Herodotus and his World

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Edited by
PETER DEROW AND ROBERT PARKER

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I. HERODOTOΣ’ MACEDONIAN LOGOS

‘This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdikkas who acquired the kingship of the Makedones in the following manner. Three exiles from Argos came to the Illyrians—three brothers they were of the line of Temenos, named Gauanes, Aeropos, and Perdikkas—and from the Illyrians they crossed over into Upper Macedonia and they came to a town Lebaia. There they served for wages as thralls in the king’s household, one tending horses, another oxen, and the youngest of them, Perdikkas, the lesser stock. The king’s wife cooked their food herself; for in olden days the royal families among men and not the common people only were lacking in money. Whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdikkas rose to twice its size. Seeing that it always happened so, she told her husband; and as soon as he heard that, it struck him that it was a portent and signified something important. So he sent for the thralls and bade them leave his territory. But they said they had a right to be given their wages before they departed. When the king heard them speak of wages, as the sun was shining into the house through the smoke-vent, he said “That’s the wage you deserve and that’s what I give you”, indicating the sunlight; for he was crazed by a god. Gauanes and Aeropos, who were the older, stood horrified on hearing that; but the boy, happening to have a knife on him, said “We accept what you give, O king” and drew a line around the sunlight on the floor with his knife; which done, he gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment three times and went away, he and his companions.
‘So they departed, but one of the king’s advisers explained what it was that the boy had done and how it was with intent that the youngest had accepted the proffered gift. On hearing this the king was enraged, and he sent some horsemen after them to kill them. Now there is a river in that land to which the descendants of these men from Argos make sacrifice as their deliverer. This river, when the Temenidai had crossed over, rose in such a spate that the horsemen could not cross through it. The brothers came to another land of Macedonia and lived close to the gardens, as they are called, of Midas, son of Gordios, in which roses grow of their own accord, each one with sixty petals, and they surpass all other roses in fragrance. In these gardens too the Silenos was caught, so it is said by the Makedones; above the gardens stands a mountain called Bermion, impassable in wintry weather. When they had acquired possession of this land, they issued forth from it and began to subdue the rest of Macedonia as well.’

The Macedonian logos of Herodotos has for generations delighted simple readers, while fascinating and at the same time embarrassing historians, geographers, and ethnologists, for it is the most ancient but also the most allusive account of the origins of the Macedonians and of the foundation of the Temenid kingdom. Is it just a piece of antique folklore or, conversely, of late propaganda without any historical value, or does it preserve, albeit in mythical form, a unique record of early Macedonian history?

And, if we are to give it any credence, whence came the three brothers? Where was Lebaia? Where was the ‘other land of Macedonia’, ‘close to the gardens, as they are called, of Midas’? Where was ‘the rest of Macedonia’? Such are the issues which Herodotos leaves in suspense and which I shall try to address, examining them in reverse order.
The traditional and—I must admit—obvious answer to the last two questions used to be that ‘the rest of Macedonia’ referred to the later conquests of the Macedonians after the foundation of the kingdom of Aigeai and that ‘the other land of Macedonia’ close to the gardens of Midas was precisely Edessa and the region around it, where, as it was thought, Aigeai, the new capital, was established. Lyrical descriptions of the site usually accompanied the identification of Edessa with Aigeai. ‘Vodhenâ, in the grandeur of its situation, in the magnificence of the surrounding objects, and the extent of the rich prospect which it commands, is not inferior to any situation in Greece . . . There cannot be a doubt that this is the site of Aegae, or Edessa, the ancient capital of Macedonia . . .’ wrote W. M. Leake. Was it not, after all, ‘the most magnificent plateau ever to house a city’? Could one find anywhere else ‘waters more clear and more pure, air more wholesome in winter, fresher in summer’? Did not its gardens and orchards, full of flowers and trees, make it a real paradise, the place in all Macedonia that corresponded best to Herodotos’ description of the garden of Midas, with its roses growing of their own accord? Illyria, Upper Macedonia, Edessa (through Eordaia), Pella and finally Thessalonike, did they not perfectly trace in a straight line the spatial as well as the temporal evolution of the Macedonian people? One can understand the passionate reactions first to N. G. L. Hammond’s suggestion and then to M. Andronikos’s confirmation that the first Macedonian capital was not to be sought at or near Edessa but between the modern villages of Vergina and Palatitsia. But if the other land of Macedonia close to the gardens of Midas was not near Edessa, where was it and what did Herodotos mean by ‘the rest of Macedonia’?

