



INTERNATIONAL
HELLENIC
UNIVERSITY

FUNERARY PRACTICES AT CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC EDESSA

**THE WORLD OF THE DEAD: SIMILARITIES AND
DIFFERENCES AMONG EDESSA AND OTHER PLACES OF
MACEDONIA**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
***Master of Arts (MA) in the Classical Archaeology and the Ancient History
of Macedonia***

January 2019
Thessaloniki – Greece

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I hereby declare that the work submitted is mine and that where I have made use of another's work, I have attributed the source(s) according to the Regulations set in the Student's Handbook.

January 2019
Thessaloniki - Greece

ABSTRACT

This dissertation was written as part of the MA in the Classical archaeology and the ancient history of Macedonia at the International Hellenic University. The study deals with the up to present available information about the funerary practices in the ancient Edessa of the Classical and the Hellenistic Period. Historical and archaeological information concerning generally the place, the population and the remains of human culture from early times to the Roman conquest is also included. This information focuses on the period from Archaic Era and later giving a useful historical insight into the society which was characterised by the relevant to the particular study rites.

As it concerns the funerary practices, the issues that are discussed have to do with the grave types, the way in which people of the region buried their dead, the funerary ceremonies and the grave gifts that accompanied the deceased. An attempt has also been made to “decipher” the meaning of each among the various categories of items found inside the graves. Furthermore, emphasis has been given to a comparative analysis between the finds from the cemeteries of Edessa and their counterparts in other regions of Macedonia.

Keywords: Edessa, cemeteries, graves, funerary practices, grave offerings.

PREFACE

The aim of the present study is to provide the reader with a clear view upon the archaeological finds from the city of Edessa which are related to the world of death. In other words, the cemeteries, the graves, traces of funerary ceremonies and items which accompanied the dead constitute the main material of my research. Chronologically, the particular research concerns the Classical and the Hellenistic Period. Namely, I included all the relevant finds dated from the 5th c. BC up to the 2nd c. BC, a period during which the city and its population were strongly related to the fortunes of the Macedonian Kingdom. The ultimate aim is to draw inferences about the customs and the beliefs concerning the local society and their relation to other places of Macedonia.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the finds from the cemeteries, I decided to include two chapters with useful information concerning general historical, archaeological and topographic evidence of the place. Observations about the location of the cemeteries, the number and the arrangement of the relevant to the study tombs are included in the third Chapter. The fourth chapter deals with the grave types and the funerary signs. The fifth and the sixth chapter discuss the available data about the burial practices and the funerary ceremonies. In the seventh chapter, I present the categories of the grave offerings found in the tombs of Edessa analysing their importance for the dead and the “messages” they passed to the living. Finally, the eighth chapter provides a brief comparative research on the funerary practices between Edessa and other Macedonian cities. A catalogue of the tombs of Edessa is included on the last pages providing information about the date and the type of each grave, the sex of the deceased (where this is identifiable) and the discovered grave offerings.

My research was based on the data from the publications of the excavated and studied material from the cemeteries of ancient Edessa, written by the archaeologists who possess deep knowledge of the region’s antiquity, best among them Anastasia Chrysostomou. The publications are *Αρχαία Έδεσσα: Τα νεκροταφεία* (abbreviation: Chrysostomou 2013b) and *Νέοι θησαυροί της Εδεσσαϊκής γης* (abbreviation: Chrysostomou 2013a), which, supplemented by the article *Αρχαία Έδεσσα: Νέα*

Ευρήματα από το βόρειο νεκροταφείο της κάτω πόλης (abbreviation: Chrysostomou 2005), published in the archaeological journal *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη*, provide a complete view upon the tombs of the Classical and the Hellenistic Period of the city. Useful is also the book *Αρχαία Έδεσσα* (abbreviation: Chrysostomou 2008), which provides a general view upon the region of Edessa from Prehistory to Byzantine Era. Important are also the older publications of the Archaeologists who set the foundation of the excavational research in the area. Some of them that were used in this study are the article of Stratis Pelekidis, *Ανασκαφή Εδέσσης*, published in the archaeological journal *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* (abbreviation Pelekidis 1923), and the article of Photios Petsas, *Ανασκαφαί Εδέσσης*, published in the archaeological journal *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* (abbreviation: Petsas 1969).

Last but not least, I owe a debt of gratitude to people that helped me to complete this study. So, I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Ioannis M. Akamatis for his precious guidance throughout my research and Dr. Nikos I. Akamatis for his help with various practical issues related to my studies in the University and to my research. Furthermore, I would like to offer thanks to Anastasia Chrysostomou for willingly answering to my questions and Dr. Athanasia Kyriakou for providing information about the publications and the research about the cemeteries of Vergina. Finally, I am grateful to my parents, Malamati and Vasilios, for their moral and practical support.

Spyridon Charalampidis

6 January 2019

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
PREFACE.....	ii
CONTENTS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	1
<u>CHAPTER 1: THE AREA: HUMAN ACTIVITY IN EARLY PERIODS AND THE ANNEXING TO THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM.....</u>	5
<u>CHAPTER 2: EDESSA FROM LATE ARCHAIC TO HELLENISTIC PERIOD: HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.....</u>	9
<u>CHAPTER 3: THE CEMETERIES.....</u>	18
<u>CHAPTER 4: TYPES AND ARCHITECTURAL FORM OF THE GRAVES.....</u>	22
<u>CHAPTER 5: BURIAL PRACTICES.....</u>	29
<u>CHAPTER 6: THE FUNERARY CEREMONIES.....</u>	33
<u>CHAPTER 7: THE GRAVE OFFERINGS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.....</u>	37
7.1 Furniture.....	38
7.2 Vessels.....	39
7.3 Coins.....	44
7.4 Jewellery.....	45
7.5 Weapons.....	49
7.6 Strigils.....	51
7.7 Figurines.....	52
7.8 Other items.....	54
<u>CHAPTER 8: A VIEW UPON CEMETERIES IN OTHER PLACES OF MACEDONIA.....</u>	55
8.1 Lower Macedonia.....	55
8.2 Upper Macedonia.....	60
8.3 Comparative analysis.....	62

CONCLUSIONS.....	65
CATALOGUE OF TOMBS.....	68
BIBLIOGRAPHY-ABBREVIATIONS.....	76

INTRODUCTION

Edessa is a small city in the Prefecture of Central Macedonia, in north Greece. It is identified with ancient Edessa, a city of the Macedonian Kingdom located to the north of Aigai (which is thought to lie in the location of nowadays Vergina) and to the north-west of Pella. Its territory, characterised by many hills, small rivers and streams, has lush vegetation and continental climate. To the south-east of the city lies the large valley of Bottiaia, which is crossed by the navigable rivers Loudias, Aliakmon, Axios and Gallikos, or Echedoros by its ancient name¹. Around the city there are mountains such as Boras (the highest of the area) to the west, Paikon to the east and Bermion to the south. The easier way for someone to enter this territory is from the south-east, but there are also other passages through the highlands to the north, west and east (figures 1-4).

The first fruitful archaeological surveys in the region of Edessa took place in the 19th c. AD. In the beginning of the century, the British colonel W. M. Leake, who visited the area, identified the scattered ruins around Vodhena (the name of the modern city of Edessa during that period) with the ancient Macedonian city of Edessa. He also stressed the fact that the ancient city lay on two natural plateaus of different altitude. Other researchers of the 19th and of the early 20th c. enriched the conclusions of Leake with further observations concerning the ancient ruins, the inscriptions and the topography of the region. Such researchers are Pouqueville, Cousinery, Desdevises de Desert, Delacoulonche, Crisebach, Papageorgiou and Struck².

The archaeological excavation in the area from the years just after the World War I until recently was fruitful³. The first excavation was conducted in 1922 by the professor of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, S. Pelekidis. This first attempt resulted in the revealing of the South Gate of the city in the area of Loggos. The next excavation took place the years 1967-1968 by the archaeologists Prof. Ph. Petsas and A. Stougiannaki. It was that period when large parts of the walls which encircled the lower city came clearly to light. Moreover, there were excavated some buildings which

¹ Tiverios 2009, 401.

² Chrysostomou 2008, 24-26.

³ For the excavation of ancient Edessa with the relevant bibliographical references.see: Chrysostomou 2008, 26; 2010, 139-142; 2013a, 33-34; 2013b, 53-64.

were close to the South Gate. During the period from 1971 to 1983 systematic excavation was conducted by A. Vavritsas, M. Siganiou, E. Kakavogiannis and O. Kakavogianni at the south part of the ancient city, the acropolis and the environs.

From 1983 to 2007, occasional excavation has been conducted under the supervision of the archaeologist A. Chrysostomou resulting in the discovery of important finds. During that period, several tombs of different historical periods from the cemeteries of the ancient city came to light, including the graves from the 5th to 2nd c. BC, which are the topic of this study. In recent years, emphasis has been given to the cleaning, the preservation and the studying of the finds and the designing of the site plan.

Despite the efforts of the researchers during all these years, little is yet known about ancient Edessa. However, the finds from the cemeteries, especially when they are discussed in comparison to those of other regions, give a very vivid insight to the life and the customs of the society of the place. Without these discoveries the knowledge concerning the antiquity of the region would be far more lacking.

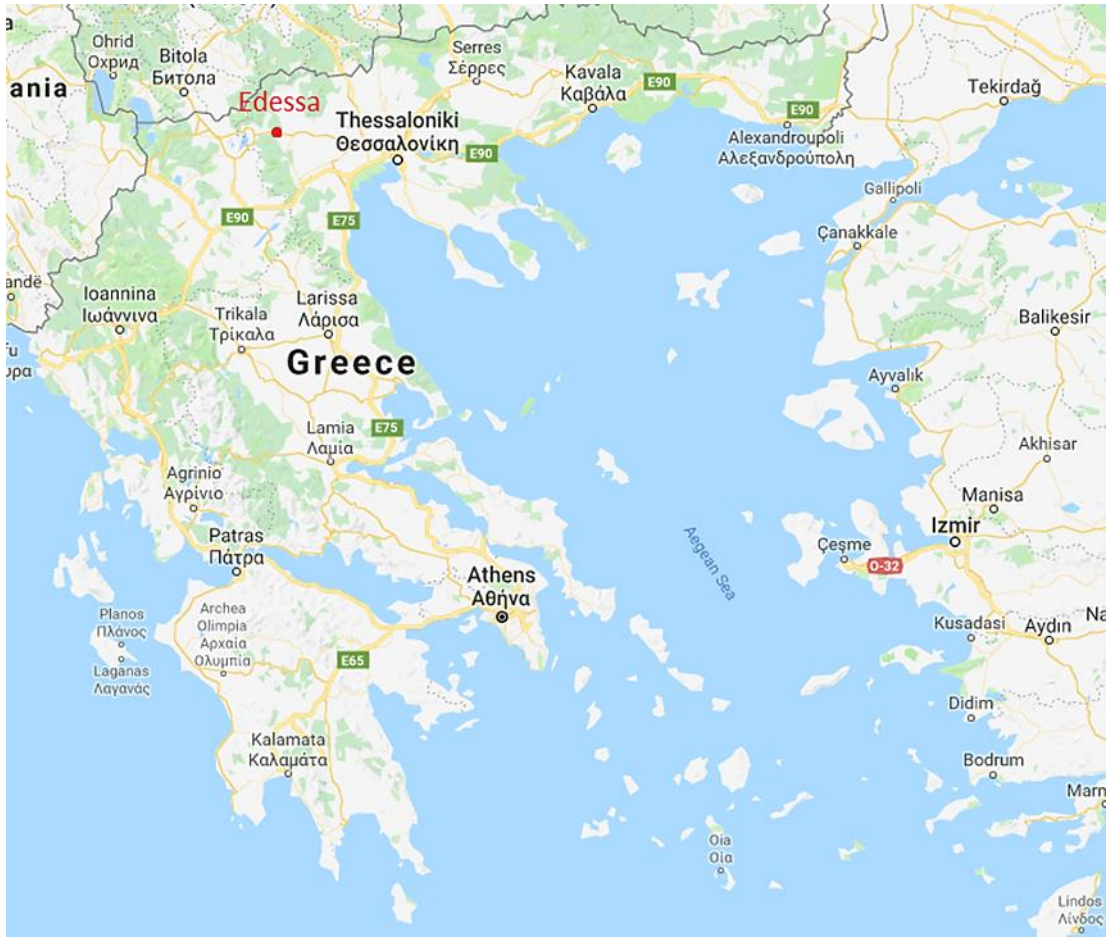


Figure 1. The location of Edessa in the map of modern-day Greece. Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/>.

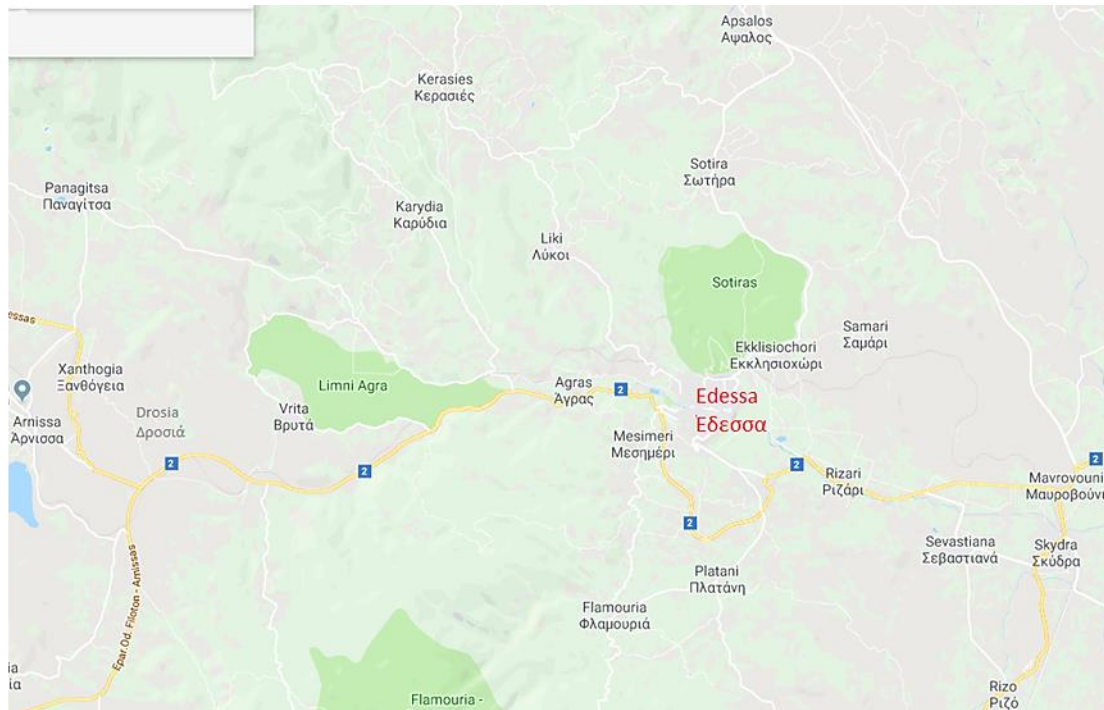


Figure 2. Edessa and the nearby villages-sites. Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/>.

CHAPTER 1

THE AREA: HUMAN ACTIVITY IN EARLY PERIODS AND THE ANNEXING TO THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM

The archaeological research has confirmed the existence of Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements in the region of Edessa. For instance, Neolithic finds have been revealed at the site of Edessa itself, at the modern village of Drosia and at Toumpa of Sevasteiana-Rizari. On the other hand, at Drosia there are also finds from the Bronze Age. Burials dated to that period are of the most interesting. Human activity during the Bronze Age is also evident to the south-west of the modern town of Skydra and at the village of Agras to the west of Edessa⁴ (figure 2 and 4).

More finds are related to the Early Iron Age. A cemetery dated to that period has been found in the region of Agras. Tombs and settlements have been found in several places in the wider area around Edessa, such as at the villages Arnissa, Panagitsa, Bryta, Margarita, Sotira and Samari and at Toumpa Zlata (in the area between the villages Petria and Episkopi)⁵. In addition, an Early Iron Age settlement was located in the area where the acropolis of Edessa of the later periods lay (figure 5). Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence is scarce due to the fact that the human habitation and activity in the place is continuous from antiquity until present⁶.

During the end of the Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age and the Early Archaic Period the region of Edessa was affected by the movements of various populations, which took place in the Southern Balkans. Bryges (known also as Phryges), Bottiaioi, Eordoi and Paiones were among the early known inhabitants of the wider area around Edessa. More precisely, Eordoi occupied the valley around the lake Begoritis to the west of Edessa. Another tribe, the Almopes, inhabited the encircled by the mountains valley to the north⁷. These neighbouring to Edessa regions bear the name of their inhabitants (they were called Eordaia and Almopia respectively) even after they were integrated to the Macedonian kingdom (figures 3 and 4).

⁴ Chrysostomou 2008, 29-34.

⁵ Chrysostomou 2008, 34 and 36-40.

⁶ Chrysostomou 2008, 40-41.

