

## THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF PAIONIA\*

The Paionians were a people who lived in antiquity in the southern part of the Balkan peninsula. We know very little about them, even less than we know about the Macedonians. The reasons for this are fairly simple — no Paionian Philip ever dominated Greece, and no Paionian Alexander ever conquered the known world. As a result the ancient historians seem to have never shown any deep interest in the Paionians, and there is relatively little mention of the Paionians in the works of the ancient Greeks. Nevertheless, there are a number of references to the Paionians in several of the Greek authors, usually at points where the history of Paionia impinges on that of the Greeks. In addition there are several inscriptions from the very centers of hellenism — Athens, Delphi and Olympia — that refer to Paionian kings of the fourth and third centuries B.C. Unfortunately we find none of these inscriptions in the homeland of the Paionians. Finally there exist coins that were struck in the fourth and third centuries by the kings of Paionia. It is by combining these three types of evidence, and only in this way, that we can create a balanced picture of the Paionians and their kingdom.

But before we can really draw any picture of the Paionians, we must settle one problem, and that problem is, "Were the Paionians of Hellenic stock?" By the term "Hellenic stock" I do not mean that they were Hellenes in the same sense as the ancient Athenians or Corinthians were Hellenes. The Paionians were far too backward to be considered Hellenes in this sense. Rather I ask, "Did the ancestors of the Paionians and the ancestors of the Athenians and Corinthians enter the Balkan peninsula together from some common point of origin, speaking the same or a similar language and sharing a similar culture?" Naturally in the course of time each of these two groups would have developed along different lines. Finally because the Paionians lived so far north they had common borders with Illyrian and Thra-

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\* This is the text of a talk presented at the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki on April 7, 1964. The printed text is substantially as it was originally presented, but wherever possible documentation has been added. At the present time I am preparing a corpus of the coins of the Kings of Paionia, and this is to be considered as prolegomena to that corpus. I must acknowledge my gratitude to Rutgers University for a University Fellowship for the fall semester of 1963, and to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant-in-aid which enabled me to complete the research for this paper.

cian tribes. As a result, even if they were Hellenes, we must expect a great deal of Illyrian and Thracian influence as a result of this proximity.

It is generally accepted now that the ancient Macedonians were certainly Hellenes,<sup>1</sup> but you can all see the controversy which has arisen because of the lack of evidence, and there is much less evidence for the Paionians than there is for the Macedonians. There has been a great lack of scientific excavation in the area in which the Paionians lived, and as a result we cannot define Paionian culture in archaeological terms. How are we then to attack this problem of whether or not the Paionians were of Hellenic stock? We can try to solve this problem through the language of the Paionians. But I must warn you of the difficulties involved in this procedure also. After several scholars had become involved in the controversy concerning the Hellenism of the Paionians, N. Vulič<sup>2</sup> wrote an article which showed how very inconclusive any of the available linguistic evidence is, because the names of persons and places do not necessarily reflect the language or nationality of their current owners. After all Korinth is generally considered to be a pre-Greek name, but there is no doubt that the ancient and modern Korinthians were and are Hellenes. Likewise there are many people today named Pierre who are not French. Nevertheless, let us look at some of this linguistic evidence, always bearing in mind how inconclusive it can be.

Here as in every other aspect of Paionian history, we are handicapped by our lack of sources. Our knowledge of the Paionian language is woefully inadequate. The evidence for the Paionian language consists of a few place-names, a few personal names and one word. The first and most obvious is the place-name Πατινία. We are told by Pausanias<sup>3</sup> that Paion, the eponymous ancestor of the Paionians, was a brother of Epeios and Aitolos, the eponymous ancestors of the Epeians of Elis and the Aitolians. This is most important for us, because this genealogy shows that the ancient Hellenes considered the Paionians to be Hellenes. The place-name itself has several cognates with similar roots in Greece. One of them is Πατινίδαι, a deme of the tribe Leontis in Attica. A place in the Argolid has the same name.<sup>4</sup> Belloch<sup>5</sup> equated the name of the Paionian city of Stoboi with Στύβηρα in Pe-

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1. Jean N. Kalleris, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, I (Athens, 1946), and Apostolos B. Daskalakis, *The Hellenism of the ancient Macedonians* (Thessaloniki, 1965) contain two of the most recent treatments in detail of this problem. Most historians now believe that the Macedonians were Hellenes.

2. "La nationalité des Péoniens," *Musée Belge* 30 (1926) 107-117.

3. V. 1. 4.

4. *B. C. H.*, 33 (1909) 176.

5. *Griechische Geschichte*, 1<sup>a</sup>. 2. p. 58.

lagonia. The Paionian capital, Bylazora, finds its cognate in the city of Azoros in Perrhaibia, which is surely Greek. Ἄστιβος, the name of the river in which the Paionian king took a ritual bath at the time of his coronation, as well as the name of a place mentioned in the Peutinger table is purely Greek. Ἄστιβος means untrodden and is used by Antipater of Sidon in a poem preserved in the Greek Anthology.<sup>6</sup> Lake Prasias was the site of a Paionian lake-dwelling settlement.<sup>7</sup> One can compare it with Πρασῖαι both a deme in Attika and a town on the east coast of Lakonia.<sup>8</sup> The name is to be derived in all probability from πράσον or leak, or perhaps πρασία meaning garden plot. Beloch also points out that since we know that the Paionians lived on Lake Prasias in houses built on stakes driven into the lake in the fifth century, we must assume that such a primitive type of highly developed settlement existed for sometime before the fifth century. This would be much too early to speak of a hellenization of the name, as some people who want to make the Paionians non-Hellenic do. This would not, however, preclude a Hellenic name from being given to the lake by Hellenes who lived in the area before the settlement of the Paionians. Mount Messapion is the place where the Paionians hunt their wild bison. Of course I need not go into detail as to the place-names in Greece that are cognates — Mt. Messapion in Boiotia, and similar names in Lokris,<sup>9</sup> Lakonia,<sup>10</sup> Elis,<sup>11</sup> Crete,<sup>12</sup> and Aitolia.<sup>13</sup> The Messapians of southern Italy probably called themselves Kalabrians or Sollentines, while the Hellenic settlers gave them the name Messapians. The main Paionian river, the Axios, explains itself in the Macedonian dialect. According to Hesychios ἄξος means ὤλη or forest. The Axios appears in Homer,<sup>14</sup> and we find that the Paionians not the Macedonians lived along its banks; therefore the word must also be Paionian. Further, if the Paionian territory stretched along the Axios down to the sea, as Homer suggests, the purely Greek names in this vicinity — Idomene, Gortyna, Atalante and Europos — may also be Paionian names. The Paionian tribe of the Agrianes also has a good Hellenic name. For cognates, we can point to the Agraioi who lived on the Acheloos and the name of the month Agrianos. In the time of Alexander the Great the name of the king of the

6. VII.745.

7. Herod. V. 16.

8. Thuc. II. 56.

9. Thuc. III. 101.

10. Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσσαπέαι Paus. III. 20.3.

