types attested in Nea Philadelpheia, pit and cist graves are among the most commonly attested in the cemetery. Additionally, three cremations were also found in close proximity one another at the same part of the cemetery, while sarcophagi were equally rare, as only three were found scattered across the cemetery during the excavations (Misailidou-Despotidou 2018, 113-114). Evidence related to the marking of the graves was not discovered. Nonetheless, as argued by Kakamanoudis (2017, 219), given the fact that the earliest burials were undisturbed by the later ones, their exact location was probably indicated by some kind of grave marker.

Gender specific burial goods: weapons and jewellery

Turning to burial goods, its seems that arms and armour dominated the assemblages attested in the male burials, while jewellery and adornments did so in the female ones. Arms and armour typically consisted of two iron spearheads and one iron sword per grave, while less frequently attested types included bronze helmets, with at least two of them bearing gold decorations. As for the female burials, despite that fact that according to the excavator these were less lavishly decorated both in terms of quality and quantity than the male ones, they did nonetheless contain a large number of jewellery and adornments primarily made of silver and bronze, usually imitating types found in gold jewellery. Gold and silver earrings, gold pendants, bronze bracelets and rings, bronze brooches, silver and bronze pins were all among the most commonly discovered types of jewellery and adornments (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 316; 2008, 46; 2011). The only exceptions to this designation of jewellery and adornments as gender specific are pins and rings, since they were also found in male graves (Misailidou-Despotidou 2004, 268).

Gender non-specific burial goods: clay figurines, mouthpieces, gold decorative pieces and pottery

Gender non-specific burial goods were also unearthed in the cemetery at Nea Philadelpheia. Clay figurines (eidolia), gold decorative pieces, mouthpieces (epistomia) and various types of pots were found in both male and female burials. According to the excavator, eidolia typically depicted female chthonic deities and were primarily

deposited in burials belonging to children and young adults (Misailidou 2008, 46). Gold decorative pieces, normally triangularly shaped, were used as adornments attached to the deceased's garments and shoes. Epistomia were decorated with relief rosettes and other floral depictions. In contrast to other sites presented in this study, epistomia as well as decorative pieces were frequently gold plated, originally made of silver (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 316; 2004, 268; 2008, 49). As for pots, very little is published about both their variety in terms of shapes and of materials used in their creation. Nevertheless, it appears that the most regularly discovered shapes were those of skyphos and exaleiptron, while vessels in the shape of krater, kylix, olpe and miniature kotyle were also excavated in Nea Philadelpheia. In terms of provenance, imported pots were transported from all the major workshops of the time period, included Attica, Corinth and Eastern Greece, while locally produced vessels were also found in the cemetery. According to the excavator, it seems like the most lavishly decorated burials primarily contained imported vessels, in contrast to graves with fewer burial goods, in which local pottery was found in larger quantities (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 316; 2004, 268; 2008, 49-50). Regrettably, given the fragmentary nature of the data from Nea Philadelpheia, no further analysis of the material was possible. As no information is available on the organisation of the cemetery space, a link between the most elaborate burials and certain areas of the cemetery was not possible to be established. Yet, the variability in terms of grave types, albeit limited, might imply a variability in terms of burial goods too. However, a 'full kit' was not identified since the availability of the data did not suffice for that kind of analysis. Consequently, a hierarchy between the burials with the 'full kit' and rest of them despite not being evident should not be altogether rejected. The fact that epistomia were frequently but not always gold plated allows us to hypothesise that gold ones did exist too. These, in combinations with other burial goods and given the variability of grave types might infer the presence of dominant groups burying their dead with the 'full kit'. Future research on the site and perhaps most importantly the publication of the finds will provide more information related to these themes at Nea Philadelpheia.

6.4 Thermi

Another important discovery, once again around the Thermaic Gulf (Soueref 2000), was that of the cemetery near Thermi. Regarding its association with a settlement, the cemetery near Thermi is linked to a nearby trapeza, which has been excavated but to a much lesser extent than the cemetery itself (Skarlatidou, Stagkos and Touloumtzidou 2015). The archaeological evidence found there were initially identified as the remains of the ancient settlement of Thermi. Nonetheless, this hypothesis has been abandoned in recent times, as other, more suitable sites for the location of ancient Thermi have been proposed based on more concrete archaeological evidence (Tiverios 1990). Moreover, Kefalidou and Xydopoulos (2018) have further suggested that Thermi in fact consisted of a number of small habitation nuclei with the most important among them being Karabournaki and Toumba at Thessaloniki.

Regardless of the issues surrounding the identification of the settlement, the most important problem in regard to the present study is the fact that the largest part of the cemetery is situated beneath the modern day settlement and therefore only rescue excavations have been conducted there since 1987. The earliest burials are dated during the 8th century BC and according to the excavators, the cemetery was in use at least up

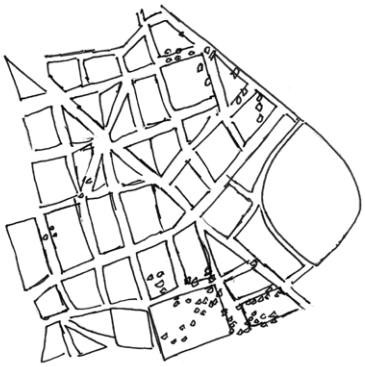

Figure 41. Part of the cemetery at Thermi. The various parts of the cemetery as found during rescue excavations are marked with black circles. Drawn by the author (after Skarlatidou 2009, pl. 1).

to the Roman Period (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 480; Skarlatidou 2009, 329). The huge number of graves which is usually estimated approximately at 4,200, in combination with the plethora of burial goods found in them makes it extremely difficult for the small team of archaeologists working on the material to study and publish this in its totality (Skarlatidou 2009, 329). According to them, the number of burials seems to have peaked during the 6th-5th century BC and excavators believe that this is proof of the increase in the population as well as a sign of prosperity. The numbers slowly decrease after the foundation of Thessaloniki by Cassander in 315 BC and the subsequent movement of at least a part of the population associated with Thermi to nearby Thessaloniki (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 485). Unfortunately, looting appears to be a common phenomenon attested at the cemetery of Thermi even in antiquity. As Skarlatidou (2009, 334) has pointed out, the practice may have been carried out even by the deceased's relatives. Consequently, a large percentage of the burials especially the ones dated during the Archaic period were partly or fully looted.

An introduction to the chronological distribution, gendering and aging of the burials

The core of the cemetery is located in the south east area of the modern settlement of Thermi (Skarlatidou 2009, 329; Figure 41). However, few small clusters were found in the periphery of the main cemetery, most of them consisted of lavishly decorated burials (Skarlatidou 2006, 532). A strict head orientation is noted in the case of the cemetery of Thermi, as males generally face towards the west, while females towards the east (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 482; Skarlatidou 2009, 333). Regrettably, no further information is given on issues of sexing and aging, as an osteological analysis has not been conducted yet.

A note on looting and the distribution of grave types

Equally little information is provided on looting. It is highly probable that looting took place primarily in antiquity, with the archaic burials being the ones most affected by it (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 478; Skarlatidou 2009, 337). Conversely, emphasis is

put in the preliminary reports on the various grave types attested at the cemetery near Thermi. The most widespread type is cist graves, while pit graves are also commonly attested in the same site. In contrast to the popularity of these types, sarcophagi and pot burials or enchytrismoi are equally scarce. Moreover, during the same time period, the rite of cremation is first attested in the site. Secondary cremations, the remains of which were place into urns, were subsequently covered with large stone slabs (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 482-483; Allamani, Hatzinikolaou, Tzanakouli and Galliniki 2001, 157). Pebbles and larger rocks were used in a variety of ways in the cemetery near Thermi both within and outside the graves. These were sometimes deposited in the bottom of the tomb in parallel to its four walls, forming a visible rectangular shape within which the deceased was placed. In fewer cases, the deceased was not directly place on the bottom of the grave, but rather on top of a wooden bed. In regard to the external uses of pebbles and stones, in some instances, a small cairn was constructed outside of the grave, typically above the deceased's head, possible functioning as sema, while another use of these materials identified in some graves was that of a small peribolos, encircling the grave (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 482-483).

An examination of the gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods

As for the burial goods, here too the available information is scanty. However, gender specific and gender non-specific objects seem to have been similar to what has been so far discovered in the rest of the sites presented in this study. Male burials were often equipped with arms and armour, while female ones with jewellery (Skarlatidou and Allamani 2009, 675-681). Gender non-specific burial goods included gold mouthpieces (epistomia), gold decorative bands, clay figurines (eidolia), pins, ceramic and bronze vessels. Especially regarding pottery, a large typological variety was observed in the case of Thermi. Ceramic pots of the type of krater, kylix, skyphos, lekythos, aryballos, kotyle, exaleiptron, prohous and oinochoe were all attested at the cemetery. As noted by the excavators, most of them were imports from Attica and Corinth, while local pottery was also discovered, albeit to a much lesser extent (Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, 483-484; Skarlatidou 2009, 338-340; Skarlatidou, Georgiadis, Panti and Chatzinikolaou 2012).

Given the scarcity of information limited things can be said regarding the intra-communal dynamics attested at Thermi. Yet, there are a few indications that, here too the dominant groups found a way to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population buried within the same cemetery. The fact that certain clusters typically lavishly decorated with burial goods were found in the periphery of the cemetery further pertains to that. Additionally, the great variability in terms of grave types might imply the relation between certain types of graves and specific groups of people. If this becomes accepted, then a sense of hierarchy in terms of burial goods and practices but also in the organisation of the cemetery space was evident among the different groups buried there. It is therefore plausible that a 'full kit' might have been displayed at least in some of the burials found in the periphery of the cemetery. Their privileged position within the cemetery space might have been accompanied by the presence of a 'full kit' despite the fact that its components are far from certain. It is expected that future excavations and most importantly the full publication of the material will shed important new light on a number of themes discussed here.

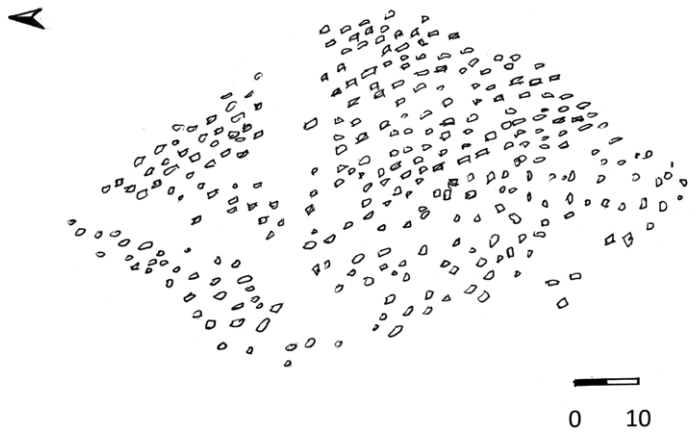

Figure 42. The cemetery of Agia Paraskevi. Drawn by the author (after Misailidou-Despotidou 2011, pl. 1).

6.5 Agia Paraskevi

The cemetery at Agia Paraskevi was found in 1981 during the construction of an irrigation ditch. As it has been suggested by the excavator, Kostas Sismanidis (1987, 788) the cemetery was probably associated with the settlement on top of a trapeza located in the nearby hills, southwest of the cemetery itself. The trapeza based on a small hill called Toumba Aggelaki is located 1km west of the modern-day village of Agia Paraskevi and it is situated in a strategic position on the southwest side of the fertile valley of Anthemous. It has been argued that the scattered architectural remains found there could be identified as the remnants of the ancient city of Anthemous (Sismanidis 1985, 235; 1986, 139; 1987, 802; Misailidou-Despotidou 2011, 21 n.3). In the rhomboid-shaped cemetery of Agia Paraskevi, the limits of which have been confirmed in all of its sides expects from its north-western one due to the erosion created by a stream, 435 tombs were excavated (Sismanidis 1986, 138; Figure 42) with at least 370 dated during the Archaic period (Sismanidis 1987, 789). The stream was responsible for the destruction of many of the tombs due to its constantly changing course, as a result of which the cemetery borders had to be frequently readjusted. Most of the tombs were found at the same level carved into the sandy and permeable terrain with small occasional variations attributed to the gradient of the slope (Sismanidis 1987, 789).

An introduction to the chronological distribution, gendering and aging of the burials

The cemetery at Agia Paraskevi is another important location in which lavishly decorated burials dated during the Archaic Period were excavated. Unfortunately, similar to other sites, the cemetery at Agia Paraskevi is not yet fully published. Regardless of this, preliminary reports have suggested that 370 of the total 435 tombs discovered there were dated during the Archaic Period (Sismanidis 1986, 138; 1987, 789). Based on the burial goods and the size of the tombs, the excavator was able to identify 169 male and 170 female burials, with 27 of the 169 male burials belonging to children under the age of 12, while 46 out of the 170 female burials accommodating young girls under 12. Thirty one burials were

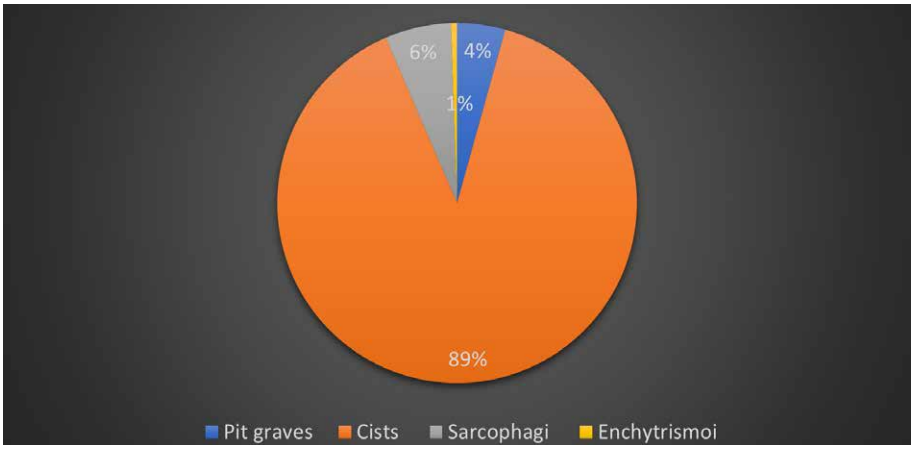

Figure 43. The distribution of grave types found at Agia Paraskevi.

not gendered (Sismanidis 1987, 791). Despite the lack of the full publication of the site, an osteological analysis conducted by Triantafyllou (2004) provided useful insights into the division between male and female burials mentioned above. Triantafyllou studied the skeletal remains belonging to 176 people, as the majority of the tombs contained badly preserved osteological material if any. Even among the 176 burials, only few were preserved at a satisfactory level in order to generate reliable results. Despite that, the study revealed that 17 burials could be safely identified as males, with another 34 also possibly belonging to males. Thirteen graves contained osteological material belonging to females, with the possible existence of another 30 burials attributed to females. The remaining 82 burials were poorly preserved and therefore impossible to be assigned a sex (Triantafyllou 2004, 132-136). Notwithstanding the data limitations, what could be deduced from the osteological analysis is that the population buried at the cemetery of Agia Paraskevi could be almost equally divided into males and females (including children), an observation complimenting the categorisation into genders based on the burial goods which was mentioned above (Triantafyllou 2004, 89-92).

A note on looting and the distribution of grave types

Not all of the burials at Agia Paraskevi were found intact, as looting, which took place primarily in antiquity, was observed at this site too. One hundred and five tombs out of the 370 were unfortunately found looted with the majority of the looted tombs belonging to females. More specifically, 56 of the looted burials can be certainly classified as female, 18 as male, while most of the remaining 31 burials could be attributed to women based on the remaining burial goods (Sismanidis 1987, 791; Triantafyllou 2004, 89). As for the grave types attested in Agia Paraskevi, the overwhelming majority of them (330 out of 370) were limestone cists of peculiar dimensions. While their length is analogous to the deceased's height, their width is usually very small, even to the point that many of the people buried in these tombs could hardy fit into them and had to be squeezed in. Conversely, the 22 limestone sarcophagi, which were also discovered in the same cemetery, were spacious enough to easily accommodate the deceased, while the quality of their limestone was far superior to the one used for the cist graves. Of the remaining 18 graves,

16 were pit graves, whilst two were pot burials (enchytrismoi) containing young children (Figure 43). According to Kakamanoudis (2017, 292), given the well-organised cemetery space, it is possible that the exact location of the earliest tombs was known and that they were somehow marked. Similar to other cemeteries in Macedonia, the men buried at Agia Paraskevi face westwards, while the women eastwards, an observation which also holds true for the child burials (Sismanidis 1987, 789-790).

Gender specific burial goods: weapons, knives and jewellery

Similar to other sites, burial goods could be divided into two large categories, gender specific and gender non-specific goods. Starting with the first of them, male burials typically included both offensive and defensive equipment, frequently made of iron and in rarer instances of bronze. Offensive equipment usually comprised of two iron spearhead, numerous knives and a sword, while bronze helmets, decorated or not with gold bands, represented the only type of defensive equipment attested in Agia Paraskevi. As for the female burials, the most commonly attested categories of burial goods were jewellery and adornments. Earrings, bracelets and rings usually made of bronze and in rarer instances of silver and gold, necklaces consisted of amber, glass, silver or gold beads or even sea shells, gold hair spirals, as well as bronze brooches were consistently discovered in tombs containing female burials (Sismanidis 1987, 791-792; Misailidou-Despotidou 2011).

Gender non-specific burial goods: mouthpieces, clay figurines and pottery

Gender-specific burial goods regularly included pins and rings, clay figurines (eidolia), gold mouthpieces (epistomia) and gold decorative pieces functioning as adornments usually attached on garments, as well as large amounts of pots mainly made of clay and bronze and to a lesser extent glass and faience. Iron and bronze pins, commonly attested in both male and female burials, were found placed upon the deceased's shoulders. In most cases, rings were made of bronze, while in fewer instances of silver and gold and were primarily associated with female burials and less often with male ones. At least 30 eidolia, belonging to the eastern-Ionian style found in Eastern Greece, were excavated in the tombs at the cemetery of Agia Paraskevi. Twenty three of them depicted standing or seated female figures, while the rest seven a variety of animals. In regard to burial goods strictly made of gold, i.e. epistomia and gold decorative pieces, according to the excavator, approximately 55 epistomia and a large unspecified number of gold decorative pieces of triangular, trapezoid or round shaped were discovered in Agia Paraskevi. Epistomia were frequently decorated with floral depictions or rosettes, while gold decorative pieces and bands were used as adornments for garments and other objects such the sheaths of swords (Sismanidis 1987, 791-792, 795-800).