⁷ Sakellariou 1982, 47-48.

Furthermore, the Phryges or Bryges seem to have strongly influenced the area of central Macedonia during the Early Iron Age. According to Herodotus the region around Bermion (in close distance to the south of Edessa), the cradle of the Macedonian Kingdom, was known as Midas Gardens⁸. Midas was a Phrygian king and he is also known, according to another tradition, to have reigned over the region of Phrygia in Asia Minor.

In addition, some scholars believe that the name Edessa is Phrygian. More precisely it is suggested that it comes from the Phrygian word *bedy* which means water⁹. Thus, the name of the city describes the basic characteristic of the landscape of the city, the water. In this case, the particular place name dates before the occupation of the region by the Macedonians but it was preserved after that. Nevertheless, there are also doubts concerning this theory. Kalleris, for example, stressed that there are not enough clues indicating that the place name is Phrygian or that it is related to a Phrygian or Thracian world¹⁰. The same scholar writes also, not without reservations, that it is also possible that the name Edessa is Greek-etymologised from the word *hedos/hedra* (residence) or *edaphos* (soil)¹¹.

In conclusion, the prehistory and the early history of the region of Edessa are very obscure. The archaeological evidence for the moment is scarce and very little is known for the people lived in the region before the Macedonians. Although there are some finds of early periods, it is difficult to relate the archaeological finds to specific tribes. One should also have in mind that interchange and contacts between different “ethnic” groups was common. So, in general, different populations could use the same types of vessels and objects and they could also share some similar traditions¹².

The period around the middle of the 7th c. BC is generally accepted as the beginning of the Macedonian Kingdom and of the dynasty of Temenidai¹³. Back then, Macedonians settled in a region close to Aliakmon River and founded the city of Aigai. This period was a turning point in the history of the Macedonians (of Lower Macedonia), since, having been based before on transhumant pastoralism, they

⁸ Hdt. 8.138.

⁹ Sakellariou 1982, 48.

¹⁰ Kalleris 1988, 309-316.

¹¹ Kalleris 1988, 315-316 and n. 4.

¹² Chrysostomou 2008, 34.

¹³ Sprawski 2010, 130.

became permanent inhabitants of a specific region. As a result, the majority of them would adopt a different way of life, namely cultivation and owning of land¹⁴.

Since the foundation of their state near Aliakmon, Macedonians started to expand their territory towards the neighbouring areas. A valuable source concerning the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom is Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War, where there is a brief reference to the conquests of Alexander I and of his predecessors¹⁵. Thucydides states that the Macedonian kings gained the region of Pieria and Bottiaia expelling the locals, Pieres and Bottiaioi, who afterwards found shelter in the region of Pangaion and Chalkidike respectively. Furthermore, they conquered the region of Paionia, which is close to Axios River, Mygdonia expelling Hedones, Eordaia exterminating Eordoi, some of whom migrated to the east at the region of the city Physka, and Almopia expelling Almopes. They also acquired the regions of Anthemous, Krestonia and Bisaltia (figure 4).

The motif of groups of people fighting with neighbouring people, expelling them and taking their lands has an important significance in Thucydides narration as it concerns the early stages of the Greek history¹⁶. This seems to be the case with the Macedonian State during its early history.

Taking into account the passage of Thucydides, the location of the city of Edessa (in close distance to the cradle of the Macedonian Kingdom) and the archaeological finds from the tombs¹⁷, the approximate period of the integration of the region of Edessa into the Macedonian Kingdom can be roughly estimated. So, the conquest and acquisition of the area by the Macedonians must have taken place sometime in the 2nd half of the 7th c. BC¹⁸.

As it concerns the populations living in the region of Edessa, there is no certain information about their fate. Obviously, a large part of them would have been

¹⁴ Hammond 1982, 64-65.

¹⁵ Thuc. 2.99.3-6.

¹⁶ Thuc. 1.2.

¹⁷ There is one burial, the T25 of Pouliakis' field, which dates to the 2nd half of the 6th c. BC (Chrysostomou 2013a, 229-237) and was furnished in the same way the Archaic Macedonians did in other regions, such as Vergina and Archontiko. The particular burial is, thus, a terminus ante quem for the presence of Macedonians in the region. See further: Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012, 490-516; Saripanidi, V., "Constructing Continuities with a 'Heroic' Past: Death, Feasting and Political Ideology in the Archaic Macedonian Kingdom", in: Tsigarida, A., Lemos, I. S. (eds.), *Constructing Social Identities in Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece*, Brussels 2017, 86-92 and 124-126.

¹⁸ Hammond 1982, 65; Sprawski 2010, 132-133.

exterminated or expelled as it had happened to other tribes (see the passage of Thucydides above). But, it is reasonable to presume that some members of the local elite and part of the commoners found it attractive to accept the reign of the Macedonian royal family. Factors that may have led to this “voluntary” integration could be the fear of being killed by the conquerors, treaties that would be profitable for either sides, or the wish of remaining in their lands at all costs.

Furthermore, as it concerns the local elite, the process of its integration to the Macedonian population could have become easier through an already existing network of contacts among the elites of local communities of the whole region which later became the Macedonian Kingdom. These elites shared some common perceptions and ways of life¹⁹. They could also be related with each other through treaties and, perhaps, in some occasions, even marriages, as it happened in later periods between the Macedonians and their allies. Finally, part of the local lower classes would have been useful to the Macedonians as subjects and more precisely as land workers.

Consequently, the non-Macedonian populations which remained in their lands would progressively become “Macedonians” in the political sense. Similar was possibly the case with the local populations of other acquired territories such as Pieria and Bottiaia.

¹⁹ Sprawski 2010, 133-134.

CHAPTER 2

EDESSA FROM LATE ARCHAIC TO HELLENISTIC PERIOD: HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeological evidence related to the early period of the region of Edessa at the time when it was a part of the Macedonian kingdom is scarce. The remains of the Archaic and the Classical Period are few and mostly found in the area of the acropolis. These finds are mostly pottery, which includes examples of the Iron Age, the Archaic and Classical Period, and pits for storage of goods or for other use²⁰. Thus, there are not enough clues concerning the size and the site plan of the city before the 4th c. BC²¹. However, it is certain that human habitation on the plateau of the acropolis is continuous from the Late Bronze Age to present²².

On the other hand, the finds from the excavation of the South Cemetery attest that there was a flourishing society in the region during the 6th and the 5th c. BC. The tombs of the period contained precious jewellery, ornaments for the clothes of the dead, weapons, figurines and both local and imported vessels. So, the society of Archaic and Classical Edessa, as it is inflected through the finds of the cemetery, had the same basic characteristics with those of other Macedonian centres²³ such as Mieza, Aigai, Aiane, Pella and Sindos (see also chapter 8)

Judging from the most recent archaeological research, the known plan of the city to date was formed at the end of the 4th c. BC. It is located on a lower level just above the natural plateau of the modern city. The triangular in shape acropolis occupies a confined area of the modern city, around 3-4 hectares, close to the east edge of the natural plateau (figure 5).

The acropolis and the city below are both fortified. The walls (figure 6) date to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, during a period when walls were

²⁰ Chrysostomou 2000, 776-777 and 779-780.

²¹ Chrysostomou 2008, 40-42.

²² Chrysostomou 2004, 591 and 604.

²³ Chrysostomou 2008, 43-47.

constructed in other Macedonian cities. Such an example is Dion²⁴. The wall of the acropolis is constructed along the north and the west side of it forming a triangular space. The wall of the city encircles a polygonal area of more than 20 hectares. The fortification of both the acropolis and the city is constructed in the same way, more precisely by stone blocks in isodomic masonry. There are also towers along it. Interesting is the South Gate of the city, where there is a circular open yard behind the entrance for defensive reasons in case of siege²⁵ (figures 7-9). The South Gate and the North Gate of the city are located along the same axis from south to north indicating that there was an attempt by the authorities to apply the Hippodameian System (plan of horizontal and vertical roads) on the city²⁶.

In addition, limited excavation in the area of the acropolis has revealed some remains of Hellenistic buildings. Judging from the finds, these constructions were houses and workshops. The walls of the buildings were made of stone and according the irregular masonry. There are also terracotta conduits which provided water. Clay hearths, underground storage rooms containing pithoi and various vessels and other objects were found in the houses. There were also coins of Amyntas III, Philip II, Alexander III the Great and Philip V etc.²⁷.

²⁴ Chrysostomou 2013a, 41. For the walls of Dion see: Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Th., "Η οχύρωση του Δίου από τον Κάσσανδρο ως τον Θεοδόσιο Α'", *AEMTh* 10A (1996), 215-224. There is also evidence for the new at that time city of Thessaloniki, which seems to have been fortified for the first time during that period. For Thessaloniki see: Velenis, G., *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης από τον Κάσσανδρο ως τον Ηράκλειο*, Thessaloniki 1998.

²⁵ Pelekidis 1923, 259-264; Petsas 1969, 188; Chrysostomou 2008, 57-59.

²⁶ Chrysostomou 2008, 59-60.

²⁷ Chrysostomou 2008, 60-62.



Figure 5. The triangular shaped acropolis (I) and the lower city (II). Source: Chrysostomou, A., “Το τείχος της Έδεσσας”, *AEMTh* 1 (1987), 162.

The excavated area of the lower city is around 1.2 hectare. The majority of the excavated buildings in the area date to the Early Byzantine Period. So, the view of the Hellenistic city, which lay inside the walls, is until present obscure. The central road of the city connecting the South Gate with the North Gate appears to be contemporary with the Hellenistic Walls. The parodoi (roads vertical to the central road) found to the left and to the right of the central road date also to the same period, but were also used during later periods. On both sides of the central road and on a lower level there were found some remains of Hellenistic buildings. Two of them, attached one another and located on the left side, had cut on the rock pits for the positioning of storage pithoi. To the north of the first right parodos lie the remains of a large Hellenistic building, the lower walls of which were built by stone blocks according to the isodomic

masonry. It appears to have been used for storage of various goods and for the production of clay objects²⁸.

Another interesting find was discovered close to the South Gate. It is a Hekataion or Hecateion, a sculpture dedicated to Hecate which represents three female figures wearing chiton and holding torches and fruits. Hecate was the goddess of night and sorcery. Her sculptures were put on roads, passages and Gates for the protection of the passers-by. The one of Edessa was later used as material for repairs at the tower next to the South Gate²⁹.

Several finds and inscriptions attest the worship of many deities in the region of Edessa. Such deities are the related to the water Parthenos, which possibly has its origins from Syria, Zeus Hysistos, Herakles Kynagidas, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, Pan and Aphrodite. A sanctuary of Zeus was possibly located in close proximity to the city, at the area of Agios Loukas in the region of the North Cemetery. Another sanctuary, which according to an inscription on a small pillar is also of Zeus, is located some kilometers to the east, in the vicinity of Edessa, to the south-west of the modern city of Skydra. In this place there was found the foundation of a large stone temple of the Hellenistic Period. It is possible that this temple was initially planned as a *peripteros naos*, but it seems that it was never completed³⁰.

²⁸ Chrysostomou 2008, 62-65.

²⁹ Chrysostomou 2008, 66.

³⁰ Chrysostomou 2008, 66-69.



Figure 6. Part of the walls and the ruins of a rectangular tower. Photograph by the author.



Figure 7. The South Gate. Photograph by the author.



Figure 8. The South Gate and part of the walls. Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/>.

The reign of Philip II (359-336 BC) was very important for Macedonia and consequently for Edessa. According to Arrian, in a speech at Ope Alexander III the Great reminded to his soldiers that his father was the king who gave to them wealth and elaborate laws and made them live in big cities³¹. Taking into account the passage and the fact that Edessa is located in a key point, in a passage leading from Lower Macedonia to Upper Macedonia, it is reasonable to assume that Philip II was the king who set the foundation for the transformation of Edessa into a strategically important city with administrative functions, officials and bureaucracy³².

Nevertheless, according to the archaeological finds, the urbanisation of the region must have been totally completed at the end of the 4th c. BC, during the reign of Cassander (316-296 BC). An important find is a catalogue from the sanctuary of Hera in Argos which mentions cities which made dedications to the sanctuary. The catalogue dates to the end of the 4th c. BC and the city of Edessa is one of the mentioned cities. Thus the end of 4th c. BC can be considered a terminus ante quem for the urbanisation of Edessa³³. Back then, it was a period of prosperity and wealth for all cities of Macedonia due to the exploitation of the Persian gold after Alexander's campaign.

³¹ Arr. An. 7.9.2.

³² Chrysostomou 2008, 51-52.

³³ Chrysostomou 2008, 52-53.

After the death of Cassander and of his heir Philip IV soon after him, the Kingdom was ruled, from 297 up to 294 BC, by both the younger sons of Cassander, Antipater II and Alexander V. But, after the assassination of Alexander by Demetrius the Besieger and the subsequent flight of his brother, Demetrius was proclaimed by the army king of Macedonia³⁴. Then, Demetrius reigned for some years, from 294 to 288 or 287 BC, when he was forced to flee from Macedonia after Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy and Pyrrhus formed an alliance against him³⁵.

During this period of turmoil and conflicts between Alexander's successors, the city of Edessa was under the command of Demetrius from 294 to 289 BC, of Pyrrhus from 289 to 288 BC, Lysimachus from 288 to 281 BC and Ptolemy Keraunus from 281 to 279 BC (each one of them was temporarily king of Macedonia). However, in 279 BC a population of Gauls invaded Macedonia eliminated the Macedonian army and killed the then king Ptolemy Keraunus. After that, they looted the territory. Edessa must have been one of the cities that suffered from this invasion. A period of internal peace and prosperity was during the years from 276 to 239, when Antigonos Gonatas was king. Nonetheless, a brief period of chaos marked the years from 274 to 272 BC. In this period Pyrrhus invaded once again in Macedonia and forced Antigonos to leave the throne, while after that his Gaul mercenaries looted the region of Aigai and its cemetery. In addition, the Spartan Kleonymos, an ally of Pyrrhus, sieged the city of Edessa and destroyed part of the walls. Antigonos was finally restored to the throne after the death of Pyrrhus in Argos in 272 BC³⁶.

Polybius the historian preserves the name of a General from Edessa. His name was Chrysogonos and was active during the reign of Philip V (221-179 BC). During the so called *Symachikos Polemos* or Social War (220-217 BC) Chrysogonos was commissioned (in 217 BC) to gather the Macedonian force from Upper Macedonia and then to meet Philip and the rest of the army in Edessa. After the gathering of the army was completed, they marched together to the south. Furthermore, according a decree from Larissa, Chrysogonos was honoured for his benefactions to the city. More

³⁴ Hammond, Walbank, Griffith 1988, 210-218.

³⁵ Wilcken 1976, 351; Hammond, Walbank, Griffith 1988, 219-226.

³⁶ For the clashes between the Successors see: Wilcken 1976, 351-354 and 364; more analytically: Hammond, Walbank, Griffith 1988, 219-267. For Edessa during this period see: Chrysostomou 2008, 53. For the invasion of Pyrrhus and the looting of the cemetery of Aigai see: Plut. Pyrrh. 26.

precisely, the people of Larissa gave the privilege of *politeia* (the rights which the citizens of the city have) to him and to his offspring. The two sons of Chrysogonos, Pyrichos and Samos, were also renowned Macedonian aristocrats. Moreover, Samos was also famous for his epigrams³⁷.

Another known from the sources person from Edessa was Antiphylos. He was the leader of 3.000 peltasts during the 3rd Macedonian War (171-168 BC), between king Perseus of Macedonia (179-168 BC) and Rome. The war ended with Rome victorious. The Macedonian Kingdom ceased to exist. However, under the Roman rule the people of Edessa continued their commercial and agricultural activities. In 140 BC, the construction of the Roman Via Egnatia must have been beneficial for the economy of the city, since the road passed in very close distance³⁸.

Edessa continued to exist in the next centuries as one among the numerous cities in the Roman Empire. The old walls, as it seems, were repaired in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd c. AD in order to protect the city from invasions during that period of turmoil. There were also some later repairs and changes on the walls, in the 5th-6th c. AD³⁹. A turning point is the period from the end of the 6th to the 7th c. AD, when the city started to decay. The lower city was progressively abandoned and Edessa was then restricted to the area of the acropolis⁴⁰.

³⁷ For the reign of Philip V see: Hammond, Walbank, Griffith 1988, 367-487. For the "Social War" see: Wilcken 1976, 369-370 and 374; Hammond, Walbank, Griffith 1988, 371-389. For Chrysogonos see: Chrysostomou 2008, 54-55.

³⁸ Wilcken 1976, 374; Chrysostomou 2008, 56; 2013b, 75-77.

³⁹ Petsas 1969, 187-188; Chrysostomou 2013b, 70-73.

⁴⁰ Chrysostomou 2008, 108.

