



The most significant values
of the cultural and natural heritage

THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA



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FOREWORD

MACEDONIAN CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

Over the past 4.5 million years since the creation of Earth, the ancestor of the modern man, "the wise man - Homo sapiens", appearing on the African continent 150,000 years before this day, quickly settled throughout the territories of the Middle East, Asia and Europe.

His cultural evolution is recorded in the Republic of Macedonia, as well.

While travelling through the prehistoric era of the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, as well as the historical epochs of the Antiquity and the Middle Ages, man created civilizations on the soil of the Republic of Macedonia by introducing and using the natural resources. He established the magnificent kingdoms of the Agrianians, Paeonia, Pelagonia, Lyncestis, Macedonia, and the principalities of Deuriopus, Dessaretia and the Penestae.

The Roman Empire, Byzantine, the medieval states - all left a powerful civilizational imprint.

The belief in the natural phenomena, followed by the belief in the many gods, to finally worship our only God - all left indelible cultural traces.

All this enormous cultural and natural heritage of the Republic of Macedonia was subject of the capital project of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, "Publications of the most significant values of the cultural and natural heritage," carried out by the Cultural Heritage Protection Office.

130 monographs featuring the Archaeological Heritage, Sacral heritage, the Treasures of the churches and monasteries in Macedonia and the Natural heritage were created.

Macedonia - the high forest land in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula, as the name suggests, furrowed by the deep valleys of the Vardar tributaries and the river Drim, adorned with the blue - green waters of Lake Ohrid, Prespa and Dojran, with the proud giants Kozuv, Shar Mountain, Korab and Jablanica, Selecka Mountain and other mountain ranges, today lights 130 torches of its own, as well as the world's, cultural and natural heritage; a legacy to preserve, use wisely and pass on to future generations of the Macedonian road to eternity.

Prof. Viktor Lilchikj Adams, Ph.D.

THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

The Republic of Macedonia received its name owing to the fact that in Early Antiquity its territory became the northern integral part of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia. In the next twelve chapters, you will become acquainted with the basic archaeological information related to the expansion of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia to the north. This text represents a summary of the results of several research projects: Old Cities and Fortresses in Macedonia (Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje 1979-2004), the Ancient Kingdom of Macedonia in the Republic of Macedonia (Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje, 2005-2009), Archaeological Topography of Ancient Cities and Fortresses in the Republic of Macedonia (Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje, 2010-2013) and Archaeological Cadastre of the Republic of Macedonia (Archaeological Museum of Macedonia, 2014 -2016).

The archeological data combined with a substantial number of historical records allow for an initial attempt to reconstruct the northward progress of the Macedonian royal dynasties, the Argeadae Dynasty and the Antigonids Dynasty, and the correlation of the territory of the Kingdom of Macedonia with the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia.

We sincerely thank the managers of the above- mentioned institutions and projects, as well as the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, the Ministry of Culture, the Cultural Heritage Protection Office, as well as all those who contributed to the sculpting and publishing of this book.

The authors

Principalities and Kingdoms

The ancient Macedonians came from Epirus, over the Pindus Mountains, in the land where previously no Macedonians existed. In the beginning, they inhabited the upper reaches of the river Haliacmon (Bistrica). Here lived indigenous peoples whom they conquered and assimilated and afterward established a kingdom in the lower reaches of the river under Mount Olympus. They spread their kingdom in stages over the centuries, in the north to Polog, the Skopje-Kumanovo region and the Kriva Palanka region in the Republic of Macedonia (the border of the Republic of Macedonia to Serbia and Kosovo), in the west to the Pindus Mountains and the valley of the river Drim, in the south to Mount Olympus and in the east to India.

To what extent were the Macedonian kings present on the territory that is nowadays encompassed by the Republic of Macedonia and how important were these areas?

Whether and to what extent were the countries of the contemporary Republic of Macedonia an integral part of the Kingdom of Macedonia?

What were the most important civilization points in this area and what was the attitude of the local kingdoms, and the northern neighbours, toward the Kingdom of Macedonia?

The modern and independent state of the Republic of Macedonia in the western continental part of the Balkan Peninsula covers the northern part of ancient Kingdom of Macedonia.

The name of the Republic of Macedonia was inherited from the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia. The rise of the Kingdom of Macedonia was strong and fast. At one point, under Alexander III of Macedon, this name became so powerful that it prevailed over centuries.

Created as a result of the interethnic genetic mix of the Doric-Epirus newcomers and the indigenous Paeonian subpopulations, the ancient Macedonians evolved into a superior nation as early as the classical period. The Macedonian kings of the first Argeadae dynasty lifted the reputation of the Macedonian civilization amid the Early Antique Balkan milieu, and Alexander III of Macedon, by conquering the eastern civilizations and the world beyond the boundaries of the familiar, immortalized the name of the Kingdom of Macedonia and rose to the rank of a ruler of a single world ancient civilization.

Twenty-four centuries later, over the metropolitan territory of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia we see, mainly, two countries. The northern part of the kingdom is covered by the Republic of Macedonia, whereas the southern part is covered by the Republic of Greece.

The Early Ancient, Hellenic, i.e. eastern Mediterranean civilization, was formed by means of accumulation of possessions skilfully supplied by way of trade and natural exchange of the Hellenic craft products to the indigenous coastal Mediterranean tribes and nations who received metals, quality animal skin, amber, lumber and other raw materials. The Hellenes were recognised for bringing civilization from the urban centres in the Middle East to the Balkans. That is the reason why modern Europe considers the territory inhabited by the ancient Hellenes, the present-day Greeks, as the cradle of European civilization.

But what happened to the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia?

The ancient Macedonian civilization was formed in the area between the southern East Mediterranean civilization, the southern Hellenic civilization and the rugged Early Ancient continental tribal and semi-tribal world inside the Balkans.

Alexander I, Perdiccas II, Archelaus, Amyntas III, Philip II, Alexander III of Macedon, Cassander, Demetrius I Poliorcetes, Antigonus Gonatas, Philip II and Perseus are the twelve majestic kings of the two Macedonian dynasties – the Argeadae and the Antigonids, which, along with other Macedonian kings, eternalised the name that is carried today by the Republic of Macedonia and the northern province of the neighbouring Republic of Greece.

The northern kingdoms

The countries of the present-day Republic of Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, where the Argeadae dynasty formed the remarkable Kingdom of Macedonia in the first half of the 1st millennium BC, were previously inhabited by completely different, mainly Paeonian, tribes (Map 1).

Among the several fundamental theories, it seems that the most affirmative thesis is the one given by authorities such as K. O. Müller, G. Hahn, H. Hirt, Ad. Reinach, M. Drinov, G. I. Kazarov and Mikulchic, according to which the ancient Macedonians represent a mix of separate substructure groups of the indigenous Epirote and the newcomer Doric tribes that crossed over the high Pindus and, throughout the centuries, genetically intermingled with the indigenous Paeonian populations in the valleys of the rivers Haliacmon (Bistrica), Axios (Vardar) and Strymon (Struma). Historical and archaeological data indicate the formation of a lower Macedonian kingdom with a centre in the city of Aigai (Vergina / Kutlesh) and upper Macedonian kingdoms, among which, the most prominent was the kingdom of Lyncestis (in southern Pelagonia).

This means that during the first half of the 1st millennium BC, in the valleys of the rivers Haliacmon, Axios and Strymon, unfolded a process of ethno-genetic interference between the Paeonian and Macedonian tribal groups and of the establishment and polarization of the first Macedonian states. Among these, in the 4th century BC, led by the superior Argeadae royal dynasty, was formed the single and powerful kingdom of Macedonia, mainly on the territories of the present-day Republic of Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, and on smaller sections of Bulgaria and Albania.

The ethno-genetic process continued throughout the Middle Ages until the present day.

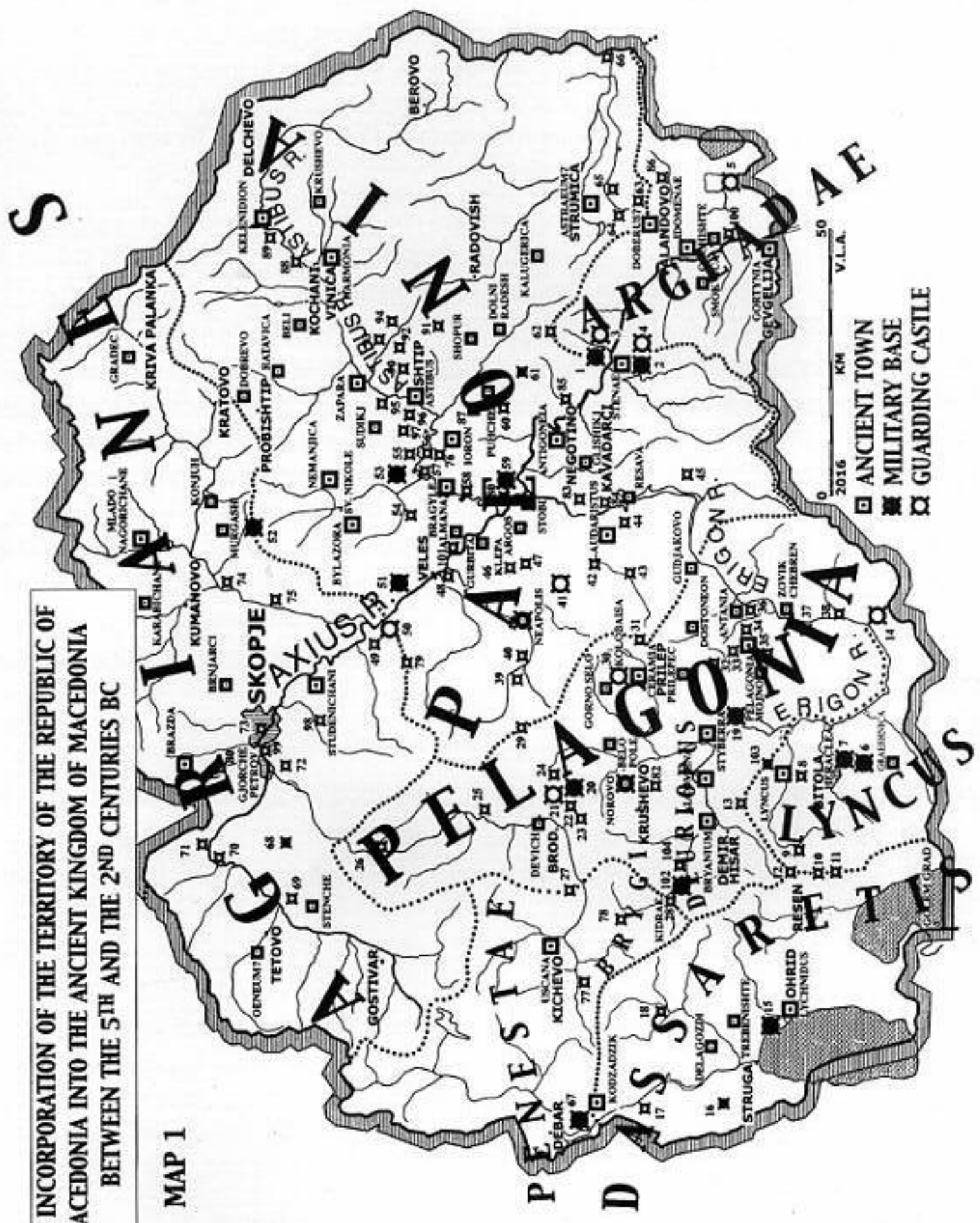
The ancient Macedonians mixed with many populations of newcomers in the unpredictable next two millennia, among which the most numerous were the southern Slavic tribes, who massively settled in the Balkan Peninsula in the early Middle Ages.

