North and south – a real or perceived divide?

In the context of a recent review of the long-term evidence for settlement patterns in Macedonia, focusing particularly on early prehistory but also taking into account Bronze Age and later developments, Kostas Kotsakis meditates on the very different approaches that have been applied to the investigation of historic sites in northern and southern Greece respectively. I translate from his introduction:1

It is quite clear, however, that since the beginnings of prehistoric research on ancient Macedonia, the region has been approached in terms of a north-south opposition. It could be put like this: it was southern Greece, the locus of Classical civilization and of Greek prehistory, which had, since the 18th century, constituted the central stereotype of a European vision of Greece, beguiling the European imagination by means of tourism, representations of landscape on lithographs and romantic descriptions of Classical places, and of archaeological artefacts themselves, of course.

This European perspective was, he goes on to say, critical for the ways in which research came to be structured; what he calls the ‘epistemology’ of the kind of archaeology practised in the south, with its emphasis on the history of art as a ‘superior form of civilisation’. By the same token, Macedonia and Thessaly were the catalysts for a different kind of archaeology. He refers here to the study of prehistoric sites in Macedonia, beginning with excavations at Nea Nikomedia in the 1960s, and to a raft of investigations over the course of the last half century which have concentrated on environmental, behavioural and contextual issues. Although William Heurtley, the author of the first attempt to present a comprehensive account of the region in his Prehistoric Macedonia (1939), wanted to show that Macedonia proceeded in step with southern Greece, it is the absence of various ‘southern’ features that has, according to Kotsakis, become especially striking to researchers in the north. This has led to considerable discussion in the specialist literature about exactly what the perceived differences actually entail. At times these perceptions have amounted to a kind of cultural barrier (Kotsakis [2009] 232).

One of the conceptual tools applied in the debate more recently has been that of ‘social complexity’, notably in the context of the presence or absence of ‘palatial’ accumulation and storage. Kotsakis argues that there has sometimes been a tendency to apply the term ‘social complexity’ to material aspects of culture as if these were stable quantities, with little regard to the fact that material manifestations are dimensions of non-material concepts and relationships.

Another factor intimately associated with the former conceptual difficulties is that of ethnicity. It has become habitual to make direct connections between particular, historically determined groups and peoples, on the one hand, and identifiable archaeological sites, on the other. Kotsakis refers to the ‘cultural historical’ methods of Gordon Childe in the 1920s and 1930s ([2009] 233). It is worth adding that, for Classicists, there is a very strong temptation to connect peoples and places referred to by ancient authors, starting with the much discussed references in the historical narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides, to locations that have been made visible through archaeological research. When discussing movable objects, particularly ceramic material, connections can, and have, been made, with the kinds of movements of peoples to which these authors refer.

Yet archaeological investigation increasingly presents us with very different datasets – suggesting a reality that was more complex and ultimately more interesting than that of a straightforward calque of the brief and schematic reports with which ancient historians have, inadvertently perhaps, provided us. The most striking aspects of field research in Macedonia have two distinct dimensions. One of these dimensions concerns the language of cultural products. The ceramic repertoire shows that the north, in practice, closely in touch with its southern neighbours over millennia, whilst maintaining its own distinctiveness. The other dimension relates to settlement history and settlement patterns. Contrary to the idea of fragile communities sometimes proposed, the long-term history of settlement in Macedonia reveals stable, consistent, slowly evolving patterns of rural life, deeply embedded in the ecology of the north. These patterns of subsistence were by no means uniform across the region. In some cases, particular ecological niches were exploited over very long time-scales, as at Dispolio on the side of lake Kastoria (Hourmouziadis [2008]). As Kotsakis emphasises, ancient authors lacked the tools to appreciate long-term change. They are much more aware of ephemeral and short-term variation, phenomena that archaeological methods are poor at detecting ([2009] 254–55).

There is insufficient space in a brief report to do justice to the range and scope of information that has accrued from Macedonia and Thrace even within the last decade. 2009 saw the publication of 20 Χρόνια. Το Αρχαιολογικό ‘Εργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη (20 Chr ΑΕΜΘ), the 20th-anniversary volume of the journal designed to report and to showcase developments in a region that had not benefited from significant research investment or systematic study until the 1980s. A number of the important synthetic accounts contained in this volume were referred to in AR 56 (2009–2010), notably those on the anthropomorphic figurines from Makrygialos; on the Hellenistic acropolis settlement of Kastri Polyecriou, Alatopetras, Kozani district; on a

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1 ‘Il est indubitable cependant que, dès le début de la recherche préhistorique macédonienne, la région a été abordée par opposition au sud. On pouvait s’y attendre: c’était le sud de la Grèce, l’espace de la civilisation classique et de sa préhistoire, qui avait dès le XVIIIe siècle constitué le stéréotype central de la vision européenne sur la Grèce, en séduisant l’imagination des Européens à travers le tourisme, les représentations lithographiques des paysages, la description romantique des lieux du classicisme et bien sûr les objets archéologiques eux-mêmes’ (Kotsakis [2009] 231).
range of rescue excavations in the valley of the river Haliakmon in advance of the Polyphytos reservoir, which are referred to again below; on the Archaic cemetery at Vergina, ancient Aigai (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli [2009]), also referred to below; on farmsteads in the territory of Lagina (ancient Liti); on the cemetery of ancient Thermi (Skarlatidou [2009]), also referred to below; on the Bronze Age and Early Hellenistic activities at Kriaritsi Sykias; and on the Pallene peninsula of Chalkidiki. Further references to this volume are included in discussion of individual sites. This account and analysis is organized around the latest material reported online for 2010–2011. It is intended to form a basis on which future reports can expand. The unavoidably syncopated nature of some of the information registered in previous volumes reports can expand. The unavoidably syncopated nature of some of the information registered in previous volumes of AG, when editors were heavily constrained by space, may have led readers unfamiliar with the format and content of AEMTh to underestimate the wider significance of the journal, as well as its manifest role of presenting the most significant current work within the region. The publication of annual reports from Macedonia and Thrace has, since its inception, set a new standard for the speed and range of information that has been made available and has provided a model for other regions (see Thessaly).

