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Macedonian Bronzes - 30 Years Later

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The Macedonian bronzes were my subject of study in the sixties and early seventies of the last century,¹ but new discoveries and publications, especially those made in the Republic of Macedonia, much enlarged our knowledge. The publication of the Dedeli cemetery by D. Mitrevski, a series of articles in *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* and the exhibition in Skopje organized by Zlato Videski in 2004 brought much new essential information. Much work has also been done in Albania on the other side of the Prespa lake, notably at Kuç i Zi, and in Greek Central, Western and Eastern Macedonia. All this gives enough reasons to return to this subject in the Festschrift of my old friend Prof. Bitrakova, who helped me to improve my understanding of the archaeology of her country, especially in the area of the Prespa and Ohrid lakes, one of the main homelands of Macedonian bronzes.² New important finds are also known from Asia Minor (esp. Ephesus) and from Western Greece and the books by D. Mitrevski and E. Petrova have outlined the general picture of the Early Iron Age in the Republic of Macedonia.³

The aim of this contribution is to improve the picture of relations of this group of ornaments with other areas of Early Iron Age Europe, including Greece, and its impact. The position of Macedonian bronzes documenting relations along the Axios valley between south and north is central, especially as they are autonomous artistic creations of their own, even if inspired from several more or less distant roots.

Some forerunners of the canonical bronzes exist in biconical beads from Greece⁴ and in the Vitsa grave 113 pyxis;⁵ all still of a 9th century B.C. date, but the origins of the canonical bronzes can best be placed in the earlier part of the 8th century. The main

¹ MB I-VII.

² Cf. esp. V. Bitrakova Grozdanova, *Spomenici od helenističkiot period vo SR Makedonija*, Skopje 1987; *Les preuves matérielles de migrations dans la région d'Ohrid-Prespa dans l'antiquité*, *Živa Antika* 45, 1995, 53-60.

³ D. Mitrevski, *Protoistoriskite zaednici vo Makedonija* (Proto-historical communities in Macedonia), Skopje 1997; E. Petrova, *Brigite na centralniot Balkan vo II i I milenium pred n.e.*, Skopje 1996.

⁴ Esp. Pithos Grave 2 at Drepanon, Achaea, I. Dekoulakou, *Erch. Ef.* 1973, 18-22, pl. 1b; Bouzek, MB IV, 411; Vrokastro tomb 3, Hall, p. 143 no. 6 fig. 85 and Spelaion, grave A; K. Rhomiopoulou, *AAA* 4 (1971), 38-40; cf. Bouzek, MB I, 103, 166.

⁵ A. Vokotopoulou, *Vitsa* (1986), 151-7, pls. 243-245; MB VI, 60.