Focusing on the various types of pots excavated in Agia Paraskevi, a stunning number of 798 clay ones along with 10 bronze, nine glass and seven faience vessels were all discovered in the cemetery. The most prevalent shapes included sympotic vessels of the type of skyphos, oinochoe, krater, kotyle, hydria, kylix, phiale, vessels used for jewellery, perfume and ointment of the type of exaleiptron, aryballos, miniature amphora, lekythos, plemochoe, pyxis and large transport jars such as amphora. In terms of provenance, apart from local products, all of the great workshops of the Archaic period, such as those of Athens, Corinth and Eastern Greece are represented in the numerous pots found in the

tombs of Agia Paraskevi (Sismanidis 1987, 793-796, 796-797). Unfortunately, due to the lack of a full publication, the exact percentages of their proportional representation could not be established. Nonetheless, what is really intriguing in the case of Agia Paraskevi, is that 1/3 of the total number of tombs contains only imported pottery, another 1/3 only local, while the remaining 1/3 both local and imported. Interestingly enough, tombs containing imported pottery typically had both a larger number of vessels and a wider variety in terms of shapes. On the contrary, tombs with local pottery were limited in both the amount and the shapes found in them (Papakostas 2013, 167-168).

As for the material expressions of intra-communal dynamics, here too, as in the rest of the cemeteries discussed above, there are some indications of them. Unfortunately, evidence regarding the spatial aspect of them is not available through the preliminary reports. Yet, we do have valuable information on the mortuary variability in terms of burial goods, practices and grave types. The fact that there are two main grave types, with sarcophagi being the type reserved for a selected few given the quality of their limestone and their size, coupled with the differences in terms of pottery provenance among the burials, indicates that a hierarchy in terms of burial goods and practices was evident at Agia Paraskevi. Due to the pending publication of the site, it is impossible to know whether a 'full kit' existed at Agia Praskevi and if so what this might have consisted of here. However, based on the available data on burial goods, I would argue that this was not very different from the one attested in other sites in the region. Moreover, it would be interesting to see whether this was primarily displayed in the sarcophagi containing burials with both imported and local pottery and if all of these were subsequently discovered in specific parts of the cemetery in close proximity to one another mimicking patterns observed in other sites. Naturally, these hypotheses could all be further tested once the site is fully published.

6.6 Aiani

The next cemetery in question, that of Aiani, is of particular interest. In many ways Aiani is regarded as a unique case, as it constitutes the only place in Upper Macedonia, following Karamitrou-Mentesidi's (2011a, 95) definition of this area, where lavishly decorated burials comparable to other sites across Macedonia have been found. The settlement of Aiani is situated in a series of successive plateaux, ranging from one at the base of a hill called Megali Rachi by the locals, to one on its top, southeast of which a spring was found. Additionally, three large public buildings have been excavated as well as numerous private dwellings, all of them indicating that the settlement was in use from the Bronze Age to the 1st century BC (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2009, 28-43; 2011a, 96-99). Regarding specifically the burial grounds, they seem to be divided mainly between two sites, as smaller clusters of graves have been found scattered all around the wider archaeological area (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011c). The first one, the east cemetery, is located 1km to east of the ancient city at a location known as Tskaria. It is a large cemetery, fully excavated and dated during the Hellenistic period. The excavations concluded in 2007, revealed a total number of 257 graves (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2006; 2007; 2011a, 99-100).

However, the most elaborate burials, dated during the archaic and classical periods, were found elsewhere in the ancient necropolis of Leivadia, about 1km to the northeast of the ancient city (Figure 44). The necropolis is situated in a valley, between two opposing facing hills, which frequently floods during the winter months (Karamitrou-

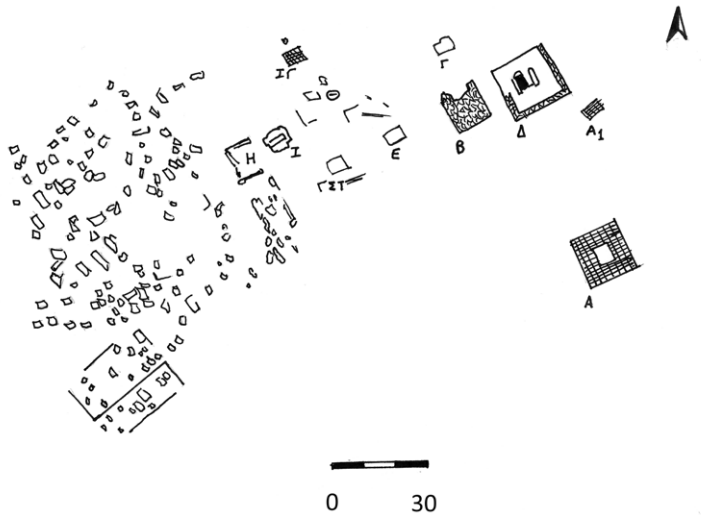

Figure 44. The cemetery at Aiani. The 'royal' burials are marked with capital letters. Drawn by the author (after Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011b, pl. 1).

Mentesidi 2009, 64). The extended cemetery can be loosely subdivided into three smaller burial clusters: a small but organised cemetery dated during the Late Bronze Age (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2003; 2009, 65-68; 2011a, 107-108; 2011b, 88-134) which occupies the southwest part of the extensive cemetery; a larger burial ground with pit graves dated from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2004; 2009, 69-73; 2011a, 106-107, 2011b) found in three plateaux north of the late bronze cemetery and the contemporary to the Archaic-Hellenistic cemetery royal necropolis further to the north, where 12 monumental built tombs were discovered (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 100-106). Despite the fact that especially the royal tombs were heavily looted in antiquity, the remaining burial goods in combination with the specific location of these tombs within the cemetery and their monumental measurements indicate their high status. Moreover, since the phenomenon of the 'warrior-burials' is attested both in the simpler archaic pit graves and in the royal necropolis, the monumental construction and the location of these built tombs may act as the defining factors in creating a social distinction from the rest of the people buried in a similar fashion.

An introduction to the chronological distribution, gendering and looting of the burials

The cemetery at Leivadia, near Aiani, constitutes a unique case in the Macedonian context. Forty one graves dated during the Late Bronze Age and a large unspecified number of graves belonging to the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods have all been excavated in the necropolis (Kakamanoudis 2017, 51-52). Most of the burials were simple pit graves with the notable exception of 12 chamber tombs and cist graves, all located in close proximity to one another, four of which were enclosed by periboloi, while another three enclosures encircled certain groups of pit graves (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 100). It is possible that the pit graves actually contained wooden sarcophagi, as suggested by Karamitrou-Mentesidi based on the discovery of nails, sometimes with pieces of wood

still attached to them (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1992, 50; 2008, 68). As for the preserved osteological remains, these have been collected, but no analysis have been conducted so far (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1992, 50). Consequently, short presentations of burials have been made with emphasis placed on their gender as defined by burial goods. Looting, which took place mainly in antiquity, was a commonly attested problem in Aiani, as in the rest of the cemeteries discussed in the present study. Despite mainly confined to the upper part of the deceased's body, where the most precious objects would have been deposited, partial looting was observed in a large percentage (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1992, 50; 2011a, 100). The preliminary character of the publications of Aiani makes the cataloguing of the graves in a similar fashion as to the ones in Sindos and Archontiko impossible. It is therefore with reservations that the following observations are made, as future publications may provide a clearer picture.

An examination of the gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods in the pit graves

Turning to the pit graves first, two important general observations should first be made before delving into the specificities of graves and their burial goods themselves. The first is the possible existence of at least one monumental building in the area where the pit graves were located, as evidenced by the excavation of 14 architectural members, mainly categorised as different parts of Doric columns (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2013a, 138; 2013b, 69). The second observation refers to the attestation of bronze phiale vessels. Almost 100 crushed bronze vessels of in the style of phiale, were found scattered all over the cemetery. According to the excavator this constitutes enough evidence to argue that libations were common in both the funerary and commemorative rites (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2013a, 145). As for the burial goods, it can be suggested that arms and armour alongside jewellery were identified as gender specific burial goods. Male burials in Aiani frequently contained iron spearheads, swords and knives and less often bronze helmets and shields. On the other hand, female burials often contained gold earrings, pendants and necklaces as wells as pins and brooches (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1991, 20; 1992, 50; 2008, 68-71; 2011a, 107).

Numerous other objects, apart from the ones mentioned above were attested at both the male and the female burials. Gold or silver mouthpieces (epistomia), most of them bearing relief floral decorations, were discovered in many cases, while in one particular tomb, an epistomion depicting two lions and an eagle was unearthed (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1991, 20; 1997, 28). Clay figurines and miniature objects were also attested in Aiani. The former ones usually depicted kouroi and kores, pot-bellied dwarfs, seated female figures and birds, while the latter ones spits, firedogs and two or four wheeled carts. Regrettably, since no gendering of the graves has been presented so far, it is impossible to observe whether some of these types were reserved for exclusive use by only one gender (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 106-107). Regarding especially the carts, while the general tendency attested across Macedonia is that two wheeled carts were attested in male burials, whereas four wheeled carts in the female ones, Karamitrou-Mentesidi argues that in the case of Aiani, a two wheeled cart was also excavated in a female burial. Another interesting fact, related to the carts, is the existence of miniature horses accompanying both the two and the four wheeled carts. Moreover, the miniature horses complementing

the wheel cart in the male burial were made of clay, while the ones in the female burial of bronze (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1992, 50).

Pottery in Aiani is the most commonly attested burial good although in some instances, as for example in the case of the Athenian pottery, this too suffered from looting. Regarding its provenance, Karamitrou-Mentesidi maintains that Corinthian vessels were attested exclusively in the earlier graves, while locally made pots were found from the last quarter of the 6th century BC onwards across the whole cemetery (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 106-107). As for the typology of the pots, this is rather extended as vessels in the type of kylix, oinochoe, exaleiptron, aryballos, alavastron, kantharos, pelike, hydria, krater, amphora and lekythos were all found in Aiani. Bronze shapes usually of the type of phiale and krater or lebes were also discovered in the cemetery, albeit to a lesser extent (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1992, 50; 2011a, 106). In even fewer instances glass vessels, usually used for ointment purposes, were also unearthed in the cemetery (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1997, 28).

The 'royal' burials: grave types, gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods

As already mentioned, apart from the pit graves, monumental chamber and cist tombs were also discovered in the necropolis at Leivadia, in Aiani. Nine of the total 12 of them (see Table 31), partly published in preliminary reports, were dated between 600-400 BC, with the earliest of them (Tomb I) dated during the first half of the 6th century BC. Apart from their monumental dimensions, three out of the nine tombs were enclosed by stone periboloi (ΣΤ, Ζ, Θ; Table 31) and were often marked by a statue functioning as sema (Γ, Ζ, Θ, Ι; Table 31; Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 100). Karamitrou-Mentesidi identifies these tombs as belonging to the royal house ruling over Elimeia, the region of the Upper Macedonia, where Aiani is situated (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1997, 30-31). Unfortunately, all of the tombs where almost completely looted and the burial goods completely removed except for a few instances (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 100-106).

More specifically, Tomb Α dated to the early 4th century BC, included few gold rosettes and gold decorative pieces, while no other burial was found unlooted. Few rosettes were also discovered along with ointment vessels in Tomb Β, dated in the first half of the 5th century BC. In stark contrast to their limited burial goods, each one of these tombs were probably covered by an individual temple-like structure, potentially associated with commemorative rites (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 100-102). Tomb Γ, dated around 500 BC, contained a gold necklace and few gold sheets, while a head of a statue portraying a bearded man was initially used as sema on top of the burial. However, according to the chief excavator, after the looting, the relatives or other members of the community deposited the statue's head into the grave to purify this sacrilege, a practice also observed in other 'royal' tombs in the same cemetery. Tomb Δ, dated between 500-450 BC, was covered by a rectangular edifice used for posthumous rites as evidenced by the discovery of numerous Doric column drums. Inside the grave, archaeologists were able to discover clay figurines, gold rosettes and deformed bronze vessels in the shape of phiale, similar to the ones scattered all over the cemetery. Another burial monument probably consisted of various sculptures, parts of which were once more deposited inside the grave after the looting was excavated above Tomb Ε, which was dated around 500 BC. Apart from the various parts and a whole intact marble lion, clay figurines, clay and glass vessels were also found inside the burial chamber. Tomb ΣΤ was encircled by an

Grave/Tomb	Chronology	Tomb Type	Temple-like structure	*Peribolοi*	*Sema*	*Stele*	Weapons	Jewellery	Adornments (pins/brooches)	Vessels (clay, bronze or glass)	Clay Figurines	Gold Rosettes	Gold decorative pieces
T A	400 BC	Chamber tomb	✓									✓	✓
T B	450-400 BC	Chamber tomb	✓							✓		✓	
T Γ	500 BC	Cist grave			✓			✓					✓
T Δ	500-450 BC	Chamber tomb	✓							✓	✓	✓	
T E	500 BC	Chamber tomb								✓	✓		
T ΣT	500-450 BC	Chamber tomb?		✓		✓				✓	✓		
T Z	510 BC	Cist grave		✓	✓				✓	✓	✓		
T Θ	500-450 BC	Chamber tomb		✓	✓		✓			✓		✓	✓
T I	600-550 BC	Chamber tomb			✓								

Table 31. Burial goods and grave types of the 'royal' tombs of Aiani.

enclosure, while a funerary stele was discovered on top of it. The only types of burial goods attested in this were pottery sherds and clay figurines. Tomb Z, which is dated in 510 BC and it is the smallest cist tomb located in the cemetery, also had a sema, since a head of a statue depicting a kore was found in its interior. Besides that, clay figurines, pots, pins, silver brooches and a bronze foot of an eagle probably belonging to tripod were also discovered in the grave. A large enclosure circumscribed Tomb Θ, which was dated between 500-450 BC and probably delineated by a sema, another marble lion head. The grave also contained pottery, iron spearheads and an iron sword, gold rosettes and a gold sheet depicting a gorgoneion. The last monumental tomb was also the oldest one, as it is dated between 600-550 BC. Remnants of a column with an Ionic capital, possible belonging to a sema, were discovered near Tomb I. Moreover, another two particularly impressive finds were unearthed at this tomb. The first is a series of bone plaques probably hanging from nails on the interior walls of the grave depicting shield-bearing warriors, chariots, animals and women. The second one is a gold plated silver sheet showing Polyphemus and Odysseus under a ram (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2008, 50-66; 2011a, 100-106).

Patterns of inclusion/exclusion and a hierarchy of burial goods and practices

It therefore seems probable that burial rites and funerary ideology at Aiani was a mixture of both local and regional influences. While some of the burial goods and practices attested especially in the extended necropolis and in particular in pit graves are reminisced of similar ones found in other sites across Macedonia, as for example in Archontiko and Sindos, burial customs found in the 'royal' tombs are far more elaborate and complicated. Even despite the existence of commonly attested burial goods as elsewhere in Macedonia, the use of statues as semata as well as the construction of whole buildings above the tombs render Aiani as an intriguing case study, fairly unique in Macedonian contexts. Inclusion and exclusion patterns as spatially expressed are also observed at Aiani. The necropolis at Leivadia could be subdivided into two different parts, an extended one forming the core of

the cemetery containing burials in pit graves and a small group at the north eastern part allegedly identified as the 'royal' tombs of Aiani. These tombs were also marked with a wide variety of semata, ranging from statues' heads (tombs Γ, Z, Θ) to an Ionic column and capital (tomb I). Their chronological distribution varies from 600 to 400 BC with most of them dated during 510-450 BC (tombs Γ, Δ, E, ΣT, Z, Θ). Regardless of their dating, all of the burials in this small group were either chamber tombs or cist graves. Unfortunately, all of these with the exception of Tomb A were looted. However, the few remaining burial goods included weapons such as spearheads and swords, jewellery such as necklaces, pottery, adornments such as pins, brooches, gold rosettes and sheets, and clay figurines.

Given the scarcity of data, a 'full funerary kit' could not be established in the case of Aiani. However, it seems plausible that a local variation of this existed in Aiani and that this would be heavily linked to the 'royal' tombs found there. It is therefore this specific part of the cemetery that was exclusively used by the local dominant groups in order to bury their dead. The chronological distribution of the graves, as well as the elaborate nature of these further testify to this trend. This part was consistently in receipt of elaborate burials in tombs types not attested anywhere else in the cemetery. Here, as in other sites across Macedonia, the local dominant groups reserved the right to bury their dead there, while at the same time restricting access to this by forcing the remaining members of their communities to bury their dead in other parts of the cemetery in simple pit graves. Shared space, tomb types and burial goods both among the 'royal' burials as well as among the ones found in the rest of the cemetery essentially divided the cemetery into two broad areas, with one constantly receiving elaborate burials while the other one always accepting less elaborate ones. This is of course not to say that the less elaborate ones did not contain aspects of the 'full kit' attested in the 'royal' burials, as weapons, jewellery mouthpieces, clay figurines and miniature objects were also found in the pit graves. The fact that some of the aspects were shared while other were not provides further evidence in support of the simultaneous presence of both inclusion and exclusion patterns. Nevertheless, a consciously constructed differentiation as expressed primarily through the organisation of the cemetery space and grave types, and to a lesser extend burial goods, created a chasm between the two parts of the cemetery which unquestionably affected the world of the living. Individual and group identities were subject to the influence of this chasm in a similar way to that of the social dynamics and power relations affecting the organisation of the cemetery space as described above.

6.7 The curious case of Trebeništa

Trebeništa in the Republic of North Macedonia near lake Ohrid is included in this study as it frequently acts as a parallel between the elaborate burials found in Northern Greece and those discovered elsewhere in the Balkans (e.g. Bouzek and Ondrejova 1988; Theodossiev 1998). The first excavations in Trebeništa, that took place during World War I in 1918, revealed seven lavishly decorated 'warrior' burials with elaborate imports and golden masks (Filow and Schkorpil 1927). However, due to numerous reasons which compromised the integrity of the archaeological research conducted there, more excavation periods were subsequently conducted in the 1930s (Stibbe 2003, 13-32). Subsequent excavations carried out in 1930-1933 by Nikola Vulić revealed another six 'princely' burials as well as a number of 'poor' ones (Vulić 1932; 1933a; 1933b; 1934; Figure 45). While no other 'warrior' burials were ever found at the site, the 'poor' graves

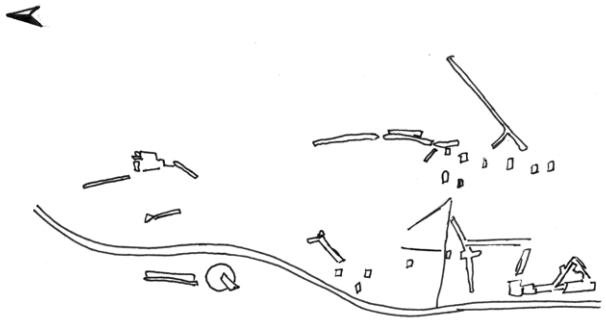

Figure 45. Map of the cemetery found in Trebeništa with the Archaic burials. Drawn by the author (after Lachtov and Kastelic 1957, pl. 1).

that Vulić discovered proved to be a part of an extensive generally 'poorer' cemetery, which was excavated in 1953-1954 (Lachtov and Kastelic 1957) and again in 1972 (Kuzman 1985). This extended cemetery consisted of at least 43 'poor' burials was organised on a north-south axis, while the two clusters consisting of the most elaborate burials were located on an east-west one (Stibbe 2003, 55).

