Athens Journal of History

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The current issue is the third of the seventh volume of the *Athens Journal of History (AJHIS), published by the History Unit of ATINER*.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
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Athens Institute for Education and Research
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20th Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology:
From Ancient to Modern, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece

The History Unit of ATINER, will hold its **20th Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of History. The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of all areas of history, archaeology and other related disciplines. You may participate as a stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-HIS.doc).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **1 November 2021**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: 2 **May 2022**

Academic Members Responsible for the Conference

- Dr. Steven Oberhelman, Professor of Classics, Holder of the George Sumey Jr Endowed Professorship of Liberal Arts, and Associate Dean, Texas A&M University, USA, USA, Vice President of International Programs, ATINER and Editor of the Athens Journal of History.
- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice President of Academic Membership, ATINER & Professor of History, Sam Houston University, USA.
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Social and Educational Program
The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
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- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
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Athens Institute for Education and Research
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15th Annual International Conference on Literature
30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022

The Literature Unit of ATINER is organizing its **15th Annual International Conference on Literature, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Philology. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-LIT.doc).

Important Dates
- Abstract Submission: **1 November 2021**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **2 May 2021**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, Literature Research Unit, ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

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Weaving the Body Politic: The Role of Textile Production in Athenian Democracy as Expressed by the Function of and Imagery on the Ἐπίνητρον

By Dena Gilby[*]

An examination of the historical and political background of Athens, combined with close readings of several Athenian ἐπίνητρα whose dates span the Late Archaic after the institution of democratic rule and Classical Periods, reveals the possibility that the iconography conveys targeted messages to women consumers – who although perhaps not the purchasers of the ἐπίνητρα, are certainly the ones using them – that their their textile contributions to the πόλις (city-state) play a role in the continued success of Athenian democracy.

Introduction

The ἐπίνητρον (pl. ἐπίνητρα) is a ceramic shape used in ancient Greece to card wool; as such, it is a form created for women (Figure 1).[1] What can the imagery on these works divulge about the construction of women's contributions in ancient Athens during the period of democratic rule? This presentation examines several Athenian ἐπίνητρα that date to around 500-404 BCE: the Archaic and Classical periods. At this time the Greeks had already transitioned to democratic rule. It should be noted that the Greek citizen woman could not vote as this was limited to free, citizen men over the age of eighteen. After setting the historical and political background, this paper offers readings of the subject matter on a number of ἐπίνητρα from Attica and argues that the iconography on these ceramics conveys messages to its female consumers that their textile production contributes to the health of the Athenian democratic πόλις.[2]

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1. John Boardman, "'Reading' Greek Vases?" *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (2003): 109-114; Andrew J. Clark, Maya Elston and Mary Louise Hart, *Understanding Greek Vases: A Guide to Terms, Styles, and Techniques* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002); Elizabeth Moignard, *Greek Vases: An Introduction* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012).

2. On ancient Greek democracy see Eric Robinson, *Ancient Greek Democracy: Readings and Sources* (NY: Wiley & Sons, 2008) and David L. Stockton, *The Classical Athenian Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
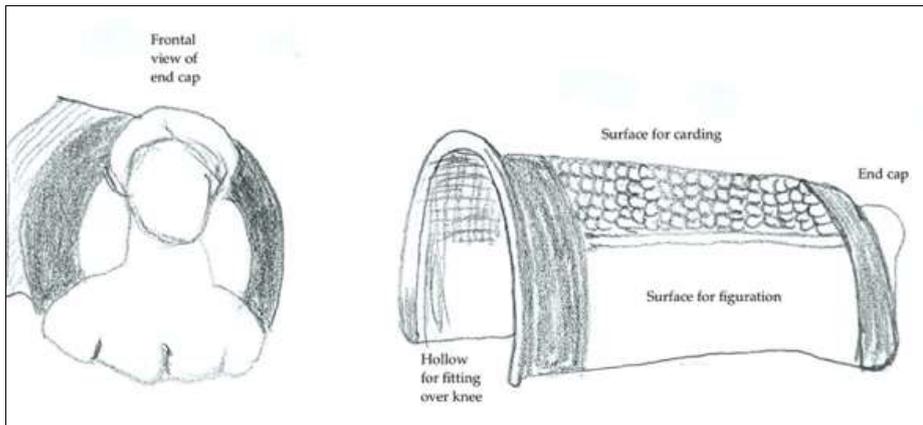
Figure 1. *A Typical Ἐπίνητρον*
Illustration credit: the author.

A Brief Overview of the Literature and Some Findings

Compared to such forms as the αμφόρα (storage jar) or κύλιξ (cup), there is a dearth of extant ἐπίνητρα and the literature reflects this in that one of the main concerns is to catalog the examples.[3] A second major way in which scholars address the vases is within the context of exploring textile production[4]; and the third primary inquiry is into individual examples.[5] There is a consensus that,

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3. Frauke Heinrich, *Das Epinetron. Aspekte der weiblichen Lebenswelt im Spiegel eines Arbeitsgeräts*. Internationale Archäologie 93 (Rhaden: Verlag Maria Leidorff, 2006); Chiara Mercati, *Epinetron. Storia di una Forma Ceramica fra Archeologia e Cultura* (Città di Castello: Petruzzi Editore, 2003).

4. Peter Acton, *Poesis: Manufacturing in Classical Athens* (Oxford and NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 147-171; Roger Brock, "The Labour of Women in Classical Athens," *The Classical Quarterly*, new series 44, no. 2 (1994): 336-346; Irene Good, "Archaeological Textiles: A Review of Current Research," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 209-226; Stella Spantidaki, *Textile Production in Classical Athens* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016).

5. Panayota Badinou, *La Laine et Le Parfum: Épinetra et Alabastres, Forme, Iconographie et Fonction* (Louvain: Peeters, 2004); Sheramy D. Bundrick, "The Fabric of the City: Imaging Textile Production in Classical Athens," *Hesperia* 77, no. 2 (2008): 283-334; Sheramy D. Bundrick, "Housewives, Hetairai, and the Ambiguity of Genre in Attic Vase Painting," *Phoenix* 66, no 1/2 (2012): 11-35; Helga Di Giuseppe, "The Female *Pensum* in the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods: The Epinetron, the Spindle, and the Distaff," *Origini: Preshistory and Protohistory of Ancient Civilizations* XL (2017) 259-276; Marina Fischer, "Ancient Greek Prostitutes and the Textile Industry in Attic Vase-Painting ca. 550-450 B.C.E.," *The Classical World* 106, no. 2 (2013): 219-259; Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch (Eds.), *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014); David M.

because there is no functional need for figural imagery, the scenes are a locus of information about cultural, ideological, and political ideals.[6] What is missing in the literature is a complete, in-depth accounting of one region's or period's vessels. The most comprehensive look at this vase form, worth addressing to get a sense of the importance of Attic manufactured ἐπίνητρα, is that of Chiara Mercati who provides a detailed catalog of extant examples, a treatment of common subjects the the whole corpus, and a number of charts and tables that break down the distribution of both black-figure and red-figure examples.[7] The provenance table on page 236 of her text catalogs thirty-two black figure and thirteen red-figure examples from Athens with eight of these containing figural scenes; this is the highest number and is followed by the Attic city-state of Brauron with twenty-one black-figure and 20 red-figure, but none of these possess figurative imagery on them. The second highest number of ἐπίνητρα come from Taso on the Aegean Islands with eighteen black-figure, non-figural examples.[8] One can see from this that Attica is, by far, the most important manufacturing area for this vase type.

Methodology

The methodology used in this essay is the New Art History defined as:

Something of an umbrella term, embracing elements of *Marxism, *semiotics, and *deconstruction, it is generally used to describe the various approaches to *art history as an intellectual discipline which developed after the Second World War.[9]

The New Art History, in other words, employs a variety of theoretical stances to explore meaning in art; in its current manifestation, multiculturalism, postcolonial studies, and gender studies methodologies, as well as reception theory and object biography, have become the dominant lenses for art historians.[10] In this essay, therefore, the iconography on each vase is mined –

Robinson, "A New Attic Onos or Epinetron," *American Journal of Archaeology* 49, no. 4 (1945): 480-490.

6. Bundrick, Ibid; Fischer, Ibid; Harlow and Nosch, Ibid; Heinrich, *Das Epinetron*, 2006; Mercati, *Epinetron*, 2003; Spantidaki, *Textile Production*, 1-2.

7. Mercati, *Epinetron*, 233-236.

8. Ibid, 233.

9. Michael Clarke, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169-170.

10 Anne D'Alleva. *Look! Again: Art History and Critical Theory* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2005), 143-149; Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical*

using a combination of methodologies derived from semiotics, gender studies, object biography, and reception theory – for its potential to illuminate a gynocentric reading of the ἐπίνητρον that give voice to a more complex understanding of the multi-faceted meanings that can be derived from visual representations.[11]

Athens and Textile Production: Private and Public

In regard to the topic of this paper – how women's roles in and contributions to Attic democracy is communicated by the imagery on Attic ἐπίνητρα – it is salient to outline the reforms of Cleisthenes at the inception of this political framework. Cleisthenes divided Attica as follows: Athens remained the ἄστυ (main city-state of a region); it was also one of three partitions of the land. The other two were the μεσόγειος or μεσόγεια (inland) and παραλία (coast) sectors. Cleisthenes divided each section into ten groups, each of which is known as a τριττύες; three of these (one from each geographical designation) constitute a φυλή (tribe). Every φυλή could be composed of as many as ten smaller entities, each known as a δῆμος (pl. δήμοι). All Athenian citizens belonged to and associated their names with a δῆμος. This reorganization effectively limited the power wielded by the aristocratic class and distributed the norms of the Athenian ἄστυ to the whole of Attica.[12]

Textiles were important domestically, within the πόλις (city-state; pl. πόλεις), in the larger Greek world, and beyond. In the οἴκος (home) and αγορά (marketplace), consumers would find a variety of cloaks, robes, tunics, and shirts to adorn both men and women; hairnets and girdles completed women's wear.[13] As Peter Acton notes, in his book *Poesis: Manufacturing in Classical Athens*, textile work was not limited to clothing; items related to bed and decorative furnishings,

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Introduction (London and NY: Routledge, 2001), 1-34; Kristina Jõekalda, "What Has Become of the New Art History?" *Journal of Art Historiography* 9 (December 2013): 1-7.

11. Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 169-178; Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Production* (ed.) Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 67; Susan Langdon, "Beyond the Grave: Biographies from Early Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 4 (2001): 579-606.

12. Ephialtes in 462 BCE and Pericles in 451 BCE completed the reforms in the period of specific concern to this paper. See Pierre Lévêque, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and David Ames Curtis, *Cleisthenes the Athenian* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1997); Karl-Wilhelm Welwei and Mischa Meier, *Athen von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt: Darmstadt Primus, 2011).

13. Acton, *Poesis*, 147-148; Bundrick, "The Fabric of the City," 283-334.

as well as bags, were common household materials; all of which women made and all of which contributed significantly to the well-being and status of those in the οίκος.[14] Although many of the islands, such as Cyprus, Miletos, and πόλεις, such as Corinth and Megara, were known for their trade in cloth, Athens does not seem to have been a particularly active textile trader. It appears that the focus of textile production for Athens was for domestic and ritual use.[15]

During religious festivals dedications of textiles and production tools are common from very early periods.[16] Clothing inventories at the Artemis sanctuaries in Brauron and in Athens list textiles.[17] The most important public festival during the Classical Period in which the Attic Greeks made a textile dedication was the Panathenaic Festival in honor of Athena during which participants offer a πέπλος to the goddess.[18] In this manner women contributed to the body politic in a very public and far-reaching way.[19] Moreover, adolescents from aristocratic families aided the priestesses on the first date of the Chalkeia Festival in late October; by the following July the raiment was ready and two adolescent girls from prominent families were chosen to present the garment to Athena at the Greater Panathenaia.[20] The weaving of and presentation to this goddess is particularly apt because not only is she a goddess of war, but also of handicrafts; serving symbolically as important to both male and female and

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14. Acton, Ibid; Laura McClure, *Women in Classical Antiquity from Birth to Death* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2020), 2.3 and 2.4.

15. Acton, Ibid; Spantidaki, *Textile Production*, xxii-xxvii.

16. Cecilie Brøns, *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC* (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017); Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louis Nosch, *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017).

17. Liza Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2016); Tullia Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 1972).

18. Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, 2017; Brøns and Nosch, *Textiles and Cult*, 2017; Evy Johanne Håland, "Athena's Peplos: Weaving as a Core Female Activity in Ancient and Modern Greece," *Cosmos* 20 (2004): 155-182.

19. Matthew Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London and NY: Routledge, 2002), 54-60.

20. Herbert William Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Rosa Reuthner, *Wer webte Athenes Gewänder?: die Arbeit von Frauen im antiken Griechenland* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2006), 296; Noel Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); John Scheid, Jesper Svenbro and Carol Volk, *Le Métier de Zeus. Myth du Tissage et du Tissue dans le Monde Gréco-Romain* (Paris: Editions de la Découverte, 1994), 26-29; Erika Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 2002), 39.

suggesting that martial and technical productions are both crucial to the success of the city-state.[21]

The Ἐπίνητρα

This paper limits the examination of ceramics to those that can be securely placed within manufacture in Attica and that date to the late Archaic and Classical periods; that is, around the beginning of democracy in 508 BCE, and its functional end around 404 BCE. As objects used in the production of textiles, which historical evidence both written and material highlight, has not only private but also public visibility (in the form of dedications during civic religious festivals), these objects – as Danielle Smotherman Bennett has aptly observed – are "embedding social cues, representing familiar social tasks, and depicting anonymous figures with which women of wide-ranging social statuses could self-identify" and, thus, can be examined for the pointed messages sent to its consumers.[22]

Like textiles, ἐπίνητρα have been found at sanctuaries, residential areas, commercial zones, and in graves; all sites that were important in the civic and/or religious life of democratic Attica, making them ideal for the study of their subject matter's relationship to cultural and political messages and meanings.[23] Mercati offers valuable data about the findspots for ἐπίνητρα: sanctuaries are the primary sites, followed by habitation sites, and then cemetaries for those vessels with specified or known findspots.[24] Mercati, in addition, offers inestimable information about the range of dates for which the greatest numbers of ἐπίνητρα are found that aids in the interpretation of the iconography. Of the black-figure examples, 52.3% date to the last quarter of the sixth century and first quarter of the fifth century BCE (525-475 BCE); of the red-figure examples, 70.2% date to the third quarter of the fifth century BCE (450-425 BCE).[25] One gleans from this that

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21. Håland, "Athena's Peplos," 155; Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 1986; Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, 58-72.

22. Danielle Smotherman Bennett, "Targeted Advertising for Women in Athenian Painting of the Fifth Century BCE," *Arts* 8, no. 52 (2019): 2; Lauren Hackworth Petersen, "Divided Consciousness and Female Companionship: Reconstructing Female Subjectivity on Greek Vases," *Arethusa* 30, no. 1 (1997): 35-74; Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, "Ancient Greek Women and Art: The Material Evidence," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91, no. 3 (1987): 399-409.

23. Spantidaki, *Textile Production*, 106-115 offers a listing of textile fragments found in Classical period Attic sites for those interested in the physical examples that help inform the researcher of visual representations of dress.

24. Mercati, *Epinetron*, 235.

25. Ibid, 236.

the dates when production was highest corresponds with the waning of Archaic tyranny or clan dominance and the rise and development of democracy.

The figural scenes are varied; they include martial subjects, mythological narrative, as well as imagery centered around activities of the οἶκος. A chronological examination is revelatory about the iconography favored from the early to the late democracy in Attica.[26] An early and representative example is now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 2). Its date places it in the years in which Attica went from dominance by aristocratic clans and, in Athens, from the Peisistratid tyranny to democracy. This black-figure object depicts two four-horse chariots with drivers on each of the long sides and two draped figures, one male and one female, conversing on the end cap. The figural scenes on the long sides suggests, to the viewer familiar with Greek vase painting, that this may illustrate funeral games or the ἐκφορά (procession) to the cemetery that took place three days after death.[27] For the user of this ἐπίνητρον, as she cards she sees on both sides a reminder of her role in honoring her clan members and contributing to the fame that the deceased (and her clan) receives by preparing the shroud in which he or she will be wrapped; likewise, she will perhaps think of how she will stand in her dark robe around the bier performing mourning rituals at the πρόσθεση (wake) before the body is taken to the cemetary.[28] Are the figures conversing to be read as mourners discussing the deceased? As the end cap, this would face others in the room while the wool is carded; could this, therefore, broadcast the wool workers' status as contributing member to the clan,

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26. Bennett, "Targeted Advertising," 1-2; John Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters, and Pictures* (London and NY: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 11; Bundrick, "Housewives, Hetairai, and the Ambiguity," 11-35; Claude Bérard, *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 89; Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell, *Looking at Greek Art* (Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 170-214; Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell, Elizabeth Langridge-Noti, and Thomas H. Carpenter (Eds.), *The Consumers' Choice: Uses of Greek Figure-Decorated Pottery* (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2016); Katerina Volioti, "On Show and on the Go: The Advertising Language of Athenian Pottery," *Thersites: Journal for Transcultural Presences and Diachronic Identities from Antiquity to Date* 6 (2017): 3-42.

27. Ian Morris, "Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 8, no. 2 (1989): 296-320; Lynn E. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, no. 2 (1981): 107-119; Peter Toohey, "Death and Burial in the Ancient World," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 364.

28. Maureen Carroll and Jane Rempel, *Living through the Dead: Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011); Milette Gaifman, *The Art of Libation in Classical Athens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Sarah Iles Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Morris, Ibid; Roller, Ibid; Toohey, Ibid.

to the community as a whole, and to the communal and relational nature of identity in the ancient Greek world?[29]

Figure 2. *Epinetron, c. 525-500 BCE. Terracotta, l. 11 9/16″ (29.4 cm.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (06.1021.52)*
Photo credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Open Access.

This imagery is not unusual for this era of transition from tyrannical to democratic rule as several ἐπίνητρα fragments demonstrate: three from a work that represents an Amazonomachy and come from the Sanctuary at Eleusis (Eleusis Museum 465); two from the Sanctuary of Artemis at (Brauron Museum A21 and A22) that depict an Amazonomachy and procession on horseback; one from the Athenian agora (American School of Classical Studies, Athens P 16745) that portrays a woman working wool; and one from the Acropolis of Athens (Athens National Museum 2611) that depicts Eos running toward her son, the fallen Memnon, who is identified by inscription. What unites these figural scenes is the signifiers of the life of the aristocratic clans directly through scenes of rituals, rites, and social activities and of their ideals indirectly through mythological narratives. The indirect resonances can be attached to the tendency of Greek makers, from the earliest manifestations to employ myths as metaphors.[30] The scenes of Greek heroes and heroines, the Amazonomachies, or the gods vanquishing mortals who have transgressed normative behavior speak to makers visually transmitting the behaviors that mortal should either emulate or avoid to conform to the cultural values esteemed among the society.[31]

Three late black-figure paintings date to the early years of the democracy and are, hence, paradigmatic of the transition of subject matter from before and after the fall of the Peisistratids and the institution of democracy.[32] The Diosphos Painter's work (Figure 3), now housed in the Louvre Museum, portrays on side A a scene of women working wool and displays on side B a frieze of Amazons; the

29. Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World*. Second Edition (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 220-226, 238-243, 290-293; Susan Lape, *Race and Citizen Identity in the Classical Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 82-94, 155-161.