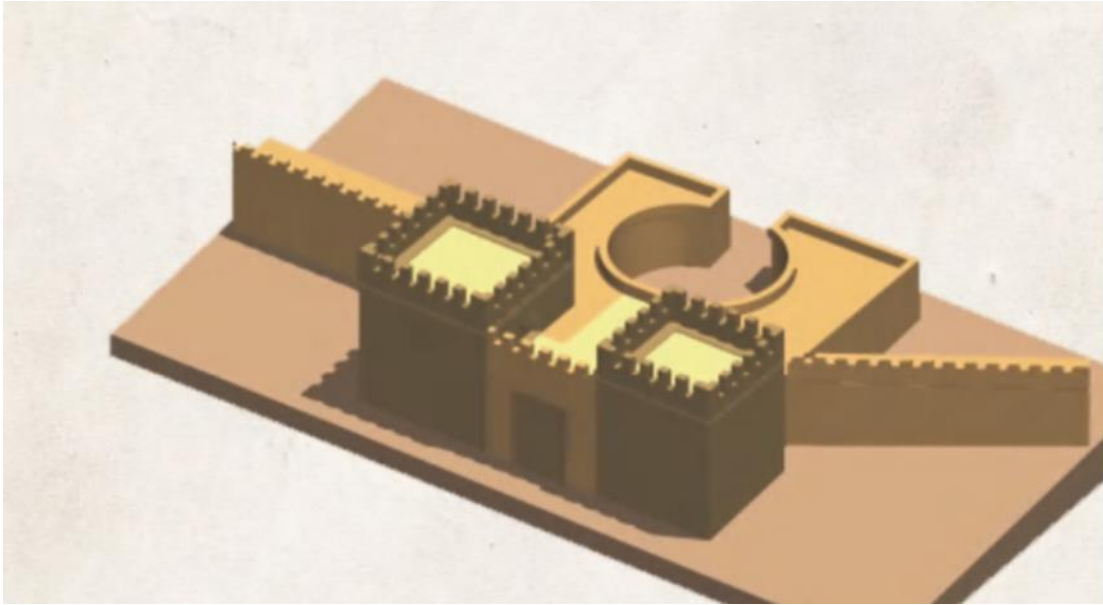


Figure 9. A 3D reconstruction of the South Gate during the Hellenistic and the Roman Period. Source: Chrysostomou, A., Αρχαία Έδεσσα. Η οχύρωση, Edessa 2014, 393 fig. 51H.

CHAPTER 3

THE CEMETERIES

The ancient cemeteries discovered during the archaeological excavation offer precious information and help us understand better the societies of antiquity. As it concerns the burials related to the ancient city of Edessa, there are many discovered around its site plan⁴¹. They date from the Late Archaic to the Byzantine Period.

It seems that there was not a specific place used as a cemetery, but the whole region in close distance and outside the walls was offered for that purpose. Tombs have been discovered along the exterior side of the walls of the acropolis. There is also a group of tombs to the west of the acropolis, in the region of Florina road. This group is known as the West Cemetery⁴². The North Cemetery is located at the area below the waterfalls, to the north-east of the lower city while the East Cemetery consists of tombs located in close distance to the east walls. Finally, the South Cemetery lies to the south, at the region around the modern road leading from Thessaloniki to modern Edessa (figure 10). All cemeteries were used for centuries, thus they consist of burials dated in different periods (for instance Early Byzantine tombs are neighbouring to Hellenistic ones etc.)⁴³.

⁴¹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 32-33; 2013b, 75-78.

⁴² The appellation of each of the cemeteries is conventional and based on the publications of the study of the cemeteries: Chrysostomou 2013a; 2013b. In these publications, since there is a study for all the burials until the Byzantine Period, which cover multiple locations, there is a more complex categorisation in North, West and South Cemetery of the acropolis and North, East and South Cemetery of the lower city. See also Chrysostomou 2013b, 53 n. 29.

⁴³ Chrysostomou 2013b, 75-77



Figure 10. The city and the cemeteries. 1) South Gate, 2) North Gate, 3) hill of Agios Loukas, 4) Mpoumparas' field, 5) Raikos' field, 6) Kartsolis' field, 7) Mpizatis field, 8) rural road, 9) Pouliakis' field. Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/>. Data from: Chrysostomou 2013a, 147 fig. 2; 2013b, 52 and 83-86.

The tombs of Classical and Hellenistic Period, which have been discovered and studied until now, are 93 in number. 46 among them can be dated to the Classical Period and 44 to the Hellenistic. One tomb (T26 of Pouliakis' field in the South Cemetery) is constructed in the 6th c. BC, but it received a second burial in the Late Classical period. As it concerns the other two graves of the South Cemetery (T2 in Mpizatis' field and T2003/1 in the region of the rural road), it is not sure whether they date to the Classical or to the Hellenistic Era. There are also other graves found, which preserve no find or they cannot be dated. These are not included in this study.

The known tombs represent undoubtedly a small part of the total number of the existed tombs during the relevant to this study historical periods. It is reasonable to assume that many of them have been destroyed and others lie below the ground and have not been found yet. In addition, a number of Roman and Early Byzantine tombs seem to have been constructed on the spot of earlier graves, especially in the

area of the West Cemetery, resulting in the disappearance of the letters⁴⁴. But still, the known through the archaeological research tombs of Edessa have offered interesting finds and important information.

The cemeteries were crossed by central roads leading from the city to the provinces or to other settlements and cities. This is the norm for the cemeteries in the ancient Greek world, something well attested, for example, in the Athenian Kerameikos⁴⁵. The West Cemetery lay along a road leading from the acropolis to the mountainous passages to the west and towards Upper Macedonia. That road must have been located along the course of the modern Monastiri and Florina roads⁴⁶. The North Cemetery is located along the Roman Via Egnatia, which replaced an older road⁴⁷. The East Cemetery was probably crossed by a road leading from south-west to north-east connecting the South Gate with the East Gate, the North Cemetery and the predecessor of Via Egnatia⁴⁸. The South Cemetery, on the other hand, lay along a road which started from the South Gate and led through a small valley to the south-east, towards Emathia⁴⁹.

Interesting is the group of tombs found in 2007 at the South Cemetery, just to the south of the modern road leading from Thessaloniki to Edessa (Pouliakis' field). The tombs, most of which date to the Classical Period, occupy a restricted area on a smoothly elevated surface. Due to the fact that this group of tombs seems to be isolated in some distance from the other finds of the city and the cemeteries, it has been suggested that it is a kind of rural cemetery⁵⁰. Thus, it is possibly related to agroikiai, rural houses used by the owners for controlling the cultivated fields and the storage and procession of the agricultural goods, or a rural settlement (not yet found) which perhaps existed at a period before the urbanisation of the city. Notably, a Hellenistic agroikia used from the 4th c. BC, thus contemporary to some of the tombs, was found in close distance to the south⁵¹. So, the people who owned the fields or

⁴⁴ Chrysostomou 2013b, 527.

⁴⁵ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 49.

⁴⁶ Chrysostomou 2013b, 75 and 89.

⁴⁷ Chrysostomou 2008, 70.

⁴⁸ Chrysostomou 2013b, 77.

⁴⁹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 33.

⁵⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 33-34.

⁵¹ Chrysostomou 2006, 727-739.

were related somehow to them could have been finally buried in these lands. Such rural burials were also attested in regions like Boeotia and Attica⁵².

On the other hand, there is very little evidence for the city of Edessa during the period before the construction of the early Hellenistic wall. New excavation in the wider area around the known cemeteries may result in the discovery of many more tombs. So, even though it is quite possible that the above mentioned group of tombs in the South Cemetery of Edessa is a rural cemetery, the particular suggestion cannot yet provide a safe conclusion.

⁵² Snodgrass 1998, 37-41.

CHAPTER 4

TYPES AND ARCHITECTURAL FORM OF THE GRAVES

The types of the Classical and Hellenistic graves of ancient Edessa⁵³ are common and attested in various places in Macedonia and the Greek World in general. There are pit graves, which are simple pits dug in the earth, cist graves cut on the rock bellow the ground and only three examples of built cist graves. All these types were normally covered on the top with stone slabs. There are also tile covered graves, one burial in a pithoid vessel and the type of the underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs.

It seems that the most popular types of graves during the Classical Period are the pit graves and the rock-cut cist graves⁵⁴. These types continue also in the Hellenistic Period. Furthermore, the earliest examples of tile covered graves found in Edessa and the built of stone blocks cist grave date to the 4th c. BC, the Late Classical Period⁵⁵. The built of mud bricks cist grave dates to the Early Hellenistic Period⁵⁶. The pot-burial dates to the Hellenistic Period as well⁵⁷. Typical Hellenistic is also the type of the underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs. This kind of grave is used in various places during the 3rd and 2nd c. BC⁵⁸. However, Edessa seems to preserve some of the earliest known examples dated from the late 4th c. BC⁵⁹.

The first two mentioned categories of graves, the pit graves (figure 11) and the rock-cut cist graves (figure 12), are similar in form. Rectangular (although not very accurately formed) shafts were dug in the ground, the dead were put inside in extended position and covering slabs were put on top of the shaft to seal the graves.

⁵³ For the architectural types of the graves see: Chrysostomou 2013a, 42-47; 2013b, 393-396.

⁵⁴ Chrysostomou 2013a, 42; 2013b, 393-394.

⁵⁵ Chrysostomou 2013b, 393.

⁵⁶ Chrysostomou 2013a, 189-190.

⁵⁷ Chrysostomou 2013b, 172 and 396.

⁵⁸ For the particular type of grave in general see: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, mainly 27-100.

⁵⁹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 396.



Figure 11. A pit grave at the South Cemetery (T26 in Pouliakis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 239 fig. 204.



Figure 12. A rock-cut cist grave at the South Cemetery (T24 in Pouliakis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 61 fig. 21.

The basic difference among the two types is, though, that the rock-cut cist graves are opened by carving on the hard surface of the natural rock, thus, they are more meticulously (and with some difficulty) formed. They have often a rock-cut step on one side. Many of them have cavities on the floor for the positioning of the funerary bed. In one grave of this type, the T5 of South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field) dated to the end of 4th c. BC, the north and the west wall were covered with stone slabs⁶⁰. The datable and studied pit graves of the Periods concerning this study are 10 in number. These are T83⁶¹, T125, T122, T120, T109a, T116, which were found in the North Cemetery (Raikos' field)⁶² and T16, T18, T20, T26 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field)⁶³.

As for the built cist graves (figure 13 and 14), they have the four side walls of masonry. More precisely, T3 and T19 found at the South Cemetery in Pouliakis' field were built of stone blocks in two courses and T4 found in the same area was built of mud bricks (0.40 x 0.40 m.)⁶⁴. Moreover, there are other two examples of a peculiar form. T2002/1 and T2003/1 were half rock-cut and half built cist graves. Interesting is

⁶⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 190.

⁶¹ The appellation of each of the graves is based on the publication of the cemeteries of Edessa. See Chrysostomou 2005, 449-463; 2013a; 2013b.

⁶² See the catalogue in Chrysostomou 2013b, 103-122.

⁶³ See the catalogue in Chrysostomou 2013a, 175-309. There is no need to mention each of the rock-cut cist graves here, since they are the majority. Generally, the rest of the tombs, which do not pertain to any of the other mentioned categories, can be categorised to the rock-cut cist graves.

⁶⁴ Chrysostomou 2013a, 43-45 and 182-183.

also the fact that the latter preserved parts of white, red and yellow plaster on its walls⁶⁵.

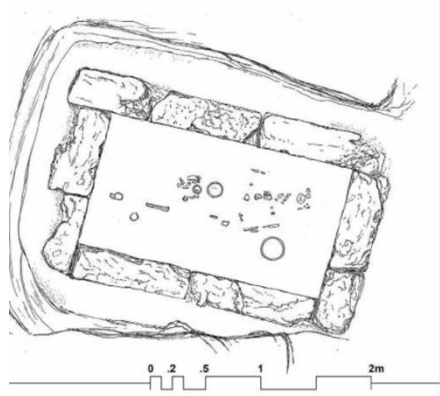


Figure 13. Ground plan of a built cist grave at the South Cemetery (T19 in Poulakis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 44 fig. 11.

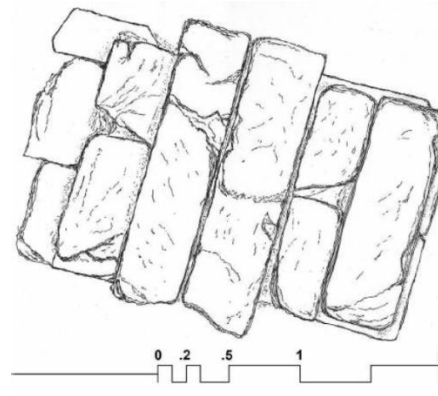


Figure 14. Plan of the covering of the cist grave T19. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 44 fig. 10.

The tile covered graves have similar plan to the pit graves, but instead of having stone slabs as ceiling they use clay laconian type roof tiles arranged either horizontally or in a kind of gable roof⁶⁶. They are totally 10 in number. One of them is located to the hill of Agios Loukas in the North Cemetery⁶⁷ (figure 10). In the same cemetery, there were found the graves T62 (Kartsolis' field)⁶⁸, T109 and T100 (Raikos' field)⁶⁹. T2003/2 was found to the South Cemetery⁷⁰ and Tα, Tβ, Tγ, Tιζ and Tκ were located to the East Cemetery⁷¹, close to the eastern part of the walls. In general, the tile graves of Edessa are simple as it concerns the form and the items they contained. So, they must have been used by "ordinary", less wealthy people.

Finally, interesting is the form of the rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs⁷². They consist of an underground cut on the natural rock chamber, which has a vaulted ceiling, and a short corridor with steps or (rarely) an inclined surface leading to the

⁶⁵ Chrysostomou 2013a, 46 and 307.

⁶⁶ Chrysostomou 2013b, 393.

⁶⁷ Chrysostomou 2013b, 97-99.

⁶⁸ Chrysostomou 2013b, 146-147.

⁶⁹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 116-118.

⁷⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 309.

⁷¹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 147-151.

⁷² See: Chrysostomou 2013b, 394-396.

entrance of the chamber (figure 15). This entrance has rectangular form or is arched on the top. Interesting is the case of T8 and T50 of the North Cemetery (Kartsolis' field) because they have elaborate entrances, a Doric relief and a made of red plaster door frame respectively. T50 is an exceptional example since it is the only which has two chambers (figure 16).

The entrances of the vaulted chamber tombs were sealed after the burial by stone blocks put in three to four courses. Later burials often took place in these graves. In this case, the stone wall was removed and then built again after the next burial had completed. The chamber contained the funerary beds. Actually, on the floor of the chambers, there were found cavities for the legs of the wooden beds, bases also for the beds and even rock-cut funerary klinai in three tombs. If there was enough space, there could be other wooden pieces of furniture (see page 38).



Figure 15. Underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tomb T93 at the North Cemetery (Kartsolis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2005, 462 fig. 6.

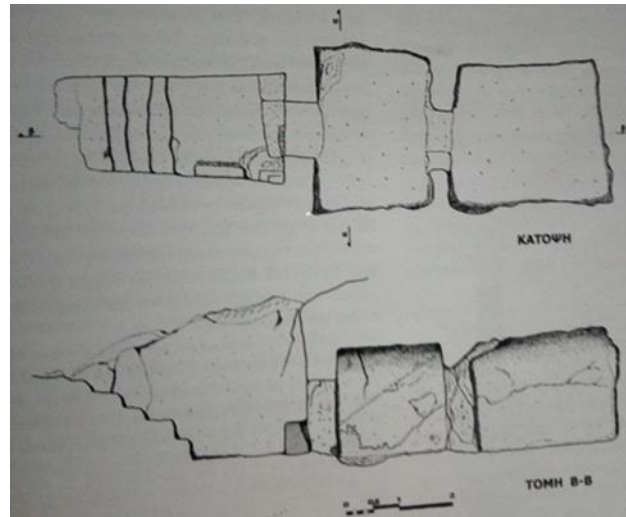


Figure 16. Ground plan and section drawing of the double-chamber tomb T50 of the North Cemetery (Kartsolis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 139 sketch 42.

The rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs are 14 in number. Two of them were found in the West Cemetery (at Pingas' and Georgitsas' building lots respectively)⁷³. T38 (Mpoumparas' field), T66 (Raikos' field), T8, T50, T93 and T91 were located to the North Cemetery⁷⁴. Interesting is the case of T91 since it has a built by stone blocks

⁷³ Chrysostomou 2013b, 90-96.

⁷⁴ Chrysostomou 2005, 453-459; 2013b, 102-103, 119-122 and 135-146.

façade, a trait of the type of the Macedonian Tombs⁷⁵. The other tombs of this category were located to the South Cemetery and are the TII, TI (along the rustic road to the west of the archaeological site)⁷⁶ and TIV, TIII, TII and TI (Mpizatis' field)⁷⁷.

Concerning the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, no tomb of the type of the Macedonian Tomb was found until now in Edessa. As it became clear above, there were used instead simpler forms of graves, which are widely popular and numerous in neighbouring and other areas⁷⁸.

