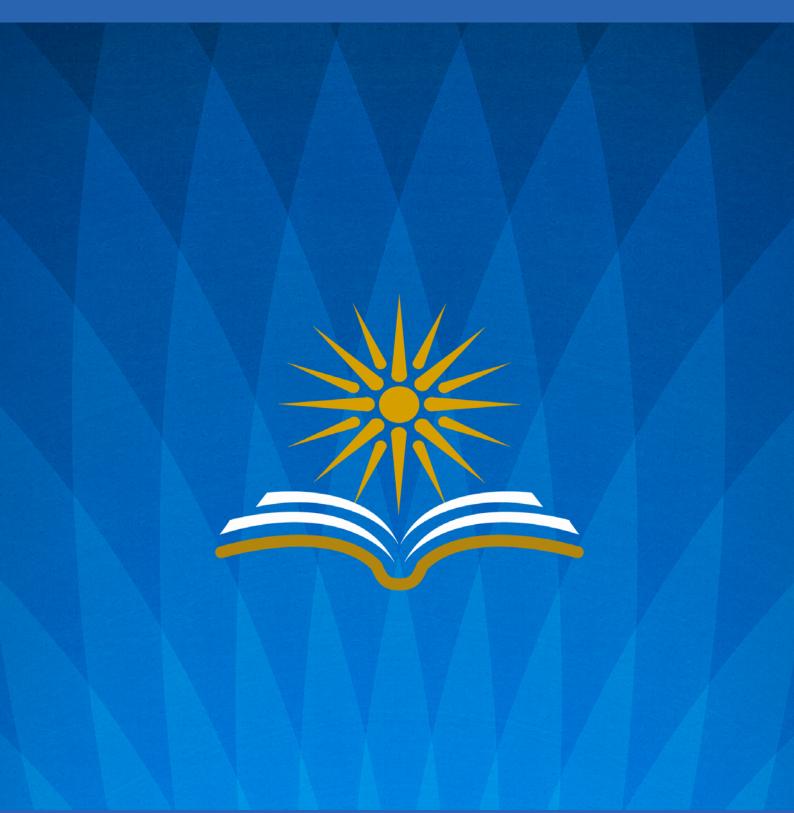


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Table of Contents

Board of Directors and Editorial Committee	
Advisory Committee	5
The Borders of Ancient Makedonia III: Roman Makedonia	7
<u>From Macedonism to Neo-Macedonism:</u> <u>The Self–Identification of Alexander the Great</u>	
<u>The Identity of the Occupant of the Amphipolis Tomb</u> <u>Beneath the Kasta Mound</u>	42
Directions of the Recent Historiography of Skopje	
Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies	
Codifying the Academic Contribution of AIMS	
Παγκόσμιο Συνέδριο Παμμακεδονικών	
The Case of Greek as a National Language	



View of Basilica B at Philippi, built next to the Roman forum, middle of the 6th century AD, Philippi. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Basilica_B_(Philippi)



The octagonal Basilica and its mosaics at Philippi https://www.flickr.com/photos/carolemage/7272939796/

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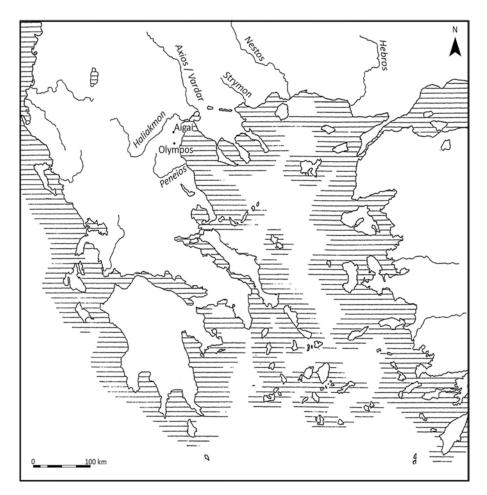
Interior of Saint George Rotunda in Thessaloniki https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=62229813

The Borders of Ancient Makedonia III: Roman Makedonia

John Melville-Jones, Emeritus Professor and Ancient History, University of Western Australia

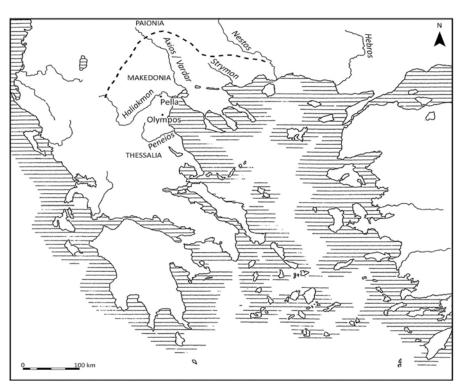
The history and geography of Makedonia in the Roman and Byzantine periods have received less study, particularly from writers in English, than its history and geography in the earlier periods.¹ In fact, even the latest (fourth) edition of The Oxford Classical Dictionary only recycles an earlier article by N.G.L. Hammond on this subject and does not discuss Hellenistic or Roman Macedonia. The volume of the Tabula Imperii Byzantini that will deal with this area remains in the course of being constructed, and will, of course, be very useful when it appears. The chapter on "Géographie Historique" that occupies pp. 19-33 of M. B. Hatzopoulos's work La Macédoine: géographie historique, langue, cultes et croyances, institutions (Paris 2006) does not extend to the Roman period. Similarly, Argyro Tataki's work, The Roman Presence in Macedonia: Evidence from personal Names (Paris 2006) and Fanoula Papazoglou's book, The towns of Macedonia in the Roman era, Athens 1988, confine themselves to the area of the present Greek province of Makedonia. The recent study by Dimitris P. Drakoulis, Η ιστορικο-γεωγραφική διάσταση της Μακεδονίας κατά την ύστερη αρχαιότητα. Διοικητική και χωρικοί μετασχηματισμοί (The Historico-geographic Division of Makedonia in Late Antiquity: Administrative and Spatial Transformations), in Dimitris P. Drakoulis and Georgios P. Tsotsos (eds), The Historical Geography of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, Thessaloniki 2012, pp. 79-106, contains much important information, but does not focus on this particular question except in a general way, and presents small maps on pp. 95–9 that seems to be correct for the periods to which they refer, without discussion of where the actual borders were. Similarly, the short article by D. Kanatsoulis, "Η ὀργάνωσις τῆς ἄνω Μακεδονίας κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαϊκοὺς χρόνους", in B. Laourdas and

¹ A partial exception is provided by the article "Probleme der historischen Geographie Nordostmakedoniens" (Ancient Macedonia II. Papers read at the Second International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, 19–24 August 1973, 45–52, which pays a small amount of attention to Makedonia in the Republican period, although it does not define the exact location of the eastern border.



 These maps (drawn by Travis Hearn) show the areas considered to be 'Makedonia' at very different times. In the first of these (above), which represents the situation as it was c. 800 B.C. after the Makedones had settled in the area that was later named after them, no borders are shown. Their centre was at Aigai, and they must have controlled some territory around it, but it is not possible to suggest where the boundaries were.

Ch. Makaras, Ancient Macedonia. Papers read at the Symposium read in Thessaloniki, 26–29 August 1968, pp. 185–92, does not focus on the question of the borders. Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 B.C.–300 A.D., edited by Robin J. Lane Fox, is a disappointing work in this regard because in spite of its title, it pays very little attention to the history of Makedonia in the Roman period. However, the very well written and presented collection of maps with the title European cartography and politics: the case of Macedonia, written by Evangelos Liveriatos with a contribution by Chrysoula Paliadeli (Thessaloniki 2012) contains much useful information, and the section relating to the period when Makedonia was a part of the Roman Empire (pp. 30–41) shows some interesting maps, with lines indicating the borders that have a great deal of credibility. This general absence of a clear delineation of borders is not surprising, since the written evidence (except for Ptolemaios's Geographia, which will be quoted below) for anything



2. By the time of Alexander I the Makedones had expanded their control over a much larger area and an even greater expansion occurred by 336 B.C., the end of the reign of Philippos II. Their capital had been moved from Aigai to Pella, and they controlled land to the north as far as Paionia (the southern part of which he annexed), land to the west and east that stretched as far as areas controlled by the Illyrioi and Thrakes, and southwards to Mount Olympos. In addition, they sometimes had full control of Thessalia, and had a close relationship with the Epeirote community, from one branch of which, the Molossoi, Philippos's fourth wife out of the seven that are recorded for him, Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, came.

later than the writings of Strabon provides limited information, except for the names of places within the borders of the province, and most of Strabon's statements, although they mention which groups of people were neighbours to each other, do not allow clear borders to be defined. Also, surviving inscriptions, although quite numerous, do not provide useful indications of boundaries. It is therefore almost impossible to define some of the borders of Makedonia in this later period, particularly since they were sometimes changed for administrative reasons.

At the end of the second part of this survey we arrived at the moment when in 146 B.C., after the pretended son of Perseus, Andriskos, had been defeated two years earlier, a formal province² or *eparchia* of Makedonia was about to be established by the Romans. Since their

² The term *provincia* had been used by the Romans with respect to Makedonia since the closing years of the third century B.C., but only in the sense that it was considered to be within the "area of responsibility" of the Roman administrator who was responsible for keeping an eye on that part of the world. It was not a "province" in the normal sense of the word as it is used nowadays in English.

earlier attempt to destroy, dilute or reshape the ethnicity of the *Makedones* by establishing four separate *merides* had been unsuccessful, a fresh approach was adopted.³

The new province that was created covered a much larger area than the Makedonia that had been established by Philippos II and had continued to exist in almost exactly the same form since the fourth century B.C. It included land that stretched across to the Adriatic Sea and to the north and south: the southern part of Epeiros,⁴ and Thessalia and Paionia, were now a part of this enlarged Makedonia. The area immediately to the north of Paionia that was occupied by the Dardanoi (an area in which the Roman fortress of Scupi, which will be discussed later, was later established) was not included in the new and enlarged province at this time because the Dardanoi had supported the Romans in their wars in this area, although it was incorporated into Makedonia later. We may compare this arrangement with the creation of Yugoslavia after the First World War, when areas of land occupied by different groups were thrust together into one artificially created nation, which collapsed after seven decades, and broke up into groups that had existed previously or had been recently invented; but because the Romans were better at controlling their provinces, this arrangement lasted much longer than the modern one.

Further information is provided at a much later date by Strabon, who compiled his Geographia during the reign of the first Roman emperor Augustus, incorporating much earlier material from sources that are now lost to us. Some of these are based on writers who lived before the Roman period, but a few of them will be presented below to show how he viewed the geography of Makedonia. Unfortunately, the surviving manuscripts of his work are incomplete, and it is greatly to be regretted that some of the lost sections in the seventh book dealt with this topic. The fragments of these passages that survive are now known only from quotations by other authors that are found in writers of the Byzantine period, and of the passages that refer to Makedonia, only one short quotation and one longer and very important extract survive in a complete form. Here is one example:⁵

VII, vii, 1 ... Even at the present time the Thrakes, Illyrioi and Epeirotai dwell at their (i.e., the Greeks') side (although this was formerly, even more, the case than it is now); indeed, barbarians

³ At least we can delineate some of the borders of these *merides* with confidence. The first was bordered on the west by the Strymon river, and on the east by the territory of Thrakia, with a boundary that is less easy to define, as is its northern border; to the south, of course, there was the sea. Its capital was Amphipolis. The second lay between the Strymon and the Axios (Vardar) rivers, and its capital was Thessaloniki. The south was bordered by the sea, and its northern boundary is less easy to define. The third *meris*, with its capital at Pella, lay between the rivers Axios and Peneus, stretching up into Paionia, and the fourth, with its capital at Herakleia, again stretched north into Paionia. The southern border is not easy to define, but this *meris* certainly included the areas known as Lynkestis, Orestis and Elimiotis.

⁴ This was known to the Romans as *Epirus Vetus*, and remained as a part of Makedonia until a reorganisation of provinces by the Roman emperor Diocletian at the end of the 4th century A.D. The northern part was known as *Epirus Nova*, or sometimes as "Greek Illyria", *Illyria Graeca*.

 $^{^5}$ VII, vii, 1 and 4.

occupy much of the country that is now indisputably (anantilektôs) Hellas — Thrakes in Makedonia⁶ and some parts of Thessalia, and Epeirotic tribes, the Thesprotoi, Kassiopaioi, Amphilochoi, Molossoi and Athamanes, in the parts above Akarnania and Aitolia.

This sentence seems to be saying that even in Strabo's time there were movements of groups of people from one area to another, or that different groups of people might have gained control of territory beyond the areas that they normally controlled. It also implies that for him, Makedonia was a part of Hellas. The next passage gives much more information relating to its borders.

VII, vii, 4. From Apollonia to Makedonia there is the Via Egnatia towards the east. It has been measured in Roman miles⁷ and marked by milestones as far as Kypsela and the Hebros River, measuring five hundred and thirty-five miles. And if, as most people do, you calculate a mile as being eight stadia, it would be four thousand two hundred and eighty stadia, but if, like Polybios, you add two *plethra*,⁸ a third of a *stadion*, to the eight *stadia*, you must add another hundred and seventy-eight stadia, or a third of the number of miles. And it happens that those who set out from Apollonia and from Epidamnos meet on the same road after an equal journey.⁹ The whole of it¹⁰ is called the Via Egnatia, but the first part is called the road to Kandavia (an Illyrian mountain), going through the *polis* of Lychnidos, and Pylon (a place on the road on the border between Illyria and Makedonia). From there it goes to Varnous through Herakleia and the country of the Lynkestai and Eordoi to Edessa and Pella as far as Thessalonikeia.¹¹ This, as Polybios says, is two hundred and sixty-seven miles. For those who go on this road from the area of Epidamnos and Apollonia, there are the tribes of Epeiros, washed by the Sicilian sea as far as the Ambrakiot Gulf, and on the left the mountains of the Illyrians that we previously described, and the groups that live along with them, as far as the Makedonians and Paionians. Then, from the Ambrakiot Gulf, the places that in stretch one after another to the east parallel to the Peloponnesos are a part of Hellas; then they fall into the Aigeian Sea, leaving the whole of the Peloponnesos on the right. The Makedonians, the Paionians and some of the mountain-dwelling Thrakians dwell from the beginning of the Makedonian and Paionian mountains as far as the River Strymon; and everything beginning from the Strymon, as far as the mouth of the Pontos, and the Haemos, belongs to the Thrakians, except for the coastline. This is inhabited by Hellenes, some located on the Propontis, others on the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and others on the Aigeian. The Aigeian Sea washes two sides of Hellas: one looking towards the dawn, stretching from Sounion

⁶ The Thrakes are clearly considered not to be a part of Hellas at this time.

⁷ A Roman mile, or a thousand paces (a pace consisted of two steps) was a little shorter than the imperial mile of 1760 yards or 1480 metres.

⁸ A *stadion* (a distance which became the name for a race course for runners) was approximately equivalent to the English distance of a furlong, and measured about 200 metres. It contained six *plethra*.

 ⁹ *i.e.*, where the two western branches of the *Via Egnatia*, starting from Apollonia and Epidamnos (Dyrrachium/ Durazzo) join a little to the west of Ochrida, the distance that has been travelled on each road is the same.

¹⁰ *i.e.*, the road between the Adriatic coast and the eastern Roman empire.

¹¹ It is interesting that Strabon uses this spelling, which is more correct for the name of a city named after a person (like Alexandreia). The simpler form Thessalonike/Thessaloniki became normal both in ancient and in modern times, even though its form is more like the name of a person rather than that of a city.

to the north as far as the Thermaian Gulf and Thessalonikeia, a Makedonian city, which now has many more people than the rest, the other looking to the south, the Makedonian side, from Thessalonikeia to the Strymon; and some also assign the area from the Strymon to the Nestos to Makedonia, since Philip had such particular interest in those districts, that he made them his own property, and put together very large revenues from the mines and the other good resources of these places.

This long extract suggests that there was some doubt as to whether the area between the Strymon and the Nestos rivers should be considered a part of Makedonia in Strabon's time (although, as he says, Philip II had annexed it in the 4th century B.C., making it a part of his enlarged Makedonia).¹² The reference to Pylon (between Bitola and Ohrid) as being on the border with Illyria is also useful.

Another fragment of the same book of Strabon's *Geography*,¹³ for which the context is unfortunately lost, suggests, like the one quoted above, that by his time the province of Makedonia was considered a part of Hellas, unlike Thrake, to which he felt that this name could never be applied:

The rest of Europe consists of Makedonia and the parts of Thrake that border on it as far as Byzantion, and Hellas and the neighbouring islands. Makedonia is indeed also Hellas; however, since we are following the nature and shape of places, we have decided to place it apart from the rest of Hellas and to join it to Thrake, which borders on it and extends to the mouth of the Euxine and the Propontis.

The reason for the treatment of Makedonia in this way must be geographical; the high country (particularly Mount Olympos) that separated Makedonia from its southern neighbours must have seemed to the geographer to provide a good reason for linking it with Thrake, which was not separated from Makedonia by any such formidable barriers.

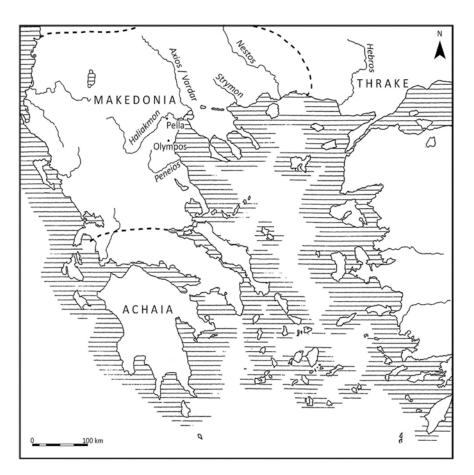
Shortly after this, Strabon mentions describes a sort of parallelogram in which the whole of Makedonia lies:¹⁴

(He says) that Makedonia is bounded on the west by the coast of the Adriatic Sea, and on the east by the meridian line that is parallel to it, passing through the outlets of the Hebros River and the city of Kypsela, on the north by the imaginary straight line that passes through Mounts Bertiskos, Skardos, Orbelos and Rhodope and Haimos (these mountains, beginning at the Adriatic Sea,

¹² On the other hand, the geographer Ptolemaios, writing in the middle of the second century of the Christian era, clearly (*Geographia* III, 11) considered the Nestos River as forming the boundary between Makedonia and Thrake (see below). This may be because he had a better understanding of the way in which these areas were being administered; on the other hand, it is possible that in the century and a half that had passed since Strabo was writing, some administrative changes had taken place, as they certainly did at other times, for reasons that we cannot now explain.

¹³ Book VII, fragment 9.

¹⁴ Book 7, fragment 10.



3. No single map can illustrate the province of Makedonia in the Roman period, because areas on the fringes were often moved from one province to another, for administrative convenience or because of rivalry between governors. However, the general picture is clear. After 146 B.C. the name of Makedonia was applied to an enormously enlarged Roman province, which included Paionia and much of Epeiros, just as the southern part of Greece received the label of 'Achaia'.

extend in a straight line to the Euxine, creating a great peninsula to the south, consisting of Thrake together with Makedonia and Epeiros and Achaia), and on the south by the Egnatian Way which passes from the city of Dyrrachion eastwards to Thessalonikeia; and this shape of Makedonia is very close to a parallelogram.

This important passage seems to represent quite accurately the geographical extent of the Roman province in Strabon's time, with the eastern and western boundaries defined as being formed by Thrake and the Adriatic Sea. Since the geographer did not have maps of the kind that exist nowadays, the precise borders on the northern side cannot be delineated exactly, except in terms of the mountain ranges that he mentions.¹⁵

¹⁵ Even the very detailed *Tabula Peutingeriana* (named after Konrad Peutinger, into whose possession it came in the 16th century), a mediaeval copy of a map that is believed to have been first drawn in imperial times, perhaps during the reign of Antoninus Pius, does not attempt to show the exact borders of parts of the empire.

The location of the northern border in Strabo's time may perhaps be defined in another way. At some time towards the previous century, a Roman military camp was established in an area formerly controlled by the Dardanians (whose territory was to the north of the territory occupied by the Paionians that had been incorporated into the greatly enlarged Makedonia which was established by the Romans after 146 B.C.). A colony of retired veteran soldiers was also located there (it was the Roman practice to retire soldiers after about fifteen years of service and give them land which they could farm, keeping them together so that they could be called back to service if necessary). The name of the original settlement seems to have been Scupi (which is generally assumed to be derived from the Greek $\sigma \kappa \sigma \pi \eta$, meaning "observation place, lookout"), given to it because the camp was located on high ground from which it could keep an eye on non-Roman territory to the north. It lies close to the modern city of Skopje, which has taken its name from it.

In several stages during the first century B.C., Roman forces invaded and finally subdued an area to the north extending as far as the Danube, and by the end of the century, they had created another province which was called Moesia, named after the Moisoi, a major group which had settled in that region. The Romans then split the province into two parts, the western (nearer to Rome) being called Moesia Superior or Upper Moesia, and the eastern Moesia Inferior, or Lower Moesia.

There are other fragments of Strabo's seventh book that refer to Makedonia, but they either tell us nothing more than the fragments that have been quoted above or seem to refer to periods before 146 B.C.

Writing in the second century of the Christian era, but to some extent using earlier sources, the geographer Ptolemaios (Book III, chapter 12) wrote

It (Makedonia) is bordered at its northern end by Dalmatia and Upper Moesia and Thrakia ... to the west by ... what stretches from Dyrrachion or Epidamnos as far as the River Kelydnos (or Pepelychnos) ... to the south as far as ... the Gulf of Maliakos ... to the east as far as what stretches from the River Nestos to the Gulf of Maliakos.

This certainly fits what we believe to have been the situation in the second century of the Christian era: Makedonia extended as far as the Adriatic Sea, and its northern boundary lay at the southern end of Dalmatia. Its western boundary was formed by the coast of the Adriatic sea, stretching southward from Dyrrachion or Epidamnos. The southern border is expressed rather vaguely because although Olympos formed a natural barrier, it is not clear where along the strip of lower land to the east of it the border lay, but the reference to the Malian or Maliac Gulf shows that it included Thessalia. The River Nestos had by now become the established eastern border of Makedonia.

Another author, Stephanos of Byzantion, who wrote his *Ethnika* in the sixth century of the Christian era but mostly relied on sources that had been compiled in earlier times, gives us a certain amount of useful information because he describes a certain number of *poleis* as

being in Makedonia. These include Epidamnos on the coast of the Adriatic and Demetrias in Thessalia. This is what we would expect for the Roman period.

To summarise what has been written in these three studies of the borders of Makedonia in different periods, it seems that at some time after 1000 B.C. the Makedones had established themselves in an area around Aigai, which became their capital for a while until it was replaced by Pella. By the time of Philip II their territory had expanded greatly in all directions and had become approximately equal to the area that has become the modern Greek province of Makedonia. This also meant that the number of people who could be described as "Makedonian" had also increased greatly.

After the Roman conquest, Makedonia was greatly enlarged again, and its name was used to describe land that extended westward to the Adriatic, taking in Epirus, and northward to include Paionia, and sometimes included Thessalia. The name (like the name that the Romans used for the province that they established in southern Greece that was called Achaia) thus described a very large administrative area, much larger than the original Makedonia, which had itself been greatly enlarged by Philippos II.



Facade of Philip II of Macedon tomb in Vergina. The door is made of marble and the order is doric https://www.flickr.com/photos/sarah_c_murray/4084466491/

From Macedonism to *Neo*-Macedonism: The Self–Identification of Alexander the Great

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A very popular belief amongst the Macedonian Slavs of the 19th century was that the ancient Macedonians were their ethno-genetic¹ ancestors. It is said that even distinguished Macedono-Bulgarian educators like Konstnatin and Dimitar Miladinov (1830–1962 & 1810–1962) believed that "not only Philip, Alexander and the Ancient Macedonians were Slavs, but also Homer, Demosthenes and Strabo" (Marinov, 2013, p. 385). In 1878, Giorgi Pulevski (1823–1893) — widely regarded as the "father" of Slavo-Macedonian nationhood and a pioneer of Macedonism (Friedman, 1986, p. 285; Rossos, 2008, p. 95; Koneski, 1961. 61; Pribichevich, 1982, p. 113) — was urging his countrymen to rise up and fight for Macedonia's independence: "like our people under Alexander fought" (Koneski, 1961, p. 74). Pulevski's beliefs *vis à vis* the ethno-genetic continuity between the Slavs of his time and the ancient Macedonians are best articulated in one of his poems:

> "Have you, Macedonians, heard what old people say: 'There have not been bolder people than the Macedonians.' 'The Tsar Alexander the Macedonian, three hundred years before Christ' 'Conquered the whole planet with the Macedonians' Our King Philip is a Slav, the Tsar Alexander is a Slav They have been given birth to by our Slavonic grandmothers" (According to P. Draganov *Makedonsko-slavjanskij sbornik*, pp. 233–4, as cited in Koneski, 1961, p. 75)

Unlike early Macedonism, *neo*-Macedonism categorically rejects suggestions of a Macedonian identity with Slavic roots. Instead, it asserts that *neo*-Macedonians² are the lineal descendants

¹ "Ethnogenetic" without a hyphen, pertains to "ethnogenesis", while "ethno-genetic" pertains to "ethnos/ethnic" and "genetics".

² The following paper employs the term "*neo*-Macedonians" when referring to non-Hellenic Macedonians. The aim is not to diminish or negate the Macedonianness or "ethnic groupness" of modern, non-Hellenic Macedonians, but, rather, to validate both by clearly demarcating the boundaries between the geographical term "Greek-Macedonian" and the ethnic and temporal term "*neo*-Macedonian".

of the ancient Macedonians — a non-Slavic people with a distinct history, language, culture and homeland. This is the view, especially in the diaspora. As a result, there is a tendency to diminish the significance of the Slavs (Seraphinoff, 2007, pp. 1–5) and their impact on geographical Macedonia, by presenting their arrival in the Balkans as something that never really occurred or was, at best, a peripheral event (Curta as cited in Damianopoulos, 2012, p. 109); a hypothesis rather than a historical fact; not so much a flood as a trickle that did not significantly alter the genetic composition of the ancient Macedonians already living there (Najdovski, 2007, p. 23). Or as one writer has put it: "it has been shown, that the Macedonians are a unique nation, different from other Slav nations, and they have been this way for at least 3000 years" (Stefov, 2005, p. 40). Although there are writers who speak of the "admixture of the Ancient Macedonians and later the Slavs in Macedonia" (Dinev as cited in Sfetas, 2007, p. 294; Slaveska as cited in Lomonosov, 2012, p. 64; Stefov, 2005) they are primarily confined to Northern Macedonia and to its diasporas.

Neo-Macedonism is not so much about a modern political framework — a "Macedonia for Macedonians" — as it is about an ancient essence and validation. This is evident in its persistent preoccupation with myths of origin and links to Alexander the Great in particular. References to ancient Macedonia, its heroes and symbols, are embedded in cultural narratives, including within both the private and public representations of the *neo*-Macedonian identity. The lure and prestige of antiquity is central to the *neo*-Macedonian historico-cultural identity. It is, however, Alexander the Great, alone, who constitutes the nucleus of *neo*-Macedonian myth of origin.

Had Alexander the Great been born in Argos, "the land of his fathers" (*To Philip*, 32; *The Peloponnesian War*, 2.99.3, also 5.80; Arrian, *Indica*, 5.26.5), we would almost certainly be discussing the "Argive Question". It is not Perdiccas I, Alexander I, Amyntas III or Philip II but Alexander who confers that animistic quality on Macedonia, its beguiling mysticism which is so prevalent in the historical, mythological and folkloric traditions we have inherited. In Alexander, both the spatial and the spiritual are wedded to each other in ways that captivate both the imagination and the ego. He is the myth and that which infuses the myth with vitality; one which is securely rooted in history and without whom Macedonia would be irrelevant. That is why he remains indispensable to any form of discourse on Macedonia, and why he appears in the literature of at least 80 nations (Wilcken, 1967, p. ix). If it were somehow possible for us to remove him from the equation, the whole edifice of the "Macedonian Question" would collapse and the discussion reduced to trade routes and tourist destinations.

Yet despite all the archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence — including international scholarly consensus regarding his Hellenic self-identification — Alexander the Great has somehow come to represent the soul and impetus of *neo*-Macedonian historiography in the form of the "Macedonian" who has been "stolen" by the Greeks. The notion of descent from the ancient Macedonians — and specifically Alexander the Great — is not only widespread, it is also an article of faith amongst *neo*-Macedonians around the world. This is particularly the case amongst the younger generations. To argue, as some have (Shea, 1997, p. 178; Borza, 1999, p. 255; Danforth, 2010, p. 581), that only the "most extreme nationalists" in the diasporas of Australia, Canada and America believe that they are descendants of the ancient Macedonians and Alexander the Great, is to purposely ignore the abundance of evidence to the contrary. In Australia, for instance, one need only look at the daily manifestations of *neo*-Macedonian culture which is replete with the ancient Macedonian Sunburst, Alexander the Great, Philip II, Cleopatra VII, the Macedonian Phalanx, even Aristotle.³ Online sites, printed material, festival brochures, banners and memorabilia, public and private discussions all testify to the fact that the notion of "ancientness" is an indispensable, non-negotiable criterion of *neo*-Macedonianness and that Alexander is a *neo*-Macedonian ancestor — genetically, culturally even linguistically (Stefov, 2005, p. 12). The immediate reaction to the rejection of such claims is that these constitute an inviolable part of one's right to self-identification and that no one has the right to deny it.

Self-identification may indeed be one of the most sacrosanct human rights, but it also involves a historical responsibility towards others who may be adversely affected by its specific claims. And nowhere is neo-Macedonian contradictoriness more evident than in the invocation of one's right to self-identification whilst simultaneously denying it to those with whom it supposedly self-identifies — namely Alexander the Great and Philip II and the ancient Macedonians. Particularly confounding is the identification with the Greek-identifying Alexander but not with his Greek values or world view. In other words, with the intrinsic, indispensable, even sacred, criteria of his self-identification, of his temperament. One would expect neo-Macedonianness to reject Alexander for the superfluity or ostentatiousness of his Greekness, so clearly recorded in history and folklore, rather than revere him for the remoteness or elusiveness of his supposed "Macedonianness". It is clear that the shell or the appearance — rather than Alexander's intrinsic essence, his Hellenic temperament — is more important to his neo-Macedonian claimants. In other words, semblance of historicity rather than *historicity* itself. It is important enough to entirely ignore the actual standards of Alexander's self-identification, what makes him who he is, and posthumously impose upon him a revised, neo-Macedonised identity by virtue of the fact that a particular group urgently requires a narrative that legitimises its existence. Such a view goes to the very heart of neo-Macedonism's ahistoricity but also the profound existential predicament it encapsulates — the stigma and quandary of modernness. In fact, the greatest challenge with *neo*-Macedonianness is its resistance to modernness itself, and this is a large part of the quandary. The neo-Macedonian refuses to be modern because antiquity alone confers

³ Canberra rally 28 October 2007. Left to right: Philip II, Cleopatra and Alexander the Great followed by Aristotle. Viewed 10 October 2017, AlaksandarsArmy, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNDlW</u> <u>4HxzV8</u> (1:05 minutes).

authority to their claim. This is also where the claim to ancient Macedonia and the ancient Macedonians becomes problematic.

The absence of testimony or a convincing alternative account is a void *neo*-Macedonianness cannot explain. By accepting that there is in fact no ancient provenance, or narrative that connects Alexander, Philip and the ancient Macedonians to modern, non-Hellenic Macedonians, is to relinquish all claims to one of one of history's most glorious and coveted eras. It means to acknowledge the narrative of modernity with its shallow roots and entirely renounce one's "ancient Macedonian" identity. By doing so, the *neo*-Macedonian at once surrenders their claims, they revert to past nominal anathemas as "Bulgarians", "Serbs", "Yugoslavs" or "Slavs". For the average *neo*-Macedonian, this is a humiliating and intolerable proposition; for once accepted, they concede defeat. Their ancient narrative is, at once, reduced to one of historical inauthenticity and vacuousness. Nowhere has this fear been more clearly expressed than in a treatise originally published in *Glas na Makendoncite* (Voice of Macedonians) and reprinted in *Makedonija* newspaper, Melbourne, on 30 July–21 August 1986.

For almost three hundred years we have been taught under cruel circumstances that we are Sloveni — Macedonians are dead and we are different people — 'Macedonian Slavians' [...]. Slavianism for us Macedonians is a deadly destructive political, moral and national force which aims to eradicate Macedonianism completely [...]. Politically, once we become Slavs we automatically lose any significance as descendants of the ancient Macedonians [...]. By calling ourselves Slavs we legalize this robbery by the Greeks [of the ancient Macedonians]. For us, Macedonian revolutionaries, Macedonianism gives wholeness to our being past, present, and future. It is inner liberation from foreign imposed ideas, and confidence in our ability to be what we have been and will again be [...]. If we remain silent, we will remain Slavs, and as Slavs, we have no legal right to anything Macedonian [...]. (Published in *Makedonija* Melbourne 30 July to 21 August 1986 as cited in Kofos, 1989, p. 267).

Unwilling to accept what they perceive as a constant encroachment on their right to self-identification, the *neo*-Macedonian has found a historical purpose and impetus in a reactionary, ahistorical stance. This involves depriving the "victor", i.e., the Greeks, of their historical monopoly, by continuously and publicly denying the legitimacy of the latter's narrative, thus providing the vanquished with a sense of satisfaction in denying their denier's supposed "specialness". If Alexander cannot possibly be a *neo*-Macedonian ancestor, then he must not be Greek. Satisfaction in rejection thus becomes empowering and therefore existentially validating. This is why negation, refusal, rejection, denial, have today become indispensable parts of *neo*-Macedonianness' modern arsenal in a crusade to save "Macedonia" and the "Macedonians", from their historical deniers whom they view as intent on forcing them into existential insignificance and oblivion. The result is a recourse to creative historiography because a *semblance* of truth is better than no truth at all.

In Australia, for example, this semblance of the truth is regularly on show at high profile festivals such as Moomba, Independence Day parades and community events where the

visitor is exposed to a neo-Macedonised version of ancient Macedonian history which makes absolutely no mention of Hellenism or Hellas. It is something that is further sustained by the reciprocal exchange of fantastical narratives and literature between neo-Macedonian diasporas such as Melbourne and Toronto in particular. Yet, despite almost all mythological, archaeological, historical, folkloric and scholarly evidence — even ridicule by both international and neo-Macedonian scholars, refutations by the first President of the FYROM⁴ a former prime minister⁵ and a Consul General⁶ to Canada — the average *neo*-Macedonian, both in the Republic of Northern Macedonia (formerly the FYROM) and the diaspora, continues to readily espouse creative historiography. In the case of Australia, the pervasion and persistence of ancient themes and ancient ethno-symbolism clearly indicates that these narratives are crucial to the neo-Macedonian-identity and self-esteem. Even more puzzling is how often they are considered genuine historiography and are espoused both locally by the media and, as seen, by some academics. One might have expected that in the face of such historical untenability, neo-Macedonism would have by now met its own humiliating demise. On the contrary, it is more virulent than ever. In Australia as in Canada neo-Macedonism has succeeded in elevating an artificial, if not outrageous, ethno-genetic narrative, which includes a myth of descent rooted in the ancient Macedonian past, to the level of actual historiography. The ancient Macedonians, Philip and Alexander in particular, have become anti if not mis-Hellenes. Fiction, however, cannot compete with the facts examined below.

Macedonian Ethnogenesis and Self-Identification

We are fortunate to have available to us a rich corpus of ancient works which offer both implicit and explicit insights into the self-identification of ancient Macedonians. Most of these works are by Greek and Roman writers (Engels, 2010, p. 82). In some respects, it is unfortunate that we do not possess an alternative, or strictly "Macedonian" perspective, which would have afforded us greater insight into the everyday lives of the average Macedonian, and hence into the various, contentious and conflicting modern claims on ancient Macedonianness.

⁴ In an interview to the *Toronto Star* (March 15, 1992), the first President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov stated: "We are Macedonians but we are Slav-Macedonians. That is who we are! We have no connection to Alexander the Greek and his Macedonia. The ancient Macedonians no longer exist; they have disappeared from history a long time ago. Our ancestors came here in the fifth and sixth century AD" (Appendix 8).

⁵ In two interviews, former Prime Minister of the FYROM, Ljubco Georgievski, argues for the case of Macedonian Hellenism. He refutes claims of a "Macedonian" Alexander [that is a non-Hellenic one] and explains it as part of the FYROM's cultural "theft" and questions the veracity of the *neo*-Macedonian narrative as well as its ultimate intentions (Dut888 2011; Energy 2014).

⁶ In February 1999, the Consul General of the FYROM, Gyordan Veselinov, made the following statement to the *Ottawa Citizen* newspaper: "We are not related to the northern Greeks who produced leaders like Philip and Alexander the Great. We are a Slav people and our language is closely related to Bulgarian", viewed 22 December 2017, http://www.historyofmacedonia.org/ConciseMacedonia/MacedoniansNotSlavs.html

However, as Borza has stated, "the Macedonians remain one of the mute peoples of antiquity" (1982, p. 24; see also, Engels, 2010, p. 89). They, along with Alexander the Great and Philip II, are therefore inevitably presented from what is essentially a Graeco-Roman perspective because that is where the evidence lies. Of course, the absence of evidence is not necessarily tantamount to it not existing. Some day there may be information that will challenge existing views on the subject. For the time being, we can only turn to what is available. The following discussion examines the self-identification of the ancient Macedonians and in particular that of Alexander the Great.

Homer, Hesiod, Hellanicus

What we nowadays consider mythology, constituted for the ancient Greeks an integral part of their actual ethnogenesis, theology and history. Zeus, Heracles, Achilles and others of the pantheon were extant and essential aspects of the Greeks' cultural repository, their everyday lives, as well as their conception of the universe around them.⁷ It is in this light that one must therefore look upon ancient Greek mythology as genuinely historical events — actual biographies, rather than random and fantastical compositions. For example, the brothers Macedon and Magnes, the purported progenitors of the Macedonians and the Magnetes, examined below, were for all intents and purposes historical figures; their genesis and narratives belonged to history rather than to mythology. These were rooted in, and emerged out of, the primordial essence of the Greek gods and articulated through a Greek lexical medium within a Greek world.

Both Hesiod (c.700–600 BCE) and Homer (c.700–600 BCE) provide the earliest references to the linguistic, genealogical, ethnogenetic and territorial parameters of ancient Macedonia and Macedonianness. It is in Homer (*Odyssey*, 7:106) that we first encounter, what may be described as the earliest "linguistic imprint" or adumbration of Macedonianness, where the poet describes slaves working "busy as the leaves of a *tall* poplar tree" $O_{i\dot{\alpha}} \tau \epsilon \varphi \dot{\nu} \lambda \lambda \alpha \mu \alpha \kappa \epsilon \delta \nu \dot{\eta} \zeta^8 \alpha i \gamma \epsilon \dot{\rho} \rho_{i0}$.

According to Hesiod (as cited in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *On the Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* [Loeb Classical Library 503, p. 49])

The region of Macedonia was named from Macedon, the son of Zeus and Thyia the daughter of Deucalion, as the poet Hesiod says [...] and she [Thyia] became pregnant and bore to Zeus who delights in the thunderbolt two sons, Magnes and Macedon who delighted in the battle-chariot, those who dwelt in the mansions around Pieria and Olympus (*Catalogue of Women*, fr. 7).