30. Richard T. Neer, *Greek Art and Archaeology c. 1500-c. 150 BCE* (NY: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 204-208; Robin Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Oxford and NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 87-110, 189, 237-242.

31. Neer, Ibid, 204-208; Osborne, Ibid.

32. Bennett, "Targeted Advertising," 1-2, 4, 7.

end cap possesses a protome (three-dimensional rendering) of a female head. Side A would be facing the inside thigh of the wool worker while Side B faces outward toward observers so that they see the Amazons. How would the women in the room; that is, the one working the wool and others, interpret this scene? I suggest the possibility that the woman working sees her industry resonating with that of the figural scene closest to her view which, in turn, amplifies her sense that her work is important to the functioning of the household (and beyond). On the other hand, the scene facing outward reminds both worker and other women in the room that, although the Amazons were powerful and independent, the Greek patriarchy did vanquish them. Perhaps it is a warning, therefore, to not inflate themselves so much that they lose sight of the ultimate authority: the male head of household his relatives, and the male citizenry. Even so, could a woman read this scene as signifying that textile production holds true power because when the wool worker placed the ἐπίνητρον on her knee, this female physiognomy (portrayed in an idealizing mode of representation) would face out, broadcasting that the woman working was an ideal participant in the body politic by creating the textiles needed for home, city, and region.
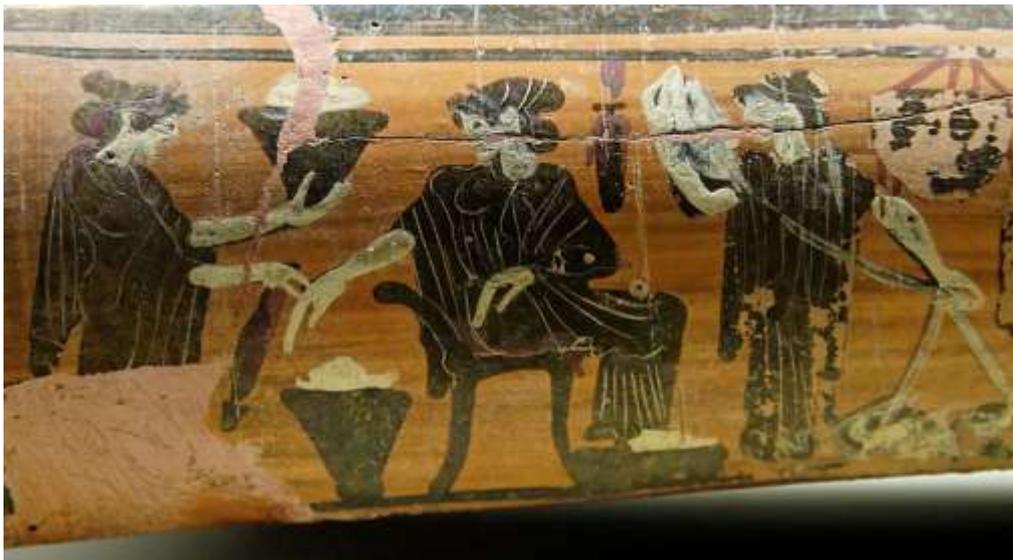
Figure 3. *Diosphos Painter, Epinetron, c. 500 BCE. Terracotta, h. 5.4"(13.8 cm.) x l. 12.4" (31.5 cm.). Louvre Museum, Paris (MNC 624)*
Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons, Marie-Lan Nguyen, Attribution-ShareAlike 2.5 Generic (CC BY-SA 2.5).

The vessel by the Golonos Group (Figure 4) – now located in the British Museum – features figural scenes on both of the long sides that is similar to that of end cap of the Metropolitan vessel (Figure 2): male and female figures conversing. However, on these long sides, each figure sits on an οκλαδίας (a type of seat commonly found in domestic settings) in front of hanging textiles, and the

end cap consists of a protome consists of a female head.[33] Some context on the Golonos Group may assist to some degree in interpreting the iconography. This group of anonymous Attic painters attributed by John Beazley, employed the black-figure technique and specialized in the creation of ἐπίνητρα using a Late Archaic style; their products date to c. 500-480 BCE and are found beyond the borders of Attica.[34] The vases had to appeal to a broad array of buyers, therefore, generic imagery that consumers could project a range of significations upon was favored over more specifically "Greek" imagery. Indeed, when searching "Golonos Group" on the Beazley archive seventeen images appear: nine are attributed to the Golonos Group; seven Akin to the Golonos group; and one to the Leagros group. Of the nine attributed directly to the group, eight are fragments of ἐπίνητρα and seven of these depict domestic scenes; the eighth represents Amazons arming. The ninth work is a fragment of a stand that portrays Artemis and Apollo on a chariot.[35] The ἐπίνητρον under examination is concretely secured to the most popular Golonos group subject and, I would argue, should be interpreted within the context of gender and group identity within early democratic Attica. The men have come into the women's space, as evidenced by the stools and hanging textiles on the wall; would a woman read this as ceding authority to her, or at least recognizing the contributions of women to the household through their textile work?
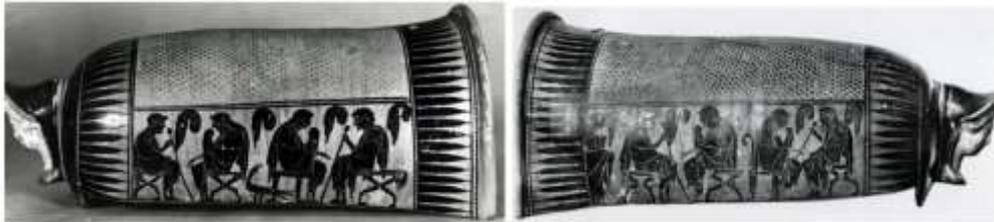
Figure 4. *Golonos Group, Epinetron, c. 500 BCE. Terracotta, h. 5.5" (13.95 cm.) x dia. 7.7" (19.65 cm.). British Museum, London (1877,0805.6)*
Photo credit: British Museum, Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The unattributed Ἐπίνητρον (Figure 5), also residing in British Museum, represents on long side A: a συμπόσιον (banquet) that is repeated to form two sets: Dionysos – recognized by his ivy-wreath reclines on a κλίνη (bed or, in this

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33. Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, "Images Grecques du Féminin: Tendances Actuelles de l'Interprétation," *Clio* 19 (2004): 135-147; Hélène Guiraud, "La Vie Quotidienne des Femmes a Athènes: A Propos de Vases Attiques du Ve Siècle," *Pallas* no. 32 (1985): 41-57; Petersen, "Divided Consciousness," 35-74.

34. John Beazley, *Attic Black Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 480.

35. University of Oxford Classical Art Research Centre, "Golonos Group," in *Beazley Archive Database*. Retrieved from: http://tiny.cc/beazleyarchive. [Accessed 25 February 2021.]

instance, dining couch). He is turned to the left, conversing with Ariadne, who is seated to the right on an οκλαδίας. Side B portrays two sets of two women, each of whom sit on an οκλαδίας. A basket sits between both sets of women, but the pair positioned to the left in the composition engage is slightly different activities than the pair positioned to the right; they all appear to be engaged in stages of textile work though. At left, one woman lifts the lid of the basket while the other reaches in; whereas, at right one woman pulls wool while the other raises her arm. Garments hang behind them on the wall, and the end cap consists of a protome of a female head like that on the Golonos Group version.[36] And like the Golonos Group's protome, this one too looks out at the entire room to broadcast the accomplishments of the industrious textile producing woman.

Figure 5. *Epinetron, c. 500-480 BCE. Terracotta, h. 4.6" (11.7 cm.) x l. 12.2" (31.10 cm.). British Museum, London (1814,0704.1205)*
Photo credit: British Museum, Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The interpretive field of Side A, as demonstrated in discussion of the other vessels treated in this paper thus far, is similar. This is the figural scene closest to the woman carding and she may see herself reflected by it. Although it may appear strange that a narrative relating to the elite-male banquet appears on Side B there are possibilities for the significations consumers might glean from the narrative: 1) women, who ran the household, were undoubtedly responsible for organizing the events, including choosing the pots that would be showcased at them so maybe women saw in the Ariadne figure a surrogate for themselves; 2) before Ariadne became Dionysos' consort, she aided Theseus to defeat the Minotaur and escape the labyrinth by giving him thread to use as a guide so seeing her dining with Dionysos to whom she became the consort implies that women who excel with textiles like Ariadne and aid the male protagonist will be rewarded handsomly; 3) Dionysos was not only the god of wine, but wine featured prominently at the περίδιπνον (post-funeral banquet) in honor of the deceased; additionally, wine was among the gifts brought to the gravesite on the third, ninth, thirtieth, and annual anniversary of the death of the individual so his presence in the imagery could be associated with the woman wool worker with

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36. Bennett, "Targeted Advertising," 13-19.

that context[37]; and 4) women had primary authority of preparing the body including washing it, making the funeral shroud and any other textiles needed, as well as enacting various mourning activities in their dark woven robes.[38] Thus, imagery that includes Dionysos and Ariadne is germane to the the ἐπίνητρον. Furthermore, by echoing the composition of side A on side B, the painter has drawn an implicit parallel between the two. Finally, there is the female head protome whose signification has been discussed above for the two works that are in the British Museum.

The trend toward domestic subjects expands and becomes the primary iconography during the art historical shift from the Archaic-Early Classical to the High Classical periods; the titular vase (Figure 6) of the Painter of Berlin 2624, now housed in the Antikensammlung of the State Museums of Berlin, is an excellent example of this transformation.[39] This red-figure ἐπίνητρον possesses on the long sides scenes of a seated woman between two youths; the woman holds out an ἀλάβαστρον and the youth facing her proffers a sack. The end cap presents a painted head of a woman. Other works of the era; notably, Athens National Museum 2180 exhibit subject matter so similar as to justify naming this a trope of the High Classical period.[40] What are the significations that ceramics' female consumers might glean from this trope? I have argued above that, seeing their activities reflected back at them as they carded wool recognized the important role of textile production in the Attic world and would, therefore, send the message to women that their contributions were valuable by equating them with other consumer activities. Furthermore, this scene could speak to not only elite women as Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell has hypothesized. He submits as evidence an ἐπίνητρον that depicts an exchange – prostitute and client negotiating price for services – the textiles on the walls indicate the pair are in a domestic space.[41] In this manner, he asserts, the ἐπίνητρον cuts across social class to speak to multiple classes of women in the Greek environment.

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37. Carroll and Rempel, *Living Through the Dead: Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World*, 2011; Gaifman, *The Art of Libation in Classical Athens*, 2018; Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, 2013; Morris, "Attitudes Toward Death," 296-320.

38. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 268-292; Kerri J. Hame, "Female Control of Funeral Rites in Greek Tragedy: Klytaimestra, Medea, and Antigone," *Classical Philology* 103, no. 1 (2008): 1-15.

39. Mercati, *Epinetron*, XXIII-XXVI and XXVIII.

40. See Mercati, Ibid, XXII-XXX for many instances of this imagery presented in almost identical ways.

41. Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell, *A History of Greek Art* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 339. See also, Bundrick, "The Fabric of the City," 288-289; Gloria Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 35-60; Mireille M. Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*

Figure 6. *Painter of Berlin 2624, Epinetron, c. 450 BCE. Terracotta, dia. 7.09″ (18 cm.) x l. 10.6″ (27 cm.). Antikensammlung, State Museums in Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Berlin (F2624)*
Photo credit: Antikensammlung, State Museums in Berlin, Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Athens National Museum 2179 (Figure 7) is a characteristic example of how the imagery on the ἐπίνητρα of the Late Classical period turns back to myth, as well as to scenes of ritual activity, because the ceramic depicts a scene of maenads on the long sides; the end cap is decorated with a painting of Bellerophon defeating the Chimera while riding Pegasus.[42] What might women make of these narratives? The maenads are ardent followers of Dionysos whose association with women has been noted, so women could see their ritual activities emphasized, activities that are women-only and hint at some forms of women's agency within the social sphere outside of the home.[43] Whereas, the presentation of Bellerophon is more perplexing; he is a famous Corinthian, rather than Athenian, hero whose signification concerns being brought down by ὕβρις (excessive pride or self-confidence).[44] It seems the maker is warning the consumer

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(Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 91; Sian Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (London and NY: Routledge, 2002), 62.

42. Other exampes of this turn to the mythical can be found in Mercati, *Epinetron*, plates XXIX-XXXV and XXXVII-XL.

43. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi and Anna Beerens, *Dionysos in Classical Athens: An Understanding through Images* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

44. Mark Cartwright, "Bellerophon," in *World History Encyclopedia*. Published 27 March 2020. Retrieved from: https://www.ancient.eu/Bellerophon/. [Accessed 25 February 2021.]

of the limits of mortals. This object was produced during the Peloponnesian War; this is an obvious allusion to the civil war, the forces of chaos presented by non-democratic peoples. I advocate for the idea that women would, perhaps, read their production of textiles as their contribution to the war effort for they clothed the soldiers, but the textiles also could be sold to obtain necessities for the fighters; additionally, they would see the wayward figures: Amazons, fantastical beasts, and even maenads as warnings for them not to step out of their approved gender roles.

Figure 7. *Epinetron, c. 425-420 BCE. Terracotta, l. 10.24″ (26 cm.). Athens National Museum, Athens (2179)*
Photo Credit: Wikimedia Commons, Marsyas, Attribution-ShareAlike 2.5 Generic (CC BY-SA 2.5).

Conclusion

The investigation of paradigms of figural imagery on the ἐπίνητρα of Attica produced from the beginning of democracy to its developed state has illuminated that the iconography can be read on multiple levels: simultaneously. On the one hand, domestic scenes of women working and/or performing social or ritual acts are positive messages to women that their textile productions contribute to the οἶκος, the πόλις (or in the case of Athens: the ἄστυ), the φυλή, the δῆμος, and on to the of entirety of Attica; on the other hand, the visual narratives of defeated

Amazons, Chimera, and other figures are cautionary tale of consequences of transgressing normative gender roles and societal expectations.

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Byzantine Archaeological Remains in Beer Sheva, Israel

By Daniel Varga[*] & Svetlana Talis[+]

Beer Sheba in the Byzantine period was a large and important city in the province of Palestine Tertia. It served as an administrative, religious, and military center, and seat of the Roman military commander of Palestine. Beer Sheva is mentioned in many sources, including historical texts, epigraphic sources, and archaeological research. In recent years, following archaeological excavations conducted at the city's new transportation center have been uncovered Be'er Sheva's Byzantine residential neighborhoods. These excavations open a new window into the daily life of the city, in a way that did not exist before. The residential neighborhoods surrounded the city center to the north, east, and west and included buildings built on local loess soil and complexes dug within it. Industrial areas and large cemeteries with hundreds of tombs were located around the city. The state historical and archaeological research to date does not allow for a complete picture of the city in the Byzantine period. This article centralizes and summarizes most of the work on the subject to date and brings new insights to Byzantine Beer Sheva.

Introduction - Historical, Literary, and Epigraphic Sources

Beer Sheva, which is located in the northern Negev desert, appears in many sources: historical texts, epigraphic sources, and in archaeological research. The main historical source is the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a Roman imperial document from the beginning of the fourth century, the time of emperor Diocletian (284–305,)[1] which lists the senior officials and military units in the Roman Empire. This document states that a cavalry unit from Dalmatia was stationed in Be'er Sheva (*Equites Dalmatae Illirian*). Another important source is the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea and fourth-century church historian. In the chapter on Jesus, Eusebius describes Be'er Sheva as a large village with a large Roman garrison.[2] In addition, the writings of the monk Jerome Million, who visited the area for an extended time in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, and the chronicles of the pseudo-bishop Eucherius of the fifth century,[3] also add pieces of information about Late Roman and Byzantine Be'er Sheva.

The epigraphic evidence from Be'er Sheva includes two papyri from Nitzana dated to the beginning of the seventh century, burial inscriptions, and the geographical description of the Land of Israel in a mosaic from Madaba in the sixth century. It should be noted that the city of Be'er Sheva does not appear on the Peutinger map, which is a medieval replica of a geographical map from the Roman period.

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1. All dates are AD.
2. S. Notley and Z. Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon* (Leiden, 2005).
3. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 54.

Another important epigraphic source, the "Be'er Sheva Edicts", shows the centrality of Be'er Sheva in the Byzantine military system; these tablets bear the names of the three provinces of Palestine (Prima, Secunda and Tertia) and the sums of money the residents are obliged to pay to the army. Three fragments of the slabs were found in Be'er Sheva, one by merchants in the 19th century,[4] another in secondary use inside the construction of a drainage canal from the Ottoman period[5] and the third fragment in an excavation, also in secondary use, in a floor from the Early Islamic period.[6]

The tablets date to the 6th century, to the time of Emperor Justinian (527–565) and mention that headquarters of the commander of the army stationed in Palestine (*Dux Palestina*) was in Be'er Sheva.[7]

Among the travelers who visited Be'er Sheva in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Robinson visited in 1838, Seetzen in 1855, Abel in 1903, Musil in 1907, and Woolly and Lawrence visited in 1914.[8] All offer descriptions of the various remains.

The Development of Be'er Sheva in Classical Times

The Roman invasion of the northern Negev probably took place during the time of Vespasian and his sons Titus and Commodus (69-96), when the Romans built a line of fortresses between the Dead Sea in the east and Gaza to the west.[9] This border area (*Limes*) led to the establishment of administrative, commercial, and settlement centers alongside the defensive ones. These sites were of different types including castles, observation towers, and various structures providing road services, such as guest houses. The main sites were (west to east): Menois, Birsama, Berosaba, Malatha and Engaddi (See Figure 1). In 106 CE, when the Romans annexed the Nabataean kingdom, the border crossed the Jordan and the "Flavi" limes, and the northern Negev lost the importance of its defensive value, although not completely.[10] The nomadic population of the Negev forced the

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4. F.M. Abel, "La Grotte de Moueileh," *Revue Biblique* 12 (1903): 429.

5. M. Avi-Yonah, "Other Studies," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine 10 (1944): 201.

6. I. Gilead and P. Fabian, "7000 Years Settlement: The Archaeological Remains of Beer Sheva from the Sixth Millennium BC. To the End of the First Millennium AD," in *Beer Sheva: a Metropolis in the Making*, ed. I. Gordon and M. Glickstein (Jerusalem, 2008), 319.

7. L. Di Segni, "The Beer Sheva Tax Edict Reconsidered in Light of a Newly Discovered Fragment," *Scripta Classica Israelica* XXIII (2004): 148-151.