On the other hand, the introduction of the rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs in Edessa took place early comparatively to other regions of Macedonia as their use starts in the end of the 4th c. BC. Perhaps, the type also existed as a kind of “substitute” of the Macedonian Tombs covering the “need” of part of the local population (more wealthy or members of an elite) for more luxurious and showy graves⁷⁹. Nevertheless, judging from the discovered until now archaeological finds of the cemetery, there is a tendency towards simpler and more economical funerary constructions.

Later on, during the Roman Period, the types of the graves remain generally the same. From this period comes the only tomb that can be categorised to the group of the Macedonian Tombs. It seems to have been built in the 1st c. AD and to have been used for many years after its construction (until the 3rd c. AD). It has a built vaulted roof and one chamber, but it is also characterised by some architectural peculiarities⁸⁰.

It is reasonable to assume that the tombs had a monument or sign (sema), which marked their presence and made the dead recognisable to the living. Unfortunately, concerning the relevant to this study historical period, very few of them are preserved and none was found in situ. Thus they cannot be related to specific tombs⁸¹. The lack of funerary monuments is generally explained by the fact that many would have been destroyed through the centuries or reused for the same purpose or as building materials. Moreover, it is possible that some of them were constructed of

⁷⁵ Chrysostomou 2005, 455-459. Problematic is also the roof of the tomb.

⁷⁶ Chrysostomou 2013b, 173-189.

⁷⁷ Chrysostomou 2013b, 151-173

⁷⁸ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 96-98; Chrysostomou 2013b, 393.

⁷⁹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 396.

⁸⁰ See further in Chrysostomou 2013b, 197-209 and 396-398.

⁸¹ Chrysostomou 2008, 75; 2013b, 405.

perishable materials, of wood for example, as it has been suggested for other regions⁸².

None funerary monument of the Classical Period has been found yet. Nonetheless, there are some stelai dated to the Hellenistic Period, which provide information for the personal names of the inhabitants of the area. Three examples are discussed here. The first is the stele of Lyson⁸³ (figure 17) dated between the 3rd and the 2nd c. BC, which depicts in relief the dead as a rider relating him to the mighty Macedonian cavalry. There is also a second figure, somehow marginalised to the left of the rider, possibly an attendant. The monument has the inscription: ΛΥΣΩΝΙ ΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ/ ΗΡΩΙ (To the hero Lyson, the son of Lysanias). The second example is a relief stele depicting, as it seems, family members. More precisely, according to the inscription the deceased persons are the married couple ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ (Menandros, the son of Parmenion) and ΑΝΝΙΚΑ ΜΕΘΩΝΑΔΟΥ (Annika, the daughter of Methonades) and their son, ΜΕΘΩΝΑΔΗΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (Methonades, the son of Menandros)⁸⁴. Finally, there is also another interesting stele, which is dated to the 2nd c. BC and has relief figures depicting, as it seems, family members⁸⁵. The inscription preserves the names of the deceased married couple, ΦΙΛΑ ΜΕΝΩΝΟΣ (Phila the daughter of Menon) and ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (Epikrates the son of Menandros) and of their offspring, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ (Menandros), ΔΗΜΕΑΣ (Demeas), ΝΙΚΑΝΩΡ (Nikanor), ΦΙΛΑ (Phila)⁸⁶.

⁸² Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 218-219.

⁸³ Tataki 1994, 56; Chrysostomou 2008, 75; Kalaitzi 2016, 59.

⁸⁴ Gounaropoulou, Paschidis, Hatzopoulos 2015, 339-341.

⁸⁵ Tataki 1994, 29 no. 5; Chrysostomou 2013b, 406.

⁸⁶ Gounaropoulou, Paschidis, Hatzopoulos 2015, 341-342.



Figure 17. The funerary stele of Lyson. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 43 fig. 9.

CHAPTER 5

BURIAL PRACTICES

Almost all of the tombs of the Classical and the Hellenistic Period in Edessa contained inhumations. The deceased were buried extended in supine position. In addition, there was in general a preference for single burials in all types of the graves⁸⁷ apart from the rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs.

However, in some cases the old tombs were reused for new burials. For instance, in the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field), T17 contained an inhumation dated to the late 5th c. BC and, at a higher level another one of the early 3rd c. BC⁸⁸. Likewise, in the same location, T26 included two burials of women, one of the 2nd half of the 6th c. BC and another of the 2nd half of the 4th c. BC⁸⁹. The chronological distance between the burials in each tomb is big enough to exclude the possibility of a deliberate construction of the tombs in order to receive two or more burials. It seems that, in the case of the newer burials, the family just used the already existing pit of an old tomb or they chose for sentimental/symbolic reasons the tomb of an ancestor for their deceased relative.

T22 (in the same area) also contained two burials, but they are almost contemporary. The first, a burial of a woman (35-40 years old according to the osteological analysis) dates to the late 5th c. BC and the other one, that of a man (around the same age), to the early 4th c. BC⁹⁰. Thus, there must have been a close relation between the two persons, otherwise there cannot be easily suggested the reason why the living members of a family permitted a new burial in the grave of their relative who passed away some years before.

Interesting are the two contemporary burials in T47 (Pouliakis' field). It is about a woman (45-55 years old) and a child (1 year old) who were buried sometime in the 1st half of the 5th c. BC⁹¹. It is almost obvious that there was a relation between the two

⁸⁷ Chrysostomou 2013b, 406.

⁸⁸ Chrysostomou 2013a, 208-209.

⁸⁹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 238-246.

⁹⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 50 and 221-222.

⁹¹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 50 and 281-282.

persons. Surprisingly, a tombstone from Athens can set more light to this case. The marble stele of Ampharete depicts a seated woman holding a baby on her lap. The woman addresses through an inscription to the passer-by and informs that she used to hold that baby of her daughter on her lap when they (the woman and the child) were both in life and she is still holding it in the grave⁹². Concerning the grave from Edessa, although there is no inscription, the whole context is the same. Consequently, the hypothesis of having in Edessa an identical case to the one of Apharete could not be far from reality.

On the other hand, in T5 (in Pouliakis' field) there were found the bones of an adult person, probably a woman, and those of a dog. Since the tomb was partly destroyed and disturbed, it is not sure if the remains of the animal are contemporary and related to the human burial⁹³. Nevertheless, burials of animals are attested in antiquity. In fact, an example from Edessa is the burial of a pig dated to the Roman Period, which is known by its relief tombstone⁹⁴. Another example is the case of two burials at Sindos, which contained the skeletal remains of a dog and of a donkey respectively⁹⁵. Furthermore, dogs and piglets, both considered beloved pets, are also attested in Geometric burials in Athens and Attica⁹⁶.

As it concerns the practice of cremation, there are only four examples in Edessa. These are related to T23 and T51 dated to the 5th c. BC and T39 and T59 of the 4th –early 3rd c. BC. They are all located to the South Cemetery (in Pouliakis' field). T23 contained the remains of an adult and the others were cremations of children⁹⁷. In addition, as it concerns the two tombs dated later, to the 4th c. BC (T39) and early 3rd c. BC (T59), the cremated remains of the dead were put in a large stamnid pyxis (figures 18 and 19), while in the other two tombs of the 5th c. BC the remains of the dead just lay on the floor of the pit⁹⁸.

T23 presents some peculiarities. It was the only grave which contained a primary cremation, in other words the deceased, possibly a young woman, was burnt

⁹² Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 262.

⁹³ Chrysostomou 2013b, 50 and 190-192.

⁹⁴ Chrysostomou 2008, 100.

⁹⁵ Despoini 2016, 103.

⁹⁶ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 55 and 66.

⁹⁷ Chrysostomou 2013a, 51.

⁹⁸ See the particular tombs in the catalogue in Chrysostomou 2013a.

in the grave. However, according to the analysis, the only part which had signs of fire was the skull⁹⁹, a fact that reasonably raises questions. Was the dead for some reason very harshly cremated? Was it an odd or maybe barbarian practice? This discovery is problematic and there are no other clues leading to a specific and safe conclusion.

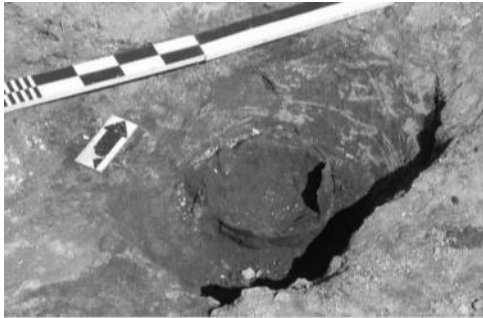


Figure 18. The cremation in T59. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 294 fig. 249α.



Figure 19. The stamnois pyxis of T59. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 295 fig. 250.

Generally, in Edessa of the Classical and the Hellenistic Period, the cremation seems to be a rare funerary practice and there is a clear, on the other hand, preference for inhumations based obviously on the local tradition¹⁰⁰. As it happened in other regions (the same is also the case nowadays), the local tradition and the perceptions of the family and of the individual were the factors influencing the way people treated their dead¹⁰¹. So, there is no sign or any reason to believe that there were specific regulations imposing any type of funerary practice.

Additionally, the cremations of the cemetery of Edessa, as well as the ones in other regions, were not by themselves something special. Besides, the four examples (T23, T51, T39 and T59) of Edessa seem rather simple. Generally, inhumations and cremations are attested and mixed in the same groups of tombs¹⁰², even in the same tomb as it concerns some Macedonian Tombs from other regions of Macedonia¹⁰³. So, there is no reason for considering the one type of burial more luxurious or aristocratic than the other.

⁹⁹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 51 and 223-224.

¹⁰⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 53.

¹⁰¹ See also: Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 96 (concerning Attica); Kakamanoudis 2017, 496-498.

¹⁰² Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 329.

¹⁰³ Sismanidis 1990, 279-230.

Furthermore, another interesting characteristic is that the great majority of the tombs are oriented on the east-west axis. It has been also observed that the women were buried with the head to the East and the men to the West respectively. This tradition is attested in other cemeteries of Macedonia, as, for instance, in those of Agia Paraskevi, Therme, Sindos¹⁰⁴ and elsewhere (see chapter 8). In Edessa there are, however some exceptions. Different is the case of the rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs where the orientation of the deceased depended on the orientation of the structure of the tomb and the way the funerary klinai could be arranged inside the chamber. Moreover, some graves of the other types are oriented on the north-south axis. These are T15, T59 (the above mentioned cremation), T2003/1 and T9 located in the South Cemetery, T88 and T37 in the North Cemetery and Tβ of the East Cemetery¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁴ Misailidou-Despotidou 1997, 173.

¹⁰⁵ Chrysostomou 2005, 453; 2013a, 50-51. See also the information for the particular graves in the catalogues in Chrysostomou 2013a; 2013b.

CHAPTER 6

THE FUNERARY CEREMONIES

When a person died, the family, the relatives and the friends entered in a state of mourning. The most closely related to the dead people, the members of the family, had to prepare him/her for the last journey to the “other world”. So, the funeral rites were the means aimed at the deceased’s regular transition to the world of the dead and the purification (since death was considered a miasma) of the living in grief¹⁰⁶. The information preserved, concerning the rites that took place during or after the burial, comes from the archaeological finds and secondarily from the literary sources.

The best known funerary rituals through the sources come from Attica. But, this information could be helpful for the understanding of the general concept of the ceremonies in all Greek cities and states.

So, in an ancient Greek funeral¹⁰⁷, the first stage of the rituals was the prothesis (figure 20), which normally took place on the following day after the death. First of all, the women bathed and anointed the dead with oils. Then, the corpse was dressed, ornamented and displayed on a kline, obviously inside the house of the family, in front of the relatives and the friends. Furthermore, the Greek art and the sources present the women tearing their hair and hitting their breast and head expressing their grief.

The next day it was the time for the ekphora (figure 21), in other words, for the procession of the mourners and the dead towards the tomb. The corpse was transferred on a kline or a kline-like structure. Then, on the spot of the grave, a ceremony took place including offering of grave gifts to the dead and possibly the burning of a kind of incense. The offerings were put in the tomb and they were personal objects, objects used in everyday life, symbols of status and social role, food and drink. The libation (the pouring of wine) on the spot of the grave was also a basic characteristic of these rites and it was called *choe*. In the case of the inhumations, the

¹⁰⁶ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 142-143; Oikonomou et al. 2014, 65.

¹⁰⁷ For the stages of a funeral described in this chapter see: Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 142-148; Oikonomou et al. 2014, 65-91.

dead was buried on the kline on which he/she had been carried or in some cases on elaborate klinai, sometimes heavy stone ones, constructed for that purpose¹⁰⁸.

In the case of cremations, normally the final stage after the ekphora was the burning of the corpse either inside the grave (primary cremation) or close to it (secondary cremation). After a secondary cremation, the bones and the remains from the fire were collected and put directly in the grave or were wrapped in a cloth, then put in a chest or vessel and then in the grave¹⁰⁹.

After the burial was finished, the mourners returned to the house of the family of the deceased and a banquet was held in commemoration of him/her, the perideipnon (περίδειπνον). On the ninth day after the burial, people gathered once again at the grave to participate in the enata (ἐνάτα), a funerary rite which is not known in details. Probably, offerings to the dead, purification practices, known as enagismoι (ἐνάγισμοί) and a kind of meal were among the main characteristics of the ceremony.

In addition, there were also annual celebrations in memory of the passed away ancestors¹¹⁰. The rites connected to these celebrations must not have been very different from the above mentioned ones. It is also known that there were annual celebrations, related to the dead of each family, in the house, before the hiera patroa (ἱερά πατρώα), which seem to have been ancestral objects or relics.

Taking everything into account, the funerary ceremonies based on the evidence of ancient Athens could not have been very different from their counterparts in Macedonia. In Herodotus' Histories all Greeks¹¹¹ are considered to have common ancestry, gods, language and traditions¹¹², thus common funerary practices.

¹⁰⁸ Sismanidis 1990, 331; Chrysostomou 2013b, 166 and 407.

¹⁰⁹ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 98-99. The same practice, more elaborate though, can be observed in the "Royal Tombs" of Aigai (Vergina). See: Andronikos 1989, 73, fig. 35, 78-79, fig. 42, 202, 203-204 and 233.

¹¹⁰ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 147-148.

¹¹¹ It has been adequately proven by the recent historical and archaeological evidence that the Macedonians were included in the group of the Greek tribes. Controversies seem to have been based mainly on political issues of antiquity and of modern time, as well as on the lack of evidence. Herodotus himself proves the Hellenicity of Macedonians. See: Hdt. 5.20.4; 9.44-45 (Where Alexander I considers himself Greek and Macedonian at the same time). See also the following relevant studies: Panayotou, A., "The Position of the Macedonian Dialect", in: Christidis, A. F., *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginning to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2007, 433-443; Χυδοπούλος, Ι., "Η εικόνα των Μακεδόνων στη γραμματειακή παράδοση της κλασικής εποχής. Όψεις του Άλλου. Η περίπτωση του Ηροδότου", *Ancient Macedonia VII*, Thessaloniki 2007, 11-22; Mallios, G., *Μύθος και ιστορία. Η περίπτωση της αρχαίας Μακεδονίας*, PhD at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 2011; Χυδοπούλος, Ι., "Οι αρχαίοι

More precisely, the finds from the graves of Edessa are in accordance to the general view of the ancient Greek burial rites. There is evidence for the use of funerary klinai (cavities on the floor of the tombs, nails and bases), a variety of pots as symbolic offerings or possibly containers of food (although there is no direct evidence for this)¹¹³ and the wide use of the lekythoi, exaleiptra and perfume bottles (unguentaria), which were important vessels in the Greek funeral rituals.

Most interesting is the fact that there have been found potential signs of the post-burial rituals mentioned above (possibly of the enata or the annual celebrations). More precisely, traces of fire were unearthed in a cavity of the natural rock bellow the ground at the area of the East Cemetery¹¹⁴. This spot, which is known from the diary of the excavation as pyre ιγ contained many objects, among which were coins of late Classical and Hellenistic Era, astragaloi, a clay loom weight, a bronze needle and other small objects. The suggestion is that they are possibly remains of an enagismos. The possibility of being remains of a cremation cannot be totally excluded though. Furthermore, in the South Cemetery, on a higher level above the T2 (Pouliakis' field), there were found parts of skyphoi and of lekythoi, which can possibly come from a post-burial ceremony as well¹¹⁵.

Such spots containing remains of fire were also traced in the cemeteries in Attica¹¹⁶. Among the ashes there were mainly bones of animals and pottery. There were also various other objects. The finds date to all Periods from Geometric to Hellenistic Era and lay on the tombs, next to them and also inside some of them. In addition, some of these sacramental fires of the Archaic and Classical Period were found in long ditches dug for this particular purpose next to the graves. Furthermore, remnants of pyres possibly related to enagismoi are attested in other regions, such as in Thera, west Peloponnesus and elsewhere¹¹⁷. Another aspect of the funerary ceremonies was, as it has been mentioned above, the burning of a kind of incense,

Άλμπες”, in: Chrysostomou, P., Chrysostomou, A. (eds.), *Η Έδεσσα και η περιοχή της. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός. Πρακτικά Γ' Πανελληνίου Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου, 11-12 Δεκεμβρίου 2010*, Edessa 2014, 137-142; Gounaropoulou, Paschidis, Hatzopoulos 2015 (see the inscriptions of the Classical and Hellenistic Period, which are written in Greek language and generally mention Greek names).