⁷ In the *Iliad*, for example, one finds Alexander's heroes and purported ancestors like Zeus, Achilles and Heracles. It is therefore integral to the understanding of his values, obsessions, and most importantly, his Hellenic self-identification.

⁸ According to linguist George Babiniotes (2012, Ancient Greek Dialects, Lecture, Wright Lecture Theatre, Melbourne University, Australia), the term μακεδνής [makednés] means "tall" or "high" (Makedonians i.e., Highlanders). See also Borza (1990, pp. 95–97).

Hesiod's description also provides the original territorial limits of the brothers' *lebensraum* — "the mansions around Pieria and Olympus".⁹ Both Macedon and Magnes¹⁰ are initially presented as grandsons of King Deucalion — son of Prometheus and father of Hellen, the eponymous ancestor of the Hellenes (Hall, 2002, p. 139) — who originally "ruled over Thessaly" (Hesiod, fr. 6).

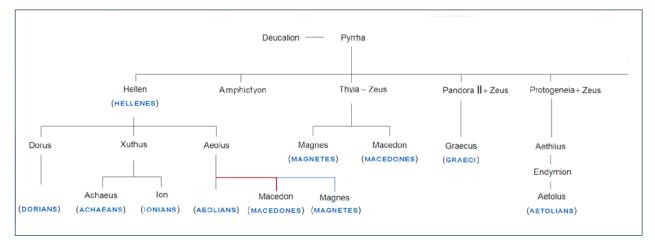


Figure 1:¹⁰ The genealogical relation between ancient Macedonians and early Greek tribes, based on West, M. L 1985, The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure, and Origins Oxford (1985, p. 173)

According to a fragment from the fifth-century Greek historian Hellanicus' (490–BCE) work, *The Priestesses of Argos* (FGrH 4 F74, as cited in Hammond 1995, Vol. 2, p. 60; Engels, 2010 p. 90), Macedon is presented as the son of Aeolus and grandson of Hellen. In Apollodorus *Library*, 1.7.3), Magnes is also presented as the son of Aeolus.¹² Engels (2010, p. 90) tells us that "despite serious difference in their genealogies, both Hesiod and Hellanicus count the Macedonians among the Greek speaking-peoples and hence regard them as Greeks".

The Macedonians like Magnetes and Aeolians are part of an extended Greek family and coexist within a contiguous, familial and territorial arrangement as determined by the same ethno-genetic process; this is why they are also grouped together geographically (Hammond, 1995, Vol. 1, p. 295). Yet again, Macedon and Magnes are confirmed as being brothers, only this time this brotherhood is clearly an extension of the Aeolian branch of the Greek nation. They are now presented as sons of Aeolus and first cousins of the Dorians, Ionians, Achaeans and Aeolians (figure 1).

⁹ See also Hammond 1992, p. 3.

¹⁰ Magnes, the progenitor of the Magnetes who are mentioned last in Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" in the *Iliad*: "And the Magnetes had as leader Prothous, son of Tenthredon. These were they who lived about the Peneius and Pelion" (2.756–760).

¹¹ Table adapted by D. Gonis so as to reflect Hellanicus and Apollodorus traditions of Magnes and Macedon.

¹² According to a much later tradition from the second century CE traveller Pausanias Magnes is also presented as the son of Aeolus (*Elis*, 2.21.11).

Herodotus

Herodotus (484–425 BCE) first mentions $M\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\nu\delta\nu$, Makednón, whilst describing an incident during which, Croesus the King of Lydia (595–547), asks to be told about the "mightiest amongst the Greeks whom he should 'make his friends'" (*The Persian Wars*, 1.56). He is told of the "Lacedaemonians, among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock". Herodotus also informs us that it was during Deucalion's reign that the Hellenes:

Inhabited the land of Phthia [contiguous to Magnesia], then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the country called Histiaean,¹³ under Ossa and Olympus; driven by the Cadmeans¹⁴ from this Histiaean country settled about the Pindus in the parts called *Macednian* [Macedonian].

Apart from being the earliest historian to clearly place the Macedonians within the Hellenic race, Herodotus also offers a narrative regarding their arrival on the scene. Although more likely fictitious, it appears to have been regularly cited around the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE by historians and orators alike: "Now these descendants of Perdiccas are Greeks as *they themselves say* [italics, Gonis], I myself chance to know" (Herodotus, ibid., 5.22). And so that there is absolutely no doubt as to what he means, Herodotus emphasises the fact that according to his knowledge this has been adjudicated by the highest authority on Greekness — that of the *Hellenodicae* of the Olympic Games: "and further, the *Helleno-dicae* who have the ordering of the contest at the Olympic Games determined that it is so" (ibid.). He then specifically refers to the case of Alexander I, who after demonstrating his Argive descent, and was judged to be a Hellene, was permitted to compete in the furlong race in which he "ran a dead heat for the first place."¹⁵ Thus we have the establishment but also legitimation of the Argive Macedonian tradition.¹⁶

Herodotus offers further details about the background of "these Greek descendants of Perdiccas" during another incident, where Alexander I is sent to deliver Mardonius' ultimatum to the Athenians.¹⁷ It is here that he also provides a more specific account of Alexander's genealogy, describing the trials, tribulations, and ultimate migration of his ancestors — the three brothers Gauanes, Aeropus and Perdiccas — from "the lineage of Temenus".¹⁸ Herodotus informs us that these brothers were banished from Argos in the Peloponnese only to end up in a "part of Macedonia [...] called the garden of Midas son of Gordias".¹⁹ Led by Perdiccas

¹³ North-western Euboea, Greece.

¹⁴ From Cadmus, the first king of Thebes (Apollodorus, *Library*, 3:4).

¹⁵ According to Badian, "no Macedonian appears on the lists of Olympic victors that have survived until well into the reign of Alexander the Great" (1982, p. 36). Although this is a significant point is self-identification, that is our focus here — the fact that Alexander I is accepted as a Greek after affirming his Greekness.

¹⁶ Herodotus also informs us of a golden statue of Alexander I that stood at Delphi (8.121).

¹⁷ Demosthenes refers to this episode in the *Second Philippic*, 8–11.

¹⁸ Temenus was the king of Argos and great grandson of Heracles (Apollodorus, *The Library*, 2.8.2).

¹⁹ Édessa (Herodotus, 1925, p. 144).

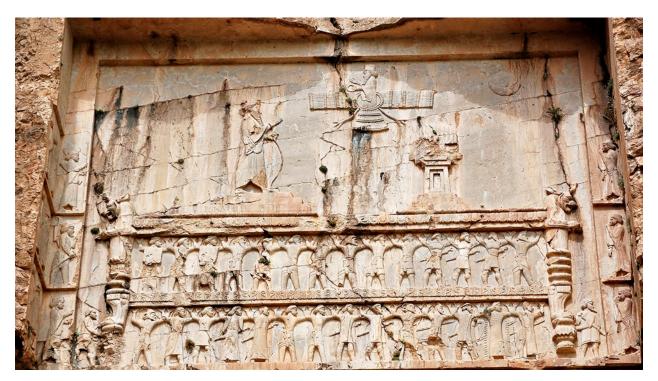


Figure 2: Tomb of Darius the Great, Mount Behistun, Naqs-e-Rustam, Iran, depicting the ancient Macedonians

they subsequently "subdued also the rest of Macedonia" (Herodotus, ibid., 8.137–138). According to Badian (1982, p. 34), Thucydides (460–400) also accepted the above narrative of Macedonian Argive descent "as canonical", corroborating the narrative that in the fifth century BCE, the tradition *vis-à-vis* the Argive origins of the Macedonians was considered factual:

But the country by the sea which is now called Macedonia, was first acquired and made their kingdom by Alexander, the father of Perdiccas, and his forefathers who were originally Temenids from Argos (*The Peloponnesian War*, 2.99.3, also 5.80).

A later narrative in Strabo (*Geography*, 7, fr.11) also corroborates the myth of Macedonian descent claiming that it was from Macedon "one of its earliest chieftains" that the region Macedonia acquired its name, including the people who later settled there — the Macedonians. Strabo is also the one who makes that famous declaration: "Macedonia, of course, is a part of Greece" (ibid., 7, fr. 9). Although a moot statement its significance lies, not in its inference that Macedonia "belongs" to Greece, but that Macedonia is part of the concept of Greece, of Hellas.

The Persian View: "The Greeks who Wear their Shields on their Heads"

The oldest exo-Helladic reference to the identity of the ancient Macedonians can be found in the cuneiform inscriptions on the tomb of Darius I (c.522–486) at *Naqsch-i-Rustam*²⁰ in

²⁰ Naqsch-i-Rustam is a necropolis situated 13 kilometres from Persepolis, Iran: <u>https://www.britannica.com/place/</u> Persepolis#ref31169



Figure 3: Tomb of Darius the Great, close up of *Yauna Takabara*, ancient Macedonians, No. 26, <u>http://www.realhistoryww.com/world_</u> history/ancient/Misc/Elam/Persepolis.htm

Persia. Hewn into one of Mt Behistun's cliffs is a late sixth to early fifth BCE inscription (Rollinger, 2006, pp. 203–206), including a depiction in relief, of Darius the Great's throne-bearing subject nations. Among these nations, one finds the *Yauna* (Persian for Ionians/Greeks) as well as the *Yauna Takabara*²¹ "Ionians with hats that look like shields" or "Ionians who wear their shields on their heads" (figure 26, of throne bearers, left to right, top to bottom) — an allusion to the Macedonian sun-visor, the *kaufsia* (Engels, 2010, p. 87; Olbrycht, 2010, p. 344; Hammond, 1992, p. 12; Lane Fox).

This state of affairs between the Persians and the ancient Macedonians, lords and vassals, is also attested to by Herodotus (5.17–18), where representatives of Darius I (550–486 BCE) demand tribute, "earth and water", from King Amyntas I (540–498 BCE). It is during this visit by the Persians that Alexander I (498–454 BCE) refers to King Amyntas as Darius' "Greek viceroy of Macedonia" $\alpha\nu\eta\rho$ Έλλην Μακεδόνων ύπαρχος (ibid., 5. 20). However, it is during a later episode, that Alexander's sense of kinship with the southern Hellenes is more clearly expressed. It is just before the *Battle of Plataea* that he feels compelled to warn²² those he considers his kin, of Mardonius' impending dawn attack. Herodotus describes how with his life in danger and riding under cover of darkness, Alexander enters the Athenian camp to warn them. It is here that Herodotus presents him as saying: "I would not tell it to you were it not by good reason [...] for I myself am of ancient Greek descent, [Έλλην γένος ειμί] and would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery" (9.45). The episode concludes with Alexander asking the Athenians to save him from the certain slavery that is to befall him in the event of a Persian defeat because of his action taken in the "cause of Hellas [...] so the *barbarians*²³ may not fall upon you suddenly" (ibid.). Alexander's last

²¹ See "Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions, DNe, Indications of People" for enumeration of nations: <u>https://www.livius.org/sources/content/achaemenid-royal-inscriptions/</u>

 $^{^{22}}$ This is the second time Alexander has warned the Athenians (Herodotus, 7.173).

²³ The original Loeb translation is "foreigners". The original Greek text however gives the word barbarians, βάρβαροι, something that totally changes the dynamics of the sentence. Considering the significance of the

statement regarding the barbarians is crucial. Not only does he declare he is a Hellene, but he also implicitly emphasises it by referring to the Persians as "barbarians". More importantly, there is no indication that it is being rejected by those to whom it is being declared under very difficult circumstances. They don't ignore but act on his advice.

That such a tradition, *vis-à-vis* Macedonian "Greekness" existed around the fifth century BCE, may also be inferred from another excerpt from Herodotus who, referring to the Persians says "their intent being, to subdue as many of the Greek cities as they could, first their fleet subdued the Thasians [...] and next, their land army added the Macedonians to the slaves they had already" (6.44). However, it is the purported words of Mardonius that leave little doubt about his perception of ancient Macedonians. Whilst speaking to King Xerxes, Mardonius refers to the Ionians who dwell in Europe, but specifically mentions Macedonia and then Athens. He refers to their manner of fighting and to their wealth. He then proceeds to point out that during the reign of Xerxes' father, Darius I, he had marched against the Greeks:

As far as Macedonia and wellnigh to Athens itself, yet none came about to meet me in battle. Yet wars the Greeks do wage [...]. The Greek custom then is no good one; and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia, it came not into their thoughts to fight (ibid., 7.9).

Mardonius' references to Greeks and Macedonia together, but not Macedonians within the same context, implies an identification of one with the other, reinforcing the Persian view of Macedonians falling within the collective category of Hellenes. The Macedonians have a "Greek custom". The fact that the descendants of Perdiccas I — including Alexander I — are presented as Hellenes, is of course extremely important. Not so much because they "are Hellenes" or of "Hellenic blood", but because they self-identify, and are also seen by outsiders like Mardonius, as Hellenes or people with "Greek customs". Herodotus also makes it very clear that it is not *he* who is claiming they are Hellenes. He is merely stating that he is aware, by way of tradition or personal investigation, of their own claim to Greekness "*as they themselves say*". He clearly disassociates himself from the actual claim because he is going by tradition.

Philip II (382-336 BCE)

It is out of this ancient ethnogenetic, spatial, historical, and political context that Philip II and later Alexander the Great emerge as panhellenists. Even though there are fewer statements regarding Philip's Greek self-identification, they do exist. The most unequivocal of these can be found in his letter to the Athenian senate, in which he expresses his grievances

term "barbarians", Alexander I is making a very clear distinction between the Greeks and himself, and the "barbarian" Persians.

at the latter's disregard, for their mutual oaths and agreements, by urging the king of Persia to declare war on him:

This is the most amazing exploit of all; for, before the king reduced Egypt and Phoenicia, you passed a decree *calling on me to make common cause with the rest of the Greeks* against him, in case he attempted to interfere with us [...]. (Demosthenes, *Orations*, Philip's Letter).

While there are certainly indications that during Philip's time, some southern Hellenes considered him a Hellene, others did not. The most famous, and much-cited, anti-Macedonian tirade is Demosthenes':

Philip and his present conduct, though he is not only no Greek, nor related to the Greeks, but *not even a barbarian* [italics, Gonis] from any place that can be named with honour, but a pestilent knave from Macedonia, where it was never yet possible to buy a decent slave (*Third Philippic*, 31).

The above seems more like a personal attack on Philip's character rather than his Greekness. Philip isn't "even a barbarian", from a place that "it was never yet possible to buy a decent slave". Demosthenes despises Philip and he despises Macedonia for its increasing power and encroachment on the once-mighty Athenian Empire.²⁴ Isocrates (436–338 BCE) on the other hand indicates that by the middle of the fourth century BCE the tradition vis-à-vis the Hellenic roots of the Macedonians and indeed Phillip II was well established. In his Address to Philip, written in 346 BCE (Norlin, 1928, p. 244), he not only hails Philip II as a Hellene but extols him, "you beyond any of the Hellenes" (To Philip, 15). He also corroborates the Argive tradition of the Macedonians: "Argos is the land of your fathers" (To Philip, 32). Elsewhere, he refers to Philip as a "descendant of Heracles" (To Philip, 76) as well as "a man of the blood of Hellas" (To Philip, 139). These are significant statements, albeit questionable because of the political context. It is Isocrates, however, who will also make that very moot statement about Philip being the only one "among the Hellenes [who] did not claim the right to rule over a people of kindred race" (To Philip, 108). It is possible that Isocrates had the everyday Macedonian in mind whose western Doric dialect (Engels, 2010, p. 95) was unintelligible to most of the southern Hellenes and therefore appeared "barbarian".

Aeschines (389–314 BCE) also implicitly corroborates the tradition *vis-à-vis* Philip II Greekness. Referring to a congress,²⁵ he tells us that:

For at the congress of the Lacedemonian allies and the other Greeks, in which Amyntas III (–370 BCE), the father of Philip [II], being entitled to a seat was represented by a delegate whose vote

²⁴ It is said, that when he heard of Philip's death he "put on prodigious airs and caused a shrine to be dedicated to Pausanias" (Philip's assassin) and "offered sacrifice and thanksgiving for the good news" (Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 1988, pp. 160–161). Another reference to Macedonian "barbarism" is that by Thracymachus of Chalcedon in his speech *For the Larissaeans*, where he refers to King Archelaus of Macedonia (grandson of Alexander I) as a barbarian by whom the Larissaens, as Greeks, will not be subjugated (Dascalakis, 1965, p. 228).

²⁵ Congress of Sparta, 371 BCE (Aeschines, 1988, p. 185).

was absolutely under his [Amyntas'] control, he [the delegate] joined the *other* Greeks in voting to help Athens to recover possession of Amphipolis (*On the Embassy, 32*).

Amyntas' proxy does not join the Greeks, but the "other Greeks" implying that there is only one ethnic group here and, as a representative of a Greek, he too joins them.

By the end of Philip's life, his panhellenism was well established. He was, for all intents and purposes a Hellene. He presided over the Pythian Games and the "common festivals of the Greeks" (Demosthenes, *Third Philippic*, 32), took part in the 356 BCE Olympics (Hammond, 1967, p. 534) and according to Plutarch (46-c.122 CE [*Lives, Alexander*, 4.5]) — as well as the existing material evidence — had "the victories of his chariots at Olympia engraved upon his coins" (figure 4).



Figure 4: Gold coins depicting victory of Philip II's horses at the Olympic Games in 356 BCE. Viewed 14 September 2017, <u>https://coinweek.com/</u><u>ancient-coins/coinweek-ancient-coin-series-horses-ancient-coins/</u>

This was not only numismatic advertising of his victory, but also an affirmation of his place within the Hellenic family. Following his victory at the Battle of Chaeronea (338 BCE), he erected a circular building, the Philippeum, in the quintessential Hellenic forum, ancient Olympia (figure 5). Within it he placed a statue of himself, of his father Amyntas, of his son Alexander the Great, as well as statues/portraits of his wife Olympias and mother Eurydice (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Elis I, 17.1; 20.9–10). The political undertones of such an action cannot be totally dismissed, as Philip was a shrewd politician. The incorporation of so many family members, however, speaks to a need to be genuinely regarded as Greek. Even though the narrative of their supposed origins "may have had no more basis than a verbal echo, the kings considered themselves to be of Greek descent from Heracles, son of Zeus" (Hammond, 1967, p. 534).

Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE)

Any doubts about Philip's Hellenic identity did not apply to Alexander. By the time he rose to the throne at twenty (336 BCE), several generations of his family had already



Figure 5: The Philippeum today. Viewed 25 November 2017 http://documents-macedon.blogspot.com.au/2012/08/the-philippeion-ancient-olympia.html

self-identified as Hellenes, and representations of his grandfather, grandmother, father, mother and of himself were already housed in the Philippeum in Olympia (Schultz as cited in Palagia, 2010, p. 37).²⁶ Writers like Badian (1982) have argued that Philip's panhellenism was a purely political decision; that it was empire alone that drove his conquests, rather than the enthralling lure of a supposed noble, Hellenic ideal and cause. If true, this still does not explain the Hellenic self-identification of his ancestors. The works that history, as well as folklore, has bequeathed to us, paint a picture of an Alexander who was thoroughly immersed in his Hellenic lineage was all-consuming and unquestionable. This is from the outset evident in the manner with which he espouses, defends, and applies the Herodotean criteria of (Greek) nationhood or ethnic groupness. Ultimately, Alexander avenges Hellas

²⁶ "Careful examination of the materials and techniques of the statues' pedestal and the fabric of the tholos by Peter Schultz, however, has established that the entire monument was built in one phase and must have been completed in Philip's lifetime" (Palagia, 2010, p. 37).

because he genuinely laments "the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods" who he is "constrained to avenge to the uttermost." He believes in:

The kinship of all the Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of the gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life [...] (Herodotus, 8.144).

Alexander's pursuit and punishment of the Persians for wrongs inflicted on the Greeks and their temples is perhaps not sufficient proof of his Hellenism. One could, on the face of it, argue that such a pursuit was, like that of his father's, a matter of political expediency, a very convincing façade. However, Alexander's actions reveal he truly believes in what he is doing. He disseminates the Hellenic language and way of life, builds shrines to Hellenic gods and extols the virtues of Hellas and Hellenic culture. For Alexander, the Hellene is the human being *par excellence*, and *his* purported divine lineages make *him* the ideal candidate for the promotion and dissemination of such a world view. Regardless of what his "actual" ethno-genetic makeup may or may not have been, Alexander was, according to the majority of historians, geographers, folklorists, someone who self-identified as a Hellene. As a panhellenist of the first order, he was more committed to Hellas than any of the politicians in Athens or Sparta, and embodied the mythological, historical, and cultural parameters of the Hellenic identity in his time.

Alexander and the Macedonians in the Hellenistic Period and in Folklore

Writers from the Hellenistic period, both Greek and Roman are much more explicit about the self-identification of Alexander the Great and the identity of the ancient Macedonians. From the *Histories* of Polybius (200–118 BCE) to the folkloric account of Pseudo-Callisthenes'²⁷ *The Life of Alexander of Macedon* (Haight, 1955), Alexander is presented, either directly or indirectly, as self-identifying as a Hellene. His world is one inhabited by Hellenic gods and heroes within a landscape which is animated by Hellenic notions of beauty and civility. Writers from the late Hellenistic period, to the early Roman Empire era, draw a picture of an Alexander who enters history as a Hellene. From the moment he is born, he is inculcated with the myth of his divine linage. Diodorus (c. 1st century BCE) tells us that:

On his father's side Alexander was a descendant of Heracles and from his mother's side he could claim the blood of the Aeacides²⁸ so that from his ancestors on both sides he inherited the physical and moral qualities of greatness (Diodorus, *Library of History*, 17.1.5).²⁹

²⁷ Purported author of a pseudo-historical account or "historical romance" containing myths blended in with historical events from the life of Alexander the Great (Haight, 1955, p. 2).

²⁸ According to Hammond (1992, p. 16) "The royal house of the Molossian ethnos ruled from the time of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles (Strabo, 7.7.8), until the abolition of the monarch in 232 BCE, a span of nine centuries. Its members were called 'Aeacidae', descendants of Aeacus, the grandfather of Achilles."

²⁹ Velleius Paterculus, 1.6.4; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.5.9; 4.11.6–9; Justin, 11.4.4–5.

We have a similar account by Marcus Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 BC-c. AD 31):

Alexander the Great [...] could boast that, on his mother's side he was descended from Achilles and on his father's side, from Hercules (*Compendium of Roman History*, 1.6.5).

Hellenistic sources present an Alexander who believes he is of the same vintage as Heracles and Achilles, from the line of the immortal Zeus (Plutarch, Lives, 33.1). These notions are very real to him, not mythopoeia. The world of his youth and adulthood is animated by the epics of Homer (Strabo, Geography, 13.1.27). He keeps the Iliad along with his dagger, under his pillow (Plutarch, Lives, 8.2) and later in Darius' golden coffer (Plutarch, Lives, 26.1). He is constantly guided by the heroes of his Hellenic education and upbringing. Heracles, Achilles, Perseus and Zeus constitute the measure of his strength and ultimate potential. More importantly, he not only aims at rivalling (Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, 3.3.2) but in fact, surpassing them in heroism and renown (Hammond, 1997, p. 7). Upon his arrival in Troy, he visits the tombs of his heroes Achilles and Ajax and honours them with offerings (Diodorus, Library of History, 17.17.3). Alexander speaking to Diogenes the Cynic he declares: "Forgive me that I imitate Heracles and emulate Perseus" (Plutarch, Moralia, 4.332). When he performs sacrifices, he does so in their honour (Plutarch, Lives, 15.4; Diodorus, Library of History, 17.3) as though he coalesces with their divine and heroic essence. Whilst trying to inspire his dispirited army, he not only speaks of the sacrifices that great deeds require but of his purported Peloponnesian ancestors:

Or do you not know that it was not by remaining in Tyrins or Argos or even in the Peloponnese or Thebes that our [Alexander's family] ancestor attained such renown that from a man he became, or was held, a god? Even Dionysus, a more delicate god than Heracles, had not a few labours to perform (Arrian, *Indica*, 5.26.5).

As king, the first of his objectives is to punish the Persians for their "impiety against the Greeks" (Polybius, *The Histories*, 5.10; Curtius, *The History of Alexander*, 4.1.11). In Arrian, generally considered the most reliable source on Alexander, he sends a letter to Darius telling him: "Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece" (*Anabasis*, 2.14.4). He does not separate Macedonia from Greece but presents it as an extension of Greece as Strabo says "part of Greece". The avenging of Greece is an objective he has made clear from the very beginning of his reign. This is also conveyed in one of the most poignant references in Alexander historiography, where he purportedly speaks to a felled statue of Xerxes in Persepolis: "Shall I pass on and leave thee lying there because of thine expedition against the Hellenes? (Plutarch, *Lives*, 37.3)."³⁰ His statements and deeds are consistent and unambiguous; they come from one who is deeply cognisant of the gravity of his mission as a Hellene.

³⁰ The notion of an Alexander who has been chosen as the "avenger of Greece" is also found in Justin's (c. second century CE) work, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogos* (1994, book 11:5.6; 11:14.11).

Alexander does not avenge Macedon but Hellas. He does not advance a "Macedonian" but a Hellenic world view. The medium may indeed be the might of the Macedonian army, but it is always in the cause of Hellas and the Hellenes. His aim, as he himself declares, is "to push the bounds of Macedonia to the farthest ocean and to disseminate and shower the blessings of Greek justice and peace over every nation" (Plutarch, *Moralia*, Vol. 4.332.10). Alexander may physically and politically originate from Macedon but spiritually resides in a Hellas that transcends the Helladic terrain. He is in the truest sense a missionary of Isocrates' "Hellenic intelligence" (*Panegiricus*, 50)³¹ which he feels compelled to share, indeed impose, if need be, on the rest of humankind as a matter of utmost urgency and importance. He founds Greek cities (Plutarch, *Lives, Alexander*, 26.2) and Hellenises barbarian boys (Plutarch, *Lives*, 47.3). These are not ephemeral preoccupations or whims of youth. Unlike the common man, he lives for his destiny. He has no interest in family and children (Diodorus, *Library of History*, 17.16.2).

Alexander's Hellenism also extends to more subtle aspects, such as the attire of his exhausted and forlorn men "whose arms and armour were wearing out and Greek clothing was quite gone" (Diodorus, *Library of History*, 17.94.2). Speaking to his men, he declares: "Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk among the Macedonians like demi-gods amongst wild beasts?" (Plutarch, *Lives*, 51.2). Alexander's intention here is not so much to denigrate his fellow Macedonians but to extol the notion of "Greekness" which he clearly holds higher than any supposed "Macedonianness". He calls a meeting of his generals, most of whom are from Macedonia, only to announce that "no city was more mischievous to the Greeks than the seat [Persepolis] of the ancient kings of Persia" (Curtius, *History of Alexander*, 5.6.1). Elsewhere he declares:

'We Macedonians,' he continued, 'are to fight Medes and Persians [...]. Above all, it will be a fight of free men against slaves. And so far as Greek will meet Greek, they will not be fighting for like causes; those with Darius will be risking their lives for pay, and poor pay too; the Greeks on our side will fight as volunteers in the cause of Greece' (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.7.4).³²

That Alexander's Greekness is not something of a political facade, or banal obsession devoid of substance, is also evident in the way in which he defends the honour of the Greek way of life and name. When the wife of the Bactrian noble Spitamenes, a deserter, appears

³¹ "And so far has our city distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world; and she has brought it about that the name 'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race, but an intelligence, and that the title 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share common blood" (Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 50–51).

³² One has to ask why Alexander makes these statements. Why does he so quickly presume that his Macedonian generals will be as offended as the southern Hellene officers amongst them, if the former did not also see themselves as Greeks? The same applies to the second excerpt where he is trying to inspire his men. Why does he attempt to do so by invoking the Greeks and Greece, when most of his men are "Macedonians"?

with the latter's head Alexander is repelled by the barbarity of the crime. Even though he has eliminated a "treacherous deserter", he does not want the woman "affecting the character and the mild dispositions of the Greeks by this example of barbarian lawlessness" (Curtius, *History of Alexander*, 8.3.15). He immediately orders her away from the camp, distancing himself from such conduct which he views as unbecoming to his civilised Greek upbringing and values.

Both the historical and folkloric sources of the Hellenistic Period paint a similar picture. The Macedonians of this period are understood to be a Greek people and Macedonia a "Greek land". We see this in a passage from Polybius and one in Livy. Speaking before the Lacedaemonian senate, Lyciscus the Acarnanian a supporter of Philip V (238–179 BCE) declares to Chlaeneas the Aetolian, a supporter of a Graeco-Roman coalition against Philip:

Then your rivals in the struggle for supremacy and renown were the Achaeans and Macedonians, peoples of your own race [...] (Polybius, *The Histories*, 9.37.7).

The above is also corroborated during a treaty between Hannibal and King Philip V of Macedon:

In the presence of all the gods who possess Macedonia and the rest of Greece [...]. That King Philip and the Macedonians and the rest of the Greeks who are their allies shall protect the Carthaginians (ibid., 7. 9.3–5).

Writing in the first century BCE, Livy (64 BCE–17 CE) tells us:

Aetolians, Acarnanians and Macedonians, peoples sharing a common language, are driven apart and united by trivial and transient issues; but all Greeks are ever, and ever will be, at war with foreigners, with barbarians (*The Dawn of the Roman Empire*, 31.29).

As for the Peloponnesian descent of the Macedonians, this is by the late first century CE well-established. Not only do the Macedonians claim to be Argives, but the Argives actually claim them as their descendants. "As for the Argives, apart from their belief that the Macedonian kings were descended from them" (Livy, 32.22–23).

The folkloric tradition also constitutes an important source of information on the self-identification of Alexander the Great. This has come down to us in the form of various "*Alexander Romances*", attributed to the imaginary writer Pseudo-Callisthenes (Haight, 1955; Wolohojian, 1969)³³ and rich in the "lore of the Hellenistic Age" (Haight, 1955, p. ix). Elizabeth Haight³⁴ has described them as a "historical romances" due to the amount of actual history

³³ Haight (1955, pp. 2–3) tells us that "the original Callisthenes was a nephew and pupil of Aristotle who wrote Hellenica in ten books and a work on the Deeds of Alexander. Alexander took him into Asia [...]. The name Callisthenes appears in connection with this romance only in certain manuscripts of the third class. The author's identity cannot be ascertained".

³⁴ Haight was the first scholar to translate the "romances" from Greek to English.

that they contain. She also claims "there are indications that an earlier version was written shortly after Alexander's death" (1955, p. 2).

As the one of historiography, Pseudo-Callisthenes' Alexander is an unequivocally Hellenic being (Haight, 1955, p. 67, Wolohojian 1969, pp. 45–46). So much so, that even Demosthenes, Philip's arch-enemy, is somewhat ironically presented as affirming the latter's Greekness: "Alexander, a Greek, and leading Greeks" (Haight ibid., p. 68). In another instance, Alexander is referred to as the "first of the Greek kings to overcome Egypt" (Haight ibid., pp. 68–69).³⁵ Yet it is not only others who affirm Alexander's Greekness. Alexander also tells King Porus: "Since then the Greeks do not have these and you the barbarians do have them, we the Greeks, desiring better possessions, have come to take them from you" (Haight ibid., p. 98).

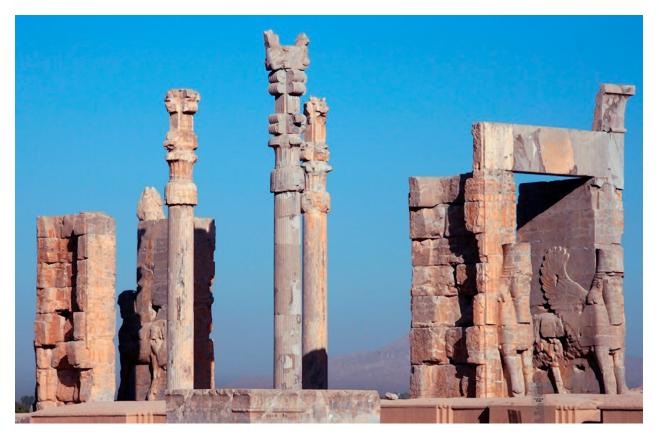
The most salient characteristics of the folkloric tradition are its animistic character and pervasive Greekness. We are presented with a universe that is alive and interacts with Alexander in Greek. There are birds with human faces that speak to Alexander "in Greek" (Stoneman, 1991, p. 121); "when the moon rose, its tree spoke to him in Greek" (ibid., p. 135). This constant repetition of Greekness and an obvious emphasis on the Greek language are very significant in that they qualify the hero; they tell us who he is and which things are important to him. They are, however, not only characteristics of the folkloric tradition. In Plutarch, a spring "casts forth a bronze tablet bearing the prints of ancient letters in which it is made known that the Persians will be destroyed by the Greeks" (*Lives*, Alexander, 17.2–3). In his *Jewish Antiquities* (11.337), the historian Flavius Josephus (30–100 CE) describes Alexander's mythical visit to Jerusalem. When Alexander is purportedly shown a prophecy in the *Book of Daniel* — predicting that "one of the Greeks will destroy the Empire of the Persians" — he immediately interprets it as referring to him.

Although incidents such as the latter belong to mythology rather than history, they, in conjunction with historiography, offer us insights into popular perceptions about Alexander's belief system and how he self-identified. The one constant is his Greekness. He self-identifies and is identified by others as a Hellene.

Conclusion

Unlike the more numerous, as well as more detailed writings from the Hellenistic period, we do not possess enough information to conclusively establish the exact relationship between the ancient Macedonians and the southern Hellenes of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The sources from this period also tell us very little about the average ancient Macedonian man or woman. That said, the extant evidence paints a picture of a group somewhat on

³⁵ Strangely enough it is Demosthenes who in the historical account refuses Philip divine honours yet here suggests they send Alexander a crown of victory and congratulations (Stoneman, 1991, p. 92).



The Gate of All Nations, Persepolis https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gate_of_All_Nations,_Persepolis.jpg

the periphery of the Hellenic world, whose royal house clearly self-identified as Hellenes and had an established Hellenic tradition of origin. This is evident in Herodotus' Macedonian genealogy, in the declarations of Alexander I, and in the epigraphic evidence of the ancient Persians. We have also seen this in the Hellenistic literature and in the folkloric tradition. The fact that there is a certain blurriness from time to time — in the ambiguous statements of individuals like Isocrates or in Demosthenes' virulent attacks on Philip "the barbarian" has long been a point of contention amongst historians, but it is not enough to de-Hellenise Philip II, and certainly not Alexander the Great. What these conflicting statements tell us is that in the fourth century BCE, there existed a "discussion" around what it meant to be a "Hellene" and that the ancient Macedonians were clearly part of it. What the term "Hellene" exactly connoted, and how close that notion is to the notion of a Hellene today is part of a very different discussion.

The Helladic terrain along with the Hellene has undergone significant changes and claims to identity on an ethno-genetic basis are therefore futile. One is not a Hellene because "Hellenic" blood runs in their veins, but because they espouse Hellenic, historico-cultural values experienced within a common terrain by a particular group of people. Likewise, a "Macedonian" is not he or she who supposedly shares the "blood" of Alexander, but his vision, his

values, his temperament, his religion and mythology. Those things that constitute the pillars of his biotheory and self-identification.

What is undeniable is that the ancient Macedonians came into existence at the same time as their southern Hellenic kin. They emerged from the same mythological, ethnogenetic, and historical traditions, as essential and integral parts of Hellenic ethnogenesis. Macedonian ethnogenesis presupposes southern Hellenic ethnogenesis and *vice versa*. In the case of Alexander the Great, the extant mythological, historical, folkloric evidence demonstrates that regardless of where *neo*-Macedonist discourse seeks to position him, he positioned himself squarely within the Greek world as a descendant of Hellenic deities and demi-gods, defender and lover of Hellas and a Hellene *par excellence*. Nowhere in any of the literature is there a renunciation of his "Hellenism" or Hellas. In fact, one could infer from some of the above excerpts that there is a noticeable "back seating" of his Macedonianness and a manifest promotion of his Hellenism. One is therefore ethically, but also evidentially, bound not only to respect it but to also adopt it as a compass for such investigations. The picture of the "Macedonian" usurped by the Greeks, the anti-Hellene is simply not consistent with history, mythology or folklore.



Greek ancient like plaque at Alexander the Great monument in Thessaloniki (Source: Adobe Stock)

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The Identity of the Occupant of the Amphipolis Tomb Beneath the Kasta Mound

By Andrew Michael Chugg

Introduction

The ancient monument known as the Kasta Mound lying just outside the ancient Macedonian city of Amphipolis has been subject to continual excavation since the 1960s, but in August of 2014, the site came to extraordinary prominence when its archaeologists announced the discovery of chambers beneath the mound, which have become known as the Amphipolis Tomb. This monument is of interest to the study of ancient history, because it is the largest and most magnificently decorated tomb ever discovered in Greece and because it appears to date to the immediate aftermath of the reign of Alexander the Great. However, a particular reason for readers of this journal to concern themselves with this matter is the question of the identity of the person for whom this complex was constructed, because the solution that has been proposed by the archaeologists is quite at odds with our understanding of the history of events after Alexander's death as portrayed by the written sources and all other evidence to date.¹

The Archaeological Context

The Kasta Mound sits on a ridge overlooking the River Strymon about 2km NE of the walls of the ancient Macedonian city of Amphipolis (Figure 1). The earliest scientific excavations in 1964–1965 revealed the existence of a circular *peribolos* or enclosure wall in the skirts of the mound with a diameter of 158m and a height of 3m.² The facing stones of the wall

¹ Of course, other solutions to the identity of the occupant have been proposed, but in general they have no specific evidence to support them or they seek to contradict explicit historical evidence: one example would be Peter Delev, Who was buried in the Kasta tomb near Amphipolis? An argument for Cynane, the daughter of Philip II, Jubilaeus VII, Sofia 2018, pp. 163–170, however Cynane is stated to have been buried at Aegae by Cassander by Athenaeus 4.155a and also by Diodorus 19.52.5.

² Demetrios Lazaridis, Amphipolis, Ministry of Culture Archaeological Receipts Fund, Athens 1997,

comprise a total of over 2500 large blocks of marble quarried on the Aegean island of Thassos and finished to a high quality and precision by master masons. The interior backing masonry comprises many more rough-hewn blocks of lower quality limestone. In addition, the foundations of a building measuring just over 10m square were uncovered at the apex of the mound in 1973.³

In August of 2014, archaeologists announced the discovery of an entranceway set into the peribolos facing approximately 26-degrees to the west of due south and therefore looking directly towards the acropolis of Hellenistic Amphipolis (Figure 2). They uncovered steps leading down to a sealing wall of rough limestone blocks stacked without mortar. Upon removing the wall, they unveiled a portal guarded by a pair of two-metre-tall sphinxes sculpted from blocks of Thassian marble in the best early Hellenistic style and sat either side of a lintel spanning the portal. The sphinxes had been deliberately mutilated through decapitation, smashing of their wings and precise hacking off of each breast. The threshold of the portal was decorated with mosaics in both a diamond and a rectangular pattern executed in black and white pebbles. There were Ionic pilasters either side of the portal with capitals painted with classical egg & dart decorations (an Ionic cymation) in surviving blue and red pigments.