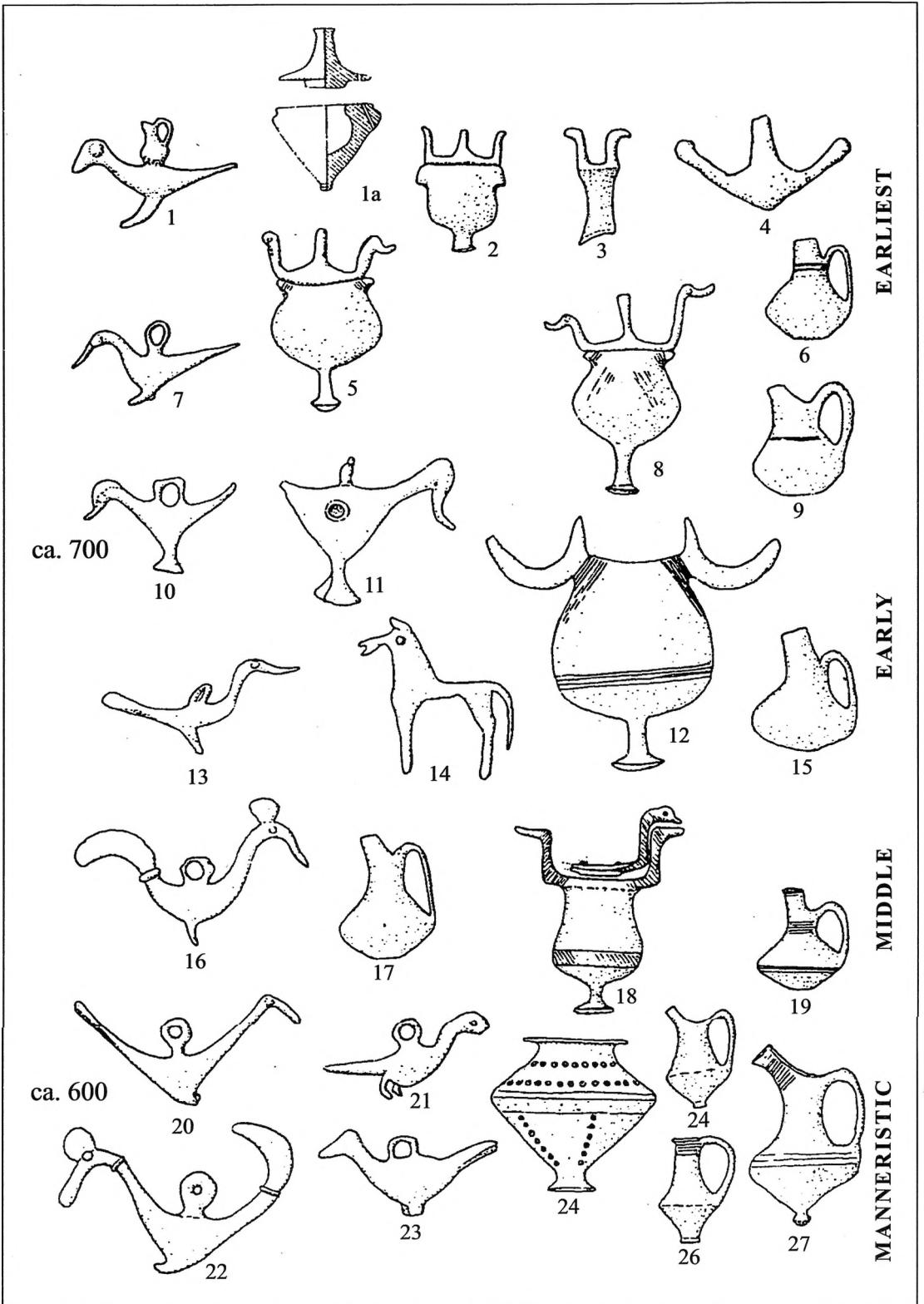


Fig. 1. Development of Macedonian pendants: birds, pyxidae, juglets, anchor objects and horse. After MB I, completed

reasons for this date have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere⁶ and have corrected the originally slightly lower chronology in MB I, 163-8. The main arguments are some finds in Macedonian graves in early 8th century B.C. and the raising of European Ha B chronology. It should, however, be remembered that the majority of graves known as yet date only from late 8th and 7th century B.C. (Figs. 1-2).

The main sources of inspiration of Macedonian bronzes can still be seen in the North Caucasian area (Kuban group); this phenomenon can probably be connected with the alliance of Thracian Edoni and Cimmerians recorded by Strabo.⁷ The recent Caucasian chronology leaves enough time for an earlier dating of some parallel objects in the Caucasus area, and the earliest so-called Cimmerian bronzes in the eastern part of Central Europe and the Balkans are now dated in the (early) 9th century B.C.⁸

The Macedonian bronzes developed from traditions connected with horse harness and shamanism. Some simple objects apparently derived from the common Balkan Urnfield koine. This applies notably to dress fasteners and wheels as ancient sun symbols. Some Aegean links can be traced for sheet gold leaves, for miniature double axes and for some elements of the earlier cist graves, like at Vergina, Dion, Saraj-Brod, Papadin Dol etc.⁹ The Aegean links may perhaps be connected with late Mycenaean settlements and the first Greek colonies (Torone) in the gulf of Thessaloniki and in the Chalcidice.¹⁰

The chronological sequence of evolution remains basically valid even after thirty years. Five main chronological groups can be distinguished: the earliest group, the early and middle stages, the manneristic and the post-manneristic bronzes (Figs. 1-2).¹¹ The earliest group belongs to earlier part of the 8th century (cf. already Chauchitsa graves 13 and 22); the sub-PG skyphos from Chauchitsa 2 gives a good example.¹² For the Early Stage, characterized formerly by Chauchitsa graves 4, 9 and 10 and by the Edinburgh group C, many new examples can be added. Cumae grave 16 and the Pithekoussai graves confirm the dating of this stage in the Late Geometric period.¹³

⁶ MB IV, 41; MB V, 48-9.

⁷ Strabo, C 329, fr. 11; cf. MB III, 42-45 and MB IV, 45.

⁸ Cf. Bouzek 1997, 197-9.

⁹ Cf. MB II, 327-8.

¹⁰ Cf. Bouzek 1997, 246-8; According to Strabo, C 279, C 282 and C 329, Bottiaea was a Cretan colony founded at a same time as Taras; Cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Macedonia I*, 1972, 153, 295-6.

¹¹ Cf. MB I, 163-175; MB II, 307-11; MB IV, 41-43, and MB VI, 47-9; The alternative chronologies put forward by D. Garašanin, *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 2, 1976, and by K. Kilian, *Trachtzubehör der Eisenzeit zwischen Ägäis und Adria*, PZ 50, 10-140, are too general and schematic, though useful for comparison with other West Balkan groups; I. Kilian-Dirlmeier in her very useful corpus (*Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit*, PBF XI-2, 1979) gives no detailed chronology at all.

¹² Cf. for Geometric pottery of similar date A. Sakellariou, *Arch. Delt.* 20 (1965), B p. 305, pls. 471-2; M. Tiverios revealed there a floor with Euboean pottery dated ca. 800 B.C., cf. esp. *AEMT* 4 1990, 315-332, and later excavation reports in the same periodical.

¹³ Cf. now esp. MB VII.