11. *Inscr. v. Olympia* 10 = Michel 2 = Schwyzler 414.

12. [Skylax] 47.

13. Polyb. v. 7. 8.

14. *Iliad* II. 849f.; XVI. 288; XXI 141, 157.

Agrianes was Langaros,<sup>15</sup> a non-Hellenic name. This is to be explained by the closeness of the Agrianes to the tribes of Illyrians, Dardanians, and Autariates. In the nineteenth century two inscriptions were found at Prescovatz near Monastir (Bitolia) which refer to a god called Apollo "Oteudanos" or "Eteudaniskos."<sup>16</sup> It was suggested that this god was of Paionian origin. The inscriptions, however, are of Roman date (2nd century A.D.), and from the very area of the Paionian-Illyrian border. Both facts tend to weaken the alleged Paionian character of this god.

What about the Paionian personal names? Most of the names that we know from pre-Roman times are the names of the royal family. The exceptions are Πίγρης and Μαντύης (or Μαστύης or Μαστίης) who appear in the fable about Xerxes and the Paionian woman.<sup>17</sup> Pigres is a Karian name which we encounter frequently in Asia Minor. The problem of Mantyes, which is corrupt in our manuscripts is insoluble. Another exception is Didas, mentioned in Livy, one of the royal prefects who governed Paionia after its annexation to Macedonia.<sup>18</sup> Didas, although he governed Paionia, need not necessarily have been a Paionian. The first Paionian king who appears in our sources is Agis who died in 359.<sup>19</sup> The name is quite clearly Greek. Ariston commanded the Paionian contingent in the army of Alexander the Great,<sup>20</sup> and a son of a later Paionian king bore the same name.<sup>21</sup> It is also a good Greek name. Dropion, the name of a third century king, is likewise a Greek name — the root of the name is found in different parts of Hellas, and as early as the seventh century the brother of Solon was called Δρωπίδης.<sup>22</sup> Dropion's father Leon had a Greek name. The last element in Audoleon's name is Greek, and it would be arbitrary to make the first part Illyrian, as some scholars wish to do, on the analogy of Audata, the "Illyrian" wife of Philip II.

15. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.5.2-5.

16. L. Heuzey, H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris 1876), p. 319, nos. 125-126.

17. Herod. V. 12-14.

18. Livy XL. 21. 9ff; 22.15; 23-24; XLII. 51.6; 58.8. Didas is *ex praetoribus regiis unus, qui Paeoniae praeerat*, or *Paeoniae praetor* or *Paeoniae prefectus*. In one passage he is called *Didas Paeon*, but despite this reference it is possible that he was not a Paionian. The name may be a form of Derdas, a common Macedonian name (Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, III, 33 n. 6). Cf. also Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, II, 340ff. and Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone*, 48 n. 3.

19. Diod. XVI. 4.2.

20. Plut., *Alex.*, 39; Arrian, *Anabasis*, II.9.2; III. 12.3; 13.3.

21. Polyain. IV. 12. 3.

22. Cf. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, (Göttingen, 1906), 183 where a number of Greek names with the stem δρωπ- are collected.

Benseler has explained the name as Greek, "Lion-voiced."<sup>23</sup> We meet its root in the month Audnaios or Audonnaios from both Macedonia and Knossos.<sup>24</sup> Patraos, another Paionian royal name can be Greek on analogy with Kranaos and Oinomaos. The Greek word λύκος, wolf, can be recognized in Lykpeios, another Paionian king. Thus, on the basis of the Paionian names, we can say that there is no evidence that the Paionians did not speak a dialect of Greek.

The sole Paionian word preserved for us is μόναπος and it appears in Aristotle.<sup>25</sup> It seems that this is what the Paionians call the βόνασος or European bison. From Pausanias,<sup>26</sup> we learn that a Paionian king dedicated the head of one of these bison at Delphi and we learn of the unusual way in which they were hunted. It is probable that μόναπος is etymologically related to the Old Indian word *manya* meaning neck, the English word *mane*, and the Greek word μανιάκης, necklace.<sup>27</sup> The name must emphasize the shaggy mane of the European bison. This is the only word that the ancient authors distinguish as distinctly Paionian. The main reason for this after we take into account the extremely fragmentary nature of the sources is probably the fact that most Paionian words were so like their Greek counterparts that there was no need to notice them.

The next question is, "What areas did the Paionians inhabit?" In the *Iliad* the Paionians are mentioned in several places. They appear in the catalogue of Trojan allies where they are led by Pyraichmes. I should at this point indicate that the Paionians mentioned by Homer, Pyraichmes and Asteropaïos, both have Greek names, the former meaning "whose spear is fire," and the latter "gleam of the lightning bolt." In this passage of the catalogue and elsewhere in the *Iliad* we learn that the Paionians come from Amydon on the Axios river. Quite clearly therefore in the time of Homer the lower basin of the Axios River was held by the Paionians, with their most important city at Amydon. Also, since Homer makes no mention of the Macedonians, we can assume that at the time of the composition of the *Iliad*, which most scholars would now like to place in the eighth century, the Macedonians had not yet appeared in what later became Lower Macedonia, the heartland of the Macedonian Kingdom, and the Paionians controlled this territory. A fragment of Strabo tells us that Amydon was destroyed by the Argeads, the rul-

23. W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s.v.

24. Hoffman, *Makedonen*, p. 109; *I.G.* XII 3 254.

25. *Historia Animalium* 630a. Also *De Mirabilis Auscultationibus* 830a where a variant, μόναιπος appears. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* VII. 3 has μόνων.

26. X.13.1.

27. Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches wörterbuch*, Vol. II, p. 252.

ing family of the Macedonians.<sup>28</sup> A fragment of Hesiod indicates that by his own time the Macedonians were settled in the area where they lived in classical times — that is, lower Macedonia.<sup>29</sup> Thus it would seem that sometime between Homer (ca. 750 B.C.) and Hesiod (the first half of the seventh century), probably shortly before 700, the Macedonians under the leadership of their Argead kings entered Lower Macedonia, drove out the Paionians who already lived there, and settled on the conquered land of Lower Macedonia.

