



HAL
open science

New perspectives on the burial customs in Macedonia during the Early Iron Age

Anne-Zahra Chemseddoha

► **To cite this version:**

Anne-Zahra Chemseddoha. New perspectives on the burial customs in Macedonia during the Early Iron Age. Regional stories towards a new perception of the early Greek world, Acts of an international symposium in honour of Professor Jan Bouzek, Volos 19-21 June 2015, University of Thessaly Press, Alexander Mazarakis-Ainian; Alexandra Alexandridou; Xenia Charalambidou, 2017, Volos, Greece. pp.381-394. hal-02378050

HAL Id: hal-02378050

<https://hal.science/hal-02378050>

Submitted on 13 Feb 2024

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY
DPT OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY
AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

aristea

REGIONAL STORIES TOWARDS A NEW PERCEPTION OF THE EARLY GREEK WORLD

**Acts of an International Symposium in honour
of Professor Jan Bouzek**

Volos 18-21 June 2015

**EDITED BY
ALEXANDER MAZARAKIS AINIAN
ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU & XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU**

VOLOS 2017

**REGIONAL STORIES
TOWARDS A NEW PERCEPTION
OF THE EARLY GREEK WORLD**

UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY
DPT OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY
AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY



**REGIONAL STORIES
TOWARDS A NEW PERCEPTION
OF THE EARLY GREEK WORLD**

**Acts of an International Symposium in honour
of Professor Jan Bouzek**

Volos 18-21 June 2015

EDITED BY

**ALEXANDER MAZARAKIS AINIAN
ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU & XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU**

VOLOS
2017

CONTENTS

PREFACE	11
ABBREVIATIONS	13
PART I	
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian (University of Thessaly) <i>The ARISTEIA Project: "The Social Archaeology of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece"</i>	17
Georgios D. Chiotis (The Archaeological Society at Athens), Chrysostomos Apostolou , Themis Dallas (University of Thessaly) <i>Behind the Scenery: Setting up the Research Platforms</i>	35
Jan Bouzek (Charles University, Prague) <i>Koine of Early Iron Age Geometric Styles</i>	41
Antonis Kotsonas (University of Cincinnati) <i>Sanctuaries, Temples and Altars in the Early Iron Age: A Chronological and Regional Accounting</i>	55
Yannis Nakas (University of Ioannina) <i>From the "Black Ships" to the Trireme: Ships and Shipbuilding in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean</i>	67
PART II. REGIONAL STUDIES	
Xenia Charalambidou (Swiss School of Archaeology in Athens/British School at Athens) <i>Viewing Euboea in relation to its Colonies and Relevant Sites in Northern Greece and Italy</i>	85
Jan Paul Crielaard (VU University Amsterdam) <i>The Early Iron Age Sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari (Southern Euboea) and its Wider Context</i>	127
Irad Malkin (Tel Aviv University) <i>Eretrian, Euboean, and Greek Networks: Colonisation and Collective Identity</i>	145
Alexandra Alexandridou (Free University of Brussels-ULB) <i>Some Insights into the Early Attic Society (10th-7th Centuries BC)</i>	155
Floris van den Eijnde & Michael Laughy (University of Utrecht, Washington & Lee University) <i>The Areopagus Oval Building Reconsidered</i>	177
Olga Kaklamani (University of Athens) <i>Early Iron Age Cyclades through the Funerary Evidence</i>	197
Stavros Paspalas (Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens) <i>Zagora and the Wider Aegean</i>	231

CONTENTS

Afroditi Vlachou (University of Thessaly) <i>Ritual Practices and Social Organisation in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Peloponnese</i>	249
Anastasia Gadolou (Greek Ministry of Culture) <i>The Formation of Religious Landscapes in Achaia during the Early Historical Era (10th-7th Centuries BC): Political Structures and Social Identities</i>	279
Zaharoula Papadopoulou (University of Thessaly) <i>The Funerary and Habitation Evidence of Central Greece: A Discussion on the Early Iron Age Social Organisation.</i>	293
Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (University of Heidelberg) <i>The Oracle Sanctuary of Apollo at Abai (Kalapodi) from the Bronze to the Iron Age</i>	323
Eleni Karouzou (University of Oxford) <i>Thessaly from the Protogeometric to the Early Archaic Period (1100-600 BC)</i>	343
Anne-Zahra Chemseddoha (University of Toulouse) <i>New Perspectives on the Burial Customs in Macedonia during the Early Iron Age</i>	381
Stelios Damigos (Westphalian Wilhelm University of Münster) <i>Early Aitolia: Three Regional Stories and their Material Traces.</i>	395
Franziska Lang & Anne Sieverling (Technical University, Darmstadt) <i>Micro- and Macroregional Processes in Early Iron Age Akarnania and Beyond</i>	409
Matteo D'Acunto (University of Napoli «L' Orientale») <i>The Protogeometric and Geometric Necropolis of Ialysos (Rhodes): Burial Customs, Commerce and Society.</i>	437
Michael Kerschner (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna) <i>The Spatial Development of Ephesos from ca. 1000 – ca. 670 BC against the Background of other Early Iron Age Settlements in Ionia.</i>	487
Florence Gaignerot-Driessen (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) <i>The Rise of the Polis in the Mirabello Region, Crete: Sites and Settlement Patterns (10th-7th Centuries BC)</i>	513
Sveva Savelli (Direzione Generale Archeologia, Rome) <i>Before and After the Greek Colonisation: Some Notes on Greek-type Pottery Productions in Sybaris and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.</i>	529
Emanuele Greco (Italian Archaeological School, Athens) <i>The Poleis of Magna Graecia and Sicily: Some Observations.</i>	543
Massimo Osanna (Soprintendenza Speciale per Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia) <i>Migration and Mobility in the Iron Age Southern Italy: New Approaches to Cultural Encounters on the Ionian Coast</i>	549
Alexandra Villing (British Museum, London) <i>Greece and Egypt: Reconsidering Early Contact and Exchange</i>	563
Eleftheria Pappa (University of Sao Paolo) <i>Social Histories of the Early Greek Presence in the 'Far West': Commodities, Traders and their Impact.</i>	597

PART III. ARCHAEOMETRICAL AND BIOARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Adamantia Papadopoulou (University of Sheffield)	
<i>Demographic Properties in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Aegean and the Mediterranean: The Case of Northern Greece</i>	605
Katerina Trantalidou (Greek Ministry of Culture)	
<i>Active Responses of Early Iron Age Aegean Communities to their Natural and Social Environment: The Evidence from the Animal Bones</i>	633
Tatiana Theodoropoulou (UMR 7041-ArScAn, Paris)	
<i>Regional Stories, One Sea: Towards Reconstructing the History/ies of Fishing and Marine Animal Exploitation in the Early Greek World</i>	669
Evi Margaritis (McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge / Cyprus Institute, Nicosia)	
<i>Domestic and Ritual Use of Plants in Early Iron Age Greece</i>	681
Yorgos Facorellis (Technological Educational Institute of Athens)	
<i>Radiocarbon Dating of Early Iron Age Greece: An Overview</i>	693

CONCLUDING REMARKS

James Whitley (Cardiff University)	
<i>Afterword: Regional Stories towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World</i>	723
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	731

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Alexandridou Alexandra

Post-Doctoral Researcher
F.R.S.-F.N.R.S
Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine
(CReA-Patrimoine)
Free University of Brussels (ULB)
alexandraalexandridou@gmail.com

Apostolou Chrysostomos

Survey Engineer
University of Thessaly
xapost@me.com

Bouzek Jan

Professor of Classical Archaeology
Charles University of Prague
jan_bouzek@yahoo.com

Charalambidou Xenia

Post-Doctoral Researcher
Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece
Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens
xenia.charalambidou@gmail.com

Chemsseddoha Anne-Zahra

Dr Archaeologist
University of Toulouse Jean Jaurès
PLH-CRATA
az_chemsseddoha@yahoo.fr

Chiotis Georgios D.