I would like to take this opportunity to underscore the importance of the content of AEMTh, not just for students of the north. The questions that Kotsakis has raised about the ways in which historians and archaeologists perceive the relationship of ‘north’ and ‘south’ have not yet been fully absorbed by scholars at large. Historians of Macedonia have as yet made comparatively little use of the new data that has been published in AEMTh (for example, in Roisman and Worthington [2010]). Some of the reasons for the gap between the appearance of the journal and the use that scholars make of its contents are quite prosaic, such as access to the volumes themselves, or a willingness to engage with field data published in a less familiar language. The online references will undoubtedly help interested scholars to be aware of new data from known sites.

There is, nevertheless, some distance to travel in convincing historians that archaeological data really can play a transforming role in how we conceptualize historical processes. The accumulating information from the north should make a difference to the ways in which we perceive our subject matter as a whole, not simply as an adjustment to gaps in northern datasets. The long-term history of regions needs to find a place within the shorter-term scales of selected toponyms. Information about prehistoric activities is not irrelevant to the study of later periods, since the ways of life created on long time-scales were still relevant to those who exploited landscapes in later times (cf., for example, Souref [2007]). The relevance of earlier patterns is apparent when we consider northern ecologies – the very visible presence of the settlement tumbas and table mounds. The exploitation of upland resources owes much to long-term patterns of resource management, including approaches to forest use and the hunting of wild species. In this issue, long-term cultural patterns in Macedonia and Thrace are also apparent in certain approaches to mortuary practice. The Middle Bronze Age tumulus burials at Valtos (phase 2) represent an important set of new data comparable to the Middle Helladic burials of central and southern Greece (see The Greek mainland in the prehistoric period). Evidence from Archaic burials recently recorded at Pronia, Grevena, and new finds at Aiani, Kozani, show that the wealthier sectors of communities deep inland enjoyed similar tastes in terms of material acquisitions to those of their peers in the coastal regions and at centres of growing regional significance, such as Vergina and Archontiko Pellas (Archontiko Giannitson).

At this stage of research there are settlement locations that are better known from mortuary evidence in their vicinity than in terms of built structures, particularly residential areas. The coincidence of earlier and later burials provides some indication of the continuity of habitation – at a plethora of locations in the vicinity of Kozani and in the valleys of the river Haliakmon; at Vergina; and elsewhere. This is a topic that will be resumed in future reports of AG.

At the same time, due emphasis should be given to innovations that are time-specific. I draw particular attention to the baths in the city of Pella, discovered in 1997 and presented in a preliminary report this year, whose full publication will undoubtedly provide new insights into the changing patterns of bathing and recreational practices between Greek and Roman traditions. Likewise, the results of fieldwork at the Sebastion, Kalindoia, provide a cameo both of the forms of external recognition and of informal commensality that accompanied the introduction of the emperor cult in this northern town (see Adam-Veleni [2008]). In both cases it is archaeology that is providing discrete evidence about collective responses to institutional practice, although, in the latter, new epigraphic documents confirm the material manifestations in a particularly concrete and precise way. In the case of the baths at Pella, the long-term use and transformation of a set of local community practices offers a different kind of collective evidence for social norms.

Most of the evidence used to compile this report comes from excavations, whether rescue campaigns ahead of development or long-term field projects. Future editions of AG are intended to include a wider range of analytical reports. As an example, I refer here to the discovery of examples of a thin layer of tin on pottery from Tomb III at Ainenta in northern Pieria, published in 2011 (ID2269). This resembles other examples of a technique already identified in northern Pieria.

**Palaolithic and Mesolithic**
The earliest hominid evidence in the region is still that from the Petralona cave in Chalkidiki, currently dated within the period 250,000–150,000 BP (Grün [1996], which qualifies as Middle Palaeolithic. Contemporary, that is Middle Palaeolithic, tools have recently been identified at a number of other sites in northern Greece, including lake Kastoria and Rachona, near Pella, most recently at Samarina, in the Pindos mountains, amplifying the range as well as the number of registered sites in Thessaly and lower Macedonia dating to this era.

The expansion of data relating to the earliest prehistory of northern Greece in recent decades is enabling us not just to recognize ways of life and forms of landscape exploitation, but also to see that there are different ways of interpreting the dynamics of human behaviour. A linear progression of Mesolithic settlement between Anatolia and the Aegean, Anatolia and the...
Balkans, or the Aegean and Thessaly, does not correspond to the specific ecological responses, and the forms of landscape and zoological exploitation that we find within these regions. There is a cross-cutting of cultural and ecological practice that seems to imply multiple patterns or multiple interactions. The scope of the information currently available does not yet allow for choices to be made amongst the possible explanations of human contact and inter-relationships amongst separate groups, including those conversant with the indigenous, Gravettian traditions and those bringing new practices of food production from further south and east. This underlying multiplicity of contacts, already apparent before the development of full-blown agricultural settlements, needs to be factored into the way that we consider regional and landscape relationships (see the contributions to Kourtessi-Philippakis [2009]). Current investigation of habitation traces at Apsalos, near Pella, may help to illuminate these issues. Radiocarbon samples from charcoal recently tested at the Erlangen-Nuremberg laboratory have produced dates of 7937 and 7480 BC.

**Neolithic**

Among the long-term excavation projects that are continuing to yield significant new data, one of the foremost is Dikili Tash, near Philippi in eastern Macedonia, where the results of current investigations of the environment and chronology provide new radiocarbon dates of 6400–6300 BC for the beginnings of Early Neolithic activity at the site (Figs. 129, 130 and see Fig. 20). This brings Dikili Tash more closely into relationship with comparable Early Neolithic sites in western Macedonia, including Nea Nikomedia and Achilleion or Sesklo in Thessaly. These dates now provide a complete sequence from the Early to the Late Neolithic, that is, from the second half of the seventh to the end of the fifth millennium BC, filling a gap in the records for eastern Macedonia.

