

MACEDONIAN HELLENES: FROM DARIUS TO POLIBIUS AND THE GRAECO-INDIAN KINGDOMS

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Abstract

*Τα όρια της αρχαίας Μακεδονίας και οι φυλές και εθνότητες που κατακτήθηκαν και αφομοιώθηκαν πολιτιστικά από τους Αρχαίους Μακεδόνες παραμένουν αντικείμενο επιστημονικής έρευνας και συζήτησης. Οι Μακεδόνες, ωστόσο, καταγράφηκαν στις αρχαίες πηγές από την εποχή του Δαρείου στην Περσία, και του Αισχύλου στην Ελλάδα, μέσα από έργα ποίησης, ιστοριογραφίας, θεάτρου, γεωγραφίας, πολιτικής και θρησκευσιολογίας ως φυλή ελληνική, με ελληνική λαλιά, με παραδόσεις και δοξασίες ελληνικές, με βιώματα που δεν διέφεραν ουσιαστικά από τους συμπατριώτες τους στον υπόλοιπο ελληνικό χώρο του νότου ούτε και της Ανατολής μέχρι την Ιωνία και την Καππαδοκία, ούτε και της Δύσης μέχρι τη Σικελία και την Ιταλία του Νότου. Είχαν τις δικές τους περιφερειακές ιδιαιτερότητες, το δικό τους πολιτικό σύστημα, τη δική του ντοπιολαλιά, αλλά τα ονόματα και τα έθιμά τους ήσαν κοινά, όπως και η τεράστια δεξαμενή της ελληνικής πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς από την οποία αντλούσαν την καθημερινότητά τους. Ο Πέρσης βασιλιάς Δαρείος ο Μέγας αποκαλούσε τους Έλληνες **Yaunâ** δηλαδή «**Ίωνες**» και τους Μακεδόνες ως **Yaunâ takabarâ** δηλαδή «**Ίωνες που φέρουν τα καπέλα του ήλιου**». Τα βασίλεια που εμφανίσθηκαν το 311 π.Χ. στα βάθη της Ανατολής, γέννημα των Μακεδόνων συναγωνιστών του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου, αναγνωρίσθηκαν ως «Ελληνο-Ινδικά βασίλεια» από τους ντόπιους Ινδούς, Πέρσες, ακόμη και Κινέζους της Άπω Ανατολής και ως τέτοια μαρτυρούνται στην παγκόσμια ιστορία, διότι για τους λαούς αυτούς της αρχαιότητας ο Μακεδόνας και ο Έλληνας λειτουργούσαν ως ταυτόσημες έννοιες, όπως ο Σπαρτιάτης και ο Αθηναίος. Οι λαοί της Ανατολής δεν ξεχώριζαν εθνικά τους Μακεδόνες από τους υπόλοιπους Έλληνες. Έπρεπε να προκληθεί μία εθνογέννηση με τρόπο εφεύρεσης και κατασκευής στα Βαλκάνια για να αμφισβητηθεί η ταυτότητα του μακεδονικού Ελληνισμού από τους ιδίους, κάτι που αναγνώριζαν Μήδοι, Πέρσες, Ινδοί και Κινέζοι 2.500 χρόνια πριν...*

1.0 Introduction

Historians and anthropologists are very much concerned these days with the name issue, the boundaries and the legitimacy of claims on the term “Macedonia”, entangling the nations of Greece, former Yugoslavia, FYROM and Bulgaria in long and cumbersome dialogue and unproductive negotiations. The European Union, the European Council, NATO, the United States Department of State, the United Nations, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and a host of governmental and non-governmental entities and institutions monitor crucial policy matters and developments and prepare their annual reports. They assess constitutional issues such as human rights, respect for minorities, the rights to cultural and multicultural identity and other sensitive civil matters. The governments which are directly affected eagerly follow these reports, codifying deviations and inaccuracies or preparing defence papers on law and practice as well as on historical and cultural rights and their domestic or external policies. The governments involved and their agencies also attempt to influence these institutions to obtain favourable treatment, or sometimes vehemently oppose them.

This is often an on-going political rally, a derisive show which is implemented with much political hypocrisy by certain institutional entities, serving their own particular interests, hence ignoring violations when this suits their interests or even rewarding violations when this is necessary to confirm their national comfort. The traumatic decade of the 1990s following the demise of Yugoslavia, the vicious bombardment of Serbia by NATO forces, the spectacular trials of former Serbian leaders in the Hague and the fiasco of a Greater Albania via Kosovo as proposed by the USA were no doubt significant manifestations of duplicity, arguably designed to satisfy the American electorate rather than to respond impartially to the issues. Then there is the electronic warfare over the Internet, with its abused global electronic networks, where daily numerous sites on “Macedonia” are being created, manipulating the free access and mocking freedom of expression. Free-lance gladiators from all sides and perspectives of “Macedonianism” make impure statements offering a continuous spectacle of flagrant and occasionally vitriolic electronic aphorisms against one another.

Certain geographical as well as historical aspects of Ancient and pre-Slavic Macedonia have been discussed and analysed by ancient Greek authors, philosophers, poets (Aeschylus, Euripides), historians (Hellanicus, Arrian, Herodotus and Thucydides), geographers (Pausanias and Strabo), travellers and political genius, such as Arcadian Hellene Polibius and Pontian Hellene Strabo and others (*see below*). In this study an attempt will be made to define and demonstrate the perceptions held by ancient Greek writers and their Greek city states about their Macedonian compatriots and their Kingdom in the north.

2.0 The region and its practices

Although the physical barriers, water courses and mountain ranges were taken into consideration, none of the boundaries of Macedonia followed the natural line or environment. They simply reflected the balance of power between the ethnicities and tribes at any given

time of history involving the region north of Thessaly all the way to Illyria and Dardania; the primary city of the latter was Scupi [<Episkopi], contemporary capital city of FYROM, Skopje. In antiquity, Paeonia (Παιονία) the kingdom of the Paeonians (Ancient Greek Παίονες) was also incorporated in Macedonia when its ruler was Philip II, the most ardent tactician of the Greek antiquity together with Themistocles. Philip undoubtedly had been the most significant exponent of political conceptions and practices in the Greek world.¹



During his ruling period Paionia might have also included the whole Axios River valley and the surrounding areas. It was located immediately north of ancient Macedonia (which roughly corresponds to the modern Greek region of Macedonia) and to the south-east of Dardania (roughly corresponding to modern-day Kosovo); in the east was the Thracian mountains, and in the west, the Illyrians. The Macedonian Kings before Philip II maintained their ruling authority in central Macedonia, around Aegae and Pella and progressively expanded to augment their sovereignty lands. However, it was Philip who was driven by his far-sighted genius to expand his territory in search of resources which will secure him adequate wealth and taxes to materialize his ambitions.

¹ The phrase “*διαίρει και βασιλεύει*» which was later employed by the Romans *divide et impera* (divide and conquer) and was adopted by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) is attributed to Philip II.