8. C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin* (London, 1914), 107-111.

9. M. Avi Yonah, Historical Geography of the Land of Israel (Jerusalem, 1962), 168.

10. Ibid.

Romans to maintain forces even on the new home front and many localities, including Be'er Sheva, maintained their defensive character. Signs of this are the existence of walled settlements or, as in the case of Be'er Sheva, the establishment of an army camp.

Figure 1. *Map of Beer Sheva's Location*
Source: Daniel Varga.

It is not easy to get a clear picture of the nature and size of the city of Be'er Sheva from the ancient sources. Josephus Ben Matityahu in the first century calls Be'er Sheva a city (*polis*) and places it on the border of the desert[11] and at the beginning of the 4th century Eusebius calls it a very large village (*Kome megiste*.)[12] At the end of that century Geronimus called Be'er Sheva a large village or town (*Oppidum*.)[13] The picture obtained is that in the Late Roman period and the beginning of the Byzantine period Be'er Sheva was considered a civilian settlement, with an army camp, and not a military settlement. This is clearly seen

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11. F. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, trans. J. Henderson (London - Cambridge Mass, Loeb Classical Library, 1911), VIII, 13, 7.
12. Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon*, 2005.
13. Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades, 1977, 54.

in the writings of Eusebius, who states that within the settlement there is a military camp (*phrourion*), translated into Latin by Jeronimus "*praesidium*".

In the sixth century, Be'er Sheva is presented as a city. The Madaba map depicts a rectangular shaped city on the southern border of Judea. It has several buildings, unlike the description of other cities in the Negev which appear on the map as castles or secondary cities with only one building.[14] This description indicates the centrality of Be'er Sheva in the Negev. Despite the development of the city, it seems to have been under the administrative influence of Eleutheropolis (Beit Guvrin), according to the inscriptions on the cities' churches which indicate the foundation date according to the Eleutheropolis calendar.

Modern archaeological research on the city began in the 1950s, with the development of the modern Israeli city. Roman - Byzantine remains were unearthed in the southeastern part of the Old (Ottoman) city, around the Bedouin market, the central bus station, the Muslim cemetery, and Nahal Beer Sheva, as well as sporadic finds throughout the city (See Figure 2).

Archaeological excavations have revealed that in the fourth and fifth centuries CE, the city was one of the largest in the Land of Israel.[15] The approximate area of the city, including the perimeter ring of cemeteries and industrial facilities, is about 200 hectares. The administrative, military, and religious center of Be'er Sheva is located in the area of the modern-day municipal market and covers about 50 hectares.

Remains of public buildings, bathhouses, monasteries, and churches were exposed in and around the city center. Remains of residential neighborhoods with wealthy houses were discovered east and north of the center. Nearby industrial areas with workshops and wineries were also uncovered. Large cemeteries with hundreds of lined cist graves developed around the city.

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14. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1954), 80-87.

15. Gilead and Fabian, "7000 Years Settlement: The Archaeological Remains of Beer Sheva from the Sixth Millennium BC. To the End of the First Millennium AD," 2008; S. Talis, "Beer Sheva, Beith Eshel Street," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 124 (2012); I. Peretz, "Beer Sheva, the Civic Center," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 126 (2014); Varga and Nikolsky, "Beer Sheva, the Egged Bus Station," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 125 (2013); Nikolski, "Beer Sheva, Shmaryahu Levine Street," 126 (2014).
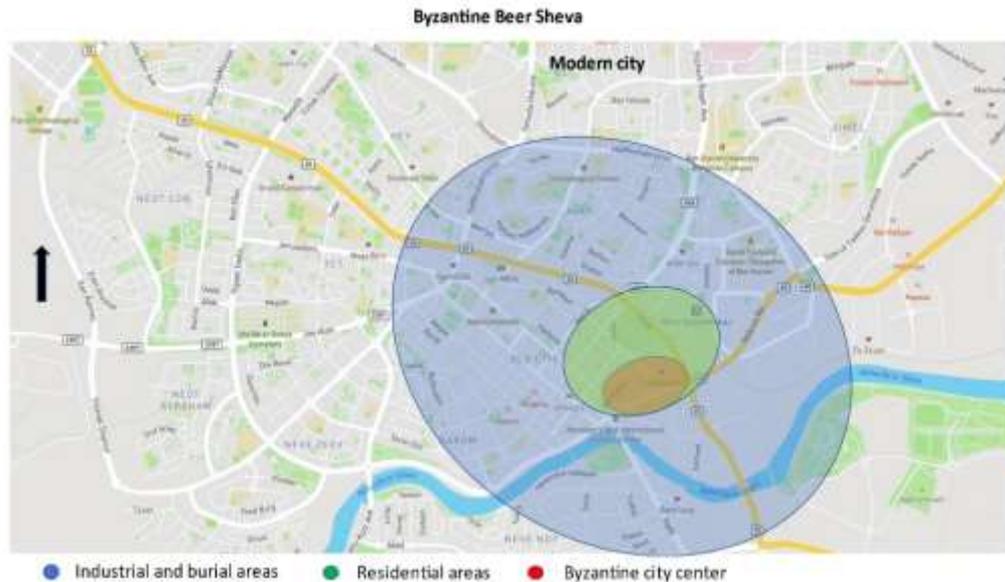
Figure 2. *Byzantine Beer Sheva*
Source: Daniel Varga.

Churches and Monasteries

Two churches were uncovered by Y. Israeli, the director of the Municipal Museum of the Negev and P. Fabian, on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Israeli dug in 1967 at the intersection of Eilat road and Sderot Rager[16] and Fabian, in 1994 along the southeastern end of the Bedouin market.[17] A monastery was uncovered in 1968 by R. Cohen excavating on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, in the municipal market, near and southwest of the intersection of Hebron and Eilat streets.[18]

According to Cohen, a mosaic floor was uncovered in the monastery building. The mosaic is decorated with geometric patterns set in the center, surrounded by grape tendrils forming medallions. Animals inhabited the medallions, the most prominent of which are the giraffe, tiger, snake, lion, wild boar, and hare. According to the style employed, the mosaic can be dated to the sixth century, like the mosaic floors at El Mahamam (Beit She'an), Shel, Beit Loyya, Maon, and others.[19] In addition to the mosaic floor, Cohen describes

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16. Y. Israeli, "News from the Archaeological Museum," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 31 (1967): 30.

17. Fabian, "A Late Roman Military Camp at Beer Sheba: A New Discovery," *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 14 (1995): 91-93.

18. R. Cohen, "Beer Sheva, The Bedouin Market," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 27 (1968): 14-16.

19. R. Talgam, *Mosaics of Faith* (Jerusalem and Pennsylvania, 2014).

additional rooms paved with stone slabs and ceramic vessels dating to the Byzantine period.[20]

In 1994, Fabian excavated a large church (28 × 41 m), identified as the main church of Byzantine Be'er Sheva. The church, exposed in the southeast corner of the municipal market and northwest of the junction of Eilat and Hebron roads, has a rectangular plan divided in such a way that forms a cross. Originally the church floor was paved with mosaics bearing geometric patterns and birds. At a later stage of the structure all the mosaics, apart from the northern nave, were removed, and marble tiles were laid in their place.

According to an inscription incorporated in the northern nave mosaic with the date 552/553, according to the Eleutheropolis (modern Beit Guvrin) census, it seems that the church was built at the end of the 5th century or in the first half of the 6th century. The church fell out of use during the 7th century. Some of its rooms were used in the Early Islamic period for various purposes and it seems that at the end of the eighth century the building was abandoned.[21]

Another building, apparently a monastery, was uncovered in Be'er Sheva in 1991 in Horbat Matar in the modern Neve Zeev neighborhood, two kilometers west of the municipal market, near the northern bank of Nahal Be'er Sheva.[22] The excavations revealed a 400-square-meter building constructed of dressed ashlars, some with remains of plaster and paint. It is suggested that a considerable part of the building was paved with mosaics, while other rooms were paved with stone slabs. Pillar bases, column fragments and a staircase indicate that the structure stood at least two stories high and probably served as a public building. The remains of the building include a gravestone with a Greek inscription engraved with the deceased's name: Saadala, and a date, according to the Eleutheropolis census, 537/538.[23] Stone slabs with crosses, tabuns, and the ceramic assemblage date the building to the sixth century. At the beginning of the Early Islamic period the building was partially demolished and was converted into an agricultural farm.

The Army Camp and the Issue of Location

The outline of large building identified in a 1918 aerial photograph, was interpreted as military camp. In 1999 a rescue excavation carried out at the site

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20. Cohen, "Beer Sheva, The Bedouin Market," 1968, 16.

21 Gilead and Fabian, "7000 Years Settlement: The Archaeological Remains of Beer Sheva from the Sixth Millennium BC. To the End of the First Millennium AD," 2008.

22 Gilead, Fabian and S. Rosen, "Hurvat Matar," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 104 (1993).

23 Y. Ustinova and P. Figueras, "A New Greek Funerary Inscription from Beer Sheva," *Atiqot* 28 (1996): 167-170.

situated between Rambam, Beit Eshel and Bnei Ein Harod streets revealed a system of rooms belonging, according to the excavators, to the internal structures of a camp.

Further salvage excavations conducted between Beit Eshel and Bnei Ein Harod streets (not yet published) showed scant remains dated to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. These include a large structure with a courtyard surrounded by rooms. The identification of these remains as part of a military camp seems to stem from the identification of the outline seen in the aerial photograph and the mention of the Roman military commander.[24]

The edicts mentioning Be'er Sheva as the seat of the Palestinian army commander are the most important findings on the subject, although the exact location of the camp remains to be proven. So far, in excavations conducted in and around the rectangular compound identified as an army camp, no small finds of a military nature, such as weapons, a military workshop, clothing and defense details, etc. have been discovered. In our opinion the late-Byzantine Roman military camp mentioned in the sources has not yet been exposed.

Bathhouses

An impressive bathhouse was revealed in 2003 on Hebron Road, south of the municipal market.[25] It seems to have operated from the third century until the end of the sixth or early seventh century. Several of the bath house rooms were exposed, including the tepidarium (the warm water room), the caldarium (the hot water room), water pools, the hypocaust built of square clay columns, and the heating structure. The maximum level of preservation of the walls was two courses, and most of the stones of the walls were apparently looted during the construction of the late 19th century Ottoman city. The floors of the building were paved with marble slabs that were placed over a foundation of pottery sherds.

It is possible that in Compound C, about 100 meters north of the bathhouse, another bathhouse, much smaller than the previous one, operated from the Late Roman period. This is based on hypocaust fragments and sections of rooms plastered with hydraulic plaster that were exposed during the excavation of the site.[26]

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24. Fabian, "A Late Roman Military Camp at Beer Sheba: A New Discovery," 1995, 235-240.

25. Gilead and Fabian, "7000 Years Settlement: The Archaeological Remains of Beer Sheva from the Sixth Millennium BC. To the End of the First Millennium AD," 2008.

26. Fabian and Gilead, "Beer Sheva: The C Compound," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 122 (2010).

Residential Areas

In recent years, following archeological excavations conducted in the city's new transportation center, Late Roman and Byzantine era residential neighborhoods have been recognized. These excavations offer new insights to the daily life in the period. Until now archaeological research in Be'er Sheva has mostly focused on the city's public buildings.

According to the findings so far, the residential neighborhoods surrounded the city center to the north, east, and west and included buildings built on local loess soil with complexes dug into it (See Figure 3). The walls of the buildings are made of a combination of stones and mud bricks.

Excavations at the Central Station[27] revealed two residential buildings (1,200 sq.m.) built of chalk blocks and cobbles. Segmented walls, many times with only the foundations remaining, were built of flint, chalk and cobbles of various sizes. In the compacted loess soil, in the center of each yard, a round silo was dug in the ground, lined mainly with cobbles of various sizes, along with additional domestic agricultural installations were built.

From each courtyard, built on the surface, a staircase descended into underground spaces, basements, and semi-underground courtyards (See Figure 4). Two types of stairs were discovered at the site. The first type, the more elaborate, is built of dressed chalk. Apparently, these stairs led to the underground rooms. The second type of staircase is a combination of chalk, large cobbles, and flint. These stairs lead to additional courtyards and semi-underground rooms. The courtyards were open or had a roof made of perishable material, wooden beams and branches. Various agricultural facilities were found in the courtyards and in several the semi-underground rooms. These included crushing facilities, an oil press, and storage facilities. Identical finds were uncovered in additional excavations conducted on a smaller size, southeast and west of the central bus station.[28] The finds inside the dwellings, which include a variety of pottery vessels, including vessels imported from Egypt, Cyprus, and North Africa, represent a wealthy and prosperous population, well connected with the Byzantine world.

Most of the pottery uncovered in the dwellings was of daily use: large storage vessels such as amphorae and jars of various types (about two-thirds of the "sack" type and one-third of the "Gaza" type), cooking pots, cooking jugs, jugs, and bowls. Most of the vessels were locally made and some are imported from Egypt, North Africa, and other places throughout the Eastern Mediterranean basin. The large number of oil candles (most of them of the "sandal" type), as well as the exposure of several lanterns, indicates work and possibly also living underground in poor light conditions or in the dark.

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27. Varga and Nikolsky, "Beer Sheva, the Egged Bus Station," 2013.
28. Nikolski, "Beer Sheva, Shmaryahu Levine Street," 2014.

Figure 3. *Dwellings at the Urban Transport Station*
Source: Assaf Peretz IAA.

Figure 4. *A Passage between two Subterranean Rooms Covered with an Arch*
Source: Assaf Peretz IAA.

Industry and Agriculture

The remains of a pottery kiln were identified south of the Central Train Station but have not been excavated yet. Piles of pottery and household waste dating to the 5th and 6th centuries were found at the site.

The wine industry in Byzantine Be'er Sheva is represented by two excavations. In 1997, a winepress was uncovered on Nordau Street in the city civic center. The winepress included a rectangular pressing floor and a collecting vat. Near the winepress, segmented remains of other buildings, probably warehouses, were exposed. According to the relatively small size of the pressing floor, which was paved with stone tiles (6 × 3 m), it was a cottage industry winepress. The walls were built of dressed limestone combined with cobbles. Grape seeds were found in a broken jar in the collecting vat. Another, larger, winepress was uncovered on the southern side of Be'er Sheva, south of the Nahal Be'er Sheva.[29] The winepress was part of an agricultural farm established south of the Byzantine city of Be'er Sheva. A pressing floor (c. 7 × 6.5 m) with a squeezing device, a settling pit, and a collecting vat in the center were exposed. Most of the stone tiles that paved the trading floor were removed for secondary use. The outer walls of the winepress, built of ashlars, survived only to the height of a single course. Notably, based on the ceramics, this press seems to date somewhat later than the first one, extending into the Early Islamic period.

Burials

On the outskirts of Byzantine Be'er Sheva, a row of cemeteries was identified, a kind of circumference ring, defining the city's boundaries. Large cemeteries have been uncovered, and are still being uncovered, on all sides of the city.

The most common type of tomb is of the "lined cist tomb" type. This tomb consists of a rectangular cist dug in the loess soil. The cist sides are lined with rectangular chalk stone slabs.

One grave concentration in the area east of the Byzantine city (25 tombs) was uncovered in an excavation conducted prior to the construction of the Negev Shopping Mall.[30] An excavation at the new Civic Center revealed 21 graves, and pieces of linen were discovered in one of the graves.[31] In 2014, an excavation in the civic center revealed 78 graves in an area measuring roughly 40 × 50 m. To date, the highest density of graves was identified in this area.[32] Five graves were

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29. Y. Chaimi, "Beer Sheva, Southern Entrance," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 120 (2008).

30. I. Govrin, "Beer Sheva," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 115 (2001): 88-89.

31. Varga, "Beer Sheva, the Civic Center," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 110 (1999): 131.

32. Peretz, "Beer Sheva, the Civic Center," 2014.

excavated on Ben Zvi Street, near the civic center.[33] An additional 30 graves were uncovered in excavations around the city center.

In an excavation in "Keren Towers", 13 tombs were excavated.[34] South of the Bedouin market, on the northern bank of Nahal Be'er Sheva, 60 tombs were excavated, most of which were built of ashlars.[35] Inside two of them were lead coffins decorated with crosses. In several other cases, iron nails and wooden remains were discovered, suggesting the use of wood coffins.

During excavations conducted prior to the construction of the Central Bus Station, three burial chambers cut into the loess soil, five meters under the modern surface, and excavated. The burial chamber walls, lined with stone and plastered, were adorned with painted crosses and people in a prayer position. Many pottery vessels and coins, all dating to the Byzantine period,[36] were found on the chamber floor. In the Israel Electric Company compound, southeast of the intersection of Rehovot Road through Eilat and Hebron Road, 18 lined cist graves were excavated, and another four were documented, but not excavated. Five tombs were exposed on the Hebron Road.[37] More than 50 tombs were exposed, but not excavated south of Nahal Beer Sheva.[38] In the Old City, west of Byzantine city center, tombs were identified on Weizmann Street,[39] on Birnbaum Street,[40] and on Herzl Street, and excavated on Hadassah Street.[41]

The Agricultural Surrounds

Discoveries of farms and agricultural installations in Be'er Sheva and its surroundings areas began in the 1950s. The development momentum of the early 1990s led to numerous archaeological excavations, revealed new finds of the agricultural hinterlands of Beer Sheva from the Byzantine period.[42] The continuous expansion of the city in the 2000s resulted in new (still unpublished) excavations. In 2010 two Byzantine period farmhouses were excavated in the high-tech park north of the Be'er Sheva North train station. One farmhouse

33 F. Sonntag, "Beer Sheva, Hadassah Street," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 109 (1999): 137.

34. Nikolski, "Beer Sheva, Shmaryahu Levine Street," 2014.

35. A. Zelin, "Beer Sheva, Waissman Street," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 113 (2001): 165.

36. Israeli, "News from the Archaeological Museum," 1967.

37. A. Barel, "Beer Sheva, Hebron Road," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 113 (2001): 181.

38. I. Shuster, "Nahal Beer Sheva," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 110 (1999): 109.

39. Zelin, "Beer Sheva, Waissman Street," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 113 (2001), 180.

40. Sonntag, "Beer Sheva, Hadassah Street," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 109 (1999): 138.

41. Sonntag, "Beer Sheva, Hadassah Street," 1999, 137

42. Gilead and Fabian, "7000 Years Settlement: The Archaeological Remains of Beer Sheva from the Sixth Millennium BC. To the End of the First Millennium AD," 2008, 21.

included nine rooms built around a central courtyard, a cistern, and two underground complexes, probably used as basements.

The second farmhouse has three rooms, a cistern in the yard, and a large system of underground spaces, probably also used as basements. Stairs led from the building courtyards to an underground system. North of Be'er Sheva, in 2015, prior to the establishment of the Kalaniot neighborhood, part of a Byzantine farmhouse with a cistern, a building, and an underground cellar were unearthed.[43] In 2015, the foundation course of a structure and a columbarium dated to the Byzantine period were exposed northwest of Be'er Sheva, adjacent to and south of the municipal zoo. The columbarium is round, divided into four cavities by two intersecting walls.