Archaeologist
The Archaeological Society at Athens
chiotisg@gmail.com

Crielaard Jan Paul

Professor in the Mediterranean Pre- and
Protohistoric Archaeology
Amsterdam Free University
jp.crielaard@let.vu.nl

D'Acunto Matteo

Assistant Professor in Classical Archaeology
University of Napoli «L'Orientale»
mdacunto@unior.it

Dallas Themis G.

Dr Technical staff EDIP

University of Thessaly
tgd@ha.uth.gr

Damigos Stelios

PhD Candidate
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster
sdamig@gmail.com

Facorellis Yorgos

Associate Professor
Technological Educational Institute of Athens (TEI)
yfacorellis@yahoo.com

Gadolou Anastasia

Dr Archaeologist
Director of Prehistoric and Classical
Archaeological Sites and Monuments
Greek Ministry of Culture
a.gadolou@gmail.com

Gaignerot-Driessen Florence

Post-Doctoral Researcher
Humboldt Research Fellow
Institut für Klassische Archäologie Universität Heidelberg
driessen.florence@gmail.com

Greco Emanuele

Professor of Classical Archaeology
Honorary Director of the Italian Archaeological School
at Athens
direttore@scuoladiatene.it

Kaklamani Olga

PhD Candidate
University of Athens
o_l_k_a@yahoo.gr

Karouzou Eleni

PhD Candidate
University of Oxford
eleni.karouzou@lincoln.ox.ac.uk

Kerschner Michael

Dr Senior Research Member
Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna
michael.kerschner@oeai.at

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Kotsonas Antonis

Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeology
University of Cincinnati
kotsonas@ucmail.uc.edu

Lang Franziska

Professor of Classical Archaeology
Technische Universität Darmstadt
flang@klarch.tu-darmstadt.de

Laughy H. Michael

Assistant Professor of Classics
Washington & Lee University
laughym@wlu.edu

Malkin Irad

Professor of Ancient Greek History
Department of History,
Tel Aviv University, Israel
Cummings Chair for Mediterranean
History and Culture, Tel Aviv University
Malkin.irad@gmail.com

Margaritis Evi

Post-Doctoral Researcher
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research,
Cyprus Institute, Nicosia
evimargaritis@gmail.com

Mazarakis Ainian Alexandros

Professor of Classical Archaeology
University of Thessaly
amazarakisainian@yahoo.com

Nakas Yannis

PhD Candidate
University of Birmingham
jnak77@yahoo.com

Niemeier Wolf-Dietrich

Professor of Classical Archaeology/
Honorary Director of the German
Archaeological Institute at Athens
University of Heidelberg
niemeier@athen.dainst.org

Osanna Massimo

Professor/Director
Soprintendenza Pompei
massimo.osanna@beniculturali.it

Papadopoulou Adamantia

Archaeologist
adamantiapapadopoulou@yahoo.gr

Papadopoulou Zaharoula

PhD Candidate

University of Thessaly
harapapado@hotmail.com

Pappa Eleftheria

FAPESP Post-Doctoral Researcher
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,
University of Sao Paulo

Paspalas Stavros

Dr Deputy Director
Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens
stavros.paspalas@sydney.edu.au

Savelli Sveva

Dr Archaeologist
Direzione Generale Archeologia
Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism
sveva.savelli@beniculturali.it

Sieverling Anne

Post-Doctoral Archaeologist
Technische Universität Darmstadt
asieverling@klarch.tu-darmstadt.de

Theodoropoulou Tatiana

Post-Doctoral Researcher
UMR 7041-ArScAn
Paris
tatheod@hotmail.com

Trantalidou Katerina

Dr Archaeologist
Greek Ministry of Culture
ktrantalidou@yahoo.gr

van den Eijnde Floris

Assistant Professor of Ancient History
University of Utrecht
F.vandenEijnde@uu.nl

Villing Alexandra

Dr Curator
Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities
British Museum, London
avilling@britishmuseum.org

Vlachou Afrodite

PhD Candidate
University of Thessaly
afrothiti19@yahoo.gr

Whitley James

Professor in Mediterranean Archaeology
Cardiff University
whitleya@cardiff.ac.uk

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE BURIAL CUSTOMS IN MACEDONIA DURING THE EARLY IRON AGE

Anne-Zahra Chemseddoha

Ancient cemeteries are not only informative for the burial customs and the cultural heritage of communities. More importantly, they reflect what each society aims to show about itself to its members and its neighbours through its choices and strategies motivated by practical reasons as well as cultural, political, and social factors. In order to face death and “*faire du cadavre un mort*” (D’Agostino & Schnapp 1982, 17), communities set in motion an entire assemblage of specific actions from the treatment of the deceased to its commemoration, on the basis of the heritage and the traditions perpetuated or rejected, adjusted or modified through time.

The Iron Age in Macedonia lasts from the 11th to the end of the 8th and to the 7th century BC. Indeed, the latest phases have been marked by two historical phenomena: the Greek colonisation as well as the foundation and growth of the Macedonian kingdom (Tiverios 2008; see also Hatzopoulos 2006). The complex cultural background of this period requests to consider the data from a wider area beyond the actual political borders too. Nevertheless, this paper presents an analysis based on the published data provided by the excavated Iron Age cemeteries, lying in Greece between the eastern slopes of the Pindos range and the Drama region, in order to focus on one part of this vast area between the Balkans and the Aegean Sea.¹

Introduction remarks and theoretical framework

History of the research

Until the 1950’s, the limited research on the burial customs of the Iron Age in northern Greece was mainly based on three important excavations conducted at the end of the 19th and during the first decades of the 20th century in Agios Panteleimon, Axioupoli, and Chauchitsa (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2014). For the first one, apart from the metal and ceramic material, studied few decades later, the details concerning the graves and the rituals remained quite unknown until the last decade when the excavations were taken over by the Greek Archaeological Service, which investigated huge burial mounds and hundreds of graves (Ham-

1. This study has been done in the frame of a doctoral dissertation submitted at the University Toulouse - Jean Jaurès in November 2015.

mond 1972, 341; *ArchDelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, *Chr.*, 385-387, 466-469). In Axioupoli (formerly Bohemitsa), the excavations of the 1990's has completed the image described in the preliminary report of L. Rey (1932, 40-44) and renewed our knowledge of the burial customs in the Axios valley during the Late Iron Age (Savvopoulou 2007, 607-612). In the 1950's and the 1960's, the excavations led by M. Andronikos and Ph. Petsas in the cemetery of Vergina marks an important turning point. More than one hundred tumuli were excavated and more than the third yielded at least 391 burials of the Iron Age (Andronikos 1969; Bräuning & Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013).² Then, the tumulus rapidly became a typical Iron Age feature of northern Greece. However, since the 1970's, the increasing urbanisation and major building works led to the discovery of numerous cemeteries with various features, displaying a mosaic of burial practices.

Composition of the corpus and methodology

More than a hundred burial plots have been recorded for the period extending from the 11th to the 7th century BC, 66 of which revealing useful data in different levels.³ The geographical distribution of the cemeteries reflects more the current state of research than the ancient reality. Most sites have been discovered within the frame of rescue excavations, a few have been published, while the chronologies are not yet established in detail in all cases. However, it is possible to draw a first synthesis and in this paper we propose to question the geographical distribution of the burial practices and their diversity (**fig. 1**).

Each cemetery is not defined by one feature, like the ritual or the type of grave, but by the combination of all the choices offered and accepted by the community within the burial plot. The funerary practices were gradually set up and were likely to change through time. These combinations constitute "sequences", according to J.-M. Luce – an expression which shows the dynamic character of the elaboration of the rituals. Several cemeteries can share a sequence of burial customs. Then, it has a temporal depth and a geographical extension (Luce 2007, 44).