Macedonian tradition, customs, heritage, language and rulers were all treated by erudite ancient sources, Greek, Persian and Roman as Hellenic. Ancient kingdoms and Empires, prominent for their institutional life and respect for their history made statements carrying crushing answers about the Hellenic ethnicity and identity of those *Makednoi* and their tribes residing initially around Aegai and Pella and later on under Philip were extended in search of resources all the way to modern Kavala unifying those tribes who claimed similar identity or Hellenizing those who wished to be acculturated. It was a culturally diverse kingdom, where the native populace was exposed to continuous warfare in an attempt to augment and then secure its boundaries. It was also a chivalric culture which was bound to produce lofty ideals. It was an age of social and political insecurity, when violence was rife and life crude and uncouth; hence it was natural that the rulers of the Makednoi ought to set great store by high precepts. History can also point to individual rulers, generals, poets and philosophers emerging from the land of Makednoi, who won renown as exemplars of their Hellenic spirit.² Before the days of the military and cultural achievements brought forth by the Eastern immense expedition of Alexander the Great and the establishment of its ephemeral empire, all the way to the lands of Jewish, Medoi and the Persians, the Asian mighty rulers from the time of Darius the Great and beyond, knew well that both **Greeks** (*Yaunâ* [Persian]; *Iones* [Greek]; *Yavan* [Hebrew], *Yunan* [Uralo-Altaic]) as well as **Macedonians** (*Yaunâtakabarâ* [Persian]) were both Hellenes (*see below*).

2.1 The Ancient Greek sources

To suppose that the rulers and the tribes in Macedonia did not speak Greek or a Greek dialect of its own, which could be comprehended by the central and south Hellenes, or to argue that the Macedonian dialect as a norm of communication was not part of the dialect continuum of the Hellenic world from the “pure waters of Strymon” to the south Peloponnese has been shown to be fallacious and politically naïve.³ After all, man is a rationale being who guides his acts by his free will and imposes his culture upon his material environment as he deems proper. Aeschylus the greatest worshipper of ancient Greek legends in his *Suppliants* (234ff), makes Pelasgus, the king of Argos, boast that his kin ruled beyond the Pindus and Dodona, as far the pure waters of Strymon, thus including Macedonia. Euripides, in his play *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1400 ff. refers to his long sojourn in the Macedonian kingdom. Euripides migrated and settled in Macedonia where he also wrote and performed his plays; his dramas being the gospel of the national traditions of Hellenism, were presented in the capital of Macedonia. This would have been impossible, particularly in the case of a drama which poured contempt on barbarians, if the Macedonians were regarded as non-Greek. In Macedonia there was the general conviction that the Macedonians were

² It is significant to note that Slavic “Macedonian” bibliography presents Macedonia as a place without a history before Alexander the Great and almost without any or substantial reference to the region prior to the arrival of the Slavs. They also manage to remain silent about the Macedonian history during the Byzantine period to the end of the nineteenth century, and thenceforth with a meagre history at best. This is the result of total silence about the activities of the Hellenes of Macedonia.

³ See among others, G. Babiniotis (2014), the Language of Ancient Macedonians, *Macedonian Studies Journal*, AIMS, Melbourne; also

Greeks, thus it was there that he staged *Iphigenia in Aulis*, a play which contains the famous dogma concerning Greek superiority to the barbarians.

In light of the above, it should be also ascertained that the “barbarians” living along and around the confines of the kingdom of Makednoi were also destined to become the ultimate heirs of the Hellenic culture and language known and used in Macedonia. Paionians, Dardanians and Illyrians had also ultimately acquired from their contact with the Macedonian Hellenes certain socio-cultural and political concepts and other more or less incidental aspects of civilization including music, dancing and religious activities, arguably retaining their tribal freedom. Conformity to custom related practices does not require special mental training. Euripides, in his *Archelaos* extols the descent of the royal house of Macedonia and its Hellenic virtues from the national heroes of Greek legend, precisely to edify the Macedonians nationally.

Similarly, there was much intellectual activity in the Ancient world of Hellas producing a vast bulk of Greek literature and historiography; naturally socio-cultural aspects and political features characterizing the Makednoi in the north would be freely depicted and imbedded in these works, during a time when freedom and democratic practice in the south were part of the daily life. Contrary to the biased Athenian patriot and orator Demosthenes, who for reasons of political expediency refused to accept his compatriots from the North as isobar and equal Greeks, a whole cluster of noted experienced and extraordinary intellectual writers confessed with remarkable examples the unity of the Hellenic culture from Peloponnese to Macedonia. Historian Hellanicus of Lesbos⁴ (Hellanicus, frag. 75), who was a contemporary with Herodotus, travelled around Greek regions of Hellas, lived at the Macedonian court and collected old traditions and concluded: “*Macedon was the son of Aeolus*”.

Herodotus, in his (*Historia*, 8,43), argued that “*the Macedonians, the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians were the ones who kept the Greek tradition and customs in the most conservative fashion and close to them the Sicyonians, the Epidaurians, the Troizinians, for the Macedonian and the Dorian nations extends from Erineus to Pindus and the Dryopian region*”. Herodotus, once again in his (*Historia*, 5, 22, 1) will voice: “*now that these descendants of Perdiccas are Greeks, as they themselves say, and I myself chance to know*”. This foremost historian in his *Historia*, 8,137 argued that the two names of the Macedonian capital **Edessa** and **Aegae**, the first with a Phrygian root and the second with a Greek one, both mean etymologically “abundant waters”, obviously derived from the Edessa water-falls still running today. The root of the word **Aegae** is found in Greek words either indicating water or related to it, as *Aegean*, *Aegialos*, *Aegion*. This meaning is already found in Homer (Iliad N, 21; and Od. E, 381), whilst according to Hesychius, the Dorians called the waves by this name.

⁴Hellanicus of Lesbos (Ancient Greek: Ἑλλάνικος) was an ancient Greeklogographer who flourished during the latter half of the 5th century BC. He was born in Mytilene on the isle of Lesbos in 490 BC and is reputed to have lived to the age of 85. According to the *Suda*, he lived for some time at the court of one of the kings of Macedon, and died at Perperene, a city in Aeolis on the plateau of Kozak near Pergamon, opposite Lesbos.

Hesiod,⁵ arguably a contemporary of Homer, a poetic luminary of great magnitude, a most noteworthy didactic poet of the antiquity, claimed in his *Theogony*, frag. 5, that **Macednos** and **Magnes**, who lived in the land around Olympus and Pieria, were the sons of Zeus and Thyia, daughter of Deukalion. Especially remarkable are Hesiod's conceptions in his poetic narrative in *List of Women*, HOIAI A2: "...and Pandora the daughter of Deukalion conceived to Zeus and gave birth to two sons of his, **Magnita** (the ancestor of the Thessalian people) and **Makidona** (the ancestor of the Macedonian people) and both of them settled in Pieria and Olympus".

Arrian of Nicomedia⁶ perhaps the best known historical source to illustrate the traits of Alexander's imperial campaign, combining with great vigour and extraordinary ability the striking success of the Macedon King as a multicultural inspirator and military genius, had left no dilemma about his ethnic identity. In his *Anabasis*, I, 2: "...He sent to Athens three hundred Persian Panoplies to be sent to Goddess Athena in the Acropolis; he ordered this inscription to be attached on the Parthenon: **Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, except the Lacedaemonians, set up these spoils from the barbarians dwelling in Asia.**" Especially remarkable is Arrian's treatment of the Great Macedonian Hellene who boasts for his descent and acts as the avenger of the nation of the Hellenes. According to his *Anabasis*, II, 14, 4, Alexander sent the following message to the Persian Great King: "...**Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us great harm, though we had done them no prior injury....I have been appointed leader of the Greeks**". Of the historian scholars and philosophers who thus busied themselves with the metaphysical principles of Alexander and his theological beliefs, one of the most influential was again Arrian, who portrayed Alexander as a descendant of the Greek pantheon. According to his *Anabasis*, III, 3.1: Alexander believed that he was a descendant of Heracles, and therefore he derived his origin from Zeus and made determined efforts to identify supreme Egyptian and Asiatic deities with the Olympian father of gods and men. Thus, when Alexander visited the Temple of Ammon in Egypt, evidently as a Heracleid he was proclaimed by the priests a son of Zeus, with whom the god Ammon was often identified even in Greece itself. According to Arrianos, Alexander had the desire to visit the shrine of Ammon and consult the oracle, since according to legend both Perseus and Heracles had done so. They were sons of Zeus and he was their descendant and thus somewhat indirectly of Ammon too. Ancient Athenian rhetorician Isocrates (436–338 BC), one of the ten most influential Greek rhetoricians of his time, who made many contributions to rhetoric and education through his teaching and written works, in his monumental work *Panegiricus* 70 speaking of the first barbarians who attacked the Greeks to enslave them he calls the Thracians "*neighbours living near us*", consequently he includes the **Macedonians as part of Hellas**.