A building with several rooms and pottery vessels dating to the Byzantine period was identified (not excavated) in the Sara Valley industrial zone, southeast of Be'er Sheva. In 2015 part on an unpaved winepress with a collection vat lined with fieldstones was excavated adjacent and east of the building.[44] In 2016 excavations were conducted prior to the construction of a new neighborhood on the southern outskirts of the city[45] and some of the finds were dated to the Byzantine period. Degen's excavation exposed a building with enclosures (courtyards) and 50 m to the south, a circular columbarium. A residential building with ash and tabun remains was also excavated. Terraces were identified near the building. In the same area, a lime kiln with a combustion chamber preserved to a height of 1 m was uncovered.

Conclusions

Be'er Sheva in the Byzantine period was a large and important city in the province of Palestine Tertia. It served as an administrative, religious, military center, and seat of the Roman military commander of Palestine. The contrast between Be'er Sheva and the other cities of the Negev as they appear in the Madaba map emphasizes the special status of the city. Its importance is also evident in the public buildings which include at least two churches, one of which is a cathedral, municipal monasteries, and bathhouses. The churches built in the immediate vicinity of the city, such as Horbat Amra[46] and Horbat Karkur Illit[47] emphasize the centrality of Be'er Sheva at that time.

Houses of the wealthy, discovered on the outskirts of the Byzantine city, indicate a prosperous population that lived and worked there.

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43. D. Degan, "Beer Sheva," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 128 (2016).

44. F. Kobrin, "Emek Sarah," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 128 (2016).

45. Degan, "Beer Sheva," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 128 (2016): 135.

46. G. Tahal, "Horvat Amra," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 108 (1998): 167-169.

47. P. Figueras, *Horvat Karkur Illit*. (Beer Sheva, 2004).

It can be assumed that its markets traded in a variety of products brought from the farmhouses in the agricultural hinterland of the city. Moreover, many imported vessels (pottery and glass vessels) unearthed in various excavations throughout the city, indicate trade ties with areas from all over the province of Palestine and the Byzantine Empire.

Many cemeteries and industrial buildings surrounded surrounded the city in all directions. Small satellite settlements, monasteries, and agricultural farms were built around the city.[48]

Archaeological remains indicate that the settlement survived the Arab invasion of 636 AD, throughout at least the 8th century AD. Pottery was found in Byzantine buildings in Be'er Sheva from the Umayyad period about 640-750 and this confirms the knowledge that the settlement in the city continues in the early Muslim period.

The condition of the historical and archeological research of Be'er Sheva so far does not enable a complete picture of the city in the Byzantine period. We hope that this study will serve as a starting point for future comprehensive studies focusing on "the large picture" and not just on rescue excavations, which, despite their importance, provide only data of the specific locale.

In addition, we hope that this study will also serve as a starting point for future comprehensive studies, which will focus on producing a large image, and not just on rescue excavations, which, despite their importance, provide only point data.

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[48]. Tahal, "Horvat Amra," 1998: 167-169; N. Paran, "Nahal Fehar," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 121 (2009); Fabian and I. Masarwah, "Beer Sheva, Ramot C Neighborhood," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* (2003): 104, Fabian and G. Seri, "Beer Sheva, Ramot D Neighborhood," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 115 (2003): 104-105; Figueras, *Horvat Karkur Illit*, 2004; Sonntag, "Beer Sheva, Enriette Sold Street," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 113 (2001): 180; N. Paran, "Beer Sheva, Ramot B," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 111 (2000): 108-109.

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Serbian Royal Right to the Throne of Hungary at the Basis of the Formation of Medieval Romanian Orthodox States

*By Stefan Staretu**

This paper shows that the overall situation in the Pannonian-Balkan area led to the facts in the 14th-16th centuries on the background of which the Romanian medieval states were formed and consolidated. The origins of these facts derive from the interactions between the first Hungarian tribes who came to the Pannonian area and the situation that was encountered here, which can be staged as follows: the first stage is related to the arrival of the Hungarian tribes from the northern part of Europe and the conquest of the territory between the eastern Alps and the Dniester; the second stage is the period between the Christianization of the Hungarian King Stephen and the arrival of the Angevins. The second and the third period, post-Angevin, or rather Sigismundian-Lazarević, are epochs of colonization of different populations from the Germanic, North Pontic or Balkan space that are integrated into the noble structure of the Kingdom, consolidating its authority. The expansion of Serbian civilization came after the claim to the throne of Hungary of the Serbian King Stefan Dragutin when the Árpád dynasty came to end. Thus, the medieval Romanian Orthodox states, the Romanian Country-Wallachia and Moldavia are the rest of Andrew III's, the last of Árpádian's posterity of his Serbian posterity, and catholic Hungary, the rest of his Angevin Posterity.

Introduction

The overall situation in the Pannonian-Balkan area led to the facts of the 14th-16th centuries on the background of which the Romanian medieval states were formed. The origins of these realities derive from the interactions between the first Hungarian tribes that came to the Pannonian area, and the situation they stumbled on there and which can be staged as follows. *The first stage* is related to the arrival of the Hungarian tribes from the northern part of Europe and the conquest for the territory between the eastern Alps and the Dniester, subjugating the Slavic population living in the area and achieving a strong system of domination. *The second* stage is the period between the Christianization of the Hungarian King Stephen and the arrival of the Angevins. It is a period when an aristocracy of Western model emerged, following the Moravian and Slavic German model they came across, but also under the influence of the Bulgarian boyar model. This was the period that anticipated the consolidated Angevin Kingdom, which imposed a western-type organization, which came through Bohemia, German countries and Poland. *The second* and *the third period*, *post-*

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Angevin or better Sigismundian-Lazarević, are epochs of colonization of different populations from the Germanic, North Pontic or Balkan space that are integrated into the noble structure of the Kingdom, consolidating its authority. The contrast between the civilizing power of the Balkan Byzantium and the military power of the Hungarian aristocracy (which didn't have an advanced level of civilization), led to conflicts that would result in the anti-Orthodox war of the Hungarian nobility, carried out under the leadership of the Angevin Kings. The result of this conflict would be the founding of the Romanian countries, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the alienation of Serbia and Bosnia, but also the advent of a tradition about the Kingdom of Hungary as an Orthodox Kingdom. This was important because it confirmed the influence of Byzantine Christianity by Byzantine and Bulgarian descent in the area before the arrival of some populations from the Western Balkans, related to the Serbian Church, leading to a symbiosis of the three major Orthodox churches in the Balkans.[1] These Orthodox churches were a Byzantine one (which assimilated the Bulgarian), the Bulgarian and the Serbian, of the new nobility that would find the extra-Carpathian states, The Romanian Country and Moldavia, which would form the great aristocracy, as well as a new infusion of Orthodox population that get under the dominion of large Hungarian families through marriages whose traces got lost in time.

Historical Hungary and Newcomers

Historic Hungary has not lost touch with newcomers and their areas of origin, the German and Western-Balkan ones. Other waves of immigrants from the Western Balkans came in the 15th-16th centuries, with the decrease of Serbia's power in the process of its integration into the new Ottoman state.[2] This population had a much higher social and cultural level than the old settlers' and created a new cultural stratum, which would express itself politically through the influence of Branković's relatives in the politics of Hungary and its client states The Romanian Country – Wallachia and Moldavia — in the 15th, but especially in the 16th, centuries.

Historic Hungary is thus set up in a space where orthodoxy was experienced and manifested historically at all social levels, from serfs, to enslaved workers on the estates of great feudal lords such as Wass, Telegdi or Banffy families. This also occurred at the level of a colonized nobility, like the one in Maramureş or Haţeg, with their extensions in Moldavia and Muntenia, or even at the level of the great Serbian royal families' members such as Lazarević or Branković, who took refuge

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1. Boško I. Bojović, *L'Ideologie Monarchique dans les Hagio-Biographies Dynastiques du Moyen Age Serbe*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 248 (Roma: Pontifcio Istituto Orientale, 1995).

2. Sima Ćirković, *La Serbie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Zodiaque, Paris, 1992).

and settled there. The last wave is by far the most important, because it brought orthodoxy to eastern historical Hungary, a prestige that it no longer had, and a royal dimension it could never have had on the background set by Hungarian autonomous states as voivodeships in the contact area between the extra-Carpathian Cumans and the Bulgarians by the Danube. The Bulgarians influenced the structure and the ideology of the new Orthodox extra-Carpathian states and contributed together with the Cumans to create a new aristocratic structure. This led to the formation of an autonomous nobility of unrelated families who came from Serbia through the short Transylvanian period. A similar role was played by large families from Kievan Russia who took refuge in the north of Moldavia and constituted the force of the great Moldavian nobility unrelated to the Bogdan family (Mihul de la Dorohoi, for example, or Brăescu, Boris Braevici's). The papacy's efforts to keep Hungary's space under the Latin church control, and the use of the Hungarian nomadic origin aristocracy for this purpose under the coordination of a great monarch belonging to a strong royal European family, Louis of Anjou, show us the importance of Hungary in the context of western Christianity's anti-Byzantine policy. This constituted one of the two centers of Catholic action in relation to Byzantium, along the path of the Fourth Crusade, and later the Polish-Lithuanian one. However, the Orthodox nobility of Illyrian origin in these areas had a policy of great resistance, which combined military virtues and social status, creating conditions for them to retain their position as great nobles during the Hungarian stage. They couldn't prevent the remaining descendants in Hungary from mixing with the peasantry bearing noble titles, thus taking a lower social position. This was the case in Maramureş (back to the first idea), which combined the social status with an intransigent position in the context of defending Orthodox religious independence.

The Angevin Kingdom and Dušan's Serbian Empire

When an explicit conflict broke out between the Angevin Kingdom and Dušan's Serbian Empire (1346-1355), the Transylvanian nobility assumed an offensive position against Hungarian Catholicism, a position probably achieved with financial and military support from Stefan Dušan (as evidenced by the monetary treasury of Cuhea),[3] which led to the founding of new Orthodox states.

Medieval Serbia was at the crossroads of the Slavic-Bulgarian, the Byzantine and the Italic worlds. This made Western spirituality and chivalric practices coexist with Byzantine ones in Serbia. The conflict between Byzantium and the Western world caught Serbia by surprise during the bustle of its state

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3. Denis Căprăroiu, "Opinii istoriografice despre unul dintre voievozii cu numele Bogdan din secolul al XIV-lea," *Analele Universităţii din Craiova. Seria Istorie* XVI, no. 1 (2011): 27-43.

consolidation; titanic moments that are related to a still rarely-studied phenomenon connected to the great movements of the elites in times of states' organization.

Stefan Nemanja (1166-1196) succeeded in Raška and Diokleia to some sovereigns between East and West, from the Vojislavljevic dynasty.[4] These dynasts, such as the Archon Peter (identified on a recently discovered seal), and the probable father of St. Jovan Vladimir played an important role in all the political movements in the area. Jovan Vladimir was an archetype of holiness in the Balkans as a royal martyr who could seem to foresee the future of a noble people destined, however, for an assumed sacrifice. Stefan Nemanja's departure to Raška, where he was re-baptized in the Orthodox religion (after being baptized as Latin by his parents in his childhood in Diokleia), the fight between Simeon Nemanja's successors, Stefan and Vukan, as well as Stefan Prvovencani's hesitations anticipated the close relationships between Serbia and The Holy See in Stefan Milutin's time. But Stefan Dušan (1331-1355) thoroughly changed this situation, being the first monarch to introduce autocracy in its pure meaning to the medieval Serbian society. Growing himself as emperor on the *Resurrection* day, he gave for the first time in the history of the Orthodox world, a monumental, combative aspect to the hostile relationship between Catholics and Orthodox. In his *Zakonik*,[5] Dušan succeeded in turning constitutional norms into the strict canonical relationship that existed between Orthodoxy and Catholicism during the previous 200 years. The need for re-baptism for the Catholics was shocking for the diplomatic relationships with Hungary, which led to the great Angevin campaigns against Serbia. It's obvious that the elements related to the Orthodox orientation that were involved in the founding of Moldavia are related to Dušan's reaction. St. Sava was also represented in Moldavia, in Voroneţ, and Bălineşti (which comes from the name Balea, as the one from Ieud, although the founder is the logothete Tăutu, probably also a Muşatin relative), churches built by the same Bogdan's dynasty, through Stephen the Great (1457-1504). The logothete Tăutu can be Ioan, Stephen's brother, just as Cârstea Arbure,[6] Luca's father, who was said to have been claimed the throne, pretended to be Cîrstea, another brother of Stephen's. So, the cult of St. Sava would have royal dynastic support.

This *Legend of Roman and Vlahata* is a family tradition of this family, Bogdan, considered of Serbian origin, which can be related to a Ştefan Constantin of Moldavia (homonymous with Ştefan Constantin, Milutin's brother disappeared

4. Zorica Zlatić Ivković, *Stefanu Nemanju povodom 900 godina od rođenja* (*1113-2013*) (Beograd: Grafoprint, Beograd, 2013).

5. Codul de Legi al lui Ştefan Dušan (Stefan Dušan's Code of Laws). Information on: http://www.Dušanov-zakonik.com/.

6. Maria Magdalena Székely, "Obârşia lui Luca Arbure. O ipoteză," in *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, 419-429 (Bucharest: Violeta Barbu Publisher, 1998).

during the advent of the first political structures in Maramureş, related to the voivode Ştefan from Maramureş, Constantin, means Costea, appointed from the family of the Serbian Despots through the chronicler from Bistriţa, wearing, in his tomb, heraldic buttons identical to Lazăr's). See in this context the existence of a Bogdan, son of Mikula, voivode of Serbia helped by the Angevin king to come to Hungary after the fall of his dominions in Herzegovina, identifiable with Bogisa, Nikola's son, from the branch of Miroslav from the Nemanids, and relative of the queen in the Kotromanic family of Hungary, that had domains near Maramureş and with Bogdan, the founder of Moldavia, although certain data about them are missing.

The symbiosis between the state's founding families and the great Bulgarian, Cuman or Russian nobles encountered in Muntenia and Moldavia can be seen in the presence of the royal councils of the new states of great feudal lords like Albul Tocsabă, Boris Braevici, together with less important boyars of Transylvanian or Maramureş origin, like Popşea, Huhulea, Albotă, Hudici, Giula, Oancea, Voico. The new great families founded by Serbian emigrants such as the Zamona family of Vlastelini in Baia de Fier, or the Balş family in Moldavia will be related to Staico's descendants; the latter being Mircea the Elder's brother. They formed the boyars' family in Bucov, including descendants of illegitimate sons of lords, forming large families such as Craiovescu, Sărăţeanu, Movilă, Ganea. The social fluctuations of this great nobility would lead to important civil wars such as the one between the Dănescu and Drăculea families, followed by the one between the families of Craiovescu and Mihnea, or in Moldavia, the one between Petru Aaron's descendants and Stephan the Great's ancestors, and later between the Ganea and Arbure families (related to Aaron) and between Rareş's "clients," Movilă and Costin families. It's a space that can hardly find its identity, following noble female successions, a unique phenomenon in Europe, and assimilating the identity of ancient Serbia, as seen in the genealogical program in Argeş, in which Simeon, Sava and Lazarus of Serbia appear as the oldest, and are therefore the ancestors of the Basarab family. The role that the great Serbian nobles would play in the former eastern Hungary would lead to keeping Transylvania, Muntenia and Moldavia unconquered by the Ottomans.

North Danube Orthodox Population

There is an overlap of social categories and different stages of religious development in the history of the Orthodox population in the former eastern Hungary, up to the Danube and the Dniester. The ecclesial organization of the Orthodox serfdom in Transylvania, which surely inherits ecclesial structures of ancient Bulgaria that conquered the salt mines are from the Avars and the Gepids, set up an Orthodox structure for their miners and agricultural workers; this was probably subject to Bulgarian aristocrats, or maybe directly to the tsars.

This organization replaced the old Hungarian nobility that came with Árpád and was assimilated by Hungarity, which was slightly different from the one in Hungary under Slovakia's influence. Being different linguistically and religiously, gave rise to Ladislaus Kan's resistance, but gave kinship with Árpád's family (Sarolta, Gyula's mother, he probably descended, through women, from these Bulgarian nobles in the area of the salt mines or the gorges from the Carpathians to the Danube and to the residence of the tsarate or to the great salt markets of Byzantium nobility that cannot be related to the new waves coming in the 14th century, of Orthodox population), was the main reason of the existence of Orthodox Christianity in hilly eastern Hungary, in the Someş rivers area or in the border area with the Cumans' lands.

In other areas such as Haţeg or Maramureş, a new ecclesial organization was founded, related to the Serbian Church, which, due to its superiority, hierarchically subjugated the old Bulgarian organization (entered under Byzantine subordination after the conquest of Bulgaria by Byzantium). It provided religious assistance to the great nobility and to the Boyars that had founded extra-Carpathian states where they again subordinated the Bulgarian organization to a Serbian one, and then directly to Constantinople, to face attacks from the powerful Bulgarian state led by Asan dynasty (probably related to female ancestors of Basarab family, from where they take their name). We can consider that Bulgarian noble blood entered the genealogical composition of the newcomers, but most likely the descendant of the North-Danubian aristocracy of the first Bulgarian tsarate was reduced to serfdom by the Hungarian kingdom, and then conferred to the new Western Balkan aristocrats who came after 1300. These would be the ancestors of the Orthodox nobility from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Moldavia and Muntenia until today. The most remarkable performance of Hungarian Orthodoxy is the maintenance of an Orthodox religious life in the central Transylvanian area, in servitude to large Hungarian families, or to the diocese of Alba Iulia, which seems to be the first large owner in central Transylvania, and the only before the great families brought by the Angevins in the 14th century. It managed the serf population and also enslaved the relatives of the old Transylvanian elite which was destroyed by the Stefanian annexation, heiress of the elite that came with Árpád and of the old Bulgarian elite. We can say that Transylvania was organized as the estate of the diocese of Alba Iulia, which was then colonized in the Balkans, Germany, western Hungary or the extra-Carpathian Cuman-Pecheneg (Kan Family) areas. However, the persistence of an Orthodox religiosity in the center of Transylvania can also show the presence of older domains of the great noble families brought in the 14th century, entered through marriage or deprival in the possession of the families faithful to the Angevins in the disturbances of the 14th century. However, there is no documentary evidence for this.