Unfortunately, the cemetery is not accessible today. The earliest burials attested there are not visible, whereas the most recent ones were buried underneath the modern highway constructed in the area (Stibbe 2003, 59-60). A still unanswered question is that of the connection of the cemetery to a specific settlement. Vulić suggested that ancient Lychnidos, modern day Ohrid, which is situated at a distance of 10 km from the cemetery was too far to be associated with it. Instead, he argued that the settlement to which the cemetery was linked to ought to have been situated at the village of modern day Gorenci, 1.5km to the east of the cemetery, where he excavated the remains of ancient walls. Despite his significant discovery, he was unable to identify and date the ruins due to the lack of pottery and other material that would have assisted him in doing so (Vulić 1934, 35-36; 1932, 42; Popovic 1994, 39).

The location of the cemetery was of strategic importance as numerous silver mines were found at close proximity. However, the real importance of the site was due to its position on the main trading crossroads passing through the area (Ilieva and Penkova 2009, 195). Furthermore, it has been proposed that the theme of cultural and trading interactions across valleys might be present in the case of Trebeništa and its relation to the valley of the river Axios (Babić 2002, 74-76). The area in which Ohrid is situated in is separated from the Adriatic sea by a mountainous region in modern day Albania and it is only connected with the coastline thought the valleys of the two river, Genusus (Skumpi) and Apsus (Semeni). Given the presence of numerous Greek colonies at the Adriatic coast, it has been suggested that the populations around them including the one in Trebeništa were greatly affected by them in multivariate ways (Konova 1995, 195-196). Therefore, all of the above imply that the population associated with the cemetery at Trebeništa had access to the main trading routes passing through the area, connecting it to both the Adriatic shores and the Northern Aegean.

An introduction to the chronological distribution, gendering and looting of the burials

A total of 56 graves have been discovered in Trebeništa in the various excavations periods that took place during the 20th century. The burials are conventionally divided into two groups by the excavators, one including burials classified as 'rich' and another as 'poor'. The burials in the first group were catalogued using Latin numerals (I-XIII; Filov and Schkorpil 1927; Vulić 1932; 1933a; 1933b; 1934; Stibbe 2003, 13-42), while the burials belonging to the second group Arabic ones (tombs 14-56; Lachtov and Kastelic 1957; Kuzman 1985; Stibbe 2003, 43-54). Interestingly enough, the two groups are approximately 100m apart from each other. As for the dating of the burials, all of those included in the first group are dated during the late 6th century BC, while the ones in the second group, between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC (Stibbe 2003, 55). Unfortunately, information regarding the deceased's gender is very limited. Of the 13 'rich' burials, only three have been categorised as female ones (IX, X, XII) based mainly on the absence of certain burial goods, such as arms and armour. Osteological analysis conducted on the most well preserved skeleton of the three (X), demonstrated that this did indeed belong to a female in her early twenties (Vulić 1933a, 165; Stibbe 2003, 33-34). As for the 'poor' ones, information regarding their sex is only available for the 31 skeletons, discovered during the 1972 excavations. Based on both the osteological reports and the archaeological date the excavators were able to identify 11 of them as females, three as males and two as children (Kuzman 1985, 61; Stibbe 2003, 55-56). Looting, which is a contributing factor in the disturbance of the data in almost every single site presented in this study, receives no specific mention in any of the reports regarding Trebeništa.

A note on the grave types

As for the grave types attested in Trebeništa, here too the situation is far from clear (Mitrevski 1997). In regard to the 'rich' graves, it seems that most of them were deep pit graves. One of them, XIII, had a layer of pebbles on its bottom, while its walls were also built or at least partly built with stone. Wood remnants, found scattered within the grave, were attributed to a wooden roof covering the top of the grave, which eventually collapsed. The disagreement between archaeologists regarding the predominant burial practice can be characterised as another major conundrum. It has been argued that based on the dimensions of the graves and the position of the burial goods within them, inhumation might have been the main burial practice. However, the conspicuous absence of osteological material has been interpreted as evidence of cremations, while arguments in favour of the co-existence of both practices have also been made. Conversely, the situation is very different in the 'poor' graves. These were organised in small clusters, delimited by a peribolos, comprised of large stones. Furthermore, it is plausible that these clusters were covered by low tumuli, which unfortunately were not preserved. The deceased were buried in shallow graves, with the practice of inhumation being the only one attested here, at least until the late 5th century BC (Stibbe 2003, 72-73).

Gender specific and gender non-specific burial goods

A glimpse into the plethora of objects discovered in the cemetery, especially in the 'rich' graves is provided by the study of burial goods. With the exception of arms and armour, such as iron spearheads and swords, bronze helmets and shields, and perhaps earrings,

which seemed to be the only two categories of gender specific burial goods, for male and female burials respectively, the remaining ones were typically discovered in burials belonging to both genders. Frequently found burial goods included pins, brooches, rings, bracelets, gold masks and decorative pieces attached to garments, a gold 'glove', gold sheets attached to the soles of the deceased's shoes, knives, miniature objects made of silver and gold, a few clay figurines (eidolia), iron tripods, glass and amber beads (Stibbe 2003, 19-31, 37-41; Filov 1927; Vulić 1932).

Gold masks were found in four burials at Trebeništa (I, V, VIII, IX; Table 36). Fortunately enough, with the exception of the one discovered in V, all of them are very well preserved. The three remaining masks share similar technical characteristics such as the existence of small holes in their corners, apparently for their application on a piece of cloth covering the deceased's face, and the attachment of the nose, created separately from the mask. Furthermore, all of them resemble human-like features with their outer parts adorned by a band consisted of geometrical motifs (Theodossiev 1998, 345-346). Regarding especially the mask excavated in grave I, further decoration in the form of a bee, carefully designed on the forehead, above the nose, is also attested (Ilieva and Penkova 2009). Apart from the masks, another two interesting categories of gold foils were that of gold soles attached to the deceased's sandals (VIII, IX, X, XII; Table 36) and two hand gloves (I and VIII), one with an ring (I). The sandals were decorated with apotropaic figures such as gorgons, or sphinxes and birds, while the gloves had gold bands with geometric motifs, similar to the ones found in the masks on the back side of the palm (Vulić 1930; Theodossiev 1998; 2002; Ilieva and Penkova 2009).

Shifting the focus to the rest of the burial goods, miniature objects excavated in three burials (II, VI, VII; Table 32) were made of various metals, most notably gold, silver and to a lesser extent bronze and depicted four figures, those of a bird, a horse rider, a horse and a sphinx. The rider and the sphinx are both attested once in VII and VI respectively, while the most commonly found type is that of the gold bird, discovered in all of the three burials (II, VI, VII; Table 32). As for eidolia, these were unfortunately badly preserved and therefore impossible to classify. Fragments of them were found in six burials (II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII; Table 33), while only one was found in an adequate enough state so as to be identified as portraying a seated female figure.

Turning to vessel assemblages, whereas pottery is rather limited, bronze and silver pots are abundant (Table 34). The typology of the pots includes shapes typically associated with feasting, such as hydria, amphora, krater, kantharos and perfume vessels, such as miniature amphora and aryballos. Attica, Corinth and Laconia are identified as the origin places for these objects, while also present are locally produced pots of a hybrid style, involving both Greek and regional influences which interestingly enough even include drinking horns (Stibbe 2003, 62-73; Figure 46). Since the nature of the publication by Filov in the 1920s is in many aspects dubious, the contents of many tombs are described in rather ambiguous terms. Regarding especially the vessel types, apart from some well-known Greek types, there are also a few labelled as 'jug with raised spout' or 'kettle-like' which are similar to oinochoe or olpe and lebes respectively. Similarly to other sites, a triplet of sympotic vessels (drinking, pouring, mixing) was attested at Trebeništa in at least four burials (II, III, VI, VIII; Table 35). In contrast to this, ointment vessels were very rare, as they were only found in two graves (IX, X; Table 35) while no burial yielded vessels

Grave/Tomb	Gold bird	Silver horse	Gold rider	Bronze Sphinx
T I				
T II	✓			
T III				
T IV				
T V				
T VI	✓	✓		✓
T VII	✓	✓	✓	
T VIII				
T IX				
T X				
T XI				
T XII				
T XIII				

Table 32. Different types of miniature objects attested at Trebeništa.

Grave/Tomb	Unidentified fragments	Seated Female Figure
T I		
T II	✓	
T III	✓	
T IV	✓	
T V	✓	
T VI	✓	✓
T VII		
T VIII	✓	
T IX		
T X		
T XI		
T XII		
T XIII		

Table 33. Different types of eidolia attested at Trebeništa.

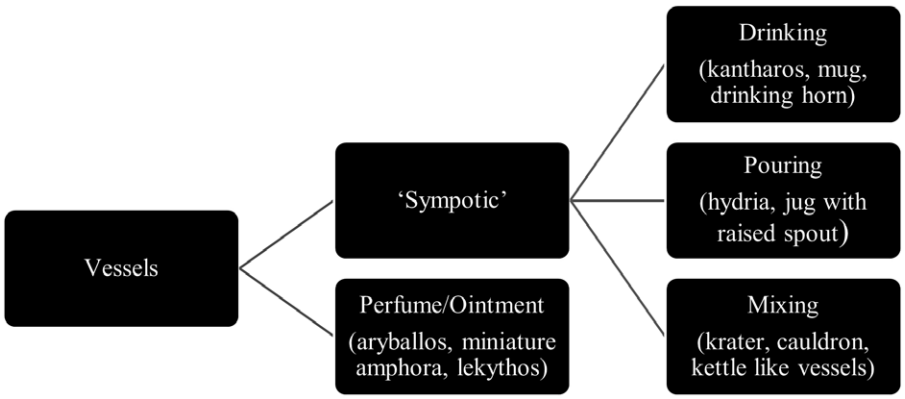

Figure 46. Vessel shapes in Trebeništa.

belonging to both sympotic and ointment vessels. Additionally, ointment vessels were only found in these burials designated as female by the archaeologists based on their burial goods.

A short cross-examination of the burial goods

Finally, while a full publication is not available and therefore an analysis of the burial goods can only be preliminary, an attempt to identify an internal hierarchy within the 'rich' graves has been made by Verger (2014). He distinguished between three groups, organised

Grave/Tomb	Clay	Silver	Bronze	Glass	Faience
T I	1	2	5	1	2
T II	1	1	5	2	
T III		1	6	1	
T IV	1	3	4		
T V	1	2	8	1	
T VI		1	5	1	
T VII		1	7	1	
T VIII	1	4	7	1	
T IX	4		1	2	
T X	3		2		
T XI					
T XII					
T XIII					

Table 34. Co-occurrence of vessels made of different material found in the 'rich' graves.

Grave/Tomb	Ointment	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing
T I		✓		✓
T II		✓	✓	✓
T III		✓	✓	✓
T IV			✓	✓
T V		✓		✓
T VI		✓	✓	✓
T VII		✓	✓	
T VIII		✓	✓	✓
T IX	✓		✓	
T X	✓		✓	
T XI				
T XII				
T XIII				

Table 35. Different categories of vessels in the 'rich' burials at Trebeništa.

in three, almost parallel lines across the small cemetery, noting both their similarities and their distinct characteristics. Burials II-VII (highlighted in yellow) formed the first group, which is considered as the most homogenous one. Burial goods discovered in these graves can be clustered into four categories: arms and armour, silver and bronze vessels, gold adornments attached on clothes, gold decorative foils and masks as well as jewellery, such as necklaces comprised of amber and glass beads (Verger 2014, 262-263). The second group only included burials I and VIII (highlighted in green). While these burials are of equal importance in terms of quantity and quality of burial goods, some minor differences between them and the burials belonging to the first group can be observed. To begin with, while a few of the first group's graves contained shields, the ones in the second group did not. Jewellery, although discovered in I and VIII, it does so in smaller quantities that

in burials belonging to the first group. Conversely, in these two graves Attic black-figure pottery was also excavated, a discovery that was absent from the burials of the first category (Verger 2014, 263-266). The last group is consisted of IX-XIII (highlighted in blue) and is a very diverse one. Bronze and silver vessels associated with feasting, frequently found in the first two groups, are virtually absent from the third one. Weapons were only found in XI and XII. Gold decorative pieces and jewellery is almost completely absent from these two burials. However, the remaining three burials (IX, X, XIII) of the same group are decorated with both jewellery and adornments (Verger 2014, 266-269).

Leaving Verger's classification aside, it seems that the most frequent combination of objects is that of a spearhead, a sword and a helmet. The co-occurrence of these objects, which provided the main criterion for the archaeologists in order to assign genders to the burials was attested in seven burials (I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII; Table 36), while in some cases it was also complimented with a shield (II, III, IV, V; Table 36). Moreover, it is true that other burial goods, typically associated with women, were also found in the 'rich' male graves of Trebeništa. As aptly noted by Verger (2014, 263), there seems to be a strong presence of a feminine aspect in the male graves, as burial goods such as pins and brooches, necklaces consisted of amber and glass beads and figurines depicting female seated figures usually related to female burials, were attested in the male ones. However, jewellery found in the female burials was often different both in terms of typology and quantity compared to the male burials. Burials identified as female, frequently included necklaces consisting of many beads, primarily of amber, more pendants and bracelets, as well as earrings which were absent from male burials. Therefore, hints of a certain combination of objects used to designate a burial as female could be identified by comparatively examining male to female jewellery. In the two well preserved female burials IX and X (Table 36), pins, brooches, necklaces, pendants, earrings (only in IX), bracelets and rings were all found together. Consequently, it was this very same assemblage that encouraged archaeologists to classify these burials as female. Most of the remaining burial goods such as masks, gold decorative pieces, eidolia, miniature objects and tripods were attested at tombs of both genders. As for the relation between these assemblages and the various vessels found in the burials, two suggestions could be made. First, burials in which the full arms and armour assemblage was found (I-VIII) contained more bronze vessels per grave than the ones with the full jewellery assemblage (IX-X). Second, the two female graves also consistently included more clay vessels per grave than the male ones. Nonetheless, apart from these observations, no further analysis was conducted in anticipation of the full publication of the site.

Notwithstanding the various discrepancies as observed in the first publications on Trebeništa, the study of this site has contributed in the formulation of a number of interesting hypotheses. The unfortunate history of its excavation, in combination with the scattering of the archaeological material, now hosted at the Archaeological Institute at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, the National Museum of Belgrade and the Museum in Ohrid, constitutes a challenge for testing any theories regarding Trebeništa. The recent joint exhibition of the material from all of the three institutions at the Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia is welcomed, as a first step towards an international attempt at interpreting this site.

		Arms and armour									Adornments					Jewellery				
Grave/Tomb	Gender	Spearhead	Sword	Knife	Helmet	Shield	Mask	Eidolia	Miniature objects	Tripods	Gold decorative pieces	Gold sandals	Rosettes	Pins	Brooches	Necklace (consisted of beads)	Pendants	Earrings	Bracelet	Ring
T I	M	✓	✓		✓		✓			✓	✓			✓					✓	✓
T II	M	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			✓		✓				✓
T III	M	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓			✓		✓				✓
T IV	M	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			✓		✓				
T V	M	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓				
T VI	M	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓							✓
T VII	M	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓					✓				✓
T VIII	M	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓
T IX	F						✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T X	F									✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T XI	M	✓	✓	✓																✓
T XII	F										✓	✓								✓
T XIII	M				✓									✓						✓

Table 36. Table showing the co-occurrence of the main types of burial goods found in the 'rich' burials at Trebeništa. Different groups of graves based on the burial goods and practices found in them are marked with different colours.

Patterns of inclusion/exclusion and a hierarchy of burial goods and practices

Despite its peculiarities, the cemetery at Trebeništa also provides evidence in support of inclusion and exclusion patterns. As already mentioned earlier, the cemetery space is roughly divided into two separate areas approximately 100m distanced from one another. The part of the cemetery containing the most elaborate burials is subsequently subdivided into three separate clusters, with important differences between them. It therefore seems, that even though all of these burials were lavishly decorated and that they constituted a distinct group, important intra-group differences also existed. These were mostly centered around the presence or absence of certain burial goods since all of the deceased shared the same type of grave, that is a deep pit. Moving beyond the most elaborate burials all found in close proximity to one another at the same part of the cemetery, less elaborate burials were found west of them in what appears to be clearly delineated burial clusters. These were considerably less elaborate in terms of both burial goods and grave types when compared to the ones described above. In regard to grave types in particular, these were once again pit graves but this time very shallow ones, which would typically require less energy expenditure.

What all of the above indicate is that in Trebeništa, as in other sites across the region, powerful groups created a distance between themselves and the rest of their community by consistently burying their dead in a specific part of the cemetery while at the same times excluding other groups from burying their dead there. Over time, this part of the cemetery ended up receiving only elaborate burials in deep pit graves, a practice not attested elsewhere in the cemetery. Even though all of the burials were indeed deposited

in pit graves, a shared characteristic among the cemetery, these were qualitatively different. It therefore seems that in the case of Trebeništa, something as subtle as the difference in depth was enough to contribute to the differentiation between 'powerful' and 'muted' groups. This observation along with the differences in terms of burial goods between the most elaborate burials and the less elaborate ones all indicate the existence of both variability and hierarchy. Given the presence of these larger graves, containing more elaborate burial goods, clustered together at a specific location distanced from the rest of the burials, it would not be improbable to hypothesise that they were the ones displaying a 'full funerary kit'. Despite the fact that the exact constituents of this might be hard to establish, its existence is inferred from fractured yet multivariate data such as the ones presented here. While a larger part of the community was arguably buried at the cemetery and consequently shared burial goods and practices, a few of these, or to put it more precisely, certain versions of these, were only reserved for exclusive use by certain groups. This degree of differentiation, coupled with the spatial aspect of the division between groups, provides enough evidence to support the existence of various intra-communal social dynamics, both shaping and being shaped by power relations.

6.8 Local and regional spatial and depositional patterns in the cemeteries of early Macedonia

What arises from a comparative study of all the cemeteries discussed here is the fact that local and regional patterns both in terms of the organisation of the cemetery space and the depositional practices were concomitantly present at each site. A common denominator between all of the above is that in most cases the core ideas behind these patterns are similar yet materially expressed differently. This is of course not to say that site specific rites did not exist but they did so within a shared socio-political context. Similarities and differences co-occurred in early Macedonia, as power dynamics at local and regional level were omnipresent. Identities were therefore expressed in multiple ways at both locally and regionally with inclusion and exclusion patterns functioning at both levels.