The oldest known tribes and peoples who lived on the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia gradually emerged behind the veil of the proto-historic curtain. Consequently, ever since Early Antiquity, was created a relatively refined image of the early ethnic substructure of the northern part of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia.

The region of the Republic of Macedonia was populated by a large number of tribes in Early Antiquity, which evolved at a different pace in their contact with the civilized eastern-Aegean cultural world,

**THE INCORPORATION OF THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
MACEDONIA INTO THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA
BETWEEN THE 5TH AND THE 2ND CENTURIES BC**

MAP 1



168. Map no. 1 - The Ancient kingdom of Macedonia in the period of 5th century BC - 2nd century BC

abandoning the clan-tribal social system to move to more organised models, principalities and kingdoms.

The ethnic image of the population changed insignificantly over the 1st millennium BC, partly due to the advance of the civilization line, which gradually shifted northward, absorbing the communities of the Paeonians, Derriones (Duriopes), Pelagones and Agrianes, partly due to the crisis after the death of Alexander III of Macedon, and especially after the Celtic-Gaelic breakthrough on the Balkans, when the settling of peripheral Illyrian populations from the north and west, as well as Thracian populations from the east, is evident.

But despite the progress, the civilization in that time was not powerful or accepted enough to penetrate deeper into the continental Balkans. Today, it is obvious that the boundary line had stabilized next to the area of the Skopje-Kumanovo basin, and as the northernmost Early Ancient city, the one on the site of Kale near Krshevica, in the vicinity of Vranje in the Republic of Serbia, still stands alone.

Behind this boundary in the north, the tribal cultures of the Autariatae, Dardanians, Triballians, as well as the farther continental Balkan tribes, already existed. It seems that in terms of Macedonia's expansion to the north, the Macedonian kings, with their attention commonly directed toward the south and southeast, especially the Middle Eastern civilizations, stopped at this particular boundary line and were not interested in invading the territories of present-day Kosovo and the valley of Morava, in their opinion barbaric areas, and adhering them to their state. In this respect, history has noted a great number of military actions for the prevention and security of the Kingdom of Macedonia from their aggressive penetration.

The Early Ancient ethnic picture of the population that inhabited the territory of present-day Republic of Macedonia was composed of mainly three substructive blocks:

1. The largest was the central, i.e. the Paeonian-Macedonian;
2. The peripheral western block was the Epirote - south (Northwest Greece) and the Illyrian - north (Albania);
3. The peripheral eastern block was the Thracian (Republic of Bulgaria, Northeast Republic of Greece).

The greater part of the Republic of Macedonia in that period was inhabited by the Paeonian tribes that bordered in the west with the Epirotes, in the northwest with the Dardanians, in the northeast with the Triballians, in the east with the Thracian Maedi, and in the south with the Macedonian-Paeonian demographic mix. The ancient Macedonians, progressing gradually to the north by means of the expansion led by the Macedonian Argeadae and Antigonids dynasties, no doubt genetically absorbed and assimilated the Paeonians into ancient Macedonians during the Middle and the Late Hellenistic/Macedonian period.

But let us quickly observe the ethnic image on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia in Early Antiquity.

I. Ethnic framework

The old ethnic substructure framework of the early 1st millennium BC mainly encompassed the central block of the Paeonian tribes. The tribes were as follows: the Derrones in the area around Lake Dojran, the Laeai at the far upper reaches of the river Astibus (Bregalnica) and middle reaches of the Strymon (Struma), the Doberes and Astraiei in the Strumica-Radovish basin, the Iori, southwest of Shtip and the Bragylae in the middle reaches of Astibus.

The native Pelagonians completely inhabited the Pelagonian Plain and the Mariovo area, where the river Erigon flows, before the end of 2nd millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. However, in the first half of the 1st millennium BC, the combative Macedonian Lyncestae entered Pelagonia from the south and attacked the Pelagones over the riverbed of Erigon, which became a boundary between the two kingdoms throughout the Archaic and the Classical periods. The Pelagones formed their own kingdom in Early Antiquity which maintained friendly contacts with Athens. The Pelagonian king, who is still anonymous, received the titles of euergetes (benefactor) and proxenos (Athens' Honorary Citizen) from Athens for his assistance provided in cash and army to Athens. The acropolis and the lower town of the capital Pelagonia in the Kingdom of Pelagonia, were located at the sites of Visoka (figs 115-120, 124), the village of Krushevica and Staro Bonche (figs 121-123), near the village of Bonche.



115. Alexander III of Macedon
(obverse and reverse) – site of Visoka



116. Antigonus Gonatas
(reverse) – site of Visoka



117. Demetrius (obverse and reverse) – site of Visoka



118. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Visoka



119. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Visoka



120. Cassander
(reverse) – site of Visoka



121. A shield – site of Visoka



122. A shield – site of Visoka



123. A shield – site of Visoka



124 Argate – site of Visoka

The southwestern areas of Ohrid were inhabited by the tribe Encheleii. The tribes Pisantini and Calocinini are also mentioned.

The central western and upper reaches of the river Erigon were inhabited by the tribe Bryges, who started their historic journey to Asia Minor from this point around 1200-1180 BC.

The northern and especially the north-eastern parts of the Republic of Macedonia were populated by the northernmost Paeonian tribe, -the Agrianes.

II. Ethnic framework

This image slightly changed over the 1st millennium BC. The Bryges migrated to Asia Minor in the late 2nd millennium BC.

The Derriopes/Deuriopes settled the area that the Bryges abandoned, the upper reaches of the river Erigon (Cma Reka) and the area of Demir Hisar.

In Western Macedonia there settled the northernmost Epirote tribes – the Dassaretii in the regions of Ohrid, Debarca and Struga. The tribe Penestae, which according to some authorities is of Epirote origin, and Illyrian according to others, settled in the areas of Kichevo and Debar, where the Bryges previously lived. The ethnic picture in the regions of Polog (Gostivar and Tetovo) is still debatable, where after the withdrawal of the Paeonian Agrianes, settled the Penestae, or perhaps the Dardanians.

After the death of Alexander III of Macedon, the Agrianes withdrew in the regions of Kjustendil and Kriva Palanka, their home territory, while the Dardanians entered the Skopje- Kumanovo basin. How-

ever, it is still debatable whether the Dardanians permanently settled this area or used it exclusively as a semi-deserted buffer zone through which their attacking groups only rushed in their plundering expeditions of the ancient Paeonian Macedonian cities. The Romans declared the Skopje-Kumanovo Basin as part of the Late Antique province of Dardania in Late Antiquity. What was the reason behind this decision? After conquering Macedonia in 168 BC, the Dardanians, being Roman allies, received this territory still settled by the Paeonian Agrianes (the cities and fortresses near Brazda, Studenichani, Zlokukjani, Gorno Konjari, Varvara, Buchinci and Brnjarci were Agrianian). However, Rome was in need of a strong starting position for a rebound in the north toward the Danube. The Skopje region, with its position on the northern Early Ancient civilization boundary, was the most appropriate city. Rome had stationed two legions on this location in the 1st century BC, and in the 1st century AD it converted the legionary castrum into a civilian city-Scupi, the capital of the newly established province of Upper Moesia, and subsequently the capital of the Late Antique province of Dardania.

In the central eastern areas, in the upper and part of the middle reaches of the river Astibus, emerged the Thracian tribes of the Maedi and Dentheletae.

The vast area on both sides of the river Axios was inhabited by Paleo-Balkan subpopulations. To the west were the Almopes, Botiaians and Pierians, and to the east were the Derrones, Kretones and Mygdones.

The earliest Argeadae first assimilated the lower Paeonian tribes around the river Axios, conquering the strait of Axios near Demir Kapija, where they stabilized the first northern borderline of the kingdom (Map 1). Here, Alexander I or perhaps Archelaus or Aminta III, on the northern rocks of the top of Markova Kula, established a powerful fortress with an interior palace defended by two front towers.

The powerful Lyncestae were an upper, northwest Macedonian population, who entered the southern parts of the Pelagonian Plain. In the first half of the 1st millennium BC they formed an independent kingdom with a capital named Lyncus, whose location was tentatively identified at the archaeological site of Gradishte near the village of Crnobuki, at the Shemnica River, 10 km north of Bitola.

Expeditions of the Macedonian kings toward the north

The historical information regarding the Early Ancient Macedonian state reveal that it was constantly under pressure from external attacks: the Illyrians from the northwest, the Thracians from the northeast, the Dardanians from the north and the Persians from the east at a certain point in time, more precisely, the first half of the 5th century BC, while the Hellenes from the south constantly tried to secure their coastal colonies of the Thracian-Macedonian coastline, and so, with variable results, at times they traded, and at times they were at war with the Macedonian kings.

Therefore, it is completely reasonable to believe that the early combative Macedonians were forced to constantly work on the improvement of the military skills of their mobile army and static military outposts and to constantly organize counterattacks and attacks to demonstrate their own military readiness to defend the Kingdom of Macedonia.

Modest information of the battles with the northern tribes can be found in the sources of the legendary Macedonian kings.

Argaeus I (around 623 BC) defeated the Taulantii led by Galaurus, with cunningness.

Philip I (around 593 BC) was killed in a battle against the Illyrians. Supposedly, according to the legend, the Macedonian soldiers won in the same battle, motivated by the cradle with the baby prince Aëropus I placed on the battlefield (around 563 BC).

Alexander I (498-452 BC) seemed to be lacking aspirations towards the north, except in the contacts and mediation between the Persians and Hellenes, when he crossed the Axios on the east and annexed the area Amphaxitis toward the north to Demir Kapija, as the borderline. Although there is no information in the historical sources, we believe that in his time the strait of Demir Kapija was still in the hands of the Paeonian kings.