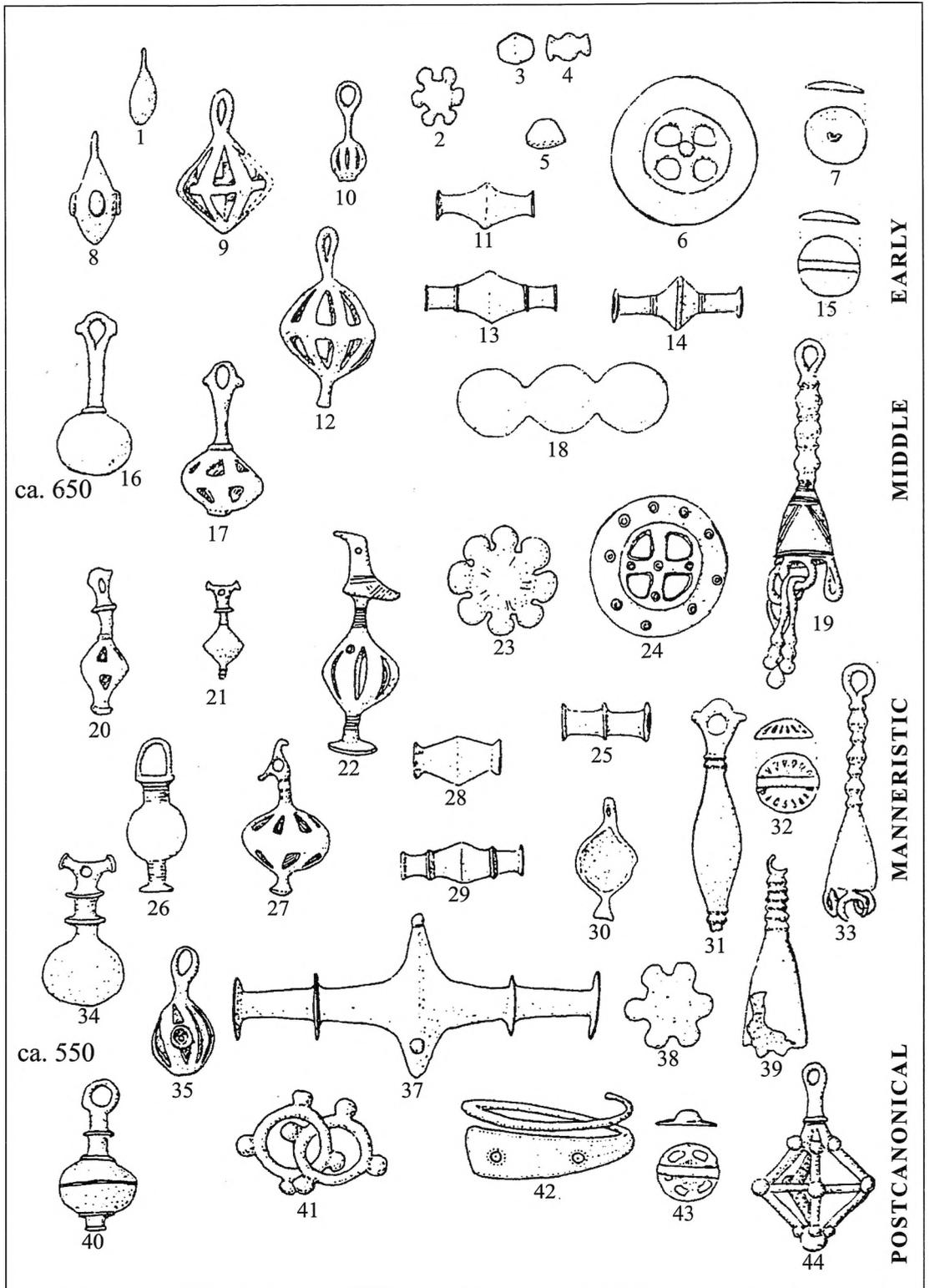


Fig. 2. Development of Macedonian bronzes: bird cage and globe pendants, birds, plaques, arm rings and bell pendants. After MB I, completed

