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THE MOUNTAINOUS IMATHIA IN THE EARLY IRON AGE
(11th – 7th c. BC)

The surveys that have been conducted in the last 15 years around Aigai and in the wider area of Pieria mountains in Imathia¹, together with a series of accidental events (illicit archaeological excavations, road or irrigation networks construction, etc), yielded numerous ancient sites unknown to date, more than twelve dating back to the Early Iron Age.

Only three of those sites are located low at Haliacmon riverside area. One to the northwest of the tumuli cemetery of Aigai², next to the current river bank, the second one to the northwest of the settlement of Metochi³, and the third one around 25km to the southwest, at Kato Longa of Daski, in the narrow valley between the mountain and the river⁴. Probably, there is an abundance of antiquities hidden under the dense vegetation, which, if discovered, could alter this conclusion, but based on the so-far revealed finds, at least as far as the geographical distribution of sites is concerned, it seems safe to say that people in the Early Iron Age preferred the mountain to the plain⁵.

This might come as a surprise to the modern observer, whose daily routine and, therefore, his/her conception of space and its use, is defined by the presence, even dominance, of cars, tractors and bulldozers; however, it is in complete harmony and continuity with the model traditional way of life in the Greek countryside up to the 2ndWW and the Greek Civil War, when convenience and comfort had not yet become the fundamental, self-evident, uttermost and exclusive life principles.

In the beginning of the pre-Christian millennium, a large part of the modern-day Imathia plain was covered by sea and another, even larger, one was covered by marshes⁶. If we also consider the uncontrollable river forces, the icy northern wind blowing unobstructed, all kinds of invaders, and the hot springs, this silent enemy that domineered over the land until well into the beginning of the 20th c., it is no longer a mystery why the old populations in the area preferred the mountain. Besides, the mountainous and, mainly, semi-mountainous zones, where archaeological sites are more densely distributed, are ideal for sheep and goat farming, which was, and still is, the central economic activity of the area's population.

This trend is also manifested in the location of the area's major cities on Vermio mountain (Veroia, Mieza-Naousa, Edessa), all cities that prospered through time, as well as in the location of Aigai, the first city that was founded in the area, which was lost together with the kingdom of Macedon, after first having been the cradle of Macedonian kings. Here, in the first Macedonian centre that can be considered a city, the living seemed to prefer inhabiting the low hills at the roots of the mountain leaving the plain to their dead, since the majority of the settlements, mainly the earliest ones, as well as the walled ancient city itself, are located on hills, while the huge necropolis spreads over the flat plain⁷.

¹ See A. Kottaridi, Ch. Brekoulaki, «Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στα ημαθιώτικα Πιέρια», AEMTh (Archaeological Work in Macedonia & Thrace) 11, 1997, 109-114, A. Kottaridi, «Από τη νεκρόπολη των Αιγών στο νεολιθικό οικισμό των Πλέριων», AEMTh 14, 2000, 527-536; *id.*, «Οι ανασκαφικές έρευνες της ΙΖ' ΕΠΚΑ στην ορεινή Μακεδονία και η ταύτιση της αρχαίας Λεβαίης», AEMTh 18, 2004, 543-550.

² See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 5, 1991, 23-30.

³ This site was found in February 2005 during excavation works performed by the contractor of the project for the construction of a man-made lake to the east of Haliacmon River Dam; further investigation of the site is still pending.

⁴ See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 18, 2004, 543

⁵ The same stands for the northern part of the Prefect and the Vermion mountain area, where investigation has significantly progressed, since the only known lowland site dating back to the Iron Age was found at Angelochori tumulus. See also L. Stefani, «Η τοπογραφία του νομού Ημαθίας», in *Γνωριμία με τη γη του Αλέξανδρου: Η περίπτωση του Νομού Ημαθίας (Ιστορία-Αρχαιολογία)*, Minutes of a Scientific Conference held on 7-8 June 2003, Thessaloniki, 2004.

⁶ Cf. N. Merousis, L. Stefani, «Κατοίκηση και φυσικό περιβάλλον στην προϊστορική Ημαθία. Συμπεράσματα και προοπτικές από την επιφανειακή έρευνα των ετών 1993-1996», *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* VI,2, 1999, pp. 735 *op. cit.*

⁷ See A. Kottaridi, "Discovering Aegae, the old Macedonian capital", in *Excavating classical culture*, Oxford 2002, pp. 75-83, and A. Kottaridi, «Αιγαί η πρώτη πόλη των Μακεδόνων», in *Γνωριμία με τη γη του Αλέξανδρου: Η περίπτωση του Νομού Ημαθίας (Ιστορία-Αρχαιολογία)*, Minutes of a Scientific Conference held on 7-8 June 2003, Thessaloniki, 2004., pp. 81-102.