¹¹² Hdt. 8.144.2.

¹¹³ Chrysostomou 2013b, 409.

¹¹⁴ Chrysostomou 2013b, 150.

¹¹⁵ Chrysostomou 2013a, 179.

¹¹⁶ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 64-65, 75-76, 100 and 164.

¹¹⁷ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 205.

since some traces have been found in a pyxis and in small skyphoi of the TIII in the South Cemetery (in Mpizatis' field)¹¹⁸.

According to representations in art and the ancient sources, the deceased was dressed and ornamented during the funeral. It is also known that there was a shroud which covered the body. In addition, other fabric covers were put on the body or under it, like a mattress, and a cushion was placed under the head¹¹⁹. Obviously, most of the apparel of the dead has not been survived, but there were found metal objects related to it (lamellae, pins, fibulae etc.) evidencing the presence of these funerary cloths and coverings. In fact, a direct clue is the print of a cloth, possibly shroud, left on the scabbard worn by the deceased in TIII of the South Cemetery (in Mpizatis' field)¹²⁰. In addition, a fibula found on the skull of the dead woman buried in the T40 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field) is an indication of the use of fibre coverings for the head of the dead, at least in the case of the women.

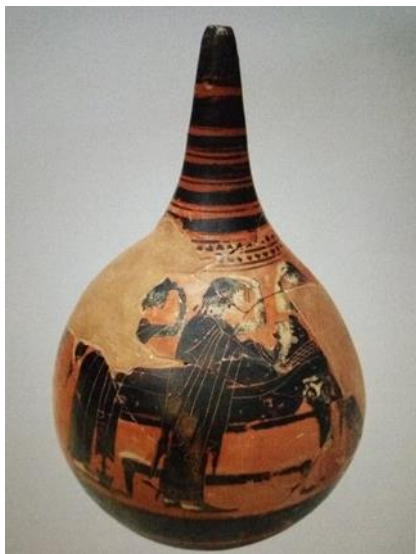


Figure 20. A prothesis scene on a black-figure attic phormiskos from Kerameikos. Source: Oikonomou et al. 2014, 70 fig. 13.



Figure 21. An ekphora scene on an attic black-figure one handed kantharos from Vulci. Source: Oikonomou et al. 2014, 83 fig. 24.

¹¹⁸ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410

¹¹⁹ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 144.

¹²⁰ Chrysostomou 2013b, 164 and 406-407.

CHAPTER 7

THE GRAVE OFFERINGS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

This chapter focuses on the objects found in the graves of Edessa and their possible significance for the society of the period under examination. Such objects can be vessels, jewellery, weapons, coins, figurines and other items used in life. Wooden furniture also existed in the graves, as indirect evidence attests (e.g. iron nails in the tombs). The grave gifts, especially the vessels, confirm the ancient Greek belief that the needs of a human in death remain the same as those he/she had in life¹²¹.

Some tombs contained many valuable objects, as, for example, the 5th century T9 in the South Cemetery, the 4th century T120 and the Hellenistic rock cut vaulted chamber T50 of the North Cemetery (see the catalogue). At the same time there were others which had fewer valuable offerings or barely contained simple pots. Even though there is not a very clear view of the cemeteries of Edessa, taking into account the looting of graves through centuries and the fact that there must be many undiscovered tombs, the finds make obvious the fact that there was a socio-economic stratification. The local elite could afford to bury expensive items honouring their dead and showing their status and virtues to the community.

Interesting is also the fact that there are offerings in some tombs which are much older than the rest. Such examples are three rock-cut vaulted chamber graves, TIV (Mpizatis' field) and TI (rural road to the south-west) located in the South Cemetery and T8 (Kartsolis' field) in the North Cemetery. This fact possibly means that the particular objects were considered valuable by the people of the time and that the family wanted to offer these relics to their dearest deceased. On the other hand, it is also possible that in some cases old offerings belonged to earlier than the rest burials of the same or of different tomb and that they were "re-offered" to the next dead¹²².

¹²¹ Vokotopoulou 1998, 21.

¹²² Chrysostomou 2013b, 135-136, 166-167 and 173-174.

7.1. Furniture

Furniture, as it was mentioned above, was needed not only at the ceremonies before the burial but also inside the graves. Klinai (beds) and bed-like structures or stretchers were of the most important since the dead were buried laid on them¹²³. Wooden sarcophagi were also generally used for this purpose in the graves¹²⁴ and, judging from the data from the excavations, it is very likely that there were in the tombs of Edessa as well¹²⁵. In addition, some rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs, as TII of the South Cemetery (rural road to the south-west), contained rock-cut klinai¹²⁶. Thus, the funerary beds from the tombs of Edessa were made of wood or were rock-cut at the sides of the grave's walls. There were not found stone sarcophagi, stone klinai or luxurious wooden klinai ornamented with glass parts, lamellas of precious metals and ivory as in the case of rich burials in other regions¹²⁷.

Funerary furniture in the tombs of Edessa had obviously the same form as those used in life. Cavities of rectangular shape on the floor of many tombs (figure 22), which were used for the placing of the legs of the klinai, indicate that they had cuboid shaped legs and dimensions that varied. Built bases for the funerary beds were also discovered in a rock-cut vaulted chamber tomb (T91) in the North Cemetery (Kartsolis' field)¹²⁸. A typical example of funerary kline for an adult was around 2 m. long and 1 m. wide¹²⁹. As in the case of the type of the Macedonian Tombs found in other regions, where there was enough space there would be objects like tables and table-like structures for the placement of the offerings or even thronoi¹³⁰. Moreover, the existence of wooden chests is evident due to the discovery of metal parts from their covering¹³¹.

¹²³ Chrysostomou 2013b, 166 and 407.

¹²⁴ Sismanidis 1990, 275 and 277.

¹²⁵ Chrysostomou 2013a, 50; 2013b, 396.

¹²⁶ Chrysostomou 2013b, 395.

¹²⁷ See: Sismanidis 1990, 184-214.

¹²⁸ Chrysostomou 2005, 456-457.

¹²⁹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 407.

¹³⁰ Sismanidis 1990, 267-268; Chrysostomou 2013b, 395-396.

¹³¹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410.

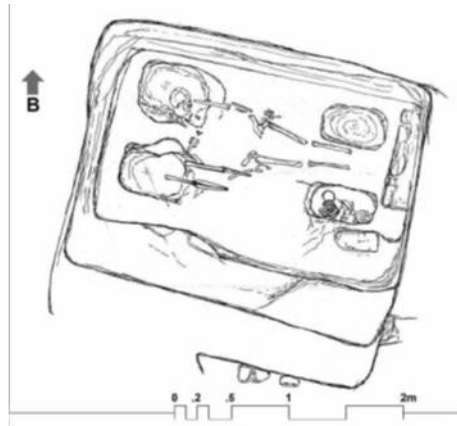


Figure 22. Ground plan of T46 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field). Visible are the rectangular cavities on the floor for the positioning of the funerary kline. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 42 fig. 7.

7.2. Vessels

Vessels are the most common finds. As it is stated above, they are possibly related to the “need” of the dead for water, wine and food (judging also from the clay pinakia)¹³², but to funerary rituals as well. Each vessel had a practical or/and symbolic value. The ones used in banquets (containers of food and drink, vessels for serving and for drinking) could be placed in the grave containing food and drink or just empty, covering symbolically the dead’s earthly needs and pleasures, which the living believed (and wished) that they continue after death.

The pottery is local, either from the region of Edessa¹³³ or from other regions of Macedonia, and imported. Vessels from Attica have a strong presence. The local ware is also influenced by its south Greek counterpart, mainly the attic, since there are also imitations¹³⁴. That is revealing for the (direct or indirect) commercial contacts of the time.

From the total number of 93 tombs related to this study the 79 contained vessels (see the catalogue). As it concerns the rest, it is possible that for some of them the lack of pots can be attributed to the fact that they were partly destroyed and looted. For instance, the area where the skull was located was the only preserved part

¹³² Vokotopoulou 1998, 21; Chrysostomou 2013a, 64-65; 2013b, 407-409.

¹³³ Chrysostomou 2008, 41 and 60.

¹³⁴ Chrysostomou 2013a, 93-94.

of the T116 of the North Cemetery¹³⁵, so the offerings to the dead must have been more before the destruction of the grave. Similar is the case of T15 and of T64 of the South Cemetery¹³⁶.

Many types of vessels were discovered in the tombs of Edessa¹³⁷ (figures 23-30). There are pots for drinking, namely skyphoi, kantharoi, kanthoroid kotylai, phialai, kalykes (rare) and mastoi (rare, found only in T8 of Kartsolis' field in the North Cemetery). The skyphoi are divided in subcategories, which are the two handled/bolsal, one handled, small non-handled, hemispherical and "Megarian" bowls. Kylikes were found only in the T25, which is dated to the 6th c. BC¹³⁸ and, thus, it is irrelevant to this study. The vessels for "serving" are oinochoai, olpai, beak-spouted prochoi and aryteres.

As it concerns some categories of pots, it has been observed a differentiation of the types used through time. The skyphoi-bolsals are most common in the 5th and 4th c. BC¹³⁹. On the other hand, the small non-handled skyphoi are popular in the Hellenistic Period¹⁴⁰. The kantharoi are also common in the Classical Period but they are used widely as offerings in the Hellenistic Period¹⁴¹. Typical Hellenistic types are also the hemispherical and the "Megarian" bowl¹⁴². In accordance to a kind of tradition, all the types of skyphoi were usually put close to the feet of the dead or between the thighs¹⁴³.

Other types found are askoi, exaleiptra, pyxides, lekythoi, alabastron (only one example in T10 of Pouliakis' field in the South Cemetery) and perfume bottles (unguentaria). These vessels were more suitable for containing oils and perfumes and obviously could play a role in the funerary ceremonies¹⁴⁴. The lekythoi are popular from the late 5th to the end of the 4th c. BC. Later on, during the Hellenistic Period, they were replaced by the perfume bottles¹⁴⁵.

¹³⁵ Chrysostomou 2013b, 106.

¹³⁶ Chrysostomou 2013a, 207 and 299.

¹³⁷ See: Chrysostomou 2013a, 81-84 and 93-133; 2013b, 429-461.

¹³⁸ Chrysostomou 2013a, 229-237.

¹³⁹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 104-113; 2013b, 407-409.

¹⁴⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 132; 2013b, 435-442.

¹⁴¹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 77; 2013b, 407-409.

¹⁴² Chrysostomou 2013a, 133; 2013b, 452-454.

¹⁴³ Chrysostomou 2013b, 407-409. See also the catalogue of the tombs in Chrysostomou 2013a.

¹⁴⁴ Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 247-248; Chrysostomou 2013a, 64-65 and n. 148, 99 and 101.

¹⁴⁵ Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 247; Chrysostomou 2013a, 65.

The rest of the vessels are amphorae, pelikai, inkpots (rare), lekanides, small pithoi, pinakia (plates), lamps and large stamnoid pyxides. Most of them, except the inkpots and the lamps, can have multiple uses. Lekanis, for example, is a vessel which could have been used as container of supplies of various kinds. In addition, lekanides and exaleiptra were evidently used in the banquets for the washing of the hands. In that occasion they possibly contained perfumed water or something similar¹⁴⁶. Thus, the particular vessels-grave gifts could be in that way related symbolically to the world of the symposion.



Figure 23. Three squat lekythoi and a red figured skyphos from T120 of the North Cemetery (Raikos' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 562 plate XIX.



Figure 24. Black-glazed inchoai from T26, T2003/1 and T46 of the South Cemetery. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 161 fig. 73.

¹⁴⁶ Vokotopoulou 1998, 24-25.



Figure 25. . Black-glazed one-handed skyphos, non-handled skyphos, small lekythos and askos. In the middle, a red-figured pelike. T9 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 166 fig. 164.



Figure 26. Perfume bottles (unguentaria) from TIV of South Cemetery (Mpizatis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 170 plate 54 and 55.



Figure 27. A Hemispherical bowl with "West Slope" decoration from T50 of North Cemetery (Kartsolis field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 145 plate 40.

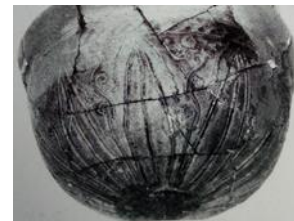


Figure 28. A "Megarian" bowl from TIII of the South Cemetery (Mpizatis field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 162 plate 49.

The three examples of the stamnoid pyxides were found in the South Cemetery (in Pouliakis' field). One of them, a part of which is only preserved, was, as it seems, placed in T6 as an offering¹⁴⁷. Nonetheless, the other two examples, preserved in good condition, were used as containers for the cremated dead of T39 and T59 (see figure 19).

¹⁴⁷ Chrysostomou 2013a, 192-193.

Furthermore, interesting finds are the lamps. They are not very common in the Classical and the Hellenistic tombs of Edessa, since only six were found. All of them date to the Hellenistic Period. First of all, lamps had a practical use, since, the mourners needed to lighten the chamber of the grave during the burial or the post-burial practices, mainly in the case of the underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs. Furthermore, taking into account the data from excavations in other places, the lamps had probably a symbolic meaning as well. Thus, they could be related to the need of the dead to lighten his way to the Under World¹⁴⁸.

Vessels identified as inkpots (figure 29) were found only in the Hellenistic rock-cut vaulted chamber TII of the South Cemetery (at the south-west rural road). Having been, possibly, personal possessions of the dead, these objects are a symbolic reference to literature and education. So, they must have been somehow related to the identity and the occupation of the dead. The same can be suggested in the case of the pens found in TIII and TV (South Cemetery, Mpizatis' field)¹⁴⁹. Emphasis on literature is also evident elsewhere. A funerary stele found in Vergina preserves a depiction of a seating man who reads a papyrus¹⁵⁰. A similar example is also the depiction of another reading man on the north wall of a cist grave found in the East Cemetery of Pella¹⁵¹. An unexpected archaeological find was a real papyrus preserving a text dealing with philosophical and mythological issues, which was found in a tomb of late 4th- early 3rd c. BC at Derveni, where lies the ancient city of Lete¹⁵².



Figure 29. Inkpots from the TII of the South Cemetery (rural road). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 188 plate 71.

Metal vessels (figure 30) are rarer. In fact they have been unearthed from T120 of the North Cemetery (Raikos' field) and T9, T16, T22 and T24 of the South Cemetery

¹⁴⁸ Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 248; Chrysostomou 2013b, 409.

¹⁴⁹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410.

¹⁵⁰ Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, 108-111; Kalaitzi 2016, 36-37.

¹⁵¹ Lilimpaki-Akamati 2001, 456.

¹⁵² Kouremenos, Parassoglou, Tsantsanoglou 2006, mainly 1-9. Then, an analysis of the text follows.

(Pouliakis' field). Just as in the case of the clay pottery, metal vessels are related to the banquets and the funerary ceremonies, especially the phialae, which are the most common in the tombs of Edessa¹⁵³. The presence of metal pots in the tombs is of course an indication of wealth¹⁵⁴ and brings in mind the groups of luxurious offerings to the dead of the high aristocracy in the "Royal Tombs" at Vergina¹⁵⁵.



Figure 30. Bronze phiale and oinochoe. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 156 fig. 45.

7.3. Coins

Coins were items valuable as grave offerings. In single burials (cist graves, tile graves etc.), they were found at the hand, on the chest or on the pelvis of the dead. Concerning those which were found close to the skull, it is very possible that they were initially placed in the mouth of the deceased. In the case of the rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs, the coins were placed in small non-handled skyphoi¹⁵⁶.

The coins symbolised the "χαρώνειοι ὀβολοί" (Charon's obols)¹⁵⁷ and were "useful" for the deceased as, according to the ancient Greek belief, he/she had to pay the boatman Charon the fare for the transportation to Hades. This belief is illustrated very well in the ancient literature, often in a humorous way. In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, for example, even Dionysos had to pay the fare when he visited the world of the dead

¹⁵³ Chrysostomou 2013a, 64.

¹⁵⁴ Chrysostomou 2013b, 409.

¹⁵⁵ For the Royal Tombs of Vergina see: Andronikos 1989. However, the examples are not, apparently, comparable concerning the quantity and the quality.

¹⁵⁶ Chrysostomou 2013a, 55; 2013b, 409.

¹⁵⁷ Chrysostomou 2013a, 55.

searching for the great poets (Aeschylus and Euripides)¹⁵⁸. In a later source, Lucian's "Dialogs of the Dead", the dead philosopher Menippos, due to his poverty, has no money to pay Charon, who gets furious for this¹⁵⁹.

The coins can be helpful in research, for they provide clues for dating the burials. But, they should be studied in relation to the other finds, since sometimes the results may be misleading¹⁶⁰. That is because coins could have been in circulation for many years and in some occasions old coins, which perhaps had no monetary value any more, were used just as grave offerings. An example is a bronze coin of Philip II found in a burial dated to the end of 3rd-early 2nd c. BC¹⁶¹.