Originally, therefore, the term Paionia was much more inclusive than it later became in classical times. Strabo tells us that the Paionians once inhabited a territory that extended as far as Pelagonia (the area around Bitolia) and Pieria east of the Strymon, and included much of what was later Macedonia.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, among the territories that the Paionians held were Macedonia, Emathia, Krestonia, Mygdonia, Pelagonia, Pieria, and the land of the Agrianes as far as Pangaion. We learn from Herodotos<sup>31</sup> that at some time before 510 the Paionians had attacked Perinthos on the Sea of Marmara. This is probably to be explained as a result of the pressure of the Macedonians in their homeland. In the fifth century we find that the territory of the Paionians had been constricted by the Macedonians, and that they are now confined to the interior of the country. Nevertheless Herodotos shows us that they still control wide territories, and now for the first time we find mention of other Paionian tribes than the Paionians proper.<sup>32</sup> Thus at the end of the 6th century we know of Siriopaionians, Doberes, Paioplai and Agrianes, and Thucydides adds the Laioi.<sup>33</sup> One of the tributaries of the Danube, most probably the Iskar, rises in the country of the Paionians.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the area of Mt. Rhodope where it rises, near the headwaters of the Strymon and the Nestos, was inhabited by the Paionian tribes. Mt. Orbelos between the Strymon and Nestos Rivers also was Paionian.<sup>35</sup> Herodotos tells us of Paionians who lived on the Strymon river (οἱ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνοϋ Παίονες).<sup>36</sup> The Doberes and the Paioplai were settled at the time of the Persian wars in the area north of Mount

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28. II. 848ff. Also XVI. 287f. On the change from β to μ in Abydon - Amydon see Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 24 (1935 - 36) 47. VII frg. 20.

29. *Eoiae* frg. 5. (Rzach<sup>2</sup>).

30. VII frgs. 38, 41.

31. V.1.

32. V. 15; 113.

33. II. 96. 3.

34. Herod. IV. 49 where it is called the Skios.

35. Herod. V.16.

36. V.1.

Pangaion.<sup>37</sup> To the west of these Paionians were the Lake-dwelling Paionians, whom I mentioned to you before. The Paionians west of the valley of the Strymon were settled deep in the interior of the country, for the Macedonians held the lower reaches of the Axios River.<sup>38</sup> Here their territories extended as far as Mount Kerkines,<sup>39</sup> now on the border of Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, where their boundaries met those of the Sintoi, and as far as Mt. Messapion, where their territories met those of the Maidoi. We find the Paionians on the upper course of the Axios River where their territory reached to Stoboi, and Bylazora (Tito Veles) but not as far as Skoupoi (Skoplje). In the south they extended as far as the area of the present Greek-Yugoslav border. To the west of the Axios they held the valley of the Erigon river and part of the basin of Monastir. To the east of the Axios they controlled the valleys of the Pontos (Stumnitza) and the Astibos (Bregalnitz).<sup>40</sup> The coins of the Paionian Kings have been found in extremely large numbers in a hoard found during the nineteenth century in the neighborhood of Kyustendil. Only last year another very large hoard of these coins came to light in Bulgaria. Taking this into account would lead one to suspect that the area of control of the Paionian Kings extended also into the Strymon valley near Kyustendil, and perhaps further to the south.

Now let us turn to the history of the Paionians in the fifth century. Here our only two sources are the two great historians of that century, Herodotos and Thucydides. Of course, neither of them, nor for that matter any of our other literary sources, are interested in the Paionians for themselves. It is only when the Paionians happen to be involved in some episode of Greek history that we are given little scraps of information about them. In the fifth century the Paionians are involved in Greek history twice, once during the Persian Wars, and again during the Peloponnesian War. About 510 B.C. Dareios sent his general Megabazos to extend the Persian frontiers further to the west to include the Argead Kingdom of Macedonia. This movement was a threat to those Paionian tribes who lived between the Nestos and Strymon Rivers north of Mt. Pangaion. In the course of this expedition Megabazos conquered the Paionians living east of Lake Prasias, and then proceeded to deport them to Asia Minor. For the Greeks of the fifth century this was an extremely puzzling procedure, although quite common for the Eastern empires. To explain this Herodotos found a most charming story, and since it shows the versa-

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37. Herod. VII.113.

38. Thuc. II. 99.

39. Thuc. II. 98.

40. Strabo VII, 313, 316, 318, 329, frg. 4; Polyb. V. 97.1; Livy XXXIX. 53.14.

tility of Paionian women, I shall repeat it now. There were two Paionians who wanted to become rulers of their country by winning the favour of the Persian King. They went to Sardis where the King was. There they dressed their sister, a tall, fair woman, in very fine clothes and sent her to draw water, carrying a vessel on her head, leading a horse by the bridle on her arm, and spinning flax at the same time. She paraded past the King who became interested in this unusual sight and ordered his guards to follow her. She watered the horse at the river, filled her vessel and walked back leading the horse, carrying the water, and spinning. Dareios then summoned her before him. Her brothers appeared and told him that they were Paionians from the River Strymon. The King then asked if the other Paionian women were as notable workers, and when they said "yes," he ordered Megabazos to bring the Paionians to Asia. This may not be quite historic, but it is a good story. Nevertheless, for whatever reason, the Paionians, or as many as could be collected, were deported to Asia.<sup>41</sup> This disaster did not effect the Paionians who lived west of the Strymon valley. Later, during the Ionian revolt, many of the deported Paionians revolted and with the aid of the Greek islanders escaped back to their homes.<sup>42</sup> But obviously this collision weakened the Paionian hold on the territory east of the Strymon. The next fifty years of Paionian history is almost a complete blank, but it is clear that as a result of the pressures of the Macedonians to the west and the Thracian tribes to the east, the Paionians who lived east of the Strymon, and even those on the lower Strymon itself, disappeared. We learn that Alexander I of Macedonia controlled a silver mine near Lake Prasias which was formerly Paionian and which brought him an income of one talent per day. We next find mention of the Paionians by Thucydides in connection with the events in Thrace and Macedonia in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides tells of the expedition, during the third year of the war, of Sitalkes the Odrysian King of Thrace and ally of Athens against Perdikkas, the King of Macedonia. From the circumstances of this expedition we learn a little about the Paionians. First of all, the Agrianes and the Laioi, as well as other Paionian tribes, acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Thrace, because they furnished contingents of troops for his army. Then we learn that Sitalkes' western boundary was the Strymon River which flows through the territory of the Agrianes and Laioi, and that west of the Strymon lived Paionians who were independent. Thus we see that the eastern Paionians — those living in the lower Strymon valley and north of Mt. Pangaion — were, during the course of the fifth century, first weakened by the Persians,

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41. Herod. V. 12-17.