As for the Early Iron Age, the impressive size of the cemetery of the tumuli⁸, the large number of graves and the abundance of grave offerings, the quantity and quality of which is amazing, are all evidence of an exceptionally significant –maybe the most significant of all- urban centre, the city of Aigai. This center was unique in terms of its size, population, wealth, form, and long life when compared to the rest of the settlements in the wider area of Imathia.

The rest of the Early Iron Age sites found in the Pieria mountains, settlements and cemeteries, are much smaller in size and, according to the available finds, much more short-lived, while a noteworthy number of settlements was identified in the south-facing fertile plateau of Sfikia⁹. Relatively small are also the cemeteries linked to these settlements, which are mostly located on hills having an unobstructed view over the plain, e.g. the cemetery of Koukos in Sykia to the east and the cemetery of Rovia to the west of Aigai. In Rovia, a small excavation¹⁰ brought to light the missing pieces that helped us identify the difference between the quantity and quality of the grave offerings in the tombs of this small group of stock farmers buried here and those of their neighbours in Aigai.

Based only on the survey and the random finds, our observations regarding the “land of Macedon” in the Early Iron Age would remain vague, if modernisation had not once again run into the past. In 1999, works for the construction of the Egnatia Motorway commenced at the southeast hillside of Vermio mountain. The need to shorten the route that crosses the mountain, in conjunction with modern highway construction requirements, led the designers and the construction authorities of the Egnatia Motorway to come up with an alignment that runs through a relatively passable, currently uninhabited mountainous area.

It appears that the same and some more reasons made this land appealing to populations of earlier periods, as well. In the land extending between Asomata and Lefkopetra (an area covering just a few kilometers), a series of important ancient sites were unearthed¹¹, the density of which is one more evidence of how significant the mountain was in the existence of the ancient populations in the area. Particularly in the case of the Early Iron Age, these finds substantiated the interpretations we established after investigating the Pieria mountains, completed, in a rather unexpected way, the vague picture we had created in our minds, turned our working assumptions into an abundance of solid excavation data promising to shed more light on this unknown, but at the same time critical, time period that marks the passage from prehistory to the history of Macedonia; at the same time, they turned a new page in the “mountain archaeology” and in the field of comparative ethnoarchaeological research.

On the relatively smooth hillside that starts from Asomata and ends at the steep mount of Kallipetra, where the Egnatia Motorway follows the route of the old pathway connecting the city of Veroia to the only river crossing the area, “the ford of Vossova”, over a stretch of land that is 3km long and is now crossed by the modern highway, we identified 5 cemeteries and four settlements dated back to the Early Iron Age. At the same time, on the highest and steepest hill prevailing over the Haliacmon river crossing, a fortification wall was revealed, an “acropolis” controlling the strategically critical passage as part of the defence mechanism of the whole area.

At the site called “Tzamala”¹², which is located to the northwest of this hill, the whole Egnatia Motorway expropriation area was turned into a vast archaeological excavation trench covering an area of over 45 ha. From 2000 to 2003, the ancient remains were unearthed, studied and fully recorded, the artefacts were removed, the walls demolished, the bulldozers were brought in, the land was flattened... The memory of our ancient past now haunts the modern road that opened to

⁸ See M. Andronikos, *Βεργίνα Ι. Το νεκροταφείο των τύμβων* (1969), F. Petsas, “Ανασκαφαί αρχαίου νεκροταφείου Βεργίνας”, *ADelt* 17 (1961/1962), *Μελέται*, p. 218 *op. cit.*, *ADelt* 18 (1963), Β' Χρονικά, p. 217 *op. cit.*, K. Romiropoulou, I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, “Neue Funde aus der eisezeitlichen Nekropole von Vergina”, *Griechisch Makedonien*, *PZ* 64 (1989), pp. 86-151.

