Representation of warriorhood:
A study of Iron Age and Archaic Period burials from Macedonia

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Zussamenfassung

Die archäologische Erforschung der Kriegsführung in der Vorgeschichte und im Altertum stützt sich seit jeher auf die Analyse von Waffen, auf historische Texte (sofern vorhanden) und Vergleiche mit ethnographischen Quellen, die sich mit dem Thema Krieg, Kriegswesen und Bestattungsritualen befassen. Der theoretische Rahmen umspannt folglich die drei Disziplinen: Archäologie, Geschichte und Ethnologie. Die vorliegende Studie ist ein Produkt aus deren interdisziplinären Interaktion. Das vorgestellte Modell stützt sich auf Material aus dem eisenzeitlichen und archaischen Makedonien sowie auf historische Texte, die sich mit Ereignissen des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. befassen.

Die Arbeit verfolgt drei Hauptziele. Zunächst werden die Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung veröffentlichter und unveröffentlichter Waffen aus dem Gebiet der Republik Nordmazedonien präsentiert und mit veröffentlichten Daten aus Griechenland verglichen. Zum zweiten wird das eisenzeitliche und archaische Kriegertum aus Makedonien in einen breiteren, bereits existierenden theoretischen Rahmen zum Thema in Eurasien eingeordnet. Schließlich wird die Repräsentation des Kriegertums, die in den Grabbeigaben bezeugt ist, analysiert.

Die Kriegerausrüstung steht im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung, da sie die primäre Datenquelle darstellt. Sekundäre Quellen wie weitere Grabbeigaben, Skelettreste, Texte und die Ikonographie werden ebenfalls berücksichtigt, da sie den Kontext wiedergeben, in dem das Material gefunden wurde.

Bei der Erörterung der Konstruktion und Repräsentation des Kriegertums und sowie deren Praxis als bestimmte Gruppe von Menschen werden die symbolischen, praktischen und sozioökonomischen Aspekte des Fundmaterials ans Licht gebracht. Durch die Berücksichtigung dessen Beziehung und Verflechtung wird die Art und Weise, wie diese Gegenstände verwendet wurden, erklärt. Wie bei den meisten archäologischen Arbeiten werden die Verbreitung und die Entwicklung des archäologischen Materials und der Typologie berücksichtigt, indem untersucht wird, wie sich diese im Laufe der Zeit verändert haben.

Da die meisten der in dieser Arbeit untersuchten Daten aus Bestattungskontexten stammen, wird jenen Gräbern, die Waffen enthalten, besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Im Folgenden werden die Begriffe "Bestattung als Krieger" und "Kriegerbestattungsritual" verwendet, da sie sich auf die Repräsentation als Krieger beziehen. Andere Begriffe wie "Kriegerbestattung" und "Bestattung mit Waffen" haben sich in der Vergangenheit als problematisch erwiesen, da sie auf eine vermeintliche

biographische Tatsache anspielen (im Falle des ersten Begriffs) oder die Aufmerksamkeit zu sehr auf den Gegenstand und nicht auf seinen Benutzer lenken.

Was kann uns eine Untersuchung von Bestattungssitten aus Mazedonien über die Repräsentationen von Herrschaft sagen? Ziel dieses Projekts ist es, das Kriegertum in vergangenen Gesellschaften zu verstehen, insbesondere durch die Untersuchung der Selbstdarstellung dieser dominanten sozialen Gruppe. Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf der Ausrüstung der Krieger und der dialektischen Beziehung zwischen Benutzer und Objekt, in der das Kriegerdasein den Waffen Bedeutung verleiht und die Waffen ihrerseits den Krieger repräsentieren und diesen erst zum Krieger machen.

Antike Waffen waren nicht nur Kriegswerkzeuge, sondern auch heraldische Mittel. Im Totenritualen wurden sie manipuliert, um spezifische Darstellungen des Verstorbenen zu schaffen. Obwohl diese Identität im Tod in den meisten Fällen auf einertatsächlichen Lebensrealität beruhte, entsprach sie nicht immer der biografischen Realität des einzelnen Verstorbenen. Das Verständnis der Art und Weise, wie Kriegertum konstruiert und kommuniziert wurde, kann Aufschluss darüber geben, wie dieser Status (neu) verhandelt und legitimiert wurde.

Diese Arbeit ist als Meta-Analyse gedacht, welche die „Bestattungen als Krieger" aus Nordmazedonien an zusammenführt und den aktuellen Stand der Forschung aufzeigt. Es wäre von großem Nutzen, wenn die von uns erstellte Datenbank von der zukünftigen Forschung aufgegriffen, erweitert und schließlich ihr Verwendungsspektrum vergrößert würde. Außerdem werden künftige Ausgrabungen unser Wissen über das Thema zweifellos erweitern, manch Schlussfolgerung bestätigen und manch andere in Frage stellen. Dieser natürliche Prozess wird unser Wissen über das Kriegertum in dem hier untersuchten räumlichen und zeitlichen Kontext nur bereichern

In vorliegender Untersuchung werden die vorhandenen archäologischen Daten mit historischen Quellen - soweit vorhanden - sowie mit archäologischen und ethnologischen Theorien über Krieg und Kriegertum konfrontiert. Aufbauend auf bestehenden Studien zum Kriegertum werden diese Arbeitsschritte unternommen, um bestimmte lokale Muster ans Licht zu bringen und diese lokalen Besonderheiten in breitere Diskussionen einzubeziehen. Als solches kann die Arbeit als ein Baustein einer viel breiteren Thematik dienen, sowohl für Wissenschaftler, die an den regionalen Besonderheiten, als auch für jene, die eher an überregionalen Analogien interessiert sind. Im Einführungskapitel werden die grundlegenden Prinzipien und der theoretische Rahmen umrissen.

Die Dichotomie von Kriegern und Soldaten, wie sie in der vorhandenen Literatur zu finden ist, wird in Frage gestellt, indem auf historische Darstellungen lokaler Besonderheiten, vor allem aus der Geschichtsschreibung von Thukydides und Xenophon, hingewiesen wird. In diesen werden die unterschiedlichen Organisations- und Kampfweisen als kulturelle Merkmale betrachtet und als nicht sinnvoll für eine Trennung zwischen Krieger und Soldaten angesehen. Dies wird auch durch den Hinweis auf die Spannung zwischen Verpflichtung, Verantwortung und der Ausübung einer sozialen Rolle wie der eines Kriegers deutlich. Die normalerweise mit Kriegern verbundene "Agency", die bei Soldaten als deutlich weniger wichtig angesehen wird, wird in Frage gestellt. Die Ausübung sozialer Rollen, die sowohl durch Gesetze als auch durch kulturelle Normen geregelt werden, ist, insbesondere in Kriegszeiten, ein Merkmal der sozialen Struktur. Handlungsfähigkeit in diesem Sinne bedeutet, sich in solchen Strukturen zurechtzufinden, und kann nicht als Merkmal von Kriegern angesehen werden. Andere Kämpfer sind Teil desselben Prozesses.

Daher wird Kriegertum als eine soziale Rolle definiert, durch die Mitglieder einer Gemeinschaft von sich selbst und von anderen als berechtigt zur Teilnahme an der Kriegsführung eingestuft werden. Unterschiede in der Ausübung dieser Rolle sind raum-zeitlich sensibel und werden durch kulturelle und organisatorische Faktoren bestimmt. In diesem Sinne können Soldaten, Söldner und Milizionäre als Varianten des Kriegerseins betrachtet werden. Dies macht den Begriff „Krieger" zu einem Oberbegriff, der unabhängig von den anderen Begriffen verwendet werden kann, wenn ein spezifischer organisatorischer Kontext fehlt.

In diesem Kapitel wird zudem analysiert, wie die Konstruktion von Kriegertum erfolgt, indem die Kategorisierung und die Möglichkeit einer anschließenden sozialen Gruppierung von Kriegern untersucht wird. Kriegertum als solches wird allgemein als soziale Kategorie verstanden, d. h. als Personenkreis, der aufgrund seiner Teilnahme und seinen Fähigkeiten im Krieg von sich selbst und anderen in einer Gemeinschaft anerkannt werden. Ob dies zur Bildung einer sozialen Gruppe führt oder nicht, ist kontextspezifisch und sollte nicht für jede Gesellschaft postuliert werden. In den Fällen, in denen ein solcher Schritt tatsächlich vollzogen wird, können wir zwischen sozialen Gruppen unterscheiden, bei denen das Kriegertum ein grundlegender Aspekt ist (eine Gruppe von Söldnern), und solchen, die es ergänzen, etwa in Fällen, in denen eine soziale Gruppe das Kriegertum in ihr bereits bestehendes Gefüge einwebt und vielleicht die Manipulation von Kriegerinsignien vornimmt, um sich zu legitimieren.

Im ersten Kapitel werden die verwendeten archäologischen Daten unter zwei Gesichtspunkten erörtert. Zunächst werden die primäre Materialquelle und die Art und Weise der Datenerhebung

definiert. Darüber hinaus werden die Region und die Chronologie genauer besprochen. Bei dem Material, das im Katalog zusammengetragen ist, handelt es sich überwiegend um Waffen aus Bestattungskontexten, die ausschließlich aus dem Gebiet der Republik Nord-Mazedonien stammen. Das Projekt umfasst Waffen aus dem 8. bis 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Jh. v. Chr.. Das Interesse der Studie erstreckt sich jedoch über die heutigen Grenzen Nordmazedoniens hinaus und zielt darauf ab, die Daten mit Informationen aus den nördlichen Teilen der Griechischen Republik und eines kleinens Streifens am Ohrid-See in der Republik Albanien zu vergleichen.

Das Arbeitsgebiet ist in vier Regionen unterteilt: Obere Vardar (UpV) - entlang des oberen Teils der Vardar und ihrer Nebenflüsse; Untere Vardar (LoV) - das Tal der Vardar in seinem unteren Teil, das sich über die Grenze der Republik Nordmazedonien hinaus in das unmittelbare Gebiet Griechenlands erstreckt; Pelagonia-Ohrid (PelOh) - umfasst die pelagonische Ebene und das Gebiet um die großen Seen Prespa und Ohrid; Haliakmon-Axios (HalAx) - das Gebiet zwischen den Flüssen Haliakmon und dem untersten Flusslauf des Axios sowie die heutige Grenze zwischen der R. Nordmazedonien und der Griechischen Republik.

Diese Unterteilung ist zwar rein taxonomisch und entspricht keiner kulturellen, materiellen oder politischen Gruppe, ist aber aufgrund der Forschungsgeschichte und der Feldforschungspraxis gerechtfertigt und wird in gewissem Maße durch das Material selbst diktiert. Das größere Gebiet und die kleineren Regionen selbst sind heterogen; dennoch gibt es Ähnlichkeiten sowohl in den Bestattungsritualen als auch in der Typologie, die eine gemeinsame Betrachtung rechtfertigen.

Dies wird in den nächsten vier Kapiteln (Kapitel 2-5), die den empirischen Teil enthalten und sich jeweils mit einer der genannten Regionen befassen, eingehend erläutert. Drei dieser Regionen (Untere Vardar, Obere Vardar und Pelagonia-Ohrid) liegen in der Republik Nordmazedonien. Die vorgestellten Daten wurden durch Querverweise zwischen Publikationen und Museumsinventaren ergänzt. Zusätzlich wurden neue Fotos angefertigt und Maße abgenommen, um die Dokumentation zu vervollständigen. Die vierte Region (Haliakmon-Axios) stammt aus der Griechischen Republik, deren Daten aus bestehenden Publikationen entnommen wurden. Sie dient in der gesamten Dissertation als Vergleichsregion.

Kapitel 2 befasst sich mit der Region Untere Vardar, die zahlreiche Fundstellen mit vielen Mikrokontexten aufweist, was die Möglichkeit eröffnet, eine bessere und detailliertere Datenbank zu erstellen. Fundorte wie Miltsi, Suva Reka und Dedeli stehen dabei im Mittelpunkt, da sie im Laufe der Jahre systematisch ausgegraben wurden. Ihre Publikation ist auch am detailliertesten, was

die Möglichkeit bietet, Muster in der Niederlegung von Waffen in Gräbern zu erkennen. Weitere Gräberfelder wie Bishov Javor, Zelenishte, Marvintsi, Vardarski Rid werden in dem Kapitel ebenfalls behandelt, um zu untersuchen, wie weit verbreitet der besondere Makrokontext in dem Gebiet war.

Eine eindeutige Praxis der "Kriegerbestattungen" ist beobachtbar, bei der einzelne Waffenteile ohne weitere Veränderungen in ein ansonsten mehr oder weniger standardisiertes Beigabenensemble aufgenommen werden. Dieses Set findet sich in den meisten Gräbern und besteht in der Regel aus einem Krug mit abgeschnittenem Rand, einem einhenkligen Becher und/oder einem kantharoiden Becher, die überwiegend auf der Drehscheibe hergestellt wurden. Darüber hinaus finden sich Stecknadeln und Fibeln, je nach Geschlecht auch Miniaturbronzen und Schmuck oder ein Teilettenbesteck bestehend aus Rasierklingen und Pinzetten. Hinzu kommen verschiedene Teller, anderer Schmuck und in einigen Fällen kleine gebogene Messer.

Das Gebiet ist gekennzeichnet durch Körperbestattungen in Kisten aus Steinplatten. Die mehrfache Nutzung ein und derselben Kiste ist häufig. Sie erfolgt durch Exhumierung und erneute Bestattung des Toten in einer kleinen Grube in der Nähe des ursprünglichen Bestattungsortes oder durch die Verlagerung der Knochen in eine Ecke der Kiste, meist in Nähe der Beine. Aufgrund dieser Praxis ist es oft schwierig zu beurteilen, ob bestimmte Gegenstände eventuell von früheren Bestattungen zurückgelassen wurden oder der neueren Bestattung zuzuordnen sind. Viele singuläre Bestattungen in diesem Gebiet geben jedoch ein klares Bild der Bestattungsform und ermöglichen es, auch die Mehrfachbestattungen zu rekonstruieren. In dem Gebiet ist eine mehr oder weniger strenge Geschlechtertrennung festzustellen: Frauen wurden mit Miniaturbronzen und zusätzlichem Schmuck bestattet, Männer mit Toilettenbesteck und Waffen. Bei den Waffen handelt es sich überwiegend um Angriffswaffen, vor allem um Speere, aber auch Schwerter und Pfeilspitzen kommen vor.

Im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. kommt es zu einer Veränderung der Bestattungsriten, die mit dem Auftauchen von Edelmetallen, importierten Töpferwaren und neuen Waffentypen, wie dem Xiphos, einhergeht. Dieser Wandel deckt sich mit ähnlichen Entwicklungen in den Regionen PelOh und HalAx. In dieser Zeit wurden bei illegalen Ausgrabungen in der Region mehrere Helme gefunden oder vermutet, was sich auch mit ähnlichen Entwicklungen in anderen Regionen deckt, in denen die "illyrischen" Helme auftauchen.

Die Bestattungssitte bleibt mehr oder weniger standardisiert, aber einige der Waffengräber weisen eine Zunahme von Edelmetallen und Importen auf, was auf eine gewisse Ungleichheit des Reichtums hinweist, die in der Region zu wachsen begann. Ungeachtet dessen folgen die Bestattungen weiterhin der oben erwähnten Struktur, und die Konstruktion des Kriegertums funktioniert innerhalb dieser Struktur, indem sie mit bestehenden Normen verwoben wird und auf die Verflechtung des Kriegertums selbst mit bestehenden gesellschaftlichen Rollen und Einstellungen zu Geschlecht, Status, Krieg und Reichtum anspielt.

Kapitel 3 befasst sich mit der Region der Oberen Vardar, in der es keine nennenswerten Fallstudien zu Mikrokontexten gibt, so dass die Struktur des Kapitels sich eher an den Meso- und Makrokontext anlehnt. Dies entspricht auch der vorhandenen Literatur und den verfügbaren Daten aus den Museen. Das Gebiet ist in drei Cluster unterteilt: Skopje, Shtip und Ovche Pole. Aus diesen wurden Daten von mehreren archäologischen Stätten gesammelt und vorgelegt. Aus dem Cluster Skopje wird ein Überblick über Varvara, Oreshani, Dubiche, Zhdanets und Brazda gegeben. Die Fundorte Orlovi Chuki, Gorno Pole, Krivi Dol aus Shtip wurden analysiert, indem die in den vorhandenen Veröffentlichungen verfügbaren Informationen über den Mesokontext bereitgestellt werden. Im Cluster Ovche Pole wurden die wenigen Bestattungen aus Nekropolen mit Informationen aus Bylazora ergänzt, einer der wenigen Siedlungen, die in diesem Gebiet ausgegraben wurden. Die meisten Daten stammen aus dem 7. und 6. Jahrhundert, mit Ausnahme von Zhdanets und Brazda, die aus dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. stammen.

In diesem Gebiet gibt es viele Hügelgräber, vor allem in den Siedlungen Shtip und Ovche Pole, aber auch Flachgräber, vor allem in der Gegend von Skopje. Das Material unterscheidet sich in einigen Aspekten von dem anderer Regionen und ähnelt ihm in anderen. Die Keramik ist in der Eisenzeit überwiegend handgefertigt, ähnlich wie in PelOh und HalAx. Andererseits ist zu beobachten, dass Bestattungen, die eine Fülle von Bronzeobjekten enthalten, vor allem Miniaturbronzen, die in LoV mit Frauenbestattungen identifiziert wurden, in UpV nicht vorkommen.

Was die Bewaffnung anbelangt, so sind Speere in der Mehrzahl, doch ist dieser Unterschied deutlich geringer als in anderen Gebieten. Gekrümmte, einschneidige Klingen sind sehr häufig, wobei sie in der Regel in Grabhügeln vorkommen. Defensivbewaffnung fehlt weitgehend. Die Veränderungen, die in anderen Regionen im Süden und Südosten zu beobachten sind, sind ebenfalls nicht in nennenswertem Umfang vorhanden. Bestattungen, die in UpV durch ihre Bauweise und

ihre Beigaben auffallen, orientieren sich eher an ähnlichen Entwicklungen der sogenannten Fürstengräber des Nordbalkans.

Kapitel 4 konzentriert sich auf die Region Pelagonien-Ohrid, die eine bessere Überlieferung an publizierten Mikrokontexten aufweist, jedoch unter dem Niveau der Region Unterer Vardar liegt. Daher wird sich das Kapitel auf eine Kombination von Mikro- und Mesokontexten mit einer zusätzlichen makroregionalen Analyse und einem Vergleich mit den Nachbarregionen stützen.

In der Region PelOh wurden mehrere Fundstellen und zahlreiche Einzelfunde besprochen, die in zwei Mikroregionen unterteilt sind: die Großen Seen und Pelagonia-Mariovo. Die meisten Funde stammen aus dem späten 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., aber einige wenige Fälle wie Kamenot, Berantsi und die Region Mariovo geben auch Aufschluss über frühere Praktiken. In der Eisenzeit dominieren Hügelgräber, während in der spätarchaischen Periode Flachgräber vorherrschen; es gibt jedoch auch Fälle, in denen in der Eisenzeit beide nebeneinander existieren, wie z. B. in Slamite-Rapesh. Die Bestattungen sind recht unterschiedlich, vor allem in chronologischer Hinsicht, wobei die archaischen Bestattungen tiefgreifende Veränderungen aufweisen, die denen in der unmittelbaren Umgebung sowie weiter südöstlich in HalAx ähneln.

In diesem Fall sind die folgenden Orte von Bedeutung: Trebenishte, Gorna Porta, Delagozhda, Rechitsa, Petilep-Berantsi. In diesem Gebiet ist eine Tendenz zu prunkvollen Bestattungen festzustellen, wobei importierte Bronzegefäße und Schmuck sowie Waffen (auch Defensivwaffen) einen wichtigen Aspekt in der Zusammensetzung der Beigaben darstellen. Auch goldene Masken, dekorative Blätter und Bänder sowie Gold- und Silberschmuck sindhäufiger belegt. Auch wenn sich die Werkstätten gelegentlich unterscheiden, besteht die Tendenz, dieselbe Art von Gegenstände zu importieren, so dass die Zusammenstellungen in PelOh und HalAx analog sind.

Die Daten aus dieser Region sind stark auf die späte Archaische Periode ausgerichtet, was vor allem auf die Forschungsgeschichte zurückzuführen ist. Aufgrund dieser Umstände gehören die in der Region gefundenen Waffen meist zu den für diese Zeit typischen Typen. Sowohl Offensivwaffen wie Speere und Xiphi als auch Defensivwaffen in Form von Helmen und Beinschienen sind hier häufig anzutreffen.

Das 5. Kapitel liefert einen Überblick über die verfügbaren Daten der Region Haliakmon-Axios. Da die meisten historischen Texte aus der Archaischen Periode auf Ereignisse in den Regionen, die in den Kapiteln 4 und 5 beschrieben wurden, Bezug nehmen, konzentrieren sich die Analogien vor

allem auf ihre Beziehung zueinander, wobei Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede herausgearbeitet werden.

Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf mehreren Fundorten, vor allem Vergina, Arhontiko und Sindos. Die Entscheidung, die Daten in einem separaten Kapitel darzustellen, anstatt sie in die Abschnitte über den Makrokontext der drei vorangegangenen Kapiteln aufzunehmen, wurde getroffen, um nicht nur die veröffentlichten Informationen, sondern auch ihre Interpretation in der vorhandenen Literatur zu erörtern. Der allgemeine Überblick, der dort gegeben wird, zeigt eine Fülle von Punkten, die diese Region mit den Nachbarregionen verbinden. Im Rahmen unserer Studie kann festgestellt werden, dass während der Eisenzeit das Materials in HalAx einige Analogien zu den Funden aus LoV aufweist - vor allem in Bezug auf Miniaturbronzen, Keramikgefäßformen und Fibeln. Andererseits ist die Ähnlichkeit des Materials in der Region PelOh im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. größer, wobei einige Mikrokontexte aus LoV gewisse Ähnlichkeiten aufzeigen, wie z. B. die Einführung von Goldblechen und neuen Waffentypen.

Es ist jedoch von großer Bedeutung, die zahlreichen Unterschiede in dieser Region zu erkennen. Sie zeigen sich vor allem in der differierenden Konstellation der oben genannten Aspekte. Stätten wie Vergina, Archontiko und Sindos haben ihre eigenen Besonderheiten, und die vorhandenen historischen Quellen aus der archaischen und klassischen Periode bestätigen die Heterogenität der Region. Auch wenn die Idee der "kulturellen Koine" befürwortet werden kann, ist es dennoch wichtig, die lokalen Besonderheiten zu erkennen. Die Festmahlgeräte in Archontiko und Sindos sind ein solcher Unterschied. Die benachbarten Fundorte sowie bestimmte Mikrokontexte innerhalb der Gräberfelder zeigen ein Spektrum unterschiedlicher Bestattungen, die im gesamten Gebiet zu finden sind. Die gleiche graduelle Abstufung der Bestattungen findet sich auch in PelOh und LoV.

Die Muster der Waffendeponierung in den Gräbern sind analog zu dem, was für PelOh und LoV beschrieben wurde, mit einem Unterschied für die frühe Eisenzeit und den Fundort Vergina, wo Griffzungenschwerter häufiger vorkommen als in anderen Regionen. Lanzen herrschen vor, und die Veränderungen im 6. Jahrhundert folgen der gleichen Entwicklung und stimmen größtenteils mit PelOh überein, allerdings mit einem wichtigen Unterschied: dem Fehlen von Beinschienen.

Kapitel 6 ist ein Übergangskapitel, das sich in hohem Maße mit empirischen Daten befasst. Es enthält eine detaillierte Analyse der in Nordmazedonien gefundenen Waffen und erörtert die Definition und Typologie der verschiedenen Waffentypen. Angesichts der vielen Ungereimtheiten in den untersuchten Daten und der Schwierigkeit, die archäologischen Überreste einer

taxonomischen Kategorie zuzuordnen, interpretiert das Kapitel die Funde und ordnet sie in ihre jeweiligen analytischen Kategorien ein. In vielerlei Hinsicht legt es den Grundstein für das nächste Kapitel, das sich mit dem Umgang mit den Objekten beschäftigt.

In Kapitel 6 wird die Waffentypologie erörtert, wobei bestehende Klassifizierungen abgeglichen und leichte terminologische Änderungen (im Falle der Kampfklingen) vorgenommen wurden, um den lokalen Daten besser gerecht zu werden. Daher wurde der Begriff Kampfklinge für alle Schwerter und Kampfmesser verwendet. Diese beiden Begriffe wurden in Bezug auf die Länge verwendet - Schwerter bezeichnen Klingen mit einer Länge von mehr als 30 cm und Kampfmesser darunter. Darüber hinaus wurde zwischen gekrümmten und nicht gekrümmten Kampfklingen unterschieden, wobei erstere als Makhairas bezeichnet wurden, während letztere durch die Naue-II-Schwerter und Xiphi (und eine begrenzte Anzahl von Dolchen) repräsentiert wurden. Die Makhairas wurden auch nach ihrer Form in Sicas und Kopides unterteilt. Die Kopides bezeichnen gebogene, einschneidige Klingen mit einer S-förmigen Schneide, während die Sicas Klingen ohne eine solche Form bezeichnen.

Die meisten Helme im Arbeitsgebiet gehören zum so genannten "illyrischen" Typ, einige wenige Exemplare gehören zum korinthischen und zum chalkidischen Typ. Die für diese Typen entwickelte Typologie wurde bei der Benennung der in diese Studie einbezogenen Stücke verwendet. Auch andere Rüstungstypen wurden kurz erörtert, wobei in der Region, vor allem in PelOh und HalAx, eine Tendenz zu ihrer Einbeziehung in die archaische Periode festzustellen ist. Einige dieser Helme, wie die Beispiele aus Grab 1 in Gorna Porta, tragen Inschriften, die weitere Fragen aufwerfen und Hinweise auf die Heterogenität der Region geben, die in dieser Arbeit mehrfach erwähnt wird. Die Inschrift, die zwei Namen aus verschiedenen Sprachtraditionen kombiniert, deutet auf einen weitaus komplexeren Kontext hin, als bisher angenommen wurde, und bestätigt die rege Kommunikation zwischen verschiedenen Sprachgruppen.

Die Waffensätze, die in den Gräbern in diesem Gebiet gefunden wurden, unterscheiden sich im Laufe der Zeit. Während man in der Eisenzeit zur Schlichtheit neigte, und nur eine einzige Waffe beizugeben, wurden in der archaischen Periode immer häufiger mehrere Exemplare e beigegeben. Am häufigsten zu beobachten waren Kombinationen aus Schwertern und Speeren sowie Gräber, die zusätzlich Helme enthielten. Vollständige Angriffs- und Verteidigungsausrüstungen finden sich auch in einigen der prunkvollen Bestattungen des 5. Jh. v. Chr. Es wirde argumentiert, dass anhand der in einem Grab beigesetzten Waffen keine aussagekräftige Unterteilung der Kampfkleidung oder der Heeresränge vorgenommen werden kann. Erstens, weil es keine Möglichkeit gibt, festzustellen,

ob etwas absichtlich weggelassen oder nur im Kontext der Bestattungsriten hinzugefügt wurde oder nicht. Zweitens, weil die Gräber, die Waffen enthalten, nicht als De-facto-Darstellungen der tatsächlichen Krieger und ihrer Kleidung angesehen werden sollten. Die Argumente in dieser Arbeit stützen sich auf die Vorstellung von der Repräsentation des Kriegers und nicht auf biografische Fakten.

Kapitel 7 befasst sich mit der Kriegerpraxis in Mazedonien und stellt Querverweise zwischen der archäologischen Analyse von Artefakten und ihrer praktischen Verwendung und den historischen Berichten über die Kriegsführung in diesem Gebiet her. Die Handhabung der Waffen ist nur eine der vielen Arten, wie diese eingesetzt wenrden konnten, bildet aber die Grundlage, auf der alle anderen sozialen und symbolischen Aspekte des Kriegerseins beruhen. Dieses Kapitel enthält auch den zwingend benötigten Überblick über historische Bezüge zu Ereignissen in der Region und bietet einen historischen Kontext für das archäologische Material. Anhand von Vergleichen wird argumentiert, dass ein maßvoller Ansatz, der sich von technologischem Determinismus fernhält, aber dennoch Analogien nutzt, nicht nur notwendig ist, um die Lücken in den Daten zu füllen, sondern auch, um ein überzeugendes Argument für die Praktiken der Krieger in Mazedonien zu liefern.

Es wird vorgeschlagen, die Kampftaktiken in der Region in ihren eigenen Begriffen zu definieren und sie nicht einer hellenozentrischen Voreingenommenheit zu unterwerfen, die in der vorhandenen Literatur vorhanden ist. Darüber hinaus ist nicht davon auszugehen, dass das Vorhandensein der gleichen Ausrüstung in verschiedenen Gebieten zwingend zu den gleichen Kampfesweisen und Taktiken führt. Bestimmte Arten der Handhabung können zwar aus der Form der Waffe abgeleitet werden, dies sollte jedoch nicht als Beweis für die Existenz derselben Einstellungen zur Kriegsführung, militärischen und gesellschaftlichen Organisation wie in anderen Gebieten, in denen eine solche Waffe vorhanden ist, angesehen werden.

Auf der Grundlage der Analyse der vorherrschenden Waffentypen und durch Querverweise auf historische Quellen, wo immer dies möglich war, wird der Schluss gezogen, dass das Gebiet die Heimat vielfältiger Kriegssysteme war, die sich stark auf leicht bewaffnete Infanterie und Kavallerie und schwer gepanzerte Kavallerie in Regionen wie HalAx und PelOh stützten. Die ausgedehnte Ausnutzung des hügeligen Geländes und die leichte Bewaffnung ermöglichten die Anwendung von Scharmützeltaktiken, die sich bei der Bedrohung größerer Armeen als wertvoll erwiesen. Dieses Merkmal ist auch für spätere Perioden historisch belegt, es ist jedoch davon

auszugehen, dass es in dem hier untersuchten Zeitrahmen - Eisenzeit und späte archaische Periode - seinen Ursprung hatte.

Das letzte, achte Kapitel ist der abschließende Textteil, der die theoretischen Überlegungen und die empirischen Daten miteinander verwebt und die Ergebnisse der Interpretation umreißt, die Antworten auf die Frage nach der Konstruktion von Kriegertum im Bestattungsritual des eisenzeitlichen und archaischen Makedonien geben.

Das Kriegertum wird als eine Kombination aus alltäglichen Aktivitäten und Lebenspraktiken im Zusammenhang mit dem Kampf zwischen Gemeinschaften sowie anderen Aspekten des sozialen Lebens innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft gesehen, wie z.B. Fehden, politische Machtdynamik, Rituale und manchmal auch als Mechanismus des Zwangs. Auch diese Dynamik ist nicht statisch und kann sich je nach lokalen Besonderheiten und historischem Kontext verändern. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es wichtig zu erwähnen, dass Waffen und kriegerische Praktiken auch außerhalb militärischer Konflikte existieren, insbesondere in Gesellschaften, in denen gewaltsame Konflikte innerhalb von Gemeinschaften durch Selbsthilfe und nicht durch staatliche Institutionen gelöst werden. Auch wenn dies von den jeweiligen Kontexten abhängt, ist davon auszugehen, dass in den hier untersuchten Gesellschaften ein allgemeiner Mangel an staatlicher Kontrolle bestand, ähnlich wie in den griechischen Stadtstaaten. Daher dient die Bewaffnung und ihre Einbeziehung in die Alltagskleidung als Mittel zur Selbsthilfe. Zu den Anlässen, bei denen dies erforderlich wäre, gehören die oben erwähnten gruppeninternen Konflikte.

Das Kriegertum war in den untersuchten Gemeinschaften eng mit anderen sozialen Rollen verbunden, z. B. mit dem Geschlecht oder mit der Ausübung politischer Rechte, wie dem Recht, an Konflikten teilzunehmen und Zugang zu Zwangsmitteln (d. h. Waffen) zu haben. Es ist jedoch nicht davon auszugehen, dass das Kriegertum in seiner alltäglichen Ausprägung zu einer verstärkten Stratifizierung in diesen Gesellschaften geführt hat, da es meist eine ergänzende Rolle spielte. Dies wird vor allem in den eisenzeitlichen Gesellschaften deutlich, in denen das Kriegertum als soziale Kategorie weit gefasst werden kann und die Bildung sozialer Gruppen und der Ausdruck der Zugehörigkeit zum Kriegertum durch die Daten nicht bestätigt werden kann. Umgekehrt zeigt die Verflechtung und nahtlose Einbeziehung der kriegerischen Symbole in bestehende Assemblagen und Bestattungsrituale, dass sie als eine Erweiterung dieser Rollen und Identitäten angesehen wurden.

Im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. tritt jedoch ein zusätzlicher Aspekt in der Darstellung des Kriegertums auf. Während sie noch immer eng mit den bestehenden Normen verbunden ist und die Darstellungsformen der Eisenzeit weiter bestehen (wenn auch mit einem neuen Typen), wird Reichtum nun häufiger mit Waffen verbunden. Dies gilt insbesondere für Defensivwaffen wie Helme. Im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. heben sich diese neuen prunkvollen Bestattungen noch mehr vom übrigen Spektrum ab. Kriegerische Symbole ergänzten sich zwar immer noch, wurden aber zu einem wichtigen Instrument der Legitimation einer sozialen Gruppe, die sich an der Spitze des Wohlstandsgefälles in diesem Gebiet befand. Diese sozialen Gruppen werden später in den historischen Quellen als Teil von Spezialeinheiten in Argead Makedonia und einigen Nachbarvölkern identifiziert. Diese "Elite" war eng mit kriegerischen Angelegenheiten verbunden und bezog ihre politische Macht oft aus ihrer Teilnahme an Konflikten. Darüber hinaus scheint diese soziale Rolle, dieser Status, vererbt worden zu sein und war nicht nur mit der Teilnahme am Krieg verbunden. Das zeigen die Bestattungen von Kindern in voller Kriegerkleidung ebenso wie von erwachsenen Menschen, deren osteologische Überreste bestätigen, dass sie nicht in der Lage waren, an der Kriegsführung teilzunehmen.

In diesem Sinne wurde das Kriegertum zu einem wichtigen Aspekt einer sozialen Gruppe, ohne dass es der Grund für seine Gründung war. Vielmehr wurde seine Wirkung durch die Manipulation kriegerischer Symbole und die Verwendung von Darstellungen des Kriegertums als Machtmechanismus ausgeprägter und sichtbarer. Es wird argumentiert, dass Bestattungsrituale als Ereignisse behandelt werden sollten, die Kriegertum reproduzieren und Teil des Prozesses sind, der die Krieger zu einer sozialen Kategorie macht, und in bestimmten Kontexten Teil des Ausdrucks einer sozialen Gruppe ist, was ihre Bedeutung für eine Gemeinschaft von Trauernden unterstreicht.

Eine der wichtigsten Schlussfolgerungen aus der Anwendung eines solchen Modells ist, dass es kein einheitliches Kriegernarrativ, kein universelles Kriegertum gibt. Vielmehr handelt es sich um verschiedene Kombinationen und Teile, die bei ihrer Konstruktion und Aufführung verwendet werden und die in den Daten zu erkennen sind. Die hier dargelegte Modell zeigt, dass die Einbeziehung von Waffen und die Präsenz des Krieges nicht als Zeichen einer kriegerzentrierten Gesellschaft gesehen werden sollte, sondern als Gesellschaften, in denen der Krieg durch seine Einbeziehung in die Alltäglichkeit des menschlichen Lebens und Sterbens normalisiert, aufgeführt und reproduziert wurde. Darüber hinaus waren Gräber Orte, an denen eine solche Ideologie umgesetzt und das Kriegerdasein reproduziert und ausgehandelt wurde.

1. Introduction

The archaeological study of warfare in prehistory and antiquity has always relied on weaponry analysis, historical texts (when available) and comparisons to ethnography dealing with the subject of war, warriorhood and burial rituals. Consequently, theoretical frameworks are based on research from those three disciplines: archaeology, history and anthropology. This study is a product of the same interdisciplinary interactions. The presented arguments will be based on material from Iron Age and Archaic Macedonia[1], and historical texts dealing with events of the 5th century BC.

The thesis has three main objectives: to present the results of a survey of published and unpublished weaponry from the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia and compare it with published data from the Hellenic Republic; to situate Iron Age and Archaic warriorhood from Macedonia in a wider, already existing, Eurasian theoretical framework on the same topic; and finally, to analyse the representation of warriorhood attested in burial remains.

The warrior equipment is at the core of the research, being the primary source of data. Secondary sources, such as additional burial goods, skeletal remains, texts and iconography will also be taken into account providing the context in which the material was found.

When discussing the construction of warriorhood and its representation as well as the practice of a certain group of people, the symbolic, practical and socio-economic aspects of the material are brought to light. By paying attention to their relationship and entanglement, the way in which these objects were used will be explained. As with most of archaeological research, the distribution and development of material and material styles will be taken into account, by looking at how they changed through time.

1 The geographic term Macedonia refers to territory governed by four different states: Republic of North Macedonia, Hellenic Republic, Republic of Bulgaria and Republic of Albania. Throughout the thesis the term Macedonia will be encountered in different context and will hold different meanings: Macedonia – the geographic region; Macedonian – adjective used in relation to contemporary language and ethnicity; Makedonia/Argead Makedonia – refers to the ancient kingdom ruled by the Argead/Temenid dinasty; Makedonian – adjective used in relation to the population under Argead rule. Given most of the findings come from Republic of North Macedonia and the northern parts of the Hellenic Republic, these regions will simple be termed Northern Macedonia and Southern Macedonia, the latter corresponding to the province of Macedonia within the Hellenic Republic and the former to the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia.

Since most of the data studied in this thesis comes from the funerary context, special attention is given to burials containing weaponry. The terms "burial as warrior" and "warrior burial ritual" will be used moving forward, due to their reference to the representation as a warrior. Other terms such as "warrior burial" and "weapon burial" have been problematized in the past due to the way they allude to a supposed biographic fact (in the case of the former) or putting too much attention on the object instead of its user.[2]

What can a study of burial rituals from Macedonia tell us about representations of domination? The aim of this project is to understand warrior praxis in past societies, specifically by examining how this dominant social group represented itself. The focus is on the warriors' equipment and the dialectic relationship between user and object, in which warriorhood gives meaning to the weapons and the weapons in turn signify and make warriors, a hypostatic union between idea and material (Renfrew 2005, 95)

Apart from being tools of war, ancient weapons were also heraldic devices. During burial rituals they were manipulated to create specific representations of the deceased. Although in most cases this identity in death was founded on actual lifeways, it did not always correspond to the biographical reality of the deceased. Understanding the ways in which warriorhood was constructed and communicated can provide insights into how this status was (re)negotiated and legitimized.

1.1. Thesis Structure

This chapter is where the basic principles and theoretical framework will be outlined, and a body of raw data and its description will follow. In that subsequent empirical part, the findings from a survey of publications and museum material will be presented. This compilation of material is expected to bring many locally known findings to a broader international audience of scholars who could then consider them in their research. Finally the dissertation deals with the interpretation of the raw data and includes it in a broader analysis of warriorhood in the final chapters.

More precisely, the empirical part will be divided into four chapters (Chapters 2-5) each dealing with one of the specified regions. Three of those (Lower Vardar, Upper Vardar and

2 For the term 'burial as warrior' see Molloy (2010, 412), for 'warrior burial ritual' see Whitley (2002).

Pelagonia-Ohrid) are from Northern Macedonia and the data presented were cross-referenced between publications and museum inventory logs. Additionally, new photographs and measurements were made to complete the documentation. The fourth region (Haliakmon-Axios) is from Southern Macedonia, the data of which were gathered from existing publications and will serve as the region of comparison throughout the dissertation.

The data will be presented through three scopes: meso, micro and macro-context. Meso-context refers to the general information about the archaeological site such as: its location, geographical features, number of burials, stratigraphy and chronology. Micro-context is related to a specific archaeological context within an archaeological site such as a burial. Through this scope, the funerary assemblage, placement of artefacts and the context's place in the stratigraphy is viewed. This is a contained event that gives us information about a specific action restricted to a usually small spatio-temporal sequence. Finally, the macro-context encompasses the analogies between several sites and their respective meso and micro-contexts. The focus here will be placed on the relations between them within a specific region and the neighbouring ones.

Given the variance in available data, chapters 2 through 5 will be structured differently. While the main approach remains the same and will see the data presented in these three scopes, the level of detail in each sub-chapter will differ from region to region. Chapter 2 will have the greatest depth due to the many excavated sites that offer a better view of the studied period. The Lower Vardar region presented in this chapter, has multiple sites with many micro-contexts which opens the opportunity of creating a better and more detailed database. This will be represented in the body of text as well.

On the other hand, chapter 3 and the Upper Vardar region, lacks any significant case studies of micro-contexts. The few existing ones will be discussed; however the chapter's structure will lean more toward the meso and macro context. This corresponds with the existing body of literature and available data from museums as well.

Chapter 4, which focuses on the Pelagonia-Ohrid region, boasts a better record of published micro-context; however, below the level of the Lower Vardar region. Therefore, the chapter will lean toward a combination of micro and meso-contexts with an additional macro-regional analysis and comparison to neighbouring regions.

The 5th chapter will outline the available data of the Haliakmon-Axios region, and will be presented in the manner of the previous chapter. The purpose of an overview of this region is the search for comparisons with the other three regions. Given most of the historical texts from the Archaic Period reference events from the regions described in chapters 4 and 5, the analogies will centre mostly around their relationship.

The presentation of the data in this manner will result in a clear and easily referenced empirical body of text, which will be closely knit with the corresponding appendix. This will then inform the next step: the interpretation of the archaeological artefacts and their contexts. This second part of the thesis is divided in three chapters focusing on the weaponry, the warrior praxis, and warriorhood as a social construction.

The first of the three, chapter 6, is a transitional chapter that deals with empirical data to a great degree. It contains a detailed analysis of the weaponry found in North Macedonia and discusses the definition and typology of the different types of weapons. Given the vast amount of inconsistencies in the reviewed data and the difficulty to reference the archaeological remains to a taxonomical category, the chapter interprets the findings and places them in their respective analytic categories. In many ways it lays the groundwork for the next chapter that deals with the way the objects were handled.

Chapter 7 centres around the warrior praxis in Macedonia and cross-references archaeological analysis of artefacts and their practical use, to historical accounts of warfare in the area. The way weaponry is handled is one of the many ways it was used, but remains the foundation upon which all other social and symbolic aspects of warriorhood are based upon. This chapter also contains the much needed overview of historical references to events in the region and offers a historical context to the archaeological material. By way of comparisons it is argued that a measured approach that stays clear of technological determinism, but still takes advantage of analogies is necessary not only to fill the gaps in the data but to lay out a convincing argument regarding warrior practices in Macedonia.

The final 8th chapter, is the conclusive body of text that weaves in the theoretical considerations and the empirical data, and outlines the results of the interpretation, giving the answers to the question regarding the construction of warriorhood through burial rituals in Iron Age and Archaic Macedonia. **It is argued that burial rituals should be treated as events that reproduce warriorhood and are part of the process that make the warriors a**

social category, and in certain contexts a social group, highlighting their relevance to a community of mourners.

1.2. Theoretical framework and approaches

1.2.1. What is a warrior? What is warfare?

Warriors and warfare are present, albeit indirectly among most archaeological currents in the 20th century. This can be seen in the extremely harmful cultural-historic theories of conquering migrants by Kossina, and in neo-evolutionist studies on state formation where warrior chieftains were supposed to be the step before kings (often warriors themselves). It led to ladder systems of social evolution where war and violence were heavily implied and considered to be an important part of societies (warrior chiefdoms, conquering states), but never really analysed in detail (Fried 1960; Service 1960; 1962; Flannery 1972).

Warriors were also implied in the work of Childe (1958), who envisioned migrations and demographic changes, while others gave them a much more prominent role in societal changes during the Bronze Age (Kristansen, Larsson 2005). During the 20th century, and especially in the second half, weapons and their typology remained well catalogued and analysed (Snodgrass 1999; Kilian 1975; Dintsis 1986; Pflug 1988; Parovic-Peshikan 1982; Vasic 1982; Terzhan 1995; and several tomes of the Prähistorische Bronzefunde series).

After the wars in the 1990s, predominantly in Europe, such as the ones breaking out in ex-Yugoslav countries, warfare became more prominent in archaeological research. It is worth mentioning that wars and incursions in Europe such as these happened even before the 1990s and right after the second World War, as Harding reminds us (2007, 13-14). However, it seems they lacked the coverage of the Yugoslav Civil war, and while other conflicts around the world were of a similar nature, the war in Bosnia remains the most referenced one[3], when referring to the shift in tone by European scholars of war (the coverage, proximity and brutality of the conflict were probably deciding factors).

3 A notable example is the edited volume Warfare and Society: Archaeological and social anthropoligal perspectives (Otto et al. 2006), where the topic is frequently visited by many of the contributing authors. Others include Treherne 1995; Insoll 2007, 9.

The new wave of research was set on the task of understanding the origin of warfare (Carneiro 1990; 1994; Keeley 1997; Guilaine, Zammit 2005), the contributing factors that lead toward violent conflicts between groups and defining warriorhood and the particularities of its expression. The biggest advances in theoretical knowledge regarding the latter, come from the research of prehistoric societies, predominantly Bronze Age (Treherne 1995; Kristiansen 1999; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005; Kristiansen, Horn 2018; Harding 1999; 2007; Vandkilde 2006d; 2013; Molloy 2010; 2012). It is important to acknowledge that Classical Archaeology and history have contributed immensely in their own field of study (Snodgrass 1999; 2006; van Wees 2004; Sabin et al. 2008) and have more or less followed a similar trajectory regarding the interest in warfare. However, there seems to have been a more steady presence of research focusing on hoplite warfare.

As this study was being done, the world was engulfed in many conflicts that grabbed the attention of the world. A prolonged war in Afghanistan was coming to a close, a war in Syria that saw many transformations and included different entities, a war induced-humanitarian crisis in Yemen, an internal conflict in Ethiopia and the invasion of Ukraine. The last one, brought back fears of a possible third World War, as countries were attempting to position themselves in regards to the warring sides. Some of these conflicts are still ongoing, but their results can be expected: the loss of countless human lives and suffering.

It has been previously noted, and rightfully so, that the victims of war were not brought into the analysis, instead a celebratory tone (Vandkilde 2006a) can be noticed lurking between the lines, of great heroes and their retinues bringing change and dominating their societies. Although, steps to avoid the latter are taken in this thesis, victims of war will not figure prominently in this work. However, attempts will be made to explore how young men are indoctrinated into violence, making them the vessels and the tools of that suffering.

Having in mind the specific historical context of the time and area studied here, it is of great importance that approaches both from Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology are taken into consideration. It is the move from Iron Age into the Archaic Period, and the shifts in warriorhood which take place in the Balkans during that time, that define the diachronic analysis in this work.

Defining what a warrior is, comes with some difficulties. The term “warrior” is frequently used, to describe a person from the past who engaged in the act of war, or the one that makes

war (Molloy 2012, 88). Additionally, a dichotomy between warriors and soldiers appears in the extant literature (Treherne 1995; Vandkilde 2006c; Molloy 2012; Lloyd 2014). A common definition of **soldiers** is one that describes them as those who serve in an army for pay, and "are trained and equipped by the army" (Lloyd 2014, 5). A **warrior**, on the other hand, would be someone that "equips and trains himself", engages in a warrior lifestyle which centres around material representations of warriorhood and participates in activities that are part of a construction of a common experience of a group of warriors (Lloyd 2014; Treherne 1995; Molloy 2012). The participation in war makes warrior a social identity "founded in warfare" (Vandkilde 2006a, 59). An important distinction between warrior and soldier is believed to be that the former is an expression of identity based on "strategies peculiar to a society", while the latter can be viewed simply as a "military specialist" (Molloy 2012, 88).

1.2.2. Beyond the warrior/soldier dichotomy

While a warrior is seen as an identity embedded in individualism and attributed with vibrant agency (Vandkilde 2006c, 396-7; 2013, 42), a soldier is viewed as a cog in the machine or a "non-individual" (Treherne 1995, 128; Lloyd 2014, 5). Those observations are grounded to some extent; however it will be argued that they do not relate to two different identities, especially in the spatio-temporal point of interest here.

Regarding the many faces of warriorhood, which are often set as distinct categories (soldiers, mercenaries etc.), a few more things need to be considered when discussing Iron Age and Archaic Macedonia. With the exception of slaves, the line between warriors, soldiers, mercenaries and other combatants is blurry, a notion previously acknowledged to a certain extent in Bronze Age research as well (Otto et al. 2006, 15). As evident by now, the dichotomy between warriors and soldiers rests on the shoulders of individualism ascribed to the former, and collectivism associated with the latter. While it has been acknowledged, that this division is not clear cut and both are present in warriors and soldiers (Vandkilde 2006c, 396), it still seems to remain a feature distinctive enough to warrant a divide between the two. However, this difference might be overestimated, and when it does exist it is connected to other societal inequalities and/or cultural practices.

Two examples from Classical and Archaic Period Balkans are suitable for this discussion: the Greek hoplites and the Makedonian royal Companions. The former, who are widely

considered to be the citizen soldiers of the Greek city-states, did not receive formal training in most cases, but rather the obligation to possess warrior equipment was related to the obligation to maintain good physical condition (van Wees 2004; Molloy 2012, 90). The "armed men" in the city-states of ancient Greece were far from an official standing army of the city states, as was shown previously (Vlassopoulos / Xydopoulos 2017, 6; van Wees 2004). In that sense, hoplites are more aligned with the existing definitions of warriors than soldiers.

The overarching similarities between warriors and soldiers come from the shared experience of martial conflict in which they, by proxy or otherwise, have the legitimate right to engage. The monopoly over legitimate violence and the apparatuses of the ancient states that enforced rules should also not be overestimated. Instead, they should be seen as being in the process of forming, an attempt to establish a monopoly in a constant state of (re)negotiation of power and "a practice of self-help" — at least when dealing with intra-community violence (van Wees 1998; Vlassopoulos, Xydopoulos 2017, 5-6).

The companions of the Argead king and the "conscripted" (for the lack of a better word) pastoralist/agriculturist men had a similar experience. While the Companion cavalry probably remained a place for the higher echelons of Makedonian society, the infantry's role changed significantly in the 4th century BC with the introduction of the pezhetairoi. These foot-companions were picked from the rest of the infantry (Sekunda 2010, 447), and they might not have been restricted only to Makedonians (Hammond 2000a, 155). Together with the rest of the infantry, they were equipped and trained by the king, and swore an oath of loyalty to him (Hammond 2000a, 148-149).

Although it is tempting to classify the infantry as soldiers, this is still hard to delineate both archaeologically and theoretically. In many ways, the differences we see between them and the Companions are a consequence of other social factors such as: social background, access to wealth and certain means of symbolic representation. This line is not only blurry within the confines of archaeological theory, but also "given the comparatively limited distance between king and commoner/soldier in Makedonian society" (Carney 1996, 29). For all the social stratification within the Argead kingdom, war was the field where communication between the different strata was more pronounced.

Following the extant definitions described above, the Companions could easily be classified as warriors (we could add: proprie dicti). They were specialized in warfare, belonged to an elite club and displayed their status by utilizing certain means of representation peculiar to their group. The others that seasonally fought in the wars would be treated as soldiers (were paid, equipped and trained by their recruiter). However, martial conflict was an important part of their life, they were specialized in weapon usage and did take part in some activities peculiar to a social group engaged in war (albeit different from the warrior proprie dicti) – all important aspects of warriorhood. Their role in the Makedonian assembly and the reciprocal relationship they had with their leader and king[4] cannot be easily brushed aside. While it can be expected that the Makedonian army was highly stratified, and the Companions were at the spearhead of the war effort claiming much of the loot and privileges, the infantry was not far behind – both in terms of claiming loot, sometimes even without consent from the king (Carney 1996, 25; Plutarch, Alex. 24.1) and prestige.

Additionally, the perceived drive for personal glory and the ambitions of the warriors proprie dicti should not be overstated. While we can expect it did play a role, attention needs to also be given to the societal pressure to be a warrior and the sense of responsibilities if the time for war is upon a community, to reproduce existing traditions and fulfil societal expectations. This "soft" coercion into action should be taken into account, and questions should be asked about how a structure that requires and perpetuates aggression affects the possibility of warriors to have the level of individualism and ambition ascribed to them in warrior studies (such as: Vandkilde 2006c, 396). **The tension between obligation, responsibility and the performance of a social role is at the centre and should inform how we view the bulk of the population that takes part in war.**

This should not be seen as a shift from agency to structure, rather a balancing act that accentuates the many facets of military activities where one or the other is more dominant. **Furthermore, soldiers can be expected to exhibit the same drive for personal gain and a tension between obligation and ambition existed among them as well. It is only in the organization where the difference is seen, since soldiers are forced to operate in more rigid hierarchical structures and so seem as cogs, when in fact they, especially the volunteers, adhere to many of the ideals usually ascribed to warriors.** Furthermore,

4 Regarding the treatment of the army as an assembly: Hammond 2000a, 144-145.

caution is needed not to attribute all differences from a warrior-centric viewpoint, as some are related to other forms of identification.

Brasidas, a Spartan commander leading a host of his warriors in Macedonia is reported by Thucydides to have given a speech to his Spartan comrades, which could help us understand this ambiguity (Thuc. 4.126.).[5] To him the individuality of the warriors opposite him is "barbarian", and this state, where "every man is his own master", is a sub-standard way to wage war. On the other hand his comrades, according to the definitions described above, can very easily be described as soldiers, as they were provided with training and equipment since a very young age. However, as part of the population with political and economic control in Sparta, they are in fact driven by the necessity to maintain this status ascribed to them by birth. Therefore, they fit the description of warriors priprie dicti as well: ambition and personal gain; striving for ideals of valour; they are organised in brotherhoods; and they express their identity through the practice of violence and a specific materiality resting on warrior's equipment and personal attire. Yet, their disdain for people who are not a cog in the machine, or a shield in the shield-wall/phalanx to be more precise, are similar to some of the differences pinpointed by us archaeologists. In fact, Brasidas just observes a difference in organization (which he sees as a lack of one on the opposite side). The warrior definition envisioned for Bronze Age and Iron Age warriors, was probably true for his opponents, while his side was organized differently. But he, or at least Thucydides who writes about the speech, describes it as a Greek and a Barbarian way of fighting, but fighting nonetheless.

What becomes apparent, is that differences in organization and practice, do not necessarily align with the warrior-soldier dichotomy. Instead, boundaries can additionally be drawn on cultural and/or economic basis. However, the foundation remains the same in all cases: there are people across boundaries who engage in war and share in characteristics derived from their martial way of life. In addition to having access to the means of war, they also share in certain means of representation that makes them visible and recognisable.

Viewing soldiers as anonymous and mute cogs in the war machine, as they are often described as (e.g. Treherne 1995, 128; Lloyd 2014, 5), ignores an entire area of human experience and inhibits our ability to understand it. **Having this in mind, soldierhood can be**

5 Whether or not this is a factual representation of Brasidas' actual speech or only Thucyidides' own thoughts and interpretation is of little concern here, rather the noticed differences of which Thucydides speaks, and the opinion existing in his enviorment regarding the modes of fighting of the "other".

considered a variant of warriorhood, contingent on organization and other societal factors. Mercenaries (mistophoroi) should be dealt with in a similar manner: warriors for hire who appear in particular contexts and live out a life of a warrior (Fig. 1). They receive payment, much like the soldier albeit operating outside of the confines of their communities, and serve in conflicts not necessarily affecting their point of origin.

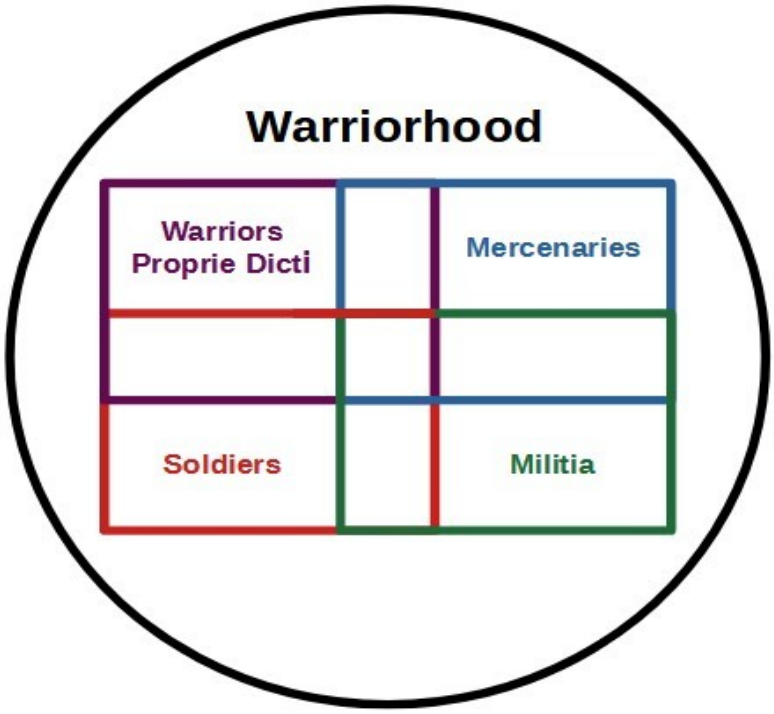

Figure 1. Warriorhood and its intersecting organizational forms.

Although, this is not to say other reasons such as the search for personal glory and adventure are not part of a mercenary's conviction (Xenophon and his participation in Persian armies is a case in point). Along these lines, the terms soldier and mercenary will be used not as separate social identities, rather as terms that describe different variants of warriorhood. Therefore, questions about when a warrior evolves into a soldier are obsolete. Instead, inquiries about when soldiers appear and warriors are organized differently will have significance.

Other combatants such as slaves, would not be considered warriors – their involvement in conflicts was usually temporary and was not followed by further engagement in any activities peculiar to martial social groups, nor did they develop features peculiar to a distinct social

category involved in military matters. Their inclusion in these conflicts opens other questions regarding slavery and/or involuntary violent activities, which will not be elaborated in this work. Furthermore, their role in conflicts should not be underestimated nor forgotten. In many ways, they are the invisible combatants who were ignored not only by us scholars but their contemporaries as well – although the former is to a great extent related to lack of data regarding their involvement in war.

1.2.3. Warriorhood as a social category

The concept of a "social identity", seems to be at the centre of archaeological warrior studies (Treherne 1995; Vandkilde 2006a-c; Molloy 2012)[6]. It is argued that warriorhood can be placed within a wider frame of human activity, practices and identity and is constantly negotiated with other identities within societies (Vandkilde 2006a, 69), as well as coexisting with other identities within one person (Molloy 2012, 90; Anderson 2018, 213). It is constructed and reproduced by combining multiple perceptions of manhood, most notably the provider and defender of a community.

However, there is an apparent focus on the warrior social group, which is expected to be present whenever war is waged or representations of warriorhood appear. Although the existence of warriorhood outside of institutions and complex social groups is acknowledged (Vandkilde 2006c, 397), and the difference between warriorhood 'in itself' and 'for itself' is recognised (Vandkilde 2006c, 396; Jenkins 2014, 112), a broader discussion on the relationship between social categories and groups is required to ascertain the different ways warriorhood is woven into the fabric of communities. Categorization and affiliation to groups are the building blocks in the construction of social identities (Tajfel 2010; Turner 2010).

Social categories are a set of common characteristics of parts of a population that are being recognised both by people that possess them and people that do not. For example, wielding weapons in war and the specialization in skill required to do so are such a characteristic. This can also be interwoven with other categories, such as age and gender

6 Here 'social identity 'is understood "*as an individual self-concept which derives from their knowledge of membership of a social group"* (Tajfel 2010, 2). Along the same line, Tajfel argues that althouh the concept of individual identity is far more nuanced and complex, "*some aspects of that individual identity are contributed by their membership in certain social groups and categories"*. Which is where the study of social identities gains importance.

(war-able-men at a certain age). This is then a category (a group in itself), but does not necessarily constitute a social group (or a group for itself); however, it does make it a possibility. Conversely, social groups always imply categorization (Jenkins, 2014, 114), as it is a necessary step toward the formation of a social group.

Moving forward we can distinguish members of a social group from members of a social category, in that the former not only recognise their similarities between each other and differences to others, but they also see their group as a point of reference for their identity and are engaged in pursuing the common goals of that group with other members.[7]

These definitions are derived from Jenkins' work on social categories and groups (2014), which is of great help when navigating this issue, since his contribution to the topic comes from a point of view of sociology and social anthropology – instead of the social psychology take of Tajfel and Turner that focused more on controlled small-group experiments.

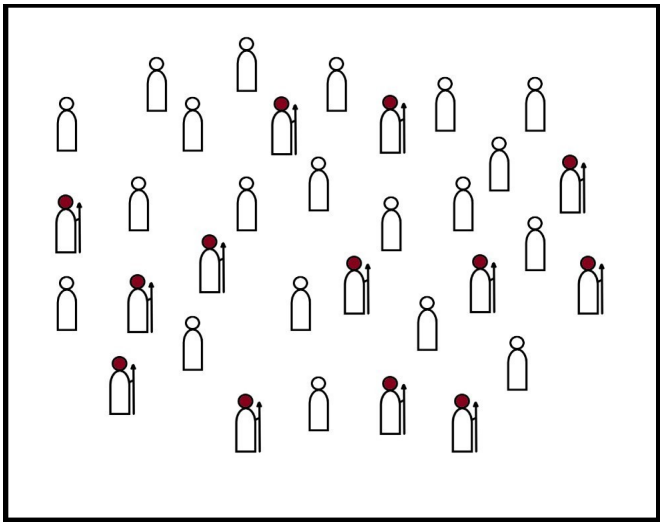

Figure 2: Warriorhood as a social category.

Warriorhood, with all its variants, is primarily a social category (Fig. 2). Whether or not this results in the formation of warrior social groups, or more importantly ones whose existence extends after the war itself, is a more difficult question. This is especially hard to answer considering the inconsistent and often incomplete archaeological data that lacks a reliable emic source that would confirm the symbolic vocabulary we read in the

7 In other words a social category is a group without "social cohesion". In addition, it is important to understand that sometimes *"the mere perception of belonging to a social category is sufficient for group behaviour"* (Turner 2010, 23).

representations of warriorhood (predominantly in funerary contexts). Additionally, **viewing warriorhood as a social category, enables us to understand how it coexists with other identities such as gender, ethnicity, etc.** Even in the cases where warriors do become part of a social group, it is difficult to understand whether warriorhood is only a constituent part or a fundamental characteristic of it.

The implications of this difference are important to grasp, as the former can be found to be the case in most situations, such as the aforementioned examples. Spartans = warriors, as war is an essential part of being a legitimate citizen, but not all warriors fighting for Sparta are Spartans – Perioikoi consistently fought in Sparta's wars and cannot be easily dismissed as unwilling combatants (vanWees 2004, 83-85). However, Spartan and Perioikoi warriors can hardly be considered a part of the same social group. This can help us understand the heterogeneity of warriorhood, applicable also to the example of the Makedonian Companions and the infantry. Not only warriorhood has many variants, but warrior social groups can be expected to be quite numerous and different as well, both contemporary ones and ones whose development can be followed diachronically.

While a broad definition of warriorhood as a social category is possible, the construction of warriorhood as related to warrior social groups will depend on the spatio-temporal context. Therefore, warriors can be seen as those who are enfranchised to engage in war (Molloy 2012, 88), have access to weaponry, and are categorized by others and among themselves as such.

When warriors are indeed organized in social groups, and warriorhood is a foundational aspect, they are those who attempt to hold the monopoly over the "making of war". There can be various expressions of warriorhood: forms of 'Gefolgschaft' where a "reciprocal relation between leader and follower" is established (Vandkilde 2006c), others where this relation has a transactional aspect to it (e.g. mercenaries), and everything in between (para-military, soldiers, rebel fighters).

1.2.4. Warriors in social groups

As previously mentioned, warriorhood as a social category can be expected either to be one of the characteristics of a social group (e.g. war-able-men holding political power) or to

be the fundamental point of reference (e.g. a warband that recruits its members who undergo initiation practices). The former corresponds with what was previously referenced – an identity that coexists with other identities, sometimes even in one person (Molloy 2012, 90; Anderson 2018, 213). **It could further be argued that instead of considering it a fully fledged identity, what we are seeing is a process of categorisation and identity construction where warriorhood takes centre stage.**

As mentioned above, the access to the means of coercion i.e. weapons and martial arts, is the common denominator. This access is negotiated on many levels in a society and is interwoven with the material conditions, power relations, religion, gender and ethnicity. Within the already established topic of representations of warriorhood, an avenue of research available to us is the warrior's equipment and its use as a tool to acquire, maintain and display social roles and/or identity in a society.

The body and the weaponry, as an extension of that body, are considered to be the primary representation of warriorhood (Treherne 1995, 128). The weapons are in many ways its material representation and their symbolic meaning is derived from their function as tools of war. Weapons are made for warriors, but they make warriors in return, since by using them and training with them the body changes (Molloy 2012, 89). Additionally, the 'warrior identity' is constructed, performed and displayed through the weapons, and in turn the weapons have meaning because of concepts such as 'war' and 'warrior'.

When warriorhood is a foundational characteristic of a social group, warriors could be defined as those who use weaponry to "acquire, maintain and display their status and legitimacy through the threat and/or practice of warfare" (Lloyd 2014, 5). This slightly altered definition by Lloyd weaves in several points argued above, referring to the dialectical relationship between weapon and warrior. It combines the warrior praxis and the expression of a socially constructed identity. And finally, it includes multiple variations of that identity coming from different backgrounds that are joined together by actively using weaponry to achieve and express their membership to a group.

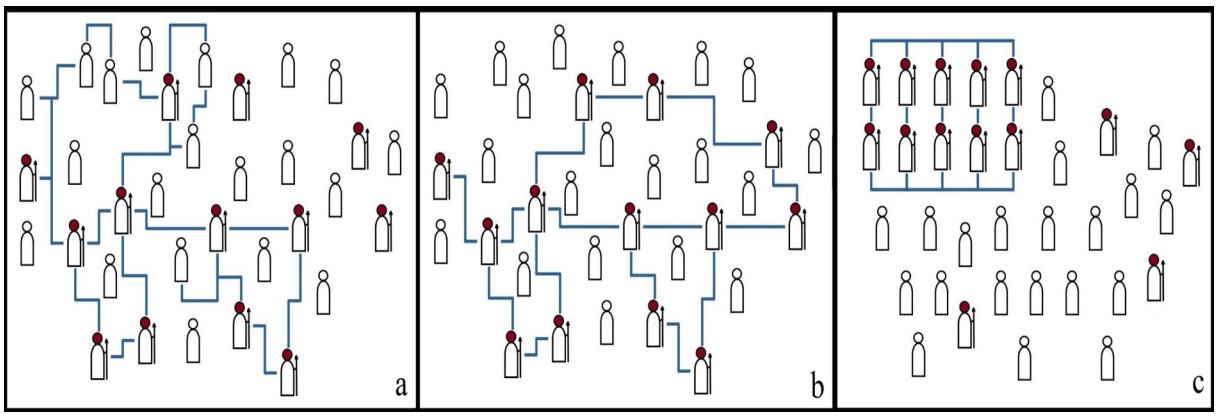

Figure 3: Different types of social groups and their relation to warriorhood.

While it was previously cautiously stated that categorization does not always lead to creation of social groups, the nature of warfare and the usage of weaponry, nevertheless, make it a high probability. The specialization in skills and use of specialist equipment tends to reinforce stratification (Molloy 2012, 90). The restriction of access to the legitimate use of violence and weapons (as well as training) places them (as means of coercion) in the hands of the few, who attempt to hold the monopoly over the "making of war". However, in those instances the warriors should not be perceived as a class, as was shown by van Wees in his studies of hoplites (2001). Although they are the ones enfranchised to make war (Molloy 2012, 88) and bearing weapons becomes a social right, stratification within the group, or in some cases even fragmentation, is to be expected. When discussing 'status' in relation to warriorhood, the focus lies on the social role, or standing, rather than class.

In his analysis of status in capitalist and pre-capitalist societies, Turner (1988) identifies several aspects of great interest to archaeological inquiries into warriorhood and "warrior" burial rituals. Status can be understood as having three dimensions: political, economic and lifestyle, positioned horizontally, such as standing and role in a society and vertically such as social stratification. In the societies we discuss here, the economic, political and lifestyle dimensions of status are entangled (Turner 1988; Pearson 2003, 83). Drawing on Weberian sociology, he defines status groups as a collection of individuals who attempt to maintain their social privileges and keep a tight grip over existing monopolies (Turner 1988, 8).

Citizen rights in the poleis, and "ruler-subject" relations in the Archaic Balkan polities were always between the ones able to participate in war, predominantly men. How much this was enforced is a different subject, but being able to arm oneself and participate in armed conflict did play a role. An example of such an "elite" that holds power and resources would

be the hoplites in ancient Greek city-states (Molloy 2012, 90) or the Makedonian Companions. Hierarchical differences between those that take part in war is also expected and will mainly depend on access to wealth and political power. Status is thus displayed through possession of heraldic devices, formal costumes and insignia of social prestige (Turner 1988). What we are seeing in burials such as these is the manipulation of warrior insignia. It is not necessary for the constructed image to represent a biographical reality in which deceased equals warrior. However, it would be a mistake to disregard the impact weaponry has in societies, and the way it is often restricted to certain groups.

When such warrior groups exist, they may have a proneness to ascribe status on the basis of birth right, which seems to go along with the data we have from the burial grounds in the area, namely with child burials where the deceased are too young to fight (Saripanidi 2016). Another attribute that societies where birth right plays a role have, is a tendency towards militaristic social organization (Turner 1988, 20).

1.2.5. Further considerations

While warriors are predominantly found to be of the male sex, and historically have been aligned with the gender expression of men, it is to be expected that this was not always the case. Further investigation regarding the connection between gender and warriorhood is warranted and a discussion can be found in chapter 8. Given that majority of case studies confirm a strong alignment of warriorhood with manhood, it will be assumed that warriors in Iron Age Macedonia were predominantly men, unless it is otherwise specified.

In previous research, there seems to be a tendency to offer a pan-European idea of warriorhood, especially regarding the Bronze Age (Kristiansen 2002; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005; Treherne 1995). Although a generalisation, the many similarities both in the archaeological sources and in historical texts, warrant many of the comparisons made. However, differences are expected not only between the Balkan Peninsula and Central and Northern Europe, but within the Balkan itself. Methods of identifying warriors will be questioned and the focus will be on the relationship between the material (weaponry) and idea (warriorhood).

The material studied here was conceptualized as a tool to be used for violence. However research of this kind is usually not focused on all types of violence, but is generally directed at warfare: among anthropologists (Malinowski 1941; Otterbein 1985; 1997; Ferguson 1984; Brandt 2002), archaeologists (Molloy 2007; 2008; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2016; Kristiansen 2002; Vandkilde 2006; 2013; 2015; Harding 2007; Snodgrass 1999; 2006) and historians (Van Wees 1992; 1994a; 1994b; 1998; 2004; Hammond 1972; Carney 1996; Whitby 2008).

A good starting point is the definition by Bossen who defines war as the organised use, or threat of use, of lethal force by members of one group against members of another group, which is interpreted by the actors and/or the analyst as part of the relations between two such groups (2006, 91). Although this definition is very broad, it gives us a few points that help us along the way. It encompasses not only large scale warfare, but raids as well. War is also seen as an organized armed dispute between political units (Otterbein 1985, 3) and it is recognized that these political units do not necessarily have the character of states (Ferguson 1984, 5), which allows for decentralized polities to be included into the definition of war (Otto 2006).

With all this in mind, it is important to ask: Was warfare the only area of activity of a warrior? Assuming that the warrior used his equipment only in warfare, suggests that duels, intra-community fighting and power struggle did not play a role in the formation and social importance of warriorhood. However, that is highly unlikely and past research has already touched on this issue (Treherne 1995; Molloy 2012). Usage of weapons cannot be understood only through the way it was handled, since the use of weapons goes beyond fighting. Its use in burials, ceremony and ritual as well as utilizing it as a symbol within artistic (and other iconographic) composition, makes the discussion over the function of weapons even broader. A sword is not useful only when it is sharp. Furthermore, war is much more than the fighting, it affects people outside the battlefield as well.

There have been many approaches to the issue of war and warriors in past research. This was very well summarized by Vandkilde (2006a, 67) who recognizes four of them. First, the materialist-functionalist approach which locates the cause of war in the competition over resources such as females, food, land etc. Second is a structuralist approach that explains war within patterns of social structure, where the individual actor is without much significance. Third is a structure-agency approach where the action/agent and social structure are mutually dependent and inseparable. And finally the fourth strives to understand the effects of war and

the understanding of violent acts and their meaning in the social contexts that created them. Here, there is a possibility to study and acknowledge the victims and not only active participants of war.

The topic of warfare is inherently connected to behavioural and psychological strands of science, and these methods have been employed in the past. One such approach that aims to combine the materialist/functional and cognitive methods comes from Chausidis' work on the transfer of libido in hunter initiation rituals (2005), as well as Grossman's and Molloy's work on the training stages of warriors and how it affects performance and ways of handling objects (2007). Studies such as these expand our understanding from the mechanical use of weaponry to more subjective forms of experience of warfare, which undoubtedly brings in phenomenological aspects of archaeology into warrior studies.

1.2.6. Funerary practices

Is the material we discover in burials enough to identify warrior individuals? In certain cases, where the osteological evidence shows clear signs of violence which corresponds with warfare, in addition to the warrior equipment, an informed assumption can be made that the individual was in fact a warrior. Although, this may be the cause of a false sense of confidence in archaeological data, as anthropologically confirmed wounds can have many causes. Additionally, no osteological evidence for violence can lead to a false conclusion of a non-violent life (Vandkilde 2018, 233). Whatever the circumstances, the presence of weaponry does indicate war and warriorhood are represented through material.

The problem of detecting and classifying warriors by excavating burials has been addressed previously (Whitley 2002; Molloy 2010), and could lead us question whether weapons' only role is to be used by warriors or are non-warriors also using it for other ends, such as legitimization of status and representations of power. It can be expected that weaponry shows the potential of violence to shape other aspects of society as well (Vlassopoulos, Xydopoulos 2017, 15)

The connection between real warriors and burial goods should be questioned. As Whitley points out, referring to the burials of the Macedonian aristocracy, the use of weapons in burials seems to be a common practice of the elite. Drawing on Härke (1990; 1992) and his

research on Saxon ‘weapon burial rituals’, he argues that “we cannot see these objects as straightforward biographical facts that relate equally to both interments” and “we should see this ‘weapon burial ritual’ in more symbolic terms, as a metaphor for a certain kind of masculine ideal”. Thus burying a person as a warrior, can be a statement of status authority and gender (Whitley 2002, 219).

Similar concerns have been raised by others as well (Härke 1990, 23-24; Molloy 2010; Georganas 2018). Therefore, throughout this work the term “burial as warrior” is used, because of its relation to the representation and not to the biographical facts about the deceased (Molloy 2010, 412). The goal here is to identify representation practices and not individuals that were practising warriors. Inquiries on warrior praxis and warriorhood are only made when cross-referencing data with historical sources and similar archaeological and anthropological works. Burial assemblages then serve not as the identifier, rather a look into methods of identity construction, where a social role or standing are represented through the manipulation of the material and its symbolic implications.

Having in mind weaponry by itself does not really provide the full picture, the remainder of burial goods within a single burial will be taken into account. These additional objects expand the information we can draw from, giving us context as well as an opportunity to understand the burial ritual itself. Attempts to include these assemblages in the discussion of warrior identity have been done in the past (Kristiansen, Larson 2006; Treherne 1995), and in some studies by looking at other types of identity such as ethnicity and hero cults (Antonaccio 1993; 2002; Sarapanidi 2017).

The main study area, represented in this research, yields material mainly from funerary context, which severely affects our ability to confidently discuss any biographical facts about the deceased. Burials, after all, are a matter of the living – the survivors. Therefore, they are events where the bereaved are the agents. Although we can expect a high degree of compliance with the lived experience of the deceased, this is still a representation curated by their mourners. The focus in this study lies precisely on this representation, and the attempt to construct a narrative with the body and the artefacts as the building blocks. An additional, and extremely important, part of this narrative is undoubtedly the context lost to us: of spoken words and memories attached to the deceased.

Furthermore, there seems to be a bias when these kinds of burials are interpreted, often characterizing them as male even before any osteological analysis are done (Whitley 2002, 218). Although individuals of the male sex and male gender are expected to have been the overwhelming majority of the warriors (and individuals represented as ones), caution is needed to avoid applying this expectation to all burials as warriors. The gathered data should not be seen as a conclusive evidence of the exclusion of female participation in war (Anderson 2018, 217). On the contrary, more attention needs to be devoted to instances where the material point to the opposite direction, both in turn of male/female interpretation of burials, and in occasions where gender expression does not follow the established norms.

1.3. Region and Chronology

As previously noted, one of the goals of the thesis is the creation of a database of weaponry from the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia. Therefore the main regional division loosely follows its state borders, with slight adjustments wherever they are warranted by geographic borders. In addition, the northern parts of the territory of the Hellenic Republic are included for the purpose of comparison.

The main regional division is as follows:

- Upper Vardar (UpV): northern and eastern part of Republic of N. Macedonia
- Lower Vardar (LoV): south-eastern part of Republic of N. Macedonia and the neighbouring north-eastern part of the Hellenic Republic
- Pelagonia-Ohrid (PelOh): south-western part of Republic of N. Macedonia and north-western part of the Hellenic Republic – including the coastal area of the Ohrid and Prespa Lakes from the Republic of Albania.
- Haliakmon-Axios (HalAx): northern parts of the Hellenic Republic.

This division can be seen as purely taxonomic, since the entire geographic region of Macedonia (most of which is constituted by these four regions) is heterogeneous both in terms of materiality and historical context. The boundaries between many of the historically attested

populations were highly dynamic and changed often. The same can be said of the collective and communal identities, as well as technologies and material culture.