After the 14th century, we see the Hungarian Catholic population brought to the area of the salt mines. We know this because they spoke Hungarian with

Slovak elements as it is spoken by the Hungarians from central Hungary. Slovak elements cannot connect the current Hungarians from Transylvania, and the Szeklers to the old Árpádian Hungarians who achieved the conquest, but who got detached ethnically through marriages between the descendants of the great Moravian nobility with the descendants of the old Catholicized Hungarian chiefs. It was likely Stephen I of Hungary who gave the land of Transylvania to the diocese of Alba Iulia to diminish the resistance of the Transylvanian Orthodox aristocracy and its church, as well as that of the alliances with Byzantium and the Danube line kept by the Byzantines, and populated by Slavic aristocrats or Pecheneg-Cumans to which a peasantry of a similar ethnicity was subject. The Battle of Kossovopolije (1389) would remove the area of Eastern Europe from the only angle from which it was seen until then, namely the anti-Orthodox spread of Catholicism led by the pope, and led to a change in the attitude of the great European nobility towards Orthodoxy; this would be through the death of the Tsar Lazarus, the first crusading king killed in battle against the unbelievers. Thus, the Order of the Dragon was founded, in which Stefan Lazarević will talk about the Battle of Kossovopolije, and declare the death of his father that must be avenged. This creates the chivalrous idea of choosing the *Kingdom of Heaven*, *Vidovdan* becomes obvious, an idea found in heraldry and words, or in the fresco that makes Lazarus the ancestor of the Basarab family, which he places in the succession of the holy Serbian monarchy.

The interest shown for Orthodoxy in Western Europe gave rise to a pro-Orthodox current that led to reform in Germany which was experienced before in these religious currents by the Byzantinizing synods organized by Sigismund in Konstanz and Basel under the certain influence of Stefan Lazarević, and of the description of his great crusading experience within the Order of the Dragon. We can say that these two synods are the attempt of the Order of the Dragon to re-annex an acephalous West with a three-pope ordination and distrust of the Orthodox Church. This attempt of the great despotic Roman-Byzantine imperial tradition still had the prestige of the important old Byzantine power which was continued by the Serbians and the Russians. They were allies of Sigismund in front of the Poles and the Italians who would go on the Florentine line of uniation. It is no coincidence that Sigismund was supported by the aggressively Catholicizing Orthodox Russian boyars, subject to Poland-Lithuania, bringing forth the idea of converting King Sigismund to Orthodoxy, but also the Tismana legend about Nicodemus's conversion of Sigismund, in the Serbian royal tradition of Ladislaus's conversion (or Andrew's, according to some variants) to Orthodoxy by Sava, through which they tried to integrate the Hungarian monarchy into the idea of the holy Serbian dynasty, to which the colonized boyars and then country founders to the east of the Carpathians were bound, even trying to apply it for them ("*our holy ancestors*" as it appears in the documents referring to the necropolis from Rădăuți).

Matthias Corvinus and the Fight for Serbia

On the other hand, Matthias Corvinus, in the spirit of tradition, appeared due to the deep ties between his ancestors and the Serbian nobility and royalty. He said that the kings of Serbia were his ancestors, and worshipped the relics of Maxim Branković's ancestors as his relatives without a doubt in Buda. He tried, inspired by the model of Serbian canonization, to Maxim himself in the old tradition of the holy Serbian dynastic royalty, to canonize even his father, John, in Rome. It is Serbian Orthodoxy camouflaged in Catholicism that made it invulnerable to the attack of the great Hungarian nobility. A similar process of infiltration of the upper Balkans in culture and economic and diplomatic agility as the one Hungary went through between the 13th the 16th centuries, cases that reach their peak through the Corvinus royalty and Hunyad and Corvinus crusade system created by it, takes place in the Romanian Lands with the Greeks, who from infiltrations and anti-Ottoman refuges, come to power repeatedly since the 17th century in both countries with strong noble parties.

The Wallachian nobility in relation to Corvinus family had a complex attitude. It is about a space of great importance for the Late Crusade, which began to be integrated into European crusade projects since Sigismund of Luxembourg, through the participation of Wallachian boyars in the Battle of Kossovopolije, which led to the creation of an aristocratic pattern related to the military struggle within its nobility. The Battle of Kossovopolije, beyond the controversy surrounding its unfolding, is the first Orthodox crusade attempt, which relaunched the idea of chivalry after a certain passivity that followed the traditional crusades.[7]

In the case of Muntenia, the nobility acquired a new sense of solidity, which it has not had since the founding of the state and perhaps since the creation of the states in the south of the Danube in which it was certainly somehow involved. The Wallachian nobility expressed its willingness to participate in the crusade several times: at Nicopolis (1396), at the second Kossovopolije, at the Stefanian battles, etc. It is an assumed military fighting tradition.

Matthias Corvinus's (1458-1490) policy in south-eastern Europe is deeply linked to the interests of the battle for Serbia. The reasons for Matthias Corvinus's involvement in Serbia were strategic, but are justified by his genealogical links with this space. All the genealogical successions that link the Corvinus to the Basarab family played an important role in the structure of the Hungarian kingdom's politics. Matthias Corvinus acted in Southeast Europe as the leader of the *Late Crusade*. All local leaders, Branković, Basarab or Bogdan, acted under the coordination of his court. The foundations of this reality were laid in the time of

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7. Pavel Chihaia, *Învățături și Mituri în Țara Românească* (Constanța: Ed. Ex Ponto, 2010).

John Hunyadi,[8] who coordinated the actions of Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia with a royal power whose source remains to be clarified, but which power must be linked to genealogical connections and successions established during the period when Stefan Lazarević played a very important role in the area, especially through his position as the first knight in the Order of the Dragon (1408).

References to the Serbian and Constantinian ancestry of the Muşatins, but also to their Hungarian female ancestry, the memory of Bogdan's wives or his ancestors', and to the relationships between the kingdom and the Serbian Church through St. Sava and Stefan Prvovenčani (1196-1227) with Ladislaus's Hungary, in which we see a archetype for Nicodemus and Lazarević's relationship with Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) and George (Maxim) and Jovan with Matthias Corvinus, but also the memory of the genealogical kinship between the Hungarian king, Ladislaus, and the Serbian king, was a symbolic transfer of Serbian holy royalty to Hungary. Thi was a kinship that could also be possible for Matthias with the late Serbian rulers and with the Muntenians, which show us a Serbian ideological program that can be dated from the time of Stefan Dušan and the Orthodox political separations conducted with Serbian church support from Muntenia and Moldavia.

We are dealing with another facet of the Hungarian monarchy, an Orthodox dimension, which was functional in the noble Orthodox circles of Hungary, among which comes Matthias, who wrote to the pope that he can convert Hungary in three days to Orthodoxy (with the help of the great Serbian nobility and the black army obviously), and thus also appropriates the dimension of the conversion to Orthodoxy from Vladislav in the legend of Voskresenkaya and Sigismund (who also makes donations to Tismana[9] in a Lazarević succession which through Cilli family connected him as they did with Vladislav in the legend of Serbian despots and who appears in the imaginary of the legend of Tismana and the Ruthenians' as mentioned in Dluglosz's Polish History as a convert to Orthodoxy[10]). There is another legend about the conversion of Andrew II (1205-1235) to Orthodoxy. John's donations for Tismana are perfectly integrated. We are dealing with an idea that contrasts with the Catholic policy of the Corvinus's, and that shows a Hungary with complex realities.

I also believe that there are connections between Vlad Dracul's mother and the great Buzau nobility, and grandparents such as Pârscov, Bolintin, Bucșani, Ciulnița (where an enigmatic brother of Mircea the Elder [1386-1418] is attested)

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8. George Barițiu, "Ioan Corvin de Hunedoara. Originea, genealogia, faptele sale immortali," in Transilvania. *Foia Asociatiunei transilvane pentru literatura romana si cultura poporului romanu,* edited by John Corvinus Hunyadi. Sheet of the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People, Year VI, no. 5-10, 1873.

9. DRH, B, I, doc. 97: 168-171.

10. Ioannes Dlugoss, "Historia Polonica," in *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt 1504-2004, Portret în cronică,* 158-172 (Holy Monastery Putna, 2004).

and the ancestors of the Razbici-Sărățeanu family, made the estate Sărata an old estate of Draculea family, where Vlad Vintilă (1532-1535) had courtyards, inherited of course. Power was exercised during this period by a small group of people, related to the monarchs involved in the battle of Kossovopolije, which John exceptionally reissues showing sensitivity to the sacralization of the battle through the death of the monarch, the cult of Lazarus in Serbia, and obviously in the Serbian epic in which the Brankovićs appear as traitors, and through what Lazarević (1389-1427), as first knight, spoke of this battle in the Order of the Dragon, a battle that became a model for his knights.

This period was continued by the influence of the Branković family, during the period of Neagoe Basarab (1512-1521), a ruler married to Maxim's niece, Milița, and by the policy of Rareș, married to her sister, Elena, who somewhat prepared the actions that followed of the Grand Vizier Mehmet Sokolovici and of his brother Macarie Sokolovici (canonized). They, to a subtle extent, coordinated with their relative, through Jakšić, Ivan the Terrible. This is the period when the Hilandar Monastery received large donations. The two families, Craiovescu and Rareș, were continued by their relatives Brâncoveanu and Movila, who dominated the political scene and created the legitimate lines of succession in these two states. The memory of the relatives of these families, such as Prăjescu or Bărbătescu, being that they descended from Serbian despots. We can say that Matthias Corvinus's line of Serbian politics was defining for his geopolitical action, and here we can see his ideational succession of Serbian kings, an asserted succession (*atasov suos regis bulgariae*).

Serbian-Roman-Vlach Aristocracy

It is obvious that the Romanian population does not descend from the Roman colonists left in Trajan's Dacia; that is, the continuity in Dacia is a romantic, noble, but unrealistic conception.

Lack of archaeological discoveries of Byzantine Christian churches and cemeteries until the 13th century in north of the Danube and the beginning of the western ones in the 11th century clearly, shows the coming of the Orthodox population from the southwest, a phenomenon that can be related to the claim of Stefan Dragutin (who may be through linguistic alteration "Negru Vodă," as well as the Stefan honored in the royal hall of Radu the Great and by Muntenian singers).

Thus, the high Slavic-Roman bilingual Serbian aristocracy could come to the areas of Hungary that supported Stefan Dragutin (1276-1316) and Stefan Vladislav (1316-1325), his son (probably the one who was buried under the effigy tomb from Argeș, today at the Museum of National History of Bucharest). These areas were under the influence of Ladislaus Apor and Ladislaus Kahn (1296-

1315), who were both related to the Nemanid family from northern Serbia and southern Hungary mentioned.

It is likely that both the Wallachian dynasty and the Moldavian dynasty have direct genealogical links with this chain of northern Serbian kings. Stefan Dragutin, the great usurper (both in southern Serbia by his younger brother Milutin and the son of the Angevin married to his Árpádian mother's younger sister); Charles Robert of Anjou (1308-1342), because Katerina, present in Câmpulung chronicles as Negru Vodă's wife is the older sister of Charles Robert of Anjou's mother),[11] who may be the proof of the group of Serbian sovereigns who wear heraldically in their coat of arms, either simply (as in Bogdan or Lazarević, the classic "Lazarević" crest), or with raven-griffon ornament (as in Vladislav Vlaicu (1364-1377), the raven being the old symbol of Cumania, and the horned helmet of the Srem dynasty mentioned).[12]

In this context, the imperial succession, the massive presence of the title of "tsar" and the donations to Mount Athos are no longer the result of a "transaltio imperii," but are the result of the full belonging of entire Moldova and Wallachia to the Balkans, both through the origin of the dynasty and aristocracy, and through religious affiliation to Orthodoxy, the only Christian community that resists legitimately without rebellion in its history (as the rebellion of the pope against synodality or Monophysites, etc.), the apostolic roots.

Thus we have an explanation for the art and architecture of the Romanian space, as well as for the whole Romanian Byzantine liturgical civilization. Adrian Andrei Rusu's considerations about pagan Romans in the north of the Danube,[13] arbitrarily postulated, and thus affirmed based on the reality of the non-existence of tombs and churches before the 11th – 12th centuries (Byzantine 13th century) definitively exclude ethnogenesis in the north of the Danube. It is impossible for the language developed by the Aromanians, for example, who have Christian continuity, to be identical with the language spoken by "Dacian-Romanians," who were supposed to have a vast pagan stage, according to the Cluj scientist trying to save continuity.

The expansion of Serbian civilization following Dragutin's Hungarian royal claim to the extinction of the Árpádian dynasty, its assimilation of Hungarian and Pecheneg-Cuman aristocratic elements that integrated into the Moldavian and Muntenian aristocracy, and the homogeneous Orthodox character of this aristocracy and the certain presence of the Serbian-Byzantine imperial ideology around the North Danube "landlords," gives meaning to an obvious reality: Moldavia and The Romanian Country-Wallachia are the state vestiges of a

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11. Stefan Staretu, *Europe: Serbian Despotate of Srem and the Romanian Area: Between the 14th and the 16th Centuries* (SUA: Derc Publishing House, 2018).

12. Dragomir M. Acovic, *Heraldika i Srbi* (Beograd: Zavod za Utbenike, Beograd, 2008), 32.

13. Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Castelul și spada: cultura materială a elitelor din Transilvania în Evul Mediu târziu* (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2019), 829.

Northern Serbian Kingdom—Kingdom of Srem— founded by Dragutin, which went through the experience of trying to absorb Hungary, on the clear basis of the rights of dynastic succession (the Angevins are usurpers by genealogy, but supported by the papacy).

The grafting of a Cuman element to the Muntenian dynasty, which did not necessarily give the trunk of the succession (the name Radoslav-Vladislav, Radu-Vlad specific to Dragutin's family, dominates the Muntenian genealogy, in relation to Basarab isolated family), grafting postulated by Mr. Djuvara,[14] does not change the Serbian-Romanian cultural landscape of the Wallachian monarchy.

From this perspective, the immigrationist theory of Romanian ethnogenesis must be translated from the model of pastoral migration to the model of aristocratic and royal migration. The mistake of Hungarian historiography is not in presenting the phenomenon, but in postulating the social status of those who came.

The legend of Roman and Vlahata remains a distorted form of myth and mythology of this phenomenon. The attempts of imperial succession in Serbia, or even Byzantium of Stephen the Great, Neagoe Basarab, Petru Rareș or Alexandru Lăpușneanu, the traces of a dynastic cult around them came precisely from their discovery in the posterity of the holy Serbian dynasty, no longer seem so awkward, as well as "The Lament of Ivan Peresvetov," [15] the icons of Saints Simion and Sava in all monasteries and churches from "Bucovina" or Argeș in the crowning and funerary space par excellence of the Wallachian dynasty, or the presence of the term Axial Vidovdan term in the Teachings of Neagoe, appear to us as natural phenomena.

I consider that both Lazarević and Bogdan or the Wallachian dynasty improperly called "Basarab" must have their origin in the succession of Stefan Dragutin, Serbian Moravia (also called Lazarus's Wallachia in documents), or Hungarian-Wallachia even coinciding territorially with the state of these Nemanid kings and Árpádian monarchs. The belonging to the Serbian Orthodoxy of this ensemble is undeniable, being demonstrated by the architecture, hagiography and early liturgical language.

The absorption of some elements of Bulgarian imperial ideology (the title of *IO*, taken over by Vladislav Vlaicu after the conquest of Vidin, or elements of title) are related to Vidin's influence on this northern Serbian kingdom, and does not decisively influence the cultural spectrum of the area.

The fact that Srem is listed together with Transylvania, Hungarian-Wallachia and Maramureș in papal and Hungarian documents as being inhabited by

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14. Neagu Djuvara, *Thocomerius-Negru Vodă-Un voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Țării Românești* (Bucharest: Humanitas Publisher, 2007).

15. Ştefan Ciobanu (trans.), *Manual de domnie al Țarilor Ruși* or *Plângerea lui Ivan Peresvetov* (Bucharest: Fundației Anastasia Publisher, 2004).

Wallachians (a term applied by Hungarians for the Serbian-Vlach aristocratic synthesis we are talking about) shows their connection, even in the system conceived by Catholic propaganda for their conversion from Orthodoxy to Catholicism as a form of pope pressure on the Angevins.

It is obvious, in the context of the researches of Messrs. Năsturel, Marinescu and Năstase, that Hilandar was the axial center of the system of donations from Athos of the Muntenian and Moldavian rulers, just as it is obvious that the other group of monasteries based on aids from them is the one from Serbia, not the one from Bulgaria, proof of the Serbian dynastic succession, and not Bulgarian of those called today Romanians (Athos is taken over as a bloc, because it was formed in the time of Dušan as a bloc, Dušan who donated to each of them, including Zografu, where he stayed during his visit).

The phenomena described by Mr. Năstase in his synthesis are too deep to be the result of a cultural mimicry. They are not to be found in the powerful Russian-Lithuanian Orthodox aristocracy. Families like Ostrogsky, Wiszniovyecky or Holshansky do not enter this game, although financially, they were even stronger than the rulers of Moldova and Wallachia. The phenomenon is different.

The phenomenon says a lot about what medieval Serbia was like and about its posterity in the northern Danube world.

Conclusion

Serbia, a space of civilization resulting from the fusion of Illyrian Romanians who took refuge in the Dinaric Alps after the Avar invasion, merged with a Slavic aristocracy different from that of the invaders from Bulgaria and Macedonia today. Aristocracy was probably already accepted in the military Byzantine world since the time of Justinian, in a space that developed a Romanian-Slavic bilingualism that is still specific to Serbia. A dual, Serbian geographical identity, after a Byzantine name, and social-ethnic Vlach, radiated on Hungarian power structures to northeast, which is part of an older expansion of the Byzantine influence on Hungary (Bela-Alexios, Elena de Rashka, Stephen V and others).

Stefan Dušan must be seen as the definitive architect of saving Dragutin's claim, the Negru Vodă Na(n)-Grutin double usurped as already stated, in the north, by the defining support of Wallachia and Moldavia against the Angevins, and after the Ottoman expansion, the entire aristocracy there is assimilated in this space, not between foreigners, but as an end to a phenomenon of moving from south to north of Serbia beginning in the 13th century (Branković, Jaksic and other families merged in our nobility and not in other aristocracies, to which we can add the Cantacuzino, who also come as "Serbians").

Tihomir (Negru Vodă), Basarab's father from Hungarian sources, seems to be the same Ștefan Dragutin, the nemanid king dethroned by his younger brother, as detailed above, and then a monk, canonized as the monk Teoctist. The

name Tihomir, specific to the nemanid dynasty, and present in both the Dalmatian and Bulgarian branches of the dynasty, is the only one that can explain the monastic name of the Serbian king, legitimate heir of the Arpadian dynasty, son of Maria Arpad's older sister, through whom the Angevins would finally usurp the throne of the Hungarian kingdom. Obviously, historiography has approached this discovery in steps,[16] but following successive clarifications, the following history emerges: Stefan Tihomir, known as Dragutin, *the beloved*, after his dethronement in Serbia, motivated by pro-Byzantine interests, formed a strong kingdom of colonization, if we can call it that, in a vast area that starts in western Bosnia and ends in Olt, by agglutinating the many bans of the area. The aristocratic colonizations in this area, the establishment of an Orthodox hierarchy that slowly dislocated the Catholic one, the assimilation of most Hungarian nobles in the area through mixed marriages favoring the Orthodox side,[17] all created in the Kingdom of Srem as an ethnic reality anchored in the civilization of non-Serbian Serbia, the most advanced part of the Arpadian kingdom. The whole structure was deployed in Cumania, part of the Hungarian kingdom east of Olt, but also in the entire Tisa basin, to the area of Mureș Hunedorean or Maramureș, following the arrival of the Angevins, who engaged in usurping Dragutin's right to the Arpadian throne with papal support.