⁵Hesiod lived in the 8th century BCE, probably about the same time or shortly after Homer. He refers to himself as a farmer in Boeotia, a region of central Greece, but other than that we know little. His poetry codified the chronology and genealogy of the Greek myths. *Works and Days* and the *Theogony* are the only two complete works we have of Hesiod, other than the first few lines of a poem called the *Shield of Heracles*.

⁶Arrian of Nicomedia (*Lucius Flavius Arrianus "Xenophon"*; Greek: Ἀρριανός c. AD c. 86 – c. 160) was a Greek historian, public servant, military commander and philosopher of the 2nd-century Roman period. As with other authors of the Second Sophistic, Arrian wrote primarily in Attic (*Indica* is in Herodotus' Ionic dialect, his philosophical works in Koine Greek). The *Anabasis of Alexander* is perhaps his best-known work, and is generally considered one of the best sources on the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

The great geographer of the ancient world, Pausanias⁷ whose illustrious and exhaustive observatory work on Greece had been the indispensable manual of modern and contemporary archaeology, ascertained that the Macedonians of his time easily integrated in the political and social affairs of the Phokian Greeks. In his work *Phokis*, VIII 2-4 he clearly stated: "*They say that these were the clans collected by Amphiktryon himself in the Greek assembly...The **Macedonians** managed to join the entire Phocian race...In my day there were thirty members: six each from Nikopolis, **Macedonia** and Thessaly*". In another reference of the spiritual needs of Macedonians residing in Phokis, Pausanias clarifies their common religious aspirations with other Greeks. In his *Phokis*, 13.5, he depicts: "*Of the **Macedonians** there are dedications from the inhabitants of **Dion**, a city under the Pierian Mountains, statutes depicting Apollo holding a stag*".

Polibius (c.200-c.118 BC),⁸ was born in Megalopolis, Arcadia and built fruitful relations with Macedonia and its society. He was the greatest historian of the Hellenistic period and a political genius who influenced with his writings the western world. His father Lycortas, a renown politician was appointed cavalry commander of the Achaean League and strongly opposed the Roman control of Macedonia. This able and unscrupulous leader was punished with imprisonment by the Romans for his vigorous role, whilst his son Polibius was deported to Rome immediately after the Roman victory at Pydna, Macedonia in 168 BC. In 152 BC Polibius returned for a short period to Macedonia in an effort to settle; however, he soon returned to Rome entering a long and constructive association with the leaders of the Empire. This great historian in his erudite work *the Histories*, IX, 35, 2, elaborates on the important role of Macedonians in protecting the safety of Greece and the Greeks from the barbarians: "*How highly should we honour the Macedonians, who for the greater part of their lives never cease from fighting with the barbarians for the sake of the security of Greece? For who is not aware that Greece would have constantly stood in the greater danger, had we not been fenced by the Macedonians and the honourable ambition of their kings?*"

Athenian great historian and political philosopher Thucydides,⁹ the father of the school of political realism, which views the relations between nations as based on might rather than

⁷Pausanias (c. AD 110 – AD 180) was a Greek traveller and geographer of the 2nd century AD, who lived in the times of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. He is famous for his *Description of Greece* (Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις *Hellados Periegesis*) a lengthy work that describes ancient Greece from first hand observations, and is a crucial link between classical literature and modern archaeology.

⁸Polybius was a Greek historian of the Hellenistic Period noted for his work, *The Histories*, which covered the period of 264–146 BC in detail. The work describes the rise of the Roman Republic to 'world power'. Polybius is also renowned for his ideas concerning the separation of powers in government, later used in Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* and in the drafting of the United States Constitution. Following his father's imprisonment, Polybius was deported to Rome, where Lucius Aemilius Paulus employed him to tutor his two sons. Polybius had the opportunity to return to Macedonia in 152 BC; he elected to stay, however, in Rome, as by that time he had placed his allegiance in the Roman Republic. He became a close friend of the Roman military commander Scipio Aemilianus, accompanying the general to Hispania and Africa. He was also among the members of the Scipionic Circle.

⁹Thucydides (c. 460– c. 395 BC) was an Athenian historian, political philosopher and general. His *History of the Peloponnesian War* recounts the 5th century BC war between Sparta and Athens to the year 411 BC. Thucydides has been dubbed the father of "scientific history" because of his strict standards of evidence-gathering and analysis in terms of cause and effect without reference to intervention by the gods, as outlined in his introduction to his work.

right, the man who pioneered scientific historiography relates the Macedonians as descendants of the Argian Greeks of the south. In his Book II, 99.3 we learn: “...*The country by the sea which is now called Macedonia....Alexander, the father of Perdiccas, and his forefathers, who were originally Temenidae from Argos...*”

Pontian Hellene and great geographer Strabo ¹⁰ provided us the foundations on which the geographic and other organizational characteristics of the vast Roman Empire rested. His reference on Macedonia, a region that he crossed on his way to Rome and socially experienced via his extensive travels, had been explicit. In his book *VII*, Frag. 9, he clearly states: “*Macedonia, of course, is part of Greece*”.

3.0 The Ancient Persian sources

The ***Behistun Inscription*** meaning “the place of god” is a multi-lingual inscription located on Mount Behistun in the Kermanshah Province of Iran, near the city of Kermanshah in western Iran.



The Behistun Inscription meaning “the place of god” located on Mount Behistun in the Kermanshah Province of Iran, near the city of Kermanshah in western Iran

It was crucial to the decipherment of cuneiform script. Authored by Darius the Great sometime between his coronation as king of the Persian Empire in the summer of 522 BC and his death in autumn of 486 BC, the inscription begins with a brief autobiography of Darius, including his ancestry and lineage. Later in the inscription, Darius provides a lengthy sequence of events following the deaths of Cyrus the Great and Cambyses II in which he fought nineteen battles in a period of one year (ending in December 521 BC) to put down multiple rebellions throughout the Persian Empire. The inscription

His text is still studied at advanced military colleges worldwide and the Melian dialogue remains a seminal work of international relations theory

¹⁰ Strabo was born to an affluent family from Amaseia in Pontus. Pontus had recently fallen to the Roman Republic, and although politically he was a proponent of Roman imperialism, Strabo belonged on his mother's side to a prominent family whose members had held important positions under the resisting regime of King Mithridates VI of Pontus. Strabo's life was characterized by extensive travels. He journeyed to Egypt and Kush, as far west as coastal Tuscany and as far south as Ethiopia in addition to his travels in Asia Minor and time spent in Rome. Travel throughout the Mediterranean and Near East, especially for scholarly purposes, was popular during this era and was facilitated by the relative peace enjoyed throughout the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14). He moved to Rome in 44 BC, and stayed there, studying and writing, until at least 31 BC. In 29 BC, on his way to Corinth (where Augustus was at the time), he visited the island of Gyaros in the Aegean Sea. Around 25 BC, he sailed up the Nile until reaching Philae, after which point there is little record of his proceedings until AD 17.

states in detail that the rebellions, which had resulted from the deaths of Cyrus the Great and his son Cambyses II, were orchestrated by several impostors and their co-conspirators in various cities throughout the empire, each of whom falsely proclaimed kingship during the upheaval following Cyrus's death.