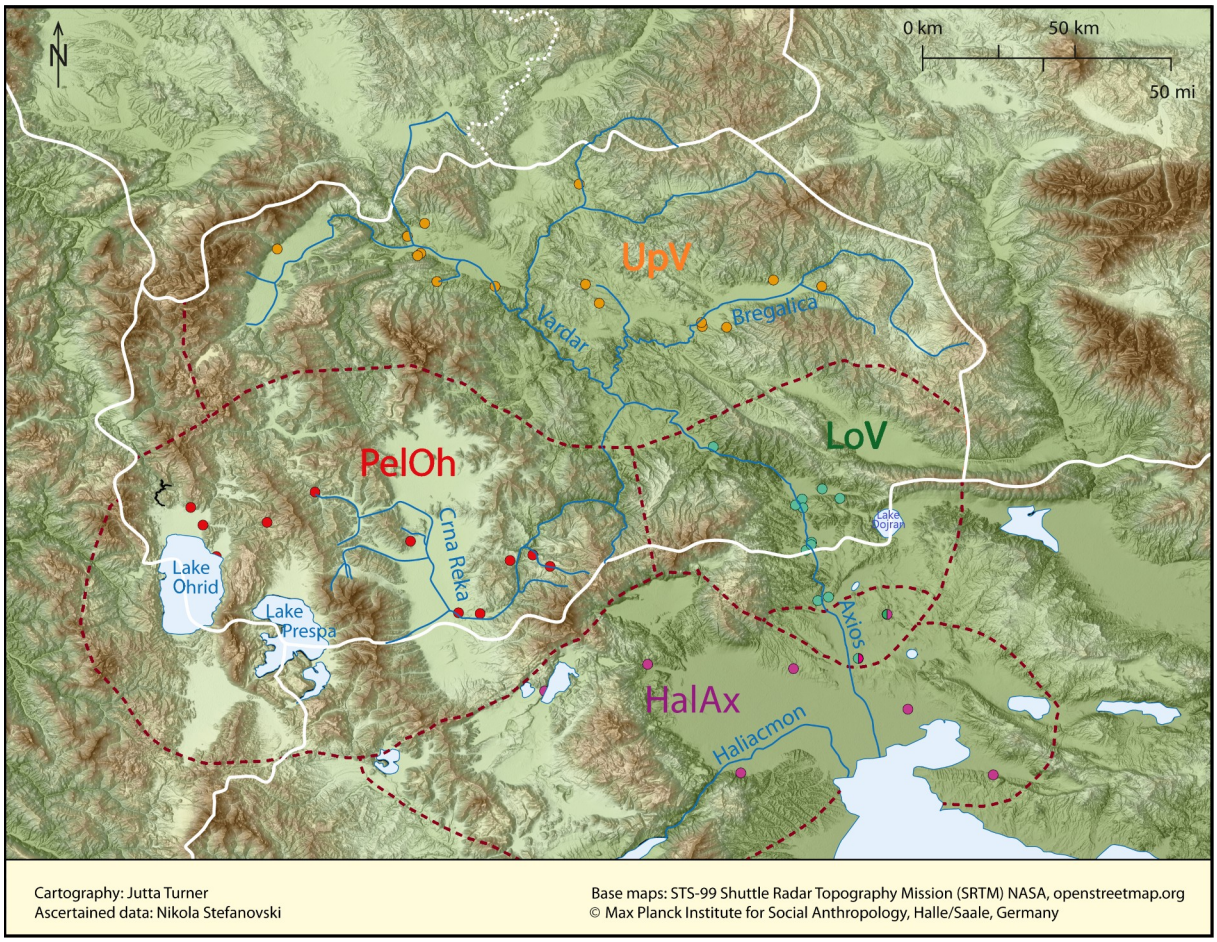

Figure 4: Map of the region and its division

Therefore it is far more useful to see all of these regions, including the neighbouring ones, as part of a spectrum, rather then crystallized and separated. Identities are also constructed and negotiated over time, mostly through the interaction with perceived others (Turner 1987; Tajfel 2010). Precisely for that reason, an approach that avoids strict definitions of population groups and types of identities such as ethnicities/nations will be avoided. Instead, political units will be placed at the forefront – in cases where this is possible by consulting the historical sources. However, there is the problem of attributing historical descriptions to corresponding populations and the regions they inhabited. Luckily, the area was home to many groups that had high levels of interaction and share many of the archaeologically traceable aspects of warriorhood, meaning analogies and certain generalisations are possible.

Chronologically the thesis covers the time between the 9th and the end of the 5th centuries BC. It can roughly be divided into Iron Age (9th – 6th BC), Late Archaic Period (6th – 5th BC) and Early Classical Period (5th BC). As weaponry is far from chronologically sensitive, the thesis will not meaningfully contribute to any discussion of archaeological temporal divisions. Furthermore, the already existing chronologies will be used to situate the archaeological contexts in relative terms and absolute dating will rarely be employed.

The biggest point of interest is the gradual change in representation that takes place in the 6th century, meaning the main temporal division in this work will be pre and post 6th century BC, or Iron Age to Late Archaic Period. Having in mind data from the different regions is not consistent, no attempts for advanced chronological developments will be made. Instead a diachronic overview of warriorhood and its representation spanning the five centuries will be outlined.

1.4. Archaeological data

Studies of warfare in the Aegean, or more generally the Balkan Peninsula are bountiful (Snodgrass 1999; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; Van Wees 1994a; 1994b; 1998; 2004; Harding 1995; Lloyd 2014; Molloy 2008; 2010; 2012; Angelovski 2018; Filipovic 2015). Some studies focused on the texts while others were more material oriented. A good balance between the two is usually employed, which makes those studies very important in any future understanding of this subject.

Molloy's studies focus on the Aegean Bronze Age (2007; 2008; 2010; 2012; 2013; 2016), while Lloyd's centre of attention is Greece in the Early Iron Age (2014). Snodgrass' work (1999) is related to warrior's equipment in general, while Van Wees focuses on the practice of war by analysing the texts of poets such as Homer, as well as historiographers and philosophers such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Aristotle (1994a; 1994b; 1998; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2013). He also uses archaeological data as backup for his thesis. Angelovski (2018) and Filipovic (2015) on the other hand, focus on the material remains, drawing their arguments mainly from archaeological data.

Weaponry from the three regions studied here has been published separately in archaeological reports, or compiled in larger publications on arms and armour (Kilian-

Dirlmeier 1993; Harding 1995; Vasic 2015). The creation of the database and interpretation of the findings from the area, being mainly a meta-analysis, underwent 4 stages: systemic survey, data-inherent analysis, interpretive analysis, model building (Bertemes 2011, 49).

This enables us to employ the previously mentioned approaches by combining quantitative and qualitative methods of handling data. It also invites an interdisciplinary approach, where information coming from other social sciences/humanities helps in the interpretation as well as the model building part of the work.

The survey relates to the collection of data regarding the weaponry excavated in North Macedonia. The result of this step is the creation of the catalogue of weaponry. In the case of this work, it consists of artefacts kept in museums from several cities in the R. N. Macedonia: National Archaeological Museum of R. N. Macedonia, Museum of Skopje, Museum of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius), Museum of Shtip, Museum of Gevgelija, Museum of Bitola and Museum of Ohrid.

The surveyed data can be placed in three categories: Published A, Published B and Unpublished. The already published material was attested through extensive library research. For this purpose, university and museum libraries in several cities were visited, which enabled the creation of a detailed catalogue of all the weaponry published from the area. These tables contain the macro and micro context of the finds, their general information such as size, material style, manufacture and current condition, as well as the newly acquired drawings, photos and measurements. This material can be referred to as Published A.

Published B, on the other hand, refers to publications where archaeological artefacts or context were mentioned without much detail, resulting in missing information, drawings and photos. The material was documented and together with Published A, finally confronted with data from the archives and depots of the museums. This led to a few cases where missing information was acquired, and in some occasions inconsistencies were detected and handled depending on individual circumstances – resulting in an amended database.

The last kind of data obtained was that of unpublished material. Through collaboration with the local excavators, there is now the opportunity to publish these archaeological findings for the first time.

An important aspect of the survey was the verification of the data collected from publications. This was done by a thorough examination of museum archives and the inspection of the objects. The catalogue of 256 pieces of weaponry, which makes up the bulk of the appendix, contains the amended data, including new photographs and drawings. Of the 256 surveyed weapons, a total of 123 pieces of weaponry were photographed, and 18 of them were chosen for 3D scanning. The remainder of the weaponry was not available for inspection and was not photographed. The overwhelming majority of these were discarded by the museums due to their bad conservation status, an issue that plagues iron weaponry in the entire region.

The choice for the 3D scanning was made with several criteria in mind such as: overall artefact condition, typological and research importance. The 3D scanning opened a lot of possibilities for further inspection of the objects. Additional measurements can be taken digitally and the material can be manipulated according to the necessities of the research. It also creates room for other researchers in the future to use these models and not to be confined to the object itself. The museums benefit as well, being freed of the continuous stress on the object and staff by visiting researchers. It is also a new addition in the museum's tools for a better representation of the material within their exhibition.[8]

1.4.1. Materiality of warriorhood

The definition for warriors was laid out above, and the weapons were placed at the centre of it. They are identified as the tools with which the warriors work, but they are also the signifiers of warriorhood. The weapon exists to be used in warfare by warriors. In turn, the weapon makes the warrior both as an object that moulds the person using it through training and the act of war (Molloy 2012, 89), and as a symbol – signifying not only combatants but others that owned them as well. In more practical terms, the weapons are tools for violence and the means of war. As Molloy defines them:

8 The 3D scans are not included as data samples in the appendicies of this thesis. However they were extensively used during the research and provided extended access to the artefacts in question. Those same scans are also now available in the museums for further use by researchers who could gain access by contacting the relevant institution.

"Weapons are tools designed to inflict bodily harm on another being, to injure or kill through force or finesse. The power of a sword to inflict harm on another, even to take a human life, can be seen as the root of its symbolic potency in ancient societies. "
(Molloy 2007, 90).

This definition identifies the practical/utilitarian aspects of weaponry as the source from which symbolic meaning is derived. It could further be added that after such connection is initiated, a dialectic relationship develops through perpetual re-production of violence through symbolic means (e.g. ideology, ritual), in which practical and symbolic aspects are intertwined. Ritual duelling or warfare can be considered such activities.

The weapons themselves can be divided into "implements with a potential for war and weapons intended for offensive and/or defensive purposes "(Vandkilde 2006d, 484). The former refer to objects that can be used for activities other than war, like a bow used for hunting, or knife used for daily utilitarian affairs. The latter is related to the artefacts uniquely suited for combat, such as swords, maces, shields and armour. Spears can go either way, as certain smaller types can indeed be considered to belong in the first category – their use in hunting being an example. However, other larger types of spears, lances and pikes are purposefully designed for warfare. The long pikes, the sarissa being a good example from Classical Period Balkans, is a weapon that is even more specifically connected to warfare, being utterly useless in duelling and other types of violence. Swords, on the other hand, can be used both in intra and intercommunity violence (duelling, feuding and warfare).

As was hinted above, the practical (combat related handling of weapons) and symbolic aspects (e.g. use as heraldic devices) are intertwined and to a certain degree inseparable, as they feed on each other. The use of these heraldic devices can at times have a very practical purpose of signifying rank and has an added utilization when intimidating adversaries. In addition, socio-economic aspect of weaponry deserves a seat at the same table, since the trade and gift circulation of weaponry is a factor in social and economic relations between agents. The trade of materials and the skills needed to make and use these weapons are also part of the established social fabric of communities.

Chapter 6, contains an in-depth analysis of the weapons found on the territory of Northern Macedonia, while making comparisons with weapons from Southern Macedonia which were a subject of a literary survey. However, warrior's equipment extends outside of weaponry.

Clothing accessories, implements and feasting equipment can also be considered part of the materiality of warriorhood. In contrast to the weapons, these objects were used by people of various background, occupation and standing. Regardless, they constitute an important aspect in the representation of warriorhood. It is precisely the inclusion of weaponry in an otherwise established burial ritual that highlights the entanglement of the role of warrior with others in the community, and it speaks to the point of integration of warriorhood within an existing social system.

Grooming tools in particular, receive abundant attention by scholars and are often brought forward as one of the more important constituent parts of a constructed warrior identity (Treherne 1995; Georgiev 1982). Similar attention is given to feasting equipment, such as drinking, pouring and mixing vessels.

In addition to the artefacts, the body and its display during burial rituals played a central role in the representation of warriorhood in the funerary context in question (Treherne 1995, 106). It was a medium through which an identity could be constructed, and a social group could communicate its ideological beliefs, as well as legitimize their standing. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to analyse the positioning of the body in areas such as Macedonia, due to the very bad preservation of osteological material. Some general assumptions are possible by taking into consideration the position of the artefacts, especially the clothing accessories.

This is precisely one of the points made by Treherne, who discusses grooming tools, jewellery and other artefacts that were manipulated in order to capture a certain warrior aesthetic (1995). From there it is possible to theorize on how this ideal of a "warrior's beauty" could be an important building block in the construction of warriorhood.

1.5. Historical sources

In addition to the archaeological evidence, a survey of the historical accounts is necessary in order to have a more complete picture of warrior praxis. Although the texts rarely speak of the direct use of weaponry in combat, there are examples where ancient historians reflect on a few aspects of fighting — especially on tactics[9].

9 Most notably Xenophon in multiple works (Cavalry Commander, Anabasis and Hellenica), as well as Thycidides (History of the Peloponesian War).

One recurrent problem when dealing with these texts is the pinpointing of the exact area mentioned and the region of interest in our archaeological study. The outline of historical events during the Iron Age, Archaic and Early CLassical Period is riddled with incomplete and contradicting information. These data come from texts written by people from foreign, albeit neighbouring, lands and are often laden with the biases of the authors. Furthermore, these works frequently have a complicated network of sources, including both accounts of past events coming from oral traditions, investigation by the authors themselves as well as their own world-views, agendas and biases.

However, they remain the only textual source of the region and do provide valuable information, albeit scarce. The lack of information about the region of study here is a result of its limited role in the events described by the authors and can be supplemented with archaeologically derived sources such as numismatic and epigraphic evidence. Solving the above mentioned problems is the first step in any attempt to outline the series of events and order the many brief mentions relevant to this study. In the region studied here, this would be any mentions related to the Makedonians, Paeonians, Hellens, Thracians, Illyrians and other terms that designate specific groups who are part of these umbrella terms or refer to separate communities such as (Mollosians, Dessaretians, Agrianians, Bottiaeans etc).

Successfully maneouvering around such ambigious terms, requires the employment of an approach that understands collective identities as a process. Genealogy and ethnogenesis are of no importance to the subject at hand; however, as it is included in most analysis of similar nature to this one, it is imperative to outline the way forward and the mechanisms with which both ancient and contemporary biases will be diminished.

In order to navigate the intricate field of complex identities and their interpretation both by their contemporaries and scholars today, two approaches in particular will be considered: the discussion of the role of Makedonia in the Graeco-Persian wars and the political agendas regarding the Philhelenism of Alexander I by Sarakinski (2013; 2020; with Panovski 2019) and the critique of Hellenicity and the new found interest in ethnicity in Greek history by Vlassopoulos (2015) that outlines a methodology for dealing with fluid identities.

The former, argues that Herodotus' passages on the origin of the Argead dynasty reveal a political agenda connected to the diplomatic relations between Makedonia and Athens (Sarakinski 2013; 2019a). It further problematizes the Philehelenism of a Hellen, a

contradiction on its own, and highlights the ever changing perception of the southern Hellenic polities toward Makedonia. It can be expected that the perception of the Makedonians over their own identity changed significantly over time. Questions over the Greekness of the Makedonians is complicated due to its "hazy and variable" nature, and would have to be very spatio-temporally specific or lose its significance (Hatzopoulos 2020, 124).

This is compatible with the work of Vlassopoulos that shows how studies on ethnicities relying on check-list attributes should be replaced with methodologies that see ethnicity as a process (2015). This would allow us to be aware of the above mentioned chronological specificity of these questions and help us place these identities on an ever shifting spectrum. It further gives us specific tools and terminology that could help us delineate between what we see described in the text and the a-priori categories we study.

Vlassopoulos differentiates between three types of identities: individual (e.g. mother), collective (e.g. Arabs, Slavs, Aeolians) and communal (Samians, Athenians). He argues identities constantly move along this spectrum:

> "… identities are mutable and are in a constant process of change: individual identities can become collective or communal; collective identities can become communal; communal identities can lose their communal structure and transform into collective identities." (Vlassopoulos 2015, 11).

The place of Hellenicity on this spectrum is ambivalent and hovers between the collective and communal identity, in that it was more than a collective identity but never really constituted a political entity, thus never becoming a communal identity (Vlassopoulos 2015, 13). What can be drawn as important here is the methodology which is applicable when dealing with Archaic Period identities on the Balkan Peninsula and the bypassing of the problem of umbrella identities (e.g. Thracians, Illyrians, Makedonians, Paeonians, Hellens).

The existence of polities in the area, including their distinctions and similarities, is important in our attempt to distinguish which description of warrior praxis can be attributed to which micro-region, since the wider region should be understood more in terms of loyalties to local communities (Hatzopoulos 2020, 124) rather than umbrella terms and broader collectives. In this sense, we would be able to understand the particularities of warrior praxis trans-regionally and be able to draw up comparisons based on the manners in which those

identities move along the scale of communal and collective. Finally, comparisons can be employed even in situations where such connections are non-existent as homogeneity was never a pre-requisite for similarity.

Finally, most of these sources deal with Greece, while Macedonia is relegated to a supporting role in the majority of the armed conflicts described. Nevertheless, the few mentions coupled with our ability to detect both the distinctions and the similarities between different population groups, will be the focus of chapter 7. There, the historical context of the region in the 6th and 5th century BC will be analysed and the information from the texts will be scrutinized. The approach taken in this thesis will be built on the shoulders of previous scholars such as: Van Wees' research on hoplite warfare, where he deals with the myths of the citizen soldiers (2013), of warfare (2004) and the ambiguity of texts (2002a; 2002b); Sarakinski's work on Makedonia during these conflicts and the political bias of historiographers when dealing with the northern kingdoms (2013; 2021); and Vlassopoulos study on communal and collective identities (2015), which questions the study of ethnicity in historical research of ancient Greece. Other works will also be consulted, regarding the reading of the excerpts connected to the region of focus (Hatzopoulos 2020; Proeva 1997; 2004; Hammond 2000a; 2000b; Xydopoulos 2012; 2017).

1.6. Remarks

This work is envisioned as a meta-analysis that will gather all the burials as warrior in one place and make sense of the current state. It would be of great benefit to further scrutinize the database in future research, expand on it and finally expand the possibilities of how the dataset can be used. Furthermore, future excavations will undoubtedly broaden our knowledge of the topic, will confirm some and bring other conclusions into question. This natural process will only enrich our knowledge of warriorhood in the spatio-temporal context studied here.

In addition, an expanded and more detailed dataset could highlight other very important topics which were not addressed in this research, such as the experience of victims, economic aspects of warfare, settlement patterns and changes during war, as well as further facets of gender – especially women participation in conflict. Finally, added focus on manufacturing techniques of weaponry, as well as use-wear, metallographic and metallurgical analysis would further increase our understanding of weaponry in the region.

This research is a humble attempt to collect existing data and confront it with historical sources when available, as well as archaeological and anthropological theory of war and warriorhood. These steps are taken in order to bring certain local patterns to light and build upon existing warrior studies by incorporating the local particularities into broader discussions. As such, it can serve as a building block in a much broader topic both for scholars interested in the local particularities, and others interested in trans-regional analogies.

Chapter 2. The Lower Vardar region

2.1 Regional overview

The Lower Vardar region comprises of the south-eastern part of the Republic of N. Macedonia and the adjacent area beyond the border with the Hellenic Republic. The valley along the river Vardar/Axios and its tributaries provides fertile land used for agriculture by contemporary settlements as well, such as: Demir Kapija, Negotino, Kavadartsi, Valandovo, Gevgelija, Dojran and Strumitsa. The main road and communication line also follows the flow of Vardar, flanked by the mountains Kozhuf on the west and Belasitsa on the east. Several spots where metal ore was extracted are known from the area, and are suspected to have been used from the Iron Age onwards (Keramitchiev 1974; Mitrevski 1991b).

Multiple archaeological sites, of which most are burial grounds, outline the life during the Iron Age in the area. Unfortunately, not many settlements have been excavated, and with the exception of Vardarski Rid near Gevgelija, most are known only from surveys or limited excavations. On the other hand, field research has been conducted at the burial grounds at Dedeli near Valandovo (Pashic 1983; Mitrevski 1991a), Miltsi (Pashic et al. 1987; Husenovski 2005; 2015; 2017; 2018) and Suva Reka (Pashic 1978a) in Gevgelija. Other sites such as Bishov Javor near Gevgelija (Ristov 2008) and Zelenishte near Valandovo (Georgiev 1984) are known for a few published micro-contexts. Isar Marvintsi on the other hand, although the subject of a systematic field research, yielded plenty of data which is selectively published resulting in scarce data from the Iron Age (Mitrevski 1999; Videski 1999; Mitrevski, Temov 1999).

Across the border in the Hellenic Republic, there are several archaeological sites that are closely related to the ones mentioned above, such as: Bohemitsa, Chaushitsa and Kastanas. They can also be included in the macro-view of the region. Research at Bohemitsa was conducted by Robert Kos during the First World War in 1917. At Chauchitsa, Casson began research during the war in 1917 but continued after as well in 1921 and 1922 (Casson 1921; 1925; Mitrevski 1991a). Kastanas is another settlement site, showing a well-developed stratigraphy, (Hänsel 1989; Hochsteter 1984; 1987). Being one of the better published settlements in the region, it is often used as a reference point.

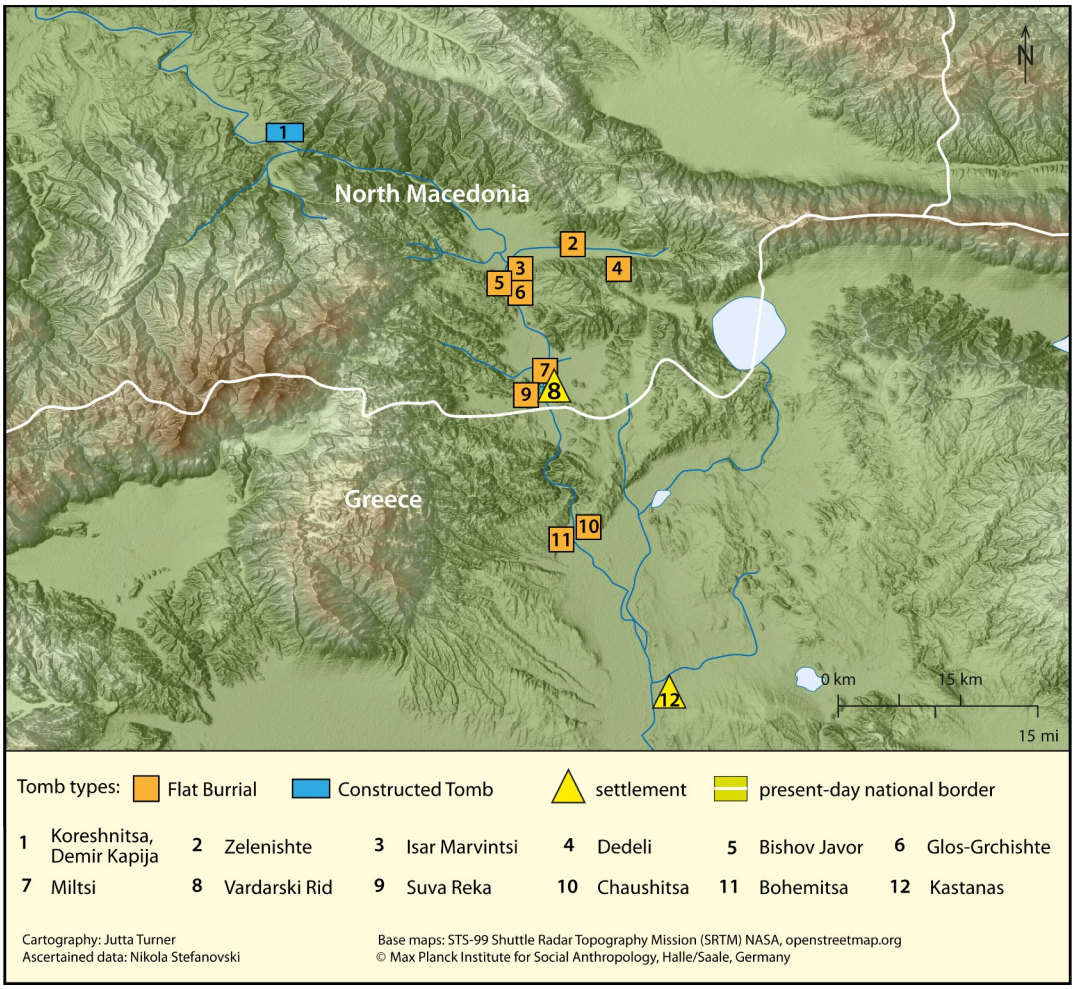

Figure 5: Map of the Lower Vardar Region

The area and the findings from the Iron Age have been included in various studies and analysis by other scholars as well. A general overview of the region and the material was given by Vasic (1987) where he defined the Gevgelija cultural group, later used and built upon by other researchers as well. On the topic of burial rituals, Dragi Mitrevski's work (1991a; 1991b; 1995; 1997; 2012; 2013) remains one of the most influential dealing with the matter. Most of his work consists of data from excavations on multiple sites, one of which is Dedeli (1991a). Together with Miltsi, it remains one of the most thoroughly published Iron Age necropolises from the area.

In his study of prehistoric and proto-historic communities and their burial rituals from Macedonia, Mitrevski offers a spatio-temporal overview of the necropolises from the entire

territory of the Republic of N. Macedonia, showing the similarities and discrepancies of the burial rites (1997). The focus lies on the burial construction, pottery and clothing accessories with some attention given to the swords found in the area. This is mainly to draw analogies between different regions, creating models of diffusion which are then built into an argument weaving together taxonomic categories such as cultural groups and collective identities such as ethnicities. Some of those arguments will be questioned in the following analysis, particularly the connection between materiality and ethnicities that has widely been criticized by other scholars as well (Hall 1999; Babic 2010a; 2010b; Vranic 2014a).

Furthermore, he proposes looking at the data primarily on its own terms as opposed to adding it to larger clusters such as Halstatt or the Aegean Iron Age. He builds his argument by pointing to the particularities that arise in local materiality, mainly stemming from the geographical position where those societies were developing. He sees Iron Age societies in Macedonia as existing between "two worlds" (Mitrevski 1997, 135-136), one being the southern Balkans and the emerging Greek city-states and the other being the northern Balkans with its strong Hallstatt characteristics. However, these "two worlds" were far from homogeneous and crystallized cultures and societies. Although his data does show that Iron Age Macedonia cannot simply fall under any of those two umbrellas, this view needs to be updated to the latest developments in research from the area. Namely, the materiality embedded in the societies in question, and their cultural peculiarities, show a much more fluid exchange of ideas.

The developments were locally driven, but the similarities and shared knowledge underline the area as a melting pot of material style which by the late 7th and 6th century had its own particularity. By the end of the 6th century the process started again, this time more in line with developments in the southern part of the Balkans. This is often seen in terms of Greek influence through the emerging city states and their establishment as manufacturing centres (Mitrevski 1997). However, it will be shown here that this process did not differ from previous instances and instead remained fluid, continuing to be characterized by local particularities, albeit following a well-known Mediterranean trend of being moulded by long distance communication between inland and coastal settlements.

Additionally, the work of Husenovski offers a much needed glimpse at these processes taking place from the Iron Age to the Archaic Period (2015). It also provides data and analysis

for archaeological sites such as Miltsi and Vardarski Rid (2005a; 2017; 2018). The study of clothing accessories has also been one important topic, with research looking at material assemblages (Heilmann 2016) by underlining the burial practices and clothing preferences attested in the data, as well as analysing patterns in the internment of pottery in graves (Heilmann 2014). Other studies focus on typology and diffusion (Kilian 1975; Nacev 1993), which is then woven into discussions of cultural groups and their territories (Mitrevski 1997).

Setting aside the complex critique of cultural groups as analytic categories and whether this taxonomic unit has any bearing over an emic perspective of a collective identity, the typological studies of pottery and clothing accessories brought about important advances in the development of a chronology of the region. In one such study, Mitrevski argues for the four phases in the local development of materiality which he associates with cultural milestones and historical changes occurring in the region (1991a, 153-158).

The first phase (750-700 BCE) is characterised by a material style in line with the so-called Halstatt elements – seen in jewellery and clothing accessories such as the spectacle fibulae. During this time the small mounds built with amorphous stones are the common burial construction type.

He views the second phase (700-625 BCE) as a period of stabilisation and a favourable time for a local economic and cultural development; however, he does not address how this came to be and what led to such conditions. Nonetheless, there are certain features of this period that do appear to stand out. While the small mounds remain a grave type used throughout this phase, the cists become prevalent near the end. Additionally the pottery types show slight stylistic changes and the ochre-painted jug with a cutaway rim becomes the most prevalent type. Furthermore, the miniature bronzes, so-called “Macedonian bronzes”, become a frequent addition to assemblages usually attributed to women.

The third phase (625-550 BCE), is a continuation of the processes from the previous one, with cists becoming the burial type of a vast majority of graves, further development of the known forms and style of the miniature bronzes and the abandonment of types of clothing accessories and jewellery such as the spectacle fibulae.

The final fourth phase (550-480 BCE), is a time where the developments in material style from the previous phases were slowly abandoned, making space for new forms which were

previously known south from the Lower Vardar/Axios region. The jug with a cutaway rim is swapped with the oinochoe and the cups with one or two handles with the kothone and the skyphos. The miniature bronzes are also not part of the burial furnishing and jewellery made of silver or gold becomes more and more prevalent. Some changes in the burial ritual are also noticeable, namely the use of larger stones when building the cists and the appearance of cremations.

2.2. Meso-context: Archaeological sites

2.2.1. Miltsi, Gevgelija

The first field research at Miltsi, in the form of a rescue excavation, was done in 1979. The site is located in the northern periphery of the town of Gevgelija, on the southern slope of the hill named Bogorodichen Rid positioned at the left bank of the river Vardar. At the top of this hill, also called Kofilak, a Bronze Age settlement was discovered and dated between the 13th and 10th centuries BCE. Nearby, a total of 45 burials from the Iron Age were uncovered in this campaign (Pashic et al. 1981; Pashic et al. 1987). Research continued to be done in the area in the following years as well. During rescue excavations in 1983, fourteen more burials were discovered, but they are still not published in detail (Mitrevski 1991b). Further archaeological research on a neighbouring settlement at Vardarski Rid in 1995, contributed to five more uncovered graves, which are not published yet. Additional rescue excavations in 1997 resulted in ten undisturbed burials; however, extensive illegal digging in the area brought to light more than 70 looted graves (Husenovski 2005). Research at Miltsi is currently ongoing as well, with the Museum of Gevgelija conducting systematic excavations, published in several occasions by its director and head researcher Boban Husenovski (Husenovski 2005; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018a).

The archaeological site at Miltsi is a flat necropolis, consisted of extended inhumations in burial cists constructed with stone slabs of local origin. The burial ground was used between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 5th century BCE (Husenovski 2018a, 103). As of the 2016 excavations, the number of researched burials is 153 (Husenovski 2017, 37) plus the undocumented and looted 70 graves mentioned above.

Among them the dominant burial construction form is the cist (Husenovski 2015, 13). However, there are other forms: “two burials under small mounds – graves 31/35 (Georgiev

1983) and 56 (Mitrevski 1991b), grave 40 from the Hellenistic period constructed with bricks, a pithos burial in grave 13 (Pashic et al. 1987), two secondary cremations in grave 12 and 45 (Georgiev 1984) and twelve burial pits" (Husenovski 2015, 13). The graves are mostly oriented N-S, however this is not strictly followed. Two types of burial placement can be noticed: one part of the graves are organized in clusters and not in rows as seen in neighbouring necropolises (Pashic et al. 1987, 79); and the rest follow the trend of the other burial sites and are organized in rows (Husenovski 2015, 12).

A characteristic, noticeable not only in Miltsi but in the neighbouring sites as well, is the reuse of old burials and the intentional displacement of the belongings and remains of previous occupants (Georgiev 1983). This was usually done by burying the remains nearby in a small pit or pushing them at the edge of the cist (Pashic et al. 1987, 80; Mitrevski 1997, 85).

The internment of ceramic vessels is more or less standardized and involves 2-3 pieces, usually wheel-made jugs with cutaway rims and cups. This locally manufactured ochre-red painted pottery, often decorated with white horizontal lines, is seen in the entire wider region, especially in what is here designated as the Lower Vardar region. Patterns distinguishing between burials based on the vessels are difficult to discern as the interment practice is quite uniformed; however child burials very often have no burial offerings, at least no non-perishable ones. Additionally, cups with two handles (also called kantharoid cups) in female burials have been associated with adult women whereas cups with one handle with maidens (Heilmann 2014).

Bronze and iron jewellery and adornments are found regularly in Iron Age burial grounds in the region. Spectacle fibulae and bow shaped fibulae are the most common forms. The latter on occasion occurs in its 'boeotian shield' form (Heilmann 2016). Bronze spiral shaped bangles as well as buttons, rosette appliqués and earrings are also attested. The jewellery is usually attributed to female burials; however certain types of fibulae and pins are connected to male graves. The characterization of burials as male or female based only on the objects interred comes with its own problems. As previously mentioned, a lot of the cists were reused multiple times making it difficult to always be sure if an object belongs to the latest or a previous context. Even when this is possible to ascertain, the lack of osteological remains makes it impossible to confirm the sex of the deceased.

One of the more specific bronze objects found in the entire area and usually associated

with female burials are the so-called “Macedonian bronzes” (Mitrevski 1988; Bouzek 1974; 2006; Chausidis 1988; 2017). They represent a visually distinct group of miniature objects, often used as pendants or small containers. Their use has long been debated, and they have often been attributed religious symbolism (Mitrevski 1988; Chausidis 2017).

2.2.2. Suva Reka, Gevgelija

Suva Reka, at the southern periphery of the town Gevgelija, was the focus of several archaeological rescue campaigns in 1975, 1976 and 1977, resulting in 63 burials. Of them only graves 1-50 were published (Pashic 1977; 1978a) while graves 51-63 remained unpublished. A second streak of rescue excavations were conducted from 1988 to 1990 by the Museum of Gevgelija, contributed to 16 more burials following the numeration established by the previous researchers. Graves 64-69 were completely destroyed by floods and did not provide any information on burial construction or goods., while graves 70-79 were published (Ristov 1993).

Together with Miltsi, Suva Reka is considered to have been the burial ground for the people at the Vardarski Rid settlement nearby. It is yet another flat necropolis where extended inhumations in cists are prevalent. There are only three exceptions from this norm: grave 33 – a rectangular pit, grave 40 built with tegulae and grave 43 which is a pithos burial. Like in Miltsi, the cist burials are constructed with multiple stone slabs of local origin. The number of slabs depends only on the size of the grave. A tendency towards different orientation of male and female burials can be noticed. Namely, the head is positioned to the north and the legs to the south in male burials, while the opposite was done in female graves (Ristov 1993, 99). Secondary burials and the deposition of displaced material from graves is noted as well. The graves in Suva Reka were organized in rows and no clusters could be discerned.

The composition of burial offerings resemble the ones in Miltsi. The ceramic and metal artefacts follow the same style of manufacture and decoration. There are no notable differences in the depositional practices.

2.2.3 Vardarski Rid

As one of the only researched settlements, Vardarski Rid is an important site, and it is crucial for any analysis dealing with the area as it offers the much needed settlement data. It is located north of the town of Gevgelija at the right bank of the river Vardar. The settlement at this hill had a strategic advantage, as it overlooked the valley. It was the subject of many campaigns. The first field survey was done in 1976 (Vincic, Ivanovski 1978) leading to the first rescue excavations in 1979, which established the existence of a settlement area and outlined the boundaries of the archaeological site (Vincic et al. 1979).

The first systematic excavations started in 1994 (Husenovski, Dimitrioska 1999) and have continued sporadically until the present day. The field research also showed the existence of a settlement between the 13th and 2nd centuries BCE (Husenovski 2018b). The neighbouring necropolises at Miltsi and Suva Reka, dated between the 7th and 6th century are believed to have been connected to the population of the settlement at Vardarski Rid (Ristov 2004a; Mitrevski 2005; Husenovski 2018b). Remains of an Iron age settlement were found located in two sections, one older and dated in the 10th and 9th century BCE and the other younger and dated 7th and 6th century BCE; however the data is insufficient for any major conclusions to be drawn about settlement life during those centuries (Papazovska 2005, 116).

The stratigraphy is characterised by both horizontal and vertical development. According to Mitrevski (2005) sixteen layers are evident, belonging to six phases named Vardarski Rid I to VI:

- Vardarski Rid I (layer 16) – Neolithic settlement
- Vardarski Rid II (layer 15) – XIII-XI BCE
- Vardarski Rid III (layers 14 and 13) – X-IX BCE
- Vardarski Rid IV (layers 12-8) – VII-V BCE
- Vardarski Rid V (layers 7-5) – V-IV BCE
- Vardarski Rid VI (layers 4-1) – III-I BCE

The fourth settlement (VR-IV) is of importance in this study, since it can be connected to the neighbouring burial grounds. Having in mind the lack of a broader study of this phase and lack of data, the information should be treated with caution. During this phase, the entire area of the hill was occupied, however only a fraction was left undisturbed by the younger phases. The data from the fourth settlement comes mostly from the southern terrace, where a few buildings were uncovered. They were built with wood, mud and clay while the roof made of organic material. Two individual contexts could be discerned in this area, the so called House of metallurgy and House with Pithoi (Mitrevski 2005, 66-68). Both of these constructions were not excavated in their entirety. The material from these layers corresponds with the funerary record, mainly in terms of pottery.

The end of the fourth phase came in the 5th century BCE with a flood, an event attested in the geological stratigraphy in the area. A sediment of 1 meter formed, most visible in the lower parts of the valley and this is expected to have had an impact on the regional economy. In the following period and the next phase (VR-V), the settlement was smaller but slowly grew and regained some its size during the 4th century BCE.

2.2.4. Dedeli

Dedeli, located six kilometres south-east of the town Valandovo and ten kilometres north-west of the Dojran Lake, was a subject of one of the earliest excavations done in the area. It is positioned at the north-eastern edge of the Valandovo valley, at the foothill of the Belasitsa Mountain.

In the course of the First World War, the German officer Dragendorf conducted research during the military operations in the area. The results from these small excavations in 1917 remained unpublished until 1970 (Pingel 1971). However, local archaeologists remained interested in the area and after a short survey in 1977, systematic excavations began in 1978 and ended in 1986. The focus area of these campaigns was in two places: Meleznik and the Football field – both located within the confines of the village Dedeli. The results were published on several occasions, most notably by the research lead Pashic (1983) and Mitrevski, who took part in the excavations and published a detailed report and analysis of the site (1991a).

Dedeli is yet another flat necropolis, where inhumations in burial cists are prevalent. As with the other Iron Age burial grounds in the area, the cists are built with stone slabs of local origin. Their dimension varies and depends on the grave size. Out of all 91 burials, there are only two burial mounds (graves 55 and 73) and two pithos burials (6A and 6B), while the rest are cists. However, 20 burials were severely damaged and yielded no valuable information. Osteological material from only 5 burials (graves 14, 19, 44, 56 75) was analysed. The acidity of the soil dissolved the rest of the skeletal remains, which meant gender was assigned on field observations and burial goods (Mitrevski 1991a, 40). The bodies were inhumed in an extended position, with the hands placed alongside the body or in some cases with one or both hands placed on the abdomen. The orientation of the graves varies. Cists were often reused, in which case the remains and offerings of the older burial were gathered and placed at the edge of the cists, near the legs of the newly interred deceased. Only the pottery is removed in these cases, however certain leftover fragments can be found.

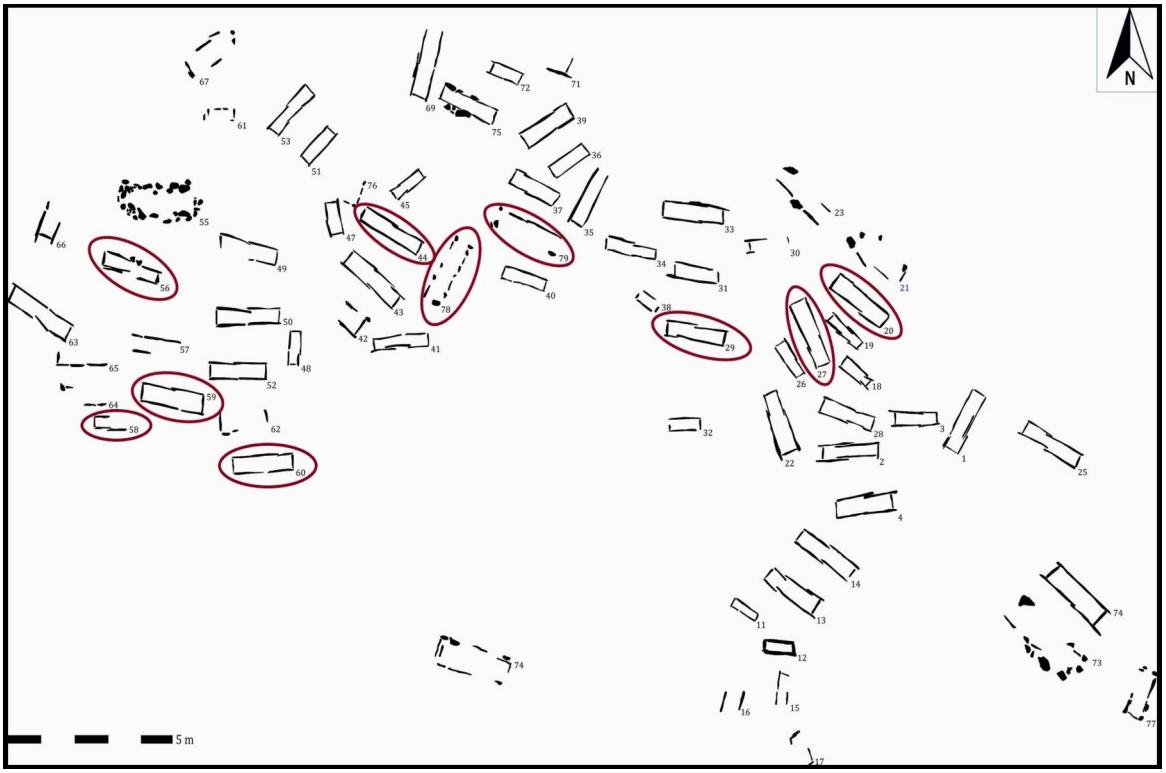

Figure 6: Plan of the Dedeli necropolis by Heilmann 2020, 178 (after Mitrevski 1991, plan 1).

This occurrence is noted in 12 cases. Remains of three deceased were found in graves 29 and 56, and in both cases it involves a male, a female and a child. Evidence for two burials in

one cist were found in graves 33, 39, 43, 44, 53, 71, 79, 81, 91, while grave 20 is a simultaneous double burial of one male and one female. Sherds of pottery were also found near burials, which was interpreted as a ritual of breaking of vessels during funerals (Mitrevski 1991a, 42).

Based on the analysis of 72 graves in the Meleznik area of the archaeological site at Dedeli, 12 clusters of burials could be discerned. They are characterised by a unified pattern of orientation and by their proximity (Mitrevski 1991a, 43). Grave 55, the burial under a small mound, is considered to be the oldest in the necropolis, while the pithos burials 6A and 6B are the youngest (Mitrevski 1991a, 40).

Furthermore, despite an apparent clustering of burials with weapons in certain areas (**Fig. 6**), such an occurrence is most likely not related to an intentional depositional practice. This stems from the chronological differences of those burials and their often times unclear micro-context, as several graves are used multiple times.

As was the case with Miltsi and Suva Reka, the internment of pottery is standardized. Wheel-made jugs with cutaway necks and cups with one handle are predominant, with cups with two handles occurring in combination either with one jug or with both of the former. Small olpai are also attested, mostly in children burials. The manufacture and decoration coincides with the neighbouring sites, as described above.

The so-called “Macedonian Bronzes” make an appearance again and are mostly attributed to female burials. The bow shaped and spectacle fibulae, and clothing pins found at the site are always made of bronze, with the exception of two iron pins from graves 75 and 84. Razors and tweezers are found in burials also containing weapons, with the exception of graves 33 and 43. Further examination was done on the bronze objects, using x-ray diffraction, emission spectroscopy and x-ray fluorescence, which showed a very consistent chemical composition. Namely, the amount of copper used in the manufacture of the bronze objects from the necropolis was 89.9-90%, while tin was present with 10-11%, iron with 0.1 % and zinc and lead with 0.3% (Mitrevski 1991a, 71). The site was dated between the late 7th and the middle of 6th century BCE. This was done by using already established chronologies of the material such as the fibulae and other bronze adornments and accessories. Additionally, it was later confirmed by way of thermoluminescence, done on two of the beads from grave 81, which placed it between 620 and 600 BCE (Mitrevski 1991a, 73).

2.2.5. Isar Marvintsi

The excavations of the archaeological site at Isar Marvintsi in 1977 and 1978 yielded many important findings dated from the 5th century BCE to the 4th century AD, both from a settlement area and a nearby necropolis. The settlement is located at the edge of the Valandovo valley, on the south-western slope of the hill overlooking the village Marvintsi. Systematic excavations at the site have sporadically been undertaken to the present day, and are usually focused on the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, according to the first surveys in the area done during the First World War by Dragendorf and later in 1950 and 1953 with occasional findings recorded in the 1960s as well, older material from the Iron Age was also present at the site. These data led to further research in the area in 1997 at the southern necropolis located nearby at Lisichin Dol, resulting in findings from the Iron Age (Mitrevski 1999, 74; Mitrevski, Temov 1999; Videski 1999). Apart from the necropolis, the existence of an Iron Age settlement that predated the one mentioned above is assumed (Mitrevski, Temov 1999, 154).

These excavations led to the publication of 24 burials (Videski 1999), of which graves 1 to 6 were severely damaged. The remaining 18 burials were dated at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BCE. All of them are cists constructed with stone slabs, except grave 22 which is a pithos burial and burials 15 and 18 which are rectangular pits. This grave form can be traced in several archaeological sites from the region as well as graves from Chauchitsa – across the border, coexisting with the cist burials. Grave 15, or the so-called "grave of the priestess" has been the topic of quite a lot of research (Mitrevski 1999; Chausidis 2017) regarding the fact it contains a wide array of the so-called "Macedonian Bronzes". It is one of the more elaborated representations of what is considered to be a female burial, with certain specifics alluding to a specialist concerning ritual matters.

The data from the Iron Age are not yet comprehensibly published, causing great difficulties in the incorporation of the site in this study. The evidence for the existence of a settlement from the Iron Age is still not published, and the small number of burials from this period does not allow much space for a considerable analysis only on its own terms. However, it provides information regarding its relation to neighbouring sites. In this sense, the material, burial construction and ritual are consistent with the already discussed forms.

2.2.6. Other archaeological sites

Despite the larger archaeological sites previously mentioned, there are smaller ones which have not been systematically investigated. Instead, the findings from these sites are known to us by rescue excavations and occasional finds obtained by the museums. Such cases are Bishov Javor – Smokvitsa, Glos – Grchishte and Zelenishte.

Bishov Javor is located 1 km from the village Smokvitsa and 3 km away from Marvintsi. It was first discovered in 1979 but the first research done was in 1989, when only 3 burials were uncovered. A series of excavations started in 1995 resulting in the discovery of 20 more graves (Ristov 2004a, 141). Only the first 3 burials were published; however, the burial grounds is dated between the 7th and 5th century BCE (Ristov 2004a, 142). It is also 700 m distance from Mramor – an archaeological site where remains of a settlement were uncovered. It is believed that Bishov Javor might have served as a burial ground for the people of Mramor, but with the current findings this cannot be claimed with certainty (Ristov 2004a, 86).

Zelenishte is an archaeological site, designated as a flat burial ground. It is located at the south-western periphery of the town Valandovo. Thirteen graves were uncovered in two occasions in 1984 and 1997, as part of rescue excavations during the construction activities (Ristov 2004a, 133). The findings were partially published (Georgiev 1984) and they show consistency in the above discussed patterns. However, it represents a later development, as the findings come from the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century BCE (Georgiev 1984, 64-65).

The Late Archaic is under-researched in the area; however there are several instances of illegal excavations that are documented in the area. The most useful in the context required here is the tomb of Koreshnitsa, in the vicinity of the town of Demir Kapija. Although looted, a team researched the area for any remaining clues in 2007 and uncovered the burial construction (Dimensions: 4×2.2 m; made of stone blocks) and a few fragments of artefacts left behind (Kuzman 2013, 472). Among those artefacts were two silver pins, bronze fragments of large vessel. In addition several fragments from “Illyrian” helmets and a few fragments of a scaled armour (Kuzman 2013). In addition, a bronze krater is believed to have come from this tomb, which was later sold in auctions and is currently in a private collection in New York (Kuzman 2013, 472).

There are several other burial grounds in the area, although they are known only from archaeological surveys, occasional finds or short rescue excavations that do not offer a detailed view of their state and are not published as well. They are listed here: Glos – Grchiste, Karakush – Dedeli, Ajshe Cheshma – Dedeli, Mala Boska – Gopcheli, Kjurkjievitsa – Marvintsi, Ekimtsi – Nikolich, Bela Cheshma – Sobri, Begovo – Stojakovo, Korija – Stojakovo, Bolovan – Furka, Govedarov Grob – Furka (Ristov 2004a, 173).

Looking across the contemporary border, there are three archaeological sites that need to be taken into account: Kastanas that yielded plenty of settlement data, and Chauchitsa and Bohemitsa (Axioupoli) which are flat necropolises that have plenty in common with the above described burial grounds.

2.3 Micro-context: Burials with weapons

2.3.1. General information

The weaponry from this area is usually treated as a gender marker (Husenovski 2015, 13; Heilmann 2020, 179) and its analysis is generally restricted to observation of type, material and analogies to other archaeological sites from neighbouring regions. Moreover, weapons from the Iron Age burials in the Lower Vardar region have not been the subject of a meta-analysis and burials as warriors were never analysed separately from the rest.

There are 314 documented and published graves in the Lower Vardar region, and the total number of weapons found is 86, from 69 micro-contexts[10]. However, in the following analysis only three sites will be taken into account (Miltsi, Suva Reka and Dedeli, with their 292 documented burials and 9 extra-burial findings[11]. A total of 77 pieces of weaponry were found in 60 contexts at these three sites. Of those 77, 67 weapons were found in 52 graves. Therefore the percentage of ´burials as warriors´ is 16%. Ten weapons were found near graves in nine contexts: graves 36 and 72 at Suva Reka, grave 58 at Dedeli, and graves 7, 10, 34, 74,

10 The number of unpublished but excavated burials is much higher.

11 These three sites are taken as the base for the statistical analysis of the region since the systematic research and their detailed publication allows us to quantify the data. This is not possible with the sites that yielded only a dozen Iron Age burials, such as Bishov Javor, Zelenishte and Lisichin Dol. Although not part of the statistical analysis, they will be taken into consideration case by case.

82 and 84 at Miltsi. Findings outside of graves are sometimes interpreted as intentionally dislocated remains of older burials such as graves 7 and 10 from Miltsi (Georgiev 1983). In other occasions, for instance the spear placed on top of the cover of grave 36 at Suva Reka, they are treated as cases of post-burial offerings. As this is not always clear, it is difficult to speak of a burial as warrior. They are however, considered on their own terms and in the broad analysis of weapon types.

Although in most cases these dislocated remains were treated with care and placed in pits near their original resting place, they still come from a disturbed context. It is difficult to know whether certain objects are missing from the assemblage. It has been previously noted that there seems to be two parallel rituals for the treatment of older burials before the grave is reused (Georgiev 1983, 51; Heilmann 2020). Beside their reburial in a pit, usually placed close to the cist near the head of the newly deceased, there is also the placement of older remains within the cist near the legs of the newly interred individual. What is clear from these situations is that cists were reused, in some cases in the span of three centuries – as with graves 12 and 45 in Miltsi (Georgiev 1983). It would be expected that their reuse is to only be permitted to descendants. In the rare occasions where osteological remains are available, it would be possible to confirm this with genetic analysis. However, if a genetic link cannot be established the question remains open, since we do not have information on the role non-blood ties played in these communities.

At the Miltsi necropolis there are 20 burials as warriors, or 14.18 % of the 141 excavated graves[12]. They contain 30 pieces of weaponry, all of which are offensive weapons. Three arrows (graves 103, 147, 155), three swords (one from grave 56 and two from grave 103) and two combat knives (grave 103) were found. Spears are the most prevalent type of weapon with 20 pieces or 66.6 % (graves 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 27, 51, 66, 71, 73, 78, 103, 110, 127, 135, 140, 154, 155). Additionally, one sword and six spears were found near graves.

Nearby, at the Suva Reka necropolis – 18.3% of the graves belong to the group of burials as warriors. Namely, of the 60 excavated, documented and published burials[13], there are 11

12 As of 2018, there are 156 excavated graves and more than 70 looted and undocumented ones. Out of the 156, data from 15 graves excavated in 1984 and 1995 (graves 46 – 64) is missing. Partial information regarding graves 48, 51, 54, 56 was provided by Mitrevski (1991b).

13 There are 79 recorded burials from Suva Reka, according to the final publication related to the site by Ristov (1993). Graves 51-63 remain unpublished, while graves 64 – 69 were completely destroyed.

graves containing 14 weapons – three swords from graves 29, 49 and 50, one combat knife from grave 74 and ten spears from graves 1, 12, 20, 28, 29, 30, 45, 50 74, 76. Two more spears were found on top of the stone slabs covering graves 36 and 72.

Finally, at the Dedeli necropolis 17 graves contain 19 pieces of weaponry – one sword from the 6A pithos burial, one combat knife from grave 29 and seventeen spears from graves 7, 20, 27, 31, 44, 56, 59, 60, 68, 70, 78, 79, 83, 88, 89. This makes up 18.6% of the total of 91 burials at Dedeli. Only one arrow outside of the confines of a burial construction was found near grave 58.

The assemblage of the burials as warriors follows a recognisable pattern. The weapon is usually the only thing that stands out. The same assemblage can be seen in other burials, with only the piece of weaponry missing. The pottery belongs to familiar types: the jug with a cutaway neck, and cups with one or with two handles (also called kantharoid cup). They come in several permutations:

- Single jug
- Single cup
- Single kantharoid cup
- A jug and a cup
- A jug and a kantharoid cup
- A jug and a kantharoid plate
- A jug, a cup and a kantharoid cup

Figure 7: Pottery types in the LoV region: 1 - Jug with a cutaway neck; 2 - Cup with one handle; 3 - Kantharoid cup; 4 - Handmade cup. (Husenovski, Slamkov 2012, 16).

In addition, plates – especially the kantharoid type, olpai and other ceramic forms are sometimes combined with the above mentioned ones. Furthermore, the artefacts can be divided in four categories: weapons, pottery, implements (razors, whetstones, knives etc.) and accessories (fibulae, pins, bracelets, earrings, rings buttons). What can be observed is a tendency for a more or less homogeneous material style and internment practice, although small differences are quite common (Heilman 2020, 175-176). It is interesting to note that the types of weapons interred are not in any way a contributing factor.

In the case of the clothing accessories, fibulae – in most cases bow shaped ones although spectacle ones are found as well – are accompanied by bronze bi-conical beads and decorative tubules (also called saltaleon) that probably made up a single object. Additionally iron pins and on occasion a bronze earring are noted as well. Knives are regularly discovered in burials of all types and attributed to both genders. The miniature bronzes ("Macedonian bronzes") are not found in burials with weaponry or razors, which is in fact one of the reasons the dichotomy of weapon/razor-male versus miniature bronze-female burials was devised.

Whether they are gender markers or not, it is clear that in the overwhelming majority of cases weapons and miniature bronzes are not part of the same assemblage. On the other side, the only type of artefacts that are slightly more present with weapon burials, are the grooming tools such as: razors, tweezers and whetstones. Usually made from iron, the razors are small, moon shaped and appear in 13 graves or 24.5% of the weapon burials. They also appear in eleven graves without weapons, and are generally considered to be gender markers in the same way weaponry is (Georgiev 1982; Mitrevski 1997). If we combine the burials with weapons and the ones containing only grooming tools they would make up for 61 or 20.9% of the 292 burials considered here. The percentage remains low (26%) even if the child burials and graves without offerings are taken out of the total number of graves.

Additionally, there are cases where an on-site anthropological examination of the osteological material was made and the sex of the deceased was designated as female, but the objects belong to a group of artefacts generally considered male markers. Such cases are graves 12 and 30 from Suva Reka each containing one spear (Pashic 1978a). Anthropological (Physical Anthropology) analysis of bones is the most common way in which researchers determined the sex of the deceased at the above mentioned sites and in the cited publications. This also leads to gender being assigned on the basis of physical properties of bones and

artefact types (or gender markers as listed above). This was not done in Suva Reka, where the contradiction of having conflicting ecofact and artefact gender markers are not interpreted, but rather left unresolved and without conclusion. This seems like the only viable option with the current data, as we cannot be certain of the credibility of either interpretation (male or female, man or woman). Moreover, the lack of data on gender roles in the community and whether sex played a decisive role in all cases (it is of course expected to have been crucial in the overwhelming majority), makes it difficult to draw a definitive conclusion.

2.3.2. Single Burials

In terms of a burial context and our ability to distinguish patterns in assemblages with weapons, the graves can be divided in two main types: single burials where the relation between the body (ecofacts) and the artefacts is clear, and multiple burials where this is more difficult to ascertain, often leading to limited information. Where the former are considered, burials containing all four categories of artefacts (weaponry, pottery, tools/implements, clothing accessories) are the most common, closely followed by those lacking tools/implements. Burials where only two of the categories are present are not as common. The same can be noticed in the graves without weaponry, meaning the internment of all these categories was the norm, albeit with slight differences.

No significant societal stratification can be discerned from the composition of the assemblages of the burials as warriors, both within this group and when compared to the others. However, three graves stand out from the rest of the burials with weapons by having the most variety of artefacts from any of the four categories described above: grave 1 from Suva Reka and graves 8 and 78 from Miltsi.

The first two of the three are inhumations in cists and information regarding the burial construction of grave 78 is currently not available. A full ceramic set (jug, cup and kantharoid cup) and a spear was found in each of them. They also contain tools and accessories, albeit with some differences. Grave 8 stands out in having a complete grooming set (razor, tweezer and whetstone) accompanied by a knife as well. On the other hand, graves 1 of Suva Reka and 78 from Miltsi lack grooming tools and only contain a knife each.

Regarding clothing accessories, each grave has a different combination of bracelets,

earrings and fibulae. Grave 78 stands out being the one with only one containing an earring, while the rest have multiple objects. It is also worth mentioning that grave 78 contains an additional ceramic vessel in the shape of a small olpe, a type that is often connected with child burials (Georgiev 1984, 57). There are three more burials containing such a vessel while also being weapon burials in the Lower Vardar region: graves 12 and 155 from Miltsi and grave 31 from Dedeli.

It is important to note that these burials are part of a gradual scale of differences in assemblages and are followed by similar burials. They will be described below, ending with graves containing the least artefacts. In addition, burials from all necropolises of the LoV region will be considered together in order to show the similarity between sites in terms of material style and assemblage composition.

Grave 7 at Miltsi is a single burial where the skeletal remains are missing and two iron pieces of a spear were found[14], one deltoid spearhead and one conical shaped part, which is probably a spearbutt (Pashic et al. 1981; Pashic et al. 1987, 76).[15] Beside the weapon, two jugs with cutaway necks and a cup with one handle were found. Additionally, an iron razor, parts of a bronze saltaleon and a button were uncovered.

Graves 27 and 68 from Dedeli. are inhumations in cists and contain a single spearhead each. The only difference between them and grave 7 from Miltsi is the cup in the ceramic set. While it contained a cup with a single handle, graves 27 and 68 from contain a cup with two handles – the so-called kantharoid cup.

There is a slight difference between these two as well. They both contain a bow fibula, with the one in grave 27 being of the 'boeotian shield' type. It was accompanied by other bronze accessories such as beads and decorative tubules which were not found in grave 68. Additionally grave 27 contains two iron razors and two bronze tweezers while grave 68 an iron razor, an iron tweezer and a whetstone.

The assemblage from grave 110 at Miltsi is of the same kind. Beside the two iron razors there are also two tweezers, one made of iron and one of bronze. In addition, an iron knife, iron pin and an additional kantharoid cup are present. A similar occurrence can be noted in

14 The spears were listed in Pashic et al. 1981 and their drawings can be seen in table V of Pashic et al. 1987, but are missing from the text of the latter publication.

15 More on the problem of identifying spearbutts and conical spearheads can be found in chapter 6.

grave 88 from Dedeli, where instead of a kantharoid cup, a cup with one handle was found and in this sense is more alike grave 7 from Miltsi. However, there is one divergence - only a knife is present and no razor or tweezer was found.

As was previously mentioned, in some occasions the plate with two vertical handles, also called kantharoid plate, is combined with a jug. Therefore two more graves from Miltsi can be added here, graves 95 that contains a spear and 147 that contains an arrow. However, the latter is an exception since it is one of the two graves where a type of a miniature bronze is found in a weapon assemblage.

The graves 126 and 135 from Miltsi have only one ceramic vessel each: a jug in the first and a cup in the second case. While the contents of 126 include a razor, 135 on the other hand contains a knife, but stands out from all the previously mentioned burials with the inclusion of a silver ring. The silver ring with the two iron double-pins also suggest a different date than the other burials, at the end of the 6th century BC. Conversely, the above mentioned graves 7, 95, 110, 126 and 147 from Miltsi can be dated between the end of the 7th and middle of the 6th century BC. The same can be said of grave 27 from Dedeli while grave 68 is dated between 650 and 625 BC.

The one grave that stands out in the entire region and in many aspects is 103 from the Miltsi necropolis (Husenovski 2015). It is one of the few 5th century burials excavated in the area. Local analogies can be found in Zelenishte with graves 1 and 5; however information is missing on the ceramic set in those burials which makes the comparison viable only through the swords. In addition, grave 103 is an interesting case of over-weaponization not detected in Zelenishte, nor in any other burial from the Lower Vardar region. It contains: two swords (xiphos), two combat knives, two spears and one arrow. In addition to the weapons, three metal rings used to fasten the belts and attach the swords were found – one made of silver and two made of bronze. The scabbard of one of the swords was also preserved, and it remains attached to the sword itself due to corrosion. The ceramic set is consisted of a jug with a cutaway rim, a kothone and a black-figured kylix. In addition, there were a couple of bronze vessels as well: a phial and a cauldron. A rhomboid-shaped golden foil was found as well, placed at the mouth of the deceased. This type of artefact is noted only on one occasion in the immediate surrounding area, in grave 4 from Bishov Javor (Husenovski 2015, 15). Grave 103 is the most elaborate in the Lower Vardar region, both in terms of artefacts interred (economic

and labour value, craftsmanship) and elements of status representation and heraldic imagery.

Figure 8: Additional inventory in grave 103 from Miltsi. (Husenovski 2015, drawing no. 3; cat.no. 9, 10, 13, 14, 15.)

Grave 27 from Miltsi is a burial with a full ceramic set and no rools or grooming sets. It contains a spear, two jugs with cutaway rims, a cup with one handle, a kantharoid cup, a bronze fibula of the 'boeotian shield' type and two spiral earrings. The remains of the skeleton are badly preserved and were not analysed.

There are nine more burials of a similar kind: graves 12, 112, 127, 140, 154 from Miltsi; graves 12, 20 50 from Suva Reka; and graves 60 and 31 from Dedeli. The first and last one are burials that contain a gutus or small olpe respectively, in addition to a spear and clothing accessories and are considered to be child burials. As for the others, graves 127, 140 and 154 each contain a spear, a jug with a cutaway neck, a kantharoid cup and metal accessories. Grave 112 has only one difference, a cup with a single handle instead of the kantharoid cup. Grave 50 from Suva Reka, has the same ceramic set as grave 112; however it stands out with three cups instead of one and a single-edged curved sword in addition to the spear. Grave 60 of Dedeli contains two spears, a jug with a cutaway neck, pieces of unidentified pottery and a bow shaped fibula of the 'boeotian type'. Finally, grave 20 of Suva Reka also has a piece of

unidentified pottery along with an iron spear and a single amber bead.

Grave 12 from Suva Reka, designated as a female burial (Pashic 1978, 22) contains a spear, a kantharoid cup and a saltaleon. However, artefacts were recovered in the area between graves 11 and 12. The excavator and publisher views them as part of the disturbed context of grave 12, and as such argues they should be considered part of that assemblage (Pashic 1978, 22), meaning two miniature bronzes, the bow-shaped fibula of the 'boeotian shield' type and the bronze double pin found near the grave can be considered a part of the assemblage. As was previously mentioned, the razors and tweezers on one side and the miniature bronzes on the other are considered gender markers that are not found together in a single burial. The only instances when they are found together are confirmed multiple burials (graves 29, 33, 43 from Dedeli).

Grave 89 from Dedeli lacks clothing accessories, and contains: two iron spears, a jug with a cutaway neck, a kantharoid cup, an iron knife and an iron razor, being the only grave with such a combination.

Graves without pottery are not common, both with weapons and without. However, there are a few examples. Grave 28 from Suva Reka contains: an iron spear, two bronze bracelets, a bronze button, a small bronze chain and 22 bronze bi-conical beads. The high number of beads is unusual from 'burials as warriors', with this grave being the only such single burial containing more than five beads.

Grave 29 from Suva Reka contains a curved sword, spear and knife (all made of iron). Grave 6A from Dedeli also contains a curved sword, accompanied by a bronze tweezer. This grave stands out by being the only pithos burial in the area that contains a weapon. It is also one of the only three 'burials as warriors' that are not cists. While an overwhelming majority of the 'burials as warrior' in LoV are supine inhumations in cists made of stone, there are some divergences from the norm: grave 6A (a pithos burial), the above mentioned grave 103 of Miltsi (a rectangular pit) and grave 56 of Miltsi (a small mound). Unfortunately the published information available of the last of the three is scarce, and beside its burial construction, the sword and bronze fibula it contained, not much else is known.

There are six burials containing only weaponry and pottery: grave 66 of Miltsi; graves 30, 49 and 74 of Suva Reka; and graves 7 and 78 of Dedeli. The contents of grave 60 of Miltsi, an

iron spear and pieces of unidentified pottery, are very modest. The situation is similar with graves 7 and 78 of Dedeli where apart from the single iron spear in each grave, a jug with a cutaway neck (grave 7) and a cup with one handle (grave 78) was found. The state of the Suva Reka graves is somewhat different. Grave 30 is designated as a female burial and it contains: an iron spear, jug with a cutaway rim, a kantharoid cup and a plate with two horizontal handles.

Finally, there are the cases of graves 49 and 74 from Suva Reka, which have a full ceramic set. They are also dated near the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th BC (Georgiev 1984, 70). The weapon from grave 49 is a curved single-edged sword which resulted in a proposed younger date for the contents of the grave (Georgiev 1984). The shape of this sword would shed some light on the problem, but unfortunately it was not available for inspection on this occasion.[16] Grave 74 at Suva Reka should be mentioned along the same lines, as it contains a full ceramic set as well. The iron spear and combat knife are accompanied by a ceramic jug, a kothone and a kantharos. Based on the pottery types this graves can be dated at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century BC as well.

The last type of burials are the ones containing only a weapon. Such cases are the Dedeli graves 59, 70, 83 and grave 102 from Miltsi each containing a single iron spear. Details on grave 51 from Miltsi are unavailable, other than it contained a single spear, making it impossible to know which kind of assemblage it contained.

2.3.3. Multiple burials

The following paragraphs will be dedicated to graves containing remains of multiple burials. All of these graves are cists dated in the second half of the 7th BCE and the beginning of the 6th BCE. The burials from Dedeli are dated somewhat more precisely and the information will be provided accordingly bellow. These multiple burials can be simultaneous, which are rarely encountered, and cases where the cists has been reused for a new burial. Thus we are able to observe more than one event or context, presenting us with the difficult task of distinguishing between them.

16 In the original publication by Pashic (1978) the image provided does not correspond to her description. This was addressed by Georgiev (1984, 70) who cleared the misunderstanding created by the inclusion of an image of a razor in the original publication, and did manage to inspect the weapon classifying it as a 'machaira' sword.

Remains of two individuals were uncovered in grave 6 at Miltsi (Pashic et al. 1987, 76); however, the assemblage belonged to the better preserved skeleton as it follows a familiar pattern: an iron spear; two pieces of pottery – in this case a jug and a cup; iron razor, tweezer and knife; clothing accessories represented by two bronze bow shaped fibulae – one of which of the 'boeotian shield' type; and two bronze buttons.

Grave 71 from Miltsi contains remains of two individuals (Husenovski 2005, 99), but only the remains of the younger burial are preserved. The furnishing also belongs to this event: a spear, jug with a cutaway rim, a kantharoid cup, a razor and a bronze button.

Things are a little bit more complicated with grave 73 at Miltsi (Husenovski 2005, 100), where the osteological remains of two individuals are very badly preserved and it is impossible to distinguish if they belong to one or two contexts. The artefacts interred are: one iron spear, iron razor and tweezers, an iron knife, two bronze earrings and two ceramic vessels – a jug with a cutaway rim and a cup with one handle. Earrings are known from burials with weapons, so there is a possibility the entire assemblage can be attributed to one event.

Grave 45 from Suva Reka (Pashic 1978, 27) is a good example of a grave where the bones of the older burial where gathered in a corner of the cist together with the furnishing, which in this case consists of an iron spear, knife and button – all made of iron. The younger burial was furnished with 5 ceramic vessels, and there is no information regarding the vessels accompanying the older burial. However, as mentioned previously this is a known praxis in the region. The older vessels are not left in the cist during the burial of another individual, but are replaced. Another example of this can be seen in grave 44 at Dedeli (Mitrevski 1991a, 29) where two individuals are buried (sex unknown), one of which was pushed to the corner near the feet of the newly interred (dated 625-575 BCE). In this pile of skeletal remains, a bronze pin and an iron spear were found. However, a jug with a cutaway neck and a cup with one handle were found near the legs of the newly deceased and very close to the remains of the older burial. It is safe to assume that beside the proximity, the pottery was part of the younger context.

Grave 76 from Suva Reka (Ristov 1993, 98) is an interesting case, where the remains of the older burial of a male individual were gathered in the corner of the cist and were accompanied only by one bronze double pin. The remains of the younger burial of a woman were surrounded by what seems to be the furnishing of that context: an iron spear, iron knife

and three jugs with a cutaway neck.

Grave 20 at Dedeli (dated 625-575 BCE) is a simultaneous burial of two individuals (Mitrevski 1991a, 21) – a male and a female. They were in an extended position, like all the other inhumations at the necropolis. Next to the skull of the female individual, two bronze earrings and a bronze decorative tubule was found. In the middle of the cist: an iron spear, a whetstone, five bronze beads, parts of a bronze saltaleon and a bronze button in the shape of a cross. Near their legs: an iron razor, a jug with a cutaway neck, a cup with one handle and a kantharoid cup. The combination of these three types of pottery is rare. It can be seen in the previously mentioned grave 45 from Suva Reka, and two other individual burials containing weapons (graves 8 and 27 from Miltsi)[17]

Grave 56 from Dedeli (dated 650-625 BCE) is one of the few cases where a cist was used three times (Mitrevski 1991a, 32). Remains of two skeletons were pushed in the corner making space for the burial of a child accompanied by a small olpai and a cup with one handle. Among the skeletal remains in the corner, an iron spear, fragments of pottery and bronze saltaleons were found. It is difficult to draw much information from what remains of those older burials.

The remains of the older burial in Grave 79 at Dedeli (dated 625-575 BCE) were pushed in the corner but there were no objects found among them (Mitrevski 1991a, 36). The newly interred deceased was accompanied by: an iron spear; a bronze earring; fragmented bronze saltaleons and a bronze bead; a bronze double pin; and fragments of wheel-made pottery. This is one of the cases where an earring is part of an assemblage containing a weapon.

Remains of three individuals were uncovered in grave 29 from Dedeli: male, female and child. The male skeleton was in an extended position while the latter where gathered in the corner of the cist. Along the extended body, near the chest area, an iron combat knife, an iron razor and a whetstone were placed. In the corner with the remains of the older burials there were: three bronze pendants (usually forming one of the miniature bronzes) a bronze phalera, two bronze bracelets, two bronze earrings, a bronze button and a small ceramic olpe.

The last one to be considered in this section is a suspected double burial (suspected due to

17 Graves 78 from Miltsi (contains a weapon) and graves 123 and 136 also have this combination. However, as of yet there is no information regarding the osteological remains. I am grateful to Boban Husenovski for the provided data regarding these burials, whose publication is pending.

missing information). The assemblage of grave 155 alludes to it being a multiple burial because of its contents: an iron spear, iron arrow, three jugs with cutaway rims, two kantharoid cups, an olpe, a plate with two handles, two miniature bronzes, six iron knives, two iron pins, two bronze spectacle fibulae, two bracelets and a bronze saltaleon. This is the only grave with that many knives in the entire area, while also having the most jugs.

2.3.4. Near grave findings

The uncovering of artefacts outside of graves is very common in the area. There are three types of findings near graves: intentionally dislocated remains of an older burial, unintentionally dislocated remains (e.g. agricultural activities), post-burial offerings.

The first of the three can be recognised by the small pit that confines them, which is in fact a re-burial. Weapons have been found near three graves: 7, 12 and 34 from Miltsi. In the case of grave 7, a small pit was prepared at the north-western part of the cist. In it, a jug with a cutaway neck, a kantharoid cup and an iron sword underneath them, were found. The contents of the pit near grave 12 got their own designation as grave 10 (Pashic et al. 1987, 78), which creates a somewhat complicated situation as it is unclear why all of the small pits with dislocated remains did not get the same treatment. The pit next to grave 34 contained a jug with a cutaway rim, a kothone and a spear, which alludes to a younger date than the average of the necropolis meaning the contents of grave 34 should be dated at an even younger date. A similar discussion revolved around the sword found near grave 7. Although initially it was classified as a flange-hilted sword (Pashic et al. 1987), this was later changed by the same researcher (Georgiev 1984) to a xiphos classification, listing the poor preservation of the handle as a reason.[18]

The second of the three types of findings near graves can only be confirmed in the case of grave 12 from Suva Reka, where a few bronze objects were dislocated but thought to belong to the original assemblage (see above).

The third kind is noted on four occasions: grave 74 in Miltsi, graves 36 and 72 in Suva Reka. A similar situation was recorded in both graves from Suva Reka, where the spear parts

18 The paper was prepared for publication by Pashic, Vinchic, Ivanovski and Georgiev and although approved in 1981, it was finally published in 1987. The paper by Georgiev where the classification was corrected was published in 1984, thus creating the confusion of him correcting a paper that has not been published yet.

were found above the graves. In the case of grave 72 a spearbutt was placed after the deceased was buried in the ground and before the stone cover was placed on top of the cist. This was done slightly differently with grave 36 where the spearhead was placed on top of the stone cover. A spearbutt was also found in next to grave 74 in Miltsi. Things are not so straightforward in the case of grave 58 in Dedeli, where an arrow was found. It is unclear whether the arrow and the few bronze objects with it were placed in a pit or not.

The necessary information for a classification is missing for graves 82 and 84 from Miltsi. However, it is clear that the spearheads were outside of the confines of the graves.

2.3.5. Other micro-contexts

Outside of the three necropolises discussed above, graves containing weapons were found at four other sites: Lisichin Dol - Marvinci, Bishov Javor – Gevgelija, Zelenishte Valandovo and Glos – Grchishte. Given the small amount of published data and often missing information, these burials are not considered in statistical comparisons, rather viewed only in the light of the qualitative information they provide. For example the Zelenishte burial (graves 1, 5 and 6) cannot be classified in any of the above considered assemblages since data on the pottery is missing from the record. They do however provide one of the few examples of the xiphos sword in the area, whose analogies will be discussed in chapter 5.

The graves from Bishov Javor and Lisichin Dol would clear many uncertainties, if only the data was published. The longevity of the Marvinci archaeological site is sure to provide quite a few new details on the transformation seen at necropolises such as Miltsi, but unfortunately we have to be satisfied with only 15 published burials of which only two contain weapons (graves 14 and 20). Both of the graves contain an iron spear, a jug with a cutaway rim, a handmade cup with one handle and a bronze fibula. The only difference lays in the inclusion of an iron knife in grave 14.

Helmets are rare in the area, especially within the borders of the Republic of N. Macedonia. One occasional find, suspected to be from Dedeli (Rujak, Velkovski 2007, 39), reminds us that the area can be expected to yield some of this type of weaponry in future excavations. It is an artefact obtained illegally and reconstructed by amateurs, which was then confiscated by the local museum and subsequently salvaged. What remains is the pointed

edge of the cheek guard, which and remains of the calotte that point towards its identification as an "Illyrian" type of helmet (Rujak, Velkovski 2007). No additional information is available; however, given their usual appearance in burials from the 6th century onward, an analogy is possible to existing burial traditions from the lower flows of the Vardar/Axios river and the Pelagonia-Ohrid area. A further sign of such developments in the area is the above mentioned tomb of Koreshnitsa. Unfortunately, there is no detailed publication dealing with the remains of the looted tomb.

2.4 Macro-context: Regional analogies

The necropolises from the region are spatially and temporally connected, as they existed during the same period and the geography allows for an extensive communication between them. As we still need more information about settlements in the area, it is difficult to understand the economic relations and population density to a satisfactory level, something already noted by other researchers as well (Ristov 1993; Mitrevski 1997). However, attempts have been made in that regard and in the case of Dedeli it is expected that the community using the necropolis counted an average of 60 individuals at a time (Mitrevski 1991a, 70). The same study suggests numbers would be higher for the communities around Gevgelija because of the higher number of contemporary burials uncovered there. In one study, around 600 graves were counted in an area no bigger than 30 km in diameter (Mitrevski 2012, 106).

There are several aspects of the material style and burial rituals that seem to confirm the area was subject to extensive socio-economic relations and shared certain cultural practices. The assemblages and their combinations, the pottery sets and their permutations (Mitrevski 2012), material typology, burial construction and necropolis organisation do point to a population that shared a certain materiality.