Some of the best evidence to date of Middle and Late Neolithic housing and construction techniques comes from Avgi, near Kastoria (Figs. 131–33). Avgi I is dated to the sixth millennium (5480–4997 cal. BC) and the evidence consists principally of a series of fired clay floors, showing the imprints of wooden posts and clay packing. The
houses were rectangular, occupying ca. 70m² in area, and open on one side to allow the smoke of fireplaces and ovens to exit. Avgi II (fifth millennium) shows some variation in construction techniques, with foundation trenches packed with waterproof clay into which the vertical posts forming the wall structure were placed. The trenches trace rectangular outlines, as in Avgi I, although the houses were somewhat larger (70–85m²). A number of burials belong to Avgi II. These were cremations, placed in ceramic vessels vertically into the soil around a mortuary construction defined only by a burned area, whilst each pot was covered with a heap of sherds. Successive accumulations of sherds may indicate repetitive rituals.

At Kleitos 1, northwest of Kozani (Fig. 134), two sites dateable to the Late and Final Neolithic were accidentally discovered by the state electricity company mining a lignite bed. Rescue excavation identified 10 structures, whose construction of branches packed with clay, and partially decorated with incised geometric patterns, survived thanks to their conflagration (conscious firing is well documented elsewhere in the Neolithic). Inside there was evidence of large storage vessels and storage pits, as well as tools and household ceramics.

Late Neolithic traces have also been discovered at Thermi, dating to the second half of the sixth millennium BC, in the Romanidis plot, southwest of the Bronze Age toumba and north of the trapeza of Thermi that belongs to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 135). This area was extensively used as a cemetery from Archaic times into Roman, and subsequently well into the Ottoman period. Some of these later burials had cut into the Neolithic settlement layers, which consist mainly of pits, the larger ones (up to 6m in diameter) being earlier than the smaller, shallower pits. The abundant ceramic material provides the dating evidence. New sites dateable to the Neolithic have also been identified at Aghia Kyriaki Paliourias, in the valley of the Haliakmon (one of the sites under threat from the Polyphytos reservoir), which has produced Bronze Age structures in clay with impressions of wooden posts, traces of a tiled hearth and storage pits, at Sykia, Giannitsa Pellai, Eomidou and Sidirokastro. At Sykia, drainage work close to the toumba, a presumed prehistoric construction, has revealed Neolithic to Bronze Age habitation levels at a maximum depth of 3.7m, dated on the basis of unslipped handmade pottery (storage jars, amphorae, bowls and dishes) and tools.
Traces of Final Neolithic activity, including tools, ceramic finds and murex shells, as well as clay floors, have also been identified south of Late Roman structures at Giannitsa Pellas (Chatzigeorgiou plot). At Eidomene, traces of a Neolithic settlement have been largely erased during construction of a new bridge across the river Axios. At Katarraktes, near Sidirokastro, investigation of a rock-shelter revealed a succession of stamped-earth floors, the upper levels dateable by ceramics to the Early Bronze Age, whilst charcoal samples indicate that the earliest levels were laid down in the Final Neolithic. Study of the marble statuettes and ornaments from phases 1 and 2 of the Neolithic site at Promachon-Topolnica, close to the Greek-Bulgarian border on the river Strymon (Kulata crossing), continues to enlarge the range of information about cultural variety within the region. Reinvestigation of the cave of Polyphemos at Maroneia has reaffirmed its long sequence of use, from Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age to Roman and Byzantine (although the material comes from disturbed fill).

The geographical and ecological distribution of Neolithic settlements is becoming clearer. There are fundamental aspects of Neolithic development that are, nevertheless, puzzling. We know something about the spatial dimensions of the site at Makrygialos, in Pieria, which covered some 600km², an extraordinary area for an early site. This area was delimited by two parallel circular ditches (Pappa and Besios 1999; see The Greek mainland in the prehistoric period).
Bronze Age

Kotsakis’ statement about long-lived sites is particularly applicable to those that began in the Neolithic and continued into the Bronze Age, or where occupation of a mound site was resumed after an interval. The relationship between settlement mounds, *toumbas*, and habitation in their periphery is still a challenge for researchers. The *toumbas* are often formidable mounds, difficult to investigate despite their usual visibility. The upper layers are often damaged or destroyed by much later activity, which makes it difficult to evaluate changing settlement strategies. Thessaloniki Toumba (Andreou and Eukleidou [2007]), Karabournaki (Tiverios [2009a]) and Archontiko Giannitson are among the *toumbas* where long-term projects are still under way (Tiverios [2009b]). Thessaloniki Toumba was occupied in the Middle Helladic and continued to be a very active centre until the very end of the Bronze Age and probably beyond. Archaic and Classical activity has made it very hard to identify the intervening stages. Recent investigations have focused on extricating data more effectively for these phases. What has been revealed, however, has less to do with the physical environment of the site and much more with activities carried on there. Traces of murex shells and of metallurgical crucibles, associated with the refining of gold, are connected with phases 3 to 4A, which belong to the Early Iron Age.

A site that is beginning to provide a wider range of data on the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age is Valtos (near Leptokarya). The Middle Bronze Age phase (Valtos 3, for which radiocarbon dates of 1930–1745 and 1885–1695 cal. BC have been obtained) is represented by a thick deposit rich in movable finds. The architecture was probably of mud-brick or packed mud, although no clear evidence of structural contours has been detectible, except for Building A in the southeastern sector, which was composed of at least two rooms. Seven pit burials were also excavated, dating to this period but stratigraphically later than the housing units, including two tumuli, one of which (tumulus 11) provided a radiocarbon sample dated to 2010–1770 BC. Burials were enacted in *situ*, with the mounds thrown up some time afterwards. The remaining pit graves were marked out by stone surrounds. Tombs 7 and 8 were 8–18 m long, with stone walls and foundations. Tombs 7 and 8 contained grave goods, that belonging to a woman aged 30 years, who was accompanied by a set of bronze jewellery (spiral wires called *sphekoteres* by the excavators, a necklace and a bracelet).