⁹ See A. Kottaridi, *AEMTh* 14, 2000, 531 *op. cit.*, *AEMTh* 18, 2004, 543 *op. cit.*

¹⁰ See A. Kottaridi, *AEMTh* 15, 2001, p. 509 *op. cit.*

¹¹ See L. Stefani, «Ανασκαφή στον άξονα της Εγνατίας: δύο προϊστορικές εγκαταστάσεις στην περιοχή της Λευκόπετρας Ημαθίας», *AEMTh* 14, 2000, 537-554; *id.*, «Ανασκαφική έρευνα στον άξονα της Εγνατίας: η έρευνα στις περιοχές της Λευκόπετρας και της Μ. Σάντας», *AEMTh* 15, 2001, 559-574, and A. Koukounou, «Ανασκαφική έρευνα στον άξονα της Εγνατίας οδού: Ασώματα Βέροιας», *AEMTh* 14, 2000, 563-574, and *AEMTh* 15, 2001, 575-587.

¹² See A. Kottaridi, “Τζαμάλα”, *AEMTh* 15, 2001, 501-508 and *AEMTh* 16, 2002; *id.*, *ADelt* (2003), Β' Χρονικά.

traffic and we, once again, realised how much our work resembles the deceitfulness experienced by Sisyphus...

From north to south, the following were investigated in Tzamala:

1. part of a cemetery located on a hill, which was dated back to the Early Iron Age (Tzamala Ia)
2. part of a late Hellenistic settlement built in a natural cavity (Tzamala I)
3. part of an Early Iron Age settlement with timber-post framed structures located on a hill (Tzamala II)
4. part of a settlement in a natural cavity comprising stone-built structures dating back to the Early Iron Age and the late Classical times (Tzamala III)
5. part of a cemetery dated to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, as well as remains of a settlement comprising timber-post framed structures dated to the Early Iron Age located on a hill (Tzamala IV)
6. part of a large settlement dated to the Early Iron Age comprising stone-built structures in a natural cavity (Tzamala V, VI)

The first conclusions drawn up could, to a certain extent, be considered as our working assumptions in the interpretation of the finds, and are the following:

A. The organisation of space

The sites of permanent inhabitation that comprise rubble masonry structures are small settlements (the revealed size of the largest one does not exceed 10 ha) of a few households possibly belonging to members of the same or related clans. Exactly like modern traditional mountainous villages, these settlements are built in cavities that are as much protected and windless as possible –small ravines or natural basins- close to springs or streams. The majority of the structures tend to be located at the northernmost side of the cavity, so as to face the south thus benefitting from the more favourable orientation.

These sites are characterised by a noteworthy spatial persistence and long inhabitation. As far as the smallest settlement is concerned (Tzamala III), where many building remains were carried away by the stream flow, we managed to identify at least two building phases in the Early Iron Age and another two in the 4th pre-Christian century, while in the largest one (Tzamala V and VI), in its most protected north section, at least four consecutive building phases were dated back to the Early Iron Age and, at some points, we identified almost entirely surface traces of the late Hellenistic and Modern times.

A crucial element in the organisation and use of space in these mountainous settlements is the construction of terraces. Circular enclosures (*periboloi*) and dry stone retaining walls, the revealed length of the longest one reaching 90m, either parallel to each other or intersecting, follow or, mainly, interrupt the natural terrain and form consecutive narrow terraces similar to the traditional stone benches found in the mountainous Peloponnese, in Crete and on the Greek islands. So, these terraces form the base surface on which the settlement itself, as well as all its other productive activities, are developed.

These masonry constructions, the *trochaloi*, as they call them in Crete, have multiple uses:

1. As retaining walls that retain the fertile soil scarcely found on the mountains, the soil that is used on stone benches to cultivate cereals, fruit trees, vines and vegetables. It is worth noting that the longest retaining wall of the latest building phase in the north hillside of Tzamala V continues to mark the hypsometric curve and managed to retain till today 70cm of valuable fertile soil.
2. When their height exceeds the elevation of the ground, these rubble masonry structures that have mud as their bonding material were used as fences closing in the stone benches, providing protection against the activity of herbivore animals –goats are the worst enemy of crops- and, at the same time, possibly marking, at least some of them, the borders between different properties. I believe that this is the case at the lowest section of the settlement, in Tzamala V, where two such fences run along the excavated area (approx. 50m) in almost parallel directions leaving between them a 1.5 to 2m wide passage, i.e. a small road for horse riders or packed mules. When it was

raining, this small road turned into a small stream that accommodated the rainwater runoff from the mountain slopes to the neighbouring natural stream leading to Haliacmon river. The significance of these two fences marking the length of this small road is evident in the fact the inhabitants of the settlement spared no time or effort to construct a safe foundation and used the limited technical means available to construct deep foundations in the hard natural rock soil that constitutes the area's subsoil.