The Greeks came to the north also as a result of this inertia from the ancient Dušanian space to the north, and therefore were never considered foreigners in reality, but organically assimilated, as a process of rebuilding the Empire of Serbia and Romania entirely conceived by Dušan, intuited by N. Iorga as Byzantium after Byzantium.

The complexity of the phenomenon places us in the reality and takes us out of the primitivizing mythology of Trajan's Dacian-Romans, pagans, in forests, to suddenly in the 14th century to rise royal, Slavic-Byzantine, and sophisticated.

Indeed, many of today's Orthodox Romanians are the remnant of the posterity of Andrew III, the last Árpádian, of his Serbian posterity, and the Catholic Hungarians, the remnants of his Angevin posterity.

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16. Adrian Ioniță, Beatrice Kelemen, Alexandru Simon, *AL WA Prințul Negru al Valahiei și vremurile sale* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Trnasilvane, Ed. Argonaut, 2017): despre ipoteza originii materne a Basarabilor din ramura lui Ștefan Vladislav, p. 473; Petre Buneci, Bogdan Gâlculescu, Ștefan Dumitrache and Cristian Moșneanu, *Ordinul Cavalerilor Basarabi* (București: Ed. Neverland, 2020).

17. P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV-XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan*, ediție revăzută și completată (București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1959).

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Alexander of Macedon: An Early Biography

By Oliver R. Baker

Claims that Herodotus reveals himself as a proto-biographer are not yet widely accepted. To advance this claim, I have selected one man, Alexander I, who finds himself and his kingdom caught in the middle of the Greco-Persian Wars and whose activities are recounted in the Histories. *It is to a near contemporary, Heraclitus, to whom we attribute the maxim—character is human destiny. It is the truth of this maxim—which implies effective human agency—that makes Herodotus' creation of historical narrative possible. He is often read for his off-topic vignettes, which colour-in the character of the individuals depicted without necessarily advancing his narrative. But by hop scotching through five of the nine books of the* Histories, *we can assemble a largely continuous narrative for this remarkable individual. This narrative permits us to attribute both credit and moral responsibility for his actions. Arguably, this implied causation demonstrates that Herodotus' writings include much that amounts to proto-biography.*

Proto-Biography

Herodotus has long been recognised as the first Western historian, but his *Histories* are also read for his lively biographic anecdotes and character vignettes. Although Herodotus writes history, many of his anecdotes do not extend his historical narrative at all, and when not an outright digression often colour-in something of the character and values of selected notable individuals. He selects short, seemingly off-topic *stories* about the deeds, and conduct or misconduct of his heroines and heroes that eloquently reveal much about their character, but which seemingly without judgement often also provide what might become a *defining moment* for each individual.

Just as Homer and Hesiod stand at a crossroads where oral myth is set down in writing, Herodotus stands at another crossroads a few hundred years later where selected stories about great heroines, heroes, and scurrilous hounds are taken out of the oral tradition and set down in writing. Albeit writing prose rather than epic poetry, Herodotus regards himself as a contemporary Homer, but also as a storyteller with the ability to assign credit and with it, moral responsibility.[1]

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1. Re-discovered in 1994 on the harbour wall of Halicarnassus, the modern Aegean resort of Bodrum in Turkey, the *Salmakis Inscription*, possibly early second century, describes Herodotus as (Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίασιν Ὅμηρον ἤροσεν,) *Hêródoton ton pezon en historiasin Homêron êrosen,* "[Halicarnassus] engendered Herodotus, the prose Homer of history" Signe Isager, "The Pride of Halikarnassos," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie*, 123 (1998): 7-8; and, Jessica Priestley, *Herodotus and Hellenic Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 187.

It is to Herodotus' near-contemporary, Heraclitus, to whom we attribute the maxim (ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων) "*êthos anthropôi daimôn*" translations for which include the commonplace *character is destiny*.[2] Neither *êthos* nor *daimôn* are easily translated, and *anthropôi* is often ignored. But the maxim is senseless if any part of it depends on powers outside of the individual.[3] It is the truth of this maxim—which presupposes effective human agency—that makes the creation of historical narrative, rather than divine myth or heroic epic, even possible.[4] Hesiod, Homer, and to a certain extent Plutarch many centuries later, want to argue that it is primarily ancestry or pedigree that will determine destiny. Undeniably in the fifth century the well-born will often have greater autonomy, authority, and agency.

Claims that Herodotus reveals himself as a proto-biographer are not yet widely accepted. In an article lamenting the gap between Herodotus and Xenophon—Helene Homeyer makes the claim that Herodotus is also the father of biography.[5] To advance this claim, I have selected one exceptional individual, prince Alexander, later king Alexander I of Macedon. An individual, who participated in the Helleno-Persian Wars, but one not found among those notables recognised by Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives*. By hopscotching through five of the nine books of Herodotus' *Histories*, even if the entries fall short of a cradle to grave depiction, we can assemble a reasonably continuous narrative for Alexander, and thus through his exploits, gauge his character against the epic heroines and heroes described by Homer.[6] Emulating Tomas Hägg, I let Herodotus speak for himself through long in-text quotations from the Purvis translation.[7]

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2. Andre Laks and Glenn W. Most, *Early Greek Philosophy*, Part 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 194-195.

3. Miroslav Markovich, *Heraclitus: Greek Text* (Mérida, Venezuela: Los Andes University Press, 1967), 502.

4. Heraclitus of Ephesus, a near contemporary of Herodotus, and one of the Presocratic philosophers, was active in the late sixth- and early fifth-centuries shortly before Herodotus was born. We have no evidence either way about Herodotus' familiarity with Heraclitus' works, but their notions of human causality or agency concur.

5. Helene Homeyer writes, "So ist Herodot nicht nur der Vater der Geschichte, sondern zugleich auch der Schöpfer eines Zweiges der biographischen Darstallungsweise geworden, die bis zu Plutarch reicht." This can be roughly translated as "So Herodotus is not only the father of history, but also the creator of a branch of biographical representation which extends up to Plutarch" Helene Homeyer, "Zu den Aufängen der Griechischen Biographie," *Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption* 106, no. 1 (1962): 75, 81.

6. In this respect Alexander is not unique. By a similar hopscotching exercise we can paint pictures of a number of individuals ignored by Plutarch: Artemisia, Gorgo, Atossa, Cleomenes, Miltiades the Elder, Miltiades the Younger, and many others.

7. Tomas Hägg comments, "The idea that [someone] knows the texts sufficiently well in advance, or has them at hand to consult continuously is a pious illusion: it is better to

Late Sixth-Century Macedon

Herodotus gives us part of the life story of only one ruler of Macedon, but even these fascinating, chronologically isolated, stand-alone, episodes about Alexander I are scattered over five books of his *Histories*.[8] Large in area and undeveloped, but neither wealthy nor populous, this northern Aegean kingdom's importance late in the sixth and early in the fifth century is determined entirely by its geography. Not landlocked, it has direct access to the sea through the Thermaic Gulf, and hence the intense interest of the Persian rulers Darius and his son Xerxes. This kingdom, which during the late sixth and the early fifth centuries does not yet include the Chalcidian Peninsula, lies north of Thessaly but east of Thrace. Therefore it is situated along the strategic route that any invading land armies with designs on mainland Greece—Attica and the Peloponnese—would take when advancing west from either the Black Sea or from the south after crossing the Straits from the Anatolian peninsula into Europe. But neither Alexander nor his people are true Asian/Near Eastern *barbaroi* either: Far from it.[9] Whatever Alexander's true ethnicity, there is considerably less doubt about his people. At this time the Southern Greeks (Athens and Sparta) do not regard the Macedon peoples as true *Hellenes* at all—despite some shared religious beliefs, if not similarities in culture—they are not Doric, Aeolian, or Ionic, let alone Attic Greek-speaking. Some scholars have suggested that their language was more an uneducated backward Greek brogue. Given its military and economic insignificance, Macedon's ruler finds himself in a similarly perilous position to his contemporary in the nearby Chersonese, Miltiades son of Kimon.[10] They are both

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bring the texts physically into the discussion" Tomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), ix. The block quotations from Herodotus are from the Andrea L Purvis translation found in Robert B. Strassler, *The Landmark Herodotus* (New York: Random House, 2007).

8. Referring to the works of a contemporary of Herodotus, Anne Geddes comments, "In a literate world, biography attempts to provide a broad understanding of the experience of a lifetime; literacy is a prerequisite for true biography. In an oral society, biography can hardly amount to anything more than anecdote, which had the potential to reveal and interpret character, but is likely to be trivial in content and designed for entertainment or for pointing a moral Anne Geddes, "Ion of Chios and Politics," in *The World of Ion* (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston, MA: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007), 114–115.

9. Barbarians (Βάρβαροι *Barbaroi*) is now a pejorative term, implying primitive, savage, uncivilized, crude, and uncultured; but rather like the Gaelic word *sasunnoch* or *sassanach* (originally meaning Saxon) it should really be translated as *outsider* in the mildly xenophobic sense of *not one of us.*

10. During the late sixth- and early fifth-century Miltiades, the scion of a wealthy and influential Athenian family, was appointed tyrant of the Thracian Chersonese—a region better known now as the Gallipoli Peninsula.

far too weak to resist Persia's territorial expansion ambitions and yet too far away to solicit meaningful support from either Athens or Sparta.

Although Alexander's Macedon people are not recognised as *Hellenes*, young Alexander—having successfully petitioned the *Hellanodikai* for permission to compete in the Olympic Games—regards himself not only as a true *Hellene*, but as Hellenic royalty with an uncontested lineage stretching back in time beyond the Trojan War.[11] Once again, Herodotus shows his fascination with genealogy, a fascination which fits well with the Heraclitean maxim: *character is destiny*, and his own Homeric echoes of heroic deeds. Thus Alexander's privileged high-birth potentially gives him the opportunity to exercise independent agency, and these are opportunities usually denied those of less than noble birth. For all their bleats about democracy, the *Hellenes*, and the Athenians in particular, are still a long way away from creating a functioning meritocracy. Agency alone is never going to be enough; it must be coupled with autonomy and authority—and in the early fifth-century all three are most readily secured through pedigree.

A Kingdom in Harm's Way

At the end of the Persian's stalemated Scythian expedition of 513 Darius the Great withdraws west along the northern shores of the Black Sea slowly making his way through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonese peninsula where he ferries his army back over to Anatolia, leaving behind one of his generals, Megabazos, and eighty-thousand troops on the European side of the waterway (Hdt. 4.143).[12] This particular East-West conflict, directed by Darius, is by no means over. Megabazos' orders are to subdue every city throughout Thrace (Hdt. 5.1–5.3), and under special orders given a year or so later he also is to capture and entirely uproot the Paionian people moving them to new settlements in Anatolia (Hdt. 5.12–5.15). After this conquest of Paionia, Megabazos sends seven of his most distinguished men south as emissaries to neighbouring Macedon demanding that their king swear fealty to Darius (Hdt. 5.17.1). Herodotus' first mention of Alexander's father, King Amyntas, is when, perhaps as late as the year 510, he is hosting these Persian dignitaries at a state banquet held in the royal court at Aegae (Hdt. 5.18.1). Doubtless the nearby presence of eighty-thousand Persian

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11. The (Ἑλλανοδίκαι) *Hellanodikai* are the elected Elean officials from the ruling families of Elis charged with maintaining the standards and traditions of the games, including determining who may and who may not compete. Given the religious significance of the celebrations they take their duties very seriously and are virtually incorruptible.

12. One suggestion is that Byzantium was in revolt against the Persians and Darius stays on the European side rather than returning the way he came W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 1.4.143.

troops heavily influences King Amyntas' unhappy and humiliating but unhesitating acquiescence—he accepts the only alternative to certain annihilation. His large, not quite impoverished, but minor kingdom is far too weak to effectively resist Persian aggression or territorial expansion, let alone pose a military threat to anyone. And so Amyntas is able to retain a measure of authority and autonomy to avoid his kingdom becoming just part of another large Persian satrapy.

The Seeds of Pan-Hellenism

Whether events at the state banquet unfold exactly as Herodotus recounts is immaterial. And regardless of any bias stemming from his Macedonian sources, he is creating a discourse distinguishing Hellenic freedom from Persian despotism.[13] Herodotus next spins a lurid tale of a clash of courtly customs and expectations that ends in the murder and complete disappearance of the seven Persian emissaries, along with all trace of their attendants, servants, baggage, and carriages (Hdt. 5.18.2–5.21.1). The Persians, who have been drinking, complain to their host that it is their custom to bring their concubines and wives to sit beside their guests at a feast. Herodotus is continuing his contrast or catalogue of differences. Non-Greeks, or barbarians are those "who lacked Greek virtues and exhibit all non-Greek vices, such as luxury, effeminacy, despotism, and lack of self-control."[14] King Amyntas reluctantly brings in the women as demanded, but the Persians insist that they sit beside not opposite them and immediately commence taking liberties. Clearly Persian and Macedonian customs and culture are as diverse as they are irreconcilable;[15] and although the Greeks do not yet regard Macedonians as Hellenes nor are they Barbarians.[16] Young Alexander,

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13. I am indebted to another for the phrase; "Oriental despotism" which the originator admits is an oversimplification of the polarity and conflict between Greece and what he calls the Near East. Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 321.

14. He lists what he calls all non-Greek vices, but I would hesitate ever to put any degree of ethnical ownership on a vice Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians*, 8. They are universal. It is during the late archaic and early classical period that the Hellenes are *inventing themselves* and at the same time inventing *not-themselves*, or the *barbarian*. Ideologically this leads to the simple adage that it is always a good thing to be a Hellene—and you might wish to thank the gods for that—and a very bad thing to be a Barbarian—and you might really wish to thank the gods for that, too.

15. Ross Scaife, "Alexander in the *Histories* of Herodotus," *Hermes* 117 (1989): 117.

16. Barbarian is now a pejorative term, but the term *barbarophonoi* is used by Homer when describing the Trojans' Carian allies from the western coast of Anatolia:

Nastes led the Carians wild with barbarous tongues,
men who held Miletus, Phthires' ridges thick with timber,

who is outraged at this lewd, ungracious behaviour, asks his father to retire, and suggests that if the Persian guests insist that it is their right to casually fornicate with these young women—the wives and daughters of their hosts—the women should at least be permitted to bathe first.[17] Alexander's outrage that the Persians should even ask is only exceeded by the anguish of witnessing his father's powerlessness and humiliating acquiescence in reducing Macedon's younger attractive female courtiers to little better than *pornai* (πόϱναι)—noblewomen dragooned as substitutes for Persian army camp followers. Here Herodotus reveals one of the more insidious and invidious aspects of foreign dominance—when you are deprived of the freedom to boldly act on, or perhaps more strictly to exercise, the courage of your convictions, whether these be right or wrong, you are effectively reduced to a slave. Slaves either have no choice at all, or are at best obliged to select what they perceive as the least bad from among a number of evils.[18] And this is what the Persian emissaries are doing, while rubbing it in with pleasure.

Not yet enthroned and likely still a teenager well short of his majority, this incident becomes Alexander's *one defining moment*. He might even have vowed never to be forced into a similar powerless position himself, where his choices are limited to either bad or worse. He immediately dresses an equal number of lightly armed, smooth-skinned, young men in women's clothing and brings them back into the banqueting room, where seated beside their amorous drunken guests—and with shades of book 22 of the *Odyssey*—they put the guests to death for their grotesque violation of the most paramount of Greek virtues—*xenia*. Very much unlike late sixth- and early fifth-century Athens where prostitution was rampant, one might here interject the notion that in Macedon, as in Sparta—although for very different reasons—casual heterosexual intercourse was simply

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Maeander's currents and Mount Mycale's craggy peaks (*Iliad* 2.979-981).

Some scholars argue that Homer uses the term specifically for the Carians not because they did not speak Greek, but because they spoke an almost unintelligible Greek dialect. David Dueck, Hugh Lindsay and Sarah Pothecary (Eds.), S*trabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of Kolossourgia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47-48. However, according to Herodotus, the Egyptians call any who do not speak their language "barbarians" (Hdt. 2.158.5). The Gaelic notion of *not one of us* will suffice, and it has that Pan-Hellenic seed.

17. The astute will note that any question of consent never arises—their monarch, Amyntas, has ordered the palace womenfolk to let his Persian guests have their way with them. Likely Alexander had several motives in play and will not follow in his father's footsteps.

18. Part of the justification for a monarchy is that the strong will always protect the weak—king Amyntas fails his country-women in a spectacularly miserable way.

not part of their culture.[19] Herodotus is showing that it is the barbarians who can do no better than turn a state banquet into an excuse for drunken debauchery.[20] If money is the root of all evil, then Spartan xenophobia coupled their reluctance to monetise gold and silver bullion explains why prostitution did not flourish there until the Hellenic era.[21]

Proving once again that nothing beats plausible deniability, coupled with the offer of a princess-bride and palm oil, Persian inquiries about their vanished emissaries come to nothing. Herodotus credits the young Alexander, rather than the king, with arranging the marriage of his sister Gygaia to Boubares, Megabazos' son and the Persian general responsible for the—quickly dropped— inquiry (Hdt. 5.22.2). Whether the tale is true or not is immaterial; Herodotus is carefully establishing that despite all outward appearances Macedon is only paying forced lip-service to Darius and that the future Macedon king is anxious to be free of the Persian yoke.[22] Herodotus is also highlighting significant cultural differences—Hellenes do not get paralytically drunk and Hellenes do not expect to be invited to fornicate in public with their host's servants, let alone seek pleasure with their host's wives and daughters.[23]

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19. Fifth-century Athenian society is unashamedly patriarchal with an already well-developed, state sponsored, and thriving sex trade of varying degrees of salubrity employing countless slaves and non-citizens.

20. The Persians display their most boorish and toxic behaviour. Wealthy and influential Athenian men may hold drinking parties, *symposia*, but the only women present are *hetairai* and perhaps a better class of *pornai* provided by the host and where non-reproductive, recreational intercourse is *de rigueur*. Athenian men will not bring their *gynaikai*, let alone their *pallakai*.

21. See 1 Timothy 6:10 although the argument from Scripture is not the economic one. See also Sarah Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 98. The archaic and classical Spartan economy was agrarian and trade facilitated by barter— but there will always be a limit to the number of laying hens or sacks of barley the residents and keepers of such houses of pleasure can accept in exchange for services rendered. Carnal access to these foreign women likely also required access to foreign money.