Perdiccas II (452-413 BC) continued the Macedonian campaign on Chalcidiceand, mainly, sought to gain control of Amphaxitis and the northwest Kingdom of Lyncestis. To conquer Amphaxitis, where his brother Philip ruled, he asked Sitalces, the king of the Thracian Odrysians, for help. Unfortunately, Sitalces's campaign of 429 BC, turned into plundering of the Macedonian cities. During these attacks, the cities of Eidomene (Isar, village of Marvinci), Gortynia (Vardarski Rid, near Gevgelija), then Atalante and Europus suffered.

Archelaus I (413-399 BC) relocated the capital of the kingdom from Aigai to Pella. He built roads and many forts throughout the kingdom and reformed the military. Hammond believed that it was Archelaus who established the strong fortress with the interior palace with two northern front towers at the site of Markova Kula, near the village of Koreshnica, in the vicinity of Demir Kapija where the oldest discovered coin thus far is of the King Alexander I (fig 16).



16. Alexander I (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica

Amyntas III (394/3- 370/369 BC) directed his interest mainly towards the Upper Macedonian principalities, and among them, according to historical sources, he established friendly relations with Lyncestis, which he probably favoured because of his marriage to the young princess Eurydice, the niece of the Lyncestian King Arrhabaeus I. However, we consider this a bad option, equally as bad as the marriage of the daughter of Arrhabaeus I with the Illyrian Siras. Historical records show that precisely in this period Illyrian appetites towards Macedonia further enhanced.

Philip II (359-336 BC), having no other choices, aggressively turned toward the northern borderline Macedonian areas, wherefrom Macedonia was constantly attacked.

He handled the Illyrians, Paeonians, Thracians and Triballians in 359 and 356 BC. Later, around 344/3

BC, he conquered the Dardanians. The military operations of 356 BC were intended towards the breaking of the anti-Macedonian coalition when Philip's general Parmenion defeated the forces of the Illyrian Grabus, the Thracian Cetriporis, and the Paeonian Luceus/Lyppeus and Athens.

In 358 Philip II defeated the Illyrians, led by the old 90-year-old Bardylis, for the second time. In the decisive battle of the Bitola Plain over 7000 Illyrians were killed.

In 344 BC, Philip II attacked the Illyrians led by King Pleuratus for the third time.

Alexander III (336-323 BC), immediately after gaining power, moved to the south to demonstrate his power to the world of the Hellenes. The following year, 335 BC, with a fast, decisive and effective military intervention, he secured the risky northern border of the kingdom of Macedonia. In this campaign he marched farther to the northeast, reaching the river Ister (Danube), travelling through the countries of the Triballians, Agrianes, Paeonians, Pelagones and Dassaretii. He defeated the military forces of the Illyrians under Cleitus in the city of Pelium, southwest of Lake Ohrid, and afterward proceeded to Thebes with lightning speed. On that occasion, Alexander III diagonally crossed the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia with his army. His route closely corresponds to the route of the so-called Diagonal Road known from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*Tabula Mundi* according to the geographer Castorius of the 4th century AD).

Arian, the main source of information regarding the marching of the Macedonian army, is very modest in his work "Anabasis", without specific topographic details other than the data that Alexander travelled near the river Erigon (Cma Reka). Our research confirmed this information, by means of specifying the route through the valley of the Erigon in the region of Mariovo, the territory of the present-day Macedonian municipalities of Kavadarci, Prilep and Novaci.

Consequently, the northern border of the kingdom of the Argeadae extended in the Republic of Macedonia covering the areas of Amphaxitis, more precisely, the Gevgelija-Valandovo region, as well as the northern part of the Kingdom of Lyncestis with the Bitola region, the territory to the right of the river Erigon (Cma Reka).

The border of the kingdom to the northwest, in the Ohrid and Prespa areas wherefrom the Illyrians entered, has not been explicitly defined. Our field research information reveal that these areas conquered by Philip II were under Macedonian rule, and were strictly controlled by Macedonian military units (Kale, near the village of Gjavato, Kulishte-St. Razmo (figs 63-66, figs 143-147) near Ohrid was a central western Macedonian military base for the protection of the city of Lychnidus and the access road corridors to the interior of the kingdom, as well as Kula, near the village of Pesochani in Debarca, Gradishte, near the village of Vapa in Centar Zhupa) for the protection of the city of Kale, the village of Kodzadzik and the mountain route through the area of Malesia, under the mountains Stogovo and Karaorman toward the Struga field and the city of Lychnidus.

The death of Alexander III, undoubtedly, encouraged the long-known Macedonian northern neighbours to exhibit their aspirations towards the Macedonian civilization once more. Among them, evidently the most ravenous, were the Dardanians.

Cassander (316-297 BC) strived to win and keep the royal throne with a great deal of effort. However, there is no specific historical information for his intervention in the north, apart from the story of the Autariates. Around 310 BC they attacked the Paeonian Kingdom under King Audoleon.



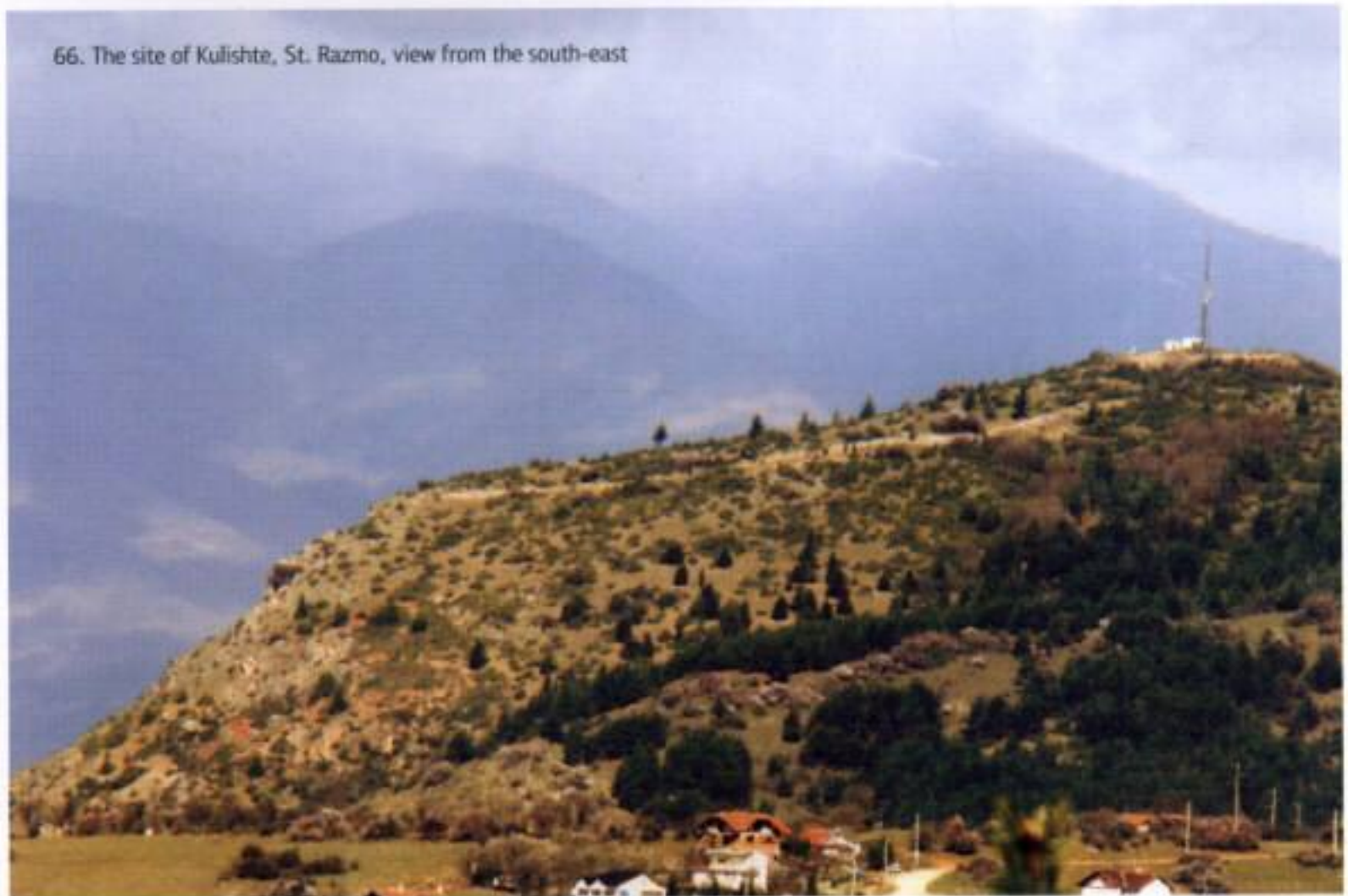
63. A rampart, site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



64. Rampart, site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



65. A rampart, site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



66. The site of Kulishte, St. Razmo, view from the south-east



143. Alexander III of Macedon
(obverse and reverse) – site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



144. Alexander III of Macedon
(obverse and reverse) – site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



145. Cassander
(obverse and reverse) – site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



146. Cassander
(obverse and reverse) – site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



147. Philip II
(obverse and reverse) – site of Kulishte, St. Razmo



Cassander helped his neighbour, thus allowing 20,000 Autariates to settle in Mount Orbel, the north-eastern border of Macedonia at the time. It is assumed that at that moment, the Paeonian king Audoleon annexed the land of the Agrianes to the Kingdom of Paeonia.

However, despite the silence of historical sources, the intensive presence of the Macedonian army under Cassander on the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia is evidenced through his coins which represented military salaries and were found at a number of sites. Cassander's army, for instance, secured the castle by means of guards at the site Kale Beli Polani, village of Nikodin, at the passage between the city of Audaristus/Euristus and the city of Neapolis at the river Babuna. The concentration of Cassander's coins discovered in the military-strategic base Kulishte – St. Razmo near Ohrid is also a confirmation of the intensive presence of his army at this place. The farthest northern point where Cassander's coins were discovered is Polog and the Skopje region.

Demetrius I Poliorcetes (294-287 BC), the first Antigonids representative of the second Macedonian dynasty, ruled Macedonia for five years. Some experts consider him an evil ruler, using Macedonia exclusively as a base for collecting resources in order to recover territories in the East.

However, our extensive field studies registered enormous amounts of his coins throughout the Republic of Macedonia, unequivocally speaking of the presence of significant military contingents of Demetrius

Poliorcetes in many positions throughout the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. One of the most remarkable positions is Demir Kapija. High above the right bank of the Axios, the army of Demetrius formed two strong military fortifications. At Ramnishte was the military base of Demetrius, whereas at Gomi Krastavec there was a high castle-specula where four bronze coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes were discovered (figs 7-10). The coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes have also been recorded near the ancient Macedonian fortress Markova Kula, in the vicinity of Demir Kapija, high above the left bank of the river Axios. Moreover, another discovery which draws a lot of attention are the fragments of about 4 bronze Macedonian shields found in the remains of the ancient city of Pelagonia (Bonche) over which is inscribed the name of King Demetrius. We assume that the intense presence of the Macedonian army of Demetrius I Poliorcetes on the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia is due to the counterattacks against the Dardanians and other aggressors who attacked Macedonia from the north.