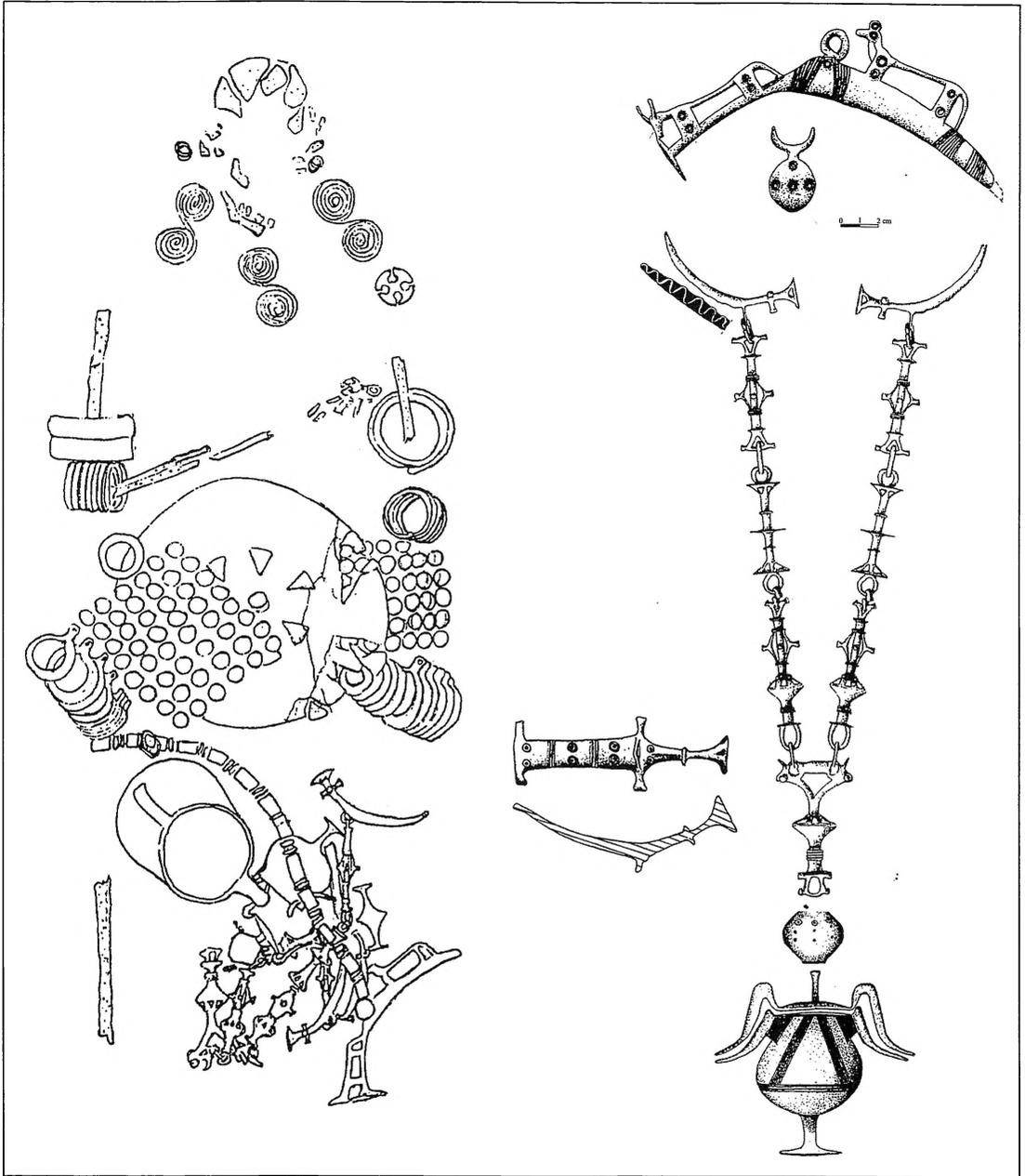


Fig. 3. Grave of a Macedonian priestess at Marvinci, After Mitrevski 1998

The first (rather limited) links of Macedonian bronzes with proper Greece attested in more sophisticated objects date from the 8th century B.C.¹⁴ The prototype of the drinkers sitting on “jug-stoppers” seem to have been the Peloponnesian flute-players

¹⁴ Bouzek 1997, 200-201.

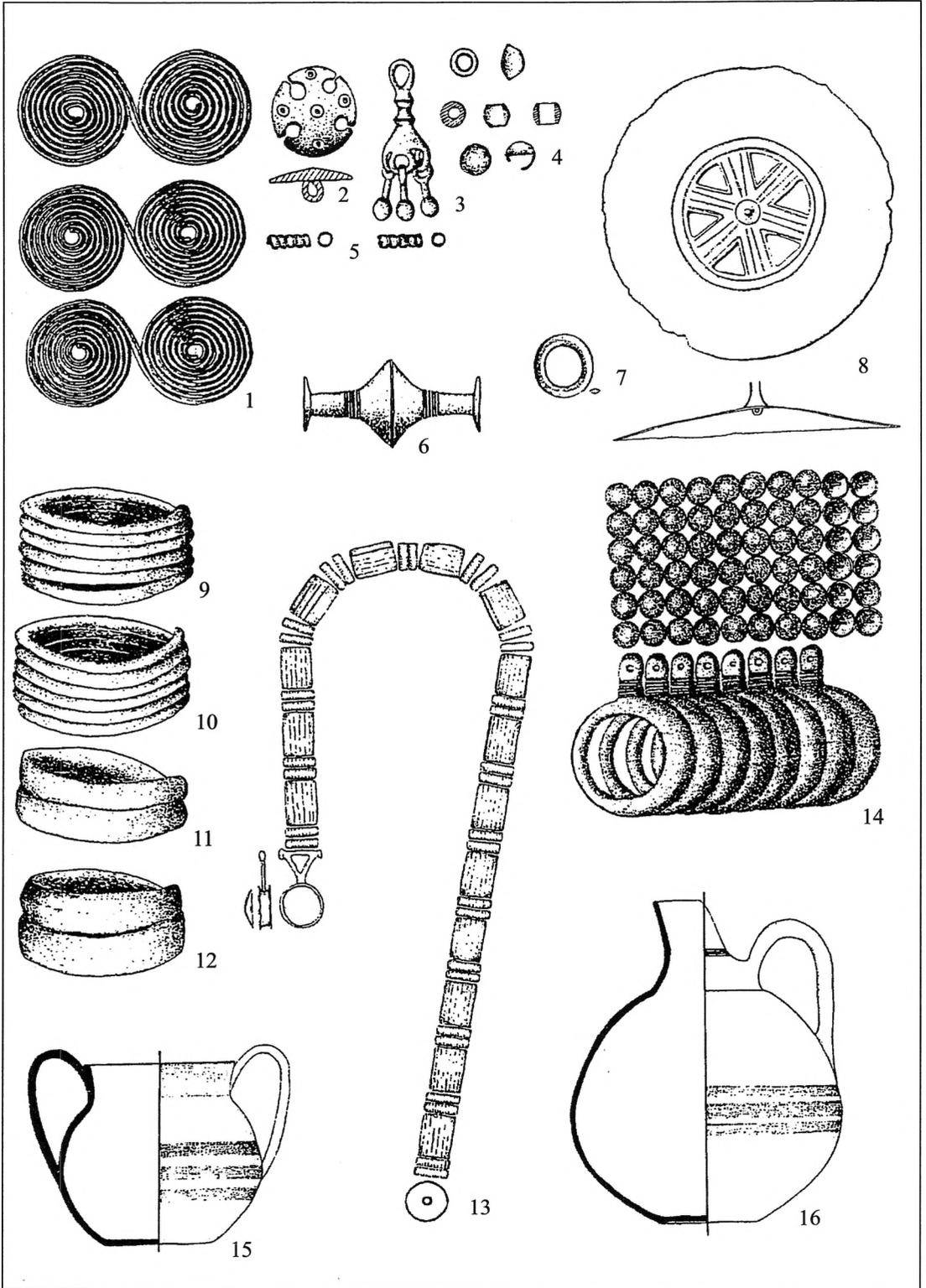


Fig. 4. Objects from the grave of a Macedonian priestess at Marvinci, after Mitrevski 1998

rather than the faience monkeys;¹⁵ one similar smith was found as far north as at Vranište near Bela Palanka in Serbia.¹⁶ Some 8th century B.C. Macedonian bronzes also found their way into various Greek sanctuaries.¹⁷