Further evidence of ‘pre-colonial’ activity on the island of Thasos continues to emerge. At Skala Sotiros, the Bronze Age settlement appears now to have been quite extensive, with more limited development in the direction of the hill. Stone wall foundations of a style earlier identified at this site have been noted in one sector (*terrain Santomoiris*), whilst in the trench around the church of Prophitis Ilias a series of post-built structures, with various internal and external features, provide much more nuanced data. These constructions, rectangular in plan and orientated north-south, had two distinct phases, dateable over three centuries (ca. 2800–2500 BC, i.e. EB1II). Fifteen clay features of circular or ellipsoidal plan include at least four ovens, built on foundations of sherd and flat stones, with borders made of upright stones and clay. There are stone benches associated with grinders and mortars, as well as considerable amounts of ceramic debris and storage vessels. Among the finds are incised and stamped sherds, a fragmentary terracotta female figurine and stone tools. Bronze production is attested by industrial waste, metal fragments, parts of a *tuyère* and of a mould (for an anode and a chisel).

Besides the enhanced chronological precision acquired at Dikili Tash, information on Bronze Age activity during 2010–2011 from other sites has been more limited. Trial trenches dug at Aghia Kyriaki Palourias in the Haliakmon valley produced four pit burials, only one of which contained ceramic material, a kantharos and amphora or jug of Early Bronze Age or Middle Bronze Age date. G. Karamitrou Mendesidi has reported on finds from Kryopigadi and other locations along the route of the new Kozani to Kastoria road development (20 Cchr *AEMTh* 861–69 = ID470; cf. ID1985). Mycenaean imported ceramics and Macedonian matt-painted pottery have been recorded in the Grevena area for the first time in rescue excavations ahead of the Egnatia Odos at Ivari, Prionia (ID2161).

Early Iron Age

Settlement patterns in the Early Iron Age of Macedonia and Thrace are among the least well understood in peninsular Greece. The summits of Bronze Age mounds proved to be less appropriate as centres of habitation for a growing population, which spread into the surrounding lowlands as well as onto new sites. Early Iron Age traces are thus often harder to identify, either because research has been too limited or because these have been concealed by modern urban development. In this respect, the acropolis of ancient Leivithra (Leibethra), rediscovered in 1994 and subjected to selective trial trenches as part of a strategy of repair, conservation and consolidation, offers an opportunity to explore these developments in an upland context. The acropolis is located at Kastri, a fortified spur of broadly triangular plan, extending from the southwest to northeast. It has traces of occupation from the eighth to the first century BC. In the westernmost part of the circuit, where there is a tower or gateway, there is a feature 26m long, with a mean width of 2m and a preserved height of 2.3m. The fabric of this feature is composed of two faces of irregular masonry, with the intervening gap filled with earth, stones and broken stone chips. On the southern side, the circuit wall is 1.8m wide and 2m high, made of pseudo-isodamic masonry, and can be traced for a distance of 94m. Within the circuit, two different plans, presumably representing
two successive phases of the interior layout, can be identified within the street plan and within individual house units.

Early Iron Age activity has been otherwise identified, during 2010–2011 in more ephemeral ways at Makrygialos, along the coast of Pieria (ID2154) and at Kozani (ID2149).

Archaic

The relative paucity of new data on the layout of Early Iron Age sites is also true of succeeding centuries. This makes it hard to make sense of community changes in this important period for the development of collective forms of organization prior to written administrative civic documents. Discoveries at Aiani show that public buildings of substance were already a feature of some the sixth-century central places (Karamitrou-Mendesidi [2008]; [2009]). Elsewhere, the presence of major centres of population can be tracked largely via cemetery data. This is a very indirect way of understanding civic organization and there is a real need for targeted investigation of the residential and public areas serving these populations.

Investigation of the Archaic cemetery of Aiani continues to produce fundamental evidence relating to the population of the upper Haliakmon valleys. A total of 257 graves has been exposed, up to and including the 2009 season (Karamitrou-Mendesidi [2008; 2009]). One area, dubbed Sector A, has pit burials organized in two groups, separated by a distance of ca. 14m (Fig. 136). The westernmost of these two groups (excavated mainly in 1985–1986) contains burials orientated principally east-west, whilst the other, more easterly group, has nine regular rows of pits plus a 10th one further north, in which the graves revert to the east-west orientation of the western group. An elliptical mound (9.4 x 7.4m), located northeast of the easterly group of burials, contains pit T159, which is much bigger than all the others and was evidently distinguished by its contents, even though the male incumbent had only been left with an iron spearhead and an iron strigil by looters. Sector B, which lies ca. 100m southeast of Sector A, has been excavated more recently (up until 2008). It contained 24 pit burials, which belong mainly to the Hellenistic period or later (see below).

The site that has provided by far the most informative evidence for the Archaic period is at Archontiko, northwest of Pella. There is a preponderance of graves belonging either to the Early Iron Age or of Archaic date in the western cemetery (on the western slopes of ‘Hill 69’), although the latest extend to ca. 280 BC. Since 2000, up until the 2008 season, a total of 1,004 burials had been exposed. The most recent investigations date the earliest graves in this cemetery in the seventh century BC. A preliminary analysis of the male burials investigated in the first half of the decade reveals a clear hierarchy amongst Archaic graves, defined by the range and complexity of the grave goods (Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou [2007]).