7. Demetrius Poliorcetes
(obverse and reverse) – site of Gomi Krastavec



8. Demetrius Poliorcetes
(obverse and reverse) – site of Gomi Krastavec



9. Demetrius Poliorcetes
(obverse and reverse) – site of Gomi Krastavec



10. Demetrius Poliorcetes
(obverse and reverse) – site of Gomi Krastavec

Another event that drastically weakened the kingdoms of Macedonia and Paeonia was the strong Celtic-Gaelic breakthrough in 279 BC, led by their queen Iomara. The Celts were divided into three groups. The one led by Cerethrius attacked via the countries of the Triballians and Thrace. The second, led by Brennus and Acichorius penetrated through Paeonia, along the valley of the river Axios (Vardar). The third group under Belgius attacked by means of the crossings through Illyria to Macedonia.

Antigonus II Gonatas (277-240/39 BC), the son of Demetrius I Poliorcetes, already accepted Macedonia as his own. Although historical sources have not recorded particular problems at the northern Macedonian border in his time, there is information regarding the campaigns of Antigonus toward the north, around 276 and 274 BC. It is believed that in his time the kingdom of Paeonia had not yet been annexed by Macedonia. In the areas of Lyncestis and Demiopus were identified two forts with his troops at the sites of Dolno Kale, the village of Lera, and Gradishte (figs 75-77), the village of Zhvan (figs 52-59), both established on the road corridors to Pelagonia and Lyncestis so as to protect them.

The historian F. Papazoglu rightfully doubts the hypothesis that Antigonus Gonatas annexed the kingdom of Paeonia to Macedonia. However, the military presence of Antigonus Gonatas on the territory



75. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Lera



76. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Lera



77. A lid – site of Lera



52. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Zvan



53. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Zvan



54. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Zvan



55. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Zvan



56. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Zvan



57. Antigonos Gonatas (obverse) – site of Zvan

58. Antigonos Gonatas (reverse) – site of Zvan

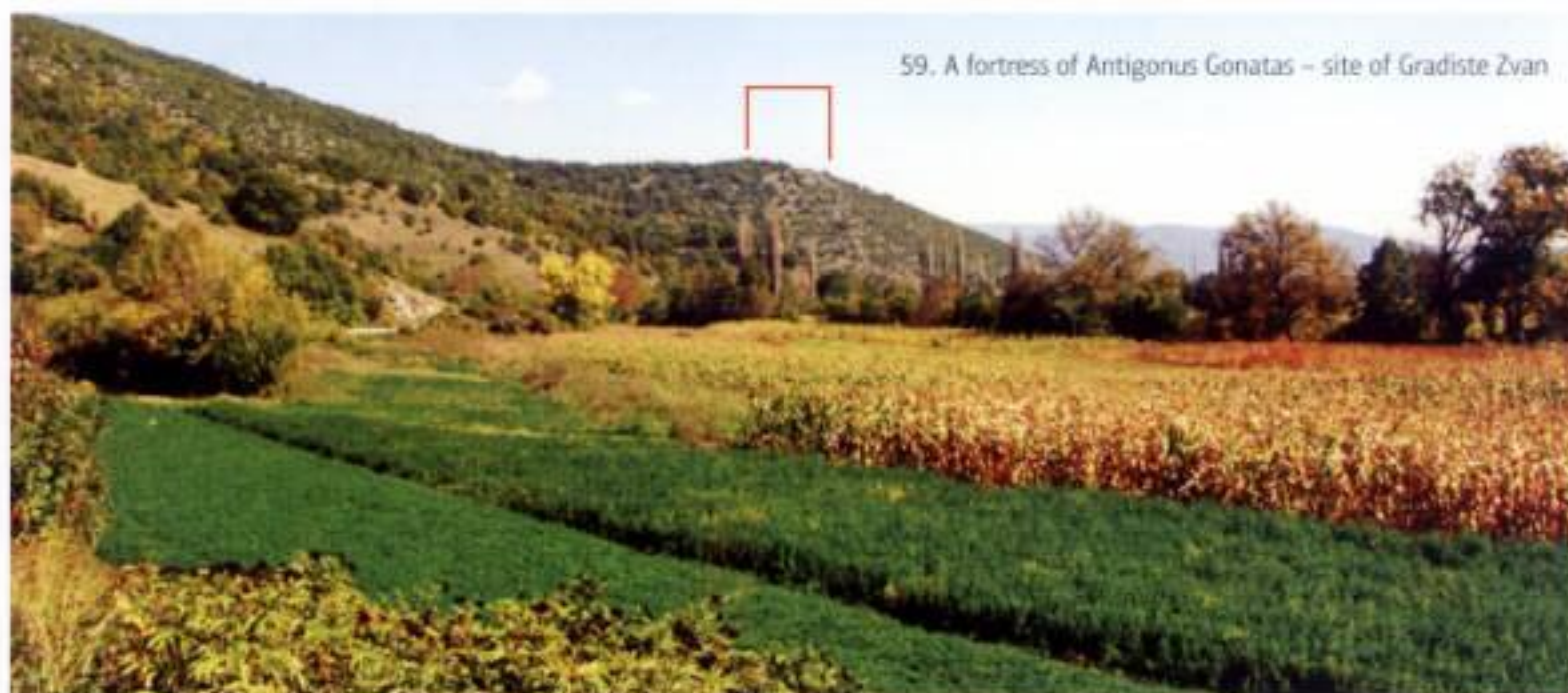
of the present-day Republic of Macedonia is evident, especially on the sites of the aforementioned fortresses in the areas of north-western Lyncestis and north-western Derrionus, which evidently outlines his action for the security and stabilization of the northern border of Macedonia in the years following the Celtic-Gaelic breakthrough at a time when the smaller northern kingdoms were disintegrating and the roads for the breakthrough of the well-known Illyrian and Dardanian enemies were open.

Demetrius II (239-229 BC) ruled Macedonia for 10 years. According to Pompeius Trogus ... *"the king of Macedonia, Demetrius, was defeated by the Dardanians, and after his death, the ruling was overtaken by Antigonus (Dodon)"*. This might have been the Dardanian Longarus, who attacked Paeonia in a powerful rise, probably after this victory.

After the death of Demetrius II, king Antigonus III Dodon (229-221 BC) eliminated the Dardanian threat. Macedonia was, evidently, in need of a stable northern neighbour. As a result, judging from the historical developments, we see that at the time of Demetrius II and Antigonus III Dodon, the kings Leon and Dropion were on the Paeonian throne. This, undoubtedly, though indirectly, speaks of the close relations between the Macedonians and Paeonians who were gradually assimilated and melded into one nation-the Macedonians, and who maintained friendly relations in the difficult times throughout the 3rd century BC. Dodon died after a battle with the Illyrians.

Philip V (221-179 BC) had already encountered Paeonia as a disempowered land where the hordes of the Dardanians rushed without resistance and counterattacks. Therefore, he was forced to annex it. First, in the summer of 219 BC, he attacked the Dardanians who withdrew without a fight. Later, in 217 BC, King Philip V conquered the largest Paeonian city-Bylazora (today Gradiste near the village of Knezje, municipality of Sveti Nikole), in northern Paeonia. In this manner, he strengthened the crossings over the northern border, which the Dardanians constantly penetrated.

Later on during his ruling he came into confrontation and conflict with Rome. Within the first Macedonian-Roman War (215-205 years BC) we learn about a military action against the Illyrians and at least four against the Dardanians. In the summer of 211 BC, he attacked the Illyrians around the city of Apollonia, then passed through Pelagonia and conquered the city of Sintia in the north, which the Dardanians used in order to invade Macedonia. In the summer of 209 BC, a certain Aëropus seized power over the Macedonian military garrison in Lychnidus, whereas the Dardanians, using the western



59. A fortress of Antigonus Gonatas – site of Gradiste Zvan

road corridors, penetrated as far as Orestis. Philip V banished them, and the following year, in 208 BC, he was campaigning against the Dardanians.

F. Papazoglu assumed that Philip V organized another campaign against the Dardanians in the spring or summer of 206 BC, according to an epigraphic monument in the village of Oleveni, Bitola (fig 69). However, the same monument with the inscription is attributed to King Philip II by M.B. Hatzopoulos.

In the Second Macedonian-Roman War (200-197 BC), Rome enlisted the Macedonian enemies as their allies. These were the Macedonian neighbours at the time: the Illyrians under King Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaidas, the Athamanians under King Amynder and the Dardanians under the leader Bato, son of Longarus. For us, of particular significance are the first military operations of 200/199 BC in the areas of Lyncestis and Derriopus, within which, during the first confrontation the military camps of the armies of the Macedonian king Philip V and the Roman consul Publius Sulpicius Galba were placed in the city of Lyncus, across the river Bevus. After the second Roman attack of 199 BC and the defeat of the Macedonian army under Philip V at the Battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 BC, in the summer of the same year, the Dardanians, encouraged by this event, invaded Macedonia, but Philip V defeated them near the city of Stobi in Paeonia.

Philip V had an idea to deport the Bastamae from the mouth of the river Danube in the Black Sea (Pontos Euxinos), to the country of the Dardanians, which would enable him to eliminate these eternal Macedonian enemies. For this purpose he enabled some Thracian tribes a smooth pass, and led a military campaign against the Maedi and Dentheletae in 181 BC. However, as we learned, the Dardanians managed to finally get rid of the aggressive Bastamae in the winter of 176/5 BC.

During the Third Macedonian-Roman War (171-168), Perseus (179-168 BC) fought on three fronts: against Rome toward Thessaly, against Eumenes, King of Pergamum, at sea, and against the Dardanians in the north with lesser investments in the military forces. His military campaign against the Penestae in the northwest of Pelagonia, in the region of Kichevo, is of special interest for us, when after the victory and the conquest of the capital Uscana, as well as the other Penestae cities and forts, he expanded the territory of the Kingdom of Macedonia in the areas of the modern-day regions of Kichevo, Debar and, perhaps, the Polog regions.

Recent historical information related to the end of the Kingdom of Macedonia speaks of the failed attempt of King Perseus to hire the Bastamae in the war against Rome. In the winter of 168 BC the negotiations took place in the area of the city of Almana at the river Axios, ubicated at the site of Gradishte, the Kochilari village of Kochilari, the municipality of Gradsko.