Many of the analogies drawn in previous research focus on the clothing accessories. Such an example are are the comparisons made by Pashic regarding the fibulae from Suva Reka analogues to ones from across the border with Greece going as far as Chalcidice, and the north-west of the Balkan Peninsula (1978, 29). The double pin has many analogies from the north-west of the Balkan to Anatolia. It is also prevalent in the so-called "Paeonian" space in N. Macedonia (Pashic 1978, 30). The fibulae from grave 8 at Miltsi can be mentioned in this context as well (Pashic et al. 1987, 81). The rosettes found in grave 74 at Miltsi are connected

with similar material from Dedeli and Chaushitsa (Husenovski 2005).

The extant literature already discusses these analogies in great detail (Mitrevski 1997; Husenovski 1999, 2005; Pashic et al. 1987). The connections are drawn to similar findings not only from the contemporary border region but to other sites such as Vergina (when the Iron Age is concerned) and Sindos and Archontiko (Archaic Period). Apart from the fibulae, attention has been given to the flange hilted swords as well. Such examples are the swords from grave 56 and the one near grave 7 at Miltsi. Both are dated in the 8th century BC and have often been connected to similar findings from Vergina and other sites from Southern Macedonia (Mitrevski 1997, 116).

The comparison of the material can help us understand common aesthetic choices and in certain cases perhaps, production practices. However, their instant association to groups of people and their identification as ethnic markers remains problematic.

As for the Naue II swords, they are widespread in Europe and their appearance in necropolises that are spatially and temporally close is not surprising. But there are several problems with these analogies. The first is related to the lack of specific details regarding the manufacture of these swords that would help us understand whether they were part of a same sword-making tradition. This information would help us understand whether the Miltsi swords and the Vergina swords have more than just typology in common. The second problem with the analogy comes from the different internment practices. The weapon sets from Miltsi have fewer swords than Vergina. This might be because of the fact the findings from the latter are one or two centuries older (Kilian-Dirlmeier, Brauning 2013), so the internment practices changed by the time the Miltsi necropolis was formed. It is very important that finding no link between the swords from both sides does not put to rest the discussion whether these two sites have other things in common. As was previously said, the miniature bronzes and the clothing accessories are widespread in the region and there are plenty of grounds for comparisons both from the perspective of style and internment practices. However, when referring to the swords, more information is required before a substantial argument can be made.

As was previously mentioned, a change in internment practices occurs near the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century BC. Of interest here is the shift in warrior representation. This can be followed in developments in: Bukri in Pelagonia; Trebenishte, Gorna Porta, Rechica and Delagozhda in the Ohrid region; Zhdanets and Krivi Dol in the Upper Vardar

region; and Miltsi, Zelenishte and Bishov Javor in the Lower Vardar region.

Perhaps the most elaborate display of this shift in the Lower Vardar region can be seen at Miltsi, more specifically in grave 103. A few novelties can be seen in this burial: the inclusion of precious metals, the bronze vessels, new types of swords (xiphos) and a practice of over-weaponization. The golden and silver accessories as well as decorative plaques for the weaponry are seen in other necropolises such as Sindos and Archontiko and over time become the norm in these types of burials, albeit rare in the general scheme of things. The same can be said of the bronze vessels such as cauldrons, kraters, phials and cups.

The rhomboid golden sheet on the other hand, is an addition to the burial ritual and its appearance can be noted in several sites: Sindos, Archontiko, Trebenishte, Gorna Porta and Petilep-Berantsi. The rhomboid foil, sometimes also made of silver such as the artefact from Rechitsa-Ohrid, is part of this new practice, although it does not get as much attention as the masks themselves. However, its purpose, partially covering the face and its placement of the mouth, hints at the same utilization.

Jewellery coming from other burials, such as grave 45 at Miltsi can also be considered part of a new form of representation, where precious metals take the lead and bronze accessories are slowly fazed out. The silver earring from grave 45 at Miltsi is analogues to one from grave 44 at Berantsi dated at the end of the 6th BC and an earring from the Ohrid region in Radolishte showing it continued to be in use in the 5th BC (Georgiev 1984, 60).

2.5. Discussion

The seamless inclusion of a piece of weaponry into already established assemblages and material style, points to a similarly seamless entanglement of warriorhood with existing traditions, social identities and its inclusion as a category in existing social groups.

Yet the question remains, how much the relatively small number of weaponry, only 17.5% of the burials containing it, means it was restricted only to this small percentage of the population? Was this a social group that attempted to maintain a monopoly over the means of coercion through the manipulation of the symbols of war? Or are we dealing with a case where cultural norms dictated which burials are furnished with weaponry in an otherwise horizontal distribution of the means and symbols of war?

There is plenty to unpack, starting with the obvious need to move away from seeing weapons as markers of de-facto warriors. When these burials are concerned, we would be safer and wiser to speak of the attempted representation of deceased individuals, rather to statements about their actual involvement in martial conflict. What we usually see in burials is not so much who actually used the weaponry, rather who had the legitimate right to use it, bear it, and for all intents and purposes be marked by it. Additionally, even if 17.5% of is just part of the population with the legitimate right to own weaponry, meaning in reality it was bigger, we are still witnessing restrictions of its use to a particular demographic.

In that sense, bearing a weapon can be a marker of political power, or gender roles, or age (when warriorhood as a social category is related only to a certain age group within a population) and a combination of any or all of those. Whether a small part of the population attempting to maintain a monopoly over weaponry, or a large one with a horizontal distribution of it, weapons are still restricted.

Given 8th to 6th century BC Lower Vardar burials do not particularly show differentiation between grave assemblages, and no status stratification can be deduced from the burial offerings (Heilmann 2020), it can be assumed that weapons did not add to a practice of representation of hierarchy, something previously concluded in regards to the Dedeli findings as well (Mitrevski 1991a, 66). However, restricted access drawn on the basis of gender can be expected (Heilmann 2020, 179). This points to a group in itself, a social category, that practiced warriorhood and manipulated its symbols in burial representation within an established social identity and functioning social group of men. In this sense, warriorhood is a contributory factor, rather than foundational, in an existing social group grounded in gender.

Burial rituals begin an alteration process from the 6th century BC onward, where a new type of so-called “elite” burials appear in burial grounds along the lower part of the Vardar/Axios river, as well as in the HalAx and PelOh regions. These new types of graves, stand out compared to the remainder of the burials, and their predecessors, in their opulence. Namely, the usage of golden foils, weapon decorations, and in some cases masks, is a stark difference from the more or less universal burial assemblages of the previous three centuries. Additionally, new weapon types and bronze vessels and feasting equipment appear, being a further contrast between these burials and the remaining contemporary and past graves.

However, more data is required to understand how this shift affected the Lower Vardar region. The lack of systematic excavations in 6th and 5th century necropolises in the area makes it difficult to come to solid conclusions about that specific temporal sequence. Nevertheless, a few individual cases, such as grave 103 from Miltsi, graves 1 and 5 from Zelenishte, and some occasional findings such as the golden foil from Bishov Javor (Husenovski, Slamkov 2012) and the Illyrian helmet from Dedeli (Rujak, Velkovski 2007), point to similar trends such as the neighboring regions to the south and south-west. How much this new materiality and new assemblages were integrated into the local systems, or transformed them, is not certain with the current data set. We can only expect that future research will uncover whether the assumption that the region followed trends in the macro region will be proven correct.

Taking the individual cases into consideration, and more specifically grave 103 from Miltsi, there are grounds for comparisons with neighboring regions. While some, such as the similarity in material were addressed above, others such as the shift in representation of warriorhood will be discussed in the last 8th chapter, after a broader explanation of the macro-contexts of other regions will be elaborated on in the following chapters.

Chapter 3. The Upper Vardar region

3.1. Regional overview

The Upper Vardar region occupies the northern half of the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia. It follows the flow of the river Vardar up until her entry in the Demir Kapija canyon. The adjacent area along one of its major tributaries, the river Bregalnitsa, is also included. The area in question coincides with Mitrevski's Upper and Middle Vardar, and Bregalnitsa regions (Mitrevski 1997, 87).

The valleys of Skopje and Veles as well as the plains Ovche Pole and Polog are the source of most of the agriculture in the area with contemporary settlements such as: Gostivar, Tetovo, Skopje, Veles and Shtip benefiting from their positions along the rivers Vardar and Bregalnitsa. The western natural border of the region is marked by the Shar mountains overlooking Tetovo. Moving to the east it is the Skopska Crna Gora to the north and Jakupitsa mountain to the south between which the river Vardar flows and forms the valley of Skopje. The Vodno mountain is another mountain to the south of the city of Skopje that is an important natural marker. At the east it is Osogovo and Plachkovitsa overlooking the Ovche Pole plain and the city of Shtip respectively. The "border" between the Upper Vardar and Lower Vardar is the Demir Kapija canyon.

Although the former is the larger region of the two, the number of researched and published sites is much smaller. In fact, most of the published material comes from meso-contexts that were not systematically excavated and in most cases the micro-context is not known. This puts us in a position to consider the findings only by comparing them with neighbouring sites. Hence, this chapter will focus more on the macro and meso-context of the often occasional finds of weaponry and other archaeological material. This is a recurring problem plaguing research done in this region (Mitrevski 1997, 90; Papazovska 2015, 15-16).

The region can be divided in three clusters:

- The Shtip cluster – the area around Shtip along the river Bregalnitsa with the sites: Orlovi Chuki, Gorno Pole (Star Karaorman) and Krivi Dol (Radanje)
- The Skopje cluster – the area around Skopje along the river Vardar with the sites:

Varvara, Oreshani, Brazda and Zhdanets.

- The Ovche Pole cluster – the sites Knezhje and Dabici (Sopot) located in the Ovche Pole plain between the towns of Sveti Nikole and Veles.

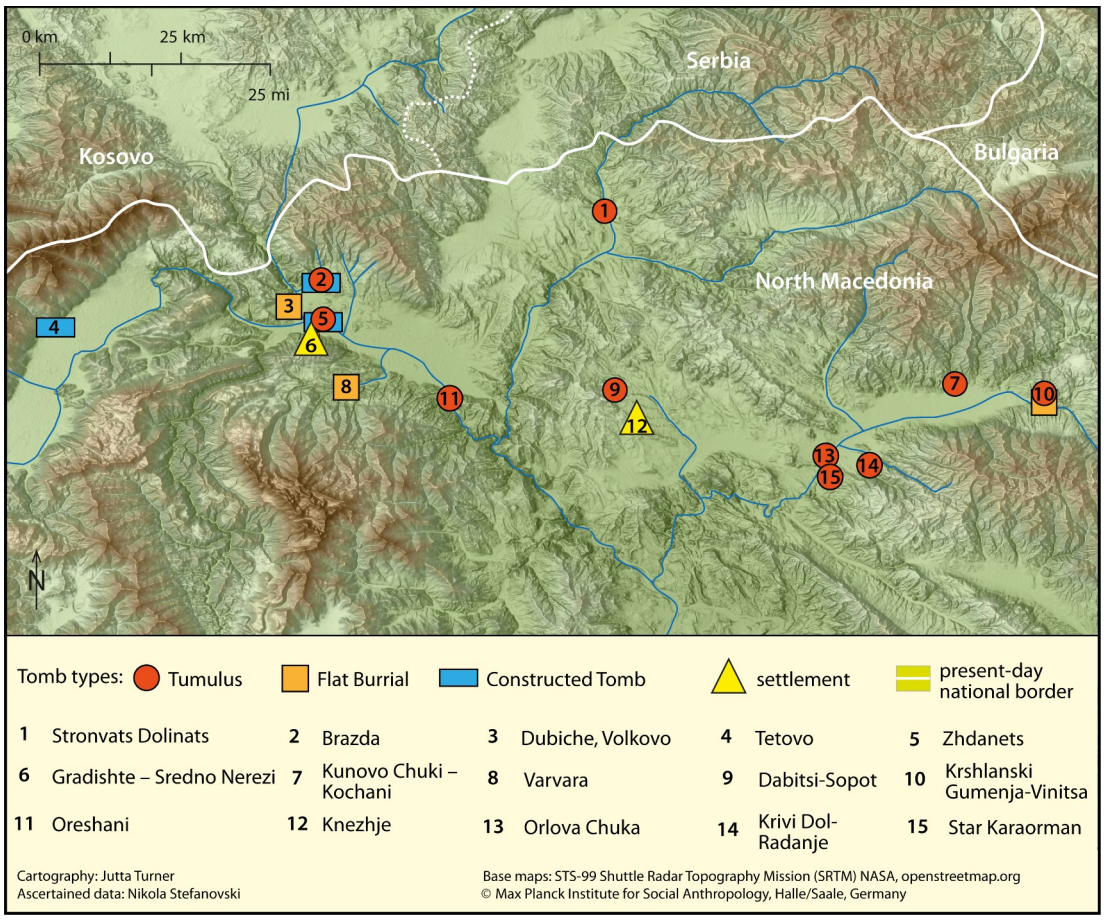

Figure 9: Map of the UpV region

Among the researchers focused on the Shtip area is Klaus Kilian (1975) who took a similar approach in his analysis of the macro-context of the findings. His work in this area centres around two necropolises close to the city of Shtip: Orlova Chuka and Krivi Dol-Radanje. While he is more interested in the clothing accessories, he does pay close attention to some of the weapons found with them. He draws from the field research of Garashanin and Garashanin (1959) and Venedikov (1948).

Research from the Skopje valley has primarily been focused on two sites: the Skopsko Kale fortress and the Roman city of Scupi. At both of these sites Iron Age findings were brought to light, albeit very limited. In the case of Skopsko Kale, the systematic research

showed a deep stratigraphy of the settlement area that spans to the Bronze Age, however the older layers were destroyed by the younger Medieval ones (Mitrevski 2015), thus making it difficult for any conclusions to be drawn on the character of the Iron Age settlement. At Scupi, it was a few burials from the 7th and 6th century BC (Mitrevski 2019) that outline the period, but unfortunately do not offer anything other than point us in the direction of Lower Vardar comparisons of burial construction and material.

Other sites in the Skopje Valley such as the 7th and 6th century necropolises of Varvara and Oreshani (Ristov 2016), offer a better view of the Iron Age developments in the region and show a much needed perspective over burial assemblages; however the data is of limited character and not quantifiable as was the case with the Lower Vardar necropolises. The 5th century findings from Zhdanets (Sokolovska, Pashic 1975; Mikulchic G. 1991) are of great importance as well, as they offer a much needed look into the changes occurring around that period in burial construction as well as in material style.

The settlement at Knezhje from Ovche Pole, in the proximity of the town of Sveti Nikole, is another very important site in the region; however the data shows it was occupied from the 6th to the 3rd century BC and was identified as Bylazora, the capital of a Classical Period Paeonian kingdom (Mitrevski 2016). Additional important data comes from the tumuli necropolis of Dabici- Sopot

Studies that include analysis of historical contexts and its connection to archaeological research of the Paeonians and Agrianians, people considered to occupy the region in question in proto-historic and historic times (Mitrevski 1997; Petrova 1999; Sokolovska 2011a), were also done. The same limitations encountered in this study can be found obstructing their work as well, as the lack of published data creates difficulties in the search for a better understanding of the local particularities. However, Mitrevski solves this problem to a certain degree by closely comparing the Upper and Lower Vardar regions, considering their neighbouring regions such as the Vranje and Kosovo areas to the north and Pelagonia and Ohrid to the south-west as well (Mitrevski 1997). A similar approach will be taken here as well.

3.2 Meso and Macro-Context: Archaeological sites and burials with weapons

3.2.1.The Shtip cluster

The first archaeological research at Krivi Dol, located north-west of the Radanje village, was done in 1942 by Venedikov (1948) and had the form of small rescue excavations. Interest in the area continued after World War 2 which prompted two small campaigns in 1956 and 1957 (Garashanin, Garashanin 1959). Unfortunately not a lot of information regarding the construction of the tumuli was preserved on record. Consequently the publication was limited as well, with only 5 burials being published. The artefacts from these burials and other occasional finds are kept in the Shtip Museum, whereat they were inspected and photographed.

Excavations at the Orlova Chuka site were done for the first time, by the Museum of Shtip, in 1959 (Mikulchic 1961), and additional campaigns were undertaken in 1966 (Pashic-Vinchic 1972), 1986 and 1994 (Nacev, Jovanov 1996). This tumulus necropolis is located north of the village Star Karaorman, at the slope of the Plachkovitsa mountain which descends onto the river Bregalnitsa. Ten tumuli were uncovered, of which five were excavated (numbered I, II, IV, V and VI) while the rest were severely damaged by agricultural activities. This is a common problem for researchers in the area since most of these mounds are occupied by vineyards and other agricultural undertakings.

A larger tumulus necropolis, the Gorno Pole archaeological site excavated in 1958, is located 1.5 km south of Orlova Chuka (Mikulcic; 1965). A total of 200 small tumuli were discovered in a survey, however only 6 graves were excavated due to the severe damage done by agricultural activities (Mitrevski 1997, 312). Two combat knives were found, in graves 1 and 2, accompanied by small iron knives, silver and bronze clothing accessories and fragments of gray ware. A coin from grave 1, pointed researchers towards dating the burial in the late 6th century BC (Mikulchic 1965).[19]

Based on the clothing accessories found within the graves at these sites, Orlova Chuka is the oldest, dated between the 9th and 7th centuries BC. Krivi Dol and Gorno Pole follow in the

19 Avers – a bull kneeling and facing right, while looking back. Above the bull an akant flower. Revers – A crested Corinthian helmet facing right. Analogues to coins from Dokimus of Akant.

7th and 6th centuries BC. The largest of the ten located at Orlova Chuka (tumulus III), has a diameter of 18 meters and is 2m high (Nacev, Jovanov 1996).

Previous research makes a distinction between two types of tumuli in Macedonia – the clan and the family tumulus (Mitrevski 1997, 107; 2013, 223; Papazovska 2018, 94). The latter is considered to be a later development and most of the tumuli from the Upper Vardar would fall into this category. Conversely, the larger tumuli consisted of a central burial and other radially oriented burials, are considered to be clan-tumuli. The family tumuli are set apart by the lack of a central burial and a tendency to cover fewer burials. Additionally, the peripheral circle or wall of the tumulus appears in the larger clan tumuli and is made by stones, while the smaller family tumuli differ in that the outer circle is merely marked by ordinary stones. The graves in both types are usually cists made of amorphous stones or in some cases stone slabs and contain extended inhumations accompanied by the furnishing.

In terms of the artefacts interred in the burials: the miniature bronzes make an appearance in this region as well, in their recognisable forms, both in the older and younger tumuli. The pottery differs from the Lower Vardar region in its decoration and manufacture. Namely, the straight red lines are substituted with channelled lines decorating the rim. The forms known in the Lower Vardar region, such as the cups with one handle and the jugs with cutaway rims are abundantly present. While in the Lower Vardar region they are wheel-made and believed to be close to manufacturing practices from the Aegean, in the Upper Vardar region they are predominantly hand-made and linked to a more central Balkan tradition (Mitrevski 1997, 118-122). This changes when the grey-ware becomes prevalent in both regions around the 6th century, thus overtaking previous ceramic traditions and a more unified pottery production takes place.

The weaponry from the tumuli in the Shtip cluster is very diverse. The weapons coming from Orlova Chuka go in line with what comes from the 8th and 7th century Lower Vardar region. The spears and the combat knives, in fact a shortened flange hilted sword, from grave 2 of tumulus V is a good example. However there is a divergence where Krivi Dol is concerned. An increased number of curved combat blades (both combat knives and swords) can be attested. These combat blades are widespread and are not unexpected; however, the amount in which they appear shows a distinction compared with the flat necropolises around Gevgelija.

It is worth mentioning that the Krivi Dol tumuli are dated to the 6th century, all the way to its end, meaning it is possible that this new practice and combat style became prevalent at that time. In any case, it is clear, that this type of weaponry was more popular in the Upper Vardar region and, as will be shown later, in most tumuli from the 6th century BC. The number of combat blades from Krivi Dol (4 swords and 2 combat knives) is already half of the total from the Lower Vardar Region. When we take into account the greater amount of excavated and published burials from the Lower Vardar region, the abundance of combat blades to be expected in future excavations around Shtip becomes clear. Six spears were also found in Krivi Dol which raises the total number of weapons to twelve. Unfortunately, the lack of documentation, makes it impossible to ascertain how frequent weapons as burial offerings were at the necropolis.

Finally, the xiphos sword from Krivi Dol accompanied by miniature bronzes dated to the 7th century (Vasic 1982) offers an interesting context. Here we have a weapon typical of the 6th century (and onwards) with material from the previous century. It has been proposed in other research (Mitrevski 1997) that the Upper Vardar region tends to be more conservative where material style is concerned. This might be the case, as we are constantly seeing the prevailing of the tumulus burial architecture, the hand-made pottery and the occurrence of miniature bronzes in later decades. On the other hand, in the south the flat graves remain dominant, the vast majority of pottery is wheel-made from the 7th century onwards (Mitrevski 1997) and the changes in the production of miniature bronzes follow the established pattern.

In an adjacent area, towards the towns Kochani and Vinitsa there are two sites worth mentioning as well. The Krshlanski Gumenja site, near Vinitsa shows two horizons of burials: the older with tumuli and the younger with flat graves (Mitrevski 1997, 298). Apart from the many pieces of clothing accessories, pottery fragments and miniature bronzes, three weapons were discovered as well: a sword and a spear from grave 1 and another spear outside of a burial. No information on the assemblage in burial 1 is available. While the mounds are dated in the Iron Age, the flat graves (cists made of large stone slabs) are dated at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century BC (Mitrevski 1997, 143). This is based on the gray ware pottery fragments found at the site.

Kunovo Chuki near Kochani on the other hand, is a tumulus necropolis that yielded two spears from two different tumuli – tumulus II and III (Sanev, V. 1978; Mitrevski 1990). The

latter contained micro-contexts from the Iron Age and the Roman Period. The handmade jug with a cutaway neck, as in Krivi Dol, was the most prevalent type of pottery. A notable difference, although it could be ascribed to the limited excavations, is the lack of combat blades. Both sites are dated near the end of the 8th to the 7th century BC.

3.2.2. The Skopje cluster

The excavations at the Przhali-Varvara archaeological site were undertaken in three campaigns: 1995, 2000 and 2006 (Ristov 1996; 1997, 1999, 2016). The village Varvara is located 14 km south of the city of Skopje, near the Markova Reka, a small tributary river to Vardar. The Przhali burial ground is found 1km to the east of Varvara. After the initial survey in 1995, the excavations in 2000 and 2006 yielded 53 burials, of which 35 come from the Iron Age and 18 from the Roman period. Furthermore the former are dated in the following sub-periods: 19 burials from X-VIII BC, 13 burials from VIII-VI BC and 3 burials from VI-V BC. A tumulus was also uncovered.

The dominant burial ritual at the site is supine inhumation within a cist made of stone slabs. Oval pits, usually graves made for children, are also frequent. Additionally, scholarly attention was given to the dislocated remains found near grave cists, numbering them as separate burials and linked to the neighbouring cist. This method of publication (Ristov 2016), allows a better view of the burial remains and their relationship to the graves, and is a result of previous research from the Lower Vardar region where these occurrences were first attested and analysed (Georgiev 1983).

The osteological remains at the site are mostly preserved and an anthropological analysis was done in order to ascertain the possible sex of the deceased. In some cases, bones of several individuals were found among the dislocated remains. However, the level of preserved material is far greater than in any of the necropolises in the Lower Vardar region. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether something similar can be expected in the Lower Vardar region, or the situation at Varvara shows a different context where multiple burials were done in quick succession, as was proposed in previous research (Ristov 2016, 30) and were later dislocated to make space for the latest burial.

Child burials are very frequent among the excavated burials from the necropolis, with 17

out of the 35 Iron Age graves belonging to children. They are mostly oval pits, containing only the inhumation with no furnishing. The burial offerings in general tend to be modest in all graves, mostly with one piece of pottery and accessories – usually a pin, bracelet and/or fibula.

Weapons were found in two micro-contexts, both near grave 2: the two spears among the dislocated remains marked as grave 3 and the two spears next to the cist itself (Ristov 2016). They were not accompanied by other artefacts, making it impossible to discuss an assemblage. Additionally, four more spears come from the site: two are occasional finds and two connected to grave 10; however, details cannot be provided at this time since these are yet to be published.[20]

The archaeological site Oreshani (the burial ground Selo-Ograda) is located 20 km south of Skopje and lies at the right bank of the river Vardar on the slopes of the mountain Kitka. The Selo burial ground near the village Oreshani was first discovered during agricultural activities in 1973 when several bronze items were found and sold to the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia. They were later published by Kilian (1975) and Pashic (1978b). The first small scale excavations took place in 1993 by the Museum of the City of Skopje (Ristov 2016). Several probes in the area uncovered five burials and one tumulus from the Iron Age. The majority of the finds were dated in the so-called transitional period (XII-X BC) and the Early Iron Age (IX-VIII), except one Iron Age burial - a small mound that did not contain weaponry. The rest, consisted of cremation burials under a tumulus, are seen as analogues (Ristov 2016, 75) to similar findings from Kluchka Hipodrom near Skopje (Mitrevski 1995). Under one such tumulus at Oreshani, a tip of a single spearhead was found and designated as a scattered find (Ristov 2016, 72).

At the north-western edge of the city of Skopje, 500m from the suburb Volkovo, is the Dubiche necropolis. Although excavations took place on several occasions in 1952, 1954, 1962 and 1985, the findings are still not published. Several artefacts were part of Kilian's work (1975) and a short overview was provided by Mitrevski (1997). Three weapons come from the necropolis: a combat knife from grave 2 and a sword and a combat knife from grave 3. Details on the rest of the artefacts are not available. However, the entire necropolis is marked as a 7th-6th century BC flat necropolis, with inhumations in cists as the predominant

20 Information courtesy of Kiro Ristov, and the Museum of Skopje.

burial ritual. It also continues the trend of curved combat blades in the region.

Further to the north of Skopje, although outside of the Skopje valley is the Strnovats Dolinats site. The necropolis is located in the Kumanovo valley, along the river Pchinja – another tributary river to Vardar. Two tumuli were discovered at the site, interpreted as belonging to the family type (Stankovski 2006). Grave 3 from tumulus II, oval shaped and made of amorphous stones, contained one sword, multiple fragments of handmade pottery and an iron knife and tool of unknown usage. The site is dated in the first half of the 7th century BC. While tumulus II can be classified as a "family" mound since it has no central burial, tumlus I is the opposite. The findings from this tumulus are not chronologically sensitive, yet it is still possible to discern a possible relative date due to the burial rite. Namely, the inhumed deceased were laid to rest in a flexed position, which draws comparisions to an established rite from the area in the Late Bronze Age (Stankovski 2008). Additionaly, the burial offering in the form of mat painted kantharoid cup of the "Ulanci" type, seems to confirm the connection (Papazovska 2015, 152; 2018, 95).

The Skopje valley is home to a few archaeological sites from the Archaic Period as well. At Brazda, an archaeological site located at the south-western slope of the Skopska Crna Gora mountain, an archaic tomb was uncovered (Mikulcic, Sokolovska 1990). It was the remains of this monumental architecture that attracted the first researchers at the site in 1985 when the first probes were done in the area and 1986 when the construction was excavated. A 20 meter long corridor, or dromos, led to the chamber tombs. The two of them, constructed one above the other, were the same size – 36 m2. The height of the chambers was estimated to 4.2 m. The chamber tomb and dromos were constructed with stone blocks (22×31 cm and 44×60 cm). The closest possible origin of the stone is 23 km away. The entire construction was then covered with soil.

Brazda was looted, probably in the prehistory. What remained was the 10 000 fragments of pottery uncovered at the site, mainly grey ware and some black figured pottery, the construction itself and the remains of two burials at the site designated grave 2 and grave 3. Of particular interest is grave 2, where an iron arrowhead was found, accompanied by a silver fibula and a ceramic plate. The fibula is dated to the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th century. The excavators believed the chambers were looted relatively shortly after their construction and that the second chamber and additional graves were constructed in the

aftermath (Mikulcic, Sokolovska 1990, 89).

In the immediate surroundings, remains of a settlement area were uncovered at the site Gradishte-Brazda, dated in the same period as the tomb itself. However, there were no systematic excavations undertaken at the site, meaning the information is scarce. One construction was uncovered and interpreted as a workshop where lead and silver ore was smelted. A lead sling missile with the inscription "ΚΛΕΟΜΑΧ (ΟΥ)" was discovered at the site.

Another archaeological site from the Archaic Period, dated in 5th century BC and probably predates Brazda by several decades, is Zhdanets. It is located at the northern slope of the mountain Vodno at the southern edge of the city Skopje. Remains of a settlement were uncovered nearby as well (Pashic 1989), during small scale excavations taking place in 1953, 1974 and 1978. This neighbouring site, named Gradishte – Sredno Nerezi, had its peak in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Additionally, remains of earlier signs of life in the 7th century BC, as well as later ones from the Roman and Medieval periods were uncovered in the multiple probes in the area.

Zhdanets is conisdered to be the necropolis of the 5th and 4th century settlement at Gradishte-Sredno Nerezi (Pashic 1989, 97). During construction work in 1971, the contents of a grave were turned in to the Museum and investigation of the area followed with the results being subsequently published (Sokolovska, Pashic 1975). The cist was constructed with large stone blocks and it contained: eight silver fibulae, two pairs of silver earrings, two bronze pins, an amber necklace, a silver cup, a silver toilette box, a large bronze vessel with two handles, an iron knife, an iron spear and an iron sword (curved single edged). The sword in particular grabbed the attention of the archaeologists as its handle was shaped as a horse's head. Additionally, although curved single edged swords are common in the area, machairas with solid hilts this elaborate in their craftsmanship are not as frequent.

The grave was dated at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th century BC, mainly due to the silver fibulae, earrings and bronze pins. The skeletal remains were not preserved; however the researchers believed this was a double burial. This assumption was attributed to the "character of the findings" (Sokolovska, Pashic 1975, 242), meaning the appearance of both jewellery and weapons, as well as the abundance of fibulae, suggests a double burial of a female and male. While the number of the artefacts does point to a possible double burial, the

assemblage itself is not as strange. Fibulae and weapons, as well as toilette requisites, are very often found together. As for the earrings, they too appear in weapon burials on occasion, although the fact there were two pairs can also point to a double burial.

There have been other reports of osteological remains, weapons and pottery surfacing whenever construction activities were undertaken by the residents in the area, which points to it being a necropolis of larger proportions. Among the weapons found in those occasions there were spears, combat knives and swords; however, information on their type and any features in general is missing as they were not turned in to the Museum.

In another occasion during construction work in 1989 and 1990, remains of a tomb were uncovered at the site, along the same street as the above mentioned grave. They were discarded by the construction workers in a nearby landfill. Archaeologists were notified after the fact and were forced to stop the construction in order to preserve what remained of the tomb. They also thoroughly searched the landfill for any remains. The data they gathered pointed to a monumental burial chamber with a dromos (Mikulcic, G. 1991), as was the case in Brazda. Unfortunately the chamber was not excavated. However the evidence points to its location under the nearby street. The uncovered remains from the dromos show a burial ritual involving the sacrifice of two horses and five male individuals laid to rest next to the horses and chariot. Three spears were found next to three of the men, as well as two bronze vessels, three ceramic vessels, a multitude of gray ware fragments and three bronze pins found in situ next to one of the deceased. This particular individual was placed above the necks of the two horses. Harnesses and bridles were found in situ as well.

The Upper Vardar region has another potential cluster in the Polog valley, west of Skopje and home to the contemporary towns: Tetovo and Gostivar. Unfortunately, research on archaeological sites from the Iron Age and Archaic Period are scarce and limited to field surveys and occasional findings. An indication that there is more to be discovered is the Tetovo tomb of similar proportions as the ones from Brazda and Zhdanets that was found looted but still yielded a few important archaic artefacts such as the Maenad bronze statuette and a bronze greave (Radojchic 1933; Vasic 1982; Mitrevski 1997, 164). A bronze Illyrian helmet is suspected to originate from the tomb as well (Terzhan 1995, 121; Polozhani 2017, 287); however it is lost due to illegal artefact trafficking (Vasic 1982, 12-13; Mitrevski 1997, 164).

3.2.3. The Ovche Pole cluster

One of the better researched Iron Age settlements on the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia, together with Vardarski Rid, is located at the site called Knezhje, near the town of Sveti Nikole. It has been proposed that the site is the home of the capital of the Paeonian kingdom of the Classical Period named Bylazora (Mitrevski 2016; Matthews, Neidenger 2013). The first research in the area was done in the 1970s and 1980s in the form of surveys and probes, later to be complemented with the excavations of a larger scale in the 1990s (Mitrevski 2016). Some of the research done by the local museum in the 1990s were not published in their own right, but were part of later publications dealing with the matter (Mitrevski 2016), and showed the earlier stages of the settlement and its contemporary necropolis.

The excavations that brought about the most data from the site were done in 2008 as a cooperation between the local Museum of Sveti Nikole and the Texas Foundation for archaeological and historical research (Matthews, Neidenger 2010). Systematic excavations were restarted in 2013 when the local museum and the Faculty of Philosophy from Skopje initiated a campaign which is still operational and the results were published by the head researcher (Mitrevski 2016).

The chronology of the site is divided in four phases:

- Phase I – 7th to 5th century BC
- Phase II – 5th century to the middle of the 4th century BC
- Phase III- second half of the 4th century to 279 BC
- Phase IV – 279-163 BC

The first and last phase are the least traceable in the archaeological record, while the 2nd and 3rd phase can be followed in detail. This is expected as the period when Bylazora was in its prime was precisely in the period of those middle phases (Mitrevski 2016) “palace” was constructed at the acropolis. The building with its Doric columns overlooked an area of workshops and other constructions divided by cobbled streets. The outer wall of phases II and III were built, in part, from stones of the previous wall. They were however, fortified and expanded. Phase III builds on the already established architecture of the previous phase and is

a period of renovations and small expansions, keeping the layout established before. Multiple findings of coins from Thessaly, Philip II, Alexander III and local Paeonian royal coinage outline the chronology and helped the researchers develop a solid stratigraphy.

The end of phase III can be attested in the layer of destruction and is connected to a historical event taking place in 279 BC, of the invasion of the Danubian Celts and their campaign to the south. This can also be traced through the few arrowheads lodged into the burned layers, whose origin points to the suspected invaders, as well as some lead sling missiles with inscriptions (Mitrevski 2016, 47-48). The settlement at the final phase is of a significantly smaller scale and can be traced in a few living quarters on top of the layer of destruction that predate them. There is a large leap between these phases that is expected to be understood at a sufficient level in future research at the site (Mitrevski 2016, 34-35).

The other point of interest in this cluster is the tumulus necropolis at Dabici-Sopot. It is the foci of around a hundred tumuli, of which only eleven were researched; however their publication is partial with little focus on the micro-context and more attention given to its relation to other tumulus necropolises from the Upper Vardar region (Petachki 1986; Mitrevski 1997, 92-96, 311). Regardless, it provides valuable information regarding the above mentioned switch from larger and so-called “clan” tumuli to smaller or “family” tumuli. It is dated in the 7th and 6th century and is an exemplar of the latter type of tumulus. The burials that were excavated were cists made of amorphous stones that contained extended inhumations and furnishing typical of the region and time.

The site is located 8km north of the town Veles, and 1.5km from the Vardar river. There have been several research campaigns from 1985 to 1989. The area of 200×100 meters of densely positioned tumuli is believed to have had around 200 of them. Their diameters range from 5 to 12 meters and most were severely damaged by agricultural activities. Only 11 were excavated and 37 burials were discovered (Mitrevski 1997, 311). Two to seven graves were found under each tumulus with a dominant orientation N-S. Six pieces of weaponry were uncovered: a sword from grave 1, tumulus II; an arrowhead from grave 5, tumulus V; three spears from grave 5, tumulus VIII; and an arrowhead from grave 2, tumulus IX.

Information of the rest of the assemblages is unavailable, except in the case of grave 5 - tumulus VIII, where two razors and skeletal remains of multiple individuals were found (the

spears buried together with skeletons 3 and 5).[21] Multiple burials in one cist seems common for the necropolis (Mitrevski 1997, 95). Fragments of pottery were found between the burials and some intact pieces at the outer outside edges of the tumuli. The burials also contained many miniature bronzes, pins and fibulae.

3.3. Discussion

Although the lack of published data makes it difficult to quantify information and create detailed schemes of burial customs and representations of warriorhood in the Upper Vardar region, there are distinctive characteristics and similarities to the adjacent regions.

One obvious characteristic is the tendency toward tumuli. It is far from a distinctive characteristic in a wider context, but it is a major difference with the flat necropolises of the Lower region. On the other hand, it is a common feature shared between the Upper Vardar region, the Pelagonia and Ohrid region and the adjacent areas to the south along the river Haliakmon and to the south-west in Epirus.

It can also be noticed that a shift occurs, from the so-called "clan" to "family" tumuli. In some cases, such as in Krshlanski Gumenja and Varvara, flat graves coexist with tumuli. By the 6th century, it can be observed that the construction of tumuli slowly stops. This is usually explained as a result of the dissolution of the clan-tribal communities bringing about social developments that put individuals to the forefront (Mitrevski 1997; Papazovska 2015, 153-154).

However, this argument uses the assumed social developments to explain why the tumulus becomes extinct and in turn the shift to other burial forms is seen as an argument that such a social development came to be. Sufficient knowledge on the social processes of that time are unavailable at the moment due to the state of the research, and these conclusions tend to give a false sense of understanding of Iron Age communities. Systematic research on both necropolises and settlements coupled with genetic, nutritional and metallographic analysis would help us understand the role clans and families played in those past communities, and shine some light on their importance in social stratification.

Concerning cists, the burial construction between the two regions is analogues, and even

21 Information obtained from the Inventory Log of the National Archaeological Museum of R. N. Macedonia.

follows a similar development pattern as the older flat graves are small mounds in both regions and later develop into the cists constructed with stone slabs (with or without a cover). The furnishing on the other hand, differs in that the Upper Vardar region sees a smaller amount of burial offerings per grave. This is difficult to claim for certain because of the state of the research and the particularities of the necropolises where more research was done. Namely, the high occurrence of children graves in burial grounds such as Varvara might give us a wrong impression when the data is quantified. In any case, whenever it is possible to compare assemblages and pottery permutations, it becomes clear that the combinations from the Lower Vardar region are not present in the same manner.

The existence of monumental burial architecture from the 6th and 5th century is another contrast between the regions, as the Brazda, Zhdanets and Tetovo tombs are not seen in the Lower Vardar region (except perhaps the Koreshnitsa tomb). This has been discussed before, mainly along the lines of the phenomenon of "princely tombs" (Mitrevski 1997) and how they relate to ostentatious burials from the Pelagonia/Ohrid region, the Thermaic Gulf or sites such as Duvanli (Bulgaria), Arareva Gomila and Atenitsa (Northern Balkan). There are notable differences between them that are most noticeable in their architecture. The stone built tombs such as Brazda, Zhdanets and Tetovo are constructions taking the form of monumental tombs while graves such as the ones from Trebenishte and Sindos are flat burials in well built rectangular cists, while others such as examples from Archontiko and grave 103 from Miltsi are pits. As such, a better comparison, based on the monumental architecture, could be made with tombs from the central and northern Balkan, such as Arareva Gomila, Atenitsa, Pilatovici. However, due to the lack of data concerning the examples from North Macedonia, comparisons are difficult.

On the other hand, a common factor in both regions is the type of clothing accessories and other bronze artefacts interred in the burials. As was previously mentioned, the miniature bronzes are present in both flat and tumulus burials. In terms of the material style, the objects made of metal follow the development of the wider region. The same can be said of the pottery as well, as the forms such as the jug with a cutaway neck remains the most prevalent type, albeit with a different manufacturing technique. The handmade pottery remained a popular burial offering in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, while in the south the wheel-made ceramics takes over.

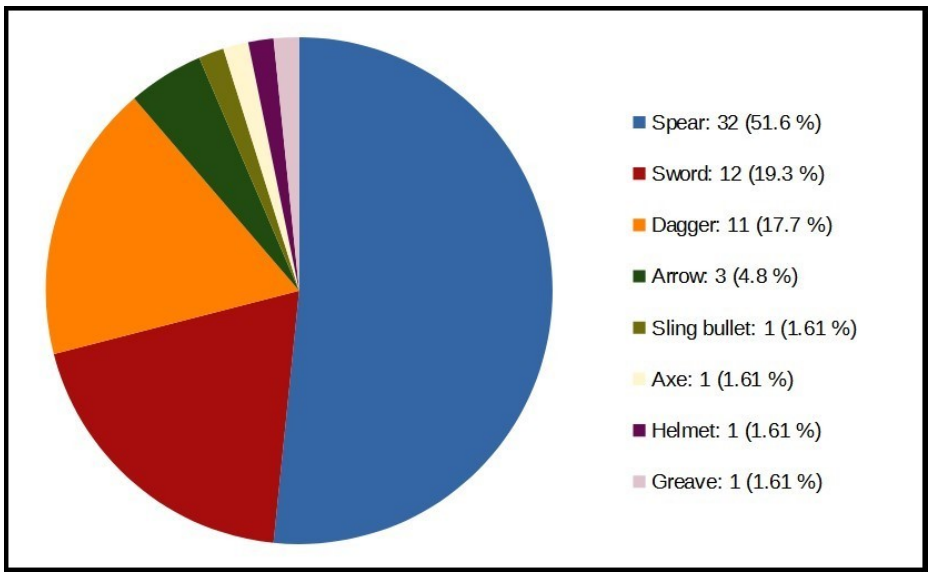

Figure 10: Weaponry from the UpV region

Additional similarities are seen in the ritual of the purposeful dislocation of older burials from graves and their deposition next to their original resting place, usually in small pits. This is usually common in the flat necropolises, and a good example from the Upper Vardar region is grave 2 from Varvara and the dislocated remains marked as grave 3 from the same site. In the same context, spears are again found next to the grave, much like the several pieces from the Miltsi necropolis.

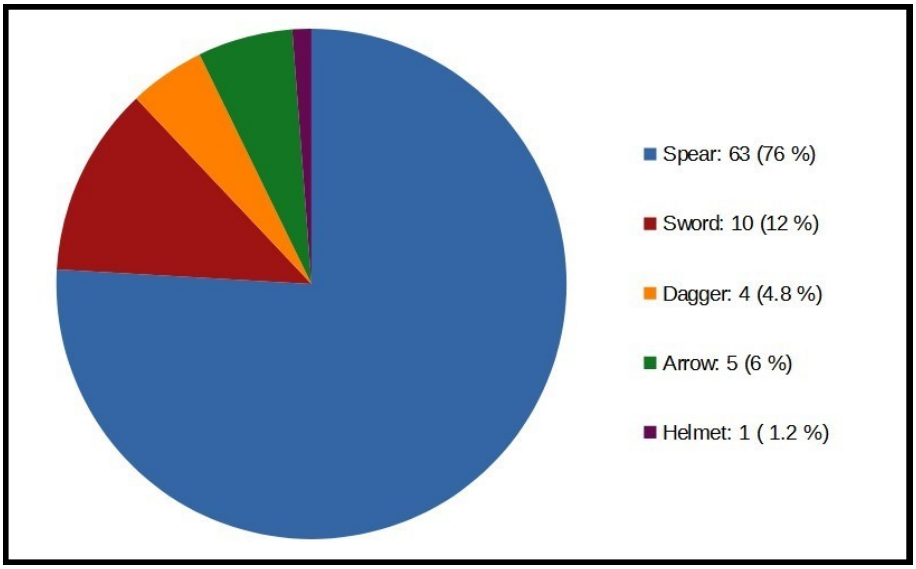

Figure 11: Weaponry from the LoV region

The weaponry is diverse, with a common characteristic among the necropolises of the increased appearance of combat blades. They are present with 37 % of the total of 63 weapons found, while spears are represented with 51.6 %. In the Lower Vardar region it is a completely different ratio, with combat blades at 16.8 % and spears at 76 % of the total of 83 weapons. Arrows are present in close percentages: 4.8% in the Upper Vardar region 6.6% in the Lower Vardar region. These numbers are not so strange if we consider the possibility of a different style of warfare which is expected as the terrain is also different. The curved blades and increase in arrows go in line with the skirmishing style of warfare expected for a region characterised by hills and mountains, compared to the valleys in the south. The interpretation of these finding, and argumentation regarding weapon types and fighting styles while avoiding the traps of technological determinism will be discussed in detail in chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 4. The Pelagonia-Ohrid region

4.1. Regional overview

The region, designated in this research as Pelagonia-Ohrid, is located at the south-western part of the Republic of North Macedonia with the adjacent regions beyond the borders with the Republic of Albania and the Hellenic Republic. The eponymous geographical landmarks such as the Ohrid Lake and the Pelagonia plain dominate the landscape, accompanied by another great lake – Prespa. A few mountains rise above the terrain: Jablanitsa, west of the Ohrid Lake and at the border between Republic of N. Macedonia and Republic of Albania; Galichitsa, dividing lakes Ohrid and Prespa; Baba overlooking the city of Bitola, east of Prespa lake and standing between it and the Pelagonia plain; to the east of Pelagonia lies the Nidje/Voras mountain, standing at the border between the R.N. Macedonia and the Hellenic Republic and separating the administrative districts of Mariovo and Pella respectively. The line between the Tikvesh Lake (east of Pelagonia) and the Jablanitsa mountain (north of Pelagonia) separate the Pelagonia-Ohrid region and the Lower and Upper Vardar regions. To the north of Ohrid, it is the Stogovo mountain and Mavrovo national park separating this area of study from the Polog plain which was previously designated as part of the Upper Vardar region.

The region can be divided into two sub-regions. The first is Pelagonia-Mariovo[22] that mostly occupies parts of the R.N. Macedonia, with two major contemporary settlements: the cities of Bitola and Prilep. A small part of the Pelagonia plain lies in the territory of the Hellenic Republic, with the contemporary settlement of Florina at its western end. The second subregion is Ohrid-Prespa or the Great Lakes. It is divided from Pelagonia-Mariovo by the Baba mountain. It consists of the area surrounding the lakes and occupies territories from three countries: R.N. Macedonia, R. Albania and the Hellenic Republic.

22 Mariovo is situated to the immediate east of Pelagonia

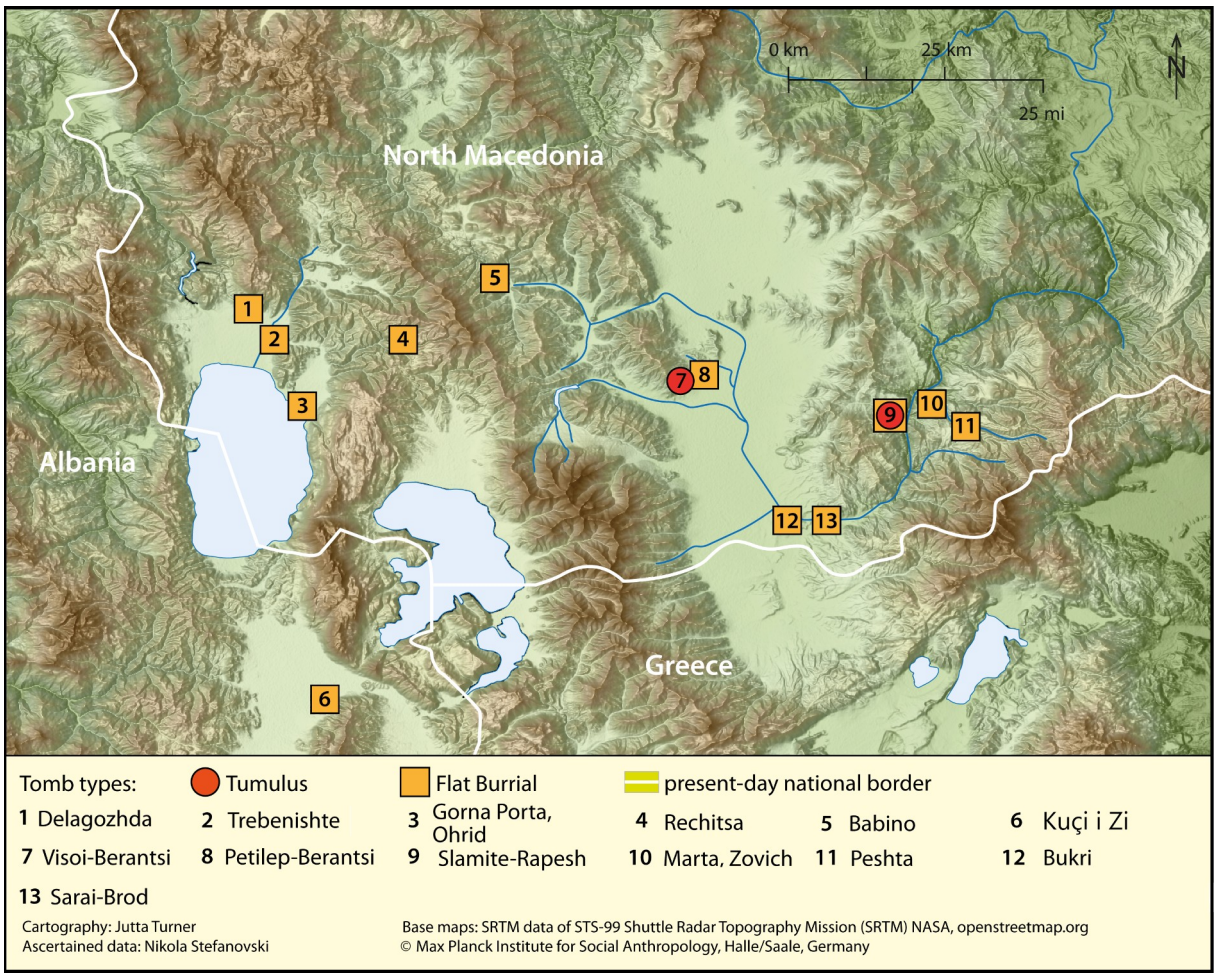

Figure 12: Map of the PelOh region

The sub-regions differ in one very important aspect related to the state of research. While Pelagonia and Mariovo are represented by less examples of published micro-contexts, the ones that are available for analysis allow for a diachronic, albeit fragmentary, overview of developments in the area from the "transitional period" to the end of the Archaic Period. On the other hand, the Great Lakes yielded an abundance of data from the Archaic Period and the subsequent Classical and Hellenistic period, but unfortunately the data from the Early Iron Age and Developed Iron Age is scarce and represented only through a few findings. (Mitrevski 1997, 101; Papazovska, Heilmann 2018, 177; Vercik et al. 2019, 39).

The tumulus burial from Visoi-Berantsi is one of the most important sites in Pelagonia, where the Early and the Developed Iron Age is considered (Mikulchic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997). The archaeological site Sarai-Brod near the city of Bitola is one of the examples of flat necropolises in Pelagonia (Makchic, Simoska, Trbuhovic 1961; Mikulcic 1966a). The Rapesh -Slamite tumulus in Mariovo is another site of note in the region that shines light on the

elusive Developed Iron Age. However, with the exception of Berantsi, Pelagonia seems to be dominated by flat necropolises with cists built with stone slabs or in some cases from the Archaic Period – stone blocks. Conversely Mariovo is characterized by tumuli (Mitkoski 1999; 2010), which has been connected to pastoralist populations that inhabited the rugged terrain of the area (Mitrevski 2013, 225).

The Archaic Period in Pelagonia is present in the archaeological record, with sites such as Petilep-Berantsi (Makchic, Simoska 1955; Mikulchic 1966a) and Bukri-Progon (Mikulchic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997). These sites yielded material that is the basis for the above mentioned comparison between this sub-region and the area of the Great Lakes.

The Great Lakes region is characterized by a mountainous landscape, with the Ohrid Lake taking centre position.. The discovery of the Trebenishte burials brought the region into the spotlight, which in turn gained additional scholarly attention after the discoveries of burials across the border. Similar findings were uncovered in archaeological sites such as Sindos and Archontiko in the Hellenic Republic. Several researchers (Mitrevski 1997, 162; Ardjanliev / Verchik 2018, 167; Popov 2018, 205; Verchik et al. 2019, 31) have pointed to the communication routes connecting Ohrid to the Aegean and Adriatic regions, which could explain the shared aesthetic and other material and societal similarities.

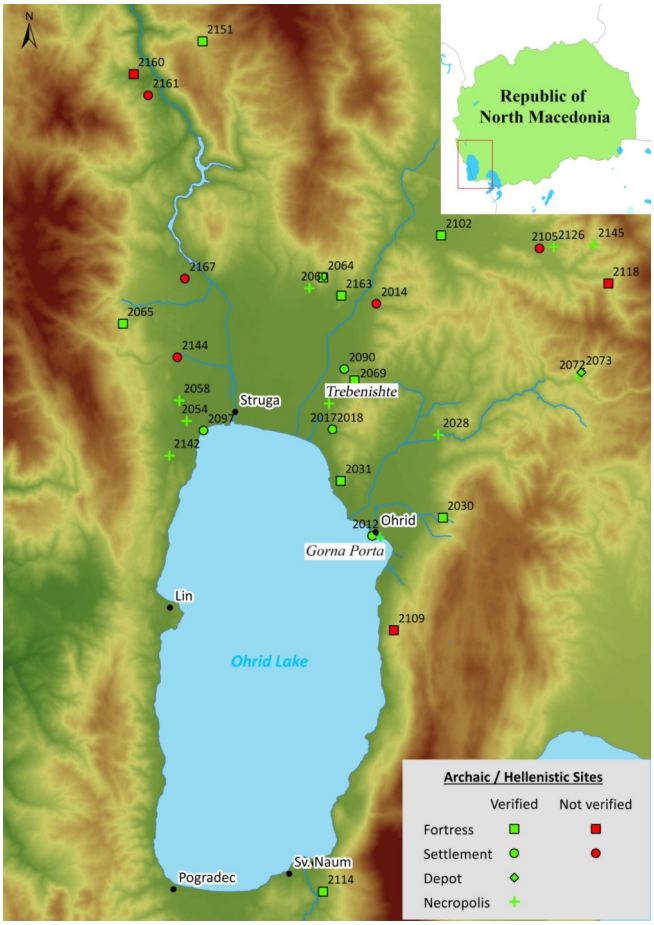

Figure 13: Map of the Ohrid region (Verchik et al. 2019, 192 Pl. 1/3). Map by M. Janchovic.

The area around the Ohrid Lake is one of the more seismical active and earthquakes have been noted in the past (Vercik et al. 2019, 30). The dwelling in the Neolithic and Bronze Age was mainly on pile-dwellings, a way of life that continued to the end of the Early Iron Age

(Kuzman 2013; Naumov 2016, 177; Ardjanliev, Vercik 2018, 167). Both man-made changes, such as deforestation leading to erosion, and natural processes such as tectonic movements and flooding altered the landscape resulting in a shift towards hill settlements (Vercik et al. 2019). Perhaps the best example of it comes from the pile-dwelling at Ohridati and the subsequent hill settlement at Plaoshnik (Ardjanliev, Vercik 2018, 173). The settlement at Plaoshnik is believed to be Lychnidos of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and numismatic and epigraphic evidence seem to support the claim (Vercik et al. 2019).

As was noted before, the sites around Ohrid and Prespa lakes yield little material from the EIA and DIA (at least on the side of R.N. Macedonia). The only data from those periods comes from Tri Cheljusti and Vrtuljka near Trebenishte (Papazovska, Heilmann 2018) and the settlement layers at Plaoshnik (still not published). Additional information can be obtained from some of the older burials among the so-called poor graves of Trebenishte.

The archaeological site at Trebenishte is the home of one of the most important findings from the Archaic Period in the wider region, with thirteen ostentatiously furnished burials, most of which contain full sets of armament. Although it was considered to be an isolated case for a long time, the latest excavations in the area show an abundance of material that is contemporary or at least in the immediate subsequent decades of the Trebenishta necropolis. Such cases can be found at the Gorna Porta and Delagozhda archaeological sites, as well an a burial that comes from Rechitsa.

4.2 Meso and Micro-contexts: Archaeological sites from the Pelagonia-Mariovo sub-region

4.2.1. Visoi-Berantsi, Pelagonia

The archaeological site at Visoi-Berantsi is located 12 km north of the city of Bitola and 3 km south of the village of Berantsi. It is positioned on a slope descending towards the right bank of the Crna river flowing through Pelagonia (Mikulchic 1966a, 14). The site is a necropolis of multiple low tumuli, which are almost flattened by the erosion and accumulation of soil. However, they survived due to the solid stone encirclement. Only one tumulus was excavated and was partially published (Makchic, Simoska 1954; Mikulchic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997).

This double tumulus is consisted of the smaller mound with a diameter of 6 meters covering the central burial and a larger mound over it and the rest of the burials, with a 24 meter diameter. The first batch of 24 burials are radially oriented towards the central burial, while the next 10 follow the same orientation and encircle the previous ones. The last 9 graves do not follow this pattern and are often placed near the edge of the tumulus, showing a possible disconnection to the central burial, contrary to the one shared by the previous 34 graves (Mikulchic 1966a, 14). The graves are cists built with stone slabs, much like the flat necropolises of the Lower Vardar region. All the burials are inhumations in extended position except the central grave which is in a flexed position.

The previously mentioned miniature bronzes, or "Macedonian bronzes", were found in several burials, in line with typological developments from the adjacent regions of Upper and Lower Vardar as well as the Haliakmon-Axios area. The pottery in the older EIA burials is handmade, present with well known types from the wider region such as the jug with a cutaway neck and deep bowls with two vertical handles. The latter come in one other variant: with additional conic shaped decorative plastic on top of the handles.

The central burial in the Visoi-Berantsi tumulus, dated in the 11th-9th century BC, is the oldest micro-context analysed in this study. It is a cist made of stone slabs, oriented W-E, containing a flexed inhumation. Apart from the flange hilted iron sword, a sub-mycenean ceramic skyphos and a labris shaped pendant that might have doubled as a razor were found (Mikulchic 1966a, 16; Chausidis 2017, 575). The decoration and shape of the proto-geometric skyphos informed the researchers of a possible 11th to 9th century dating (Mikulchic 1966a, 17; Mitrevski 1997).

Figure 14: Model of the Berantsi tumulus (Mitrevski 2013, p. 239 - fig. 79)

The burial is given much attention in the extant literature and is often considered to have belonged to a person of importance to the community (Mitrevski 1997; Chausidis 2017, 776). This "rodonachalnik" (chief/head ancestor) as he is described, holds the central position in a tumulus used by the community for several centuries, with the rest of the burials maintaining a special orientation and organisation surrounding it. Additionally, the only presumed import from the necropolis comes in the form of the skyphos that together with the labris shaped pendant/razor are seen as contributing factors towards such an interpretation (Mitrevski 1997; Chausidis 2017).

Convincing as it may be, the detail in which the tumulus findings were published creates a few hurdles before such statements can be supported. This mainly stems from the impossibility of reviewing the assemblages and possibly developing an alternate chronology and challenge the hierarchy believed to be embodied in the organisation of this tumulus. Furthermore, the "heroic ancestor" thesis relies heavily on the assumption that the remainder of the graves were genetically related to the deceased from the central burial, and no effort is made to understand alternative kinship models.

Nonetheless, the special treatment that the central burial, or the smaller inner mound, received from the builders of the larger mound and subsequent burials is evident.[23] Whether it was a matter of genetic ancestry, or a person of note that was at the receiving end of that honour, is something beyond our reach at this point. Further research in the area, coupled with genetic studies and close comparisons between adjacent regions would alleviate this problem. When the research questions at hand are considered, the veneration of a "burial as warrior" is important, as it goes well in hand with a trend of hero/ancestor/warrior glorification researched in many different contexts already (Antonaccio 1993a; 2006; Graells i Fabregat 2012; Iaia 2013; Lloyd 2015), but not always connected to a genetic link, rather a constructed notion of an ancestor that finds its place in communal imaginaries.

Grave 16 is one of the other burials that contained a weapon in the tumulus. The spear was accompanied by several bronze objects: a bangle, a spectacle fibula, a triple labris, an oval pendant (Chausidis 2017, 664). Three more iron spears were discovered in the tumulus; however, the contents of the remainder of the burials were not catalogued to their respective micro-contexts and were instead discussed collectively in previous publications (Simoska,

23 Tumuli with central burial are spread around the wider region, with a close analogy at Mojno (Mikulchic 1966, 14; Mitrevski 1997, 301)

Sanev 1976; Mikulchic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997), which does not allow for an in-depth analysis of assemblages. Nevertheless, it is possible to get a feel of the materiality by taking them into consideration in their meso-context.

Among the finds from the older burials were: 9 bronze spectacle fibulae, several bronze bangles, pins, multiple iron knives, spearheads and severely fragmented combat blades. Pottery was found in smaller numbers – mostly handmade jugs with cutaway necks. The skyphos from the central burial is the only wheel-made piece, while the rest of the ceramics was handmade. It could also be noted that older Bronze Age forms of pottery were still in use (Mikulchic 1966a, 17).

Clothing accessories were included in several graves that enabled researchers to date them in the 6th century BC. Such burials were graves 25, 28 and 42 – containing conical earrings and thin bronze bangles (Mikulchic 1966a, 24). This means that the Berantsi tumulus was used for a longer period (11th to 6th century BC).

4.2.2. Sarai-Brod, Pelagonia

A flat necropolis was uncovered at the site Sarai-Brod, located between the villages Zhivoino, Bukri and Sarai. The excavations were undertaken in 1955 and later published by the excavators (Makchic, Simoska, Trbuhovic 1961). A total of 20 graves, cists made of stone slabs and stone blocks, were uncovered. The graves were found at the bank of the Tsrna River. Of them seven were without burial offerings (graves 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14), five contained only a single ceramic vessel (graves 4, 6, 13, 18, 20) and multiple artefacts were interred in the remaining seven graves (graves 2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 17, 19). Judging from the dimensions of the grave cists, twelve burials belonged to adults and eight to children (Mikulchic 1966a, 28). Three more cists were discovered nearby at Zhivoino and were dated in the 7-6th century. BC.

Two graves, numbered 2 and 3, contained one and two spears respectively. Both have similar sizes: 190×175×67cm and 200×70×65×55 cm, the difference being in the double layered walls of the latter. The floor of both cists were covered with stone slabs, both were covered with stone blocks, and the inhumed skeletal remains of the deceased were uncovered decomposed. In addition to the iron spear in grave 2, a ceramic krater and fragments of a

copper and a bronze bangle were found. The two iron spears in grave 3 were accompanied by two ceramic vessels – one large one-handed jug with a broad stomach and a smaller two-handled round vessel – and a few fragments of an unidentified iron object. The weapons were very badly preserved in both cases due to corrosion.

Apart from grave 11 which was dated in the 7th century BC, the remainder of the burials occupy a larger chronological slot between the 12th and 8th century BC. The pottery types from the Pelagonia area are generally difficult to place since the forms exist from the Late Bronze Age all the way to the appearance of grey ware during the 6th and 5th century BC.

4.2.3. Slamite-Rapesh, Mariovo

Slamite is another necropolis of tumuli, located near the village Rapesh, in the south-western parts of the Mariovo plateau (Vasileva 1993; Mitrevski 1997, 309). The site is divided into two distinct locations: Vozishta and Kamenot (400 meters apart from one another). The first findings surfaced by chance during agricultural activities undertaken by the locals, and the first archaeological excavations were done in 1989 when two probes were done on both locations. Additionally, a tumulus was discovered at the Vozishta location; however, it became evident that the extensive agricultural activities and additional burials from the Late Roman period severely damaged much of the Iron Age remains (Vasileva 1993, 69).

The tumulus at Vozishta, contained three primary burials (graves 8, 12, 14), and four secondary burials from the Late Roman period (graves 10, 11, 13, 15). It is characterized by the lack of a central burial, meaning the cists were also not radially positioned as was the case in Berantsi. As such, it was classified as a family tumulus (Mitrevski 1997, 309). Another Iron Age burial, grave 7, was discovered next to the mound (Vasileva 1993).

Contrary to Vozishta, where no weaponry was found in any of the burials, a single spear was found in grave 4 at Kamenot. The cist was damaged and no additional artefacts were found within. Five more graves were excavated at Kamenot, of which graves 2, 5 and 6 were completely destroyed; grave 3 was preserved; and grave 1 was already opened by locals. The burial ground at this location was a flat necropolis, although it is possible that the cists made of stone slabs were covered by smaller mounds (Vasileva 1993, 73). Vasileva, the original publisher of the findings, interprets the two different burial rites as the existence of two

distinct social groups, perhaps ethnically differentiated, that lived in close proximity but buried their dead in separate burial grounds (1993). The interpretation lies in the assumption that archaeological data can, under the right circumstances, be understood as an ethnic marker, a connection often made by archaeologists (Antonaccio 2001; 2010a; Curta 2013; 2014; Saripanidi 2017) and is also done by local scholars (Vasileva 1993; Mitrevski 1997). However, ethnographic studies show that a different burial rite can also be connected with economic status rather then any ethnic variation (Goody 1962).

In his study of the LoDagaa people, Goody shows how economic and/or social status are often precursors for difference in burial rites, concluding that it is often during burials where those tensions are resolved between the "havs and have nots" (1962, 197). Furthermore, the relative dating of the above mentioned graves encompasses large periods of time that are more than enough for several shifts in burial rites. Although burial rites sometimes do function as ethnic markers, it remains hazardous because of the complexity of identity construction and the many paths it might take (Chemsseddoha 2017, 390).

The cists were divided into two categories: large 220×140×80 cm made of 20 cm wide stone blocks (graves 1, 8 and 12) and small 180×90×50 cm made of thin stone slabs (graves 3, 6 and 7). Several scattered stelae were also found at the site. The only analogy in the surrounding area comes from grave 1/I at Visoi (Vasileva 1993, 79). These two categories were interpreted as a marker of economic inequality. The argument could be supported by a detailed overview of contents from those graves, which unfortunately is lacking. However, comparing the large cists with others in the area such as the Petilep-Berantsi and Trebenishte burials, could provide a basis for such an argument. Finally, the Iron Age burials from the necropolis have been dated in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, based on the miniature bronzes and armbands (Vasileva 1993; Mitrevski 1997).

4.2.4. Other sites in the Pelagonia-Mariovo sub-region

Several more sites underline the developments in the Iron Age of the sub-region. Marta (1km north of the village Zovikj) and Peshta (near the village Gradeshnitsa) are flat necropolises with inhumation in cists made of stone slabs. The artefacts interred in these burial include jugs with cutaway necks, bronze bangles and bow fibulae as well as the miniature bronzes. The only weapons found at these necropolises are iron spearheads, one

from grave 2 at Marta and one as an occasional find from Peshta. The importance of these sites lies not so much with the artefacts, but with the fact that it shows the existence of flat necropolises in an area dominated by tumuli.

In addition there are three important sites from the Archaic period in Pelagonia: Petilep, Babino and Bukri-Progon, of which the last two include weaponry among the findings. The importance of Petilep, a site near the village Berantsi, is in the assemblage that contained a golden mask and a bronze crater among the rest of the findings and is reminiscent to the Trebenishte tombs. Although no weapons were found, it is part of the local developments, and the contents and significance of the tomb will be revisited in section 4 of this fourth chapter.

On the other hand, Babino is the origin of an Illyrian helmet that was discovered by the locals while working the fields in 1950. A team of archaeologists surveyed the area in 1952 and designated the site as a flat necropolis of grave cists built with stone blocks, where extended inhumations were the dominant burial rite (Mitrevski 1997, 279). Unfortunately no systematic excavations took place, and the grave from which the helmet originated, was not properly studied. Additionally, pins of the "Trebenishte" type, glass beads, a silver earring and fragments of spears were also discovered at the site (Mitrevski 1997, 144).

Figure 15: Reconstruction of the Bukri helmet.

A similar situation can be noted regarding the Progon-Bukri findings. Agricultural activities brought several artefacts into the light and they were obtained by the local museum in 1954, however no excavations took place. The Bukri burial ground is seen as analogues to the one at Babino, and both are dated in the late 6th and early 5th century BC (Mitrevski 1997, 144). However, in contrast to Babino, Bukri yielded more artefacts, among which is an Illyrian helmet, an iron xiphos sword, an iron spear, multiple pieces of gray-ware pottery and some bronze jewellery (Mikulchic 1966b, Mitrevski 1997, 144). Unfortunately, no micro-contexts could be delineated. Additionally, a second xiphos sword from the site is suspected as well (Makchic, Simoska 1955; Vasic 1982).

4.3 Meso and Micro-contexts: Archaeological sites from the Ohrid-Prespa sub-region

4.3.1. Trebenishte

Perhaps the most well known sight in the area is Trebenishte, where 56 burials were discovered – thirteen of whom were ostentatiously furnished tombs while 43 yielded significantly less artefacts. The first five tombs (I-V) were discovered in 1918 by Bulgarian soldiers operating in the area during World War 1. The next two (VI and VII) were excavated the same year by Karl Schkorpil who published the findings with Bogdan Filow (Filow, Schkorpil 1927). Interest in the area remained in the next decades as well, with Vulic conducting field research in the period between 1930 and 1934 (Vulic 1932; 1933; 1934). Additional excavations followed in 1953-1954 (Lahtov, Kastelic 1957; Lahtov 1965) and the last ones led by Malenko of the Museum of Ohrid, taking place in 1972 (Kuzman 1985).

The necropolis is located 9 km north-west from Ohrid, near the villages Gorentsi and Trebenishte (Kuzman 2013, 433; Stojoska-Vidovska 2018, 49). The burials were divided into “rich” and “poor”, a distinction used until the present day to differentiate between burials containing material with higher production value, precious metals and overall abundance of objects; and graves rarely containing more than four artefacts. The so called “rich burials” were numbered I to XIII. They were rectangular tombs built with stone blocks. In the documentation done during the excavations led by Kastelic and Lahtov they were also divided into two categories: A – tombs discovered by the Bulgarian army and Schkorpil; and B –

tombs discovered by Vulic after the First World War. The so-called "poor" burials were designated to the C category and came from the field work of Vulic, Kastelic, Lahtov and Malenko (Stojoska-Vidovska 2018, 51).

The neighbouring site of Suva Cheshma-Tri Vrtuljki, located south-west of the Village Gorentsi is another point of interest. An excavation campaign was undertaken in 1972, led by Vlado Malenko (Malenko 1975). Twenty three burials were discovered, all of them considered among the "poor" burials. Malenko renamed the A, B and C categories to: First (tombs I to VIII), Second (tombs IX to XIII) and Third group of burials (graves 14 to 33), designating the ones excavated last (graves 1 to 23 from Tri Cheljusti and Vrtuljka) as the Fourth group (Kuzman 1985; 2013, 433; Stojoska-Vidovska 2018, 55). The total number of burials reached 56 after these excavations, which were also the last done on the necropolis.

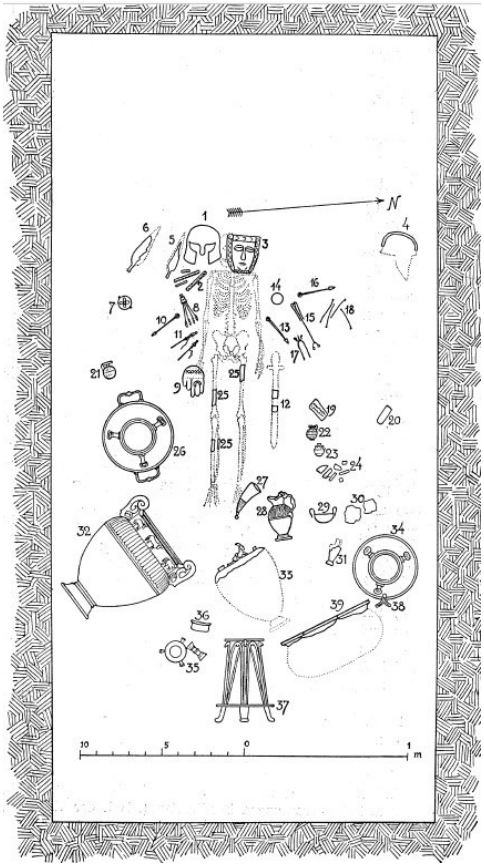

Figure 16: Plan of Tomb I from Trebenishte (Filow, Schkorpil 1927, p.4 - Abb. 3).

Trebenishte is a flat necropolis with rectangular graves built with stone blocks. Tombs I to VIII were 2-3 meters wide and 4.8 to 5.2 meters long. Unfortunately much of the details of their construction were lost due to the nature of their discovery; however Vulic's excavations paid significantly more attention to that particular problem, providing us with some additional information (Mitrevski 1997, 158-160). The tombs were covered by a wooden and stone construction that collapsed and covered the remains until their discovery. His fieldwork plans also show that the placement of the artefacts do not necessarily depend on the position of the body. Furthermore, tombs X and XII contained cremated skeletal remains which brings into question whether a bi-ritual burial practice was present at the necropolis (Mitrevski 1997, 159). Given the osteological evidence was lost both due to the acidity of the soil and during the inadequate excavation of the first five burials, it will never be known for certain whether cremation was practised in one of those tombs. Mitrevski believes that given the use of golden

masks and gloves, it should be expected that the presentation of the body and its internment influenced the inhumation rite, at least in the cases of tombs I and V where such artefacts were found (1997, 159). However, this is challenged by grave 132 from Gorna Porta, a cremation burial that contained a golden mask and hand cover (Kuzman 2018, 209). A burial ritual is much more than the act of internment of the body and artefacts in the grave. The presentation of the body during the rituals preceding the cremation and burying of the deceased are a time where the golden covers likely played an important role in the construction of the representation that was aimed by participants and organizers of the burial.

Figure 17: Finds from Tomb I at Trebenishte. (Ardjanliev et. al. 2018. Cat. No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 12, 13)

The assemblages from the First group of tombs are consistently uniform with slight differences. The Second group less so, although they share an undoubtable similarity with the former. Bronze vessels such as cups and cauldrons were found in all of the tombs excluding tomb XI, and all First group tombs (except tomb VII) and tomb IX (of the Second group) contained tripods for the cauldrons and column kraters. Amber beads were found in all burials

of the First and Second group, other than tomb XI, which is the burial with the least amount of artefacts with only an iron sword, two iron knives, an iron spear and a silver ring interred.

Tombs I, V, VIII and IX contain golden masks and all of them except tomb V also include golden hand covers. The masks were probably done in haste, right before the burial, since a lot of production mistakes that could be the result of a hurried manufacture were found (Penkova, Ilieva 2018, 69). Golden appliqués that decorated clothing and weaponry are present in all burials. Additionally, golden, silver and bronze jewellery and clothing accessories in the form of rings, bracelets, earrings and fibulae are found in all burials. Star and bird shaped appliqués as well as rosettes are also common. Tomb VI and VII contain silver horse shaped appliqués, while a golden crescent-shaped appliqué was present in the latter as well. It has been suggested that perhaps "the gold crescent-shaped appliqué and the silver ones representing horses were once probably fastened to the breastplate of a cuirass and/or the leather cover of a shield" (Penkova, Ilieva 2018, 65).

The decoration of these golden covers and sheets is analogues within the necropolis, which could point to one workshop and even the use of the same template. One of the most common decorative element is the eight-figure composition, consisted of five consecutive and interconnected circles. It decorates multiple pieces of golden foils, among which are some golden masks (tomb I and IX), hand covers (tomb I) and rectangular bands decorating clothing and arms (tomb I and V).

Golden rings were found in tombs I, VI, VIII, XII and XIII. Of them, the rings from tombs I, XII and XIII are solid made, and the remaining two are made of a golden foil and are ring-imitations. Gold rings, of both of these kinds, were also found in several burials of Archontiko both in male and female burials, as well as at Sindos in the male graves 6 and 25 and female graves 20 and 67 (Tonkova 2018, 71).

A form of clothing accessory, part of an attire or ceremonial armour, in the shape of silver chains, needles and hooks was found in tombs I to X (regarding tombs I to VIII - Tonkova 2018, 76-77). They were decorated with snake heads adorning the end of the chains and needles. The snakes seem to be a common decorative element in the area as they show up on multiple objects, e.g. the Corinthian helmet from tomb I at Trebenishte.

Outside of this necropolis, the long silver chains and pins were discovered in grave 67 in Sindos (Despoine 2016a, 72; 2016c, 522, img. 25), Aigai and Archontiko (Tonkova 2018, 77). These chains are not all manufactured in the same way. Some appear to be more elaborate in terms of the depiction of the snake heads, but in some cases also in the material used (Tonkova 2018). Silver pins with golden snake heads were found in Sindos (e.g. tomb 20), in the so-called tombs of the "priestesses".

The silver chains from tomb I at Trebenishte are one of those more elaborate versions of this type, and this goes well in hand with the remainder of the artefacts from the tomb, as it is the most elaborate and ostentatious burial of the necropolis, perhaps only rivalled by tomb VIII. It is presumed that, contrary to the golden masks which had a burial function, the silver parade attire was also worn in life (Tonkova 2018, 82). Furthermore, Tonkova notices a difference in the burial assemblages of Trebenishta and Archontiko, as the silver chains are absent from the warrior graves in Archontiko and instead include only the golden rings and occasionally masks. On the other hand, the burials in Trebenishte contained similar clothing accessories both in male and female burials (Tonkova 2018, 85).

The lotus phiale dated in the 6th century are attested in Archontiko and Sindos as well (Stoychev, Penkova 2018, 100-101). A volute krater was found in tomb I and tomb VIII and their craftsmanship points to Laconian and/or Corinthian workshops (Chausidis 2010, 157; Mutafchieva 2018, 88-90).

While bronze is predominant, a few ceramic vessels were also found in the trebenishte tombs (I-XIII). The six vessels, four black-figured lekythoi and two kylixes were all dated in the 6th century BC (Sanev 2018, 133). One black-figure lekythos originates from tomb I, while tomb X contained a kylix as well as lekythos. The former is decorated with rosettes, circles and a black painted stem and handles, which identifies it as a 6th century so-called Droop Cup (Sanev 2018, 135). The latter is decorated with a very frequently attested scene, of the "hoplite leaving home" (Sanev 2018, 139).

Three additional pieces of pottery were discovered in tomb XIII (of which only two are preserved today). The two lekythoi and the kylix were found in the middle of the grave and are almost identical in shape with the ones from tomb X (Sanev 2018, 135-136). One of the lekythoi is decorated with a scene of a runner between two draped spectators. The kylix on the

other hand, has a scene of a siren flanked by rams, a frequent decoration for the band-cups (Sanev 2018, 140).