42. Herod. V. 98. Herod. V. 17.



and then ground between two millstones, the more powerful Thracian and Macedonian Kingdoms, so that they disappear from the sources. We find that the Paionian tribe of the Doberes, whom Herodotos still knows in the area of Mt. Pangaion, has moved, and in Thucydides has its center in the Axios valley to the north of Macedonia.<sup>43</sup> From the time of the Peloponnesian War until the accession of Philip II to the throne of Macedonia the Paionians again drop out of our sources. There is no mention of them whatever. We must imagine that they withdrew into their fastness along the upper Axios River and in the mountainous regions around it, pressed by enemies on all sides — Thracians, Illyrians, and Macedonians. Here they managed to create some sort of unified state, for when our sources cause them to reappear we find that the Paionian tribes no longer exist as such, but that there is a Kingdom of Paionia in their place. This Kingdom is able to preserve its identity down to the third century B.C. It is with this Kingdom that my own studies have especially dealt, and now I should like to consider the history of that Kingdom.

As usual, we learn about Paionia only in connection with Macedonia. Diodoros Sikeliotes tells us that in the year 360-59 Philip II became ruler of Macedonia after his brother Perdikkas was defeated in battle and killed by the Illyrians. Over 4,000 Macedonians were killed in that disaster and the country was in an extremely weak condition. All of Macedonia's enemies decided to seize the opportunity to obtain what advantages they could from this situation. The Illyrians began to assemble armies and to prepare to invade Macedonia. The Thracians planned to install their candidate for the Macedonian throne, a certain Pausanias who was related to the royal family of Macedonia. The Athenians tried to restore Argaios, their candidate, to the throne, and the Paionians who lived near by began to pillage Macedonian territory to show their contempt for the Macedonians. Once again the Paionians are on the scene. But Philip was able to hold his position in the face of all these enemies by a judicious combination of force, diplomacy and bribery. He carried out a reform of the Macedonian army, which gave him the force he needed. He bought off the Athenians with the promise of Amphipolis, and thus was able to defeat Argaios their candidate. He bribed the Thracian King who likewise abandoned his protege, and he sent an embassy to the Paionians. Through the generous use of bribery and persuasion, the embassy got an agreement from them to maintain peace for the present. Thus Philip was able to get a breathing spell. In the following year 359-8, Agis the king of Paionia died. Philip seized his opportunity to attack the Paionians. He led an army into Paionia, defeated

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43. II.96.3; 98.

the Paionians, and thus compelled them to obey the Macedonians.<sup>44</sup> Some historians have taken this to mean that Philip took over the Paionian Kingdom on the death of Agis. However the appearance a very short time later of Agis' successor Lykpeios, leads me to believe that Philip only defeated the Paionians and compelled them to recognize his suzerainty. That same year Philip defeated the Illyrians, his greatest enemies, under Bardyllis, in a great battle near Monastir. There is no need to continue with the history of Philip. The Paionians have reappeared in our sources, this time with a well-defined Kingdom to the north of Macedonia. On the death of Agis, who is the first Paionian King we know, Lykpeios (Lyppeios, Lykkeios) became King. Lykpeios was probably the son of Agis, though we cannot be sure. In the summer of 356 Lykpeios, the Illyrian Grabos, and the Thracian Ketriporis joined with Athens in an alliance to try to check the advances of Philip.<sup>45</sup> This alliance seems to have had very little effect, for Philip was able to act before the allies united their forces, and continued to move from one success to another. References to the Paionians in the *First Olynthian* of Demosthenes of 349,<sup>46</sup> and in the *Philippos* of Isokrates of 346,<sup>47</sup> show that the Paionians had been overthrown and made subject to Philip. This subjection did not mean that Paionia was incorporated into the Macedonian Kingdom. Since we find that Lykpeios issued silver coins bearing his own name, we can assume that although Paionia was subject to Philip she continued to preserve her own identity as a state with her own kings. Further, the fact that they had the ability to issue silver coins argues for a good deal of independence on their part. In all probability the Paionians were compelled to pay tribute to Philip, and to serve in his armies. Apart from his coins, we learn no more of Lykpeios, and perhaps we can assume that the final years of his reign were quiet and peaceful.

From the numismatic evidence we discover that he was succeeded by Patraos who, like his predecessor, struck silver coins. This is all we can say with any certainty about Patraos, as is the case with the end of the reign of Lykpeios. We know that Patraos' successor was already on the throne by 310 B.C., and this gives us the *terminus ante quem* for the end of Patraos' reign. The coinage will, I think, help us to find a *terminus ante quem* for its beginning. On the reverse of the silver tetradrachms we find a battle scene represented. At first glance it is only a horseman with a spear riding down an enemy on foot. On closer examination of a number of different coins we soon realize that the man on

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44. Diod. XVI. 2ff.

45. *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup> 127.

46. 1.23.

47. V.21.

foot is wearing the national costume of the Persians. The cavalryman, who wears a helmet and cuirass, can with reasonable certainty be taken as a Paionian. Is there any incident of which we know in which a Paionian cavalryman rides down a Persian opponent? The answer comes quickly to mind. In Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander* it is reported that when Alexander the Great was crossing the Tigris river with his army in 331, before the decisive battle of Gaugamela, his army was attacked by a detachment of Persian cavalry. I now quote from Curtius IV. ix. 24-25. "Alexander.. ordered Ariston, commander of the Paionian cavalry to charge the Persian at full speed. Glorious on that day was the fighting of the cavalry and in particular of Ariston; aiming his spear at the throat of Satropates leader of the Persian horsemen he ran it through, then overtaking him as he fled through the midst of the enemy, hurled him from his horse, and in spite of his resistance cut off his head with a sword, brought it back, and amid great applause laid it at the King's feet." Of course we must not take every single word of this extremely rhetorical writer as the absolute truth. The picture of Satropates making off through the ranks of the Persians with his throat run through by a spear is, to say the least, extremely unlikely. Much more probably, Ariston wounded the Persian, threw him from his horse, and then killed him. A further confirmation of this incident is found in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, from which I shall also quote.<sup>48</sup> "Ariston, the leader of the Paionians, having slain an enemy brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying: 'In my country, O King, such a gift as this is rewarded with a golden beaker.' 'Yes,' said Alexander with a laugh, 'an empty one, but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine.'" A little anecdote which says something about the customs of the Paionians, and about Alexander's graciousness. In any case, I think that we can consider the Paionian coin type as a representation of the epic battle of Ariston and Satropates. The name Ariston appears later as the name of a member of the royal family, and probably our Ariston was likewise a member of the royal family — perhaps a younger brother of Patraos. Patraos himself issued two types of silver tetradrachms. The first issue, a very rare one, showed a horse's head on the reverse; the second, much more common, is the one I described before. Therefore one can say that Patraos came to the throne shortly before 331 and issued the horse head type. After 331 he changed to the other which was rather flattering to the royal family. He must have died before 310, and was probably succeeded by his son Audoleon.