Starting with the less variable parameters , it can be argued that all of the cemeteries were fairly representative in terms of age and gender of either their whole communities or at least the part of the local community that had access to that specific burial ground. This is typically evidenced by gender specific burial goods, the size of graves and in limited instances such as in Nea Philadelpheia and Agia Paraskevi through the available osteological data. Burial rites such as the practice of inhumation, the covering of the deceased's face or at least the mouth and the specific head orientation with certain directions being gender specific are commonly attested across the cemeteries. However, local variations also co-existed. While inhumation is the exclusive way of disposing of the dead body in all of the cemeteries mentioned above a limited number of cremations were found in tumuli B and Γ in Aegae and also perhaps in Trebeništa. As for the gender-specific direction towards which the deceased's face was turned to, with males frequently facing westwards while females eastwards this was observed in Nea Philadepheia and Thermi. In contrast to this, all of the deceased at Aegae were buried with their head towards the south, while this rite was not attested in Agios Athanasios and Trebeništa. As for Agia Paraskevi and Aiani, this is not something discussed in the preliminary publications and therefore it is hard to argue either in favour or against its presence there. The rite of covering the deceased's face with gold was attested in almost all of the sites discussed here.

Gold masks were only found in Trebeništa, while epistomia were discovered in all of the remaining sites apart from Aegae. This was previously explained by the chief excavator as an outcome of the excessive looting to which the cemetery was subjected by the Gauls. However, it is difficult to justify the complete absence of a relatively commonly attested rite in the rest of the cemeteries at such a large site as Aegae. Therefore, the possibility of epistomia being consciously absent from Aegae should not be disregarded.

Site specific rites although limited in numbers are in fact noted in three cases. The first is the phenomenon of the crushed vessels of the phiale type as observed at Aiani. These bronze vessels were partly destroyed and then scattered all over the cemetery, a ritual not attested elsewhere. Similar only to Archontiko and perhaps to only one burial in Trebeništa (tomb XIII), pebbles were used within burials at Thermi. As noted above, these were found in limited cases in the bottom of the grave parallel to its four walls, forming a visible rectangular shape within which the deceased was subsequently placed. The third site specific feature is that of the fluidity of gender specific burial goods at Trebeništa. Gender specific burial goods, that is arms and armour in male burials, and jewellery and adornments in female ones, while generally indicative of the deceased's gender were not so in Trebeništa. There, at least in the more elaborate burials, the lines between the two genders are blurred since burial goods such as pins and brooches, necklaces, beads and figurines depicting female seated figures typically related to female burials, were attested in the male ones too.

Grave types are by far the most diverse feature between individual cemeteries (Panti 2012). What is also interesting is that grave types which might have been found in only a handful of cases typically associated with more elaborate burials at one cemetery, might have been more commonly attested at another one. Therefore, graves in themselves do not necessarily bear an intrinsic value based on their type. Differentiation based on grave types is therefore expressed differently between individual sites. More specifically in sites where pit graves, cists and sarcophagi are all present, the most exclusive ones are one of the two latter categories. This is evident at Agios Athanasios (sarcophagi), Nea Philadelpheia (sarcophagi), Thermi (sarcophagi), Agia Paraskevi (sarcophagi) and Aiani (cists and chamber tombs). Regarding especially the last one, chamber tombs are a local phenomenon as they are not attested elsewhere. It also tempting to equate this limited availability of certain grave types at each site with the ones in which the 'full kit' was displayed. Unfortunately evidence in support of this is scanty mainly due to the nature of the published data.

Grave variability was not the only way of social differentiation through grave types. In cemeteries where this was limited such as Aegae (pit graves only), Agia Paraskevi (mainly limestone cists) and Trebeništa (pit graves only) other means were employed by powerful groups in order to distance themselves from the rest of the population buried in similar grave types. At Aegae and Agia Paraskevi this was achieved through differences in size. More specifically, a large number of the burials found at the tumuli in Aegae was found in monumental pit graves similar to the ones at Archontiko. Therefore, even though pit graves were shared among the various people buried in the cemetery, certain pits were distinguished both due to their size and their exact location underneath the two tumuli. Agia Paraskevi constitutes a peculiar case, since both size and typology were employed in creating a sense of differentiation. Despite the fact that limestone cists were the most widely attested type of grave, these were extremely tight as they could barely accommodate an

adult burial. Conversely, sarcophagi were larger and made of better quality of limestone. Unfortunately, a link between the grave type and the powerful groups similar to the one established between the monumental graves at Aegae and the most elaborate burials found there was not found at Agia Paraskevi due to the lack of information related to burial goods. However, this would not be improbable given the fact that this was the case at both Aegae and Trebeništa. Here, both the 'poor' and the 'rich' burials as defined by the excavator were all found in pit graves. Yet, 'poor' ones did so in shallow graves while the 'rich' ones in deeper ones. Hence, differences in depth were linked to different groups of people with deeper ones belonging to the most powerful groups at this site.

Regardless of whether graves contained elaborate burials or not, they were nonetheless marked in multiple ways across most of the sites with the only exceptions being Nea Philadelpheia and Agia Paraskevi. However, even in those sites due to the respect shown towards older burials the existence of some sort of marking should not be excluded. In contrast to this, in Thermi, pebbles were found in some cases typically stacked together over the deceased's head creating a small cairn functioning as sema. Unfortunately, nothing else about these graves is provided in the preliminary reports and therefore questions regarding the exact location of these burials or whether these were among the most elaborate ones can only be answered after the full publication of the site. Yet, similar questions could be answered in regard to Aegae, Aiani and Trebeništa. It seems that in all of these places where the most elaborate burials were clearly visible and almost separated from the main flat cemetery, burials found in both areas of each cemetery were also marked differently. In Aegae and Aiani the most elaborate burials, that is the burials at tumuli B and Γ, and the 'royal' ones at Aiani were perhaps unsurprisingly the ones marked in the most elaborate way too. In the case of Aegae, the graves were marked by the construction of two large tumuli covering them while burials in the flat cemetery were marked with large crude stones. As for Aiani, the 'royal' burials were marked through a variety of practices that is the presence of a temple-like building, a peribolos, a statue or even a stele whereas in the rest of the cemetery the only indication of marking were three periboloi enclosing some of the pit graves and the existence of a monumental building whose exact function is still unknown. In contrast to Aegae and Aiani, at Trebeništa, it is the 'poor' graves that are marked by periboloi and perhaps low tumuli and not the 'rich' ones, as one might have expected. The 'rich' ones are only distinguished by their distance from the rest of the cemetery, a weird observation given their elaborate burial goods. Unfortunately, given the state of the early publications regarding the site no more information is provided on this, something that makes the interpretation of this phenomenon even more difficult.

Arguably the most diverse feature among the sites presented here is the organisation of the cemetery space. This can take up many forms with more rigid patterns such as the spatially distinctive clustering of burials or a less physically imposing clustering of burials which are incorporated into the general plan of the cemetery yet distinctive in certain aspects similar to Sindos and Archontiko as described in the previous chapter. The tumuli B and Γ at Aegae, the 'royal' burials at Aiani, the distanced 'rich' burials at Trebeništa and the clusters of more elaborate burials in the periphery of the cemetery at Thermi are all clear indications of people distancing themselves from the rest of the population buried there. Conversely, at Agios Athanasios and Agia Paraskevi burials seems more integrated within the main cemetery space while no information is given on this in regard

to Nea Philadelpheia. The fact that no separate clustering was observed in those sites does not mean that no spatial expressions of power was present. As mentioned above, the sarcophagi in Agia Paraskevi which were linked to the most elaborate burials might have been found in close proximity to one another. If this hypothesis becomes accepted, then similar patterns of distinction to the ones found at Sindos and Archontiko could also be found at Agia Paraskevi. This co-examination of grave variability with the exact location of specific grave types within the cemetery indicates the influence of power dynamics on the organisation of cemetery space. More specifically, in the case of Aegae, tumuli B and Γ contained monumental pits and cremations respectively. In Aiani, the 'royal' burials were the only ones found in chamber tombs in the cemetery. In Trebeništa, the 'rich' burials were discovered in the deepest pit graves. Unfortunately, no information is given regarding the exact location of specific grave types in regard to the rest of the cemeteries. Yet, given the variability in terms of grave types attested in the remaining sites a sense of hierarchy between burials buried in certain grave types and the rest of the cemetery as evidenced by its spatial expression should not be considered improbable.

In order to further establish this link between certain grave types and elaborate burials and to further support the argument in favour of the sense of internal hierarchy among each site what follows is a co-examination of burial goods and in particular local engagements with a 'full funerary kit' as previously observed in Sindos and Archontiko. Of course this cannot be achieved to the same extent as in these two sites. Regardless of that though, what is evident at Aegae is that the burials at the two tumuli were the ones displaying the 'full kit'. This, along with the grave types in which they were found in and their exact location within the cemetery, is what sets them apart from the rest of the burials found within the same cemetery. The possibility of the existence of a 'full kit' is also evident in the case of the 'royal' tombs at Aiani. Despite the looting to which these burials were subjected to, the few remaining burial goods indicate that these might have originally decorated with a 'full kit' although its exact form is hard to define. As for Trebeništa, the 'rich' burials there did in fact contained a 'full kit' which bears some resemblance to the ones attested in Sindos and Archontiko in that is typically consisted of weapons, masks, gold decorative pieces, bronze and clay vessels, clay figurines, miniature objects and tripods for men and jewellery, adornments, gold decorative pieces, bronze and clay vessels, and tripods for women. However, objects like masks, miniature objects and even pots are typologically different than those found elsewhere in the region making the interpretation of the Trebeništa material particularly tricky.

What is true for all of the sites presented here is that despite the exclusive nature of the 'full kit' certain aspects of it were shared among the people burying their dead at the cemeteries presented here. As mentioned above this was complimented by the sharing of some grave types. Arms and armour, jewellery, epistomia, figurines, pots especially clay ones and to a lesser extent miniature objects were found in burials not displaying the 'full kit' at all the cemeteries. However, they did so in smaller numbers and in different combinations while qualitatively differences were also present. In all of the cemeteries, defensive equipment was very limited and only attested in the form of undecorated helmets. Jewellery was found both in different number and made of different metals. As noted above, this was the case in Aegae where the tumuli burials were mainly equipped with gold and silver pieces of jewellery while female burials in the rest of the cemetery bore jewellery mainly made of iron and bronze. A similar distinction regarding jewellery

in particular is also noted at Nea Philadelpheia while at Agia Paraskevi burials containing imported pottery did so in larger typological variety than less elaborate ones containing only locally made pottery. Epistomia were found in all of the cemeteries with the notable exception of Aegae but masks were not found in any of the sites apart from Trebeništa. Yet, unlike Sindos and Archontiko epistomia were not found in Trebeništa, making the gap between 'rich' and 'poor' burials as identified by the excavator there more easily distinguishable than the one observed in the other two sites.

What all of the above indicate is that given the grave variability, the different spatial patterns, and the varying degrees of engagement with the 'full kit' a sense of hierarchy did exist in each of the cemeteries presented at this study. This was not however a very rigid or polarised one between simply elaborate and non-elaborate graves but rather a spectrum along which multiple combinations and variations of these combinations co-existed. Power dynamics both within each cemetery and between different sites influenced the visibility of these combinations while they also rendered specific ones more desirable than others. This was evident by the constant interplay between inclusion and exclusion patterns that shaped the various 'kits' which were concurrently present in the archaeological record. The multivariate expressions of both individual and collective identities were subject to the availability of the various 'kits' making the spectrum along which they co-existed fluid and mutable. The involvement of both local and regional patterns in the creation of identities as influenced by power dynamics is the central theme of the next chapter.

7

Towards a new narrative: Identity and Power in Archaic Macedonia

7.1 Introduction and Historical Context

Based on the well-known passage from Thucydides (2.99) in which he mentions the expansion of the early Macedonian kingdom, it is often assumed that at some point during the 6th century BC the victorious Macedonians either expelled or exterminated the past inhabitants of these lands and that we can essentially map out this expansion through the attestation of 'warrior' burials which would only accommodate Macedonians (Borza 1990, 84-90; Sprawski 2010, 131-134; King 2018, 17-19). This conquest it is not without its problems as its exact nature and date are far from certain (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 30-31, 65-67, 117-122; Xydopoulos 2016, 253-256; 2017, 81-83; 2021)

Alongside Macedonian 'warriors', scholars have also attempted to identify past populations by focusing on differences in individual categories of burial goods in order to showcase the presence of populations ethnically different from the Macedonians (Chrysostomou 2012, 2019; Kottaridi 2016; cf. Clementi 2020). The model of the expansion of the Macedonians unified under and led by the royal house of Temenids has dominated the historiography of early Macedonia, while even more nuanced approaches have failed to steer away from it (e.g. Saripanidi 2017, 117-124). Consequently, this top-down intentional dissemination and subsequent adoption of similar burial goods is still used as the primary framework of historical enquiry. It follows that the king at Aegae is typically seen as a powerful one, one that would have the power to mobilise and led an expansion from the core of the Macedonian kingdom to what has been termed the 'new' lands (Hatzopoulos 2020, 103-116).

However, these past approaches do not take into account the fact that a shared collective identity need not necessarily be associated with ethnicity as this is but one of the forms that this might take (Mac Sweeney 2009; Steidl 2020). Additionally, similarities and differences are of equal importance when examining the various interactions between different sites across the region. Favouring one over the other leads to a distorted perception of the multiple social realities, one that does not take into consideration the presence of multiple overlapping and frequently intersecting identities (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005, 1-2). Furthermore, the so-called expansion of the Macedonians led by the royal house of the Temenids pertains to outdated diffusionist approaches. Notions of agency and intentionality (Dobres and Robb 2000; Barrett 2001; Robb 2010; Ribeiro 2022), the presence

of tactics at a regional level and of strategies at a regional one, are all largely neglected in favour of a top-down approach (Despoini 2009; Saripanidi 2017). The corollary of this is that in order for this approach to work a highly hierarchical state with a centralised structure and a powerful king are presumed to have been present (Bouzek and Ondřejová 1988, 94; Pare 1997, 270-275; Sprawski 2010, 131; Saripanidi 2017, 117-124; cf. Errington 1990, 4-7; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 30-31, 65-67, 117-122; Hatzopoulos 2020, 103-116). Notwithstanding the wealth of proposals on the character of the early Macedonian kingdom all of them fall into the same fallacy of suggesting that Macedonian kingship was somewhat static and rigid since its early conception down to Perseus, the last Macedonian king (Borza 1990; Errington 1990 Hatzopoulos 1996). Subsequently, the interplay between local and regional power dynamics and the emergence of multi-layered identities within this context is frequently ignored. Terms such as the 'Macedonians' are used in order to designate a large homogenous population which would be archaeologically distinct from the 'other' ones, who previously inhabited the region. Linking past populations mentioned in literary sources to archaeological data is always tricky and even more so in an area which has been continuously plagued by nationalist approaches (Giamakis 2022).

This is of course not to deny the existence of a common cultural background but to argue that this need not be conterminous with the borders of the early Macedonian kingdom (Xydopoulos 2017; Misailidou-Despotidou 2018). Therefore, instead of focusing on umbrella-terms, a more wide-encompassing approach is needed, one that will accept that both individual burials within the same cemetery and group of burials across cemeteries shared both similarities and differences alike. People at both a local and regional level engaged to a varying degree with the 'full kit' funerary vocabulary as this was attested at both levels. This engagement was present at two interlinked layers: a macro one consisting of dynamics developed between cemetery – region and a micro one including individual – group and group – community(cemetery) dynamics and contributing to the creation of a hierarchised spectrum along which many levels of engagement were concomitantly present. Identities were influenced by this as evidenced through both the organisation of the cemetery space and the hierarchy in terms of the burial goods. The constant interplay between inclusion and exclusion patterns, access to resources and social alignments and ultimately between individual and collective identities is the main theme of the present chapter. Here, I provide a brief reminder summarising the main theoretical points regarding identity and power made earlier in my thesis. I then turn my focus to patterns observed at macro level examining them through the lens of costly signalling theory (CST). Following that, I discuss patterns attested at micro level by focussing on the various funerary kits as well as the regional variations in regard to the 'full kit' and the subsequent notions of hierarchy developed within each individual cemetery. I then discuss the distribution of the various grave types and their relation to the 'full kit' at each site as well as the organisation of the cemetery space at both a macro and a micro level. I conclude this chapter by situating all of the above within the socio-political context of the early Macedonian kingdom by means of analysing their role in its structure and development during the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

7.2 Brief theoretical note

As noted above, burials are a nexus between individual and collective identities. Given that material culture is used in a way that it is meaningful to the people interacting with it,

the burial record at all of the sites presented in this thesis was meaningfully constructed to display certain identities, both individual and collective ones. Whether this was either though the consistent deposition of certain goods or through the choice of a specific grave type as the chamber tombs discovered at Aiani, all of these decisions were made within a particular context created by the community. This wider socio-political context was permeated by power dynamics which were mainly expressed through the direct or indirect control of resources and group formation through social alignments between different agents (Cannon 2002; Schortman, Urban and Ausec 2001). In regard to resources these could be both in the form of burial goods and grave types (Ekengren 2013) but also in the form of location within each cemetery as space can also be used as a resource and manipulated accordingly (Blake 2004). Group formation is evidenced by the alignments of social agents (Mac Sweeney 2011, 35-39; Schortman and Urban 2012). This is manifested materially through similarities in burial practices, depositional practices, grave types and the organisation of the cemetery space.

All of the above are active at both a macro and a micro level. At a macro level, power relationships affecting the emergence of identities are developed between groups across multiple cemeteries. At a micro level, that is at each individual site, similar dynamics influencing identities emerge between individuals and groups as well as between certain groups and the wider community. What is true for both levels though is that there is a fine balance between shared and exclusive burial goods, practices, grave types and specific locations. Mortuary variability at both levels indicates the multiplicity of ways though which people interacted with the 'full kit' funerary vocabulary both within each individual site but also across sites leading to a constant interaction between local and regional patterns. The varying degrees of engagement with this funerary language leads to the development of a spectrum along which multiple identities co-exist. Tactics of inclusion and exclusion contribute to the potency of certain identities over others and their position on the spectrum closer or further apart from the 'full kit'. In order to further explore this, I now turn to the study the cemeteries at a macro level.