The Middle Stage is now very well represented in all cemeteries newly excavated.¹⁸ Pyxis pendants comparable to the beginnings of this stage were found in Samos in a context dating c. 730-670 B.C., most probably ca. 700 B.C.¹⁹ The Middle Stage is the period in which the production expanded and when the first Greek impacts were felt more clearly in the stylisation of birds and horses. Both derive ultimately from Corinthian artistic tradition, but were probably transmitted via Chalcidice and Thessaly. New excavations in Greece²⁰ and in the Republic of Macedonia revealed many items of this stage.²¹ Z. Videski (2004) published in the exhibition catalogue also new, previously unknown varieties, of which the spoon pendant from Glos, Grčište, the pyxis pendant with suspended bird cages cat. no. 130 from Suva Reka - Gevgelija, the double-bird or horse (?) cat. no. 131 from Lisičin Dol - Marvinci, the double bird

¹⁵ MB I, 79-80; MB II, 51; K. Schefold called them kobolds, ancient forerunners of satyrs (Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst 127, no. 50); S. Langdon, From monkey to man, the evolution of a Geometric sculptural type, *AJA* 94, 47-54, derives them from apes, but there are hardly any connecting links. Even if there might have been some iconographic inspiration, the shamanistic imagination characteristic for Macedonian bronzes was nearer to bears; apes would be out of context here. This seems to apply also to her interpretation of Italic amber figurines of a similar character, where an inspiration from Phoenician or Egyptian faience figurines is more plausible; Cf. J. Bouzek, Some new aspects of the amber trade and the use of amber during the LBA and EIA ages, in *Miscellanea Archaeologica T. Malinowski dedicate, Slupsk-Poznań* 1993, 61-63.

¹⁶ L. Popović, *Catalogue Greek-Illyrian Treasures Treasures from Yugoslavia*, Sheffield 1974, 37 no. 170 pl. 16.

¹⁷ A list MB II, 299-307, addenda MB IV, 46-59 and MB V, 49-59.

¹⁸ Cf. esp. D. Mitrevski, *Dedeli*, 1991 and *Karakteristični formi na Makedonski bronzi od naogalištata po dolinata na Vardar*, *Macedoniae acta archaeol.* 9, 1988, 83-102; Z. Videski, *Makedonski bronzi* 2004, Id. *Lisičin Dol - Marvinci, nekropola od železnoto vreme (istraživanja 1997)*, *Macedoniae acta archaeol.* 15, 1996-7 (1998), 91-111; For other preliminary reports cf. Georgijev Z., *Grobot 31/35 od nekropolata Milci kaj Gevgelija*, *Zbornik Skopje* 10-11 (1979-82), 65-72; Id., *Karakterot i značenjeto na vongrobnite naodi vo južnovardarskite nekropoli od železnoto vreme*, *Macedoniae acta archaeol.* 6, 1987, 37-53; Pašić R., *Arheološki ispitivanja na lokalitetot Suva Reka vo Gevgelija*, *Zbornik Skopje* 8-9, 1975-8, 21-52; Id., *Nekropolata od postaroto železno vreme vo seloto Dedeli kaj Valandovo*, *Zbornik Skopje* 10-11, 1979-82, 61-64.

¹⁹ Cf. U. Gehrig, *Die geometrischen Bronzen aus Samos*, Hamburg 1964, 24-25 and MB I, 165 and 173.

²⁰ At Agrosykia near Giannitsa, A. Chrysostomou, *Nekrotafeio tis epochis Siderou stin Agrosykia Giannitson*, *AEMT* 5, 1991 (1994), 127-136, are important especially the "anchor" object fig. 10 and a belt with ring pendants (p. 133, fig. 3); Nice jugs-stoppers of the middle stage were found at Aiani (G. Karamitriou-Mentessidi, *AEMT* 3, 1988, 48, 54, fig. 1), Apidea and Kastoria (G. Tsongarides, *AEMT* 11, 1997, 25), Mavropygi (Ead., *AEMT* 12 1998, 368: 34, "anchor" objects in Agrosykia near Giannitsa (A. Chrysostomou, *AEMT* 5, 1991, 127-136), similar in openwork with bird finials at Axioupolis (former Bohemitsa), Th. Stavropoulou, *AAA* 21, 1988, 91-101; Cf. also the new survey of the Axiou valley in Greece by Th. Savvapoulou, *He periochi tou Axiou sten proime epoche to siderou*, in: H. Chr. Stambolides - A. Giannikoure, *To Aigaio sten proimie epoche tou siderou*, Acts of the Rhodos conference 2002, publ. Athens 2004, 307-316.

²¹ For a general survey of Macedonian bronzes from Bottiaea and Almopia cf. A. Chrysostomou, *Archaic Macedonia* 8, 259-280, with a chart of sites indicating where the items have been found.

with axe cat. no. 140 from Milci, Gevgelia, and the handled bowl pendant cat. no. 169 from Milci, Gevgelia, deserve particular attention.

The late (Manneristic) phase started in the Axios valley with Gevgelia groups A and B and with the Veles bronzes in the Benaki museum,²² while it is also well represented in the new finds from the Macedonian Republic, only partly published as yet. The Kuç i Zi necropolis with mainly late Macedonian bronzes has been published by Zh. Andrea and M. Korkuti.²³ All these finds represent the western branch of the production, while the eastern province is best known from the Chalcidice: from the finds from Trilophon - Messiméry in the Stathatos collection and in the Benaki Museum, from the lots reputedly found at Amphipolis and in other places in Eastern Macedonia, or from other objects in private and public collections with no known provenance at all.²⁴ As for chronology, the Megara Hyblaea grave 660 gives a good date for the beginnings of the late stage.²⁵ The photograph published by K. Kilian shows that the alabastron is Late Protocorinthian or Transitional, so the date around 640-30 seems to be the most suitable for other contents of the grave as well. The quatrefoil aryballos from Olynthus grave 616 dates from the second quarter of the 6th century, while the Aivasil grave with late bronzes is of similar date.²⁶ A grave uncovered at Aedonochorion near Drama with a G type bead and a ring with protrusions contained an amphoriskos dating from the second quarter of the 6th century as well, while a similar date can be given to the lot in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung in Munich, said to have come from a grave between Kavalla and Drama, with C, E and F beads and with a late drop-shaped pendant.²⁷