At this point, let us consider the Paionian troops who were with Alexander on his Asiatic expedition. It seems that there were originally about 200

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48. Chap. 39.

soldiers. They were used as light cavalry, as skirmishers, and as scouts. Probably they were equipped with a long lance and short sword. They participated in all three of Alexander's great battles against the Persians, but they disappear from the sources after Gaugamela, the last of the three. It seems that the original 200 were never reinforced and that after Gaugamela they were either allowed to go home or were incorporated into other units.<sup>49</sup>

Patraos' successor Audoleon, was already king in 310. But already great changes had happened in the empire that Alexander created. On the death of Alexander Antipatros continued in charge of Macedonia and naturally would have had supervision over the Paionian vassal state. Surprisingly in the period after Alexander's death which is extremely well documented in our sources, there is no mention of the Paionians. Dexippos, the Athenian historian of the third century A.D., tells us in a fragment of his history *τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον* preserved in Photius, that Antipater was appointed *strategos autokrator* in charge of all the Macedonians, Hellenes, Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrianes.<sup>50</sup> There is no mention of the Paionians, and we can conjecture that soon after Alexander's death the Paionians shook off Macedonian sovereignty. Having their own kings and their own state, they were easily able to obtain complete independence. For a number of years, as the successors of Alexander, the diadochoi, struggled to control his empire, the Paionians slip into obscurity. Then Diodoros Sikeliotes, who is here following the great contemporary historian Hieronymos of Kardia, reports among the events of 310/309 that Kassandros son of Antipatros and the ruler of Macedonia, went to the aid of Audoleon, the king of the Paionians when he was fighting against the Autariatai, and freed the king from danger. According to Justin, the Autariatai were forced to leave their home by an infestation of frogs and mice, and so Kassander settled them along with their families, 20,000 in all, beside Mt. Orbelos.<sup>51</sup> From this, our first reference to Audoleon, we must conclude that the Paionian ruler was on good terms with Kassandros, his powerful neighbor to the south. In the year 306, Demetrios, later surnamed "Poliorketes" or the "Besieger" won a great naval victory at Salamis in Kypros from Ptolemy the ruler of Egypt. As a result, Antigonos Monophthalmos, or "One-Eyed," "Demetrios' father, assumed the royal diadem and the title of king. Alexander's son had been executed in 310, but until 306 all the diadochoi ruled their territories not as Kings, but as satraps or viceroys. As soon as Antigonos ended this friction all the diadochoi, one after the other, likewise assumed the royal

49. Arrian 1.14.1., 6; II.7.5; 9.2; III.13.3-4.

50. *FGrH IIA* 100 F8 2.

51. Diod. XX 19.1; Justin XV.2.1-2.

dignities. If we look at the coinage of Audoleon we can see his response to this activity. During the early part of his reign Audoleon struck silver tetradrachms with the head of Athena on the obverse and a standing horse on the reverse. These coins were issued on the same light standard that was used by his predecessors Lykpeios and Patraos. Later, however, we find another type of tetradrachm. This one is an imitation of the coinage of Alexander the Great. On the obverse is the head of Herakles wearing a lion's skin. This head is often considered to be a portrait of Alexander in the guise of his ancestor Herakles. But its appearance here on the coins of Audoleon would lead one to believe that it is rather just the head of Herakles. On the reverse is a seated Zeus holding in one hand a staff; on the other hand an eagle is perched. On either side of Zeus is the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΔΩΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ, "of king Audoleon." The coin speaks as clearly as any other source. When the diadochoi assumed the diadem, Audoleon did exactly the same thing; he responded by issuing his coins in imitation of Alexander's, with his own royal title to proclaim to the world that he, Audoleon, was independent, and also a king. Audoleon does not seem to have minted very many of these coins, but they seem to have served their purpose.<sup>52</sup> Then again Paionia slips into the background, while in the foreground is played out the fate of Alexander's empire. The empire of Antigonos the One-eyed disappeared in the wake of the battle of Ipsos in 301, but his son Demetrios was able to supplant the heirs of Kassandra as ruler of Macedonia. Pyrrhos the great king of Epiros, feeling himself threatened by the great ambitions of Demetrios, around the year 292 embarked on a policy of making alliances with Demetrios' neighbors. Pyrrhos, who quite clearly did not believe in monogamy, married the daughter of Bardylis the Illyrian, and at about the same time, a daughter of Audoleon. It was part of a policy on the part of all three rulers of seeking allies against the ambitions of Demetrios, king of Macedonia. At least we can assume that Audoleon preserved a posture of defense against Demetrios. But Demetrios' ambitions were considered too threatening by the other powers of the eastern Mediterranean, and in the winter of 287/6 his enemies struck; Pyrrhos and Lysimachos invaded Macedonia from Epiros and Thrace, while a Ptolemaic fleet swept up the Aegean from Egypt. Demetrios soon lost all control of Macedonia, which was divided between Pyrrhos and Lysimachos. Athens revolted from Demetrios' control, and Demetrios himself, an inveterate gambler to the end, staked all on an expedition to Asia Minor. Demetrios lost, and

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52. After this talk was given, H. Seyrig published in *Revue Numismatique*, (1963) 12-14 a study of a small group of regular tetradrachms of Alexander which were struck by the Paionian royal mint.