The archaeologists cleared three chambers in succession (Figure 3), each about 4.5m wide, running into the mound beneath a shared semi-circular arched stone roof. The chambers had been sedulously filled to approximately the base of the arch by sand and grit hauled up from the bed of the River Strymon in antiquity.

The first chamber was about 6m long and had a floor fabricated from irregular fragments of white marble set into a red cement. This has an almost exact match in a section of the flooring of the late 4th century BC Macedonian royal palace at Aegae (modern Vergina). There was a horizontal strip of imperfectly preserved painted decoration, probably fronds and flowers, surmounted by the continuation of the egg & dart motif around the upper section of its walls. A second sealing wall of dry stone blocks of the same type as the first had next to be removed from the side facing into the mound.

Immediately behind the second sealing wall, a pair of greater than life-size caryatids (female statues serving as pillars) were stood on plinths either side of a continuation of the central passageway.⁴ They supported another lintel which was decorated with a horizontal line of sculpted eight-petalled flowers and surmounted by sculpted imitations of the tiles found at the edge of the roof of a Macedonian high-status building. Similar roof-rim sculptures had also been used to top out the peribolos wall, and in general, the style of masonry inside the

p. 61; Georges Daux, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1965, Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Volume 90, livraison 2, 1966 pp. 879–881.

³ Demetrios Lazaridis, Amphipolis, Ministry of Culture Archaeological Receipts Fund, Athens 1997, p. 64.

⁴ The discovery of the caryatids was announced in a Press Release of the Greek Ministry of Culture on Τύμβο Καστά, Αμφίπολης on 7th September 2014.

tomb chambers was an excellent match for that used to face the peribolos wall. The dress of the caryatids and their box-like headgear may be recognised as characteristic of priestesses of Dionysos, who were known as Klodones or Mimallones in ancient Macedon. They each had their inner-side arm raised over the passageway to the second chamber. They were probably jointly holding an object (a wreath or a serpent?) above the entranceway, but we cannot be certain of its identity or even its existence, because most of the length of the raised arm of each of the caryatids is missing.

The second chamber was dominated by a magnificent polychrome pebble mosaic covering its entire floor area (approximately 3m x 4.5m). It is perhaps the finest pebble mosaic to survive from antiquity. It clearly depicts the abduction of Persephone into the Underworld by Hades. The bearded lord of the dead clings to the distressed daughter of Demeter in a small chariot drawn by a pair of panicking white horses led by Hermes wearing his *petasos* hat and his winged sandals and gripping his caduceus. Of course, the Persephone figure symbolises the occupant of the tomb, and it would be natural for a visitor to suppose that she is a portrait of the otherwise unnamed occupant, perhaps a woman snatched cruelly and unexpectedly from life in the same fashion as Persephone.⁵

The second chamber also featured a badly decayed strip of painted decoration around the top of its walls depicting scenes from life. The central scene above the entrance to the third chamber appears to depict a man and a woman dancing either side of a garlanded bull and off to their right an amphora-sized jar and then a Nike (winged goddess of victory) beside a brazier of fire sitting on a tall tripod. This Nike possibly stands in the prow of a galley blowing a trumpet. These scenes are reminiscent of the nocturnal rites at the Mysteries that took place on the Aegean island of Samothrace at the sanctuary where the famous sculpture of the Nike of Samothrace standing on a ship's prow was discovered in fragments in March 1863. The dancing man and woman even appear to be wearing the crimson-purple belts reported to have designated initiates into these Mysteries according to Varro. Demetrius Poliorcetes as king of Macedon in the very early 3rd century BC employed the device of a Nike blowing a trumpet in a ship's prow on some of his silver tetradrachms, so there is a contemporaneous association of this Samothracian motif with Macedonian royalty.

A flat ceiling had originally been installed in the second chamber using large slabs of stone across its narrow length, but only one slab was in situ when excavated. The underside of this ceiling slab was divided into square panels, each painted with a stylised flower.

⁵ The discovery of the mosaic was announced in a Press Release of the Greek Ministry of Culture on Τύμβο Kαστά, Aμφίπολης on 12th October 2014, but only the central portion had at that point been excavated. I pointed out that what had been considered to be the second arm of the charioteer was actually the arm of a yet to be uncovered woman wearing a bracelet and that the mosaic would therefore be found to depict an Abduction of Persephone in an article in the Greek Reporter on 15th October 2014. A Press Release on 16th October 2014 by the Ministry of Culture duly confirmed my prediction.

The entrance to the third chamber had originally been closed off with a pair of magnificent white marble doors, imitative of temple doors in ancient Macedon. Such doors are a standard feature of the entrances to the burial chambers of high-status Macedonian tombs from the late Classical to the mid-Hellenistic period.⁶ However, these doors were found in pieces inside the third chamber having been smashed to bits by the infliction of some immense blow, such as from a battering ram. The excavation photos, published by the Greek Ministry of Culture on 21st October 2014, show some fragments suspended in the sand of the fill and others suspended in the fill of the grave slot, as though the doors had been destroyed actually during the process of backfilling the chambers with sand.⁷ Certainly, the pattern of the distribution of the fragments implies that they were excavated just where they fell when the doors broke asunder.

The third chamber was found to be about 6m long, and the missing head of one of the sphinxes and fragments of its wings were found in its fill, apparently placed there by the sealers. The floor had originally been covered with blocks of limestone, but many were missing across the central area of the floor. They had evidently been removed prior to the sealing in order to expose and desecrate the grave lying beneath the floor of this chamber. This grave was in the form of a cist tomb with rough-cut blocks of limestone forming a subterranean chamber about 4m long and 1.2m wide and 1m deep. The upper slabs of the cist chamber lay about 1m beneath the floor of the third chamber, but most of these slabs had been removed by the desecrators in order to access the interior of the cist. It was immediately apparent from the initial photos released by the Ministry of Culture⁸ that the build standard of this cist tomb was much below the exalted quality of the overlying chambers. This observation engendered speculation that the cist tomb might not have been constructed at precisely the same time as the overlying monument.

A grave slot measuring about 3m long and about half a metre wide and 0.4m deep was uncovered in the base of the cist tomb. A 0.6m section at its southern (chamber-entrance) end was divided from the remaining 2m section by a large slab of stone. That the longer section was a grave for an uncremated coffin burial was supported by its dimensions together with the discovery in the fill of fragments of egg & dart banding and beading carved in bone and pale-blue glass discs, which are consistent with the embellishments that might be expected on a wooden coffin of the early Hellenistic era.

The grave had been completely dug out by the ancient desecrators, who had begun by robbing any valuable grave goods. It seems that the desecrators themselves had backfilled the

⁶ Manolis Andronicos, Vergina: The Royal Tombs, Ekdotike Athenon, Athens 1984, p. 33 (Rhomaios tomb), p. 34 (main tomb in Bella Tumulus), pp. 76 & 101 (Tomb II in the Great Tumulus), p. 199 (Tomb III in the Great Tumulus); see also the tomb of Lyson & Kallikles at Lefkadia.

⁷ Press Release of the Greek Ministry of Culture on Τύμβο Καστά, Αμφίπολης, on 21st October 2014.

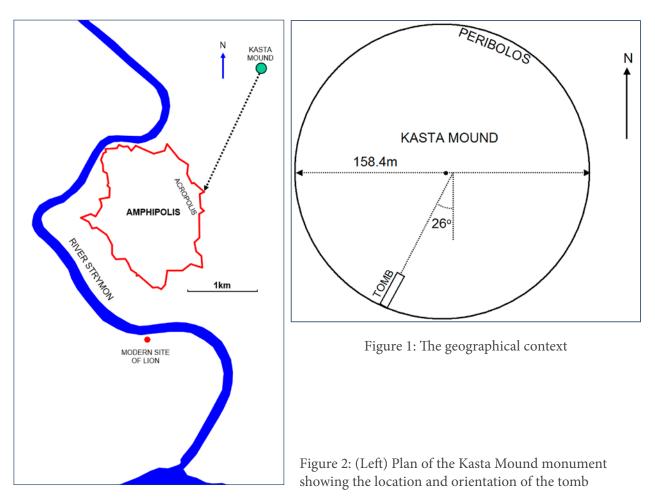
⁸ Press Release of the Greek Ministry of Culture on Τύμβο Καστά, Αμφίπολης, on 12th November 2014.

grave with more than five hundred bones and bone fragments mixed with the soil excavated from the metre-thick layer lying between the floor of chamber three and the top of the cist tomb. As already noted, the suspension of marble door fragments in the sand fill implies that it was also the desecrators who sand-filled and wall-sealed the entire tomb.

The results of an initial study of the bones were released by the Greek Ministry of Culture on 19th January 2015. There were three main uncremated human skeletons present: those of two men aged approximately 35 and 45 respectively, and that of an elderly woman aged sixty years or more. Only the woman's skeleton had a skull, and the Ministry particularly noted that her bones had been concentrated in the bottom 1.1 metres of the backfill, whereas most of the other bones had been found in a range between 1.1 metres and 2.6 metres from the bottom of the cist grave. Overall the scattered bones were distributed from approximately the floor level of the third chamber all the way down to the bottom of the grave slot. There were unhealed cuts to some of the younger man's bones, indicating that he had died violently. In addition, there were a few arm bones and skull fragments from a young infant and nine small fragments of cremated bone, presumed to be human, as well as some animal bones, including some from one or more horses.

Finally, it should be noted that another slab of the sculpture is reported to have been found in the third chamber: it depicts a serpent coiled around the trunk of a tree. The archaeologists have also reported that they found a couple of low-quality pots only roughly datable to the late classical or early Hellenistic period during the excavations of the chambers and three bronze coins, one assigned to the reign of Alexander and two more from the early second century BC. But it does not appear to have been specified exactly where these coins were found and in particular, whether they were inside or outside the first sealing wall and whether they lay on top of the sand/soil or within it or on the ground or flooring beneath the fill?

A large proportion of the stones from the peribolos wall of the Kasta Mound were dismantled, removed and used in later constructions in and around Amphipolis by the Romans long after the sealing of the tomb chambers. Most significantly these stones were used to construct a dam or ford across the River Strymon just south of ancient Amphipolis. In 1916 officers of the British Army on deployment in the region recognised fragments of a colossal ancient lion sculpture among these ancient blocks and attempted unsuccessfully to remove them to Britain. The 5.37m tall seated lion was reconstructed in the 1930s and set up on a plinth made from peribolos facing stones next to the road near the modern bridge across the Strymon (Figure 1). Since also the archaeologists have reported finding a lost fragment of the lion in the Kasta Mound excavations and considering that the building foundations found atop the Kasta Mound appear to have features that are consistent with them being the remains of a base for the lion sculpture, it would seem relatively clear that the famous lion of Amphipolis was originally erected upon the peak of the Kasta Mound and is a part of that monument. Independently of any knowledge of its connection with



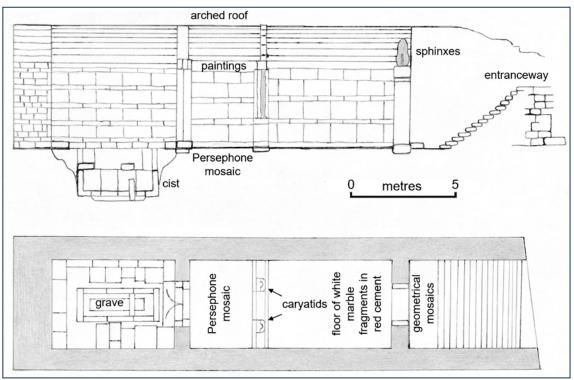


Figure 3: Plan and section through the Amphipolis Tomb chambers

the mound, Oscar Broneer, one of its reconstructors, dated the lion to the last quarter of the 4th century BC in 1941.⁹

A Proof that the Mound is not a Monument for Hephaistion

At the end of September 2015, the archaeological team for the excavation of the Amphipolis Tomb in the Kasta Mound announced their conclusion that the monument had been built for Hephaistion, the Chiliarch of Alexander the Great.¹⁰ Their reasoning was based on the evidence from two similar graffiti inscriptions on two loose blocks that had originally formed part of the peribolos of the Kasta Mound. Figures 4 and 5 depict these inscriptions as presented by the archaeologists. The word APEAABON had been scratched right across the long faces of both blocks, followed in each case by a letter bundle or monogram including a prominent eta and phi together with a number of smaller and less distinct characters. The archaeologists' sketches of these inscriptions and their locations relative to the margins of their respective blocks are shown in Figure 6. However, the archaeologists' photos and reconstructions omit a feature of the blocks that may in fact lead inexorably to the opposite conclusion: that the Kasta Mound cannot have been conceived and constructed for Hephaistion but must instead have been dedicated to some other prominent Macedonian, who was connected with the Royal Family and who perished in the decade or so after Alexander's death.

The archaeologists have explained that they and their epigraphic experts have been able to distinguish most of the letters of Hephaistion's name in the monograms as detailed in their reconstructions of the inscriptions in Figure 6. They have argued persuasively that $\Pi APE \Lambda ABON$, meaning "received by" or "received for" was intended by APE \Lambda ABON, despite the leading Π being missing in both cases. They, therefore, concluded that the inscriptions indicated that the monument had been "Received by Hephaistion". They augmented their case with a set of scratches found in the middle of a rosette painted on the surviving part of the flat ceiling in the middle chamber of the Amphipolis Tomb immediately above the large pebble mosaic of the Rape of Persephone. These scratches (Figure 7) bear some resemblance to the largest letters (eta and phi) in the monograms on the loose blocks. However,

⁹ Oscar Broneer, The Lion Monument at Amphipolis, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1941, pp. 48–51.

¹⁰ The initial public announcement of the archaeologists' Hephaistion Heroon theory of the Kasta Mound and the Amphipolis Tomb was given in an ad hoc series of presentations and a press conference at the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki on 30th September 2015. The archaeological team subsequently presented four more formal papers on their excavations between 12:15 and 13:15 on 4th March 2016 at the 29th conference on Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη – these were: 12:15 Κ. Περιστέρη, Ανασκαφική έρευνα τύμβου Καστά Αμφίπολης 2014; 12:30 Κ. Περιστέρη, Μ. Λεφαντζής, Αρχιτεκτονικά και οικοδομικά χαρακτηριστικά στην εξέλιξη του μνημειακού συνόλου τύμβου Καστά Αμφίπολης; 12:45 Κ. Περιστέρη, Μ. Λεφαντζής, Α. Corso, Μελέτη διάσπαρτων μαρμάρινων αναγλύφων από την ευρύτερη περιοχή τύμβου Καστά Αμφίπολης; 13:00 Δ. Εγγλέζος, Το ταφικό συγκρότημα του λόφου-τύμβου Καστά από πλευράς πολιτικού μηχανικού.

it is evident that the supposed eta and phi are poorly formed to the extent that it is doubtful whether they would be recognised as eta-phi unless the viewer had some reason to wish to discover such a monogram. Secondly, there is an inexplicable additional C on the left side, which would not be expected to occur in a three-letter monogram for Hephaistion's name, should we suppose for example that it represents a lunate sigma. This means that there is a high probability that there is no connection between these scratches and the monograms in the APEAABON inscriptions, in which the sigma candidates have the standard capitalised form. Given the huge surface area of sculpted stone used in the Amphipolis tomb (around 2000 square metres), it is likely that there are other incidental and meaningless scratches somewhere that would bear as much resemblance to an eta-phi monogram as those on the middle chamber ceiling block.

Nevertheless, the APEAABON inscriptions on the loose blocks are substantive, and this inscription was virtually duplicated at least once. Furthermore, both blocks are from the peribolos of the Kasta Mound with high confidence, due to their size and form, their material and the context of their modern rediscovery amongst many other blocks demonstrably originating from the peribolos.

It is difficult for independent scholars to discern and verify the smaller letters in the monograms on the blocks with reference to the released photos. Access to the blocks themselves has not been possible, because they were locked away in 2014 (or perhaps even earlier), despite the fact that one of them at least sat on public view for decades in a collection of peribolos stones beside the highway next to the reconstructed lion. Nevertheless, it should be allowed that the archaeologists have had the opportunity to study the inscriptions most closely. It is therefore quite possible that they are correct in their interpretation of what the inscriptions say and that they are right that these inscriptions are original to the Kasta Mound wall. It might be objected that many of the loose blocks from the wall have ancient graffiti inscriptions that were manifestly carved onto the blocks after they were removed from the wall. In fact, papers were published long ago addressing these post-demolition inscriptions.¹¹ However, the archaeologists have responded that detailed examinations of the APEAABON inscriptions suggest that they were carved before the final finishing of the blocks by the masons at the Kasta Mound and it is apparent in the various photos that the stippling of the block surfaces that constituted this finishing runs into the strokes of the inscriptions, and the stippling is closer to obliterating the inscription in Figure 4 on its left-hand side. Nevertheless, even if the inscriptions have been correctly read and they were indeed inscribed before the peribolos was completed, the key question remains of whether it is correct to deduce that the monument was built for Hephaistion?

¹¹ G. Bakalakes, Θρακικά χαράγματα εκ του παρά την Αμφίπολιν φράγματος του Στρυμόνος, Θρακικά 13 (1940), pp. 3–32 (especially pp. 17–32); The 'Classical' Bridge at Amphipolis, AJA LXXIV (1970), pp. 289–291 (especially p. 290).

A basic problem with the archaeologists' assignment of the monument to Hephaistion is that it conflicts with our current understanding of the history of the period immediately after Alexander's death as described by ancient written sources, such as Diodorus and Justin. These sources strongly imply that the only person likely to have wished to commemorate Hephaistion with such a huge and expensive monument as the Kasta Mound at Amphipolis was Alexander the Great. However, Alexander himself died only about seven months after Hephaistion. Seven months is enough time for monuments to have been ordered and designed and for the marble blocks for the construction to have begun to be quarried, but it is not nearly enough time to complete the construction of a monument as huge and as grand as the Amphipolis Tomb.

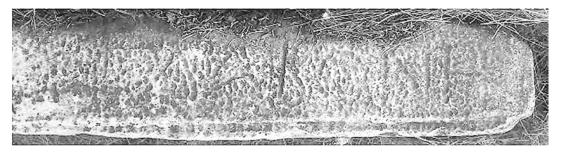


Figure 4: The first APEAABON inscription block as presented by the archaeologists



Figure 5: The second APEAABON inscription block as presented by the archaeologists with guidance on the inscription letter locations



Figure 6: Diagrams of the inscriptions on the two APEAABON blocks and the block edges as presented by the archaeologists



Figure 7: The scratches in the rosette above the mosaic in the Amphipolis Tomb (eta-phi-lunate-sigma?)

There is firm historical evidence that Alexander did indeed instigate the construction of monuments for Hephaistion at widespread locations across his empire, especially including Greece and Macedonia. For example, Diodorus 18.4.2 records that a stone version of Hephaistion's funeral pyre was planned as a permanent memorial in Babylon. Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.23.6–7 notes that Alexander sent orders to his governor, Cleomenes, in Egypt for shrines in honour of Hephaistion to be erected in Alexandria and on Pharos Island. We also have a marble relief inscribed and dedicated "To the Hero Hephaistion" from about this period found at the Macedonian capital Pella, and there is a papyrus fragment which records that Hypereides, the Athenian orator, publicly complained in a speech dating to about 322 BC¹² that the Athenians were being forced to erect shrines and perform sacrifices to "the servants of Alexander", which must be an allusion to Hephaistion's monuments and his worship as a hero or demigod as endorsed by the oracle at Siwa.¹³ There is enough to show conclusively that Alexander ordered monuments for Hephaistion to be erected right across his empire fairly soon after Hephaistion's death.

The blocks with the APEAABON inscriptions are stated by the archaeologists and by earlier investigators¹⁴ to have been sourced from the famous white marble quarries on the island of Thassos in the northern Aegean Sea, which is still quarried for this type of marble today. This stone was commonly used by the Macedonian rulers for their pre-eminent building projects, so it is highly plausible that marble blocks were being cut on Thassos for Hephaistion's monuments in July of 323 BC, when news reached Greece of the death of Alexander in Babylon. Some of the rough-cut blocks were probably crudely inscribed to designate the project for which they were intended, so the existence of blocks with traces of inscriptions reading "Received for Hephaistion" is not at all unlikely or surprising.

In the aftermath of Alexander's death, it is highly likely that virtually all the projects to build monuments commemorating Hephaistion were abandoned. It is recorded that the army specifically voted to abandon Alexander's project to build a stone monument to Hephaistion in Babylon (Diodorus, 18.4.6). That decision virtually had the force of law according to the Macedonian constitution, so it would have been a very daring act to divert vast funds into monuments for Hephaistion once the result of the vote had become known. Furthermore, there is no archaeological evidence from anywhere else in the empire that any of Hephaistion's monuments was ever completed. It can be deduced that the Kasta Mound must have cost a thousand talents or more to complete (equal to 25,000kg of silver) because we know that Alexander had assigned a budget of 1500 talents for the construction of each of six temples

¹² Hypereides, Epitaphios col. 8.21–22 from a papyrus fragment of a speech delivered in 322 BC.

 ¹³ Diodorus 17.115.6; Justin 12.12.12; Lucian, Calumniae 17; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 72.2; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.14.7 & 7.23.6.

¹⁴ Oscar Broneer, The Lion Monument at Amphipolis, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1941, p. 28.

that were envisaged in his Last Plans (hypomnemata) as recorded by Diodorus 18.4.4-5. The enormous size and magnificence of the Amphipolis Tomb, its colossal lion and its peribolos would imply a cost at least comparable with one of Alexander's planned temples. Only a few of the leading generals and the Royal Family itself could command such riches at that time, and the historical sources suggest that Hephaistion was unpopular with all these people. Hephaistion is recorded to have been at odds with Alexander's mother, Olympias¹⁵ and he had engaged in feuding with both Craterus and Eumenes.¹⁶ As Alexander's confidante and deputy, Hephaistion was deeply implicated in the decision in 324 BC to replace Antipater as viceroy of Macedon and to require that he appear before the king in Babylon, which was a profoundly threatening command, given that Alexander had just executed several of his governors in Asia. Perdiccas, the regent, was perhaps the least antagonistic of the leading players towards Hephaistion, having served with him in the campaigning in India.¹⁷ Yet, it was he who proposed the abandonment of Hephaistion's monuments to the army assembly. Furthermore, all the factions had more immediate priorities for their financial resources in the context of the sequence of rebellions and civil wars that broke out upon Alexander's death. Therefore, it is historically implausible that the Kasta Mound was built in precisely those years to commemorate Hephaistion and most likely instead that blocks cut for Hephaistion's monuments were stockpiled on Thassos during the wars in the immediate wake of Alexander's death, where they awaited re-assignment to the next appropriate major commission to be awarded to the Thassos marble quarries when the times had grown more politically stable.

The archaeologists have suggested that Antigonus Monophthalmus might have built the Kasta monument on the basis of ANT monograms found on 4 or 5 of the peribolos blocks. But Antigonus never controlled Amphipolis or its territory. He was a refugee when he fled back to Macedon in 322 BC. He did not begin to become extraordinarily powerful and to control vast wealth until after the second division of the satrapies at Triparadeisus in 320 BC. There is no known reason why he would have wished to celebrate Hephaistion's memory, and it is most unlikely that he would have sought to offend both Olympias and the Antipatrids (specifically Cassander), with whom he was allied, and also have defied a formal vote of the army by resuming the funding of Hephaistion's monuments after a 5-year hiatus. Two percent of all the names in prosopographies of Alexander's reign begin with ANT, and it is most likely that the ANT monograms on the peribolos blocks are simply masons' marks.

Most of the loose blocks from the Kasta Mound retaining wall were rediscovered in and around the River Strymon just south of Amphipolis by officers of the British Army in 1916.¹⁸

¹⁵ Diodorus 17.114.3; Plutarch, Alexander, 39.5.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 47.5–7 & *Moralia*, 337A; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 2.1; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.13.1 & 7.14.9.

¹⁷ Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4.22.7–8 & 4.28.5 & 4.30. & 5.3.5; Curtius 8.10.2–3 & 8.12.4.

¹⁸ Jacques Roger, Le Monument au Lion d'Amphipolis, BCH Vol 63 (1939), pp. 4–5; Oscar Broneer, The Lion Monument at Amphipolis, 1941, pp. 3–4.

They seem to have been re-used at that site by the Romans to build a causeway or dam across the river. An important and illuminating study of these loose blocks was published by Stella Grobel Miller & Stephen G. Miller under the title "Architectural Blocks from the Strymon" in the journal Archaiologikon Deltion in 1972 following scrupulous cataloguing of the blocks performed by the Millers on behalf of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.¹⁹ The APEAABON inscribed blocks appear to be examples of the particular type of Kasta Mound peribolos wall stone that the Millers designated "low full-thickness" blocks. The faces of these blocks that were exposed when built into the wall are 118cm x 32.5cm, and they are 64cm deep. The Millers stated that they believed that the architect of the antique wall was using an ancient foot of about 32cm to 32.5cm for the block dimensions. This means that the low full-thickness blocks are 1-foot x 2-foot x 3.67-foot in the units used by the architect of the Kasta Mound.

However, let us suppose that the inscribed blocks had originally been rough-cut on Thassos to the more regular dimensions of 1-foot x 2-foot x 4-foot as ordered for a monument for Hephaistion by its architect. In that case, they would have been available for re-assignment to the Kasta Mound when the commission for its stone was awarded some little while after the Hephaistion monument project had been abandoned. That re-assignment would have required that between 10cm to 12cm (one-third of an ancient Macedonian foot) would have needed to be cut from their length to fit them into the Kasta Mound retaining wall. That is exactly the amount of trimming or truncation that would have been required to remove one letter width from the inscriptions that had been scrawled on a few of the blocks to identify their former purpose. Nine letter spaces were required for ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ and one or two for the Hephaistion monogram. The original 4-foot length would have been 132cm, so a space of 12cm or 13cm was available for each character and hence the evidence of a single missing end-letter is clearly pointing to the blocks having been 4-foot long when the inscriptions were carved onto them. If the trimming had been from the left-hand margin, then the Π of ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ would have been consistently removed from all such re-assigned blocks bearing that inscription. Only two examples have yet been put forward, so it might just be by chance that both had the Π end of the inscription trimmed off. But it is also possible that the masons were superstitious and preferred to trim that end rather than cut through a monogram representing a dead hero.

This has not been so clear as it might have been, because the archaeologists initially elected only to present and release cropped photos of the ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ inscribed blocks.²⁰ In parallel,

¹⁹ Stella Grobel Miller & Stephen G. Miller, Architectural Blocks from the Strymon, Archaiologikon Deltion, Volume 27, 1972.

²⁰ A photo was released showing the whole of the first inscribed block whilst it still sat among the loose blocks from the peribolos displayed next to the reconstructed lion shortly after I had pointed out the misleading nature of the diagrams in February of 2016.

the drawings of the inscriptions on these blocks presented by the archaeologists defined that the spaces where the Π s would have sat in front of the initial alphas are still present on the blocks, but simply blank with no sign of the expected Π s ever having been inscribed at all. The photos presented by the archaeologists were cropped exactly where the initial alphas start, so as to allow the conclusion that the Π s were missing because they had never been carved. This confusion has further been facilitated by the removal of the inscribed blocks from the public gaze (at least one of the blocks used to sit next to the highway beside the reconstructed lion at Amphipolis, but it was taken away no later than 2014, probably before the discovery of the tomb chambers was announced on 12th August in that year).

Fortunately, however, the Millers were thorough and efficient in their cataloguing of the blocks, and they took photos of all the blocks that they catalogued. By following the kind advice of Professor Stephen G. Miller in early 2016, I was able to confirm that the catalogue and the accompanying photos now reside in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Furthermore, I am most grateful to the American School for having diligently searched through their archive to locate relevant images and extremely pleased to be able to present two photos of the first of the two blocks. These images were taken by the Millers at the beginning of the 1970s and are presented in this article (Figures 8 and 9). The Millers gave this block the reference number 73 in their catalogue. It is interesting to note that another block of the same type is shown standing next to block 73 in the second photo (Figure 9). It appears to be about the same length as block 73, suggesting that block 73 was not cut down for re-use *after* it was removed from the Kasta Mound peribolos wall. If block 73 is still the same length (118cm) as the other "low full-thickness" blocks from the peribolos, then it follows that the Π was cut off before it was incorporated into the peribolos.

In Figure 10 the first photo of block 73 is reproduced with the letters of the inscription highlighted in white and with added white lines indicating the degree of original extension of the block towards the left from the edge in front of the initial alpha of the inscription on the assumption that the block was originally quarried to be 4-foot long.²¹ Finally, it is demonstrated in this Figure how the missing Π of Π APEAABON fits exactly into the space where the block was truncated to fit into the peribolos wall of the Kasta Mound. By comparison with Figure 6, it is also indicated in Figure 11 on a copy of the sketch of the inscription presented by the archaeologists where the actual edges of the block lie relative to the inscribed letters: it is incontrovertible that the leading Π was cut off rather than that it never existed or had been erased.

In the light of this evidence, it is likely that the reason that the Π s are missing from the Π APEAABON inscriptions is that they were trimmed off the blocks when the stones

²¹ Note that my version of the first alpha differs slightly from that proposed by the archaeologists based on careful study of a number of photos that I have collected including the two taken by the Millers.

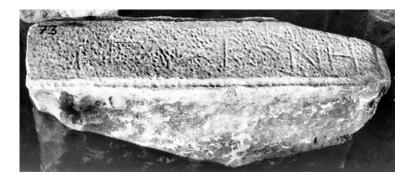


Figure 8: Loose block 73 from the Kasta Mound peribolos, the first example bearing the APEΛABON inscription (photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, Adm Rec Box 204/1, folder 7)



Figure 9: Another view of Loose block 73 from the Kasta Mound peribolos bearing the APEΛABON inscription with another loose block of the same length standing behind it (photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, Adm Rec Box 204/1, folder 7.)



Figure 10: How the Π of Π APEAABON was cut off the block when it was shortened from an initial 4 feet in order to fit it into the Kasta Mound peribolos (photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, Adm Rec Box 204/1, folder 7.)

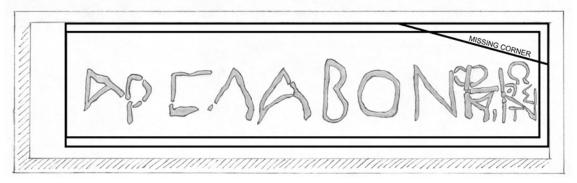


Figure 11: Where the edges of the block are actually located relative to the inscribed letters and block margins in the sketch of the first ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ inscription presented by the archaeologists (bold lines indicate the true edges and margins)

were cut down in length in order to re-assign them for use in the Kasta Mound peribolos wall. That means that the Kasta Mound was NOT the monument for which the blocks were originally quarried, because nobody would have ordered blocks for a monument for Hephaistion that were too long to be used in its design. Hence it can be concluded that the Kasta Mound was never a monument to Hephaistion and probably itself has no connection with Hephaistion. Thus, it is dictated by analysis of the evidence that if the archaeologists have correctly interpreted the Hephaistion monogram, the conclusion is the opposite of the conclusion presented by the archaeologists. Instead of being built for Hephaistion, the Kasta Mound tomb was built around a decade or so later, when there was an interlude in the wars between Alexander's successors. The reason that the APEAABON inscriptions have been found on blocks from the peribolos wall of the Kasta Mound is that its builders made use of large numbers of Thassos marble blocks that had been prepared in 323 BC on the orders of Alexander the Great for monuments to Hephaistion that were never built and a few of those blocks happened to have been inscribed to mark the fact that they had originally been quarried with the purpose of use in Hephaistion's monuments.

This hypothesis neatly avoids the historical conundrum of who could possibly have funded an immensely grand monument for Hephaistion after Alexander's death. It respects and accommodates the historical context rather than challenging our historical sources and implying that they are giving us an utterly misleading impression of what actually took place. It also explains exactly why the initial Π s are missing from the inscriptions, whereas the archaeologists have offered no explanation of this salient fact. Finally, it has the incidental effect of confirming the dating of the construction of the Amphipolis Tomb to a decade or so after Alexander's death.

It should also be noted that an additional conclusion was presented by the archaeologists in September 2015, the significance of which has been overlooked due to the glare of the controversy surrounding the Hephaistion inscriptions. The team asserted that the tomb was sealed no later than the earlier part of the 2nd century BC. That excludes the possibility that the skeletons that were found in the grave cut are later Roman intrusions from an era when cremation of important individuals had largely ceased to be practised. It also means that the skeletons of a woman of sixty or more and two middle-aged men are likely to be the original occupants that the entire edifice was built to commemorate. Despite the grave having been desecrated and robbed, the scattered bones ought logically to include the remains of the hugely important person for whom the monument was erected, because they were the only things left inside the tomb that could have had sufficient significance as to have justified the effort and expense of the sealing of the tomb chambers with 500 tonnes of sand and two massive walls.

Furthermore, female sphinxes like those found at the entrance of the tomb were used to decorate two thrones of Macedonian queens in the late 4th century BC. The caryatid sculptures are now generally accepted to be priestesses of Dionysus, called Klodones in Macedon and closely associated with a Macedonian queen in the late 4th century BC. And the mosaic depicts a queenly woman with the flaming red hair closely associated with the ancient inhabitants of Northern Greece being forcibly abducted into the Underworld following her untimely death in the guise of Persephone being kidnapped by Hades.

My conclusion from these facts is that the elderly woman found in the tomb is somebody of immense importance who died in disgrace during the decade after Alexander's death and was hastily buried in a poor cist grave. Perhaps a couple of her leading supporters, who were killed at the same time, were buried in the overlying soil. But within a short time thereafter her family caused the Kasta Mound of the Amphipolis tomb to be erected over her grave to celebrate her illustrious status in life as well as their own continuing rule. Absolutely the only person that this could reasonably be is Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, who could have been as young as her early fifties or as old as her mid-sixties at the time of her death. The birth of Alexander in 356 BC makes it hard for her to have been born later than 370 BC. Furthermore, William Greenwalt has plausibly concluded that the betrothal of Philip and Olympias on Samothrace took place between 364 and 361 BC.²² If Olympias was at least 14 in order for her to qualify for induction into the Mysteries and for Philip to fall in love with her, then she was at least about 59 when she died. More likely, she was a few years older, and there is no constraint on her having been as old as her mid-sixties.

The Site of the Tomb of Olympias

The archaeologists have stated that they ruled out the possibility that the Amphipolis tomb was built for Olympias, because they consider that it has been proved that she was buried at Pydna, despite the fact that no candidate for a tomb of Olympias has ever been found in the

²² William Greenwalt, Philip II and Olympias on Samothrace: A Clue to Macedonian Politics During the 360s in Macedonian Legacies, ed. Timothy Howe and Jeanne Reames, pp. 79–106, 2008.

vicinity of Pydna. Their evidence is in the form of a paper published in 1949 in Hesperia by Charles Edson, in which he presented a new reconstruction (seeking to supersede two quite different earlier reconstructions) of an ancient inscription found near Pydna and mentioning a tomb of Olympias.²³ Hence it is necessary to examine the question of the site of the tomb of Olympias in some detail.

As a starting point, let us review the most detailed surviving account of the events leading to the death of Olympias from Diodorus 19.49-51: "Although Cassander had shut Olympias into Pydna in Macedonia, he was not able to assault the walls because of the winter storms, but by encamping about the city, throwing up a palisade from sea to sea, and blockading the port, he prevented any who might wish to aid the queen from doing so. And as supplies were rapidly exhausted, he created such famine among those within that they were completely incapacitated. In truth, they were brought to such extreme need that they gave each soldier five choenices of grain per month, sawed up wood and fed the sawdust to the imprisoned elephants, and slaughtered the pack animals and horses for food. While the situation of the city was so serious and while Olympias was still clinging to hopes of rescue from outside, the elephants died from lack of nourishment, the horsemen that were not in the ranks and did not receive any food whatever nearly all perished, and no small number of the soldiers also met the same fate. Some of the non-Greeks, their natural needs overcoming their scruples, found flesh to eat by collecting the bodies of the dead. Since the city was being quickly filled with corpses, those in charge of the queen's company, though they buried some of the bodies, threw others over the city wall. The sight of these was horrible, and their stench was unbearable, not merely to ladies who were of the queen's court and addicted to luxury, but also to those of the soldiers who were habituated to hardship.

As spring came on and their want increased from day to day, many of the soldiers gathered together and appealed to Olympias to let them go because of the lack of supplies. Since she could neither issue any food at all nor break the siege, she permitted them to withdraw. Cassander, after welcoming all the deserters and treating them in most friendly fashion, sent them to the various cities; for he hoped that when the Macedonians learned from them how weak Olympias was, they would despair of her cause. And he was not mistaken in his surmise about what would happen: those who had resolved to fight on the side of the besieged forces changed their minds and went over to Cassander; and the only men in Macedonia to preserve their loyalty were Aristonous and Monimus, of whom Aristonous was the ruler of Amphipolis and Monimus of Pella. But Olympias, when she saw that most of her friends had gone over to Cassander and that those who remained were not strong enough to come to her aid, attempted to launch a quinquereme and by this means to save herself and her friends. When, however, a deserter brought news of this attempt to the enemy and Cassander sailed

²³ Charles Edson, The Tomb of Olympias, Hesperia, Volume 18, Issue 1, 1949, pp. 84–95.

up and took the ship, Olympias, recognising that her situation was beyond hope, sent envoys to treat of terms. When Cassander gave his opinion that she must put all her interests into his hands, she with difficulty persuaded him to grant the single exception that he guarantee her personal safety. As soon as he had gained possession of the city, he sent men to take over Pella and Amphipolis. Now Monimus, the ruler of Pella, on hearing the fate of Olympias, surrendered his city; but Aristonous at first was minded to cling to his position since he had many soldiers and had recently enjoyed a success. That is, a few days before this in a battle against Cassander's general Crateuas he had killed most of those who faced him. When Crateuas himself with two thousand men had fled to Bedyndia in Bisaltia, he invested him, took him by siege, and dismissed him on terms after taking away his arms. Aristonous, encouraged by this and ignorant of the death of Eumenes, believing, moreover, that Alexander and Polyperchon would support him, refused to surrender Amphipolis. But when Olympias wrote to him demanding his loyalty and ordering him to surrender, he perceived that it was necessary to do as ordered and delivered the city to Cassander, receiving pledges for his own safety. Cassander, seeing that Aristonous was respected because of the preferment he had received from Alexander, and being anxious to put out of the way any who were able to lead a revolt, caused his death through the agency of the kinsfolk of Crateuas. He also urged the relatives of those whom Olympias had slain to accuse the aforesaid woman in the general assembly of the Macedonians. They did as he had ordered; and, although Olympias was not present and had none to speak in her defence, the Macedonians condemned her to death. Cassander, however, sent some of his friends to Olympias advising her to escape secretly, promising to provide a ship for her and to carry her to Athens. He acted thus, not for the purpose of securing her safety, but in order that she, condemning herself to exile and meeting death on the voyage, might seem to have met a punishment that was deserved; for he was acting with caution both because of her rank and because of the fickleness of the Macedonians. As Olympias, however, refused to flee but on the contrary was ready to be judged before all the Macedonians, Cassander, fearing that the crowd might change its mind if it heard the queen defend herself and was reminded of all the benefits conferred on the entire nation by Alexander and Philip, sent to her two hundred soldiers who were best fitted for such a task, ordering them to slay her as soon as possible. They, accordingly, broke into the royal house, but when they beheld Olympias, overawed by her exalted rank, they withdrew with their task unfulfilled. But the relatives of her victims, wishing to curry favour with Cassander as well as to avenge their dead, murdered the queen, who uttered no ignoble or womanish plea. Such was the end of Olympias, who had attained to the highest dignity of the women of her day, having been the daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Epirotes, sister of the Alexander who made a campaign into Italy, and also the wife of Philip, who was the mightiest of all who down to this time had ruled in Europe, and mother of Alexander, whose deeds were the greatest and most glorious."