7.4. Jewellery

Jewellery (Figures 31-34), another important category of finds, is very common in the graves of Edessa. Earrings, pendants, necklaces (figure 31), fibulae, pins, beads (as parts of bracelets, pendants or necklaces) and rings are all attested. The materials used for their construction are various. Most often are those made of gold, silver, bronze and iron¹⁶². One rare find is the bone periapton of the Tβ in the East Cemetery (see the catalogue). The great majority of the jewellerys are related to women burials¹⁶³ and the most characteristic items of the female ornamentation are the earrings¹⁶⁴. These ornaments but also the objects related to the toilette, such as the tweezers and the ear-pick found in tombs of the South Cemetery (see the catalogue), are all expressions of the gender identity, female beauty and social status¹⁶⁵.

¹⁵⁸ Aristoph. Frogs 269-270.

¹⁵⁹ Luc. DMort. 22.

¹⁶⁰ Chrysostomou 2013b, 162.

¹⁶¹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 155.

¹⁶² For the jewellery see: Chrysostomou 2013a, 69-80; 2013b, 497-504.

¹⁶³ Chrysostomou 2013a, 69.

¹⁶⁴ Chrysostomou 2013a, 56.

¹⁶⁵ Chrysostomou 2007, 66; 2013a, 41.



Figure 31. Golden necklace from T50 of the North Cemetery (Kartsolis field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 567 plate XXVIII.

Pins, fibulae and rings, on the other hand, are attested in both female and male burials. As it was mentioned in previous chapter, the first two categories are considered parts of the dress (see page 36). The rings¹⁶⁶ are common finds. Some of them have on the head relief or carved simple decoration, such as one from T17 of Pouliakis' field in the South Cemetery, or representations of objects, birds and figures. Some representations are also related to gods (Eros, Aphrodite and possibly Artemis), as in the case of the rings from T26 of the same cemetery, one example of which can be seen below (figure 34).



Figure 32. Golden beads from a bracelet from T50 of the North Cemetery (Kartsolis field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 568 plate XXIX.



Figure 33. Golden earrings from TIV of the South Cemetery (Mpizatis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 569 plate XXXII.

¹⁶⁶ Chrysostomou 2013a, 76-80.

The rings in general are symbols of status, but, judging from the representations, they were also possibly regarded as religious, protective and somehow magical objects. A different, more practical, use could be the sealing of documents and goods¹⁶⁷. Furthermore, the dead probably wore wreaths on the head (or at least the wreaths joined them in the grave) either made of perishable materials¹⁶⁸ or of precious metals¹⁶⁹. The existence of golden wreaths in the tombs of Edessa, at least during the Hellenistic Period, is attested by the golden leaves which were found in T50 of Kartsolis' field and in TII of Mpizatis' field¹⁷⁰.



Figure 34. Bronze ring with representation of Eros and of a woman playing with astragali. Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 154 fig. 39.

Epistomia (ἐπιστόμια), golden lamellae covering the mouth of the deceased, can be considered as a kind of jewellery, which had obviously only funerary use. They are attested only in two Hellenistic graves of the North Cemetery, T50¹⁷¹ (figure 35) and T88¹⁷². A third one was found in the Archaic T25 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field)¹⁷³, together with two golden lamellae for the eyes. The epistomia have small holes at the edges indicating that they were attached to a kind of cloth, as it seems, a part of the shroud, which covered the face, or a kind of fibre band tied around the jaw

¹⁶⁷ Chrysostomou 2013a, 77.

¹⁶⁸ Despoini 2016, 118.

¹⁶⁹ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 207. Compare also the elaborate wreaths of the "Royal Tombs" in Vergina. See: Andronikos 1989, 79, 171-173 and 202-203.

¹⁷⁰ Chrysostomou 2013b, 497.

¹⁷¹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 140-141.

¹⁷² Chrysostomou 2005, 453.

¹⁷³ Chrysostomou 2013a, 231.

and the head. These fibre coverings and the epistomia were the solution for the gapping of the mouth of the dead when he/she was displayed on the funerary bed¹⁷⁴.

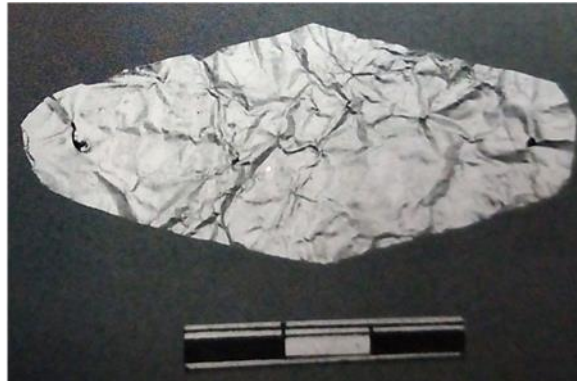


Figure 35. The golden epistomio from T50 of the North Cemetery (Kartsolis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 141 plate 36.

Lamellae for the face are common in north Greece mostly during the Archaic and the Classical Era¹⁷⁵. These are often elaborate golden masks covering the whole face. So, epistomia, appear to be “cheaper substitutes” of the golden masks¹⁷⁶. As it concerns the two items from Edessa, they are late examples attesting the persistence of the old tradition in the Hellenistic period¹⁷⁷.

However, it is important to stress the fact that such kinds of lamellae for funerary use are not an invention of Macedonians. Older similar examples have been found in Middle East (dated even to Late Neolithic and Bronze Age), Cyprus, Rhodes and regions of Asia Minor and Balkans¹⁷⁸. The south Greek Mycenaean golden masks are also very well-known and they are thought to be the direct predecessors of the Macedonian ones¹⁷⁹. Nevertheless, as it concerns the cities of south Greece, it seems that, the tradition of covering the face with epistomia and masks had already been abandoned by the 6th c. BC¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁴ Despoini 1998, 68-69; Chrysostomou 2013b, 407.

¹⁷⁵ Misailidou-Despotidou 1997, 174-176.

¹⁷⁶ Despoini 1998, 74.

¹⁷⁷ See also: Terzopoulou 1998, 20-22.

¹⁷⁸ Despoini 1998, 70-74.

¹⁷⁹ Chrysostomou 2013a, 55-56.

¹⁸⁰ Despoini 2016, 116.

7.5. Weapons

Weapons are obviously the items most strongly related to manhood¹⁸¹. They were the necessary kit for the battle, where, according to the Homeric virtues, the men gain glory (“...μάχη ἔνι κυδιανείρη...”)¹⁸². In the tombs of Edessa, prevalent are the spearheads (figure 38), which are usually placed in pairs next to the right or the left shoulder of the dead. Common are also the iron knives, which are usually curved and are normally placed at the hands or close to them. Swords (figure 36), placed together with spearheads and knives, were found in two tombs, the T9 and T24 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis’ field)¹⁸³. The swords were placed diagonally on the chest of the deceased¹⁸⁴. In addition, again in the South Cemetery, a part of scabbard was found in the Hellenistic TIII (Mpizatis’ field). The remains of scabbards found also with the sword of the T24 confirm that the swords were placed in the tombs put in the scabbards¹⁸⁵. Furthermore, the T9, apart from the spearheads the knife and the sword, contained a bronze helmet (of the so-called “Illyrian type”), on which the name ΜΕΛΑΣ was inscribed¹⁸⁶ (figure 37).



Figure 36. Swords from T9 and T24 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis’ field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 160 fig. 58.

The offering of weapons in male burials is an old custom which is attested already in the Bronze Age and occurs not only in Greece but also in Europe in

¹⁸¹ For the weapons see: Chrysostomou 2013a, 60-63; 2014, 146-149.

¹⁸² Hom. Il. 6.124.

¹⁸³ Chrysostomou 2014, 146.

¹⁸⁴ Chrysostomou 2014, 148.

¹⁸⁵ Chrysostomou 2013a, 225 and 227.

¹⁸⁶ Chrysostomou 2013a, 200.

general¹⁸⁷. In Edessa, the particular funerary practice is, as it seems, directly related to the general custom of the “armoured dead men” in Macedonia dated to Archaic Period and lasting until the Hellenistic Era. It is important to mention here the T25 of the 6th c. BC¹⁸⁸, located in the South Cemetery. This older tomb had more weapons (a shield included) than any other among those of the Classical Period. The custom is also attested during the same historical period in neighbouring Epirus and Thessaly, but different is the case of the Greek South, namely the more egalitarian city-states¹⁸⁹.

So, the use of weapons in burials characterises the places where local aristocracies have enhanced social and political role. It cannot, of course, be stated that all the tombs which contained weapons belonged to members of aristocracy in the same way as not all the female burials with jewellery were aristocratic. However, it seems to be true that each family wanted to provide to their deceased, always in relation to their economic affordability, with the items which were considered expressions of high virtues in the context of the local society.

On the other hand, the weapons are rarer as finds from the 4th c. BC and later. Moreover, the only item related to the warfare from Hellenistic tombs of Edessa is the above mentioned scabbard from TIII (see the catalogue). Thus, we may think that the need of the men to present themselves as warriors was not as strong as before. Perhaps, the urbanisation of the region and the social and economic changes that ensued played a role to this.

¹⁸⁷ Chrysostomou 2014, 143.

¹⁸⁸ Chrysostomou 2013a, 229-237.

¹⁸⁹ Chrysostomou 2014, 143-144.



Figure 37. The bronze helmet from T9 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 157 fig. 50.

7.6. Strigils

Strigils (figure 38) are also objects related to the virtues of the men. To begin with the latters, strigils were found in tombs of the entire period, which is relevant to this study, namely from 5th to 2nd c. BC. They are typical equipment of the palaistra and, thus, related to the athletic occupation¹⁹⁰. They are also common finds in Archaic and Classical tombs of men and children in south Greece (e.g. in Argos, Attica and elsewhere), where they have the same symbolic value¹⁹¹. However, in some occasions strigils were found in woman tombs, but not evidently in Edessa. In this case they are probably related to the bath and the toilette¹⁹².

¹⁹⁰ Chrysostomou 2013a, 58.

¹⁹¹ Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 101 and 208.

¹⁹² Chrysostomou 2013a, 58 and n. 103 with bibliography.



Figure 38. Three spearheads a curved knife and two strigils from T9 of the South Cemetery (Pouliakis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 166 fig. 166.

7.7. Figurines

Figurines are also interesting as funerary gifts. They are 26 in number, found in 11 out of the 93 graves, and the majority of them represent female figures (17 in number, figures 39 and 40). There are also examples representing animals, the god Eros (1 example) and a rider (1 example). Two other represent an old male figure and a young figure lying on a rooster (figure 41). All of them are made of clay. The female figurines can be categorised into two groups, those which have the form of a bust and the others which represent the entire body of the figure, which can be seated or standing. Interesting is also the female figurine in the type of *kourotrophos*, which, namely, represents a woman suckling an infant¹⁹³.

The figurines are generally considered as being objects related to religious beliefs and protective deities. The fact that these items were found in tombs does not necessarily mean that they were manufactured only for funerary use. They could have religious but also other uses in life and in households¹⁹⁴.

Concerning the funerary use of the figurines, one of the explanations is that people engraved them asking the chthonic gods to protect their beloved that passed away. These deities could have been Aphrodite, Dionysos, and Artemis with their

¹⁹³ For the figurines found in the tombs see the catalogue below and each relevant tomb in the catalogue of Chrysostomou 2013a; 2013b.

¹⁹⁴ See: Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, 35, where there is a reference to figurines from Pella, found in cemeteries, houses and sanctuaries.

chthonic hypostasis, but also others, such as Demeter and Persephone¹⁹⁵. It is also possible that some of the figurines represented the dead or their beloved who, in this way, symbolically accompanied them in the other world¹⁹⁶. The figurines representing animals could also be considered as toys, apotropaic creatures or offerings related to funerary and religious rituals¹⁹⁷.



Figure 39. Two female figurines from T50 of the North Cemetery (Kartsolis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013b, 566 plates XXV and XXVI.



Figure 40. Figurine representing a seated female figure from T2003/1 of the South Cemetery (rural road). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 168 fig. 260.



Figure 41. A figure lying on a rooster from T2002/2 of the South Cemetery (Mpektsis' field). Source: Chrysostomou 2013a, 168 fig. 257.

¹⁹⁵ Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, 37.

¹⁹⁶ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, 35-36.

¹⁹⁷ Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, 39.

7.8. Other items

Astragals, pessoi and shells are objects attested in the tombs of Edessa as well. Pessoi were only found in TII of the South Cemetery (Mpizatis' field) and they were made of glass. Astragals, on the other hand, were found in nine graves. They are natural anklebones or imitations made of clay¹⁹⁸. Both pessoi and astragals were normally used in life as games, thus they could symbolise the delights of life and the hope that they can continue somehow after death¹⁹⁹. As it concerns the shells, they were found in 2 Hellenistic graves of the South and the North Cemetery (T4 of Pouliakis' field and T50 of Kartsolis' field). Shells were perhaps a kind of food offerings to the dead, since they were popular delicacies for the living, or they could be toys and collectible items²⁰⁰. It is also suggested that they embodied some beliefs of the people concerning the deceased's soul after death²⁰¹.

"Household" objects, such as loom weights, needles and whetstones, were also found. However, it is true that, this category potentially includes other items used in everyday life, like knives and vessels, which were mentioned above. Concerning the knives (figure 38), they were obviously useful in military expeditions, thus they are related to weapons, but also in agricultural activities, in workshops, in the processing of the food and even in ceremonies²⁰². They were, moreover, found in both male and female burials²⁰³. Plus, the use of knives in tombs of women is also very popular at Archontiko²⁰⁴. The whetstones, an offering also attested in graves of the Early Iron Age, have, similarly, various uses in everyday life²⁰⁵. Loom weights and needles are obviously related to the everyday activities of the women²⁰⁶, but they are not, as it seems, very common in the graves of the region. Jewelleries instead seem more fitting at expressing the social identity of women.

¹⁹⁸ Chrysostomou 2013a, 58-59; 2013b, 410.

¹⁹⁹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410. For the astragals see also: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 249.

²⁰⁰ Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 249 and n. 460.

²⁰¹ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410.

²⁰² Chrysostomou 2013a, 92.

²⁰³ Chrysostomou 2013a, 62-63.

²⁰⁴ Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2009, 478.

²⁰⁵ Chrysostomou 2013a, 178.

²⁰⁶ Chrysostomou 2013b, 410

CHAPTER 8

A VIEW UPON CEMETERIES IN OTHER PLACES OF MACEDONIA

My aim in this chapter is to present some general information concerning the cemeteries of some other regions related to Macedonians and the Macedonian Kingdom. Certainly, it is not possible to include all the discovered cemeteries in this study. Moreover, in some regions, such as Almopia, there is not yet enough evidence, concerning the Classical and the Hellenistic Period. In the case of other places, the identity of the population is not certain (whether they are Macedonians or not), as for example in Pydna²⁰⁷. Thus, it would be more preferable to analyse the data from tombs discovered in some selected places of Upper Macedonia, the mountainous lands of Macedonians, and of Lower Macedonia which occupies the plains to the north and north-west of the Thermaic Gulf.

8.1. Lower Macedonia

One of the most well-known sites for its ancient cemeteries is the modern settlement of Vergina, which is generally identified as the city of Aigai, the old capital of the Macedonian Kingdom. The tombs which date to the Classical Period²⁰⁸ are pit graves and built of stone or mud bricks cist graves, which sometimes preserve interesting wall paintings. There are also some tile graves and two examples of a peculiar form of underground chambers having internal columns. In the Hellenistic Period there are pit graves, tile graves, which became more popular in this period, built cist graves and pot burials²⁰⁹. The tile graves seem to be the most purely furnished²¹⁰ as in the case of their counterparts at Edessa. Finally, the most impressive graves are the Macedonian Tombs, which are 14 discovered until present. They are

²⁰⁷ Tiverios 2008, 19-21.

²⁰⁸ Kakamanoudis 2017, 110-111.

²⁰⁹ Kottaridi 1996, 80; Kakamanoudis 2017, 118-122.

²¹⁰ Kottaridi 1996, 82.

dated from Late Classical Period to the 2nd c. BC²¹¹. Grave stelai with relief and painted representations are also attested²¹².

The orientation of the burials during the Classical Period is usually on the north-south axis²¹³, but from the 2nd half of the 4th c. BC an east-west orientation prevails²¹⁴. On the other hand, as it became clear in previous chapter, the east-west orientation prevails already from the 5th c BC in the tombs found in Edessa.

Inhumation was the prevailed burial practice during both the Classical and the Hellenistic Period. Nevertheless, unlike Edessa, where there have been barely 4 cremations attested, in Vergina, there were found much more cremations dated to both periods. Plus, cremations seem to have been somehow more popular during the Late Classical and Hellenistic Era in the particular region²¹⁵. As it concerns the grave offerings, there have been found imported and local clay vessels, figurines, jewellery, weapons, strigils and coins. During the Late Classical and the Hellenistic Period, the coins were used more frequently and the weapons continued to be popular²¹⁶. In addition, impressive offerings come from the Macedonian Tombs of the “Royal Necropolis”, namely many types of weapons and various vessels and objects of precious materials²¹⁷.