7.3 Social Dynamics at a macro-level

Ethnicity is not the only model that can be applied to the study of early Macedonia. A more nuanced approach that will incorporate both regional and local dynamics into the same analytical framework is needed in order to better understand the multiple social realities which were concomitantly present in early Macedonia. While the ethnicity of people adopting a similar funerary language might be even regarded as inaccessible based solely on the archaeological finds (Derks and Roymans 2009, 4; Xydopoulos 2017, 72; Hatzopoulos 2020, 29) the fact that these people shared a similar material culture calls for an explanation. A standardised pre-arranged set of ethnic criteria passively reflected in the material record should not be considered a valid reasoning for this phenomenon (e.g. Despoini 2009; Kottaridi 2016; Saripanidi 2017; 2019; Chrysostomou 2019). This is because despite the regional nature of aspects of burial ritual, the analysis presented here has demonstrated that a) there is variability in the way the 'full kit' is expressed; and b) it is clear that 'full kit' people are embedded in local funerary ritual and not completely different (i.e. newcomers). Instead theories explaining the intricate choices made by people within certain contexts as shaped by social dynamics should be employed to provide more nuanced approaches to complicated phenomena such as the ones studied

here. Costly signalling theory (CST) has the potential of being a powerful analytical tool that could be employed in the study of early Macedonia.

Costly Signalling Theory

As it has been repeatedly stressed, burials are highly ritualised events, situated in a liminal state between societies of spectacle and societies of routine (Routledge 2013, 101-113). Burials are spectacles that require an audience in the collective memory of which the materialised power dynamics would be engrained. The notions of performance and theatricality attached to them and routinely repeated are used to exert power over the deceased and the participants by concurrently shaping both their individual and collective identities. Consequently, they can be considered as a particular type of signals conveying information of materialised power dynamics and ultimately identities. In this regard, Costly Signalling Theory (CST) can be a very useful analytical tool, applicable not only to large built monuments but also to seemingly more modest types of burial (Maynard-Smith and Harper 2003; Plourde 2008; Glatz and Plourde 2011).

Even though large built funerary monuments are present only in the case of the Aegae tumuli and the 'royal' burials of Aiani, the fact that elaborate burials were looted in antiquity suggests that the nature of the burial ritual and the burial goods was public and they can be therefore interpreted through CST. The validity of signals of status is guaranteed by the costly nature of these signals, assuming that only genuine holders of the status would have the ability to produce those costly signals, or the resources to make it worth producing those signals over other people who would struggle to imitate them. This makes the signals authentic and hard to copy (Quinn 2019, 276-277). Naturally, these signals would take many forms from the different iterations of the 'full kit' burials across the cemeteries to built monument such as the Aegae tumuli and the 'royal' necropolis at Aiani as well as the reservation of specific grave types for certain parts of the population like in the case of the monumental pits at Archontiko.

Pinpointing the exact site where this mechanism first manifested could be tricky. Aegae being the capital of the early kingdom would be the obvious choice but given the availability of data this is very hard to establish. Yet, there are indications that the burials at the tumuli were either monumental pit graves or secondary cremations possibly furnished with the 'full kit' although these were heavily looted. If dominant groups at Aegae strengthened their social status through these practices, creating both a symbolic and a physical distance between burials with the 'full kit' and the rest of their community then it follows that at a regional level, people signalling status could gain 'cost efficiencies' by working off already established signals. The emergence of these 'cost efficiencies' would practically translate to the adoption of a common funerary 'language' among dominant groups across the region which would subsequently adjust to fit into local contexts.

What therefore becomes evident in early Macedonia is a four step process. Initially, a dominant group possibly centred around Aegae would employ costly signals to solidify their position both with the local community but also across the region. Aspects of these signals would be shared with their local community in order for those signals to make sense to their recipients. This is why at Aegae the tumuli are near but at the same time separated from the main burial ground while burial goods like arms and armour but also jewellery were found in both the tumuli burials but also in the rest of the cemetery (Chapter 6.1). With the growing influence of Aegae, the social interactions especially at

the level of elites and through path dependence (Blake 2015) – that is the participation of dominant groups in regional networks of power already active during the Iron Age – a common funerary 'language' based on the one found at Aegae would be adopted by dominant groups across the region. Powerful group across the region would do so in order to both demonstrate to each other that they share the same regional collective identity while at the same time distancing themselves from the rest of their communities.

This adoption of a common funerary language would happen through what has been termed 'cost efficiencies'. This meant that not every aspect of the already established signals as first observed at Aegae would be copied in the exact same way in each cemetery but rather that the logic behind those would be the same as the signals themselves would manifest in different ways. This might include differences in grave types or burial goods especially in regard to the 'full kit'. The large tumuli at Aegae have no contemporary parallels at other cemeteries. Similar patterns of differentiation in terms of burial goods were also found in other cemeteries across the region. Dominant groups at Aiani diffentiated themselves from the rest of the burials found there by burying their dead at the 'royal' necropolis while at Sindos and Archontiko by reserving the innermost part of the cemeteries and burying their dead in cists and sarcophagi, and monumental pit graves respectively. Additionally, in terms of burial goods, while the practice of covering the deceased face with gold sheets was well attested across the region, masks were only found in Sindos, Archontiko and Trebeništa while the rite itself is puzzlingly almost completely absent from Aegae. Similar to this, while the baseline for the display of the 'full kit' was a combination of three pieces of jewellery at Archontiko, at Sindos, this was increased to four. Additionally, while pottery was commonly found across the region, the sympotic triplet as observed at Sindos and Archontiko is yet to be confirmed in the rest of the sites.

The fact that these dominant groups were able to build these funerary monuments in Aegae and Aiani or deposit such elaborate burial goods as the ones found in Sindos, Archontiko and Trebeništa implies that both of these were practices signalling their control over their local communities and their participation in regional networks of power. It is precisely because of the cost of these practices, be they in terms of energy and time expenditure or material resources that the dominant groups' power over their individual communities is signalled at both local and regional level (Quinn 2019, 285-289). These 'cost efficiencies' consisted of common vocabularies in the form of a 'full kit' and signals of power, such as the selection of specific grave types and the reservation of certain parts of the cemetery for their exclusive use, could all be found among competing elite groups across early Macedonia.

CST – 'Full kit' and grave types

It therefore becomes evident that the adoption of the 'full kit' in the cemeteries of early Macedonia was a conscious choice by specific groups within each individual community. Cost expenditure invested in burials, be they in the construction of the tomb, in the performance of burial rites or through the quality and quantity of burial goods could guarantee, through the attestation of a common funerary 'language', that the individual would be associated with a number of identities not available to everybody. Consequently, by systematically following these patterns, dominant groups would be able to actively influence the creation of collective identities by regulating the abovementioned domains and controlling their materialisation. However, in order for this 'social contract' to be

effective the agents in each context and their intended audience should share a common interest at least to a certain extent (Glatz and Plourde 2011, 37). This common interest would be present at a local level with the primary audience being the rest of the community and at a regional one, with the intended audience being the rest of the regional dominant groups sharing a common funerary 'language'. The common goal at a local level would be the internal cohesion of the community by the acceptance of the established social hierarchies as well as the preservation of the multi-layered individual and collective identities potent within the communal boundaries (e.g. Steidl 2020). At a regional level, the common aim for neighbouring dominant groups would be to showcase to one another that they too belonged to the same regional elite in order to avoid open conflict which would be much more costly and maximise their influence over their respective local communities (e.g. Schortman, Urban and Ausec 2001; Schortman and Urban 2011).

This equilibrium of multiple social dynamics and power relations, concomitantly active, mutually responsive and frequently conflicting is the driving force behind the materialisation of identities. Each agent can exert power insofar as this does not pose a threat to the internal cohesion of the community. Burials provide an excellent opportunity to study this equilibrium, as the materialisation of power and the creation of identities can only be manifested to the extent that they do not threat the cohesion of the community (Fowler 2013; Shepherd 2013). In order to neutralise any resistance and to discourage future conflicts from emerging, a balance has to be maintained between conveying power and reserving specific identities for selected individuals or groups of people. The 'funerary tableau' (Barrett and Boyd 2019, 149; Duday et al. 1990) – that is the way in which the corpse and the burial goods were arranged within the grave just before it was closed – was a medium of communicating power, bestowing individual identities upon the deceased and contributing to the creation of a collective identity between the participants by promoting a shared experience. Regardless of whether burials reflect the actual social structure of the community or an idealised form of this, CST can be used in order to envisage the funerary space as a locale where competition is expressed as a diffuse mechanism for social tensions (Glatz and Plourde 2011, 39).

However, the applicability of CST is not strictly limited to the internal organisation of each cemetery but also extents to regional and supra-regional contexts when comparing different cemeteries across early Macedonia. As already mentioned above, both a macro and a micro approach can be applied to the study of power relations and the subsequent formation of multi-layered collective identities, as evidenced by the co-existence of a more wide-participating communal identity which is then sub-divided into various group identities within each cemetery. This nexus between social norms materialised in the funerary sphere within each individual community and the seemingly shared elite expression of power is a trend that is observed across cemeteries presented in this study.

A closer look at the organisation of the cemetery space across the region allows us to suggest that the prototypical members of each local community were buried in a similar fashion to both one another within each individual cemetery, while at the same time broadly similar to the that of other dominant groups across Macedonia. Chronological data from Sindos provides further support in favour of this argument. At Sindos, the east side of the cemetery where all of the burials with the 'full kit' were located in, was consistently receiving more burials than the west part over the almost 200 years (600-400 BC) that the cemetery was in use. Over time the east part of the cemetery was transformed into

an elite burial ground, one that it would only receive elaborate burials, since even the ones found without the 'full kit' were nonetheless lavishly decorated. Regarding especially burials with the 'full kit', their almost simultaneous appearance across the region and the tight chronological period of their emergence, i.e. 550-500 BC, at least in sites where dating was available (Sindos, Archontiko, Trebeništa and to a lesser extent Aegae), indicate the presence of regional networks of power. It follows that a similar funerary 'language', one that would be subsequently adopted by prototypical groups across the region, emerged in early Macedonia during the 6th century BC.

Each of those groups in Sindos, Archontiko, Trebeništa and Aegae, would need to first establish and subsequently maintain its authority and status within their respective communities while at the same time signaling those to other aspiring competitors both internally but perhaps more importantly externally. However, as it has been repeatedly stated, both authority and status are not static but rather they require constant renewal and legitimisation (Glatz and Plourde 2011, 58). Landscape monuments are an excellent means to this since they can act as mementos of past social interactions evoking past power relations, even though their meaning and interpretations may change over time (Wheatley 2015). Additionally, landscape monuments are means to territorial claims since they tend to be embedded in wider socio-political contexts (Glatz and Plourde 2011, 58; Polignac 1995). In regard to early Macedonia, the apparent lack of funerary monuments with the exception of the Aegae tumuli and the 'royal' tombs at Aiani, does not mean that there was no other means of promoting these claims. This apparent gap was filled with burials, as the amount of burial goods but also different assemblages, which are unparallel even for subsequent historical periods, could both function as symbols of power. According to Glatz and Plourde (2011, 37) signals are a form of communication conveying information which is otherwise difficult to observe and could exert power to the audience by influencing its aims and realigning them to the signaller's benefit. This was precisely the aim of the adoption of the 'full kit' as this expenditure of a number of different resources invested in the funerary sphere implies that the cemetery was indeed a contested place in early Macedonia, a place where prototypical groups in particular were trying to establish and subsequently strengthen the power relations around them. Therefore, by signalling to neighbouring dominant groups their authority and status in a cost effective manner, local dominant groups would both strengthen their intra-communal position while avoiding conflict with other groups present at a regional level.

Intra-communal sharing of these signals would happen by the physical presence of group members and perhaps other community members during any of the stages of the funeral (Del Socorro 2017, 184-189). At a regional level, information on burial goods and rituals would circulate through social networks especially those developed between neighbouring elites (Blake 2014, 66-86; Iacono 2019). Oral tradition could also have played a role in the dissemination of information on burial practices and funerary rites. Regarding especially male burials, the role of the Homeric Epics and the funeral of Patroclos in particular demonstrate a lot of similarities with the 'warrior' burials found in Macedonia as in other places of the ancient Greek world (e.g. Antonaccio 1994; 1995; Mazarakis Ainian 1999; 2016; Crielaard 2016). Despite the fact that the region was in the periphery of the Homeric world, some of its burial rites might have survived through oral tradition, given that works such as the Homeric epics are master narratives which include different local traditions, often competing with each other (Sherratt 1990). Similar narratives or

narratives based on older ones would also circulate among the dominant groups found in all of the sites presented here as evidenced by the adoption of a common funerary 'language', one that also bears similarities to past 'heroic' burials (Saripanidi 2017, 98).

7.4 Social Dynamics at a micro-level

The seemingly top-down dissemination and subsequent passive acceptance of the burial goods and practices mentioned in the beginning of the chapter overemphasises the similarities in terms of burial goods neglecting regional differences. As previously discussed, a 'full funerary kit' was found at Sindos, Archontiko, Trebeništa, possibly at Aegae and Aiani, while scanty data indicate its possible presence in Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi, Agia Paraskevi and Agios Athanasios. This funerary assemblage was not identical in each cemetery but consisted of similar categories of burial goods most notably arms and armour, jewellery and adornments, miniature objects, eidolia, various vessels and either gold masks or epistomia. However, the 'full kit' was but one of the possible ways in which identities were materialised in early Macedonia with multiple identities both individual and collective co-existing in a spectrum.

The materialisation of identities in early Macedonia

As discussed in Chapter 3 burials can be viewed as a nexus between individual and collective identities. Every individual buried in the cemeteries presented here was displaying aspects of both individual and collective identities as expressed through the depositional patterns and the attestation of specific burial rites. Naturally, it is very hard to distinguish between which of these aspects were linked to individual identities and which to collective ones. What it can be argued though is that the repetitive attestation of certain categories of burial goods could act as indicators of each community's beliefs and ideals. Of course, individual differences especially in terms of burial goods did exist due to a number of different factors including but not limited to socio-economic background, emotions, personal network and circumstances surrounding death (Ekengren 2013). Therefore, every group burying its dead in a specific way bestows upon the dead individual certain values and expresses a set of different relationships all of which are embedded within the socially accepted norms (Chapman 2013).

In regard to the case studies presented here, the fact that in both Sindos and Archontiko only a handful of people were buried with masks, a larger group with epistomia and an even larger one with none of these objects indicates that, while this specific custom was socially accepted, this was not the case for every member of the local community. Moreover, important differences existed even among the people who were able to bury their dead practising the burial rite of covering the deceased's face with a gold sheet. Additionally, even though the practice was attested at a significant portion of the local populations, it was nonetheless expressed through two different types of burial goods – that is masks and epistomia – which were qualitatively different. This burial custom might have been socially accepted and stemming from ideas present at group or even community level but people still found a way to adjust this notion so that to also display aspects of their individual identity as influenced by their socio-economic background (Parker Pearson 1999, 72-94).

The same holds true in regard to the most widespread category of burial goods which is pottery. Clay pots were deposited in almost every single grave in all of the cemeteries

discussed here. These were pots used for either perfumes or ointments, or feasting purposes including drinking, pouring and mixing. Regardless of the numerous reasons that might be behind the deposition of those objects the fact that they were so widely attested indicates that they were considered as an important category of burial good associated with almost every individual. Yet, different group identities were also expressed through the attestation of specific combinations of vessels as expressed through the display of the sympotic triplet found in Sindos and Archontiko which was additionally complimented in limited instances with a perfume or ointment pot (Table 11; Table 12; Table 25; Table 26). Despite the fact that the practice of depositing clay pots were by far the one most commonly found across the cemeteries, different parameters influencing individual identities co-existed alongside the socially accepted norms affecting collective identities. Social differentiation was still possible even within such a widely attested practice by the adoption of a specific combination of objects, i.e. the sympotic triplet, which function as a mechanism of power. Inclusion and exclusion dynamics in combination with the standardisation of the depositional patterns in the form of the triplet contributed to the transformation of individual depositional patterns into larger groups promoting specific aspects of collective identities in this case typically associated with notions of feasting (Sherratt 2004; Maran 2012; Del Socorro 2013; Saripanidi 2017, 99-104). Consequently, the wish of the people to bury their dead with pots, could also indicate the individual's group membership though the attestation of specific combination of pots similar to that of other members of the same group.

However, typology is not the only thing that affects this interplay between expressions of individual and collective identities. Provenance is also important as imported vessels which were typically of higher quality were used to display a more exclusive collective identity. As aptly observed in the case of Nea Philadelpheia, the most lavishly decorated burials were primarily equipped with imported vessels, while the less lavishly decorated ones with locally made pots (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 316; 2004, 268; 2008, 49-50). Similar to this, at Agia Paraskevi, burials with imported pottery, had both higher numbers of pottery and greater variability in terms of typology while the ones with local pots had significantly fewer pots and limited variability (Papakostas 2013, 167-168).

Typology and provenance aside, the material involved in the creation of the vessels also added another dimension to this interplay between expression of individual and collective identities. Metal vessels, were considerably rarer and were found in far fewer graves at both Sindos and Archontiko (Table 3; Table 4; Table 17; Table 18). In both sites, silver vessels were found in a very limited number of instances while bronze ones were more widely attested but nowhere close to the level of clay pots. However, at Trebeništa (Table 34) this situation was reversed with metal pots particularly bronze ones found more frequently than clay ones at least in the 'rich' burials following the excavator's definition of them (Vulić 1932; 1933a; 1933b; 1934) while silver vessels were once again found in limited numbers. It therefore becomes evident that differential access to resources and even markets could influence the material expression of identities displayed though the clay and metal pots despite the fact that members of the same community might have shared the same practice.

Turning away from pottery, the most commonly attested categories of burial goods were weapons and jewellery. Both of those were inextricably linked to gender identity, an aspect of individual identities (Parker Pearson 1999, 95-123; Diaz-Andreu 2005). However,

gender can also be regarded as type of collective identity in the sense that in order for a person to be identified as a 'man' or a 'woman' their respective identities would have to be expressed in a particular way and through specific burial goods typically associated with either gender (Riva 2010, 74-84). Despite the dualistic nature of this line of argument it appears that at least in early Macedonia 'man' typically equated to weapons while 'woman' to jewellery. These categories were of course not rigid. As previously discussed (Chapter 6.7), the most elaborate burials at Trebeništa contained burial goods belonging to both genders making this strict dualism between the two genders a more fluid one. Similar to this, at Sindos, gender as assigned by the excavator based on burial goods and practices was not always in accordance with sex as assigned by the osteoarchaeologist (Chapter 5.1). Yet, in most cases this dualism in terms of gender was observed in the material record. Collective identities were also expressed through the attestation of either specific combinations of objects in terms of typology or in terms of quality and quantity. The first tactic mostly refers to weapons while the second mainly to jewellery.