It was up to Hammond, who had caused the upheaval in the then small world of Macedonian scholars, to provide the answer. This he

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8 Leake (1835: 271-2).
9 Delacoulonche (1858: 9).
Miltiades Hatzopoulos

did in several stages, initially in his communication to the first international symposium on Ancient Macedonia held in 1968, then in the two volumes of his *History of Macedonia*, published respectively in 1972 and 1979, still later in the second edition of the third volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, published in 1982, and finally in *The Macedonian State* in 1989. In a first approximation he located Lebaia and the Macedonian homeland in the mountains of Pieria. In the *History of Macedonia* volumes he reconstructed the movements of the Temenid brothers as follows: from the Makedonis, not far from Vergina, where Lebaia lay, the three brothers took refuge in the area around Naoussa, where were the gardens of Midas, returned thence to Lebaia to win the throne, fulfilling thus the portent of the breads and the sun, and advanced from there to conquer first ‘the area containing Midas’ garden’ and then the rest of Macedonia. The river to which the descendants of the three brothers still sacrificed in the time of Herodotos Hammond identified with Beres, which in his opinion is none other than the Tripotamos, the river of Beroia. In his contribution to the third volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Hammond defined more precisely the homeland of the Makedones as the region ‘bounded in the south by Kato Olympos, on the west by the Volustana Pass and the Haliacmon river, and on the north by the spur of Mt. Bermium which runs along the southern side of the great plain towards the mouth of the Haliacmon’, which he distinguished, as being less large, from Herodotos’ Makedonis. Rather incidentally he added that Lebaia was perhaps ‘similar to Palaiogratsiano, where much Grey Ware has been found’.

Meanwhile M. Zahrnt, in a fundamental study on the evolution of the Macedonian kingdom up to the Persian Wars, proposed to locate the gardens of Midas in the eastern foothills of Mt. Bermion, to identify the unnamed river with the Haliakmon and, following a suggestion of K. Rosen, to place Herodotos’ Upper Macedonia not to the

14 Hammond (1982: 281). Such a reconstruction raises several objections. The duplication of the three brothers’ movements between Lebaia and the gardens of Midas is difficult to justify. Moreover, Beres is not attested as a river. Apparently there is a confusion with Olganos, usually identified with the river Arapitsa by Naoussa (cf. Zahrnt (1984: 346, n. 67)). Finally, a further problem is created by Hammond’s location of Lebaia in Makedonis, whatever its exact situation (see the discussion by Zahrnt (1984: 352-5)), for, as Fanoula Papazoglou (1988: 133, n. 61) rightly remarks, *Herodotos expressis verbis* places Lebaia not in a region of such a name but in Upper Macedonia.

Topography of the Haliakmon Valley

west of Mt. Bermion but on the Pierian Mountains north of Mount Olympus.\textsuperscript{16} Thus ‘the other land of Macedonia’ would be the area between Mt. Bermion and the Haliakmon and ‘the rest of Macedonia’, the lands beyond. Zahrt’s location of Upper Macedonia on the western slopes of the Pierian Mountains could find unambiguous confirmation in two other passages of Herodotos:\textsuperscript{17}

[Ξέρξης] τὴν ἄνω ἄδον ἐμελλε ἐλάν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε αἰκημένων ἐστε Περραβιῶν παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν \textsuperscript{(7. 128. 1)}

[Xerxes] was minded to march by the upper road through the highland people of Macedonia to the country of the Perrhaebi and the town of Gonnus.

\[\text{ως ἐπίθουντο [οἱ Ἑλληνες] καὶ ἄλλην ἕοςαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσαλοῦς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραβίων κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ ὅη καὶ ἐσβάλε ἡ στρατιά ἡ Ξέρξεω} \textsuperscript{(7. 173. 4)}

since they were informed [the Greeks] that there was another pass leading into Thessaly by the hill country of Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi, near the town of Gonnus; which indeed was the way whereby Xerxes’ army descended on Thessaly.