The cases of the cemeteries of Vergina and Torone are meaningful. The sequence of Vergina combines the collective burial mound with the pit grave, the boulder cist and the exclusive inhumation from the 10th to the 8th century BC. The enchytrismos in pithos seems to have been introduced in the 8th century. In the last phase of the cemetery, the set of ritual become more complex with the adoption of the secondary cremation (Bräuning & Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 90-91, 139). A shift from a quite closed sequence with a limited range of types of graves to an open sequence, which expresses more possible practices within the burial ground, can be observed.

The cemetery of Torone in Chalcidice, used from the SM to the middle of the 9th century, displays a kind of restriction of the rituals. During the first phase, both inhumation and cre-

2. This number of graves results from a count based on the published data. Considering the poor preservation of the bones and the disturbances caused by ploughing, the number of burials must have been higher.

3. In total, 106 burial plots have been recorded. Among them, six are dated to the Iron Age but the available data are still fragmentary, 24 are cemeteries detected by surveys or trial trenches and are supposed to date back to the Iron Age (including the new sites not yet detailed in the preliminary reports) and 13 plots include only one grave in each. On the map (**fig. 1**), for better clarity, we have gathered some sites under the same number, like the burial plots around the ancient Aiani or those found near the modern Assomata.

mation are accepted, but during the PG the inhumation seems to have been abandoned in favour of the secondary cremation in urns (Papadopoulos 2005, 366-368).

The treatment of the deceased and the architecture of the graves are decided and/or accepted at a community level (Luce 2007, 42). This becomes particularly evident in the case of the elaborated graves whose construction requests *de facto* the assistance of several persons, who approved the performed ritual. The burial customs can therefore be the media for a discourse on collective identity. The burial offerings do not reflect the same values and they are not included in the construction of our funerary map. According to their functional dimensions, they concern individual, reflecting his gender identity and social position through specific codes, symbols and ideologies that can go beyond the limits of the cemetery.⁴

The elaboration of the funerary map requires a first analytic approach in order to establish a typology of the practices. For our region, five categories of features have been identified. The first includes the organisation of the graves. The common distinction between “burial mound cemeteries” and “flat” or “open ground” cemeteries⁵ is relevant in Macedonia only if based on some specific criteria. Funerary tumuli, as artificial mounds covering one or several burials, are varied and each case requires specific architecture, logistic, gestures and meanings. If monuments have been erected in a single occasion or created by the accumulation of several interments, the investment of the community in their construction is differently affected. Moreover, unlike individual tumuli, the collective ones involve two levels of organisation: the graves inside the mounds and the monuments between them in the cemetery. For Iron Age Macedonia, it is more appropriate to consider as “burial mound cemeteries”, those where the collective tumuli with several individual graves constitute the main structuring element of the necropolis. Chamber graves, tholoi, and tholoi-like graves, covered or not by mounds,⁶ have been isolated because they belong to a special category due to their collective use and specific architecture.

For the “flat” cemeteries, no clear definition has been stated. They concern vast burial grounds with individual graves where the tumulus is not a fundamental structuring element. The existence of several layers of burials, clusters, individual markers, and exceptionally collective tumuli is possible.

The second category of funerary traits concerns the types of graves: simple pits, cist graves lined with slabs, blocs or pebbles, clay or mudbricks, with various covers. The third category concerns the presence of a secondary container. It includes mostly the pot burial, namely the enchytrismos for the inhumation and the cinerary urn for the secondary cremation. The treatment of the deceased (inhumation or cremation) and its variants (primary, secondary, individual, plural) belong to a fourth category. The position of the body, which can be a distinguishing feature for particular regions of southern Greece (Luce 2007, 44), is less relevant in Iron Age Macedonia since most of the deceased are in supine position. In conclusion, the choice of graves and containers varies and their combinations in cemeteries can be multiple.

However, the comparison between the sequences defined for each cemetery brings out funerary regions, part of them characterised by a limited range of practices mostly located in the western hinterland and the rest of Macedonia where the diversity of the burial cus-

4. See for example the warrior graves which are not limited to a specific area.

5. The expression “νεκροταφεία των τύμβων” and “επίπεδα νεκροταφεία” are commonly used. The expression “open ground” is taken from Snodgrass 1971, 142.

6. Those in Pieria, in the south of Kozani prefecture and in the Aridaia river basin (Almopia).

toms sometimes constitutes the hallmark of a cemetery. Then we can question to what extent the Iron Age Macedonia is marked by a certain regionalism of the burial customs and how the opposition between “diversity” and “uniformity” of the burial practices depend on the scale of the approach and reflects diverse attitudes toward death.

The funerary map

From the LBA to the Iron Age

Our knowledge on the burial practices in the LBA is fragmentary. The available data only come from sites of southern (Pieria and Kozani) and eastern Macedonia (Serres and Thasos regions), Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.O.M.) and Albania. Apart from a few burials found in the settlement of Toumba in Thessaloniki (Andreou & Eukleidou 2008), there is still a wide geographical gap in the central part of the region, where the practices remain quite unknown. The inhumation is widely applied and the secondary cremation is concentrated in the eastern part of Macedonia. In northern Pieria the deceased are inhumed in simple pits, whereas in southern Pieria the boulder or slab cists are common (Poulaki-Pander mali 2013, 45-62), like in Thessaly. In the valley of the Haliakmon river, the flat cemetery of Aiani, where most of the deceased are inhumed in simple pits and a very few cremated (secondary deposits), is different from the burial mounds of Polymylos or the collective one in Rymnio where the slab cists are exclusive. The contracted position of the deceased is their common feature, contrasting to the less widely used supine position (Karamitrou-Mentesidi & Vatali 1999; Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011a, 89-134).

The EIA is marked by an increase of funerary sites and especially of burial mound cemeteries all over the region apart from northern coastal Pieria, Chalcidice and the Thermaic gulf area. Nevertheless, according to our classification, there are almost as many burial mound cemeteries as flat cemeteries, unlike the north of Epirus and Albania where collective tumuli are preferred (Andreou & Andreou 1987; Cabanes 2008, 51-60). In the EIA, a development of the secondary cremation is observed. During the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, it is almost exclusively applied in a few cemeteries of the northern and eastern part of Macedonia, like in Apsalos Verpen (Chrysostomou 1997), in Paliogynaikokastro (Savvopoulou 2001), and Nevrokopi-Exochi (Grammenos 1979), whereas during the Iron Age, it is virtually absent in western Macedonia and mostly spread elsewhere always as a minor ritual apart from the cemeteries of Torone (Papadopoulos 2005) and Koukos (Carington-Smith & Vokotopoulou 1990) in the southern Sithonia in Chalcidice. The third phenomenon, which finds a parallel in the rest of the Aegean, but which is virtually absent in western Macedonia, Epirus and the Balkans, is the reintroduction of the enchytrismos used both for adults and children. The introduction of the two last practices lead to a higher diversity of the choices offered for the treatment of the deceased.