An incautious reader of this account of the Macedonian civil war in 317–316 BC between Olympias and Cassander as sketched by Diodorus Siculus writing towards the end of the 1st century BC might conceive the impression that the eventual surrender of the queen to Cassander at Pydna and her subsequent murder were successive episodes in time, perhaps separated by just a few days. In Diodorus' version, the two events are just a few paragraphs apart, so that his readership has hardly recovered from the shock of the queen's surrender when they are confronted by the treachery of her ensuing murder. This has led some to infer that Olympias also died at Pydna or even to assert that Diodorus states that she died at Pydna, although he is actually silent on her specific location at the time of her death. The same is true of the other extant account of her murder, which reaches us via Justin, the epitomiser of the Philippic History by Pompeius Trogus.

Clearly, the supposition on account of textual brevity of a close spacing in the time leading in turn to an assumption of continuity of location is an intrinsically fallacious line of reasoning. For example, Diodorus 17.117 could similarly be read as implying that Alexander the Great died from the effects of drink shortly after falling ill at the party hosted by Medius:

"The soothsayers bade him sacrifice to the gods on a grand scale and with all speed, but he was then called away by Medius, the Thessalian, one of his friends, to take part in a comus. There he drank much-unmixed wine in commemoration of the death of Heracles, and finally, filling a huge beaker, downed it at a gulp. Instantly he shrieked aloud as if smitten by a violent blow and was conducted by his Friends, who led him by the hand back to his apartments. His chamberlains put him to bed and attended him closely, but the pain increased, and the physicians were summoned. No one was able to do anything helpful, and Alexander continued in great discomfort and acute suffering. When he, at length, despaired of life, he took off his ring and handed it to Perdiccas. His Friends asked: 'To whom do you leave the kingdom?' and he replied: 'To the strongest.' He added, and these were his last words, that all of his leading Friends would stage a vast contest in honour of his funeral. This was how he died after a reign of twelve years and seven months."

However, we know from other sources that Alexander survived for at least eleven more days, whilst ailing from an escalating fever and that he spent much of this time, not "in his apartments", but across the river from the palace in gardens by a pool²⁴ and he was also taken to "the highest place in the city".²⁵ This type of distortion by omission is attributable to the fact that Diodorus has composed a very considerably condensed epitome from much more detailed source texts. Neither is he a particularly careful epitomiser. Nor does he care very much about failing to convey the true timescales of events or their exact nature and location, but instead a great deal of contextual information is omitted in order to generate

²⁴ Arrian, Anabasis, 7.25–27; Plutarch, Alexander, 76.

²⁵ Justin 12.15; Liber de Morte 104–105 in the *Metz Epitome*.

a fast-paced and smoothly flowing storyline. On the evidence of such comparisons with parallel accounts by other writers, it can be appreciated that nothing whatsoever can safely be inferred about continuity in time or place from Diodorus' silences.

Nevertheless, more careful and logical analysis of the things that Diodorus (19.50–51) actually discloses does strongly suggest that there was both a significant space of time and a major change of scene between the capture of Olympias at Pydna and her subsequent demise. Firstly, we are told that the families of Olympias' victims (Justin, 14.6.6, says the parents — "parentes interfectorum") were on hand to testify against her at her trial before the Macedonian Assembly and afterwards to effectuate her killing when Cassander's own troops baulked at so heinous and dangerous an act. Why would these people, presumably emanating from all corners of the kingdom, have been on hand at the siege of Pydna? Would it not in all probability have taken weeks to summon them to Cassander's camp? He could only have issued such a summons when he needed their testimony after Olympias' surrender.

Secondly, Diodorus tells us that Cassander sent advance troops to Pella and Amphipolis upon Olympias' surrender to demand the capitulation of those cities, which had remained loyal to the queen. But Aristonous at Amphipolis refused, and this message was conveyed back to Cassander. Then Cassander sent a note from Olympias also demanding that Aristonous surrender to Cassander. Finally, Aristonous capitulated. Yet Cassander cannot have brought Olympias to trial until after he had received the surrender of Aristonous, because he might have had further need of her influence up until the point that Macedonia was completely pacified. How long did it take messengers to journey to Amphipolis and return to Pydna to bring news of Aristonous' recalcitrance to Cassander? How long did it take thereafter to courier a message from Olympias back to Aristonous and for Cassander to receive confirmation of Aristonous' surrender to his forces, such that he was free to take action against Olympias? The distance between Pydna and Amphipolis is around a hundred miles (160km) and the messengers probably needed to be escorted by troops in each case, so the journey must have taken five days each way. Therefore, the entire process would have taken at least three weeks to play out and more likely, it was a month or two after her surrender before Olympias' trial took place. It is incredible that Cassander together with his army lurked at Pydna on the periphery of the realm during all this time when major cities and population centres of the kingdom remained hostile to him. It is surely implicit in Diodorus' statement that Cassander sent advance parties of troops to Pella and Amphipolis as soon as Olympias surrendered that Cassander intended to follow them with the main army as rapidly as possible.

Thirdly, we are told that Olympias was occupying the "Royal Residence" (βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν) when she was murdered. Why would there be a distinct royal palace within a small frontier fortress-like Pydna? Is it not more likely that this is a reference to a royal palace in one of the great cities of Macedonia, meaning Aegae, Pella or Amphipolis?

Fourthly, how did Aristonous know that the message from Olympias was not a forgery? After all, Cassander would have captured her seals. Even a trusted servant of Olympias might have been suborned in the circumstances of her capture. A possible answer is that Cassander and Olympias had actually arrived at Amphipolis in person so that Aristonous was persuaded to surrender by a note he and his supporters witnessed to be passed from the hands of the queen. Perhaps a herald proclaimed the note's contents so as to be heard by Aristonous' troops. If his soldiers could be made to believe that the queen had ceased to back him, then further resistance from Aristonous was indeed futile.

Finally, there is a strategic imperative that is implicit in the account of Diodorus to the effect that Cassander needed to move his entire army further up into Macedonia as quickly as possible to forestall any respite for the royalist forces in which they might seek to regroup and mount a serious attempt to counter him. We are explicitly told by Diodorus that Aristonous was minded to protract his resistance, so the position was still clearly very dangerous for Cassander. It is most unlikely that he would have been content to tarry at the borders of the kingdom for one moment longer than was strictly necessary.

Therefore, there is much in Diodorus' pared-down account and even in the briefer account in Justin 14.6 that throws up difficulties, if it is supposed that Olympias remained at Pydna until she was murdered. Conversely, all such problems are immediately resolved if we infer that Cassander set off in the footsteps of his advance troops almost immediately with Olympias in train; that he reached Pella and secured the city about a week after Olympias' surrender and that he reached Amphipolis, the last Macedonian redoubt of the royalist faction, about three weeks after her surrender. There is nothing in either Diodorus or Justin to contradict this version of events, so it follows that it was most probably at Amphipolis after the surrender of Aristonous that Olympias was subjected to a show trial and subsequently murdered.

Furthermore, even if Olympias was killed at Pydna, her family were kept at Amphipolis for the next six years, so Amphipolis would still be a likely location for her tomb.²⁶

However, on page 87 of the volume of Hesperia in which his paper on The Tomb of *Olympias* was published, Edson asserted: "...it was at Pydna in 316 BC that Cassander besieged Olympias, starved her forces into submission, caused her to be condemned to death by the Macedonian army assembly and executed by the relatives of those Macedonians whom she herself had so recently put to death." Then in a footnote to this passage, he attributed this version of events to Diodorus 19.50–51 and added: "From Diodorus' account there can be no doubt whatsoever that Olympias was put to death at Pydna."

It would appear that Edson's motivation for making this dubious claim in his paper was to record that he had adopted the idea that Olympias had died at Pydna as supposedly authorised by Diodorus as a kind of axiom on which to base his new reconstruction of the fragmentary inscription referring to a tomb of Olympias. Some such guiding principle is needed to select

²⁶ Diodorus, 19.52.4; Justin, 14.6.13 & 15.1.3.

a particular reconstruction of the full inscription from the fragment because it is clear that there are many possible reconstructions of its original text that qualify as good Greek.

Unfortunately, Edson does not seem to have succeeded in making this methodology clear to his readership, perhaps partly because he relegated his clearest statement of his interpretation of Diodorus' account to a footnote. This weakness has allowed some of Edson's readership to assert that his reconstruction has proved that Olympias died at Pydna because naturally enough the reconstruction proposed by Edson makes the inscription read as though a tomb of Olympias existed near the site where the inscription had originally stood, which was probably in the vicinity of Pydna. In fact, however, Edson himself had used Olympias having died at Pydna as his main guiding principle for his reconstruction. Therefore, the argument that Edson's reconstructed inscription proves that Olympias died at Pydna is circular, because he assumed that she died at Pydna in formulating his reconstruction.

The objective of Edson's paper was to supersede two earlier reconstructions of the severely damaged second century BC inscription, which is basically too fragmentary to allow the possibility of a unique reconstruction based solely on epigraphical principles. The paper examines a series of fragmentary inscriptions found near modern Makriyialos towards the southern border of ancient Macedonia at the foot of Mt Olympus. The precise location of ancient Pydna remains unknown, but somewhere in the general vicinity of Makriyialos is probable and uncontroversial. Just one among these inscriptions seems to mention a "tomb of Olympias", as these words (...PHIΣTYMBONOAYMITIA...) appear in the second line of the fragment, which is illustrated in Figure 12.

This fragment has been dated to the 2nd century BC mainly on the basis of the style of its letters. This was nearly two centuries after the death of the mother of Alexander. Such a gap of time engenders considerable doubt as to whether the Olympias mentioned was identical with the mother of Alexander. It needs first to be recognised that the fame of Alexander's mother was such that it led to many other women in Northern Greece being named Olympias in the ensuing centuries. For example, there was another queen of Epirus named Olympias in the early third century BC. She was a daughter of Pyrrhus, who also twice ruled Macedon (reigning 288-284 and 273-272 BC). Furthermore, "Olympias" was originally an honorific rather than a name just as Augustus was an honorific for Octavian. It literally means "one of the goddesses from Mount Olympus", and it was conferred upon Alexander's mother by his father, perhaps not long after Alexander's birth. Another source of ambiguity is that Pydna stood at the foot of Mount Olympus, so it is alternatively possible that the word was being used with its literal meaning in an inscription that was actually found in the shadow of the mythical home of the gods. Hence it is at least uncertain whether the Olympias mentioned in the inscription is the mother of Alexander or else some other Olympias or else a reference to an actual Olympian goddess, for example, the guardian deity of a shrine commemorating burials beneath an old tumulus.

OVEWOIULL B. OLIZKUL HISTYMBONONYMIIA ΕΝΛΣΘΟΥΡΟΥΓΕΝΟΣ KYYYEN, TEIPES

Figure 12: Fragmentary inscription found near ancient Pydna referring to a tomb of Olympias in its second line.

What then was the reasoning that led Edson to propose a new reconstruction of a fragment of an inscription for which he himself cites divergent antecedent reconstructions by two earlier scholars? As we have seen, it was his dubious belief that Olympias died at Pydna, so he presumably felt the effort of a fresh analysis to be justified if he could apply this theory to resolve the innate ambiguities. It is in this light that we should view the reconstruction that Edson produced, in which he added the text shown in square brackets to the surviving text from the fragment:

> [μνῆμα Νεοπ]τολέμοιο παραθρωίσκων, [ξένε, στῆθι], [κυδίστης ἱν' ἀθ]ρῆις τύμβον Ὀλυμπιά[δος], [μυρόμενος δ' ἕλ]ενος θούρου γένος Α[ἰακίδαο], [υἰὸν γῆς κόλποις] κρύψεν ἀπειρεσί [ης]

An English translation would be: "As you pass [the memorial] of [Neop]tolemus, [stranger, stay, that] you may see the tomb [of famed] Olympia[s. Hel]enus, [bewailing] the race of impetuous A[eacides], buried [his son in the bosom of] measureless [earth —]."

This reconstruction implies that the "tomb of Olympias" was near the site at which the inscription was originally erected, so Edson argued that his reconstruction is consistent with his axiom that the tomb of the mother of Alexander lay at Pydna. Note, however, that Edson himself did not claim in his paper that his reconstruction proved that the tomb of Olympias lay at Pydna (because he considered that the text of Diodorus had already proved the point).

However, Edson did additionally demonstrate that we have no idea how wide the original inscription was and where its edges lay relative to each side of the fragment because the fragment was part of a stone that had been trimmed from both sides in the context of it being

re-used as an Ionic capital in antiquity.²⁷ This means that an epigrapher who wishes to propose a reconstruction is in the position of needing to propose new text to fill gaps of unknown size in formulating a reconstruction. But this is a thing that cannot be done uniquely or reliably. Even with the constraint of gaps of known size between the surviving parts of each successive line, there are very many alternative possibilities that are all good Greek, because the gaps have to be at least of the order of ten to twenty letters (and more probably twice that) because the block on which the fragment survived seems to have been at least as wide as Edson's sketch of the inscription (Figure 12) and because the fragment narrows sharply towards its lower lines, thus extending the size of the gaps. The fact that we cannot tell how many letters stood in each gap magnifies the number of possible reconstructions enormously so that it is quite impossible to decide between them without making narrow assumptions about what kind of things the text should be saying. Even then, a sceptic might reasonably observe that the freedom to extend or contract the gaps allows the epigrapher to make the text locate the "tomb of Olympias" wheresoever he or she wishes. Instead of "As you pass the memorial of Neoptolemus, stranger, stay, that you may see the tomb of famed Olympias" it should be feasible to reconstruct the fragment to say "As you pass the memorial of Neoptolemus, recall his city of Amphipolis, where you may see the tomb of famed Olympias." I would commend the exercise of attempting such a reconstruction to expert epigraphers. Given the new evidence of a possible tomb of Olympias at Amphipolis, if it is allowed that such a reconstruction is feasible, then Edson's reconstruction founded on a misreading of Diodorus concerning the location of Olympias' demise should no longer be accepted. Furthermore, if in 1949 it was deemed a scholarly exercise to reconstruct the inscription based on a misconception that the sources place the tomb of Olympias at Pydna, how much better it would be to reconstruct it on the basis of genuine archaeological evidence that the tomb actually lay at Amphipolis.

Firm conclusions from this discussion are that Edson's reconstruction has no validity as evidence on the whereabouts of the tomb of the mother of Alexander the Great and that his assertion that she died at Pydna is without a basis in the evidence. In fact, the fragmentary inscription is not inconsistent with the hypothesis that the Kasta Mound and the cist grave beneath it constitute the tomb of Olympias. It is equally as false to assert that "from Diodorus" account there can be no doubt whatsoever that Olympias was put to death at Pydna" as it would be to claim that Diodorus' account of Alexander's death makes it clear that the king stayed in his apartments in the palace throughout his fatal illness.

Dating Evidence

During the excavation of the tomb chambers in 2014 controversy raged regarding the dating of the complex, despite the confident statement of the archaeologists that it had been

²⁷ Charles Edson, The Tomb of Olympias, *Hesperia*, 1949, p. 89.

built in the last quarter of the 4th century BC. Obviously, the number of historically viable candidates for the tomb occupancy tends to scale approximately in proportion to the width of the date range and the particular set of candidates varies in each different date range. Therefore, it is necessary to assemble and review the main strands of evidence for a late 4th century BC date for the monument in order to secure the foundations for any identification of the tomb's occupant.

a) The pebble mosaic depicting the abduction of Persephone

The success of the Macedonian pebble mosaicists in seeking to achieve three-dimensional effects and realistic shading was seriously constrained by the limited contrast that they could achieve, due to the uniform background tinting of their work by the mortar gaps between the pebbles. However, from at least the first half of the third century BC, mosaicists at Alexandria were solving the mortar gap problem by closely fitting together precisely shaped tesserae, initially mixed with pebbled areas, but soon without any pebbles at all. This improved technique quickly spread throughout the entire Mediterranean area, so that by the end of the third century BC, the tesserae technique was pre-eminent everywhere. This was especially true for the most sophisticated compositions. There are lingering examples of pebble mosaics into the early second century BC, but they are found in peripheral locations or else they do not attempt sophisticated shading effects. The extremely realistic mosaic in the Amphipolis tomb (Figure 13) is therefore very unlikely to have been created after the end of the 3rd century BC, and even a date after 250 BC is significantly unlikely.²⁸ Furthermore, if we date this mosaic according to the dating of its closest parallels in the mansions at Pella and the palace at Aegae, then we must centre its epoch on the last quarter of the fourth century BC.

b) The geison soffits — moulding profiles of the geisa (crowning blocks) of the peribolos

Lucy Shoe compiled a catalogue of Profiles of Greek Mouldings covering the Classical and Hellenistic periods in 1936.²⁹ The Millers published the moulding profile of the geisa (crowning blocks) of the Kasta Mound peribolos.³⁰ Hence it is possible to compare the Amphipolis geison profile with Lucy Shoe's entire set of profiles in order to look for matches against all details of these profiles. Upon doing so, it is evident that at least six of Shoe's profiles dating to the second half of the 4th century BC match the Amphipolis profiles very closely on all details especially in respect of the shape

²⁸ See Katherine Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, CUP 1999 for a detailed discussion.

²⁹ Lucy Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Harvard University Press 1936.

³⁰ Stella Grobel Miller & Stephen G. Miller, Architectural Blocks from the Strymon, *Archaiologikon Deltion*, Volume 27, 1972, Figure 16D on p. 164.

and size of the soffits: a few example cases are shown in Figure 14 with the actual peribolos geison soffit profile included for comparison. There is no such close match in Shoe's catalogue among the profiles dated to other periods.

c) The floor of the first chamber

The floor of white marble fragments in red cement uncovered in the first chamber of the Amphipolis tomb exactly matches a section of flooring at the edge of the mosaic with a central rosette and a caryatid in each corner in the men's dining room (andron) of the palace excavated at Aegae, which is usually dated to the second half of the 4th century BC.

d) The architectural elements of the lion podium and parallels at Aegae

Oscar Broneer, one of the reconstructors of the Amphipolis lion, argued that the profile and proportions of the Doric half-columns, believed to derive from the lion's original podium, are reminiscent of the Classical era more than the Hellenistic period and that even the selection of the Doric order rather than the Ionic is more indicative of the 4th rather than the 3rd century BC.³¹ We can now add that the tomb façades excavated by Andronicos under the Great Mound at Vergina in the 1970s also exhibit the Doric half-columns in the case of Tomb II (attributed to Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great) and life-size shield reliefs in the case of Tomb III (attributed to Alexander IV, the son of Alexander the Great), fragments of similar shield reliefs also having been found with the pieces of the Amphipolis lion. In general, the Vergina tomb façades are notably similar to reconstructions of the façade of the base of the lion monument (Figure 15).

e) Parallels with other monumental Greek lions including the lion of Knidos

There was a flurry of monumental lion sculptures in major monuments in the late 4th century BC (e.g. the lion of Chaeronea, the lion sculpture found at Ecbatana [Hamadan], the lion in Venice that was taken from Piraeus³² and the lion monument of Knidos). This may be associated somewhat with the influence of Alexander the Great, who seems to have embraced lions as symbols of his reign. Oscar Broneer particularly emphasised the close parallel between the Amphipolis lion monument and the Lion Tomb at Knidos, which is now commonly dated to the late 4th century or early 3rd century BC.³³

³¹ Oscar Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis*, 1941, p. 49.

³² Cornelius Vermeule, Greek Funerary Animals, 450–300 BC, American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 76, No 1, Jan 1972, pp. 49–59; Lawrence J. Bliquez, Lions and Greek Sculptors, The Classical World, Vol. 68, No 6, March 1975, pp. 381–384.

³³ Janos Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, University of Toronto Press (1990) p. 78.

f) Use of isodomic ashlar blocks with tooled faces and bevelled edges

Drystone walls comprising ashlar blocks with drafted margins are especially characteristic of the early Hellenistic era. As well as the face of the peribolos and the walls of the tomb chambers in the Kasta Mound, such blocks are seen in a surviving fragment of the walls of ancient Alexandria near the site of the Rosetta Gate and in the interior of the lion monument at Knidos. At Alexandria, there are reasons to believe that these blocks were part of the original walls.³⁴ Oscar Broneer points out that the drafted margin series of blocks correspond to the type referred to as "Isodomic Ashlar: Tooled Face, Bevelled Edge" by Robert Scranton in his 1941 monograph on "Greek Walls".³⁵ He notes that this type of masonry dates mainly to the period 320 BC – 270 BC and almost all the dated examples are associated with the monuments and strongpoints of Macedonian rulers of that era.³⁶

g) The Archontikon Heroon

There is a smaller unfinished tomb known as the Archontikon Heroon that has the same general design as the Amphipolis tomb and is located at Archontiko 4.5km NW of Pella. It has been approximately dated to the reign of Antigonus Gonatus (276–239 BC) mainly on the basis of ceramics/potsherds.³⁷ It is connected to the Kasta Mound in its design by virtue of the circumference of the Heroon peribolos being exactly equal to the diameter of the Kasta Mound peribolos and by having a tomb chamber penetrating into the interior via a portal in its peribolos (see Figure 16). It was probably constructed in imitation of the Kasta Mound monument since it was only ever partly finished and it is unlikely that the Kasta Mound would have been built in imitation of an unfinished tomb rather than vice versa. The Amphipolis Tomb had a diameter equal to the stade of 100 paces used by Alexander's bematists to map out his empire.³⁸ It would make sense that the commissioner of the Heroon could not afford a monument a stade wide,

 ³⁴ Andrew Chugg, *The Quest for the Tomb of Alexander the Great*, AMC Publications, 2nd Ed. 2012, pp. 160–162 & 188.

³⁵ Robert Scranton, *Greek Walls*, 1941, pp. 131–133 and 180.

³⁶ Oscar Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis*, 1941, p. 49 and Note 52 on p. 69.

³⁷ Παύλος Χρυσοστόμου, Το Ηρώο του Αρχοντικού Γιαννιτσών in Νέοι τύμβοι στήν Πελλαία χώρα, Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη, 1, 1987, pp. 153–156.

³⁸ The stade used by Alexander's pacers (bematists) and subsequently in the Hellenistic period was calculated as 157.7m by Firsov in 1972 through a statistical analysis of 81 distances used by Eratosthenes for which the start and end points are still identifiable — this supports the hypothesis that the bematists defined a stade as 100 paces (double-steps) instead of 600 feet, since it was impractical to pace out distances in feet; L. V. Firsov, Eratosthenes' Calculation of the Earth's Circumference and the Length of the Hellenistic Stade, Vestnik Drevnej Istorii 121, 154–174 (1972); Firsov's approach was criticised by Engels in 1985, but Engels selected a subset of only four distances for his criticism and used dubious endpoints, such as placing Prophthasia at Juwain, whereas it almost certainly lay near Farah; Donald Engels, The Length of Eratosthenes' Stade, American Journal of Philology 106 (3): 298–311 (1985).

but defaulted to a stade in circumference in order still to permit an impressive boast regarding its size. It is more likely that a monument a stade wide inspired a monument a stade in circumference than the opposite way around. A contemporaneous parallel case would be the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, which inspired tens of copies right the way around the Mediterranean in the several centuries following its erection. Virtually all the imitations were smaller and less magnificent than their archetype. Hence the Amphipolis tomb should be earlier than the mid-third century BC.

h) A bronze coin of Alexander the Great

The archaeologists have declared various coin finds, including one bronze of Alexander the Great. The find locations have not been specified, but we can reasonably assume that their locations were consistent with the dating to the last quarter of the 4th century BC proposed by the archaeologists.

i) Carbon-14 dating of a charcoal fragment

A charcoal fragment presumed to come from the campfire of one of the builders was recovered from the soil used to cover the exterior walls of the tomb chambers,³⁹ so it should closely date the point in time at which the tomb chambers were completed. This charcoal has been carbon-14 dated by Pavlides.⁴⁰ His results show that there is a 99% probability that the wood that was burnt to form the charcoal died between 400 BC and 200 BC. Within that range, there is a narrow peak containing about 80% of the total probability lying between 390 BC and 345 BC and a much broader flatter peak containing about 15% of the total probability between 318 BC and 208 BC. Since most of the systematic errors in carbon dating are due to contamination by more modern organic carbon, it is usual to favour the oldest peak in results that give two or more probability peaks. In this case, the older peak is also the peak containing the great majority of the probability. The older peak is perfectly consistent with the builders having burnt dead wood from trees that had died a few decades beforehand in their campfires if the tomb dates to the last quarter of the 4th century BC.

j) ПАРЕЛАВОN inscriptions

Clearly, if it is true that the monograms at the end of the ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ inscriptions refer to Alexander's Hephaistion, then a date within the first couple of decades after Alexander's death is highly probable.

³⁹ The precise location of the charcoal fragment was on the exterior surface of the arched roof about thirty-degrees up the arc of the roof as measured on the axis of the arch starting from the horizontal direction.

⁴⁰ The details of the carbon dating of the charcoal fragment are taken from a presentation given at 14:00 on 4th March 2016 entitled Τεκτονική Δομή και Παλαιοσεισμολογία του λόφου Καστά και της ευρύτερης περιοχής της ανατολικής Μακεδονίας by Σ. Παυλίδης, Α. Χατζηπέτρος, Γ. Συρίδης, Μ. Λεφαντζής at the 29th conference on Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη.

Each of these dating arguments is a strong indication of early Hellenistic dating for the Amphipolis Tomb and the Kasta monument. However, none is absolutely decisive in isolation from the others. Yet they approach decisiveness when considered collectively. Certainly, a date in the last quarter of the 4th century BC is now probable at greater than the 95% level of confidence. The only significant contrary arguments to have been aired relate to the supposed Roman style of some of the sculptures. But such arguments are undermined by the fact that the Romans habitually copied classical and Hellenistic sculptural works and adopted their styles as their own.

A second dating issue relates to the point in time at which the Amphipolis tomb chambers were sealed. The probability of the bones being from secondary inhumations rather than the original burials increases if the sealing was later. This is especially true if the sealing was as late as the Roman era because that is when inhumation rather than cremation became standard practice, even for high-status individuals. However, the evidence on the sealing date is less extensive and less definitive than the evidence on the date of construction.

- 1) The fact that the two sealing walls were drystone constructions without mortar is indicative of a pre-Roman sealing because the Romans normally used mortar in major wall construction.
- 2) The excellent preservation of the paint on the mouldings of the portal beneath the sphinxes implies an early sealing, but this argument has been counteracted by the archaeologists' suggestion that there was originally a portico sheltering the sphinx façade of the tomb.
- 3) There appears to be very little wear either to the surfaces of the mosaics or to the edges of the steps within the tomb. Had the tomb been open and subject to regular visits for as long as centuries rather than mere decades, this would be quite surprising.
- 4) Within the sandy fill, there were layers of soot, presumed to have dropped from the torches of the sealers, which the archaeologists have had carbon-dated. The letter reporting the results has been released and reads as follows:

Letter from Geochron Laboratories, 6th May 2015 Submitted by: Dr Evangelos Kampouroglou AGE = 2020 ± 30 C-14 years Before Present (i.e. 70 BC) Description: Sample of charcoal

Pretreatment: The charcoal fragments were separated from sand, silt, rootlets, or other foreign matter. The sample was then treated with hot dilute 1N HCl to remove any carbonates; with 0.1N dilute NaOH to remove humic acids and other organic contaminants; and a second time with dilute HCl. The sample was then rinsed and dried, and the cleaned charcoal was combusted to recover carbon dioxide for the analysis.

This carbon date is uncalibrated, which means that it assumes a constant concentration of radiocarbon in the Earth's atmosphere, and it defines the "present" as AD1950. However, it can be translated into a real age range for the sample by using calibration curves, which take into account known variations in the C-14 concentration. On this basis, the result suggests 95% confidence that the organic material comprising the torches died between about 170 BC and AD80. On the face of it, this dates the sealing event to after about 170 BC. However, carbon dates are highly susceptible to systematic error due to contamination by carbon from organisms which died more recently. This makes the sample look artificially younger in the C-14 results. Normally this contamination is confined to a thin surface layer of the sample. Hence the material used for dating is taken from the interior of the sample where contamination is unlikely. Obviously, this precaution is not feasible for soot particles. Furthermore, soot has a high propensity to adsorb organic molecules. As little as a 1% adsorption of modern organic material would shift the carbon date a couple of centuries forward in time. This could readily have happened in consequence of an episode of dampness in the tomb chamber, which engendered an ingress of modern dissolved organics. For this reason, the soot carbon date can only be used to define the latest possible date for the sealing, which is AD80. However, a solution to this systematic bias in the results appears to me to be clear from the same letter. It mentions the discarding of "rootlets" from the soot in sand samples. Given that we know that roots probably did not grow in the tomb fill after it was deposited, these rootlets prospectively grew in the riverbed whence the sand fill was dredged. They, therefore, hold out a much better prospect of an accurate C-14 date for the sealing than the soot particles. It may be possible to strip off the surfaces of the rootlets to provide uncontaminated samples. Even if they are too thin for that, they will have a smaller surface area relative to their volume than soot particles and should therefore be less contaminated.

It may be added that the archaeologists have suggested, perhaps on the basis of more evidence than has yet been published, that the sealing immediately preceded the Roman conquest in 168 BC. Nevertheless, there appears to be no evidence in the public domain that excludes a very early sealing, possibly even within a decade of the tomb's completion.

The Iconography of the Finds

It is important to examine the possible connections of the decoration of the Amphipolis tomb with its occupant because it would normally be anticipated that the decoration of a 4th century BC Macedonian tomb would be intimately connected with its occupant. For example, Tomb I in the Great Tumulus at Aegae is probably that of Nicesipolis, one of the wives of Philip II, who died tragically from complications a few weeks after childbirth.⁴¹ The only bones found on the floor of the looted tomb belonged to a woman and a neonatal infant, although some other remains were found within backfill that had entered the tomb after it

⁴¹ Stephanus Byzantinus s. v. "Thessalonike".

had been robbed.⁴² It is decorated with a splendid mural depicting a beautiful Persephone being abducted into the underworld by a fearsome Hades.⁴³ Tomb II has a mural on its façade showing its occupant, probably Philip II, engaging in a lion hunt surrounded by his pages and accompanied by his son, Alexander.⁴⁴ The sepulchre known as Tomb III is very likely the burial of Alexander IV, the son of Alexander the Great, who was murdered by Cassander aged 13. It has a frieze depicting a young boy racing a chariot around its walls.⁴⁵

The righthand sphinx from the pair that guarded the entrance to the Amphipolis Tomb is shown in Figure 17 with its head, found sealed within the third chamber, restored through computational image manipulation. It was decapitated and had its breasts and wings mutilated by the tomb raiders.

Sphinxes were prominent parts of the decoration of two thrones found in the late 4th century BC tombs of two Macedonian queens in the royal cemetery at Aegae (modern Vergina) in Macedonia.⁴⁶ The first of these was found in the tomb attributed to Eurydice I, the grandmother of Alexander the Great. Carved sphinxes were among the decorations of its panels until they were stolen by thieves in 2001. Secondly, a marble throne was found in another royal tomb close by the tomb of Eurydice I by K. A. Rhomaios in 1938. It was in pieces but has since been reconstructed, and it has sphinxes as supporters for both armrests and also royal Macedonian starbursts at the head of its back panel. Archaeology has shown that the Rhomaios tomb was never covered by the usual tumulus, so it may never have been occupied. It dates roughly to the end of the 4th century BC. Both of these tombs are from a section of the royal cemetery dominated by high-status female graves and therefore known as the "Queens' Cluster".⁴⁷

⁴² In July 2015 the Greek Ministry of Culture issued a Press Release clarifying the relative locations of bones found in and beneath the backfill that had entered Tomb I in antiquity after it had been robbed. They did so in order to refute the claims that bones from the leg of a man could belong to the original occupant and that that occupant was Philip II, claims published in Antonis Bartsiokas, Juan-Luis Arsuaga, Elena Santos, Milagros Algaba, and Asier Gómez-Olivencia, The lameness of King Philip II and Royal Tomb I at Vergina, Macedonia, PNAS July 20, 2015. The Ministry stated: "The bones of the deceased that this study attempts to link with Philip II, in particular the bones of the legs (shins and the ossicles of the foot) were not found on the floor of the tomb, like the bones of a woman and her neonate, but they were found about 20 cm higher than the original burial, on a layer containing stones and limestone fragments, within the soil of backfill that came into the grave after its looting. The fact of finding bones in connection with each other, belonging to a shin, signifies "articulation", i.e. the presence of muscle tissue that holds them together, and eliminates the possibility that these bones came from the disturbance of the original burial (the woman's body was completely dissociated and her bones were found mixed and gathered in two groups on the mortar of the floor)."

⁴³ Manolis Andronicos, Vergina: The Royal Tombs, 1984, pp. 90–94.

⁴⁴ Manolis Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs*, 1984, pp. 101–116.

⁴⁵ Manolis Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs*, 1984, pp. 202–206.

⁴⁶ Heracles to Alexander the Great (exhibition catalogue), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 2011, p. 14 & p. 102 for the throne of Eurydice I; p. 52 for the throne of the sphinxes from the Rhomaios Tomb.

⁴⁷ A map of the cemetery at Aegae showing the Queens' Cluster, the Great Tumulus and the other tombs is shown in Heracles to Alexander the Great (exhibition catalogue), Ashmolean Museum 2011, p. 154.

It follows that sphinxes were a symbol in particular use by late 4th century BC Macedonian queens. But why might Macedonian queens have associated themselves with sphinxes? One possible answer emerges from Greek mythology. Apollodorus 3.5.8 wrote: Laius was buried by Damasistratus, king of Plataea, and Creon, son of Menoeceus, succeeded to the kingdom. In his reign, a heavy calamity befell Thebes. For Hera sent the Sphinx, whose mother was Echidna and her father Typhon; and she had the face of a woman, the breast and feet and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird. Clearly, the sphinx was the creature of Hera, Queen of the Gods and wife of Zeus. The Amphipolis sphinxes also wear the polos crown which is a form of headgear particularly associated with Hera. It is well known that the kings of Macedon traced their descent from Zeus via Heracles (e.g. Diodorus, 17.1.5 and Plutarch, Alexander, 2.1), that they put depictions of Zeus on their coinage and that they associated themselves with Zeus quite generally. They celebrated an important festival of Zeus at Dion, and the people of Eresus in Lesbos erected altars to Zeus Philippios⁴⁸ — possibly indicating the divinisation of Philip II as a manifestation of Zeus. If the Macedonian king posed as Zeus, it would consequently hardly be surprising if his principal queen became associated with Hera, the mistress of the sphinx.

It is especially interesting and pertinent that another pair of monumental late 4th to early 3rd century BC freestanding female Greek sphinx sculptures was uncovered by Auguste Mariette in excavating the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum at Saqqara in Egypt in 1851 (Figure 18). These sphinxes are an excellent parallel for the Amphipolis sphinxes. They are in the same style, and they have the same form and posture. Notably, even their hairstyles are an exact match for the Amphipolis sphinxes. Lauer & Picard in their 1955 book on the Greek sculptures at the Serapeum argued that they date to Ptolemy I.⁴⁹ A semicircle of statues of Greek philosophers and poets was also uncovered by Mariette in the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum near to the sphinxes, and Dorothy Thompson in 1988 suggested that this semicircle had guarded the entrance of the first tomb of Alexander the Great at Memphis.⁵⁰ I elaborated on this idea in my article on The Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great published in April 2002. Later, in 2012 I wrote in the context of discussing the semicircle: "In 1951 Lauer discovered a fragment of an inscription in the neighbourhood of some other Greek statues [including the pair of Greek sphinxes] standing further down the dromos of the Serapeum. It appears to be an artist's signature in Greek characters of form dating to the early third century BC. It, therefore, seems likely that all the Greek statuary at the Serapeum was sculpted under Ptolemy I, hence these statues were contemporaneous with Alexander's Memphite tomb."51

⁴⁸ M. N. Tod, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions 2, 1948, no. 191.6.

⁴⁹ J-P. Lauer & C. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaiques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, Paris, 1955, p. 149.

⁵⁰ Dorothy Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton, 1988, p. 212.

⁵¹ A. M. Chugg, *The Quest for the Tomb of Alexander the Great* (2nd edition), AMC Publications, May, 2012, p. 65.

The sphinxes at Amphipolis may therefore be interpreted as suggesting that the occupant of the tomb was a prominent queen of Macedon with a close connection with Alexander the Great.

The caryatids, sculptures of women acting as pillars, are now damaged with missing (smashed?) arms and one has had its face destroyed by a collapsed beam, but a sketch showing approximately how they originally appeared is shown in Figure 19, although it is likely that they jointly held some important symbol aloft — perhaps a wreath or a serpent — which is omitted from this drawing.

A parallel is to be found in the miniature caryatids also decorating the throne of Alexander's grandmother, Eurydice I, on which they alternate with actual pillars acting as struts in its construction. They too have one arm upraised and the other lowered and slightly lifting their dress. They have a slightly more dynamic posture than the Amphipolis caryatids, appearing to strut rather than merely to step forward, so they have sometimes been called dancers. Nevertheless, the parallel is striking, given that this same throne also had sphinxes.

Plutarch, in the second chapter of his Life of Alexander, gives a colourful account of Olympias and her ladies. He records that these women participated in Orphic rites and Dionysiac orgies with the queen and were called Klodones (possibly "spinners" or "cacklers") or Mimallones ("men imitators").⁵² Polyaenus 4.1, in a story about Argaeus, an early king of Macedon, writes that the Klodones were priestesses of Dionysus, who became called Mimallones after Macedonian virgins carrying the wands of Dionysus were mistaken for men in a battle. Plutarch also tells us that Olympias kept serpents that would often rear their heads out of the $\mu \upsilon \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \omega \nu \lambda \iota \kappa \nu \omega \nu$ (mystical winnowing-baskets) of her Klodones to terrify the men. The word $\lambda \iota \kappa \nu \omega \nu$ that Plutarch uses for these baskets describes the type of basket that is carried on the heads of the Amphipolis caryatids. Therefore, if the Amphipolis tomb is that of Olympias, the explanation for the caryatids would be that they represent those Klodones that participated in Orphic rites with the queen whose tomb they guard.

It is clear that the newly discovered Amphipolis caryatids are members of the large subclass of caryatids known as canephora: i.e. caryatids that bear baskets upon their heads. Canephora are so common and so well studied as to make any other explanation of the caryatids' headgear at least improbable. There is plenty of ancient evidence available on the form of ancient snake baskets as used in Dionysiac rites. The Dionysus Sarcophagus from the Metropolitan Museum in New York depicts a procession including Dionysus himself at its centre riding astride a panther and wielding his traditional pine-cone tipped wand or thyrsos. Its sculpture depicts a variety of baskets that should be identified as μυστικῶν λίκνων in view of the context. However, in particular, there sits on the ground beneath the feet of the god a small basket with a snake disappearing beneath its lid. This is very similar in its

⁵² Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 2.5–6.

shape and size to the baskets worn by the Amphipolis caryatids. This Dionysus sarcophagus dates to ~AD260–270, but there are much earlier examples of Dionysiac snake baskets. For example, Cistaphoric tetradrachms minted in the second century BC in Pergamon in Asia Minor are considered to depict the *cista mystica*, i.e. the basket containing the sacred implements of Dionysus worship. There is a serpent creeping into the basket, which is similar to the baskets on the heads of the caryatids.