In all of the cemeteries discussed here spearheads were commonly attested at male burials validating the link between weapons and notions of masculinity and/or elite identity (Treherne 1995; van Wees 1998; Whitley 2002; Lloyd 2014, 1-6; Georganas 2018). Yet, the triplet of offensive weapons, which in certain instances was further complemented with helmets some of which were bearing gold decorations, while in even fewer ones with shields, was also used as a tactic promoting a sense of shared identity. This phenomenon attested at Sindos and Archontiko and also indicated for burials at Aegae, especially the male ones in tumulus Γ, while starting from a depositional pattern linked to individual identities also signaled collective ones, among people sharing this. Therefore, in all of the male burials presented in this study, weapons were used as a mean of expressing an individual identity since people burying their dead with them were making specific claims about themselves. At the same time, this practice was grounded within a wider elite mentality which was promulgated through the adoption of a combination of certain groups in particular the offensive triplet frequently found alongside helmets and in rarer cases shields.

The same observations holds true for jewellery. While its deposition probably stemmed from a desire to display an individual identity closely linked to notions of femininity, expressions of collective identity were also involved in this (Misailidou-Despotidou 2011; Riva 2010, 74-84; Díaz-Andreu 2005; Chrysostomou 2016). Even though combinations of specific objects similar to the ones noted for weapons were not established their differentiation was based on quantitative and qualitative criteria. While many female burials included different pieces of jewellery only a few of them were buried with more than four types of jewellery in Sindos (Table 9) and three in Archontiko (Table 16). The burials bearing more categories of jewellery formed a particular group as it is them that are typically classified as displaying the 'full kit'. Besides their differences from the rest of the female burials with jewellery in terms of sheer quantity, the jewellery found in those burials were additionally made of precious metals. The most elaborate burials at Sindos and Archontiko (Chapters 5.2-5.4) contained jewellery primarily made of gold and to a lesser extent silver while bronze and iron were rarely attested in those. It therefore becomes evident that even a practice linked to something so intimate and personal as jewellery was also subject to power dynamics as individuals were simultaneously expressing both their individual and collective identities.

All of these examples in regard to the simultaneous presence of individual and collective identities are tied to the notion of materiality. As previously discussed (Chapter 3) identities need to manifest materially in order to become potent. It is their material expression that in turn influences the promotion of identities (Meskell 2005; Hodder 2012). Regardless of whether the burial goods were personal possessions or offerings (Ekengren 2013), the fact that they were deposited in the grave signifies that the community held specific beliefs linked to certain categories of objects. These beliefs did not have to be necessarily connected to a set of fixed identities as 'warriors' or 'princesses' and 'priestesses' (Chapter 2) since they were expressed differently, both among people buried in the same cemetery but also across the region. This is precisely why the notion of spectrum along which multiple versions of certain 'funerary kits' co-existed is more applicable than a rigid system of classification.

Burials containing multiple objects belonging to limited categories of burial goods would not automatically be identified as the ones displaying the 'full kit'. For example T66 and T90 in Sindos while containing the triplet of offensive weapons mentioned above, were not classified among the ones displaying the 'full kit' due to their lack of other categories of burial goods (Table 1; Table 13). Similar to this, a significant number of burials excavated at Archontiko (Table 15) had the triplet of offensive weapons but were not identified as 'full kit' burials for the same reasons as in Sindos. The situation was probably similar at Aegae and Aiani, where the people buried in tumulus Γ and in the 'royal' necropolis at Aiani were not the only ones with weapons across the cemetery.

As for the other large category of burial goods, jewellery, typically associated with the female burials this was again widely attested across the cemeteries presented here. Despite the fact that as mentioned above, the 'full kit' burials contained at least four types of jewellery at Sindos and three at Archontiko not all of the burials displaying these combinations were necessarily identified as the ones with the 'full kit'. T113 (Table 2) at Sindos despite having jewellery belonging to five categories did not display the 'full kit' as it was lacking other types of burial goods. Equally, T197, T229, T233, T359, T431, T513, T571, T687, T722, T732 and T748 (Table 16) at Archontiko, despite having multiple categories of burial goods were not decorated with the rest of the objects comprising the 'full kit'.

This means that the repetitive deposition of single categories of burial goods, even in large quantities, was not enough to influence the creation of identities. Instead, a process of standardisation was a key constituent of the emergence of the various funerary kits placed along a spectrum and tied to specific group identities (Cannon 2002). Even though arms and armour might have been typically associated with 'warrior' burials and jewellery with 'princesses' and 'priestesses' many versions of these identities could simultaneously co-exist across the cemeteries. Tactics of inclusion and exclusion are not limited to one isolated category of burial goods but they involve combinations of different objects. It is through the repetition of specific co-attestation of burial goods and the tight control over those that groups distinguished themselves from the rest of the community (Fontijn 2021).

The spectrum itself was not a rigid one, in which identities were passively materialised through the deposition of specific burial goods. It was people who created the material world as this was discovered in the cemeteries examined here which it turn affected their identities (Meskell 2005; Hodder 2012; Fernández-Götz 2014). Therefore, the various kits can be interpreted as indicative of different groups and varying degrees of participation

within these groups. The conscious repetition of similar burial goods and practices, the repeated use of the same grave types and the manifestation of all of these within the same burial ground creates a notion of collectivity shared among the people using material culture in a similar way to one another (Mac Sweeney 2011, 44-48). This circular process starts with the materialisation of personal beliefs and community ideals which are subsequently adopted by groups of people. The material reproduction of these beliefs and ideals leads to the emergence of group identities and dynamics developed both among different groups but also between individuals and groups. In turn, it is this emergence of identities and dynamics that shapes personal values and social norms for the whole process to come into a full circle.

Granted, people across the region, and especially the ones burying their dead with the 'full kit' might have shared a common funerary language as described in the CST section above. However, many different combinations of objects influenced by the deceased's group membership, as well as both the deceased's and the group's socio-economic background, and social interactions and relations were also attested creating many different possibilities for the expression of individual and collective identities. Naturally, this process is not archaeologically visible to the same degree for every social group buried within each cemetery. Dominant groups expressing their collective identity through the display of a similar 'full kit' are easier to identify in the record not just due to their preservation status but mainly because of their control of the resources or at least access to them and the more visible social alignments as expressed both materially and spatially.

Having established that identities need to be materialised in order to become potent and that this process is manifested through the attestation of various funerary kits found along a spectrum it is now time to focus on the power dynamics developed among these 'kits' and the groups displaying these. Not all of the identities found in the spectrum could be materialised to the same degree of efficacy as this was depended upon the control of resources of any given group and the social alignments of its members to one another but also to members of other groups. As previously noted, people with more resources can exercise power more effectively (Schortman 2011, 28-28; Eriksen 2015, 196-197). It is their collective identities that are materialised more dominantly given the fact that they have more avenues for it in contrast to less 'powerful' groups. In turn, it is precisely because of this materialisation of their identities in a dominant manner that these groups are able to solidify their social standing and perpetuate it (Fontijn 2021, 97-98). What therefore happens is that dominant groups express their collective identities through certain burial goods and practices while limiting the participation of others in those and thus perpetuate their social status. More specifically, the 'full kit' at Sindos was found at 16% of the total number of burials. Similar to this, at Archontiko this was attested at 13% of the total number of burials while in Trebeništa at 23%. It therefore becomes evident that only a handful of people were able to bury their dead displaying the 'full kit'. Yet, this should not come as a surprise given that this tight control over the resources is vital if the dominant groups are to maintain their primacy over their local communities and foster their social alignments with other powerful groups across the region. It is through both of these mechanisms that powerful groups develop and sustain networks of power which promote their funerary ideology as the dominant one (Cannon 2002; Schortman and Urban 2011; 2012).

However this does not mean that less powerful groups are just in passive acceptance of this (e.g. Clastres 1974). They too want to participate in the dominant funerary ideology

by sharing specific aspects of this (Legarra Herrero 2016). This participation is not forced upon them – at least not directly – and not in the traditional cultural-historical approach of a foreign intruder conquering an area and forcing its rites upon the local population. Efforts to share these practices can actually be seen as an act of resistance (Härke 2001), as a conscious choice of the part of the population excluded from the use of the 'full kit' to participate in the common funerary language in order to strengthen its positions within the local community and align themselves with the most powerful groups.

More specifically, despite the fact that the triplet of offensive weapons in Sindos was found at 25% of the male burials, all of them contained at least one type of weapons. In Archontiko, this percentage is estimated at 60%. This means that non-powerful people also wanted to participate in the dominant ideology as defined by the 'full kit' burials. However, a strict standardisation as found in the 'full kit' burials were not found in the rest burials in which the co-attestation between different objects were much more fluid. Furthermore, defensive equipment in the form of mostly helmets and to a lesser extent shields was primarily found alongside the triplet of offensive weapons as part of the 'full kit' burials. However, at least four unlooted burials in Sindos contained helmets without being complemented by the presence of the triplet of offensive weapons (Table 1). Similar to this, in Archontiko, eleven burials did contain defensive equipment in the form of helmet but were not associated with the triplet of offensive equipment (Table 15). It can be therefore argued that less powerful groups took full advantage of any opportunity presented to them in sharing any aspect of the 'full kit' without necessarily displaying the same combinations of burial goods as attested at the more elaborate burials.

This resistance was not of course observed only in regard to the male burials but also to the female ones. Only 13% of the female burials at Sindos contained more than four pieces of jewellery, the baseline for the 'full kit'. Similar to this only 36% of the female burials at Archontiko contained more than three types of jewellery per grave as the baseline for the display of the 'full kit' was lower there than in Sindos. However, at least one piece of jewellery was found in all of the female burials at both sites. Specific types, with the possible exception of hair spirals, were not reserved by a selected few (Table 2; Table 16). This sharing of the jewellery types along with the large variety in terms of combinations in which they appeared further pertains to the presence of power alongside resistance as less powerful groups not burying their dead with the 'full kit' were nonetheless trying to use any aspect of this available to them.

Similar power dynamics were also present in the rest of the sites even despite the fact that the same level of analysis was not possible given the availability of the data. At Aegae, despite the fact that the 'full kit' burials were probably located in the two burial tumuli certain practices such as the covering of the deceased's face with a gold sheet were actually found in the rest of the cemetery, where two epistomia, one gold and one silver were found (Kottaridi 2009, 149; 2016, 625). Both silver and gold epistomia were also found at Aiani (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1991, 20; 1997, 28), indicating that qualitatively differences might have existed even among the people sharing this practice. At Nea Philadelpheia, female burials were typically furnished with jewellery and adornments. However, even though the types in which these were attested were the same between the most elaborate burials and the rest ones buried in the same cemetery, the materials involved in their creation were different. As noted by the excavator (Misailidou-Despotidou 1998, 316; 2008, 46; 2011), gold jewellery and adornments despite appearing in the same types as silver

and bronze ones were far rarer than them. Finally, at Agia Paraskevi, despite the fact that pottery was readily available, burials containing imported pottery typically had both a larger number of pots and a wider variety in terms of shapes. On the contrary, burials furnished with local pottery had both limited numbers and variability in terms of shapes (Papakostas 2013, 167-168).

All of the above imply the presence of various patterns of inclusion and exclusion active within each cemetery in the region indicating the existence of many 'others' (Mac Sweeney 2011, 48-57; Kienlin 2012) as previously discussed expressed through multiple funerary kits. While certain commonalities did exist among people buried within the same ground, other aspects were reserved for a selected few. Power and resistance were concomitantly present influencing the various groups identities as expressed through the different funerary kits. The extent to which dominant groups in each cemetery controlled resources or at least access to them greatly varied between sites as did the influence and the effectiveness of social alignments in this.

Even if the 'full kit' burials existed in a spectrum along which different versions of it co-existed this was not necessarily a horizontally organised one. The different versions were not just different but qualitatively varied as patterns of inclusion and exclusion regarding burial practices were influencing these. Therefore, it is better to envisage the materialisation of identities tied to different 'funerary kits' as a 'hierarchised spectrum' not in terms of isolated categories of burial goods but in terms of combinations of objects indicating the presence of specific rites. The standardised practices found in the 'full kit' burials and primarily the combination of offensive weapons alongside helmets and shields, the attestation of jewellery in more than three of four types depending on the site, the triplet of sympotic pots complemented by one containing either perfume or ointment, and the practice of covering the deceased's face with a gold sheet were the main rites, aspects of which were shared within each local community. Despite the subtle differences among the 'full kit' burials themselves, the consistent attestation of these practices render them a strong collective which exercised power at local level while also participating at regional networks of power. It is to interpretation of these practices that I now turn to.

The significance of the different versions of the 'full kit' for individual and group identities

As the so far analysis has shown, the various correlations between different categories of burial goods observed across the cemeteries indicate the multidimensional nature of identities. The fact that in all of the cemeteries, the burials bearing the 'full kit' were placed in a spectrum along which different versions of this co-existed implies the presence of power dynamics which governed the degree of accessibility of different aspects typically associated with the 'full kit'. As the cemetery analysis has shown, certain categories of burial goods were more frequently associated with the 'full kit' than others. Masks and epistomia, feasting accessories and miniature objects, defensive equipment and elaborate jewellery were all typically reserved for use in burials with the 'full kit' while the remaining categories were more widely attested, at least as evidenced in Sindos and Archontiko where a higher level of analysis was conducted due to the availability of data. These prototypical members (Haslam et al. 2011) of the dominant groups were buried in such an elaborate manner by their fellow group members in order to distinguish themselves from the rest of the local communities. These conscious choices were reflected

in the burial goods, the grave types and the organisation of the cemetery space. It is no coincidence that in almost all of the sites the 'full kit' was found in specific grave types at a certain location within the cemeteries. As previously discussed, the 'full kit' was found at Sindos mainly in cists and sarcophagi in the east part of the cemetery, at Archontiko in monumental pits centred around the two main roads, at Aegae in monumental pits under the two tumuli separated from the archaic cemetery, at Agia Paraskevi in small clusters in the periphery of the main cemetery, at Aiani in the 'royal' tombs consisted of cists and chamber tombs west of the main cemetery and in Trebeniste in deep pits 100m to the east of the 'poor' burials. Similar deposition patterns, the consistent use of specific grave types and the diachronic use of the same part of the cemetery for burying the group's dead are all mechanisms of power influencing both individual and group identities.

Individual identities are expressed differently even within the 'full kit' as different aspects of one's real or constructed identity are materialised though burial goods. For example in Sindos, not all of the burials with the 'full kit' were furnished with a mask as in some cases this was substituted by an epistomion. Equally, in Archontiko not all of the male burials with the 'full kit' were furnished with shields nor all the female ones with knives. The same level of differentiation among the burials with the 'full kit' observed in terms of burial goods also applies to grave types. As previously noted, not all of the 'royal' burials at Aiani were found in chamber tombs as two of them were found in cist graves. Notwithstanding the high status of both burial tumuli at Aegae, the dead at tumulus B were inhumed while the ones in tumulus Γ cremated. However, these differences do not necessarily mean that burials which were seemingly more elaborate in one aspect should automatically regarded as higher in status compared to the rest ones. It is rather the combination between the presence of different categories of burial goods and the fact that all of these were deposited intentionally (Ribeiro 2022) that should be taken into consideration when examining the intra-group dynamics.

It is therefore very difficult to establish a sense of intra-elite hierarchy observed among the 'full kit' burials, similar to the one observed within each site between the burials with the 'full kit' and the rest ones. This is despite the fact that subtle differences and mortuary variability do in fact exist among the 'full kit' burials. These can be attributed to socio-economic factors which would not necessarily affect the meaning of the 'full kit' as a powerful display of a collective identity but they could influence the media through which this was materially expressed (Chapman 2013; Ekengren 2013; Fowler 2013). Yet, the main aim of this 'kit' was the promotion of the internal cohesion of primarily dominant groups and to a lesser extent of individual identities (Mac Sweeney 2011, 44-48). These were expressed within certain norms which were the ones set by the group in which any individual belonged. Only very rarely do outliers occur such as the two 'ladies' at Aegae and Archontiko. These burials do indeed differ significantly from the rest of the elaborate burials with the 'full kit' found within the same cemeteries as them. Yet, they do so in regard to specific aspects of their burials typically associated with certain isolated categories of burial goods. For instance, the 'lady' of Aegae is the only burial at this site which was furnished with such an elaborate set of gold decorations as part of her dress as well the only person buried with something that was seemingly identified as a sceptre (Kottaridi 2012). Likewise, the 'lady' of Archontiko is the only burial discovered there furnished with an abnormal quantity of 28 eidolia and 17 bronze vessels (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2012). However, these cases are isolated ones while the vast majority

of the 'full kit' burials adopted almost identical patterns. The differences among individual burials displaying the 'full kit', despite being visible, are nonetheless not that potent as between the ones with the 'full kit and the ones without it.

Consequently, it seems like the main goal of the 'full kit' was to act as a power mechanism which would enable certain groups of people to distinguish themselves from the rest of their individual communities while at the same time promoting a sense of intra-group cohesion. Intra-group distinction patterns, while of course present, they were nonetheless less potent. While within the group these differences might be observed in terms of an isolated category of burial goods, differences between groups burying their dead with the 'full kit' and the rest of their local communities were of both qualitatively and quantitively nature. These ranged from burial goods to grave types and from distribution patterns to the organisation and use of the cemetery space. More specifically, in Sindos, while arms and armour were also found in burials without the 'full kit', the ones included in the 'full kit' were typically of a more elaborate nature, frequently decorated with gold pieces. Similar to this, jewellery found at the 'full kit' burials at Sindos and Archontiko was typically made from precious metals and was found in larger quantities in these burials that in the remaining ones within the same cemeteries. Additionally, it was only the dead in tumulus Γ at Aegae that were cremated and equipped with the 'full kit' while only the 'royal' tombs at Aiani were chamber tombs marked with different parts of statues functioning as semata.

The fact that the main aim of the 'full kit' was to primarily promote a sense of exclusive collectivity and to a lesser extent to display individual identities is also supported by evidence regarding the burials' distribution patterns in terms of age and gender as well as their chronology. Burials with the 'full kit' at both Sindos and Archontiko belonged to individuals of both genders and of all ages. Both male and female burials were furnished with similar 'full kits' with certain categories of burial goods like pottery, miniature objects, masks and epistomia being shared, while others such as weapons and jewellery being gender-specific. Equally, both children and adults buried with the 'full kit' bore similar burial goods, some of which like helmets or swords could not be used by children in real life. This indicates that the main reason that at least child burials were furnished with the 'full kit' was to signal an idealised identity and to illustrate their group membership. The fact that burials belonging to people of different genders and ages displaying the 'full kit' were all found in specific parts of the cemeteries provides further evidence of the nature of these groups. The 'full kit' was limited by neither gender nor age but by the intra- and inter-communal power dynamics. Instead, its focus was the promotion of a sense of collectivity between people sharing this specific assemblage of burial goods while limiting others from using the same symbolic 'language'.