The eastern Strymon group: LBA tradition, its coastal variant and the question of cremations in stone tumuli

Since the LBA, the communities used burial mounds of stones with secondary cremations in urns in the western Rhodopes mountains, east of the Strymon river. The tumulus of Exochi near Nevrokopi seems to have been used in the EIA (Grammenos 1979). The sequence

extends to the coast, including the cemeteries of Drama (Peristeri 2004) and Amphipolis-Kastas (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1993, 682-684), but it has been modified by the adoption of inhumation in pithoi (for children in Drama), a local specificity of the Thracian coast (Baralis 2007, 18-19). The use of the secondary cremation in urns set up in tumuli made of stones at the turn of the Iron Age is also recorded in Apsalos Verpen in Almopia (Chrysostomou 1997, 141-143). It seems to belong to a northern tradition, if one considers the similarities with the cemeteries of the so-called "Transitional Period" defined by D. Mitrevski and found near Skopje and further to the south near Bitola (Mitrevski 2003, 51-53, with references). The tumuli-platforms of Paliogynaikokastro (Savvopoulou 2001) could be linked to that group at its first development (from the 12th-11th centuries BC). However some distinctive features, like the duration of the use of the cremation (until the end of the 8th century BC) and the integration of inhumations in individual graves, continue to be present. The application of cremation in Almopia has a short duration and it doesn't seem to have had a significant impact since new burial customs spread all over the area at the same time or slightly later.

The western part of Iron Age Macedonia: a few funerary regions with a limited number of practices

The Aridaia river basin group

The group of the built graves set in mounds in the Aridaia river basin and its outskirts (ancient Almopia) constitutes one of the best-defined funerary areas. It includes, amongst others, the cemeteries of Apsalos Margarita, Konstantia, Kranaia, Nea Zoi (area ΣΤ), Neromyloi Prodomos and Prophiti Ilias (Chrysostomou 2011). It consists of built chambers often accessible by a dromos and two solid doorjambs at the entrance oriented to the east, but low, without a roof and filled by stones, or in some cases, covered with slabs. They contained multiple inhumations. Each feature of this type of grave is reminiscent of the tholos but symbolically more than functionally, mixed with a megalithic aspect. These cemeteries spread at the edges of the plain and in the valleys like territorial landmarks. The absence of any satisfactory closed parallel led to the assumption that this was a local creation. The popularity and the conservatism of this type of grave is visible especially in the cemetery of Konstantia which seems to be used until the Classical period (Chrysostomou 2011, 581). However at least in the 7th century BC, the homogeneity is challenged by the flat cemetery of Nea Zoi (hill of Terikleia) which includes mainly enchytrismoi in pithoi and cooking-pots called *pyranoi* (Chrysostomou 1998) finding a close parallel to the cemetery of Axioupoli in the other side of the Païko mountain (Savvopoulou 2007, 607-612).

The Vegoritis lake group and its parallel with Central Greece and the Balkans

Beyond the Edessa pass and the Voras mountain, the cemeteries around the Vegoritis lake constitute another strong uniform funerary region. Agios Panteleimon (known as "Pateli") is the emblematic cemetery (Hammond 1972, 341; *ArchDelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, *Chr.*, 385-387, 466-469, 507-511), but at least Zervi-Panagitsa and Arnissa located on the way out of main communication roads should also be grouped here (see respectively *ArchDelt* 47, 1992, *Chr.*, 458-459; Chrysostomou 2012). In Pateli, the collective burial mounds cover hundreds of slab cist graves with radial or concentric orientation. Each grave contained one

or several individuals, while disturbances of the previous burials are frequent and complex. Despite the presence of a few pithos burials, pit graves and variations in the architecture of the cist graves, the set of ritual admitted by the community is restrictive and lasts until the 6th century BC. These burial mounds bring to mind the so-called “Clan Tumuli” identified by D. Mitrevski, which develop in the EIA, like the tumulus of Visoi in Beranci (Mitrevski 2003, 57). The combination of cist graves within tumuli is not unknown elsewhere even if less impressive, as shown by those found in Kozani prefecture (Rymnio, see Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2003, 555-556), Thessaly (Hexalophos, see Theocharis 1968), Central Greece (Marmara, see Dakoronia 1987), northern Epirus (region of Pogoni, see Andreou & Andreou 1987) and southern Albania (tumuli of Kakavi, Bodrishtë, Piskovë, Vodhinë, see Hammond 1967, 204-205, 350-351; AR 30, 1983-1984, 115).

***From one lake to another. The burial customs around Polyphyto lake:
a southern extension of a wider funerary region of the northwest?***

Down to the south, in the region of ancient Aiani and around Polyphyto lake,⁷ the transition to the Iron Age is marked by the expansion of the cist grave. We ignore the organisation of the graves due to disturbance and absence of the upper layers. Apart from the small burial plot with enchytrismoι and secondary cremations in urns of the Geometric period in Kranidia Kryovryssi B, the region displays uniformity, even if each cemetery keeps local specificities like the reuse of anthropomorphic stelae for the slabs of cists in Kranidia Kryovryssi A. The cemeteries of this long western corridor share many common features. Interestingly, a small detail stresses this homogeneity: the use of a flat stone as a pillow under the head of the dead only recorded in this part of Macedonia.⁸ The geographical continuity of this funerary sequence towards Albania and Epirus is not well recorded, but the practices identified in Kastoria Dailaki including inhumation in pit graves covered by cairns or maybe collective tumuli (Tsougaris 1997) share common features with the burial mound cemeteries in the Korçë basin (Andrea 1985). In the south, in the Cambounian Mountains, the limit is marked by the presence of tholoi and chamber graves in Frourio (Chondroyanni-Metoki 1997, 37-40). Dating back to the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, they clearly belong to a Thessalian tradition and seem to represent its northern expression. In the north-east, down to the Haliakmon river, the limit is less clear. The cemetery of Tzamala is very singular with its divided tumuli (Kottaridi 2002). The combination with the cist grave would link it to the group of Polyphyto lake. However it shares also common features with Kountouriotissa and the burial mounds spreading on the foothill of the Olympos, west of ancient Dion (Hammond 1972, 339, 361; Poulaki-Pandermali 2013, 67-72). The closer to the Thermaic gulf, the more varied are the burial customs.

7. Around Aiani, the burial plots include those found in Leivadia, Koupoutsina, Giannouka Vryssi, Rachi Kommenoi, Agios Ioannis Prodromos, Isiomata (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011b, 281-289). On the right bank of the river, the burial plots comprise those found in Servia Kolitsaki, Kranidia Kryovryssi, Velventos Kato Bravas (Chondroyanni-Metoki 1998) as well as Servia Kokkinoi and Rymnio (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2003, 553-556).

8. In Agios Panteleimon, Agras, Aiani Leivadia, Aiani Rachi Kommenoi, Servia Kokkinoi, Velventos Kato Bravas, Zervi Panagitsa. For comparison, others are known from Epirus (Vitsa Zagoriou, Konitsa Liatovouni).

The Central Macedonia: a nebula of funerary regions

Pieria: diversity and southern influences

During the LBA, Pieria is divided in two funerary regions. The north is characterised by homogeneity, reflected on the use of inhumation in simple pits, whereas in the south various types of graves have been used. During the EIA three phenomena are observed. The first concerns the continuity of practices in the SM cemetery of Petra Treis Elies. Inhumation, cist graves, the use of clay to seal the slabs are already known in the cemetery of Spathes Agios Dimitrios used in the LBA (Poulaki-Pandermali 2013, 53-62, 64-66). The second phenomenon occurs on the foothill of Olympos, west of ancient Dion with the development of collective burials mounds as a resurgence of earlier practices. They are made of earth and stones, surrounded by circles of stones and they cover pits, cists with slabs or blocs, sometimes coated with clay, and some rare enchytrismoι in pithoi (Poulaki-Pandermali 2013, 67-83). The third phenomenon is a deep modification of the burial practices in northern Pieria (Makrygialos), despite the continuity of occupation of the burial plots (Besios 2010, 65). The homogeneity is replaced by a wider range of types of graves: some are already attested in the LBA in the south (deep pits covered with slabs or wood, cists with slabs or blocs), while others were new (the primary and secondary cremations and the rock-cut chamber grave (Karliabas, Besios & Triantaphyllou 2004). The adoption of this southern typical grave doesn't seem to be a local direct inheritance of the LBA since no such grave of that time has been recorded. It would be rather an indirect adoption or influence from Thessaly, where built tholoi and chamber graves continued to be used during the Iron Age (Georganas 2006). The emergence of this monumental architecture in Makrygialos reflects the will of a certain elite group to use burial customs as a medium for social distinction finding in this type of grave the appropriate expression.