69 - An inscription from Bistrica

The coins of the Macedonian kings in the Republic of Macedonia

The coins of the ancient kings of Macedonia outline the northern part of the Kingdom of Macedonia in the entire territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

The minted metal coins stood as a sign of value and statehood. They were intended for conducting the market economy for the needs of the ancient Macedonian people on Macedonian territory. On the territory of the Republic of Macedonia archaeologists have discovered numerous ancient coins among which the coins of the ancient Macedonian kings comprise the largest percentage of numismatic finds from the period of Early Antiquity.

The mapping of the coins of the Macedonian kings on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia shows their gradual increase in concentration through the ages, from south to north, as the Macedonian kings gradually annexed the northern principalities and kingdoms as far as the Dardanian line on the north.

The coins of the Macedonian kings of the first Argeadae dynasty were located in higher concentrations in the southern regions of Macedonia—the regions of Bitola, Gevgelija and Valandovo.

Given that the area of Amphaxitis (Gevgelija and Valandovo) was Macedonian from earliest Antiquity, this is a logical development.

But the issue of the early, though rare, Argeadae coins, in the areas of Lyncestis and Pelagonia is interesting, given the early hostile contacts between the Lyncestae under King Arrabeus I and the Macedonian King Perdiccas II. It is possible that neither the Lyncestae nor the Pelagones minted their own coins, so they soon accepted the Macedonian monetary system in order to regulate their trade and market needs.

The coins of the Macedonian kings of the 4th century BC were already abundantly present in areas of the Pelagonian kingdom, in areas of Amphaxitis, along the valley of Axios to the north, even as far as Skopje, and to some extent in the valley of Astibus (Krivi Dol and Vinica).

The Skopje-Kumanovo basin is in the initial stage of numismatic research. Initial research has provided interesting evidence of the simultaneous presence of Paeonian and Macedonian coins of the 4th century BC.

Archaeological research has recorded highly civilized cultural horizons in the fortified settlements that prompted the creation of the cities near the villages of Brazda, Studenichani and Mlado Nagorichane. Though this territory was considered Agrianian, in these cities we discovered silver coins belonging to the Paeonian kings Lyceius, Patraus and Audoleon. The following was recorded: coins of Audoleon at Zlokukjansko Kale, village of Zlokukjani and at Gradishte, near the village of Mlado Nagorichane, a coin of Patraus at Gradishte, near the village of Brazda and Gradishte near the village of Gomo Konjare and a coin of Lyceius at Kale, near the village of Bmjarci.

In addition to these Paeonian coins, coins of the Macedonian kings of the 4th and 3rd century BC in the same Skopje-Kumanovo basin were also discovered. The following was recorded: bronze coins of Alexander III of Macedon at the Skopje Fortress in the centre of Skopje, as well as at Kale-Bmjarci (fig. 1);



1. Alexander III of Macedon
(obverse and reverse) – site of Kale Bmjarci



2. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Kale Bmjarci



3. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Kale Bmjarci



5. Demetrius Poliorcetes
(obverse and reverse) – site of Gorno Konjare

bronze coins of Cassander at Kuka near the village of Rogle; coins in the ancient settlement within the area of Ljubotenska Reka and Pobushka Reka, north of the village of Radishani; coins at Kale, near the village of Bmjarci; coins of Antigonus Gonatas at the Skopje Fortress and Kale, near the village of Bmjarci (fig 2); coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes at Gradishte, near the village of Gorno Konjare (fig 5) and at the village of Bmjarci in the region of Skopje (fig 3), as well as at Gradishte near the river Pchinja, village of Mlado Nagorichane in the region of Kumanovo, where a coin of Perseus was also registered. These coins announce the Macedonian presence in the Skopje- Kumanovo basin during the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd century BC. For the time being we can assume that this was due to the Macedonian military interventions in the defence against the attacks of the Dardanians who mainly entered via the Kachanik gorge or via Kosovo through the village of Jazhince and Polog, then, via the Radushka gorge or the Derven gorge from Grupchin - Rogle - Bojane - Glumovo in the Skopje region. There was also an alternative route from Kachanik through the villages of Ivaja - Kotlina - Gorance - Krivenik - Gracani - Svilari.

The numismatic map of the Macedonian coins completely confirms the historically recorded expansion of the Macedonian Kingdom under King Philip V to the north by means of the annexation of the kingdoms of Paeonia and Pelagonia and the principalities of Demiopus and Dassaretis i.e. the territories of the present-day cities of Shtip, Veles, Sveti Nikole, Prilep, Demir Hisar and Ohrid. The extensive presence of the coins of the Antigonids was recorded in these areas, even in the region of Skopje and the Polog regions (Gostivar and Tetovo). The conquered territory was brought under control in the same manner as the Antigonids controlled, for example, the Hellenic and other cities-with Macedonian military garrisons. Livy mentions *praetors regii* or regional governors. As governor of the Macedonian region Paeonia (Strategia Paeonia), Philip V appointed the strategist Dida. The majority of the population were still the indigenous Paeonians, Pelagones, Demiopes (Duriopes), Agrianes and Dassaretii. Nevertheless, archaeological excavations gradually confirm the presence of the ancient Macedonian population.



60. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Modrich, Struga

The coins of the Macedonian kings also reach the western regions of Dassaretis in Early Antiquity. On the island of Golem Grad in Prespa Lake, V. Bitrakova Grozdanova discovered coins of the kings Philip II, Cassander, Antigonus Gonatas and Philip V. The coins of the Argeadae were registered in the Ohrid region, as well. Coins of Antigonus Gonatas were discovered in the castle Kale Dzevezda, village of Modrich, in the valley of the Drim (fig 62, fig 60), while the coins of Alexander III of Macedon and Antigonus Gonatas were discovered farthest in the northwest, along the river Drim in the castle Gradishte, village of Vapa, in the municipality of Centar Zupa, south of Debar.

Judging by the dispersion of the coins, the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia extended to the north and covered the entire territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia. The most commonly recorded samples were bronze halki, but the following findings were also frequent: silver obols, diobols, tetrobols, drachmas and tetradrachms, as well as gold staters (figs 159-167, 171). The coins of the Macedonian kings were also discovered in the vaults, which remained buried, hidden and forgotten until the present day under the thick earth layers in the ruins of the ancient houses.

The rich vaults of silver coins from Vardarski Rid (Gevgelija), Prilepec (Prilep) figs 148-158, Furka (Gevgelija) Egri (Bitola), Kumanovo - Kriva Palanka, Topolchani, and the treasury of Tremnik, near Negotino, with the staters of Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon (fig 166, 167), are also worth noting.

The Illyrian shade over the Kingdom of Lyncestis

The Macedonian king Perdiccas II, in alliance with the Spartan Brasidas, tried to conquer the Kingdom of Lyncestis twice. The historian Thucydides speaks of the peak of power of Lyncestis in the 5th century BC, when the kingdom was ruled by Arrhabaeus I and his son, the heir. The appetites of the lower Macedonian kings to conquer Lyncestis have been recorded in history as early as this period. The kingdom was located in southern Pelagonia, in the areas of the present-day cities of Florina (Lerin) in the Republic of Greece and the land on the right bank of the Erigon, in the region of Bitola, in the Republic of Macedonia (Map 1).

In the autumn of 424 BC, the joint Macedonian forces under King Perdiccas II and the Spartan military forces led by Brasidas, arrived at the strait leading up to Lyncestis, but after the negotiations with the king of Lyncestis, Arrhabaeus I, returned without engaging in military conflict. The following year, in 423 BC, they attacked again, penetrating through the strait Kilit Derven and entering Lyncestis. According to a brief description by Thucydides, after entering the land of the Lyncestae, the combined armies rejected Arrhabaeus's units in a violent collision. They displayed a victorious symbol and set up camp waiting for the Illyrians they intended to join and conquer Lyncestis. Perdiccas II intended to aim at the Lyncestian villages with all allied troops upon the arrival of the Illyrians.



A depot of staters of Philip II, Alexander III of Macedon and Philip III Arrhidaeus, area of Skopje



159. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



160. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



161. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



162. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



163. Philip III Arrhidaeus (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



164. Philip II (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



165. Philip II (obverse and reverse) - a collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia - Skopje



166. Philip II (obverse and reverse) - site of Ormankov Grob



167. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Ormankov Grob





148. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec 149. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec



150. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec 151. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec



153. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec 154. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec



155. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec 156. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec



157. Lysimachus (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec 158. Lysimachus (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec



152: Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Prilepec



However, the relaxed, hesitant behaviour of Perdiccas and Brasidas enabled King Arrhabaeus to meet the Illyrians in a brief encounter and form an alliance for the counterattack against Perdiccas and Brasidas.

There is a theory in science according to which the main pledge in the alliance with the Illyrians was the young daughter of Arrhabaeus I, whom he bestowed as the wife of the Illyrian leader Sirras. As a result of this marriage their daughter Eurydice was born, who later, as a Macedonian queen to the King Amyntas III, gave birth to three sons-three kings. Among them, the youngest was King Philip II of Macedon.

The geographer Strabo noted that the Lyncestian dynasty originated from Bacchis, the King of Corinth. His regal clan was expelled from Corinth around 650 BC. They took refuge in Corcyra (Corfu). Later, they arrived at the royal throne of Lyncestis. The oldest known Lyncestian monarch without a royal title was Bromerus (reigned around 475 BC). His son was King Arrhabaeus I (around 445 BC), known from the battles with Perdiccas II. Around 415 BC ruled the son of Arrhabaeus's I, the king of the Lyncestae, of an unknown name. His sister, also anonymous, was married to Sirras. So, the male dynasty line of Arrhabaeus I, continued with his anonymous son, and afterward with his grandson Arrhabaeus II (approximately 385 BC), who was the father of Aëropus (around 355 BC). Then followed Aëropus's sons: Arrhabaeus III, Heromenes and Alexander (about 325 BC), contemporaries of Alexander III of Macedon.

The female dynasty line of King Arrhabaeus I continued by way of his daughter who was married to Sirras; afterward by way of his niece Eurydice. The young princess Eurydice, as it seems, suffered a similar fate as her mother. She was given as a pledge, a vow for union of the Macedonian king Amyntas III. As a lower Macedonian queen, Eurydice gave birth to the sons Alexander II (370-368 BC), Perdiccas III (365-359) and Philip II (359-336 BC).

The Kingdom of Lyncestis was at the peak of its power in the 5th century BC, when it was led by the powerful king Arrhabaeus I, as well as in the first half of the 4th century BC, when Amyntas III married Eurydice, though historical sources already speak of the fall of Lyncestis under the protectorate of the Illyrians in the middle of the 4th century BC. Led by Bardylis, the Illyrians occupied the Macedonian regions of Dassaretis and Lyncestis.

However, the decisive king Philip II, in 358 BC, raising an infantry of 10 000 and a cavalry of 6000 soldiers, disastrously defeated the 90-year-old Bardylis in the battle of Lyncestis, killing over 7000 Illyrian soldiers in one day.