The women’s burials are at least as interesting as those of the men. The excavators have divided the male and female burials into distinct groups by rank. There is also another dimension to the way in which these burials are presented, namely in the choice of materials deposited with individuals. The range of grave goods indicates a breadth of signification, of which rank is but one. Rank may also be understood in a variety of ways – the excavators have not dwelt on the social ramifications and the social language that these objects embody. It is nevertheless worth drawing attention to the tradition of weapon burial from the earliest Early Iron Age tombs at Vergina, excavated by M. Andronikos, and of the strong mortuary patterns of association apparent there for men and women.
What seems clear is that ranking deserves deeper analysis. The proliferation of gold in male and female tombs alike calls for separate consideration. The liberal use of sheet gold on different parts of the body, including the hands, but particularly in masks and mouth-pieces (see ID484, 820, 1238, 1074, 2218), points to the close symbolic association between gold and ideas of immortality. The value ascribed to gold should be reconsidered in terms of this very specific regional signification (see also Archibald forthcoming). The overall character of the Archaic burials at Archontiko fits well into the pattern already known from other Late Archaic cemeteries excavated in lower Macedonia and the Thermaic gulf, including the well-known finds from Sindos (cf. Panti [2008] for ceramics).

The 2008 season confirmed the overall tendency of men to be laid out with heads facing west, north or south, women facing east, north or south. Of the latest 84 burials reported, 13 are of Early Iron Age date, 48 Archaic, 22 Classical and 23 Hellenistic, although some fluidity exists in the distinction between the last two categories. Among the Archaic burials that deserve special note are two women’s graves, containing a gold mouth-piece (T652) and a necklace of amber beads (T665); and three more, which contained not just the gold mouth-piece, but also a range of metal and clay vases (T686, T687, T688); as well as a series of male burials with a warrior’s panoply, identified as belonging to ‘Class 2’ in the ranking system previously identified (T627, T637, T648, T651). In addition, a sub-group of male inhumations has been identified by the presence of a gold face mask. Two of these (T599, T601) were excavated in 2005. A third burial of this type (T692) was uncovered in 2008, partially cut by the stone casing of a Hellenistic burial (T691). T692 had a monumentalized entrance, consisting of several steps, on the southern side (Fig. 137). The male interment was orientated to the west and was accompanied by a rich collection of grave goods: six terracotta figurines, representing a symposiast, three seated goddesses and two little birds; four painted vases that provide dating evidence (terminus post quem 530 BC): an exaleiptron (oil flask) and three black-figure vases, including a cup by the Runners Painter; gold sheets that would have covered the man’s torso and clothes; a gold ring and an iron pin with a gilded head; miniature tools and a farm cart made of iron; a curved iron object; eight bronze vessels; an iron sword with gilded hilt decoration; a dagger; a bronze shield, whose handle is decorated with a stamped sheet displaying a horseman holding a spear; and an Illyro-Corinthian helmet of bronze, decorated with gold sheet bands and a frontal relief, showing a pair of incised lions (Fig. 138).

A series of Archaic burials discovered during rescue excavation in advance of development for the new motorway (Egnatia Odos) at Prionia, Grevena, demonstrate the close cultural ties between coastal communities and the wealthier social groups deep into the interior. Two female pit burials, belonging to young girls, contained a rich array of grave goods. T1 contained a bronze phiale; a black-glazed skyphos; four bronze pins (two of which have relief terminals, the other two with spiraliform heads); an iron pin (with traces of fabric); silver, omegashaped earrings with snake’s head terminals; a bronze bracelet of triple spirals; a necklace with a large electrum bead; a necklace of silver lunular pendants; another bracelet of bronze and various gold sheets. T2 contained two clay vases (a black-figure skyphos and a black-glazed amphora); two silver pins with vegetal terminals and two in bronze with spiraliform heads; a silver ring with a lozenge-shaped bezel; a necklace of electrum beads; a glass bead; and three bronze rings. The skeletons of eight animals were recovered close by this tomb (three goats and five dogs), together with fragmentary bones of cattle, pigs and deer. These seem to be associated with the burials as food offerings.

Further finds of mortuary remains of Archaic date were made in the Haliakmon survey (at Panaghia Diporou).
At Vergina, a further 41 Archaic burials were discovered in the cemetery of Aigai, southwest of the Early Iron Age cemetery area (Kottaridi [2009]). Only 12 of these had escaped pillage. The burials are all dateable to the sixth century BC. They were inhumations, placed in simple earth pits, the bodies placed north-south (with the heads facing south), arranged in a regular pattern, whose general orientation is east-west, with occasional groups treated separately. The grave goods consisted of one or two ceramic or bronze vessels, placed at the feet of the deceased. The ceramic repertoire includes imports from Athens, Corinth and Asia Minor, as well as items from local workshops. Metal items include phialae, lekanides, ornaments (mainly pins) and armour (some swords, mainly spearheads and short iron knives). Ceramic items consist of globular unguentaria, occasional figurines and dining equipment (kantaroi, kotyles, oinochoae and cups – including a Siana cup by the ‘C’ Painter, showing a procession of cavalrymen on the exterior).

Classical

The fifth century BC, and first two-thirds of the fourth, are less well represented in recent reports of Macedonia and Thrace. An important cemetery has recently been registered on the southeastern periphery of Edessa, where Archaic burials described as similar to those at Archontiko, Classical and early Hellenistic tombs have been recorded. At Aphytos (ancient Aphytis) in Pallene, Chalcidice, modern development in this expanding coastal resort has stimulated rescue work in several sectors of the city, revealing two different road grids (or two different phases of the layout of the road system) and a cemetery to the west of the main road between the resorts of Moudania and Kallithea. Forty four burials were uncovered, belonging to the fourth century BC and placed very close together. Nineteen of these were in situ cremations, 24 pit inhumations and four cist tombs. The grave goods were generally rather modest.