Darius the Great proclaimed himself victorious in all battles during the period of upheaval, attributing his success to the "grace of Ahura Mazda". The inscription includes three versions of the same text, written in three different cuneiform script languages: Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian (a later form of Akkadian). In effect, then, the inscription is to cuneiform what the Rosetta Stone is to Egyptian hieroglyphs: the document most crucial in the decipherment of a previously lost script.



The image of Darius the Great of Persia.

The inscription is approximately 15 metres high by 25 metres wide and 100 metres up a limestone cliff from an ancient road connecting the capitals of Babylonia and Media (Babylon and Ecbatana, respectively). The Old Persian text contains 414 lines in five columns; the Elamite text includes 593 lines in eight columns, and the Babylonian text is in 112 lines. The inscription was illustrated by a life-sized bas-relief of Darius I, the Great, holding a bow as a sign of kingship, with his left foot on the chest of a figure lying on his back before him. The supine figure is reputed to be the pretender Gaumata. Darius is attended to the left by two servants, and nine one-metre figures stand to the right, with hands tied and rope around their necks, representing conquered peoples. Faravahar floats above, giving his blessing to the king. One figure appears to have been added after the others were completed, as was Darius's beard, which is a separate block of stone attached with iron pins and lead.

The inscription is mentioned by Ctesias of Cnidus, who noted its existence sometime around 400 BC and mentioned a well and a garden beneath the inscription. He incorrectly concluded that the inscription had been dedicated "by Queen Semiramis of Babylon to Zeus". Tacitus also mentions it and includes a description of some of the long-lost ancillary monuments at the base of the cliff, including an altar to "Herakles". What has been recov-

ered of them, including a statue dedicated in 148 BC, is consistent with Tacitus's description. Diodorus also writes of "Bagistanon" and claims it was inscribed by Semiramis.



Column 1 (DB I 1-15), sketch by Friedrich von Spiegel (1881)

In 1598, the Englishman Robert Sherley saw the inscription during a diplomatic mission to Persia on behalf of Austria, and brought it to the attention of Western European scholars. In 1835, Sir Henry Rawlinson, an officer of the British East India Company army assigned to the forces of the Shah of Iran, began studying the inscription in earnest. As the town of Bisutun's name was anglicized as "Behistun" at this time, the monument became known as the "Behistun Inscription". Despite its relative inaccessibility, Rawlinson was able to scale the cliff and copy the Old Persian inscription. The Elamite was across a chasm, and the Babylonian four meters above; both were beyond easy reach and were left for later.

With the Persian text, and with about a third of the syllabary made available to him by the work of Georg Friedrich Grotefend, Rawlinson set to work on deciphering the text. Fortunately, the first section of this text contained a list of the same Persian kings found in Herodotus in their original Persian forms as opposed to Herodotus's Greek transliterations; for example Darius is given as the original *Dāryavuš* instead of the Hellenized *Δαρείος*. By matching the names and the characters, Rawlinson was able to decipher the type of cuneiform used for Old Persian by 1838 and presented his results to the Royal Asiatic Society in London and the Société Asiatique in Paris. In the interim, Rawlinson spent a brief tour of duty in Afghanistan, returning to the site in 1843. He first crossed a chasm between the Persian and Elamite scripts by bridging the gap with planks, subsequently copying the Elamite inscription. He was then able to find an enterprising local boy to climb up a crack in the cliff and suspend ropes across the Babylonian writing, so that papier-mâché casts of the inscriptions could be taken. Rawlinson, along with several other scholars, most notably Edward Hincks, Julius Oppert, William Henry Fox Talbot, and Edwin Norris, either working separately or in collaboration, eventually deciphered these inscriptions, leading eventually to the ability to read them completely.

The site was visited by A. V. Williams Jackson in 1903. Later expeditions, in 1904 sponsored by the British Museum and led by Leonard William King and Reginald Campbell Thompson and in 1948 by George G. Cameron of the University of Michigan, obtained photographs, casts and more accurate transcriptions of the texts, including passages that were not copied by Rawlinson. It also became apparent that rainwater had dissolved some areas of the limestone in which the text was inscribed, while leaving new deposits of limestone over other areas, covering the text. In 1938, the inscription became of interest to the Nazi

German think tank Ahnenerbe, although research plans were cancelled due to the onset of World War II.



Close-up of the inscription showing damage

The monument later suffered some damage from Allied soldiers using it for target practice in World War II, during the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran. In 1999, Iranian archeologists began the documentation and assessment of damages to the site incurred during the 20th century. Malieh Mehdiabadi, who was project manager for the effort, described a photogrammetric process by which two-dimensional photos were taken of the inscriptions using two cameras and later transmuted into 3-D images. In recent years, Iranian archaeologists have been undertaking conservation works. The site became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2006.

3.1 The cast of nations during the Darius era

The *Yaunâ* (Ἰωνες, *Ionian* and in Turkish *Yunan (or Old Testament, Yanan (Hebrew) Isaiah (Hebre/Aramaic) 66:19, Ezekiel 27:13)*) was the old Persian name for the Greeks and is being mentioned for the first time in the catalogue of subject people in the *Inscription of the Behistun Monument*, which was erected in c.520 BC by the Persian King Darius I the Great (see above). This confirms what we know from the *Histories* by the Greek researcher and Historian Herodotus of Halicarnassus (fifth century): the Ionians had been subjugated by the Persian king Cyrus the Great in the mid-sixth century. According to Herodotus, the Ionian Greeks were grouped together in one tax district with the Pamphylians, Lycians, Magnesians, Aeolians, Milyans and Carians.

The *Yaunâ* appear to have gained from the Persian occupation. After all, the eastern Mediterranean was ruled by one king, which made trade easier. Impoverishment, therefore, is not the explanation for the revolt of the *Yaunâ* in Asia Minor in 499. It took the Persian armies about six years to restore order. Now, it was clear that the possessions in Asia Minor could be safe only after a *cordon sanitaire* had been created that separated the *Yaunâ* in the Persian Empire from those to the west of the Aegean Sea.

As a preliminary operation, general Mardonius was sent out to conquer Macedonia (492). His navy may have counted 300 ships, the army 20,000 men. Their first victim was Thasos, a *Yaunâ island* that possessed important mines. It became tributary to the Achaemenid em-

pire. The navy and the army continued to Macedonia, which was added to Darius' kingdom as well. (Herodotus presents this expedition as directed against the entire Greece, but he is mistaken.) This campaign was important, because Macedonia was a fine base for further conquests in Europe and possessed gold mines. Darius proudly wrote in the inscription on his tomb at Naqš-iRustam that he had conquered the *Yaunâtakabarâ*, the '*Greeks with sun hats*', a reference to the *Macedonian headwear*. So the Ancient Persians clearly recognized Ancient Macedonians as *Yaunâtakabarâ*, the '*Greeks with sun hats*' whereas the rest of Greeks were simply *Yuana*.

In the two lists below, which depict as well as enumerate the various subject nations, the reader will attest that according to the *Behistun Inscription*, the Greeks i.e., *Yauna* (Ionians) are number 23 from left to right. *Yauna Takabara* (the 'Greeks with the sun hats') – a clear reference to the ancient Macedonians and their *Kafsia* are at number 26. This is a very significant piece of information that reinforces the Hellenism of the ancient Macedonians according to old and genuine sources from the East. This piece of information in conjunction with Herodotus' reference to Alexander the I, the Persians' 'Greek viceroy' in Macedonia and his relationship with the Persians in Book 9: 45, leaves little doubt that the Persians with their inscription were essentially corroborating the story by Herodotus and clearly regarded both Alexander the I and the Macedonians as *Yauna Takabara* (the Greeks who wear the sun hats). This may also allude the reader to the sun of the Macedonian Kings, the emblem of the *Yauna Takabara*.