These two passages leave no doubt that Herodotos considered the route opened by the Persians through the Petra pass over the Pierian mountains as cutting through Upper Macedonian territory.

3. \textit{Άνω Μακεδονίη, HERODOTOS’ Λεβαίη AND EPIGRAPHIC Λεβία}

Previous speculation about the relationship between Makedonis and Upper Macedonia and the location of Lebaia became suddenly obsolete after the discovery of two manumission inscriptions from the sanctuary of the Autochthonous Mother of the Gods at Leukopetra mentioning a village Aleb(a)ia. Ph. Petsas rightly observed that, if this was, as he believed, the mythical Lebaia of Herodotos, we needed to reconsider the stages of the Temenid brothers’ progression from Illyria to the gardens of Midas.\textsuperscript{18} Hammond, who so far is the only scholar to have taken into account this new development in his interpretation of Herodotos’ \textit{makedonikos logos},\textsuperscript{19} writes in his \textit{Macedonian

\textsuperscript{16} Zahrt (1984: 346-7).
\textsuperscript{17} Cf. Zahrt (1984: 353), with references.
\textsuperscript{19} Cf., however, Papazoglou (1988: 251).
State published in 1989, ten years after the second volume of his History of Macedonia: 'Where was Lebaea? An answer was provided recently by the discovery of an inscription which recorded the dedication of a liberated slave to "the autochthonous Mother of the Gods at Alebea, a village attached to Elimea", a city of which we know the location. If Lebaea and Alebea are the same place, which is probable, we can put Lebaea in the western part of Pieria. This is consistent with our knowledge that the early home of the Macedonians was around Pieria and Olympus . . .' Hammond's location of Lebaia, although substantially correct, can be further qualified in the light of the complete Leukopetra corpus which is now available.

The sanctuary of the Autochthonous Mother of the Gods was accidentally discovered in 1965 on the wooded slopes of Mt. Bermion overhanging Leukopetra, a village situated near the 13th kilometre of the national road leading from Beroia to Kozani through the pass of Kastania. From the site of the sanctuary there opens a magnificent vista towards the gorge of the Haliakmon and the Pierian Mountains, which rise abrupt and impassable on the opposite bank of the river. In fact, on both banks of the Haliakmon roads and shepherds' paths wind up and down at a safe distance from the waters, which, before the creation of the artificial lake, could wax dangerously in time of flood. On one of those paths, frequented since time immemorial by transhumant shepherds who drove their flocks from the plains of Bottia and the uplands of Elemia and Eordaia to the summer pastures of Bermion early in May or returned to the plains in late October, there rose in the middle of the second century AD a small prostyle temple, a tangible and recent expression of an undoubtedly much older piety. A report on an unfinished and never properly published excavation mentions only architectural remains, inscriptions and coins. The beginning of the construction of the temple does not seem to have occurred much earlier than AD 171/2, but the oldest inscription is some thirty years older (AD 141/2). The coins extend from the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-61) to that of Arcadius (AD 395-408). But we have no information whatsoever about pottery, the evidence of which would have particular weight, since shepherds generally have little to do with monumental writing and the monetary economy. What is certain is that on the slopes and the foothills of the Pierian Mountains, Mt. Bermion and Mt. Barnous, meeting place of shepherds and flocks, the Great Goddess of the mountains,
under her motherly or virginal aspect, as well as her male companion, received a cult probably dating from before the arrival of the Macedonians in these parts.\textsuperscript{22}

The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods has so far yielded nearly 200 inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions engraved on architectural members (columns, antae, epistylium, etc.), altars, tables, stelae, etc.\textsuperscript{23} They are mostly manumissions by consecration-donation to the Mother of the Gods. These deeds always mention (1) the donor’s name and other information about him, (2) the name of the divinity, (3) the name of the person or persons offered to the Goddess along with other information about him or her, as well as, often, (4) the date and sometimes the place where the deed was enacted, (5) additional information concerning the persons implicated in the deed, (6) indications about the motives and the conditions of the deed, (7) details about the fate and the obligations of the persons donated, (8) clauses aiming at the protection of these persons, (9) details on the procedures and rules followed for the drawing of the deed, (10) sometimes, an invocation to Good Fortune and (11) very rarely, a salutation. It should be added that the inscribed texts are extracts or summaries of the official deeds written on perishable materials. Finally, the inscription sometimes reproduces a letter sent by the donor to the Goddess, which replaces the deed of donation.\textsuperscript{24}