spent the remaining years of his life in confinement. In Greece, Demetrios had left his son Antigonos Gonatas in charge of the few fortresses that were left to him, and among these was the Piraeus. Athens, therefore, was free, but her harbor was controlled by a hostile garrison. It is in these circumstances that we find the allies trying to keep Athens supplied with food. Athenian inscriptions are preserved which describe some of these circumstances to us. One inscription, *I. G. II<sup>2</sup> 650*, from the summer of 286, honors a Ptolemaic official who has taken care of the provisioning of Athens. With the Piraeus in enemy hands, grain for Athens must have been imported through the smaller harbors along the Attic coast. A year and a half later the Athenians, in *I. G. II<sup>2</sup> 653*, honored Spartakos, the king of Bosporos (Krimia), for his benefactions to Athens, among which was a gift of 15,000 medimnoi of grain. A half year later, in the early summer of 284, the Athenians, in *I. G. II<sup>2</sup> 654*, likewise honored Audoleon for a gift of 6,500 medimnoi. Apparently Audoleon was still in the anti-Antigonid coalition in 284 along with his son-in-law Pyrrhos and Lysimachos. This is the last reference we have to Audoleon while he is alive. The next time we hear of Paionia, Audoleon is dead. A stratagem from the collection of stratagems of the Greek author Polyainos, a rhetorician of the 2nd century A.D., Book IV, chapter 12, section 3, informs us of the condition of Paionia after the death of Audoleon. I quote, "Lysimachos took measures to restore Ariston, son of Audoleon, to Paionia, in order that the Paionians, recognizing their heir apparent, might receive Lysimachos himself in a friendly spirit. But when they proceeded to give Ariston the royal baptism in the river Astibos and set the royal table before him according to the tradition of their tribe, Lysimachos sounded the call to arms. Ariston fled to Dardania, and Lysimachos got possession of Paionia." Apparently on the death of Audoleon there was some dispute in the succession and Ariston had fled the country and had called in Lysimachos to help him. This dispute also explains why Lysimachos was so easily able to seize Paionia. Lysimachos was a very ambitious and covetous ruler. He had begun with the satrapy of Thrace. After the downfall of Antigonos at Ipsos in 301 he added western Asia Minor to his possessions. The defeat of Demetrios in 286 gave him the eastern half of Macedonia. Shortly afterwards, Lysimachos drove his former ally Pyrrhos out of western Macedonia, and took over the whole country of Macedonia. Then, as seems clear from Polyainos, Lysimachos seized the neighboring Kingdom of Paionia. Since Lysimachos was killed soon afterwards, in the summer of 281, at the battle of Koroupedion in Asia Minor, the death of Audoleon can be securely placed between 284 and 282. It is a pity that we know so little about him, for he must have really been a remarkable man. As long as he lived, he managed with the support of his rather small and back-



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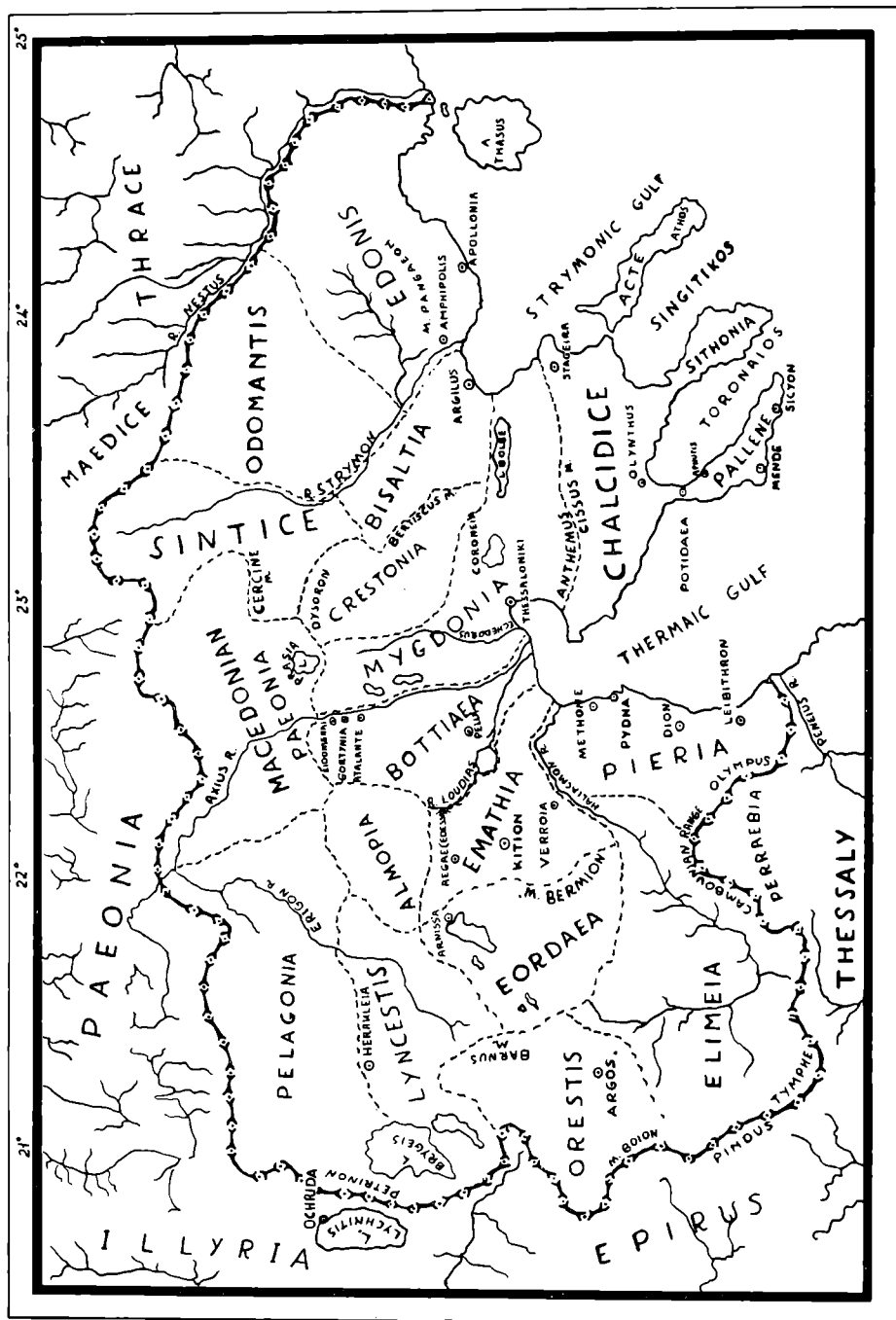
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*Coins of the Paionian Kings (collection of the American Numismatic Society). 1 and 2 are of Lykpeios; 3, 4 and 5 of Patraos; 6 and 7 of Audoleon.*