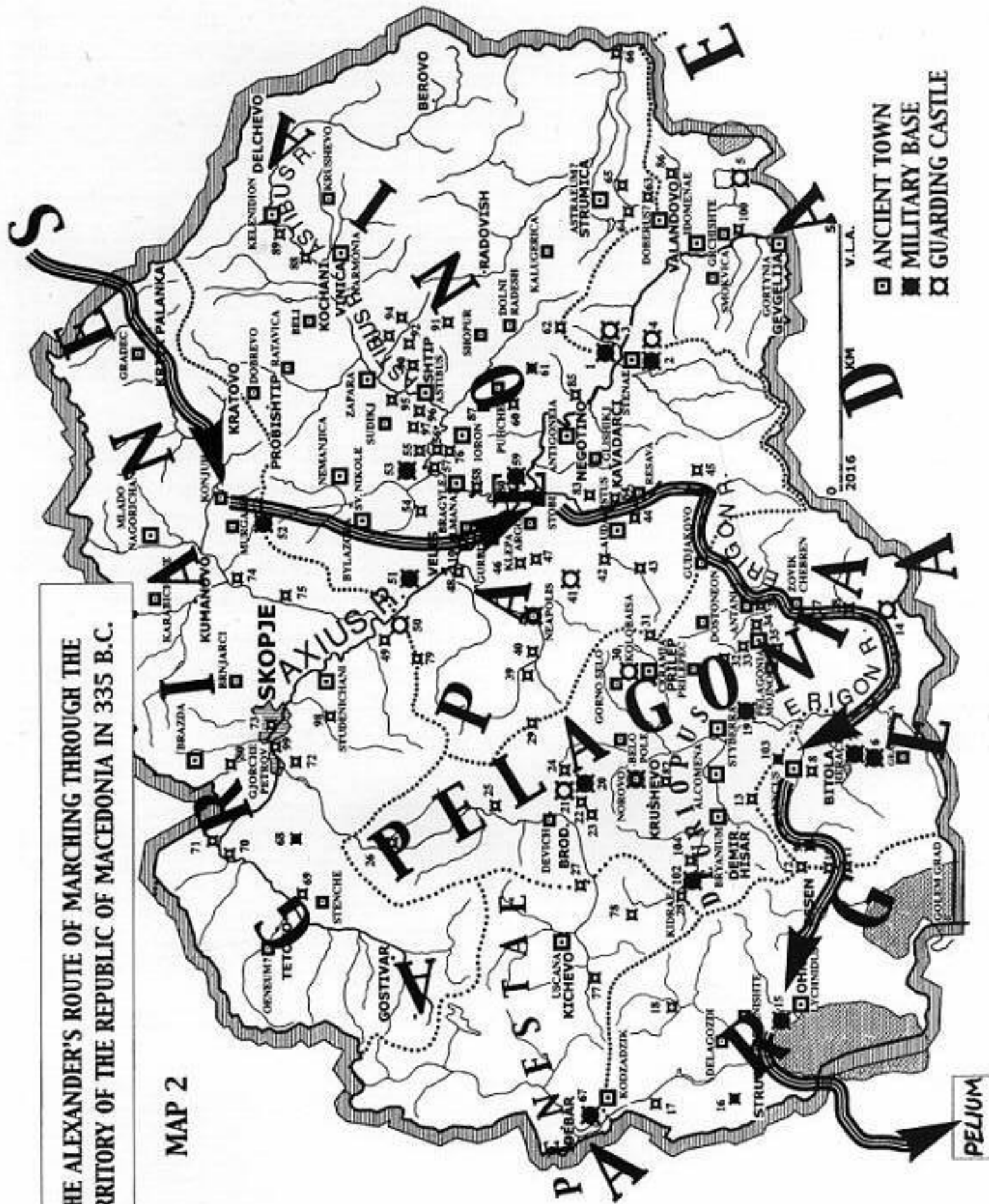
After the spectacular victory of the Macedonian army, Lyncestis was released from Illyrian aggression and annexed to the kingdom of Macedonia. The Illyrians were forced to retreat from the lands east of Lake Lychnidus.

Alexander III marches along the Erigon and defends Lychnidus (Ohrid)

In July of 335 BC, Alexander III of Macedon was returning from the Danube campaign to reconcile the Triballians and the Getae. The young Macedonian king was 21 at the time, but an outstanding military strategist due to the fact that he had practiced his military skills since childhood under the watchful eye of his father, King Philip II of Macedon.

THE ALEXANDER'S ROUTE OF MARCHING THROUGH THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA IN 335 B.C.

MAP 2



169. Map no. 2 - The progress of Alexander III of Macedon throughout the territory of Macedonia in 335 BC

According to the historian Lucius Flavius Arrianus, he travelled through the countries of the Agrianes and Paeonians, and passed by the river Erigon, arriving in the city of Pelium, where the Illyrians under Cleitus were to meet the Taulantii under Glaucias.

Today, we reconstructed his progress throughout the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia (Map 2). The only authorities who have paid attention to the analysis of the direction of the Macedonian army under Alexander were the historian F. Papazoglu, N. Hammond and the archaeologist V. L. Adams.

The Macedonian army under Alexander entered the territory of the Republic of Macedonia from the area of the Bulgarian city of Kjustendil to the area of the Macedonian city of Kriva Palanka. The idea that Alexander possibly marched through the area of Delchevo and was travelling along the river Breгалnica toward Shtip is rejected, as Arrianus makes no mention of the river Astibus and the city of Astibus that extend in that direction. Alexander was travelling through the land of the Agrianes, meaning the lands of the present-day Macedonian municipalities of Kriva Palanka and Staro Nagorichane. His journey continued along the valley of the river Kriva Reka, which, for Arrianus, was not as significant as the rivers Astibus or Erigon, as he makes no mention of it in his text.

In the area of Mlado Nagorichane, on the left bank of the river Pchinja, at the site of Gradishte, was located an important urban Agrianian centre, possibly, even, the capital of the Agrianian king Langarus, the close and very loyal friend of Alexander of Macedon.

From the valley of Kriva Reka, Alexander continued into the land of the Kingdom of Paeonia, from the direction of the great city of Golemo Gradishte, near the village of Konjuh, over the mountain pass between the villages of Pezovo, Gradishte and Kokoshinje. He continued past the great Paeonian city of Bylazora (Gradishte, village of Knezje, figs 86-89) and came to the left bank of the river Axios (Vardar), crossing the river at the point between the two great ancient cities- Almana, at the site of Gradishte, village of Kochilari and Gurbita, at the site of Gradishte, village of Zgropolci.



86. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Bylazora

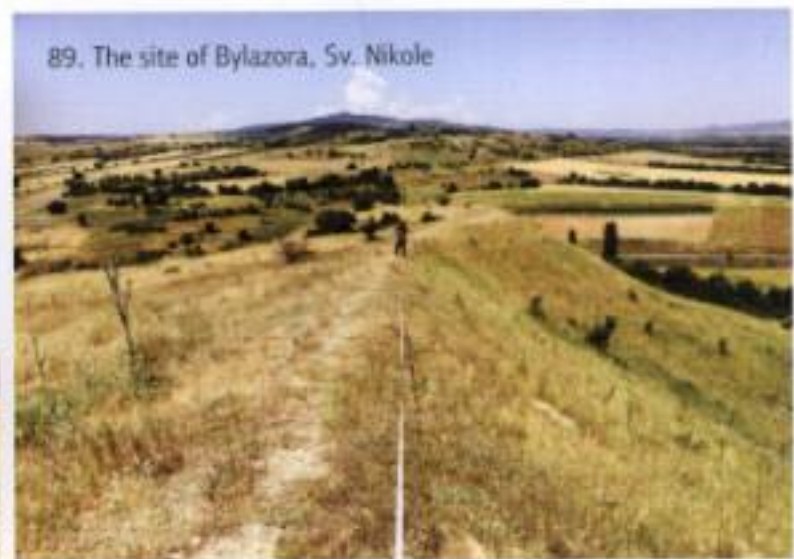
He continued his journey along the right bank of the river Vardar to the confluence of Erigon (Crna Reka) into the Axios, near Stobi. What ensued was a difficult march along the river Erigon, through the region of Tikvesh (from the village of Vozarci to the village of Galishte), then through Mariovo, from the village of Gugjakovo to the village of Skochivir (figs 82-83). At the exit of the Skochivir gorge, by the estuary of the river Konjarka, near the dominant hill of Markovo Kale (fig 84), village of Skochivir, high above the left bank of Erigon, are located the remains of a strong Early Antique fortification, formed by means of a massive wall composed of massive stone blocks (fig 85). We assume that the fortress was perhaps built by the Macedonian army upon the orders of Alexander III of Macedon.



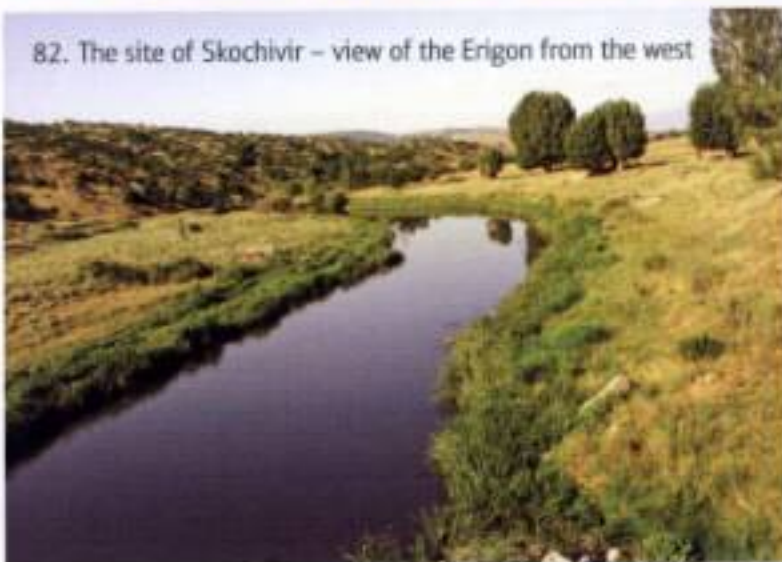
87. A rampart – site of Bylazora, Sv. Nikole