The inscriptions from the sanctuary of Leukopetra mention several place-names and ethnika, all of which, with one exception (Kyzikos), belong to Macedonia and in the first place to Beroia and its territory. The remainder, again with one exception (Pelegonike), concern, as is to be expected, communities in the vicinity of Beroia. The most distant one is Kyrrhos in northern Bottia. All the others bordered with the territory of Beroia.\textsuperscript{25} Should it come as a surprise that all the places implicated in the saga of the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom are mentioned? In March 225 a certain Ailia Ioulia Pataikia consecrated a slave whom she had raised from birth in the territory of Mieza.\textsuperscript{26} This city, between the modern villages of Leukadia and Kopanos, is situated in the area where some scholars now locate the gardens of Midas.\textsuperscript{27} In October 229 a certain Aurelia Lysimache consecrated a female slave whom she had bought from Attilios and

\textsuperscript{22} Leukopétra 28–32.  
\textsuperscript{23} Leukopétra 75–78.  
\textsuperscript{24} Leukopétra 38–60.  
\textsuperscript{25} Leukopétra 24–5.  
\textsuperscript{26} Leukopétra 135–36, no. 71.  
\textsuperscript{27} Cf. Rhomiopoulou (1997: 6).
Kassandra from Aigeai.\textsuperscript{28} In July 253, again at Aigeai, Aurelios Poseidonios declared that he had taken the necessary steps for the manumission of two of his slaves.\textsuperscript{29} These two documents, which strengthened the evidence that the first Macedonian capital was located in the neighbourhood of Beroia and not in distant Edessa, bring us to the heart of Makedonias and to the 'hearth' of the Macedonian kingdom,\textsuperscript{30} the conquest of which, although omitted from the Herodotean logos, marked the beginning of Macedonian history.\textsuperscript{31}

On the opposite (western) side of Mt. Bermion and the Pierian Mountains, in October 239, a certain Aurelia living in a village of Eordaia, the name of which is only partially preserved, consecrated two female slaves whom she had bought at their birth,\textsuperscript{32} while at an unknown date a certain Glauka daughter of Loukios, citizen of Eordaia, had to return to the Goddess a female slave whom she had bought with money borrowed from the sanctuary and which she was unable to reimburse.\textsuperscript{33} However, most of the donors not originating from Beroia or its territory come from Elemia. In 214/15 Aurelios Lysimachos and Aurelia Nikopolis living in the territory of the Elemiotai, in the village Douraioi, after suffering a thousand hardships at the hands of the Mother of the Gods, returned to her a female slave.\textsuperscript{34} In October 244 Aurelios Kassandros living at Bistyrros (?) in Elemia offered to the sanctuary a female slave.\textsuperscript{35} And now what interests us more directly, in 252/3 a certain Aurelios Rouphos living at Alebia, a village of Elemia, donates to the Mother of the Gods a slave and her young daughter.\textsuperscript{36} This allows us to add to the dossier of Elemia a fourth donation, carried out probably in 171/2, by which a certain Phlabios Eutrapelos offered all his belongings situated in Alebaioi (topoi?) to the Mother of the Gods.\textsuperscript{37}

There is no doubt that the preponderance of Elemiots among the non-Beroians at the sanctuary of Leukopetra is due to the fact that it was situated on the route which through the pass of Kastania joined the territory of Elemia to that of Beroia. What remains to be seen is where precisely Lebaia-Alebaia was located.