22. A number of scholars have dismissed this story as apocryphal—perhaps it is even pro-Macedon propaganda fabricated by Herodotus. Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington, *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 136. But one of the flaws in their logic is that because Herodotus, or his sources, are unable to provide the necessary synchronicities, not only are we unsure of when this medizing first occurred— and was it by Amyntas or Alexander—we do not know the ages of either Alexander or Gygaia. There is no evidence that Gygaia is considerably younger than her brother, Alexander, and so pushing her marriage to Boubares to early in the fifth-century when she will be in her thirties creates other credibility challenges. The point of the digression is to reveal Herodotus' assessment of Alexander's sympathies, not the whereabouts of the Persian emissaries' bones.

23. Greek culture should be emulated, and a culture that eschews *xenia* is boorish beyond decadence. Herodotus does not say it directly, but falconry or wild boar hunting is

In a long historical digression Herodotus describes how in the mid-seventh century three brothers: Gayannes, Aeropos, and Perdiccas, flee from Argos into exile in Illyria and then move eastward into northern Macedon and after deposing the local ruler eventually conquer the whole region (Hdt. 8.137-8.138). Herodotus gives the genealogy of Alexander I stretching back six generations.

> And it was from this Perdiccas that Alexander was descended; for Alexander was the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Alcetes, whose father was Aeropos son of Philippos, the son of Argaios, who was the son of that Perdiccas who acquired the rule of this land (Hdt. 8.139).

Herodotus gives no source for this king list, but it is clearly a proud Macedonian tradition as likely as not carved in stone.[24] Also worth mention is that Macedon is a vast region, and the royal palaces at Aigai (Aegae) in the south are not a city-state but more a ceremonial meeting place. But what is critical here is that Alexander believes that it was important for his ruling family, the Argeads (Ἀργεάδαι), if not his subjects, to be accepted as *Hellenes* with Hellenic values and not be dismissed as Barbarians.[25] Further reinforcing Alexander's claim of

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a more appropriate recreational pursuit for visiting diplomats than catering to their preference for drunken fornication. Again, only slaves please others by acting against their convictions.

24. The Argead dynasty spans five centuries from 808 to 305 and includes twenty-seven monarchs—one of whom ruled for all of four days. Alexander I is the tenth in this line, whereas Alexander III, better known as Alexander the Great, is the twenty-fifth. Why Herodotus should defer revealing details of Alexander's genealogy until book 8, rather than introduce it early in book 4 or 5, is puzzling. If, as suggested by several scholars, Herodotus never got around to final revisions of his *Histories*—a draft extending over as many as fifty book rolls—likely he only set down this version of the Macedonian king list when a copy from what he regarded as a reliable source first came into his hands. Stewart Flory, *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 15; and, Roisman and Worthington, *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*, 81.

25. Geographic and ethnic boundaries in this region have changed numerous times over the last two and one-half millennia and it would be naïve if not absurd to ignore how these changes have impacted Greek and Slavic/Balkan cultural identity. The modern Balkan Republic of North Macedonia is landlocked and roughly corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Paeonia. Consequently, the existence of a Macedonian ethnicity is still bitterly contested, especially after the break-up of the former Yugoslavia in 1991-92. When Josip Broz Tito, who had held the country together since the end of WWII, died in 1980 the country slowly morphed back into the eight-former nineteenth-century constituent Slavic states. Alexander I's Macedon kingdom, which is not landlocked, has been part of mainland Greece for millennia. Accordingly I have referred to Alexander's homeland as Macedon. Alexander's subjects are described as Macedonians if only to avoid the grammatically clumsy Macedon peoples or peoples of Macedon.

Hellenic (Temenid) heritage, Herodotus notes that he petitioned for and was permitted to compete in the Olympic Games.[26]

> Furthermore, even those who preside over the Olympic games of the Hellenes have come to recognise that this is the case. [2] For when Alexander chose to compete in the games and entered the lists to do so, his Greek competitors tried to exclude him, by claiming that the contest was for Greek contestants only, and barbarians were not allowed to participate.[27] But when Alexander proved that he was of Argive ancestry, he was judged to be a Hellene, and proceeded to compete in the footrace, in which he was tied for first place (Hdt. 5.22.1-2).

Herodotus gives us his own definition of what it means, to be a *Hellene*.

> And second it would not be fitting for the Athenians to prove traitors to the Greek people, with whom we are united in sharing the same kinship and language, with whom we have established shrines and conduct sacrifices to the gods together, and with whom we also share the same way of life (Hdt. 8.144.2).

In another digression Herodotus mentions the silver mine located between Lake Prasias and Mount Dysoron from which Alexander I will later derive an income of a talent of silver—6,000 to 8,000 drachmas—per day (Hdt. 5.17.2).[28] The kingdom's other source of revenue is forestry and the export of timber and pitch used in shipbuilding throughout the eastern Mediterranean. No matter, Herodotus' narrative establishes that thirty years before the second Greco-Persian war, Amyntas I is coerced into accepting Persian sovereignty, but notably without a resident Persian satrap and garrison; and, that later his son Alexander I

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26. Temenos (Τήμενος) is a great-great-grandson of Heracles who helps lead the fifth and final attack on Mycenae in the Peloponnese where he becomes king of Argos. He is the father of Karanos (Κάρανος) who in some traditions is the first king of Macedon and the founder of the Temenid or Argead dynasty. In other earlier traditions, including the one adopted by Herodotus, Perdikkas, Temenos' great grandson, founds the dynasty.

27. Alexander, as the king of Macedon or perhaps still just a prince of Macedon, most likely makes an honoured guest appearance at the seventy-first Olympiad in 496, or possibly at the games held in 500 or 504, and competes in the furlong (stadia) race. Neither Herodotus nor any other contemporary sources indicate which games nor how old he was, but we can surmise—if there is any truth to the earlier hospitality story— that he was then aged about thirty and had only recently assumed the throne.

28. Unlike the Scythian people who are nomadic, the agricultural community in Macedon practice transhumance—they keep their livestock grazing in sheltered lowland areas during the winter, but move them to upland areas during the spring and summer. Efficient land use results, as this livestock migration also lets the Macedon farmers grow crops for winter feed in their lowland fields. However, in the event of invasion this transhumance makes it particularly difficult to quickly muster defensive troops no matter whether infantry or cavalry.

reluctantly accepts the status quo while recognising that the continued independence and prosperity of Macedon is also dependent on the continued independence of the city-states within mainland Greece.

First Greco-Persian War

Herodotus makes no further reference to Alexander until the summer of 480. We know that Alexander succeeds to his father's throne in 498 and from Herodotus' silence we may surmise that Macedon plays no role in the Ionian revolt and does not hinder Mardonios' forces during what turned out to be a disastrous foray into Thrace and Macedon in 493–492 when Darius seeks retribution for Athenian and Eritrean participation in the Ionian raid on Sardis in 498 (Hdt. 6.44). It is when taking his fleet from the Strymonic Gulf around the Chalcidian Peninsula that Mardonios loses some three-hundred ships from his fleet and some twenty-thousand soldiers before reaching Macedon territory west of the peninsula (Hdt. 6.44.2-3). With these crippling losses punitive raids on Athens and Eretria, let alone permanent subjugation, are no longer feasible and Mardonios ignominiously withdraws to Asia (Hdt. 6.45). Since Mardonios fails so miserably, next year in 491, Darius appoints two other generals, Datis and Artaphrenes with instructions to enslave both Athens and Eretria (Hdt. 6.94.20). Partly because of the unpredictable storms in the northern Aegean and a desire to subjugate a number of city-states on islands in the Aegean Sea the new strategy is one of which can best be described of island-hopping over the Cyclades Islands.

Alexander will doubtless have viewed this new strategy with a mixture of relief and apprehension—relief that another land army would not be crossing over from the Hellespont to Thrace—and apprehension that a large amphibious force routed safely through the Cyclades might successfully invade Attica and continue on through to the Peloponnese with some city-states medizing without a fight. As things turn out Eretria is betrayed from within and razed to the ground, but the Athenians, with Miltiades as commanding general and without Spartan assistance, defeats Datis at Marathon in the summer of 490. Furthermore, the promised betrayal from within Athens never materialises—the Persian invasion fleet gets as far as anchoring off Phaleron only to see the victors at Marathon waiting for them. They never land and return to Susa with only the conquest of a few small islands in the Aegean Sea, the sack of Eretria, and some hapless Eritrean prisoners to show for their efforts.

Second Greco-Persian War

It will be a decade before the Persians try again. In the meantime Darius is succeeded by his son, Xerxes. In the aftermath of Marathon, leaders in mainland Greece argue over whether the Persian menace is over and whether a victory such as Marathon could ever be repeated. When Athens starts to build a significant navy—doubtless with timber and pitch purchased from Macedon— Alexander would be fully aware that the Greco-Persian conflict is far from over. Herodotus does not say when Alexander is recognised by Athens as a *proxenos* and *euergetes*, it might well have been before his succession to the throne. What is important is that Alexander has earned and subsequently been awarded these significant honours on proven merit and that the Persian commanders know so. But we can surmise that just as Alexander knows something of what is happening in Athens and in Sparta, he will also be fully aware of what is afoot in Susa.[29]

Following the sack of Sardis in 498, Darius resolves to subjugate all of Hellas once and for all (Hdt 5.105.1). Later, goaded by his mother, Atossa, for yet another invasion of the Greek mainland Darius dies in 484 in the midst of his preparations (Hdt. 7.4). His heir, Xerxes, inherits these preparations and one of his generals, Mardonios, is anxious to argue for revenge and perhaps covets the appointment as the satrap of all Hellas himself (Hdt. 7.6.1-2). It is in 484 that Xerxes assembles the Persian nobility to discuss his plan for the invasion of Hellas and tells them (Hdt. 7.8).

> "I intend to bridge the Hellespont and lead my army through Europe to Hellas, so that we can punish the Athenians for all that they did to the Persians and to my father. [2] Now you saw how even Darius had his mind set on marching against these men, but that he died and did not have the opportunity to exact vengeance upon them. I, however, on his behalf and that of the rest of the Persians, shall not give up until I conquer Athens and set it on fire, since it is they who began the offenses against me and my father" (Hdt. 7.8β 1-2).

The first offence, in Xerxes' mind, is the raid on Sardis, but he also regards the defeat at Marathon as an "offence" to be avenged (Hdt. 7.8β 3). And in due course, that is exactly what Xerxes does. Once the Athenians and Spartans know that Xerxes has crossed the Hellespont into Thrace and is moving toward Macedon and Thessaly they decide to act (Hdt. 7.172). In response to a Thessalian

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29. A *proxenos* is a citizen of a state (in this case Macedon) appointed by another state (namely Athens) to host its ambassadors and to represent and protect its interests there (Athens' interests in Macedon). Another term applicable to Alexander I is *euergetes*: a benefactor and therefore a title of honour in ancient Greece granted to those notables who have done the state some service. Both titles have a hereditary element. (Hdt. 8.143.3); Roisman and Worthington, 141.)

request, they send an army by sea to Halos in Achaea where they disembark and march toward Tempe and the pass between Mount Olympus and Mount Ossa which leads from Macedon into Thessaly. But this very bold strategic move—bottling up the huge Persian force in Macedon—is very poorly planned and based on faulty, or grossly misleading local knowledge. Herodotus writes that in the early summer of 480, it is messengers from Alexander who point out their precarious position.[30]

> They remained there for only a few days, however, for messengers soon arrived from the Macedonian Alexander son of Amyntas, telling them of the number of troops and ships the enemy had and advising them to depart, lest by remaining at the pass, they would be trampled under by the invading army. The Hellenes thought that this was sound advice and, recognizing that the Macedonian was thus displaying his goodwill toward them, they followed it (Hdt. 7.173.3).

Herodotus' story here shows the fragility of any slowly emergent early fifth-century Pan-Hellenism. It is the Thessalians, who do not want to be overrun by Xerxes' hordes, who persuade the Spartan and Athenian commanders, who were then assembled near Corinth, to travel north to help them defend the pass at Mount Olympus (Hdt. 7.172.2). The Thessalians must have known that there was more than one mountain pass that an army advancing south from Macedon into Thessaly might take, and that all of the passes would have to be defended. A naval force to prevent the defenders being by-passed and attacked from behind is also necessary.

The existence of such an alternative route soon becomes evident. Herodotus' readers will be thinking of the similar situation soon to be revealed at Thermopylae. Perhaps also Alexander does not want the Persians fighting against the Greeks within his kingdom, where Xerxes is certain to demand that Macedonian levees would be active participants. A minor military point, but the best way to defend a pass is at the entrance where you have a narrow front and with small numbers can prevent your enemy even entering it. To do this Euainetos son of Karenos and Themistocles would have to enter Macedon territory leaving Alexander in an invidious position regarding Xerxes' advance.

> But in my opinion, what really convinced them to leave was fear, which arose when they learned that another pass into Thessaly led from northern Macedon through Perraibia, by the city of Gonnoi, which was the pass that the army of Xerxes actually

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30. The military advice is not entirely altruistic; Alexander will have every reason to hope that the Persian hordes and their allies pass through his kingdom as peacefully and as quickly as possible.

did take. So the Hellenes returned to their ships and sailed back to the isthmus[31] (Hdt. 7.172.4).

Certainly this allied retreat from Thessaly, agreed by the two commanders, Euainetos son of Karenos from Sparta and Themistocles son of Neokles from Athens, leaves their former allies the Thessalians little choice but to submit to Xerxes and grant him unimpeded passage south toward Attica and the Peloponnese.

Thermopylae and After

This invasion of Europe occurs during the summer of 480. Herodotus may have his facts right and yet be in error over the motivation. Herodotus does not say whether Macedonian forces commanded by Alexander—probably cavalry—were present at the battle of Thermopylae in August or September of 480. However, just prior to that battle when the Persian forces assemble near Cape Sepias, Herodotus lists the men in the forces recruited from Europe.

> Land forces were provided by the Thracians, Paionians, Eirdians, Bottiaians, the nation of Chaldicians, Brygoi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perraibians, Ainianes, Dolopians, Magnesians, Achaeans, and all who inhabited the coastal region of Thrace (Hdt. 7.185.2).

In the aftermath of the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae, the Persians, gleefully guided by the Thessalians, overrun the entire country of Phocis freely burning, pillaging, and raping their way south (Hdt. 8.32–8.33). However, the entire population of Boeotia, who pragmatically medize after the battle of Thermopylae, are protected by Macedonian troops from the threat of unsanctioned Persian ravages. Herodotus writes.

> After leaving Parapotamioi the barbarians came to Panopereos, and there Xerxes sorted out his army and divided it in two. The largest and strongest part continued with Xerxes to invade Boeotia through the territory of Orchomenus and march toward Athens. The entire population of Boeotia were medizing, and their cities were being protected by some Macedonians who had been appointed and sent to them by Alexandros. The purpose behind this move was to make clear to Xerxes that the Boeotians were taking the side of the Medes (Hdt. 8.34).

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31. Herodotus does not say which isthmus, but the Isthmus of Corinth is the most likely possibility for the various contingents of the combined fleet and army to re-assemble and later disburse toward home.

Perhaps this is an instance of Alexander I earning the title *euergetes*? He would not have forgotten the Persian's behaviour toward women at his father's palace thirty years earlier and now he appears to be challenging Xerxes to insist that his own troops and allied levees act honourably. The simple presence of a handful of Macedonian cavalrymen in each Boeotian settlement would deter undisciplined marauders from preying on the defenceless civilian population no matter whichever part of Xerxes' empire—Asia or Europe—they came from. Clearly the Macedonians were not involved in the ill-omened Persian raid on Delphi, a grotesque act of impiety that would appall any ruler claiming Hellenic values.

Whether Macedonian troops take part on the sack of Athens, Herodotus does not say, nor do we know whether Macedonian troops assemble at Phaleron. Perhaps they were too busy with their garrison duties in Boeotia and only rejoin Mardonios when he withdraws to Thessaly after the naval disaster at Salamis? Herodotus makes no further mention of Alexander until the winter of 480/479 when the Persian general Mardonios withdraws his troops from Attica and is encamped in Thessaly. Here, taking advantage of Alexander's status as both *proxenos* and *euergetes*, Mardonios seeks to break up the Hellenic Alliance with a deal. We must not forget that in whatever capacity she or he may act ambassadors—are essentially very noble but obedient messengers.

> After Mardonios had read the oracles, he sent Alexander of Macedon, the son of Amyntas, as a messenger to Athens, because the Persians were related to Alexander by marriage; Gygaia, who was the daughter of Amyntas and Alexander's sister, was the wife of Boubares of Persia. . She had given birth to Amyntas of Asia, who bore the name of his maternal grandfather and to who the King had given the large Phrygian city of Alabanda from which to draw revenues. Moreover, since Mardonios had heard that Alexander was a *proxenos* and a benefactor of Athens, [2] he thought that by this move he could best succeed in winning over the Athenians to his side. Because he had learned that they were a populous and warlike people, and he knew that the disaster that had befallen the Persians at sea had been accomplished mainly by the Athenians, [3] he fully anticipated that of they were on his side, he would easily gain control over the sea which was certainly a correct assumption (Hdt. 8.136.1-3).

Believing an oracle that suggests that the Persians should ally with the Athenians, Mardonios decides to send Alexander to Athens to present an offer that purports to come from Xerxes (Hdt. 8.136.3).[32] Herodotus reports Alexander's speech to the assembled Athenians, an assembly which includes some messengers from Sparta, as follows:

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32. Mardonios needs the Athenian navy (ships and crews), but he may be unaware that Themistocles has threatened to relocate the entire Athenian population to Siris in Italy. This would deny either side his triremes and troop transports (Hdt. 8.62.2).

Men of Athens, Mardonios has this to tell you: 'A message has arrived from the King [Xerxes], saying: I will forget all the wrongs done to me by the Athenians [2] so now, Mardonios, you must do as I say. First give them back their land, and let them have another land of their choice in addition, which they may govern independently (Hdt. 8.140α 1-2).

Alexander also offers his own addendum to the Xerxes/Mardonios message:

That, Athenians, is what Mardonios instructed me to tell you. As for myself, I shall say nothing of my own goodwill toward you (since now would not be the first time you could recognize that), but I do entreat you to follow the advice of Mardonios. [2] For I can see that you will not be able to wage war against Xerxes forever—if I had observed that you were capable of doing so, I would never have come to you with this advice. The fact is, the King's power is superhuman, and his reach extends far and wide. [3] And so if you do not immediately come to an agreement with the Persians while they are offering you such generous conditions, then I fear for you indeed, because you alone of all the allies dwell along the most beaten track of this war and constantly suffer devastation, and the land you possess is often chosen as the disputed ground on which battles are waged. [4] So, then, do heed my advice, since you have such a precious opportunity, insofar as the great King wishes to become your friend and to forgive you alone of all the Hellenes for the wrongs done to him (Hdt. 8.140β 1-4).

The astute listener will note that it is Alexander's Macedon that lies along the most beaten track of this war. But, no matter, the Spartan response is immediate, self-serving, and predictable and includes an *ad hominem* attack on Alexander. [33]

Do not let Alexandros of Macedon win you over with his polished version of Mardonios' message. [5] For he really must act this way: he is, after all, a tyrant who is assisting another tyrant. But if you have any sense at all, you must not follow the advice of barbarians, knowing as you do that they are neither trustworthy nor truthful (Hdt. 8.142.4–5).