²² Cf. now also I. Vokotopoulou, *Oi tafikoi tymboi tis Aineas*, Athens 1990, grave 5, pl. 6, (late 6th century: bead, openwork roundels, rings) and grave 6, pl. 63, cas. 500 B.C. pendants, beads, rings); Other lots Asomata near Veria A. Koukounou, AEMT 14, 2000, 572 fig. 2 (bird-cage pendant); Nea Zoe near Edessa (A. Chrysostomou, AEMT 7, 1993, 121-122 (pendants and beads); A. Athanasios in Thessaly (A. Tsimpidou-Aulonti, AEMT 7, 1993, 264, bracelet); Aeneia (E, CV, Tsigarida, AEMT 8, 1994, 221 (pendants, beads and rings); Vergina (bead, Falakris, AEMT 8, 1994, 124); Phagres in Pieria (A. Nikolaidou-Patera, AEMT 10, 1996, 846, bird on cage); Nea Zoni (A. Chrysostomou, AEMT 11, 1997, 153, full-globe pendants); Trapeza Lembet (A. Lioula - E. Gioula, AEMT 11, 1997, 326 (rings, spectacle fibula, finger-rings); Interesting is also a Thracian axe pendant from Anchialos, Double Table (M. Tiverios et alii, AEMT 11, 1997, 304).

²³ Zh. Andrea, *Kultura Ilire e tumave në Pellgun e Korcës*, Tirana, 198, cf. also M. Korkuti, *Iliria* 1985. The collective tumuli are large (14-43 m in diameter), and the foundations usually of stones. Pit graves, cist and urn burials exist side by side. His phase Barç II contains some LH III C pottery and is dated by him c. 1200-750, his phase Barç IV (c. 750-580) includes graves with Macedonian bronzes (like Kuç i Zi tumulus I). Cf. also the catalogue *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Lande der Shkipetaren*, 1988, which gives in figs. 66-78, 80-82 excellent illustrations of Macedonian bronzes from Kuç i Zi and other localities in Albania, and M. Korkuti, *Iliria* 1995/1-2, 119-148.

²⁴ Cf. MB VII, and *Orient und frühes Griechenland*, Basel 1990, nos. 10-12 (jug, pyxis pendant, bracelet. Another gold bead comes from Koukou in the Chalcidice (Arch. Rep. 1987/88, 49 fig. 56).

²⁵ Cf. MB II, 306; MB IV, 41 and MB VII.

²⁶ Aivasil Gardner, *BSA* 23, 1918, 19-24; Olynthus X, 66, 121 and Olynthus V, pl. 44: 3; MB I, 166 and 175 fig. 38. The majority of other beads found at Olynthus also date from the 6th century B.C.

²⁷ K. Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, pls. 7 and 33; MB IV, 42, fig. 2: 1-12 satyr presented with a lot of 6th century Macedonian bronzes to the Ashmolean museum by Prof. Herbert Cahn (M. Vickers, *Arch. Rep.* 1974/75, 33, fig. 12) also suggests a similar date.

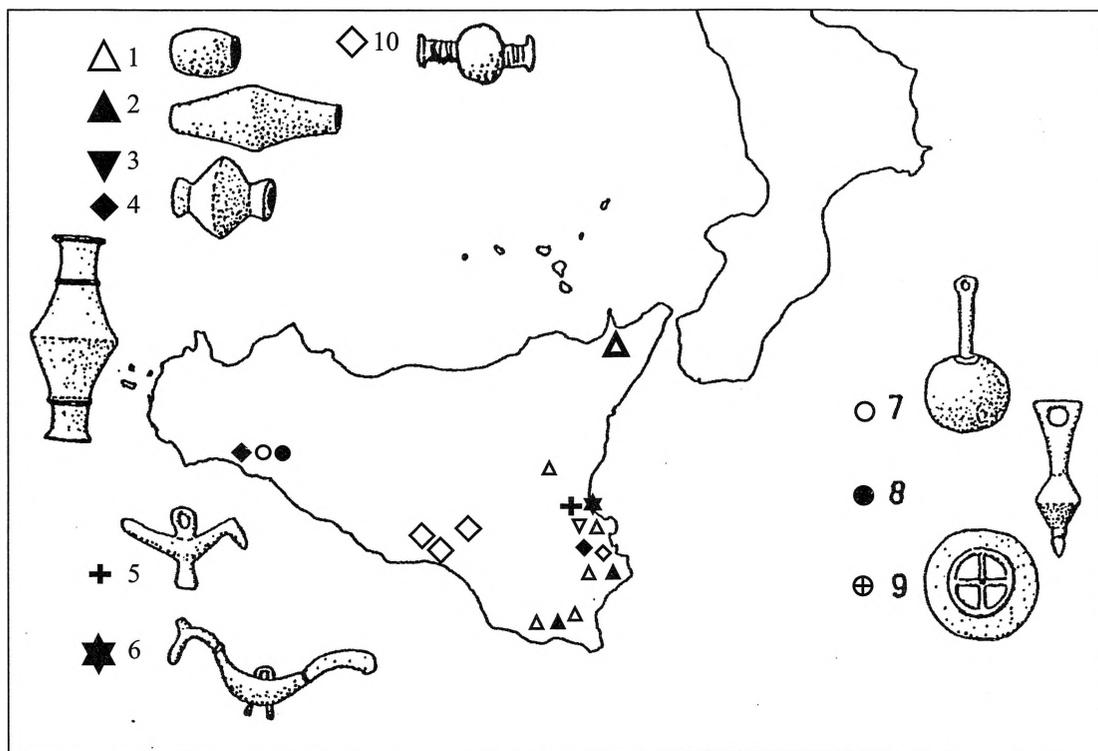
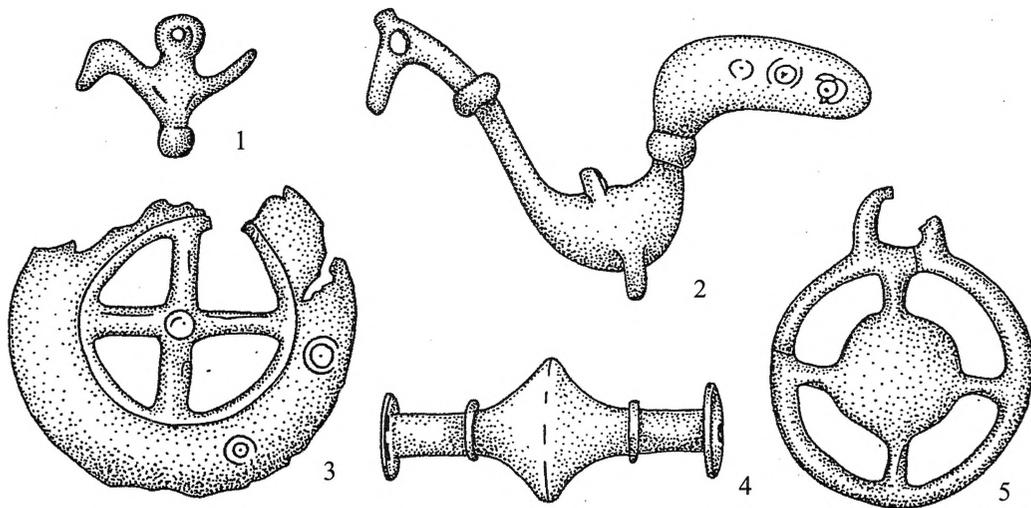