Comparison with other ancient artworks demonstrates that the Amphipolis caryatids wear the dress and adopt the stance of priestesses of Dionysus. In particular, there are surviving Roman copies of a 4th century BC statue of Dionysus leaning on the diminutive figure of a human priestess in the Metropolitan and Hermitage museums. In the case of the Met-Hermitage Dionysus, the priestess has many features that are also seen in the Amphipolis caryatids. Her stance is similar with one arm upraised and the other lowered to hitch up her dress. She has the same hairstyle, with three helical locks draped down the front of each shoulder. The Hermitage version wears the same thick-soled sandals as the Amphipolis caryatids. In particular, the priestess wears a similar dress to the caryatids with a chiton (tunic) worn on top. A distinctive feature is that the chiton is hung over only one shoulder and its top edge is terminated by a diagonal band running between the breasts and exhibiting intricate folds. The priestess' chiton and diagonal band appear to echo the panther skin tunic worn by Dionysus himself in the Hermitage statue. The fact that the chiton it is hung over only one shoulder is more in keeping with the way Greek men wore tunics and therefore recalls Plutarch's alternative term for the Klodones: Mimallones or "men imitators".

Another example of female figures wearing the single-shoulder chiton with a diagonal band of folds at its upper hem is a relief depicting a line of dancing women wearing this dress from the Temenos in the sanctuary of the mysteries on the island of Samothrace. This building is believed to have been constructed between 340–317 BC. Plutarch, just prior to his account of the Klodones, recalls that Olympias (then called Myrtale) first met Philip of Macedon at the mysteries on Samothrace. The dates of the Temenos make it possible that it was built under the patronage of Olympias. Her involvement might explain the dating of the completion of this phase of expansion of the sanctuary to the year preceding her death.

Regarding the mosaic (Figure 13), there is a strong presumption that the figure of Persephone should be a portrait of the deceased individual who was the occupant of the tomb. Abduction into the Underworld is a metaphor for death, so if there is a depiction of someone passing from life laid out across the path of a visitor on entering a tomb, it is hard not to form the conception that it represents the death of the tomb's occupant. Furthermore, the builders of a tomb of such phenomenal grandeur clearly intended to exalt its occupant in every possible way. Since the world was plunged into permanent winter when Persephone was abducted, representing the deceased in her guise in the mosaic would have been a decorous compliment. The message was that the world was plunged into eternal winter by the death of the occupant. It is hard to believe that the tomb-builders, who were probably the occupant's close relatives, would have missed such an opportunity when they had gone to so much trouble and expense over the rest of the arrangements.

There are numerous examples of members of the Macedonian Royal Family being represented as deities or deified heroes in contemporaneous Macedonian art. The most directly parallel instance is the probable depiction of Nicesipolis as Persephone in the mural in Tomb I at Aegae. Additionally, numismatists strongly suspect that the profile portrait of Zeus on the tetradrachms of Philip II was made to resemble the king. It is a near certainty that the profile portrait of Heracles wearing the Nemean lion scalp on the obverse of Macedonian tetradrachms, although first used long before the reign of Alexander the Great, was nevertheless adapted into a portrait of the conqueror later in his reign, especially in the output of his Babylonian mint. Alexander is also depicted wearing a helmet in the form of a lion scalp in several sculptural works, notably the sarcophagus found in the royal cemetery at Sidon. At about the time that the Amphipolis Tomb was constructed, Ptolemy Soter was issuing tetradrachms in Egypt with a portrait of Alexander explicitly deified with an elephant scalp and the ram's horns of Zeus-Ammon.

The Amphipolis mosaic depicts Persephone with flame-like red-gold hair. Olympias was a Molossian from Epirus, where reddish-blond hair was famously associated with her family, who claimed descent from Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. His nickname was Pyrrhus, which means flame-red in Greek. This nickname suggests an individual with reddish-blond hair in rather the same way that the nickname "Ginger" usually means someone with auburn hair in English. This Pyrrhus was, of course, a semi-legendary figure, but the grandson of Olympias' sister and uncle was the historical King Pyrrhus of Epirus, after whom Pyrrhic victories are named.

We also have some strong indications of Alexander's hair colour, which might very well have echoed that of his mother. Two ancient sources provide direct evidence on Alexander's hair colour as follows:

"They say that Alexander, the son of Philip, was naturally handsome: his hair was swept upwards and was golden-red in colour." Aelian, Varia Historia 12.14

"Alexander had the body of a man but the hair of a lion." Pseudo-Callisthenes 1.13.3

There is also a colour image of Alexander in the form of a fresco found at Pompeii in Regio VI in the Insula Occidentalis. The hair colour of this Alexander is an excellent match for the hair of the Persephone figure in the mosaic and these murals from Pompeii are mostly copies of much earlier Greek paintings.

Finally, there is a 4th century BC mosaic signed by Gnosis depicting a deer hunt found at Pella in Macedonia in which some scholars (e.g. Paolo Moreno, "Apelles: The Alexander

Mosaic", pp. 102–104) have seen representations of Hephaistion and Alexander. This is because the double-headed axe wielded by the left-hand figure is an attribute of the god Hephaistos, after whom Hephaistion was named, and also because the Alexander figure on the right has his red-gold hair swept up over his forehead in an anastole, which is a feature found in many of the most authentic surviving ancient portraits of Alexander.

The question should also be posed as to whether the Hades (Pluto) and Hermes figures in the Amphipolis mosaic also have human counterparts? Did its artist intend that there should be a kind of overall human-divine duality in its interpretation, such that each of the gods is actually a portrait of a deceased member of the Macedonian Royal Family? An example of such a duality pertaining to the Royal Family is an ivory carving found in the Prince's tomb (Tomb III) at Vergina, which has often been interpreted as representing Philip and Olympias as a god and goddess with Alexander serenading them on the pipes in the guise of the god Pan.⁵³

In this ivory, it is immediately obvious that the bearded and wreathed man at its centre bears a striking resemblance to the bearded and wreathed Hades figure in the newly discovered mosaic. The Hades figure also seems recognisable from a range of other contemporaneous portraits of Philip II, Alexander's father, and it was widely remarked whilst the Persephone section of the mosaic had yet to be uncovered that he looked like a portrait of Philip II. That he is crowned as a king could equally refer to the kingdom of the Underworld or to the earthly realm of Macedon. Furthermore, Hades averts the right side of his face. This is significant because Philip's right eye was disfigured by an arrow wound at the siege of Methone in 354 BC, so the right side of his face could not be shown without spoiling the Hades-Philip duality. It is easy to appreciate the magnificent irony in depicting Philip as carrying Olympias off into the Underworld since Justin 9.7.1 repeats a persistent rumour that she was implicated in organising his assassination.

But it is the final figure's human identity, which is of most compelling interest. The artist seems to have depicted Hermes with particular verve, vivacity and drama. Staring up from beneath the viewer's feet, he virtually steals the show. If he is to have a human counterpart, he should be somebody close to Olympias who preceded her into the afterlife as he precedes her into the Underworld in the mosaic. Nobody still living at the time the mosaic was crafted could sensibly be depicted entering upon the afterlife. Philip is depicted at about his age at death, which was forty-seven. He could not be shown any older if he were to be recognisable. He died at the autumnal equinox in 336 BC, almost twenty years before the death of Olympias in the spring of 316 BC. All the human portraits in the mosaic, therefore, need to be consistent with the year 336 BC in order for them to work as a group portrait of members of the royal family. Olympias would have been about forty in 336 BC, and that is consistent with the mature looking Persephone in the mosaic.

⁵³ Manolis Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs*, 1984, pp. 206–207.

Hermes appears as a young, clean-shaven man of about twenty and there is something strikingly familiar about him. In fact, this riddle has a simple and singular solution: the male member of the royal family who was twenty when Philip died and who pre-deceased Olympias was their only son, Alexander the Great. There seems to me also to be a family resemblance between the figures of Hermes and Persephone in the mosaic. It is not difficult to believe that they are mother and son. Although it may be unfamiliar to see Alexander depicted wearing a petasos hat, there is in fact a parallel instance in the Pella deer hunt mosaic, where just such a hat has flown up off of Alexander's head, due to the impetus of his attack on the deer. A few other portraits of Alexander at this age survive, perhaps the most important being a head found on the Acropolis in Athens. It seems entirely likely that the Amphipolis Hermes and the Acropolis head Alexander depict one and the same individual. It is hard to see how this interpretation of the mosaic as a portrait of the most renowned royal family of Macedon would not have been obvious to a visitor to the Amphipolis Tomb at the end of the 4th century BC.

There are murals in a band at the tops of the walls of the second chamber. Parts of the painting above the doorway between the second and third chambers are best preserved. The section immediately above the portal depicts a man and a woman wearing crimson-purple belts or sashes around their waists in dancing postures either side of a garlanded sacrificial bull (Figure 21). In another section immediately to the right of the first, a winged woman appears to blow a trumpet standing in the prow of a boat with a tall urn to the left and a cauldron or brazier on a tripod to the right (Figure 22). I have added outline reconstructions beneath the original photos of these sections of the mural.⁵⁴

These scenes appear to depict cult activities. In particular, there are significant parallels with what we know of the activities at one particular cult site: The Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, where the famous Mysteries of Samothrace were conducted. This island sanctuary was long patronised by the royal family of nearby Macedon and in the era of the Amphipolis Tomb, the second half of the 4th century BC, that patronage is particularly linked to Queen Olympias. Notably, Plutarch, Alexander 2.1, writes: "We are told that Philip, after being initiated into the mysteries at Samothrace at the same time as Olympias, he himself still being a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the consent of her brother, Arymbas."

A first connection with the Mysteries of Samothrace is the combination of bull sacrifice with rosettes. There is a sculpted relief from the early 3rd century BC Arsinoe Rotunda at

⁵⁴ These are my reconstructions. The archaeologists have proposed that the man and woman either side of the bull are centaurs, but one hoof of the supposed female centaur was reconstructed from a fold at the bottom hem of the woman's dress and they conceived large gold crescent-shaped pendants from the outlines of the clothing about the midriffs of either figure and from the lower part of the bull's garland. They also reconstructed the Nike as a sphinx. But note that centaurs and sphinxes attendant upon a sacrificial bull would be unprecedented in Greek art.

the sanctuary on Samothrace, which depicts two garlanded bulls' heads either side of a large 8-petal rosette. It has been inferred that it alludes to bull sacrifices during the mysteries. It is known that one phase of the ceremonies involved animal sacrifices, and it is certain that this included bull sacrifices.⁵⁵ It is therefore quite striking that the newly discovered paintings depict a possible bull sacrifice in the context of a chamber also decorated with similar rosettes on its ceiling and on the lintel over its entrance.

A second connection derives from the intimate association of the Sanctuary on Samothrace with Nike, the winged goddess of victory. Most famously, the renowned "Victory of Samothrace" standing in a ship's prow and now in the Louvre, was unearthed in pieces around one of the ruined temple buildings in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods by Charles Champoiseau in March 1863. Additionally, there is a votive stele dedicated to the Great Gods of the Samothrace Sanctuary found at Larissa in Thessaly by the Heuzey and Daumet expedition. That too depicts the goddess Nike as a central part of its composition. A winged woman in Greek art of the early Hellenistic period is usually a depiction of Nike, so we can reasonably assume that the winged woman in the newly discovered painting is also the goddess of victory. This identification is further supported by the fact that she appears to stand in the prow of a ship. As already mentioned, a Nike blowing a trumpet on a ship's prow is the device on the reverse of early 3rd century BC tetradrachms minted by Demetrius Poliorcetes.

A Nike figure officiating at the sacrifice of a garlanded bull accompanied by a woman in a dancing pose in front of a tripod brazier is a scene on a famous Attic red figure pot⁵⁶, and another red figure vessel depicts women garlanding sacrificial bulls in front of tripod braziers.⁵⁷ In general, there are many ancient depictions of Nikes performing bull sacrifices.

The tomb painting appears to have a background of darkness, and it is known that some of the ceremonies at the Mysteries of Samothrace took place at night. A foundation was recovered at the Hieron building within the Samothrace Sanctuary, which could have supported a giant torch or something like the tall tripod brazier in the newly discovered paintings could have fulfilled the function of illuminating nocturnal rites. More generally, the discovery of numerous lamps and torch supports throughout the Sanctuary of the Great Gods confirms the nocturnal nature of the initiation rites. Furthermore, it is suspected that initiates at Samothrace were promised a happy afterlife, as was also the case in the mysteries conducted at Eleusis near Athens. This would make scenes from the mysteries of Samothrace an excellent subject for decoration of an initiate's tomb.

⁵⁵ The evidence is from the Roman period, but there is every reason to suppose continuity is such rites at least from the Classical period onwards.

⁵⁶ Attic red-figure amphora depicting Nike preparing a bull for sacrifice, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.

⁵⁷ British Museum Collection, red-figure amphora type B circa 450 BC, Museum number 1846,0128.1.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, we know from ancient reports that a specific feature of the Mysteries at Samothrace was that initiates wore crimson-purple sashes around their waists.⁵⁸ It is, therefore, significant to notice just such dark reddish belts around the waists of the man and woman dancing either side of the bull in the newly discovered paintings from the second chamber at Amphipolis.

The dancing woman rather than the bull is the central figure in the mural above the middle of the doorway into the third chamber. She appears to dance away from the viewer towards the third chamber and its cist tomb. It would be natural to identify her as a depiction of the occupant of the tomb as an initiate at the Mysteries of Samothrace, a key event in her life.

The carved rosettes in a line along the lintel above the caryatids (Figure 19) have an inner and an outer ring of eight petals. They are a virtually exact match to the blue-enamelled rosettes on the gold larnax of Philip II discovered by Andronicos in Tomb II at Aegae in 1977. Olympias' original name in her marriage to Philip seems to have been Myrtale, so she was named after a flower.⁵⁹ Myrtle flowers have five petals in nature, but symbolic flowers most usually have eight petals in Macedonian art.

The archaeologists have reported that they found a sculptural relief in the third chamber carved to depict a serpent wound around a tree trunk. Olympias is closely associated with serpents. Plutarch reports that she and her Klodones kept pet snakes for use in their Dionysiac rites and Pseudo-Callisthenes alleges that the Egyptian pharaoh and magician Nectanebo came to Olympias in the form of a serpent to father Alexander on her.

Some have claimed that the lion of Amphipolis (Figure 20) that originally stood atop the tomb mound at Amphipolis is a problem for the attribution of the tomb as that of Olympias because it is ostensibly a male symbol of bravery and courage. Others have countered that it might be a lioness as no penis has yet been found for it (not all the lion's fragments have ever been found). But this is improbable because it has a very definite mane, an attribute exclusive to male lions. However, the second chapter of Plutarch's Life of Alexander indicates why a lion might have been deemed a suitable guardian to watch over the tomb of Olympias. It tells the story of how Philip, Alexander's father, dreamt that he put a seal bearing a device in the form of a lion on the womb of Olympias whilst she was pregnant with Alexander. What better symbol, therefore, to proclaim the tomb of the mother of Alexander the Great than the device on the seal under which she became his mother? Alexander is stated by Plutarch to have been born on 20th July in the lion month when the sun was in the constellation of Leo (allowing for the precession of the equinoxes between 356 BC and the present). Alexander was a putative descendant on his father's side of Heracles,

⁵⁸ Matthew Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*, Routledge 1997, p. 71; Fragments of Varro's Divine Antiquities.

⁵⁹ Justin, 9.7.13.

who wore the Nemean lion scalp, a type of headgear also adopted by Alexander himself in some representations. For these reasons a lion was symbolic of Olympias' illustrious son, so perhaps we should view the lion of Amphipolis as a kind of stand-in for Alexander himself.

Analysis of the Bones

The cremated remains found in the Kasta tomb burial trench, insofar as they total merely nine small bone fragments in about ten cubic metres of soil and fill, should be considered to be much less significant than the skeletons found in the same grave. Although the reconstructed parts of the human skeletons are only around 50% complete, sufficient numbers of unattributed and uncremated human bones have been reported from the same archaeological context that we should conclude that these bones represent complete cadavers. Indeed, the osteoarchaeologists who performed the initial inventories on the bones have stated that all the unattributed fragments appear to be from the same set of skeletons and that there is no evidence for any more individuals having been buried in the tomb chambers as excavated.⁶⁰

Conversely, the cremated fragments constitute less than a few percent of a complete cremation. This raises the possibility that these cremation fragments originate from a grave or graves that were disturbed when the soil was dug to create and then backfill the Kasta Mound cist tomb trench. That is the most probable reason for the absence of the rest of the cremation, although the archaeologists have aired the hypothesis that the grave robbers stole the rest of the cremation remains when they took the hypothetical urn. The problem with this concept is that it is illogical for the robbers to have removed just a few fragments from the urn, before carrying it out of the tomb chambers. It is much more likely that they would either have completely emptied the urn in seeking valuable contents, such as a gold wreath, or not have disturbed its contents at all, whilst still within the chambers.

It is known that the Kasta Mound site had been used as a cemetery for centuries prior to the creation of the Amphipolis tomb,⁶¹ so it would be surprising if the soil used to refill the

⁶⁰ The information on the bones given in this paper mainly derives from a detailed Press Release by the Greek Ministry of Culture issued on 19th January 2015, reporting the results of an investigation by a team from the Aristotle and Democritus universities, in which it was defined that 550 bones and bone fragments had been inventoried and remains from five individuals had been identified: a woman of 60+ years, a man of ~45 years, a second man of ~35 years, an infant and nine bone fragments from a cremated adult. In a further Press Release issued on 21st January 2015 it was clarified that no bones from any other human were believed to be included among the 550 fragments.

⁶¹ Lazarides excavated ~70 graves around the Kasta Mound and concluded that the area had been used as a cemetery by the nearby "Hill 133" settlement from the early iron age until the settlement was superseded by the foundation of Amphipolis by Hagnon in 437 BC, but continued use in the later Classical period is also likely, although that phase may lie beneath the Kasta Mound — certainly there were Hellenistic burials after the Kasta Mound had been constructed; Demetrios Lazaridis, Amphipolis, Ministry of Culture Archaeological Receipts Fund, Athens 1997, p. 64.

fresh grave slot did not already contain a few cremated bone fragments. Since the amount of soil required was of the order of ten cubic metres (see Figure 3), fewer than one cremation fragment per cubic metre would suffice to explain the number of fragments discovered, and that is a rather low figure for a cemetery area that also seems to have been used as a site for cremation pyres.⁶²

Another problem for the idea that the cremated bones belonged to a hypothetical original occupant (with the skeletons as later intrusions) is the fact that the cist grave slot is elongated and basically coffin-shaped with a smaller partitioned area at its doorway end. Consequently, if the skeletons were later additions, it would imply that the entire cist tomb was a later intrusion into an existing Kasta Mound monument. Yet this looks difficult to sustain from the archaeology. The cist tomb was constructed to a much lower build-standard than the chambers leading to it, yet it is located at the precise focus point of the monument beneath the centre of the last chamber, which makes it look as though the cist tomb inhumation burial preceded the rest of the monument. It has in fact been reported that the archaeologists themselves have suggested that the cist grave trench in the third chamber predates the rest of the monument.

It has also been suggested that the smaller section of the grave slot was the site of the cremation urn and that soot was found at this end, but soot from the torches of the sealers was found throughout the tomb and high status cremation remains were normally ritually washed prior to burial.⁶³ An alternative hypothesis, assuming that the female skeleton with its intact skull lay in the coffin, could be that the short section at her feet was used for the burial of the two (decapitated?) male skeletons recovered from the same grave fill, provided of course they were inserted curled into the foetal position.

Furthermore, somebody went to great trouble and expense to seal up the tomb chambers. We know for certain that there were no financially valuable treasures left within after the sealing, so the virtually complete skeletons were the only thing that the sealers could possibly have wished to deny others access to. It is not plausible that denial of access to the nine tiny fragments of cremated bone motivated the sealing.

It would therefore seem that the cist tomb contained inhumation burials, probably the skeletons that the archaeologists excavated from its disrupted interior and trench, and that the cist tomb preceded the rest of the monument. The burials in the cist tomb must have included somebody of high enough status to merit the subsequent erection of the monument. This was unusual and begs explanation because high status burials in the Hellenistic period were normally cremations. For example, all three of the intact burials in Tombs II and III under the Great Tumulus at Vergina were cremations, and they were certainly all members

⁶² Lazarides excavated a pyre on "Kastas" as reported in Praktika tis Archaeologikis Eterias (ΠΑΕ) in 1975.

⁶³ Manolis Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs*, Ekdotike Athenon, Athens 1984, p. 75.

of the royal family who died in the second half of the 4th century BC. We also know from literary sources that a Homeric tradition of cremation on a pyre was the standard practice at the time.⁶⁴ The Kasta Mound and the Amphipolis Tomb are even larger and more magnificent than the Great Tumulus and its several sepulchres, so it is an anomaly for its cist grave burials to have been denied cremation. However, exclusively in the case of Olympias and nobody else, there is a viable explanation from the historical circumstances. Olympias was condemned as a murderess by the Macedonian Assembly in the late Spring of 316 BC at roughly the same time as one or two of her senior lieutenants also perished. Aristonous is recorded to have been killed at the instigation of Cassander⁶⁵, and nothing more is heard of Monimus, Olympias' commander in Pella, who had just surrendered to Cassander.⁶⁶ Despite her royal status, being technically a criminal, the queen would not have merited the glory and expense of a cremation and would probably have been hastily buried in a grave of moderate status, potentially with the bodies of her lieutenants.

Within a year of the queen's death, the Royal Family had become somewhat reconciled with Cassander, who married Thessalonike, Olympias' step-daughter. The grandson of Olympias, Alexander IV, continued to be recognised as the king and was based at Amphipolis with his mother, Roxane. The Royal Family would have had a period of five to six years to arrange the construction of a fitting monument over the grave of the king's grandmother, before Cassander, perhaps having reason to doubt the sincerity of the reconciliation, arranged the murder of Alexander IV and his mother Roxane in ~310 BC, a year before the young king would have come of age and inherited the power of his illustrious father. It is easy to appreciate that the erection of so grand a memorial over the grave of Olympias could well have convinced Cassander that he would not ultimately be forgiven for having organised the judicial murder of the matriarch of the Royal Family.

There is evidence that the people of Macedonia in that era viewed the disturbance of graves with a degree of horror and as a serious crime. For example, the desecration of the tomb of Iollas, the youngest brother of Cassander, is listed among the crimes that caused the Macedonians to hate Olympias.⁶⁷ Therefore it is likely that those who wished to honour the occupant of the cist tomb would have chosen to leave the cist unopened and undisturbed in the course of erecting a substantial monument over it. There was an established tradition of erecting such a monument in the form of a tumulus over graves.

⁶⁴ For example, the intact burials in Tomb II and Tomb III at Aegae were all cremations, Hephaistion was cremated (Diodorus 17.115) and Book 23 of the Iliad on Patroclus' funeral seems to have been used as a guide to proper obsequies.

⁶⁵ Diodorus, 19.51.1; that Aristonous came to prominence during Alexander's expedition is consistent with him having been in his mid-forties at the time he was murdered.

⁶⁶ Diodorus, 19.50.7.

⁶⁷ Diodorus, 19.11.8, cf. 19.35.1.

This was called a *sema* deriving from the term for a marker. For example, archaeology has confirmed that the Great Tumulus over the royal tombs at Aegae was erected some decades after the construction of the original tombs and that it was added without disturbing the tomb chambers. The importance of this analysis of how the specifics of the Amphipolis Tomb can be explained by the known history surrounding the death of Olympias is that it provides a unique reconciliation between the archaeological evidence and the historical sources. Of course, the further fact that the most intact skeleton and the individual whose bones were concentrated in the bottom metre or so of the grave trench was a woman of the correct age for Olympias at her death serves to reinforce this concordance between the archaeological and historical evidence.

History also volunteers an explanation as to why the Amphipolis Tomb was robbed and desecrated and then diligently sealed by the desecrators themselves. Assuming that Cassander had permitted the Kasta Mound monument to be constructed by the Royal Family and their allies as part of a policy of reconciliation in the years 316-310 BC, it must nevertheless have been a source of private indignation for him, since Olympias is recorded to have murdered his brother Nicanor and desecrated the grave of his youngest brother Iollas. Once the policy of reconciliation had been jettisoned with the murders of the king and his mother in the citadel of Amphipolis, Cassander would have been free to wreak unrestrained vengeance upon Olympias' nearby tomb, and we should naturally expect something parallel to the queen's vengeance upon the grave of Iollas. But among her enemies, Olympias had the reputation of being a witch and her bones were potentially talismans of great potency for her faction. Hence it would have been important to Cassander to deny his enemies access to her remains and also, out of superstition, to do what he could to confine her spirit and leave her skeleton in its disrupted state. There may even be a historical record of the desecration of Olympias' tomb by Cassander. Diodorus 17.118.2 mentions that Cassander "murdered Olympias and cast her out graveless" (τήν τε γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδα φονεύσαντα ἄταφον ῥῖψαι). It has always been supposed by historians that Diodorus was implying that there was a long delay between her murder and her relatives being allowed to recover her corpse for burial. However, Diodorus' words are literally more consistent with Cassander having thrown her bones out of her grave. This is supported by the fact that Diodorus 1.64.5 uses very similar language explicitly to describe corpses being cast out of their graves (...καὶ τὰ σώματα ἠπείλει διασπάσειν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐκρίψειν ἐκ τῶν τάφων). The dating evidence on the sealing event does not appear to exclude this new interpretation, but neither does it currently exclude the archaeologists' theory that the tomb was sealed by the "last Macedonians" at the time of the Roman conquest in about 168 BC.

At the time of writing (June 2018) no results have been announced for the crucial isotopic ratio tests on the bones and bone fragments. These should include carbon-14 dating (ratio of C-14 to C-12), but the irreducible error on C-14 dates around the 4th century BC can be

over a century. Due to fluctuations in the amount of C-14 in the atmosphere seen in tree ring data, a sample from something that died in 316 BC will have the same C-14 to C-12 ratio as a sample that died in either 348 BC or 210 BC. The strontium-87 to strontium-86 ratio is potentially more important from the point of view of testing whether the female skeleton is Olympias. The strontium ratio increases with the age of the underlying geology of the territory in which the individual lived. The ratio in the bones reflects the location in which the person spent the last ten years of their lives, but tooth enamel forms in childhood, so it locks in the Sr-87/Sr-86 signature for the place the person grew up. One single decayed tooth is stated to have survived in the skull of the 60+ woman. If any enamel is intact, it should be possible to test whether its strontium ratio is consistent with Olympias' childhood, which was spent in Epirus and more specifically Molossia (vicinity of Dodona). Olympias also spent most of her last decade in Molossia, but she was back in Macedonia for the last year or so. So the strontium ratio in her bones might give a mixed signature. DNA testing is also of great interest in respect of these bones, given that it could be the maternal DNA of Alexander the Great. But there is currently nothing else specific to compare it with. Although we probably have the remains of her grandson, Alexander IV, from Tomb III at Aegae, he was cremated, so there is a poor chance of obtaining a valid DNA signature for him.

Conclusions

The archaeologists have concluded that the Amphipolis Tomb monument was a memorial for Hephaistion on the basis of rough inscriptions on a few of the peribolos blocks which imply that the blocks were cut for a monument for Hephaistion. However, the fact that the first letter of the inscription is missing from both their examples of these blocks must mean that the blocks were shortened from their original length when they were incorporated into the peribolos. That very strongly suggests that the Amphipolis Tomb was not the monument for which these blocks were originally cut, but that the builders of the Amphipolis Tomb re-assigned blocks cut for a monument to Hephaistion at the end of the reign of Alexander, which had been stockpiled when plans for monuments to Hephaistion were abandoned upon Alexander's death.

The archaeologists and others have argued that the Amphipolis Tomb cannot be the sepulchre of Olympias, because a reconstruction by Charles Edson in 1949 of an inscription from a fragment mentioning a tomb of Olympias proves that the tomb of Olympias was located at Pydna. However, no such tomb of Olympias has ever been found in the vicinity of Pydna, and Charles Edson actually stated in his paper that he used an assumption that Olympias died at Pydna, based on misreading Diodorus 19.50–51, as his guide in formulating his reconstruction of the inscription. Because we do not know the number of letter spaces between successive lines of the fragment, many viable reconstructions are possible, with the choice depending upon the reconstructor's whim. These possibilities include reconstructions stating that the tomb of Olympias lay at Amphipolis. Diodorus 19.50–51 actually fails to state where Olympias died, but a careful reading of his account suggests that it is most likely that she was murdered at Amphipolis. She died at the end of her war with Cassander, and that war ended with the surrender of Amphipolis in the late spring of 316 BC. Furthermore, her grandson and daughter-in-law spent the next six years living in the citadel at Amphipolis.

There is overwhelming evidence that the archaeologists are correct in dating the Amphipolis Tomb to the last quarter of the 4th century BC, and there is no contrary evidence of any substance. If blocks used in the peribolos were re-assigned to the Amphipolis Tomb project after plans to build monuments to Hephaistion had been abandoned upon Alexander's death, then we can date the Amphipolis Tomb construction to the ninth decade of the 4th century BC with high probability.

The archaeological evidence for the date of the desecration and sealing of the Amphipolis Tomb is less definitive, but it supports a sealing not later than the Roman conquest of Macedonia in 168 BC. However, the archaeology suggests that the desecrators and the sealers were the same group of people acting at the same time because fragments of the smashed marble doors of the third chamber were excavated suspended in the sand fill, where they had fallen when the doors were rammed during the sealing. Therefore, the historical evidence would suggest that the most likely context for the desecration and sealing was the murder of Alexander IV and Roxane at Amphipolis in 310 BC, when Cassander would have had the motive and the opportunity to both desecrate and tightly seal a tomb of Olympias.

The iconography of the decoration of the excavated chambers strongly suggests that the tomb was built for a very high-status female occupant. Sphinxes were symbols of the principal queen of Macedon, and they also connect the tomb with the only candidate for the first tomb of Alexander the Great at Memphis. The caryatids appear to be priestesses of Dionysus, who were called Klodones in Macedon and were key adherents of Olympias. The mosaic appears to depict the tomb's occupant in the guise of Persephone being violently abducted into the Underworld. It also works as a group portrait of the Macedonian Royal Family the last time they were all alive together in 336 BC. The painting above the entrance to the burial chamber seems to depict a scene from the Mysteries of Samothrace, at which ceremonies Olympias first met her future husband Philip II of Macedon. The central figure in the composition is a woman facing away from the viewer and towards the chamber overlying the grave.

Many uncremated bones from three adult skeletons, a few from an infant and nine tiny cremated bone fragments were found strewn in the grave slot. The number of cremation fragments is no larger than would be expected to be found loose in the soil in an area that had been used as a cemetery for centuries. They were probably introduced via the soil that covered the cist tomb lying a metre beneath the floor of the third chamber. The majority of the bones of an uncremated woman over sixty years of age, the correct age range for

Olympias at death, were found in the grave, including a nearly intact skull.⁶⁸ The other two adult skeletons were men without skulls, and there were a few bone fragments from a peri-natal infant. It is consistent with the historical accounts of Olympias' death that she should have been inhumed in a poor-quality cist tomb without cremation since she had been condemned as a criminal. When, subsequently, Cassander pursued a policy of reconciliation with the royal family, including marrying princess Thessalonike and acknowledging Alexander IV as the future ruler,⁶⁹ it is feasible that he allowed the royal family to construct a more fitting memorial over the grave of Olympias. This is the only explanation for the Amphipolis Tomb that reconciles the archaeological and the historical evidence.

Conversely, according to our historical sources, nobody who could have commanded the resources required to build the Amphipolis Tomb would have had a sufficient motive to erect such an extravagant memorial for Hephaistion in the years after Alexander's death. Had they sought to build such a monument, they would have been doing so in defiance of a vote of the Macedonian army in late June of 323 BC to abandon the construction of the principal monument to Hephaistion in Babylon. Implicitly, that vote outlawed any further public expenditure on Hephaistion's memorials.

The aim of scholarship should be to find explanations of archaeological discoveries that are consistent with both the archaeological evidence and the historical evidence, rather than focussing on one or the other. It is the theory that reconciles all types of evidence that is most likely to be true. Often there will only be one such theory, so the approach of looking for reconciliation between all relevant sources of evidence is usually the best means of determining the best explanation of an archaeological discovery.

The next steps in the identification of the principal occupant of the Amphipolis Tomb should include:

- a) Detailed publication of the inscribed blocks from the peribolos including uncropped photos and exact dimensions
- b) Proper forensic archaeological testing of all the remains, including the elderly woman's tooth, recovered from the grave, especially including measurements of their isotopic ratios
- c) There should be an early attempt to extract DNA profiles from the uncremated bones and the root of the elderly woman's tooth before remaining traces of intact DNA decay further.

The dimensions of the inscriptions will confirm whether they were reduced in length for incorporation of their blocks into the peribolos of the Amphipolis Tomb. The strontium-87 to the strontium-86 ratio in the tooth enamel of the elderly woman is predicted to match that

⁶⁸ It has been doubted whether the skull should be so intact, since Pausanias, 9.7.2, states that Olympias was stoned to death (öς Όλυμπιάδα γε παρέβαλε καταλεῦσαι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Μακεδόνων παρωξυσμένοις), but Justin, 14.6.9–11, implies that she died by sword blows (...non refugientem gladium...).

⁶⁹ When Alexader IV reached adulthood (Diodorus, 19.105.1), which was probably 14 years of age in Macedonia.

observed in Molossia, if she is Olympias. In that case, also any DNA sequences obtained from the remains of the elderly woman would represent the maternal contribution to the DNA of Alexander the Great. It would therefore potentially provide a powerful tool for identifying the remains of the king himself and would certainly reveal many more secrets regarding such matters as his ancestry and genetic traits.

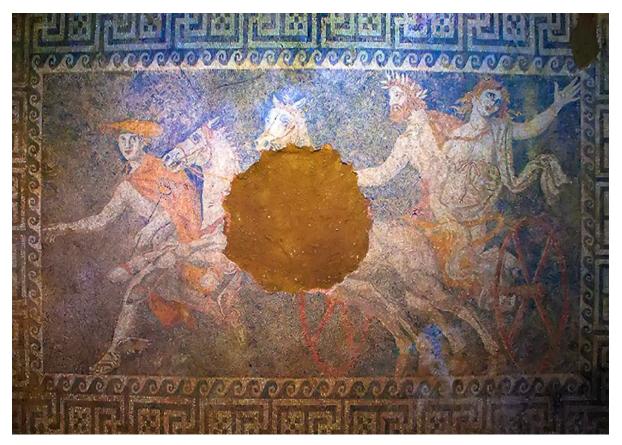
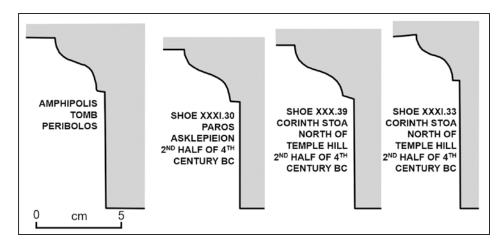


Figure 13: The pebble mosaic depicting the abduction of Persephone from the floor of the second chamber in the Amphipolis tomb. <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Abduction_of_</u> Persephone_by_Pluto,_Amphipolis.jpg





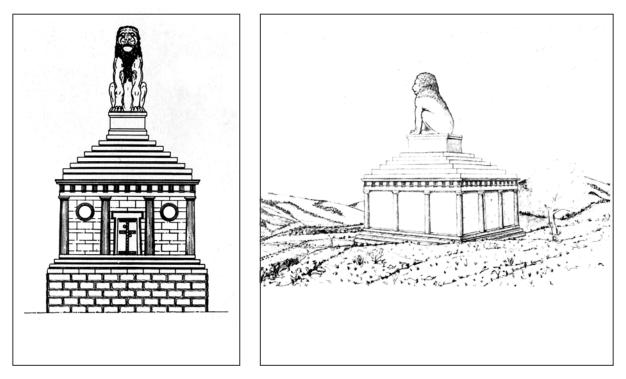


Figure 15: Reconstructions of the lion podium based on architectural fragments by Roger (left) and Broneer (right)

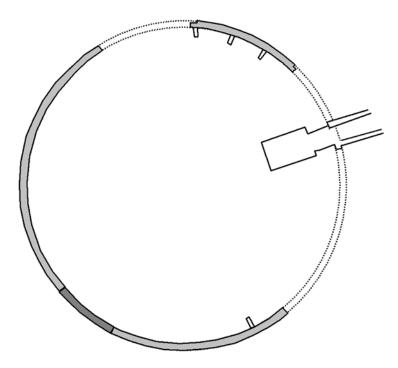


Figure 16: Archaeological plan of the Heroon tomb at Archontiko — its circumference is 158.5m, almost exactly equal to the diameter of the Amphipolis Tomb

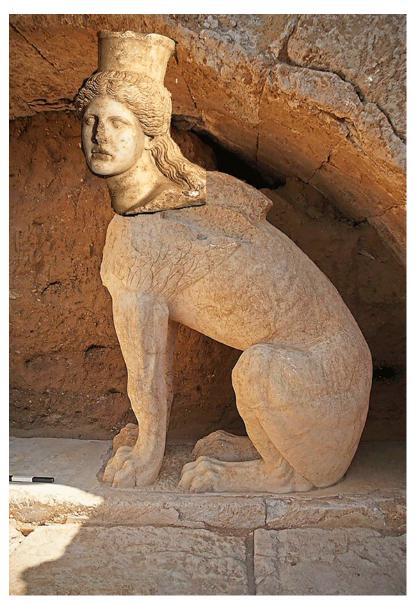


Figure 17: Righthand sphinx with head restored

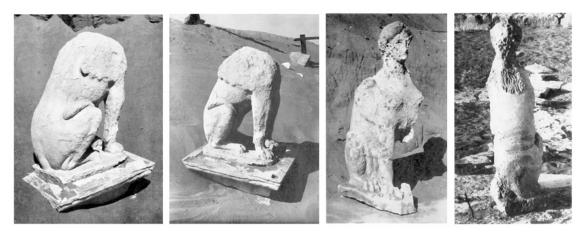


Figure 18: The early Hellenistic sphinxes found at the Serapeum at Memphis: the same seated form and hairstyle as the Amphipolis tomb sphinxes

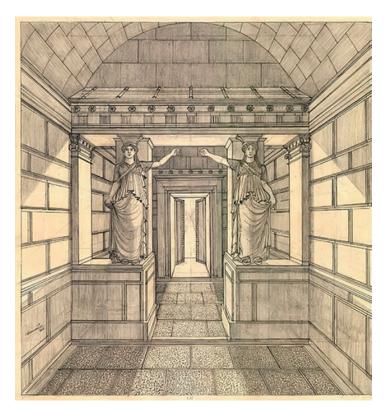


Figure 19: The caryatids standing either side of the entrance to the second chamber https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/ File:Kasta_Tomb,_Amphipolis,_Greece_-__ Illustration_of_Caryatids_according_to_ findings.jpg



Figure 20: The lion of Amphipolis reconstructed in the 1930s just south of the city 5km from the Kasta Mound atop which it originally sat. <u>https://</u> <u>commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/</u> <u>File:Amphipolis_Lion.jpg</u>

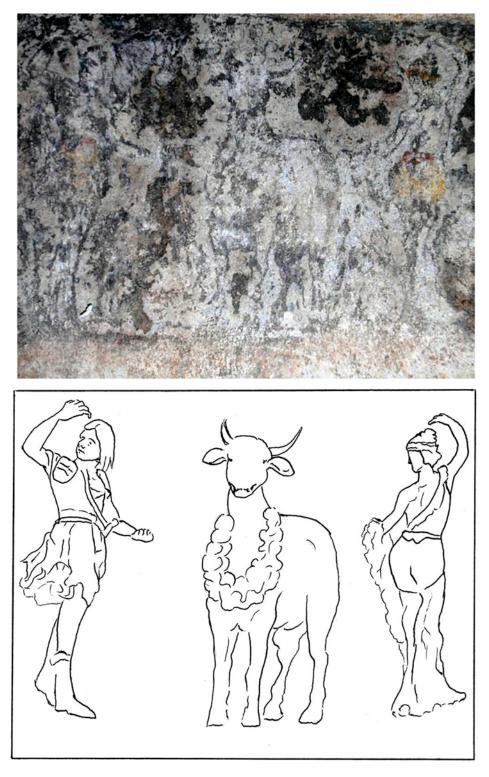


Figure 21: Central section of a mural above the entrance into the third chamber (reconstruction by the author) <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Human_figures,_2nd_chamber,_</u> <u>Amphipolis_tomb.jpg</u>

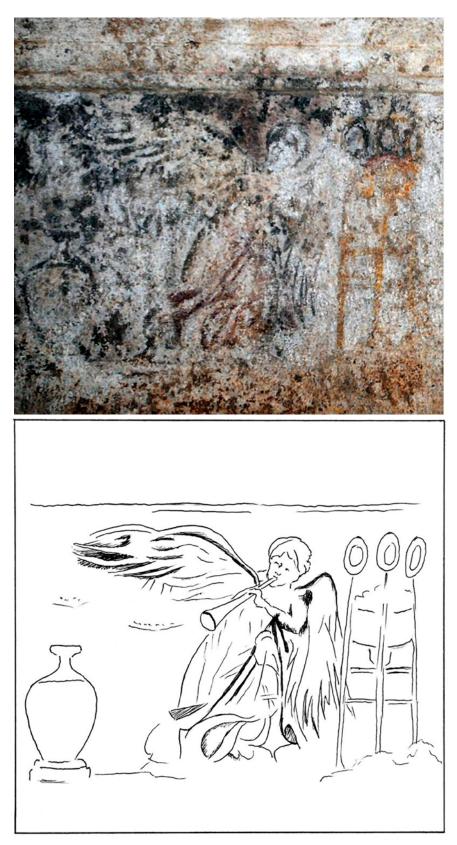


Figure 22: Left hand section of the mural in the second chamber above the entrance into the third chamber (reconstruction by the author). <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Winged_figure,_2nd_chamber,_</u> <u>Amphipolis_tomb.jpg</u>

Directions of the Recent Historiography of Skopje

By Spyridon Sfetas

If each generation has a duty to rewrite history, as per Karl Popper's famous saying, then the post-communist generation of historians from the former communist Balkan countries has several reasons to re-evaluate the historical past. The commanded and ideologically charged historiography of the Balkan communist countries had as its interpretative starting point the "principle of the class-struggle", which was the driving force in historical materialism, and saw socialist society more as a result of internal social struggles than as a product of the Cold War and the imposition of the Soviet model. Thus, events were interpreted through refractive prisms with the main characteristics being: the emergence of the progressive role of the Communist Party, the demonisation of bourgeois class enemies, and the axiom of the dialectical relationship of "material basis and ideological superstructure", which in most cases was applied mechanistically rather than in a constructive and productive way.¹

After the collapse of the Communist regimes, the "de-communisation" of history was a natural consequence of the painful transition of the former Balkan Communist countries to political pluralism, democratisation, the information society, the market economy, etc. Archives were made accessible to researchers, and many taboo issues during the communist era were brought to light. The ideological gap left by the bankruptcy of communist ideology was filled by the dynamics of nationalism. The shift to national issues has become commonplace in historians' research. For the historians of the post-communist period, it was a fundamental pursuit to rehabilitate parties, organisations or personalities and victims of Communist atrocities, who had been marginalised by the stigma of fascism and co-operation with the conquerors. A key parameter for their rehabilitation became their contribution to the nation or democracy. For example, in Albania the "Balli Kombëtar" movement was rehabilitated.