The new epigraphic evidence definitely settles the matter in favour

\textsuperscript{28} Leukopétrα 136-7, no. 73. 
\textsuperscript{29} Leukopétrα 163-4, no. 103. 
\textsuperscript{30} Diod. Sic. 22. 12. 
\textsuperscript{31} Cf. Leukopétrα 20. 
\textsuperscript{32} Leukopétrα 155-6, no. 94. 
\textsuperscript{33} Leukopétrα 185, no. 134. 
\textsuperscript{34} Leukopétrα 130-1, no. 65. 
\textsuperscript{35} Leukopétrα 160-2, no. 100. 
\textsuperscript{36} Leukopétrα 166, no. 106. 
\textsuperscript{37} Leukopétrα 89-90, no. 12.
of Zahnrnt’s location of Lebaia, not in Makedonis, but in Upper Macedonia, which is in accordance with the testimony of Herodotus. Furthermore, the manumission inscriptions from Leukopetra specify that in Roman times Lebaia was a village of Elemia. The German scholar’s location of the kingdom of Lebaia in the hilly country north of Mt. Olympus as well as Hammond’s later contention that it should be put in the western part of Pieria, can be improved and gain in precision. To begin with, it should be made clear that there never was a city named Elemia. The Elemiotai formed an ethnos of Upper Macedonia, a civic unit equal in status with any of the cities of Lower Macedonia, and their ethnikon, unambiguously attested for the ethnos, cannot at the same time have been that of a city. Moreover, for obvious reasons, a town of Elemia cannot be situated in Pieria. The truth is that Elemia, like the former Ottoman kaza and the current nomos of Kozani, included part of the left bank of the Haliakmon up to the foothills of the Pierian Mountains and as far north as Daskion, where the nomos of Emathia begins. Thus Alebaia might have stood in the foothills of the Pierian Mountains though not in Pieria itself.

The main archaeological site of this general area is Palaiokastron of Velvendos, which has been uninterruptedly inhabited from the late Bronze Age down to the Roman imperial period and which may or may not be identical with the Palaiogratsiano mentioned by Hammond. It is located on a multi-terraced hill, the natural defences of which have been strengthened by a circuit wall. Late Bronze Age kantharoi, Archaic figurines and Corinthian aryballoi, inscriptions and reliefs from the Hellenistic and Roman period with dedications to Zeus Hypsistos, Herakles Kynagidas, Hermes Agoraios, Apollo, etc. have been discovered at Palaiokastron itself or its satellite sites. However, the presence among its finds of the dedication of an agoranomos and of an imperial letter seems to indicate a city rather than a mere kome, such as Alebaia was in Roman times. For this reason, and in view of the site’s position relatively high on the western slopes of the Pierians, I have preferred tentatively to place there one of the inner Pierian cities of Balla or Phylakai and

to propose the identification of Lebaia with the site at Bravas, down by the Haliakmon, from which have been also recovered early Iron Age hand-made pottery, Corinthian aryballoi and archaic amphoriskoi, iron weapons from the late Archaic and early Classical period and abundant Hellenistic and Roman pottery as well as a funerary inscription, a catalogue of names and two dedications to Artemis and to unnamed Epekooi Theoi respectively.\textsuperscript{43} I had also contemplated the possibility that the three brothers might have crossed the Haliakmon in a southward direction and that they had reached the Emathian plain not through the Kastania pass but along the road which from Velvendos leads to Vergina through Polyphyton, Daskion, Rhizomata and Sphekia, which, as Angeliki Kottaridou has shown, has been used by shepherds from time immemorial.\textsuperscript{44} If such were the case, the obvious ancient site for the location of Lebaia would have been at Polymylos, which recent excavations have revealed to be the most important centre of north-eastern Elemia.\textsuperscript{45} The discovery and publication in 1998 of an inscription which named the western gate of Beroia \textit{Eυιαστική}\textsuperscript{46} left no doubt that the site at Polymylos should be identified with Eula,\textsuperscript{47} known from a passage of Diodoros\textsuperscript{48} and a letter of Philip V,\textsuperscript{49} and confirmed\textit{ a contrario} that Lebaia should be sought on the southern bank of the Haliakmon, probably at Bravas, unless the sites at Daskion, some five kilometres to the north-east, which Angeliki Kottaridou has been actively exploring during the last few years, should eventually prove a more promising candidate.\textsuperscript{50}