The weaponry is present in ten of the thirteen so-called "rich burials" (tombs I – VIII, XI and XIII). The predominant weapon combination is helmet, shield, sword and spear (tombs II-VII). However there are deviations. For example, tomb XI is the only one without a helmet, and a shield was not found in tombs: I, VIII, XI and XIII. A sword was found in all of the "burials as warriors", while a spear is missing only in tomb XIII. Finally, a single fragmented grieve was found in tomb VIII. More than one piece of weaponry of the same type appears in two burials: two helmets from tomb I and a pair of spears from tomb I and VI.

The typology and description of the weaponry will be elaborated in detail in chapter 6; however it is worth mentioning that most of the helmets belong to the "Illyrian" type and are often decorated with golden foils and appliqués (most notable examples: the helmets from tomb III, V and VIII). Furthermore, there are two other types of helmets coming from tomb I and tomb XIII – a Corinthian and a Chalcidan helmet respectively. The swords in all burials are double-edged archaic iron swords of the xiphos type, preserved in a very bad shape with most handles missing. On one occasion (tomb VI), parts of the scabbard was also preserved as well as the golden decoration which adorned it. Golden strips on the scabbards and hilts of xiphos swords are common in other similar necropolises, such as Archontiko and Sindos that yielded better preserved material which in turn provided more details regarding those artefacts. Finally, the spears are diverse and come in different shapes, a feature common for spears in many necropolises generally. However, it has been noted before that Trebenishte boasts a higher diversity of this weapon type than other similar burial grounds (Vasic 2018).

The Third and Fourth group, so-called poor burials, were found in two locations: Suva Cheshma (the location of the rich burials) and Tri Cheljusti and Vrtuljka. A total of 43 such graves were discovered and it can be noted that they significantly differ from the above described 13 tombs. Concerning the weaponry, only iron spearheads were found in the graves from the Third and Fourth group. One spear was found in grave 15, four in grave 16, one near graves 14-16 and several fragmented pieces in graves 17-22 from Suva Cheshma (Vasic 2018, 107). At Tri Cheljusti and Vrtuljka only grave 17 contained weaponry, four iron spearheads; however it is dated in the 4th century BC (Kuzman 1985) and it will be excluded from the

analysis, although it is worth mentioning that the cist has been reused and this younger burial occupied a cist that might have been originally constructed in the previous centuries.

These 43 burials are rectangular cists and are characterised by an increase in pottery internment. Additionally, it can be noted that precious metals, bronze vessels, and glass and amber beads are much less frequent than the burials from the First and Second group. Clothing accessories and jewellery come in the form of bronze bow fibulae, earrings, rings and bracelets. The most common form is an open-ended bracelet with overlapping ends. The pottery follows local traditions and a tendency toward handmade ceramic production. The forms, such as kantharoid cups, jugs and amphorae can be traced in earlier forms from the Early Iron Age in the wider region. It goes well in line with what is known from other sites in the Pelagonia-Ohrid region.

4.3.2. Gorna Porta

Gorna Porta is an archaeological site located at the Deboj hilltop, within the confines of the city of Ohrid. Systematic archaeological excavations led by Dr. Pasko Kuzman[24] were carried out between July 2000 and November 2002, when a total of 147 burials were uncovered; however, it became clear it would not be possible to excavate the entirety of the site since the southern parts were inaccessible due to heavy urbanisation. Field research continued until 2016 in the form of rescue excavations, revealing 298 additional graves. The necropolis was used in the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Late Antique and Medieval periods. One of the oldest burials, which will be discussed here, comes from the 5th century BC and was discovered in the area named "Forbidden Meadow" (Kuzman 2006; 2013; 2018).

The Plaoshnik settlement nearby is only a 100 meters away and it was the people of this settlement that used the Gorna Porta and Deboj necroplises as their own burial grounds (Ardjanliev, Vercik 2018, 173-175).

Two burials from the site will be described in the following paragraphs, as their dating in the 5th century BC makes them relevant in this study. The remainder of the burials from the Classical and Hellenistic period will be omitted. Tomb 1 and Grave 132 from Gorna Porta

24 The artefacts and documentation are kept in the Museum of Ohrid. Access to the material was enabled during May 2019.

broaden our understanding of the Late Archaic Period of the Ohrid area and are closely related to developments at the Trebenishte necropolis.

Tomb 1 has a rectangular shape, with its outer dimensions being 5.50m x 4.50m. It was built with locally provided stone blocks and covered with sand from the nearby lake. It is a cremation, but no traces of osteological remains were found in the ashes. The funeral pyre was placed in the middle and the artefacts were placed around it after the fire was extinguished (Kuzman 2018). It is considered to be a burial of six (Kuzman 2018, 215), an assumption made by the number of helmets and additional weaponry found in the tomb. The six bronze helmets were accompanied by eleven bronze greaves and fifteen iron spears. The tomb also contained: a clay amphora, a marble torso of a warrior, fragments of black figured pottery (around the pyre), 24 rosette appliqués, golden jewellery and clothing accessories, decorative golden sheets, a silver kantharos, six rectangular amber beads, two bronze rings, and some unidentified bronze, iron and amber objects (Kuzman 2018, 215-216).[25]

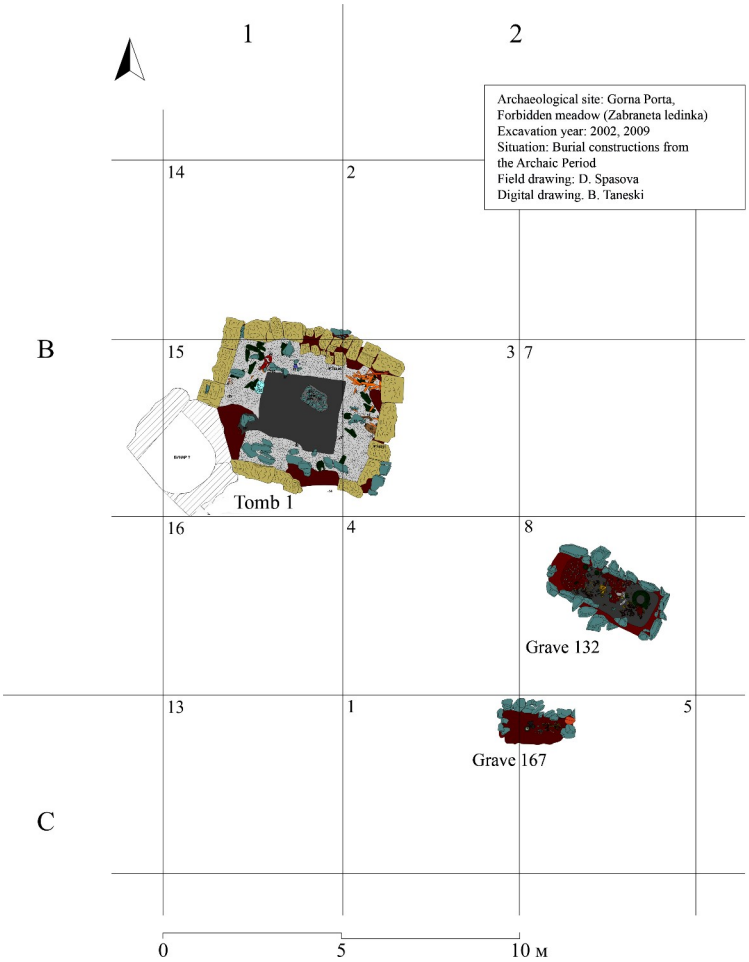

Figure 18: Archaic burials at Gorna Porta. Courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid.

Three of the helmets and six greaves were found in the north-western part of the tomb, three helmets and five greaves in the eastern part of the tomb, while fifteen spears were

25 Although the findings have been published several times, giving us more than enough for the analysis in this paper, a monograph by the excavator (Dr. Pasko Kuzman) is forthcoming. It is expected that more details will be revealed and additional analysis will be done.

uncovered in the north-eastern part. The first difference between the Trebenishte burials can be noted here, as shields and swords are not among the weaponry interred in this tomb. In previous publications swords were listed among the findings (Kuzman 2006) and later referenced (Vasic 2018); however, this was later corrected and the swords were omitted from the list of artefacts (Kuzman 2018).

Although the helmets typologically belong to the same group of the "Illyrian" type, there are some notable differences between the ones from Trebenishte and Gorna Porta. Namely, there are no IIb helmets in tomb 1, with most of them belonging to the IIIA1 classification. Additionally they were not adorned with golden appliqués and only two are decorated and thus could be classified as IIIA1b. One is the helmet with relief ram decorations on the cheek-guards, and the other with a simple inscribed human figure on the right cheek-guard. However, four of them have inscriptions on the foreheads. The detailed descriptions and analysis of these helmets will be done in chapter 6. At this stage, it is enough to recognise the artistic value and craftsmanship of the helmet with ram cheek-guards, as it is the only example of this technique being used on a piece of weaponry in Macedonia (as of the writing of this thesis).

Furthermore, an absence of bronze vessels can be noted, and although fragments of black-figured pottery, an amphora and a silver kantharos are attested, a a generally low number of vessels is attested. Along the same lines, instead of golden masks, sheets and hand covers, only small golden appliqués are present. However, the rosette decorations are analogues to similar findings from Trebenishte.

Figure 19: Spears adorned with golden rings from Tomb 1 Gorna Porta.

Perhaps the biggest difference is seen in the internment of greaves. While in tomb 1 at Gorna Porta the eleven greaves (five pairs and one additional) hold an important place among the rest of the assemblage, there was only one single greave at Trebenishte, found in tomb VIII. This is an additional reason why this tomb stands out among burials from the Archaic Period in the wider region, as greaves only play a supporting role in most sets of arms found within micro-contexts, i.e. they appear sporadically and in lower numbers.

Finally, not only there is a larger number of spears interred in tomb 1, compared to Trebenishte and other burials in the wider region, but they also stand out with great diversity and in two cases decorations in the form of golden rings adorning the socket. These two spears are different in size, one being 66.5 cm and the other 36.6 cm, but the double ring socket decoration was done in the same manner. They have been previously described as markers of a higher social status of their owners (Angelovski, Kuzman, 2015); however no thoughts were shared as to the nature of this hierarchical division and what this status was, i.e. on what was it based.

Can Tomb 1 be considered a burial of six? Given that there have been instances when more than one helmet accompanied one deceased, it is very difficult to ascertain. Additionally, the cremation burial rite makes things more complicated. If we consider that some of the equipment might be a gift, and was not in possession of the deceased prior to the burial, then it is possible the number of helmets does not correspond with the number of the people buried. Based on the data we currently have, it is difficult to be certain; however if we divide the spears greaves and helmets equally, then based on that division six deceased would be most probable.

Grave 132 (Kuzman 2006; 2018) is described as a simultaneous burial of two juveniles, a male and a female – a characterisation made by the excavator and informed by the type of artefacts interred. It has an irregular rectangular shape and it was build by amorphous stones. It was covered with stone slabs and reddish soil, probably the one taken out while digging the pit (Kuzman 2018, 209). This burial contained weaponry, a golden mask, a golden hand-shaped sheet and a golden ring, a golden labris-shaped pendant, two silver soles, a silver two-wheeled miniature carriage, bronze and ceramic vessels as well as other golden and silver clothing accessories and jewellery. The weapon set, consists of a short sword of the xiphos type and two spears. The burial construction is seen as analogous to the Trebenishte burials

(Kuzman 2018, 211-213), and the only divergence is the lack of defensive warrior equipment. This is not unexpected, as variations such as this are seen at necropolises in the area as well, one example being Sindos (Despoine 2016).

Contrary to the uniqueness of tomb 1 from Gorna Porta, grave 132 shows much more common features with the Trebenishte burials, both in grave construction and assemblage. However, it also introduces a novelty, the inclusion of miniature votive chariots, which are regularly present in burials at Archontiko and Sindos.

4.3.3. Other sites

Excavation at Delagozhda unveiled a necropolis with 92 burials, the oldest dated in the Late Archaic Period, while micro-contexts from the Hellenistic Period were the most dominant, with the necropolis being used in the Roman, Late Roman and Medieval Period (Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1987). One of the burials that is of interest in this study is grave 82, which contained an "Illyrian" helmet and three spears. Additionally a ceramic skyphos was interred. The helmet was placed in a separate smaller compartment within the burial[26].

Another important finding in the area comes from a disturbed context unearthed during construction activities. The burial, named the "warrior grave from Rechitsa" (Lahtov 1965), was discovered in 1952 and the artefacts were delivered to the local museum promptly. Details on the burial construction and osteological remains is missing due to the nature of its discovery. What makes this burial important are the artefacts interred and their comparative value. One "Illyrian" helmet, two iron spearheads, an iron axe, a silver double pin and a silver rhomboid sheet (possibly mouth cover) were uncovered.

The helmet is of particular academic importance as it shows signs of multiple repairs. This is not very common with these helmets, especially not from burial contexts. The axe is another rare item, with only two samples (PelOhR of – CatNo. 165; PelOhR G – Cat.No. 167;). Additionally, the silver sheet also warrants further inquiry as they are mostly made of gold. These peculiarities led to previous interpretation of the micro-context as a burial of "middle class warrior" (Kuzman 2013, 466). As intuitive as it may seem, the term is loaded with assumptions of societal organisation that we cannot support with the current data.

26 Information regarding the smaller compartment, courtesy of Prof. Dr. Nikos Chausidis, who was involved in the excavation.

However, the idiosyncrasy of this burial should not be ignored, as it is clear that the representation greatly differs with the Trebenishte, Gorna Porta, Archontiko and Sindos necropolises, albeit sharing similar representational aspects (arms typology, adornments and overall combination). The burial, by way of the double pin is analogues to the one from grave 30 at Trebenishte, is dated to the 6th century BC (Lahtov 1965, 63; Mitrevski 1997; Kuzman 2013).

Figure 20: Three of the repair patches on the Rethitsa helmet.

4.4. Macro Context

The pottery from Berantsi follows the ceramic traditions from the south, and differs from the pieces from the UpV that were discussed above (Mikulchic 1966a, 18). However, the finds discovered during surveys of suspected settlements show that in fact the so-called "Hallstatt ceramics" (Mikulchic 1966a, 18) was used in the region, with some examples coming from the Pateli necropolis from across the border, a burial ground believed to be contemporary to Berantsi. The pottery from Pelagonia, with some exceptions, is usually handmade. One notable divergence from that pattern is the ceramic fund from Slamite-Rapesh, where the locally known pottery types are wheel-made.

The Pelagonia tumuli have long been compared to ones from neighbouring regions such as: Pateli, Vergina, Orlova Chuka and Krivi Dol (Mikulchic 1966a, 19-20; Mitrevski 1997,

102-109). The comparisons stem from the common typology of clothing accessories, the appearance of the "Macedonian bronzes" and it has been proposed for the weaponry as well, the swords in particular (Mitrevski 1997).

Two swords from Vergina were considered to be analogues to the sword of the central burial (Mikulchic 1966a, 16), but no specific swords and micro-contexts were listed. Upon a renewed comparison, it can be noted that the swords from graves XIV (tumulus N) and III (tumulus Γ) from Vergina (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 114) share certain typological similarities with the Berantsi sword. Although they also seem to be contemporary, dated in the first half of the 9th century BC, the apparent connection should be taken with caution, since the state of research surrounding Berantsi is not at a sufficient level in order to draw better comparisons based on these typological similarities.

The miniature bronzes, such as the miniature jugs, and some of the clothing accessories, such as the armbands of the "Prilep type", can be attested in sites from the adjacent regions as well. Some examples of such findings are: the tumulus I from Kuci I Zi (present day Albania); grave 1/I from Visoi-Berantsi; a few findings from Bohemitsa and Chauchitsa (present day Greece) and graves 48 – Miltsi and 1-Dedeli from the LVR (Vasileva 1993, 73-75).

The three regions (UpV, LoV and PeOh) share a plethora of similarities, mostly in the materiality; however there are a multitude of local variations as well. For example, the jug with a cutaway neck seems to be the dominant pottery form throughout all of these region and the adjacent HalAx region. It is precisely there that we can notice some differences between the regions, which in

X	Spear	Spearbutt	Axe	Sword	Combat knife	Arrow	Helmet	Shield	Grieve
PelOhB G37 T				1					
PelOhB G16 T	1								
PelOhKS G4	1								
PelOhSB G2	1								
PelOhSB G3	2								
PelOhR G	2		1				1		
PelOhTK G15				1					
PelOhT TI	2			1			2		
PelOhT TII	2			1			1	1	
PelOhT TIII	1			1			1	1	
PelOhT TIV	1			1			1	1	
PelOhT TV	1			1			1	1	
PelOhT TVI	2			1			1	1	
PelOhT TVII	1			1			1	1	
PelOhT TVIII	1						1		1
PelOhT TXI	1			1					
PelOhT TXIII				1			1		
PelOhT G15	1								
PelOhT G16	1								
PelOhGP G130	1								
PelOhGP G132	2			1					
PelOhGP TI	15						6		11
PelOhD G84	1						1		
PelOh Deboj G8				1					

Figure 21: Weapon combinations in the PelOh region

this case comes in the form of pottery decoration and production techniques. While the wheel-made pottery has an overwhelming presence in LoV, handmade vessels seem to be the norm in UpV and PelOh. The former are painted with white circles while the handmade jugs from UpV have instructed lines at the neck. The handmade pots from PeOh are mat painted.

In terms of the miniature bronzes, there seems to be a consistent diffusion of the material and they can be seen, mostly in assumed female burials, in all regions during EIA and DIA, and in some cases even at the beginning of the Archaic Period. Although they change through the centuries, these alterations are also traceable in the entire area where they appear.

Going into the 6th and 5th centuries BC, a new representation sweeps across the region and it can be associated with an elite that produced ostentatious burials, and representations of warriorhood fused with wealth became frequent. Some of the new aspects that took over PeOh and HalAx regions, are the above mentioned tombs that contained the golden-clad deceased, accompanied by bronze vessels, jewellery, clothing accessories, weaponry and in many cases additional feasting equipment, votive miniature statuettes and carriages. These burials, share a set of typologically uniform artefacts that differ only in slight details that could be attributed to local particularities and different workshops.

This change in representation is not only present in "burials as warriors" and it seems to have been used for both the male and female sex. Wherever physical anthropology could be consulted, the results show that the male sex was usually represented as a stereotypical "warrior" persona, while the burials containing individuals of the female sex did not contain weaponry (Despoine 2016a). In contrast to earlier graves, a feature of the archaic burials with weapons is the internment of a full set: helmet, shield, spear and sword. However, there are many exceptions where at least one of these items is missing or another is included such as an arrowhead (HalAxS G52; HalAxS G65), greave (PelOhT TVIII; PelOhGP TI) or in rare cases iron axe (grave from Rechica). Furthermore, there are cases where over-weaponization occurs, i.e. multiple items of the same kind. This can only be taken into account in cases of single burials (e.g. tomb I at Trebenishte) and not in multiple burials (tomb 1 at Gorna Porta).

Tomb 1 from Gorna Porta is a specific case that stands out with the large number of weapons and a multitude of greaves, an item that is not as common as the remainder of the weapons found within. Additionally, the lack of swords also stands out, especially as it is

considered a multiple burial, which means none of those buried were accompanied by a sword.

More than one helmet is common in those cases where we witness over-weaponization. Tomb I from Trebenishte for example, contains two helmets, one Corinthian and another fragment of an "Illyrian" helmet (Filow, Schkorpil 1927). A parallel can be made with a burial, described as communal, from Kachanj (mun. Bileca/BIH) containing three "Illyrian" helmets (Blecic-Kavur / Pravidur 2012, 46). However, these analogies can be drawn only on the basis of weaponry types and overall material style. The internment of multiple swords, usually two, also occurs, an incident attested in graves 14, 25, 52, 115 at Sindos and grave 103 at Miltsi. Finally, the occurrence of multiple spears in a burial cannot be considered among these over-weaponization cases as it is quite common throughout the entire region and can be traced diachronically. Spears often go in pairs, and sometimes even triples.

As far as weapon typology goes, a topic which will be better elaborated in chapter 6, there is a notable uniformity where these burials are concerned. This enables us to evaluate some disturbed burials from Macedonia such as an archaeological context from Bukri. The helmet found there (Mikulchic 1966b, 215) is of the IIb type. The grave from Rechica is another example, where the silver rhomboid sheet, the helmet, iron axe and two spears are reminiscent of the "rich" burials from the region.

The relation between the Ohrid region and HalAx region, especially the Thermaic Gulf has been researched extensively by scholars. The funerary context, material style and overall assemblage convinced many researchers to consider these burials together in their analysis of burial rituals in the region (Mitrevski 1997; 2013; Vasic 1999; Babic 2007; Potrebica 2008; Del Soccoro 2012; Kuzman 2013; 2018). Others have pointed to the differences (Kottaridi 2011; Saripanidi 2017), leading them to consider only some stylistic similarities but otherwise treat them as distinct occurrences; meanwhile a good overview of the differences and similarities was provided by Bouzek and Ondrejova (1988).

The precise nature of the local particularities within the region (e.g. between the Mariovo sub-region and the Ohrid area) are difficult to ascertain due to the varying level of research. However, the data points toward developments shared with the neighbouring region and follow a similar trajectory moving from the Late Iron Age into the Late Archaic Period. This is seen in the pottery types that remain consistent, as well as burial architecture marked by the

popularity of tumuli in the Iron Age and the move toward flat graves into the Archaic Period, and finally the internment of weaponry in most male burials combined with golden accessories.

Due to the fact most of the burials uncovered in the area are from the Late Archaic and Early Classical period, the percentages of weaponry found in the area differs from the LoV and UpV regions. PelOh yields a significant amount of defensive equipment as well, and a large number of graves combine more than one type of weaponry.

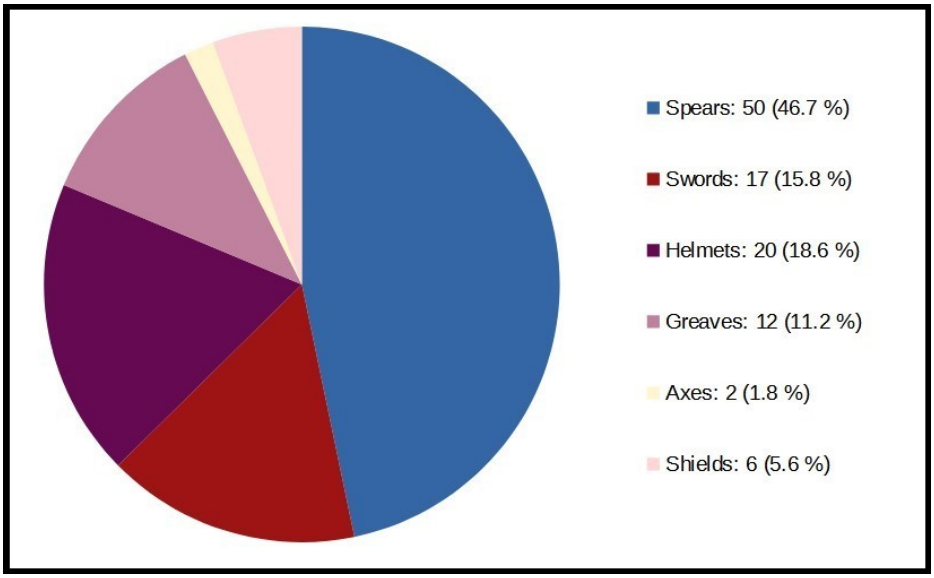

Figure 22: Weapon types in the PelOh region

4.5. Discussion

A protruding topic found in much of the extant literature is the one about ethnicity and its material representation. Although, it can be assumed that collective identities were performed through materiality (e.g. attire), the relation between material and ethnicity remains very problematic (Babic 2004; 2010a; Vranic 2014a; Xydopoulos 2017; Hatzopoulos 2020). The approach taken in this study treats the many instances of typological or cultural similarity, as well as regional differences, as a part of a normal and expected dynamic in a heterogeneous region. The material, although can be expected to have been utilized in expressing ethnic differentiation, should not be seen as sufficient evidence in attempts to archaeologically delineate those differences. This stems from the simple fact that the symbolic vocabulary

utilized in these representations, is closely knit with culture specific norms that can only be understood from an emic perspective, which is unattainable for archaeologists.

Figure 23: Map of distribution of golden masks (Kuzman, Ardjanliev 2018, p.60 - fig. 1)

Furthermore, assemblages and burial rituals, as well as material style, are seen as much more than a mere ethnic marker, and are expected to show much more about social stratification, ideologies, religion etc. All of those, were often shared between groups that otherwise saw each other as different in ethnic terms. This shared cultural milieu can be attested in the 'burials as warriors' in a wider area that encompasses the northern part of the Hellenic Republic as well as the south of the Republic of North Macedonia. In addition, the heterogeneous but entangled cultures living in proximity, have frequently been recognised in the archaeological patterns (Chemsseddoha 2020) and were termed a common cultural environment (Xydopoulos 2017, 81), or "cultural koine" (Misailidou-Despotidou 2018, 121; Hatzopoulos 2020, 29).

It is argued here, that this "cultural koine" was not only present in what is here termed the HalAx region, but was present in parts of PelOh and LoV as well[27], albeit with a different "intensity", given some local particularities and contexts are present because of simultaneous

27 This is especially visible in burials of women in the region (Gimatzidis 2017, 219).

contacts with other communities to the north as well. Taking a look in a broader Eurasian context, the burials from the Ohrid region have been associated with a wider European phenomena of princely graves (Babic 2002; Babic, Palavestra 2018). However, the local variations require us to see them on their own terms, a notion brought forward in the past as well (Mitrevski 1997, 156).

Furthermore, the so called "rich" burials from Trebenishte and Gorna Porta seem to be incorporated in the necropolis with the rest of the graves – a characteristic they share with Sindos and Archontiko. A common trend of a more gradual scale spanning across the richest and poorest burials is also noticeable. The so called "princely" burials from the Balkan hinterland and central Europe stand out from the others in the community with their ostentatious architecture and burial goods. While the lack of this phenomena is far more visible in Sindos and Archontiko (Saripanidi 2017), wealth-based segregation is also not so accentuated in the burials around the Ohrid Lake. The cases of Rechitsa and Delagozhda supplement the already visible pattern, but must be taken with caution since their archaeological context is problematic. This is one of the issues future systematic field research projects should elucidate. Another shortcoming in the area between Ohrid and Thessaloniki, is the lack of published research focusing on the settlement areas, which would enrich our analysis exponentially.

In the case of the HalAx region the consumption pattern of vessels (sets of drinking pouring and mixing vessels) and particular imports has been highlighted as an ideological feature of a community expressing its ethnic identity in the Archontiko, Sindos and Vergina necropolises, and one that is different from the Ohrid region (Saripanidi 2017; 2019). It is argued here that the attitudes toward warriorhood, combined with jewellery and other symbolic representations of ostentatiousness, were a common feature of burials in a wider area that includes not only parts of HalAx, but PelOh and LoV as well.

While local particularities are noted (inter as well as intra-regionally), the spectrum of warriorhood with gilded weaponry and golden clad warriors on the one end, and the spear-graves on the other, is a feature visible in the three neighbouring regions (PelOh, HalAx and LoV). Contrary to other research that sees common consumption patterns as representations of an ethnic ideology, in this tudy these are considered common representations that can transcend ethnic boundaries.

Research that puts to the fore a set of material assemblages as representations of ethnic structures fails to explain why one consumption pattern is an ethnic marker and another is not (e.g. imports and sets of vessels vs golden masks and armament uniformity). In the absence of an emic perspective (input from the users and makers of a certain materiality explaining its symbolic vocabulary), the aspects of "material culture" that allude to ethnic boundaries and ones that do not are lost to us.

In order to better understand the benefits of considering these regions together, and the criticisms against such an approach, the following chapter and a basic overview of the HalAx region is necessary. Although not part of the catalogue of weaponry in this study, the findings from HalAx provide a much needed context for PelOh and LoV, further expanding and enriching the discussion.

Chapter 5. The Haliakmon Axios region

5.1. Regional overview and grounds for comparisons

The Haliakmon-Axios region (HalAx) comprises of the area along the banks of the rivers Haliakmon to the south and Axios in the east (the river Vardar from Republic of N. Macedonia is named Axios in the Hellenic Republic), with its western border marked with mountains Vermio and Lake Vegoritida to the west, and the Nidje/Voras mountain range to the north. Its northern border corresponds with the national border between Republic of N. Macedonia and the Hellenic Republic. Mt. Paiko overlooking the Giannitsa Plain is another notable geographical landmark. Some of the contemporary settlements in the area include Edessa, Giannitsa, Pella, Veroia and Thessaloniki.

The communication with the adjacent regions is easy and not obstructed by natural borders. To the north-east, the LoV region is easily accessible along the river Vardar/Axios. The river is also a natural border to the east; however the area to the immediate east of Axios is also taken into account in this study. It is part of the same plain and is currently part of the same administrative district within the Hellenic Republic, named Central Macedonia. The access to PelOh is open along the shores of the Vegoritida Lake – the northern pass between Mt. Kajmakchalan/Voras and the lake and the southern pass between it and Mt. Vermio. To the south, two access points into Pierria can be located along the river Haliakmon cutting between Mt. Vermio and the Pierrian mountain range, and along the shoreline of the Aegean Sea on the foothill of the same mountain range.

The region itself is heterogeneous, both by looking at the historical context and at the archaeological record. Nonetheless, the findings from sites such as Sindos and Archontiko, albeit belonging to two developments with their own possible trajectories, were compared on many occasions (Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012; Despoine 2016a-c; Saripanidi 2017). These spatio-temporal variations do not prevent from considering the various archaeological sites together, since the data shows intense communication, sharing of technological and cultural developments as well as an entangled and often times common history of the many polities that existed in the area.

The decision to include the region in question in this study, by providing an overlook of some published archaeological sites, is warranted not only by the similarities noticed during this research, but to the history of comparisons and rejected analogies that are present in the extant literature.[28] The inclusion of other neighbouring regions could be done based on similar grounds, be it the inclusion of Thesally and Epirus when discussing the HalAx and PelOh regions or the area to the north of UpV in Southern Serbia and Western Bulgaria. Yet, the shared characteristics seen in some changes that can be followed diachronically between these regions provides an excellent base for our understanding of warrior representations.

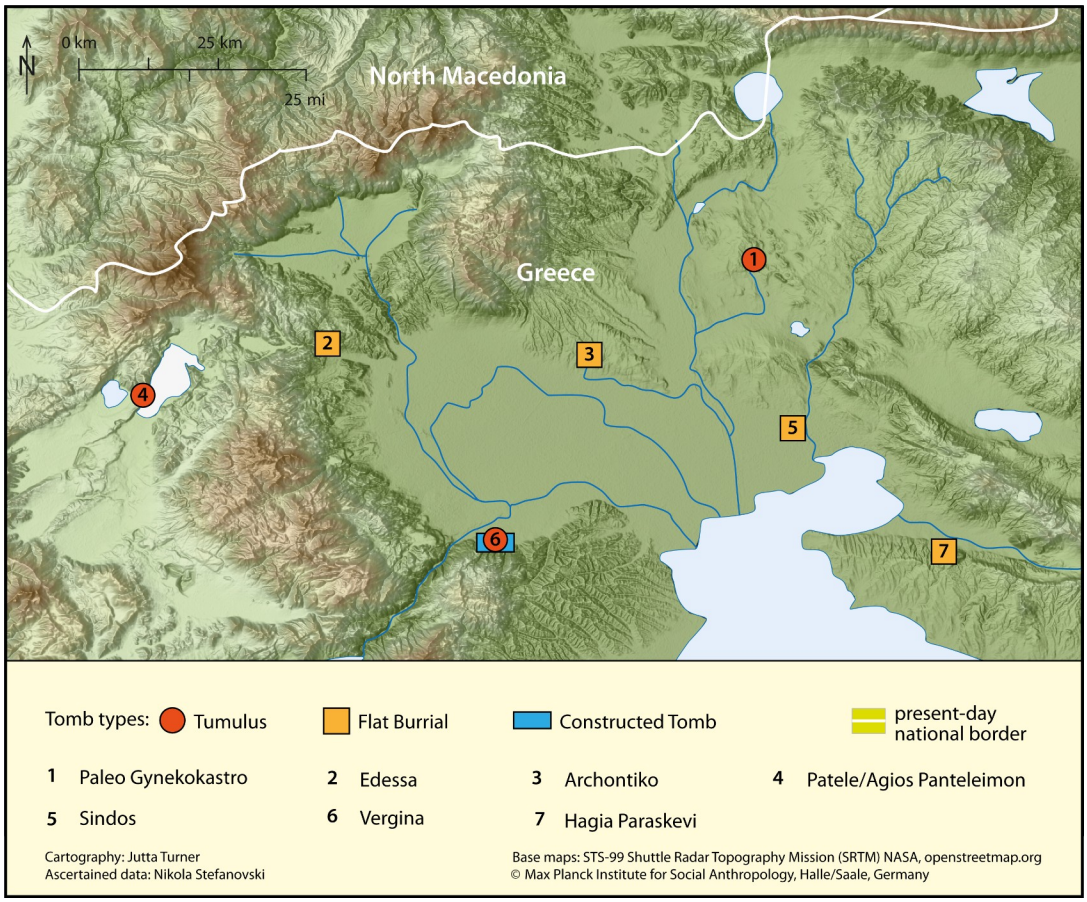

Figure 24: Map of the HalAx region

28 Along the vast and quite diverse archaeological community, two camps were formed: one that excludes the Trebenishte site in discussions of the Archontiko and Sindos burial sites, insisting the similarities do not warrant a closer look since an ethnic differentiation is expected between the populations that produced them (Saripanidi 2017 - with references). The other, weaving them into arguments of a more ethnically uniform consistency between the peoples (Mitrevski 1997; Kuzman 2013; Petrova 1999). There is of course a wide array of scholars found between these arguments (Heilmann 2014; 2016; 2020; Chemsedoha 2020).

5.2. Meso and micro-context

5.2.1. Vergina

Excavations at the site, which was known to hold archaeological remains and mound burials since the 19th century CE, were first undertaken in 1951 by Manolis Andronikos. His research in the area continued and the Great Mound was excavated during the systematic research in 1977, which led to one of the most important findings at the site (the so-called tomb of Phillip II) dated at the end of the Classical Period and beginning of the Hellenistic Period (Andronikos 1978). However, the excavation from 1960-61 by Photis Petsas that was decades later published by Andrea Braüning and Imma Killian-Dirlmeier (2013) yielded most of the data of the Iron Age material.

The necropolis at Vergina is consisted of tumuli spanning a period of several centuries – from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period. However, the intensity of its use changed significantly during that vast timespan with most burials taking place in two periods: 1000-850 BC. and 700-600 BC (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 142). The chronology for the tumuli discovered at Vergina in 1960-61 by Petsas, was well developed by researchers such as Klaus Kilian (1975, 66-73) and the duo Andrea Braüning and Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier (2013 135-141), who divide the period the necropolis was used in several phases with some overlaps:

- Phase II – before 1000 BC
- Phase III A – 1000-900 BC
- Phase III B – 900-850 BC
- Phase III C (early) – 850-700 BC
- Phase III C (late); Phase III C (late)/Phase IV (early) – 750-700 BC; 750-650 BC
- Phase IV A (early Archaic Period) – 700-650 BC
- Phase IV B (late Archaic Period) – 650-600 BC

However, dating of micro-contexts is difficult since a lot of the material found is not very chronologically sensitive, rather it was in circulation for extended periods of time. Fortunately, the archaeological documentation of the site made it possible to get a better understanding of the horizontal stratigraphy. This was additionally helped by cross-examining material from neighbouring regions and in turn helped a lot of the researchers studying the LoV, UpV and especially the PelOh region in their chronological models.

As for the horizontal stratigraphy at Vergina, it is important to note that there remains a possibility of Iron Age flat graves between some of the mounds, which unfortunately eluded excavators in the past (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013). Furthermore, flat graves from the Archaic period were discovered in what is the contemporary Vergina settlement. The material, which is still not sufficiently published, is analogues to other published Archaic cemeteries from the area, with defensive warrior equipment, metal vessels and feasting equipment being included in the assemblages (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 143).

Going back to the tumuli, the necropolis is consisted of mounds covered with red soil and in some cases they were enclosed with stones. The majority did not have central burials, although there are several that did. The most common burial construction is the pit, with average dimensions of 200x100 cm. The predominant burial rite is the inhumation with supine positioning of the body. However, hardly any osteological remains were preserved due to the acidity of the soil, meaning the positioning of the artefacts (mostly jewellery and clothing accessories) were used to determine the placement of the body. This also lead to the conclusion that the deceased were clothed when interred in the grave and not wrapped in a shroud (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 89). Braüning and Kilian-Dirlmeier additionally note that burials in stone built cists are also common, as well as pithos burials which seem to appear more in the later phases – from III C onward (2013, 90). Cremation burials also occur, in 17 from the 126 burials excavated by Petsas (or 13% of all burials).

Merging of different mounds under one larger tumulus is also attested. Researchers associate this with different families or clans joining in new alliances (e.g. through marriage), and the merged tumuli are seen as an expression of those alliances (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 115). However it is important to note that this is a model based solely on historical accounts of the Argead royal house from the late Archaic and Early Classical Period, where clan alliances did occur in the aforementioned manner and played a great role

in the consolidation of the Argeads and the subsequent assimilation of the other royal houses in the next few centuries. Apart from that, this has not been proven by any other scientific method (e.g. genetic studies of the deceased in order to affirm family relations).

Of 231 graves at Vergina for which it was possible to interpret the sex of the deceased, based on a combination of physical traits of the osteological remains and the artefacts interred, 100 burials belonged to females, 75 to males and 56 to children (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 102). Some of those child burials contained adult assemblages, both designated as female and male. In the case of the male burials, this meant that the weaponry was the main point of note. However, the researchers were well aware of the sociological implications of manhood and womanhood derived from attire and biological male or female traits (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 148). The connection between gender and sex corresponds to the few anthropologically confirmed cases, where nature and nurture seem to go hand in hand, in the entire region where such analysis was possible. Therefore, much more attention was given to gender, and the interpretation of the burials stemmed from the perceived duality of the assemblages, where the polarization in the form of weaponry on the one and jewellery and miniature bronzes on the other side (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 93-94) received much more attention in their analysis than the biological sex.

Furthermore, some of the artefacts such as different clothing accessories and different weapons, were evaluated as to better understand whether there is another distinction and a correct conclusion was made that they do not signify different age groups nor different wealth-based status groups (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 102). However, status – understood as standing, was communicated through the assemblages, with a representations of warriorhood playing a big role in the representation of manhood. This goes well in hand with previously mentioned instances of "burials as warriors" from North Macedonia.

The weaponry from the Iron Age tumuli at Vergina is mostly made of iron and comes in several forms of offensive weapons – swords, combat knives, spears and arrows. The swords are the only ones that in several occasions are made of bronze and are thought to be one of the oldest pieces at the necropolis. However their form – a flange hilted sword of the Naue II type – is the same in all cases; although it does come in several variations. Grave C Δ for example, contained a bronze Naue 2 sword, a handmade kantharos and a bronze ring.

Three possibilities for the appearance of a bronze sword in an otherwise stratigraphically confirmed Iron Age context were laid out by previous researchers(Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 31):

- It was made and interred in the final decades of the Bronze Age, thus making it one of the oldest burials at the site;
- It was made in the LBA but interred in EIA, when the grave was furnished;
- It was made and interred in the EIA, which means bronze continued to be used as material parallel to iron at least for some time at the beginning of the EIA.

All explanations stand and are viable options for this particular micro-context. It is possible that the necropolis was used at the very end of the LBA, as other findings like sub-mycenaean pottery and combat knives found in the area, and in the wider region in similar necropolises, would support that claim. As for the second interpretation, swords were often handed down through generations, which is one of the reasons they are not chronologically sensitive. Finally, there are few examples of bronze swords being suspected to have originated at the beginning of the EIA, one being a sword from Prilep-Sivec in Pelagonia (Kilian 1975, Taf. 40; Harding 1995; 2007, 233).

The combat knives vary more in their manufacture, as some are flange hilted as well while most are thorn hilted with curved single edged blades. In most cases it is probable they were multi-functional, both as arms of war and tools for hunting and other daily activities. The spears, as it often is the case, although diverse in shape and size are analogues with pieces from the adjacent regions. This diverse, yet similar, spear production will be discussed in chapter 6.

The ceramic form that, appears the most is the jug with a cutaway neck in its handmade version. Other forms known from the adjacent regions and following periods such as cups with one or two handles (kantharoid cups), plates with one or two handles and jugs with flat rims are also present (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 25). As the findings are predominantly from the Early and Developed Iron Age, the handmade ceramic is expected and it represents a notable feature of burial assemblages which is different per say with the LoV region where from the end of the 7th century BC the wheel-made ceramic in the same

forms became a staple of burial pottery. Finally, the bowl with knob handles is yet another type of pottery found at the site.

Clothing accessories and jewellery also comes in well known forms for the entire region. The bronze spectacle fibulae, beads and saltaleons, as well as the miniature bronzes are well recorded at the necropolis. Significant attention is given to the headdress and so-called labrys sceptres which are found in burials of women (designated according to the assemblage).

Out of the 126 burials from the excavations of Photis Petsas in 1960-61, there are 33 burials that contain weaponry, or 26% of the graves. This number can also be considered an understatement as there are a few potential Hellenistic burials among those 126 graves, which would alter the percentage. According to the provided catalogue by Braüning and Kilian-Dirlmeier (2013, 161-309), 51 pieces of weaponry were discovered. Of them: 34 were spears (66%), 5 swords (10%), 6 combat knives (12%), and 6 were arrowheads (12%).

This statistic more or less gives us an idea of the distribution of weapon types in graves; however it can be misleading, especially when swords are concerned. Namely, there are tumuli that have not been included in the catalogue, since they were part of different excavations, but contained more swords. They were also chronologically similar to the ones that entered the statistic above. This would increase the percentage of swords, but the ratio will more or less remain. Additional adjustments would be made to the spears and arrows as well. Nonetheless, spears were the predominant weapon type, followed by the three other types that more or less have a similar part of the pie.

These figures should not be seen as a reflection of burial practices in one single moment in time, as there is no way of determining this because of the level of difficulty with dating the graves. It only represents an overview of several centuries worth of data and it gives us just a slight glimpse into the preference at the necropolis. Furthermore, a deduction regarding soldier ranks, based on the type of equipment interred in graves, cannot be made – an observation made previously as well (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 102).

There are a few individual graves that would shed light on the different, yet coherent, practice of ‘burials as warriors’. The first example would be grave K of tumulus III (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 172). It contains: an iron spear, a jug with a cutaway neck, a jug with a flat rim, an iron pin, two bronze rings and fragments of bronze spiral rolls. It is an

inhumation burial in a cist and was dated in Phase IVa, or 700-650 BC. Another example, grave AΓ from tumulus LXV (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 230) contains: an iron spear, a handmade jug with a flat rim, a bronze bi-conical bead, a whetstone and a bronze tweezer. It is dated around the same time. They have slightly different assemblages, much like it was seen in regions LoV and UpV.

Much like most burials in the LoV, graves K and Γ from Vergina have full assemblages. Grave Δ from tumulus C (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 301) that contains a flange-hilted bronze sword, a handmade kantharos and a bronze ring, is another example. It also helps us see the longevity of this practise, as it is expected this grave is among the older at the necropolis.

Although there is an abundant variety of assemblages, as it was the case with the LoV region, one distinction can be made: The majority of 'burials as warriors' at Vergina contain all categories of artefacts, as described in the 2nd chapter, in relation to LoV burials.. Nevertheless, no graves stand out in the EIA and DIA by being ostentatious, as it will become the case in the Archaic period (discussed a few paragraphs bellow). The classification is usually met by the internment of a single object of every category. Additionally, there is no striking difference in assemblages related to the weapon type.

Another important feature, which is usual in tumular necropolises, is the prevalence of single burials. A double burial for the cremation grave LXIV A is suspected (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 197-198), due to the two spears and two knives found within (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 91).

The archaic burials at Vergina were found to have formed two clusters B and Γ. From the former, only one burial remained untouched by looters, the so-called "Lady of Aigai" burial – dated around 500 BC. It contained a variety of luxurious artefacts such as golden shoe soles; golden, silver and other metal clothing accessories; a head diadem; clay figurines; an iron miniature carriage; pottery; and other bronze vessels associated with drinking – some of which were gilded with silver (Saripanidi 2017, 81).

The burial cluster Γ one the other hand, is consisted of six 'burials as warrior' containing the cremated remains of six deceased. Although the graves are still not published, it has been reported that they were of the familiar type of elite archaic burials such as the burial of the

“Lady of Aigai” only additionally containing iron swords, spears and combat knives, and bronze helmets in addition to the other ceramic and metal drinking vessels, and metal clothing accessories – some of which of precious metals (Saripanidi 2017, 81).

The number of unpublished burials from the archaic period at Vergina is large, and it has been reported that many of them have been found looted. The remains show a consistent picture of what is to be expected of burials of this calibre, but it provides researchers with difficulty regarding the assessment of the entire picture when the wealth of the burials is concerned (Saripanidi 2017, 82).

5.2.2. Archontiko-Pella

The archaeological site is located 1 km west of the contemporary settlement Pella and 14 km west from the river Axios. During prehistory and the Classical and Hellenistic periods it was next to the Aegean Shore as the Thermaic Gulf and especially the Axios delta had a different configuration. Systematic excavations led by Pavlos and Anastasia Chrysostomou, whose publications are the main source in this study on all Archontiko related matters, were undertaken on several occasions: between 1992 and 1998, and in th e 2000s when most of the burials relevant for this study were discovered. These 1001 burials were excavated in six adjacent fields over an area of approximately 1.1 hectares. Of them: 260 were from the Iron Age (second half of the 7th cent. – 580 BC), 474 from the Archaic Period (580 – 480 BC), 261 of the Classical and Early Hellenistic (480-279 BC), and no dating is available for six of them (Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012, 491).

The majority of the graves are inhumations in rectangular and oval pits, although cremations are noted on several occasions. Additionally there are two pithos burials, a case of dislocated remains and a reuse of an Iron Age cist grave. A wooden sarcophagus is suspected to have been used at the site due to the large dimensions of the pits. The bodies were placed in a supine position with the heads of women facing east, north or south and the males west, north or south Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012, 491).

Most scholarly attention was given to the Archaic burials, which were divided, by the excavators and publishers of the findings, into four categories of male and four categories of female burials. The division was made based on the assemblages with the first categories

being relatively scarce in burial offerings while the fourth categories were opulent graves containing golden masks and accessories. Furthermore, types of ceramic and metal vessels, jewellery for the women burials, and types of weapons in the case of burials of men played an additional role in the division (Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012, 493, 499).

In addition, the publication of the data focuses mostly on the third and fourth category of burials and a comprehensive catalogue of the graves is currently unavailable. The burials of importance to this study correspond to the graves of men and their four categories which are as follows:

- First group: burials with iron weapons – one or two spearheads, a knife and some additional grave goods.
- Second group: burials containing an iron sword in addition to the spearheads, ceramic and metal vessels and some jewellery.
- Third group: burials that include a bronze helmet in addition to grave goods from the second group. In certain cases a golden mouth piece can be found, as well as additional golden appliqués.
- Fourth group: Ostentatious burials containing luxury ceramic and metal vessels, golden jewellery, iron weapons and a bronze helmet decorated with golden strips. Many of these burials also contain golden masks, hand covers, iron miniature carriages and feasting equipment as well as clay figurines.

This division of types of burials (Chrysostomou 2014, 148), although taxonomic shows the different kinds of burials found at these necropolises, with the third and fourth group being encountered quite often in necropolises in wider region. On occasion they represent the overwhelming majority of the graves as is the case of the findings at Edessa (Chrysostomou 2014, 148).

It has been noted before as well, in similar meta-analytic studies that there is considerable variation among these groups of burials and that it is more likely that they only “reflect different levels of mortuary expenditure” (Saripanidi 2017, 84). Additionally it has been noted

that there is a large variety of vessel combination ranging from a single cup to a full drinking set (Saripanidi 2017, 83).

The weaponry from the Archaic burials at Archontiko is of both offensive and defensive character. The iron swords are mostly of the xiphos type; however, there is an example of a machaira type of sword (burial T280). The iron willow shape spears are the predominant form and usually comes in pairs. As for the helmets, the predominant type is the so-called "Illyrian" helmet, although it is worth noting the necropolis yielded plenty of variations of the type – most notably helmets designated Illyro-Corinthian that embody characteristics of the two types. Some of the helmets found at the site (all made of bronze) are decorated with golden strips, while others remain undecorated.

Golden appliqués and strips also decorate some of the swords, namely the hilts and scabbards. Additionally, it is expected that they decorated clothing as well. Golden masks, mouthpieces, hand covers, rings and earrings are present at the necropolis both in burials of men and women. The inclusion of miniature carriages and feasting equipment made of iron or in some cases silver is another feature of these burials (Saripanidi 2017).

As mentioned above, the Archaic burials at Archontiko are yet to be published in detail and a thorough description cannot currently be done; however, by way of preliminary publications and a few reports and mentions from several meta-analytical studies dealing with the matter, it is possible to define their general characteristics.

While some data is available for the burials of the Archaic Period, the Early Iron Age burials remain unknown at the moment. Of the 474 Archaic burials, it is possible to speak only of the 102 undisturbed graves that contained the remains of men, women and children. Detailed description is available for several burials that belong to the Fourth group, as they were published by the excavators (Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012).

Of particular interest, among the published data, are tombs: T131, T145, T194, T279, T280, T283, T443, T692. All belong to the Fourth category, according to the above mentioned classification. They are characterized by assemblages that contain full weaponry and drinking sets, golden masks and bronze vessels. It can also be noted that the weaponry set is usually consisted of a bronze helmet, a shield, a sword and two spears. In the majority of cases the spears are of the same size and type. However, variations of a weaponry set are to be

expected at the necropolis, especially when considering tombs of the First, Second and Third group. This should become more clear after detailed publication.

There were 44 helmets uncovered at the site, 40 of which were of the “Illyrian” helmet, dubbed “Macedonian” by the excavators and publishers (Chrisostomou, Chrysostomou 2012, 497). Eleven of them were decorated with golden strips. Shields were found in six graves (T 131, T 258A, T 279, T 280, T 283, T 692), all considered to be of the Fourth group. Unfortunately no specific number is offered for the rest of the weaponry and no statistical comparison can be made.

5.2.3. Sindos

The Sindos necropolis, named after a contemporary small settlement nearby, is located 23 km north-west from the city of Thessaloniki. The first excavations at the site were done in June 1980 and, although there were many instances when research was done in the area, in this study the data coming from the excavations between 1980 and 1982 will be taken under consideration. The findings (121 burials) were published in detail by Aikaterine Despoine in three tomes, which is the main source used here (Despoine 2016a; 2016b; 2016c).

The necropolis is located on a low natural hill covered by a thick layer of alluvial, reddish sil and sand, which also included cobblestones and river stones (Despoine 2016a, 107). The cemetery was probably connected to a nearby settlement and its use began in the first half of the 6th century and ended around the end of the 5th century BC. The oldest burial is probably T90, a ´burial as warrior´that contained a sword and spear. However there were a few cases of 4th century burials which are treated as exceptions (Despoine 2016a, 14). Scattered graves from the 4th centuries were also discovered in subsequent excavations (Despoine 2016a, 17).

As it was the case in previously discussed archaeological sites, there seems to be a stark dichotomy between burials of men and women. This is viewed solely in terms of the assemblage, although the physical traits of the osteological remains were analysed whenever possible by an anthropologist (Despoine 2016a; Musgrave 2011). In most cases this remains a discussion of gender and not sex; however there is no clear theoretical background established for the connection ,or lack thereof, between gender and sex at the Sindos necropolis. An

additional gender marker is the orientation of the body in the grave. The men were buried with their heads to the west and the women to the east (Despoine 2016a, 24, 115).

Of the 121 graves at Sindos, 59 were looted in antiquity and four were destroyed by various activities in modern times. It is believed that the looting in many of the cases was done shortly after the burial as the looters new the gender of the deceased. Given burial offerings were mostly placed in the area around the upper body of the deceased, the looters only dug in that half of the grave. This is confirmed in cases such as the graves T7, T46, T47 (Despoine 2016a, 109). However, the excavators noted that none of the richest burials at the site were looted (Despoine 2016a, 110).

The graves were predominately cists made of stone slabs or rectangular pits, however other forms were encountered as well: such as cists made of monolithic stone, stone built rectangular tombs, brick built graves and pithos burials (Despoine 2016a, 111). The bodies were placed in supine position. The eyes and mouth were covered and it suggested that some of the rituals attested in texts such as the washing the body and annointing it with aromatic oils was practised at the necropolis as well. This argument is supplemented by the burial offerings as well which very often number oil repositories among them (Despoine 2016a, 115). Nonetheless, caution is needed not to project this on all burials and paint a homogeneous picture of ritual practice for the population.

The weaponry at Sindos goes along the regional developments of the Archaic Period in the wider region. Spears are the most common type of weaponry found at the site, followed by combat knives, swords and helmets. The swords are mostly of the xiphos type, with several examples of machaira swords. The overwhelming majority of helmets are of the “Illyrian” type, and as in other analogues sites, they are sometimes decorated with golden strips. These golden decorated helmets are interred in graves that also contain golden masks and other appliqués of similar nature. The mouth and eye covers (usually rhomboid in form) in these graves are also made of gold. Swords get a similar treatment as helmets, with the hilts and scabbards getting golden strips as decoration.

A full set of warrior equipment is common and it usually accompanies adult men. However, there are a few examples of children or adolescents interred with those assemblages (Saripanidi 2016). Additionally, both adult and child burials that contain weaponry are often accompanied by iron miniature feasting equipment, bronze drinking and pouring vessels as

well as jewellery and clay figurines. A similar approach was taken with the burials of adult women and female children where the main difference is the lack of weaponry and inclusion of additional pieces of jewellery.

The distribution of weaponry, drawn from data of the 1980-82 excavation (Despoine 2016c) is as follows:

- 53 spears – found in 30 graves: 8, 19, 25, 31, 35, 42, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 62, 65, 66, 76, 79, 81, 82a, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 97, 105, 109, 111, 115, 118.
- 32 swords – found in 22 graves: 14, 25, 40, 51, 52, 53, 57, 59, 62, 65, 66, 79, 81, 87, 89, 90, 97, 105, 109, 111, 114, 115.
- 4 arrows – found in graves 52, 65 and two as occasional finds.
- 14 helmets – found in 14 graves: 25, 52, 57, 59, 62, 65, 76, 87, 97, 100, 105, 111, 115, 118.
- 5 shields – found in 5 graves: 25, 52, 57, 89, 115.

The offensive weapons are all made of iron, except three arrows which were made of bronze. The helmets and shields are made of bronze, of which the latter are expected to have been made with plenty of organic material as well. Grieves are the rarest and like the previous two are all made of bronze (Despoine 2016c, 289). Cuirasses are not attested and were probably made of organic material such as leather.

The most common set is consisted of two spears and a sword; however cases with two (T52, T57, T115) and three swords (T25) are also known. Helmets and shields are always represented by one sample in an assemblage. The interpretation of smaller blades as daggers or knives is a little more complicated and will be discussed in detail in chapter 6. In the case of Sindos, there are many burials containing such blades, both in weapon and weaponless burials.

The publication dealing with the 1980-1982 excavations lists 275 vessels. Of them 122 were considered Attic, 86 Corinthian, 12 Ionian, 4 from Evia, 1 from Boeotia and 40 of local form. For 14 of them it was not possible to determine (Despoine 2016b, 15). Commonly, a drinking set was formed by combining a pottery and metal vessels for drinking, mixing and pouring. Additionally, clay and faiance containers for ointments were also interred in graves.

5.4. Macro Context

The overview above, of the three major necropolises from the HalAx region, highlights several important developments over a large period of time, of roughly four to five centuries. In the case of Vergina, a more or less consistent diachronic view is possible. The tumuli hold data spanning several centuries from the EIA well into the DIA. What is noticeable is that even with the slight changes in material style, there is a consistency to the assemblages.

The results of this particular change are most observable in Archontiko and Sindos. It is the former that holds the still unpublished clues about its EIA burials. It might be quite helpful in understanding whether Vergina is isolated or the EIA and DIA type of burials seen there are present at Archontiko and were then followed by the Archaic burials already known to us. The necropolis at Sindos on the other hand, provides information on the Archaic burials only. However, this is changing as the years pass, as more excavations from the past are published by current researchers. Preliminary reports from multiple sites show that Vergina does not stand alone in this macro-context. It is no longer the only large tumulus necropolis in Macedonia, as we know of over 500 more burials at Paleo Gynekokastro as well as Patele/Agios Panteleimon (Braüning, Kilian-Dirleier 2013, 147).

The archaeology of the Iron Age in the northern part of the Hellenic Republic has benefited from a renewed interest in the late 1980s and the 1990s, providing local scholars with an opportunity of understanding the Macedonian macro-context. Sindos, Archontiko, Vergina, Hagia Paraskevi, Patele, Paleo Gynekokastro, Eddessa and many other necropolises are often subject to extensive comparisons and various meta-analysis.[29]

The data that originated from these studies has been of particular interest for scholars across the border, in the R. N. Macedonia. The material style and burial construction has long been compared, and several sites have been used as a reference point for much of the chronological frameworks developed for North Macedonia (Mitrevski 1997). This is especially true for the border regions like Pelagonia, the Great Lakes and the Gevgelija Valley. Putting aside the discussion of ethnicity that seems to be occupy the last pages of many reports in local archaeology on both sides of the border, the study of the material itself poses some very interesting questions.

29 For relevant available bibliography, see sections above.

What aspects of the materiality and burial construction warrants a closer look between Vergina, Patele and Beranci? Is it possible to include Krivi Dol and Orlova Chuka as well, as it has been done in the past (Mitrevski 1997)? Similarly what are those similarities that are considered to be grounds for a comparison between Sindos and Archontiko, but are dismissed when Trebenishte joins the conversation?

Regarding the first question, there are several types of artefacts that have pointed researchers to think of shared pottery traditions. The jug with a cutaway neck is one example, originally handmade and then wheel-made, first along Vardar/Axios and then in other areas as well. It is the prevalent type of burial pottery found at all of the EIA and DIA necropolises from the HalAx, PelOh, LoV and UpV regions. The cup with one handle and two handles (kantharoid cup) is the next example. The differences in decoration, and the preference over handmade pottery for a longer period in some regions is what makes the entire discussion more complicated.

While the ochre painted ceramic is preferred in the LoV region, the mat painted ceramic seems to be the vessel of choice in HalAx and PelOh. It is important to note that more information is required from the Ohrid region to be able to confidently state that the entire PelOh region shared a ceramic production preference. The data shows that although the production differs (handmade in Iron Age HalAx and PelOh and wheel-made in LoV) the form and decorative elements (mainly white circles around the rim) is a constant. Additionally, UpV shares the preference for handmade pottery with HalAx and PelOh but the decoration is much closer to that of the central and northern Balkans.

Along similar lines, the tumulus is the predominant type of necropolis in UpV in the EIA and DIA, much like it is the case in HalAx and PelOh. Some of these tumuli have central burials and others do not. However, older tumuli at Vergina come both with and without central burials, and a closer look at this element of tumulus construction points us at Pelagonia. There, at sites such as Beranci (Mikulcic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997) and Patele (Braüning, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013, 147), a number of tumuli were discovered with central burials and radially oriented graves around them. Future publication and new excavations should help us understand whether they coexisted or developed in subsequent periods.

As for the burial construction, cists made of stone slabs seem to be the grave of choice in the majority of cases in the EIA and DIA. Rectangular and oval pits are also attested. This

seems to be a connecting point between flat and mound necropolises, as they appear in both cases. Apart from that connection, the coexistence of flat necropolises and mounds are confirmed in Pelagonia and UpV, as it was discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

Going back to the artefacts interred in the graves, the miniature bronzes, also called "Macedonian bronzes", are present in all regions at every necropolis of the EIA and DIA. Their religious, cult or other relevance is a broad subject that will not be elaborated in detail here; however, it is worth mentioning that it is distributed around the geographical region of Macedonia. Whether the symbolic meaning and utilization varied in all areas is another extensive subject.

The weaponry on the other hand, although typologically analogues, presents a slightly bigger challenge. While it is true that the swords found in all of the four regions belong to the same type of flange-hilted blades, their distribution reaches far more territory. Simply pointing to their occurrence in necropolises is not by itself enough to make a substantial comparison of burial practice, nor warrior practice. Similarly, the frequent use of spears in EIA and DIA, both in combination with blades and by themselves is another fairly common practice around Eurasia.

There are two aspects of the burial rituals including swords and spears that warrant our attention. The first is the assemblages in which they were included, as they are identified as part of graves of men in all four regions. They are accompanied by several types of pottery that remain fairly consistent in the wider region, and are often combined with grooming tools and some clothing accessories – mainly rings, spiral tubules, fibulae and occasionally an earring. This can be followed in all necropolises described in the previous chapters.

The second aspect is the ratio of blades and spears in flat and mound burial grounds. UpV and HalAx, that is Krivi Dol, Orlova Chuka and Vergina respectively, show a higher number of blades than the flat necropolises of LoV. As mentioned above, this is not the only analogy between those regions. However, caution is needed regarding some of the burials from Krivi Dol as their interpretation as 6th century micro-contexts makes them younger than the Vergina findings. By that time, the HalAx region was experiencing a change toward flat burials and the weapon graves were beginning to form different representations. These reached UpV shortly, and flat graves were found in necropolises such as Zhdanets. However they were also

home to monumental tombs that did not appear in Vergina until the Classical Period, albeit with their own particularities.

Having said that, the similarities between Vergina and burial grounds from North Macedonia, should not be overstated. There are chronological discrepancies that makes extensive comparisons and analogies very problematic. Any similarities should be treated with caution, and vast generalisations should be avoided, especially ones that make a direct connection between such burial grounds and the communities that produced them.

On the other hand the Archaic 'burials as warriors' show a slightly different story, with the ones from HalAx have more in common with others from PelOh and a few occurrences in LoV. The combination of face masks, mouth covers and other accessories of precious metal with new types of weapons like the Illyrian helmet and the xiphos can be attested in several micro contexts. Local particularities arise, as expected, and have been noted previously by looking at the drinking sets and the inclusion of miniature feasting equipment in HalAx (Saripanidi 2017, 83).

The entire collection of burials from Archontiko and Sindos show that there is a lot of variation and it seems there is no clear cut between types of burials and a continuum between poorest and richest graves exists, as well as a certain gradation between sites (Saripanidi 2019, 179). Despite the possibility of creating different taxonomies and types of burials, such as the one proposed by Chrysostomou (2014, 148), the differences between sites can be found to lead to some of the types to be missing from the meso-contexts.

Burials from the third and fourth category, according to Chrysostomou's division, are attested in regions like LoV (grave 103 from Miltsi can be placed in the second, and 1 and 5 from Zelenishte can be placed in the third category). While tombs of the first category are missing, this might reflect the state of current research, rather than an actual situation in the field. The Ohrid region on the other hand, has the entire array of graves present, when the several sites are considered together. It is important to note that more information is necessary to evaluate the specificity of the local context in the Ohrid region in greater detail. Most of the comparisons made point to a connection with other sites from the HalAx area. However, in order to achieve a better understanding, such as the vibrant discussions regarding the findings of the HalAx region reveal, systematic research and detailed publication is necessary.

5.5. Discussion

The area is not homogeneous both in terms of materiality and historically affirmed political organization. The up and coming Argead kingdom was based on alliances of several regions with their own political agendas (Thuc. 2.99). These were often set against each other, even when ideas of common descent were, and language barriers were not, present (Thuc. 1.57.3). Additionally, the area was home to more than one linguistic and/or ethnic group. The fact that during the Hellenistic Period, the process of negotiation of a collective identity was more or less uniform in Macedonia, does not mean the same could be said of the Archaic Period, which appears to have been more of a „melting pot" during that time (Xydopoulos 2017a, 84).

Despite the complex situation during the 6th and 5th century BC, there have been attempts to understand the boundaries and their changes. Saripanidi explains the shift in burial representation at the end of the Archaic Period, with the inclusion of feasting equipment, as representation of an identity built around notions of a Hellenic past (2017). Certain consumption patterns of vessels, perfume, and other imports from the southern Aegean are seen as a feature of a Makedonian elite seeking to legitimize itself, both locally and inter-regionally (Saripanidi 2017).

Additionally she considers the burials from Trebenishte and Gorna Porta are considered an expression of a different ideology, despite the acknowledged similarities with sites such as Sindos, Archontiko and Vergina. The similarities are waived off as a feature of many Mediterranean communities (Saripanidi 2019, 182) that also experienced a change between the 6th and 4th century BC. Although it is true that a combination of warriorhood and ostentatiousness is present in many burials dubbed "elite" or "princely" in the Mediterranean, this does not explain the increased similarity between Trebenishte and Archontiko, and the increased difference between them and Arareva Gomila, Pilatovikji and Atenitsa (found further north in the Balkan hinterland) for example.[30]

The argument is based on the notion that materiality has an "ethnic resonance" (Saripanidi 2017, 74-75; following Antonaccio 2001, 125)[31]. It outlines the expression of identity with

30 A similar discussion can be raised concerning burials where the warriorhood aspect is missing.

31 Saripanidi's approach explores ethnicity as a constriction and is interested in the process of it, criticizing essentialist approaches, all the while being aware of the problematic nature of ethnic studies in archaeology both from academic as well as contemporary political issues surrounding it. Nevertheless, she

funerary rites and shows how slight differences in an assemblage can reflect ethnic boundaries. However, the connection between a local particularity and a distinct ethnic identity is not convincing. It rests on the assumption that ethnicities themselves are materially and ideologically homogeneous, and no place is left for competing ideas of what makes a certain collective identity. To find an example of such competing ideas, one needs not look any further than Alexander I's problematic inclusion in the Olympic games, where his origin story was negotiated, or the competing views on the barbarity of the Makedonians in Athens during the rise of Philip II of Makedon.

Much like the competing ideas of Hellenicity between contemporary southern Aegeans, which are expected and considered normal, so should the complicated political context of the Makedonian kingdom with its competing royal houses be taken into consideration and the possibility of different ideas of Makedonicity should be allowed. With that, local perspectives about where it lies on the spectrum of collective identities in its northern Aegean context, and its relation to the Hellenes of the southern Aegean, should be expected.

While for Saripanidi, the heterogeneity of the region points to culturally distinct entities, which take the shape of ethnicity (2017; 2019) whose identification would be possible through contextual analysis of particular sites; others recognize that intensified communication between different groups can lead to the similarities encountered in the area (Misailidou-Despotidou 2018, 121-122).

It must be stressed that much like the caution urged above, of the expectation that local particularities in materiality show ethnic boundaries, similarities between regions and a seeming lack of difference in material should not be perceived as evidence of an inter-regional ethnic group. Instead, the idea of a cultural koine (Misailidou-Despotidou 2018, 121; Hatzopoulos 2020, 29), understood as a spectrum (Chavela 2022)[32], should be employed. This would allow us to see the entangled region in its complicated context, rather than offer a

attempts to tackle this "chimaera" of a problem (as she describes it). While her analysis of local particularities and attention to micro and meso-contexts is admirable, certain subsequent interpretations pertaining to ethnicity will be criticized below.

32 Chavela references Edith Hall (1987, 170) in arguing "ethnic groups shade off into one another" in the area (2022, 63).

narrative that is burdened by a problematic understanding of material data in archaeology as an emic category[33].

Therefore, the discussion of political units, which are described in a much more straightforward manner in historical texts, would be more beneficial. Additionally, instances where assemblages show similarity (alluding to similar attitudes toward representation) but the material originates from different workshops could (although not necessarily) point toward economically and politically separate entities that take advantage of different networks.

At the heart of the debate over the supposed ethnic resonance of a set of consumption patterns in the HalAx region is the expansion of the Argead kingdom and the manner in which this took place. In order for the similarities between Sindos, Archontiko and Vergina to be seen as part of the same representation of a Greek heroic ideology by an ethnically homogeneous group, it has been proposed that the borders of the kingdom were enlarged earlier than what was previously thought. Therefore, it is claimed, the crossing of the Axios and the expansion toward the north and north-east is thought to have taken place somewhere in the first quarter of the 6th century (Saripanidi 2019).

Demographic changes or not, our understanding of and the discussion over the expansion of the Makedonian kingdom is an important one. It has been noted that the description of Thucydides regarding the expulsion of communities and the conquest of those lands by the Makedonians should not be taken under a blanket understanding of expulsion and resettlement in all cases of "spear won" lands by Argead kings, and that the situation was

33 Saripanidi (2017a; 2019) insists on her consideration of burial rituals in Archaic Makedonia as data from an emic perspective, enabling her to use this much necessary component in her argumentation on the ethnic resonance of material. This stems from the fact the ethnic identity of a group is seen as something that scientists can understand only through the consideration of a set of symbolic meanings a group negotiates within itself. These are attainable only through direct contact with a group and by learning the symbolic vocabulary of that group. Saripanidi believes this can be done by her analysis of the material (seen as the group's expression) and her understanding of the historical context of Greece. However, this is by definition etic, as she as an outsider evaluates the gathered data. Unfortunately without "raising the dead" (Hatzopoulos2020), certain things are outside of our grasp. Material remains cannot be considered emic, simply because they are mute. Their combination, usage and meaning is tightly connected not only to the ideology of the people using them, but is temporally quite sensitive as well. Therefore, nothing short of an anthropologist that integrates in a community, during a temporal window, can decipher them. In addition, historical sources referencing cultural traits of people outside of the community of the historiographer, cannot be considered emic as well, since what is being done is by definition etic – a notion echoed and understood by Saripanidi herself (2017, 113).

most probably quite diverse and context related (Proeva 1997, 40; Sarakinski 2013, 289; Hatzopoulos 2020). In addition, the changing of the borders and subsequent changes in material, should not be simplistically equated to ethnic cleansing whenever change in the material is noted.

Contrary to theories of an early expansion, argumentation provided for the late expansion of the Argead Makedonian kingdom (somewhere around the late 6th century BC) highlights the historical account by Thucydides (2.99) who describes the conquest prior to Perdicca II's rule; and the state of the archaeological findings at Vergina, which is identified as the capital of the kingdom – Aigai (Hatzopoulos 2020). Regarding the historical texts, it is believed that after the takeover and the establishment of Aigai as the center of the dynasty, the Argeads expanded their rule toward north and north east, as well as north-west (Hatzopoulos 2020). The exact chronology of these events is difficult to asses (Sarakinski 2013, 290), nonetheless the first expansion (after the establishment in Pieria) is believed to be Bottia (Xydopoulos 2017, 72-73; Hatzopoulos 2020, 14). It is here, where the first difference can be found between supporters of the late and the ones of an early conquest. While the former identify the archaeological site of Archontiko as part of the narrow strip of (Lower) Paionia which was taken later (Hatzopoulos 2020, 26; Kottaridi 2016), the latter believe it was part of Bottia (Xydopoulos 2017; Saripanidi 2017; 2019), placing the ostentatious burials from the middle of the 6th century BC after the Argead conquest.

The archaeological data is used as an argument for both sides, with Kottaridi claiming supporters of an early Argead conquest would have to explain why the necropolis at Vergina contained poorer graves compared to the graves of the supposed subjects of the Archontiko necropolis (2016, 635). It is argued that the decline of wealth in sites such as Archontiko and Sindos in the second half of the 6th century and the increase of wealth in Vergina, shows the conquest should be placed in the last quarter of the 6th century BC (Hatzopoulos 2020, 32-33). Conversely, supporters of an early conquest see the data from Vergina, and the seemingly poorer state of the findings, as a result of extensive looting occurring in subsequent periods by invading Celts (Saripanidi 2019, 183).

Regarding the last point, it becomes evident that the change in materiality is seen through the lens of demographic changes, and Thucydides description of populations that were displaced or perished is taken as a blueprint for Makedonian conquest in the area. As

Hatzopoulos reminds us, it is not a matter of contention whether Argead control of the area was enforced at an earlier date, rather that the use of archaeological data to explain events of mass depopulation and colonisation are not supported by certain epigraphic evidence and later historical texts, showing the conquered areas continued to have locals in prominent positions well into the late 5th and 4th century BC (Hatzopoulos 2020, 29-31).

In addition, Thucydides' description of Perdiccas' army shows a force consisted of a highly diverse origin, with Makedonian cavalry, Chalcidians, Hellenic hoplites and a multitude of Barbarians (Thuc. 4.124). This state of affairs hints at a kingdom where warriors were levied from multiple groups, and coincides with the notion of a melting pot proposed by Xydopoulos (2017a, 84).

Regardless whether the political and/or military control over the area (Bottia, the narrow strip of Paionia and territories east of Axios) was enforced in the first half of the 6th century or at its end, interpreting the findings at Archontiko and Sindos (located in those areas) in ethnic terms is still a slippery slope. It presupposes not only very complex demographic changes that a small kingdom from the area around Aigai was supposed to undertake in a matter of a few decades, but it also does not address the already existing cultural koine prior to the 6th century BC (Misailidou-Despotidou 2018 121), where findings from PelOh, LoV and multiple sites around HalAx exhibit similar material conditions and contexts (as described in the sections of the macro-context in previous chapters).

Additionally, the burials from Trebenishte, Gorna Porta, Rechitsa, Delagozhda, Petilep-Berantsi from PelOh, and graves 1 and 5 from Zelenishte together with grave 103 from Miltsi from LoV[34], show a widespread area where such graves appear. They show a great variety and would fit in the wide spectrum of graves with differing assemblages from sites such as Sindos and Archontiko, as discussed above.

34 A few more burials (containing xiphi, spears and drinking and pouring vessels) dated in the late 6th century BC were discovered in Miltsi, after the completion of the database in this study. Information by courtesy of the lead researcher and director of the Gevgelija museum: Boban Husenovski.

Chapter 6: Weaponry

6.1. General information

The survey of material in this dissertation resulted in the cataloguing of 259 pieces of weaponry from the above described three regions LoV, UpV and PelOh. The survey of the fourth region, HalAx, yielded 237 weapons; however they are not included in the catalogue, rather the data from the region is compared with the former three.

The percentages, as seen in the chart, show slight differences between regions, but also common traits. Namely, spears are the majority and are usually above or around the 50% mark. The data shows that this changes in graves dated at the end of the 6th and throughout the 5th century BC. The ratio balances more as spears and swords are included together in many cases. However, this may be related to the types of burials usually researched and not to an actual general situation. In cases where a variety of burial types were discovered, a more gradual picture emerges and spears remain the preferred choice.

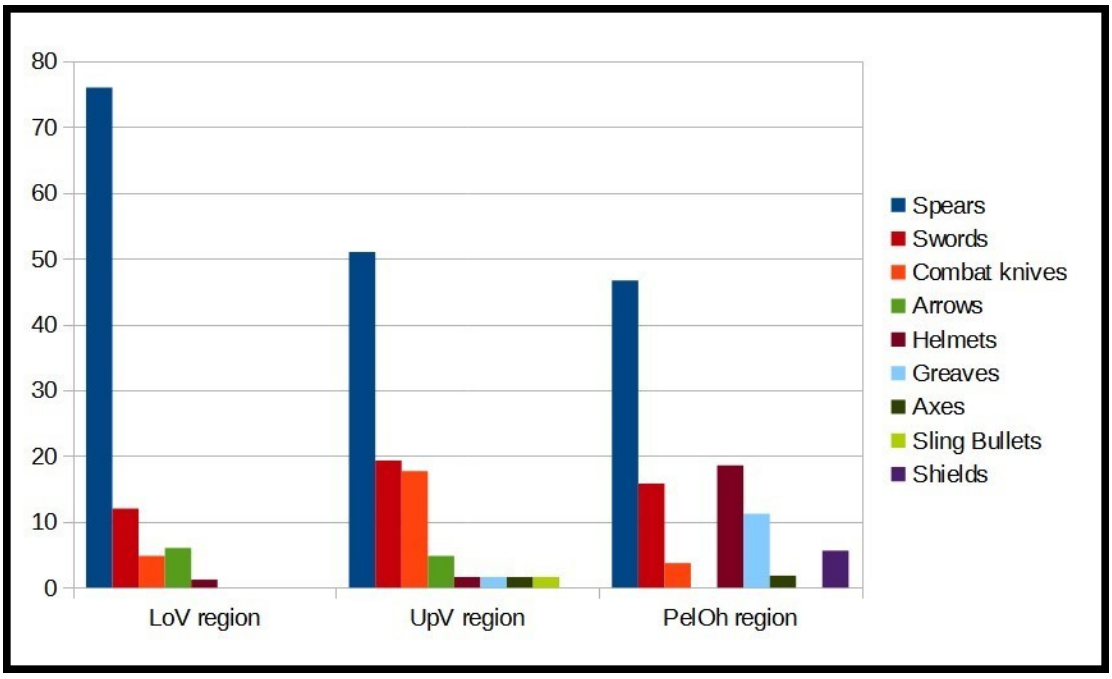

Figure 25: Percentages of weaponry found in micro-contexts

X	Spear	Spearbutt	Sword	Combat knife	Arrow	Helmet	Shield	Grieve
LoVM G6	1							
LoVM G7	1	1						
LoVM G8	1	1						
LoVM G10	2							
LoVM G12	1							
LoVM G27	1							
LoVM G51	1							
LoVM G56			1					
LoVM G66	1							
LoVM G71	1							
LoVM G73	1							
LoVM G78	1							
LoVM G103	2		2	2	1			
LoVM G110	1							
LoVM G127	1							
LoVM G135	1							
LoVM G140	1							
LoVM G147					1			
LoVM G154	1							
LoVM G155	1				1			

X	Spear	Spearbutt	Sword	Combat knife	Arrow	Helmet	Shield	Grieve
LoVSR G1	1							
LoVSR G12	1							
LoVSR G20	1							
LoVSR G28	1							
LoVSR G29	1		1					
LoVSR G30	1							
LoVSR G45	1							
LoVSR G49			1					
LoVSR G50	1		1					
LoVSR G74	1			1				
LoVSR G76	1							
LoVZ G1	1		1					
LoVZ G5			1					
LoVZ G6	1							
LoVGG G2					1			
LoVLD G14	1							
LoVLD G20	1							
LoVBJ G1	1							
LoVBJ G2	1							

X	Spear	Spearbutt	Sword	Combat knife	Arrow	Helmet	Shield	Grieve
LoVD G6A			1					
LoVD G7	1							
LoVD G20	1							
LoVD G27	1							
LoVD G29				1				
LoVD G31	1							
LoVD G44	1							
LoVD G56	1							
LoVD G59	1							
LoVD G60	2							
LoVD G68	1							
LoVD G70	1							
LoVD G78	1							
LoVD G79	1							
LoVD G83	1							
LoVD G88	1							
LoVD G89	2							

Figure 26: List of weapon sets from burial contexts in the LoV region. Near-grave and other findings from distrubed micro-contexts are excluded.