¹ See Wolfgang Höpken, "'Zwischen' 'Klasse' und 'Nation'. Historiographie und 'Meistererzählungen' in Südosteuropa in der Zeit des Sozialismus (1944–1990)", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 2 (2000) 15–60.

in Romania Ion Antonescu and the "Garda de Fier", in Serbia "Dražia Mihajlović" and the "Četnici" movement, in Croatia the "Ustaše", in Bulgaria the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisation "VMRO", the Agrarian Party of Nikola Petkov and the Democratic Party of Nikola Mušanov, who had resisted imposing a communist regime in the country (1946–1947). In this project of Balkan historians, maintaining balance and avoiding exaggerations is not always a successful task.

FYROM is a special case. The Slavic-Macedonian nation-state was formed after 1944 in a socialist society, under the conditions of the Cold War and the peculiar position of Yugoslavia within the socialist camp. Slavic-Macedonianism was cultivated in direct connection with the ideology of "Yugoslavism". There were no pre-war Slavic-Macedonian political parties, there was no civil war during the Second World War, as was the case in Serbia and Albania. What were the Slavic-Macedonian democratic political forces that resisted the imposition of Communism? Who could seriously challenge the role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Macedonia in the rooting of the national ideology of Slavic-Macedonianism? Would it have been possible to create the state of Skopje and the Slavic-Macedonian nation, if Tito had not prevailed in Yugoslavia? Were there inherent Slavic-Macedonian forces capable of creating a nation-state, irrespective of the policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? Thus, after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the independence of FYROM and the transition of the country to democracy and the market economy, the "de-communisation" of historiography was not necessarily understandable, as in the other Balkan states, because the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and "Macedonia" made a great contribution to the Slavic-Macedonian nation-building process. However, the new generation of historians, in order to be in line with the new spirit, had to prove the existence and actions of Slavic-Macedonian nationalist organisations that fought for an independent and democratic Macedonia, something achieved for the first time in 1991, after the collapse of Communism and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, it had to be proved that the Communists could not monopolise the national Slavic-Macedonian ideology. Thus, the first parameter of modern Slavic-Macedonian historiography is the distance from "Yugoslavism and Communism".

The second parameter is to broaden the limits of the history of the Slavic-Macedonian nation. The conflict between Greece and FYROM over the historical heritage of Macedonia has led the neighbouring country's historians to a desperate search for "evidence" to challenge the "Greekness" of the Ancient Macedonians and "to prove" the merger of Ancient Macedonians and Slavs, something that came close to a hysterical fetishism. The dynamic re-emergence of Bulgaria in the Macedonian scene after 1989, the prodigious production of the Macedonian Science Institute in Sofia, and the general tendency of Bulgarian historians to stigmatise the ideology of Slavic-Macedonianism as a "Serbian-Communist" artificial construction forced historians in Skopje to claim as "Macedonian in core and Macedonians in consciousness" organisations and individuals who in the past were stigmatised with the label of Bulgarian. Thus, a new myth was created about the terms "Macedonia" and "Slav-Macedonians". In the present study, we will attempt a critical approach to these new trends in Skopje Historiography.²

The main element of Skopje historiography on antiquity is to draw a line between Ancient Macedonians and Greeks.³ The Greek origin of the Ancient Macedonians is disputed, their differences with the Greeks (language, cultural elements, military and political organisation, barbarity) are emphasised. The international literature is ignored, sources are not analysed, and there is no question whatsoever that more weight should be given to the politicised positions of Demosthenes against Philip than to the efforts of the Macedonians themselves to emphasise their Greek origin, to unite the Greeks in order to eliminate the threat of Persia and to widespread the Greek culture. These dogmatic positions of the new generation of Skopje's historians, apart from not being able to convince the international scientific community, pose another risk — an over-emphasis on the controversial ancient Macedonian heritage at the expense of the self-evident South Slavic ethno-cultural group to which the inhabitants of FYROM belong. Blaze Ristovski, a historian of the old generation, pointed out the danger: the Slavic ethnic-cultural profile of modern Macedonians should not create inferiority complexes, Ancient Macedonia was not a closed space, there were affiliations and assimilations, the Greek language and culture penetrated Macedonia and was used by the Ancient Macedonians, as the Latin language was used in the West; but he himself basically accepts this Ancient Macedonian heritage as a component of "ethnogenetic development of Slav-Macedonians".

² For a first rebuttal of the positions of the Skopje historians, as expressed in the publication of the Academy of Sciences and Arts, *Macedonia and its relations with Greece*, Skopje 1993, see Spyridon Sfetas, *Aspects of the Macedonian Question in the 20th Century*, [in Greek], Vanias, Thessaloniki 2001, pp. 10–54.

See the new publications by Vasil Tupurkovski, *Istorija na Makedonija od drevnosta do smrta na Alekdandar Makedonski [History of Macedonia from Antiquity until the death of Alexander the Great] Skopje* 1993; from the same author see *Istorija na Makedonija od smrta na Aleksandar Makedonski do makedonsko-rimskite vojni [History of Macedonia from the death of Alexander of Macedon until the macedonian-roman wars]*, Skopje 1994, Nade Proeva, *Studii za antičkite Makedonci [Studies for the Ancient Macedonians]*, Skopje-Ohrid 1997, Branko Panov (ed.), *Istorija na makedonskiot narod*, *Tom.1: Makedonija od praisroriskoto vreme do potpagjaneto pod tursksa vlast (1371 godina)*, [History of the Macedonian people, Volume I. Macedonia from prehistory to the subjugation to the Turks in 1371], Institute of National History, Skopje 2000. In this issue the references to antiquity encompasses approximately 200 pages, whereas the old version in 1969 dedicated only 20 pages. Alexander the Great has become a fetish. And the hero of the Albanians, Georgios Kastriotis-Skenerberis, is claimed to be "Macedonian" with an ancient Macedonian and Slavic origin, because the Sultan symbolically awarded him for his bravery the title Iskender. See Petar Popovski, *Georgija Kastriot Iskender, Kral na Epir i Makedonija i vtor Aleksandar Makedonski [George Kastriotis-Iskenderun. King of Epirus and Macedonia, and Second Alexander Macedonian]*, Skopje 2005. Recently, the work of Arrian "Alexandrou Anavasis" and Kourtios Roufos' biography of Alexander the Great were translated into Slavic.

We must not and cannot ignore in our history the ancient period of Macedonia and the Macedonians. For a long time, it is clear that these Macedonians were in fact not Greeks, that Macedonia was not Greece and that the Macedonian language was not Greek, but Greece penetrated Macedonia, Greek language and culture were used by Ancient Macedonians, as all Western Europe, used Latin for centuries as the official language and benefited from rich Roman culture. However, it must be emphasised here that precisely this Ancient Macedonia has given us the name, laid down our place, gave us its cultural heritage and conquered us with some of its blood.⁴

The purpose is obvious: although there was a Greek influence on Ancient Macedonia, this country was different from Greece, the non-Greek Ancient Macedonians were assimilated by the Slavs who inherited the name "Macedonians" as an identifier of a Slavic ethnological group. In the dispute with Greece on the names Macedonia and Macedonians, Skopje's historians believe they have found the argument with which they can claim the names "Macedonia" and "Macedonians". The extent of Macedonia's borders in antiquity or the lack of any reference to Macedonians as Slavs in medieval sources is not considered as a matter of research. If the role of historians in the 21st century is to be the deconstruction of national myths of the 19th century, in the case of Skopje, where a belated and more dynamic nationalism exists, the opposite is true. Historians create national myths in exaggerated disproportion to historically documented facts. Anthony Smith correctly describes the role of intellectuals in the creation of myths of genealogical pedigree.

'The intellectual is the interpreter', par excellence, of historical memories and ethnic myths. By tracing a distinguished pedigree for his nation, he also enhances the position of his circle and activity, he is no longer an ambiguous 'marginal' on the fringes of society, but a leader in the advancing column of the reawakened nation, the movement of national regeneration.⁵

It is no coincidence that historians in Skopje are considered the nation's vanguard, that the writing of national history is the exclusive privilege of the Institute of National History and the Academy of Sciences and Arts.

If the dividing line between Greeks and Ancient Macedonians is used as a doctrine for ancient times, for the middle ages the gap between the Macedonian Slavs and the Bulgarians is noted. The former came from the mixing of Ancient Macedonians and Slavs, the latter from the involvement of Turkish-Tatars and Slavs of Mysia and Thracians.⁶ From an ethnological point of view, no meaning is given to the inclusion of today's FYROM within the medieval Bulgarian state that took place in the second half of the 9th century. Skopje's historians argue that with Tsar Samuel (969–1018) the first "Macedonian" medieval state was founded. That the Byzantine sources refer to Bulgarians and that Samuel identified himself

⁴ See Blaze Ristovski, *Stoletoja na makedonskata svet [Ages of the Macedonian World]*, Skopje 2001, pp. 47.

⁵ See Anthony D. Smyth, *Myths and Memories of the Nation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 84.

⁶ See Ristovski, *op. cit.*, pp. 48.

as a Bulgarian (although being probably of Armenian origin) are considered to be minor events — the Byzantine writers did not have a clear picture of the area and identified the Bulgarian conquerors with the native Macedonian Slavs, who within the framework of the proto-Bulgarian state cultivated the Early Slavic culture in Ohrid.⁷ The term "Bulgar", used by Samuel, was simply a political label to invoke awe in the rival Byzantines.⁸ With Samuel, the "ethnogenesis of the Macedonian people" was completed and he himself created a dynasty.⁹ Samuel passed into the realm of the legend, with an epic novel written for him. The language into which Cyril and Methodius translated the ecclesiastical texts was "Paleo-Macedonian", the language of the Macedonian Slavs, but since nothing was preserved, except for copies with influences from Moravia and the rest of the Byzantine-Slavic world, it could also be called Paleo-Slavic.¹⁰ Thus, "Macedonia" is the country with the earliest written Slavic language, the centre of the widespread Slavic culture. After the subjugation of the state of Samuel to the Byzantine emperor (1018), the Macedonian Slavs retained their identity through the Ohrid Archbishopric, in whose jurisdiction the Greek language was used only by the upper clergy and not by the simple people.¹¹

These are not new findings, but old recycled opinions that are stereotypes in Skopje's historiography and constitute blatant historical falsehoods. If Macedonian Slavs in the Middle Ages had self-consciousness and clear awareness of their geographical location, how did they express their uniqueness and differentiate themselves from their neighbours? If the data of the Byzantine sources do not matter, then Slavic sources must be presented to document how the Macedonian Slavs themselves were self-defining. There is no mention of "Macedonians" and "Macedonian medieval states". The proto-Bulgarian state had already been Slavicized in the middle of the 9th century; when it expanded to the West, the Slavic languages were still at the stage of "Common Slav" and had not been significantly differentiated, the Slavs of Macedonia did not have the inherent potential to establish a state structure and would have been assimilated by the Byzantines if they did not integrate into the proto-Bulgarian state. It is an anachronism to approach the medieval world with modern national concepts in order to meet present political needs. At that time an imperial ideology was dominant, and the ethnic origin of citizens was not important, since they were Christians and remained loyal to the Emperor. With the logic of the Skopje historians, the French and the Germans should now claim the French or German origin of Charlemagne. The term "Macedonia" from the 9th century was an

⁷ See Slavko Milosevski, Sociologija na makedonskata nacionalna svest (Sociology of Macedonian National Consciousness), Skopje 1992, pp. 63.

⁸ See Branko Panov, *Makedonija niz istorijata (Macedonia through History)*, Skopje 1999, pp. 15.

⁹ See Dragan Taškovski, *Car Samuil (Tsar Samuel)*, Skopje 2005.

¹⁰ See Ristovski, *op. cit*, pp. 49.

¹¹ See Milosavlevski, *op. cit*, pp. 64.

administrative term, "Thema", and included Thrace, while the term "Macedonians" as an exclusive Slavic ethnonym did not exist.

During the period of the Ottoman period, the Archbishopric of Ohrid is considered to be the main factor in preserving the "Slavic-Macedonian" identity. During the Ottoman domination, the Ohrid Archbishopric played a very positive role in preserving the religious, national and cultural identity of the Macedonian and other Balkan peoples, as well as in spreading the Slavic culture in Macedonia and the Balkans in general."12 But the Archbishopric of Ohrid cannot be described as a national church of the Macedonian Slavs. Apart from the fact that the Archdiocese of Ohrid was called "First Justinian and of All Bulgaria", its jurisdiction included not only Slavs but also Greeks, Vlachs and Albanians. It was a Greek-Slavic symbiosis at a time when the main mission of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was the curb of Islamism. The term "Macedonia" as an administrative term was not used by the Ottomans, which means that the Ottomans did not have a clear picture of the place. The term "Sancak i Arvanit, Sancak-i Arnaut" has been used since the 14th century, meaning that the Arnaoutes (Albanians) existed as an ethno-cultural group for the Ottomans. During Ottoman domination, many travel guides and other texts refer to "Macedonians" without clarifying what they mean. Undoubtedly, it is a geographical term that generally means an inhabitant of the undefined administrative region of Macedonia.

However, the great difficulties for Skopje historians arise in the interpretation of the national awakening and mobilisation of the Slavs of Macedonia since the middle of the 19th century. Slav intellectuals from Macedonia, such as the brothers Dimitri and Konstantin Miladinov, Grigor Părličev, Kuzman Šapkarev, and others, all identified themselves as Bulgarians in their own works. They shared a common struggle with Bulgarian intellectuals from the more advanced, from an economic and intellectual point of view, north-eastern Bulgaria to reduce Greek cultural influence and establish a Bulgarian church. Their main disagreement focused on the linguistic question of whether the codified Neo-Bulgarian language should reflect multiple dialects or be based solely on the dialect of north-eastern Bulgaria and exclude the dialect of "Southwest Bulgaria", which they called Macedonia. Slav intellectuals from the Macedonian region sought to form a multi-dialectal Neo-Bulgarian language and called the "Macedonian language" that they spoke a Bulgarian dialect. Skopje's historians downplay the term "Bulgarian" as a national name. According to their interpretation, Macedonian Slavs conducted a joint struggle with the Bulgarians against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and only superficially appeared to be Bulgarians due to their attendance of Bulgarian schools or due to Bulgarian influence; it is important that as actors they were consciously fighting for Macedonia and that this was the main object of their

¹² Stojan Kiselinovski (ed.), Makedonski istoriski rečnik (Macedonian historical dictionary), Institute of National History, Skopje 2000, pp. 352–353.

struggles.¹³ A new generation of historians politically affiliated with VMRO-DPMNE have highlighted the need to overcome the stigma associated with the term "Bulgarian" during the Communist years. Although the "Macedonian" national-liberation movement had autonomous action, Bulgarian influence was not irrelevant — either due to the education of "Macedonians" in Bulgarian schools or due to Bulgarian policy in Macedonia. Thus, for the first time in 2002, a collection of Bulgarian folk songs by the brothers Miladivov was published in Skopje.¹⁴ In the previous editions, the term "Bulgarian" was omitted. This effort of the Skopje's historians to attribute the substance of a (Slavic) "Macedonian", non-Bulgarian national consciousness to the Slav intellectuals of the Macedonian space in the 19th century is a deliberate distortion of the objective data. In the 19th century, local particularities and cultural elements were not sufficient factors for the formation of a national ideology. Rather sufficient factors were historical memories, the proof of a glorious historical past, the identification with a homeland and the prospect of liberation and state-building.¹⁵ The identification of the Slavs with the Bulgarian national idea opened many prospects — it provided the glorious historical past and preached a bright future with the help of the Russians. The myth of the Slavic origin of Alexander the Great, dating back to the 17th-century poet from Ragusa Ivan Gundulić, widespread amongst the Slavs of Macedonia, offered nothing more than the "legitimacy" of the indigenous historical presence of the Slavs in Macedonia in their confrontation with the Greeks. Such myths were directly related to the fact that the Macedonian Slavs were an "amorphous mass" and were therefore susceptible to both Bulgarian and Serbian propaganda. Myths were mainly cultivated by Serbian propaganda to undermine Bulgarian penetration in Macedonia. Gorgija Pulevski, an illiterate mouthpiece for Serbian propaganda who recorded such myths and stressed the uniqueness of the Macedonians, is still regarded in Skopje as the first "Macedonist" to the extent that his action had anti-Bulgarian character¹⁶.

This "flexible" scheme of distinction between the "Bulgarian outward form" and the "Macedonian inner core" was proclaimed to be a safety valve for circumventing the embarrassment

¹³ See Milosavlevski, op. cit, pp. 74–90.

¹⁴ See Bâlgarski Narodni Pesni, sobrani by Bratja Miladinovci Dimitrija i Konstantina i izdani od Konstantina (Bulgarian folk songs, collected by the brothers Miladinovci, Dimittrija and Konstantin, and published by Konstantin), Zagreb 1861.

¹⁵ For the distinction between the 19th century national speech and the ethnic discourse of the modern age, see Angeliki Konstantakopoulou, "National and Ethnic Speech'. Theory of the Modern Greek Contemporary History" P. Kitromilidis, T. Sklavenitis (editors), *Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece*, Proceedings of the Second Congress, Volume B, Center of Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, 2004, pp. 273–313.

¹⁶ See Georgi Stalev, "Vlogot na Gorgija Pulevski v razvojot na makedonskata nacionalna svest" (The Contribution of Gorgija Pulevski to the Development of Macedonian National Consciousness), in the collective work Bl. Ristovki, G. Stedelov, Cv. Grozdanov (ed.), *Makedonija. Prašanja by Istorijata i Kultura [Macedonia. Issues of History and Culture]*, Skopje 1999, pp. 227–243. For Pulevski's case, see Spyridon Sfetas, *The formation of the Slav-Macedonian identity. A painful process*, [in Greek], Vanias, Thessaloniki, 2003, pp. 39–45.

of the term Bulgarians. Thus, the VMRO, created in Thessaloniki in 1893, is claimed to be an indigenous "Macedonian organisation".¹⁷ The fact that its founders and key executives, such as Hristo Tatarčev, Dame Gruev, Goce Delčev, Jane Sandanski, and others called themselves Bulgarians, that the official language of the organisation was Bulgarian and that Bulgaria's assistance was necessary, are not considered to be issues worth discussing and are attributed to Bulgarian influences. It is important, according to Skopje's historians, that the organisation was internal, claimed the autonomy of Macedonia, spoke for the "Macedonian people"¹⁸ and gradually tried to develop into a trans-Balkan supranational Christian organisation. It was the counterpart of the Varhovists, the Supreme Macedonian Committee of Sofia (1895) which expressed the interests of Bulgarian governments and general Bulgarian policy for the annexation of Macedonia. The contradictions between Thessaloniki's "Centralists" and the "Varhovists" of Sofia, which were mainly due to tactics of the Bulgarian-Macedonian movement, are instead interpreted as a confrontation of "native Macedonians" and Bulgarian oppressors.

Based on this starting point of Skopje's historians, the Ilinden uprising (1903) can be disconnected from Bulgarian influence. It is presented as an internal saga of "Macedonians" and is mythologised as an uprising for statehood and the ephemeral "Republic of Kruševo", which had previously been interpreted as the embodiment of the ideas of the French revolution and socialist internationalism, and today is interpreted in the context of multiculturalism, universality and civil society¹⁹, principles that supposedly embody the current state of Skopje. During their academic meeting on the centennial anniversary of Ilinden uprising, Skopje's historians avoided addressing a number of issues — the VMRO's reluctance to rise up, the role of promises of Bulgarian assistance by Bulgaria's Minister of War Stefan Paprikov as a catalyst to dispel hesitations for the uprising, the Bulgarian policy that aimed at the internationalisation of the Macedonian Question via uprising, and that diplomats and foreign press recorded the Ilinden uprising as a Bulgarian movement²⁰. Deliberately ignored is rich, accessible Bulgarian archival material and instead there is a focus on trivial matters or an idealisation of Ilinden as a "metaphysical" event that embodied the ideals of the "Macedonians" and inspired the national liberation struggle of 1941–1944.

Skopje's historiography attaches great importance to Krste Misirkov and other actors of Slavic-Macedonian separatism. His book "*Za makedonckite raboti*" (On Macedonian matters)

¹⁷ See Dragan Arsov, Mihajlo Georgievski, Cvetko Martinovski, Aleksandar Hristovki (ed.), Zlatna Kniga 100 Godini VMRO (The Golden Bible, 100 years VMRO), Skopje 1993, pp. 31–62.

¹⁸ See Milosavlevski, op., pp. 104–105.

¹⁹ See Svetomir Škarik, "Ilinden i makedonskata država (1903–2003)" (The Ilinden and the Macedonian State [1903–2003]), in the collective work G. Todorovski, Bl. Ristovski, T. Čepreganov (ed.), *100 godini Ilinden 1903–2003*. Tom I (100 years Ilinden 1903–2003. Proceedings of the Scientific Meeting 6–8 May 2003, First Volume), Skopje 2005, pp. 69–90.

²⁰ See the Procceedings of the aforementioned conference in two volumes.

was reissued in Skopje with an English translation.²¹ As it is known, after the failure of the Iliden uprising the idle stance of the Bulgarian state, Misirkov propagated the ideology of Slav-Macedonian separatism — Slavs of Macedonia were to alienate themselves from Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek national ideas, and be recognised as a separate Slavic-Macedonian Millet by the Ottoman state. He was of a view that Bulgaria was unable to liberate Macedonia, which was in danger of being divided between the Balkan states. Misirkov admitted that his work was a political treatise, a product of the impasse that arose after the failure of the Iliden uprising.

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Misirkov's book, a two-day conference, dedicated to his work, was organised in Skopje. Of interest was the paper presented by Rastislav Terzioski, a historian who brought to light memos from Russian archives sent by Misirkov to the Russian government on the eve and during the First World War. The memos clearly stated Bulgarian positions, and Misirkov now identified himself as a Bulgarian — the Slavs of Macedonia are Bulgarians, the Treaty of Bucharest was unjust for Bulgaria, the Bulgarians are under the Serbian yoke, Russia must understand the importance of the unification of all Bulgarians and to have Bulgaria in the future as an ally.²²

Unfortunately, Terzioski, in danger of being described as a "heretic", avoided commenting on these positions of Misirkov, which contradicted the content of Misirkov's book "On Macedonian matters", and suggested that until the creation of People's Republic of Macedonia in 1944, Slav-Macedonian intellectuals possessed a crisis of conscience and hesitated about their national self-determination. It was a ground-breaking position that did not cause a fruitful reflection. In the discussion that followed, at least according to the Proceedings, there appears an inability by historians to interpret Misirkov's transformation so as not to diminish the idol that was the father of Slav-Macedonian separatism. Skopje's historians are unable to admit that Misirkov acted primarily as a political person and that the constructed ideology of Slav-Macedonianism was a political compact, a stance of convenience that followed the failure of the Iliden uprising. As Macedonia was still under Ottoman domination and the competition of Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks was intense, Slav-Macedonian separatism with recognition of the Ottoman Slav Macedonian millet would be a balancing factor. During the First World War, Bulgaria, an ally of the Central Powers, had basically achieved its national goals by annexing a large part of Macedonia. Slav-Macedonian separatism had lost its meaning, and

²¹ Krste Misirkov, On Macedonian Matters. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the publication of the book, arranged by Blaze Ristovski, translated by Alan McConnell, Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Skopje 2003.

²² See Rastislav Terzioski, "Za Nekoi Stavovi na Krste Misirkov za makedonskoto prašanje" (For some views of Krste Misirkov on the Macedonian Question), in the collective work B. Ristovksi (ed.), *Deloto na Krste Misirkov, Tom I (The work of Krste Misirkov. Proceedings of an international scientific meeting held in Skopje on* 27–29 November 2003, First Volume), Skopje 2005, pp. 269–283.

for Misirkov only a single goal retained importance – for Bulgaria to maintain the war gains. Addressing Russia, which was in a state of war with Bulgaria, Misirkov apparently wanted to contrast Bulgaria's stance in the war against its own national rights.

The armed conflicts in Macedonia in 1904–1908, the Balkan Wars and the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) are interpreted according to the established position — the "Macedonian" people have been defeated by the conquering plans of the Balkan governments, and Macedonia has been dismembered.

A new assessment of the role of the VMRO during the Interwar period was attempted by a generation of historians sympathetic to VMRO-DPMNE who sought to find an ideological embryo from within this organisation. By 1990, the official socialist historiography of Skopje considered the organisation of Todor Aleksandrov, Aleksander Protogerov and Ivan Mihajlov as fascist, Bulgarian, with the main aim to annex Macedonia to Bulgaria. In all the notices and memoranda of the organisation, there is indeed talk of a Bulgarian population of Macedonia, the just struggle of the Bulgarians to overthrow the Serbian and Greek yoke is stressed. But the new generation of historians downplay the importance of the organisation's links to Bulgaria — these are attributed to the usual Bulgarian influence and education within Bulgarian schools — and instead emphasise the fact that VMRO promoted a single and independent Macedonia and did not consider the union of Macedonia with Bulgaria as the only option, but also the integration of a Macedonia into a Yugoslav or Balkan federation.²³ The organisation set out Macedonian interests against Bulgarian-state interests, disagreed with Bulgarian governments, played the Soviet card to internationalise the Macedonian Question and, most importantly, had an anti-communist character. It is essentially the political rehabilitation of Todor Alexandrov. The publication of documents for his activity from the Bulgarian archives with a translation into Slavic Macedonian aims at "clearing the name" of the VMRO leader, who was stigmatised as a Bulgarian fascist and naturalises him as a "Macedonian".²⁴ It is no coincidence that documents of the Communist International for the Macedonian Question began to be published (a Russian original and a translation into Slavic Macedonian) at the initiative of the historians sympathetic to VMRO-DPMNE. The Communist International documents show the importance that the Soviet policy attributed to the VMRO as a potential actor in the "socialist revolution" in Bulgaria in 1923-24 if the organisation was emancipated from the influence of the Bulgarian nationalist circles.²⁵ Essentially, the VMRO, including the later leader Ivan Mihailov

²³ See Zoran Todorovski, Vnatrešnata Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija 1924–1934 The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization 1924–1934), Skopje 1997.

²⁴ See Zoran Todorovski (ed.), Todor Alekdandrov. Se za Makedonija. Dokumenti 1919–1924. (Todor Alexandrov. All about Macedonia. Documents 1919–1924), Skopje 2005.

²⁵ See Lina I. Žila-Vlado Popov (ed.), Makedonskij Vopros v Dokumentov Kominterna, Tom I. Part 1. 1923–1925gg (The Macedonian Question in the Documents of the Communist International, First Volume, Part I 1923–1925), Skopje 1999.

(1925–1934), has been rehabilitated as a Macedonian organisation within its core. With its armed struggle, its conspiratorial character and the punishment of traitors, it internationalised the Macedonian Question and hampered the Serbianization of the population.²⁶ These views of historians, sympathetic to VMRO-DPMNE, are not accepted by the old Communist generation of historians who are now politically part of the Social Democratic Union. The new generation blames the old for "Serbophilia", and the old one blames the new for "Bulgarophilia". However, it is undeniable that historians, who favour VMRO-DPMNE, irrespective of their interpretative approach, at least publish primary sources and do not possess the anti-Bulgarian stereotypes of the past.

The VMRO (United), which emerged as the ideological and political counterpart of the VMRO of Mihailov, has for several years been rehabilitated as a native Macedonian organisation, despite its organisational weaknesses, its lack of influence in Macedonia and its reference to the Macedonian people as a political concept which included all the ethnicities of Macedonia. The Communist International's decision of 1934 on the existence of a Macedonian nation with exclusive reference to the Slavs is still interpreted as the first official recognition of the Macedonian nation by an international organisation.²⁷ The drafts of the relevant decision, which are radically different from the final text that Slav-Macedonian historians deliberately ignore, confirm that the particular identity of the Macedonian Slavs was not taken for granted and that the new political circumstances, after the rise of Nazism, required recognition of the "Macedonians" as a particular nation.²⁸ This position was adopted from 1934 onwards by the Balkan Communist Parties, and their role in promoting this thesis is stressed by all Macedonian historians, regardless of their political beliefs.

The Second World War, the national liberation movement, the creation of the Skopje state and the subsequent developments have a central position in the historiography. The main bottom line in dealing with these events is to demonstrate a "strong" resistance movement against the German-Bulgarian occupation as early as 1941, to play down the role of the Communist Party of "Macedonia" and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in organising the resistance and, above all, to stress the Macedonian people's will and struggle for a democratic, unified and independent Macedonia rather than a Yugoslav solution to the Macedonian Question.²⁹ The anti-communist and anti-Yugoslav spearhead in the works of historians sympathetic to VMRO-DPMNE are evident. The Bulgarian occupation

²⁶ For the aspect of this VMRO action of the interwar period, Bioleta Ačkoska-Nikola Žežov, *Predavstvata i Atentati vo Makedonskata Istorija (Treacheries and Assassination Attempts in Macedonian History)*, Skopje 2004, pp. 197–314.

 ²⁷ See Blaže Ristovski, *Istorija na makedonskata nacija (History of the Macedonian nation)*, Skopje 1999, pp. 579–593.

²⁸ On this issue Sfetas, *The formation of the Slav-Macedonian identity* ..., pp. 91–103.

²⁹ See Vera Aceva, *Pismo do Tempo (Letter to Tempo)*, Culture Publishing, Skopje 1991.

was studied more thoroughly³⁰, and the establishment of the General Headquarters was dated back to the first year of the occupation.³¹ British sources concerning British military missions in Yugoslav Macedonia were published to prove, alongside other sources, that the Slavophon battalions, serving with ELAS, were fighting for an independent Macedonia and not for equality with the Greek people within the pre-war borders of the Greek state.³² The marginalisation of the role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and in particular the role of Tito's envoy, Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, in the development of the resistance movement in Yugoslavia, is a falsification of history. Until the beginning of 1943, when the Communist Party of Macedonia and the General Staff were established, the situation in Yugoslav Macedonia remained confused and organised resistance did not exist. Resistance began in 1943 due to developments in the Second World War (German losses, Italian capitulation and bankruptcy of the Bulgarian administration). The resistance movement in Yugoslavia did not have a narrow communist character, since the Communist Party of Macedonia was a newcomer under the control of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The resistance movement included in its ranks previous affiliates of VMRO, of VMRO (United) and others who up to that point held vague national views. This is downplayed by historians of the post-Communist era. Instead, the emphasis is placed on the emergence of an indigenous resistance movement with a distinct national Slav Macedonian identity that opposed Belgrade's centralism, outlined the national ideology of Slav-Macedonianism over the vague ideology of Yugoslavia, promoted Slav-Macedonian national and state interests (a unified and independent Macedonia or a unified Macedonia in a loose union of the emancipated peoples of Yugoslavia), was against the reinstatement of Yugoslavia and supported a democratic political system (political pluralism, respect for private property) against the communist dictatorship. Thus, the creation of "People's Republic of Macedonia" at the first session of ASNOM (Anti-fascist Council of People's Liberation of Macedonia) on 2 August 1944 is presented as an organic development, as a continuation of the tradition of Ilinden.³³ It is particularly noteworthy that the Presidency of ASNOM consisted of non-Communists: Metodija Antonov-Čento was a merchant, Emanuil Čučkov was a member of the VMRO-youth during the Interwar period and Panko Brašnarov, a member of VMRO (United). The anniversary volumes published for ASNOM highlight

³⁰ See Vanche Stojchev, *Bugarskiot okupaciski sistem vo Makedonija 1941–1944 (The Bulgarian Occupation System in Macedonia 1941–1944)*, Skopje 1996.

³¹ See Gorgi Cakarjanevski, *Glavniot Stab i Državnosta na Makedonija (1941–1945) (The General Staff and the statehood of Macedonia 1941–1945)*, Skopje 2001.

³² See Todor Čepreganov (ed.), Britanski Voeni Misii voMakedonija 1942–1945 (British Military Missions in Macedonia 1942–1945), Issue of State Archives, Skopje 2000.

³³ See Mihajlo Minoski, Avnojska Jugoslavija i Makedonskoto Nacionalno Prašanje (1943–1946) (Yugoslavia of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia and the Macedonian Question [1943–1946]), Skopje 2000, pp. 13–184.

the aspirations of the "Macedonians" for an independent and democratic European state, which they achieved for the first time in 1991.³⁴

The circumvention of ASNOM's goals by Belgrade's Communist leadership, the defeat of the leaders of the resistance movement that fought for an independent and democratic Macedonia by the Koliševski-Tempo communist clique, and the vicious persecution of VMRO individuals and branches, agitating for a unified and independent Macedonia, is a popular subject for the historians sympathetic to VMRO-DPMNE. According to these historians, since political parties did not exist, the "bourgeois" democratic anti-communist opposition was expressed through the movement for an independent Macedonia. As a matter of morality, they have rehabilitated President Cento (Čento) who was sentenced to imprisonment in 1946 for promoting the secession of Yugoslav Macedonia from the Yugoslav Federation and the establishment of an independent state under the auspices of the Great Powers.³⁵ Others who agitated for a unified and independent Macedonia were politically marginalised in Skopje or exiled as Vasil Ivanovski, Petar Šandanov, Venko Markovski, Dimitar Vlahov, Kiro Gligorov. They were blamed for separatism, suspected of anti-Yugoslavism or "Bulgarophilia", since their support for a "unified and independent Macedonia" easily coincided with the line of the Bulgarian VMRO of Ivan Mihailov³⁶, even if they identified themselves as "Macedonians" in the new circumstances. After the downfall of Communism and Yugoslavia's dissolution, they have been rehabilitated. Priority for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the forcible Macedonization of the Slav population in the "People's Republic of Macedonia" under Belgrade's terms, the elimination of any Bulgarian influence and the inclusion of the region into the Yugoslav Federation. The Slav-Macedonian nationalists, irrespective of their previous national affiliation, agitated for a conclusive solution of the Macedonian Question, not necessarily within the framework of Tito's Communist Yugoslavia.

Following Tito's rupture with Stalin in 1948, Belgrade's wave of persecution was extended to those who accepted Cominform's position or who were suspected of complying with the

³⁴ See Evgeni Dimitrov, Gorgi Caca, Vladimir Ivanovski (ed.), ASNOM. Pedeset godini macedonska država 1944–1994 (ASNOM. 50 years Macedonian state 1944–1994. Proceedings of a scientific conference held on 17–18 November 1994), Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts — Institute of National History, Skopje 1995. Cvetan Grozdanov, Blaže Ristovki, Ivan Katardzhiev, Petre Andreevski, Todor Čepreganov (ed.), Republika Makedonija 60 godini po ASNOM (The Republic of Macedonia 60 years after ASNOM. Proceedings of a scientific conference on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of ASNOM, held in Skopje on 15–16 December 2004), Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Skopje 2005.