Now we can easily reconstruct the itinerary of the three Temenid brothers from Bravas (or Daskion) to Polyphyton, fording the Haliakmon near Polymylos and over Mt. Bermion through the Kastania pass and Leukopetra to the Gardens of Midas at or near Beroia.\textsuperscript{51} This was the ‘other land of Macedonia’ which they acquired and from which ‘they issued forth’ and ‘began to subdue the rest of Macedonia as well’. Although Herodotus does not choose to finish his story, there should be no doubt that the first step of the Temenid

\textsuperscript{43} See Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1994\textsuperscript{a}: 41-98; 1994\textsuperscript{b}: 32-3).
\textsuperscript{44} Kottaridou and Brekoulaki (1999: 109-14).
\textsuperscript{45} Karamitrou-Mentesidi and Vatali (1999: 81-92).
\textsuperscript{46} EKMI 41.
\textsuperscript{47} Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1999: 214).
\textsuperscript{48} Diod. Sic. fr. 19. 11. 2.
\textsuperscript{49} EAM 87.
\textsuperscript{50} Kottaridou and Brekoulaki (1999: 110-11).
\textsuperscript{51} Cf. Strabo 7, fr. 25.
expansion he had in mind was the foundation of the new dynastic seat at modern Vergina-Palatitsia, to which Perdikkas and his followers gave the Greek name Aigeai and which became the cradle of the Macedonian kingdom. The fact that Herodotos attributes to Perdikkas the tending of sheep and goats certainly implies that he was aware of the legend according to which goats played a significant part in the foundation of Aigeai and perhaps also that he had heard the oracle of which Diodoros preserves a version: 'The noble Temenidai have royal rule over a wealth-producing land; for it is the gift of aigis-bearing Zeus. But go in haste to the Botteid land, and wherever you see gleaming-horned snow-white goats sunk in sleep, sacrifice to the blessed gods and found the city of your state on the level ground of that land.'

4. BEYOND LEBAIA

The story which Herodotos heard at the Macedonian court was more than a simple narrative of early Macedonian history. It also served the obvious purpose of legitimising the rule of the royal family by establishing a distance and a hierarchy between the common Macedonian and a foreign dynasty of semi-divine descent. Is there any historical truth behind this asserted duality of the Macedonian state? In recent scholarship Hammond has been a staunch supporter of the Argive claim of the Temenid dynasty, but most of his colleagues have rejected it. A rejection of the Argive ancestry, however, need not necessarily entail the rejection of an outside origin of the royal dynasty. The crucial question is who were the inhabitants of the Upper Macedonian kingdom of Lebaia, whom, as the legend implies, the new dynasty led to the conquest of Lower Macedonia. If we judge from conditions reigning in the foothills of Mt. Titarion until its liberation from the Turks less than a century ago, the main industry was transhumant breeding of sheep and goats. The shepherds moved thousands of stock in late April or May from the plains of

53 Hammond and Griffith (1979: 8).
54 Hammond and Griffith (1979: 8), slightly modified.
55 This was the conclusion of Chevutschi (1992); cf. Malkin (1998: 134–55).
Lower Macedonia and Thessaly to the summer pastures of Upper Macedonia and drove them back to the plains in late October, sometimes covering scores of kilometres. For instance, the shepherds of Karitsa in Pieria had their summer pastures at Phteri on Mt. Titarion, those of Kokkinoplos, near ancient Pythion in Thessaly, at Kalyvia Kokkinoplow on Mt. Olympus, while those of Kalyvia Kokovas in Pieria had theirs at Polydendron in Emathia. The Vlachs of Livadi on Mt. Titarion spent the winter in the plains of Elasossa, Katserini, and Servia, where some of them eventually settled. Perhaps it would not be too bold to suppose, as first Ivanka and then Hammond have suggested, that their predecessors of the Geometric and the early Archaic period did the same, moving back and forth between the mountain fastness of the Olympus and the Pierian massifs and the plains of Thessaly, Pieria, and Emathia, until, under a new dynasty, they took the decisive step of settling permanently on the edge of the great Macedonian plain.