What about Vergina? This cemetery which has been a reference for many years seems to be rather isolated, according to the combination of specific rituals attested there. The tumuli differ from those of Dion, Tzamala or from those found in western Macedonia and especially by the virtually absence of slab cists (only one: Grave AA IX, see Andronikos 1969, 60), the use of secondary cremation (at least 17 cases) and the wide use of enchytrismoι in pithoi (at least 57 cases). The combination of the three first features find parallels in the tumuli of the Korçë basin, like in Barç or Kuç i Zi (Andrea 1985), but the use of the pithos burial strongly relates it to the northern Aegean tradition.

The Axios river: a mosaic of practices

The land along the Axios river does not represent uniform funerary region: the cemeteries present their own specificities but some common features are shared among them. We include in this region the cemeteries of Paliogynaikokastro (Savvopoulou 2001), Chauchitsa (Casson 1919-1921, 1923-1925), Karathodoreika (Savvopoulou 1994), Axioupoli (Rey 1932; Savvopoulou 2007, 607-612; 2012), and Agrosykia (Chrysostomou, Aslanis & Chrysostomou 2007, 209-279). The most ancient ritual, namely secondary cremation in burial enclosures, specific to Paliogynaikokastro, seems to have had no impact on the neighbouring cemeteries where inhumation prevailed (only one secondary cremation in Axioupoli). The inhumation graves can be burials in pits or on natural ground covered by cairns (almost exclusive in Chauchitsa, at least half of the graves in Agrosykia and mentioned in Karathodoreika and in

Paliogynaikokastro),⁹ the pit lined with stones and sherds of pithoi (Chauchitsa, Agrosykia), the enchytrismos in pithos and/or in pyraunos (Paliogynaikokastro and especially Axioupoli from the 7th century BC) and the slab cist (all the sites). The increase in the last two types of graves find a parallel in the cemeteries of the so-called “Gevghelija-group” (Heilmann 2014, 88-89, with references) and constitutes a specific sequence of the Late Iron Age, which seems to spread also in Almopia (Nea Zoi, hill of Terikleia). It should then be noticed that the Axios river, being a natural pass between the Balkans and the Aegean sea, did not serve as a frontier between west and east at least as far as burial practices are concerned.

The Thermaic gulf: homogeneity behind diversity

In the region of the Thermaic gulf, the Iron Age is marked by the development of vast “flat” organised cemeteries from the 10th-9th centuries, but especially in the 8th century BC, created at distance from the settlements and which are characterised by a variety of burial customs (for a short synthesis, see Havela 2012, 308-312, 318-319). It includes the cemeteries of Nea Efkarpia (Lambrothanassi-Korantzi, Papagianni & Pouloukidou 2002), Nea Philadelphieia (Misaïlidou-Despotidou 1998), Oraikastro (Lambrothanassi-Korantzi & Papagianni 2001), Stavroupoli-Polichni (Lioutas & Gkioura 1997), Toumba Thessaloniki (Soueref 2009) and Thermi (Skarlatidou 2009). The pit covered with slabs is the most widespread type of grave for inhumations. However the following types are also attested: cairn burials, cist lined with slabs, stones, pebbles, clay or mudbricks and the enchytrismos in pithos. The secondary cremation in urns (placed in simple pits or lined with blocs, a few in slab cists) is present in most of the cemeteries (Nea Philadelphieia, Oraikastro, Nea Efkarpia, Stavroupoli). Even some tumuli were found or supposed in Nea Efkarpia and in Nea Philadelphieia. We extend the funerary region to Nea Kallikrateia (Bilouka & Graïkos 2009), where the Iron Age burial customs as well as the type of the associated settlement in *toumba-trapeza* have more in common with the other sites of the Thermaic gulf than with the rest of the Chalcidice peninsula despite the fact that it could be identified with the Eretrian colony of Dikaia (Bilouka & Graïkos 2009, 240).

Chalcidice: a divided geographical entity

At the level of the burial customs, Chalcidice doesn't form one funerary region but several small entities. Torone (Papadopoulos 2005) and Koukos (Carington-Smith & Vokotopoulou 1990, with references), Nikiti Ai Giannis (Trakossopoulou-Salakdiou 1988) and Ierissos (Trakossopoulou-Salakidou 2004) have commonly been grouped together (Havela 2012, 313-314). The cemetery of Mende (Moschonissioti 2010), which develops at the end of the 8th century BC, should be added. The first two close geographically necropoleis share the use of the secondary cremation but both keep original features. Torone has a first phase in the SM marked by the bi-ritualism. The secondary cremation in urns placed in simple pits or a few in cist graves, totally replaced the inhumation during the PG. Such a development and the types of the graves point more to Athens than to Euboea (Papadopoulos 2005, 394). This initial phase is not represented at Koukos where the urns placed in cist graves are more fre-

9. In Agrosykia, see the graves Δ, ΣΤ, Θ and Ι. The other graves perhaps belong to the same type but this cannot be attested due to unpreserved upper layers.

quent and the use of pithoi as container for the urns (containing the ashes) is a local specificity. The burial customs of Koukos could be considered as an adaptation of those of Torone but its roots could also be traced in an oldest local tradition, considering the already existing combination of cist graves and cinerary urns in the neighbouring EBA cemetery of Kriaritsi Sykia (Asouchidou 2011). The chronological gap prevents the assumption of continuity even if the recent discovery in Palaiokastro Polygyrou, namely two cinerary urns within a cist dating back to the LBA (Papastathis, Nasioka, Violatzis & Amantidou 2008) seems to lead towards this direction.

Few kilometres to the north, Nikiti Ai Giannis and Ierissos, which belong to the same funerary region, differ a lot from southern Sithonia. Apart from a few pit graves and one cremation grave in Ierissos, most of the others are enchytrismoι for adults and children, in pithoi set in pits lined with stones sometimes monumental which are reminiscent of some graves of the Iron Age cemeteries on Thasos (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1992, 653). In both sites, the cremation is used as minor ritual. The cemetery of Mende does not belong to that sequence. The Eretrian colony has its own particularities (enchytrismos for infants, pits and cist graves for older children) which actually seem to represent a northern extension of the Euboean (Luce 2007, 47).

Some conclusions

Comparably to the rest of Greece, the Iron Age in Macedonia is marked by a certain regionalism of the burial customs but more fragmented and in a local scale. From a cultural point of view, the EIA Macedonia cannot be considered just a periphery of the Greek world, or of the Balkans, or a corridor north to south. It rather depends on the geographical areas and on the choices made by the communities. The cremation practiced in Apsalos Verpen, Palio-gynaikokastro and Nevrokopi Exochi in the transition from Bronze to Iron Age, seems to have a Balkan origin. This funerary practice in Torone seems to be part of the northern extension of the process that affects Athens and Euboea in the turn of the Iron Age (Jung 2007). While the customs in the Aridaia river basin reflect that the area remained closed to external influences, the neighbouring communities of the Vegoritis lake echo those in the northern Pelagonia. In the south, contacts between Macedonia and Thessaly are strong since the LBA. The frontier of the "Mycenaean world" has been recently challenged by the new researches conducted in the cemeteries of Aiani and those in southern Pieria. However, we have to admit that the Cambounian mountains and the Tempe pass still stress a limit concerning the use of the tholos grave (distinctive feature of Thessaly) or the collective burial mound (distinctive feature of the south of Macedonia). In the eastern coast of the Thermaic gulf, the cemeteries concentrate (and attract?) the types of graves known around, whereas in the Axios valley the pattern is consistent with the natural corridor formed by the river.