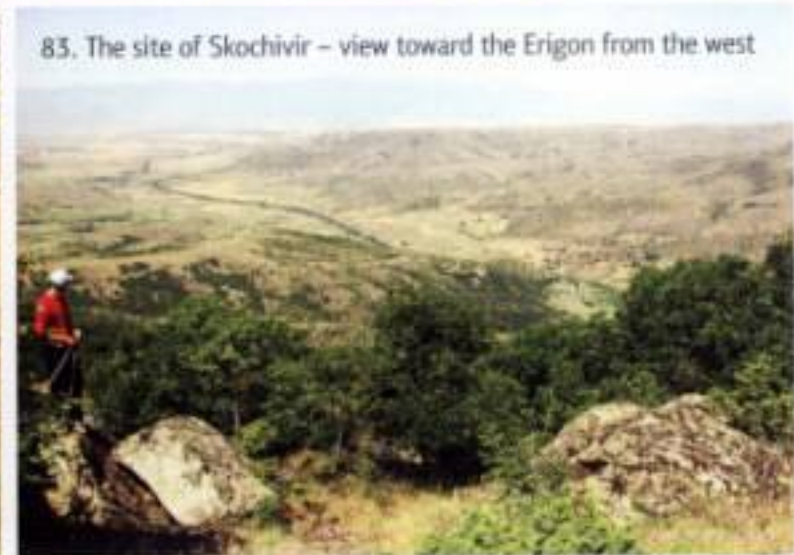
88. The site of Bylazora, Sv. Nikole



89. The site of Bylazora, Sv. Nikole

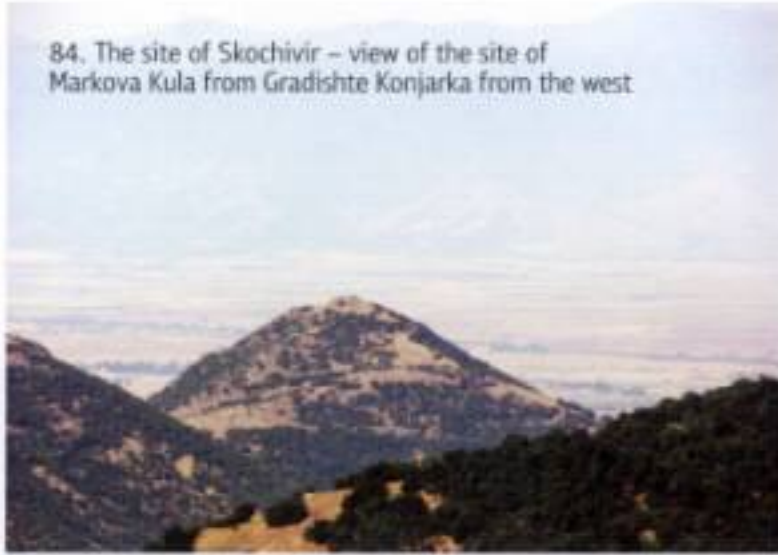


82. The site of Skochivir – view of the Erigon from the west

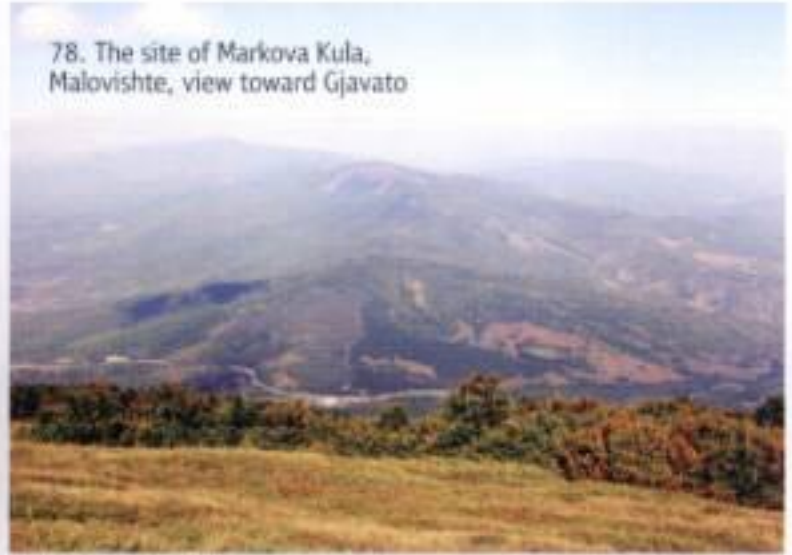


83. The site of Skochivir – view toward the Erigon from the west

84. The site of Skochivir – view of the site of Markova Kula from Gradishte Konjarka from the west



78. The site of Markova Kula, Malovishte, view toward Gjavato



85. The site of Skochivir – a rampart



From the Skochivir gorge, Alexander continued through the city of Lynxus (Gradishte, village of Crnobuki), over the passage of Gjavato (fig 78) and the region of Resen, to Lychnidus (Ohrid). His aim was to protect the ancient city of Lychnidus, as well as the road corridor along the ancient Candavian / Macedonian road, afterward the Egnatia road, in the Roman republican and imperial periods, towards Lyncestis and Pella. He established a powerful military-strategic base on the hill Kulishte-St. Razmo around 4 km northwest of Lychnidus.

From this point, he marched south of the Ohrid Lake to the city of Pellium (Kale, near the village of Selce, at the river Skumbina in Albania), where, by means of skillful manoeuvres and military attacks, he managed to defeat the Illyrians and the Taulantii and conquer Illyria. Within 14 days, Alexander came from Pellium under the walls of Thebes with his army.

Alexander III of Macedon and the Macedonian army crossed the territory of 14 present-day Macedonian municipalities in the Republic of Macedonia.

71. View of the site of Crnobuki from the east



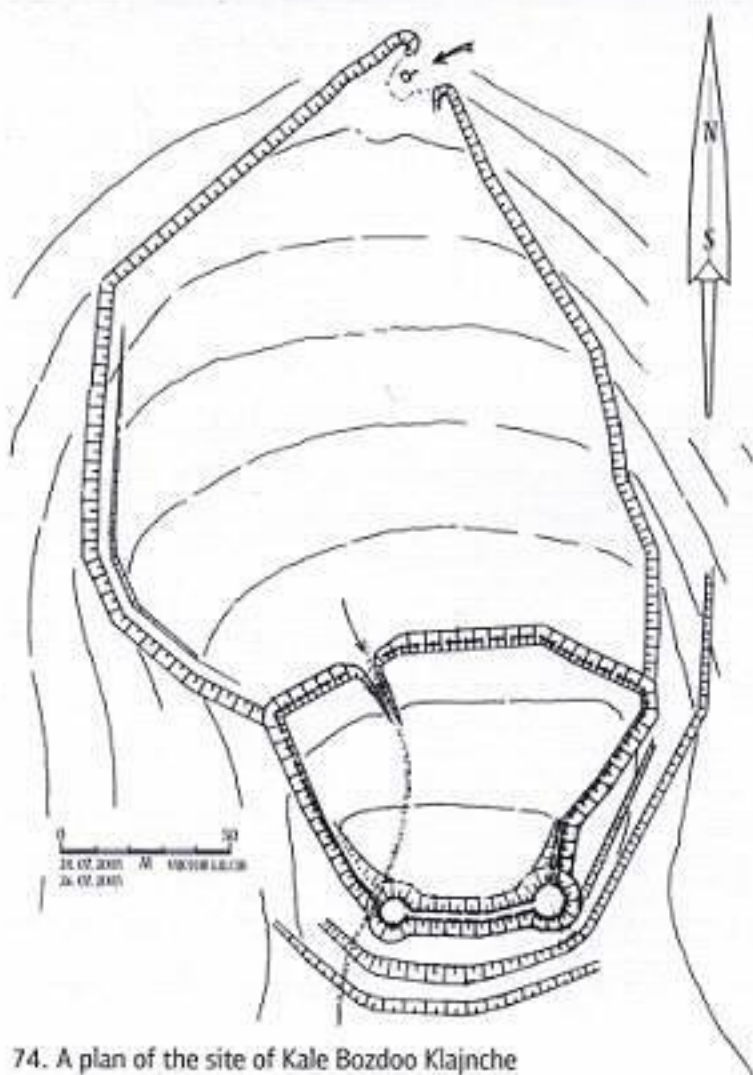
The clash of King Philip V and the Roman consul Galba in Pelagonia

At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, in 199 BC, within the Second Macedonian-Roman War, the area of Lyncestis (Florina / Lerin and Bitola), was the scene of bloody clashes between the Macedonian army under King Philip V and the Roman legions led by the consul Publius Sulpicius Galba. According to the historian Titus Livius, when the wheat fields were ripening, the Roman consul crossed Dassaretis leading 30,000 soldiers and set up camp near the city of Lyncus (Crnobuki), by the river Bevus (Shemnica). Galba's army entered Lyncestis through the mountain pass Gjavato (fig 78), then marched through the valley between the villages of Lera and Strezhevo, and set up camp on the right bank of the river Shemnica (Bevus), opposite the ancient city of Lyncus (Gradishte, village of Crnobuki, figs 70-71), in the plain under the present-day village of Dragarino.



70. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Crnobuki

72. The site of Kale Bozdoo Klajnche



74. A plan of the site of Kale Bozdoo Klajnche

Philip V and the Macedonian army crossed the pass Kilit Derven during a counterattack and first established camp in the southeast corner of Lyncestis. From here he sent his son, Prince Perseus, with part of the army to the north, to block the Pelagonian gorges (angustias quae ad Pelagoniam sunt mittit / faucibus ad Pelagoniam), where he expected the Dardanians, the allies of the Romans, would penetrate. Afterward, Philip V continued toward Athaco and set up camp on a hill 1.5 km from the camp of Galba. This camp was identified at the site Kale Bozdoo Klajnche, above the village of Kukurechani (figs 72-74).

The camp of Philip V was at a higher position, wherefrom, in the evenings, the Macedonian king, observing the rectangular layout of tents and halls of the Roman camp, announced: "This could never be a camp of barbarians". After the initial unsuccessful attempts of Galba to conquer the Macedonian camp, the legions retreated for about 8 Roman miles and set up camp near Ot-tolobum (8 hills). From here, Galba sent units to gather grain in the fields. Philip V noticed them, and personally began to eliminate the distant troops, leading a cavalry unit. However, after learning about this attack, Galba initiated the whole army and in a strong attack, near a marshy area (Karaman or Shemnica Moore), he killed 200 Macedonian soldiers, captured 100, whereas some of them drowned in the swamp. During the battle, King Philip V himself barely escaped a moment where he was exposed to mortal danger. Afterward, the Macedonian army tactfully retreated to the city of Bryanium (Gradishte, village of Graishte, area of Demir Hisar).

Galba and the army came to the city of Styberra (village of Chepigovo), where he collected grain in the fields of Pelagonia, and afterward set up camp in Pluinna. Philip V with his army started from Bryanium and, by using shortcuts, surprised the Romans, who afterward retreated and

set up camp near the river Osphagus (Dragor or Jelashka). On the bank of the nearby river Erigon, the Macedonian army set up camp as well. From this point, the military tactics and manoeuvres continue to southern Pelagonia, in the region of Lerin (Florina).

Philip V establishes the Strategy Paeonia

When and how did the independent Kingdom of Paeonia finally become an integral part of Ancient Macedonia and receive an administrative status – the name Strategy Paeonia?