Map of Ancient Macedonia



ward kingdom to maintain his position in an age of really stupendous change, among the extremely able successors of Alexander the Great. We find another version of the story of Lysimachos' annexation of Paionia in a passage of Tzetzes which is attributed to Diodoros.<sup>53</sup> Before his death Audoleon had tried to hide his treasures. He entrusted them to his closest friend Xermodigestos, who caused captives to divert the waters of the Sargentios river, and buried the treasure in its bed. Then he caused the river to flow back into its original bed, and killed the captives. But Xermodigestos revealed the hiding place to Lysimachos, apparently after his seizure of the kingdom. Unfortunately the anecdote is considered suspect by modern historians, who think Tzetzes has erred here. After the death of Lysimachos, Macedonia underwent a period of anarchy. In the midst of this we hear nothing of the Paionians. But in 279 the Galatians or Gauls (the Celtic tribes) appeared in Macedonia, defeated the Macedonians and got as far as Delphi and Thermopylai. It is certain that Paionia was overrun and held for a time by Brennus the Celtic chieftain. Finally, Antigonos Gonatas defeated the Galatians at Lysimacheia in 277, and became King of Macedonia. The Galatians were no longer a threat to civilization in the Balkan peninsula — many were dead, some had crossed to Asia Minor, others withdrew to Serbia, and still others settled in inland Thrace. We can read in W.W. Tarn's book *Antigonos Gonatas* how Antigonos struggled to reestablish the Macedonian state in the period after the Celtic invasion. The parallel struggle in Paionia is absolutely lost — once again, there are no sources. To judge by what happened in Macedonia, Paionia must have been in a very confused condition. Stephanos the Byzantine Geographer has preserved for us an honorary epigram from the city of Tlos in Lykia, Asia Minor.<sup>54</sup> It informs us that Neoptolemos the son of Kressos defeated and repulsed the Galatians. Scholars attribute this event to the years 278-275 when the Galatians had reached Asia Minor and were raiding the peninsula. The unusual thing about this epigram is the fact that the Paionians are mentioned along with the Galatians. Apparently numbers of Paionians were swept up in the Celtic hordes as they passed through Paionia and were carried along voluntarily or involuntarily until they were finally deposited in Asia Minor along with the Galatians. Thus in addition to all their other problems the Paionians must have faced a serious shortage of manpower. Nevertheless out of all this ruin and desolation the Paionians were able to rebuild their state although not on exactly the same lines as before. The fine silver coins minted by the kings from Lykpeios to Audoleon were no longer

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53. Tzetzes, *Hist.* VI.53 (470-480) = Diod. XXI. 13.

54. s.v. Ἀγρίαι.

issued. A few small and wretched bronze coins are preserved in some collections, but that is all. The real prosperity to which the silver coinage at one time attested no longer existed, and the silver mines which once supplied the bullion were either no longer producing, or were producing for another government, probably Macedonia. We do not know the fate of Ariston the son of Audoleon. After his escape into Dardania he disappears completely from our sources. We do know of the next king of the Paionians, and this is Leon, most probably another son of Audoleon. The only evidence that we have for Leon's reign are bronze coins with the royal name on the reverse.<sup>55</sup> This, I think, quite clearly shows that Leon was king of Paionia in the wake of the Celtic invasions, and that he was the person responsible for the reestablishment of Paionian state. Once again, we have a Paionian King who, judging from the circumstances known to us, must have been a great constructive statesman, at least in his own sphere, and yet we know almost nothing at all about him.

Leon was succeeded by his son Dropion, and for him we have more evidence — a great deal, in comparison to the evidence for his father. It consists of two inscriptions, one from Delphi and one from Olympia, and a passage in Pausanias. The passage in Pausanias appears in X.13.1. I quote, "The bronze head of a bison or Paconian bull was sent to Delphi by Dropion, King of the Paconians, son of Leon." This is the important section, for it tells us Dropion's position, and establishes his relation to Leon. Pausanias goes on to tell about the way in which these beasts were caught, and I shall continue to quote, "These bison are the most difficult of all beasts to take alive, and no nets could be made strong enough to resist their charge. They are hunted as follows. When the hunters find a place sloping down to a hollow, they first of all enclose it with a strong fence; next they cover the slope and the fresh ground at the end of the slope with fresh skins, or if they have no fresh skins they use dried hides lubricated with oil. Next the best horsemen drive the bison together to the place I have described. The beasts slip on the first skins they come to and roll down the slope til they reach the flat. Here they are at first left lying. But by the fourth or fifth day when hunger and exhaustion have mostly subdued their spirit, the professional tamers bring them, where they lie, the fruit of the cultivated pine tree having first peeled the husk off for at first the beasts will touch no other food. Lastly the men fasten ropes round the animals and lead them away. That is how they catch them." The inscription from Olympia, which is on the base of what was once a bronze eques-

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55. *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechelands III. Makedonia und Paionia*, 2. Abt. ed. H. Gaebler, p. 206.

trian statue of Dropion, reads as follows when it is restored, "The Koinon (or league) of the Paeonians dedicated (this statue of) Dropion, son of Leon, King of the Paionians and founder." The inscription from Delphi is on the base of a pedestrian statue of Audoleon. It is to be restored as follows, "Dropion, the son of Leon, King of the Paionians, (dedicated this statue of) Audoleon his grandfather(?) according to an oracle to Pythian Apollo." This inscription is in an extremely worn condition, and there has been some controversy over the reading of it. I myself have been to Delphi where I examined the stone with M. Bousquet. It is quite clear that the above restoration is certainly correct. Unfortunately these three references to Dropion bear no dates, and it is thus quite impossible to date Dropion exactly. The letter forms of the inscriptions quite clearly are of the third century. But we must remember that Dropion was probably the grandson of Audoleon and successor to Leon who ruled Paionia after the Celtic invasion, that is, after 278 B. C. There has been put forth another theory that Dropion succeeded to the throne in 278, and that he was called founder of the Koinon of the Paionians because he restored and reformed the country after the Celtic devastation. But the bronze coins of Leon show that he was Dropion's predecessor, and the epithet "founder" on the Delphic inscription must be explained in some other manner. Dropion succeeded to the throne not in the 270's, but after the reign of his father Leon — at a guess, perhaps in the 250's or 240's. The presence of Dropion dedications at Delphi and at Olympia must also be taken into account. For most of the third century Delphi was under the control of the Aitolian League. There is preserved at Delphi no trace of the Macedonian Kings Antigonos Gonatas and his son Demetrios II. This, I think, must be attributed to two factors, the general hostility of the Aitolian League to Macedonia, and the great interest of the Macedonian Kings in Delos, where they dedicated many things. At Olympia also, there are no dedications of Antigonos Gonatas and Demetrios II of Macedonia. This is due, no doubt, to the general hostility of the democratic party at Elis, which dominated the state during this period. But there are the three dedications of Dropion, the King of the Paionians, at Delphi and Olympia. The one at Olympia was in a very conspicuous part of the sanctuary, and the bison's head was conspicuous enough to be mentioned by Pausanias; we do not know where the statue of Audoleon was placed. This must be the result of some policy of the Aitolians, who are known to have been allied with Elis. It is, of course, impossible to know definitely the foreign policy of Dropion yet on the basis of what we know about the Paionians it would not be amiss to conjecture that his policy was basically anti-Macedonian. This idea combined with the previously mentioned dedications suggests an alliance with the Aitolians. After the 270's