Chronological data available from Sindos and to a lesser extent from Archontiko also showcase that almost all of the burials with the 'full kit' were dated between 550-500 BC. More specifically, in Sindos 11 out of the 12 male burials and all of the seven female burials furnished with the 'full kit' were all dated between this chronological period. Unlike Sindos, at Archontiko, not all of the burials with the 'full kit' were precisely dated as chronological data was only available for 14 out of 20 male burials and for 8 out of 10 female ones. Yet, all of the 14 male and 8 female burials with the 'full kit' were dated between 550-500 BC. It follows that the almost simultaneous appearance of a similar funerary 'language' adopted by people of different gender and age buried in the same part of any given cemetery

indicates the use of the 'full kit' as a mechanism of power employed to promote a collective identity shared between these people. Given that people use material culture in a way that is meaningful to them and to others (Barrett 2021, 84-86), the very tight chronological limits within which the 'full kit' emerged indicate its ties to specific socio-political contexts. Furthermore, the almost simultaneous appearance of the 'full kit' at both sites shows that this group identity as expressed through the 'full kit' was active at both local and regional level, since dominant groups at least in neighbouring communities adopted the same funerary 'language'. The fact that the use of the 'full kit' stops at both sites around the same time, indicates the presence of important changes in the socio-political circumstances within which this emerged (see below).

The fact that the primary aim of the 'full kit' was to serve as an expression of group cohesion despite the fact that individual differences did exist should not come as a surprise. As discussed in Chapter 3, the two main mechanisms though which group identities are formed and individuals maximise their influence are the control of the resources and the careful arrangement of agents' social alignments. The attestation of the 'full kit' in only a handful of burials in most of the sites presented here and the exclusion of the rest of their local communities from using at least certain aspects of it implies that dominant groups did in fact control access to material resources to a large extent. Not only did they control material resources in terms of burial goods and grave types but they also controlled space, since this too can be regarded as a resource employed in order to exercise power. This is evidenced by the fact that within each individual cemetery a specific part was reserved for use by people only burying their dead in an elaborate fashion. This obviously differs across sites but the underlying idea is that by sharing a specific area and by excluding others from using it the internal cohesion of the given group(s) would be bolstered.

The 'full kit' as found in Sindos and Archontiko, and indicated in Aegae, Aiani, Trebeništa and perhaps Thermi could also be linked to the second mechanism influencing collective identities that is the social alignments of agents with the prototypical members of each group. Individuals at these sites burying their dead with the 'full kit' aligned themselves with the prototypical members of their groups by adopting the same funerary 'language' and using the same burial ground as them (Cannon 2002; Schortman, Urban and Ausec 2001). They did not simply followed a pre-determined course of action nor did they adopt a pre-arranged selection of burial goods, grave types and same location within the cemetery space. Instead they actively and intentionally choose these in a way that was meaningful to them and the rest of their group and community (Ribeiro 2022). In light of this observation, burial goods such as elaborate weapons and jewellery, or masks and epistomia are not simply prestige markers but active constituents in the creation of a group identity between the people burying their dead in a similar fashion. It is therefore similar expressions of multifaceted individual identities that make up group identities as people actively chose their alignments with dominant individuals and groups to strengthen their intra-communal position. Granted, not all of the individuals had the same access to resources or the same ability to freely choose their social alignments. The fact that specific categories of burial goods such as masks or shields were only found in the most elaborate burials in Sindos and Archontiko along with the most elaborate versions of more widely attested burial goods such as helmets or jewellery indicates that differential access to resources was a reality in those sites.

Even in regard to aspects of the 'full kit' which are seemingly more widely distributed such as weapons and jewellery the elites still found a way to separate themselves and promote their cohesion. While not going as far as completely separating themselves from the rest of their communities, they distinguished themselves especially in terms of quality by aligning themselves with the most influential individuals, making up groups the collective action of which established norms, beliefs and ideals. These were not static, predetermined values but were actively shaped through their the material expressions as signalled through the depositional patterns and grave types. However, social alignments were not only constructed at an ideal level but also had a spatial expression as the most elaborate burials in each cemetery were usually found in close proximity to one another. This phenomenon which is evident in Sindos, Archontiko, Aegae, Thermi, Aiani and Trebeništa further testifies to the spatial manifestation of the social alignments as in all of these locations a few individuals aligned themselves with each other both through material culture and the organisation of the cemetery space in order to form groups maximising their influence on their local communities.

What is therefore really interesting is that some people intentionally chose to bury their relatives or their fellow group members and invest them with a multidimensional identity as expressed through a combination of goods especially the ones linked to the 'full kit', while others were either unable to do so or chose not to do so. The 'full kit' in all of its different iterations was therefore used to signal the importance of the individuals bearing it while at the same time promoting a sense of intra-group cohesion. Its presence in burials in combination with the fact that these burials were found in specific parts of the cemetery as evidenced at least in Sindos, Archontiko, Aiani, Aegae and Trebeništa contributed to the creation of a gap between groups of people linked to the 'full kit' and the rest of the population within their individual communities. However, not all of the aspects of the 'full kit' as attested at numerous sites were reserved for exclusive use by certain groups as some of its aspects were shared with other members of the local communities.

It seems like at most of these sites people shared similar beliefs and ideals as evidenced by the deposition of similar burial goods and the attestation of similar practices. The emphasis on arms and armour as well as on jewellery in male and female burials respectively, the attestation of similar types of ceramic and metal vessels, eidolia, miniature objects, masks and mouthpieces all imply the existence of multifaceted identities materially expressed in a similar fashion across different cemeteries. It is impossible to know whether these were personal possessions or grave offerings by the participants in the funeral. However, the fact that it is the same categories of burial goods that are consistently attested in the burials might indicate that they were connected to the same ideals and beliefs that people shared. Given that it was the living that were behind these choices, it looks more likely that it was these beliefs as materialised through the depositional patterns that shaped aspects of individual identity. However not everyone was allowed to use the same burial goods as different local and regional constraints were present influencing the emergence of a spectrum along which multiple versions of the 'full kit' and multiple shared categories of goods co-existed leading to a great number of different social realities. The 'full kit' was one of the most prominent ones among those social realities but not the only one along the spectrum. Intra-community power dynamics along with regional trends influenced both its emergence and it multivariate material expression.

7.5 Intersecting macro and micro patterns

Even though the 'full kit' was similar across the region, grave types and the organisation of the cemetery space differed significantly between sites. This difference was primarily consisted of distinct expressions of the same idea, that is the distancing of certain groups from their rest of their communities and their engagement with a wider supra-site network of power. As previously noted, the 'full kit' was exclusively found in certain grave types, different in each site. In Sindos it was cists and sarcophagi, in Archontiko and Aegae monumental pit graves, in Agios Athanasios, Nea Philadelpheia, Thermi and Agia Paraskevi sarcophagi, in Aiani cists and chamber tombs while in Trebeništa simple deep pit graves that contained the most elaborate burials. Furthermore it seems like cemeteries found in the west side of the region, displayed less diversity in terms of grave types when compared to the ones found in the east side. More specifically, pit graves are by far the most commonly attested category at Sindos, Archontiko, Aegae, Agios Athanasios, Aiani and Trebeništa while cists are the most widespread grave type on the east of the Thermaic Gulf in Thermi and Agia Paraskevi. Nea Philadepheia, north of Sindos seems to be a in-between site as pits and cists are almost found in equal numbers perhaps indicating the influence of the two different parts of the region at the burial customs at Nea Philadelpheia.

Therefore, it is not necessarily the type of grave that signals an elaborate burial but the level of the observed exclusivity when compared to the rest grave types within the same cemetery. Even in cases where the same grave types were shared among the burials displaying the 'full kit' and the ones without it, dominant groups still found a way to distinguish themselves from the rest ones either by slightly altering some parameters of these grave types such as their size as for example in Archontiko, Aegae or Agia Paraskevi or by forming separate clusters in specific parts of the cemetery as in Thermi. Consequently the emergence of this diversity in grave types starts at a local level as another mechanism of power influencing the emergence of a group identity at each individual site among the people burying their dead in a similar fashion to one another. Similar to the 'full kit', while this tactic was first observed at a local level it nevertheless grew into a regional trend, albeit expressed differently within each individual cemetery.

By using grave types found in their local cemeteries while engaging with a common funerary vocabulary found across the region, dominant groups in each site balanced the equilibrium between maintaining links with their local communities while also participating in a regional 'symbolic dialogue'. Therefore an inwards facing group identity was displayed through sharing some aspects of the 'full kit' and site-specific grave types, even though the majority of the 'full kit' burials were exclusively found at specific grave types. At the same time, by using a common funerary 'vocabulary' as expressed through the 'full kit' dominant groups also projected an outwards facing group identity to signal to external competitors their dominance over that specific site by emphasising the similarities between them and dominant groups in other sites. If people use material culture in a meaningful way, then a common 'language' had to be established especially among dominant groups across the region (Cannon 2002; Schortman 2014; Grau Mira 2011; 2019; Barrett 2021, 84-86). This was primarily expressed through the display of the 'full kit' and common ideas behind the tactics of exclusivity in regard to grave types and the organisation of the cemetery space. Having discussed the various iterations of the 'full kit' and the tactics of inclusion and exclusion regarding aspects

of it, I now turn to the organisation of the cemetery space and the trends observed in relation to this at a regional level.

As previously noted, burials with the 'full kit' were typically found in specific grave types in certain parts of the cemeteries. This was a trend observed across the region. Yet, subtle differences are also present when all the sites are comparatively studied since the organisation of the cemetery space is not simply a reflection of the political reality but rather an arena where relationships are contested and re-configured (Glatz and Plourde 2011, 36). This dynamic nature of the cemetery is observed in almost all of the cemeteries presented in this study. As discussed in previous chapters dominant groups in each site reserved specific areas in each cemetery to bury their dead in elaborate grave types displaying the 'full kit'. However, this trend was expressed differently among different cemeteries in the region. Unfortunately, due to the data limitations a comparative study could not include all of the cemeteries as spatial data were only available for Sindos, Archontiko, Aegae, Thermi, Aiani and Trebeništa. In all of these sites, dominant groups tried to distance themselves physically from the rest of the people buried within the same cemetery actively using space as a resource in order to self-differentiate. In Sindos, burials with the 'full kit' were found in the east part of the cemetery, in Archontiko they were concentrated around the two roads crossing through the cemetery, in Aegae under the two tumuli, in Thermi they were located in small clusters in the periphery of the main cemetery, in Aiani at a separate part of the cemetery only reserved for the 'royal' burials and in Trebeništa at a distinct, yet closely distanced, part near the rest of the burials discovered there.

However, despite the apparent similarities in the expression of the same trend there is also a significant qualitatively difference in regard to the degree of distinction between the 'full kit' burials and the rest of the people buried within the same cemeteries. In Sindos and Archontiko the burials with the 'full kit' were found in the innermost parts of the cemeteries marked in similar fashion to the rest of the burials. In Thermi and Trebeništa the most elaborate burials displaying the local variation of the 'full kit' were found in the periphery of their respective cemeteries without any evidence of conspicuous marking. However, at Aegae and Aiani the 'full kit' burials were found in separate clusters not fully incorporated within the cemetery space and distinctively marked, with either the presence of two large tumuli in the case of Aegae or that of columns and temple-like structures in the case of Aiani. Consequently, even if the aim of this tactic was the same i.e. the expression of a group identity and its distinct character when compared to other groups at each site, power dynamics both at local and regional level differed significantly. Space was manipulated differently among the various sites even though the main idea behind this was the same. Dominant groups in Sindos and Archontiko but also in Thermi and Trebeništa despite distancing themselves from the rest of their communities did not go as far as the ones at Aegae and Aiani.

Specifically for Sindos, the fact that the central part of the east side of the cemetery was also the oldest in use burial ground might indicate the outwards expansion of the cemetery space and the symbolic placement of the dominant groups in the centre of the community. Similar observations albeit of preliminary nature due to the lack of chronological data could be drawn in regard to Archontiko since the burials with the 'full kit' were also located in the innermost part of the cemetery. As for Thermi and Trebeništa, dominant groups there further self-differentiated by burying their dead further away from the

rest of the people buried within the same cemetery deepening the chasm between their groups and the remaining ones in each respective site. The most distinct group identity as expressed through the manipulation of space was unquestionably the one observed at Aegae and Aiani. At both of these sites the dominant groups managed to communicate their group identity through conspicuous practices either through the constuction of two large tumuli or temple-like structures and the use of columns and statues as semata in Aegae and Aiani respectively. They did so while not disrupting the balance between them and their respective local communities while at the same time signalling to neighbouring communities their ability to use this kind of symbols. It is precisely why these two sites have been heavily linked to the royal seats of the Temenids and the Elimiotes respectively (e.g. Kottaridi 1996; 1999; 2001; Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2008; 2011; 2013a; 2013b). Therefore, the main reason that the dominant groups in those two sites were able to distinguish themselves to that degree was due to local power dynamics enabling the expressions of their dominance over their local communities in a more conspicuous way than that observed in other sites.

These differences indicate the concomitant presence of both a hierarchy and heterarchy among sites in the region (DeMarrais 2013, 345). While a hierarchy in terms of burial goods and practices as well as in regard to the use of space was present at each individual site across the regions, heterachical relationships also gradually developed between different sites. This meant that the presence of various overlapping networks of power (Schortmann 2014) led to the emergence of multiple centres of power not necessarily linked to one another through a strict hierarchical structure (Moore and González-Álvarez 2021, 127). While Aegae and Aiane could be identified as 'royal seats' this does not exclude the possible existence of local elites and the subsequent existence of multiple centres of power. All of these shifts in both local and regional level, the emergence of local elites distancing themselves from their local communities and increasingly displaying a regional collective identity and the subsequent appearance of both hierarchical and heterarchical relations across the region unequivocally influenced the character of the early Macedonian kingdom. It is within this context that all of these developments discussed here should be situated in so as to further explore their impact on the area.

7.6 The early Macedonian Kingdom – a short narrative

The so far discussion illustrates that the early Macedonian kingdom was not a strictly hierarchical state with one clearly defined centre of power but one in which multiple centres co-existed simultaneously with dominant elites present in each site participating in wider, regional networks of power. The collective identity of these elites has long been the subject of fierce debate centred around the issue of the expansion of the Macedonians (King 2018, 17-19; Hatzopoulos 2020, 18). What lies at the heart of this issue is Thucydides' well-known passage (2.99) in which he describes the expansion of the Macedonians from their core to the areas analysed in the present monograph (Borza 1990, 84-90; Xydopoulos 2016, 253-256; 2017, 81-83). Thucydides separates Macedonians from past inhabitants of the area by narrating the expansion of the former over the latter. He first mentions Lyncestians and Elimiots as ethne who are both allied and subjugated to Macedonians. He then continues with Pierians, Bottiaeans, Paionians and Edonians all of whom were violently expelled by the Macedonians. He also adds that Eordians and Almopians too were expelled and most of them were killed by the Macedonians. He

concludes his narrative by referring to the areas of Anthemous, Crestonia and Bisaltia as the final territories occupied by the Macedonian state. It is however the end of this narrative which complicates things even further as Thucydides describes the 'newcomers' by using the highly problematic phrase οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι as if he wants to distinguish between them and some 'other' Macedonians.

The way most past researchers approached the passage described above was by trying to identify these past populations in the funerary record of each site by adopting an ethnicity-based approach to the study of the material record (Bouzek and Ondřejová 1988; Despoini 2009; Chrysostomou 2012; 2018; 2019; Kottaridi 2016). Past approaches have mainly concentrated on specific sites arguing that the material evidence from those sufficed to validate the existence of the pre-Macedonian populations despite critical insights from scholars arguing against this primordial nature of ethnic groups (e.g. Dench 1995; Blake 2014). More specifically the elaborate burials with the 'full kit' found at Sindos and the ethnic identity of their bearers have long been the subject of debate (Saripanidi 2017, 92 n.133). The deceased buried at Sindos were successively identified as Macedonians (Andronikos 1987-1990, 32-33), Edonians (Hammond 1989, 43), Mydgonians (Bouzek and Ondřejová 1988, 85; Theodossiev 2000, 191-192) or even Greek colonists (Despoini 2009, 30-47). Similar to this, the ones buried at Archontiko have been identified as Macedonians (Chrysostomou 2012; 2018; 2019) but also as Bottiaeans (Kottaridi 2016). The similarities between the dominant groups in each cemetery have been interpreted as evidence of the expansion of the Macedonians from their core around Aegae towards the wider region and especially east of the Axios river (Saripanidi 2017, 117; cf. Kottaridi 2016; Hatzopoulos 2020, 25-33). It is typically assumed that the Macedonians that came into the area as newcomers expelled or subjugated past populations and forced them to adopt their burial goods and practices in a top-down fashion (Despoini 2009; Saripanidi 2017). However, these past narratives deprive people of their agency and their ability to shape their present as they put too much emphasis on external stimuli.

One should also not overlook the fact that the most striking feature of the area during the Early Iron Age is regionalism (Archibald 2013, 193-206; Xydopoulos 2017, 79) and the demarcation of the wider area into smaller spheres of interaction (Chemsseddoha 2017; 2019; 2020). Furthermore, the impact of Greek influences though the foundation of multiple Greek colonies primarily in coastal parts of the area should not be ignored (Tiverios 2008; Andreou 2019). It is within this context that the expansion of the Macedonians takes places even if the exact particularities regarding this is are unclear. The tight timeframe in which the 'full kit' burials appear at least at Sindos and Archontiko, where dating is available, indicates that almost all of them appeared between 550-500 BC. Naturally, elaborate burials also appear outside of these chronological limits but they do so less frequently and without the use of similar 'kits'.

Even though further analysis is needed especially in terms of excavations at settlements and not only in cemeteries one cannot simply completely ignore the literary sources. The fact remains that both the expansion and perhaps more importantly its aftermath happened within a multicultural environment in which social relations both within each site and across the region were undergoing a period of re-negotiation. This new, fluid social reality despite its inherent instability, also created favourable circumstances for certain groups of people and by offering them new opportunities to strengthen their position both within their local communities but also regionally. If we accept that the expansion

did indeed happened, then the mingling of various populations would be one of its main corollaries. These interactions between different populations would instigate dominant groups to establish specific power dynamics which would consolidate their position and shield them from any potential threats from both within and outside of their communities. This would happen though the adoption of specific burial rites and goods such as the 'full funerary kit' primarily attested in Sindos and Archontiko or spatial patterns such as those found at Sindos, Archontiko, Aiani, Aegae and Trebeništa. These threats would not necessarily be of ethnic character as socio-economic factors, which are also affected by conflicts, are of equal importance.