³⁵ See Marian Dimitrievski, Zoran Todorovski, Risto Buntevski-Bunte (editors), Metodija Andonov-Čento. Dokumenti i Materiali (Metodija Antonov-Čento. Documents and Material), State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje 2002.

³⁶ See Bioleta Ačkova- Nikolaj Žežov, Represijata i represirani v najnovata makedonska isstorija (Repression and Repressed in Modern Macedonian History), Publisher Makevej, Skopje 2005, pp. 143–218, where the previous bibliography.

Soviet stance on Yugoslavia. As a rule, they were people who had already been stigmatised as supporters of an independent Macedonia, who sought the secession of Yugoslav Macedonia from Yugoslavia, and fell now into disgrace for supporting Cominform. The place of their exile was the Adriatic island of Goli Otok, "the island of death", according to Venko Markovski who has been exiled there with Panko Brašnarov due to a suspected anti-Yugoslavian stance. These people have subsequently been historically restored as "supporters of independent Macedonia".³⁷

The historians, sympathetic to VMRO-DPMNE, naturally characterise those who generally advocated for an independent Macedonia as "Macedonians anti-communists". They ignore the fact that some preserved a Bulgarian consciousness, including members of various organisations, such as *the Democratic Front of Macedonia-Ilinden*, which, in its memo to the Great Powers in 1945, condemned the terrorist regime in Yugoslavia and its violent enforcement of Slav-Macedonianism. But for the young historians, it is more important to prove Communist atrocities, to rehabilitate the "democratic opposition" and to justify the political role of VMRO-DPMNE as a democratic, centre-right party with roots in the past.

The civil war in Greece (1946–1949) is presented as an effort by the Greek Communists to seize power and by "Macedonians" to achieve their national affirmation. But after the defeat in 1949, the Greeks lost their national unity, while the Macedonians lost themselves.³⁸ Age-old stereotypes of the Greek civil war are reproduced in historiography: that the civil war supposedly was in fact a conflict between Greek monarcho-fascists and Macedonians, that Greece could avert civil war if it recognised the Macedonians as a national minority, that the participation of the "Macedonians" in the Democratic Army was massive since the Greek Communist Party recognised them as an equal minority, and that the Greek Communist Party also violated the right of self-determination of the Macedonians and after the Fifth Plenum (January 1949) took an anti-Yugoslav path. Such views, of course, can easily be contradicted. In 1945–46, no party other than the Communist Party recognised the Slav-Macedonians as a delete nationality, the Greek Communist Party itself in 1945 had turned against the NOF. After deciding to engage in civil war in 1946, it was forced to change its attitude, since it was dependent on Yugoslav aid. However, relations between the Greek Communist Party and NOF remained problematic during the civil war. Under no circumstances was the Greek Communist Party dragged into the civil war due to the Macedonian issue, nor did the majority of Democratic Army fighters consist of Slav-Macedonians.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 218–283. See also Eftim Gašev, Našata Kauza [Our case], Skopje 1995 and Vera Veskovik-Vangeli, Dosie Brašnarov (The Brosnarov file), Skopje 2003.

³⁸ See Liljana Panovska, Krajot na edna iluzija. Graganskata Vojna vo Grcija i Makedoncite 1946–1949 (The end of an illusion. The Civil War in Greece and the Macedonians 1946–1949), Institute of National History, Skopje 2003.

Regarding the Bulgarian part of Macedonia, it is argued that the "Macedonians", despite the narrow-sighted policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party, were self-defined nationally and they enjoyed an ephemeral cultural autonomy.³⁹

Historians generally criticise the attitude of the Greek Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party on the Macedonian issue, because they treated the Macedonian Question as a matter of tactics than of principle in contrast to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Macedonia. The explanation of the attitude of the Greek Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party is simple and can be found in the different conditions prevailing in Greek and Bulgarian part of Macedonia. In Yugoslav Macedonia, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had no choice but to recognise the Slav-Macedonians as a nation (to fight Bulgarian and Serb claims) and to establish a state within the Yugoslav Federation. Thus, the question arises whether it was feasible to establish a "united and independent Macedonia" after 1944. It was not realistic. It was simply utopian idealism, in the wake of the belated Slav-Macedonian national awakening. And if Yugoslav Macedonia had become independent in 1944–45, when the Slav-Macedonian nation was embryonic, not only would it have failed to play the role of the "Piedmont" of Macedonian unification, but it would have faced serious problems of survival. Even the referendum of 8 September 1991 was not a popular verdict for full independence.

The history of the Slavic-Macedonian state within the Yugoslav Federation is seen as a dependency of Skopje on Belgrade after the group of Lazar Koliševski was imposed, and Macedonian interests were subsumed into the wider interests of the Yugoslav state. Consequently, the failure to establish a supranational Yugoslav identity, the bankruptcy of the Yugoslav system of self-management of workers and the emergence of national problems in the form of "political liberalism and decentralisation" in 1966–1971, after the fall of Ranković, have been the subject of particular attention in recent years.⁴⁰ The Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian Federal Republics sought to transform the Yugoslav Federation into a Confederation and set up a "national-liberal" alliance against Serbia. The then President of the Federative Republic of Macedonia, Krste Cervenkovski, introduced the theory of the "Belated Macedonian Nation", which, in his opinion, needed further development with Skopje's emancipation from Serbian tutelage. The fruit of this policy was the establishment of the "Autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church" in 1967, in violation of ecclesiastical rules, and the foundation of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Although Crvenkovski as a leader did not show an anti-Yugoslav sentiment as intense as the Croatian leadership did (Croatia's separate seat in the UN, the establishment of a Croatian army), in

³⁹ Vasil Jotevski, Nacionalnata afirmacija na Makedoncite vo Pirinskiot del na Makedonia 1944–1948 (National affirmation of Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia 1944–1948), Institute of National History, Skopje 1996.

⁴⁰ See Novica Veljanovski, Makedonija 1945–1991. Državnost i Nezavisnost (Macedonia. Statehood and Independence 1945–1991), Institute of National History, Skopje 2002, pp. 44–285.

his writings after 1991, he attacked Koliševski⁴¹ as a "tool" of Serbian hegemony, so that he can claim in advance a contribution to the struggle for Independent Macedonia. He stressed his own initiative to raise the issue of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, following the hardening of the Bulgarian Communist Party's stance towards the Macedonian Issue in 1963 (there is no Macedonian minority in Bulgaria⁴², it is unacceptable to found the Macedonian nation on an anti-Bulgarian basis, etc.).

It is clear that Skopje's historiography is still directly dependent on the way that political events came to be shaped. Although it has changed in terms of assessing and evaluating political events relative to the past, it does not in any way dispute the "history of the Macedonian nation". Those who favoured a critical approach, such as Terzioski, did not follow up on their efforts. Thus, we can talk more about continuity rather than about a break with the past. A modernised view of the "Macedonian nation" was presented by Jovan Donev. He referred to national myths in general and their role in the formation of a national ideology which in the Slav Macedonian case has become dominant, and in order to avoid conflicts, he proposed the de-nationalisation of history and the adoption of the American model for the nation. In the Slav-Macedonian case, this means a cultural synthesis of the values of the Orthodox and the Islamic world, in other words, the notion of the "Macedonian nation" as a political concept to include Albanians and Slav-Macedonians as well. The consolidation of this new identity is directly related to democratisation and the market economy.⁴³ It is obvious that such notions can in no case be accepted — at least under present circumstances — neither by the Slav-Macedonians nor by the Albanians in FYROM, who - after the events of 2001 and the signing of the Ohrid Agreement — write the history of Albanians as a collective entity.⁴⁴ The issue is not to create a new identity in FYROM, but to set the dividing line between the national myth and historical data concerning Slav-Macedonians. Hobsbawm spoke about the invention of the tradition, about the threat of history, which he described as the main means of triggering off a political explosion. This view is not unfounded when overproduction of history is disproportionate to consumption when myths outweigh historical reality that can be proven through sources. At the beginning of the 21st century, the historical nations do not need to be fed with myths — that was a feature of the 19th century — nor do they need

⁴¹ See Krste Cervenkovski-Slavko Milosavlevski, Našiot pogled za vremeto na Koliševski (Our view of the Koliševski's time), Skopje 1996.

⁴² See Krste Cervenkovski, Na braniot na makedonskata samobitnost (In defense of Macedonian self-existence), Institute of National History, Skopje 1999.

⁴³ See Jovan Donev, "Nekoi teoresko-metodološki razmisli za procesite na gradenje sovremena makedonska nacija", *Glasnik, No. 1 (1996), 127–145 (Some theoretical and methodological considerations for the creation of the modern Macedonian nation).*

⁴⁴ See Razim Abdyli, Albanskoto Osvoboditelno Dviženje 1908–1910 Tom 1 (The Albanian Liberation Movement 1908–1910, Volume A), Institute of National History, Skopje 2002 and Albanskoto Osvoboditelno Dviženje 1911–12 Tom II, Institute of National History, Skopje 2003.

to invent a tradition, they experienced a tradition that formed their national identity in the 19th century. The current dispute between Greece, Bulgaria and FYROM is essentially a conflict between two historical nations (Greeks and Bulgarians) with a new political nation that originated in the Interwar period, was created after 1944, claimed territories of Greece and Bulgaria in the name of "Macedonianism" (1944–49) and still raises minority issues. It claims the identity of a historical nation in order to obtain legitimacy. The threat faced by Greece and Bulgaria from FYROM is cultural, and the issue is the demarcation of identities. The solution is expected to be found within the European Union.



"Saints Cyril and Methodius holding the Cyrillic alphabet," a mural by Bulgarian iconographer Z. Zograf, 1848, Troyan Monastery https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saints_Cyril_and_Methodius

Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies Thirty Years of Shining Contribution to Macedonian Hellenism

Prof. Anastasios M. Tamis President, AIMS Director, Australian Institute for Hellenic research

Summary:

In 2017, after thirty-four years of shining input to Macedonian Hellenism and the enhancement of its historical and cultural values to Macedonians of Hellas, the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies (AIMS) remains in the Hellenic Diaspora one of its monumental literary, research and academic institutions, marking a milestone in the history of Macedonians abroad. Throughout the last three decades, over four-hundred remarkable European, American, Asian and Oceanian scholars, moved by their perfervid zeal for the history of Hellas, made their work, writings and thought a striking feature of the intellectual life of this institution. Their passionate devotion to the legacies of Macedonian Hellenism thought, and achievement was expressed, with assumed enthusiasm, in various international and national Conferences, symposia, concerts, publications, fellowships and academic visits planned by the AIMS. Some of the most prominent historians of the 20th century in classic, Byzantine and contemporary Macedonia presented their fundamental scholarly findings in those academic fora established by the AIMS rendering due service to truth, against those few whose fervid zeal was shown in appropriating the doctrines and legacies of Aristotle, Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great and the Olympian deities.

The Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies (AIMS) was formed in Melbourne, Victoria on 10 August 1986 on a more solid foundation than the earlier Macedonian Cultural Society, and with more concrete policies and objectives.¹ The new entity emerged as the result of a successful lecture given by Anastasios M. Tamis, entitled "Recent Developments on the Macedonian Issue", organised by the Association of Thessalonikeans "The

¹ Its objectives included to conduct research, to produce publications, to organise conferences and seminars, to encourage a constant inflow of academics from all over the world to visit Australia and deliver lectures.

White Tower". Following the presentation, the speaker invited the large audience of 400 people to contribute to the establishment of the Institute and the setting up of a permanent secretariat; on that evening the amount of \$11,000 was collected, and Christos Kosmidis was appointed special secretary in the offices of Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne and Victoria (PEMV). The founding members comprised professionals and academics and included Anastasios M. Tamis, who was elected founding president, with P. Liveriadis, chairman, Dimitris Iakovidis and Peter Iasonidis secretaries, Nicholas Halatzoukas treasurer and M. Kasapidis, Theofani Karabatsas, Nicholas Katris, Panagiotis Gogidis, Makis Kasnaksis, Christos Mantzios and K. Hatzistavros as members of the first Board of Directors. Its objectives included the promotion and development of cultural, literary, historical and linguistic issues pertinent to Greek Macedonia. It is fascinating for the administrative chronicles of the Greek community that with the exception of N. Halatzoukas and Dimitris Iakovidis, who had successfully served the AIMS' objectives for the first fifteen years, all other inaugural members maintained continuously their post of responsibility for almost thirty years.²

In February 1988 AIMS organised its First International Conference on Macedonian Studies, which was attended by over two hundred academics form thirty-five universities of Europe, America and Australia. A total of sixty-three participating academics³ presented a paper, highlighting the complexity of the issues surrounding the Macedonian cultural heritage. The Congress was opened by the Deputy-Prime Minister of Australia, the Hon Brian Howe, MP and was attended by prominent academics, politicians, scholars and students. This academic event attracted the adverse attention of the Macedoslav community which was inflamed by the sensationalism displayed in their media which labelled the Conference as "political". The Macedoslav leaders managed to convince their community that the conference had as its objective "to negate and falsify the history of our

² In 2017 most members of the inaugural Board of AIMS of 1986 were still serving the Institute. These included A. M. Tamis, P. Liveriadis, P. Gogidis, C. Mantsios, Th. Karabatsas, M. Kasnaxis and K. Hatzistavrou.

³ The participants included: Photios Petsas, Constantine Romaios, Georgios Babiniotis, Nicholas Katsanis, George Delopoulos, Nicholas Nikonanos, George Lavvas, Harilaos Symeonidis, Milton Papanikolaou, Antonios Thavoris, Euthymia Georgiadis-Koundoura, Dimitrios Pantermalis, Ioannis Hassiotis, Phaedon Malingoudis, Vassilios Dimitriadis, Vassilios Kontis, Stephanos Papadopoulos, Agapitos Tsopanakis, Michael Sakellariou, Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriacou, Charalambos Papastathis, Areti Fergadis-Toundas, Ioannis Papandrianos, Kaeti Manolopoulou, Evdokia Miliatzidou-Ioannou, Loring D. Danforth, Ricki Van Boeschoten, Evangelos Kofos, Evangelos Kyriakoudis, A. Papaspyropoulos, Michael Katiforis, Nicholas Themelis, Poly Enepekidis, Angelos Deftereos, Constantine Plastiras, Constantine Pyrzas, Vickie Hatzigeorgiou-Hassiotis and Nicholas Ioannou; Journalists: Charalambos Bousbourelis (*Vema* newspaper), George Karayiorgas (*Kathimerini* newspaper), Eleni Kypreou-Filippidou (*Acropolis* newspaper); Ministers and parliamentarians: Stylianos Papathemelis, Nicholas Martis, Vassilios Papas; Friends of the AIMS in Greece: Nicholas Kyriacou (President), Maro Lazaridis, Zois Oikonomou, Constantinos Stergiadis, Pantelis Vysoulis and Gregorios Velkos.

people",⁴ and represented "a new attack by the Greek authorities against the Macedonians".⁵ Counteracting the Macedoslav reactions, the Secretary of the Serbian National Committee, Dr S. D. Fillipovich responded (9 February 1988): "We greet our Hellenic brothers in faith and brothers in arm, wishing you success. Neither territory of Macedonia nor Macedonian language, nor Macedonian nation exists on Yugoslavia's territory — only South Serbia and its Serbian language. 'Macedonia' was invented by Committee and implemented by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". The proceedings of the conference and the edited volume that followed under the title *Macedonian Hellenism*⁶ failed to justify the fears of the Macedoslavs.

In an effort to appease the situation, AIMS appointed an academic committee comprising Australian scholars to organise in July 1991 the Second International Conference on Ancient Macedonia, dedicated to renowned British historian Nicholas Hammond at the University of Melbourne. The appointed chairman of the Academic Committee was the Head of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies of the University of Melbourne, Peter Connor. The other members included Prof. R. Milns and Dr Con Castan (University of Queensland), Arthur McDevitt (Monash University), Dr Norman Ashton (University of Western Australia), Peter Thomas (University of New England), Dr Greg Horsley, Christos Fifis and Dr A. M Tamis (La Trobe University), Con Prokopiou (Victoria College) and Professor Dimitrios Pantermalis (University of Thessaloniki). Over thirty archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, ethnographers and literature critics took part in the conference. Prof. P. Connor had this to say in the preface of the edited volume entitled *Ancient Macedonia: an Australian Symposium:*⁷

⁴ Australian Macedonian newspaper, pp. 1. 2 and 3, 21 January 1988, Dardalis Archives.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 1, 2 and 4, 15 January, *Dardalis Archives*.

⁶ A. M. Tamis (ed.) (1990), *Macedonian Hellenism*, River Seine Press, Melbourne. This volume of 395 pages incorporated 32 articles in six chapters: archaeology Prof. D. Pantermalis and Prof. P. Connor; history, politics and international law: N. G. Ashton, S. L. Parkinson, J. K. Hassiotis, E. Kofos, A. Kyriacou-Xanthopoulou, M. Hatzopoulos, A. Stavridis-Zafraka, I. Papandrianos, A. Angelopoulos, A. Tounda-Fergadi, K. Manolopoulou-Varvitsioti, B. Kondis; anthropology and culture: K. Romaios, A. Bibis-Papaspyropoulou, K. Pyrzas, P. Kavakopoulos and S. A. Papathemelis; linguistics: A. Tsopanakis, G. Babiniotis, N. Katsanis, D. Delopoulos; literature and immigration: G. Kehagioglou, V. Hatzigeorgiou-Hassiotis, C. N. Fifis, G. Kanarakis, Con Castan and A. M. Tamis; Macedonian art: N. Nikonanos, E. Georgiadis-Koundoura, K. Loverdou-Tsigarida and E. N. Tsigaridas.

⁷ Peter Connor (ed.) (1995): Ancient Macedonia: An Australian Symposium, Mediterranean Archaeology, Sydney. This publication of 135 pages, dedicated to historian Nicholas Hammond, incorporates a monumental introduction by Professor Hammond on Macedonia before Philip, and chapters on Ancient Macedonia by Eugene Borza (University of Pennsylvania), Peter Londey (The War Memorial Museum, Canberra), Elizabeth Baynham (University of Newcastle), Ian Worthington (University of Tasmania), Ian Sharples (University of Western Australia), Leah McKenzie (University of Melbourne), Graeme W. Clark (Humanities Research Centre, ANU), Peter J. Connor (University of Melbourne), Minor M. Markle (University of New England) and Greg H. R. Horsley (University of New England).

"...The Congress was a great success. Large numbers of participants attended the day-sessions devoted to specialist papers, whilst the general public filled the large Sunderland Theatre of the Medical Centre on each of the three nights to hear the keynote speakers: Professors E. Borza, R. M. Errington and D. Pantermalis. The Symposium was opened on Monday 8 July at 8.15 by Professor Nicholas Hammond in the Great Hall of the National Gallery of Victoria before a capacity audience.

The theme of the Symposium was the history and archaeology of Ancient Macedonia and aims to present recent research by scholars from Australia and Greece, together with the contributions of several eminent international scholars. Our four special guests each performed on two occasions. The programme achieved an effective balance between history and archaeology and, in particular, the participants at both day and evening sessions were privileged to hear of the very latest archaeological discoveries in Northern Greece..."

Eminent Professor N. G. L. Hammond in his introduction to the volume offered the following comments: "The organisers of the Second International Congress on Macedonian Studies are to be congratulated on bringing together a number of historians from Australia, Europe and America and a brilliant team of archaeologists from Greece and Australia. The Congress provided a wonderful opportunity for scholars to report on their own researches and to learn from one another. Moreover, it was very well attended by citizens of Melbourne, who proved most appreciative of both the public lectures and the specialists' papers and sometimes took part in the discussions... Many recent archaeological discoveries have confirmed the correctness of ancient oral and literary traditions, for example, the excavation of the 'Cemetery of Tumuli' below Vergina has revealed phases of occupation which correspond well with the oral tradition of the Makedones, as told to Herodotus, that their early neighbours were the Phrygians who then migrated to Asia and that, according to Strabo, Illyrians and Epirotes occupied the area next. We should therefore be ready to accept the tradition in Hesiod that the Makedones were Greek-speaking people who lived in very early times in the high country of Mt Olympus and Pieria..."

The Third International Conference entitled *Byzantine Macedonia* organised by AIMS was held at the University of Melbourne 10–17 July 1995, with the participation of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, the University of Thessaloniki, the University of Melbourne and La Trobe University.⁸ The Academic Committee comprised Prof. Roger Scott and John Burke (University of Melbourne), Professor A. M. Tamis (La Trobe University) and Professor Phaedon Malingoudis (University of Thessaloniki). This is how Prof. Scott and John Burke described the Conference in the two volumes that they edited under the title: *Byzantine*

⁸ A total of 34 distinguished scholars from across the world contributed to the success of this Conference, including Prof. Angeliki Laiou from Harvard University, Johannes Koder from Vienna University, Ioannis Tarnanidis from the Aristotle University, Jochannes Irmscher from Berlin University, Andreas Schminck from Frankfurt University, Dion Smyth from King's College, University of London and Prof. Pirros Thomo of the University Tirana.

Macedonia — Identity, Image and History⁹ and Byzantine Macedonia — Art, Architecture, Music and Hagiography:¹⁰

The Conference was the third international conference on Macedonia organised by the Australian Institute for Macedonian Studies. As with its two earlier conferences on Macedonia (1988) and Ancient Macedonia (1991), the Conference organisers were able to add to our local strengths by bringing to Australia a distinguished group of scholars from Europe and America with, on this occasion, an appropriately strong representation from Thessaloniki. The Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies aimed at providing not merely an academic forum within the discipline but also at making this discussion accessible to the general community of Melbourne and at reaching the English-speaking audience in Australia rather than only the Hellenic one...

In the meantime, AIMS managed to widen its authority nationally in Australia, establishing branches in state capitals, including Perth, and publishing monographs,¹¹ the literary journal *Makedonikos Logos* (first published in 1988),¹² the monthly *Macedonian*

¹⁰ Roger Scott and John Burke (eds.), 2001: *Byzantine Macedonia: Art, Architecture, Music and Hagiography*, NCHSR, La Trobe University. This is a 254-page publication incorporating 15 chapters on the art, architecture, music and hagiography of Byzantine Macedonia with an introduction by Prof. Roger Scott and John Burke. The chapters include the contributions of Eutychia Kourkoutidou, Aristotle Mentzos, Panayiotis Vokotopoulos, Ploutarchos Theocharidis, E. N. Tsigaridas, Chrysanthi Mavropoulou-Tsioumis, Evangelos Kyriakoudis, Constantine Charalampidis, Gojko Subotic, Pirros Thomo, Panagiotis Panagiotidis, Antonios Alygizakis, Anna Karamanidou and Panteleimon-George Tsorbatzoglou.

⁹ Roger Scott and John Burke (eds.), 2000: *Byzantine Macedonia, Identity, Image and History*, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, Melbourne. This publication comprises 232 pages with the following authors: Angeliki E. Laiou of Harvard University; Johannes Koder of Vienna University; Ioannis Tarnanidis of the University of Thessaloniki; Johannes Irmscher of Berlin University; Andreas Schminck of Frankfurt University; Dion C. Smythe of King's College London; Apostolos Karpozilos of the University of Ioannina; Martha Grigoriou-Ioannidou of the University of Thessaloniki; Dionyssia Myssiou of the University of Thessaloniki; Athanasios Karathanassis of the University of Thessaloniki; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz of the University of Nottingham; Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka of the University of Thessaloniki; Gerhard Podskalsky of Frankfurt University; Triantafyllitsa Maniati-Kokkini of the University of Thessaloniki; Michael Jeffreys of the University of Sydney; V. Nerantzi-Varmazi of the University of Thessaloniki; Angeliki E. Laiou of Harvard University.

¹¹ A. M. Tamis, 1994, *Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia*, La Trobe University Press, Melbourne. This was a 387 page award-winning volume on Greek Macedonian and Macedoslav migration and settlement in Australia, depicting the patterns of occupation and settlement, the model and structure of the social organizations, the level and degree of integration and the ideological strife emerging from historical, political and socio-economics reasons. The volume discusses and analyses the concepts of language, religion and ethnic identity, outlines the defined legacies among the people, intra- and inter-community relations, Greco-Yugoslavian relations, the emergence of the *ethnogenesis* amongst those Macedoslavs of former pro-Greek and pro-Bulgarian dogmas. The book received the first award in letters by the Academy of Athens in 1995.

¹² The periodical entitled *Makedonikos Logos (Macedonian View)* was first published during the period 1988 to 1990. In 1999, AIMS decided to republish the periodical sporadically until it joined the National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research. In 2002, the *Macedonian View* was circulated as a 20-page periodical containing important editorial comments and analysis of political events and developments. For example, vol. 3, April 2002, included a bilingual article (pp. 1–3) criticising the economic advancement of Greek business in

*Bulletin*¹³ distributed to its members and the bi-yearly journal *Publication Series on Macedonia*.¹⁴ The publications were administered by an editorial committee headed by Panagiotis Gogidis. The *Macedonian Bulletin* was also supported by a team of devoted professionals including Theofila Kokovitis, Roussa Rombolas, Eleni Bachtsevanos, Magda Simonis and Paul Kosmidis. The *Macedonian View Periodical* was published with the assistance of Nicholas Katris, Kallirroe Katsigiannis and Theophani Karabatsas.

In 1997, AIMS joined the National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research (NCHSR), at La Trobe University, as its integral academic entity until the irrational closure of this Centre in December 2008; during its operation as a university establishment, it managed to produce a number of significant publications¹⁵ and important chapters in refereed international journals. For example, in the series *Playing with History* of the journal titled *Journal of Balkan Studies*, edited by Phaedon Malingoudis, Department of Slavonic Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Prof. A. M. Tamis (1997:35–54) produced a study under the title *Irredentism in the Macedoslav Bibliography*. The paper argued that a significant reason for the existence and discourse of the Macedoslav bibliography had been (a) to support the birth of a nation *(ethnogenesis)*; (b) to provide a point of reference for the historical, national and cultural derivation of the 'Macedonians' linking them to antiquity, in order to give substance to their claim of being indigenous and having a historical relation with the Balkans; and (c) to proliferate and continue the maintenance of irredentism using it as a means to claim certain territories. The author critically discussed and analysed certain publications of the *Academy of Sciences and the Arts of the National University of Methodius and Cyril* in Skopje

FYROM and the broader political steps undertaken by the successive Greek governments on the content of their negotiations with the leadership of the Macedoslavs; bilingual editorial comments on the propaganda campaign of FYROM and their polemics and territorial claims against the sovereignty of Greece (pp. 4–8); the cultural heritage of Macedonia from the antiquity to the present day (pp. 9–10); the arrival of the Greek Maistors of the Psaltic Art and the Byzantine Choir of the University of Athens under the directorship of Prof. Gregorios Stathis (p. 11); the new publications of the *AIMS* (p. 12), brief comments on the Macedonian issue (p. 12); the proclamation of the Governor of the State of Alabama, Governor D. Siegelman and the response of the *AIMS* (pp. 13–18) and an editorial comment on Cyprus and its inter-communal and international problems.

¹³ The Macedonian Bulletin (1991–1995) was first published in 1991 as the information and communication organ of the Institute and was distributed to its members and friends as well as to various Greek community organizations and benefactors. Its official Logo was the Sun of the Macedonian Kings, while its shape and its outline varied according to the events and the activities of the Centre. The Bulletin appeared consistently in A4 size, varying from 6 to 12 pages according to the demand of the editorial issues. A total 21 editions were published by the editorial committee, depicting the activities of the Institute, important views on Macedonian issues, critical reviews of papers and publications on the Macedonian issue, comments and articles on various cultural and socio-political issues relevant to Macedonian Hellenism.

¹⁴ This journal was produced only for two consecutive volumes in 1997.

¹⁵ P. Gogidis and K. Katsigiannis (2005) (eds.) *Alexander the Great*, NCHSR, La Trobe University, Melbourne. The publication depicts in a very synoptic but concise way the history of Macedonia, blending the content with impressive illustrations and maps.

and the Ministry of Education and the Institute of National History of FYROM. Tamis, on behalf of AIMS, produced another chapter entitled "Macedonian Identities in the Diaspora: The Case of Australia" in Vassilios Gounaris *et al.* (eds.) (2008:323–369). This chapter critically assessed and analysed the Greek Macedonian identities in the Diaspora with specific reference to the Australian situation. Specific emphasis was placed on the evolution and shaping of those identities as a result of the political decisions reached in Greece during the post-Yugoslav era, as the perceived outcome from a number of proposals and the actual discourse which prevailed at both national and international levels.

Since its inception in 1986, AIMS was closely engaged in various activities, in an effort to enhance the cultural, historical and socio-economic features of Macedonian Hellenism. The objectives and the activities of the Institute were not always very popular among a large number of Greek Macedonians; some felt that the Institute's activities failed to meet their fervent expectations; some claimed that the Institute's positions were not patriotic enough; some assessed the activities as rather parochial and marginal given the seriousness of the matter and the aggression emerging from a large section of the Macedoslav community in Australia. The AIMS was also targeted by the media and the leadership of the Macedoslav community. The Conferences and Congresses organised by the Institute were treated as politically motivated; certain extremists within the Macedoslav community demonstrated against the objectives of the Institute in 1988 and beyond, rallying an unconvincing campaign of hatred against the AIMS membership; certain moderates among them attempted in vain to dispute and negate the academic and scholarly outcomes of AIMS.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding other external pressures coming unexpectedly even from those who were officially assigned by the Greek State to fulfil their duties in the Diaspora, namely several among the Greek consular and diplomatic representatives, naturally with a few exceptions, the perseverance of the membership, their loyalty to the legacy of Macedonian Hellenism and their dedication to scholarship and research maintained the pace of struggle with vigour and consistency.

Over the years the Institute organised youth visits to Macedonia and other parts of Greece,¹⁶ staged concerts, literature evenings, festivals and musicals;¹⁷ arranged photographic exhibitions

¹⁶ From 8–20 January 1993, 33 youth members of the Institute, most of them students and young professionals, embarked on a program of lectures and tours in Northern Greece, with the objective of learning more about the rich history and culture of Macedonia. During their sojourn in Macedonia, the young members visited the largest cities, and many archaeological and historical sites, including Pella, Dion and Mount Olympus; they attended lectures about the history and culture of Macedonia and had the opportunity to discuss political and social issues with Greek academics and politicians.

¹⁷ AIMS played a key role in the arrangement and coordination of a significant number of concerts, festivals and musicals, as well as theatrical plays. The cultural activities were important to communicate the socio-cultural role of the Institute to its members and to the broader Greek and Australian society. These included:

[•] In 1988, AIMS under the guidance of Ms Theofani Karabatsas organised a Greek Macedonian Festival at the gardens of the St John's Monastery in Northcote with the support of the Abbott Ierotheos Kourtessis.

on Greek Macedonian Immigration and Settlement in 1994 and 2006;¹⁸ successfully planned and implemented Australia-wide educational and artistic students' competitions involving over 3,000 students from 400 schools from Australia and New Zealand; promoted events enhancing the history and culture of Macedonian Hellenism; it petitioned the rights of Macedonian Hellenism in Human Rights courts and responded to resolutions and or political stances expressed on Macedonia by foreign senior political entities; it replied to Australian media articles and editorials and organised a constant inflow of world academics organising public lectures and seminars.¹⁹

During the period 1992–2017, the Institute wrote a large number of letters and organised petitions, treatises and submissions to Greek government ministries, world leaders, and politicians as well as to the members of the Security Council of the United Nations regarding the initiatives of the government of Skopje to unilaterally obtain recognition under the nomenclature "Macedonia" and "Macedonian". The official position of the Institute remains that the unilateral usage of the terms "Macedonia" and "Macedonian" constitutes an act of aggression against Greece and a negation of the identity of Macedonian Hellenes, who had lived and resided in the region more than 2,000 years prior to the arrival of the Slavs and Bulgars. The Institute's stance was always that an ethnogenesis can be possible; however, it should not be realised at the expense of a Hellenic region and against the Hellenic identity and culture. In 1992, AIMS submitted a treatise to the K. Mitsotakis' government in Greece, proposing the term "Macedoslavia" and "Macedoslavs" as a compromising solution between the two states; unfortunately, this proposal was not accepted by the Greek side, despite being well-received by certain experts of the Greek MOFA, including Dr Evangelos Kofos.

During March and April 1994, AIMS submitted a treatise to the Commonwealth and the State governments in Australia explaining why the defining appellative 'Slavonic' ought to be inserted in front of the term 'Macedonian' to describe and delineate the language of the Macedoslavs. It was argued that the appellative was important to distinguish the language now spoken in the upper Slavonic geographic region of Macedonia from the Macedonian Greek dialects spoken and used in the central and southern geographic region, which was always under the socio-cultural influence of Hellas. The appellative was also necessary to differentiate the

[•] In 1991, in collaboration with the theatrical school "Gefyra" it staged the play *Alexander the Great* directed by Nicholas Skiadopoulos.

[•] In 1992, AIMS organized a musical concert at the Melba Conservatorium of the University of Melbourne under the directorship of the maestro Valentinos Patrikidis with the participation of violinist J. Lambos.

[•] On 29 September 2002, *AIMS* played a key role in the promotion of the visiting *Byzantine Choir of Athens University* at Melbourne's Concert Hall, under the directorship of maestro of the psaltic art, Professor Gregorios Stathis.

¹⁸ In October 1994, *AIMS* organised the first photographic exhibition on the Migration and Settlement of Macedonian Hellenes in Australia and New Zealand, covering the period 1890–1990.

¹⁹ For an analytical description of *AIMS*' activities, the reader is referred to the work of A. M. Tamis (2014) *Mac-edonian Hellenes in Oceania*, Tziolas Publishing, as well as its website on www.aims.edu.au

Macedonian-Slavonic from the Ancient Macedonian language, which is codified as a language and identified as such by scholars and academics worldwide. Finally, it was argued that the designation/redesignation of nomenclatures is a political decision, and it appears as a common element in world politics to alleviate tense ethnic rivalries and conflicts. The Jeff Kennett Victorian State Government in Australia accepted the recommendations of the treatise and in July 1994 issued a directive to all its ministries to apply the term *Macedonian (Slavonic)* in all government curricula and publications. The Minister for Education, Philip Honeywood also accepted and defended the Kennett Government's stance; however, two years later, the Macedoslavs took the case to the Human Rights Commission in Australia, protesting successfully against the appellative.

As with the case of PEMV, hundreds of letters, petitions and reports have been compiled by the members of the Institute and submitted to the editors of the Australian mainstream newspapers regarding their stance on the Macedonian issue. AIMS targeted the most significant mainstream newspapers in defending the Greek national legacy and ideology.²⁰ During the second decade of the 21st-century AIMS remained industrious and active as a research and academic institution, employing researchers, conducting field research and compiling monographs and collective publications.²¹ Its assets included the building that was purchased in 1987 in Brunswick Road, Brunswick, in close proximity to the University of Melbourne; in 1997, when AIMS joined the NCHSR, the building was offered for rental, generating adequate income for its research and academic activities; over the years substantial support was also given by AIMS to various universities and schools teaching Greek language and culture, and it supported educational and cultural initiatives and in 2014 published its scholarly journal, the only scientific periodical circulated in the Diaspora, entitled *Macedonian Studies Journal* published *in gratis* by Tziolas Publishing in Thessaloniki.

²⁰ Letter to *The Age* newspaper (10 February 1993), a response to a feature article entitled "Macedonia: A State of Siege"; also to Australian ABC television's episode of *Foreign Correspondent*, 20 March 1993; to SBS's *Cutting Edge* episode entitled "Macedonia: The Last Peace" presenting Greece as an aggressor; to *Herald Sun* newspaper on the article "US Troops to Macedonia". See *Macedonian Bulletin*; on 13 July 1993 to *The Age* newspaper and the Australian Press Council; to *The Advocate* newspaper on its article "Macedonia: Culture on Show" (26 January 1994); also to *The Age* newspaper on the article "Canberra bows to Greeks in Macedonia name row" and "My Enemy my Brother" (12 March 1994); also response from Prof. A. M. Tamis to *The Age* newspaper's editor Russell Skelton and his article entitled "A Ghost of a Life" referring to FYROM and Macedoslav irredentism (21 May 1994); AIMS' response to ABC Television on a documentary entitled "Greek Nationalism" screened Australia-wide on 15 August 1994 and the ABC's reply to the AIMS' response; also AIMS' replies to ABC's explanations. For an analytical list of responses see AIMS' website: <u>www.aims.edu.au</u>

²¹ In 2013 AIMS was collaborating actively with the Society of Macedonian Studies in Greece, the School of Modern and Contemporary Greek History and the Benevolent Society of Men of Thessaloniki to produce this volume; current research projects include the study entitled: "Macedonian Communities in the Twentieth Century" with the "Society of Macedonian Studies" and the "Bibliographical Atlas on Macedonian Studies".

Almost from its inception in 1986, AIMS was subjected to strong and unfair rivalry from certain leaders of PEMV who wrongly perceived AIMS as a competitive alter ego, as well as from certain divisive Greek diplomats and consular representatives under the persistent urging of the Greek Archbishop Stylianos (the Dyscolus) and his courtiers.²² Stylianos practised a custom common to almost all political despots. Its pattern was oriental. Upon their arrival in Australia, they perceived Australia as the undisputed dominion of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop, and virtually ignored the will and the power of the laity base; their conviction was that the Greek Archbishop retained universal authority in the Diaspora; he remained the Millet Bashi, the Ethnarch, with no tolerance for those who would question his monosemantic authority; disputes involving the Archbishop with the communities of Hellenes were met, with a few only exceptions, with open defiance. It was only the incoming Greek Parliamentarians who considered, contrary to certain consular perceptions, that the ambitions of Archbishop Stylianos prevented the Hellenes from becoming a cohesive society.²³ In early 1990, one of the main benefactors of AIMS was the rebellious, yet generous and innovative Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtessis; the latter was in severe conflict with his Archbishop Stylianos Charkianakis; hence the new Greek consular representatives, Polydoras Kokkonas and Nicholaos Matsis in a gesture of solidarity to the Primate of the Orthodox became enemies of AIMS, who accepted the services of the rebel priest; they refused to endorse its activities and established a regime of segregation, marginalising the leaders of AIMS; this irrational embargo against AIMS and its leaders lasted through the ambassadorship of the controversial diplomat Ioannis Beveratos and beyond, with a few exceptions. Naturally, the Greek diplomats and the Archbishop were almost constantly clashing because they both regarded themselves as sovereigns of Australian Hellenes and because each claimed to be their representative in the Diaspora. A number of charismatic and high-minded diplomats attempted to exercise their care overall Greeks, refusing to be dragged into the intra-communal conflict as a result of Archbishop Stylianos' policies of segregation. Some of them even attempted to reconcile the schism and fight the disunity, with no success, earning the public wrath of the Archbishop.²⁴ The talented and erudite diplomat and poet, Georgios Veis, who claimed to be the "Consul for all Greeks" and questioned the monosemantic authority of the Greek Archbishop in Australia was subjected to

²² Reference is made here, among a few others, to the controversial Greek Ambassador Ioannis Beveratos (1997–2001) and the Greek Consuls, Nicholaos Matsis (1991–1994) and Polydoras Kokkonas (1990–1993); see Tamis, 2014:168ff.