The new Museum at Argos Orestiko (also known as Dioecetianopolis) has on display the monumental carved marble sphinx, dated in the first half of the fifth century BC and found at Pentavryssos, and the fourth-century BC bronze shield, inscribed with the name of the Paeonian ruler Abdoleon, found in 2000 at Makednoi (ID1987; cf. 1166). A cemetery with élite burials, including inscribed fourth-century BC grave-stones, as well a wealth of imported and locally produced grave goods, was discovered on a hilltop at Pentavryssos in 2003–2004 (ID362). In this case, there is fifth-century material alongside earlier and later evidence within the immediate vicinity. This situation has not been quite so easy to discover at other sites. On the one hand, there is a proliferation of Archaic burials at many sites in the region; on the other, the vigorous expansion of many civic centres, particularly from the second half of the fourth century BC onwards, effectively concealed the absence of material evidence for the second half of the fifth century BC. Fifth-century data may well be hidden below the better-preserved, indeed, better-quality materials of the Late Classical to Early Hellenistic civic centres. The post-Persian period in northern Greece, and the era of the Peloponnesian wars, was a politically troubled one. Yet it was also an important phase in the crystallization of Macedonian political power, as it was for the Odrysian Kingdom in Thrace. The second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries are periods well represented in the Thracian interior and at many coastal and inland locations of Aegean Thrace (notably at Amphipolis), and the Chalcidic peninsula. Future reports will be on the lookout for evidence that may help to account for this apparent gap in lowland and upland Macedonia.

Hellenistic

Continuing investigations at the ancient Macedonian capital of Pella provide some of the most significant findings of the last year for the region as a whole (see Lilibaki-Akamati [2009] for a summary of work during the last decade). Excavators of the main civic centre have before them a set of formidable challenges. The ancient capital is located within an expanding modern civic area. The construction of a bypass around the ancient civic centre has also meant major rescue excavation in the western area of ancient Pella. Excavation in advance of development work has revealed details of the extent of the circuit wall, the main east-west arterial routes and a Hellenistic cemetery succeeded by a Roman and post-Roman/Early Christian one (ID486). Investigation of the southern parts of the ancient city have provided a long sequence of deposits, providing significant insights into the later history of Pella after the earthquake of 90 BC, with the rebuilding of parts of the urban footprint in the later first or first half of the second century (see further below). During the last five years, investigators have continued to make systematic progress in understanding the development of the Hellenistic city of Pella, with interventions in various sectors (see ID373); further exploration of the east side of the agora, with well-preserved storage and/or retail facilities in the east portico (ID485), and, at some distance from the civic centre, the discovery of a potter’s workshop with evidence of production activity over a hundred years (ID819). Nor has the royal palace been neglected, where investigations have continued in the palaestra (Building V; ID1147). Among the most remarkable discoveries has been the recovery of what seems to be the city’s principal administrative archive in buildings on the southwest corner of the agora (ID819).

Traces of an important Early Bronze Age cemetery immediately below the street system were discovered in 1997, at the same time as those of a public bath complex (ID486). Alongside the enormous range of important, indeed exceptional, new evidence from Pella, the preliminary report on a set of public baths, within the residential area of the city, deserves special prominence (ID2233). The data published so far deserve to be considered in some detail.

The evidence for the baths consists principally of wall foundations; one row of the superstructure has survived in one area only. However, fixtures, drainage and flooring materials provide important additional information for the phasing and character of this complex. It occupied the whole north side of a single insula, an area of 563.5m². Three separate phases have been identified: phase 1, starting in the final quarter of the fourth century BC, when the complex consisted of a swimming pool, a variety of associated rooms and an open court; phase 2, beginning in the second quarter of the third century BC, when a series of graduated heated constructions seems to have been installed, alongside individual bath tubs; and phase 3, initiated in the final quarter of the second century BC, when underfloor heating was introduced and a plan closer to that familiar from Roman bathing establishments.
In phase 1, the complex consisted of a suite of rooms around a central court, 14m long on one side. There may have been porticoes along the western and southern sides of this court (Fig. 139). Entry seems to have been from the north side only, where there is a threshold slab in place. A rectangular swimming pool (7.5 x 4m), constructed of large masonry slabs and lined with hydraulic cement, was located on the western wing. An overflow tank allowed the water level to be kept constant, while a shallow basin in the northeast angle allowed excess water to be decanted. On the eastern wing was a rectangular rock-cut cistern, which collected rainwater, adjacent to an open area (perhaps an apodyterion). Water was supplied by a system of terracotta pipes, from the road on the east side of the bath complex, which linked the baths to the civic water supply through a device in the centre of the courtyard.

The final phase of the bath complex corresponds to the layout discovered in 1997 (Fig. 142). Underfloor heating was introduced along an east-west axis, with the heated chamber (2.2 x 1m) at the far eastern end, underneath what had been the tripartite suite, preceded by a vestibule on the western side and a closed conduit 0.4m wide and 11m long, accessed from the western end of this axis. The bath complex was thus reorganized to correspond more closely to the Roman convention, with the hot rooms now located on the east side, where a brick-built pool with sides 1m in diameter replaced part of the previous tripartite suite. The rectangular room with the hip baths now became the tepid room; the hip baths in the circular room were covered by a floor made up of broken tile (this is interpreted by the excavators as a laconicum). The swimming pool on the western wing retained its function as a cold pool.