The weaponry included in the catalog verwhelmingly come from necropolises; however a few objects have an unknown context and one (a sling bullet from Brazda) was found within the confines of a settlement.

Having in mind the research questions of this study are related to warrior praxis and representation, the following sections related to typology will focus on aspects that help answer some of those inquires. Therefore, it will not be a detailed overview of existing typologies nor an ambitious attempt to develop new taxonomies. Rather it can be seen as an overview with a few adjustments and remarks on the connection between type and praxis.

6.2. Combat blades – swords and knives

6.2.1. Defining combat blades

The first problem that arises is the classification of combat knives[35] and swords, which is usually done by the length of the blades. The length is not the only issue, given the fact our own differentiation between these two categories of blades might not have been shared by the people that are the centre of our studies. It is obvious however, that size mattered. Not only

35 In the literature both knife and dagger are used, often as synonyms. This etymology will be addressed below.

there is a striking visual difference between a 60cm and 30cm blade, but the issue of martial arts also comes into the picture. Those two weapons were handled in a different manner, but on the other hand, they were both used as a secondary weapon.

Attempts at classification were done many times in the past. Some consider knives to be smaller than 45 cm (Snodgrass 1964, 104; Lloyd 2015, 21), short swords between 45 and 60 cm and medium swords between 60 cm and 90 cm, while the longswords are the ones longer than 90 cm (Lloyd 2014, 22). Others, like Barry Molloy, put knives below 30 cm, short swords between 30 cm and 60 cm and the ones longer than 60 cm are considered longswords. Additionally, he convincingly argues about the role of width, thickness, blade design and way of handling in the classification. (Molloy 2007a, 2010,). A similar approach was taken by both Kilian-Dirlmeier (1993, 5) and Harding (1995) who place knives bellow 30 cm and acknowledge the difficulties of making the division because of factors like shape, weight and width as well as grip form. Harding further specifies that where the hilt is missing, the point of division should be set at 25 cm (1995, 6).

These categorizations were related to flange-hilted swords of the Naue II type in the case of Lloyd and Snodgrass, and Mycenaean and Naue II swords in the case of Molloy, Harding and Kilian-Dirlmeier. As such they are relevant for the discussion of the Early and Developed Iron Age double-edged swords in this study. However the region and time studied here, brings forward a variety of bladed weapons and the classification gets trickier.

The entire collection of blades used in combat for stabbing and/or cutting and slashing are going to be simply referred to as ‘combat blades’ - an entirely self-explanatory umbrella term that groups smaller knives and larger swords together. Additionally there is a division within this broad group: single and double-edged combat blades. The double-edged combat blades mostly come in two forms: the xiphos and the Naue II sword. Things get complicated when the single-edged blades are brought under scrutiny - mainly because of their varying size and a plethora of shape variety. It can be expected that quite a bit of them, especially the ones with smaller dimensions, had a multi-practical utility.

It is precisely because of the single-edged pieces that the term combat blades is useful. It bridges the ambiguity of the smaller blades and is not burdened by a strict classification. It is worth noting that the typology of these weapons is a well studied topic, especially when the local material is concerned (Parovic-Peshikan1982; Vasic 1982; Verchik 2011; 2014). What

comes as a conclusion is that size matters, but it is not the defining characteristic—a notion shared by almost everyone dealing with them. It is also clear that some sub-types have a tendency toward certain dimensions while others are more varied. In those cases it is easier to abandon the umbrella term – combat blades. Instead, combat knife or sword might be used more freely. One such example is the double-edged xiphos sword and the Type V (according to Verchik 2014) single-edged sword. They are predominantly used as swords and their dimensions and place in a panoply confirm this.

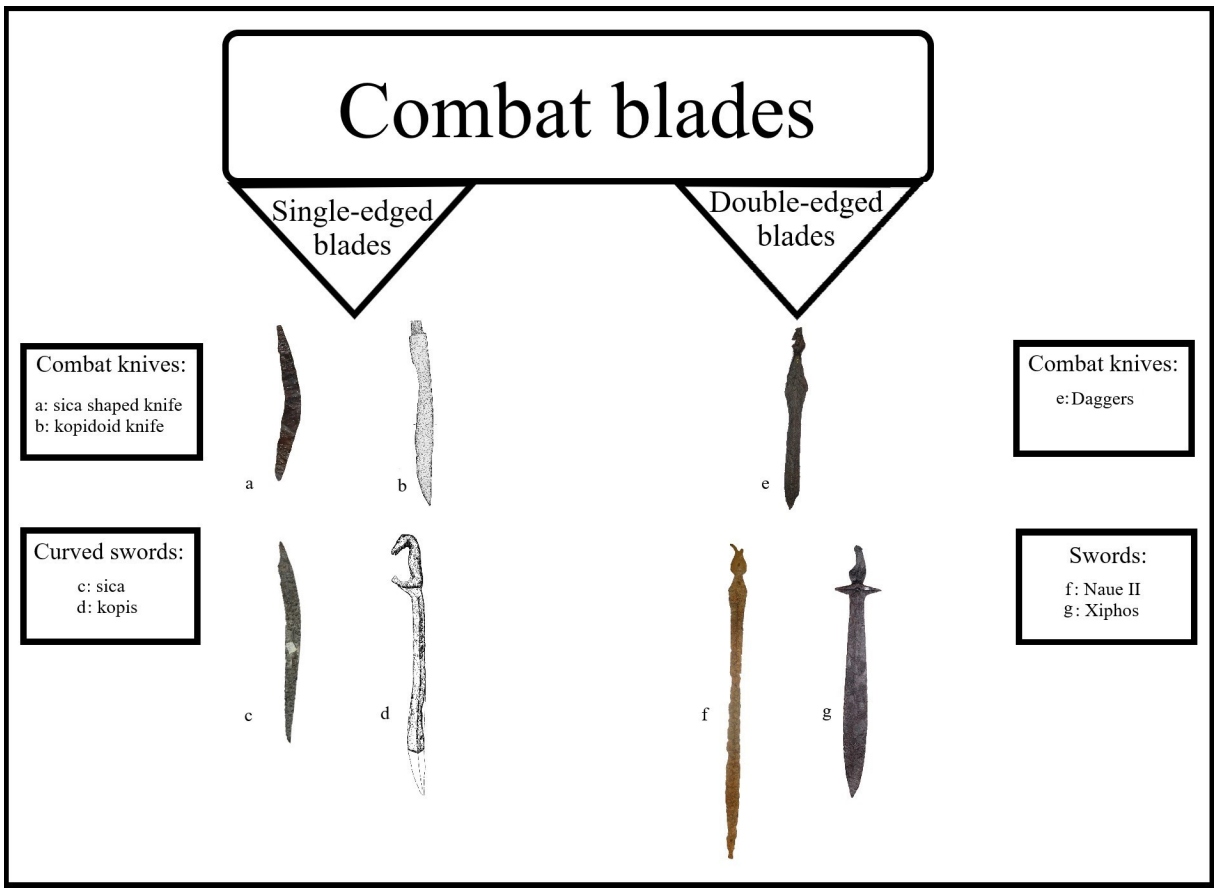

Figure 27: Combat blades nomenclature.

On the other hand a blade from Krivi Dol (C.No. 102) is a good example of the pitfalls of using dimensions as a guiding factor in classification. It is measured at 35.2 cm, with only a few centimetres missing from the hilt. As such it would be considered both as a combat knife and a sword in different typologies. The shape suggests that with the elaborate curvature, significant attention was given to place the weight near the tip – something done with larger pieces. Therefore, it is difficult to decide between a combat knife because of its size or a sword because of its shape and closeness to larger specimens.

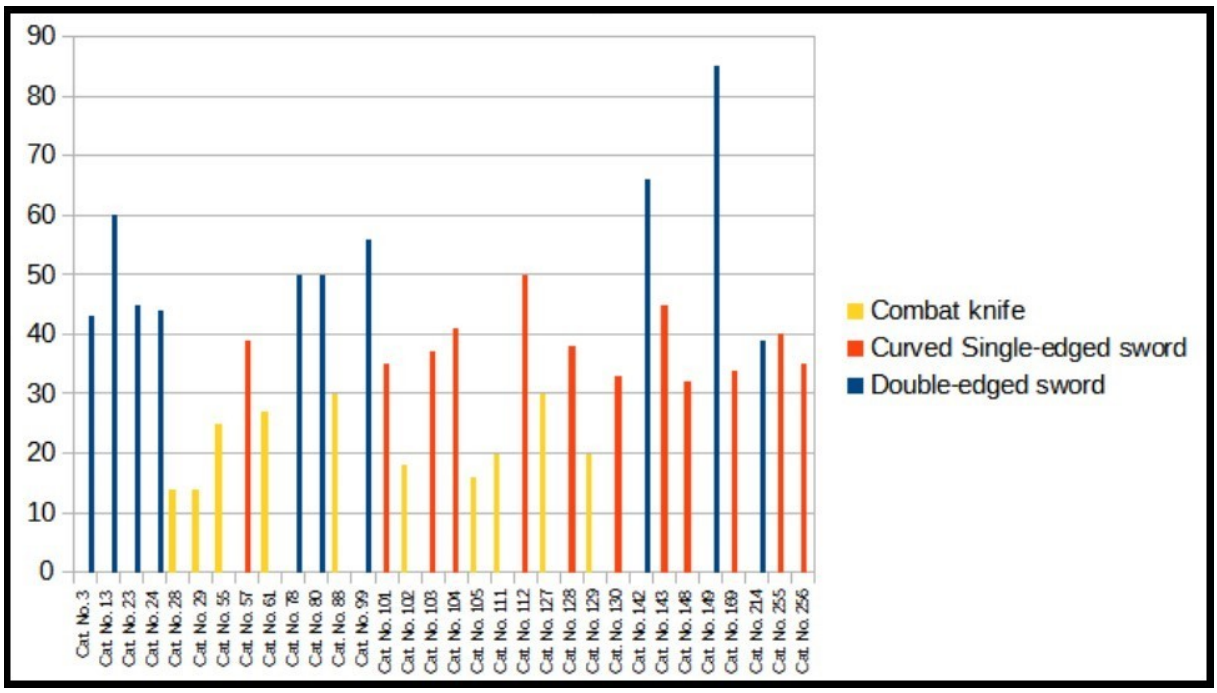

Figure 28: Length of combat blades

However, the division is necessary for the taxonomic nature of archaeological catalogues. Therefore the line that separates combat knives and swords in this study is set at 30 cm. It is derived from the clusters that are visible when the combat blades dimensions are grouped together. What can be seen is that there are shorter knives between 15 and 25 cm and larger knives between 25 and 30 cm. The 30 cm mark has been suggested to be the limit of these weapons in local archaeology as well (Filipovic 2015, 67; Angelovski 2018, 38).

Additionally there are three groups of swords: shortswords 30-45 cm; medium or the average sword length 45-65 cm; and longswords above 65 cm. The length is measured by taking both the blade and the hilt into account. Since in most cases – especially with the single-bladed combat blades – the hilt is missing, additional 6-9 cm (an average hand width) can be added to get a better idea.

A typical example of a combination of such combat blades would be grave 3 from Dubiche Volkovo (UpVDV G3) that contains a 20 cm (C.No. 130) and a 38 cm (C.No. 129) combat blade (both single-edged), meaning a smaller knife and a shortsword were combined. An example of the importance of the 30 cm mark would be the shortened flange-hilted sword (C.No.89) from Orlova Chuka (UpVOCh G2 TV). It is measured at 30 cm, and it becomes

clear after close examination that the weapon was repurposed after a potential breakage – an observation shared by Mitrevski as well (1997).

This sample leads to another important point — the role hilts play in identification of weaponry. It is generally considered that flange-hilts are part of Naue II swords, and in cases where only hilts are uncovered — like with C.No. 13 — the finding is interpreted as a badly preserved sword. This is mostly a correct assessment, and shortened repurposed combat blades like the sample from Orlova Chuka are rare. Therefore, the 30 cm mark should be seen as a means to an end and not the end of the interpretation itself. It can be expected that the combat blades between 30 and 35 cm can go either way. Likewise, in many cases it is unclear where a knife ends and a knife begins so any blade bellow 20 cm can go either or both ways. In this case the shape of the blade and hilt form play a much bigger role in the identification than the dimensions.

Finally, the etymology and meaning of the word dagger needs to be addressed. The root of the word - "dag" comes up in Middle English with the meaning "to stab". Consequently, the weapons usually called daggers are ones that are predominantly used for stabbing, and the shorter combat blades studied here are predominantly used for cutting. Describing them as daggers is not without precedent and, as mentioned above, the combat blades have repeatedly been divided into swords and daggers by other researchers. However, the term "streitmesser" employed by Verchik (2014) or the term often used by local archaeologists in Macedonian "боев нож" (both translated as combat knives) are a better description. Although, the former is used to describe all single-edged combat blades (Verchik 2014), while the latter is used as a substitute for dagger (Mitrevski 1997; Angelovski 2018, 38, 39). Filipovic (2015a, 70) further clarifies this by differentiating between "бодеж" (eng. dagger) and "бојни нож" (maced. боев нож; eng. combat knife).

6.2.2. Naue II swords

The oldest combat blades covered in this study are the flange-hilted double-bladed swords called Naue II, named after Julius Naue who coined the term Griffzungschwert or grip-tongue sword (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 3). Before their discovery in many Iron Age archaeological sites in Europe, these swords were produced from bronze and are a common find at Bronze Age sites. They appeared in the Balkan peninsula around the end of the 13th and beginning of

the 12th century BC (Molloy 2010, 409; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 94; Harding 1995, 20-23). Their place of origin is considered to be the eastern Alpine region (Molloy 2010, 409) or more precisely the area between southern Italy and Pannonia (Pabst 2013, 106). They are consisted of a hilt made of flanges which develops into the blade made of two parallel edges. In some cases a mid rib fortifies the blade, although it comes in various forms. The section also varies from sub-type to sub-type.

The grip-tongue swords soon became prevalent on the Balkan Peninsula, through what seems to have been a complex interaction between the locals and outsiders which resulted in the appropriation of these weapons (Jung, Mehofer 2013; Molloy 2016; Mehofer, Jung 2017).

With the adoption of the new types of swords, there is also a possibility of change in the fighting style, or martial arts. Among archaeologists this discussion usually goes in the direction of arguing if hacking and slashing made its appearance with the introduction of the new swords. This new type of sword coexisted with previous manufacturing traditions for a while, most notably the Fii swords and it has been argued before that it was not a novelty in fighting technique on the Balkans (Molloy 2010, 421). While it is certainly a tradition that brought some novelties and overcame other forms (Pabst 2013, 106) it should be seen more along the lines of complementing rather than changing military traditions (Molloy 2010, 423).

6.2.2.1. Typology

When referring to these swords, two terms are interchangeably used: Flange-hilted that alludes to the flanges that make up the handle where a plate of organic material is fastened – usually by the use of nails; or Grip-tongue sword (also called Griffzungschwert in German), another term that refers to the hilt's shape.[36] Typologies for these swords (both from iron and bronze) were developed by many researchers covering a variety of regions. The name Naue II is mostly used and, in the case of the southern Balkans, types A, B and C are denoted for the bronze swords (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993).

36 Another type of sword is the Solid-hilted or Vollgriffschwert that does not have flanges rather the handle is made of solid metal. These swords were usually made of bronze and did not continue to be made from iron in the Balkan peninsula.

- Variant A is characterized by the pommel ears which are shaped like a fish's tail. In local archaeology the grip-tongue sword is named "јазичест меч" or "меч со јазичеста дршка" in Macedonian.
- Variant B has a similar shape, only with a small protuberance between the pommel ears.
- Variant C has a larger pommel spur between the ears.

Variant A corresponds with the Reutlingen sword as it is called in central Europe, while the Variant C to Stätzling (Jung, Mehofer 2009, 114; Pabst 2013, 105). In Italy they go by the names Cetona and Allerona respectively (Jung, Mehofer 2009, 114). Additionally Catling's Group I corresponds to Variant A/Reutlingen/Cetona, Group II to Variant B and Group III to Variant C/Stätzling/Allerona. Catling's groups I to III also match Nenzingen, Erbenheim and Letten where bronze swords are concerned (Foltiny 1964, 254).

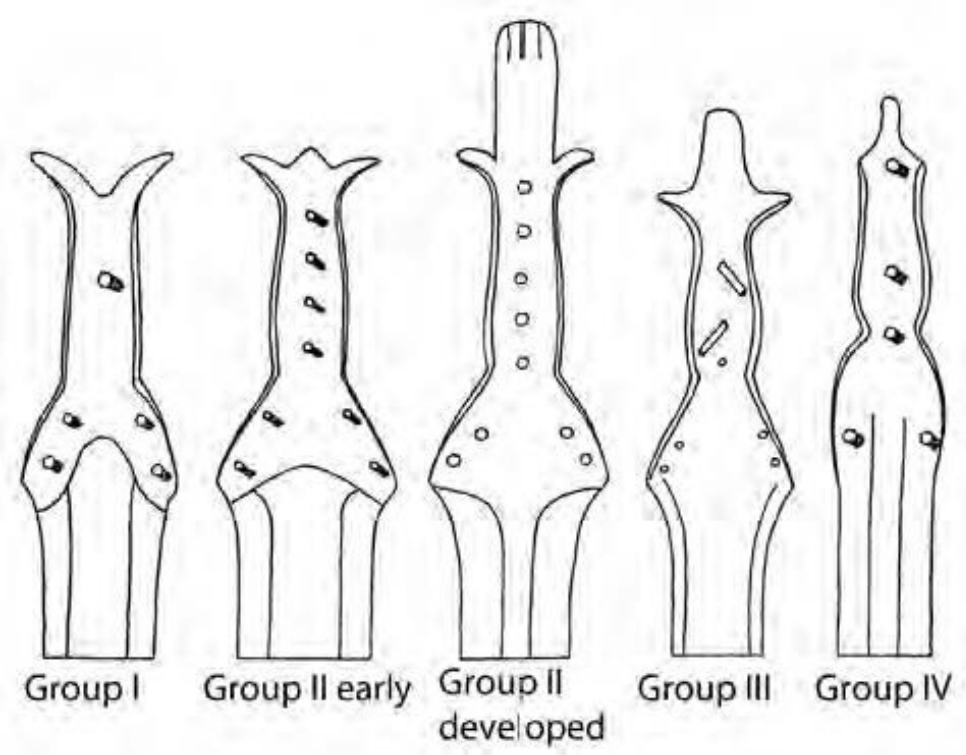

Figure 29: Naue II sword typology by Catling (1961, 119, fig. 2.)

On the other hand, the iron Naue II swords are listed differently by Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 106-116):

- Type 1 has rounded guard with many rivets and a rhomboid hilt.
- Type 2 has a grip with an arched or obtuse-angled ending.
- Type 3 is characterized by a rhomboid hilt and a pommel torn.
- Type 4 has the same fishtail ending of the hilt like the variant A of the bronze swords. It has 4 variants in its iron form, as follows.
    - Variant A – widens at the end of the hilt, often has a rhomboid shaped grip.
    - Variant B – has parallel flanges.
    - Variant C – is characterized by a rounded grip.
    - Variant D – the hilt has an angular knick near the guard.

In this study, following Kilian-Dirlmeier's work on the subject (1993), the bronze swords will be denoted Naue II-A, Naue II-B and Naue II-C. As for the iron swords, the findings from Macedonia are predominantly of Type 4 as described above. Therefore the swords will be regarded as Naue II-4A,4B and so on, depending on their variant.

6.2.2.2. Samples

From the region of North Macedonia a total of ten flange hilted swords were discovered. Of them four are made of bronze and six of iron. Two of the bronze swords are Naue II-A, one a Naue II-B while the last is a Naue II-C, and they are all dated between the 13th and 10th century BC. As such, they are not considered in detail in this study. However, the regional development of the iron Naue II swords follows an already established tradition of bronze sword-making (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993). Therefore a short look is warranted, as it will give us some context and background for the other six iron swords.

The first sample is Naue II-A from Sivec (Harding 1995, T. 22; Mitrevski 1997) an archaeological site in the PelOh region. The grip is slightly arched and ends with a fishtail, and there were five iron rivets fastening the organic part of the hilt to the parallel flanges.

They are the first use of iron in weapon production on the territory of North Macedonia (Mitrevski 1997, 56).

The second sample is from the archaeological site Prilep-Bolnica, located in the PelOh region (Mikulchic 1966a, 8-9; Mitrevski 1997, 56) and is a Naue II-B sword with a slightly more arched grip, seven rivets and a small protuberance at the end of the hilt for the addition of a pommel. The guard is round and is connected to the grip through an arch that leads into the rounded grip.

The third sample is from the nearby site of Rashtani-Krklino – a Naue II-C sword with six rivets and a long tongue at the end of the hilt for the attachment of a pommel. Although the guard is round it sharply narrows and leads into the parallel edges. A mild but broad midrib fortifies the blade. It is the shortest of the four and stands at 68 cm. The blade is 55 cm and the hilt: 13 cm long, while the width of the blade stands at 2.9 cm, the hilt: 2.2 cm and the guard: 5.4 cm.

The final fourth bronze sword comes from the UpV region and is a Naue II-A, discovered in the vicinity of the town of Delchevo as an occasional find (Mikulchic 1966a, 8-9; Mitrevski 1997, 56). The hilt is formed of a round guard, parallel flanges that shape the grip and pommel ears in shape of a fishtail. The hilt has 10 rivet holes and a pronounced midrib fortified the blade. The length is approximately 80 cm.

These swords go well in hand with the developments in other adjacent regions and are analogues to swords of the same type (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; Harding 1995). The use of iron swords started around the 10th century on the territory of today's Bulgaria and Greece (Mitrevski 1997, 56) and it can be expected that the regions studied here followed suit shortly after. The oldest sword made of iron comes from the PelOh region and was found in the central burial of the Beranci tumulus.

Iron Naue II swords were found in all regions studied here: one comes the PelOh region, two from LoV and three from UpV. Four of the swords can be listed as Naue II-4 (three of the C and one of the D variant), one as a Naue II-3 and one presents a bigger challenge. Additionally, a large number were discovered on various sites in the HalAx region (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993).

The first and oldest specimen is the previously mentioned sword from Beranci (C.No. 148). It is of the Naue II-4D type, as it is characterized by a knick near the guard. Four rivets can be observed, two on the guard and two on the grip itself. The hilt ends with the characteristic fishtail and the section of the blade is rhomboid. The length of the sword is measured at 85 cm (Mikulchic 1966a, 16; Kilian 1975, 125). It comes from the oldest and central burial (grave 37) of the tumulus. It was accompanied by a skyphos and a labris shaped pendant that doubled as a razor (Mikulchic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997). It is analogues to similar swords coming from Vergina, two examples being: a 105 cm long sword from grave I tumulus T and an 80.5 cm long sword from grave XIV in tumulus N (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 114, T.50 img. 365 and 367).

The two Naue II-4C swords from Milci come from different contexts. One was discovered near grave 7 (C.No. 4)[37], probably as a dislocated remain of an older burial (Pashic et al.

37 The shape of C.No. 4 is a matter of dispute as there are two conflicting information present in the extant literature. Georgiev initially categorized it as a Naue II sword (Pashic et al. 1987) and later changed his interpretation to a xiphos (Georgiev 1984). The dates of the publication further complicate the matter as the Pashic et al. 1987 was prepared earlier but published later than the Gerogiev 1984 one. Georgiev's own correction was accepted by some (Husenovski 2015) but rejected by others (Mitrevski 1997).

1981; Pashic et al.1987; Mitrevski 1997) while the other (C.No. 13) from an older burial of the small-mound type—dated into the 8th century BC (Mitrevski 1991a; 1997). They were both badly preserved, but their shape is known from the existing drawings.

C.No.4 has a rounded grip and the hilt ends with a fishtail. The blade broadens towards the middle, a characteristic that is not very frequent but exists among iron Naue II swords, as is evident in a sample from Levkandi (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 107)[38]. C.No.4 was found together with a jug and a kantharoid cup and fragments of a bronze bangle. Its length was measured at 43 cm. C.No.13, on the other hand, was severely fragmented and only the hilt and small parts of the blade were available for inspection. However, the excavators measured the remains of the sword at 60 cm[39], which is consistent with the type. Additionally, the hilt ends with a fishtail as expected.

The three swords from the UpV region come from separate contexts and are typologically different. The first (C.No. 143), an occasional find from an unknown site in eastern R.N. Macedonia, is the best preserved one. It is a Naue II-4C sword with a pronounced rounded grip, a rhomboid guard and long pommel ears in the shape of a fishtail. The 66 cm long sword has a mild rhomboid section and is slightly flame shaped; however, in this case, it should be connected to the sharpening of the blade and not a design feature.

The next sample is a hilt discovered at Balabanica-Star Karaorman, and was accompanied by a spear and two fibulae (Karapetkov, Nacev 2003). It is a flange-hilt made of iron, however the pommel is disc-shaped. As such this sword cannot fall into any of the characterizations mentioned above, although it is a flange-hilt sword. The hilt has a triangular shape leading into the disc pommel with its narrow end, while three rivets were used to fasten an organic material to the metal.

38 The flame shaped blade was one of the reasons Georgiev opted for the re-interpretation. The other being an observation he made on the hilt which he believes was broken off and gives a false impression of a fishtail. However, flame shaped blades were not exclusive for the xiphos and appear in Naue II swords back to their bronze versions. Sadly, the sword was not available for inspection and information regarding it needs to be approached with caution. Perhaps the strongest argument for its Naue II interpretation comes from the fact it was found near a grave, meaning it was probably a dislocated remain. As was previously mentioned: deliberate dislocations were older remains of a burial, removed to make space for new ones. The burials in the surrounding of the finding point to a 7th century dating, meaning it can be expected that a Naue II sword and not a xiphos would precede them.

39 Dimension collected from the inventory book at the National Museum of the Republic of N. Macedonia

The final piece (C.No.89) comes from grave 2, Tumulus V from Orlova Chuka, and was accompanied by a spear, a bow fibulae, a pin and a button (Pashic-Vinchic 1972; Kilian 1975; Nacev 1993; Mitrevski 1997)[40]. It is the before mentioned repurposed blade i.e. the shortened sword used as a dagger. It is an interesting specimen that shows the longevity of these weapons and how they could be modified when necessary. It also speaks about how objects use and meaning were negotiated by users. This combat blade has been compared to a piece from Halos (grave XIV tumulus A) by Kilian (1975, 25) and it has previously been listed as a Naue II-3 (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 108). It is 30 cm long, and its section is rhomboid.

Although C.No.89 is listed as a dagger, it is interpreted to have originally been a sword. However, there are several pieces of double-edged daggers, which cannot be classified as Naue II. This discussion is made more difficult by the fact that of the three double-edged combat knives discovered (all in UpV), none has a preserved handle. The combat knives (C.No. 92A; 93; 110) were found with remains of a scabbard and in very poor state. C.No. 92A was found together with spear C.No.92 in Orlova Chuka (Grave7, tumulus VI). C.No. 93 was found in the same tumulus, in grave 11 (Mikulchic 1961). The last combat knife C.No. 110 comes from Gorno Polo and was accompanied by two more single-edged curved combat knives – C.No. 109 and 111 (Mikulchic 1965).

6.2.3. Xiphos

Around the beginning of the 6th century, new types of swords are found in the three regions of our study (Vasic 1982, 15; Mitrevski 1997, 183; Husenovski 2015; Angelovski 2018). The xiphos, is a cross shaped sword, with its blade being narrow at the root and widening near the end giving it a distinct look in the form of a flame. The hilt is usually round with an ellipsoid shape and organic material was fastened in most cases. In some instances, such as the xiphos from grave 315 at Archontiko (Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2012), the hilt was made of ivory and amber was inlaid for decoration. On many occasions in multiple necropolises in the area, the hilt was decorated with golden strips, and the scabbard had a similar treatment as well.

40 Kilian (1975, 25) states the origin of the piece to be tumulus IV; however all the other researchers list tumulus V.

The sword is characterized by the inclusion of a metal cross-guard, as opposed to the Naue II swords before that did not have one. Metal cross-guards, cast or forged, are not unique to this sword of course, but they were lacking in the immediate predecessor in the region. It is the main difference between it and the Naue II swords. The tendency to shape the blade with a curvature giving it a distinct flame outline is not a novelty, but it is more prevalent with this type of sword. The thicker part of the blade, and weight, is usually in the third quarter of the blade (counting from the cross-guard toward the tip). However there are cases where this shape is not so pronounced, and on a substantial number of occasions it is not possible to discern the exact shape due to poor preservation. In a way, the xiphos represents an improvement upon the previous swords, and a shift toward shorter blades. Namely, there are no swords larger than 65 cm of this type, while the Naue II often came in longer variants. The connection between these two types of swords has been noted before as well (Parovic-Peshikan 1982, 48; Verchik 2014, 98; Rover 2020).

6.2.3.1. Samples

On the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia there are 17 swords of this type: 12 in the PelOh region, 4 in LoV and one in UpV. By comparison, the HalAx region in the Hellenic Republic yielded 36 pieces. This weapon is a consistent part of the assemblage of burials in the Archaic Period, especially the ones often dubbed as “rich”, “elite” or even “princely”. Although this is not always the case, and there are multiple occasions where a more gradual dispersion of this sword type in a variety of assemblages can be seen. However, the higher number of xiphoi in the HalAx region might be due to several factors, the two most important being the different level of research done in the areas and the higher number of the Archaic burials mentioned above in HalAx. As can be seen above, the PelOh region or the closest relative of HalAx in many aspects yielded the most of the N. Macedonia cases – twelve xiphoi. Other valid reasons for the lower amount of xiphoi in N. Macedonia might be different preferences. This could be noticed in the UpV region where curved single-edged combat blades are dominant.

There is only one xiphos in UpV (C.No. 94), coming from Radanje-Krivi Dol. Its micro context was never published and information about the sword is scarce. It is 56 cm long, has a

pronounced flame shape (Vasic 1982, 16). It was discovered with some pieces of the "Macedonian bronzes" and is among the oldest of its kind in N. Macedonia.

Four xiphoi were discovered in the LoV region: two in Milci – grave 103 (C.No. 23 and 24), and two in Zelenishte – graves 1 and 5 (C.No. 78 and 80). The two from Milci come from a grave with some shared characteristics of the Archaic burials, multiple pieces of weaponry (spears and knives), golden mouth covers and black figured pottery. Information regarding the Zelenishte swords is scarce. What is known is that they were accompanied by knives and a piece of bronze clothing accessory (belt appliqué and pin respectively). The one from grave 1 was combined with a spear. All of these swords have a pronounced flame shape and plate-tang where organic material could be fastened. One of the Zelenishte sword (C.No 78) has the most elaborate shape of this kind and is measured at 50.5 cm, while the other (C.No. 80) seems to follow a similar pattern but due to its poorer preservation little can be discerned. The Miltsi swords, 45 and 44.3 cm long, were found with traces of the scabbards on them.

The swords from PelOh present a slightly bigger challenge when their shape is concerned, as they are mostly in a very bad state of preservation. This is especially the case with the nine Trebenishte swords (C.No. 171, 175, 179, 183, 187, 191, 196, 202, 205), which are severely fragmented and corroded (Vasic 2018). Furthermore, information regarding the two swords from Bukri (C.No. 159 and 159a) is also scarce. As occasional finds, they were found with multiple pieces of black-figured pottery, an Illyiran helmet and a spear.

The only well preserved piece comes from grave 132 at Gorna Porta in Ohrid (C.No. 216). It is a shortsword, measured at 38.8 cm, and accompanied a young individual as part of an assemblage consisted of: two arrybaloi, an amphora, a golden mask, silver shoe soles, a silver miniature chariot, a silver kantharos and other pieces of gold and silver clothing accessories (Kuzman 2018).

These swords are often discovered with their scabbards, which are mostly wooden and on occasion have golden decorative elements. The only sword that can definitively be seen to have been decorated with gold in N. Macedonia is the one from Gorna Porta, while in the HalAx region they are more frequent. There is also indications of the same happening at Trebenishte (Filow, Schkorpil 1927) Additionally, they are often accompanied by iron or silver large rings that were probably part of the belt with which the sword was fastened on the

hip. Such rings were discovered in grave 103 at Milci as well and are a frequent find in the HalAx region.

Unsurprisingly, there is a plethora of analogies between these swords across regions. The blades themselves vary in width and length, and there are slight differences in the cross-guard as well. However, as far as form is concerned there are no major deviations from the norm. In some cases it is possible to discuss some of the minor deviations, such as a less pronounced flame-shape of the leaf or the manner in which the cross-guard is developed. A good example of such an analogy would be the comparison between a xiphos from grave 103 from Milci (C.No. 23) and one from grave 87 at Sindos. The shape of the leaf and cross-guard follow a similar pattern. Additionally the dating is at the turn of the 6th and 5th century BC in both cases, and the additional goods also seem to warrant the comparison. The only difference, and it is significant, is the helmet in the Sindos grave and the extra xiphos at the Milci burial. The Illyrian helmet will be a point of discussion later, as it is analogous to a sample from tomb VII at Trebenishte.

6.2.4. Single edged combat blades

There are two main groups of single-edged combat blades encountered in the region: the so called “makhaira” or “kopis” and the “sica”. In local archaeology the latter is often named makhaira or kopis, or simply knife. This makes their identification very difficult when literature is being reviewed, as others have noted before as well (Sirbu, Borangic 2007, 335). The makhaira/kopis and the sica combat blades have distinct characteristics, but do belong to a similar approach to combat and their joint academic treatment is warranted. The differences are mostly related to the shape of the blade.

An additional problem is the classification of blades either as makhaira or as kopis. Quesada’s discussion over the use of these two terms and their relation to the Iberian falcata is very useful (1994). He shows how the two terms were often used interchangeably before the 4th century BC, and sometimes separate weapons: He concludes that the two words describe a single-edged and curved blade of variable length with a tendency to use the term kopis for choppers or blades that are curved forward.

6.2.4.1. Typology

As such, Verchik's classification of these weapons using the German term "streitmesser", translatable as striking/chopping knife, is fitting. It also coincides with the work of local archaeologists where "боев нож" (translated as combat knife) in Macedonian and "μαχαίρα" (makhaira = knife) in Greek, is predominately used. He additionally differentiates between 5 types. His classification goes as follows:

- Type I: Its use started in the Geometrical period and continued until the 6th century BC. The blade is lined up with the tang, meaning the back or spine of this single-edged blade is straight.
- Type II: Similar in design with Type I, with a tendency to have a wider blade at the point of percussion.
- Type III: The handle and blade widen significantly. The former is often decorated in the shape of a bird's head and there is a single quillon protecting the hand, while the latter ends with a sharp point. The earliest pieces originate from the beginning of the 7th century BC.
- Type IV: The blade further develops into its well known S-shape. The spine is fortified with a strip and the handle gets a pommel and stronger hand protection. It shows in the record in contexts dated at the beginning of the 6th century BC.
- Type V: The final form of the weapon that was used up until the Roman period, the S-shape becomes even more pronounced and the handle is very often decorated with different protomes. The blade is always curved forward. It also becomes a standardised form that can be followed in all regions.

He additionally discusses a few more groups of blades such as his "Formgruppe Opfermesser" and "Formgruppe Kuçi i Zi". The former can be translated as sacrificial knives and the latter is named after the archaeological site of Kuçi i Zi mentioned in chapter 4, where blades that could also be called sica were found.

Other useful inputs on this matter also come from Parovic-Peshikan (1982). She takes a look at the hilt, making distinctions between types based on the hilt with subtypes based on the curvature of the blade.

- Type I: The hilt is formed in the shape of an animal's head, and protects the arm with a single protuberance functioning as a guard. It can be made of solid metal or an organic handle can be fastened with one or more rivets. The lower end of the hilt does not have a pommel, rather a curved ending that fixes the hand holding it and prevents it from slipping when performing strikes. It has two variants: a- where the spine is straight and b- where the blade is curved forward. They both usually have an S-shape with this being more pronunced in the variant-b.
- Type II: Curved blades that have a rectangular flange where an organic hilt can be fastened.
- Type III: A mushroom shaped pommel is found at the hilt. The blade often has an almost triangular shape and instead of a curve an obtuse angle can be noted. Variant-a features a curved edge while the spine is straight. On the other hand variant-b shows a curvature of the spine and the blade is curved forward.

On the other hand, the sica is often attributed to certain ethnic groups, be it the Dacians and Thracians (Sirbu, Borangic 2007, 335) or the Illyrians (Wilkes 1996, 238), and is burdened by an "ethnic resonance" that often grabs the attention and monopolises the discussion. The reality is that it appears in a variety of contexts and has many forms throughout the Balkans, and can be seen along: the Danube, in present day Bulgaria, N. Macedonia, Albania and Greece. As such it is present in regions attributed to different populations and often opposing polities. In historical texts it is attributed to the ethnic group with which an author had contact with, which led ancient Greek historiographers to treat it as a Thracian weapon of choice while the Romans viewed it as strictly Illyrian (Wilkes 1996, 239). Naturally, whenever it is found in the contact zone between these groups the interpretation becomes even more complicated.

Kopides have a similar fate, with discussions on the genesis of the weapon with hypothesis about its possible Eastern or Persian origin (Angelovski 2018) or as quintessentially Greek (Rover 2020). As in other instances in this work, rigid categories and polarities are avoided. Therefore, the use of curved single-edged blades is not seen to have an origin point and no dissemination patterns are sought after. On the contrary, the use and development of arms is seen as a by-product of interaction, both violent and non-violent, between people. As such, no linear evolutionary pattern is discernable. Instead, technological advances are multi-linear and

meaning attributed to them by their users or outsiders that encounter them are multi-vocal. Previous work that deals precisely with "Barbarian" influences on Greek arms and armour (and vice-versa) goes along the same line (Verchik 2014)[41].

In the end we are left with a very obvious solution to the problem: to divorce the objects from any "ethnic resonance". As seen with many other weapons, a very prominent being the Illyrian helmet which will be discussed later, connections between material and an ethnic group is always problematic. Of course, this remains valid for any type of material. Instead, an approach where these connections are seen as simple communication between regions and peoples without the burden of ethnicity would be beneficial.

The typology of the sica combat blades has been discussed before (Sirbu, Borangic 2007, 336-338) and goes as follows:

- Type A: is a long blade with a slight curvature. The hilt is usually organic and is fastened to the blade by way of one or more rivets. The blade curves either at the middle or at the end of the first third of the blade (counting from the hilt toward the tip).
- Type B: is a thicker blade with an often sharp forward bent, sometimes with an obtuse angle. These blades are often shorter (around 30 cm)
- Type C: Very similar to the first one but differentiated by a more elaborate hilt, often made of metal with the possibility of adding an organic plating. The blade itself is often decorated. Another distinction from type A would be the sudden curvature at the end of the second third of the blade.

The typological classifications seen above and the discussion over the terms makhaira, kopis and sica are the building blocks of the classification used in this work. Although, some slight adjustments will be made to avoid confusion and the use of terms will be fixed as described below. Verchik's classification is preferred to Parovic-Peshikan's work because in many cases the handle is missing and will not allow a precise categorization. However, her

41 Rover (2020, 10) references Verchik, as work that confirms the "Greekness" of the kopis. However, Verchik's studies (2011; 2014) shows a nuanced overview of mechanisms which led to the Greeks incorporating "Barbarian" elements in their arms and armour, but is also aware on how those developments enriched the entire Mediteranian arsenal. Therefore, it does not make claims about whether a kopis is strictly Greek or not, but it does confirm its extensive use and development by Greeks.

work is a valuable addition as it is very important to keep track of the hilts wherever possible due to their significance in how an object is handled. It is important to note that of Verchik's classification, types I and II are not present in the collected data, and of Parovic-Peshikan's classification type II is missing. These objects will not be discussed further.

The naming of the single-edged combat blades will also be modified and synchronised with Quesada's discussion on the terms makhaira and kopis. The two were often used as synonyms, but it seems makhaira did not only implicate a combat blade but also knives used for surgery, sacrificial activities etc. (Quesada 1994). Kopis on the other hand always referred to a weapon. It also becomes apparent that the term makhaira or kopis was used by historians to refer to weapons in other "non-greek" cultures. An example of this are the Thracians and Agrianians using makhairas to attack elephants at the battle of the Hydaspes (Quesada 1994 89-90).

This seems to confirm that the single edged and curved combat blades went by different names that often were used simultaneously. Makhaira in particular, might have been the term used for a variety of single-edged combat blades, and could be considered the umbrella term for all combat and non-combat blades of that kind. Conversely, kopis is restricted to certain kinds of curved blades, and corresponds with type Ib (Parovic-Peshikan 1982) and Types III, IV and V (Verchik 2014) swords. The distinction is important due to the forward bend, S-shape and thicker point of percussion of the blade. It will be very helpful when in the next chapter the way these weapons were handled will be discussed. Therefore, when referring to these types of combat blades, the term kopis will be used from now on.

Makhaira will be used freely for all curved single-edged blades in the Aegean, especially in cases where they do not fall into any of the given categories. It will also refer to non-combat blades i.e. sacrificial knives and other implements.

Which leaves us with the sica, very often mistaken for a kopis due to its forward bend. However, this combat blade does not have the typical S-shape of a kopis, nor the thickening of the blade at the point of percussion. Therefore, they require a different treatment that will pay attention to this difference. It is worth noting that in certain occasions makhairas, kopides and sicas were found at the same burial grounds in similar micro contexts, an example being Radanje-Krivi Dol, which could tell us that they were contemporary for a while. This changes after the Archaic Period in the region studied here, and the kopis becomes the preferred

choice, while in neighbouring regions such as the eastern and northern Balkans the sica continues to be used during the Roman Period as well. The sicas in Macedonia, usually belong to Type A as listed above, although a few samples of type B are also attested. Type C on the other hand is not recorded in this study.

Bigger clusters of curved combat knives can be seen in UpV and PelOh, more specifically the burial grounds around Kuçi i Zi in today's southern Albania (Filipovic 2015, 382). This leads us to the last point of synchronisation: Verchik's "Formgruppe Kuçi i Zi" will be referred to as sica, more specifically type A sica, while Parovic-Peshikans type III can be synchronised with type B sicas.

It is important to note that the sicas attested in this area of study are different from what would be found along the Danube and in the Carpathian basin. One major difference is the overwhelming number of sicas that are bent after the first third of the blade in our region of study, compared to blades bent at the end of the second third in the northern and north eastern Balkans. In some respect, the sicas studied here have much in common with the smaller daggers and knives found in the Aegean, even if their length differs.

In conclusion, all of the single-edged curved blades could be called makhairas; however not all are a kopis, which stands out with its forward bend and thickening of the blade at the percussive point while also having an S-shape curve of the edge. Along the same lines, sica is a specific type of a curved blade as well, that does not have the S-shape nor the thickening of the blade but it is curved forward. Therefore kopis and sica will be used for those blades as specified above while makhaira will be used for the remainder that do not fall in these categories, with the knowledge that it could be found in plenty of sources and contemporary literature as an umbrella term for all of the above.

6.2.4.2. Samples

In the three regions of UpV, LoV and PelOh a total of 28 single-edged combat blades were found. Of those, fifteen can be considered swords, twelve as combat knives and one is undetermined. If we take the hilts that are missing (in some cases) into account, the largest number of swords are in the 40 cm range. The longest is a makhaira from Zhdanets (C. No. 113) measured at 50 cm.

The average range of the ten knives is between 15 and 25 cm, but the longest is 30 cm – found at Dubiche Volkovo (C. No. 128). All of these shorter blades can be designated as sica blades (C.No. 28; 29; 56; 62; 103; 106; 107; 109; 111; 112; 128; 130). Four are from the LoV and eight of them are from the UpV region. The rest of the assemblages in which they were part in a micro-context follow the patterns of the necropoli where they were found. They are often accompanied by pouring and drinking vessels, and in two cases – C.No 56 and 130 – they are accompanied by one more weapon: a spear in one and a sica sword in another.

One notable exception is grave 103 from Miltsi where two combat knives were found in the assemblage described in detail previously in chapter 2. The pair of knives were accompanied by an arrow, a pair of xiphoi and a pair of spears. This kind of over-weaponization is not encountered with any other single-edged combat blade. On the other hand, it can be noted on several occasions in the HalAx region where in burials coming from the 6th and 5th century BC (a notable example being grave 25 from Sindos).

As far as the shape of the knives is concerned, the one from grave 29 at Dedeli (C.No 62), is the most peculiar with its ring at the end of the handle and a very slightly bent spine. The ring led to its interpretation as a harpoon (Mitrevski 1991a), and although that element does suggest such a thing, the lack of a pronounced and sharp tip makes it difficult to subscribe to the interpretation without further questions. It is likely a kind of weapon that was used predominantly for cutting but it does seem to have had a harpoon-like nature, as it was tied to an extension (rope or an equivalent). Another exceptional sample is C.No. 103, a combat blade from Krivi Dol with a pronounced S-shape and thickening at the point of percussion. Its slight bend forward alludes to a kopis, and if not for the smaller dimension it would have been considered one.

Moving away from the combat knives, the PelOh region yielded four makhairas, two of them with mushroom pommels or type III in Parovic-Peshikan's typology. They were found in Deboj (C.No. 257) and Trebenishko Kale (C.No. 168) and were 40 and 34 cm long respectively. Another blade was uncovered in Delagozhda (C.No. 255), with a blade bent in an obtuse angle and is missing its hilt. Finally, an occasional find around the present day settlement Dolno Dupeni (C.No. 256) is a strange sample with an upright form and a thin 35.3 cm long blade. The handle is missing, but the shape around the rivet hole where a hilt would be fastened seems to suggest a handle is to be placed at an angle. This kind of weapon would

again be considered a sica and is analogues to a blade of similar shape in Gorno Pole (C.No. 111).

The LoV region yielded three makhairas: two from graves 49 and 50 at Suva Reka (C.No. 51 and 53) and one from grave 6A at Dedeli (C.No.58). The Suva Reka blades were not available for inspection and their dimensions were not documented, however the inventory logs confirm the publication data, makhaira swords of larger dimensions. Another case from grave 29 is published as a makhaira but no information was available in the inventory log and cannot be confirmed[42]. The 39 cm long Dedeli makhaira is the best documented of the LoV blades and was accompanied only by a tweezer. It has been described as a makhaira (Mitrevski 1991a), and a sacrificial knife (Verchik 2014). Its dating in the 6th century BC also makes it the youngest of the Dedeli burials. This combat blade has a straight spine and a thickening at the point of percussion. The hilt is actually the area right below the point where the blade thickens. The rivet visible in this area was used to fasten an organic plating, and the Γ shaped pommel is seen at the end of this hilt (Verchik 2014).

The majority of the curved swords from the UpV region are of the sica type. Such blades are C.No 129, 131 and 140. The first is 38 cm long while the other two are 33 cm each. The former was also accompanied by a shorter blade mentioned above. To this group, a 37.5 cm long sample from Krivi Dol-Radanje can be added (C.No. 104), and perhaps a case can be made for C.No. 105. However, the latter has a 41 cm long blade that is thicker and wavier than usual for this type and can be considered to be something of an in-between type connecting sicas and makhairas – a sikhaira if you will. At the same site, a kopis was uncovered (C.No. 102) with a relatively short 35.2 cm blade. The hilt of organic material was fastened with a rivet and based on the elaborate S-shape and significant forward bend, we would be right to assume a hook shaped hilt with a protuberance in the middle of the handle that would allow a better grip and more effective handling.

The only case with a solid hilt from the three regions that are part of the catalogue in this work, comes from Zhdanets. Blade C.No 113, has a horse-shaped hilt, an upright spine and a smooth and elaborate S-shape of the edge. The thumb and index finger were also protected by

42 The publication dealing with the results of the Suva Reka excavations (Pashic 1978) list more swords than documented in this study. During the field research it was noted that there is a discrepancy between the publication and the inventory book, both done by the publisher of the finds. In such cases, such as grave 11 where two swords are listed in the article but knives were logged in the inventory book, the study follows the museum documentation.

a quillon. This 50 cm long makhaira, was found in a 5th century BC grave accompanied by: clothing accessories and a toilette box made of silver; bronze vessels and clothing pins; and an iron spear.

Finally, an occasional finding from an unspecified location in the eastern part of the Republic of North Macedonia, which is part of the UpV region, is kept in the Archaeological Museum of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje. This kopis has a very pronounced S-shape and significant thickening of the blade. The hilt is missing, but parts of the quillon and the tang remain. The hilt was probably broad as well, and might have benefited from a hook shape making it easier to control this chopper.

6.3. Spears and javelins

Spears and javelins are the most widespread weapons found in the three regions. Their appearance is steady in all periods and their form remains more or less the same. It is not unusual to find more than one spearhead in a burial, as well as in iconographic representations of warriors. This led some researchers to believe that spears are used for throwing and thrusting (Snodgrass 1999; Angelovski 2018; Lloyd 2014). Approaching this by looking at the socket width seems to one simple way of getting to the bottom of it, as wider sockets hold thicker wooden shafts associated with thrusting and vice versa, smaller sockets hold thinner wooden shafts for throwing. A spear butt is also considered to be a part of a thrusting spear (Angelovski, Kuzman 2015). However, it is difficult to draw the line between the width of spearhead sockets in order to know how they were handled. Snodgrass argues that in the occasions archaeologists find one large and one smaller spearhead, it is safe to assume that the smaller one is a javelin (Snodgrass 1999).

He also suggests that burials containing three or more spears attest the wealth and/or prowess of the deceased. While archaeologists studying the geographical region of Macedonia tend to agree with Snodgrass, in their interpretation of the local finds (Angelovski 2018; Angelovski, Kuzman 2015; Mitrevski 1997), Lloyd reminds us that there are representations in pottery which show three spears carried by a single combatant (2014). He also adds a few examples from his study of Greek Early Iron Age that support his approach when characterizing these burials and what the amount of artefacts present means. Representations of more than one spear, carried by a warrior is not only found on pottery but also on coins,

and a good example of this would be the Alexander I tetradrachm (Sheldarov, Lilchikj 1994). The data gathered in this study, does not confirm Snodgrass's suggestion of multiple spears being markers of higher economic status. It is the Archaic burials containing a diverse assemblage of weapons that are the ones connected to such a trend, but not the number of spears themselves.

Figure 30: Spear types from North Macedonia. A: Deltoid; B: Willow; C: Liliac; D: Bay leaf.

Spears were the go-to weapons of the period studied here in all of the regions. Although the sword usually attracts more attention by researchers and there is a tendency to highlight its symbolic meaning, the role of the spear should not be underestimated. However, the research so far seems to show that there is a difference in how these two types of weapons were perceived. The sword as a personal weapon, side-arm used as a last resort in close quarters, and the spear used in formation, making its user part of something bigger than his individual self.

The development of a typology of spears in the Iron Age is problematic because of the poor state of preservation these objects are usually found in. This is further made difficult

because of the state of field research and publication in the area. These two factors and their influence on researcher's work on spears has been acknowledged in previous studies as well (Vasic 2015, 22-29; Filipovic 2015, 366). In order to bypass the problems arising from this, and to be able to have a compact and coherent discussion on the use of the spears, the typology in this study will be simplified and will focus on three main aspects: leaf shape, socket width and leaf length. The shapes encountered in the region are: deltoid, willow, lilac and bay leaf forms. These descriptions of the spears are already part of other typologies used in the region for the Bronze and Iron Ages (Vasic 2015; Filipovic 2015; Mitrevski 1991a; 1997).

The Deltoid and Willow types are the most prevalent, and although they are both present during the entirety of the period studied here, the former is more frequent before the Archaic Period and the latter during it. The leaf of the Deltoid and Willow types starts of similarly, developing from the socket into wedged shoulders. The difference comes above the shoulders, where the latter is rounded while the former has an angular shape along the edges. The middle of the leaf also differs, with the Willow being the widest at that point while the Deltoid's broadest point is right above the shoulders. They both narrow toward the tip in a sharp point. They are often without midribs; however the willow being a preferred form in the Archaic Period when longer spears are also attested, seems to be more often made with this feature. This should not be understood as a distinctive feature, rather a more common one compared to the Deltoid.

The Lilac type is the rarest in this period, but it boasts the most elaborate craftsmanship. The shape is carefully executed, and is often fortified with a midrib. Only one sample (C.No. 81) is recorded in N. Macedonia. Across the border in the Hellenic Republic, a sample is known from the area around Lake Doiran, one that also has a thorn stemming from the socket. This type is characterized with low rounded shoulders, being the widest in that part, and then narrows toward the tip.

The Bay leaf is attested only in a dozen cases and also appears both before and during the Archaic Period. It has wedged shoulders but is a heavily rounded leaf, being the widest toward the middle. These samples often represent the widest but shortest spearheads.

Another typical find in the area are conical spear parts found in some micro-contexts. They sometime come in combination with a regular spearhead, but are often found by themselves.

These small conical objects are rarely sharp and were probably used as spearbutts. The larger part of the body of this object also functions as the socket where the shaft is fixed.

Because of the bad preservation of much of the samples, it is difficult to have an exact average size of the spearheads or to delineate clusters of dimensions. By taking only the well preserved spearheads into account, the average is around 25 cm, with most of the spears ranging between 20 and 30 cm. There are quite a few samples of spears bigger than 40 cm that almost exclusively appear in the Archaic Period. Another meaningful feature of the spear heads is the width of the leaf and the width of the socket. The approximate average of the leaf is around 3.5 cm while the socket is 2.5 cm. As mentioned previously, the width of the socket is seen as a marker of a different use of a spear. This topic will get its due attention in chapter 7 where the handling of all weapons described in this chapter will be analysed. An additional characteristic that varies significantly is the midrib, and as expected it is more prevalent in the longer spearheads.

The spears from these regions in the Iron Age and the Archaic Period are all made of iron. Decorations are not usually found, which could be another by-product of the heavy corrosion affecting the samples. However, there is one case of adornment which was detected in two (C.No. 226 and 236) of the fifteen spears from Tomb 1 at Gorna Porta. These spears were decorated with two golden rings each, placed at the bottom of the socket. The rings were fused with the iron and were separated from each other by a few centimetres. Both of the Willow type, the spears have drastically different dimensions — one (C.No. 226) is 66.5 cm while the other (C.No. 236) is 36.6 cm long.

The section of the leaves, of the spearheads in the region, is rhombic or oval in cases without a midrib and cross shaped where a midrib is present. The socket section on the other hand, is predominantly oval. In the wider Balkan region, there are cases of stems in the form of a nail or root that is impaled in the wooden shaft, instead of the classic socket where a shaft is fixed. Only one such case is recorded here (C.No. 69) in grave 60 at Dedeli, and another is suspected (C.No 32) for grave 126 at Miltsi.

Regarding the assemblages that spears are usually part of, the situation is again very diverse. They appear in different sets and are accompanied by a variety of pottery permutations and additional artefacts. If we take the two extremes into account, graves with a very limited assemblage and those with abundance of artefacts, some patterns emerge. Spears

can be found by themselves, as the only artefact, or accompanied by only one or two other objects – usually a ceramic vessel. On the other hand, they make a regular appearance in the most ostentatious burials as well accompanied by other weapons like swords and helmets and a plethora of vessels and clothing accessories. These burials are a feature of the Archaic Period, and it can also be noted that in those cases spears go in pairs much more often. This is most visible in burial grounds such as Sindos and Archontiko.

The recorded number of spears in the LoV, UpV and PelOh is 152 from 255 weapons, which makes them 60% of the weaponry found in those regions. The neighbouring HalAx region has a similar ratio with 101 spears out of 192 weapons, or 52%, having in mind most of the burials in that database are of the Archaic Period where spears were often combined with other weapons.

6.4. Arrows and sling bullets

Missile weapons are the rarest of the offensive weaponry found in burials in all regions. Only 10 arrows were found — six in LoV (C.No. 27; 31; 36; 39; 66; 82) and 4 in UpV (C.No. 101; 118; 132; 136). The neighbouring HalAx region also counts 10 arrows. It is unclear how many of these arrows were intentionally placed in the burial, and if any of them were embedded in the body of the deceased. Information regarding this is missing from the publications, but the consensus seems to be that they are always placed intentionally as the other option is not addressed. Careful documentation of the position of the arrowhead would help researchers make this distinction successfully.

These artefacts are plagued even more by the same preservation problems as the spears, mainly due to their small size – the average being around 10 cm. Their shape is usually deltoid, they are stemmed and have small sockets for a thin shaft. One exception, is the arrow from Brazda (C.No. 118) that is notched. One lead sling bullet was also found in Brazda (C.Na. 119) and bears the inscription: ΚΛΕΟΜΑΧΟ (Y) = of Cleomachus (Mikulchic, Sokolovska 1990, 88).

The missile weapons have proven to be very difficult to study in the past (Snodgrass 1999; van Wees 2004; Lloyd 2014). Lack of written evidence makes it difficult to understand how

these weapons would have been used throughout antiquity, an issue plaguing this research as well.

The limited number of projectiles makes it difficult to make any substantial claims. What can be said with a solid level of confidence is that they were extensively used. More information regarding the skirmisher tactics employed in the area, and why its relevance here is assumed will be covered in the next chapter where the historical source will be used to understand the role of missiles in broader terms.

6.5. Armour

Armour, or defensive gear, is consisted of any form of equipment that provides protection to its wearer (helmet, cuirass, shield, greaves, protective belts etc.). This can also be difficult to research entirely, because some types of armour are made from perishable material such as leather and wood. Therefore, there are periods (like the Early Iron Age) when equipment of this sort is hard to pinpoint in the archaeological data, which does not necessarily mean it did not exist. In the study area covered here, armour first becomes evident in the Archaic period, mostly in the form of helmets and greaves.

Helmets made of bronze are the most common type of armour found in the area and will receive most of the attention in this study. Their detection in the archaeological record has been very steady over the years and their publication is at a satisfactory level. These analysis will be covered bellow, where the helmets recorded in this study will be compared and an inquiry of where they fit in the greater scheme of things will be laid out.

Shields, on the other hand, are a different story. The problems of detecting them in the material remains have been discussed earlier (Snodgrass 1999; Lloyd 2014), and it continues to pose difficulties. Wood is generally used for the production of this piece of warrior's equipment, although certain bronze applications were used.

Greaves appear in graves characterized as "elite burials", in pairs or single. They are usually made of bronze and vary in form, because of the need to personalize this item (Snodgrass 1999). There is substantial iconographic evidence of the way they were utilized by combatants. They are rare, compared to the helmets but are more often found than cuirasses in this region.

Cuirasses are extremely rare in general, and rarely found in the hinterland or northern parts of the Balkans.A possible explanation would be the inclination towards cavalry (which is not armoured as heavily as the hoplites) as well as skirmishers which are lightly armoured (Snodgrass 1999). Some samples were discovered in the northern Balkan area and connections were made to the Aegean through the region of Macedonia (Vasic 2018, 111). Two bronze circular protective sheets were uncovered in graves 145 and 443 at Archontiko, which were interpreted as a cardio-thorax – a layer of protection worn on the chest, also called a breastplate. They had concentric circles and had holes for laces or thin leather straps for the purpose of fastening. These could also be part of another type of wooden shield where it would serve as a boss.

6.5.1. Helmets

The helmets are the most common type of armour found in all regions and are always part of assemblages from the Archaic Period. A total of 21 helmets are documented in the three regions, with two additional micro-contexts suspected to have contained some as well – the looted tomb at Koreshnitsa and the Tetovo tomb. Of those 21 helmets, 19 are of the so-called Illyrian type (C.No. 87; 158; 161; 164; 170; 174; 178; 182; 186; 190; 195; 199; 219; 220; 221; 222; 223; 224; 251), one is a Corinthian (C.No. 169) and one is a Chalcidan helmet (C.No. 204). In comparison, 58 helmets were recorded for the HalAx region: 18 Illyrian, 3 Illyro-Corinthian, 1 Corinthian, 1 Illyro-Chalcidan and information regarding the type is missing for 35 more helmets from Archontiko. Of these helmets, thirteen of the Illyrian type come from Sindos and the rest are from Archontiko.

The number of helmets is expected to be much higher. For the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia this is predominantly an excavation research, more systematic fieldwork would unearth a bigger number of helmets. The situation in the Hellenic Republic is more related to the publication of already finished excavations, and it is of course expected that more archaeological digs in the future will uncover more of these artefacts.

6.5.1.1. Typology of helmets

There are three types of helmets encountered in the studied regions, with many in-between features shared among some of them: Illyrian, Corinthian and Chalcidan. The naming of the Corinthian helmet, follows a mention of it in historical texts (Herodotus 4.180) while the Chalcidan helmet is an attempt in the same direction only without the support of textual evidence. Instead, it takes the area where pottery depictions of it were initially found the most, the Chalcis island, as the namesake (Dintsis 1986, 136). Both are spread well beyond their areas of origin and were used by a variety of populations.

Things get a little more complicated with the Illyrian helmet, which bears the name of a People, ethnicity and/or an umbrella term for a conglomerate of western Balkan peoples. The helmet was quite popular with the people usually designated as Illyrians, but it was not the place of origin of the helmet nor the only population where it was the helmet of choice. In fact, it originates in the southern Balkans in Greece (Snodgrass 1999, 52), and was used by a variety of populations (Vasic 2018). This led some researchers to change the name of the helmet from Illyrian to Graeco-Illyrian, Macedonian, Paionian etc. All of these names crumble before the same problem: the helmet was not used only by one population. A regional term that could work, would be something along the lines of Archaic Balkan helmet, as it was used during the Archaic period, on the Balkan Peninsula. Although there are individual samples found in Egypt and Italy as well, the helmet was extensively used in the Balkans (Blecic-Kavur, Pravidur 2012). Scholars often note the problem of the name and are aware of everything mentioned above, some of them noting the only reason the name persists is because it has been used for so long that the mere mention immediately conjures the shape in one's mind (Vasic 2018). Although the term Illyrian helmet mistakenly connects the object to a collective identity, and there are many reasons to avoid using it, the term will be used in the future for the sake of convenience following an already established scholarly tradition behind it.

Moving past the names of these objects, their typology is well developed and has been the subject of many studies and meta-analysis in the past such as "Hellenistiche Helme" (Dintsis 1986), "Antike Helme" (Pflug 1988) or analysis of helmets found in sanctuaries (Frielinghaus 2011).

The helmet that is encountered the most, in the material remains, is the "Illyrian" helmet. It makes its appearance in burials dated to the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries, and is found in all three regions. However, it is not bound only to those regions, given it also plays a big role in the construction of warrior identity in the western and north-western parts of the Balkan peninsula. Furthermore, it appears on coins belonging to the Argeads of Macedonia and some coins attributed to Paeonian communities (Sheldarov, Lilchikj 1994), as well as a part of the decorations of belts and other adornments (Blecic 2007).

There have been multiple studies related to this type of helmet, with some focusing on its distribution and role in trade between communities (Potrebica 2008; Vasic 1982; 2010), its place in the development of helmets made of metal (Mödlinger 2000; 2013) and others that were centred around its symbolic meaning (Blecic 2007). There have also been attempts to connect it to elite burials, stemming from its appearance in burials most often classified as "princely burials" (Mitrevski 1997). Other work on these helmets, also provided the detailed typology that will be used in this study as well (Pflug 1988; Terzhan 1995; Blecic 2007; Vasic 2010; Blecic-Kavur, Pravidur 2012).

The helmet has three stages of stylistic and functional development: I, II and III. The first stage, where the basic shape and rectangular face opening were established by combining two sheets of metal, is not encountered in any of the regions studied here and will not be deliberated in detail. The other two stages, made only from one sheet of metal but keeping the rectangular face opening, are as follows:

- Type IIA: Had a rounded dome, a rectangular face opening and the rim was decorated with large rivets that also had a function – to fasten the organic inside lining of the helmet. It also had a neck guard, which was an innovation as the previous stage did not have one.
- Type IIB: The cheek guards become more elongated and their base more rounded, while the neck guard is more narrow.
- Type IIIA1a: The neck guard is more developed and slopes further back, the cheek-guards are elongated and have a rounded base. It also has a side gusset. The rim is still decorated but here this is done with rivets and globules or pseudo rivets.

- Type IIIA1b: The shape remains the same, with the addition of decorative elements such is engraved shapes and figures or in more elaborate cases relief decorations such as cheek-guards shaped like ram heads.
- Type IIIA2a: The neck guard is lower and instead of the rim rivets (Nietrand) there are only granulated decorations stamped along the edges (Punzborte).
- Type IIIA2b: Same as before, with the addition of an arrow above the split between neck and cheek-guard.
- Type IIIA3: The form stands out of the development pattern IIA-IIB-IIIA1-IIIA2-IIIB, and could be seen as an offshoot from IIA. It has a smooth rim, the cheek-guard is not as rounded as other type III forms, and is usually found in Macedonia. In some cases, the edges are decorated with stamped flat circles.
- Type IIIB: Similar in shape as the IIIA2 helmets, only instead of a gusset it has a rounded opening for the ears.

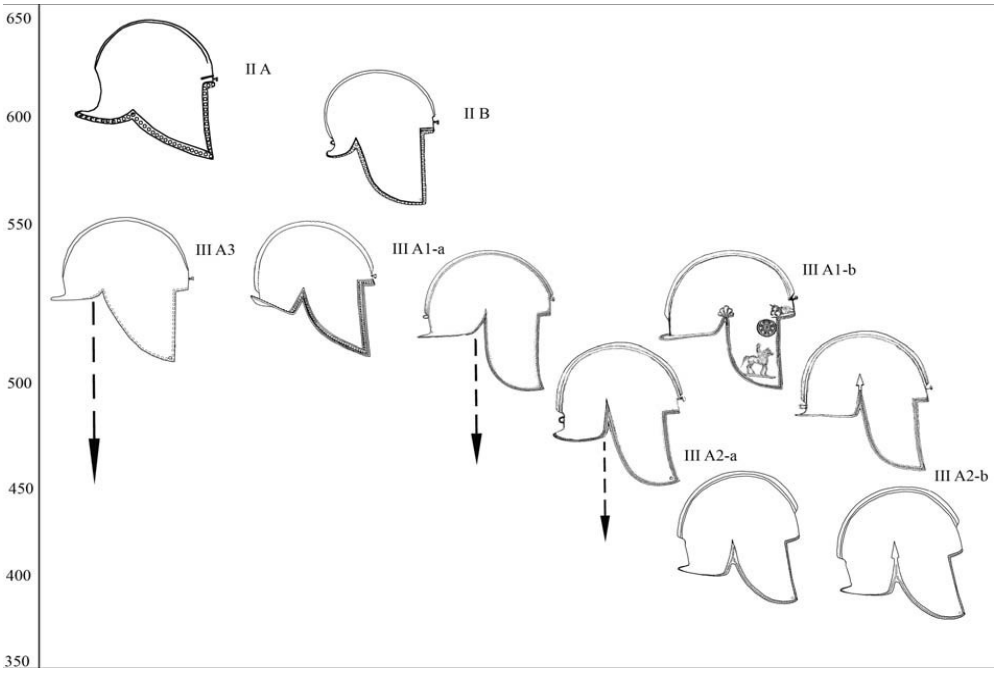

Figure 31: Types of Illyrian helmets (Blecic-Kavur, Pravidur 2012, p. 83 - fig. 18).

The Illyrian helmet is in many ways the predecessor of the Corinthian helmet. It could be said that the nasal guard and enlargement of the cheek-guards of the latter was an addition to face protection that created the offshoot of the Illyrian type II helmet, later known as Corinthian. Its further development, greatly differed from that of the Illyrian one. However, certain aspects, such as the pronounced dome of the later Corinthian helmets can be seen making an impact on some Illyrian helmets that utilize this feature (Vasic 2018, 108-109).

The Corinthian helmet is believed to have originated in the 7th century BC and grew in popularity becoming the helmet that is most commonly associated with the hoplite panoply in Greece (Dintsis 1986) both by its contemporaries and by scholars today. Only one such helmet is known in the area of study, the one from Tomb I at Trebenishte (C.No. 169). It is of the middle phase, characterized by not having the pronounced dome of the later phase and the embossed edges (Vasic 2010). The Trebenishte helmet also has engraved snake heads on the edges of the eye openings and palmettes near the neck guard.

Another type of helmet, also represented by one sample coming from tomb XIII at Trebenishte (C.No. 204), is the Chalcidan helmet. These helmets are considered to be the latest stage of the Corinthian helmet, and are characterized by diminishing the protection at the face opening by keeping a smaller nasal guard and cheek-guards. The cheek-guards are one of the more distinctive features of the helmet and their shape, be it rounded or with sharp angles, and often determine the type. The Trebenishte helmet is of the fourth stage, with its pointy cheek-guards and lack of a nasal guard.

The shape and decoration of the cheek-guards is also much more free and sometimes is in the form of a relief. This feature is believed to have been the inspiration for the few Illyrian helmets with ram heads depicted on their cheek-guards (Vasic 2018), one of which was found at Gorna Porta (C.No. 220).

6.5.1.2. Samples of Illyrian helmets

Of the nineteen helmets found in the three regions of focus, eighteen come from the PelOh region and one from LoV. As mentioned before, there are two micro-contexts that are believed to have contained helmets that would alter this number. One of these is the Tetovo tomb that was already recorded to contain a bronze greave (Kilian 1975, Taf. 98; Vasic 2018,

110). This would make the helmet the only sample from the UpV region. The other context is the Koreshnitsa tomb near Demir Kapija, and close to the already known Dedeli helmet. This tomb, is suspected to have contained multiple helmets (Blecic-Kavur, Pravidur 2012).

The Dedeli helmet (C.No. 87) cannot be connected to an exact micro-context as it was dug illegally and was later obtained by the authorities. It was also poorly reconstructed by amateurs and a later study and subsequent conservation treatment led to its proper publication (Rujak, Velkovski 2007). A few edges of the neck guard and the cheek-guard is well preserved which could point us toward its proper typological assessment. It has the pseudo-rivets that are known to have decorated the types IIIA1 and IIIA2. It is unclear whether it was further decorated so its subtype will remain unknown.

Two more of these helmets are without a proper context: the Babino helmet (C.No. 161) and the Bukri helmet (C.No. 158). The former is of the IIIA3 type (Blecic 2007) while the latter is a very typical version of the type IIB. It is analogues to a helmet from Ioannina (grave 43) and Ungrej (Blecic-Kavur, Pravidur 2012). The Bukri helmet is not the only one of the IIB type in PelOh though. Two more come from tombs III and IV at Trebenishte (C.No. 178 and 182).

The helmet from tomb III is decorated with golden strips along the edges and had golden inlaid ornament on the cheek-guard, which is not preserved. Golden decoration on these helmets is known in other samples as well. At the Trebenishte necropolis, it is the helmets from tombs V and VIII (C.No. 186 and 199) that share this feature – both type IIIA1b. Another one comes from tomb VII (C.No. 195) and is a type IIIA3 helmet. The helmets are sometimes paired with golden masks and mouth covers, and in Trebenishte this was done on three occasions in tombs I, V and VIII. Tomb I not only contained the Corinthian helmet mentioned above, but a fragment of an Illyrian helmet as well; however, due to the bad state of preservation, nothing more can said about that sample.

The IIIA1b helmet from tomb VIII is the most elaborately decorated of all the Trebenishte helmets. A golden appliqué of a horseman facing toward the face opening can be found on each cheek-guard. An additional circular adornment surrounded by smaller circles, following a similar pattern as the later so-called “Macedonian” shield. The helmets from tomb II (C.No. 174) and VI (C.No. 190) have no decoration. The latter is a type IIIA1a, and the former is one

of the two IIIA3 helmets found at Trebenishte (the other is the above mentioned helmet from tomb VII).

Two more helmets were found in burials around the Ohrid Lake: one in grave 84 at Delagozhda (C.No. 251) – a type IIIA2a helmet, and one from Rechica (C.No. 164) – a type IIIA3 helmet. The second one is a very interesting case study due to its repairs done in four places: at the ridge on top of the dome – where the crest is fastened; at the point on one of its cheek-guards; on the neck-guard, close to the split between it and the cheek-guard; and at the back end of the neck guard. All of the repairs were done by fastening small sheets of bronze on the helmet by way of small rivets in an attempt to patch up minor tears and damages. It is unknown whether they were done in one event or spread out over the use of this object. Regardless, it confirms that the object was used, perhaps in combat, for some time before being interred in the burial. The Illyrian helmets are usually spotless and any damages to them are either after internment or are intentional disfigurements before deposition, such as bending, flattening or engravings. This helmet, is an exception from this, and reminds us that helmets have a biography filled with many aspects of their use prior to their deposition.

Figure 32: Helmet with ram cheekguards from Tomb 1 at Gorna Porta.

Tomb 1 at Gorna Porta is perhaps the most intriguing find in the area, where six helmets, eleven greaves and fifteen spears were found together in one burials believed to contain six cremated individuals. These Illyrian helmets are of the type IIIA, and their subtypes are a

matter of discussion. If the globules along the edge are seen as a characteristic of a IIIA1 and the stamped imitations are of a IIIA2 type, then two helmets are of the former (C.No. 220 and 224) and four of the latter type (C.No. 219; 221; 222; 223). This distinction is difficult to be made since there are quite a bit of in-between techniques. One of them (C.No.220) has unanimously been designated as a IIIA1b, due to its ram paragnitidae and rivet imitation along the edges (Blecic 2007; Vasic 2010; Blecic-Kavur, Pravidur 2012).

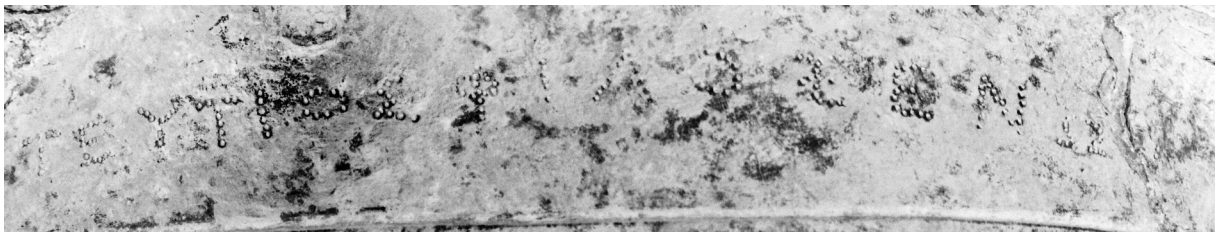

Figure 33: Inscription from the forehead of the "ram" helmet, ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩ

It is a rare artefact, analogous to another such helmet from Olympia (Blecic 2007, 86; Vasic 2018, 109). The dome is encircled by a streak of curly pseudo hair. A rivet where the crest is attached can be found at the forehead. Right under it there is an inscription_that reads ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩ (**Fig. 33**).**.** Philoxeno in this case can be read as a Genitive with an omitted – Y, perhaps as a patronym – something that has been attested in inscriptions before as well (Lang 1990). Teutios of Philoxenos (son of), would combine two names of different linguistic roots, Teutios of Illyrian and Philoxenos of Greek origin. Given the damage of the helmet at the ending of the inscription, other possibilities need to be taken into account as well. The two dots visible at the end could be part of a –Y, in which case the translation still stands. They could also be part of an – I, meaning the inscription could be read ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩΙ. In this case the translation would be: (from) Teutios to Philoxenos, implying the helmet was a gift from the former to the latter. Inscriptions with the Dative form, are usually done on

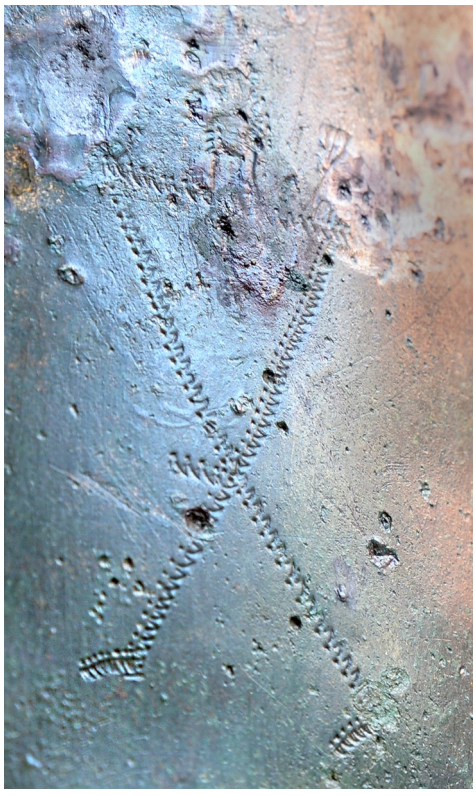

Figure 34: Decoration on the cheekguard of an Illyrian helmet (Cat. No. 221).

objects gifted to the gods in sanctuaries. This is not the case with this inscription, as the two names are of a personal nature.

Three other helmets also have dotted inscriptions that are engraved on the foreheads, although far less legible. One of them (C.No. 221) has the letters B and A engraved on the left side of the forehead. Dots are visible in other areas of the forehead as well, which might mean that the inscription was bigger, but lost due to its preservation and subsequent conservation. The same helmet, has an engraving on its left cheek-piece – a stylised human figure with a triangular torso and a hand lifted over its head, while also showing a phalic extremity coming from the hip area (**Fig. 34**). The inscription of another helmet (C.No. 223) is completely illegible, but a few dots can be seen on the forehead, that might have been one. The last helmet with an inscription (C.No. 224) has the following letters on its forehead: E? Ξ ? ? Γ O M E ? ?.

Two IIIB helmets come from the Ohrid region but in the territory of contemporary Republic of Albania – from two sites near the town of Podgradec, Namazgja and Pretusha, and are the only of this kind in the viscinity of the studied region. They could also be considered to be part of the PelOh region (Kilian 1975, 136; Terzhan 1995, 119).

6.5.2. Greaves

The greaves are a piece of equipment used to protect the shins, covering the leg from the knee to the ankle. They were made of a thin layer of bronze that would anatomically be shaped to fit the calf and was attached to the leg both by the snap of the metal sheet and the addition of a lace of an organic material. Greaves are rarely the same, because they follow the anatomic features of the wearer, or at least their shape is an attempt in that direction. The greaves from Tetovo and Trebenishte show some signs of decoration beyond the usual lines along the edges, while the ones from Gorna Porta only have the stripes along the rim. The trebenishte greave also has multiple perforations at the edges, some of them, if not all, probably were used as lace holes to help fasten the greave to the leg.