Aitolia was at peace with the Macedonian Kingdom of Antigonos. It was only during the reign of Demetrios II (239-229) that Aitolia and Macedonia were at war, the so-called War of Demetrios. I think that in this war Dropion was involved as an ally of Aitolia. Now an attempt must be made to explain the meaning of the inscription at Olympia if Dropion did not as I think reign immediately after the Celtic invasion. We know that in Macedonia the royal title under Antigonos Gonatas was Antigonos King of the Macedonians. Under Antigonos Doson who ruled from 229-221 the official style was King Antigonos and the Macedonians. We also know that under the later Macedonians a Koinon or League existed side by side with the Kingship, and the change in official style is connected by scholars with the appearance of the Koinon. We do not know the official style of Demetrios II but it is conjectured that the change in the Macedonian constitution occurred during his reign or immediately after it. If this is so we can explain how Dropion's title of Founder is consistent with a late date for his reign. When Demetrios or Antigonos Doson created the Macedonian Koinon he was imitated by his northern neighbor Dropion who hoped in this way both to modernize the constitution of his Kingdom and to increase the support of his subjects. As in Macedonia the creation of the Koinon did not in any way curtail the power of the King who continued to reign and rule as before. In any case I believe that Dropion was involved in the War of Demetrios, when the Aitolian and Achaean Leagues were united against Macedonia; the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia would thus have been open to the Paionians, the traditional enemies of Macedonia.<sup>56</sup>

We do not know the circumstances of the end of Dropion's reign. It is, like so much else in the history of Paionia, hidden from us by our lack of sources. There is no mention whatever of Dropion's successor. The *argumentum ex silentio* leads us to suppose that there was no successor, and there is a little evidence to support this supposition. The Macedonians founded a city, Antigoneia on the Axios, a little to the south of Stoboi, which helped control the northern invasion route into Macedonia along the Axios River. This city is quite clearly in Paionian territory. Its very name, Antigoneia, tells us that it was founded by a King named Antigonos, and quite clearly this should be Antigonos Doson. These two little facts when put together lead to the conclusion that Doson put an end to Paionian independence during or at the end of the reign of Dropion. Doson's reign was fairly short, from 229 to 221. During the last part of his reign he was at war with Kleomenes, King of Sparta.

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56. *Inscr. v. Olympia* 303 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 394. J. Pouilloux, "Dropion, roi des Péones", *B.C.H.* 74 (1950) 22 - 32. J. Bousquet, "Dropion roi des Péones", *B.C.H.* 76 (1952) 136-140.

This was preceded by an expedition to Karia. The very beginning of his reign was spent trying to pick up the pieces of Demetrios II's disastrous reign. Therefore, in the first two years of his reign, Doson was able to defeat all the enemies of Macedonia and reestablish security on her frontiers. He probably annexed Paionia during this time, and by 227 B.C. Antigoneia on the Axios had been built to overawe and control the surrounding Paionian territory. Perhaps Doson was not able to seize the whole of the Paionian Kingdom at once. Bylazora somehow managed to avoid his grasp. Perhaps it was held by the Dardanians with whom Doson was at war in the early years of his reign. It is also possible that Doson allowed the Dardanians to hold part of Paionia while he took the rest. In any case, Philip V seized Bylazora in 217.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately we do not know the circumstances, nor do we know from whom he seized the city. From this point on, Paionia remained a part of the Macedonian monarchy. It was ruled by a Macedonian strategos, who had his headquarters in the new city of Antigoneia, which became the capital of the province. In this way, Paionia was able to guard the northern frontiers of Macedonia from invasion by the northern barbarians, particularly the Dardanians. The Paionian cavalry stood alongside the Macedonian army in the last decisive battles against the Romans. With the defeat of Perseus, Paionia was broken up. The portion of Paionia east of the Axios River was assigned to the second Macedonian region, and the portion west of the Axios was assigned to the third region.<sup>58</sup> Afterwards, Paionia became part of the Roman province of Macedonia, and the Paionians themselves were amalgamated with the other inhabitants of the area.

My researches in the coinages of the Paionian Kings are not completed, and until they are, I shall be unable to make any really definitive statements about the coinage, and what deductions we can glean from it. Nevertheless I can make some general statements. The Paionian coinage first appeared under the reign of Lykpeios. The standard on which the coins of Lykpeios were issued is an unusual one. It is called by some a reduced Phoenician standard. In any case, the basic unit, the drachm, weighed a little over 3 grams, and the tetradrachm weighed about 13 grams. The obverse of the tetradrachm showed the head of Apollo facing left, and the reverse showed a youthful Herakles strangling the Nemean Lion. An unusual thing in connection with this type of coin is the fact that an obverse die used to strike these silver coins of the Paionian Kings was later used to strike coins of the city of Damastion, and testifies to the close connection between that city and Paionia. Lykpeios

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57. Polyb. V. 97.

58. Livy XLV. 29.

also issued drachms with the head of Apollo on the obverse and a lion on the reverse, and also tetrobols with Apollo on the obverse and a grazing horse on the reverse. We have mentioned the tetradrachms of Patraos. He also issued drachms with Apollo and a boar, and tetrobols with Apollo and an eagle. In his first period, as I have mentioned, Audoleon issued tetradrachms on the reduced Phoenician standard. He also issued didrachms with the profile head of Athena on the obverse and a horse on the reverse, as well as drachms and tetrobols. As we have said he then changed his tetradrachm type to imitate Alexander's coinage, and at the same time changed their weights to the Attic standard, in which a tetradrachm weighed about 17 grams. There does not seem to be any corresponding issue of smaller coins.

What can the coins tell us of the economy of the Kingdom? I know of at least two hoards of Paeonian coins with over 1,000 coins each. The first, found in the 19th century, has been dispersed without any adequate record. The second was found only last year in Bulgaria,<sup>59</sup> and I have not yet seen it. Yet this does testify to large concentrations of wealth in the Paionian state. The coins also show us the direction of Paionian trade. There are in the National Museum in Athens 11 coins of the Paionian Kings. Quite clearly Paionia's trade was with the north. An unusual aspect of this is the fact that much of Paionia's trade was with the Celtic tribes. The Celts copied and imitated the coinage of Philip II of Macedonia. I think that for his commerce with the Celts Audoleon issued coins which imitated, on their obverse, the Head of Zeus on Philip's coins, while he used his own reverse types. Then the Celts themselves imitated these types. An example of the popularity of these coins is the fact that one small coin collection in Switzerland has 26 of these Celtic imitations of Audoleon's coins, and no other Paeonian coins. Obviously these are local finds and show the wide influence of the coin type.

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59. *Bulletin de l'institut d'archéologie. Académie des sciences de Bulgarie. Sofia* 26 (1963) 264. At Ražinci : 1446 tetradrachms of Philip II. 1208 of Patraos, 2 of Lykpeios and 1 of Damastion.