It therefore becomes evident that these dominant groups adopted a similar funerary 'language' in order to communicate certain aspects of identities both internally, within their local communities, and externally at a regional level. Their differentiation from their local communities was not based on ethnicity but rather on socially oriented distinctions as the presence of other less elaborate burials within each cemetery clearly indicates (Xydopoulos 2018, 157). However, as repeatedly stressed burials with the 'full kit' did share some of its aspects with other people buried in the same cemetery. This practice of sharing implies the existence of ties between these dominant groups and their local communities while the reservation of specific burial goods and practices showcases the similarities between dominant groups in each community.

This constant interplay between local and regional dynamics within the early kingdom and the adoption of a similar funerary language is further substantiated through the concept of path dependence discussed earlier in the chapter. Given that regionalism was the dominant feature of the area before the expansion of the Macedonians (Archibald 2013, 193-206; Xydopoulos 2017, 79; Chemsseddoha 2017; 2019; 2020), then completely severing old bonds and replacing them with new ones would potentially be tricky and gradually more costly (Blake 2014, 77). This is precisely why pre-existing social interactions and power dynamics across the region were not completely abandoned in favour of new ones but re-negotiated in a costly effective manner. Macedonians might have been one of the most dominant groups in the region but these does not mean that they completely subjugated every remaining dominant group on the same basis. Socio-economic factors, as well as cultural ones which co-existed alongside ethnic ones even before the Macedonian expansion, were all part of pre-existing bonds developed among the various communities. The new social reality created after the expansion was not completely unaffected by already existing interactions. What changed was that now dominant groups had to signal their position to a wider regional audience in order to maintain it both internally but also externally in a fast changing world though a variety of practices. These typically included adopting rites such as the covering of the deceased's face with gold sheet and especially masks, displaying the sympotic triplet, reserving specific grave types and exact location within the cemetery space for a selected few and generally standardising the depositional patterns especially in relation to the 'full kit'.

Previous studies were right to suggest that the appearance of the elite burials is almost simultaneous across the region (e.g. Saripanidi 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Kakamanoudis 2019). The influx of newcomers and the subjugation or expulsion of past populations are indeed de-stabilising factors which create a fluid social reality which different groups navigate differently depending on the power dynamics developed between them and the rest of their communities. It is within this context that these burials appeared in order to promote

a sense of belonging, this time at a supra-regional network. If we accept that people buried with the 'full kit' were trying to display a new form of collective identity, then this new 'Macedonian' identity was not solely based on ethnic criteria but it was one deeply rooted in socio-political context. This means that this constructed identity was not primarily associated with the ethnicity of those people but with their desire to prove to both their community and their neighbouring populations that these too shared the same elite identity as expressed through depositional patterns and the organisation of the cemetery space. This is perhaps why Thucydides makes the distinction between 'these' Macedonians and the 'other' ones in order to distinguish between the ones originating from the core of the early Macedonian kingdom and the ones who adopted their funerary rights following the expansion of the Macedonians. These 'other Macedonians' would be the ones using the 'cost efficiencies' as described above to maximise their influence over their local communities while at the same time consolidating their position within the regional networks of power. Furthermore, this multicultural character of the early kingdom would also make more sense in practical terms (Hammond 1972, 405-441; Hall 1989, 170; cf. Hall 2001, 165-167). It is hard to imagine how exactly a handful of 'warriors' originating from a mountainous area around Aegae would be able to control all the region under examination here if they had previously exterminated all of the local populations that came across during the conquest of these territories. Practical issues revolving around the cultivation of the land, the raising of the cattle or the continuation of trade would otherwise soon arise.

If Aegae was really the centre of the early kingdom then local elites would want to imitate the burial goods and practices found there by sharing the same collective identity as displayed through their elaborate burials. This would put them on equal terms with the dominant groups attested at Aegae making them equal partners through the adoption of the same regional funerary ideology. These tactics would have had two intended audiences, approaching each one with a different set of goals. The first one would be the local communities within which these dominant groups were to be found. If these people were trying to distance themselves from their local communities in order to maximise their influence over them they had to do so within certain limits so that they would not go that far as to disturb this equilibrium between local power dynamics and regional ones. This is why they had to share either some aspects of the 'full kit' or the same cemetery space, or in some cases, even both of these.

At the same time, these dominant groups in each site were trying to align themselves with the local elites of neighbouring sites and the capital at Aegae to showcase to them that they too shared the same collective identity. Social alignments and the use of CST theory as discussed above imply that these elaborate burials were a mechanism adopted by the elites to communicate to each other their 'sameness' and to avoid any further conflicts, armed or otherwise. Their desire to solidify their position within a fluid social reality instigated the adoption of a common funerary 'language'. Over time the tactics adopted at a local level gave rise to strategies observed at a regional one such as the promotion of a common 'Macedonian' identity shared among the dominant groups within each individual site. The standardisation of the 'full kit' and the spatial patterns might have started as site-specific mechanisms of power but their adoption at regional level contributed significantly to the development of supra-local networks which enabled the emergence of exclusive collective identities. Aegae being the 'centres' centre' did not have to follow every aspect of the 'full

kit' or the same spatial patterning of the cemetery space found elsewhere, as it was the remaining, 'peripheral', elites that had to prove that they also originated from the core of the Macedonian kingdom regardless of whether this kinship was real or fictional. This might explain the absence of gold masks and epistomia and the presence of two imposing tumuli underneath which only elaborate burials were discovered at Aegae. The similarities of the patterns found at Aegae with those attested in the rest of the sites examined here might be down to 'cost efficiencies' as previously discussed. Different socio-political circumstances in each site could dictate the use of different components of the 'full kit' that would make sense within a certain local context but not necessarily at a regional one.

What has so far become evident is that the archaeological data as discussed in the present study provide a much more fluid image of the early state as previously thought. Aegae's primacy over the rest of the cemeteries is not unquestionable. To begin with, in terms of sheer numbers, the west cemetery at Archontiko is far more densely populated with burials. Burial goods, especially in the upper strata of the local community in the burials with the 'full kit', might belong to the same networks of power but the conspicuous, almost complete, absence of epistomia and masks is indeed problematic. The link between the two tumuli and the house of Temenids is also weak given that this phenomenon is far from unique in the region. While not equally distinctive, the same practice of reserving a particular part of the cemetery for the burials with the 'full kit' was also attested at Sindos, Archontiko, Aiani and Trebeništa. However, only in Aegae, Aiani and Trebeništa these burials were at a considerable distance from the rest of the cemeteries indicating perhaps the existence of a local 'royal' house, an elite which was self-defining itself by using every mean in its disposal. In contrast to that, at Sindos and Archontiko, while the burials with the 'full kit' were indeed found in close proximity to one another they did so within the same cemetery space as the rest of the burials.

The distance between Aegae and Sindos and Archontiko on the one hand and between Aegae and Aiani and Trebeništa on the other one should not go unnoticed. The latter sites are significantly further away from Aegae while the former ones are very close to Aegae. It therefore seems like the influence of Aegae was much firmer on Sindos and Archontiko and less so on Aiani and Trebeništa. However the fact that burials with the 'full kit' were found in all of these places indicates that dominant groups in all of these sites might have shared the same networks of power but this does not necessarily mean that they also shared the same relations. Hierarchical relations between settlements even if observed at a certain extent between Aegae, Sindos and Archontiko were not the dominant model found across the region. Even in those cases, funerary data indicates the existence of local dominant groups which exerted power over the populations living at each individual site. Consequently, inter-settlement relations should be envisaged as a network of overlapping heterarchical relations in which multiple centres of power coexisted simultaneously (Schortman and Urban 2011; 2012; Schortman 2014). This approach might reconcile the apparent gap between the primacy of Aegae in the past narratives regarding the early Macedonian kingdom with the fact that local dominant groups burying their dead in similar fashion across the region were present within each individual community.

The fact that this new 'Macedonian' identity adopted by dominant groups and expressed through elaborate burials was primarily rooted in socio-economic factors and not ethnic ones is also evidenced by the fact that these elaborate burials dramatically decrease in numbers between 500-450 BC. After this period, burials with the same degree

of elaboration are extremely rare across the region. The fact that these elaborate burials first gradually decrease in numbers and subsequently almost completely disappear are related to the socio-political circumstances present within the early kingdom. The most important event and the one that left its mark on these circumstances is unquestionably the Persian invasion of 513-512 BC and the transformation of the early Macedonian kingdom into a vassal state (Sprawski 2010, 134-141; Mari 2011, 82-87; Archibald 2013, 46-49; King 2018, 24-31).

This is of course not to say that Persians directly affected the burial rites attested in the region but rather that their presence added a new contributing factor to the context in which these burials acted as meaningful signals. More specifically, as it is well-known, both Amyntas I (c. 547-498 BC) and his son Alexander I (498-454 BC) had troubled relations with the Persians (Müller 2016, 105-140; King 2018, 24-31). Amyntas I even offered the territory of Anthemus where cemeteries like Agia Parakevi were situated in to Hippias, the son of Peisistratus the tyrant of Athens, given his well-known pro-Persian feelings in order to secure the Persian king's sympathy (Xydopoulos 2012). A marriage alliance was orchestrated by Amyntas I and Alexander I by marrying Amyntas's daughter, and Alexander's sister Gygaea to Bubares, Megabazus' son (Hdt. 4.143.2). In turn, Persians recognised Amyntas's right to the throne with Amyntas acting as Darius's hyparchos, his provincial ruler (Hdt. 5.20.4). This special relationship between the Macedonian ruler at Aegae and the Persian king unquestionably strengthened the former's power within the kingdom. It was these strategies at a diplomatic level along with the presence of the Persian army in Macedonia as evidenced in Thermi (Kefalidou and Xydopoulos 2018) and in other sites that altered the power relations between different sites across the region.

These seismic events for the history of ancient Macedonia re-shuffled the board in terms of the choices available to the different groups across the various sites in the region. Inter-site competition was weakened as the central power of the king at Aegae grew bigger. The chasm between the court at Aegae and the local elites found across the region was deepened resulting in the abandonment of the 'full kit' as a means for costly signaling since the need for this, stemming from a regional, inter-elite social competition, gradually waned. This is of course not to say that the local dominant groups passively accepted this tightening of the central power. Alexander's I successor, Perdiccas II (448-413 BC) had to defend his throne against numerous internal threats instigated by both his brother Philip, and Derdas the king of the Elimiots whose capital was Aiani. Local elites played a key role in these uprisings, the ultimately crushing of which had an impact on their power (Müller 2016, 141-163; King 2018, 34-41).

The relationship between these local elites and the Macedonian king is one that has attracted a lot of discussion (Errington 1990, 4-7; King 2010; Hatzopoulos 1996; 2020, 103-116). However, what past scholars have not pointed out is the fact that the nature of this relationship need not be a static but rather fluid, oscillating between various forms. As the present monograph has shown, the Macedonian king might have indeed been regarded as a primus inter pares before the Persian invasion while his position was considerably strengthen after that as it was now the recognised head of state by the Persian king (Archibald 2013, 123-125). This is also reflected on the gradual monetarisation of the economy instigated by Alexander I who was the first Macedonian king to struck coins in the first half of the 5th century BC (Psoma 1999; Tsagkari 2009, 25; Akamatis 2016, 180). The iconography of the coins typically included a mounted warrior, a helmet,

a goat or a lion while the king's incised name in genitive case ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ appears on their reverse side (Tsagkari 2009, 25). The choice of these themes is of course far from accidental. Emphasis on the kingdom's martial character despite its subjugation to the Persian empire, mythological scenes such as the appearance of a goat frequently linked to the foundation of Aegae and that of a lion, typically associated with Hercules, a hero with a strong presence in Macedonia and ties to the royal house (Mallios 2011, 267-272) were all clearly promoting a sense collectivity under the rule of the king. Yet, the most important feature of the coins is the inscription of the king's name on the coins as this is the first time that this practice is used by the royal house. All these provide further evidence of a centralisation of power which affected the local dominant groups and strengthened the position of the king at Aegae.

As for the regional collective identity that was gradually developed based on the influence of these elaborate burials found between 550-500 BC among the local dominant groups, this continued to exist in the subsequent chronological periods albeit in a different form than earlier in the 6th century BC. This 'Macedonian' identity underwent a transformative period following the Persian occupation. What started as a form of identity shared among a selected few based on socio-economic criteria and a similar cultural background slowly involved into a more wide-encompassing one. Following the weakening of the inter-site elite competition and the centralisation of power by the Macedonian kings, local communities slowly became parts of a wider political formation. This of course does not mean that social inequalities ceased to exist but rather that the emergence of new power dynamics gave rise to new forms of identity expressed in different fields. When elaborate burials re-appear from the reign of Philip II onwards (Saripanidi 2017, 119), they do so within a different context. The shared funerary 'language' is different than the one attested in the previous centuries. The sources of the wealth and status of these prominent groups is also different with many of them being of aristocratic origin with special ties to the Macedonian court. In other words, even if the medium is of a similar nature, the intended communicated message need not be the same.

All of the points made in the discussion above indicate that power dynamics and identities are outcomes of specific historical circumstances. Micro tactics such as the adoption of a 'full kit', the sharing of some of its aspects with the wider community and the reservation of others for a selected few, the burials of certain members of each individual community in certain grave types at a specific location within the cemetery space gave rise to regional trends. These included the emergence of a regional collective identity initially limited to a selected few which was gradually transformed into a more inclusive one. This 'Macedonian' identity originally rooted in socio-economic factors and later on in 'ethnic' ones was conceived within the transitional phase influenced by the Persian occupation of Macedonia. Subsequently, power relations between sites evolved from a heterarchical model in which numerous centres of power co-existed simultaneously to a hierarchical model in which the primacy of Aegae, and subsequently that of the Macedonian king over the individual local elites, was unquestionable.

8

An epilogue

The present monograph argued that identity – as materialised in funerary contexts and spatially expressed in the organisation of the various burial grounds presented here – cannot exist outside power dynamics observed at multiple levels. Personal relationships and social hierarchies, group affiliations and varying degrees of commitment to these groups, inter- and intra-group competition active at both local and regional level influenced people's options and choices in regard to the display of both individual and collective identities. Not everyone was free to bestow upon their loved ones any identity they wished for in the same way that groups were not able to self-define as they pleased due to the presence of inclusion and exclusion tactics. At the same time, given that burials are essentially a ritualised spectacle, the display of certain identities by specific individuals and groups solidified their position both locally but also regionally by re-affirming the power relations that influenced the formation of the very same identities in the first place. This intricate relationship between identity and power was expressed in early Macedonia through the emergence of the 'warrior' burials along with the elaborate female and sub-adult ones. The transformation and standardisation of these that occurred during the sixth and fifth centuries BC was the result of specific historical contingencies which influenced the way identity and power were linked to one another.

The fluid character of the early Macedonian kingdom with its loose organisation and its multi-cultural population hosted numerous mutable social realities which individuals and groups tried to navigate in multiple ways. These processes were expressed through the display of different individual and collective identities. As it is usually the case, the inherent instability which comes along with a period of expansionism and war similar to the one observed in Archaic Macedonia denied certain people of choices while benefitting others. Naturally, it was people with more resources and more influential social alignments that were better positioned to take advantage of the arising opportunities within this context. These local elites engaged in increasingly competitive regional networks of power by sharing a common funerary 'language' which would signal to an external audience that they too belonged in a powerful supra-local group while at the same time, and for the same reason, this would distance them from the rest of their local communities. People actively chose to interact with this funerary 'vocabulary' be it though the adoption and display of a 'full kit' or any other version of it along the spectrum in order to communicate their identities both locally and regionally. It is therefore through a bottom-up process of dissemination and not a top-down one as

previously suggested that these elaborate burial rites, as attested across the cemeteries presented here, appeared in early Macedonia.

The corollary of these interactions between identity and power would be the emergence of a regional collective identity which could be identified as the 'Macedonians'. Every change in something that intimate as the way people self-define and self-differentiate themselves, either as individuals or in collectives, needs community-wide levels of acceptance in order to become the new orthodoxy. This is why the participation prerequisites for this group should be searched for among social factors and not ethnic ones. While no-one can deny the presence of an ethnic group bearing the name 'Macedonians' these are nonetheless practically non-distinguishable from the ones sharing the same identity in a socio-political sense rather than an ethnicity-based one. Local dominant groups chose to associate themselves with this identity not because of some arbitrary top-down model of organisation linked to their ethnic identity but because it made sense to them to do so within the fluid social reality of the early Macedonian kingdom. This meaningful constitution of the social reality was tied to various converging and conflicting interests present at both local and regional level which were better served though the display of specific identities situated in a wider socio-political context and the power dynamics active within it.

Future research on similar phenomena observed in neighbouring countries to Greece, such as North Macedonia, but also within Greece itself especially in settlements in Northern Greece, an area where archaeological research is still considerably lacking, will shed important new light on many of the themes explored here. Instead of linking certain material assemblages to specific populations as these are mentioned in the ancient sources and drawing conclusions which are then extrapolated to the modern populations inhabiting the south part of the Balkan peninsula, more nuanced approaches are indeed needed. Breaking away from old traditions, deeply rooted in nationalism, might not be easy but the outcome is definitely rewarding. It is hoped that the present monograph is a step towards this direction.

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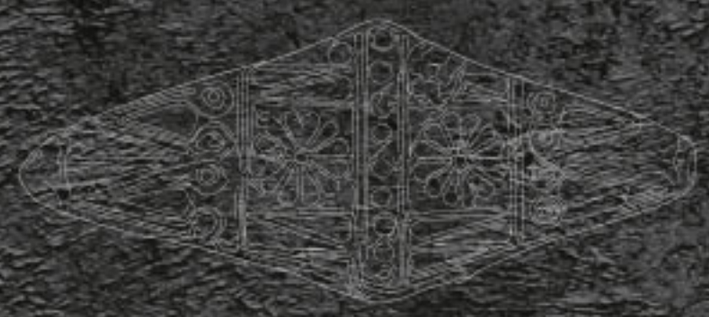

IDENTITY, POWER AND GROUP FORMATION IN ARCHAIC MACEDONIA (600–400 BC)

The first ever large-scale synthesis on identity and social dynamics across archaic Macedonia (600-400 BC), Christos Giamakis's book provides a detailed narrative exploring the role of power as displayed through material culture in the formation of group identities across the region. Giamakis focuses on data from nine cemeteries in the region combining multiple datasets including grave goods, osteological evidence, burial rites, tomb types and the organisation of the cemetery space in order to explore both inter- and intra-site competition that led to the emergence of different group identities across the region. By doing so, he proposes a new theoretical framework for the study of the region as an alternative to past, ethnicity-based, approaches.

Identity, Power and Group Formation in Archaic Macedonia (600-400 BC) encourages the reader to explore the ways in which social inequalities, power dynamics and social interactions all affect the potency of specific identities at the expense of others. The present monograph will be of great interest to researchers working on ancient Macedonia and the wider ancient Greek world but also to scholars interested in power dynamics and identity formation in other parts of the ancient Mediterranean.

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