Fourteen greaves were uncovered in North Macedonia: one in the Tetovo tomb (C.No. 147), one in tomb VIII at Trebenishte (C.No. 201) and eleven in tomb 1 at Gorna Porta (C.No. 239-249). They are always found in combination with a helmet. They can also be a pair or

single – as is the case with Tetovo and Trebenishte. The eleven greaves at Gorna Porta also show that at least one is unpaired. Although uncommon, single greaves were worn, and were found in burials in other instances. (Fortenberry 1991). Although it is difficult to find the possible pairs from the Gorna Porta tomb, an attempt could be made and would look something like the following:

- Right leg C.No. 245 and left leg C.No. 239. The length, the width of the calf and the form of the kneecap correspond. The left leg has a hole for a lace above the calf and at the ankle. The right greave has none.
- Right leg C.No 240 and left leg C.No. 249. Although the right greave is severely damaged and deformed, the width at the ankle and the form of the back of the greave above the calf are similar. There is one hole for a lace above the calf.
- Right leg C.No. 243 and left leg C.No. 241. The thick calf and the anatomy of the front and sides of the greaves correspond. The back side above the calf and parts of the kneecap, on the other hand are slightly different. Both greaves have lace holes above the calf and at the ankle on both sides of the bronze sheet.
- C.No. 242 and C.No. 244. It is dificult to discern which one is left or right, but the form of the greaves is similar. There are no holes for laces.
- Right leg C.No. 248R left leg C.No. 246. The anatomy of the calf is similar, as well as the kneecap and the width of the ankle. Both greaves have lace holes.
- Left leg C.No. 247 is single. The case could be made that it should be combined with C.No. 246 (which would then be the right leg). This would be supported by the similar anatomy of the calf and the width of the kneecap. However, as a left greave it makes sense to be a single, because it is expected to be the shield leg and would need the protection.

6.5.3. Shields

Shields fall into the same category as the helmets and greaves, insomuch that they appear only during the Archaic period. Of course, this does not mean that shields were not interred in burials before, rather that the material used is untraceable. During the Archaic period, beside

the wood, the shields were made with sheets of bronze. It is these shields that are usually discovered in burial grounds, and are always part of assemblages often described as “rich” or “princely”.

This type of shield is the aspis, a large circular protective equipment that was held in one arm, usually the left, leaving the other free for the use of a spear or in some cases a sword. These shields were predominantly used in the southern Balkans in Greece, but it was widespread beyond that region. It is the shield of choice of the hoplites and part of the panoply of warrior of the Greek City states.

This was not the only type of shield in circulation, the pelte was also used – especially in the area studied here and in Thrace. It is a small moon shaped shield, made of organic material and used by lightly armed warriors – most commonly skirmishers and light spearmen. It is also extremely difficult to trace in normal conditions, and no sample was detected during the survey on which this study is based. Another possible form would be a circular or rectangular shield that includes a metal boss. There have been a few objects interpreted as phaleras that might also have another explanation, but this cannot be confirmed with the current data from the three regions. Such an example could be the previously mentioned circular cardio-thorax, but it is dificult to say without inspection and further field data information.

The use of shields that are untraceable in the record but are known from historical texts and iconography will be discussed in the next chapter. From the gathered data we can say with certainty that there are six shields known from micro-contexts and they all come from the Trebenishte burials: II-VII (C.No. 177; 181; 184; 189; 194; 198). For comparison, eleven shields were uncovered in the HalAx region, coming from Archontiko (graves: 131, 258a 279, 280, 283, 692) and Sindos (graves: 25, 52, 57, 89, 115), and they were all discovered in graves of similar nature to the Trebenishte ones.

The decoration from the Trebenishte shields revolves around rosettes and circular patterns. On the other hand, shields from Sindos regularly have battle scenes depicted on them. One of them, from grave 57, is decorated with standing figures identified as the Dioskouri each holding a spear and a horse by the reins. A plate, of one warrior wearing a Corinthian helmet using a spear to stab another warrior with an Illyrian helmet in his back, was also found in this grave. Such scenes are also visible on black figure pottery and other decorative plates.

6.6. Weapon sets

The way weapons are combined when interred in burials holds potential information about the way armament was put together during life. However, it is far from straightforward and there are plenty of points to be made why this is not always the case. One of the main arguments for using the grave assemblages as a mirror of real weapon sets is the assumption that objects interred in a burial are there to accompany the deceased in the afterlife. As such, the burial set is bound to resemble the life set, simply because life experiences are used to map out the unknown. By this way of thinking, a burial weapon set consisted of a sword and a spear mimics the use of these objects during life. The point of contention to this interpretation does not come from denying a sword and spear are combined in real life, but it is in understanding that items can very well be omitted. This combination of a sword and spear might not be a complete replication of a life set; instead, it could be a simplified version of one. This does not mean burial assemblages are not useful in getting a better idea of how weapons are combined for practical usage, but it is a reason to refrain from conjuring models of possible military ranks based on this evidence.

Another reason why burial sets are not spitting images of life sets can be found in the instances of over-weaponization seen in some burials, where more than one object (sometimes even more than two) of the same type are put together. It goes beyond saying that one person is not equipped with two helmets even if they own both. Is it perhaps ownership what is mirrored in burials, instead of an equipment set? This is also difficult to know because of the first reason mentioned above – there is no way of knowing what was omitted – and because of the possibility some of the objects are gifts from mourners.

What can be learned from burial sets? There is a little bit of everything of the above. They do touch on some of the established warrior praxis and follow some trends of armament. It also has something to do with both ownership and gifts. Altogether, it is a representation of the deceased that should be understood as part of a burial rite, i.e. an established norm of how to treat a deceased that held a certain role in the community. It is also a grieving mechanism, something done by the survivors to commemorate the individual that was lost. This representation is both part of a structure and a showing of the agency of the mourners. These mechanisms come to full display when very young individuals are buried. Their

representation as a fully clad warrior is far from an actual real life image. However, it does show us how a community grieves for them and what is the representation that gives comfort and is appropriate in the situation. It remains true even with burials of adults.

Chapter 7: Praxis

7.1. Moving away from technological determinism

The majority of work dealing with warrior equipment is focused on its typology, production and distribution. These studies create the base for any research that attempts to understand the role weaponry and its users have in a society and their part in the processes that are present in communities. The studies of the tools of war are in their nature very weapon centric and warfare oriented, and an evolutionary approach is often taken, when analysing the changes in arms production that occur over time. Typological studies in general argue that newer weapons are inherently better as they replaced older and inferior forms, further emphasizing he role new types have on changes in warrior praxis, attributing technological achievements to cultural shifts as well. However, this is far from the only approach and many influential works have grappled with this problem for some time adopting a nuanced stance that weaves in other aspects of weapon usage in their analysis (Harding 2007; 2011; Molloy 2016; 2018).

Technological determinism is not an established approach per se (Echeveria Rey 2010), but it is a feature of many studies dealing with the subject. Echeverria Rey, recognises the way technological determinism operates on three levels (2010, 22):

- The “battlefield level” where a direct connection between certain types of weapons and certain tactics is drawn, and diffusion of weapons is seen as a natural selection of the equipment that brings victory on the battlefield. Technological developments = progress.
- The “political level” sees the military as the central concern in ancient political agendas, and it accentuates the crucial role weapons have in outcomes of war.
- The final “structural level” represents the socio-cultural change visible in societies after the two previous steps have taken place, thus making war and warrior equipment the trigger of historical evolution.

In this way, studies of ancient warfare paint a picture of the past where warriors consciously experiment with equipment and make changes in order to achieve optimum

efficacy (Rey 2010, 52). They also project a contemporary notion of progress from the present onto the past, when in fact such things were rarely part of historical texts. In fact, most look toward the past, glorifying it and seeing the present as a state of deterioration, all the while very rarely looking into the future (Rey 2010, 27-28). It is also important to make efforts in understanding when active learning from the past became more prevalent.

Furthermore, victory or defeat in war is more complicated than a type of weapon used. The same goes for the adoption of new weaponry. Martial systems are embedded in culture and their change is never only driven by an introduction of a new weapon, but an entire array of factors that bring about victory on the battlefield. Training, population participation, motivation, economic context, political stability and health have an immense impact in the way martial styles develop in an area. Weaponry plays a very important part, and this cannot be denied, but it is only a part and is intertwined with all these other factors.

Nevertheless, it remains difficult to stay clear of the battlefield level of determinism, especially when dealing with prehistory where textual evidence of warrior praxis is lacking. This can be illustrated by taking the Naue II sword as an example. As discussed in the previous chapter, it did posses new characteristics that slowly started showing in other swords, as Mycenean production of combat blades started integrating some of these features as Jung and Mehofer show (2013; 2017). These new features also mean that the weapon was handled differently and it had some strengths that in the right circumstances could tilt the outcome of combat. This has been successfully been studied by many (Jung, Mehofer 2013; 2017; Kristiansen 2002; Molloy 2010; 2016). The question arises: How do we interpret the steady increase ending with the domination of a type of weapon over others? One way of interpreting can be seen in the following quotes:

> *"These swords (Naue II), with their remarkable slashing power* ***which changed the whole style of Aegean and Levantine combat****, must have arrived via the Adriatic Sea from the central Mediterranean (as opposed to a frequently discussed Balkan origin)"*
> (Jung, Mehofer 2009, 133).

> *"Clearly, it is* ***a matter of military necessity to equip one's army*** *with new types of weapons if the neighbours possess more deadly weapons than oneself. Long slashing swords were unknown in the eastern Mediterranean prior to their introduction from Italy. This makes it highly likely that the Mycenaean armies, who seem to have been the first to adopt the new*

sword type, were precisely ***under the pressure of western warriors equipped with such weapons.*** *Once they had integrated some contingents of those modern fighters, they were able to participate in the new combat technology of Italian and Central European origin"*
(Jung, Mehofer 2013, 185).

The spread of the new sword type, which expanded the combat possibilities of its users, is undeniable. It steadily replaced other forms, until it became the only double-edged sword in circulation in the EIA, DIA and LIA in the Balkan Peninsula. However, it has been argued that looking at these changes through the lenses of technology only (i.e. new weapon) gives plenty of agency to an object (Molloy 2016, 349), and the necessity to understand historical processes has been acknowledged by Jung and Mehofer themselves as well (2017, 397). Therefore, a slight adjustment in the approach is necessary to understand other contributing factors for the spread of weapon types and praxis.

"I can certainly agree with Jung and Mehoefer that the addition of the Naue II sword extended the range of choices within local system, and its impact on the changing martial arts milieu ***appears to have been contributory rather than causal****"*
(Molloy 2016, 349).

Although a small adjustment, treating weaponry as contributory rather than causal to changes in martial arts is a very important step in avoiding the battlefield level of determinism. This helps us understand a complicated process with many variables. The swordsmen using these weapons, still had to be integrated into an existing tactic, albeit an adjusted one. Not only battle tactic, but the new role of these swordsmen had to be integrated in an already existing cultural and political landscape. Therefore, the change is not done because of the weapons, but the weapons, together with other factors, have a new context and their local developments continue because of a plethora of factors. Under other circumstances, this same weapon and tactic would not have been adopted at all.

Instead of expectations for a constant search for optimum efficiency and progress, based on arguments about superior weapons, it might be beneficial to start speaking of a "good fit". Namely, technologies are adopted because they solve existing problems and fit present structures (economy, resources, cultural traits). Martial tactics are introduced, and inevitably transformed and adjusted, when certain aspects for their maintenance are satisfied, such as: population, equipment, terrain etc. Further changes in weaponry occur when new problems

arise and they are being solved through the employment of available resources, making new forms better suited to solve existing problems. This does not necessarily mean that older forms and features of weaponry are inferior, as they can often return to accommodate new needs. A popular example is the constant return, albeit in different cultural contexts, of the forward bent and curved single edged sword (makhaira/kopis, yatagan, falcata, kampilan).

This also does not mean that instances of conscious learning from the past and present, in past societies, never occurred; however, this should not be overestimated and assumed whenever change in the material occurs. It is also important to understand certain limitations of our understanding of these changes when we are faced with prehistoric societies. Ideas about progress can also be expected to change through time, and blanket understandings and umbrella theories of the past will always hinder our attempts to gain knowledge about local developments.

A notable example of conscious attempts to transform martial styles, and one relevant for the region studied here, were the military changes introduced by Phillip II and Alexander III in Classical Makedonia. The Makedonians themselves were in a position to understand and learn from both the Greeks and the northern peoples. They also had their own military tradition of cavalry and light infantry. Additionally, the Argead kings paid attention to bringing some of the arts, and with that the history written by Greek authors, to their court – thus educating the young up and coming leaders. It came at a time when several works were cumulated – by Herodotus, Thucyidides and Xenophon. In other words, they had information at their disposal and could weave together their sense of the past traditions and their understanding of the present. The result was a hybrid of southern and northern Balkan strategies.

However, this was short lived, both in terms of military success and the ability to continue to learn. The successor states did not continue down that path, and even abandoned a few aspects of logistics implemented by Phillp II and Alexander III. In addition, the Makedonian phalanx did not become the prevalent tactical formation, as Greek city states and northern neighbours continued with their way of war. Finally, Aristotelian optimism about human improvement was partially to fully abandoned by his own pupils who continued looking to the simpler past as a time of happiness (Echeverria Rey 2010).

These aspects of past learning practices and our reflectivity of how our own understanding of progress affects our analysis should be part of our effort moving forward. As Echeverria Rey puts it:

> *"Deterministic arguments, therefore, are a rational attempt to compose a logical and simple history, the search for a mechanical explanation to irrational experiences."*
> (Echeverria Rey 2010, 56).

Avoiding the trap of technological determinism is especially important when dealing with people about whom not much is written, and when texts exists they are written by absolute outsiders. There is a double danger of absorbing some of their bias into our own.

In light of all previously mentioned, the tools at our disposal are not at all limited. It also, does not mean that universal understanding of the handling of an object is off the limits. The cautionary tale of the "battlefield level" of determinism is more related to tactics and martial style, than to the actual handling of an object. An aspis, for example, is handled in one hand by taking advantage of the leather strap on the inside of the shield. It is logical that a shield is used by the hand corresponding to the leading leg, and having in mind there is a right-hand orthodoxy at play in most populations, it is fair to assume it is therefore used with the left hand – freeing the right for the assault weapon of choice. However, this universal handling definition, should not then lead to assumptions on tactical formation. The finding of multiple aspises in an area does not necessarily mean the hoplite phalanx formation was adopted. It is important to note though, that variants of "shield wall" tactics were probably used by others as well, and a large shield such as the aspis could find itself as part of such a formation in an otherwise "phalanx-free" environment.

The shield is not the only thing that brings about confusion regarding possible cultural practices surrounding it, but translations and interpretations of texts as well. A good example for such misunderstandings would be the following:

> *"When Perdikkas and Brasidas invaded Lynkos they found the forces of Arrhabaeus waiting for them. In the ensuing battle, won by the Macedonians, the Lynkestians employed hoplites (4.124.2f.), which the Macedonians proper did not have—at least, none are specifically referred to by Thucydides…….There were apparently villages in Lynkos but no*

towns, and given that hoplites tend to be associated with poleis, it is highly surprising that there should have been Lynkestian hoplites; nevertheless, we have to accept this."

(Zahrnt 2006, 595)

What Zahrnt references here, is an excerpt of Thucydides where he describes the armed conflict between Arhabaeus of Lyncos and Perdiccas of Argead Makedonia who was helped by Brasidas the Spartan. Thucyidides mentions that the Lyncestians fielded hoplites, and the texts mentions villages in Lyncos. Given hoplites are associated with the poleis, this is found to be surprising. This highlights a very persistent case of technological determinism that plagues research of ancient Greek warfare, where certain myths are allowed plenty of space to distort our understanding of it.

Not only an aspis does not necessarily mean a hoplite phalanx was in place, but the presence of heavily armed warriors does not also allow an interpretation of the society and its power/economic dynamics (e.g. hoplite = citizen = urban development). By looking at particular local developments, we need to be prepared to see many alternate variations and instances where the same equipment is used in different ways, by people who organize themselves differently. While the handling of the objects can be deduced from the analysis of material, the cultural matrix behind the usage of the weapon is more complicated.

Treading the line between determinism and logical conclusions that are a product of observation is necessary and it is the foundation of archaeological work. Therefore the following sub-chapter, 7.2., will be an attempt in that direction, analysing the possible ways of handling the objects encountered in the area. The sub-chapter 7.3. will take a deeper look at the historical texts and what they say of the people encountered in Macedonia. The last section, serving as a conclusion, will weave in all the arguments into a final look of the possible tactics and fighting styles of the people living in the area covered here.

7.2. Weapon handling

A very important avenue of research is understanding the very different ways of handling an object. This is extensively done in the field of experimental archaeology or as it is being referred to: combat archaeology (Molloy 2008). It is, in the way it is conceived, a type of a phenomenological study. It deals with how an object is handled, what can be done with it,

what training is required to be proficient, it gives insights on its endurance and clues on its production. The focus in this sub-chapter will be on reviewing some of these analysis and see how the weapons found in the area fit within those arguments.

The weapons described and listed in chapter 6 and the catalogue of this study, were handled in their own particular way and combined together in different combat scenarios. No experimental study was done with replicas of these exact weapons. However, other archaeological studies have dealt with these types of weapons and could offer some clues regarding their handling. The following investigation will centre around the Naue II, xiphos and kopis swords, as well the use of spears, javelins and the bow and arrow. Additionally, helmets have their own peculiarities that stem from the trade-off between visibility and protection. This requires some attention, mainly because it could help us understand why certain helmets were preferred in some, but not in other regions.

7.2.1. Double-edged blades

The studies on Naue II swords, taken into consideration here, were done on the bronze versions of this weapon by Molloy (2010) and Kristiansen (2002). Having in mind bronze reacts differently to strikes and the material has its peculiar attributes different than those of its iron counterpart, the only thing taken into account here will be how the grip and shape of the blade affect the type of attacks that can be performed.

The hilt is made so that the weapon can be handled with one hand. It enables a strong grip, called “hammer grip”, that makes use of the hilt’s shoulders with the hand’s fingers firmly resting between the pommel and said shoulders (Kristiansen 2002, 320). Other ways of holding this weapon are in line with what is known of the bronze swords and include the “saber”, “thumb” and “pommel” grip (Hermann et. al. 2020, 1074). The hilts in the bronze version of the sword could be divided into two categories: full-hilted and flange-hilted. The iron swords of this type are always of the latter category. The organic material fitted along the flanges provided amortization when strikes were performed.

The leaf shape of the blade that was more pronounced in some bronze swords was not such a prominent feature in the iron version. The curvature in a leaf shape blade made it possible to perform deeper cuts when moving the blade along the body part being attacked. It also

changes the weight distribution and can be seen in shorter swords. These weapons are used in close quarters meaning stabbing, close range strikes and pulling motions when cutting are possible. The iron Naue II swords are usually longer than 60 cm and seem to have been used differently, although their effectiveness in close range should not be doubted at all. In fact, its hammer grip, a feature it shares with some earlier bronze swords and later iron ones, is associated with close quarters effectiveness (Molloy 2010, 419).

The Naue II can be used to perform all three basic attacks possible with a sword: hacking, slashing and stabbing. Of course, it is not as effective in all of the above as it has its strengths and weaknesses. It is primarily a slashing and stabbing weapon, especially with its longer variants. Although it can definitely be used for hacking, performing chops with this sword can lead to extensive wear and tear. Use and wear patterns are not easily detectable during basic inspection of the finds in a museum setting. The corrosion and subsequent conservation makes it difficult to make a detailed observation. However, a variety of notches and dents are visible on some of the better preserved swords, confirming they were used in a combat setting prior to their internment in a burial.

As for the martial arts in which these swords fitted into, it should be expected that it is a continuation of previous Bronze Age fighting styles that themselves were embedded in an already vibrant system (Molloy 2010; Hermann 2020). Going along the lines of the cautiousness urged at the beginning of the chapter regarding determinism, it should not be expected that a single system was in use throughout Europe and wherever these swords are encountered. In addition to the spatial, there is also a temporal aspect of variance stemming from the centuries long circulation of the Naue II sword.

Finally, the transition from bronze to iron is sure to have brought plenty of adjustments to some of those regionally and temporally specific fighting styles that utilised this particular sword. As to how those techniques were performed and the movements looked, it is doubtful that we will ever know in detail. The farthest archaeologists could get is to replicate the basic movements and strikes using a methodology reliant on wear and tear patterns and knowledge of a multitude of weapon based martial systems used as a base of comparison – methodology used in previous work on Bronze Age swords (Kristiansen 2002; Molloy 2010, 2012; Hermann 2020).

It is possible to make a few final observations regarding this particular sword. It was probably used as a side-arm, much like the later xiphos, but there is a possibility it saw extensive use in duels. In fact, it might be the last of the swords in the Balkan that did not have a sole role as a side-arm. This can be attributed to its length, which made it possible to be used in looser formations where one on one combat was possible. It is also connected to some observations made to its bronze predecessors, which were believed to be part of such activities. Using the sword on horseback is also possible, especially with the samples longer than 75 cm, which could have had a similar use as to the spatha from the Middle Ages. Finally, shields were probably an established part of the armament of the Balkan people even before the aspis makes an appearance, although due to the organic material used in their production, we cannot be sure which type exactly was the most prevalent and how it was paired with different types of weapons – including this sword.

The xiphos is a successor of the Naue II (Rover 2020, 12), both in shape and prevalence in the record. Its use was probably similar, with an expected proneness to favour the hammer grip and the utilization of its shorter length in close range. Certain features like the pronounced flame shape of the blade that allowed deeper cuts when slashing along soft tissue and the cross guard that protected the hand were sure to have been extensively taken advantage of. The latter is a feature especially valuable in packed formations and close proximity where locking and repeated hacks were employed more often, so the added protection of the hand was even more valuable. However, the guard itself should not be seen as either a driver of this change in the fighting, nor the introduction of this feature as a direct response to the need seen at the battlefield. Rather, this was a process in both directions and what we are left to deal with in the material record is in a sense an echo of it.

The average length of the xiphos is 50 cm, with the smaller samples a little below 40 cm and the largest approaching 60 cm. It is rather standardized, especially when compared with earlier swords, and the vast majority is around the half meter mark – including the handle. As previously mentioned, it was mainly a side-arm option for spear and shield wielding combatants. This is supported by depictions of it in art and some of its features, such as length and form, which makes it more appropriate for close range combat in tighter formations. Predominantly used for cutting and stabbing, it could be used for hacking but the pommel makes the extended strike required for such an attack slightly less effective. Some depictions

of it show an overhead strike as a form of attack utilized by some. Such an attack could be performed as well, especially in looser formations.

The advantage of a primarily cutting and stabbing sword such as this one when combining it with a shield is that the guard can remain virtually unchanged when these strikes are performed. The overhead strike is more of a problem, except if it comes in the form of a cross-cut (if wielding the sword in the right hand, the attack should drop from above the left shoulder moving to the right).

7.2.2. Single-edged blades

As was established in the previous chapter, there are several types of curved single edged swords that have different features of their blades and hilts. Thus, their handling is expected to differ to some extent. The biggest differences can be expected between the sica and the kopis. The former is rarely discovered with its hilt that was most often made of organic material and there was no tang. Exceptions can be noted in some cases around the Ohrid Lake, most notably at Kuci I Zi. The kopis, on the other hand, has either a tang or its hilt is of solid metal. Notable exceptions come from Krivi Dol where a variety of sicas and two kopides were found, all missing their hilt. The organic handle was attached with one or two rivets. Since these swords were used mostly as hacking weapons, it had to have caused problems for their wielders, as the powerful chops would lead to the fast deterioration of the integrity of the hilt.

The last point predominately affects the sicas; however, they were not really the chopping juggernauts the kopides were since they do not have the same thickening of the blade. They were used more for slashing and finishing off opponents. The sica is distributed in areas described by authors as occupied by groups of warrior preferring skirmishing over frontal attacks. Therefore, their equipment should be expected to have been light and suitable for hit and run guerilla tactics. The sica seems to be a very good choice for such a fighting style. It is also an effective side arm in other scenarios, but it is safe to assume its stabbing capabilities were limited only to a reverse grip. The handle and the tip of the blade are not aligned so any stabbing motion while maintaining an orthodox grip would have been impossible. However, using a reverse grip and performing overhead stabbing motions (e.g. attacking the shoulder and throat area from above) would have been possible.

The kopis on the other hand is not a weapon that can comfortably be used in a reverse grip, but it is not required to do so since all of the attacks can be performed with an orthodox grip. Although stabbing and slashing are not as effective with the weapon, they could be performed. As mentioned before, it is hacking that was the main intention when this weapons was crafted. The powerful chops were enabled by the design of the handle whose protuberance near the middle enabled the wielder to make the most of the thicker part of the blade where the point of percussion is placed. The hilt has a curved pommel that secures the lower part of the hand while the guard takes care of the thumb and index finger, meaning the hold remains strong even during the heavy attacks. This feature might also be quite beneficial on horseback, as it enables the wielder to swing more broadly with a secure grip.

However, when discussing fighting on horseback, for which this sword was endorsed by Xenophon (Xen. Hipp. 12.11), longer blades are required to successfully attack combatants (especially ones on foot). The average length of this sword is around 45 cm, and some longer ones like the Zhdanets and Prodormoi ones can reach up to 50 cm or more. This does not necessarily mean they cannot be used on horseback, as we also need to take into account horse size and think of scenarios where they could be utilized that break from our traditional understanding of horseback warfare.

Using the kopis with a shield limits the types of attacks that can be performed. The crosscut/hack is a common depiction on pottery and it seems to have been the only hacking motion easily performed without compromising ones guard (Rover 2020). Additionally, the sword could be used for deflections of both spears and swords with an immediate counter attack both in the form of a crosscut/hack or a stab toward the head. Weapons such as the kopis, the falcata and other similar single edged weapons from contemporary fighting systems (or ones from the near past) are very commonly used for attacking the hands of the opponents. This is yet another reason to have the hand wrapped with protection, as was the case with some of these weapons with a protective strip going from the guard down to the curved pommel. Other attacks could be directed toward the forearms as well.

7.2.3. Spears[43]

The dominant weapon of Iron Age and Archaic Macedonia was part of the arsenal of most warriors. Although the handling of this weapon in terms of holding it and attacking with it is straightforward, several points need to be discussed. The first is connected to a point raised before over the difference between thrusting and throwing spears. Several authors have pointed out that warriors used both types simultaneously, carried more than one type or used the same type for both actions. Even in closely packed formations, it is expected that projectiles played a big role (van Wees 2004). However, certain groups favoured a more skirmishing based approach over others who subscribed to a more frontal heavy assault. It is very difficult to pinpoint, by looking at the archaeological evidence, which approach was implemented in which regions. This mainly stems from the state of preservation of the weapons[44], especially the sockets, and the fact that most dimensions are within a range that could go either way. It is perhaps a further clue to the versatility of the spears being used for both types of attacks.

The spears that do stand out in their form and size are some of the ones coming from the Archaic period, where the elongation of the leaf in some and the very broad leaf and socket in others, clearly point to them being used as pikes or lances. A notable example is a spear from Gorna Porta that has a 3.5 cm wide socket and is the heaviest of the ones encountered there – features that disqualify it as a throwing spear.

As for the pikes, it seems the Archaic period in Macedonia was the time where longer shafts, on which longer spearheads were attached, started becoming more and more present in circulation. The 5th century is well before the historically confirmed Makedonian phalanx. This extensive use of pikes was done by hybrid combatants utilizing a fighting style and tactics drawing from multiple traditions – most notably the northern lightly armed and pelte bearing warriors and the phalanx shield wall of hoplites from the south - now turned into a spear wall. But is quite possible that the longer spearheads were not a complete novelty in the time of Philip II, rather his changes were inspired by already existing systems that he made use of.

43 The handling of arrows and slings is deliberately left out of this chapter since the number of finds is very low and the lack of data makes it impossible to go into detail.

44 Determining the use-wear patterns of iron spears is nearly impossible, meaning no valuable information could be discerned from their inspection.

7.2.4. Protective gear

The status of preservation of the shields is quite low, and in most cases it is the only in the samples with the most decorative elements that a detection is possible. While shields from the Early, Full and Late Iron age are not recorded in the data (most probably due to their organic material), the Archaic Period yielded a few Argive shields. The use of these shields has been extensively discussed (Snodgrass 1999; van Wees 2004; Matthew 2009), and is primarily driven by the analysis of text and iconography.

They were held in the left, or inactive arm, facing forward and protecting the body from chin to shin. A leather strap was placed on the inside which enabled a person to wrap around the forearm while maintaining a good and stable grip with their hand. They could deflect spears, stop arrows and sling bullets as well as endure attacks with a sword. They also fit plenty of tactical formations, among which was the hoplite phalanx. Other shield wall tactics could very easily be employed as well.

The shins were protected with bronze greaves, wherever it was possible to attain them. These metal guards were placed below the knee all the way down to the ankles. They were crafted for particular legs, meaning their user's particular dimensions and leg shape was taken into account when making them. This is discernable from the different shapes of greaves found in tombs; however universal shapes are also found in other burials (Vasic 1982). The thin bronze layer snapped onto the leg, but a strap was used to tightly fasten it. They were a valuable piece of armour, as they protected a part of the body which was easily reachable and very vulnerable – especially in more static formations.

As was previously mentioned, body armour was not detected in the record, but ones of organic material were certainly used by warriors of that time. The lighter build of the linothorax provides more mobility. It can also be expected that metal cuirasses were used, but were intentionally left out of burial assemblages, having in mind there was a tendency to offer them in sanctuaries.

The handling of helmets is a straightforward matter, enabled by the incorporation of organic inside lining that made the wearing of the headgear more comfortable and added some amortization protecting from blows. The Corinthian helmet traded off the visual field

for protection, by covering the front of the head with only some opening for the eyes and a narrow downward strip for the mouth. This made it an excellent choice for protection, but a poor one for visibility. It's use in tight formations however, was a welcoming addition to the warrior's equipment, as it protected the head from unseen attacks from many directions.

The helmet that predominantly being used in Macedonia, the "Illyrian" one, did not have the visibility problems of the Corinthian one. Other than the hearing impairment, which is the case with most headgear, the helmet is quite practical. The rectangular face opening, offers a good visual field and the parignitidae (cheek guards) offer suitable protection for the face. It can also be expected that the "Illyrian helmet" provided the much needed open field of view on horseback. As the populations in Macedonia are often described as horsemen, it is very likely that these helmets were used by cavalry. The open field of view is the reason Xenophon recommends the later Boeotean helmet for horse-riding (Xen. Hipp., 12.3), and it could be expected that the "Illyrian" helmet provided a similar advantage.

The Chalcidan helmet is similar, in terms of offered protection and the impairing of the senses, and it became popular across the Southern Balkan, including Macedonia, especially in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Period. An important aspect of these helmets is the crest, which adorned the top. Its use, other than décor, also offered a level of intimidation and served as a heraldic device for displaying ones status (van Wees 2004, 53).

7.3. Historical context

One of the oldest excerpts relevant to the area is the mention of two individuals named Asteropaios and Pyraechmes in the Illiad. They are said to have come from the hills of Paeonia and the area around Axios. Asteropaios, armed with a long sword and two spears, is also connected to Pelagonia, being the son of the eponymous Pelagon (Hom. Il. 21.136). No additional description is provided for the weapons, nor is the location of Paeonia elaborated upon. Both explanations were probably unnecessary to whoever heard or read the story, simply because Paeonia was an area already familiar from the 8th century onward. It can b expected that its proximity and possible interactions of its peoples with the Hellenes was already an established matter.

Why is the mention of two Paeonians and their weapons important? After all, the weapons were used in a war that supposedly took place around the 13th century, in an epic of a poet from the 8th century who is known to have used his knowledge of the contemporary world in his exposition. Because it corresponds with the archaeology of the place both from the time of the Trojan war and the 8th century. Namely, long swords and spears are the predominant type of weapon found in the area and not much else. The bows, also mentioned in the same excerpt, would have been decomposed, while arrows do occur on occasion. But how is this different from any other place in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Balkan Peninsula? Although armour is found in Greece, swords and spears remain far more abundant, and it is expected that the description would fit a warrior from other areas as well, since it is a passing comment and nothing more. However, the trend of depicting Paeonians and Thracians as lightly armed skirmishers is quite consistent in later texts as well.

The most encountered example of this treatment are of course the Thracian peltast mercenaries employed by many Greek polities and the Agrianians that gained prominence in the Classical period – mostly as part of Makedonian armies. These warriors were consistently described as effective javelin throwing skirmishers, effective in guerilla warfare and traversing mountainous ranges, which is terrain familiar to them.

Further descriptions of the Paeonians, and their south-western neighbours, the Makedonians, is given by Herodotus. An important excerpt, describes the siege of Perinthos by the former, where they managed to enter the city and treated the inhabitants ruthlessly (Hdt. 5.1.). However, he does not share any details on how they managed to break the

defences, only mentioning that infantry and cavalry were employed by both sides, as well as fighting dogs. Dogs of war were mentioned by Herodotus in another occasion, speaking of the Indian hounds in the Persian army (Hdt. 187), while some fighting alongside Greeks were also attested by Aelian (On the Nature of Animals 7.38).

Herodotus' descriptions of the Paeonians do point to them being a significant force in the region that also controlled an area between the Axios and Strymon rivers. As in many texts, one gets the impression there are multiple groups of Paeonians, some were brought under the control of the Persians, while others like the Agrianians resisted. After the withdrawal of the Persians, the Paeonians lost those territories and were possibly pushed back toward the north (Sarakinski 2013a, 77-80).

Makedonian armies are also not described in details, and it seems they were relegated to guard duty in most Persian operations (Anson 2010, 53). The only time Makedonians are mentioned fighting in the war is the battle at Plateia, where one segment of the battle line was formed by Makedonians, Paeonians, Thracians (probably lightly armoured troops) and other European subjects of the Persian king including medising Greeks (Hdt. 9.32). The commander of these units is not mentioned, and was probably not Alexander himself (Sarakinski 2013).

Thucydides and his description of the Peloponesian war offer more details on the Makedonians and their neighbours, as well as a few passing comments about the danger the Paeonians faced during a war against Sitalces of the Odryisian Kingdom. A notable difference is the increased focus on how the fighting plays out, especially the movement of the armies. The two events that are worth referencing are Sitalces invasion of Paeonia and Makedonia, and Brasidas campaign in the north which saw him joining forces with Perdiccas of Makedonia against Arrhabaeus of Lyncus. Those, and a few descriptions of Thracians and Illyrians, are the only valuable information about the region.

Starting of with the invasion of Sitalces: apart from the Thracians, some Paeonians also joined his army – Agrianians and Laeaeans. This is interesting because it is a recurrent trend that populations that are described as, or at least hinted as, having the same collective identity are set against each other. However, no description was provided to their armament on this occasion; on the other hand the neighbouring Thracians, the Dii, are called machairophoroi (Thuc. 2.96). This is of some interest since the archaeological data of UpV shows the region to have been one where curved blades were popular. While it is highly unlikely that the UpV

region was inhabited by the Dii, as they were never placed so far west, it is possible that the machairophoroi description would fit the warriors living in UpV as well.

The Makedonian response to the invasion was a chaotic one, and it seems the army was not able to contend with the numerous host of Sitalces. They managed to resist, relying heavily on horsemen which were armed with a thorax – tethōrakismenous (Thuc. 2.100.). This armament was believed to be a reason for their effectiveness, the other being the disorganised Thracians who were easily picked off by Perdiccas' cavalry. This force was fortified with warriors from Upper Makedonia, which were previously described as owing allegiance to the Argeads in Lower Makedonia, but having kings of their own (Thuc. 2.99.2). Makedonians, along with Thessalians, are often praised as good horsemen; however, this is difficult to pinpoint archaeologically. On the other hand, numismatics seem to confirm the prevalence of horsemen in Makedonia, as it is a frequent depiction on coins (Sheldarov, Lilchikj 1994). These horsemen are depicted as holding two spears, which is a constant trend in Archaic burials in Macedonia as well.

Perdiccas and his army are mentioned once more, during Brasidas' campaign. This was an operation against one of the Upper Makedonian houses that did not accept his authority. After Brasidas at first tried to diplomatically resolve this conflict between Perdiccas and Arrhabaeus, at the dismay of the former, war still ended up being the outcome. Again, it is the Makedonian horsemen that made an appearance in Perdiccas' army joined by hoplites, from some of his Greek subjects that lived among the Makedonians, and of course Brasidas' Spartans (Thuc. 4.124). On the other side, the Lyncestians also fielded their own cavalry and hoplites, better understood as heavily armed infantry..

Both armies took positions on opposite hills, after which the battle commenced, beginning with the engagement of cavalry forces, after which the Lyncestian infantry joined the battle. This was responded by Perdiccas's and Brasidas' infantry (Thuc. 4.124.3). Arrhabaeus' army was forced to flee, thus losing the battle and retreating to a high ground where they remained inactive. No further comments were provided regarding the way the battle played out and whether this was a clash of tightly packed formations. After the battle, the Illyrians who were initially hired by Perdiccas, but changed sides, joined Arrhabaeus. This led the Makedonians to the decision to withdraw, thus leaving Brasidas and his warriors alone in a foreign land, trying to tactically retreat back to the domain of Perdiccas. The Illyrians, who probably came

from a neighbouring region, were described to have been armed with spears which they brandished high in the air and employed a terrifying war cry – at least that is how it would seem to the inexperienced, as Brasidas told his warriors:

> *Your enemies are barbarians, and you in your inexperience fear them. But you ought to know, from your late conflicts with the Makedonian portion of them—and any estimate which I can form, or account of them which I receive from others, would lead me to infer—that they will not prove so very formidable. An enemy often has weak points which wear the appearance of strength; and these, when their nature is explained, encourage rather than frighten their opponents. As, on the other hand, where an army has a real advantage, the adversary who is the most ignorant is also the most foolhardy. The Illyrians, to those who have no experience of them, do indeed at first sight present a threatening aspect. The spectacle of their numbers is terrible, their cries are intolerable, and the brandishing of their spears in the air has a menacing effect. But in action they are not the men they look, if their opponents will only stand their ground; for they have no regular order, and therefore are not ashamed of leaving any post in which they are hard pressed; to fly and to advance being alike honourable, no imputation can be thrown on their courage. When every man is his own master in battle he will readily find a decent excuse for saving himself.*
>
> (Thuc. 4.126.).

The speech conveys the notion of a disorganised barbarian infantry, making a correlation between the barbarous Lyncestian Makedonians who were not formidable opponents and the new barbarian threat expected to be the same – the Illyrians. The comment regarding the disorganized infantry, where every man fights for himself, is related to the Illyrians in this instance — although it is implied it fits all Barbarians, including Arrhabaeus' Lyncestians.

Brasidas was driven out of Lyncus, after he successfully employed his tactical withdrawal, enduring the waves of attacks by his opponents and managed to retreat to Perdiccas' land. His warriors used both tight and loose formations fighting off the small scale attacks, by forming tight defensive stances and lunging out in short bursts in order to chase of the groups of attackers. This is another testament of the versatility of hoplite tactics which is not only a tightly formed shield wall, but also of the vulnerability of hoplites when fighting of lighter opponents in hilly terrain (Echeveria Rey 2010, 40).

Another important information from this passage is the effect posturing and presentation had on opponents. The brandishing of the spears, the war cry and the seemingly larger numbers were a terrifying sight, which Brasidas had to address before fighting commenced. It could also be expected that pre-battle practices were a big part of clashes. The war cry and the clanging of numerous spears is not a coincidental occurrence, but a tactic employed by warriors to gain an edge. This posturing, is a type of psychological warfare, and a good speech and careful planning was the antidote on this occasion, if we are to believe the events took place as described.

Finally, the excerpt hints at a different approach to warfare by Perdiccas' Makedonians and Arrhabaeus's Lyncestians, where the former were primarily cavalry oriented while the latter had a more balanced approach and did deploy their own heavy infantry. However, this might be related to Perdiccas' reliance on hoplites from his Hellenic subjects and not an absolute lack of Makedonian infantry. The entire campaign highlights the complicated political landscape in the region and the existence of multiple communities whose aspirations often clashed, creating an intricate web of loyalties and power dynamics that were constantly negotiated – often through violence.

This is further evidenced by the complicated relation of the Makedonian Kingdom with some other Upper Makedonian houses, namely the one of Elimea. Derdas, referenced as a ruler of the region, changed loyalties and at times allied himself with enemies of the Argeads (Thuc. 1.57). He also participated in military operations around Olynthos as part of the Peloponesian forces led by Teleutias (Xen. Hell. 5.2.38) and on another occasion (this time on the same side with the Argead king Amyntas) under the command of Agesipolis of Sparta (Xen. Hell. 5.3.9).The warriors led by Derdas were described as capable horsemen that undertook complicated operations during the fighting near Olynthos (Xen. Hell. 5.2.38-41; 5.3.1-2).

Unfortunately not much textual information can be found about the warfare capabilities on other polities existing in the area, such as: the Bottians, other Paeonian groups, and even the neighbouring Illyrians. Most of what can be understood about them can be derived from texts describing the state of the matter in the 4th and 3rd centuries, through their conflicts with and subsequent inclusion in the Makedonian armies. Their armament at that time seems to have been light and they excelled in hit and run skirmishing tactics.

7.4. Fighting styles and tactics

Following the discussion on technological determinism above, it should be stressed again that interpreting the material remains of war in order to ascertain what tactics were used in the Iron Age is a slippery slope. This can be done to a certain degree, where the local terrain coupled with the armament can provide some clues as to what could be the preferred way of combat; however, it is far from a detailed overview of martial arts and tactics. Although information regarding the handling of an object can be obtained by experimental archaeology, there is still the danger of looking for the optimal way of using a weapon, while past users might not have found it or simply ignored optimum performance by adhering to their own set of rules of engagement.

What we see as the right way of using objects, and optimal output, could differ from people in the past. There are many historical examples where we as scholars recognize the advantages of certain praxis over another, simply by having the broader picture and benefit of knowing the end results, but this was not done at the time the events took place. Training and ideals of warriorhood and/manhood can be expected to have been a large part of people's lives, but we need to be aware of the often times sharp divide between ideal and practice (van Wees 2004, 46).

Yet, instances of armies that incorporated more training with weapons and tactical formations that came later, as well as advanced logistics, such as the Makedonian and Roman armies of the Classical and Hellenistic Period, had an edge over the others. Their ways, were not accepted as the norm, in fact change was very slow and when it did happen, it was not enough to overcome them. There is also the aspect of match ups to be taken into consideration — tactical formation can be very efficient with one, and dismal with other opponents.

The historical texts of the Archaic Period, including the passages that discuss events preceding the life of the author, help in our attempt to understand ancient warfare. Nevertheless, their scarcity and missing information on cultural contexts where events were taking place, impedes our attempts to reach conclusions. Instead, we are left with the only possible route: getting to the bottom of the basics of fighting styles and tactics in the Balkan Iron Age and Archaic Period. Examples of these basics include: recognising preferences in forms of engagement (skirmishing, frontal attacks and shield wall tactics); favouring mobility,

quickness and flexibility or tight formations and defensive stances; use of cavalry; extent of missile utilization; types of weapons used and how they fit what we know from historical texts.

What is missing from the dataset is the set of cultural practices connected to warfare, of which we have no account. We lack information on how these communities viewed war and the loss of life, how they dealt with grief and their own aggression toward others, as well as the economic reality in which the warrior praxis was embedded.

The three regions of UpV, LoV and PelOh, together with the comparative region HalAx have their own distinct particularities in terms of fighting styles and tactics. This stems both from their own societal developments, but also from the terrain where they are required to wage war in. We could expect a certain variation even within micro-regions, most notably in cases where different polities could have existed.

Such a case would be Pelagonia and the area around the Ohrid Lake. Historically the Pelagonia plain was the home of two potential polities: the Lyncestians and the Pelagonians, although our understanding of the latter might prove a more complicated matter (Hatzopoulos 2020, 47). The level of animosity or cooperation between them is unknown, but they ended up being part of the Argead Makedonian kingdom during the 4 century BC. On the other hand, the Ohrid area is believed to have been inhabited by the Dessaretians or Encheleans (Proeva 2006, 561; 2018; Delev 2018), whose historical context differs from the previous two, in that they were often within the “Illyrian” political landscape (in other words under the dominion of kings described to have been of Illyrian origin, whose centres were found at the north and north-west of Ohrid).

We cannot be certain to which extent these polities that existed so near to one another, shared a way of fighting. From the gathered database of weaponry in this study, it is clear that they used similar equipment, which probably led to some shared basic understanding of warfare. How much this translated into matching fighting styles is unknown, and it should not be assumed without considering the way cultural practices differ cross-regionally. However, having in mind some of the cultural practices (e.g. funerary arrangements) and weapon typology are aligned, adding also the extensive interactions described in historical texts, it could be argued that shared praxis between these neighbouring regions could have taken place in warfare as well.

On the other hand, the Archaic Period in UpV tells a slightly different story, and seems to be a continuation of the more combat-blade oriented style of the Late Iron Age. Conversely, LoV seems to be moving more toward its southern (HalAx) and western (PelOh) counterparts then to the north (UpV).What all of these have in common, is the lack of heavy body armour (protection of the torso), both in the archaeological record and known descriptions, with the exception of cavalry (one of the above mentioned excerpts from Thucydides mentions a thorax, with which Perdiccas' cavalry was equipped with). Metal thoraxes were not found in the area, and judging from later use of the linothorax, it could be assumed that a linen or leather variant was used in the earlier periods as well. These however, are not easilly traceable.

Another important distinction is the temporal one. All of these regions can be expected to exhibit more than one change during the large period between the 8th and 5th centuries BC. Additionally, mutual divergences are also to be anticipated. Unfortunately, both because of the state of current research and the lack of historical sources that span the entirety of this time, we are left only with a general sense of how things developed. The conclusions of such a diachronic overview are the following.

Cavalry was used in all regions and was probably more dominant in the comparative region of HalAx. The other three can be expected to have incorporated them as well, with the biggest similarity to be found between the PelOh and HalAx. As for the LoV and UpV regions, we might be dealing with lightly armed mounted skirmishers, such as the Thracian and the later Paeonian cavalry that served in Philip's and Alexander's Makedonian armies.

Infantry was the staple in all regions, and lightly armed troops were the dominant body of the armies. By comparing the LoV and UpV we might also discern that the former was more spear oriented while the latter incorporated more machairphoroi troops. The pelte was probably the shield of choice, judging from its constant association with the Thracians and the modified use of this shield by Makedonian armies at the beginning of the Classical Period. In many ways, the early Makedonian phalangites were peltasts armed with pikes. As for the mention of hoplites for the Lyncestians of the PelOh region, it could be that these warriors were armed with the round shields and bore helmets – which would also go along the archaeological data.

They were probably armed with the Illyrian helmet, an aspis, xiphos and a spear (or two). Their formation likely resembled a type of shield wall, a conclusion that could be drawn from the passage describing the clash between the armies of Brasidas, Perdiccas and Arrhabaius. The excerpt by Herodotus hints at the armies engaging frontally, infantry and cavalry against their counterparts on the other side, until the Lyncestians were routed and took a position on a nearby hill.

Helmets are mostly found in the PelOh and HalAx regions, some in the LoV region and only one is suspected to have come from the UpV region. Although this helmet, from Tetovo, is far from the necropolises that are the main consideration regarding the UpV region around Shtip and Skopje. This could, potentially, mean that heavier armament was more prevalent in the southern than northern regions; however, more data is necessary to make a solid conclusion.

As for the tactics that were used by the above described warriors, it probably was a variety of offensive and defensive stances that were employed. If we are to believe Thucydides, northern Barbarians were mostly unorganized (Thuc. 4.126.). A legitimate question can be raised to the validity of such claims, as we are well aware of the protruding Hellenic bias of the ancient Greek authors that judged other cultural modes from their own point of view. It could be the case that a looser formation, and one with more variety and movement, was simply seen as disorganized. It could also be suspected that the reality was somewhere between, and northern armies simply did not have the tight organization of their southern Hellenic counterparts, but chose to fight in looser formations.

The cavalries seem to have used both shock attacks, picking at weak points of infantrymen, and engaged head on with other cavalry. These units were probably far more organized then their infantry counterparts at the time of the Late Archaic Period. Such a hint comes from Xenophon (Xen. Hell. 5.2.40), who describes Teleutias' fascination with the Elimean cavalry units, which seem to be organized like the companion cavalry of the later Makedonian kingdom. How much this is true for the polities bordering the Elimeans cannot be claimed with certainty, but it could be assumed that the organisation of compact bands of warriors such as the 400 horsemen of Derdas, are similar to the cavalry of Perdiccas's Makedonians.

Skirmishing, which was perhaps more prevalent in LoV and UpV, was another feature of lightly armed infantrymen that is very beneficial in hilly terrain. It comes as no surprise that it

was precisely the warriors coming from these, and the neighbouring Rhodope regions, who brought this specialization to the armies of the Balkan Peninsula during Classical antiquity. There is no reason to believe these traditions were not present in the Archaic Period. This type of guerilla warfare, does not allow for much frontal assault. It relies on movement and picking away at weak spots while taking advantage of well timed attacks. Ambushes become the driving mechanism, and can be done with fewer fighters. This is how the Agrianians could ambush parts of the great Persian army during the 5th century, or some Thracians can withdraw to safety in a mountainous region (Hdt. 8.116).

To conclude, the fighting styles of the regions studied here were quite diverse, possibly stemming from the politically, demographically and geographically diverse area. The warriors used a variety of different weaponry and tactics, which more often than not spilled over in neighbouring regions. Martial arts were adopted and modified when they were good fit, and weapons were used in accordance to the new cultural context. The historical development of these martial styles is difficult to grasp in the Iron Age and Archaic Period due to lack of data, but becomes more clear with the abundant information regarding the Hellenistic Period. What can be observed is that the patterns recognisable during the earlier periods, are also present in the later one, meaning no significant interruptions were present in the manner of fighting itself. However, the way warriors were organised, and the way armed conflict was woven into the cultural fabric, is another topic, covered in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Warriorhood in Macedonia in the Iron Age and Archaic period

This final and conclusive chapter will serve as the place where the interpretation of the data from previous chapters and the theoretical foundation established in the introduction will be woven together. This will be done by presenting the conclusive remarks from each chapter and analyse the process of the construction of warriorhood that took place in Iron Age and Archaic Macedonia.

After a quick reminder of the theoretical framework set out in the introductory chapter, the basis for the analysis will be divided in several segments. First, by outlining the main points from the data presented and collected in chapters 2 through 5. Second, by taking a look at tendencies visible in the material remains of war and the descriptions in existing historical sources shown in chapters 6 and 7. Finally, the conclusive remarks on these factors, as well as further propositions for the theoretical framework and stance taken here, will follow throughout the chapter.

The interpretation favoured in this study, is not a warfare centric one, and perhaps surprisingly for a study of representations of warriorhood, not a warrior-centric one. This might be difficult to perceive after eight chapters discussing ‘burials as warriors’; nonetheless, there is a strong indication warriorhood was a complementary part of people’s lives, and although at times defining, this was not the general state of affairs. Despite that, it was potent enough to remain an integral part of those societies throughout several centuries, even when its importance, at least in the sphere of burial rituals, diminished in other regions.

At the beginning of the dissertation three goals were set out. The first was to present a database of ‘burials as warriors’ and the weaponry found in Macedonia during the Iron Age and Archaic Period. This task was completed through building a database by scouring existing publications and museum inventory logs; cross-referencing them and presenting them in the appendices of this work, as well as their descriptions and interpretation in the body of text.

The second goal was to situate the regional ‘warriorhood’ in a wider discussion in archaeological warrior studies. This was done by focusing on the Macedonian particularity on the one hand, and on regional heterogeneity on the other. Additionally, the lessons learned

from this case study are brought forward as possible adjustments and/or building blocks in an existing body of warrior studies. This ranges from the discussion of the warrior-soldier dichotomy, to the many variants in which warriorhood can be performed or perceived – social category or social group. Matters of organisation and culture were treated as features of regional particularities and not seen as evidence to support dichotomies.

The working definitions of warriorhood and the understanding of its varieties were outlined in the introductory chapter. Warriors were defined as people who have the legitimate right to engage in war and warlike activities. There, a distinction was made between warriorhood as a social category, understood generally in the societies we study as a distinctive feature of people that engage in war and take on the role when necessary; and social groups that are a point of reference for warriors who use their group membership to further theirs and the group's goals, while also understanding that there can be varied types of such groups and membership dynamics. Concerning the latter, it was recognised that warriorhood can be a constituent part of the group's existence (e.g. restricted groups of men who hold political power and exercise it partly through participation in war) and a foundational part of it (e.g. warbands that recruit members with warfare being the primary concern).

In addition, the problematic understanding of funerary data as biography was deliberated upon. An approach looking at representations and what they can reveal about the place of warriorhood in the community, instead of the lived experiences of particular buried individuals, was taken as the driving principle in this thesis. Therefore, warriorhood instead of individual warriors becomes the analytic category.

'Warrior' was designated as an umbrella term for the people who engage in warlike activities and were defined as those who are "enfranchised to engage in war" (Molloy 2012, 88), have access to weaponry, and are categorized by others and among themselves as such. It was also acknowledged that warriorhood has many faces, and depends on organisational (soldier, mercenary, warrior proprie dicti) and cultural practices (Spartan hoplites, Makedonian Companions) as well as different contexts on the ground (state armies, royal retinues, rebel fighters, territorial militias). At particular spatio-temporal instances these can be entangled.

Having in mind the burials in question are quite often included in discussion over the ethnicity of the people that produced them, this study weighed in on the subject matter by pointing out the many fallacies in discussing ethnicity through archaeological data. Therefore the accent in the study was not on "warrior identity" rather the presence of warriors in society, attitudes towards war and people participating in it. This was done in order to avoid the "theoretical trap" of ethnicity studies in archaeology and lack of an emic perspective, since it is also missing in the case of the "warrior identity". Therefore warriorhood is seen as an amalgamation of several practices and ideas of warfare in societies, including but not limited to: attitudes toward war, gender, violence, political rights, burial rituals.

The archaeological data, coupled with an overview of the historical texts, gathered and presented in the previous chapters shows us that the region was quite diverse. The changes visible in the record, although developing slowly over four-five centuries, show dynamics with local particularities. Yet commonalities in attitudes towards warriorhood are discernable despite the obvious obstacles created by the fragmented and inconsistent data coming from the three main regions (LoV, UpV and PelOh).

These issues stem from the obvious lack of systematic research in many of the micro-regions included in the study, as made evident in previous chapters. This results not only in empty spaces geographically, but chronologically as well. For example, the LoV region yields a decent database of several necropolises from the 7th and 6th century BC, while such data is scarce in the PelOh region. Conversely, the latter provides a better picture of the late 6th – early 4th centuries BC, although still fragmentary due to lack of publishing, while LoV provides only glimpses visible in several micro-contexts.

The UpV region on the other hand suffers from the state of the research which saw many of the sites being published without much attention to the details of the respective micro-contexts of the findings, instead applying a broad meso-context analysis. This state of affairs plagues this study as well, making it difficult to do comprehensive quantitative analysis to complement the qualitative regarding UpV. Additionally, it makes it hard for an increased attention to micro-level details.

In the LoV region, the developments in 'burials as warriors' was tracked through several necropolises: Miltsi, Suva Reka, Dedeli, Zelenishte, Bishov Javor, Lisichin Dol-Marvintsi. Information regarding these necropolises are available for 314 graves, which contained 83

weapons. The first of the three burial grounds yielded the majority of the findings: 72 weapons from 289 published burials. All of the necropolises were predominantly used from the late 8th to the 6th century BC. An exception is the case of Marvintsi that yielded material up until the Hellenistic Period, however due to lack of publications a detailed overview was not included. Several graves of the late 6th and early 5th century BC (Miltsi, Zelenishte, Bishov Javor) also attest to similar trends in burial rites to sites from HalAx and PelOh.

The burial ritual in LoV is supine inhumation in cists made of stone slabs, with only a few cases of pits and smaller mounds. The pottery is predominantly wheel-made and the forms correspond to findings from neighbouring regions – jugs with cutaway rims and single and double-handle cups. Their internment patterns are more or less standardized, with the jugs being the most prominent form, while also pertaining a fair amount of flexibility in the inclusion of several forms of vessels. Burials were often reused, with the older remains gathered either in the corner of the cist or re-buried in the vicinity of the grave. This makes it very difficult to ascertain whether or not the entirety of the findings in a grave correspond to the latest micro-context or includes left-over material from previous ones.

The UpV region was divided in three clusters: Skopje, Shtip and Ovche Pole. Data from several archaeological sites were collected and presented, stemming from the three clusters. From the Skopje cluster, an overview was provided of Varvara, Oreshani, Dubiche, Zhdanets and Brazda. The sites Orlovi Chuki, Gorno Pole, Krivi Dol from Shtip were analysed by providing the meso-context information available from the existing publications. In the Ovche Pole cluster, the few burials from necropolises were supplemented with information from Bylazora, one of the rare settlements excavated in the area. Most of the data is from the 7th and 6th century, with the exception of Zhdanets and Brazda which come from the 5th century BC.

Reusing of cists is noted in flat necropolises as well, while the tumuli are divided in two types: family and clan. The material remains are more or less standardized; however assemblages are difficult to ascertain due to gaps in publications. Regardless, it can be observed that burials containing a plethora of bronze objects, mainly the miniature bronzes identified with female burials in LoV, are not as visible in UpV.

In the PelOh region several sites and many occasional finds were discussed, divided in two micro-regions: the Great Lakes and Pelagonia-Mariovo. Most of the findings come from the

late 6th and 5th century BC, however a few cases such as Kamenot, Berantsi and the Mariovo region reveal information about earlier practices as well. Tumulus burials dominate in the Iron Age while flat burials do so in the Late Archaic Period. The assemblages vary, especially in chronological terms, with Archaic burials exhibiting profound changes, quite similar to ones seen in the immediate surrounding, as well as further south-east in HalAx.

In this instance, sites of importance are considered to be: Trebenishte, Gorna Porta, Delagozhda, Rechitsa, Petilep-Berantsi. Here, a tendency toward ostentatious burials is noted in the area, with imported bronze vessels and jewellery, as well as weaponry (defensive equipment included more prominently as well), becoming an important aspect in the composition of the assemblages. Additionally, golden masks, decorative sheets and bands, as well as golden and silver jewellery becomes more present. While the workshops differ on occasion, there is a tendency to obtain the same types of objects through import and compositions in PelOh and HalAx are analogous.

Following the three chapters that presented data from the LoV, UpV and PelOh regions (chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively) the fifth was devoted to an overview of published data coming from the HalAx region. Here the focus lay on several sites, predominantly Vergina, Arhontiko and Sindos. The decision to provide the data in a separate chapter, rather than include it in the macro-context sections of the previous three, was made in order to discuss not only published information but its interpretation in extant literature. The general overview provided there, shows a plethora of points that connect the region with neighbouring ones.

In the context of this study, it can be noted that materiality seen in HalAx during the Iron Age has some analogies to material coming from LoV – mainly in terms of miniature bronzes, ceramic vessel shapes, and fibulae. On the other hand, the similarity in material is closer to the PelOh region in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, with some micro-contexts from LoV highlighting some resemblances such as introduction of golden sheets and weaponry types.

However, it is of great importance to acknowledge the many differences seen in the area. This is mainly visible in the different constellation of the above mentioned aspects. Sites like Vergina, Archontiko and Sindos have their own peculiarities, and the existing historical sources from the Archaic and Classical Periods confirm the heterogeneity of the region. While the idea of the ‘cultural koine’ - elaborated upon in previous chapters, can be endorsed – it is still important to acknowledge the local particularities.

A few inter-regional tendencies can be observed. The 8th, 7th and beginning of the 6th century sees the area divided in necropolises with flat burials and ones with tumuli, as well as places where they co-exist for some time (e.g Slamite-Rapesh in PelOh). The flat burials seem to be preferred in the LoV region while tumuli were prevalent in UpV and PelOh, although a switch toward flat burials is noticeable in several cases in UpV (especially the Skopje area) and in Pelagonia.

While there are notable similarities in assemblage compositions, and in clothing accessories, jewellery and other items mainly found in weaponless burials (e.g. miniature bronzes), differences in pottery production are visible – handmade remains popular in UpV and PelOh while wheel-made is preferred in LoV. Their forms, single-handed or kantharoid cups, combined with jugs with cutaway necks are common in all areas.

The composition of assemblages, both with and without weaponry, follow similar patterns during the 8th, 7th and first half of the 6th century BC. This is especially visible in LoV, as the data makes it possible to make the observation. The inclusion of weapons does not alter these patterns, nor does it contribute to differentiation in assemblage composition – other than the obvious inclusion of weaponry.

As for the weapons, spears are common in all areas, with Naue II swords having a consistent presence in the 8th and 7th century BC. Longer single edged and curved blades are quite common in UpV, while their appearance in LoV and PelOh is minimal. Around the end of the 6th and throughout the 5th century BC new forms of blades become common in all areas with xiphi being preferred in LoV and PelOh and curved blades in UpV. During this time PelOh sees the appearance of defensive equipment such as helmets, greaves and shields, while this is limited to a few samples from LoV and UpV. Longer spearheads start to gain prominence near the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century, and they become frequent near the end of the 5th century BC. Spears in general are the most common weapons found in burials across all regions and centuries.

The typology of the weaponry was discussed in chapter 6, where existing classifications were synchronized and slight alterations in terminology was introduced (in the case of combat blades) in order to better fit the local data. Therefore, the term combat blade was used for all swords and combat knives. These two terms were used in reference to length – swords designating blades above 30 cm long and combat knives below. In addition, a division was

made between curved and non-curved combat blades, with the former being named makhairas, while the latter were represented by the Naue II swords and Xiphi (and a limited number of combat knives). The makhairas were also divided in sicas and kopides, based on their form. The kopis designates curved single-edged blades with an S shape of the cutting edge while the sicas denote the ones without such form.

The majority of the helmets in the area are of the so-called 'Illyrian' type, with a couple of samples belonging to the Corinthian and the Chalcidan types. The typology developed for these types was used when designating the samples included in this study. A brief discussion of other types of armour was included as well, and a tendency towards its inclusion in the Late Archaic Period is noted in the region, predominantly in PelOh and HalAx. Some of these helmets, such as the samples from tomb 1 at Gorna Porta, bear inscriptions that further raise questions and offer clues about the heterogeneity of the region mentioned several times throughout this thesis. The inscription combining two names of different linguistic traditions, points to a far more complex context previously acknowledged and acknowledges the vibrant communication between different linguistic groups.

The weapon sets woven into burial assemblages in the area differ throughout time. While there was a tendency to keep things simple and include a single weapon in the Iron Age, the inclusion of several pieces became more present in the Late Archaic Period and Early Classical Period. Most common combinations were those of swords and spears, as well as burials that contained helmets in addition. Full offensive and defensive gear also appears in some of the ostentatious burials of the 5th century BC. It was argued, that no significant division of battle attire or army ranks can be made based on weapons interred in a burial. Firstly, because there is no way of knowing whether or not something was intentionally omitted or added only in relation to the burial rites. Secondly, because the burials containing weapons should not be seen as de-facto representations of actual warriors and their attire. The arguments throughout this thesis are built around notions of representation of warriorhood, instead of biographical facts.

During the Archaic Period, there is a continuity of the type of 'burial as warrior' seen in the Iron Age, namely graves that are not altered in any other way other than the inclusion of a single weapon, mostly a spear. Despite this inconsistent dispersion of weapon and burial types, the seamless inclusion of weaponry into established assemblages from the Iron Age

(where weapons do not have any correlation with wealth-based status in burials) is a constant seen in all regions. Regardless of the weapon type or burial construction, weapons are the only thing standing out in a burial. This changes in the 6th century BC, with the appearance of ostentatious burials and the weapon inclusion in such assemblages, often with certain interventions on the weapons (e.g. golden rings or appliqués). Still, regular burials containing weaponry continue to appear, and it seems warriorhood at that time had two different expressions contingent on other factors (such as wealth, social background etc.).

It is apparent that these changes have a different trajectory in the three regions. While PelOh and LoV are more aligned with its southern neighbouring regions both in the 6th and 5th century, UpV shows a similar affinity as its northern neighbours toward ostentatious architecture from the 5th century onward - in the form of stone built tombs and a more visible hierarchy in necropolis organisation (e.g. Zhadents, Brazda, Tetovo). However, this is mostly recorded in a few cases in the Skopje and Polog valleys, and similar information is lacking from the Shtip and Ovche Pole areas.

What becomes evident in all of the examples is the appearance of ostentatious burials as warriors in all regions, co-existing with burials with weaponry that follow more or less the Iron Age composition of the assemblage, albeit with an updated material style. However, a very important distinction between LoV and PelOh on the one side and UpV on the other, is the gradual difference between burials and co-existence in the proximity of "poorer" graves in the case of the former and the exclusivity and separation of these ostentatious burials in the case of the latter.

Some of the similarities stem from a historical context that saw the many polities in the area engaged with each other, both in peace and war. These circumstances were elaborated in chapter 7, together with an analysis of handling of weapons and fighting styles in the area both from a historical and archaeological perspective. It was concluded that the region was home to many different styles, which borrowed from each other on many occasions, not only in terms of technology but regarding tactics and technique as well. A theoretical approach accentuating the need to step away from technological determinism as much as possible was outlined, urging caution not to interpret material remains as evidence for societal structure. An example was used, referring to hoplite equipment and the fallacy of projecting urban organisation onto areas where such weapons are found.

Instead, an attempt was made to examine historical sources and possible tactics used by different armies with similar equipment. The analysis showed that a wide range of approaches to war were utilized in the regions. While HalAx had a tendency towards cavalry, PelOh had a more balanced approach in the Archaic Period. Regarding the Iron Age, there seems to be a more or less shared approach of lighter armed warfare, with skirmishing tactics (both mounted and on-foot) playing an important role.

In addition to a shared approach to combat, there are hints about similarities in attitudes towards war. Such a case is the overlap of manhood and warriorhood in all regions, while being clear that not all men were buried as warriors, since weapon burials have a fairly consistent 18% mark in most Iron Age necropolises. With the rise of ostentatious burials, so do stereotypical representations of men as warriors gain prominence, as these assemblages are almost exclusively composed with weapons included in the mix.

However, when we conjure models of burial rituals and we assign gender based on the few overlaps of anthropological and archaeological evidence, we probably miss cases where norms were not followed. Thus, those cases that are often described as deviations from the norm are made invisible and their true number never becomes known and factored in in our statistical analysis. It is obvious that in the overwhelming majority of cases stereotypical expressions of gender and sex coincide. It is also apparent that a stark dichotomy between gender roles did exist in most of the Iron Age and Archaic necropolises of the wider region studied here. However, by abandoning the scrutiny that every case deserves and surrendering before the lack of evidence (as osteological evidence is often missing and the relation between gender and sex remains unseen) we paint a homogeneous picture that becomes a scientific fact dubbing different representations and expressions of identity either invisible or non-existent.[45]

The representation of warriorhood noted in these three regions, as well as the fourth comparative area, are not unique and have analogies to a wider Balkan and even a broader Mediterranean context. This is not only the case for burials containing weaponry but

45 Even if the cases, where such divergences from norms are attested, are just a very small percentage, their existence will make a huge difference in the way we perceive these cultures and the way gender was expressed and roles were performed. Acknowledging evidence is missing and no conclusive answer can be given - regarding the relation between sex and gender in those communities - does not mean current understanding of gender is projected in the past, nor that past communities were diverse in a sense we know today. It only shows scientific constraint in the face of lacking evidence to support far-reaching claims on gender and sex.

ostentatious burials in general, termed 'princely graves' in the extant literature (Chavela 2022). However, their local peculiarities help us make sense of a historical context with its own expression, and this especially becomes evident when comparisons are made with better known and studied areas – such as the southern Balkan city states. Namely, the steady presence of representations as warriors in Macedonia in the DIA and LIA and their subsequent increased importance in ostentatious burials in the Archaic Period is a stark difference to the dynamic in the southern Balkan that sees them peeking in LIA and EAP only to diminish by the time of the 5th century BC. The fact this does not correlate to presence of war is quite telling, since the Persian and Peloponnesian wars dominated the lives of people in the 5th century BC. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that it is the diminishing of the custom of "bearing iron"[46] that led to the alterations in the performance of masculinity in Athens, which prior to that was tightly knit with weaponry (van Wees 1998).

While in Athens the change meant different attitudes toward public display of weaponry (van Wees 1998), and burials as warriors possibly diminished by consequence, in other parts of the Aegean there might have been a different development. Could it be that a similar custom prevailed in the northern Aegean and its northern neighbouring hinterland? The custom itself is a very good depiction of the theoretical model of warriorhood as a social category. The bearing of arms is both a political statement of a person having the right to bear them, and a performance of manhood, which in this case is interwoven both with warriorhood and political rights – "citizenship" for the lack of a better word.

Van Wees argues that the increasing importance of wealth in Athens led to different symbols of status, switching to representations of leisure instead of military prowess (1998). Still, warriorhood probably remained a tool for the legitimization of the social groups ascribing status by birth (van Wees 1998, 369). If we assume that similar attitudes toward "bearing iron" and manhood/political status existed in other areas of the Balkan Peninsula, then the continuation of "burials as warriors" and depictions of men with weaponry in art (most notably in Macedonian tombs from the Classical and Hellenistic period) would explain

46 A custom described by Thucydides (1.5.3-6.3), of men carrying weapons (iron) on them in public. These weapons were mainly swords (fastened on the hip) or spears (used as walking sticks). They were often used in feuds between people, as no centralized policing was in place leading people to rely on self-help. The bearing of iron also marked a man as a legitimate user of violence, as weapons were not available for non-citizens, slaves, women etc. Men carrying these weapons, were the same participating in wars.

the tendency toward kingship in the northern Aegean, as well as the importance of aristocracy (status assigned by birth).

8.1. The mundaneness of warriorhood

In our effort to better understand how this would look in practice, a comparison made by van Wees is a good start:

> *"From c. 650-500 BC, the role of spears may have been roughly analogous to that of guns in the mountain villages of modern Crete: most of the time, men do not actually carry them, but these weapons are a source of pride, and may therefore be taken out and displayed in public if the occasion seems to demand it. A cloaked man with a spear in Greek art, then, is no more (and no less) a symbolic figure than a Cretan shepherd with a machine gun or pistol posing to have his picture taken."*
>
> (van Wees 1998, 357)

The example both points to the bearing of weapons as not only a marker of manhood, but integral to its performance; and it grounds the theoretical with the everyday and mundane. The Cretan with the machine gun has parallels all around the world, and closely in other Balkan countries such as North Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo, Serbia etc. Using it as a model for an understanding of an ancient custom is appropriate, not because of cultural continuity but because of its universality.

Warriorhood is a combination of every day activity and life practices related to inter-community combat, as well as other aspects of intra-community social life, such as: feuding, political power dynamics, ritual and sometimes functions as a mechanism of coercion. These dynamics are also not static, and could shift depending on local particularities and historical contexts. Here, it is important to note that use of weaponry and warrior praxis exists outside of military conflict as well, especially in societies where self-help instead of state institutions is the way through which violent conflicts are being resolved within communities (Xydopoulos, Vlassopoulos 2017, 5). While dependent on particular contexts, it is expected a general lack of state control existed in the societies studied here, much like what is envisioned in the Greek city states. Therefore weaponry, and its inclusion in everyday attire, serves as the

means through which self-help is practised. Occasions where this would be required include the above mentioned intra-group conflicts.

The socialization of members of a community into warriorhood, with all its particularities in the expression and practice of it, is the process in which warriors are being made. While this can be very context specific, there are few guiding principles that can be extracted from archaeological, historical and ethnographic sources. This is the existence of various forms of fraternities, or warrior brotherhoods, that become the assembly point where warriorhood is being constructed, maintained, displayed and legitimized. Vandkilde's various studies on the matter (2006a-d; 2013; 2015), outline the role such "institutions" in the entire process of this violent socialization, or socialization into violence.

While her work is predominantly concerned with the implications of such groups in Bronze Age Europe, the basic principles are translatable in other spatio-temporal contexts as well. Her overview of sources that allude to the existence of such "institutions" (Gefolgsschaft, Männerbund) such as Tacitus's Germania and epics such as Beowulf and the Illiad, show similarities that span geographical and chronological boundaries. This cross-cultural aspect of society centres around reciprocal codes of conduct between a group of people and a war-leader and serve as a point of interaction that brings many members of a community (predominantly men) into close communication (Vandkilde 2018, 234), out of which mechanisms of status acquisition and power legitimization are developed.

8.2. Towards social groups

Vandkilde recognises three separate ways (although not always mutually exclusive and always expected to have some connection to gender as well) of determining the eligibility for warriorhood: age, merit and social status (2006c, 399). The first corresponds with societies where males are expected to fulfil that role from a certain age, up to the point when they take over other roles as older men. These societies have a less visible separation of warriorhood and manhood. The second relates to societies where warrior institutions recruit their members from the population based on their expected contribution in it. These warrior clubs[47] regulate the affairs through codes of conduct which bind their sub-community and they are expected to

47 Vandkilde defines warrior clubs as "institutionalised warbands, which are interest groups with a warlike aim" (2006c, 398).

have a type of hierarchy where the war leader and his followers negotiate their place in it by their interactions situated in warfare. The third, is more aligned with Turner's view of the militaristic societies that ascribe status on birth and the warriors are recruited from a restricted social group, which is separated from the rest of the population.

These observations can very easily be synchronised with the approach taken here. The first corresponds with the state of affairs recognised in most Iron Age communities in the area and overlaps with warriorhood as social category. The second, where warriorhood has a central and foundational place in the existence of the group, and the third can be understood along the lines of social groups where warriorhood is only one of the aspects that bind the group (i.e. a constituent part).

In the case of last two, we see the realm of social groups, and recognise the steps in which categorization leads to group formation and the construction of warriorhood. Combat training and the shared martial experience leads to the natural clustering of the participants which may or may not result in the forming of social groups or even institutions that would regulate these activities. The social capital due to engagement in military affairs, is not restricted only to "warriors proprie dicti", the journeymen who devoted their life to warfare and were part of warrior clubs. It also extends to others, seasonal warriors who took part in war when necessary, both out of their own initiative and in cases of coercion.

Additionally, looking at this division as a spectrum, instead of rigid categories, would be beneficial, since there can be overlaps where features are being shared. Finally, different groups with multiple expressions of warriorhood can be expected to co-exist; a prime example being the region in question during the Archaic Period, where groups of ascribed status and a seemingly old-fashioned warrior/man construction of warriorhood was taking place.

Previously, the detection of social categories in the archaeological record was outlined by looking at the Iron Age burials in Macedonia and the connections that are visible with manhood. The question then arises: How do we detect social groups? Something especially difficult when we have in mind that group membership is rarely exclusive, and individuals can associate themselves with many collectives simultaneously.

While the current data does not allow for a very detailed outlook over various social groups that possibly existed, the archaeological remains do reveal glimpses into the

construction of an "elite social group", which in the region under question was done by incorporating ideals of war and weaponry. This is nothing new and has been a feature of archaeological studies throughout the decades, and while it is clear that an unbalanced amount of attention was given to these "elite" burials, it still remains a topic where certain questions can be resolved.

It was argued above that the cultural koine envisioned for the HalAx region can be expected to have been extended in parts of LoV and PelOh. Therefore, the model built for the understanding of the burials at Archontiko and Sindos, such as a tendency to construct identities by introducing elements that fuse ideas of man, warrior and hero (Saripanidi 2017)[48], is seen as fitting for "elite" burials found at Trebenishte and Gorna Porta as well.[49]

Some of these assemblages evoke feasts, or "warrior barbecues" as they have been termed (Saripanidi 2017, 101; 2019, 188). Although there are great variations, and overlaps between assemblages are often found in other material instead of feasting equipment, an overarching feature seems to be the connection between warrior equipment, precious metals, drinking and in some cases grooming tools. The combination of these types of artefacts is not unique to Macedonia, and can be seen in different spatio-temporal contexts. The thing that binds them here is the shared material style and consumption patterns. The latter, when explored in detail also reveals certain particularities and tendencies, such as the preference for miniature barbecue sets in Archontiko and Sindos.

Saripanidi views the peculiar expression in sites such as Archontiko and Sindos, and extends this to Vergina as well, as an attempt to construct an identity by evoking a heroic Hellenic past (2017, 111). While the connection between warrior burials and heroic representations, as well as the need for an elite to legitimize itself by evoking such a past, is straightforward and Saripanidi's analysis does confirm an attempt of such nature, it must be stressed that equating such attempts to an ethnic identity is yet another of the many slippery slopes of ethnic studies in archaeology. A convincing reference as to why this particular combination of warrior and hero evokes the Hellenic past (southern city-states to be more

48 Saripanidi's analysis recognises several aspects of the funerary rituals that allude to a certain imaginary connected to a "heroic past". While this seems quite probable, some of her further arguments that envision this as a representation of a collective (ethnic) identity still remain unconvincing (see previous chapters).

49 This can be extended to other sites from PelOh such as Rechitsa and Delagozhda, and to a certain degree and with caution with sites in LoV, such as Miltsi and Zelenishte. This extension is not supported by Saripanidi (2017, 2019)

precise), and not a local version of those stories or an entirely different tradition, is not put forward. Additionally, the quite heterogeneous region defies the binary Greek and non-Greek on many occasions and it seems to have been a complex network of groups interacting with each other (Gimatzidis 2018). In such a context, customs and attitudes towards war can be shared between communities, and stories of the past can have many versions.

The limited nature of the data does not only prevent us to discuss ethnic groups, but it makes it difficult to isolate micro-contexts that point to other unique social groups as well. For instance, extant information does not show whether or not there were any warbands with a rigid recruitment system. Instead, what we get is a more generalised glimpse into entangled social constructions where warriorhood was only one part. Other case-studies, with data from different contexts, has been used to suggest such groups and this was done with some success (Meller 2017). Although historical sources do confirm the constant use of Thracian, Agrianian and Illyrian mercenary groups[50] from the 5th century onward, these remain unconfirmed with archaeological evidence from the Iron Age and Archaic Period in the Balkan region[51].