Indications of people and its Translation in English below:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. iyam \ Pârsâ | 16. iyam \ Bâbiruš |
| 2. iyam \ Mâda | 17. iyam \ Athuriya |
| 3. iyam \ Uvja | 18. iyam \ Arabâya |
| 4. iyam \ Parthava | 19. iyam \ Mudrâya |
| 5. iyam \ Haraiva | 20. iyam \ Arminiya |
| 6. iyam \ Baxtriya | 21. iyam \ Katpatuka |
| 7. iyam \ Suguda | 22. imay \ Spardiya |
| 8. iyam \ Uvârazmiya | 23. <u>iyam \ Yaunâ</u> |
| 9. iyam \ Zrakâ | 24. iyam \ Sakâ \ paradraiya |
| 10. iyam \ Harauvatiya | 25. iyam \ Skudra |
| 11. iyam \ Thataguiya | 26. <u>iyam \ Yauna \ takabarâ</u> |
| 12. iyam \ Gadârâya | 27. iyam \ Putâya |
| 13. iyam \ Hiduya | 28. iyam \ Kušâya |
| 14. iyam \ Sakâ \ haumavargâ | 29. iyam \ Maciya |
| 15. iyam \ Sakâ \ tigraxaudâ | 30. iyam \ Karka |
| 1. This is the Persian. | 16. This is the Babylonian. |
| 2. This is the Mede. | 17. This is the Syrian. |
| 3. This is the Elamite. | 18. This is the Arab. |
| 4. This is the Parthian. | 19. This is the Egyptian. |
| 5. This is the Arian. | 20. This is the Armenian. |
| 6. This is the Bactrian. | 21. This is the Cappadocian. |
| 7. This is the Sogdian. | 22. This is the Lydian. |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 8. This is the Chorasmian. | 23. This is the Greek . |
| 9. This is the Drangian. | 24. This is the Scythian from across the sea |
| 10. This is the Arachosian. | 25. This is the Thracian. |
| 11. This is the Sattagyedian. | 26. This is the Macedonian Greek . |
| 12. This is the Gandaran. | 27. This is the Libyan. |
| 13. This is the man of Sind. | 28. This is the Kushite. |
| 14. This is the haoma-drinking Saca. | 29. This is the man of Maka. |
| 15. This is the Saca with the pointed hat | 30. This is the Carian |



It is also reasonable to conclude that curiously enough what the ancient Persians had recognized 2600 years ago, **namely that the Macedonians were simply Greeks that wore sun hats**, could fraudulently be placed in doubt today by the strategists of the ethnogenesis of the Macedoslavs and their ignorant agencies.

4.0 The Graeco-Indian Kingdoms¹¹

Available sources¹² refer to the first Sino-Hellenic encounter during the reign of the great Chinese Emperor Wu (141-87 BC) who belonged to the Han Dynasty (206 BC- 220 AD). In

¹¹ For a detailed account on the Greeks in Easter Asia, the reader is referred to A. M. Tamis (2012), *Greeks in the Far Orient*, Vanias, Thessaloniki.

¹² Reference is made here to the research conducted by the 2nd post-WWII Greek Ambassador to China D.K. Velisariosopoulos on the Sino-Byzantine relations from the Hellenistic period to a more recent past. See file 1217/9/AS 637, 25 June 1977, Peking, pp. 1-11, *Dardalis Archives*.

c. 130 BC, the empire was suffering constant invasions on its western provinces by barbarian tribes provoking enormous unrest and catastrophes. Emperor Wu, in an effort to appease the situation, appointed a gallant warrior, Zhang Qian [Chang Ch'ien], with an objective to find allies across the western borders of the Empire and to organize a strong defence line against the invading nomads Scythians and Mongols, the Huns. Zhang Qian arrived with the Chinese army south of the river Oxus, in the province of Bactria, where he was met by the leaders of a tribe called Chang or Kushan. These people were also fugitives of the invading Mongol nomad forces and having been driven from their own lands, deposed the Greeks and their leaders from the Greek kingdom of Bactria to the southern regions.

The Greek kingdoms of Bactria in the north and the Indo-Greek dynasties in the south were formed in 311 BC following Alexander the Great's overthrow of the Persian Empire. These two Greek kingdoms¹³ were overwhelmed by the invading nomads from central Asia in c. 130 BC. Consequently, Chang Ch'ien missed by a few only years the Bactrian Greek (Macedonian) leaders; however, it is reasonable to assume that he and his soldiers made their first contact with the Greeks of Bactria, and naturally the most abiding achievement of Greek rule in Asia, the Buddhist monumental Greco-Bactrian art. It is also reasonable to believe that Chang Ch'ien also sighted some of the most splendid of Greek coins bearing King Demetrios and King Menander [Menandros] (175-135?), displaying them with their Macedonian head-band as Saviours. It is also feasible to propose that during the 200 years of Hellenistic domination in the region with the reign of forty Greek kings, the Greek presence was apparent in the wider western borders of China.¹⁴ Greek Bactria was overthrown by the invading central Asian nomads, yet the Greek presence south of the Hindu Kush maintained its vigour, with the reinforcement by refugees from Bactria until the closing years of 130 BC.¹⁵

The father of the Chinese historiography, Sima Qian (c. 145-86 BC) in his work entitled *Records of the Grand Historian*, covering more than 2000 years of Chinese history records the trade between China and the Indo-Greek kingdoms. He refers to Zhang Qian's visit in the Greco-Indian kingdoms and suggests that intense trade with Southern China was going through northern India. Zhang Qian explains that he found Chinese products in the Bactrian Hellenic markets, and that they were transiting through north-western India, which he incidentally describes as a civilization similar to that of Bactria: "*When I was in Bactria,*" Zhang Qian reported, "*I saw bamboo canes from Qiong and cloth (silk?) made in the province of Shu. When I asked the people how they had gotten such articles, they replied: 'Our merchants go buy them in the markets of Shendu (north-western India). Shendu, they told*

¹³ These Greek kingdoms were spread within the region which incorporated the four Alexandrias of the East, namely, Alexandria Escharta in Sogdia, Alexandria of Bactria, Alexandria Areion and Alexandria of Arachosia.

¹⁴ Velissaropoulos correctly points out that during the reigns of Demetrios and Menandros, the Greek presence remained strong during the arrival there of Chang Ch'ien, since the Greeks and their culture were spread in Afghanistan, Pakistan and the North Western part of India reaching up to Benares and the Ganges Basin. See Velissaropoulos (1977: 2ff), *Dardalis Archives*.

¹⁵ See in particular P. Halsall (2006), *East Asian History Sourcebook: Chinese Accounts of Rome, Byzantium and the Middle East, c. 91 B.C.-1643 CE*, Fordham University.