The discovery of the bath complex at Pella is bound to attract cultural and social historians. The function of the different suites, and the organization of hot and cold rooms, is likely to elicit considerable discussion. The identification of a circular heated room as a laconicum is one point of interest. In his recent review of the mutual exchange of ideas between Greek and Roman traditions with respect to gymnasia, baths and their various cultural associations, Andrew Wallace Hadrill writes:

Phase 2 involved the transformation of the northern and eastern wings (Fig. 140). The suite of rooms in the northern wing was replaced (except for the room at the far northwestern end), by an elongated room, 9 x 4m, with a circular construction at its eastern end (4.9m in diameter). At least two suites of individual clay hip baths, of which three are preserved intact, were located within the circular room (Fig. 141) and in a rectangular enclosure to the south of it. The floor between these features consisted of pebbles set in hydraulic mortar. A plug for filling the baths was located on the left of the entrance and a conduit for evacuating waste water on the south side. There was a bench against the wall behind the baths. In the eastern wing, the rooms of phase 1 were replaced by a large tripartite suite (14.5 x 5m), with a vestibule at the eastern end. The northern and southern ends were paved with pebbles in hydraulic mortar, with marble veneering in the central space. Benches separated the three interior spaces. Entrance to the baths was thus shifted to the eastern wing in phase 2, via this tripartite suite, leading into the baths on the northern wing through a corridor. The excavators believe that the circular feature was a hot bath, the rectangular space (with the hip baths) a tepid dip and the swimming pool (on the west wing) a cold dip.
Roman baths thus emerge not as contrast to, but an evolution from Greek gymnasia. Moreover, the Romans valued and indeed advertised the associations with Greek gymnastics. The neatest illustration of this is the laconicum. It is the one element which Vitruvius prescribes for both the Roman baths and the Greek palaestra. In fact it represents a temporary phase in building fashion, belonging to the last two centuries BC. There is remarkably little evidence for it from the Greek side, whether archaeologically for the characteristic circular domed room which is found in Roman contexts, or epigraphically for the word ‘lakónikon’ (Wallace-Hadrill [2008] 179–81).

He goes on to discuss the specific associations, within a Roman cultural context, of the laconicum with the Spartans. The baths at Pella provide a rather different perspective, not least because they seem to reveal a tradition of civic bathing, using a mixed regime of temperatures, with oiling and washing procedures in sequence (the excavations produced large quantities of unguentaria and lamps), probably connected with athletic activity. There is clearly scope for further investigation of bathing practices in the north.

Most of the excavated remains in the civic centre of Dion belong to the city’s later history (see Piniatoglou [2009]), but recent investigation of levels below the forum, both in new trenches on the south side and on the forum’s northwest side, have revealed constructions belonging to the city’s Hellenistic phase. On the south side, there are traces of substantial masonry, including a defensive wall aligned north-south, as well as plastered walls, pottery and coins from the time of Philip II onwards. On the northwest, a series of deposits, which have not yet been closely dated, has been revealed. These constitute several building horizons, with stone walls and unfired brick in the lower deposits.

A more nuanced dating is beginning to emerge for the different phases of construction at the Temple of Zeus Ammon, at Kallithea (ancient Aphytis). Earlier investigations of this remarkable and ambitious cult complex (Fig. 143) have identified different building phases by organizing the architectural members into a consecutive sequence, with the first phase (identified as having a limestone entablature and a roof of Corinthian tiles) belonging to the second half of the fourth century BC (Misailidou-Despotidou [2009]). A second phase, immediately succeeding the restoration following a destruction around the turn of the fourth/beginning of the third century BC (with a marble entablature and new Corinthian tiles), was followed by a Roman restoration, this time with Lakonian tiles. A proposition that does not seem to be in doubt is the abandonment of the temple at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century AD. Soundings made in 2007 suggest that the different forms of tile co-existed from an early phase in the sanctuary’s history. Much remains to be elucidated about the site’s detailed topographic history.

The temple, and its associated buildings, succeeded a series of elaborations of the nearby cave associated with the cult of Dionysos and the nymphs, reinvestigated by members of the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology for Northern Greece in 2004–2005 (ID401, 402). An elaborate fountain was constructed to channel water from the cave during the first half of the fourth century BC (Fig. 144). Underground channels diverted the natural spring into a basin, surrounded by a powerful wall which is still preserved to a height of 2m. One of the two openings in this basin poured into a marble basin. The bathing complex dates from the Imperial period (see below).

A rescue excavation at Koukos, west of Pydna, has produced an exceptionally rich male burial, identified as belonging to a senior Macedonian officer, judging by his weapons, which include an iron sword with a hilt decorated with gold leaf (Fig. 145; ID2153), several spearheads and traces of a bow. He was accompanied by a gilded bronze crown, a red-figure bell krater and other pottery. Of special interest is a gaming board, with 52 glass and five bone pieces.

Most of the 24 burials in Sector B of the eastern cemetery of Aiani investigated during 2007 (and reported in 2011) belonged to the third and second centuries BC, though some go back to the fourth century. They attest to the general level of prosperity in the region of Kozani during the Hellenistic period. T162 was a woman’s burial, containing 123 astragaloi, arranged around the body of the deceased, who was also accompanied by a pair of gold...
earrings with lion-head terminals. Other women’s burials contained silver omega-shaped earrings with snake-head terminals, unguentaria, ceramic vessels and terracotta figurines, including at least one pigeon (Fig. 146). Men’s burials were accompanied by a spearhead and occasional other items, including an odd vessel made from an unusual alloy of copper and lead (T192; Fig. 147), also known in at least one female grave (T8a). Contemporary burials are also recorded at Kozani and Vergina.

### Roman
Rescue work and systematic investigation of major urban sites is continuing to provide a wide range of data on the Roman presence in Macedonia and on different kinds of development under Roman rule. In Thessaloniki, development work in connection with the city’s new metro line is revealing a good deal more about the Late Roman and Early Byzantine expansion of the urban centre and its extra-mural cemeteries, particularly the large eastern necropolis. Development in connection with the southern bypass around Edessa has revealed a number of rural properties, including one near Psili Vrissi, destroyed in the early third century, and a second, on the southeastern side of the city, which was longer lasting, in close proximity to the Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic cemetery already noted.

144. Kallithea, Pallene (ancient Aphytis): fountain outside the cave of Dionysos, fourth century BC. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 16th EPCA.

145. Koukos, Pydna: Macedonian officer’s sword with gilded hilt decoration. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 27th EPCA.