The excavation in the other capital of the Kingdom, Pella, resulted in the discovery of interesting finds. As it concerns the Classical Period, there were pit graves, rock-cut cist graves, built cist graves, tile graves and pot burials. In addition, some of the pits were encircled by simple stones and they can be categorised to the type of the rock-lined graves²¹⁸. During the Hellenistic Period, a very common type is the rock-cut cist grave. Built cist graves and tile graves are also attested. Furthermore, there are many underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs, which date from the end of the 4th c. BC forward²¹⁹ and Macedonian Tombs²²⁰. Interesting are also the discovered

²¹¹ Kakamanoudis 2017, 119-121. For some characteristic examples see: Andronikos 1989, 31-37, 96-117 and 198-206.

²¹² For an analytical view on the stelai of Vergina see: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984.

²¹³ Kakamanoudis 2017, 110.

²¹⁴ Kottaridi 1996, 82; Kakamanoudis 2017, 117.

²¹⁵ Kakamanoudis 2017, 110 and 118.

²¹⁶ Kottaridi 1996, 87; Kakamanoudis 2017, 111 and 122.

²¹⁷ Andronikos 1989, 117-217.

²¹⁸ Akamatis 2008, 145-146; Kakamanoudis 2017, 173 and 175-176.

²¹⁹ Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 73.

²²⁰ Chrysostomou 2003, 81-91.

grave stelai of Classical and Hellenistic Period which provide information about the names of Pella's inhabitants²²¹. In addition, two characteristic examples preserve high quality low and high reliefs²²².

The pit graves, the tile graves and the cist graves are usually oriented on the east-west axis in both historical periods²²³. However, as it concerns the Classical Era, the "rule" according which the men were normally buried having the head to the west seems to have been very loose, since the great majority of the skulls inside the graves were located to the east²²⁴.

As it concerns the type of burial, the great majority of the tombs of both historical periods contained inhumations. The cremations were few and are either primary or secondary²²⁵. In some cases, as in the case of T47 of the South Cemetery of Edessa, the deceased mothers were buried together with their new-born children²²⁶. Generally, the finds from the graves were imported and local clay vessels and some other ones made of other materials, figurines, jewellery, tools, weapons, strigils, coins and bronze mirrors. Gold and bronze gold gilded wreaths have also been found²²⁷.

Another important settlement, concerning the finds from its cemeteries, is the one located at the modern village of Archontiko, which lies in close distance to the west of Pella. According to a suggestion the particular settlement is possibly the ancient city of Tyrissa²²⁸. The relevant to this study tombs date to the Classical and the Early Hellenistic Period, since the settlement was as it seems destroyed by raiding Gauls in 279 BC²²⁹. The most common type during this era is the pit grave. There were also some tile graves and few built cist graves²³⁰.

The tombs of the 5th c. BC continued the Archaic tradition, namely, they were east-west or north-south oriented. The women were buried having the head to the north, south or east but not to the west. In the same way, the burials of men had not

²²¹ Gounaropoulou, Paschidis, Hatzopoulos 2015, 659-704 and 709-714.

²²² Akamatis 2003, 66; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 71.

²²³ Kakamanoudis 2017, 175 and 179-180.

²²⁴ Kakamanoudis 2017, 175.

²²⁵ Kakamanoudis 2017, 175, 180 and 182.

²²⁶ Kakamanoudis 2017, 175 and n. 667.

²²⁷ Lilimpaki-Akamati, Akamatis 2014, 261; Kakamanoudis 2017, 176 and 182-183.

²²⁸ Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012, 512.

²²⁹ Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2009, 478.

²³⁰ Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2009, 487.

the head to the east²³¹. During the 4th and early 3rd c. BC the east-west orientation prevailed and women were buried having the head to the east and men to the west respectively²³². As in the other cases, the common funerary practice was the inhumation²³³. The grave offerings were clay and bronze vessels, few glass vessels, figurines, a clay head of a young man, jewellery, weapons, knives, strigils, astragals, coins and bronze gold gilded wreaths²³⁴.

Most of the discovered graves from the region of Almopia date to earlier than the relevant to this study historical periods. However, there have been traced burials of the 5th c. BC, which have been found in the region of the modern village of Konstantia. The interesting fact is that these burials were inside built by irregular stones small chamber tombs, each of them covered with tumulus. The graves had usually a small stone-lined corridor to the east leading from outside to the chamber, while the entrance of the tomb was sealed by a stone wall. Such graves are characteristic for the region of Almopia and were used for many consecutive burials²³⁵. The problem is that they normally date to the Early Iron Age, so, as it seems, related to the earlier inhabitants of the region, the ones that are known as Almopes (see pages 5 and 7). The grave gifts were clay vessels, among which exaleiptra, and few fibulae²³⁶.

So, taking into account that Almopia was already part of the Macedonian Kingdom by the 5th c. BC, the previously mentioned Classical burials are either related to the offspring of integrated to Macedonian population Almopes, which preserved part of the tradition and the memory of the past, or they are burials of common Macedonians who for some reason used the funerary constructions of Almopes. Nevertheless, the evidence is very scarce for the moment and future excavation are needed to set more light to the cemeteries and the funerary practices in the region.

²³¹ Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2006, 704 and 708. For the orientation of the tombs in Archontiko during the Classical and the Hellenistic Period see: Kakamanoudis 2017, 162.

²³² Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2006, 708.

²³³ Kakamanoudis 2017, 164.

²³⁴ Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2009, 487-488.

²³⁵ Chrysostomou 2000, 508-509.

²³⁶ Chrysostomou 2000, 512-513.

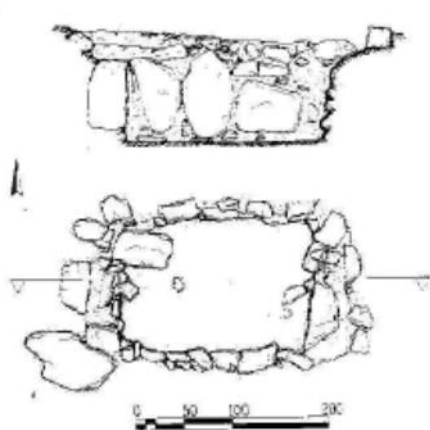


Figure 42. Ground plan and section drawing of Tomb 26 where Classical grave gifts were found.
Source Chrysostomou 2000, 510 sketch 26.

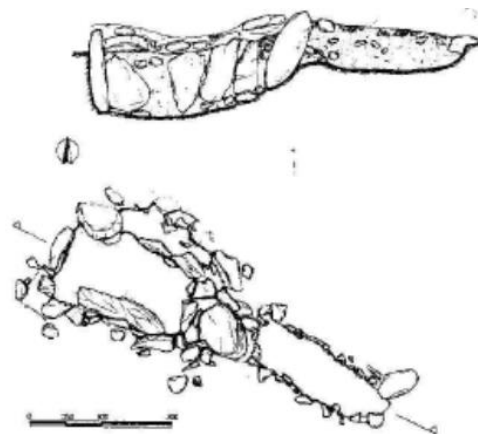


Figure 43. Ground plan and section drawing of Tomb 39 where Classical grave gifts were found.
Source: Chrysostomou 2000, 513 sketch 5.

The settlement identified with the ancient city of Mieza²³⁷ is located some kilometres to the south of Edessa. In this region, there are interesting graves of the Classical and early Hellenistic Period which can be categorised into rock-cut cist graves and pit graves. There are also built cist graves (very few) and Macedonian Tombs of the Hellenistic Era²³⁸. The prevailed orientation of the tombs is on the east-west axis. Cremations were few and all related to the late Classical-Hellenistic Period²³⁹. Clay pottery, few metal vessels, figurines, jewellery, weapons, a strigil, an epistomio and coins were among the finds from the graves. The use of weapons as grave offerings seems to have been reduced from the 4th c. BC forward²⁴⁰.

The excavation of the ancient cemetery in the area of modern Sindos was also fruitful. According to a suggestion, the settlement is possibly ancient Sindos²⁴¹. It was prosperous during the Archaic Period and the Classical Period while it was, as it seems, in decline during the Hellenistic Period²⁴². Concerning the types of the tombs, there have been found pit graves, which are the most common, built cist graves, built of stone slabs cist graves, pits which contained stone or clay sarcophagi and tile graves. There are also few pot-burials of the Classical Era²⁴³. Burials of animals are attested as

²³⁷ Rhomiopoulou, Touratsoglou 2002, 15.

²³⁸ Rhomiopoulou, Touratsoglou 2002, 15-18; Kakamanoudis 2017, 146-147 and 149-150.

²³⁹ Kakamanoudis 2017, 146 and 149.

²⁴⁰ Rhomiopoulou, Touratsoglou 2002, 19

²⁴¹ Tiverios 2009, 406.

²⁴² Tiverios 2009, 404-405.

²⁴³ Despoini 2016, 111-114.

well (see page 30). The orientation of the dead was on the east-west axis or on the north-south axis in fewer examples. In female burials, the head of the deceased was found to the east and in the case of male burials to the west²⁴⁴. The great majority of the burials are inhumations. The cremations are few²⁴⁵. The grave offerings were clay and metal vessels, figurines, jewellery, weapons, knives, strigils, epistomia, astragals, coins and bronze gold gilded wreaths²⁴⁶.

8.2. Upper Macedonia

Interesting are the finds from the cemetery of Aiane, the capital of the Kingdom of Elimiotis²⁴⁷. The use of the cemeteries is continuous and there are graves related to the entire Classical Period and the Hellenistic Period as well²⁴⁸. The great majority of the tombs are pit graves, while there are also built cist graves. There were also found built by stones periboloi, which enclosed some pit graves forming groups²⁴⁹. There are also some impressive built chamber graves marked by above-ground structures, possibly for the cult of the particular dead. These tombs, according to the excavator's suggestion are related to the Royalty of the city²⁵⁰. Grave signs of various types are attested, among which Ionic painted stelai and a head of a male statue²⁵¹.

The tombs are generally oriented on the east-west axis having some deviation to the north or south²⁵². The graves generally contained inhumations. The cremations were very few²⁵³. The grave offerings were clay metal and glass vessels, clay and bone

²⁴⁴ Despoini 2016, 115.

²⁴⁵ Despoini 2016, 111-114; Kakamanoudis 2017, 229, 234 and fig. 406.

²⁴⁶ Despoini 2016, 116-119; Kakamanoudis 2017, 229-230 and 232-237. For an analytical view of the grave offerings see: Despoini, A., *Σίνδος II : το νεκροταφείο, ανασκαφικές έρευνες 1980-1982. Πήλινα, γυάλινα και φαγεντιανά αγγεία, πήλινοι λύχνοι, μεταλλικά αγγεία, πήλινα ειδώλια και πλαστικά αγγεία, νομίσματα*, Athens 2016; Despoini, A., *Σίνδος III : το νεκροταφείο, ανασκαφικές έρευνες 1980-1982. Μάσκες και χρυσά ελάσματα, κοσμήματα, μικροαντικείμενα και σπλεγγίδες, είδη οπλισμού*, Athens 2016.

²⁴⁷ Karamitrou-Mentisidi 2011a, 84.

²⁴⁸ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1988, 19; 2006, 840-842.

²⁴⁹ Karamitrou-mentesidi 2008, 79; Kakamanoudis 2017, 53-54 and 57.

²⁵⁰ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2008, 48-61; 2011a, 150.

²⁵¹ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2008, 54 and 58-59; 2011a, 146 and 150.

²⁵² Kakamanoudis 2017, 53.

²⁵³ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2006, 834; 2007, 39; Kakamanoudis 2017, 53-54 and 57

figurines, jewellery, weapons, strigils, parts of gold and gold gilded wreaths, astragals, shells, a turtle shell, tweezers, a spoon, an ear-pick, epistomia and coins²⁵⁴.

Another cemetery of Upper Macedonia is the one located at the modern village of Krepeni in the region of ancient Orestis²⁵⁵. Unfortunately, there are only tombs of the Early Hellenistic Period found (their number is not mentioned), which can be categorised into pit graves and built cist graves. Only one cremation is attested²⁵⁶. An interesting find is a grave stele of the Classical Period, on which there is the inscription: ΞΕΝΑΡΧΟ (of Xenarchos), which is obviously the name of the deceased²⁵⁷. The stele confirms the existence of tombs of the Classical Era to be found in future excavations. The grave offerings are clay vessels, jewellery of gold and silver and coins²⁵⁸.

In addition, there were found 12 inhumations of the Classical Period some kilometers to the west of Krepeni, in the modern village of Pentavrysos, a region which is also related to the Kingdom of Orestis²⁵⁹. Apart from one large cist grave the rest were pit graves. They were in general oriented on the east-west axis²⁶⁰. Interesting are the grave signs found in the area, namely a relief stele of the 5th c. BC, a pillar of the 4th c. BC, possibly a base for a funerary monument, which had the inscription: ΜΑΧΑΤΑΣ/ΛΙΚΚΥΡΟΥ (Machatas of Likkyros)²⁶¹. The grave gifts were local and Attic clay vessels, a strigil, a spearhead, jewellery for the women and rings, which were used by both sexes and have depictions of animals and of the god Pan. Another one depicts a woman wearing chiton and standing in front of a thymiaterion (θυμιατήριον), a vessel for burning incense²⁶².

Excavation in the region of ancient Eordaia, has revealed examples of underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs, pit graves²⁶³ and even Macedonian Tombs²⁶⁴. Hellenistic underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs were found at the

²⁵⁴ Kakamanoudis 2017, 54-58.

²⁵⁵ Kakamanoudis 2017, 27-28.

²⁵⁶ Kakamanoudis 2017, 28-29.

²⁵⁷ Sverkos 2009, 113-119.

²⁵⁸ Kakamanoudis 2017, 29.

²⁵⁹ Kakamanoudis 2017, 24.

²⁶⁰ Tsougaris 2004, 689.

²⁶¹ Tsougaris 2004, 687 and 689. Among the funerary monuments was also a marble Late Archaic sphinx.

²⁶² Tsougaris 2004, 690-691.

²⁶³ There is not always a clear distinction between the pit graves and the rock-cut cist graves. Concerning the tombs found in other regions of Macedonia, which is the topic of this chapter, I use the term mentioned in the relevant publications.

²⁶⁴ Karamitrou-Mentesisdi 2008; Kakamanoudis 2017, 35-44.

site of Spilia, one of which was found intact. Clay vessels, jewellery, a golden epistomio, figurines, astragals and coins were among the finds from the graves. These tombs were used for multiple burials and, more precisely, they received cremations²⁶⁵.

Pit graves of the Hellenistic Period were found at Spilia²⁶⁶ and Classical and Hellenistic examples of the same type and of built cist graves in Mavropigi²⁶⁷. The type of the rock-lined graves is also attested concerning the Classical Period²⁶⁸. Furthermore, there is not a strict uniformity as it concerns the orientation of the tombs²⁶⁹. Among the grave offerings were clay vessels, some bronze vessels, jewellery, weapons, knives, coins and astragals. Interesting is though the fact that weapons (spearheads) are attested in Hellenistic burials²⁷⁰, while in Edessa, as it has been mentioned, they are almost absent during this period (see page 50).

Concerning the Macedonian Tombs, there were found two examples, a large impressive one at Spilia, which has two chambers and a Doric façade²⁷¹, and a simpler with one chamber found at Pirgoi²⁷². The tombs date both to the Hellenistic Period, but the simpler one seems to be the earlier²⁷³. Among the grave offerings of the tombs, were clay vessels, figurines, parts of a gold gilded wreath (found in the tomb at Pirgoi), strigils and coins²⁷⁴.

8.3. Comparative analysis

Taking everything into account, funerary practices attested in Edessa of the Classical and the Hellenistic Period appear to have been similar to those of other Macedonian cities. Vessels, local or imported, were the most popular grave gifts. The majority of them are made of clay, while the existence of metal vessels is a mark of wealth and of high status, especially when those metal vessels are combined with a considerable quantity of other precious items (jewellery, weapons etc.). Jewellery,

²⁶⁵ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2005, 498-505; 2008, 40-44.

²⁶⁶ Kakamanoudis 2017, 35-37.

²⁶⁷ Kakamanoudis 2017, 37-44.

²⁶⁸ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011b, 51.

²⁶⁹ Kakamanoudis 2017, 36, 38, 41 and 43.

²⁷⁰ Kakamanoudis 2017, 43-44.

²⁷¹ See: Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1987.

²⁷² See: Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995.

²⁷³ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995, 30-31 and 33.

²⁷⁴ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995, 31-33; Kakamanoudis 2017, 36 n. 75.

attested more or less in the cemeteries of various Macedonian settlements, is a characteristic grave gift for female burials, but specific items of this category, such as rings, are also related to men. The rings are also revealing for the beliefs and the religion of the local society and the people who wore them since some of them preserve representations related to gods and rituals, as in the case of some examples from Edessa (page 46-47) and from Pentavrysos (page 61).