Fig. 5. Objects from grave of a Macedonia priestess at Megara Hyblaea and distribution of Macedonian and related beads in Sicily. After MB VI, completed



Fig. 6. Distribution of Macedonia beads. After MB III and IV, completed

In the second part of the 6th century bronze ornaments went out of fashion, though some last remnants were in use until early 5th century,²⁸ and they have descendants in the western Balkans reaching even the La Tène fashion (jug-stoppers, beads).²⁹

²⁸ For ex. W. L. Cuttle, *BSA* 27, 1926-27, 239 pl. 16: 10; A. Hochstätter, *Kastanas - Die Kleinfunde*, Berlin 1987, 37, pl. 3: 2. Another bead has also been found at Pistiros, allegedly in early 5th century B.C. context.

²⁹ Cf. MB I, 83-86 and 118-120.

Macedonian bronzes of the Middle and Late Stages and their imitations are known from the main Peloponnesian sanctuaries, from Samos, Ephesus,³⁰ Rhodes and (partly) Thessaly, while the late Macedonian bronzes are common in Central Greece, Ithaca, Olympia and the eastern Aegean.³¹ The East Macedonian manneristic bronzes were less frequently exported, though one of the jug-stoppers found its way as far north as to Donja Dolina in northern Bosnia, and beads have been found even in Hungary.³²

The big bronze beads were apparently worn in heavy colliers in Macedonia. Elsewhere they are less common in sets (as are also their local imitations), but they enjoyed the largest distribution of all Macedonian bronzes.

All Macedonian bronzes were apparently considered to be of some magical, talismanic character, which made them popular as gifts to sanctuaries. In the grave of a Paeonian priestess (or witch?) at Marvinci with a full set of bronze "jewellery" the pyxis contained opium, what may well be the general use of these vessels.³³ The most plausible explanation of the jug stoppers is that they represent the shaman (or rather shamaness?),³⁴ while drinking his or her magic potion and magically climbing a tree.³⁵ These objects have parallels also in modern shamanistic rituals and also analogies for other objects from the East where shamanistic rituals were common. Macedonian and related Thessalian bronzes frequently appear as gifts in Thessalian sanctuaries,³⁶ in a country famous for its witches and sorcerers during the whole of Classical antiquity.³⁷

At Pithekoussai they were apparently put into graves of the second generation as talismanic items, perhaps by mothers to her prematurely died children. Grave 660 of Megara Hyblaea many well have been one of a priestess or witch. These ladies apparently came with the colonists from Macedonia to Magna Graecia and prolonged their religious activities there.³⁸

³⁰ For Ephesus and parallels cf. now esp. A. Muss, *Das Artemision von Ephesos - Wege von und nach Westen*, in: *Akten des Symposions Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer, Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen*, 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr., Wien 1999 (2000); eds. V. Gassner, M. Kerschner, U. Muss, G. Wlach, eds. pp. 149-155, and G. Klebinder-Gauss, *Bronzeschmuck aus dem Artemision von Ephesos*, in: *Anodos, Studies of the Ancient World III*, Trnava 2003 (2004), 109-116.

³¹ Cf. MB II and the lists composed by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, *Jb RGZM Mainz* 32, 1985, 215-253, and also note 33. The Macedonian bronzes were as common in Greece as the Italic imports.

³² Surveys in MB II, 293-306, with addenda MB IV, 46-58.

³³ D. Mitrevski, *Grobot na pajonskata sveštenička od Marvinci - prilog kon vrednuvanjeto na pajonskata religija na železnoto vreme*, *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 15, 1996-97 (1998), 69-88.

³⁴ In Eastern Asia, (like e.g. in Korea) the shamanistic rituals are performed by women. In Siberia the shamans are men, but they dress as women and call themselves in the feminine form as "she".

³⁵ Cf. notes 10 and 19.

³⁶ Cf. now I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Kleinfunde aus dem Itonia-Heiligtum bei Philia (Thessalien)*, Bonn 2003, pls. 61-65.