It is in the historical sources, and the new archaeological context of ostentatious burials in the Late Archaic Period that we can find glimpses of other types of social groups – ones that use warriorhood to legitimize existing structures in society, in this case a kind of aristocracy or clan elite that existed in Macedonia; namely, the companion institutions, or warrior friends.

It is likely these were social groups whose fabric was predominantly made out of threads weaving together hereditary, kinship and wealth-based status. Part of the responsibilities of these groups was military engagement, which should not be seen as a regulated obligation, rather a reciprocal relation with a ruler – who in this case also serves as a warband leader. These "warrior clubs" as they have been termed, are consisted of members bound by long-term codes of reciprocal conduct and serve as foci for the performance of an identity and the practice of a lifestyle "founded in warfare" (Vandkilde 2006a, 59). While war is an important part of the existence of this club, this is still not its only purpose as it intersects with other social roles. It is highly likely that we see the burials of such social groups (whose existence is tied with, but extends beyond warriorhood) in the above mentioned ostentatious graves.

50 Thracian mercenaries were part of the Peloponnesian wars (Thuc. 5.6.2-4); Illyrians fought in the battle for Lyncos (Thuc. 4.124.4.)

51 Several graves from Ohrid containing Celtic weaponry from the Hellenistic period have been identified as Celtic mercenaries (Gushtin et. al. 2014)

Since most of the data available for analysis comes from funerary contexts, we are left with limited options in our attempt to understand the processes behind the construction of these social dynamics and identities. By looking at the way warriorhood is represented in these burials, it is possible to get a sense of the utility of such burials in the maintenance of existing structures and in the creation of imaginaries that bind the community.

8.3. Construction of warriorhood: Burials as events

The body, attire and weaponry are the external markers of warriorhood (Treherne 1995; Molloy 2012), woven together with ideological and practical aspects of a warrior's life-way. The representations of warriorhood we observe in the funerary data, outline the difference between "warrior function" and "warrior identity", the former attached to combatants and the latter to a social role or persona (Anderson 2018, 219). The presence of weapons in a burial may not always indicate a combatant, but a constructed persona of a warrior (Härke 1990, 43), thus making the weapon an indicator of a symbolic identity (Anderson 2018, 220).

The symbols of war are manipulated in such a way as to draw a connection between warriorhood and the person buried, constructing the warrior identity in death (Molloy 2010, 412). As was previously mentioned, it is strongly associated with manhood, in which case the internment of weaponry entangles two identities. However, the study of warriors and the representations of warriorhood should not be done in isolation (Vandkilde 2006b, 395). Instead, their social interactions and the relationships they form, archaeologically traceable through the objects they use, are imperative (Pitman, Doonan 2018, 122).

Burials are events where the previously mentioned interactions can be seen. They reaffirm the political community of those who orient to them (Hertz 1960). And not only reaffirm, but also narrow and bind communities, creating an audience of mourners – all of whom think they have some relation to the dead person (Verdery 1999). Funerary practices serve to create an idealized representation – a 're-presentation' of the individual by others rather than by the deceased (Pearson 2003, 4). But, if not careful we might end up treating burials as a mere reflection of the societies and structures in the past, without paying attention to the people, the agents. Instead, building on the previous theory (Oestigaard, Goldhahn 2006), we should see burials as one of the places and events where such structures, relationships and institutions were built, transformed and negotiated.

Which leads to our next point: who are the agents? The dead do not bury themselves (Pearson 2003, 84), their burial is a re-presentantion of their identity, whatever that may be, by the bereaved, their survivors. Thus, a burial shows us more about the expression of the survivors. The survivors, in this case, would be not only the family members but the social group to which the person belonged to – with the possibility of the two being intertwined.

In this sense, burials are one of the events where the reproduction of warriorhood and the ensured continuity of the traditions (or attitudes toward war) takes place. Regardless of the actual life-way of the person being buried, their funeral serves as a medium for the legitimization of warriorhood as a valid aspect of human life, it normalizes violence and even venerates usage of weaponry and notions of glory and warrior deeds. Here, it matters not whether the buried person achieved these, as their assumed pursuit in the afterlife or simply aspirations towards them, is enough to serve the same purpose.

During such events, narratives of war were constructed, binding the community around the notions of its idealised protectors and reinforcing them by turning the graves into monuments. Furthermore, these events also serve as a foci for the socialization of new generations into the existing system. As a place where ideas of "us" against the "others" (always very much present in narratives and memories of war) their potential for being used in propagandas in existing political dynamics should not be underestimated.

Figure 35: Representation of a warrior from Tomb 1 at Gorna Porta.

Burials of rulers, and in some cases members of closely related "elite" have an added importance, as they sometimes

serve as places where the community negotiates it's own identity and relations to the "others". The Trebenishte burials, and this can be extended to similar findings in the Ohrid area and beyond, have been interpreted as attempts by an elite to legitimize and assert itself within a network of interactions between communities (Babic, Palavestra 2018). Times of uncertainty and a need to reinforce ideology are seen as primary factors for such behaviours.

Treating burials as such events, and graves as places where these took place, we can begin to understand their role in the warrior narrative within communities. Of course, they should never be seen solely in this manner, and their complexity must be acknowledged. Wherever warriorhood is concerned, discussion over "actual warriors" and "pretenders" can obscure how people live through these moments of grief, reflection and, as argued above, negotiation of identities.

8.4. The warrior narrative

Warriors are primarily expected to be able to fight with weaponry. Perhaps surprisingly, killing, an activity expected to be abundant in times of war, comes second. Previous research shows that warriors have a very difficult time killing other humans, and when they do, it takes a toll on their mental health (Molloy, Grossman 2007). In order to increase the willingness and ability to kill, warriors are socialized into violence since childhood (Vandkilde 2015, 608), by legitimizing its use and tying it to other aspects of their identity. This is especially successful with the socializations of men, where war, violence and manhood are often tightly knit together from a young age (Resic 2006).

Despite all of that, killing remains difficult and the actual deed is far less performed in war than expected. Molloy and Grossman remind us that soldiers during World War II showed a remarkably low willingness to kill (between 80 and 85% admitted to not shooting at actual targets) when seeing their opponent, and they argue that such statistics should be expected from ancient warriors as well (2007). Preparing humans to kill on demand, and with efficiency, is quite complex: physical training is required for the practical deed, and psychological preparation to make men perform the act repeatedly and on orders.

While the former is straightforward, and much has been written regarding possible training routines of ancient warriors as well as the efficiency of their equipment, not much attention is

paid to how young men were indoctrinated into the killers they were required to be[52] - in an era of combat characterised by close-range engagement.

A space that combines both the physical and the psychological needs of warriors and young men are the so-called "brotherhoods" or "warrior clubs". These groups of people not only share a certain life-way, or in cases of better organisation common goals, but they represent a nexus where mutual relationships shape identities. They are places where the practical aspects of warriorhood are learnt and performed; the symbolic vocabulary is being negotiated and used in the process of social categorization and grouping; and the socio-economic relations between members, which spring up from war, are taking place.

The sense of belonging these groups offer, do not only play a role in the construction of warriorhood, manhood or other identities, but offer remedies for the troubles and horrors of war as well. In a way, violence, and with that the horror of war, is perpetuated by the same structure that shields and alleviates the actors from such perils. Failing to consider this aspect of ancient warriorhood can be detrimental, since by ignoring the suffering (of victims and perpetrators alike) we end up sterilizing warfare and warriorhood (Vandkilde 2013, 41).

The above mentioned remedies should not be assumed to have always been successful, nor at all comparable to contemporary methods of dealing with aggression, PTSD and other ailments of war. Rather, what can be recognised is an attempt to provide temporary relief from such interactions through feasting, drinking, sports and camaraderie. Other features of these groups would be to prepare individuals for conflict and create a mechanism of punishment and reward regarding acceptable and non-acceptable modes of conduct (Helbling 2006, 117).

8.5. Warriorhood in Iron Age and Archaic Macedonia

It is very important to remain aware that we do not really have an emic perspective of these groups discussed here. We do, however, have an emic perspective from men fighting in armies, serving as mercenaries and people who have been involved in similar processes of social constructions of their own social identity and contributed to attitudes towards warfare.

52 Notable exceptions are: van Wees (2004) and his attempt to unravel some myths about ancient warfare, Vandkilde and her inclusion of non-warrior perspectives in war (2006), and Molloy and Grossman and their analysis of the psychological toll and the mental preparation of warriors (2007).

Thucydides and Xenophon are prime examples of such authors, who share quite a bit of their own understanding of war as a social process. It is legitimate to be wary of extrapolating the cultural particularities they describe onto communities from the northern Aegean and Balkan hinterland, and the need to resist accepting historiography as a de-facto representation of actual processes and events.

Therefore several measures have been taken, and described in previous chapters, to make sure this is approached carefully. By taking the underlining themes from the written sources we have and confronting it with the material remains we can build a theoretical model of how the warrior narrative was composed.

One of the most important conclusions from the employment of such a model is that there is no single warrior narrative, no single universal warriorhood. Rather it is a matter of different combinations and pieces used in the construction of it and its performance that can be recognised in the data. The LoV 'burials as warriors' show us a practice of marking individuals as people enfranchised to bear weapons, alluding to their possible role of a warrior, but not setting them apart in any other way from the rest of the population. Nevertheless, inclusion of weaponry on the one side, stands in contrast with its omittance on the other.

Burials during the Late Archaic Period in HalAx, PelOh and to a certain extent LoV and UpV, build on already established Iron Age traditions, ones where manhood and warriorhood were fused, and where the ideologies in question reached a certain everyday practical connotation and mundaneness. However, existing wealth based status differences brought about enhanced veneration of these war-related aspects. Not only was the enfranchisement to bear weapons important, but the role of a warrior started gaining increased relevance. Representations of warriorhood became more elaborate, weapons became more than heraldic devices connected to warfare and were modified in order to present the wealth status of a part of the population. This was done by gilding the weaponry with gold and silver, placing increased attention to decorations of helmets and swords, and by accentuating accompanying features of 'men of war' such as drinking, barbecues, and overall iconography of a violent and war-centric past.

In the meantime, older practices continued to exist, and the disproportionate attention placed on the so-called "elite" burials, comes from the increased attention placed on them

during and after excavation.[53] Regardless, a satisfying conclusion is possible: the available data shows the burials, and out of that the part of the population buried as warriors, were not divided by stark lines. Instead, a gradual scale is visible ranging from burials with only one spear to those with full gear.

Furthermore, the data presented in this thesis shows representations of warriorhood were not stand-alone, but were integrated into an already established system of identities and burial rituals. Similarly as the inclusion of a single weapon into assemblages follows the general burial ritual guidelines of the community, warriorhood was woven into already existing attitudes toward gender and access to weaponry. Therefore, a "warrior" was an organic part of the community and this role was performed in accordance to practices established by the community where it did not stand apart as a separate identity. The data does not allow to get into to much detail regarding those practices, at least outside of the battlefield, since we lack an emic perspective.

While the Late Archaic Period sees a rise in weaponry used as a symbol of wealth-based status, this did not mean warriors rose to the higher echelons of those societies. First, the representations of warriorhood seen in previous centuries are still seen co-existing with elite burials. Out of this comes the second observation: people who already had wealth and were subscribed to the same attitudes toward war, gender and access to weaponry, enacted the same process in burials that reflects the rest of the communities. In other words, burials which show signs of significant wealth with or without weapons follow the same patterns, with the weaponry being the only differentiating factor.

However, it must be stressed that it is perhaps at this time that those same so-called "elites" manipulated the symbols of war in order to legitimize their role in the society and to further the goals of their social groups. This was done not only by infusing weaponry with wealth (high craftsmanship, imports, golden and silver gilding), but through engaging in specific life-styles and activities in real life that placed them at the heart of armed conflict. This was discussed previously through the historical sources and the mention of several special types of military units which we know were assembled from those higher echelons of society (e.g. Makedonian Companions). In addition, evoking a "heroic past" is intrinsically a violent and war-centric one.

53 This is simply the result of decades of funding practices and academic (and popular) interest in these cases.

The argument presented here shows the inclusion of weaponry and the presence of war should not be seen as a sign of a warrior-centric society, rather societies where war was normalised, performed and reproduced through its inclusion in the mundaneness of human life and death. In addition, burials were places where such an ideology was enacted, and warriorhood was reproduced and negotiated, even in cases where the person buried was not an actual warrior themselves.

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Appendix

Catalogue entry abbreviations			
LoV	**M**	**G6**	**X**
Lower Vardar	Miltsi	Grave 6	X
UpV	**OCh**	**G2**	**Tu II**
Upper Vardar	Orlova Chuka	Grave 2	Tumulus II
PelOh	**R**	**G?**	**ng**
Pelagonia-Ohrid	Rechitsa	Undesignated grave	Near grave
HalAx	**V**	**Tu LVIII**	**of**
Haliacmon-Axios	Vergina	Tumulus LVIII	Occasional finding

Catalogue entry abbreviations of archaeological sites			
Lower Vardar	**Upper Vardar**	**Pelagonia Ohrid**	**Haliacmon-Axios**
M: Miltsi	OCh: Orlova Chuka	B: Berantsi	V: Vergina
SR: Suva Reka	RKD: Radanje- Krivi Dol	RKS: Rapesh, Kamenot-SLamite	S: Sindos
D: Dedeli	SK: Star Karaorman	P: Peshta	A: Archontiko
Z: Zelenishte	GP: Gorno Pole	SB: Saraj-Brod	X
GG: Glos-Grchishte	VD: Vuchi Dol	BP: Bukri-Progon	X
BJ: Bishov Javor	Zh: Zhdanets	Bab: Babino	X
LD: Lisichin Dol	B: Brazda	R: Rechitsa	X
X	V: Varvara	TK: Trebenishko Kale	X
X	DB: Dubiche Volkovo	T: Trebenishte	X
X	DS: Dabitsi-Sopot	TCh: Tri Cheljusti	X
X	KCh: Kunovo Chuki	GP: Gorna Porta	X
X	KG: Krshlanski Gumenja	D: Delagozhda	X
X	T: Tetovo	De: Deboj	X
X	SD: Strnovats Dolinats	X	X

Table 1. Weaponry from the Lower Vardar region

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue Number
Spear	unspec.	LoVM G6	6th	16.5	694 III	1
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G7	6th	30*	700 III	2
Spear	Conic	LoVM G7	6th	16	701 III	3
Sword	Naue II	LoVM nG7	7th	43	702 III	4
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G8	6th	9	705 III	5
Spear	Conic	LoVM G8	6th	20	706 III	6
Spear	unspec.	LoVM G10	6th	25	711 III	7
Spear	unspec.	LoVM G10	6th	7.7	712 III	8
Spear	NA	LoVM G12	5th	NA	NA	9
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G27	6th	18	717 III	10
Spear	NA	LoVM nG34	6th	NA	NA	11
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G51	6th	24.2	765 III	12
Sword	Naue II	LoVM G56	8th	60*	766 III	13
Spear	NA	LoVM G66	7th- 6th	NA	NA	14
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G71	7th- 6th	NA	1207	15
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G73	7th- 6th	16.9	1208	16
Spear	Conic	LoVM nG74	7th- 6th	NA	1204	17
Spear	NA	LoVM G78	6th	34	5841	18
Spear	Willow	LoVM nG82	6th	33.5	5859	19
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM nG84	6th	26.8	5860	20
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM nG95	7th	25.3	7022	21
Spear	Willow	LoVM G102	7th- 6th	29	7221	22
Sword	Xiphos	LoVM G103	6th-5th	45	7236	23
Sword	Xiphos	LoVM G103	6th-5th	44.3	7237	24
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G103	6th-5th	20.1	7232	25
Spear	Willow	LoVM G103	6th-5th	24.1	7233	26
Arrow		LoVM G103	6th-5th	6.1	7234	27
Dagger	1x edge	LoVM G103	6th-5th	14.2	7227	28
Dagger	1x edge	LoVM G103	6th-5th	14.2	7228	29
Spear	Bay	LoVM G110	7th-6th	30	8421	30
Spear	Deltoid	LoVM G127	6th	13	9975	32
Spear	Willow	LoVM G135	6th-5th	49.5	10016	33
Spear	Willow	LoVM G140	6th	47	10067	34
Arrow		LoVM G147	7th	13.9	10089	35
Spear	NA	LoVM G154	6th			36
Spear	Willow	LoVM G155	6th-5th	39	10191	37
Arrow		LoVM G155	6th-5th	6.9	10192	38

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Spear	Willow	LoV NA	6th-5th	42	ОЖ-92 1064	39
Spear	Deltoid	LoV NA	6th-5th	23.7	185/1161	40
Spear	NA	LoVSR G1	7th	22*	143 III	41
Spear	NA	LoVSR G12	7th- 6th	20*	233 III	42
Spear	NA	LoVSR G20	7th- 6th	NA	NA	43
Spear	unspec.	LoVSR G28	7th- 6th	16*	235 III	44
Spear	unspec.	LoVSR G29	7th- 6th	10>	224 III	45
Sword	NA	LoVSR G29	7th- 6th	NA	225 III	46
Spear	Deltoid	LoVSR G30	7th- 6th	16.4>	236 III	47
Spear	Willow	LoVSR nG36	7th- 6th	32*	227 III	48
Spear	NA	LoVSR G45	7th- 6th	NA	NA	49
Sword	1x edge	LoVSR G49	7th- 6th	NA	NA	50
Spear	NA	LoVSR G50	7th- 6th	NA	NA	51
Sword	NA	LoVSR G50	7th- 6th	NA	NA	52
Spear	Conic	LoVSR nG72	6th	15*	NA	53
Spear	Deltoid	LoVSR G74	6th	32*	NA	54
Dagger	1x edge	LoVSR G74	6th	25*	NA	55
Spear	Deltoid	LoVSR G76	6th	34*	NA	56
Sword	Opfer	LoVD G6A	6th	39.1>	513 III	57
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G7	6th	19*	292 III	58
Spear	unspec.	LoVD G20	7th- 6th	12>	376 III	59
Spear	unspec.	LoVD G27	7th- 6th	4.7>*	NA	60
Dagger	1x edge	LoVD G29	7th- 6th	27.4	434 III	61
Spear	unspec.	LoVD G31	6th	12.9>	435 III	62
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G44	7th- 6th	22.7	516 III	63
Spear	Conic	LoVD G56	7th	12.7>	559 III	64
Arrow	Deltoid	LoVD nG58	7th- 6th	11.7	561 III	65
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G59	6th	19.3>	560 III	66
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G60	7th- 6th	10>	562 III	67
Spear	Shiv	LoVD G60	7th- 6th	13.9	563 III	68
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G68	7th	22.6	NA	69
Spear	Willow	LoVD G70	6th	26.6	573 III	70
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G78	6th	21.1	809 III	71
Spear	unspec.	LoVD G79	7th- 6th	9.5>	810 III	72
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G83	6th	14.9>	1006 III	73
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G88	6th	NA	NA	74
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G89	6th	NA	NA	75

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Spear	Deltoid	LoVD G89	6th	NA	NA	76
Helmet	Illyrian	LoVD of	6th	/	NA	77
Sword	Xiphos	LoVZ G1	6th	50.5	888 III	78
Spear	Deltoid	LoVZ G1	6th	23.9	891 III	79
Sword	Xiphos	LoVZ G5	6th	50	894 III	80
Spear	Lilac	LoVZ G6	6th	31	897 III	81
Arrow	Deltoid	LoVGG G2	7th- 6th	9	860 III	82
Spear	Deltoid	LoVLD G14	6th	NA	NA	83
Spear	NA	LoVLD G20	6th	NA	NA	84
Spear	Deltoid	LoVBJ G1	7th- 6th	NA	NA	85
Spear	Deltoid	LoVBJ G2	7th- 6th	NA	NA	86

Table 2. Micro-contexts containing weaponry from Miltsi.

Burial designation	Burial		Weapon (A)				Skeletal remains	Ceramic vessel (B)						Metal Vessel		Tool (C)				Clothing accessory (D)		
	Construction	Rite	Sword	Spear	Arrow	Dagger	Male - M Female - F Unknown - X	jug, cutaway rim	cup - one handle	cup – kantharoid	handmade vessel	shards	other	bronze vessels	bronze - miniature	razor (Fe)	tweezer (Fe)	whetstone	knife (Fe)	fibulae	bronze pin	bronze jewellery
Grave 6	Cist	Inhumation		1			2 - X	1	1							1	1		1	2		1
Grave 7	Cist	Inhumation		2				2	1							1						2
Near grave 7	small pit		1					1		1												1
Grave 8	Cist	Inhumation		1+1			1 - X	1	1	1						1	2	1	1	1 (Fe)		2
Grave 10, near 12	small pit	Inhumation		2			1 - X												2	1		
Grave 12	Cist	Cremation		1									1									3>
Grave 27	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 -X	2	1	1										1		2
Near grave 34				1				1					1						1			
Grave 51				1																		
Grave 56	Mound-small	Inhumation	1				1 – X														1	
Grave 66	Cist	Inhumation		1								1										
Grave 71	Cist	Inhumation		1			2 - X	1		1	1 (ng)					1						1
Grave 73	Cist	Inhumation		1			2 - X	1 + 1 (ng)	1	1 (ng)						1	1		1			2
Grave 74	Cist	Inhumation		1 (ng)			2 - X	1	2				1 (ng)									3>
Grave 78	Cist			1				1	1	1			1						1			1
Grave 82	Cist			1 (ng)				1		1							1					1
Grave 84	Cist	Inhumation		1 (ng)																		
Grave 95	Cist			1				2					1			1				1		
Grave 102	Cist			1																		
Grave 103	Pit - rectangular	Inhumation	2	2	1	2	1 - X	1	1	1				2							1	3>
Grave 110	Cist			1				1		2						2	1 + 1 (Br)		1	1	1(Fe)	3>
Grave 112	Cist				1			1	1											2		
Grave 126	Cist			1?				1											1			3>
Grave 127	Cist			1				1		1											1 + 2(Fe)	3
Grave 135	Pit			1					1							1			1		2(Fe)	1(Ag)
Grave 140	Cist			1				1		1											2(Fe)	
Grave 147	Cist				1			1					2		1				1	1(Fe)		3
Grave 154	Cist			1?				1		1												2
Grave 155	Cist			1	1			3		2			2		2				6?	2	2(Fe)	3>

Table 3. Micro-contexts containing weaponry from Suva Reka.

Burial designation	Burial		Weapon (A)				Skeletal remains	Ceramic vessel (B)						Metal Vessel		Tool (C)				Clothing accessory (D)		
	Construction	Rite	Sword	Spear	Arrow	Dagger	Male - M Female - F Unknown - X	jug, cutaway rim	cup - one handle	cup – kantharoid	handmade vessel	shards	other	bronze vessels	bronze - miniature	razor (Fe)	tweezer (Fe)	whetstone	knife (Fe)	bronze fibulae	bronze pin	bronze jewellery
Grave 1	Cist	Inhumation		1				2	1	1									1	2		3
Grave 12	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 - F			1					2 (ng)					1 (ng)	1 (ng)	1
Grave 20	Cist	Inhumation		1								1										1(a)
Grave 28	Cist	Inhumation		1																1		3>
Grave 29	Cist	Inhumation	1	1			1 - M												1			
Grave 30	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 - F	1		1			1									
Grave 36	Cist	Inhumation		1 (ng)			1-F + 1-M				1								1			
Grave 45	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 - M + 1M(child)	2	1	1			1						1			1(Fe)
Grave 49	Cist	Inhumation	1				1 – X	1	2				1									
Grave 50	Cist	Inhumation	1	1			1 - X	1	3													1(Fe)
Grave 72	Cist	Inhumation		1 (ng)					1k	1s											1 + 3 (Fe)	3>
Grave 74	Cist	Inhumation		1		1	1 - M	1(flat)	1k	1												
Grave 76	Cist	Inhumation		1			1-M + 1-F	3											1		1	

Table 4. Micro-contexts containing weaponry from Dedeli.

Burial designation	Burial		Weapon				Skeletal remains	Ceramic vessel						Metal Vessel		Tool				Clothing accessory		
	Construction	Rite	Sword	Spear	Arrow	Dagger	Male - M Female - F Unknown - X	jug, cutaway rim	cup - one handle	cup – kantharoid	handmade vessel	shards	Other	bronze vessels	bronzes	razor (Fe)	tweezer (Fe)	whetstone	knife (Fe)	bronze fibulae	bronze pin	bronze jewellery
Grave 6A	Pithos		1														1 (Br)					
Grave 7	Cist	Inhumation		1				1														
Grave 20	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 – M + 1 – F	1	1	1						1		1				3>
Grave 27	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 – X	1		1						2	2 (Br)			1		2
Grave 29	Cist	Inhumation				1	1 - M + 1 - F + 1-X(child)						1		3	1		1				3>
Grave 31	Cist	Inhumation		1?			1 – X						1									3>
Grave 44	Cist	Inhumation		1			2 – X	1	1												1	
Grave 56	Cist	Inhumation		1			2 – X + 1 – X(child)		1			1	1									1
Grave 58	Cist	Inhumation			1(ng)																	3>
Grave 59	Cist	Inhumation		1											2(ng)							
Grave 60	Cist	Inhumation		2			1 – X	1				1								1		
Grave 68	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 – X	1		1						1	1	1		1		
Grave 70	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 – X															
Grave 78	Cist	Inhumation		1			1 – X		1													
Grave 79	Cist	Inhumation		1			2 – X					1									1	3
Grave 83	Cist	Inhumation		1																		
Grave 88	Cist	Inhumation		1				1	1										1		1	1
Grave 89	Cist	Inhumation		2				1		1						1			1			

Table 5. Weaponry from the Upper Vardar region

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Spear	Deltoid	UpVOCh G2 Tu II	7th	11.3	NA	87
Dagger	Naue II	UpVOCh G2 Tu V	7th	30	28 III	88
Spear	Willow	UpVOCh G2 Tu V	7th	24.9	NA	89
Spear	NA	UpVOCh G4 Tu V	7th	NA	NA	90
Spear	Deltoid	UpVOCh G7 Tu VI	7th	NA	NA	91
Dagger	NA	UpVOCh G7 Tu VI	7th	NA	NA	92
Dagger	NA	UpVOCh G11 Tu VI	7th	NA	NA	93
Spear	Deltoid	UpVRKD G?1	6th	20	I 255	94
Spear	Deltoid	UpVRKD G?2	6th	22.1	I 474	95
Spear	Deltoid	UpVRKD G?3	6th	26	I 475	96
Spear	Deltoid	UpVRKD G?4	6th	30	I 476	97
Spear	Deltoid	UpVRKD G?5	6th	52.7	I 477	98
Sword	Xiphos	UpVRKD G?6	6th	56.5	NA (530?)	99
Spear	Deltoid	UpVRKD G?7	6th	12.3	NA	100
Sword	Kopis	UpVRKD G?8	6th	35.2	NA	101
Dagger	Makhaira	UpVRKD G?9	6th	18	NA	102
Sword	Sica	UpVRKD G?10	6th	37.5	I 472	103
Sword	Sica	UpVRKD G?11	6th	41	I 473	104
Dagger	Sica	UpVRKD G?12	6th	16.4>	NA	105
Sword	Flange-hilt	UpVSK G?	8th-7th	15.5>	NA	106
Spear	Deltoid	UpVSK G?	8th-7th	15.5	I 46	107
Dagger	Sica	UPVGP G1	6th	NA	NA	108
Dagger	2x edge	UPVGP G1	6th	NA	NA	109
Dagger	1x edge	UPVGP G1	6th	NA	NA	110
Dagger	Sica	UpVVD G?	7th	20.3>	NA	111
Sword	Kopis	UpVZh G?	5th	50	NA	112
Spear	NA	UpVZh G?	5th	NA	NA	113
Spear	NA	UpVZh T	5th	36.4	NA	114
Spear	NA	UpVZh T	5th	33.6	NA	115
Spear	NA	UpVZh T	5th	NA	NA	116
Arrow		UpVB G?	5th-4th	NA	NA	117
Sling bullet		UpV B of	5th-4th	/	NA	118
Spear	unspec.	UpVV of	/	25.5>	19752	119
Spear	unspec.	UpVV of	/	9>	19764	120
Spear	Willow	UpVV G2	7th-6th	30.3	19755	121
Spear	Willow	UpVV G2	7th-6th	40.5	19756	122
Spear	Deltoid	UpVV G3	7th-6th	40.5	19757	123

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Spear	Deltoid	UpVV G3	7th-6th	31.6	19758	124
Spear	Deltoid	UpVV G10	7th-6th	26.7	19759	125
Spear	Willow	UpVV G10	7th-6th	50.2	19760	126
Dagger	1x edge	UpVDV G2	6th	30	57	127
Sword	Sica	UpVDV G3	6th	38	68	128
Dagger	Sica	UpVDV G3	6th	20	58	129
Sword	Sica	UpVDS G1 Tu II	7th	33>	NA	130
Arrow		UpVDS G5 Tu V	7th	6.8	940 III	131
Spear	NA	UpVDS G5 Tu VIII	7th	9.6	941 III	132
Spear	NA	UpVDS G5 Tu VIII	7th	28.4	942 III	133
Spear	NA	UpVDS G5 Tu VIII	7th	22	943 III	134
Arrow		UpVDS G2 Tu IX	7th	10.4	929 III	135
Spear	Deltoid	UpVKCh Tu II	8th-7th	NA	915 III	136
Spear	NA	UpVKCh Tu III	7th	NA	NA	137
Spear	NA	UpVKCh Tu III	7th	NA	NA	138
Sword	NA	UpVKG G1	NA	33	823 III	139
Spear	Deltoid	UpVKG G1	NA	18.7	824 III	140
Spear	unspec.	UpVKG of	NA	22.1	838 III	141
Sword	Naue II	UpV of	8th?	66	I – 0187	142
Sword	Kopis	UpV of	5th-4th	45	10/ II - 0095	143
Axe		UpVK G?	6th-5th	NA	NA	144
Spear	NA	UpVO G? Tu I	7th-6th	2.2>	NA	145
Greave		UpVT T?	6th	NA	NA	146
Helmet	Illyrian	UpVT T?			NA	147
Sword	Kopis	UpVSD G3 Tu II	7th	32	NA	148

Table 6. Weaponry from the Pelagonia-Ohrid region

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Sword	Naue II	PelOhB G37 Tu	9th	85	A15335	149
Spear	Deltoid	PelOhB G? Tu	8th-7th	33.6	A15511	150
Spear	Bay	PelOhB G? Tu	8th-7th	18.7	A15512	151
Spear	Deltoid	PelOhRKS G4	7th-6th	15.3	NA	152
Spear	NA	PelOhP G?	NA	NA	NA	153
Spear	NA	PelOhSB G2	NA	NA	NA	154
Spear	NA	PelOhSB G3	NA	NA	NA	155
Spear	NA	PelOhSB G3	NA	NA	NA	156
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhBP of	6th	/	A15515	157
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhBP of	6th	NA	NA	158
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhBP of	6th	NA	NA	159
Spear	NA	PelOhBP of	6th	NA	NA	160
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOHBab of	6th	/	NA	161
Spear	Willow	PelOhR of	6th-5th	32>	A-10487 (I 4)	162
Spear	Willow	PelOhR of	6th-5th	21>	A-10488 (I 5)	163
Spear	Willow	PelOhR of	6th	48	A-10497 (I 14)	164
Axe	Double	PelOhR of	6th	18	A-10490 (I 7)	165
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhR G?	5th	/	A-10485 (I 2)	166
Axe	Double	PelOhR G?	5th	22	A-10486 (I 3)	167
Spear	NA	PelOhR G?	5th	17	NA	168
Sword	Makhaira	PelOhTK G15	NA	34>	NA	169
Helmet	Corinthian	PelOhT TI	6th	/	6969	170
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TI	6th	/	NA	171
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TI	6th	NA	NA	172
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TI	6th	21	6987г	173
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TI	6th	24	NA	174
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TII	6th	/	NA	175
Shield	Aspis	PelOhT TII	6th	/	NA	176
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TII	6th	NA	NA	177
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TII	6th	NA	6987a	178
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TII	6th	NA	6987д	179
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TIII	6th	/	6970	180
Shield	Aspis	PelOhT TIII	6th	/	NA	181
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TIII	6th	NA	NA	182
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TIII	6th	NA	6987b	183
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TIV	6th	/	NA	184
Shield	Aspis	PelOhT TIV	6th	/	NA	185

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TIV	6th	NA	NA	186
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TIV	6th	NA	6987v	187
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TV	6th	/	6976	188
Shield	Aspis	PelOhT TV	6th	/	NA	189
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TV	6th	NA	NA	190
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TV	6th	NA	6988v	191
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TVI	6th	/	NA	192
Shield	Aspis	PelOhT TVI	6th	/	NA	193
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TVI	6th	NA	NA	195
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TVI	6th	NA	NA	196
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TVII	6th	/	6973	197
Shield	Aspis	PelOhT TVII	6th	/	NA	198
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TVII	6th	NA	6984	199
Spear	Willow	PelOhT TVII	6th	NA	NA	200
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhT TVIII	6th	/	158/1	201
Greave	/	PelOhT TVIII	6th	/	160/1	202
Spear	NA	PelOhT TVIII	6th	NA	NA	203
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TXI	6th	NA	NA	204
Spear	NA	PelOhT TXI	6th	NA	NA	205
Helmet	Chalcidan	PelOhT TXIII	5th	/	159/1	206
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhT TXIII	5th	NA	NA	207
Spear	NA	PelOhT nG14	6th	NA	NA	208
Spear	Willow	PelOhTCh 17	4th	38.5	3MO A-10669	209
Spear	Willow	PelOhTCh 17	4th	33.5	3MO A-10670	210
Spear	Willow	PelOhTCh 17	4th	26	3MO A-10672	211
Spear	Willow	PelOhTCh 17	4th	27	3MO A-10671	212
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP G130	6th-5th	NA	NA	213
Sword	Xiphos	PelOhGP G132	5th	38.8	3MO A-1608	214
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP G132	5th	21	3MO A-2833	215
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP G132	5th	21	3MO A-2834	216
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3785	217
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3786	218

Weapon	Type	Grave	Date	Length (cm)	Inventory Number	Catalogue designation
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3787	219
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3788	220
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3789	221
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3790	222
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3791	223
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3792	224
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3793	225
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3794	226
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3795	227
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3796	228
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3797	229
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3798	230
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3799	231
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3800	232
Greave	/	PelOhGP TI	5th	/	A-3801	233
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	44	A-3805	234
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	66.5	A-3806	235
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	62	A-3808	236
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	34	A-3809	237
Spear	Bay	PelOhGP TI	5th	42	A-3811	238
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	64	A-3812	239
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	44.5	A-3813	240
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	32>	A-3814	241
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	25.1	A-3815	242
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	25	A-3816	243
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	35	A-3817	244
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	36.6	A-3818	245
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	46	A-3819	246
Spear	Willow	PelOhGP TI	5th	70	A-3822	247
Spear	Willow	PelOHGP ?	NA	63	A-3824	248
Helmet	Illyrian	PelOhD G84	5th	/	NA	249
Spear	Bay	PelOhD G84	5th		NA	250
Spear	Willow	PelOhD	NA		NA	251, 252
Spear	Willow	PelOhD	NA		NA	253
Sword	Makhaira	PelOhD	NA	NA	NA	254
Sword	Makhaira	PelOh Deboj G8	NA	40	NA	255
Sword	Sica	PelOh of	NA	35.3	49	256

Table 7. Weaponry from the Haliakmon-Axios region.

Weapon	Grave	Date	Length (cm)
Spear	HalAxV GE Tu III	7th	29
Spear	HalAxV GK Tu III	7th	26.7
Spear	HalAxV GΞ Tu III	7th	25.5
Spear	HalAxV GA Tu L	NA	49
Spear	HalAxV GΓ Tu L	NA	NA
Spear	HalAxV Tu LV of	NA	NA
Spear	HalAxV Tu LV of	NA	NA
Spear	HalAxV GA Tu LV	NA	30
Spear	HalAxV GB Tu LV	NA	37
Spear	HalAxV Tu LVIII of	NA	31.4
Spear	HalAxV Tu LVIII of	NA	NA
Spear	HalAxV Tu LVIII of	NA	27.5
Spear	HalAxV GB Tu LVIII	NA	NA
Spear	HalAxV GA Tu LX	NA	35.3
Spear	HalAxV GA Tu LIV	NA	52
Spear	HalAxV GA Tu LIV	NA	52
Spear	HalAxV GΓ Tu LIV	6th	34
Spear	HalAxV Tu LXV of	10th-7th	NA
Spear	HalAxV GAΓ Tu LXV	7th	37
Sword	HalAxV GAΠ Tu LXV	9th	75
Arrow	HalAxV GAΣ Tu LXV	10th	1.7
Spear	HalAxV GAΨ Tu LXV	7th	23.6
Arrow	HalAxV GBΔ Tu LXV	9th-8th	4
Arrow	HalAxV GBΔ Tu LXV	9th-8th	4
Arrow	HalAxV GBΔ Tu LXV	9th-8th	4
Arrow	HalAxV GBΔ Tu LXV	9th-8th	4
Arrow	HalAxV GBΛ Tu LXV	7th	4.7
Spear	HalAxV Tu LXVI	NA	NA
Spear	HalAxV Tu LXVI	NA	NA
Dagger	HalAxV Tu LXVI	NA	20
Dagger	HalAxV Tu LXVI	NA	20
Spear	HalAxV GE Tu LXVI	NA	34.5>

Weapon	Grave	Date	Length (cm)
Spear	HalAxV GE Tu LXVI	NA	10>
Spear	HalAxV GH Tu LXVI	NA	24.6
Spear	HalAxV Tu LXVII of	NA	16
Spear	HalAxV GB Tu LXVII	NA	36
Spear	HalAxV Tu LXVIII of	NA	23.5
Spear	HalAxV Tu LXVIII of	NA	43
Spear	HalAxV GΔ Tu LXVIII	NA	19.5
Spear	HalAxV GE Tu LXVIII	NA	27
Sword	HalAxV GZ Tu LXVIII	NA	27.8>
Spear	HalAxV GZ Tu LXVIII	NA	47
Sword	HalAxV GLXXI	NA	55
Spear	HalAxV GLXXI	NA	NA
Sword	HalAxV GB Tu C	NA	NA
Sword	HalAxV GΔ Tu C	NA	72.5
Weapons	HalAx Tu T	NA	/
Sword	HalAx GXIV Tu N	NA	80.5
Sword	HalAx G1 Tu T	NA	105
Spear	HalAxS G8	5th	32.5
Sword	HalAxS G14	5th	30>
Sword	HalAxS G14	5th	24.5>
Spear	HalAxS G19	5th	2.5>
Helmet	HalAxS G25	6th	/
Sword	HalAxS G25	6th	45
Sword	HalAxS G25	6th	53.8
Sword	HalAxS G25	6th	45
Spear	HalAxS G25	6th	30
Spear	HalAxS G25	6th	30
Shield	HalAxS G25	6th	/
Spear	HalAxS G31	6th	22.7
Spear	HalAxS G31	6th	21.3
Spear	HalAxS G35	NA	5.2
Sword	HalAxS G40	5th	51.3
Spear	HalAxS G42	6th	32.5

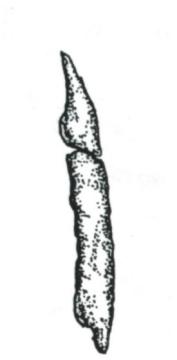
Weapon	Grave	Date	Length (cm)
Spear	HalAxS G42	6th	32.5
Sword	HalAxS G51	NA	16.3>
Spear	HalAxS G51	NA	23
Helmet	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	/
Sword	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	48.2>
Sword	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	65.8
Spear	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	37.6
Spear	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	37
Arrow	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	14
Shield	HalAxS G52	6th-5th	/
Sword	HalAxS G53	6th	37.3>
Spear	HalAxS G55	5th	NA
Helmet	HalAxS G57	6th	/
Sword	HalAxS G57	6th	NA
Sword	HalAxS G57	6th	62
Spear	HalAxS G57	6th	38.1
Spear	HalAxS G57	6th	43
Shield	HalAxS G57	6th	/
Spear	HalAxS G58	6th-5th	41.8
Spear	HalAxS G58	6th-5th	29.8
Helmet	HalAxS G59	6th	/
Sword	HalAxS G59	6th	49.8
Spear	HalAxS G59	6th	15
Spear	HalAxS G59	6th	15
Helmet	HalAxS G62	6th	/
Sword	HalAxS G62	6th	68.5
Spear	HalAxS G62	6th	36.3
Spear	HalAxS G62	6th	28.5
Helmet	HalAxS G65	6th	/
Sword	HalAxS G65	6th	49.6
Sword	HalAxS G65	6th	45.3
Spear	HalAxS G65	6th	20.5
Spear	HalAxS G65	6th	24.5

Weapon	Grave	Date	Length (cm)
Arrow	HalAxS G65	6th	5.8
Sword	HalAxS G66	6th	55.5
Spear	HalAxS G66	6th	20.5
Spear	HalAxS G66	6th	20.5
Helmet	HalAxS G76	5th	/
Spear	HalAxS G76	5th	47
Spear	HalAxS G76	5th	42.4
Sword	HalAxS G79	5th	22>
Spear	HalAxS G79	5th	27>
Spear	HalAxS G79	5th	NA
Sword	HalAxS G81	5th	33>
Spear	HalAxS G81	5th	25.2
Spear	HalAxS G82a	5th	32
Spear	HalAxS G82a	5th	28
Helmet	HalAxS G87	6th-5th	/
Sword	HalAxS G87	6th-5th	56.6
Spear	HalAxS G87	6th-5th	30.7
Spear	HalAxS G87	6th-5th	29.5
Sword	HalAxS G89	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxS G89	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxS G89	6th	/
Sword	HalAxS G90	5th	47.3
Spear	HalAxS G90	5th	41
Spear	HalAxS G90	5th	31.6
Spear	HalAxS G91	5th	32.7
Spear	HalAxS G91	5th	39.3
Spear	HalAxS G93	5th	41.4
Spear	HalAxS G93	5th	41.4
Helmet	HalAxS G97	6th	
Sword	HalAxS G97	6th	49.8
Spear	HalAxS G97	6th	27.5
Helmet	HalAxS G100	5th	/
Helmet	HalAxS G105	6th-5th	/

Weapon	Grave	Date	Length (cm)
Sword	HalAxS G105	6th-5th	58.5
Spear	HalAxS G105	6th-5th	31
Spear	HalAxS G105	6th-5th	31
Sword	HalAxS G109	5th	60.6
Spear	HalAxS G109	5th	33
Spear	HalAxS G109	5th	20.2
Helmet	HalAxS G111	5th	/
Sword	HalAxS G111	5th	47.6
Spear	HalAxS G111	5th	31
Spear	HalAxS G111	5th	31.6
Sword	HalAxS G114	6th-5th	50.5
Helmet	HalAxS G115	6th-5th	/
Sword	HalAxS G115	6th-5th	62
Sword	HalAxS G115	6th-5th	63.2
Spear	HalAxS G115	6th-5th	28.4
Spear	HalAxS G115	6th-5th	26.6
Shield	HalAxS G115	6th-5th	/
Helmet	HalAxS G118	5th	/
Spear	HalAxS G118	5th	23
Spear	HalAxS G118	5th	38.5
Helmet	HalAxA G T131	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T131	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T131	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T131	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T131	6th	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T145	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T145	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T145	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T145	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T145	6th	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T189	?	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T194	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T194	6th	NA

Weapon	Grave	Date	Length (cm)
Sword	HalAxA G T194	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T194	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T194	6th	NA
Helmet	HalAxA G T279	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T279	6th	NA
Sword	HalAxA G T279	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T279	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T279	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T279	6th	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T280	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T280	6th	NA
Sword	HalAxA G T280	6th	NA
Sword	HalAxA G T280	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T280	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T280	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T280	6th	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T283	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T283	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T283	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T283	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T283	6th	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T443	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T443	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T443	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T443	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T443	6th	/
Helmet	HalAxA G T692	6th	/
Sword	HalAxA G T692	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T692	6th	NA
Spear	HalAxA G T692	6th	NA
Shield	HalAxA G T692	6th	/

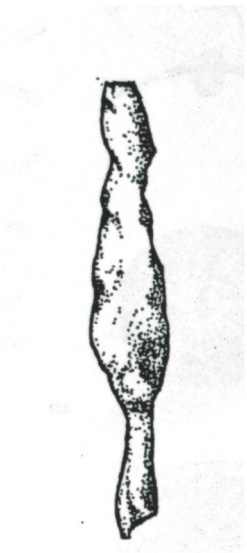
Catalogue of weaponry and micro-contexts

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVM G6</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 6, Miltsi – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inhumation in a cist, constructed with stone slabs.
Dimensions: 230×90×50 cm.
Orientation: NW-SE.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 jug, with a cutaway rim and 1 flat rimmed vessel. Both ceramic and wheel-made, with one handle.
<u>Tools:</u> 1 iron knife, 17 cm long; 1 Iron razor and tweezers.
<u>Other:</u> 1 bronze shaped fibulae; 1 bronze two knotted fibulae with a triangle head; 2 bronze buttons.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Entire skeleton preserved (except the skull); foot bones from a different skeleton</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">694 III</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">The spear was not listed among the findings in the original publication. It was listed in the inventory log.
Image from: Pashic et al. 1987, T IV.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 16.5 cm (according to Inventory card)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic, Vincic, Ivanovski, Georgiev 1987; Mitrevski 1991, 1997; Nacev 1992;</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVM G7

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 7, Miltsi - 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Inhumation, cist made of stone slabs. Dimensions: 230×90×40 cm. Orientation: N-S.	**Vessels:** 2 ceramic jugs with cutaway necks and 1 ceramic vessel with one handle. All wheel-made. **Tools:** 1 iron razor and 1 iron knife 17cm (699 III – listed only in the inventory logs) **Other:** 1 bronze ribbon and 1 fragmented bangle.
Osteological remains	Not preserved
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon



Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	700 III
Cat. No.	2

Notes

The spear pieces are listed in the museum inventory logs and in Pashic et al. 1981. They are missing from the text but are present in the tables of Pashic et al. 1987 publication. The images do not correspond to the description given in the Inventory logs.
Image from: Pashic et al. 1987, T. V, 6.

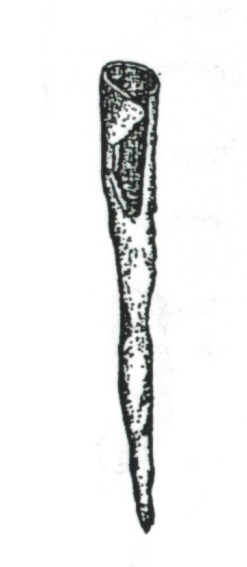
Dimensions

L: 13 + 10 + 6.8 cm. (broken in three – acc. to the Inv. card)

Description

Thin leaf, badly preserved, fragmented socket – acc. to the Inv. card.
Deltoid leaf, small socket, heavily corroded – acc. to the drawing.

Weapon



Type	Spearbutt
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	701 III
Cat. No.	3

Notes

The spear pieces are listed in the museum inventory logs and in Pashic et al. 1981. They are missing from the text but are present in the tables of Pashic et al. 1987 publication. The images do not correspond to the description given in the Inventory logs.
Image from: Pashic et al. 1987, T. V, 7.

Dimensions

L: 16 cm – acc. to the Inv. card

Description

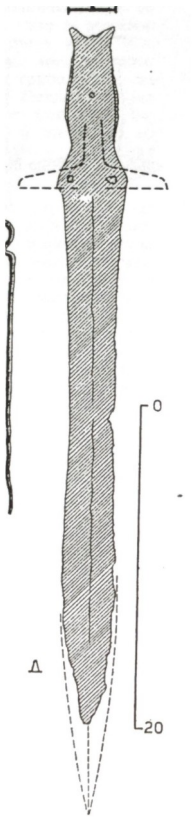
Small socket – acc. to the Inv. card.
Conical shape – acc. to the drawing (Pashic et al. 1987, T. V, 7).

Bibliography	Pashic et al. 1981; 1987; Mitrevski 1997;

Context LoVM nG7

Burial designation and chronology	Dislocated, next to grave 7, Miltsi – 7th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Dislocated, placed at the NW of grave 7.	Vessels: 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck and 1 ceramic cantharoid cup. Both wheel-made. Other: 1 fragmented bangle.
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Sword

Weapon



Type	Sword
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	701 III
Cat. No.	4

Notes

Since inspection of the artefact was not possible, more details on typology cannot be offered here. The drawings (Georgiev 1984, Sl. 6, d; Pashic et al. 1987, T V, 8) do lead to the first classification – flange-hilted Naue II type. The fact that it comes from a dislocated context also gives the possibility of its treatment as an older burial, which goes in line with the sword type. Image from: Georgiev 1984, img 6.

Dimensions

L: 46 cm.

Description

Double edged sword, badly preserved and heavily corroded.
Firstly classified as a flange-hilted Nencingen sword (Pashic et al 1987. A later correction by Georgiev 1984, classifies it as a xiphos sword. The reasons listed for the misclassification are the broken cross hand-guards and the broken off end of the hilt which gave it a fishtail appearance.

Bibliography	Pashic et al. 1981, 1987; Georgiev 1984; Mitrevski 1997.

Context LoVM G8

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 8, MIltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist. Dimensions: 200×78×40 cm. Orientation: N-S	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck, 1 ceramic cantharoid cup and 1 ceramic vessel with one handle. All of them wheel-made. **Tools:** 2 iron knives (709 III and 707 III). The first is 17 cm long (classified in the Inventory log by Mitrevski as a tip of a sword); 1 razor, tweezers and 1 whetstone. **Other:** 2 bronze earrings and 1 iron bow fibulae with a triangle head.
Osteological remains	Badly preserved skeleton (except the skull).
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	705 III
	Cat. No.	5
	Notes	
	Drawing by Pashic et al. 1987 – T VI.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 9 cm – preserved (acc. to Inv. card).	
	Description	
	Heavily corroded and badly preserved.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	706 III
	Cat. No.	6
	Notes	
	Drawing by Pashic et al. 1987 – T VI.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 20 cm (acc. to Inv. card).	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Pashic et al. 1987; Nacev 1992.

Context LoVM G10

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 10, Miltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
A small pit, next to grave 12.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** 2 iron knives **Other:** 1 fibulae (Anatolian type), placed on the skull's forehead
Osteological remains	A skull, parts of extremities grouped in two, and a rib cage next to them.
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	711 III
	Cat. No.	7
	Notes	
	Drawing by Pashic et al. 1987 – T VII.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 25 cm. W: 0.8 cm socket 1.5 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Long leaf, barely preserved socket. The leaf is corroded and mostly lost.	

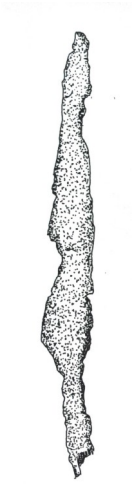
Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	712 III
	Cat. No.	8
	Notes	
	Drawing by Pashic et al. 1987 – T VII.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 7.7 cm.	
	Description	
	Very badly preserved.	

Bibliography	Pashic et al. 1987

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVM G 12</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 12, Miltsi – 5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A cist, divided in two parts – one containing the offerings and the other the cremated remains.
Dimensions: 115×75×50 cm.
Orientation: E-W;</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 gutus with signs of fire damage
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze earring, 2 bronze ellipsoid rings, 1 iron ring with and engraved love scene, 1 bronze button.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Cremated remains</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">9</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mitrevski (1997) believes this burial can be dated to the 5th BC, due to the cremation and offerings. Georgiev 1984 also dates it to the 5th.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic et al. 1987; Mitrevski 1997.</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVM G27

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 27, Miltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist grave. Dimensions: 180×63×030 cm. Orientation: SE-NW.	**Vessels:** 2 ceramic jugs with cutaway necks; 1 ceramic cantharoid vessel and 1 ceramic vessel with one handle. **Tools**: / **Other:** 1 bronze bow shaped fibulae with a boeotian shield and 2 bronze spiral earrings.
Osteological remains	Parts of femur preserved.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	717 III
	Cat. No.	10
	Notes	
	Drawing by Pashic et al. 1987 – T IX.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 18 cm	
	Description	
	Badly preserved. A thin leaf with a thorn socket.	

Bibliography	Pashic et al. 1987

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVM nG34</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Near grave 34, Miltsi – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dislocated finding, discovered in quadrant 68e, near grave 34.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic plate with one handle; 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway rim and 1 gutus. All gray ware.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife.
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">11</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Fragmented.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic et al. 1987</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVM G51

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 51, Miltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	765 III
Cat. No.	12

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 24.2 cm 11.6 cm leaf, 12.6 cm socket
(Inv.C. L: 27cm)
W: 2.1 cm socket 3.5 cm leaf

Description

Heavily corroded.
Deltoid leaf, Socket > leaf.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Inv.C. filed by Mitrevski. Excavations 1983.

Context LoVM G56

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 56, Miltsi – 8th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Mound of amorphous stones, ellipsoid shape. Dimensions: 150×350 cm, height 100 cm. The grave stands out from all other graves, not only in this necropolis, but in the rest of the Valandovo-Gevgelija necropolises Mitrevski 1991a, 147).	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 bronze pin.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of the pelvis preserved
Weaponry	1 Sword

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	766 III
	Cat. No.	13

Notes

Drawing also available in Mitrevski 1991a.

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 12 cm hilt, 9.9 cm blade fragment.
W: 2.4 hilt.
(Inv.C. L: 60cm)

Description

Flange-hilted, fishtail shape. Only the hilt and some fragments preserved.
Typology: Phase 1, Naue II.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991a, 1997.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVM G66</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 66, Miltsi – 7th/6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cist, constructed with 10 stone slabs.
Dimensions: 200x84x35 cm. Orientation: E-W</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: pottery fragments, matte painted.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Remains in negative</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Discarded</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>14</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Only the point was noted</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Husenovski 2005.</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVM G71

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 71, Miltsi – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist, constructed with 7 stone slabs. Pottery shards scattered around the burial. Dimensions: 215×75×40 cm. Orientation: W-E.	**Vessels:** 1 Ceramic jug with a cutaway neck; 1 ceramic cup with vertical handles (Both wheel-made); 1 handmade jug with a flat rim found near the grave **Tools:** 1 iron razor. **Other:** 6 bronze rosette leaves.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Skull (preserved in negative), spine, femur and arms preserved, and another skeleton which was probably the primary burial.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	1207
	Cat. No.	15
	Notes	
	Photograph by Husenovski	
	Dimensions	
	Description	
	Severely corroded. Form difficult to ascertain. Wide and long socket.	

Bibliography	Husenovski 2005.

Context LoVM G73

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 73, Miltsi – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with 7 stone slabs. Pottery shards found scattered around the burial. Dimensions: 220×80×30 cm. Orientation: W-E	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck; 1 ceramic cup with a vertical handle (both wheel-made); 2 ceramic vessels found near the grave. **Tools:** 1 iron knife, 17 cm long; 1 iron razor and tweezers. **Other:** bronze earrings.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 2 skeletons.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	
Cat. No.	16

Notes

Drawing Husenovski 2005 – T III, 4.
Photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

L: 16.9 cm
W: 3.1 cm

Description

NA

Bibliography	Husenovski 2005.

Context LoVM nG74

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 74, Miltsi – 7th/6th BC

Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with 7 stone slabs, pottery shards around the burial. Next to the burial a kylix was found with a spear point stuck in a wooden block, and a fragment of a spiral bracelet. Dimensions: 175×65×27 cm. Orientation: N-S.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck, 2 ceramic cups with vertical handles. All were wheel-made. **Tools:** / **Other:** 2 bronze rosette buttons with six leaves, 5 bronze beads, 3 fragmented bangles, one of which with a bead.

Osteological remains	Inhumation. 2 skeletons preserved.

Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spearbutt
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	1204
Cat. No.	17

Notes

Found next to the grave, stuck in a wooden block. Photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

NA

Description

Conical shape.

Bibliography	Husenovski 2005

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVM G78</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 78, Miltsi – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cist made of 9 vertical and 3 cover slabs .
Dimensions: 190x50 cm.
Orientation N-S.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck; 1 ceramic cup with two vertical handles; 1 ceramic with two vertical handles and 1 ceramic jug (olpe). All wheel-made.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife.
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze earring.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. Remains of two skeletons.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">N.I. Museum - Gevgelija</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">5841</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">18</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 34 cm
W: 3.2 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Willow leaf. Mild midrib.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski - 2011.</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVM nG82

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 82, Miltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist made of 10 vertical and 4 cover slabs. Dimensions: 210x60 cm. Depth: 170 cm. Orientation: NE-SW.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck and 1 ceramic cup with two vertical handles. Both wheel-made. **Tools:** iron tweezers. **Other:** 1 bronze bangle.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of one skeleton.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	5859
	Cat. No.	19

Notes
Found near the N-E side of the grave. Information and photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions
L: 33.5 cm W: 4.6 cm

Description
Willow leaf. Mild midrib.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski - 2011.

Context LoVM nG84

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 84, Miltsi – 6th BC

Burial description	Artefacts
Damaged cist. 5 vertical and 2 cover slabs were preserved. Dimensions: 180x50 cm. Depth 125 cm. Orientation: NE-SW.	Vessels: / Tools: / Other: /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of one skeleton. Additional osteological remains in the damaged part of the cist.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	5860
Cat. No.	20

Notes

Found near the grave, above the head.
Information and photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

L: 26.8 cm
W: 3 cm

Description

Deltoid shape, rounded shoulders.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2011-12.

Context LoVM nG95

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 95, Miltsi – early 7th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist of 7 vertical and several small cover slabs. Dimensions: 240x60 cm. Depth 150 cm. Orientation: SE-NW.	**Vessels:** 2 ceramic jugs with cutaway necks and 1 ceramic plate with two horizontal handles **Tools:** 1 iron razor **Other:** 1 bronze bow shaped fibulae with a single knot
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains in negative.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	7022
Cat. No.	21

Notes

Found near the grave.
Information and photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

L: 25.3 cm
W: 2.4 cm

Description

Deltoid shape, wedge shoulders.
Socket>Leaf

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2012.

Context LoVM nG102

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 102, Miltsi, 6th
Burial description	Artefacts
Damaged cist made of 4 vertical and several cover slabs. Preserved dimensions: 150x50 cm. Depth: 150 cm. Orientation W-E.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Skeleton preserved to the kneecaps. Damage corresponds to the damage of the cist.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7221
	Cat. No.	22
	Notes	
	Found near the north side of the grave. Photograph by Husenovski.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 29 cm W: 2.8 cm	
	Description	
	Willow leaf, rounded shoulders.	

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2013

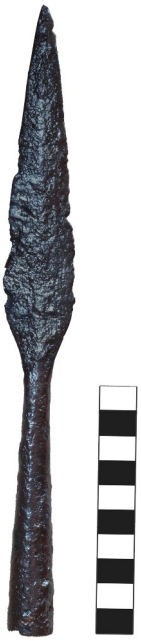
Context LoVM G103

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 103, Miltsi – 510-490 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular pit. Dimensions: 220×75cm. Orientation: W-E.	Vessels: 1 bronze phiale; 1 bronze vessel with a flat basin; 1 ceramic wheel-made oenochoe with a cutaway rim; 1 ceramic wheel-made kothon; 1 ceramic wheel-made kylix. Tools: / Other: 2 bronze bracelets; 1 silver bracelet; 1 golden rhomboid shaped foil with a sixteen leafed rosette relief at the centre; 1 bronze double needle, with "spiral disks" at the top.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. The skull and pelvic bones partially preserved.
Weaponry	2 Swords 2 Spears 1 Arrow 2 Daggers

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7236
	Cat. No.	23
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 45.2 cm; 8.9 cm guard W: 2.8 cm hilt; 3.1 cm blade
	Description	Double edged, xiphos shape, cross guard, oval hilt. Thin blade. The flame shape of the xiphos type is not well pronounced.

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7237
	Cat. No.	24
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 44.3 cm; 9.8 guard W: 3.8 cm blade
	Description	Double edged, xiphos shape, cross guard, oval hilt. Remains of the scabbard preserved along the blade.

Weapon	Type	Spear
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7232
	Cat. No.	25
	Notes	
	Photograph by Husenovski	
	Dimensions	
	L: 20.1 cm W: 1.6 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Deltoid shape, wedge shoulders. Corroded and part broken.	

Weapon	Type	Spear
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7233
	Cat. No.	26
	Notes	
	Photograph by Husenovski	
	Dimensions	
	L: 24 cm W: 2.1 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Willow shape, wedge shoulders.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Arrow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7234
	Cat. No.	27
	Notes	
	Photograph by Husenovski	
	Dimensions	
	L: 6.1 cm W: 1.1 cm	
	Description	
	Cylindrical shape.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Dagger
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7227
	Cat. No.	28
	Notes	
	Photograph by Husenovski	
	Dimensions	
	L: 14.2 cm W: 2.2 cm	
	Description	
	Single edged, forward bent. Although short, the shape suggests its use in combat.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Dagger
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	7228
	Cat. No.	29
	Notes	
	Photograph by Husenovski	
	Dimensions	
	L: 14.2 cm W: 2.8 cm	
	Description	
	Single edged, forward bent. Although short, the shape suggests its use in combat.	

Bibliography	Husenovski 2015

Context LoVM G110

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 110, Miltsi – 7/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist made of 6 vertical and 2 cover slabs. Dimensions: 196 x 50 cm. Depth 180 cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 2 ceramic cups with two vertical handles; 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck. All wheel-made. **Tools:** 1 bronze tweezer; 1 iron tweezer; 2 iron razors; 1 fragmented iron knife – 20 cm long. **Other:** 1 bronze bow shaped fibulae with a boetoean shield; 6 bronze buttons; 3 bronze beads; 2 bronze bangle.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Slightly preserved skeletal remains.
Weaponry	1 Spear 1 Unidentified

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Bay
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	8421
	Cat. No.	30
	Notes	
	Information and photograph by Husenovski.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 30.7 cm List, najsirok del 4.7 cm;	
	Description	
	Rounded leaf and shoulders. Part of leaf broken off.	

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2014.

Context LoVM G127

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 127, Miltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist of 7 vertical and 2 cover slabs. Dimension: 204x50 cm. Depth 190 cm. Orientation: S-N.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck and 1 ceramic cup with two vertical handles. Both wheel-made. **Tools:** / **Other:** 2 fragmented bronze bracelets, 1 iron pin, 1 iron double pin, 1 bronze double pin, 1 bronze bead.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Skeletal remains of a female individual.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	9975
Cat. No.	32

Notes

Information and photograph by Husenovski.
The spear is believed to be remainder of an older burial.

Dimensions

L: 13 cm
W: 3.5 cm

Description

Deltoid shape.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2015

Context LoVM G135

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 135, Miltsi – 6th-5th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Pit burial. Dimensions: 166x33 cm. Depth: 320 cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic wheel-made cup with a vertical handle. **Tools:** 1 iron knife - 16 cm long; 1 iron razor. **Other:** 1 silver ring;1 iron pin; 1 iron double pin.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of one skeleton.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	10016
	Cat. No.	33
	Notes	
	Information and photograph by Husenovski.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 49.5 cm W: 3.9 cm socket	
	Description	
	Long extended leaf, rounded shape.	

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2015

Context LoVM G140

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 140, Miltsi – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist made of 10 vertical and 5 cover slabs. Dimension: 197×47 cm. Depth: 200 cm. Orientation N-S.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway rim and 1 ceramic cup with two vertical handles. Both wheel-made. **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 iron double-pin.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of one skeleton.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	10067
Cat. No.	34

Notes

Information and photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

L: 47 cm.
W (leaf): 3.9 cm

Description

Willow shape, rounded shoulders.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2016

Context LoVM G147

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 147, Miltsi – **7th BC**
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist of 7 vertical and several cover slabs. Dimensions: 238x52 cm. Depth: 165 cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway rim; 2 ceramic plates with two vertical handles. All wheel-made. **Tools:** 1 broken iron knife – 11.2 cm long. **Other:** 1 bronze spiral bracelet; 1 bronze button; 1 iron bow shaped fibulae with two knots; 1 bronze amulet.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of one skeleton.
Weaponry	1 Arrow

Weapon		
	**Type**	Arrow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	10089
	Cat. No.	35
	Notes	
	Information and photograph by Husenovski.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 13.9 cm W (leaf): 2.2 cm	
	Description	
	Heavily corroded. Part of wood preserved, lodged into the socket.	

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2016

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVM G154</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 154, Miltsi, 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cist made of 7 vertical and 2 cover slabs.
Dimension: 130x40 cm.
Orientation: NW-SE.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 Jug, cutaway neck; 1 Cup, two handles; Both wheel-made.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 bead, bronze; 1 necklace, bronze bi-conical beads;</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. Slightly preserved remains of one skeleton.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spearbutt</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NI Museum - Gevgelija</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>10173</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>36</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Information courtesy of Husenovski.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 10.6 cm
W: 1.4 cm socket</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Conical shape, spearbutt.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2018</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVM G155

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 155, Miltsi – **6th/5th BC**
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist made of 7 vertical and several cover slabs. Dimensions: 180x60 cm. Dpeth: 120 cm. Orientation: NW-SE. The cist was used several times.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic olpe; 2 ceramic cups with two vertical handle; 1 ceramic plate with two horizontal handles; 3 ceramic jugs with cutaway rims (all wheel-made); 1 bronze miniature jug. **Tools:** 1 fragmented iron knife - 10 cm long. **Other:** 1 fragmented iron pin; 2 bronze spectacle shaped fibulae; 2 bronze bracelets; 1 bronze bangle; 1 bronze composite decorative object.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of the last skeleton are completely preserved. The remains of previous individuals are set aside in the cist.
Weaponry	1 Spear 1 Arrow

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	10191
	Cat. No.	37
	Notes	
	Information and photograph by Husenovski.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 39 cm W: 4 cm	
	Description	
	Willow shape, wedge shoulders.	

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Arrow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
	Inventory number	10192
	Cat. No.	38
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 6.9 cm W: 0.9 cm at socket.	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations by Husenovski 2018

Unknown Contexts LoVM G (NA)

Burial designation and chronology	Grave NA, Miltsi.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	ОЖ - 92 1064
Cat. No.	39

Notes

Photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

L: 42 cm, 16 cm socket, 26 cm leaf
W: 2.7 cm at socket, 4.8 cm at leaf

Description

Willow leaf, midrib visible.

Weapon

Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	NI Museum - Gevgelija
Inventory number	185/1161
Cat. No.	40

Notes

Photograph by Husenovski.

Dimensions

L: 23.7 cm

Description

Deltoid leaf. Broad shoulders.

Bibliography	Pashic, Vincic, Ivanovski, Georgiev 1987 (according to the museum guide of Gevgelija)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G1</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 1, Suva Reka – 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Rectangular shaped cist built with stone slabs. 2 rectangular stone slabs on each side, cover missing.
Dimensions: 190×55 cm (45 cm at the legs).
Orientation NE-SW.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 2 ceramic jugs; 1 kantharoid cup; 1 cup with one handle. All wheel-made.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife – 12 cm long.
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze earring; 2 bronze spectacle shaped fibulae; 2 bronze spiral shaped bracelets; bi-conical bronze beads.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>143 III</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>41</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 22 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Heavily corroded.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1977</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G12</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 12, Suva Reka – 7th/6th (beginning) BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Between graves 11 and 12, a group of artefacts was found: 2 bronze pendants (one bird shaped, the other spherical), 1 bow shaped fibulae with a boeotian shield, 1 pin with two knots. It is considered to be dislocated from grave 12 due to grave robbing activities, though it might be a case of dislocating an older burial.
Dimensions: 230×80 cm
Orientation: E-W.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 fragmented ceramic vessel with two handles.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 bangle.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Barely preserved, designated as a 15 years old female individual.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">233 III</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">42</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions from Inventory card. Logged as discarded.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L.: 20 cm, 9 cm leaf, 11 cm socket</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Fragmented (middle of grave).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1978</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G20</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 20, Suva Reka – 7th/6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions: 210×80 cm.
Orientation: SE-NW.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 fragmented ceramic vessel
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 amber bead.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Inhumation. The skeleton is very badly preserved. Sex and age inconclusive.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>43</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1978.</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVSR G28

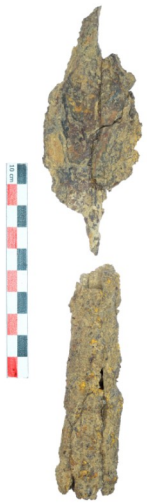
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 28, Suva Reka – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
There is another grave marked 28 – 120×45 cm, containing pottery sherds (Pashic 1978). Dimensions: 210×60 cm. Orientation: SE-NW	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** 2 bronze spiral arm bangs; 1 bow shaped fibula; 22 bronze beads; bronze button with six leaves; bronze chain.
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of Macedonia
	Inventory number	235 III
	Cat. No.	44
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 16 cm W: 3.5 cm	
	Description	
	Very badly preserved, short leaf, long socket.	

Bibliography	Pashic 1978.

Context LoVSR G29

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 29, Suva Reka – 7th/6th (beginning) BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Dimensions: 200×65 cm. Orientation: N-S	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** 1 iron knife – 14 cm long (Inv. No. 226 III) **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. The skeleton is well preserved, designated as belonging to a 60 year old male.
Weaponry	1 Sword 1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	224 III
	Cat. No.	45
	Notes	
	Dimensions	Preserved: L: 10 cm socket, 8 cm leaf W: 3.1 cm socket, 4.5 cm leaf
	Description	Heavily corroded. Shape is difficult to ascertain. The leaf is broken in two parts

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Sword
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of Macedonia
	Inventory number	225 III
	Cat. No.	46
	Notes	Inv. Card designation: Discarded.
	Dimensions	NA
	Description	Very badly preserved.

Bibliography	Pashic 1978

Context LoVSR G30

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 30, Suva Reka – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Dimensions: 190×60 cm. Orientation: N-S.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway rim, 1 ceramic plate with two horizontal handles, 1 ceramic cup with two handles. All wheel-made. **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Skelleton partially preserved, probable female
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	236 III
	Cat. No.	47

Notes

Dimensions
L: 16.4 cm W: 2.3 cm socket, 3 cm leaf

Description
Part of the socket, shoulders and leaf preserved. Heavily corroded. Deltoid shape.

Bibliography	Pashic 1978

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR nG36</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 36, Suva Reka – 7th/6th (beginning) BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions: 210×65 cm.
Orientation: S-N</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 handmade ceramic vessel.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife, 14 cm long (Inv. No. 228 III).
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Inhumation. 2 skeletons found, one male and one female.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Willow</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="9">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>227 III</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>48</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Found above the burial cover.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 32 cm, 22 cm leaf, 10 cm socket</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Willow shaped leaf.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1978</td></tr>
</table>

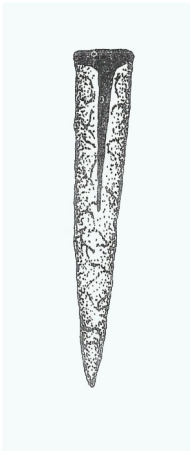
<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G45</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 45, Suva Reka – 7th/6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dimensions: 200×60 cm
Orientation: W-E.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 2 ceramic jugs, cutaway rim; 1 ceramic cup, kantharoid; 1 ceramic cup, one handle; 1 ceramic plate, with two handles. All wheel-made.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife.
<u>Other</u>: 1 iron button.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">2 skeletons. An adult male and a male child</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">49</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1978</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G49</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 49, Suva Reka – 7th/6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions: 200×80 cm
Orientation: SW-NE.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic jug, cutaway rim, 2 ceramic cup, one handle, 1 ceramic vessel with two high vertical handles
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Badly preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>50</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The combat blade is known only from img.17, Pashic 1978. Georgiev (1984) calls it a makhaira. He claims the photo is of a razor and is a mistake in Pashic 1978.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Single edged and curved blade.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1978; Georgiev 1984.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G50</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 50, Suva Reka – 7th/6th (beginning) BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Built with stones.
Dimensions: 230×80 cm.
Orientation: E-W.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic jug; 3 ceramic vessels with one handle. All wheel-made and painted with horizontal red lines.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 iron button.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. Only skull preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="10">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">51</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L. 80 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="10">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">52</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Pashic 1978</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVSR nG72

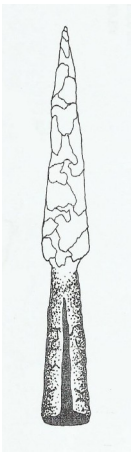
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 72, Suva Reka – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist built with six stone slabs and one covering slab. Dimensions: 180×45×32 cm. Orientation: N-S.	Vessels: 2 ceramic skyphoi (gray ware); 1 ceramic kothon. All wheel- made. Tools: / Other: 1 bronze spiral earring; 3 iron disk headed pins with glass paste; 2 bronze eight figured pin; 1 rosette button; 2 bronze beads; 2 glass paste beads.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Designated as a female burial, skeleton belonging to a 40 years old woman.
Weaponry	1 Spear

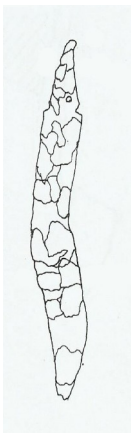
Weapon		
	**Type**	Spearbutt
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	53
	Notes	
	Found above the burial cover. Drawing by: Ristov 1993.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 15 cm	
	Description	
	Conical shape.	

Bibliography	Ristov 1990; 1993.

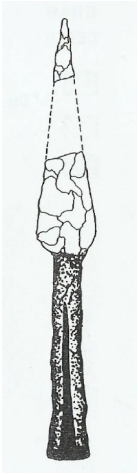
Context LoVSR G74

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 74, Suva Reka – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist with six stone slabs and one covering slab. Dimensions: 180×55×50 cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	Vessels: 1 ceramic kantharos; 1 ceramic kothon and 1 ceramic jug. All ochre painted and wheel- made. Tools: / Other: /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Skeleton badly preserved. Designated as male, 45-50 years old.
Weaponry	1 Spear 1 Dagger

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	54
	Notes	
	Drawing by: Ristov 1993.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 32cm	
	Description	
	Fragmented, long deltoid head with a long socket.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Dagger - Makhairoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	55
	Notes	
	Drawing by: Ristov 1993.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 27cm	
	Description	
	Curved (towards outside), single edged with a scabbard	

Bibliography	Ristov 1990; 1993.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVSR G76</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 76, Suva Reka – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cist built with four stone slabs and a three part cover.
Dimensions: 150×55×50 cm.
Orientation: NW-SE.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 3 ceramic wheel-made jugs with a cutaway neck.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron double edged knife – 15 cm.
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze double pin (found with the male bones).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. 2 skeletons discovered. One barely preserved female and one incomplete male, clustered at the end of the cist (probably buried first).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear - Deltoid</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">56</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Drawing by: Ristov 1993.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 34cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Fragmented long deltoid head with a long socket.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Ristov 1990; 1993.</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVD G6A			
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 6A, Dedeli – 6th BC		
Burial description	Artefacts		
Pithos burial. Pithos size: 120cm. Orientation: E-W	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** 1 iron tweezer **Other:** /		
Osteological remains	Cremation.		
Weaponry	1 Blade		
Weapon	**Type**	Blade - Opfer	
	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia	
	Inventory number	513 III	
	Cat. No.	57	
	Notes		
	Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) - T I, 16.		
	Dimensions		
	L: 39.1 cm (Inv.C. – L: 40cm) W: 3.8 cm blade, 2.4cm at root, 4.1 cm guard		
	Description		
	Curved single edged blade (machaira shaped). Tip of the blade missing, hilt missing. Flat spine.		
Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991		

Context LoVD G7

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 7, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with seven stone slabs, no cover. Dimensions: 200×40×30cm. Orientation: SE-NW	**Vessels:** 1 wheel-made ceramic jug with a cutaway neck. **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Skeleton not preserved.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	292 III
	Cat. No.	58
	Notes	
	Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) - TII, 2.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 19 cm (acc. to Inv.C.)	
	Description	

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G20

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 20, Dedeli – 625-575 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with six stone slabs, with a two part cover. Dimensions: 200x50x40 Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck; 1 ceramic kantharoid cup; 1 ceramic cup with one handle. All wheel-made. **Tools:** 1 iron razor; 1 stone whetstone. **Other:** 2 bronze earrings (found near the female skull); 2 bronze spiral bangle; 6 bronze bi-conical beads; 1 bronze cross shaped button.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 2 skeletons preserved (male and female)
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	376 III
	Cat. No.	59

Notes
Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) - T V, 11.

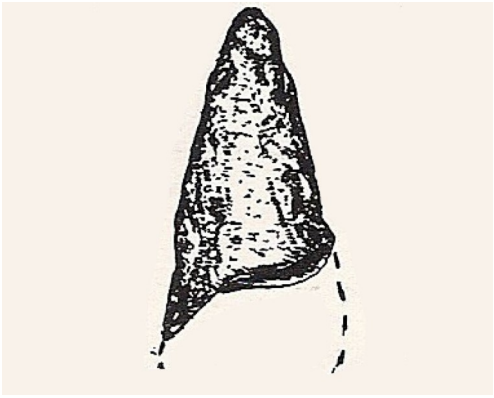
Dimensions
L: 12 cm W: 1.7 cm socket

Description
Part of socket and leaf preserved. Heavily corroded.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G27

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 27, Dedeli – 625-575 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with six stone slabs and a cover . Dimensions: 200x40x30cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck and 1 ceramic kantharoid cup. Both wheel-made. **Tools:** 2 iron razors; 2 bronze tweezers **Other:** 3 bronze bi-conical beads; 1 bronze spiral bangle; 1 bronze fibulae with a boeotian shield.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Skeleton, partially preserved.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	60

Notes
Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T VIII, 8.

Dimensions
Preserved L: 4.7cm

Description
Only the tip preserved.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G29

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 29, Dedeli – 625-575 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with six stone slabs and a cover in three parts. Dimensions: 185×40x35 cm. Orientation: E-W. Dislocated bronze artefacts found near the grave.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck found with the female skeleton. **Tools:** 1 iron razor and 1 whetstone **Other:** 1 bronze phalera; 3 bronze pendants; 1 bronze armband; 1 bronze button (rosette shaped with six leaves); 2 bronze earrings. All found with the female and child skeletons.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 1 well preserved male skeleton and 2 skeletons, a female and a child, pushed aside.
Weaponry	1 Dagger/Harpoon

Weapon		
	**Type**	Dagger/Harpoon
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	434 III
	Cat. No.	61
	Notes	
	Mitrevski classifies it as a harpoon. Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T VIII, 18.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 27.4 cm W: 2.9 cm	
	Description	
	Single edged blade, slightly curved spine. Ring at the end of the hilt.	