Weapons and strigils, objects related to male virtues, are also popular in the Macedonian cemeteries. However, concerning the weapons, a general reduction in frequency and quantity can be noticed from the Late Classical Period forward. But, as it has been already stated, there is not a complete uniformity between the different regions of Macedonia. For example, judging from the up to present finds, in Edessa the weapons from tombs dated from the end of Classical Period forward are almost not attested while in other sites, as in excavated regions of Eordaia and in Vergina, were still used as grave gifts. Nonetheless, it is hard to detect the reason behind this, let's say, sign of conservatism. In addition, epistomia, attested at Edessa and other sites of Lower Macedonia (e.g. Mieza, Sindos) and of Upper Macedonia (e.g. Aiane, Spilia) were used "traditionally" as funerary items by Macedonians (see also pages 47-48).

The most popular grave types are the pit and the rock-cut cist graves. The other types, namely the tile graves, the cist graves, the pot-burials and the underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs were also widely known. It became clear, though, that there is not a strict uniformity between the different regions concerning the grave constructions, since local variations are attested as, for instance, the stone or clay sarcophagi at Sindos, the tombs of Konstantia in Almopia and the underground chambers with internal columns of Vergina. The monumental Macedonian Tomb is the most impressive type, but the absence of this kind of funerary construction in Edessa is weird taking also into consideration the fact that the particular type of tomb is attested in neighbouring regions, such as Pyrgoi, Mieza and Pella. Furthermore, the discovered grave stelai in different places (Edessa, Vergina, Pella, Aiane, Krepeni and Pentavrysos) confirm the activity of skilful artists in Macedonia.

Furthermore, inhumation is the common burial practice during both Classical and Hellenistic Period in Edessa and generally in Macedonia as it has been shown

through the analysis of the burial practices in other regions²⁷⁵. The cremation was a rare burial practice in Edessa and in all the other mentioned Macedonian settlements and accounts for less than five per cent of the total number of burials. Different is, however, the case of Vergina, where the proportion of the cremations is larger, but still, they represent the minority. According to a kind of tradition, the burials were usually oriented on the east-west axis, the female burials had the head to the east and the male burials to the west respectively. Nevertheless, there were also many variations between burials of the same or different historical periods or of different locations. For example, in the great majority of the burials of Pella, the head of the dead was on the east side. The burials of Vergina were north-south oriented during the 5th c. BC and the 1st half of the 4th c. BC, while the later ones were oriented on the east-west axis. Finally, in Macedonia, such as in south Greece (e.g. Attica), domestic animals also deserved, as their masters, a burial (e.g. Edessa and Sindos)²⁷⁶.

²⁷⁵ See also: Kakamanoudis 2017, 496-497, fig. 404 and 405.

²⁷⁶ Obviously, apart from the justified will of people to treat their animals with the most decent way, the burial of a dead animal must have been the best way to prevent bad odours and potential infectious diseases.

CONCLUSIONS

Summing up, the research of travellers, archaeologists and historians in Edessa demonstrated its importance as a place characterised by human activity and habitation from the Neolithic Period forward. The city was strongly related to the Macedonian Kingdom from the Archaic Era until the Roman conquest. Although the ancient Historiography mentions very little for the particular city, the archaeological discoveries confirmed the existence of a prosperous local community during the Classical and the Hellenistic Period, the way of life and the ritual practices of which are in accord to those attested in other regions of Macedonia. In the particular study I discussed the evidence from the cemeteries of Edessa dated from the 5th to the 2nd c. BC aiming at presenting the funerary constructions and the material culture related to death and setting light into aspects of beliefs, religion and identities of the society of that time.

The cemeteries of the city, divided into West, North, East and South Cemetery, have been detected outside the early Hellenistic city walls. Concerning the types of the tombs, there are pit graves, rock-cut cist graves, built cist graves, two half built and half rock-cut cist graves, tile graves, one pot burial and underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs. The latter is a typical Hellenistic type, which must have been initiated in Edessa in the end of 4th c BC. Such types of graves occur also, together with some local variations, in other regions of Macedonia. Elaborate stone grave signs of the Period found at Edessa are very few, but the discovery of many others elsewhere in Macedonian territory, both in Upper and Lower Macedonia, confirms their wide use in the whole Kingdom.

Unexpected is the absence of the type of the “Macedonian Tomb” from Edessa during the Late Classical and the Hellenistic Era, especially in view of the fact that the local population was familiar with the particular constructions, since they existed at the neighbouring Pella, Mieza and Pyrgoi. Moreover, members of high aristocracy, as General Chrysogonos and his family, would have definitely been “worthy” of a large elaborate tomb. In any case, whether Macedonian Tombs did exist and have not yet been found or simpler forms of graves, mainly the underground rock-cut vaulted

chamber tombs, were used instead by the local aristocracy, is an open question for the moment.

Apart from underground rock-cut vaulted chamber tombs the other types of graves were generally used for single burials. More than one burial in a grave possibly indicates strong relations between the deceased when they were in life. The dead were usually buried, in supine position, while cremation appears to have been a relatively rare practice. In addition, noticeable is the people's tendency to arrange the burials on the east-west axis placing the head of the women to the east and of men to the west. As it seems, the just mentioned practices characterised in general the cemeteries of the Macedonians.

In the community of Classical and Hellenistic Edessa, the rituals and the perceptions of people are in accord to the general Greek way of treating death. The deceased was displayed on a kline dressed and ornamented, then he/she was carried to the grave and buried lain on a kline or a coffin and accompanied by grave offerings, which were expressions of his/her virtues and social identity or were considered "useful" in the "other life" items. As it seems, rituals related to a kind of purification fires, consumption and offering of food and drink to the dead took place during the funeral or as post-burial ceremonies.

The items found in the tombs of Edessa are various. Vessels and objects of everyday life were related to the needs of the deceased which, according to people's beliefs, remained the same even in the kingdom of Hades. Other objects, such as lamps, figurines, rings and shells had also symbolic-religious value. Coins were needed as the fare to Charon in order to transfer the deceased to the world of the dead. Jewellery symbolised the female beauty and the wealth and social status of the deceased and the family. In the same way, weapons and strigils were items related to male virtues.

Finally, it is important to stress the fact that the grave gifts are unequally distributed, as it concerns the number and the quality, among the graves, indicating a socio-economic stratification. Nevertheless, we do not have a very clear view of the wealth of the cemeteries, since looters deprived many of the deceased of all or part of their grave gifts.

In conclusion, the archaeological discoveries in Edessa serve as a good counterpoint for the silence of the ancient literary sources. The excavation and the study in the cemeteries of Edessa provided precious information concerning the culture, the funerary constructions, the funerary rites, the religion and the beliefs of the local population during the Classical and the Hellenistic Period. Future excavation may provide an even better insight into the society of the region. Ironically, the graves of the ancient residents of Edessa turn out to be a precious source for information concerning their life.

CATALOGUE OF TOMBS

All of the relevant to the particular study tombs are presented below. As it concerns the offerings, they are briefly mentioned in general groups except for those which are rare. Rings, fibulae and pins are included in the category of the jewellery, but if there is only a single piece of jewellery in a grave, it is mentioned by the name of its kind (e.g. “pin”). The catalogue is based on the analysis of the finds in: Chrysostomou 2005, Chrysostomou 2013a and Chrysostomou 2013b.

Abbreviations: 1) (A.L.) : the region of Agios Loukas, 2) (K.f) : Kartsolis’ field, 3) (M.f.) : Mpizatis’ field, 4) (Mpo.f) : Mpoumparas field, 5) (Mpe.f) : Mpektisis’ field, 6) (P.f.) : Pouliakis’ field, 7) (R.f.) : Raikos’ field, 8) (G.p.) : Georgitsas’ plot, 9) (P.p.) : Pingas’ plot and 10) (r.r.) : rural road to the south-west of the ancient city.

	TOMB	TYPE	DATE	DECEASED	LOCATION	OFFERINGS
1.	T(G.p.)	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	2 nd c. BC		West Cemetery	Pottery, jewellery, coins, lamp
2.	T(P.p.)	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	2 nd half of 2 nd c. BC		West Cemetery	Pottery
3.	T(A.L.)	Tile grave	End of 5 th -early 4 th c. BC		North Cemetery	Pottery
4.	T37	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd c. BC		North Cemetery (Mpo.f)	Pottery
5.	T38	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	Hellenistic		North Cemetery (Mpo.f)	Pottery, loom weight
6.	T116	Pit grave	2 nd quarter of 4 th c BC		North Cemetery (R.f.)	Coin, jewellery
7.	T109a	Pit grave	2nd quarter of 4 th c. BC		North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, fibula
8.	T120	Pit grave	Mid 4 th c. BC	Woman	North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, bronze mirror, bronze

						kantharos, figurines
9.	T122	Pit grave	3 rd quarter of 4 th c. BC	Woman	North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, jewellery
10.	T109	Tile grave	2 nd half of 4 th c. BC	Man	North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, coin, strigil
11.	T100	Tile grave	End of 4 th - early 3 rd c. BC	Woman	North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, coin
12.	T125	Pit grave	End of 4 th - early 3 rd c. BC		North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, beads
13.	T83	Pit grave	Early 3 rd c. BC	Man	North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery
14.	T66	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	3 rd -2 nd c BC		North Cemetery (R.f.)	Pottery, coin, figurines, astragals
15.	T1	Rock-cut cist grave	1 st quarter of 3 rd c. BC		North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, kochliarion (spoon), jewellery, astragals
16.	T39	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4 th - early 3 rd c. BC		North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery
17.	T42	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4 th - early 3 rd c. BC	Child (girl)	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, coins, astragals
18.	T83	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4 th - early 3 rd c. BC	Woman (?)	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, coin
19.	T46	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd c. BC	Child	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, figurines, astragals
20.	T8	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	End of 4 th - 2 nd c. BC	1 Man at least	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, strigil, bronze bell
21.	T50	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	Hellenistic	At least 1 man and 1 woman	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, epistomio, coins, bone kochliarion, figurines,

						bronze needle, metal objects, strigil, shell
22.	T62	Tile grave	End of 3 rd - 2 nd c. BC	Woman	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Coins
23.	T90	Rock-cut cist grave	Hellenistic		North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, clay beads
24.	T88	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd half of 2 nd c. BC		North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, lamp, epistomio
25.	T93	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	End of 3 rd - 2 nd c. BC		North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, coins
26.	T91	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	3 rd - 2 nd c. BC	1 man at least	North Cemetery (K.f.)	Pottery, coins, pin, strigil
27.	Tα	Tile grave	Hellenistic	Toddler	East Cemetery	Coin
28.	Tβ	Tile grave	Hellenistic	Child	East Cemetery	Bone periapton, coin
29.	Tγ	Tile grave	Hellenistic		East Cemetery	Coin
30.	Tιζ	Tile grave	Hellenistic		East Cemetery	Coin
31.	Tκ	Tile grave	Hellenistic		East Cemetery	Coin
32.	Tι	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	Hellenistic		South Cemetery (M.f)	Pottery, figurines
33.	Tιι	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	End of 3 rd - 2 nd c. BC	1 man at least	South Cemetery (M.f)	Pottery, pessoi, astragals, lamps, jewellery, strigil, coins, part of a marble sculpture
34.	Tιιι	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	Hellenistic		South Cemetery (M.f)	Pottery, figurine, astragal, jewellery,

						strigil, coins, pin/graphis (pen), scabbard
35.	TIV	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	Hellenistic	1 infant and adults, possibly of both sexes	South Cemetery (M.f)	Pottery, coins, pen, strigils, astragals, jewellery, bronze needle, metal objects
36.	Tα	Pot burial	Hellenistic		South Cemetery (M.f)	
37.	T1	Rock-cut cist grave	Hellenistic	Child	South Cemetery (M.f)	Pottery, figurines, clay bead
38.	T2	Rock-cut cist grave	Late Classical-Hellenistic (?)		South Cemetery (M.f)	
39.	TI	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	End of 4 th - 2 nd c. BC		South Cemetery (r.r.)	Pottery, coins, jewellery, loom weight
40.	TII	Rock-cut vaulted chamber	2 nd c. BC		South Cemetery (r.r.)	Pottery, jewellery, coins, figurines, inkpots, metal objects
41.	T2003/1	Half Rock-cut half built cist grave	Early 3 rd c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (r.r.)	Pottery, coin, jewellery, figurine
42.	T2003/2	Tile grave	Late Classical – Hellenistic (?)	Child	South Cemetery (r.r.)	Pendant
43.	T1	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coins, whetstones

44.	T2	Rock-cut cist grave	Mid 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, knife
45.	T3	Built cist grave	End of 4 th – early 3 rd c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin
46.	T4	Built cist grave	End of 4 th – early 3 rd c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, coin, lamp, lead pyxis, shell
47.	T5	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4 th c. BC	Woman (?)	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, stone blade
48.	T6	Rock-cut cist grave	5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery
49.	T7	Rock-cut cist grave	Early 3 rd c. BC		South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery (sherds)
50.	T8	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd half of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, knives, weapons,
51.	T9	Rock-cut cist grave	Last quarter of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, jewellery, bronze phiale, weapons (among which 1 helmet), strigils
52.	T10	Rock-cut cist grave	Last quarter of 5 th c. BC	Woman (?)	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, fibula
53.	T14	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4 th – early 3 rd c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery
54.	T15	Rock-cut cist grave	5 th c. BC		South Cemetery (P.f.)	Ring
55.	T16	Pit grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, bronze phiale

56.	T17	Rock-cut cist grave	1)End of 5 th c. BC 2) Early 3 rd c. BC.	1)Woman (?) 2)Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	1)Pottery, jewellery 2)Coin
57.	T18	Pit grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery
58.	T19	Built cist grave	2 nd half of 4 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, jewellery
59.	T20	Pit grave	Last quarter of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, ring, bronze hoop, knife
60.	T 21	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, tweezers
61.	T22	Rock-cut cist grave	1)End of 5 th c. BC 2)Early 4 th c. BC	1)Woman 2)Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	1)Pottery, ring, bronze phiale, knife
62.	T23	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Woman (?), cremated	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, earring
63.	T24	Rock-cut cist grave	Last quarter of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, jewellery, bronze vessels, weapons, knives, strigil
64.	T26	Pit grave	1)2 nd half of 6 th c. BC 2)2 nd half of 4 th c. BC	1)Woman 2)Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	1)Pottery 2)Pottery, coin, jewellery (many), ear-pick
65.	T27	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, pin, weapons, knife
66.	T28	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons, knife
67.	T29	Rock-cut cist grave	Mid 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, knife

68.	T30	Rock-cut cist grave	5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons, knife
69.	T31	Rock-cut cist grave	5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons, knife
70.	T32	Rock-cut cist grave	5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery, beads
71.	T35	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd half of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons
72.	T36	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd half of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery
73.	T37	Rock-cut cist grave	Last quarter of 5 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery
74.	T38	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons
75.	T 39	Rock-cut cist grave	3 rd quarter of 4 th c. BC	Child, cremated	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin
76.	T40	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd quarter of 4 th c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, jewellery
77.	T41	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4 th – early 3 rd c. BC	Woman	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, lamp
78.	T42	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, strigil, knife
79.	T43	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Woman (?)	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery
80.	T44	Rock-cut cist grave	2 nd half of 5 th c. BC	Woman (?)	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, fibula, tweezers
81.	T45	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons
82.	T46	Rock-cut cist grave	3 rd quarter of 4 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, spearhead
83.	T47	Rock-cut cist grave	1 st half of 5 th c. BC	Woman and infant	South Cemetery	Pottery, jewellery

					(P.f.)	
84.	T48	Rock-cut cist grave	3rd quarter of 4th c. BC		South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery
85.	T51	Rock-cut cist grave	1 st half of 5 th c. BC	Child (boy), cremated	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons, knife
86.	T52	Rock-cut cist grave	1st half of 5th c. BC	Child (girl)	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Jewellery
87.	T57	Rock-cut cist grave	1 st quarter of 4 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, coin, spearhead, iron object
88.	T 59	Rock-cut cist grave	Early 3 rd c. BC	Child, cremated	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, ring, figurine
89.	T61	Rock-cut cist grave	5 th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Spearhead
90.	T62	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 5th c. BC	Child (boy)	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Pottery, weapons
91.	T64	Rock-cut cist grave	5th c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (P.f.)	Spearhead
92.	T2002/1	Half Rock-cut half built cist grave	End of 4 th – early 3 rd c. BC	Man	South Cemetery (Mpe.f.)	Pottery, astragals, strigils
93.	T2002/2	Rock-cut cist grave	End of 4th – early 3rd c. BC	Child	South Cemetery (Mpe.f.)	Pottery, coin, figurine, astragals, knife

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Appart from the above abbreviations I have used also the following related to archaeological journals:

AAA: Αρχαιολογικά ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών (Athens Annals of Archaeology)

AEAM: Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στην Άνω Μακεδονία (The Archaeological Work in Upper Macedonia).

AEMTh: Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη (The Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace)

ArchDelt: Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (Archaeologikon Deltion).