*me, lies several thousand li southeast of Bactria. The people cultivate land, and live much like the people of Bactria".*¹⁶

According to well-documented sources¹⁷ King Menandros about 138 BC marched far down the Ganges. According to well-known British historian, A. R. Burn, Menandros figures in a Buddhist classic, *The Questions of King Milinda*; Milinda, king of the 'fierce Ionians', in his town planned and well-watered capital in the Punjab, held dialogues with the sage Nagasena, ending in his conversion to Buddhism. "*This is the context of the rise of the first Buddhist monumental sculpture, in the province of Gandhara. Hitherto Buddhists, like the earliest Christians, had not portrayed their master. The motifs are Indian, both free-standing statues and reliefs with, for instance, the birth stories of the Buddha; the technique is Greek. From it descended all Buddhist monumental art, though it swiftly assumes its own character both in southern Asia and in China...*" Nonetheless, broadly speaking Greek influence on Buddhist sculpture remained apparent in the two main schools of arts in India, namely the Gandhara school, where the art is clearly Hellenistic and that of Mathura, close to Delhi, where the Hellenistic impact and stimulus are perceptible. Subsequently, when Buddhism reached China from India during the T'Ang Dynasty (618-906 AD), together with it came also the Hellenistic influences in the Chinese sculpture. These artistic influences were clearer in the religious manifestations of the art, rather than its secular aspects. The Chinese adopted many aspects of the Hellenistic artistic style via the Indian Buddhist monumental art but a few only aspects of the Hellenistic spiritualism. After all, the Greek sculptures always promoted in their statutes the individuality and thus their gods were always anthropomorphic. In China, the dimension of the divine remained always geometric and thus never anthropomorphic.

Finally, it is also logical to assume that Bactrian Greeks used to have some sort of commercial communication with the Chinese as many silk garments imported from the Chinese province of Sichuan were found in the four cities in the region bearing the name of Alexandria. Hence, it was only reasonable for Zhang Qian to report to Emperor Wu, that he found "also a kind of tribe there different from the other indigenous population". Almost eighty years later under the reign of the Chinese Emperor Han YuaTi (43-33 BC), Chinese embassies were sent to the South Western borders of the Empire and met there the last Greek King, Ermaios. The latter had unsuccessfully requested a few years earlier the military support of the Chinese Empire against the invading tribes of the Kushans, who having conquered the Greek Bactrian region in the north, were now attacking the last Greek remnants in the south. By this time Indian Hellenism was already "much diluted", before the invading nomads penetrated the region establishing their Kushan Empire. These events were indecisively described by certain sources utilizing rather tentative evidence:¹⁸

"..The Chinese embassies met Ermaios, the last Greek king in the region. However, this finding remains rather uncertain. In the Chinese chronicles is witnessed that their en-

¹⁶Watson Burton (1956:236) translation of *Sima Qian's Records of the Great Historian*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.

¹⁷ A. R. Burn (1965), *The History of Greece*, pp. 362-369.

¹⁸Velissaropoulos (1977:3-4).

voys met a king in the region, Yu Mo Fu. The leading historian of the region, Tarn, ¹⁹believes that Yu Mo Fu is the transliteration of the word 'Ermaios'. His opinion is fully justifiable, if we consider that the Chinese script could not adequately transfer the foreign sounds and from my own experience in China, I could also conclude that the word Yu Mo Fu could realistically be the word 'Ermaios'...

A few years earlier King Ermaios, enduring the invasion of the Kushans, a barbarian tribe, sought the military support of the Chinese by sending his envoys to Emperor Cheng Ti (32-7 BC). The latter decided not to interfere and a few years later the last remaining bastion of Hellenism in central Asia fell to the Kushans. It is interesting to note that historian Strabon also refers to the region and mentions the progressive descent of the barbarian nomads from the north, who finally reduced the Greek presence and eradicated the Greek authority from the region. A lot were also witnessed in the *Chronicles* maintained by the Chinese Emperors in which for more than 2,000 years professional historiographers were composing with accuracy the historical events of their nation.

British historian C.P. Fitzgerald, describing the last days of the Greek dominance in the Orient, comments "what a pity that these relations between the Chinese and the Greeks did not take place one century earlier?" If the Chinese contact with the robust Greek kingdoms of the East was to take place 100 years earlier, then the end result could be very profitable for both nations...."

Almost two-hundred years after the envoy mission of 128 BC to the western border of the Empire by warlord Chang Ch'ien, in AD 97, the then Emperor of China, Pan Chang, prepared an investigative expedition to the Sattagira region in the Caspian Sea with an army of 70,000, under the leadership of Kan Ying. The mission was to monitor and identify the state and the nature of the western world and more specifically of the Roman Empire, the Ta Tsin. However, although this expedition was never materialized, it was well perceived within the imperial circles that the Ta Tsin Empire was heavily influenced by the Greek language and civilization. According to Velissaropoulos (1977:4) and the *Chinese Chronicles*, the first Christians to arrive in China were the Nestorians during the 7th century AD, when almost "2000 Nestorian churches were established" and were compelled to close by the Emperor in 845 AD. Also consistent with the archives of the Chinese T' Ang Dynasty (618-906) is the fact that during the period 643-716 AD at least four envoy missions were organized by the Byzantines to China.²⁰ The Byzantine embassies were sent to China seeking unsuccessfully their military support against the invading Arab tribes.²¹ Even though it is reasonable to assume that the Chinese used the term Butzan and Fulin to denote the Eastern Roman Empire or Byzantium, according to the *Chinese Chronicles* of the T' Ang Dynasty, there was never any record of any Chinese embassy reaching Constantinople. Yet, the Chinese Ar-

¹⁹Velissaropoulos is making reference here to the brilliant and authoritative works of William Tarn and G.T. Griffith (1962), *Hellenistic Civilization*, Arnold.

²⁰ According to the *Chinese Chronicles*, in 643 AD a royal embassy arrived in China by the name Po To Li. The latter name is attributed to a Byzantine Emperor or his envoy and many researchers claim that the word Po To Li is the transliteration of the word 'Patrikios', "a title given to all the Emperors of New Rome", that is Constantinople. See Velissaropoulos (1977:5).

²¹Velissaropoulos correctly argues that despite the failure, the Byzantine embassies to China returned to Constantinople full of knowledge about advanced Chinese technology, as "Chinese technology was by far more advanced than the Western, at least until the Galileo's era".

chives incorporate the following description of the Byzantine Empire and its capital Constantinople. The description, as exotic and oriental as it may appear, is most significant:²²

"...Fulin or Butzan or Byzantium is the ancient Ta Tsin [Roman Empire] which is bordering with Persia and the Western Turks. The country has a large population and there are many cities. The Walls of the City are covered from dressed stone and the city is dwelled by more of 100,000 families. There is a gate with a height of 200 feet, which is fully covered by bronze. In the imperial palace there is a statue from gold of a man, which notices the passing hours with the sound of the bells. The building is decorated with glasses and porcelain, gold, ivory and very rare timber. The roofs are made of cement and are levelled. During the heat of the summer, there are machines that are being moved with water pressure and are used for air conditioning. The machines carry the water high and then it falls as a rain on the windows cooling the air.

The King is assisted by 12 ministers. When he leaves the palace, he is accompanied by a man, who carries a sack, where every citizen is free to throw in his request. Men have short hair and wear embroidered cloths. Their right hand remains naked. Women wear their hair in the shape of a crown. The people of Fulin appreciate wealth. They love the wine and the sweets. Every seventh day they have a brake.

The country produces corals, lime and many other strange things. They have very skilful magicians, who spit fire from their mouths; they extract water from their hands and toss pearls from their feet. They also have very talented medical practitioners, who could cure a number of illnesses taking warms out from the heads of their patients..."