146. Aiani, Kozani: terracottas from a male grave in Sector B (T166). © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 30th EPCA.

147. Aiani, Kozani: copper/lead vessel from Sector B (T192). © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 30th EPCA.
Among the most revealing smaller civic sites to yield important new information is the town of Kalindoia, where a series of public buildings (as well as a series of important civic inscriptions) has been identified in the last decade (Adam-Veleni [2008]; Sismanidis [2009]). The Sebasteion, or sanctuary dedicated to the cult of the emperor, was identified in 2004–2005. A complete history of the cult building can be reconstructed. It was dedicated in AD 86 by one Flavia Mysta and her children; an inscription recording the act was found just outside the building, whilst a female portrait head inside Room Γ has been identified as that of the dedicatee. Fragments of an over-life-size statue of Augustus and a portrait head resembling the Prima Porta type were recovered from the same room, along with architectural fragments, including a base for multiple statues, which was located on the far wall (ID394). The complex consists of a series of adjacent rooms which share a back wall and do not inter-communicate, each interior having a doorway facing east. The two earliest rooms (A and B) pre-date the foundation of the cult. Room B was adapted with a bench to support statues, whilst Rooms Γ and Δ are 1m larger than the others. Rooms Δ and E contained T-shaped benches, and the presence of this feature, along with numerous ceramic fragments, suggests that these rooms were used as banqueting suites (the citizens of Kalindoia celebrated such banquets in honour of Zeus and the emperor, according to an honorific decree). A lime kiln at the back of Room Δ, dating to the third century, indicates that the cult came to an end in this phase and various architectural pieces as well as statuary were destined for destruction.

Room E has since been identified as the city’s bouleuterion on the basis of another inscription according to which an exedra, the bouleuterion and a stoa were dedicated by Arridaios and Kotys, sons of Sopatros, and Sopatros, son of Kotys (ID590). Recent work has extended excavation southwards, where a further chamber (Room Στ) was revealed, as well as an open area, space Z, which has been identified, on the basis of its overall form, several stylobate blocks and a mass of associated marble statue fragments, as the exedra referred to in the last inscription (Fig. 148). A statue base, 1.1m high and investigated to a length of 6.5m, was located along the western wall of space Z, and contained niches, in front of which the following fragmentary statues were found, as well as fragments of a large honorific inscription in favour of the gymnasiarch of Kalindoia (first-century AD): two small headless male figures of near-identical form, wearing the himation and holding rolled documents (Fig. 149; ID2274); an over-life-size statue of a woman (opening off it on three sides and a potter’s kiln in one of the rooms on the southwest corner. A pot-hoard containing 67 coins of Gordian III (AD 238–244) may be connected with the destruction of the exedra (ID2144).

Fig. 148. Kalindoia: detail of Room Στ and the putative exedra of the Sebasteion. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 16th EPCA.

Fig. 149. Kalindoia: two male portrait statues from the exedra of the Sebasteion. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 16th EPCA.

At Aphytos a farm complex was discovered northeast of the Late Classical cemetery, consisting of a central room with smaller rooms opening off it on three sides and a potter’s kiln in one of the rooms on the southwest corner. A pot-hoard containing 67 coins of Gordian III (AD 238–244) may be connected with the destruction of the farm evident in all its interiors. A coin of Kassandreia, contemporary with Domitian’s reign (AD 81–96), found in a foundation trench for one of the principal walls, provides a terminus post quem for the farm’s construction.

Reinvestigation of the water channel connecting the natural source in the cave adjoining the Sanctuary of Zeus Ammon to the temple shows that the temple steps, belonging to the second- to third-century phase, put this channel out of action. The bathing complex investigated since 2005 (ID403) that developed between the second and fourth centuries AD was connected to the water source. It is not yet clear how this was managed in the intervening period, but the Late Classical to Early Hellenistic fountain was renovated and a brick cistern added to it, lined with hydraulic mortar. Of at least equal interest is the site’s redevelopment after the temple went out of use, with the addition of a water mill, composed of a vertical wheel on a horizontal axle fixed to two cavities in the rock (Fig. 152). Close by is a chamber containing a smaller wheel which operated two horizontal mill stones. The water mill was installed in the second half or towards the end of the fourth century AD.
The potential of archaeology in Thrace is illustrated in rescue work at Lithochori, on the west bank of the river Nestos, in proximity to the Egnatia Odos (E90) extension. A rural establishment was discovered, including a courtyard complex, in use between the late first or early second century until the fourth century AD, as well as a cemetery to the northwest of it with a much longer history (fifth century BC to fourth century AD, with an interruption between the third century BC and first century AD). In 2006, 20 burials were recovered, of which 14 were human burials, including five cremations; four were intact horse burials and two included human individuals with horses. Three human burials belonged to the fifth century BC and were in each case covered by a cairn. Of particular interest, however, was the discovery of a horse-drawn vehicle, with bronze and iron parts preserved. The vehicle itself is decorated with relief bronze panels, imitating an architectural façade with a Doric frieze and figured metopes (second half of the first century AD). Where dateable, the remaining burials fall between the late first or early second century and the first quarter of the third century, apart from one later grave from the fourth century. Among the outstanding individual finds was an iron chair with bronze ornaments in relief. The excavation was completed in 2007 with the recovery of nine more burials, one human and eight of horses, together with the foundations of a rectangular, single-roomed building. The horses were disposed in pairs (tombs T26 and T27) close to the vehicles to which they would have been harnessed. The other horses were treated as auxiliary mounts, buried close by. At least one of these was buried in a horizontal position, with the head raised and laid against the umbo of a shield (Fig. 153) inscribed in Latin RCATO (stamp identifying the workshop) and a second inscription in pointillé script, T-GAI SITA (identifying the owner’s name, T. Gaius Sitas; ID2308).
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153. Lithochori: horse from tomb T25 leaning against the umbo of a bronze shield. © Ministry of Culture and Tourism: 18th EPCA.