The degree of diversity or uniformity of the burial customs can be in some specific cases the result of contacts and networks between people, as in the context of colonisation. More importantly, however, it is the result of the choices of the communities in relation to their attitudes towards death, their beliefs and the construction of their collective identity. Individuals can have a passive or an active attitude towards their own heritage, the changes in their social organisation and towards the other neighbouring groups. In Macedonia it is quite difficult to comment on heritage when the funerary map of the LBA is so fragmented. Nevertheless, Pieria seems to reflect well this process. The group of people who buried its

dead in the cemetery of Petra Treis Elies perpetuated the customs of those living along the Olympos range at the end of the LBA, whereas those who settled on the foothill of Olympos and those around the ancient Pydna (Makrygialos) in the EIA, adapt, modify and finally create a new funerary setting that shared common threads with the older practices of the south. In the region of the Axios river, despite the hundred of cremations in Paliogynaikokastro, this ritual did not have local impact and seems to have been rejected by the closest communities but maybe not by those around the Thermaic gulf, as shown by some secondary cremations in circular pits lined with blocs in Nea Philadelphieia (Misailidou-Despotidou 2008, 38, fig. 25). In the cemeteries of these regions, the variety of practices, expressing an open and very dynamic attitude, is characteristic. The chronology of the adoption of each type needs precisions. Nevertheless, this group differentiates from those in the north-western fringes of Macedonia, namely the Vegoritis lake group and the Aridaia river basin group, where a stronger conservatism is attested. These two groups that perpetuate their specific burial mounds (collective with cist graves for the first, tholos-like graves under stones tumuli for the second) could not ignore their respective funerary architectures, especially when the cemeteries are established near communication routes, but they maintain their differences through time at least until the 6th century BC despite the major political changes brought by the rise of the Macedonian kingdom.

The geographical distribution of the burial customs and the variability within the cemeteries cannot be offered a single explanation. The direct correlation between those funerary *facies* with ethnic groups, as it has been done in the past is hazardous and simplistic. Identity is a complex construction and the burial practices may or may not be part of it (on this issue see Luce 2007; 2014). Moreover, social factors have to be taken into account, as shown by the major work of I. Morris on the variability of the burial practices (Morris 1987).

Despite the fragmentary data and the not well-established chronology, wide changes in this funerary map between the 7th and the 6th centuries BC can be observed with a gradual disappearance of the funerary regions, apart from the conservative regions located in Almopia, in the Axios valley, around the Vegoritis lake and in Kastoria. The earliest changes occur in Chalcidice with the withdrawal of the cemeteries of Torone (mid-9th century BC), Koukos (end of 8th century BC) and Ierissos (beginning of the 7th century BC). The latter is related to the foundation of the colony of Akanthos, which is accompanied by the creation of a new burial plot integrating more diversity in the types of graves (Kaltsas 1998). In all regions of the Chalcidice, decrease in cremation is observed as well as a progressive abandonment of the enchytrismos for adults before being reserved for infants. After the foundation of the new colonies, it is not possible to really distinguish specific funerary regions anymore. All the necropoleis display “open sequences” with a wide range of types of graves (for an overview of the Archaic burial practices, see Panti 2012). East of the Strymon, the cemetery of Drama is abandoned in the Archaic period and in Amphipolis-Kastas the deceased are inhumed in simple pits or cist graves since the 7th century BC like in the Thermaic gulf. In this region, the changes occur at the beginning of the 6th century BC. In the sites where an Iron Age cemetery is attested, new burial plots distant from the previous ones were created (Stavroupoli-Polichni, Nea Philadelphieia) or ancient continued to be in use (Thermi, Toumba Thessaloniki, Nea Kallikrateia), but with a wider range of types of graves, or with special arrangements correlated with the emergence of a class of very rich graves like as Archontiko (Chrysostomou & Chrysostomou 2009, 479-487). New cemeteries develop as well (Sindos, Agia Paraskevi, Agios Athanasios, Karabournaki, Nea Michanionia-Aineia, Edessa, Mieza etc.) where inhumation is the main ritual and the burials comprise mostly pit and cist graves (see above).

The 6th century BC also marks a break in Vergina (the Aigai capital of the Macedonian kingdom by that time), and in Aiani with the withdrawal of tumuli for the first, the come back to the simple pit graves for both and the development of royal necropoleis.

With the major political and social changes motivated by colonisation, the formation of the city-states and the growth of the Macedonian kingdom, societies redefined themselves again.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrea, Zh., 1985. *Kultura ilire e tumave në pellgun e Korcës*, Tirana.
- Andreou, E. & Andreou, I., 1987. Une nécropole tumulaire à Pogoni de l'Épire, in P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand (22-25 oct. 1984)*, Clermont-Ferrand, 47-49.
- Andreou, S. & Eukleidou, K., 2008. Η πανεπιστημιακή ανασκαφή στη Τούμπα Θεσσαλονίκης, *AEMTH* 22, 323-28.
- Andronikos, M., 1969. *Βεργίνα Ι : το νεκροταφείο των τύμβων*, Athens.
- Asouchidou, S., 2011. The Early Bronze Age Burial mound at Kriaritsi-Sykia (Central Macedonia, Greece), in E. Borgna & S. Müller Celka (eds.), *Ancestral Landscapes. Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe - Balkan - Adriatic - Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium BC)*, Lyon, 383-390.
- Baralis, A., 2007. Pour une première approche des profils archéologiques en Macédoine orientale et en Thrace égéenne. Le cas des rites funéraires (Ages du Bronze Récent- Premier Age du Fer), *Pontica* 40, 11-40.
- Besios, M., 2010. *Πιερίδων Στέφανος: Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Πιερίας*, Katerini.
- Bilouka, A. & Graïkos, I., 2009. Νέα Καλλικράτεια Χαλκιδικής : Η πρόσφατη σωστική ανασκαφική έρευνα (1999-2005), στην Ερετριακή αποικία των Δικαιοπολιτών στον Θερμαίο Κόλπο, *AEMTH*, 20 χρόνια, 239-247.
- Bräuning, A. & Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., 2013. *Die eisenzeitlichen Grabhügel von Vergina die Ausgrabungen von Photis Petsas 1960-1961*, Mainz.
- Cabanes, P. (ed.), 2008. *Carte archéologique de l'Albanie*, Tirana.
- Carington-Smith, J. & Vokotopoulou, I., 1990. Η ανασκαφή στον Κούκο Συκιάς, *AEMTH* 4, 439-454.
- Casson, S., 1919-1921. Excavation in Macedonia, *BSA* 24, 1-32.
- Casson, S., 1923-1925. Excavation in Macedonia, *BSA* 26, 1-29.
- Chondroyanni-Metoki, A., 1997. Στοιχεία από την επιφανειακή έρευνα και την ανασκαφή δύο νεκροταφείων, της ΥΕΧ και ΠΕΣ, *AEMTH* 11, 31-42.
- Chondroyanni-Metoki, A., 1998. Από την έρευνα των νεκροταφείων στην κοιλάδα του μέσου ρου του Αλιάκμονα, in M. Akamati, K. Tsakalou & A. Chrysostomou (ed.), *Μνείας χάριν. Τόμος στη μνήμη της Μαίρης Σιγανίδου*, Thessaloniki, 287-311.
- Chrysostomou, A. & Chrysostomou, P., 2009. Τα νεκροταφεία του αρχαίου οικισμού στο Αρχοντικό Πέλλας, *AEMTH*, 20 χρόνια, 477-490.
- Chrysostomou, A., 1997. Οι αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην περιοχή της Αλμωπίας κατά το 1997, *AEMTH* 11, 139-154.
- Chrysostomou, A., 1998. Ταφικά ευρήματα από τον αρχαίο οικισμό στην Νέα Ζωή νομού Πέλλα, M. Akamati, K. Tsakalou & A. Chrysostomou (ed.), *Μνείας χάριν. Τόμος στη μνήμη της Μαίρης Σιγανίδου*, Thessaloniki, 313-333.
- Chrysostomou, A., 2011. Αρχαία Αλμωπία. Τα νεκροταφεία των τύμβων, in Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 579-593.
- Chrysostomou, A., 2012. Παναγίτσα-Ζέρβη Έδεσσας: νεκροταφείο πρώιμης εποχής σιδήρου, in P. Adam-Veleni & K. Tzanavari (eds.), *Δινήσσο: τιμητικός τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμιοπούλου*, Thessaloniki, 82-90.