Strictly, Alexander is not a tyrant, but he has claimed Temenid ancestry—which means Argos—and for any Spartan that would be enough to put him beyond the pale. Herodotus reports both the Athenian response first to Alexander and then their response to the Spartans.

Report back to Mardonios that the Athenians say: 'As long as the sun continues on the same course as it now travels, we shall never come to an agreement with Xerxes.

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33. Arguably the Spartans are disingenuous. Long ago they had threatened Cyrus the Great, but more recently they had abused Persian heralds (diplomats) adding injury to insult. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 2.8.142.2.

> Trusting in the gods and heroes as our allies (for whom he showed no respect when he burned their homes and images) we shall advance against him and defend ourselves' (Hdt. 8.143.2).

The Athenian response to the Spartan messengers is more measured, but includes a plea that the Spartans do not simply defend themselves and other cities of the Peloponnese behind the fortifications they have constructed across the isthmus at Corinth (Hdt. 8.144.1-5).

> Do send out an army as quickly as possible, [5] for it is our conjecture that before long, indeed as soon as the barbarian hears that we have refused to do as he asked, he will be here invading our land again and so now before he reaches Attica, is the time for you to hasten to battle in Boeotia (Hdt. 8.144.4-5).

As expected, after Alexander relays the Athenian response to the Xerxes/ Mardonios offer, the Persian armies again prepare to move south toward Attica. Having occupied a deserted Athens for a second time (Hdt. 9.3), Mardonios tries again to separate the Athenians from their Spartan allies by repeating the earlier offer conveyed by Alexander and soundly rejected (Hdt. 9.4.1).

Defeat at Plataea

This diplomatic ploy also fails, and when Mardonios learns that the Spartans under Pausanias are marching out of Sparta he sacks Athens for a second time and destroys everything in his path as he withdraws north from Attica into Boeotia. It is here, just south of Thebes along the Asopos River that Mardonios decides is the right terrain where his can use his cavalry to advantage when engaging the Hellenic Alliance in a decisive battle (Hdt. 9.13.3). From Herodotus we learn that "Mardonios also positioned the Macedonians and the inhabitants of the region surrounding Thessaly so that they faced the Athenians" (Hdt. 9.31.5).

The two armies face each other for ten days, neither attacking the other because the omens each receives after offering sacrifice are always unfavourable (Hdt. 9.38.2). One of Mardonios' advisers, Artabazos, even suggests that the Persians should abandon their present positions and retreat behind the walls of Thebes—where their cavalry would be useless—but to use the treasure stored there to bribe leaders of the Alliance into accepting Persian sovereignty on very favourable terms (Hdt. 9.41.2). Mardonios, who craves the glory of a military victory, rejects this advice and gives the signal for the battle to be joined on the following day (Hdt. 9.42.4). It is at this critical moment that Alexander, whose forces are positioned directly opposite the Athenians, decides to secretly help the Alliance as much as he can. Herodotus writes of what takes place at one outpost of the Greek camp:

> The night was well advanced; all was quiet throughout the camp, and most of the men were asleep when Alexander son of Amyntas rode up on horseback to a guard post of the Athenians, seeking to speak to their generals [2] While most of the guards remained at their posts, some ran to their generals, and when they found them they told them that someone on horseback had arrived from the camp of the Medes, and that he would say nothing more than he wished to speak to some of their generals, whom he named (Hdt. 9.44.1–2).

Although Herodotus does not speculate, Alexander may not have left the Persian lines without the acquiescence of the Persian generals—what the Persians might have expected him to say is another matter.[34] Herodotus has already indicated that there were levees from Macedon under Alexander's command in Mardonios' army, but Alexander is not visiting the Hellenes' camp to lend direct military assistance, although his secret forewarning reveals which side he is really on.[35]

> Alexander said to them, "Men of Athens, I entrust you with what I am about to say, charging you to keep it an absolute secret and to tell no one but Pausanias, lest you utterly destroy me. You must know that I would not be speaking to you if I did not care greatly about all of Hellas, [2] for I myself am a Hellene of ancient lineage and would not wish to see Hellas exchange its freedom for slavery.[36] And so I am here to tell you that Mardonios and his army are unable to obtain from their sacrifices. The omens they desire. Otherwise you would have fought a long time ago. Now, however, Mardonios has resolved to dismiss the oracles and to engage in battle beginning at the break of day; my guess is that he is very worried that more men will come here to join you. So you should prepare your selves for this. If it turns out that Mardonios delays the encounter and does nothing, you should remain and persevere, for they have enough food left for only a few days. [3] And if this war ends in your favor, then you must remember me and my quest for liberation, for it is on my own initiative that I have performed this dangerous feat as a service to the Hellenes; I wish to reveal the intent of Mardonios to you so that the barbarians will not be able to fall upon you suddenly and unexpectedly, I am Alexander of Macedon." After saying this he rode away, back to his camp and his own post (Hdt. 9.45.1-3).

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34. Alexander might well not know which Greek commanders are present, several may well be with the Hellenic fleet at Mycale. How and Wells, 2.9.44.1-2.

35. The Persian commanders must have very short memories about Alexander—they should know that nothing very good happens to a Persian after midnight—especially when it comes to Macedon and Macedonians.

36. See Hdt. 8.137.1-8.139 where Herodotus goes through the genealogy and migration of the Argead royal house as mid-seventh-century refugees from Argos in the Peloponnese—Herodotus' Macedonian sources want to establish that Alexander and many of his nobles are *Hellenes* not *Barbaroi* but of Argive rather than Dorian or Ionian descent.

Evidently Macedon is still obliged to supply Mardonios with troops, but whether they winter with the Persian forces in Thessaly or travel home to Macedon at the end of the 480-campaign season and reassemble the spring of 479 Herodotus does not say. Clearly, Herodotus is going well out of his way to show that at a crucial moment Alexander of Macedon is only paying lip service to the Persians and wants to help the Hellenes.

This, Herodotus' last mention of Alexander I, ends with his account of this Greco-Persian battle in the summer of 479—a stunning Persian defeat, closely followed by another defeat on the Anatolian coast at Mycale. Herodotus leaves his readers to determine what influence this timely forewarning has on the outcome of the battle of Plataea and to assess Alexander's motives in approaching the Athenian generals and the Spartan commander Pausanias in particular.[37] Remember, Herodotus' first mention of Alexander is at least thirty years earlier, well before the Ionian revolt at the beginning of the fifth century and at a time when Alexander is still only a minor and just a prince of Macedon. From other sources we know that Alexander remains on the throne for another quarter-century, and that neither he nor his countrymen are held to account for their medism. With others the Hellenes were not so charitable, Thebes and a number of wealthy aristocratic Thebans come to mind.

Pan-Hellenism Takes Root

Few have not heard of the late fourth-century military prodigy Alexander-the-Great, or more properly, Alexander III of Macedon; in fact he is a direct descendant of the comparatively very little-known Alexander I of Macedon. Even fewer will have ever heard of Alexander I's father, King Amyntas I, yet Alexander I is the only Macedonian given any prominence by Herodotus in his *Histories*. Following the inconclusive naval engagement off Artemision, messages are left on the shore at all the sites that might provide drinking water—these exhort Xerxes' Ionian allies not to help the Persians and to ask the Carians not to

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37. But as the Spartans lament so bitterly after being instrumental in driving Hippias, the last of the Peisistratid tyrants, out of Athens and into exile at the close of the sixth century—the Athenians are a thankless people (Hdt. 5.92.2). Never made clear in this well-known Herodotean quotation is who in Sparta said it—perhaps a member of the *Gerousia*—and to whom the Spartans were referring—the privileged and wealthy Athenian aristocrats—or those *others* who several millennia later in a similar context are quite foolishly and contemptibly—citizens with only just enough to get by, Athenians not wealthy enough to equip themselves and train as hoplites, let alone own slaves.

help them either (Hdt. 8.22.1-3).[38] Identity is often bitterly contested whichever side of the fence we chose, one historian writes:[39]

> Macedonians—irrespective of origin, dialect, or religious proclivities—were citizens of Macedonian civic units, and their country, the kingdom of the Macedonians (ή Μακεδόνων βασιλεία) was a state, whereas Greeks were citizens of more than a thousand states, and Greece was at best, a cultural concept with hazy and variable contours, and at worst, a slogan.

Shortly after Alexander I's death and some thirty or forty years after the battle at Plataea, Herodotus is still researching, revising his writing, and more than likely entertaining crowds with excerpts from his not yet complete *Histories*. It is fair to ask whether his generally favourable view of Macedon and the Macedonian monarchy is not directed toward some Pan-Hellenic goal—the fifth-century Macedonians are not yet regarded as Hellenes, but encouraged by their Argead dynasty myth a slow process of Hellenization arguably has its beginnings during the late sixth century. During the Second Greco-Persian War Macedon medizes and supplies Xerxes with troops, but what are the realistic alternatives for this small nominally independent kingdom—a kingdom always in harm's way if the Persians pursue their ambitions to expand their empire into Europe?

Geography is always important to Herodotus and is important here; had Alexander's kingdom been only a little further north neither the Persians nor the Hellenes would have cared one way or the other. For both sides, Macedon would have remained strategically insignificant and out of mind. Whether Macedon joins the Delian League after Xerxes' defeat and withdrawal in 479 and Xanthippus' siege of Sestos in 478, Herodotus does not say. But it is difficult to imagine that somehow Herodotus' writings are sponsored propaganda directed toward preserving an independent and autonomous Macedon against Athenian expansion in the wake of Xerxes' unsuccessful invasion and the decline of Persian military power.[40] Perhaps Herodotus' principal sources are from Macedon and

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38. Herodotus' wording is unambiguously Pan-Hellenic, Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. Roughly translatedas "Men of Ionia, you do not do what is right by going to war against [the land of] your fathers and reducing Hellas to slavery." One of Herodotus' constant themes is that if a people are to be truly Greek then they must first be free.

39. Miltiades B. Hatzopoulus, *Ancient Macedonia* (Berlin; Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020), 122.

40. The Athenians take a dim view of medizing—but under what circumstance might it be an acceptable political or military ploy and a pragmatic matter of Hobson's choice? Alexander saw at first-hand what happened in Phocis and what might well have happened in Boeotia had he not intervened—when your city-state or rural kingdom is on the route of an invading army you let them pass through and trust that under their commanders the invading hordes will remain sufficiently disciplined to eschew rape and pillage.

these are anxious to show their late king in a good light? We know from other sources that Alexander I rules Macedon until his death in 454, when he is succeeded by his eldest son, Alcetas II, who rules for about six years before being assassinated; he in turn being succeeded by a younger brother Perdiccas II who rules from 448 to 413; and, of course, it is this same Argead royal house that in the latter half of the fourth century will produce Philip II of Macedon and his son, Alexander III—Alexander the Great. But it is Prince Alexander who insists that drunken fornication is a grotesque violation of *xenia*—the most enduring and endearing of Homeric and therefore foundational Pan-Hellenic values—and doubtless much else beside. For good reason Athenian values and practices are not adopted *holus-bolus*. Ross Scaife concludes his article with the judgement: [41]

> Thus Herodotus portrays in Alexander a leader whose cultural marginality presented a stark choice between heroic resistance and compromise. While the king could prove his Hellenism in a genealogical sense to the satisfaction of Herodotus and the Olympic judges, he did not support that heritage in a consistent, dependable manner.

Daniel Gillis adopts a less critical and more pragmatic approach to the reactions of Greek city-states [and others] facing imminent Persian invasions: [42]

> But ideology played remarkably little role in those critical times—certainly less than later Greeks would care to admit—and options were limited. Survival was the goal, and the methods chosen to attain it differed. One should hardly expect otherwise from a people as factious as the Greeks. They acted under pressure, according to their lights. Few were noble. All were vulnerable.

I believe that Scaife misinterprets both Herodotus' text and Herodotus' intent in writing about early fifth-century Macedon and their Argive monarch.[43] Athens, which as a city has been burned, razed, and looted twice during the Second Greco-Persian War, has a credible alternative to medizing—the citizens can abandon their Attic homeland and with it their ever-unreliable allies and sail en

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41. Scaife, "Alexander in the *Histories*," 137.

42. Daniel Gilles, "Collaboration with the Persians," *Historia-Einzelschrift: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte.* Heft 34 (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1979) iii.

43. Given his Argive/Argead heritage Alexander doubtless sees himself as a Homeric hero and one who, if necessary, will indulge in copious *Iliadic bloodshed*—ideally largely that of his enemies. But he owes it to his subjects—principally shepherds and foresters—to come up with a pragmatic resolution of the conflict between his personal Pan-Hellenic convictions and his very practical political obligation to avoid his adult countrymen becoming both *good and dead* and *dead and good* with their children similarly butchered or the young boys emasculated and packed-off with their female siblings by marauding Persians to the Mediterranean slave markets.

masse to Siris in southern Italy and start afresh: something they have already threatened to do.[44]

Alexander does not have the luxury of such an escape with safe relocation to a distant colony for his Macedonian countrymen—they are simple shepherds and foresters tied to their land base. Compromise can be a dirty word; but sober if unexciting pragmatism always trumps foolhardiness. Even in Homer's epics heroic resistance—often understood as valour—has never been an inter-changeable term with pointless mass suicide. While there is no reason to believe that Herodotus consults only Macedonian sources about Alexander's role during the First and Second Greco-Persian Wars there is another aspect to Herodotus' observations. Pan-Hellenism is the only certain antidote to medizing and Herodotus' sympathetic portrait of Alexander points the Athenians away from unequal alliances based largely on coercion, exorbitant fines, military and naval dominance, and often punitive retribution.

Conclusions

One objective of this study is to demonstrate that one way or another Herodotus is a proto-biographer. He writes when the genre of history is ill defined beyond the obvious—that the subject matter is not entirely myth, or by how much must we suspend our disbelief. Just naming an individual, and closely associating her or him with an historical event, has the effect of granting that individual agency and therefore some responsibility or credit if things go rather well, and some culpability if the desired outcome is not obtained. But as Anne Geddes writes, "Biographies might contain anecdotes, but they should not consist [solely] of them."[45] Indeed that is why I use the term proto-biographer—not quite there yet.

This brings us back to the: who, what, where, why, and when of story-telling. By just giving a name—a unique being "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife"—Herodotus grants a measure of identity and verisimilitude to this individual.[46] But if Heraclitus is right about character and destiny—then exactly what deed, why, and perhaps with what and then when this individual assumes autonomy, exercises authority, putting agency into action—this places the

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44. See Themistocles' speech to his allies just before the battle off Salamis (Hdt. 8.62.2). Siris, a long-established Ionian colony, was a port city on the Gulf of Taranto in southern Italy. This mass relocation is something the Spartans cannot even remotely consider. As a warrior society they rely on their virtually captive helots (slaves) to fuel their isolationist agricultural economy. Unless it is to feed hay to his favourite race-horse, a Spartan male likely will never touch a pitchfork in his lifetime.

45. Geddes, "Ion of Chios and Politics," 115.

46. With apologies to Thomas Gray and his *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*.

selected individual right in the front row of history. In short, Herodotus makes sure that story remains part of history. Although he is blissfully unaware of a new and important literary genre to come; this amounts to proto-biography.

Although the focus of this study is on one exceptional individual, all of the foregoing is written with an acute awareness of the narrative issues lurking behind non-fiction literary genres. In the proem to his *Histories*, Herodotus claims that he is interested in the cause of the Greeks and Persians warring against each other (*Hdt*. 1.1). Perhaps: but not solely.[47] In his quest for causation Herodotus cannot resist delighting himself and therefore his audiences by weaving into his historical narrative all manner of fascinating digressions, including material that literature scholars might—almost two and a half millennia later—want to classify as biographical sub-narratives. But Herodotus does not stop there. He might now be recognised as the first Western historian, but in the mid-fifth-century this non-fiction literary genre is very new. It is not that the genre boundaries are ill-defined; there were none. Consequently the author of the *Histories* can segue in his book-rolls from fanciful meteorology, to the geography of far-away places with strange-sounding names, to a discussion of dowries, and then to the sometimes very different matrimonial customs adopted by other peoples.

Notions of Pan-Hellenism are evident throughout the life of Alexander I. His Macedon people may not yet be even faintly accepted by others as true Hellenes, but the Macedonian inclusion quest has to start somewhere. And it starts with Alexander. Of course, if he is eligible, then doubtless his ancestors were also eligible. Perhaps they were far too busy with other matters. Then there are practical issues to consider: travelling 600 to 700 kilometres, plus the expenses and extended absence from the kingdom. Because of geographical realities his autonomy and agency are constrained. Alexander cannot pursue meaningful membership in any formal Hellenic military alliance until the existence of such an alliance itself poses a formidable and credible deterrent to any potential aggressors.

Nevertheless, Herodotus' interest in Pan-Hellenism is evident in his choice of words, a choice that is dramatically different from the choices made by Homer.[48] What Herodotus' contrast shows is that the trident of three A's—agency, autonomy, and authority—can be used for good or ill and that possession of great

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47. Herodotus' expression "μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά" is translated in the proem as "great and wonderful deeds" alternatives include "marvelous exploits"—neither word signals any degree of disbelief; but irrespective of whether these are deeds or exploits we still infer human agency.

48. The term *Achaeans* (Ἀχαιοί) is used 598 times in Homer's *Iliad*. The other common names are *Danaans* (Δαναοί) used 138 times, and *Argives* (Ἀργεῖοι) used 182 times in the *Iliad*; while for *Pan-Hellenes* (Πανέλληνες) and *Hellenes* (Ἕλληνες) each appears only once. All of these terms were used synonymously to denote a common Greek civilizational identity. All references to the *Iliad* in translation are to Robert Fagles, *The Iliad*: *Homer* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990).

power is not enough—the holder has to know how and when to use it wisely—the difference between (μῆτις) *metis* and (βία) *bie* becomes critical when resort to Herculean displays of strength are not an option.[49] Although it is not a question that Herodotus addresses directly, we might well ask whether Alexander meets any of Solon's *only happy when dead criteria*.[50] Perhaps a corollary to Solon's happiness criterion should read, "You are only judged happy when your enemies are dead" and here his happiness is assured.[51]

Acknowledgments

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49. The Greek word (μῆτις) *metis* —meaning cunning or crafty like a fox, or like Odysseus—is not pejorative and often contrasted with (βία) *bie* brute force. Ajax comes to mind.

50. Alexander lives into his early seventies, a ripe old age at that time, and dies in 454. The reversals of fortune of many as outlined in the *Histories* spectacularly illustrate Solon's maxim that "no one can be judged fortunate until they are dead" (Hdt. 1.43.7). Neither Herodotus nor other sources tell us how he died, but if it was anything other than peacefully surely someone would have said.

51. Back to Gray's *Elegy*; it is the sexton who has the pleasure of digging the graves for those parishioners for whom he has the least regard.

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