The aforementioned scanty contacts and transactions recorded mainly by Chinese and Indian historians, despite their excitement, remain largely rather vague. According to well documented sources²³ the Chinese discovered the Greeks as early as 1606, when a renowned science scholar and high-ranking imperial mandarin, Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), "a native of present day Shanghai, began to study Euclid's *Elements* [Στοιχεία] in Latin with the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci." Xu was introduced to the Western science earlier via his contact with the Christian missionaries and was baptized in 1603. His fascination with the Greek mathematics, physics, logic in geometry and rational thinking overwhelmed him. Immediately he embarked on a campaign to enhance the study of Euclid's writings in China, convincing Matteo Ricci to translate together the *Elements* into Chinese. By 1607, they managed to publish the first six books of the *Elements*, which became instrumental for the study of western mathematics in the subsequent centuries, and they still remain in use today. Almost four hundred years later (1903), Lu Xun, arguably the greatest 20th century Chinese writer published a story entitled *The Spartan Spirit*²⁴ making reference to the Battle of Thermopylae. Lu Xun and other Chinese were studying then in Japan (a few only months prior to the Russo-Japanese War), when the Russians threatened to annex the northeastern provinces of China.

²² See Velissaropoulos, (1977:5-6).

²³Reference is made here to Yang Huang's paper entitled *Classical Studies in China*, Department of History, Fudan University, *Dardalis Archives*. In 2009, Professor Yang Huang was appointed Professor of History at the Department of History of the University of Peking.

²⁴The story was published on the journal *Zhejiang Tide*. See also Yang's paper above, p.1.

5.0 Final remarks

The present borders of Macedonia are the subject of historic-political combinations and complexities. They were formed after the termination of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) by means of international agreements and treaties. They were disputed during both World Wars.²⁵ Although the physical barriers, water courses and mountain ranges were taken into consideration, none of the boundaries followed the natural line or environment. They simply reflected the balance of power between the countries involved. The national and more or less ethnic boundaries of the competing nations over the ancient Hellenic region of Macedonia were finally settled with the signing of the *Treaty of Bucharest* (1913), giving to Bulgaria²⁶ its linguistically and culturally claimed Bulgarian regions; Serbia gained most of northern Macedonia and the disputed districts around Monastiri (Bitola) and Lake Ochrid, whilst Greece won the clearly Greek speaking areas of South Macedonia and the disputed territory of the central zone including the districts of Florina, Kastoria and Almopia.

Most observers and scholars agree that clusters of Pomaks (Moslem Greeks and Bulgars), Roma and Vlachs were scattered throughout Macedonia. However, the Hellenes predominated in the south and the large towns of central Macedonia, and included the bulk of the literary population, the artisan and commercial families. Greek was considered to be the official language and culture of the Christian Orthodox population. Albanians predominated in the western part and even today constitute more than one-third of the overall population of the FYROM; Bulgars were numerically strong in the north and central parts of eastern Macedonia. The identity of the Slavic-speaking (*Slavophone*) population of the northern and central zones of Macedonia became then the centre of the dispute between the competing national ideologies. The Hellenes claimed that they were genuine Hellenes who had been assimilated linguistically by the Slavs. The Bulgars stated that they were true Bulgars, the Serbs declared them to be South Serbs, some claimed that they were an amalgam of Bulgarian and Serbian settlers, Macedoslavs, who must form a separate ethnicity.²⁷ During the first fifty years of the 20th century, the authorities of non-European English-speaking countries, including the US and Australia, used to enumerate race and ethnicity of their citizens according to the prevailing self-defined designations of the individuals themselves. Hence, Greece was portrayed with Greek and Macedonian Hellenes, Bulgaria with Bulgari-

²⁵ An attempt by Russia to incorporate Macedonia into an independent Great Bulgaria (1877-1878) failed because of the disagreement of the Great Powers who insisted that it should constitute part of the Ottoman Empire. This triggered a violent and bitter struggle amongst Greek, Bulgarian and Albanian guerrilla forces that entered the region staging rebellions of their own. The issue was finally settled among the competing nations following the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).

²⁶ The Bulgarian government supported the *Macedonian Revolutionary Organization* as some of its members held positions in the Bulgarian armed forces. The MRO was dubbed 'a state within a state;' Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations were greatly affected by the operation of the MRO as Belgrade suspected Bulgarian territorial aggrandizement of its territory. Sofia raised the issue of a Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia, despite the Balkan Pact of the 1930s with the Balkan states seeking to establish good neighbourly relations amongst themselves; Belgrade always remained suspicious of Bulgarian intentions.

²⁷ According to the U.S. Immigration Commissioner in 1911 the term Macedonian denoted simply the Bulgarian. In his Reports, entitled *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Volume I, p. 255 under the entry Macedonian was inserted in parenthesis (see Bulgarian), *AIMS Archives*.

ans and Bulgarian Macedonians, Turkey in Europe with Turks and Turkish Macedonians, like Kemal Pasha.²⁸

After December 1991, and the proclamation of independence of FYROM the 'name problem' escalated simply because it also claimed the cultural identity of the Macedoslavs as "Macedonians". While Greece and particularly the Hellenes in the Diaspora rejected FYROM's ethnogenetic perceptions outright, the Bulgarians, who recognized the new State, refused to recognize the transformation of its Bulgarian-speaking people from ethnic Bulgarians to "Macedonians". Hellenes around the globe discarded the appropriation of the nomenclatures "Macedonia" and "Macedonian" as national names with exclusive usage; the semantic value of these words and their concepts openly intersected their own cultural identity. During the next two decades up to 2014 the ethnogenesis of the Macedoslavs underwent a severe metamorphosis, violating historical borders; the leaders of the newly independent state were now in search in the distant past of any elements which could reinforce the ethnic awakening of their people. The conceptual values of the ethnogenesis were now based clearly on an ethnic arrogance that was well nourished primarily by the domestic irredentist claims of the robust Albanian minority, but also by the influence of a rather affluent and grossly fanatical Diaspora. In addition, several ultra-nationalist rulers, such as Nikola Gruevski²⁹ were seeking to divert the attention of their newly liberated population from the daily socio-economic challenges, by focusing particularly on issues of identity.³⁰ This included demands that Greece and Bulgaria recognize their "Macedonian minorities"; the resettlement of the Macedoslav guerillas who left Greece following the termination of the Civil War (1949); and most importantly a well-documented expansionist policy at the expense of the Greek region of Macedonia, including the historical and cultural identity of Greek Macedonians and Hellenism in general.

With the exclusive use of the name "Macedonia" the ultra-nationalist rulers of FYROM and the fanatical leaders of the Macedoslavs in Australia were demanding cultural, ethnic and territorial sovereignty over the broader geographical area of Macedonia as well as the historical events and achievements that took place there since time immemorial. This sense of a "Greater Macedonia" incorporating the Greek and Bulgarian regions also disseminates the perception of a mutilated "ethnos" desperately seeking its re-unification. Erudite Greek historian Evangelos Kofos, following a comprehensive study of the school-books of history and geography produced in contemporary FYROM, concludes:

"...They use two maps with the name 'Macedonia' hanging in the classrooms or covering their school books; both present their fatherland-'tatkovina'. However they differ in terms of the geographical area they present. The first map presents

²⁸Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, Volume II, p. 685 under the title "Instructions Concerning country and race", AIMS Archives.

²⁹Nikola Gruevski was born in Skopje (31 August 1970) and has been Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia since 27 August 2006. He has led the ruling VMRO-DPMNE Party since May 2003. He was Minister of Finance in the VMRO-DPMNE government led by more liberal Ljubčo Georgievski until September 2002.