3. When these stone fences are even higher, they are used as the walls of houses and auxiliary roofed or semi-roofed spaces that form integral parts of the fences following their form.

The multiple uses and functionality of these rubble masonry *periboloi*-terraces are substantiated by the fact that such structures are also identified in other Early Iron Age sites in Pieria and Vermio mountains¹³, but also by their repeated use in the late Hellenistic settlement of Tzamala I¹⁴, in the Aigai area, where such structures continue to be constructed through Late Antiquity¹⁵, but also in the plateau of Sfikia, where their use has been documented to continue as late as the Turkish rule¹⁶.

B. The houses

The best preserved houses belong to the second building phase of the large settlement in Tzamala V and Tzamala VI and form interestingly dense clusters in a protected area deep in the natural cavity previously mentioned, at the north side of the ancient road. At least four have been identified so far with a relative certainty, while the existence of a fifth one is also possible. These houses are indicated on the drawings as *oikoi*, consciously retaining the multiple meanings of the term (private dwellings).

Having a size of 50-60sqm and, usually, an elongate form, but not an absolutely regular geometric figure, these plain structures seem to follow the shape of the terraces they stand on. Their foundations are made of rubble masonry, which would most probably be the construction material throughout these structures' height, since stone is the most common and abundant building material in the area and the soil is scarce and valuable for cultivation. Let's imagine these structures covered by organic material –reeds, wooden sticks, tree branches, etc.- and mud, with wooden piles supporting the roof. Such a wooden pile has been revealed, although, due to the intense and repeated building activities, the piles' traces are, generally, not easy to be detected.

One of the revealed houses had a floor made up of compacted earth clay. Hearths were found in all of the houses, one of which contained remains of a clay furnace. In the majority of the cases, next to the hearth, a very large *pithos* was half-buried in the floor (three were found in-situ and one broken into pieces), which was possibly used for storing grains and protecting them against moisture, ants and mice. Next to the *pithoi* a stone-paved working surface was usually formed.

C. Other structures

Apart from and in no dependence on the stone-built settlements, there were various timber-post framed structures, which sometimes take the form of shallow ditches with *pithoi*, hearths and pits. Based on the pottery unearthed, these structures were used simultaneously with the stone-built settlements located on at least two neighbouring hills.

¹³ The presence of *periboloi* remains dating back to the Early Iron Age is also documented by the excavator A. Koukouvou, *loc. cit.* (footnote 11) for Asomata area. Furthermore, it is very possible that some of the rubble masonry structures revealed in Kalipetra and Lefkopetra areas had the same function and use, L. Stefani, *loc. cit.* (footnote 11).

¹⁴ See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 15, 2001, 506 *op. cit.*

¹⁵ See A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 18, 2004, 538.

¹⁶ Dry stone wall remains with incorporated *spolia* from the ancient marble temple, retaining walls and *periboloi* marking different properties and defining pathways are visible in the wider area of "Marmara" site to the south of Sfikia, as well as at other locations around the mountainous Municipality of Makedonida. These structures are probably dated back to the Late Antiquity onwards and continue to be constructed and used up until the 20th c., when intensification of cultivation and generalised use of machinery (tractors, milling machines, combine harvesters, etc) started to demolish and destroy them.

The timber-post framed structures located on the peak of the hill between the two settlements, which were partially destroyed, in order to make room for the expansion of the cemetery to the west, were, as it seems, incorporated into the rubble-masonry *periboloi* system that probably continued to the north slope of the hill. Most probably, this was also the case on the second hill (Tzamala II), where the highway construction machinery cleared the land and removed the surface soil thus taking with it the remains of any *periboloi* that might have been there¹⁷. As if to compensate for the lost evidence, the building remains in this case were more. Ditches with floors made up of compacted earth, post holes, pits of several storage *pithoi*, even an intact *pithos* found with its stone cover in place next to the hearth of the house.

The relevant ethnological parallel may help us comprehend the use of these structures. In the modern mountainous settlements, where the main activity of the population is stock farming, sheep pens –structures that until very recently were mainly timber-post framed- are gathered on hills surrounding the villages. I believe that, similarly, this was the case in the Early Iron Age Tzamala; the timber-post framed structures that surround from a distance the small settlements were most probably the pens built for the sheep and goats raised by the mountainous population of Vermio mountain.