²³ See the public statements and the speeches delivered in the Greek Parliament regarding the so-called ecclesiastic Schism; see statements made by Christos Pachtas, Nicholaos Sifounakis, Stylianos Papathemelis, even by the President of the Hellenic Republic, Christos Sartzetakis in the Greek newspapers *Vema, Kathimerini, Ethnos,* and the Australian, *Neos Kosmos* during the period 1988–2008; *Dardalis Archives*.

²⁴ Reference is made here to the prudent governance of Ambassadors Vassilios Zafeiropoulos (1991–1993), Georgios Konstandis (1993–1997), Photios Xydas (2002–2005), and Charalambos Dafaranos (2012–).

ostracism, segregation and even persecution by the circles of the Archdiocese and Stylianos *the Dyscolus*. It was necessary, therefore, for the Greek diplomats to submit to the authority of theocracy if they wished to have a smooth and effortless service in Australia.

Nevertheless, the ruthless diplomacy exercised by Beveratos compelled him to submit fictitious reports to his supervisors in the Greek *MOFA*, claiming fallaciously in 1998 that the building of the AIMS was "sold and the moneys from the sale were embezzled by its leaders". Such was the inappropriate behaviour of this disgraced diplomat, who was then under prosecution in the Greek courts of justice, against AIMS, that the issue was debated on several occasions in the Greek Parliament; the row even compelled the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece and later Greek Prime Minister, Antonios Samaras to explain in Parliament, that the "significant input of the AIMS for the study of our national issues and its contribution to the Greek community in Australia was not and will not be placed in doubt [by any Greek diplomat or consular representative], but it carries the absolute support of the Greek State".²⁵

Despite the polemics, the leadership and the members of AIMS remained loyal to their constitutional objectives. In February 2012, AIMS signed a historic Memorandum of Collaboration with PEMV for the years 2012–2016; it was the first time in the history of these two collective organisations that a systematic co-operation was agreed to on issues concerning Macedonian Hellenes. The Memorandum was fully endorsed by the wider membership at their AGMs, and in March 2012, PEMV offered a spacious office to be fully renovated and refurbished by AIMS.²⁶ Soon after the archives and records of Macedonian Hellenes were classified and documented; new archival material from the US, UK and Australia was monitored and obtained; electronic equipment for digitalisation was purchased, and research assistants were engaged Under the stern presidencies of PEMV by Dimitris Minas, and after 2016, by Panagiotis Jasonides, an Australia-born talented leader, a period of fruitful collaboration began, producing publications and a stream of cultural and academic events. For a number of years, treatises were compiled and submitted in support of the Hellenic stance in various fora of influence, including NATO, the European Council, the Human Rights Commission and US government departments; members embarked on a cultural offensive, presenting public lectures, organising seminars and participating in conferences; the AIMS' secretary, Panagiotis Gogidis, continued to organise his weekly segment in the Macedonian Program

²⁵ Speech in the Greek Parliament by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Antonios Samaras, No. 1512, 8 November 1991, AIMS Archives.

²⁶ The Society of Friends of the former EKEME decided to donate approximately \$20,000 for the refurbishment and the acquisition of the electronic infrastructure of AIMS. The latter in a display of recognition bestowed upon the Directors of the Society a Certificate of Gratitude (21 October 2012). The recipients of the humble award included: D. Tsolakis, P. Liveriadis, S. Richardson, E. Doufas, E. Rentzis, A. Kouris, L. Alexopoulos, D. Kondoleon, P. Deligiannis, K. Rekaris and Spyros Robotis.

of radio 3XY; scholarships and grants were offered by AIMS to Greek Studies programs at tertiary institutions; Greek daily schools were financially supported as well as students' competitions, sporting entities and benevolent societies.

By 2017, the publication of the *Macedonian Studies Journal* boasted a long line of academic contributors from Europe, America and Australia; the fruitful collaboration of an Australian Macedonian composer, Florinian Christos Ioannidis and the renowned Australian conductor Douglas Heywood, OAM produced a spectacular concert at Melbourne Recital Centre in front of 800 enthusiastic spectators. The concert titled *Alexander the Great: Pioneering Multiculturalism* brought on stage one hundred Australian musicians and chorus performants depicting and narrating the military and cultural campaign that changed the shape of the world's history. Since 1997, the constructive presence of renowned academics as Visiting Professors of the AIMS, on an annual basis, included the influential lectures and seminars of great intellectual, including S. Vryonis, Jr, G. Babiniotis, M. Damanakis, A. Kyriacou-Xanthopoulou, E. Konstantinou, Ph. Malingoudis, Angeliki Laiou, I. Michaelidis, G. Kontogiorgis, Sp. Pavlidis and Ioannis Mourelos.

Prominent for their role and contribution to the AIMS over the last three decades were a number of individuals whose zeal and enthusiasm influenced the development of the AIMS. Their devotion of time and resources created a great deal. These included Nicholas Katris, Kostas Hatzistavrou, Dr Dimitris Tsolakis, Dr J. Dardalis, A. Kasapidis, J. Ninis, H. and V. Giannoulopoulos, I. Kefalidis, Steve Petrou, K. Katsigiannis, and over one hundred other Australia-born and Greece-born members. With the influx of young academics and professionals to its Board of Management, the future of AIMS appears promising. During the last ten years, young and talented members began joining the Board; they were young academics and professionals inspired by the objectives and the mission statement of the Institute. These included Dr Helen Kalaboukas, a lecturer in psychology at Swinburne University, Dr Vassilios Sarafidis, an Associate Professor in Econometrics at Monash University, Associate Professor Anastasios Panagiotelis in econometrics at Monash University, Terry Stavridis, a researcher and expert on Asia Minor, Zissis Kozlakidis, an expert on Information Technology. In 2017 the Board of AIMS comprised: P. Liveriadis (chairman), A. M. Tamis (president), P. Gogidis (secretary), Eleni Kalamboukas (vice-president), Ch. Mantsios (treasurer), A. Panagiotelis (assistant treasurer) V. Sarafidis (publications), Z. Kozlakidis (IT officer), Th. Karabatsas (cultural co-ordinator) and M. Kasnaxis (building maintenance), Demetrios Kondoleon (culture and civilization).

Codifying the Academic Contribution of AIMS

Stavros Stavridis, Historian Member of the Board of Directors, AIMS

The Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies (AIMS) is celebrating its 30th anniversary; during that time its entire focus has been the history, language, heritage and culture of Macedonia from ancient to modern times. This has been achieved by organising international conferences, publishing books and academic journals, inviting noted scholars to present public lectures at Australian Universities and Greek Community and contributing to the cultural life of the Greek-Australian community.

A: Conferences

In 1988, 1991 and 1995, AIMS organised three international conferences one at La Trobe University and the other two at the University of Melbourne. The first Conference was held at Latrobe University between February 4–12, 1988, with scholars from both Greece and Australia. There were presentations from the fields of linguistics, archaeology, political science, ancient and modern history, literature, sociology and folklore. Some notable presenters were Drs Evangelos Kofos and Polychronis Enepekidis. Besides the success of the conference, the Macedoslavs staged a large protest marching through the Agora Plaza inside La Trobe University campus with flags protesting against the staging of the conference. With banners and provocative slogans, they claimed the Greeks had no right to stage a conference using the name of Macedonia. This protest attracted wide media coverage in the mainstream press and television news in Australia.

The second conference focused on ancient Macedonia's history and archaeology which took place between July 8–13, 1991, organised in collaboration with Professor Dimitri Pantermalis. Professor Nicholas Hammond officially opened the conference in the great hall of the National Gallery of Victoria with a large audience in attendance. He described some of his archaeological work carried out in Northern Greece. Other keynote speakers included Professors E. Borza, R. M. Errington and D. Pantermalis.

The theme of the third conference was Byzantine Macedonia was held between July 10–15, 1995 and was organised in collaboration with Prof. Phaedon Malingoudis. The official opening of the conference took place at the National Gallery of Victoria with famous Byzantinist scholar. Professor Johannes Koder (University of Vienna) delivering a lecture titled: "The Macedonians and Macedonia in the Byzantine field of thought". Professor Phaedon Malingoudis (University of Thessalonika) was the best known of the Greek scholars. There were forty-four specialists who presented papers covering economics, administration and history of Byzantine Macedonia. Some scholars from Skopje participated to highlight the scientific nature of the conference, thus avoiding any accusations of being a propaganda event.

B: Publications

The proceedings of the three conferences have been published, making them available to scholars and the general public interested in Macedonian studies in its various manifestations. In the first case, the 1988 conference proceedings appeared under the title *Macedonian Hellenism* compiled by A. M. Tamis published by River Seine Press in 1990 which contained some of the following papers: "Post-war literary and publishing activity in Florina"; "Death of Alexander the Great: clinical reappraisal"; "Linguistic unification of Macedonia"; and" Insurrectionary movements in Macedonia during the early Ottoman period".

The second conference proceedings titled *Ancient Macedonia an Australian Symposium* published in 1994 was edited by Peter J. Connor which contained eleven contributions. Here is a sample of some of the papers: Eugene N. Borza, "The ancient Macedonians; a methodological model"; Greg Horsley, "The Politarchs in Macedonia and beyond (pls. 7–14)"; Nicholas Hammond, "Macedonia before Philip and Philip's first year in power"; and Ian Worthington, "Alexander and Athens in 324/3". It should be noted the entire conference proceedings were dedicated to Nicholas Hammond.

The proceedings of the third conference titled *Byzantine Macedonia Identity, Image and History: Papers from the Melbourne Conference July 1995* edited by John Burke and Roger Scott listed nineteen papers. A sample of these included: Angeliki Laiou, "Thessaloniki and Macedonia in the Byzantine period"; Gerhard Podskalsky, "Two Archbishops of Achrida (Ochrid) and their significance for Macedonia's secular and church history"; and Johannes Koder, "Macedonians and Macedonia in Byzantine spatial thinking". All the conference proceedings show clearly the Greekness of Macedonia presented through the contributions of various non-Greek specialists.

Professor Anastasios M. Tamis, the President of AIMS, has written many books on Macedonian Hellenes in Australia and the Greek diaspora. His book titled *Greeks in the Far Orient* in Greek is the first publication that documents the Greek diaspora in Manchuria (China), Japan, Philippines, India and Korea using Japanese and Chinese sources from the late 19th century till recent times. He described how these expatriate Greeks managed to survive and maintain their language, customs and religion in what sometimes was a hostile environment towards foreigners. Many of these Greeks became successful business entrepreneurs in the Far East. His book on the Greeks in Latin America depicts and documents the migration and settlement experience of approximately 40,000 Hellenes, of whom at least 4,000 were Macedonians.

Another groundbreaking book is Tamis' titled *Macedonian Hellenes in Oceania* which documents the migration and settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia from 1924–2005. The former Victorian State Premier, Jeff Kennett officially launched this book on Greek Independence Day on 25 March 2015, at Alphington Grammar school. This publication describes community life, the establishment of community organisations, networks and prominent community members and also ventures into the realm of political science of intergroup conflict between Greeks and Macedoslavs. There are many photographs which enhance this very good publication. At the Adelaide book launch, Senator Nick Xenophon of South Australia stated that "this is a landmark book not just about Macedonian Greeks in our region but also about the broader contribution Hellenism has made. It is significant because it tells stories that need to be told and recorded in what is a historical document."

AIMS publishes a peer review journal covering articles on different aspects of Macedonia. All submitted articles undergo a peer-review process before being accepted for publication. Its July 1994 titled Journal *of the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies*, Volume 2, number 1 edition contained articles written both in English and Greek. One of the Greek articles is by Phaedon Malingoudis, "Linguistic Norm and National Identity" and three English ones by Costas Allimonos, "An Understanding of the 'Macedonian Problem"; A. M. Tamis, "Macedonia: the most blood-soaked region of Greece", and S. Stavridis, "Asia Minor Campaign Revisited". The Stavridis article highlighted that many Asia Minor refugees settled in Macedonia.

Since 2014, AIMS' official publication has been renamed *Macedonian Studies Journal*, Volume 1, issue 2 (2014) contained the following articles: John Melville-Jones, "The Borders of ancient Macedonia I"; A. M. Tamis, "Macedonian Hellenes"; Christopher A. Matthews, "Alexander-the Great Tactician"; Marcus A. Templar, "Skopje's Political Efficiency"; Terry Stavridis, "The Greek-Americans and Balkan Wars 1912–13"; and Eugenia Zaliou-Basiakouli, "Women and costumes of Naousa, the end of an era".

The 2016 Volume 1, issue:3 comprised of the following pieces: Loukianos Hassiotis, "Macedonia in the Great War (1914–18)"; Ioannis Mourelos, "The Salonica theatre of operations and its parts in the outcome of the First World War"; Vlassis Vlassidis, "Constructing and maintaining Commonwealth WW1 cemeteries in Greece 1920–40"; John Melville-Jones, "The borders of Ancient Macedonia II"; Angelos A. Chotzidis, "Demonstrations in Macedonia in the era of the Young Turks"; Stavroula Mavrogeni, "Public art in FYROM; The Museum for the Macedonian Struggle"; and Evangelos Kofos, "Macedonia's name".

It is clear that the journal articles cover Macedonia's history from antiquity until modern times.

C. Public Lectures

AIMS invites leading scholars from Greece to present public lectures at Australian Universities and to the Greek community. During the last thirty years AIMS invited more than 200 distinguished scholars, academicians, researchers and prominent academics from all over the world. Among those who had been invited were included Prof. G. Babiniotis, Prof. M. Damanakis, Prof. Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriacou, Prof. I. Hassiotis, Prof. E. Chryssos, Prof. Evangelos Constantinou, Prof. A. Manthos, Rector of the AUTH. In November 2006, Professor of Linguistics, George Babiniotis held a series of public lectures and seminars in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth. His visit was sponsored by AIMS and Nafsika Stamoulis Museum. Babiniotis is highly respected academician in linguistics both inside and outside Greece.

Professor Iakovos Michaelidis presented the following lectures on 13–20 November 2011: Greece as a factor in the stability of the Balkans at Notre Dame University, Fremantle, WA; Greece and the Balkans: Divergence v Convergence, Pan Macedonian House, Melbourne; a round table discussion in English and Greek with the topic: Current trends in Balkan Politics: the case of FYROM and Greece with Professor Michaelidis, Professor Tamis, Terry Stavridis, Panayiotis Gogidis took place at Pan Macedonian House, Melbourne; and AHEPA building in Sydney with the topic Greece and the Balkans: Divergence v Convergence.

Another noted Greek historian, Professor Ioannis Mourelos visited the antipodes in October 2016. He presented a series of public lectures at Notre Dame University, Melbourne and Sydney. In Melbourne, his lecture titled *Periodisation of Contemporary Greek history* gave new insights into modern Greek historiography, especially in defining and categorising particular periods. He considered the Asia Minor catastrophe of 1922 as a defining moment in Greece's modern history. His presentation on the Salonika front in World War 1 was most illuminating with the involvement of great powers on Greek soil and Premier Venizelos' differences with King Constantine. The unseen fully digitised film from the French military archives greatly enhanced his lecture. It was fascinating watching this film highlighting the disembarkation of allied troops in the port of Salonika, the theatre of war on the Macedonia front, and the most notable image being the landing of French Colonial troops from Indo-China.

Other public lectures were given by Dr Theodora Constantinidis who presented *What hides behind the walls of the graves at Amphipolis* at Pan Macedonian Building on April 19, 2016, and the former Greek female Olympic gold medallist, Voula Patoulidou who gave a talk at Alphington Grammar on March 24, 2016.

AIMS committee members have presented public lectures over the years. Terry Stavridis presented two PowerPoint lectures on the Greek-American community during the Balkan Wars 1912–3 and Asia Minor in 2011 and 2015 respectively. On November 18, 2016, Dr Vasilis Sarafidis gave a wonderful lecture on Asia Minor at the Greek Center organised by Thessaloniki Association "The White Tower" in conjunction with the Greek Community of Melbourne and Hellenic Women's Cultural Association-Estia.

Our two women committee members Theofani Karabatsas and Helen Kalaboukas presented a joint lecture on Manto Mavrogenous, the heroine of the Greek War of Independence along with a short Greek film on the life of this incredible woman in March 2015. The lecture was well-received by the audience.

C: Cultural Life

The greatest cultural event in the history of AIMS was the concert titled *Alexander the Great: Pioneering Multiculturalism* held at the Melbourne Recital Center on October 26, 2016. Composer Christos Ioannidis should be congratulated in producing a fine original piece of music which was well received by the audience. Douglas Heywood conducted the twenty-five piece *Camareta Orchestra* including a fifty-two member choir. There was a "complimentary program that all guests... [received] as a keep safe of this cultural concert with detail lyrics, songs and excerpts of poetry that ... [was] recited in both English and Greek". It was a memorable night never to be forgotten.

This concert took twelve months of planning and discussions between AIMS and the composer. Many local Greek businesses, community and sporting organisations sponsored this event.

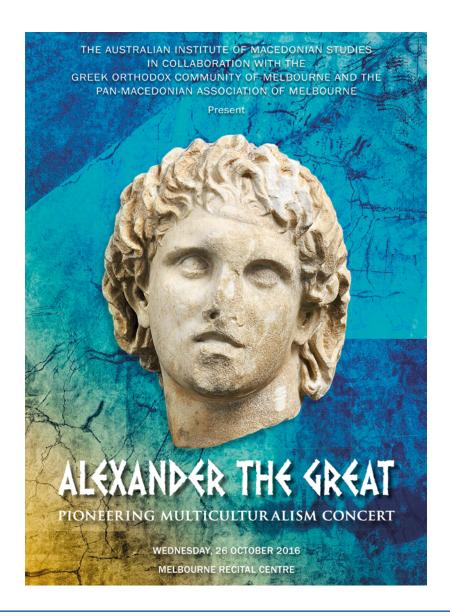
D: Community Engagement

Regrettably, certain Australian politicians made comments supporting FYROM as the Republic of Macedonia which greatly angered the Greek-Australian community. The former Federal MP for Cowan in WA, Luke Simpkins told Federal parliament on March 17, 2015, urging "his colleagues in Government for Australia to recognise FYROM as the Republic of Macedonia which is its Constitutional name." He argued that 150 nations had recognised FYROM as Macedonia and that Greek-Australians had "bigger issues in their lives than this to worry about."

In an interview with *Neos Kosmos* on April 1, 2015, Professor A. M. Tamis regarded Simpkins comments as "superficial and provocative" and "the name issue [had] nothing to do with politics and diplomatic recognitions. It is an anthropological and ethnographic one." The idea "that a small group of Greek nationalists are only keen and sensitive on the issue of 'Macedonia' is absurd and fallacious." There is no way the Greek-Australian community would compromise their heritage and history by handing over this part of Greece to its northern neighbour.

Another politician, Alannah MacTiernan of Perth, believed that Greece's opposition threatened "the very existence of the Republic of Macedonia" and failed to mention that Greek investment plays an important part in FYROMs economy. Drs Anastasios Panagiotelis and Vasilis Sarafidis of AIMS were highly critical of MacTiernan's position and provided historical evidence of the Greekness of Macedonia and that Greece harboured no ill-will towards its neighbour. Athens wanted a resolution to the name issue which could not drag on indefinitely. AIMS committee members used historical evidence and data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics to debunk the claims of Simpkins and MacTiernan and that the Greek-Australian community would not stand idly by seeing its history and the Star of Vergina being claimed by FYROM. It is important for AIMS to inform the wider Australian community through the press and social media on the Macedonian issue.

In conclusion, AIMS has accomplished many milestones in its thirty-year history through its international conferences, publications and community involvement. It has stuck to its role as an academic organisation by contributing to the study of Macedonia through various thematic perspectives. At no stage has it ever engaged in polemics or propaganda but stuck to its mission as an academic organisation.



Παγκόσμιο Συνέδριο Παμμακεδονικών (Θεσσαλονίκη, 23 Ιουλίου 2017) Ο Ρόλος της Ομογένειας: Μελλοντικές Προκλήσεις



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- Τα Μακεδονικά, ηπειρωτικά, μικρασιατικά (ιωνικά και ποντιακά) και κυπριακά σωματεία ιδρύθηκαν και λειτούργησαν με δύο βασικούς ρόλους: (α) τη διατήρηση της ιδιαίτερης εθνογλωσσικής και πολιτιστικής τους ταυτότητας και (β) την προαγωγή των σχετικών ή λεγόμενων εθνικών (αλυτρωτικών) στόχων και επιδιώξεων με πανελλήνια διάσταση. Εξαιτίας της δεύτερης σκοπιμότητας βλέπουμε συχνά και μέλη του Ελληνισμού, που δεν ανήκουν λειτουργικά στο συγκεκριμένο γεωγραφικό χώρο τους να είναι μέλη και στελέχη του συγκεκριμένου φορέα.
- Ο εθνικός ρόλος των μακεδονικών σωματείων χρειάζεται να επαναναπροσδιορισθεί και να επαναξιολογηθεί με βάση τους εξωτερικούς και εσωτερικούς παράγοντες. Στους εξωτερικούς παράγοντες συγκαταλέγονται (α) οι νέες γεωπολιτικές συγκυρίες και μεταλλάξεις στο χώρο της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης και των Βαλκανίων; (β) οι σοβαρότατες τεχνολογικές αλλαγές που σημειώνονται με βάση τα νέα δεδομένα της παγκοσμιοποίησης και της διακίνησης της γνώσης και της πληροφορίας; και (γ) η πολιτική βούληση των ΗΠΑ και Ευρώπης. Στους εσωτερικούς παράγοντες διακρίνουμε (α) τη συγκαιρινή κοινωνικο-οικονομική κρίση που χαρακτηρίζει την Μητρόπολη Ελλάδα και αποδυναμώνει και αποχυμώνει κάθε συστηματική κίνηση της προς τη Διασπορά, ενώ παράλληλα τα συνεχή ανθελληνικά άρθρα στα ΜΜΕ επενεργούν ως παράγοντες ανάσχεσης καλλιέργειας εθνικής ταυτότητας; (β) τη μετάλλαξη του ιδανικού ζητουμένου της Ομογένειας (η κοινωνική καταξίωση του έποικου, η εύκολη και λειτουργική πρόσβαση στο αγγλοκελτικό κατεστημένο); (γ) την οξύτατη και αλματώδη γήρανση των ελληνικών παροικιών (το 2035 ο αριθμός των ελλαδογεννημένων ενδέχεται να μην ξεπερνά τις

8.000); (δ) την έλλειψη ικανής ηγεσίας στο χώρο των κοινοτήτων και του ιερατείου, την έλλειψη θεσμικών οργάνων, την έλλειψη ικανών εστιών αντίστασης (η ανακύκλωση δεν είναι λύση και ελπίδα); (ε) την έλλειψη συμμετοχής της δεύτερης και τρίτης γενιάς, επειδή ακριβώς δεν συμμετέχουν δημιουργικά και λειτουργικά, δεν παράγουν πολιτισμό ("κοινοτισμός» v. "ιδιωτισμός»); (στ) η κρατούσα νοοτροπία και συστημική πολιτική της Διοικούσας Εκκλησίας, ως ιεραρχικά δοδημένου σωματείου, να επιδιώκει κοσμική εξουσία και τη θεσμική Ελλάδα (Η νοοτροπία αυτή καλλιέργησε και διατηρεί έντονες συγκρούσεις με τη διπλωματική αντιπροσωπεία της Ελλάδος και τραυματίζει τη συνοχή και τη συνεκτικότητα του οργανωμένου Ελληνισμού); και (ζ) την ανεπαρκή αξιοποίηση των εθνογλωσσικών επικρατειών λειτουργίας της ελληνικότητας, κυρίως οικογένεια και Ορθοδοξία στη Διασπορά (η συμφιλίωση Ορθοδοξίας και Ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη Διασπορά βρίσκεται σε εμφανή κρίση, Orthodoxy v Hellenism?!).

- Τα μακεδονικά σωματεία θα μπορέσουν να έχουν διάρκεια και κύρος μόνον εφόσον μπορέσουν στα επόμενα δέκα χρόνια
 - Να δημιουργήσουν ενιαίο συλλογικό φορέα εθνικο-κοινωνικού και μορφωτικού χαρακτήρα με συγκεκριμένες δράσεις και προγράμματα (μαθητικοί διαγωνισμοί για τη Μακεδονία, φιλολογικοί και εικαστικοί αγώνες με θέμα τη Μακεδονία και την ιστορία της κλπ).
 - Να δώσουν ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στον πολιτιστικό τους ρόλο και να προβληθούν ως εστίες πολιτιστικής ανέλιξης.



Busts in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki. By Tilemahos Efthimiadis (CC BY-SA 2.0)



The oldest photograph of Thessaloniki by the Hungarian photographer Joseph Székely (Source: Wikipedia Commons)

- Να δώσουν την ευκαιρία να ιδρυθούν και να λειτουργήσουν εργαστήρια τέχνης, θεάτρου, πολιτισμού, χορού, μουσικής, προβολής της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, με την έννοια της πολιτιστικής επίθεσης.
- 4) Η εθνική υπόθεση της Μακεδονίας θα πρέπει να περάσει πλέον μέσα από τον πολιτισμό και την ιστορία επιστημονικά και μεθοδευμένα, ώστε να κατανοήσει η ευρύτερη κοινωνία ότι Μακεδονία και Ελλάδα είναι ταυτόσημες έννοιες.
- 5) Να ακονίσουν την αντοχή τους μέσα από τα κοινωνικο-οικονομικά πλοονεκτήματα της ελληνικής παρουσίας στην Αυστραλία (ελέγχονται συγκεκριμένες βιομηχανίες και επιστήμες από ελληνικής καταγωγής Αυστραλούς, η οικονομική θέση των Ελλήνων είναι από τις υψηλότερες της χώρας, κοινωνικά η Ομογένεια είναι η πλέον εδραιωμένη κλπ.).
- 6) Να δημιουργηθεί ενιαία ηλεκτρονική βάση δεδομένων στο Δίκτυο Επικοινωνίας των Αποδήμων Μακεδόνων στη ΕΜΣ, μία ηλεκτρονική διαδραστική Πλατφόρμα, με κατάλληλα λογισμικά προγράμματα, διαδραστικώς προσβάσιμα, λειτουργικά όπου η επικοινωνία μεταξύ οργανωμένων μακεδονικών σωματείων της Διασποράς να είναι άμεση και οικονομική, όπου μπορούν να αποθηκευτούν για τους ενδιαφερομένους και ερευνητές, η βιβλιογραφία του Μακεδονικού ελληνισμού, ο απογραφικός χάρτης τους, οι δράσεις και δραστηριότητές του. Η διαδραστική ηλεκτρονική πλατφόρμα πέρα από τη γνώση θα κλιμακώσει τη συνοχή και τη συνεκτικότητα του οικουμενικού μακεδονικού ελληνισμού σε ένα ενιαίο και διαρκώς αλληλοεπιδραζόμενο σύνολο.

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The Case of Greek as a National Language

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1.0 The Hypothesis

For any non-dominant language to be maintained in a bilingual environment without diglossia at inter-generational level requires the following:

- 1) The existence of a populous base of speakers;
- 2) Adequate function of language use;
- 3) Acceptability within the broader society;
- 4) Stability of the given language.

2.0 The Vitality of Greek as a World Heritage Language

- 2.1 Greek does not simply derive its significance only as a community language or as the norm of the Greek-speaking sector of the Australia community, which is vigorously organised, politically robust and strongly committed to maintenance of its Hellenic Australian identity.
- 2.2 The significance of Greek for Australia derives principally from *heritage*, *moral*, *intellectual*, *academic*, *linguistic and utilitarian* reasons.
- 2.2.1 Moral and intellectual, because Greek is the only extant Heritage Language of the Western World known and used in Australia;
- 2.2.2 Academic because the Greek language (in its Ancient, medieval and modern variants) is being taught together with Classical studies and the Greek history and culture at over 2,000 universities around the globe attracting more than 300,000 students.
- 2.2.3 Linguistic because by learning Greek language students and indeed world citizens have the opportunity to learn about and understand better their own language as a very significant percentage of their mother tongue, etymologically is derived from Greek words.

- 2.2.4 Utilitarian, because of an established presence of a vast number of Greek-speaking residents (currently estimated to 400,000) and of many more thousands of Australians with ancestral, sentimental, professional, cultural and intellectual ties with Greece, Cyprus and the millions of Hellenes in the Diaspora.
- 2.3 Whence, the linguistic World Heritage status of Greek is illustrated by a number of aspects outlined below, which inevitably propagate its importance to be included in the Australian national curriculum of languages other than English:

(a) Greek is the oldest and sole survival of ancient European languages bearing a linguistic tradition of 4,000 years. It has been the basis of the European civilisation and naturally has fundamentally affected other languages and cultures.

(b) Greek remained the language of global civilisation from 480 BC to A.D. 1500 in both oral and written forms and was the official vernacular of the entire Hellenized world from Western Europe to India. Hence, the general use of Greek was of enormous importance to the spread of Christianity.

(c) Greek is the sole modern descendant of the Indo-European family of languages, in which fundamental texts of Western Civilisation and Christian scripture were formulated and transmitted through the ages. Even in civilisation Greek-speaking Patriarchates in Constantinople (Istanbul), Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cyprus and Greece commemorate the thousand years of Greek presence in Europe, Asia and Africa.

(d) Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodox were the two Christian worlds in Europe and Asia. The entire world of Greek Christians, incorporating the Russians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Macedoslavs, and Syro-Lebanese used Greek as their official language of liturgy and sermons.

(e) Greek is designated as one of the five official languages of the European Union and is rated as a major world-language in spite of the comparatively modest number of its current native speakers.

(f) Greek composed by reputed individuals of intellect such as Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, Hippocrates, the Great fathers of the Christian Church, the great hymnographers, philologists, mathematicians, physicians, anthropologists, ethnologists. Naturally, the notions born herein, expressed through the words of the Greek language, pervaded the languages and the civilisations of the world and left an eternal mark on what is known as the European Civilization. Studying the Greek language is not a product of fashion or of utilitarian motives. It has its origins in man's desire to study the great texts about great issues. (g) Approximately, 28,000 English words including keywords such as *idea*, *theory*, *system*, *analysis*, *synthesis*, *category*, *hierarchy*, *method*, *hypothesis*, *myth*, *poetry*, *drama*, *music*, *harmony*, *politics*, *democracy*, *thence*, *machine*, *episteme*, *psyche*, *Eros*, *ecclesia*, *Christ*, *Europe*, *theology* etc. are all words of the Greek language, this great little language to paraphrase the Noble laureate Greek poet Odysseus Elytis.

(h) It would be a cultural deficit for Australia if Greek is to be confined within its current spectrum and not be accessible nationally, in terms of universal education and culture. Especially, as the Greek language came to be not the exclusive property of the Greeks only, but of the entire humanity.

(i) Every national language constitutes the identity and the physiognomy of that nation. In the case of Greek, the language transmits and creatively enriches all modern western languages as it remains the robust source for new words and concepts for these national languages. To fully understand the meaning and culture of 28,000 English words of Greek origin, it is necessary to know and study the Greek language and culture; otherwise, it would be a Herculean task to understand the meaning of polis, police, politics, democracy, tyranny, tyrant, oligarchy, aristocracy just to mention some words from the field of politics. Whence, the acquisition of Greek is further enhancing the better understanding of English.

(j) Greek as a Heritage Language, besides of aspects of use and utility, possesses another aspect, the moral one. Hence, the learning of Greek, apart from professional improvement in terms of income or social prestige etc., can provide a better, more direct, profound and essential understanding of the people who speak it, who exist immersed in it.

(k) The significance of Greek for Australia's external trade resides both in the actual and potential links with the European Union via Greece and Cyprus and via connections between Greece, Cyprus and the Greek-Australian community and in the fact that, among others, the Greek merchant marine transports the largest quantity of Australia exports across the globe.

(l) As a result of the *National Policy of Languages* (1987), Greek was categorised as a "Language of Wider Teaching" and was protected as a second language by the Commonwealth and State Governments among eight other languages for teaching purposes. In September 1991, the Commonwealth of Australia identified 14 "priority languages" including Greek. Under *the Commonwealth's Priority Languages Incentives Scheme* educations systems, the State and Territories selected eight languages each as the basis of funding support they received from the Commonwealth. Again Greek was defined "Priority Language" in South Australia, NSW, New South Wales and Northern Territory, as well as a *Tertiary Entrance Language* subject in all states and Territories, attracting approximately 41,000 students, of whom 32% were of non-Greek-background (Tamis, 2001 and 2008, 2010).

(m) The Greek and Cypriot Australian communities remain exceedingly generous in their support of Greek language teaching at all three levels of education, endowing schools and tertiary institutions with bequests and financially priming for the establishment of Greek teaching and lectureships in Western Australia (Notre Dame); Northern Territory (University of Darwin); NSW (Sydney, NSW and Macquarie Universities); Victoria (La Trobe and RMIT Universities) and South Australia (Flinders University).

(n) Greece is arguably the only home country of Australian citizens that contributes so generously and supports multifaceted types and schemes of language learning and teaching.

- 2.4 The aforementioned specifics build the notion that it is imperative for the Commonwealth Government, in full alignment with its national policy on languages since 1987, to continue to consider Greek as a priority language within is new National Curriculum Policy on languages, given its role and paramount importance:
 - As a world heritage language;
 - As a source language for other world languages;
 - As a morally ideological as well as linguistically practical cornerstone for Australia;
 - For its communal and inter-communal role in Australia as a wider spoken, taught and learned language not only by students of Greek ancestry but also by non-Greek-background students (32%);
 - For its international economic role for Australia, since Greek is an official language of the European Union;
 - As the Australian language which is heavily and supported in an unparallel fashion by the home country for the educational welfare of Australian citizens.

3.0 The Significance of Greek

3.1 There are currently approximately 40,000 students attending Greek language classes in Australia provided by the following sectors:

Ethnic Schools:	21,000
Government Schools:	12,200
Saturday Schools of Languages:	2,000
Greek Daily Schools:	4,000
Independent Schools:	450
Tertiary Institutions:	950

- 3.2 Greek language and culture is the most popular language within the Ethnic Schools sector in Australia.
- 3.3 Greek is the fourth most popular taught language within the Saturday School of Languages.
- 3.4 Greek is the sixth most widely taught language in Government schools.
- 3.5 In 2010, almost 33% of the students in government and Greek Daily schools are of non-Greek language background.
- 3.6 Greek language possesses the strongest retention rate amongst students in government schools from Preps to Grade Six (92%) and from Year Seven to Year 10 (72%), compared with any other language.
- 3.7 Greek is the third most popular home language in Australia at inter-generational level.
- 3.8 Greek has the strongest language maintenance rate in Australia at an inter-generational level. The language shift from Greek to English among 1st generation speakers in almost zero; the language shift for second generation is 8.6% and for third generation Greek Australians 24%.
- 3.9 Until 2009, Greek was also the language of an additional 135,000 Australian citizens who live permanently in Greece. Greece is the second most popular destination country for Australian citizens after United Kingdom with 240,000 Australian citizens.
- 3.10 Greek has a utilitarian role in Australia because of an established presence of 400,000 Greek-speaking Australian citizens and many more thousands of Australian with ancestral, sentimental, professional, cultural and intellectual ties with Greece and *Cyprus*.
- 3.11 Greece is arguably the only home country of Australian citizens that contributes so generously and supports multifaceted types and schemes of language learning and teaching. Greece's sound and unparallel contribution is estimated at approximately AU\$10,000,000.00 annually. This generosity deserves the reciprocal attitudes of the Australian Commonwealth Government by including Greek as one of the languages in the national curriculum policy.
- 3.12 Australia's interest in enhanced trade and investment arrangements with the European Union and the sensitive Eastern Mediterranean region and its burgeoning economy, as well as its potential links with Europe could be better implemented via a role of the Greek language in establishing and maintaining Greek-speaking experts in European capitals including Athens and Nicosia.

4.0 The Vitality of Greek in Australia

4.1 The vitality of Greek in Australia is determined by a variety of factors including the language loyalty efforts of the local Greek community members towards its maintenance and development, their personal disposition and their desire for continued distinctiveness as a socio-cultural group. Socio-structural factors soundly contributing to the vitality of Greek include:

- a. The existence of more than 360.000 people who know and use Greek as well as the subsistence of approximately 30000 students attending (Modern) Greek language education provisions offered by a variety of sectors, including community schools;
- b. The existence of wide functional areas of Greek language use and reasonable community networks which could elaborate the function of language use, outside and beyond the Greek community-controlled areas, e.g. Church, nursing homes, socio-cultural activities;
- c. Conscientious attempts to promote Greek to the broader society;
- d. Ability to rally institutional support, primarily government agencies and networks;
- e. Accommodating favourable demographic characteristics by creating a language map depicting the socio-demographic mobility of the Greek Australian community members, e.g. Residential concentration;
- f. The degree of international dynamics which could characterise the Greek community in Australia and its ability to promote Greek to the broader Australian society.

5.0 The Negative Trends

- 5.1 A major disincentive at all levels is the erroneous perception in the broader society that serious learning of Greek is the preserve of the Greek Australian community; and even within the latter community, that successful study and certification is the preserve of the elite.
- 5.2 Problems arising out of the format, frequency and limitations of learning contact hours and of staff morale in view of the conditions of appointment and status offered to fully qualified teachers.
- 5.2.1 Problems of continuity. There is no vision for proper post-primary education in the Greek language and culture.
- 5.3 I suspect the provision of Greek language teaching and learning is primarily based on obsolete demographical patterns characterising the Greek community settlement in Perth forty years ago. The socio-demographic mobility of the Greek community members into new suburbs since the 1980s was not met with relevant provision of Greek language courses in government school within the new suburbs of settlement.

- Australia is lacking a language map targeting potential students of Greek in certain suburbs of concentration and outlining provision of Greek language courses as a matter of continuity of learning between primary and post-primary education.
- Australia is lacking Greek language pre-school centres and Greek-language kindergartens where bilingual immersion classes could be introduced.
- Greek suffers from an image problem as a "community" language in the narrowest sense, despite the fact that most of its students are third and fourth generations English speaking monolinguals.
- Greek is under-resourced at every level of education.
- There are serious problems of linkage between, and continuity within, levels of learning Greek.
- Inflexible curricula and assessment mechanisms, and inability to cope with mixed ability groups using appropriate materials, methods, are inimical to the survival of Greek.
- The plurality and diversity of the current provision of Greek is not necessarily a negative factor, providing effective learning could be assured.
- Retention and attrition are not the sole measures of successful teaching; a greater range of certification of proficiency and entry/re-entry points to learning Greek is needed.

6.0 Recommendations

Sociolinguistic research (Tamis and Gauntlett, 1993; Clyne, 1982; Bianco, 1987; Tamis 2008, 2010 and 2015) demonstrated that to learn Greek you need at least 2,600 contact hours of teaching, that is, almost six contact hours per week. Currently, on average, the teaching of Greek is a minimum of 70 minutes per week. This is a gross inadequacy.

- *(i) The required minimum of teaching to be increased to 240 minutes from Preps to Year Six and to 220 from Year 7 to year 10.*
- *(ii) The frequency of teaching to be increased to two days per week.*
- *(iii)* Schools should implement streaming procedures based on the language competence, language adequacy and language achievement of the students.
- (iv) The establishment of a Greek bilingual immersion pre-school school at St Andrew's Grammar for working parents.
- (v) Teachers' training sessions should be undertaken for all those who are teaching in both primary and post-primary Greek language classes.
- *(vi)* Teachers and their students should be provided with real opportunities to communicate in Greek both inside and outside their classrooms, utilising the vast community resources.