Concerning the ethnic affinities of these transhumant shepherds we possess the contemporary testimony of the Hesiodic Catalogue: 'Deukalion's daughter, Thyia, conceived and bore to Zeus, who rejoices in the thunderbolt, two sons, Magnes and Makedon delighting in horses, and they had their dwellings around Pieria and Olympus.' Magnes was the mythical ancestor of the Magnetes, a pre-Thessalian people originally speaking an Aiolic dialect whom the Homeric Catalogue of Ships locates round the river Peneios and Mt. Pelion. The same should also be true of the original Macedonians, since not only are their names formed from the same radical, but also Hesiod makes of Makedon the brother of Magnes and Hellanikos writes that Makedon was a son of Aiolos. It is perhaps possible to

58 Information from G. Kontogonis map 1/200,000, Larissa sheet.
60 Ivanka (1950: 349-51).
63 Hom. Il. 2. 756-9.
64 Hellanic. FGrH 4 F 74. West (1985: 85), asserts that 'When Magnes and Makedon are made the sons of a sister of Hellen (F 7), this is a declaration that the Magnetes and Macedonians to the north of Thessaly are not Hellenes.' Debatable enough in itself, this statement in no way justifies the dissociation of the case of Makedon from that of Magnes contrived by Edith Hall (1989: 179-86), repeated by Hall (1997: 64), and enthusiastically followed by Borza (1998: 21-2). One and a half centuries ago Abel had understood that 'Aioli ans' was a composite category to which were ascribed all those who were neither Ionians nor Dorians (cf. Strabo 8. 1. 2; see also García-Ramón (1975: 13, 105-6).
link up this tradition with the one preserved by Herodotos, according to which the ancestors of the Dorians had lived under Mt. Ossa and Mt. Olympus,\(^{65}\) that is to say in the very same area as the primitive Makedones and Magnetes before they emigrated to Pindos, where they were called Makednoi. Now the ethnika Μακεδών and Μакεδνός, as opposed to the regular feminine form Μακέτα\(^{66}\) and the Thessalian form of the masculine ethnikon Μακετούν,\(^{67}\) present the distinctive voicing of the voiceless stops, which is characteristic of the dialects of south-eastern Macedonia and north-eastern Thessaly. In the latter area we encounter toponyms such as Βοίβη (= Φοίβη), Βοβήνις (= Φοβήνις),\(^{68}\) Οττώλοβος (= Οκτώλοφος),\(^{69}\) anthroponyms such as Δρεφέλαος (= *Τρεφέλαος), Βουλονόα (= Φυλονόα), Σταθμείας (= Σταθμείας)\(^{70}\) etc. Finally, three (Δίος, Ξανδικός, Άρτσίμισιος) out of the six known Perrhaibian months are also to be found in the Macedonian calendar.\(^{71}\) Could it be that the future Dorians came to be known as Makednoi because they lived along with the Makedones and the Magnetes ‘under Mt. Ossa and Mt. Olympus’? Be that as it may, the conclusion seems to be that the primitive Macedonians whom three brothers from Argos met at Lebaia were of the same stock as the neighbouring Perrhaibians and Magnetes.

Concerning the three brothers themselves, already in Antiquity it had been thought that they had not had to come the whole way from

\(^{65}\) Hdt. 1.56.3: ἐπὶ μὲν Δευκάλιωνος βασιλέας οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Οσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ιστιαίωτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ιστιαίωτιδος ὥς έξαναύτη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε εν Πίνδοι Μακεδόννοι καλάμενον ἐνθίετεν δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκ τῆς Δρυσίδας μετεβί, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυσίδος αὐτῶ ἐπὶ Πελοπόννου ἀλθον Δωρικόν ἐλθη. (‘For in the days of king Deucalion it inhabited the land of Phthia, then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the country called Histiaean, under Ossa and Olympus; driven by the Cadmeans from the Histiaean country it settled about Pindus in the parts called Macedonian; thence again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into Peloponnesus, where it took the name of Dorian.’)

Cf. the similar migration of the Perrhaibians from Mt. Olympus and Mt. Ossa in the direction of the Pindus range (Str. 9.5.12 and 20).


\(^{67}\) Gallis (1977: 34, l. 9); cf. Hatzopoulos (1987: 407 n. 54).

\(^{68}\) For the location in the northern part of the Thessalian plain of this city and of the homonymous lake, see Helly (1995: 85-6).

\(^{69}\) Livy 44. 3. 1; cf. Hatzopoulos (1987: 408).