The presence of hearths and *pithoi* in the sheep-pens can be easily explained; first, some members of the family had to stay there on an every-day basis taking care of the animals, and, second, the fire was necessary for cheese-making, an activity which took place in the sheep pen, since the lack of tank trucks-refrigerators made the transportation of milk an almost impossible task. This might explain the abundance of *pithoi* found here, which are usually smaller than the storage *pithoi* unearthed in the houses; they could be used for the storage and maturing of cheese. It is possible that the *chytrae* found half-buried in the floor of the timber-post framed hut to the north of the large settlement of Tzamala V were also used in cheese-making.

D. The artefacts

Thick clay handmade legged *chytrae*, *pithoi*, large bowls and flat dishes (*lopas*) are the most common pots that are found broken in the settlements and pens of Tzamala. More scarcely found are the “symposium vessels” –jars, cups, *amphoriskoi*- which mainly come from the area of the cemeteries. Fragments of wheelmade vessels are rarely found, while painted vases are almost absent. Wooden pots and vessels, leather bottles and wineskins, paniers and baskets, objects less fragile and lighter, although expected in the household of the mountainous populations of Vermio mountain, imply, however, a sense of austerity, even poverty.

The complete absence of metallic objects and other artefacts in the habitation strata constitutes an evidence of how careful these poor populations were with their belongings, as well as of the fact that these sites were not faced with a sudden destruction, but were rather peacefully abandoned and their inhabitants had the opportunity to take with them everything thought of as useful...

E. The cemeteries

As in the case of Pieria mountains, cemeteries are located on neighbouring hills, namely locations with unobstructed views, where the deceased, not fearing the chilling winds anymore, could safeguard the wellbeing of their living neighbours and ancestors. The most known cemetery is the one on the hill between the two settlements (Tzamala IV).

¹⁷ Site clearance, which technically also means the removal of the surface soil through mechanical means, was the method mostly applied by the construction contractors of the Egnatia Motorway, which destroyed valuable evidence at least in the mountainous areas crossed by the road, where building remains are mainly found on the ground surface. However, in Tzamala, the prompt and well-substantiated intervention of the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities helped in restricting the use of machinery during site clearance only to Tzamala I and II. The rest of the site was cleared by hand preventing the disturbance of the surface ground layers and thus enabling us to identify the existing *periboloi*. This intervention could be a point of reference in future similar cases as to how to prevent the occurrence of such problems.

This cemetery expanded from the east to the west displacing the sheepfold located there, and was in use from the Late Bronze Age, as indicates the easternmost burial mound covering the six pit graves of children and babies found and dating back to this period. This burial mound was partially covered by a later one dating back to the Early Iron Age. The remaining nine burial mounds that were unearthed in the expropriation zone of the Egnatia Motorway and were carefully excavated seem to belong to the earliest phases of the same period. All mounds were circular or almost circular with a diameter of 8-12m and a height of approximately 1m.

The majority of the burial mounds covered just one grave located in their centre. The largest and better preserved mound covered two graves; at its centre, the grave of a man and next to it the grave of a little girl, which revealed the richest burial in the cemetery in terms of grave offerings. Two graves of two men were covered by one of the earliest mounds, which, being located on a downhill slope at the north side of the cemetery, was completely destroyed, while four burials – one woman, one couple, one child and one baby- were covered by another one.

All burial mounds were carefully built. The same construction technique was applied and remarkably repeated in all of them. A small ellipsoid rubble masonry *peribolos* marked the central grave, and a second one, circular and significantly larger than the previous one, mostly constructed by two rows of well-jointed crude stones marked the mound's perimeter. Stone-built low walls segmented radially the space between the two concentric *periboloi* and formed large six-radius or eight-radius "wheels", a structure that is, as far as we know, unprecedented. A low stone pile covered both the central and the peripheral graves and partially the "wheel"; nevertheless, during the excavation works, we managed, relatively easily, to identify where the stone structures and where the fills are.

Given that the peripheral sections remain empty, even in the three cases where the burial mounds cover more than one burial, their presence, probably, has to be interpreted within an ideological rather than practical context...