³⁷ D. Metzler, *Festschrift Schüle 1982*, 75-82; Bouzek-Ondřejová, *La tradition caucasienne, hall-stattienne et cimmérienne dans l'orfèvrerie archaïque*, *Thracia Pontica* 4, 1988 (1991), 51-58; Bouzek 1997, 38-39. Cf., also N. Čausidis, *The symbolic and cult use of Macedonian bronzes*, *Živa Antika* 38, 1988, 69-89.

³⁸ Cf. MB IV, 57-58, MB VII and V. Pingel, *Balkanische Bronzen der älteren Bronzezeit in Sizilien und Unteritalien*, *Situla* 20/21 1980, 165-175; R. Pace, *Les objets en bronze du site de Cozzo Michelichio (CS)*, *MEFRA* 113, 2001, 33-69 (Dalmatian and Macedonian).

Macedonian bronzes were mainly produced and worn by the Paeonians in the Vardar valley and by the south-western Thracians, notably by the Edonians, known from their alliance with the Cimmerians mentioned above, while their neighbours (Mygdonians, Crestonians and the smaller tribes on the Chalcidice) also participated. In the second half of the 6th century the bronze items were largely replaced by gold and silver jewellery, but earlier the bronze pendants and beads represented the noble aristocratic women in the whole area; the aristocratic class had similar taste and values in all the areas of the tribal kingdoms mentioned, as was the case with gold and silver jewellery of late 6th and 5th century B.C., known from Sindos and Trebenište.³⁹ In Pieria, the centre of the Macedonian kingdom, only a few items were found, while there was much more response to the Macedonian style in Thessaly in the workshops producing votive offerings for Thessalian sanctuaries at Pherai, Philia and even at Kalapodi further south.⁴⁰

The Macedonian bronzes enriched the vocabulary of Early Greek artists at a time when they eagerly took over much inspiration from various parts of the world. Their links with Dionysiac rituals of drinking and some links with shamanism many also have influenced Greek religion of the time. On the other hand, they became the models for production of bronze jewellery in other cultural groups in the central Balkans. Some items found their way as far north as to Hungary, where they appear in graves of the nomadic Szentes-Vekerzug culture, and to Donja Dolina in northern Bosnia.

Chalcidice and its vicinity had several Greek colonies; the first of them was Torone, founded already in the Submycenaean period, but their number much enlarged in the second half of the 8th and 7th century B.C. These colonies apparently transmitted Greek artistic achievements to the north, but also the elements of Thracian, Macedonian, Paionian and Molossian artistic features to the south. They were apparently connected with some religious ideas and rituals. The Greek had much admiration of the religion of their northern neighbours. The priestly families of main Greek mystery sanctuaries claimed Thracian origin, like at Eleusis, Dionysus and orphic teachings came to Greece from the north; even Apollo had strong links with his Hyperboreans. The priestess from Marvinci (Figs. 3-4) and another from Megara Hyblaea (Fig. 5 above) were carrying a similar religious message, even for the Greeks in the colonial outposts. The literary traditions on itinerant magicians and diviners, and also those on shamanism⁴¹ find thus parallels among archaeological finds.

Archaic Greece owed much to its eastern neighbours, but also to impulses from the north, among them from the area where the studies of Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova were concentrated and where her *Festschrift* will be published.

³⁹ Cf. Bouzek- Ondřejová, Sindos - Trebenište - Duvanli, *Interrelations between Thrace, Macedonia and Greece in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.*, *Mediterranean Archaeology* I, 1988, 84-94.

⁴⁰ Cf. the lists in MB II, and Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Die Anhänger in Griechenland* (note 31).

⁴¹ Cf. W. Burkert, *Itinerant diviners and magicians, A neglected element in cultural contacts*, in: *Greek Renaissance in the 8th century B.C.*, *Symposium at the Swedisch Institute* 1981, Stockholm 1983, 115-119, and Id., *Zum griechischen Schamanismus*, *Rheinisches Museum* 105, 1962, 36-55.

Abbreviations

AAA	Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon
Arch. Ef.	Archaeologike Efemeris
Arch. Delt.	Archaiologikon Deltion
AEMT	To Archaiologiko Ergo ex Makedonias kai Thrakes
Bouzek 1997	J. Bouzek, Greece, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations during the Early Iron Age, <i>Jonsered</i>
MB I: J. Bouzek,	Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes, Analysis and Chronology, Prague 1974
MB II. Id.,	Macedonian Bronzes: their origins, distribution and relation to other cultural groups of the Early Iron Age, <i>Památky archeologické</i> 65 1974, 278-341
MB III: Id.,	Macedonian Bronzes and history, <i>Graecolatina Pragensia</i> 7 1976, 39-62
MB IV: Id.,	Addenda to Macedonian Bronzes, <i>Eirene</i> 18 1982, 35-60
MB V: Id.,	Thessalian and Macedonian bronzes, Macedonian beads, <i>Graecolatina Pragensia</i> 11 1987 (1989), 77-101
MB VI: Id.,	Macedonian and Thessalian Bronzes, <i>Efemeris Archaiologike</i> 1988, 47-60
MB VII: Id.,	Makedonische Bronzen in Italien, in <i>Akten des Symposions Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer, Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen, 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr.</i> , Wien 1999 (2000), eds. V. Gassner, M. Kerschner, U. Muss, G. Wlach, 363-369
MEFRA	Mélanges d'École Française d'Archéologie à Rome, <i>Antiquité</i>
Mitrevski D.,	Dedeli: D. Mitrevski, Dedeli, nekropola od železnoto vreme vo Dolno Povardarje, Skopje 1991
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift
Videski Z.,	Makedonski bronzi: Z. Videski, Makedonski bronzi - Macedonian Bronzes, Exhibition catalogue, Skopje 2004