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G31

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 31, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon	**Type**	Spear
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	435 III
	Cat. No.	62
	Notes	
	Not listed among the objects in Mitrevski 1991.	
	Dimensions	
	Preserved: L: 12.9 cm W: 2.2 cm leaf 1.1 cm socket	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Information from the Inv. C.

Context LoVD G44

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 44, Dedeli – 625-575 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with five stone slabs and a cover in two parts. Dimensions: 210x45x45 cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic cup; 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck (found in the SE part of the grave). **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 bronze double pin (found in the SE part of the grave).
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 2 skeletons preserved (one of which pushed in the SE part of the grave).
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	516 III
	Cat. No.	63

Notes
Georgiev 1984 lists the same objects as Mitrevski 1991, only instead of spear he lists a sword (Machaira, 65cm long, 5 cm broad, dated in the 5th bce, which he believes is the earliest example of machaira on the territory of the Republic of N. Macedonia). The sword was not found in the museum depots. The drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XII, 6 – does not coincide with the Inv. C. The spear can be seen in T IV, 9 – Pashic 1987, among the findings from grave 6 at Miltsi.

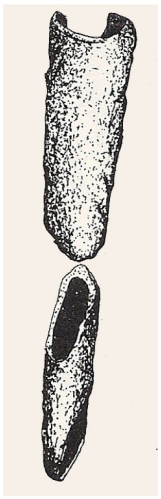
Dimensions
L: 22.7 cm (Inv.C. – 13.5 cm). W: 2 cm - socket, 3.1 cm - leaf.

Description
Only the socket and part of the leaf preserved. Deltoid shape, rounded shoulders.

Bibliography	Georgiev 1984; Mitrevski 1991.

Context LoVD G56

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 56, Dedeli – 650-625 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with seven stone slabs and a cover in three parts. Dimensions: 190×45×42 cm. Orientation: W-E	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic cup (found next to the child); 1 ceramic vessel (found in the E part of the grave). **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 bronze spiral bangle.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Remains of 3 skeletons preserved. 1 child and 2 badly preserved skulls pushed in the E part of the grave.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spearbutt
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	559 III
	Cat. No.	64
	Notes	
	Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XV, 17.	
	Dimensions	
	Preserved L: 12.7cm	
	Description	
	Conical shape – spearbutt. Fragmented.	

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context LoVD nG58</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Dislocated, next to grave 58, Dedeli – 7th/6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dislocated</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 4 bronze beads (3 bi-conical)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Arrow</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Arrow</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>561 III</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>65</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes
Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XVI, 7.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions
L: 11.7 cm
W: 0.9 cm socket, 2. cm leaf.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description
Deltoid leaf (the point is missing) and part of the socket are preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="2">Mitrevski 1991</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVD G59

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 59, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with six stone slabs, no cover. Dimensions: 200×50×45 cm. Orientation: W-E	Vessels: / Tools: / Other: /
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	560 III
Cat. No.	66

Notes

Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XVI, 10.

Dimensions

L: 19.3 cm
W: 2 cm - socket, 2.1 cm - leaf

Description

Small deltoid head, broad socket.
Socket>leaf

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991.

Context LoVD G60

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 60, Dedeli – 625-575 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with six stone slabs and a cover in three parts. Dimensions: 190×50×45 cm. Orientation: W-E	**Vessels:** 1 wheel-made ceramic jug with a cutaway neck. **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 bronze fibulae with a boeotian shield
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 1 partially preserved skull.
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	562 III
Cat. No.	67

Notes

Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – TXVI, 16.

Dimensions

L: 10 cm
W: 1.4 cm - socket

Description

Deltoid head, short socket.

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	563 III
Cat. No.	68

Notes

Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – TXVI, 17.

Dimensions

L: 13.9 cm
W: 1.1 cm - leaf

Description

Oval head, thorn socket.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991.

Context LoVD G68

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 68, Dedeli – 650-625 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with five stone slabs, with a stone cover. Dimensions: 190x45x40 cm. Orientation: NW-SE	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck; 1 ceramic kantharoid cup. Both wheel-made. **Tools:** 1 iron razor; 1 iron tweezer; 1 whetstone. **Other:** 1 bronze bow shaped fibulae.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 1 well preserved skeleton.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	69
	Notes	
	Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XVII, 9.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 22.6 cm W: 2.4 cm	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991.

Context LoVD G70

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 70, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist (damaged) constructed with stone slabs. Dimensions: 210x50x35cm. Orienation: NE-SW.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Mandibulae preserved.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	573 III
Cat. No.	70

Notes

Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XVII, 13.

Dimensions

L: 26.6 cm
W: 2.4 cm leaf

Description

Bent and heavily corroded. Small part of socket preserved. The leaf is thin due to corrosion.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G78

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 78, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist (damaged) constructed with stone slabs. Dimensions: 210x50x30 cm. Orientation: NE-SW.	**Vessels:** 1 wheel-made ceramic cup with one handle. **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Badly preserved skull, ribs and femur.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	809 III
	Cat. No.	71

Notes
Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XIX, 12.

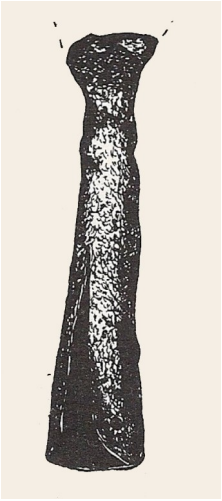
Dimensions
L: 21.1 cm W: 2cm socket, 4.1 cm leaf.

Description
Small deltoid head. Leaf > Socket.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G79

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 79, Dedeli – 625-575 BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist (damaged) constructed with stone slabs. Dimensions: 200×50×30 cm. Orientation: SE-NW.	**Vessels:** 1 fragmented ceramic vessel **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 bronze spiral bangle; 1 bronze bead; 1 bronze earring; 1 bronze double pin.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 2 skeletons preserved. 1 skull pushed in the NW part of the grave.
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	810 III
	Cat. No.	72

Notes
Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XIX, 16. Designated as “discarded” in the inventory log

Dimensions
L: 9.5 cm (acc. to inv.c.).

Description
Only a fragmented socket preserved.

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G83

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 83, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with six slabs and no cover. Dimensions: 195x50x40 cm. Orientation: N-S.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	1006 III
	Cat. No.	73

Notes

Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XX, 13.

Dimensions

L: 14.9 cm
W: 1.6 cm socket, 2.6 cm leaf

Description

Heavily corroded. Part of socket and leaf preserved. Possible deltoid shape.

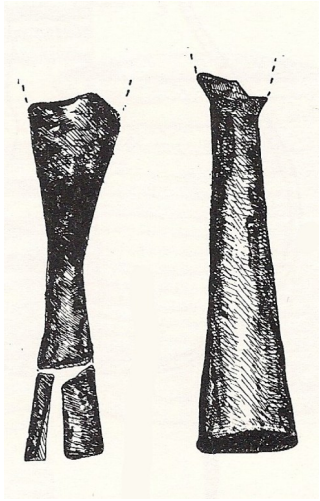
Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

Context LoVD G88

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 88, Dedeli – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist (damaged) constructed with stone slabs. Dimensions: 190×45×40 cm. Orientation: N-S.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck, 1 ceramic cup. Both wheel-made. **Tools:** 1 iron knife **Other:** 1 bronze double pin, 1 bronze button.
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	74
	Notes	
	Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XXI, 16.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1991

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVD G89</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 89, Dedeli – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cist (damaged) constructed with stone slabs.
Dimensions: 200×50 cm. Orientation: N-S.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck; 1 ceramic kantharoid cup.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron razor; 1 iron knife.
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">/</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">2 Spears</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Archaeological Museum od N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>75, 76.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes
Drawing by Mitrevski (1991) – T XXII, 4.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description
2 sockets preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mitrevski 1991</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context LoVD of</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Unknown grave from Dedeli</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet - Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td colspan="2">Type: “Illyrian” Helmet
Material: Bronze
Museum: NA
Inventory number: NA
Cat. No.: 77</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">  </td><td colspan="2">Notes

Obtained from illegal excavators. The location of the looting was confirmed to be Dedeli.
Image from: Rujak, Velkovski 2007, img 1-5.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions

NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description

Severely damaged. Due to amateur conservatorship, its condition is deteriorated. Only the edge of the cheek guard remains more or less intact.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="2">Rujak, Velkovski 2007</td></tr>
</table>

Context LoVZ G1

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 1, Zelenishte – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** 1 iron knife, small and curved (890 III) **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword 1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Sword - Xiphos
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	888 III
Cat. No.	78

Notes

The preliminary inventory number given was 890 III. However, in the inventory log of the museum, 890 III is listed as a knife. The sword is listed as 888 III.

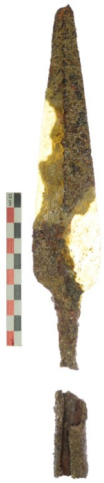
Dimensions

L: 50.5 cm (Inv.C. – L: 54 cm)
8.5 cm - hilt
W: 5.4 cm – blade (Inv.C. – L: 3.7 cm)
3.2 cm - root, 3.7 cm - hilt, 10.3 cm - guard

Description

Double edged. Well preserved.
Xiphos, flame shaped blade. Oval hilt, cross shaped guard.

Weapon



Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	891 III
Cat. No.	79

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 23.9 cm + 5.6 cm
W: 4.4 cm leaf, 2.2 cm socket

Description

Heavily corroded. Leaf broken off in two places, and socket detached from the rest of the spear.
Deltoid shape.

Bibliography	Georgiev 1984

Context LoVZ G5

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 5, Zelenishte – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** 1 iron knife – 11.8 cm (895 III) **Other:** 1 bronze double pin
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword

Weapon

Type	Sword - Xiphos
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	894 III
Cat. No.	80

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 3.2 + 13.9 + 11 + 8.8 cm
W: 4.2 cm blade, 2.3 cm at root, 10.7 guard

Description

Fragmented and heavily corroded. Part of the cross guard is broken off.
Double edged, Xiphos type, flame shaped.

Bibliography	Georgiev 1984.

Context LoVZ G6

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 6, Zelenishte – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear - Liliac
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	897 III
Cat. No.	81

Notes

In the Inv.C. it is listed as 897 III. However, an Inv. No. is visible on the leaf of the spear – 896.
Inv.C. (897 III) description states: leaf with a cylindrical socket. No dimensions.

Dimensions

L: 31 cm, 16 cm - leaf, 14.9 cm - socket
(Inv.C. – L: 14.5 cm - leaf, 15.3 cm - socket)
W: 2.4 cm - socket, 5.2 cm - leaf
(Inv.C. – W: 5.4 cm - leaf)

Description

Heavily pronounced midrib, leaf shaped, cylindrical socket. Broad rounded
shoulders.

Bibliography	Georgiev 1984.

Context LoVGG G2

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 2, Glos-Grchishte - 7th (last decades of) - 6th (first half)
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist constructed with stone slabs. Dimensions: 210x70 cm. Orientation: E-W.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** 1 iron knife **Other:** 1 bronze needle;1 miniature glass bead.
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Arrow

Weapon	Type	Arrow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	860 III
	Cat. No.	82

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 9 cm
W: 2.8cm
(Inv.C. – L: 9cm)

Description

Part of leaf is broken off, the width is slightly larger. Midrib well developed.

Bibliography	Pashic 1995.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVLD G14</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 14, Lisichin Dol – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cist constructed with ten stone slabs and six stone slabs used as the cover. Merged with grave 3 (which is destroyed).</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 handmade ceramic round cup decorated with incrusted lines with a vertical handle; 1 wheel made ceramic jug with a cutaway neck. Both matt painted.
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife.
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze double pin with a triangular head</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. Skeleton preserved in negative.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">83</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Image from: Videski 1999, T IV.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Long leaf, badly preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">VIdevski 1999.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVLD G20</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 20, Lisichin Dol – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cist constructed with seven stone slabs.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 handmade ceramic cup; 1 wheel made ceramic jug with a cutaway neck. Both matte painted.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze double pin.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>84</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Fragmented.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Videvski 1999.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVBJ G1</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 1, Bishov Javor – 7th-6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cist constructed with seven stone slabs, roofed with two stone slabs (the rest were dislocated with farming).
Dimensions: 210x45 cm.
Orientation W-E.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 fragmented bronze plate
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. The skeletal remains were badly preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">85</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Image from: Ristov 2008, img 2.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Ristov 2008.</td></tr>
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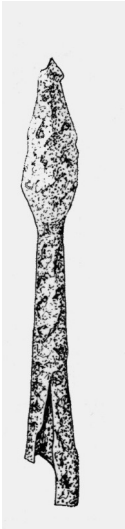
<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context LoVBJ G2</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 2, Bishov Javor – 7th-6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cist constructed with ten stone slabs, roofed with three stone slabs.
Dimensions: 190x40 cm.
Orientation N-S.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway neck
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Inhumation. The skeletal remains were badly preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Deltoid</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>86</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Image from: Ristov 2008, img 4.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Ristov 2008</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVOch G2 Tu II

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 2, Tumulus II, Orlova Chuka – 7th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels**: 1 ceramic one handle cup; 1 ceramic jug with a cutaway rim, decorated with triangles. **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon



Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	87

Notes

In Garashanin,Garashanin (1959) it is considered to come from Krivi Dol and in Kilian 1975, the same drawing is used for an object from grave 2 Tumulus II of Orlova Chuka. Filipovic 2015 treats them as separate, although mentions the spear was wrongly identified as an arrowhead.
Image from: Kilian 1975, T45

Dimensions

L: 11.3 cm
W: 1.4 cm

Description

Bibliography	Garashanin,Garashanin 1959; Kilian 1975; Filipovic 2015.

Context UpVOCh G2 Tu V

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 2, Tumulus V, Orlova Chuka – 7th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 bronze bow fibulae; 1 bronze button and 1 bronze pin.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 2 femurs and spine preserved.
Weaponry	1 Dagger 1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Dagger – Naue II
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	28 III
Cat. No.	88

Notes

Nacev (1992) believes there is a sword and another iron object possibly a knife (instead of spear as Kilian 1975 lists). Pashic-Vinchic (1972) believes it is a part of the sword. Kilian (1975) draws an analogy with a sword from Halos, grave XIV.
Kilian lists a spear (no mention of the Spear from Pashic-Vincic 1972).

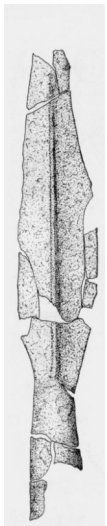
Dimensions

L: 30.5 cm; 19 cm blade; 12 cm hilt
W: 2.6 cm lower hilt; 3.8 upper hilt.

Description

Flange hilted. Originally a sword, then shortened and used as dagger. Rhomboid cross section.
Classified as Klein Auheim, which are dated to Ha B - 9th BC.

Weapon



Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	89

Notes

No mention of the spear from Pashic-Vincic (1972).
Image from: Kilian 1975, T44.

Dimensions

L: 24.9 cm
W: 4.9 cm

Description

Fragmented, long head and large socket and a mid rib.

Bibliography	R. Pashic - Vinchic 1972; Kilian 1975.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVOCh G4 Tu V</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 4, Tumulus V, Orlova Chuka – 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">90</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">R. Pashic - Vinchic 1972</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVOCh G7 Tu VI</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 7, Tumulus VI, Orlova Chuka – 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear
1 Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">91</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Fragmented, large deltoid head, missing socket.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">92</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Fragmented.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mikulcic 1961.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVOCh G11 Tu VI</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 11, Tumulus VI, Orlova Chuka – 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>93</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mikulcic 1961</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVRKD G?1

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Shtip
Inventory number	I 255
Cat. No.	94

Notes

Kilian 1975 (Taf 51, 5). It seems there is a mistake with the proportions regarding No. 5
and No. 3 on Taf. 51.

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 20 cm, 13 cm socket, 7 cm leaf
W: 1.2 cm socket, 2.3 cm leaf

Description

Heavily corroded
Socket > Leaf

Bibliography	Kilian 1975.

Context UpVRKD G?2

Burial designation and chronology	Grave ?2, Radanje-Krivi Dol – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Shtip
	Inventory number	I 474
	Cat. No.	95
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 22.1 cm, 10 cm - socket, 12.1 cm - leaf W: 1.8 cm - socket, 2.7 cm - leaf	
	Description	
	Willow leaf, Leaf > Socket	

Bibliography	Kilian 1975

Context UpVRKD G?3

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Shtip
Inventory number	I 475
Cat. No.	96

Notes

Dimensions

L: 26 cm
6 cm – preserved socket
20 cm - leaf
W: 1.7 cm – preserved socket
4.1 cm - leaf

Description

Deltoid shape, rounded shoulders.
The socket was probably much longer and wider, but it probably had the following proportion: Leaf > Socket

Bibliography	Garashanin, Garashanin 1959, Kilian 1975, Venedikov 1976.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context UpVRKD G?4</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Deltoid</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Shtip</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>I 476</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>97</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 30 cm, 16 cm - socket, 14 cm - leaf
W: 2.2 cm - socket, 5.6 cm - leaf</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Deltoid shape, corroded.
Socket>Leaf</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="2">Kilian 1975</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVRKD G?5

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other**: NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Shtip
Inventory number	I 477
Cat. No.	98

Notes

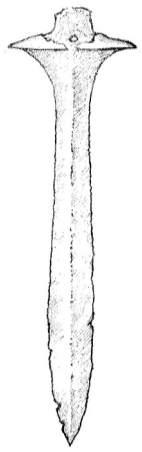
Dimensions

L: 52.7 cm, 15 cm - socket, 37.7 cm - leaf
W: 4.5 cm - leaf, 2 cm - socket
Kilian's measurements: 52.7 cm

Description

Deltoid leaf, extended. Large midrib.
Leaf> Socket

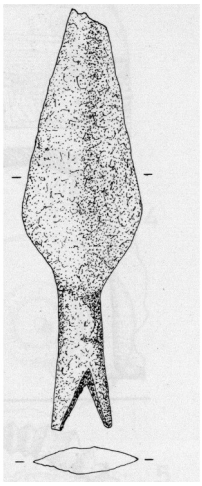
Bibliography	Kilian 1975

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVRKD G?6</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: Macedonian bronzes dated to the 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword - Xiphos</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="4">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>530 (Vasic 1982)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>99</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Image from: Vasic 1982, img. 3.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">L: 56.5 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Xiphos type, flame shaped. Hilt missing.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Vasic 1982 (img. 3, 16, drawing by I. Mikulcic), Kilian 1993.</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVRKD G?7

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon



Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	100

Notes

Dimensions by Filipovic 2015a.
Drawing from: Kilian 1975, T 51, 4.

Dimensions

L: 12.3 cm
W: 3.6 cm

Description

Deltoid head, short socket, mild midrib

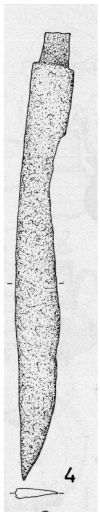
Bibliography	Kilian 1975, Filipovic 2015a.

Context UpVRKD G?8

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, unknown designation, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels**: NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword - Kopis
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	101
	Notes	
	Drawing from: Kilian 1975, T 47, 3. Dimensions by Filipovic 2015a.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 35.2 cm W: 3.2 cm	
	Description	
	Single edged blade, curved.	

Bibliography	Kilian 1975, Parovic-Peshikan 1982, Filipovic 2015a.

Context UpVRKD G?9			
Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.		
Burial description	Artefacts		
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA		
Osteological remains	NA		
Weaponry	1 Dagger		
Weapon	**Type**	Dagger - Makhaira	
	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	NA	
	Inventory number	NA	
	Cat. No.	102	
	Notes		
	Drawing from: Kilian 1975, T 47, 4. Dimensions by Filipovic 2015a.		
	Dimensions		
	L: 18 cm W: 1.8 cm		
	Description		
	Single edged blade, curved.		
Bibliography	Kilian 1975; Filipovic 2015a		

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context UpVRKD G?10</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword - Sica</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Shtip</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>I 472</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>103</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes
Drawing also available from: Kilian 1975 T 47, 2.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions
L: 37.5 cm (spine)
W:2.6 cm (blade)
Kilian measurements:
L: 37 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description
Single edged, kopis shaped, curved forward (5.5 cm)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="2">Kilian 1975; Filipovic 2015a</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVRKD G?11

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword - Sikhaira
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Shtip
	Inventory number	I 473
	Cat. No.	104

Notes
Drawing also available from: Kilian 1975, T 47, 1.

Dimensions
L: 41 cm (spine) W: 3.8 cm (blade) Kilian measurements: 39 cm

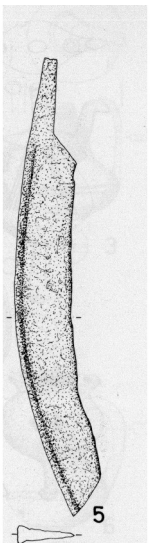
Description
Single edged, kopis shaped, curved forward (7 cm)

Bibliography	Kilian 1975; Filipovic 2015a

Context UpVRKD G?12

Burial designation and chronology	Grave, designation unknown, Radanje-Krivi Dol, 6th BC.
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Dagger

Weapon



Type	Dagger - Makhaira
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	105

Notes

Drawing from: Kilian 1975, T 47, 5.
Dimensions by Filipovic 2015a

Dimensions

L: 16.4 cm
W: 2.1 cm

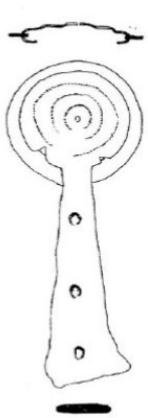
Description

Curved, single edged blade, hilt and tip are missing,

Bibliography	Kilian 1975, Filipovic 2015a

Context UpVSK G?

Burial designation and chronology	Star Karaorman Dislocated findings
Burial description	Artefacts
A number of archaeological finds dislocated from original grave contexts as a result of farming.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** 2 fibulae
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear 1 Sword

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword – Naue II
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	106
	Notes	
	Drawing from: Karapetkov, Nacev 2003, T III, 4.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 15,5 cm W: 6,4 cm (pommel).	
	Description	
	Only the hilt is preserved.	

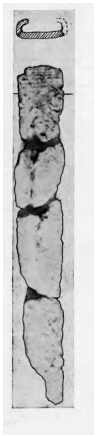
Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Shtip
	Inventory number	I 46
	Cat. No.	107
	Notes	
	Drawing also available from: Karapetkov, Nacev 2003, T III, 3.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 15.5 cm, 9 cm socket, 6.5 cm leaf W: 2.5 cm socket, 2.9 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Deltoid shape Socket > Leaf only hilt (no blade), length 15,5 cm, width at pommel 6,4 cm	

Bibliography	Karapetkov, Nacev 2003; Mitrevski 1991.

Context UPVGP G1

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 1, Gorno Pole, Shtip - 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape-stone slabs joined with plaster. Dimensions: 460×500 cm, 110 cm depth, wall width – 70-130 cm. The actual size of the grave 290×300 cm. A construction used for sacrificial offerings was constructed some time after the burial on the side of the grave	**Vessels**: ceramic sherds on top of the burial (probably part of ritual breaking) **Tools:** 1 iron knife, curved and kopis-like. **Other:** 1 silver triobol coin; 4 amber beads, one pendant shaped, one small and rectangular and a fragmented pair; 1 bead with eye decorations; 1 bronze bead, 1 ring (material NA); 1 bronze ring, ellipsoid.
Osteological remains	Cremated remains
Weaponry	3 Daggers

Weapon



Type	Dagger
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	108

Notes

The datation was done based on a coin. Avers - bull, kneeling, facing righthead looking back. Above the bull, akant flower. Revers - Crested Corinthian helmet facing right. Analogues to coins from Dokimus of Akant.
Drawing from: Mikulchic 1965, img 23.

Dimensions

NA

Description

Curved, makhaira like, handle missing

Weapon

Type	Dagger
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	109

Notes

Drawing from: Mikulchic 1965, img 24.

Dimensions

NA

Description

Double edged, small fragment of the blade preserved, with an iron scabbard.

Weapon

Type	Dagger - Sica
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	110

Notes

Drawing from: Mikulchic 1965, img 25.

Dimensions

NA

Description

Thin, long, the handle is angled.

Bibliography	Mikulchic 1965.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UPVGP G2</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 2, Gorno Pole, Shtip - 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Rectangular shape-stone slabs joined with plaster.
Dimensions: 460×500 cm, 110 cm depth</td><td colspan="2">Vessels:
Tools:
Other: 1 double needle fragmented; 40 amber beads; 2 pendants; 1 bronze bow fibulae</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>110a</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Missing handle (size not listed), merged with the iron scabbard.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mikulcic 1965 .</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVVD G?</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Vuchi Dol, unknown grave, 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Dagger - Makhaira</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">111</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Drawing from: Kilian 1975, T54, 8.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 20.3 cm
W: 2.3 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Curved single-edged blade, missing tip, hilt clearly separated.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Kilian 1975</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVZh G?

Burial designation and chronology	Grave NA, Zhdanets – 5th BC (end of)
Burial description	Artefacts
Dimensions: 182×40 cm.	**Vessels:** 1 silver cup with one handle; 1 bronze krater with two handles (flame damage is noticeable and repairs were done on the bottom) **Tools:** 1 silver toiletry box; 1 curved iron knife - 10cm. **Other:** 8 silver fibulae; 4 silver earrings; 1 bronze pin; 1 amber necklace.
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword 1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Sword - Kopis
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	112

Notes

Peshikan 1982 believes the burial could be dated to the last third of the 5th BC. Sokolovska and Pashic 1975 date the burial in the first decades of the 4th BC. The offerings are considered Greek imports.
Image from: Mikulchic 1982, 29 (img12).

Dimensions

L: 50 cm

Description

Single edged, curved sword of the Makhaira type. With a visible rib and a solid hilt shape as a horse's head.

Weapon

NA

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	113

Notes

Dimensions

NA

Description

Only the socket preserved.

Bibliography	Sokolovska, Pashic 1975; Mikulcic 1981; Parovic-Peshikan 1982; Pashic 1989, Sokolovska 2011;

Context UpVZh T

Burial designation and chronology	Tomb, Zhdanets - 5th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
In 1968-70, the construction activities of the locals unearthed an abundance of bones, spearheads, knives and a sword. Excavation took place after previous damaging interventions by private owners of the land due to construction, the skeletal burials and some of the finds were in situ, while the weapons were found in a landfill after the archaeological team tracked down where the 13 "truckloads" of soil from the site had been deposited.	**Vessels:** 2 bronze vessels; 1 ceramic cup without handles; 1 gray-ware ceramic skyphos; 1 ceramic skyphos; 1 ceramic attic vase. **Tools:** 1 tweezer; 1 iron knife **Other:** 3 horse carriage wheels; 1 iron and silver horse harness.
Osteological remains	5 male adults, 35-50 years, 2 full horse skeletons
Weaponry	3 Spears

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	114
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 36.4 cm W: 3.7 cm	
	Description	
	Conical socket.	

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	115
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 33.6 cm	
	Description	
	NA	

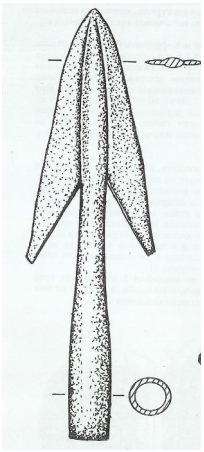
Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	NA
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	116
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Only parts of the socket preserved.	

Bibliography	Miklucic, G. 1991; Veljanovska 1991

Context UpVB G2

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 2, Brazda , 5th/4th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape, covered with a layer of tegulae, walled by a ring of river stones Dimensions: 130×80×150 cm, depth of burial 140-170 cm, Dug into the wall of the dromos of the looted nearby "tomb".	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic plate **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 silver fibula
Osteological remains	Cremation
Weaponry	1 Arrow 1 Sling Bullet

Weapon



Type	Arrow
Material	Iron
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	117

Notes

Found near the grave.
Image from: Mikulcic, Sokolovska 1990, 88 (img. 9).

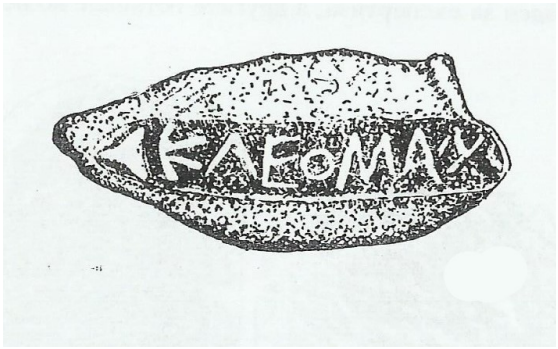
Dimensions

NA

Description

NA

Weapon



Type	Sling Bullet
Material	Lead
Museum	NA
Inventory number	NA
Cat. No.	118

Notes

An occasional find discovered at the site.
An inscription reads: ΚΛΕΟΜΑΧΟ (Υ).
Image from: Mikulcic, Sokolovska 1990, 88 (img. 11).

Dimensions

NA

Description

NA

Bibliography	Mikulcic, Sokolovska 1990 (photo included, img. 9, 88)

Context UpVV of

Burial designation and chronology	Varvara, Occasional find
Burial description	Artefacts
/	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Skopje
Inventory number	19752
Cat. No.	119

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 25.5 cm
W: 1 cm socket, 2.2 cm leaf

Description

Heavily corroded, shape unrecognisable.

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Skopje
Inventory number	19764
Cat. No.	120

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 9 cm
W: 1.3 cm socket

Description

Only the socket and part of the midrib preserved.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations: 1995 and 2000.

Context UpVV G2

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 2, Varvara – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist. Dimensions: 200×58×30 cm.	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Skopje
Inventory number	19755
Cat. No.	121

Notes

Dimensions

L: 30.3 cm
W: 2.2 cm socket, 2.9 cm leaf

Description

Willow leaf, wedge shoulders, mild midrib.

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Skopje
Inventory number	19756
Cat. No.	122

Notes

Dimensions

L: 40.5 cm, 27 cm leaf, 13.1 cm socket
W: 1.9 cm socket, 3.7 cm leaf

Description

Willow leaf, wedge shoulders, midrib not visible.
Leaf > Socket.

Bibliography	Ristov 2016.

Context UpVV G3

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 3, Varvara – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist. Dimensions: 200×58×30 cm	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Remains of 4 individuals found: male 40-45y, female 25-30y, child 6y, unidentified adult
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Skopje
	Inventory number	19757
	Cat. No.	123
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 40.5 cm, 25 cm (leaf), 15 cm (socket) W: 4.4 cm (socket), 5.8 cm (leaf)	
	Description	
	Deltoid leaf, wedge shoulders, midrib not visible. Leaf > Socket.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Skopje
	Inventory number	19758
	Cat. No.	124
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 31.6 cm, 20.5 cm leaf, 10.7 cm socket W: 1,8 cm socket, 3.4 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Deltoid shape, wedge (short) shoulders, midrib not visible.	

Bibliography	Ristov 2016.

Context UpVV G10

Burial designation and chronology	Varvara – 7th/6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist.	**Vessels**: NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	2 Spears

Weapon

Type	Spear - Deltoid
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Skopje
Inventory number	19759
Cat. No.	125

Notes

Dimensions

L: 26.7 cm, 17.9 cm (leaf), 8.8 cm (socket)
W: 1.7 cm (socket), 2.7 cm (leaf)

Description

Willow/deltoid shape, mildly broadened shoulders (asymmetrical), midrib.
Leaf > Socket.

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Skopje
Inventory number	19760
Cat. No.	126

Notes

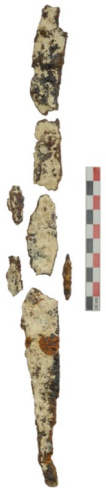
Dimensions

L: 50.2 cm, 34.5 cm (leaf), 15.5 cm (socket)
W: 2.4 cm (socket), 4.7cm (leaf)

Description

Willow shape, rounded shoulders, large midrib.
Leaf > Socket.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavated: 1995.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVDV G2</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 2, Dubiche-Volkovo - 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Dagger</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Skopje</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>57</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>127</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Preserved:
L: 7.6 + 4.7 + 5.5 + 13.8 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Heavily corroded and fragmented.
Possible single edged, slightly curved, kopis shaped dagger.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Unpublished. Excavation: 1962.</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVDV G3

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 3, Dubiche-Volkovo - 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword 1 Dagger

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword - Sica
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Skopje
	Inventory number	68
	Cat. No.	128
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 38 cm, 33 cm (blade) W: 3 cm (blade), 2.9 cm (at root)
	Description	Single edged, curved spine, forward bend - 8 cm

Weapon		
	**Type**	Dagger - Sica
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Skopje
	Inventory number	58
	Cat. No.	129
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 20.2 cm W: 2.2 blade, 2 cm at root
	Description	Single edged, curved spine, forward bend 5 cm.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavation: 1962.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVDS G1 Tu II</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 1, tumulus II, Dabitsi-Sopot – 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Tumulus diameter 650-690 cm</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: 1 whetstone
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Barely preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>130</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 33 cm (without the hilt)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A curved single-edged blade, kopis shaped. The hilt is missing.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Petachki 1986.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVDS G5 Tu V</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 5, tumulus V – Dabitsi-Sopot – 7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Arrow</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Arrow</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>940 III</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>131</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 6.8 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Unpublished. Excavation 1988.</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVDS G5 Tu VIII			
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 5, Tumulus VIII, Dabitsi-Sopot - 7th BC		
Burial description	Artefacts		
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** 2 razors, 1 whetstone **Other:** 1 bronze button.		
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Multiple skeletons preserved. Skeleton 3 and 5 were buried with the spears.		
Weaponry	3 Spears		
Weapon	**Type**	Spear	
NA	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia	
	Inventory number	941 III	
	Cat. No.	132	
	Notes		
	Discarded		
	Dimensions		
	L: 9.6 cm		
	Description		
	NA		
Weapon	**Type**	Spear	
NA	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia	
	Inventory number	942 III	
	Cat. No.	133	
	Notes		
	Discarded		
	Dimensions		
	NA		
	Description		
	L: 28.4 cm		
Weapon	**Type**	Spear	
NA	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia	
	Inventory number	943 III	
	Cat. No.	134	
	Notes		
	Discarded		
	Dimensions		
	L: 22 cm		
	Description		
	NA		
Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavation 1986.		

Context UpVDS G2 Tu IX

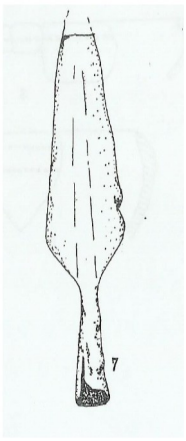
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 2, Tumulus IX, Dabitsi-Sopot - 7th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Arrow

Weapon	**Type**	Arrow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	929 III
	Cat. No.	135
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 10.4 cm W: 1.5 cm leaf 0.8 cm socket
	Description	Deltoid shape.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Excavations: 1988.

Context UpVKCh Tu II

Burial designation and chronology	Sccatered find, Tumulus 2, Kunovo Chuki
Burial description	Artefacts
Tumulus 2, quadrant 15, part of scattered finds in the embankment of the tumulus (20 m in diameter, 3 m in height)	**Vessels:** / **Tools:** / **Other:** /
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon	Type	Spear - Deltoid
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	915 III
	Cat. No.	136

Notes
Drawing from: Mitrevski 1990, T.4, 73.

Dimensions
NA

Description
NA

Bibliography	Mitrevski 1990

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVKCh Tu III</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Scattered find. Tumulus III, Kunovo Chuki.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tumulus III, segment 3. Diameter 9,30 m. 3 skeletons buried together, ring of stones surrounding the burials.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 2 ceramic vessel with a round stomach;
<u>Tools</u>: 1 iron knife.
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">Inhumation. Skeleton 1: remains of skull and parts of tibiae preserved.
Skeleton 2: parts of left femur and tibiae preserved.
Skeleton 3: only left femur and tibiae preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">2 Spears</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="7">Weapon

NA</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">137</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">More on the iron age finds:
1. Sanev, Simovski, Kitanovski, Sarzhoski, 1976. Праисторија на Македонија, каталог, Скопје, бр. 594, 595, могила III;
2. Kilian, 1975, 92, Tafel 52.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Only fragments preserved</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="7">Weapon

NA</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">138</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Only fragments preserved</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">V. Sanev 1978 .</td></tr>
</table>

Context UpVKG G1

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 1, Krshlanksi Gumenja - Iron age
Burial description	Artefacts
NA	**Vessels:** NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Sword 1 Spear

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Sword
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	823 III
	Cat. No.	139
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 33 cm (acc. to inv. card by Mitrevski)	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Deltoid
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	824 III
	Cat. No.	140
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	Preserved: L: 18.7 cm W: 0.9 cm socket 2.5 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Socket>leaf. Deltoid shape. Thin socket.	

Bibliography	Unpublished. Inv. C. filed by Mitrevski. Excavations: 1980.

Context UpVKG of

Burial designation and chronology	Krshlanski Gumenja - Occasional find
Burial description	Artefacts
/	Vessels: / Tools: / Other: /
Osteological remains	/
Weaponry	1 Spear

Weapon

Type	Spear
Material	Iron
Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
Inventory number	838 III
Cat. No.	141

Notes

Dimensions

Preserved:
L: 22.1 cm
W: 1.6 cm socket
1.6 cm leaf

Description

Socket>Leaf.
Bent leaf.

Bibliography	Unpublished. Inv. C. filed by Mitrevski. Excavations: 1980.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpV of</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">2 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword – Naue II</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of the Faculty Philosophy</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>I - 0187</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>142</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Flange hilted, flame shaped blade, fishtail hilt. Phase I, Naue II.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">L: 66 cm; 55.6 cm blade; 10.4 cm hilt.
W: 3.5 cm at root; 3 cm blade; 1.7 cm middle of hilt; 3.3 cm lower hilt; 4 cm upper hilt</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Blade - Opfer</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of the Faculty Philosophy</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>10/ II - 0095</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>143</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Single edged, kopis shaped, slightly curved spine, curved blade. Weight
falling near the tip of the sword.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">L: 45 cm
W: 3.5 cm at root; 6.5 cm middle of the blade</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Unpublished. Information courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy – Skopje</td></tr>
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<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVK G?</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Kochani, Unknown micro-context – 6th/5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Axe</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Axe</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">144</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Parallel blades, cylindrical socket.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Georgiev 1981.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVO G? Tu I</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Tumulus I, Oreshani, Scattered find</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">145</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 2.2 cm
W: 1.8 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Only part of the tip preserved.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Ristov 2016</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVT T</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Tomb, Tetovo – 6th-5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tomb built with large stone blocks.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: a Maenad figurine (Vasic 1982, 12)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Helmet
1 Greaves</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Helmet</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">146</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mitrevski (1997) believes that an Illyrian helmet might also be from this site, unfortunately it has been lost to illegal trade.
Drawing from: Vasic 1982, 13, img. 2.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Greave</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">147</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Radojcic 1933; Vasic 1982.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context UpVSD G3 Tu II</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 3, Tumulus II, Strnovats Dolinats, Kumanovo – 7th (first half) BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Oval shape, ring of stones as grave markers, stones, layer of earth and stones covered the grave. Orientation NE-SW.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 ceramic plate with flat rim; fragments of at least 2 jugs and some smaller vessels.
<u>Tools</u>: 2 iron knives; 1 iron tool, unknown usage
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Remains of the lower extremities</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword - Sica</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>148</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Image included in Stankovski 2006 (T.V, 2-4, 104)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 32 cm
W: 5 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Curved (without handle).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Stankovski 2006</td></tr>
</table>

Context PelOhB G37

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 37, Visoi-Berantsi – 9th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist made of stone slabs. Central and oldest burial in the tumulus.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic skyphos. **Tools:** 1 bronze razor- labris shaped. **Other:** /
Osteological remains	Inhumation, flexed.
Weaponry	1 Sword

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword – Naue II
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Archaeological Museum of N. Macedonia
	Inventory number	A15335
	Cat. No.	149
	Notes	
	Kilian (1975, 1993) believes it comes from burial 1/II but Vasic (1987) agrees with Mikulcic (1966) and places it in grave 37 (central burial). Image from: Mikulchic 1966a, TIV-8c	
	Dimensions	
	According to Kilian 1993: L: 56.7, W: 2.1 According to Mikulcic 1966a: L: 85 cm	
	Description	
	Flange hilted sword with a mid-rib, Naue type 2.	

Bibliography	Makcic, Simovska 1954; 1955; Mikulcic 1966a; Kilian 1975; 1993; Mitrevski 1997

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhB NA</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">NA, Visoi-Berantsi – 8th-7th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Graves from the tumulus.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">2 Spears</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear - Deltoid</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Museum of Bitola</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">A15511</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">150</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">40 or more iron objects from the older burials, among which there are spears of "different shapes and sizes", "battle knives", and "others". (Mikulcic 1966, p. 17, 23)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 33.6 cm, 18 cm socket, 15.6 cm leaf
W: 3.1 cm socket, 3 cm leaf</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Willow, thin leaf, pronounced midrib.
Socket>Leaf</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear - Bay</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Museum of Bitola</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">A15512</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">151</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">40 or more iron objects from the older burials, among which there are spears of "different shapes and sizes", "battle knives", and "others". (Mikulcic 1966a, p.17,23)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 18.7 cm, 9 cm - leaf, 9.7 cm – socket.
W: 3.5 cm – leaf, 2.3 cm socket.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Bay leaf shape.
Socket>Leaf</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mikulcic 1966a.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhRKS G4</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 4, Rapesh, Kamenot-Slamite – 7th-6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Damaged, might be part of a separate small mound, although a bigger mound is also possible (which would encompass the sorrounding 5 graves as well).</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">/</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Deltoid</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>152</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">L: 15 cm
W: 3.5 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Deltoid head, long socket.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Vasileva 1993, Mitkoski 2010.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhP</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave NA, Peshta, Mariovo</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cist built with stone blocks.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: Multiple ceramic vessels.
<u>Tools</u>:
<u>Other</u>: bronze miniature jugs with cutaway necks; 2 bronze bangles;1 bronze spectacle fibula; 1 bronze bow fibula.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>153</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The burial was found by locals.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Only the tip was recovered.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mikullcic 1966a; Mitkoski 2010</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhSB G2</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Grave 2, Saraj Brod, Bitola – Iron Age</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cist made of 4 stone slabs. Bottom stone slabs.
Dimensions: 190×175×67 cm.</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: 2 ceramic craters with vertical handles.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: copper fragmented bangles; bronze fragmented bangles.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">154</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">20 graves excavated in the area.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Fragmented and broken during excavations.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Makchic, Simoska, Trbuhovic 1961; Mikulcic 1966a</td></tr>
</table>

Context PelOhSB G3			
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 3, Saraj-Brod, Bitola – Iron Age		
Burial description	Artefacts		
Cist built with 10 stone slabs (side walls are doubled), bottom stone slabs are included. Dimensions: 200×70×65×55 cm.	**Vessels:** 2 ceramic vessels. **Tools:** / **Other**: iron fragmented unidentified circular objects.		
Osteological remains	Skeletal remains in negative		
Weaponry	2 Spears		
Weapon	**Type**	Spear	
NA	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	NA	
	Inventory number	NA	
	Cat. No.	155	
	Notes		
	Merged together from corrosion, (found in left corner), very badly preserved (only one socket).		
	Dimensions		
	NA		
	Description		
	NA		
Weapon	**Type**	Spear	
NA	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	NA	
	Inventory number	NA	
	Cat. No.	156	
	Notes		
	Merged together from corrosion, (found in left corner), very badly preserved (only one socket).		
	Dimensions		
	NA		
	Description		
	NA		
Bibliography	Makchic, Simoska, Trbuhovic 1961; Mikulcic 1966a.		

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOhBP (of)</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Occasional find – Bukri-Progon, 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>/</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 10 ceramic vessels (krater, hydria, skyphos, kothone).
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 bronze bangle;1 bronze double-pin.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Bitola</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>A15515</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>157</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Detailed inspection and measurements could not be done, due to technical problems.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">“Illyrian” Helmet, type IIB. Small part of the left and a bigger part of the right cheek guards are broken off. Neck guard broken off. Part of the front broken off. No visible use-wear and tear.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon		Type	Sword - Xiphos
NA		Material	Iron
		Museum	NA
		Inventory number	NA
		Cat. No.	158, 159
		Notes	
		Vasic (1982) cites Makcic, Simovska (1955), and claims there are two double edged swords from Bukri.	
		Dimensions	
		NA	
		Description	
		NA	
Weapon		**Type**	Spear
NA		**Material**	Iron
		Museum	NA
		Inventory number	NA
		Cat. No.	160
		Notes	
		Dimensions	
		NA	
		Description	
		NA	
Bibliography	Makcic, Simovska 1955; Mikulcic 1966a; Vasic 1982; Mitrevski 1997;		

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhBab of</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Occasional find - Babino – 6th BC (2nd half)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cist, made of stone blocks.
Damaged cists uncovered by locals in 1948-50. Field survey by museum staff in 1952.</td><td colspan="2">Vessels: NA
Tools: NA
Other: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet - Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>161</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Mikulchic 1966a; Mitrevski 1997.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOhR of</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Occasional find – Rechitsa, 6th-5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>/</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">3 Spears
1 Axe</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Willow</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Ohrid</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>A-10487 (I 4)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>162</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes
Kilian (1975, T64) believes it originated from the micro-context that included the Rechitsa helmet.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions
Preserved: L: 32.5 cm.
W: 1.7 cm - socket
5 cm - leaf.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description
Heavily corroded. The socket and part of leaf preserved. Probable willow shape, no midrib visible. Thin socket. The leaf was probably longer than the socket.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Willow</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Ohrid</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>A-10488 (I 5)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>163</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes
Probably from the grave with the helmet</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions
Preserved: L: 21 cm.
W: 1.4 cm - socket
5 cm - leaf.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description
Part of socket and leaf preserved. Thin socket.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon	Type	Spear - Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-10497 (I 14)
	Cat. No.	164
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 48 cm 18 cm - socket 30 cm - leaf. W: 2.5 cm - socket 3.5 cm - leaf.	
	Description	
	Willow shape. Midrib visible. Socket<Leaf.	

Weapon	Type	Axe
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-10490 (I 7)
	Cat. No.	165
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 18 cm W: 5.8 cm - blade 4 cm - at middle 3x4 cm - diameter of hole	
	Description	
	Flat upper line, curved lower line. Parallel (convex) blades.	

Bibliography	Kilian 1975.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOhR G (NA)</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave (NA) Rechitsa – 5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 silver rhomboid decorative foil; 1 silver double-pin.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Axe
2 Spears</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon
  </td><td colspan="2"><table><tr><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyrian</td></tr><tr><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr><tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Ohrid</td></tr><tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>A-10485 (I 2)</td></tr><tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>166</td></tr></table>Notes

Dimensions
Face opening: upper edge - 10.5cm; cheek-guard edge - 8.5cm.
Perimeter: 65.5cm. Neck guard: 34 cm;
Forehead: 12 cm
Description
Illyrian III A3. Damaged during use. Repaired in several places. Probable extensive use.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon
  </td><td colspan="2"><table><tr><td>Type</td><td>Axe</td></tr><tr><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr><tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of Ohrid</td></tr><tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>A-10486 (I 3)</td></tr><tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>167</td></tr></table>Notes

Dimensions
L: 22 cm.
W: 8.5 cm - blades; 5 cm - at the middle;
3.5 cm - diameter of hole
Description
Flat upper line, curved lower line. Parallel (convex) blades.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon		Type	Spear
NA		Material	Iron
		Museum	NA
		Inventory number	NA
		Cat. No.	168
		Notes	
		Two spears from this context. Dimensions from Lahtov (1965, 59).	
		Dimensions	
		L: 17 cm (both spears)	
		Description	
		Heavily corroded, no visible midrib.	
Bibliography	Lahtov 1965; Kilian 1975;		

Context PelOhTK G15			
Burial designation and chronology	Grave 15, Trebenishko Kale.		
Burial description	Artefacts		
NA	**Vessels**: NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA		
Osteological remains	NA		
Weaponry	1 Sword		
Weapon	**Type**	Sword - Makhaira	
	**Material**	Iron	
	Museum	NA	
	Inventory number	NA	
	Cat. No.	169	
	Notes		
	Drawing by Parovic-Peshikan (1982, T.IV-2)		
	Dimensions		
	L: 34 cm. W: 3,6 cm.		
	Description		
	Triangle shape. Scabbard fragments are preserved.		
Bibliography	Parovic Peshikan 1982.		

Context PelOhT TI

Burial designation and chronology	Tomb I, Trebenishte – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape. Dimensions: 480-520×200-300 cm. Orientation W-E.	**Vessels:** 1 bronze volute–krater with 1 iron tripod and 2 bronze handles; 1 silver kantharos; 1 silver rhyton with a golden tip; 1 bronze oenochoe; 1 bronze bowl; 2 faience aryballos; 1 glass aryballos; 1 ceramic black-figured vessel; 1 bronze vessel with a bronze tripod. **Tools:** **Other:** 1 golden mask; 1 golden glove; 1 golden ring; multiple golden decorated appliqués; 1 silver double pin; 1silver-gold double pin with a golden chain; 3 silver pins with disk shaped heads and snake shaped tips; 1 bronze goat figurine; 1 silver ring; 1 silver wire.
Osteological remains	Presumed inhumation.
Weaponry	2 Helmets 1 Sword 2 Spears

Weapon		
	**Type**	Helmet - Corinthian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6969
	Cat. No.	170
	Notes	
	Image from: Ardjanliev et al. 2018, Cat. No. 5, 229.	
	Dimensions	
	H: 29.2 cm W: 24 cm	
	Description	
	Corinthian helmet with decorated edges. Snake heads adorn the edges of the eye openings and a palmette at each cheek guard-neck guard connection.	

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Helmet - Illyrian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	171
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a top part of a helmet. Probably of the Illyrian type.	

Weapon	Type	Sword - Xiphos
NA	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	172
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a double edge, xiphos sword.	

Weapon	Type	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6987г
	Cat. No.	173
	Notes	
	Image from: Vasic 2018, 112.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon	Type	Spear
NA	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	174
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOhT TII</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Tomb II, Trebenishte – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rectangular shape.
Dimensions: 480-520 x 200-300 cm.
Orientation W-E.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 fragmented silver cup; 1 bronze vessel with a tripod; 1 fragmented bronze krater; 1 fragmented ceramic vessel; 1 bronze amphora; 1 bronze pouring vessel.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: Multiple golden foil appliqués; 1 silver triple-hook adornment; 1 silver pin; 1 silver wire; bronze rings; 3 amber beads; multiple glass beads.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Presumed inhumation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Shield
1 Sword
2 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>175</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Image from: Filow, Schkorpil 1927, Abb 98, No118</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Illyrian IIIA3.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Shield - Aspis</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>176</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Fragmented remains of a large circular shield.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon	Type	Sword
NA	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	177
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a double edged xiphos sword.	

Weapon	Type	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6987a
	Cat. No.	178
	Notes	
	Image from Vasic 2018, 112.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Part of leaf and socket preserved.	

Weapon	Type	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6987d
	Cat. No.	179
	Notes	
	Image from Vasic 2018, 112.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Part of leaf and socket preserved.	

Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOHT TIII</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Tomb III, Trebenishte – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rectangular shape.
Dimensions: 480-520×200-300 cm.
Orientation W-E.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 silver-gold goblet; 1 bronze hydria; 1 glass miniature amphora; 1 bronze vessel with a tripod; 1 bronze pouring vessel.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: Multiple golden foils and appliqués; 3 silver pins; 1 silver double-pin; 2 bronze rings; multiple glass beads; 1 iron ring; 1 ceramic miniature statuette.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Presumed inhumation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Shield
1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Weapon
  </td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>6970</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>180</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes
Image from Ardjanliev et al. 2018, Cat. N0 33, p. 242.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description
Illyrian IIb, traces of golden bands on the cheek guard and forehead.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Weapon
NA</td><td>Type</td><td>Shield - Aspis</td></tr>
<tr><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>181</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description
Fragmented remains of a large circular shield.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon	Type	Sword - Xiphos
NA	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	182
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a double edged xiphos sword.	

Weapon	Type	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6987b
	Cat. No.	183
	Notes	
	Image from Vasic 2018, 112.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Part of socket and the larger part of the leaf preserved.	

Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOHT TIV</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Tomb IV, Trebenishte – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rectangular shape.
Dimensions: 480-520×200-300 cm.
Orientation W-E.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 2 silver cups; 1 bronze vessel with a tripod; 1 bronze plate; 1 silver bowl; 1 bronze tripod from small vessel; 1 bronze krater; 1 ceramic vessel; 1 bronze pouring vessel; 1 fragmented remain of an iron tripod.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: Multiple glass and amber beads; multiple golden foils and appliqués; 3 silver pins; 2 silver wires; 1 ceramic miniature statuette.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Presumed inhumation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Shield
1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon
  </td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Cat. No.</td><td>184</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Notes
Image from: Filow, Schkorpil 1927, Abb 96, No115.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Description
Illyrian IIB</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon
NA</td><td>Type</td><td>Shield - Aspis</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Cat. No.</td><td>185</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Notes
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions
NA</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Description
Fragmented remains of a large circular shield.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon	Type	Sword - Xiphos
NA	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	186
	Notes	
	NA	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a double edged xiphos.	

Weapon	Type	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6987v
	Cat. No.	187
	Notes	
	Image from Vasic 2018, 112.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Part of socket and leaf preserved.	

Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOHT TV</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Tomb V, Trebenishte – 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rectangular shape.
Dimensions: 480-520×200-300 cm.
Orientation W-E.</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 silver goblet; 1 fragmented miniature glass vessel; 1 fragmented bronze bowl; 1 bronze plate; 1 bronze vessel with a tripod; 1 fragmented bronze krater with an iron tripod; fragments of bronze vessels.
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: 1 golden mask; multiple golden foils and appliqués; multiple glass and amber beads; 3 silver pins; 1 miniature clay statuette; 1 silver wire; 1 fragmented golden pin.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Presumed inhumation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Shield
1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyrian</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>6976</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>188</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Image from: Ardjanliev et al. 2018, Cat. No. 52, 250.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">H: 26.5 cm.
Neck guard: W-20cm, L 22.3 cm.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Illyrian III A1, with a golden foil decorating the forehead.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Shield - Aspis</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Archaeological Museum - Sofia</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>189</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Fragmented remains of a large circular shield.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon	Type	Sword - Xiphos
NA	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	190
	Notes	
	NA	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a double edged xiphos.	

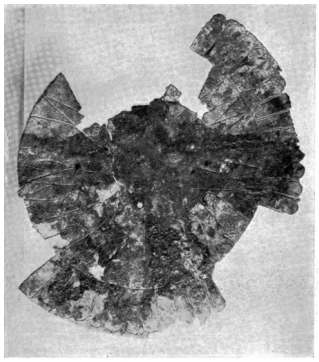
Weapon	Type	Spear
	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6988v
	Cat. No.	191
	Notes	
	Images in 100 Years of Trebenishte catalogue.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Part of socket and leaf preserved	

Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018

Context PelOHT TVI

Burial designation and chronology	Tomb VI, Trebenishte – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape. Dimensions: 480-520×200-300 cm. Orientation W-E.	**Vessels:** 1 bronze bowl;1 miniature glass vessel; 1 small bronze vessel with a tripod,;1 silver kantharos; 1 bronze plate; fragments of bronze vessels; 2 bronze krater. **Tools:** / **Other:** Multiple glass and amber beads; multiple golden foils and appliqués; silver jewellery fragments; 1 bronze ring; 1 golden ring; 2 bronze rings;1 miniature clay statuette; 1 bronze sphinx statuette; 1 silver horse shaped appliqué.
Osteological remains	Presumed inhumation.
Weaponry	1 Helmet 1 Shield 1 Sword 2 Spears

Weapon		
 Abb. 99. Bronzehelm Nr. 119.	**Type**	Helmet – Illyrian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	192
	Notes	
	Image from: Filow, Schkorpil 1927, Abb 99, No119.	
	Dimensions	
	H: 2.45 cm Face opening: H - 13.8 cm, W – 11.5 cm	
	Description	
	Illyrian III A1.	

Weapon		
 Abb. 101. Mittelstück des Schildes Nr. 121.	**Type**	Shield - Aspis
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	193
	Notes	
	Image from: Filow, Schkorpil 1927, Abb 101, No 121.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a large circular shield.	

Weapon	Type	Sword - Xiphos
NA	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	194
	Notes	
	Dimensions	NA
	Description	Fragmented remains of a double edged xiphos. Part of the scabbard preserved.

Weapon	Type	Spear
NA	Material	Iron
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	195, 196
	Notes	Dimensions and description for both spears included here.
	Dimensions	NA
	Description	Parts of the socket and leaf preserved.

Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.

Context PelOHT TVII

Burial designation and chronology	Tomb VII, Trebenishte – 6th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape. Dimensions: 480-520×200-300 cm. Orientation W-E.	**Vessels:** 1 fragmented bronze bowl; 1 bronze bowl; fragments of bronze vessels; 1 silver kantharos; 1 glass alabastron. **Tools:** / **Other:** Multiple golden foils and appliqués; multiple glass and amber beads; 1 golden breast sheet; multiple pieces of silver jewellery and adornments; 2 silver pins; 1 silver chain with beads; 2 bronze rings; multiple golden beads; 1 silver horseman shaped appliqué; 1 silver horse appliqué; 1 clay figurine; 1 silver sandal shaped foil.
Osteological remains	Presumed inhumation.
Weaponry	1 Helmet 1 Shield 1 Sword 1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Helmet – Illyrian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	6973
	Cat. No.	197
	Notes	
	Image from: Ardjanliev et al 2018 Cat.No. 86, 267.	
	Dimensions	
	H: 25.5 cm. Face opening: H - 13 cm, W – 10.5 cm.	
	Description	
	Golden foils decorate the edges around the face opening.	

Weapon		
NA	**Type**	Shield
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	198
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	Fragmented remains of a large circular shield.	

Weapon		Type	Sword - Xiphos
		Material	Iron
		Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
		Inventory number	6984
		Cat. No.	199
		Notes	
		Image from: Vasic 2018,	
		Dimensions	
		NA	
		Description	
		Fragmented remains of a double edged xiphos. Parts of hilt and lower blade preserved.	

Weapon		Type	Spear
NA		Material	Iron
		Museum	National Archaeological Museum - Sofia
		Inventory number	NA
		Cat. No.	200
		Notes	
		Dimensions	
		NA	
		Description	
		Only an imprint preserved.	
Bibliography	Fillow, Schkorpil 1927; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.		

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Context PelOhT TVIII</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Tomb VIII, Trebenishte, 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dimensions: 4.80-5.20m long, 2-3m wide</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: bronze volute krater; 1 amphora; 1 bronze tripod and handles; 1 bronze plate; 2 bronze jugs; several pieces of bronze vessels; 1 glass vessel; pieces of ceramic vessels.
<u>Tools</u>: several iron spits and nails.
<u>Other</u>: 1 golden mask; 2 golden sandal soles; golden rings; 1 golden hand cover and golden appliques; 3 silver snake-head pins; 2 silver pins; adornment of braided chains and snake-head pins; 1 silver belt-buckle; 2 silver fibulae; bracelets, ring/hoops; 1 silver rhyton and 3 silver goblet (decorated with gold); 4 snake-head bangles; several pieces of amber.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">Presumed inhumation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Greave
1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet – Illyiran</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Museum of Serbia - Belgrade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>158/I</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>201</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Image from: Ardjanliev et al 2018, Cat.No. 104</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A golden application on the cheek guards of a galloping horseman and a golden rosette above its head. The forehead is adorned with a wild boar flanked by two lions.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Greave</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Museum of Serbia - Belgrade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>160/I</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>202</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Fragmented and perforated among the edges.</td></tr>
</table>

Weapon		Type	Spear
NA		Material	Iron
		Museum	National Museum of Serbia - Belgrade
		Inventory number	NA
		Cat. No.	203
		Notes	
		Dimensions	
		NA	
		Description	
		NA	
Bibliography	Popovic 1956; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018;		

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhT TXI</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Tomb XI , Trebenishte - 6th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>:
<u>Tools</u>: 2 iron knives.
<u>Other</u>: 1 silver ring.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Sword
1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Sword - Xiphos</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">National Museum of Serbia - Belgrade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">204</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 55 cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Xiphos sword, fragmented.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">National Museum of Serbia – Belgrade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">205</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Vulic 1933; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhT TXIII</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Tomb XIII, Trebenishte - 5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions: 375×160 cm.
The bottom was paved with stones</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: 1 lekythos;1 kylix; 1 bronze tripod;
<u>Tools</u>:
<u>Other</u>: golden appliqués; 1 golden ring; lion figurine; bronze handles.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Helmet
1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Helmet - Chalcidan</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Bronze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Museum of Serbia – Belgrade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>159/I</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>206</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Chalcidan helmet</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">NA</td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>National Museum of Serbia - Belgrade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>207</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Xiphos sword.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Popovic 1964; Stibbe 2003; Ardjanliev et al. 2018.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhTCh ng</th></tr>
<tr><td>Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="3">Outside of the graves at Tri Cheljusti</td></tr>
<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>/</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: /
<u>Tools</u>: /
<u>Other</u>: /</td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">/</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">Museum of Ohrid</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">208</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Kuzman 1985.</td></tr>
</table>

Context PelOh TCh G17

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 17, Gorenci, Tri Cheljusti – early 4th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape, enclosed with stone slabs, covered with fragments of ceramic vessels and stones Dimensions: 300x100 cm. Orientation: E-W.	**Vessels:** 6 ceramic vessels and 1 ceramic black figured kylix (inscribed with PANOS). **Tools:** **Other:** 1 iron rings; 3 unidentified iron miniature objects; 2 iron nails; 4 bronze bangles.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. 3 skeletons recovered, desiganted 17, 17a (male) and 17b (unspecified). The latter belonged to physically deformed individual.
Weaponry	4 Spears

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Ohrid
Inventory number	3MO A-10669
Cat. No.	209

Notes

3 skeletons were detected in grave 17, 2 oriented W-E (desiganted 17 and 17b) and 1 oriented E-W (designated 17a). Skeletons 17 and 17b were a silmultaneous burial and preceeded skeleton 17a, when they were partially dislocated to make room for the new burial.

Dimensions

L: 38.5 cm
W: leaf - 3.5 cm; socket - 2 cm

Description

Extended willow shaped leaf with wedge shoulders.

Weapon

Type	Spear - Willow
Material	Iron
Museum	Museum of Ohrid
Inventory number	3MO A-10670
Cat. No.	210

Notes

3 skeletons were detected in grave 17, 2 oriented W-E (desiganted 17 and 17b) and 1 oriented E-W (designated 17a). Skeletons 17 and 17b were a silmultaneous burial and preceeded skeleton 17a, when they were partially dislocated to make room for the new burial.

Dimensions

L: 33.5 cm.
W: leaf - 3.7 cm; socket – 1.8 cm

Description

Willow shaped leaf, slightly rounded shoulder.

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	3MO A-10672
	Cat. No.	211
	Notes	
	3 skeletons were detected in grave 17, 2 oriented W-E (desiganted 17 and 17b) and 1 oriented E-W (designated 17a). Skeletons 17 and 17b were a silmultaneous burial and preceeded skeleton 17a, when they were partially dislocated to make room for the new burial.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 26 cm W: leaf – 4.3 cm; socket - 2cm	
	Description	
	Willow shaped leaf.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	3MO A-10671
	Cat. No.	212
	Notes	
	3 skeletons were detected in grave 17, 2 oriented W-E (desiganted 17 and 17b) and 1 oriented E-W (designated 17a). Skeletons 17 and 17b were a silmultaneous burial and preceeded skeleton 17a, when they were partially dislocated to make room for the new burial.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 27 cm W: leaf – 3.8 cm; socket – 2 cm	
	Description	
	Willow shaped leaf.	

Bibliography	Malenko 1975; Kuzman 1985.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhGP G130</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Grave 130, Gorna Porta, 6th-5th BC</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other</u>: NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Spear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Spear - Willow</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>213</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Image from: Vanchevska 2010, 468, img. 4.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Vanchevska 2010</td></tr>
</table>

Context PelOH G132

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 132, Gorna Porta – 5th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular shape. Dimensions: 370x270/230 cm. Orientation: NW-SE.	**Vessels:** 2 ceramic aryballoi; 1 ceramic amphora; 1 silver kantharos; 1 bronze oenochoe; 1 bronze cauldron. **Tools:** 1 iron knife – 8.7 cm **Other:** 1 golden mask; 1 golden glove; multiple golden accessories and appliques; 2 silver sandals; 1 silver mii chariot; 1 silver pendant; 1 silver double-pin; 1 silver hanger; 2 silver pins; 1 bronze ring; 4 pieces of an amber necklace.
Osteological remains	Inhumation. Only several teeth preserved.
Weaponry	1 Sword 2 Spears

Weapon		
	**Type**	Sword - Xiphos
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	3MO A-1608
	Cat. No.	214
	Notes	
	Image: from: Ardjanliev et al. 2018, 377.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 38.8 cm. W: 3.6 cm - blade 7.5 cm - guard 0.9 cm - blade thickness	
	Description	
	Double edged, flame shaped xiphos. Part of the scabbard is preserved.	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	3MO A-2833
	Cat. No.	215
	Notes	
	Image: from: Ardjanliev et al. 2018, 378.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 21 cm; 12 cm - socket. W: 4 cm – leaf; 1.8 cm - socket.	
	Description	
	Willow shaped, the tip is missing.	

Weapon		Type	Spear - Willow
		Material	Iron
		Museum	Museum of Ohrid
		Inventory number	3MO A-2834
		Cat. No.	216
		Notes	
		Image: from: Ardjanliev et al. 2018, 378.	
		Dimensions	
		L: 21 cm 12 cm - socket. W: 4 cm - leaf 1.8 cm - socket.	
		Description	
		Willow shaped, the tip is missing.	
Bibliography	Kuzman 2018		

Context PelOhGP T1

Burial designation and chronology	Tomb 1, Gorna Porta – 6th (end of) -5th (beginning of)
Burial description	Artefacts
Rectangular tomb enclosed with stone blocks. Covered with sand from the nearby lake. Large funeral pyre in the middle, burial offerings placed around it. Inner dimensions: 120×55 cm. Outer dimensions: 550x450 cm.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic amphora; 1 fragmented black figure vessel; 1 silver kantharos. **Tools:** / **Other:** 1 marble torso of a warrior; 24 rosette applique); golden jewellery and clothing accessories; decorative golden sheets; unidentified bronze; iron and amber objects; rectangular amber beads; 2 bronze rings.
Osteological remains	Cremation. Presumed number of individuals: 6
Weaponry	6 Helmets 11 Greaves 18 Spears

Weapon		
	**Type**	Helmet – Illyrian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3785
	Cat. No.	217
	Notes	
	Dimensions	Face opening: 9.7 cm upper line, 7.4 cm lower line, 11 cm cheek guard line. 60.2 cm – perimeter; 30 cm - neck guard; 10.5 cm - forehead
	Description	III A2a Cheek guards are shorter than expected, 2-3 cm.

Weapon		
	**Type**	Helmet – Illyrian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3786
	Cat. No.	218
	Notes	
	Dimensions	Face opening: 10.6 cm upper line, 9.5 cm lower line, 14 cm cheek guard line, 9.7 cm cheek guard width; 63.2 cm – perimeter; 32 cm - neck guard; 12 cm - forehead
	Description	III A1B Ram heads on cheek guards. Inscription on the forehead: ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩ

Weapon	Type	Helmet – Illyrian
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3787
	Cat. No.	219
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	Face opening: 10.3 cm upper line, 6.8 cm lower line. 63 cm perimeter 11 cm forehead	
	Description	
	III A1b (b – due to engravings) Inscription on forehead: BA (rest is not visible). Right cheek guard has an engraved image of a man, walking, with an erected phallus, and a raised left hand.	

Weapon	Type	Helmet - Illyrian
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3788
	Cat. No.	220
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	Face opening: 12 cm upper line, 9 cm lower line, 15 cm cheek guard line; 61 cm – perimeter; 22 cm - neck guard; 13 cm - forehead	
	Description	
	III A2a. Dent on the right cheek guard.	

Weapon	Type	Helmet - Illyrian
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3789
	Cat. No.	221
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	Face opening: 10.5 cm upper line, 5.5 cm lower line, 13 cm cheek guard line, 6 cm cheek guard width.; 64 cm – perimeter; 31 cm - neck guard; 12 cm - forehead	
	Description	
	III A2a. Pronounced trapezoid face opening.	

Weapon	Type	Helmet - Illyrian
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3790
	Cat. No.	222
	Type	Helmet
	Notes	
	Dimensions	Face opening: 11.5 cm upper line, 8.4 cm lower line, 15 cm cheek guard line 64 cm - perimeter 30 cm - neck guard 14.5 cm - forehead
	Description	III A2a. Badly preserved. Inscription on forehead.

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3791
	Cat. No.	223
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 45.6 cm W: 7.9 cm low; 7.4 cm high; 10.2 cm widest
	Description	NA

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3792
	Cat. No.	224
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 44 cm
	Description	Squashed

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3793
	Cat. No.	225
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 42 cm W: 36 cm calf perimeter, 7.7 cm low (side), 6.5 cm low (back), 12.4 cm middle (side), 9.5 cm middle (back), 8.5 cm high (back)
	Description	NA

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3794
	Cat. No.	226
	Notes	Photograph by courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid
	Dimensions	NA
	Description	NA

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3795
	Cat. No.	227
	Notes	Photograph by courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid
	Dimensions	NA
	Description	NA

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3796
	Cat. No.	228
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 39.5 cm W: 32 cm calf perimeter, 7.4 cm low (side), 6.6. cm low (back), 10.4 cm calf (side), 9.5 cm calf (back), 7 cm high (back)	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3797
	Cat. No.	229
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 46 cm W: 34 cm calf perimeter 7.5 cm low (side),; 6.6 cm low (back); 11.5 cm calf (side); 10.5 cm calf (back); 7.7 cm high (back)	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon	Type	Greave
	**Material**	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3798
	Cat. No.	230
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 39 cm W: 7.8 cm low (side), 8.4 cm low(back) 10.6 cm calf (side), 10.4 cm calf (back) 9 cm high (back)	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Greave
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3799
	Cat. No.	231
	Notes	
	Photograph by courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Greave
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3800
	Cat. No	232
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 43 cm 31 cm calf perimeter, W: 8 cm low (side), 6.5 cm low (back), 9.5 cm calf (side), 9.7 cm calf (back), 7.3 cm high (back).	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Greave
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3801
	Cat. No	233
	Notes	
	Photograph by courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3805
	Cat. No	234
	Notes	
	Photograph by courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid	
	Dimensions	
	L: 44 cm W: 2.8 cm socket 3.8 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Willow leaf. Socket<Leaf. Massive midrib, well pronounced.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3806
	Cat. No	235
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 66.5 cm 19.5 cm socket; 46 cm leaf W: 2.3 cm socket; 3.4 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Two gold rings adorn the socket (at the widest point). Elongated willow leaf. Socket<Leaf.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3808
	Cat. No	236
	Notes	
	Photograph by courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid	
	Dimensions	
	L: 62cm W: 2.2 cm socket; 5.3 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Elongated willow leaf. Socket<Leaf. Midrib.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3809
	Cat. No	237
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 34 cm; 12.5 cm socket; 21 cm leaf W: 2.5 cm socket; 2.7 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Willow leaf. Socket<Leaf.	

Weapon	Type	Spear - Bay
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3811
	Cat. No	238
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 42 cm; 17 cm socket; 25 cm leaf W: 3 cm socket; 6.1 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Bay leaf shape. Massive socket and leaf. Possible use as cavalry lance. Midrib developed from socket, very thick.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A.3812
	Cat. No	239
	Notes	
	Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid	
	Dimensions	
	L: 64 cm W: 3.5 cm socket; 8 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Massive socket and leaf. Possible use as cavalry lance.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3813
	Cat. No	240
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 44.5 cm; 12 cm socket; 32 cm leaf W: 1.9 cm socket; 3.6 cm leaf
	Description	Tip missing. Midrib visible.

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3814
	Cat. No	241
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 32 cm (preserved); 12 cm socket W: 1.6 cm socket; 2.8 cm leaf
	Description	Tip missing. Wide midrib. Elongated willow, wedge shoulders.

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3815
	Cat. No	242
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 25.1 cm (preserved); 10.6 cm socket W: 2.9 cm socket; 3.1 cm leaf
	Description	Tip missing. Wide midrib and socket. Elongated willow, wedge shoulders.

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3816
	Cat. No	243
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 25 cm; 11 cm socket W:2.6 cm socket; 2.6 cm leaf
	Description	Tip missing. Elongated willow, wedge shoulders.

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3817
	Cat. No	244
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 35 cm; 14.5 cm socket W: 2.6 cm socket; 3.3 cm leaf
	Description	Tip missing. Wide midrib and socket. Elongated willow, wedge shoulders.

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3818
	Cat. No	245
	Notes	
	Dimensions	L: 36.6 cm; 14 cm socket; 22.6 cm leaf W: 2.6 cm socket; 3 cm leaf
	Description	Two gold rings adorn the socket (at the widest point). Large part of it is reconstructed (mostly the leaf). Sharp willow leaf, wedge shoulders.

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3819
	Cat. No	246
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 46 cm; 12.5 cm socket; 33.5 cm leaf W: 2 cm socket; 4.5 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Willow shape. Midrib mildly visible.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3822
	Cat. No	247
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 70 cm; 14 cm socket; 56 cm leaf W: 1.9 cm socket; 5.5 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Elongated willow. Bent leaf. Socket<Leaf. Midrib visible. Wedge shoulders.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3823
	Cat. No	247a
	Notes	
	Not present in the publications of Kuzman (2018; with Angelovski 2015). Information courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 92.8 cm; 20 cm socket; 72.8 cm leaf (25.4+40.5+17.5+9.4) W: 2.3 cm socket; 4 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Broken in 4 pieces. Extreme length. Fortified with a midrib.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3824
	Cat. No	248
	Notes	
	Dimensions	
	L: 63 cm W: 2.4 cm socket; 4.5 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Elongated willow. Midrib visible. Socket<Leaf.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3825
	Cat. No	248a
	Notes	
	Not present in the publications of Kuzman (2018; with Angelovski 2015). Information courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 52.5 cm; 17 cm socket, 35.5 cm leaf, (42.5+10) W: 2 cm socket; 3.4 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Willow shape, midrib visible. Socket<Leaf.	

Weapon	Type	Spear -Willow
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Ohrid
	Inventory number	A-3826
	Cat. No	248b
	Notes	
	Not present in the publications of Kuzman (2018; with Angelovski 2015) Additionally, spears: A-3807, A-3810, A-3820, A-3821 – are also believed to come from Gorna Porta. Information courtesy of the Museum of Ohrid.	
	Dimensions	
	L: 50.5 cm; 14.5 cm socket, 36 cm leaf W: 1.8 cm socket, 3.6 cm leaf	
	Description	
	Bent leaf. Wide midrib.	

Bibliography	Kuzman 2006, 2013, 2018; Kuzman, Angelovski 2015

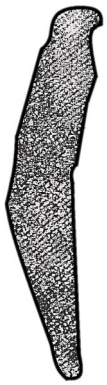
Context PelOhD G84

Burial designation and chronology	Grave 84, Delagozhda, 5th-4th BC
Burial description	Artefacts
Cist made of stone blocks.	**Vessels:** 1 ceramic skyphos; 1 bronze jug; 1 ceramic container. **Tools:** **Other**: unidentified iron objects.
Osteological remains	NA
Weaponry	1 Helmet 1 Spear

Weapon		
	**Type**	Helmet - Illyrian
	Material	Bronze
	Museum	Museum of Struga
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	249
	Notes	
	98 burials were uncovered at the necropolis. Image courtesy of the Museum of Struga.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Weapon		
	**Type**	Spear - Bay
	Material	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Struga
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	250
	Notes	
	Image courtesy of the Museum of Struga.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	

Bibliography	Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1988; 1993; Mitrevski 1997;

Context PelOhD NA		
Burial designation and chronology	Delagozhda, 5th-4th BC	
Burial description	Artefacts	
	Vessels: NA **Tools:** NA **Other:** NA	
Osteological remains	NA	
Weaponry	3 Spears 1 Combat blade	
Weapon	**Type**	Spear -Willow
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Struga
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	251-253
	Notes	
	Image courtesy of the Museum of Struga.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	
Weapon	**Type**	Sword - Makhaira
	**Material**	Iron
	Museum	Museum of Struga
	Inventory number	NA
	Cat. No.	254
	Notes	
	Image courtesy of the Museum of Struga.	
	Dimensions	
	NA	
	Description	
	NA	
Bibliography	Angelovski 2010	

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOhDe G8</th></tr>
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<tr><td>Burial description</td><td colspan="3">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td>NA</td><td colspan="3"><u>Vessels</u>: NA
<u>Tools</u>: NA
<u>Other:</u> <u>NA</u></td></tr>
<tr><td>Osteological remains</td><td colspan="3">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weaponry</td><td colspan="3">1 Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Sword</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">NA</td><td>Material</td><td colspan="2">Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td colspan="2">255</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">L: 40cm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">A single edged combat blade with a mushroom shaped hilt, (Vasic 1982, 39)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Vasic 1982</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Context PelOh of</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial designation and chronology</td><td colspan="2">Plochine-Dolno Dupeni, NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Burial description</td><td colspan="2">Artefacts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2"><u>Vessels:</u> NA
<u>Tools:</u> NA
<u>Other:</u> NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Osteological remains</td><td colspan="2">NA</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weaponry</td><td colspan="2">1 Combat Blade</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weapon</td><td>Type</td><td>Sica</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="4">  </td><td>Material</td><td>Iron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museum</td><td>Museum of the Faculty of Philosophy</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory number</td><td>49</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cat. No.</td><td>256</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Dimensions</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">L: 35.3 cm
W: 2.2 cm root of the blade
1.9 cm middle of blade</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Description</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Single edged, flat spine. Thin blade, no curve.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bibliography</td><td colspan="3">Unpublished. Information courtesy of the Faculty of Philosophy</td></tr>
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