Fourteen (14) plain smaller stone piles of a varying height, often not clearly demarcated, were found next to and between the mounds. For two of them, it is almost certain that they were created after the adjoining mound. A very probable interpretation could be that these small structures were *hermakes* formed by the passers-by placing stones by the grave showing respect to the dead, a practice observed in cemeteries of the historical times.

All sixteen (16) Early Iron Age burials were cist graves with walls made of slate and floors often paved with pebbles. Their orientation was exactly or almost along the east-west axis and rarely along the north-south axis. In the first case, men were laid in the grave with their head towards the west and women with theirs' towards the east, while, in the second case, all dead had their head towards the south. No cremations were found. All dead were interred and their bones were impressively well preserved.

A looted grave was found containing a double burial of a woman and a little girl, possibly a mother with her little daughter, while four secondary burials were also identified, in which the bones of the initially buried body were put aside in order for the second dead to be buried. In the three secondary burials, the dead were a man and a woman, possibly husband and wife, and in the fourth two young warriors, probably two brothers.

Out of the Early Iron Age dead, thirteen were men, four were women and three were kids. Women wore no jewellery. The only one found bearing rich ornaments was the seven-year-old girl that was buried next to the warrior in the largest mound. The little girl was wearing golden hair-coils, a diadem on her head ornamented with a bronze plate, buttons and grooves, and bronze spiral bracelets and rings on her hands. Bronze rings were the jewellery often worn by men, who held their knife or dagger having their right hand folded on their chest or stomach. The most common offerings to the thirsty "travellers" are again¹⁸ a cup -a *kantharos*, a *kantharos*-shaped vessel or a bottle- and/or a small jar –a *prochous*, an *olpe* or an *amphoriskos*.

¹⁸ As in Aigai. For burial customs and the different kinds of grave offerings in the area, see A. Kottaridi, AEMTh 10A, 1996, 79-92.

Contrary to the graves and the burial mounds, which are rather impressively and carefully constructed, the grave offerings seem rather poor when compared to the ones unearthed in the mounds of Aigai. Given their lack of riches and valuable goods, the mountainous populations dedicated to the deceased the only thing they could offer, the products of their labour...

The organisation and use of space through the construction of terraces and *periboloi*, a traditional spatial model that, according to our finds, was commonly used in Northern Greece from the beginning of the last pre-Christian millennium, and the form and positioning of the mountainous settlements and sheepfolds, as well as of the houses and cemeteries of the Early Iron Age, which became known thanks to the expanded excavation at Tzamala, constitute finds that largely benefit research. Based on these newly found facts, researchers can identify similar finds and proceed to drawing up significant conclusions, even if the facts revealed are disjointed, as they usually are.

However, the most overwhelming find of Tzamala is the piece of information conveyed by the human bodies themselves. The bones found¹⁹ were unexpectedly well-preserved and helped us decipher their life facts; a life that was rough and difficult, full of pain and hardship. Deformed feet from walking on steep and rugged mountainous paths, calves broken by accidents on rough stones and rocks, vertebrae worn by lifting heavy objects, hands that never stopped working, fractures that never stopped aching. Women that never stopped giving birth to babies, who spent their lives crouching on the ground or walking, who got old and died in their forties. Men that got injured and survived, who continued their crippled life in hard labour.

Premature babies that died violently, toddlers and children that had their life abruptly interrupted by illness, warriors that were met by death in the battle. The two brothers resting in the same grave, the one in his twenties died of bleeding when the sword of his enemy cut his right arm. The second one, still an 18-year-old teenager, soon followed his brother after his scalp was crushed by a sword. Tragic stories, repeated life stories that remind me, despite their time distance, the words addressed to the Macedonians by Alexander the Great²⁰:

Philip found you a tribe of impoverished vagabonds, most of you dressed in skins, feeding a few sheep on the hills and fighting, feebly enough, to keep them from your neighbours—Thracians and Triballians and Illyrians. He gave you cloaks to wear instead of skins, he brought you down from the hills into the plains; he taught you to fight on equal terms with the enemy on your borders, till you knew that your safety lay not in your mountain strongholds, but in your own valour. He made you city-dwellers; he brought you law; he civilized you.

¹⁹ The bones were studied and preserved by Th. Antikatzidis and L. Wyin-Antikatzidi, see the relevant paper in AEMTh 15, 2002.

²⁰ TN: Arrian, "The Campaigns of Alexander", translated by Aubrey de Selincourt & revised by J. R. Hamilton; (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin 1981).