³⁰Most revealing are the circulation of maps of a 'Single Greater Macedonia', the advertisements by the Gruevski's nationalist party VMRO/DPMNE for a coming conference (1990) in (liberated) Thessaloniki and particularly the adoption of their national flag with its emblem the 'Sun of Macedonian Royal family'.

the 'Republika Makedonija' or FYROM, within today's national borders which are identical to the former SRM, containing parts of land acquired by the Serb Kingdom after the Balkan wars and the World War I. The second map covers the areas of the 'Greater' or 'Singular' Macedonia which- as is written underneath- presents Macedonia in its "geographic and national boundaries". Within these extended boundaries, outside the national boundaries of FYROM are also include all the Macedonian regional areas of Greece, Bulgaria as well as a strip of land from Albania. No doubt the presence of the two maps creates confusion; yet a purposeful confusion, especially valuable politically and culturally."

According to E. Kofos, the map of a singular Macedonia as a "fatherland" of today's *Makedonsi*, those who some refer to as *Skopjens*, fulfills many purposes and expresses, indirectly, unspoken objectives, for the following reasons:

- It creates the impression, particularly in the new generation, of an "unjustly" dismembered country, part of which is under *pod* (under sovereignty-yoke- occupation) by neighboring countries.
- It provides a canvas, unaltered by time, illustrating a "Macedonian fatherland" extending over the Aegean sea, where whatever has happened within its boundaries over the centuries, even prior to the descent of the Slavic "ancestors" of today's *Makedonsi*, comes under the ownership of the contemporary "Macedonian" people.
- In addition it gives the right to monopolize the use of everything "Macedonian", from naming their country and their people, as well as the historic and cultural achievements of people who lived in this area throughout the ages.
- Finally it maintains a vision, a "Great Idea" of its geographical as well as its cultural dimensions.

Hence, this two-fold concept of '*Tatkovina [fatherland]-nation*' and '*tatkovina [fatherland]*' -a dismembered political-geographical whole' - loads the generations of young and those of the Diaspora of FYROM, with nationalistic sentiments. In addition it gives a negative hue to their relationship with neighboring countries, mainly the Greeks who justly speak of irredentism.

Macedonia has been a distinct geographic and historical region since 1,400 B.C., well before the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans almost 2,000 years later. The Greek ethnicity of Ancient Macedonians³¹ as well as that of the inhabitants of pre-Slavic and Byzantine Macedonia can not be placed in doubt³². During the Byzantine period Greek identity was further

³¹ For a detailed account of the ethnicity of Ancient Macedonians and their relation to Hellas see Jonathan Hall, "Contested ethnicities: perceptions of Macedonia within evolving definitions of Greek 'ethnicity'" in Irad Malkin, *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity*, CUP, London, 2001; see also: F.W. Walbank, "Hellenes and Achaeans: 'Greek nationality' revisited" in *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Historia Eizenlschriften) 138, Stuttgart, 2000; also Christine Sourvinou-Inwood, *Greek perception of ethnicity and the ethnicity of the Macedonians*, Milan, 2002; also J. M. Hall, *Ethnicities*, Chicago, 2002.

³² H. H. Schmitt, *Die Verträge der griechisch-romischen Welt von 338-200 v. Chr. Die Staatsverträge des Altertums (StV) III*, München, 1969, pp. 520-528; See also Bloch, K. (1912), *Griechische. Geschichte*, vol. I, (Berlin) p. 92ff.: "The Macedonians were purer Greeks than those of Greece proper...."; also Casson, St. (1926), *Macedonia, Thrace*

reinforced in the Balkans as a result of the Greek Orthodox Church's hegemony.³³ The appearance of the Macedonian Question during the 1870s was the beginning of numerous claims and misgivings regarding the multiplicity of Macedonian identities in the region, depending on the ethnic and historical background of the claimants. This continuous warfare brought problems and menace to the peoples of the Balkans including the Macedoslavs. Ethnicity, according to J. M. Hall (2002), is a matter of "invention" and "construction". The ethnogenesis of the Macedoslavs is a recent phenomenon; it commenced with the self-contradictory and conflicting statements of Bulgarian Krste Misirkov (1874-1926) and his treatise "*On Macedonian Matters*" published in Sofia in 1905, about the ethnicity of the Slavs living in Macedonia, including his own ethnicity.³⁴

With the final merging of the larger section of Macedonia with Greece (26th October 1912) as a result of the Balkan Wars, the latter inherited a problem of national security, at least until 29 August 1949, when the Greek Communists and their allies, the Macedoslav forces, were finally defeated and left the country, thus resolving once and for all the problem of the Macedonian identities in Greece. During this period (1912-1949), Greek sovereignty was severely threatened, even militarily, and for a short period of time, during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), was even abolished by the joint forces of the Communists and the Macedoslavs. As a result of this warfare, the people in the region of Macedonia, Greece, suffered immensely, equally so the Macedoslavs and all those involved in provocative irredentist practices.

In conclusion, it could be argued that this study demonstrated that Macedonians were professed to be Hellenes, as indeed Spartans and Athenians were recognized as Hellenes. Macedonians were recognized by Ancient Greek philosophers, poets, historians, political minds and geographers as Hellenes. Ancient Persian emperors including Darius the Great, Indians and Chinese kings and emperors also recognized the Macedonians as Hellenes and their

and Illyria, Oxford, p.162: "If we are to define material belonging from the 10th to the 18th centuries found in many localities north and south of the Corinthian Gulf as such, we are bound to reckon Macedonia archaeologically as Greek. The people who lived in the Axios valley wore the same jewellery as that worn in Sparta, Olympia, Delphi, Aegina, Argos and many other districts..."; also Hoffman, O (1906), *Die Makedonen, Ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, Gottingen, p. 252: "The Macedonians came from a group of Greek tribes who lived in the Pindus and spread towards the Aliakmon. At an unknown period they advanced to the valley of Axios. In the valleys under Vermion, the Macedonians were of Hellenic origin; but the kingdom they founded before the time of Archelaos was a union of different peoples, ruled and governed by the Greek Macedonians and their aristocracy. They were Greeks by language and temperament that never lost their contact with Hellenic cultural manifestation..."; also Price, C. A. (1963), *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p. 311: The writer in his attempt to qualify his statement that the people of Macedonia have been the subject of prolonged and often furious argument states: "In classical days, though they spoke a variety of Greek, sent their kings to the Olympic Games, and founded the greatest of all Hellenic empires, they were thought of as remote and somewhat odd relatives of Greek proper, a cut above the "Barbarians" but not really true Hellenes."

³³ For a detailed and analytical bibliography on the Greek identity of Ancient Macedonians or a consciousness closely associated with Hellas and Hellenism, see U. Wilcken, "Philip II von Makedonien und die panhellenische Idee", SB Berlin, 1929; also F.W. Walbank, *Polibius*, California, 1972, p. 72ff; also W.W. Tarn, "The Greek Leagues and Macedonia", *CAH VII*, CUP, Cambridge, 1954; also *Polibius*, book 7 to 9; see also W.W. Tarn, "Macedonia and Greece", *Cambridge Ancient History VII*, Cambridge, CUP, 1928, pp. 197 ff.

³⁴ Misirkov argues: "...Whether we call ourselves Bulgarians or Macedonians, we have always maintained a separate, unified and different from the Serbs ethnicity, with Bulgarian consciousness, which will entail the fight for the human rights of the Macedonian"... See also in Wikipedia.org/wiki/krste_Misirkov

kingdoms and realms as “Greek”. The persistence of the Macedoslavs of the Balkans to place in doubt the Hellenic identity of the Macedonians simply rests in their objective to find a place in the history of the Balkans, where they can exist as a separate nation and people, hence they portray themselves as the sole “Macedonians”. This fallacy leads them to the rejection and the betrayal of their own Slavic identity for which they ought to be proud of as indeed for their historic Bulgaro-Slavic language as this was emerged from their roots in Ochrid.

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