- Chrysostomou, P., Aslanis, I. & Chrysostomou, A., 2007. *Αγροσυκιά, ένας οικισμός των προϊστορικών και ιστορικών χρόνων*, Veria.
- D'Agostino, B. & Schnapp, A., 1982. Les morts entre l'objet et l'image, in G. Gnoli & J.-P. Vernant (eds.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Paris, 17-25.
- Dakoronia, F., 1987. *Μάρμαρα: τα υπομνηματικά νεκροταφεία των τύμβων*, Athens.
- Georganas, I., 2006. Dying in Early Iron Age Thessaly, *AETHSE* 2, Volos, 195-205.
- Grammenos, D.B., 1979. Τύμβοι της Υ.Ε. Χαλκού στο Νευροκόπι Δράμας, *ArchEph*, 26-71.
- Hammond, N.G.L., 1967. Tumulus-Burial in Albania, the Grave Circles of Mycenae, and the Indo-Europeans, *BSA* 62, 77-105.
- Hammond, N.G.L., 1972. *A History of Macedonia*. Volume 1. *Historical Geography and Prehistory*, Oxford.
- Hatzopoulos, M., 2006. *La Macédoine : géographie historique, langue, cultes et croyances, institutions*, Paris.
- Havela, K., 2012. Τα ταφικά έθιμα ως δείκτης διακοινοτικών και διαπολιτισμικών επαφών στο χώρο της Κεντρικής Μακεδονίας κατά την εποχή του Σιδήρου, in N.Chr. Stampolidis, A. Kanta & A. Giannikouri (eds.), *Athanasia: the Earthly, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Rhodes (2009)*, Herakleion, 305-320.
- Heilmann, D., 2014. Some Remarks on Ceramic Vessels in Graves of the Lower Vardar Valley in the Early Iron Age in Relation to their Context (8th-6th Century BC), *Pallas* 94, 87-99.
- Jung, R., 2007. "Δώς", μου φωτιά. Woher kamen die Brandbestattungsriten der spätbronzezeitlichen Ägäis ? in I. Galanakis, H. Thomas, Y. Galanakis & R. Laffineur (eds.), *Between the Aegean and the Baltic Seas. Prehistoric accross Borders. Proceedings of the International Conference Bronze and Early Iron Age and the Region of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb 11-14 April 2005*, Eupen, 215-220.
- Kaltsas, N.E., 1998. *Άκανθος Ι. Η ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο κατά το 1979*, Athens.
- Karamitrou-Mentesidi, G., 2003. Σωστικές ανασκαφές στον νομό Κοζάνης κατά το 2003, *AEMTH* 17, 553-569.
- Karamitrou-Mentesidi, G. & Vatali, M., 2009. Πολύμυλος Κοζάνης 1999, *AEMTH* 13, 369-398.
- Karamitrou-Mentesidi, G., 2011a. The Royal Necropolis of Aiani: Research on "Mycenaean", Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic burials, *AEAM* 2, 86-153.
- Karamitrou-Mentesidi, G., 2011b. Η Αιανή στην εποχή του Σιδήρου, in Mazarakis Ainiian 2011, 279-311.
- Karliabas, G., Besios, M. & Triantaphyllou, S., 2004. Νεκροταφεία της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου στη Βόρεια Περίαι, in Stampolidis & Giannikouri 2004, 341-352.
- Kottaridi, A., 2002. Η ανασκαφή στη Τζαμάλα Βερμίου το 2001. Μεγάλα έργα και αρχαιότητες, *AEMTH* 16, 501-508.
- Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ch., 1992. *Πρωτοϊστορική Θάσος: τα νεκροταφεία του οικισμού Καστρί*, Athens.
- Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ch., 1993. Η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου στην Ανατολική Μακεδονία, in *Ancient Macedonia V. Papers read at the Fifth International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 10-15, 1989 : Manolis Andronikos in Memoriam*, Thessaloniki, 679-735.
- Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ch., 2014. Η αρχαιολογική έρευνα στην Μακεδονία της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου. Απολογισμός και προοπτικές, in E. Stefani, N. Merousis & A. Dimoula (eds.), *A Century of Research in Prehistoric Macedonia : 1912-2012. International Conference Proceedings. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, 22-24 November 2012*, Thessaloniki, 153-178.
- Lambrothanassi-Korantzi, E. & Papagianni, E., 2001. Νεκροταφείο της εποχής του σιδήρου στο Ωραιόκαστρο Θεσσαλονίκης, *AEMTH* 15, 263-270.
- Lambrothanassi-Korantzi, E., Papagianni, E. & Rouloukidou, Ch., 2002. Ν. Ευκαρπία Θεσσαλονίκης : το νεκροταφείο της εποχής του σιδήρου, *AEMTH* 16, 249-256.
- Lioutas, A. & Gkioura, E., 1997. Τοπογραφικές αναζητήσεις ΒΔ της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης με αφορμή τις ανασκαφές σε νεκροπόλεις στους δήμους Σταυρούπολης και Πολίχνης, *AEMTH* 11, 317-326.
- Luce, J.-M., 2007. Géographie funéraire et identités ethniques dans le monde grec à l'Âge du fer, *Pallas* 73, 39-51.