\(^{71}\) Cf. Trümpy (1997: 218-20 and 227-8), who, however, excludes these months from the Perrhaibian calendar, because of an erroneous conception of the Perrhaibian dialect. She rejects Xandikos, because she is not aware that the voicing of voiceless stops occurs also in Perrhaibia. As for Artemiosios, as she herself admits, the assimilated forms (instead of Artemitios) may well be due to the koine influence, as is also the case with the Macedonian months Artemisios and Panemos (ibid. 262 n. 1077).
the Peloponnesian Argolid, but that they hailed from Argos in Orestis,\textsuperscript{72} hence the name Argeadai given to the clan under the leadership of which the conquest of Lower Macedonia was accomplished. This explanation has been adopted by most modern scholars with the notable exception of Hammond, who objected that Argeadai was not the name of the Heraklid dynasty, but of the ‘tribe’ over which they ruled.\textsuperscript{73} The publication of the great ‘stele of the Kytenians’ discovered at Xanthos, in which the latter appeal to the Xanthians for help in restoring the walls of their city, and remind them that in doing so they would be agreeable ‘to the Aitolians and all the other Doriens and particularly to King Ptolemy, who is (their) kinsman through the kings’, seems to refute that objection. For in the response of the Xanthians the allusion to the kings becomes explicit: ‘to the Aitolians and all the other Doriens and particularly to King Ptolemy who is related to the Doriens through the Argead kings hailing from Herakles’.\textsuperscript{74}

The seizure of power at Lebaia and the conquest of Lower Macedonia were certainly not the feat of just three brothers. The new dynasty undoubtedly came to the foothills of Mt. Titanion along with numerous followers from Orestis.\textsuperscript{75} Now we know that the Orestans belonged to the Molossian group of peoples, who spoke a north-western dialect.\textsuperscript{76} Such a fusion of the original Aiolic-speaking Makedones with the north-western newcomers would provide a

\textsuperscript{72} App. Syr. 63.
\textsuperscript{73} See nn. 58 and 59, above.
\textsuperscript{74} J. Bousquet (1988: 14-16, lines 37-42): χαριείσθαι τε ἡμᾶς ὑπακούσαν | τας εἰς ταύτα αὐτοὶ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ | τοις ἄλλοι Δωρίσι πᾶσιν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν βασιλεῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀναφέρεται ὡς συγγενεῖς Δωρίσι κατὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς Ἀργαδάς; Lines 47-49: διὰ τὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀναφέρεται ὡς συγγενεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς Ἀργαδάς; Lines 74-76: τοις πόλεις ταῖς συγγενεῖς καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῖς τοῖς Ἀργαδάς Πτολεμαίων καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς;
\textsuperscript{75} It is clear that the ‘family genealogy’ of the Heraklidai from Argos (Temenidae) also functioned as an ‘ethnic genealogy’ of the Macedonians. Tyrtaios (fr. 8 Prato; fr. 11 West) follows the same pattern when he calls the Spartans Herakleidai, although elsewhere he stresses their Dorian origin (see Malkin (1998: 141)).
\textsuperscript{76} Hecat. FGrH 1 F 107; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979: 39-54); Hammond (1994).
Fig. 1. Map of the central Haliacmon Valley.
satisfactory explanation for the mixed character of the historic Macedonian dialect and of the Macedonian calendar.\textsuperscript{77}

Returning to the original question: is the foundation legend of the Macedonian dynasty and kingdom a piece of antique folklore or of late propaganda and if either of these statements be true, is it 'geschichtlich wertlos'?\textsuperscript{78} My conclusion is that, although this legend obviously retains elements of ancient folklore and although it has probably served propaganda purposes—in my opinion principally aimed at the Macedonians themselves rather than the southern Greek cities— it preserves a unique record concerning the origins of the Macedonian people and kingdom as well as the first stages of their territorial expansion.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{77} Hatzopoulos (1999: 239; 2000a: 115–17); for the calendar in particular, see Trümper (1997: 262–5).

\textsuperscript{78} Geyer (1937); cf. Errington (1986: 12): 'Historisch geben diese Sage nicht viel her.'

\textsuperscript{79} Cf. Kleinknecht (1966: 146, in fine).
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