- Luce, J.-M., 2014. Les modes funéraires et la parole dans la Grèce de l'âge du fer ancien, *DHA Suppl.* 10, 37-51.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. (ed.), 2011. *The "Dark Ages" Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14-17 June 2007*, Volos.
- Misailidou-Despotidou, V., 1998. Νέα Φιλαδέλφεια. Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην « Τράπεζα » και στο νεκροταφείο της εποχής σιδήρου, *AEMTH* 12, 259-268.
- Misailidou-Despotidou, V., 2008. Νέα Φιλαδέλφεια, οικιστικές εγκαταστάσεις και νεκροταφεία στην ενδοχώρα της Θεσσαλονίκης, in G. Aikaterinidis (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικές τροχιοδρομήσεις από τη Θεσσαλονίκη στον Πλαταμώνα*, Athens, 24-69.
- Mitrevski, D., 2003. Prehistory in Republic of Macedonia - F. Y. R. O. M., in D. Grammenos (ed.), *Recent Research in the Prehistory of the Balkans*, Thessaloniki.
- Morris, I., 1987. *Burial and Ancient Society: the Rise of the Greek City-State*, Cambridge.
- Moschonissioti, S., 2010. Child Burials at the Seaside Cemetery of Ancient Mende, in A.-M. Guimier-Sorbet & Y. Morizot (eds.), *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité I. Nouvelles recherches dans les nécropoles grecques. Le signalement des tombes d'enfants. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à Athènes, Ecole française d'Athènes, 29-30 mai 2008*, Paris, 207-225.
- Panti, A., 2012. Burial Customs in the Thermaïc Gulf and Chalcidice in the Archaic Period, in M. Tiverios, P. Nigdelis & P. Adam-Veleni, *Threpteria, Studies on Ancient Macedonia*, Thessaloniki, 466-489.
- Papadopoulos, J.K., 2005. *The Early Iron Age Cemetery at Torone: Excavations Conducted by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens in Collaboration with the Athens Archaeological Society*, Los Angeles.
- Papasthatis, K., Nasioka, O., Violatzis, M. & Amanatidou, K., 2008. Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη βορειοανατολική Χαλκιδική: Παλαιόκαστρο, Ιερισσό (Ακανθος), Στατώνι (Στρατονίκη), *AEMTH* 22, 399-410.
- Peristeri, K., 2004. Η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου στο Νομό Δράμας, in Stampolidis & Giannikouri 2004, 259-264.
- Poulaki-Pandermali, E., 2013. *Μακεδονικός Όλυμπος : μύθος, ιστορία, αρχαιολογία*, Thessaloniki.
- Rey, L., 1932. Bohemica (Bohemitsa), *Albania* 4, 40-61.
- Savvouroulou, Th., 1994. "Καραθοδωρέικα" 1993-1994, *AEMTH* 8, 253-261.
- Savvouroulou, Th., 2001. Παλιό Γυναικόκαστρο. Το νεκροταφείο των "περιβόλων", in N.Chr. Stampolidis, *Καύσεις στην Εποχή του Χαλκού και την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου: πρακτικά του Συμποσίου, Ρόδος 29 Απριλίου - 2 Μαΐου 1999*, Athens, 169-185.
- Savvouroulou, Th., 2007. Απ' Αξιού ευρύ ρέοντος Αξιού, ου κάλλιστον ύδωρ επικίδνεται αίαν, in *Ancient Macedonia VII. Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II, Papers Read at the Seventh International Symposium held in Thessaloniki (October 14-18 2002)*, Thessaloniki, 605-624.
- Skarlatidou, E., 2009. Το νεκροταφείο της Θέρμης (πρώην Σέδες) Θεσσαλονίκης: 20 χρόνια έρευνας, *AEMTH* 20 χρόνια, 329-343.
- Savvouroulou, Th., 2012. Πύραυνοι αρχαϊκών χρόνων από την Αξιούπολη Κιλκίς, in M. Tiverios (ed.), *Η κεραμική της αρχαϊκής εποχής στο βόρειο Αιγαίο και την περιφέρειά του (700-480 π.Χ.). Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Συνάντησης Θεσσαλονίκη, 19-22 Μαΐου 2011*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 151-162.
- Snodgrass, A.M., 1971. *The Dark Age of Greece. An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC*, Edinburgh.
- Soueref, K., 2009. Τύμπα Θεσσαλονίκης: ανασκαφές στην τράπεζα και το αρχαίο νεκροταφείο, *AEMTH*, 20 χρόνια, 345-358.
- Stampolidis, N.Chr. & Giannikouri, A. (eds.), 2004. *Το Αιγαίο στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος, Νοέμβριος 1-4, 2002*, Athens.
- Theocharis, D.R., 1968. Ο τύμβος του Εξαλόφου και η εισβολή των Θεσσαλών, *AAA* 1, 289-295.
- Tiverios, M., 2008. Greek Colonisation of the Northern Aegean, in G.R. Tsetschladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, Leiden, 1-154.
- Trakossopoulou-Salakidou, E., 1988. Ανασκαφή Αν-Γιάννης Νικήτης, *AEMTH* 2, 347-354.
- Trakossopoulou-Salakidou, E., 2004. Η Ακανθος στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου, in Stampolidis & Giannikouri 2004, 265-276.
- Tsougaris, H., 1997. Ανασκαφές έρευνες στον νομό Καστοριάς, *AEMTH* 11, 19-25.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE BURIAL CUSTOMS IN MACEDONIA DURING THE EARLY IRON AGE

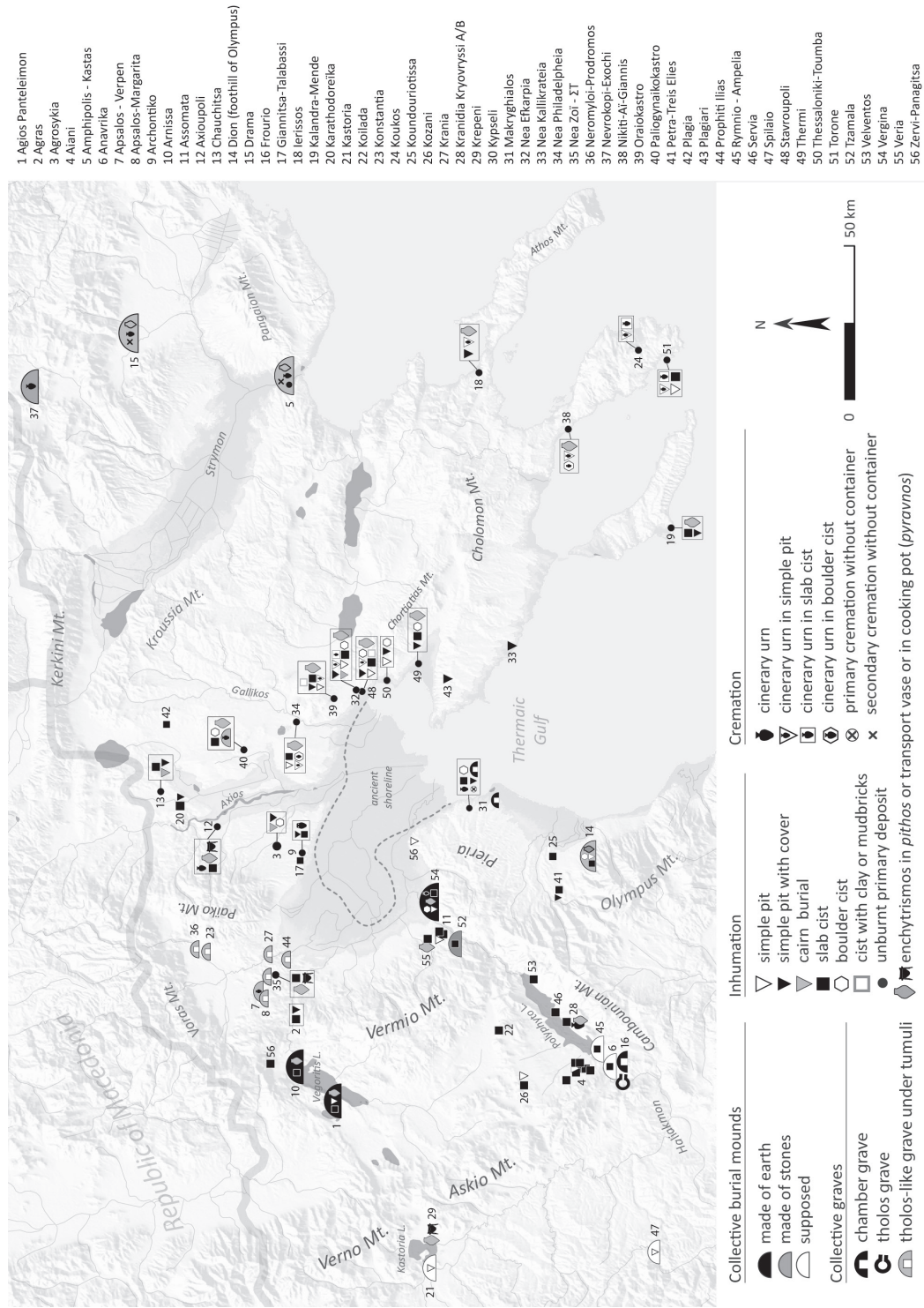


Fig. 1. Iron Age burial customs in Macedonia (A.-Z. Chemseddoha).

ISBN: 978-960-9439-42-8

The volume is part of the “Aristeia” Programme
“Education and Lifelong Learning”,
and funded by the European Union\
(European Social Fund - ESF) and national funds