The Macedonian kings gradually extended the state northward, annexing the lands of the northern neighbours. These were the smaller kingdoms of Paeonia and Pelagonia and the principalities of Penestia, Derriopus and Dassaretis, where it was still unknown whether monarchies had been established.

With the interests turned toward the Hellenistic south the Macedonian kings had guarded the northern hinterland, though with reduced power, ever since Early Antiquity, partly due to the stable civilizations of the kingdoms of Paeonia and Pelagonia, and partly due to the fact that the Dardanians dealt with the pressures over the Triballians and the Agrianes at that time.

But the 3rd century BC had brought ahead major upheavals. In 279 BC, the military troops of the Celts entered via Dardania and Paeonia. Moreover, during the 3rd century BC the Dardanians quickly stabilized and began constant plundering expeditions toward the southern city civilization points. In those attacks, the northern parts of the lands of the Pelagones and Paeonians suffered the most. In fact, this was precisely the reason why the once powerful Kingdom of Paeonia was annexed by the still powerful Macedonian Antigonids dynasty under King Philip V in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.

Was this annexation violent?

The majority of Paeonians were, no doubt, unfavourably disposed towards the Macedonians, considering that since the 4th century BC there was an anti-Macedonian movement. According to historical sources, in 356 BC Philip II of Macedon eliminated the anti-Macedonian coalition between the Paeonian king Lyceius, the Thracian leader Cetriporis and the Dardanian leader Grabos. Considering that the Macedonian kings annexed the lands of the lower Paeonian tribes as early as the Archaic period, we can assume that the anti-Macedonian sentiment was conveyed through generations. This sentiment was observed in the valleys of Axios and Astibus, as well as by means of certain archaeological findings. Despite the silence of historical sources regarding the annexation of Paeonia, authentic evidence suggesting that the Antigonids demonstrated military supremacy in this campaign was discovered during field research.

In previous literature it was accepted that Paeonia was annexed by King Antigonus II Gonatas, but F. Papazoglu is very decisive regarding this issue. During the time of this Macedonian king Paeonia was independent under the kings Leon and Dropion. Papazoglu believes that King Antigonus Doston annexed southern Paeonia to Macedonia and established the city of Antigonea by the river Axios, whereas the final annexation was carried out by King Philip V.

Historical sources are assertive that this would probably not have happened had there not been constant incursions by the Dardanians in Paeonia and Macedonia i.e. a population expansion of the Thracian Maedi in the upper reaches of Astibus (Bregalnica).

The Early Ancient independent Paeonian kingdom, in the time of its greatest power, extended in the valley of the river Astibus, in the upper reaches of the river Strumeshnica and the middle reaches of the river Axios (Vardar). At that time, ruled the kings Audoleon (315-286/5 BC), Leon (around 278-250 BC) and Dropion (around 250-230 BC). The issue regarding the capital of the kingdom still remained open, whether it was the city of Astibus (Stip) or the city of Bylazora (Knezje, Sveti Nikole). However, it is obvious that one of the powerful economic foundations for the formation of the Paeonic civilization was the exploitation of gold and silver ore from the Osogovo mountain range in the vicinity of the middle reaches of the river Astibus.

There is a hypothesis that in the times of crisis during the 3rd century BC, the last Paeonian king Dropion ruled the city of Audaristus (Gradishte, village of Drenovo), where it is assumed that his bronze coins were minted.

We must emphasize that the silver coins of the rulers Teutaus, Bastareus, Nicharchus, Symon, and Diplaeus, Teutamadus, of the late 5th and 4th century BC have not yet been scientifically clarified. It is assumed that they were local Paeonian rulers or princes, considering the large territory inhabited by many Paeonian tribes during the Archaic and the Classical period. Today, we can speak of seven geographic units where the ancient Paeonian people lived. They consisted of a large number of Paeonian cities and towns-civilization centres of these regions.

1. In the regions of Valandovo, Strumica and Radovich: the cities of Doberus (Isar, Valandovo), Astraion (Carevi Kuli, Strumica), the city of Pilav Tepe (village of Shopur, near Radovich), the City of Golema Kale (village of Kaludgerica, region of Radovich);
2. In the upper reaches of the river Astibus (Bregalnica), the cities of: Harmonia (Dulica), Kelenidin (Vinica), Zappara (village of Krupishte), as well as the mining towns of Drachko Gradishte, village of Ratavica and Gradishte, village of Dobrevu in the region of Probishtip, and Zletovo, in the valley of the river Zletovska;
3. In the lower reaches of the river Astibus with the left tributary Lakavica, the cities: Astibus (Shtip), the city of Golemo Kale, village of Puhce, the town at Treskavechka Chuka (Village of Dolni Radesh), the town of Kula (village of Sudikj, area of Shtip), Ioron (Isar, village of Adzi Amzali), Isar, village of Creshka (perhaps the city of Bragyle);
4. Ovchepole with the cities of Bylazora (Gradishte, village of Knezje) and Gradishte, near the village of Nemanjici (figs 86-89);
5. The valley of the Axios through the region of Veles, the cities of Gurbita (Gradishte, village of Zgropolci), Almanu (Gradishte, Kochilari), to Stobi, at the confluence of Erigon into Axios;
6. The valleys of the rivers Babuna and Topolka through the region of Azot, west of Veles, with the city of Neapolis (Kale, village of Stari Grad);
7. The territory of Tikvesh with the valley of the Axios (from Kavadarci, Negotino, to Demir Kapija), with the cities of Audaristus (Gradishte, village of Drenovo), Antigonea (Gradishte- Negotino) and Stenae (Klusursko Maalo- Banja, Demir Kapija).

In the Macedonian segment of the Paeonian Kingdom of the Agrianes, the major cities were located at the sites of the villages Brazda and Studenichani i.e. Gradishte, at the river Pchinja, near the village of Mlado Nagorichani in the municipality of Staro Nagorichani.

The question, whether and in which of these cities ruled the royal Paeonian dynasty and the above-mentioned rulers who minted their own silver coins, remains open.

It is, nevertheless, obvious that these particular independent Paeonian communities highly advanced in Early Antiquity in terms of civilization. Among them, there was, without doubt, cultural competition after the example of the Hellenic cities - states with which they actively communicated.

In the time of Antigonus II Gonatas (283-240/39 BC) the Dardanians remain calm. The poet Antagoras travelled in the company of King Antigonus Gonatas in a march of the Dardanians to the north, around 276 to 274 BC, for the defence of the north-western border of Macedonia, i.e. the entrances of Lyncestis and Derriopus, wherefrom the Illyrians attacked. This is confirmed by two small military fortifications - castles, established by Antigonus Gonatas- the castle of the site Gradishte, near the village of Zhvan (figs 52-59), in the valley of the Erigon through the region of Demir Hisar, and the castle of the site Dolno Kale, village of Lera (figs 75-77), near the river of Shemnica (Bevus), as a barrier for the protection of the road towards the city of Lyncus (Crmobuki).

In the middle of the 3rd century BC, seven years after the failed coronation of Ariston, the son of Audoleon, king Leon was proclaimed a Paeonian king around 285/4 BC (after 278-around 250 BC), who mints his own bronze coins. In this context, a question arises-whether it was, perhaps, Leon, before Dropion, who relocated the Paeonian capital on the right riverbank of the Vardar, in the city of Audaristus, before the aggressive Thracian Maedi in the upper reaches of Bregalnica?

Dropion (approx. 250- approx.. 230 BC), who continued to rule in the second half of the 3rd century BC, consolidated Paeonia, and is considered the founder of the Paeonian koinoin (community), judging by the inscription on the base of the equestrian statue from Olympia of Dropion himself, which was dedicated to him by the Paeonian community.

The Paeonia consolidated in this way, under King Dropion, was probably the reason why the Dardanians avoided it. They entered via the western corridors, probably through the valley of the river Treska in Pelagonia. There is also the possibility that the battle where the Macedonian king Demetrius II (239-229 BC) was defeated and died, took place at the front Barbaras - Debreshte in northern Pelagonia. There is insufficient information in historical sources regarding this event. According to Livy, the Dardanian leader Longarus fought against the Macedonian king Demetrius II. According to Pompeius Trogus, Demetrius, the king of the Macedonians, was defeated by the Dardanians. After his death, the rule was assumed by Antigonus Doson, in the name of Demetrius's son Philip V. However, in this context it may mean the end of the two kings, the Paeonian Dropion and the Macedonian Demetrius II, coincides. In fact, it is possible that during the big breakthrough of the Dardanians under Longarus, along the Vardar corridor around 230 BC, Dropion was eliminated first, thus disempowering Paeonia, and then in 229 BC Demetrius II, as well. In reference to these historical moments, F. Papazoglu believed that at that time the Dardanians gained control over Paeonia.

Considering these events, during the eight years of reign of the Macedonian king Antigonus III Doson (229-221 BC) Paeonia was left without a king. Therefore, today we can assume that it was Antigonus

III Doseon, who organized the defence of the Vardar corridor, the one who carried out the annexation of Paeonia to the Kingdom of Macedonia. Historical sources, however, are silent regarding any annexation of Paeonia to Macedonia under Antigonos III Doseon. It is a great pity that King Antigonos III Doseon did not mint smaller denominations of his anniversary tetradrachms so we can follow him during our field researches and numismatics. There is a similar problem with King Demetrius II, though it is difficult to believe that both kings did not mint smaller bronze coin denominations. F. Papazoglu, quoting the theses of Gr. D. Beloch and F. V. Walbank that Antigonos III Doseon granted the north of Paeonia to the Dardanians, notes that this Macedonian king annexed southern Paeonia to Macedonia, and formed a Macedonian strategic military base named Antigonea I for establishing control. I. Mikulchic, who conducted the most extensive scientific study for the location of Antigonea at the site of Gradishte, near Negotino, with no reference to this idea, attributes the establishment of Antigonea to the Macedonian King Philip V without hesitation. Paeonia was in a very difficult position during the reign of the Macedonian king Antigonos III Doseon. The Dardanians constantly entered from the north, whereas the Macedonian army marched from the south in defence.

The young age of King Philip V (221-179 BC), who was only seventeen when he claimed the throne, generated the fiercest Dardanian attacks of Macedonia. Having in mind *the almost eternal* (Dardanian) *hatred of the Macedonian kings*, and his young age, Philip V was aware that he had to, definitely, secure the northern border, which he did in 217 BC. Polybius took notice of this event: *At the same time King Philip conquered Bylazora, the largest city in Paeonia, very favourably situated for the intrusions of the Dardanians in Macedonia. With this conquest, it was almost freed of Dardanian danger since the Dardanians could no longer very easily invade Macedonia, ever since Philip conquered the mentioned city and with it, the access to Macedonia.*

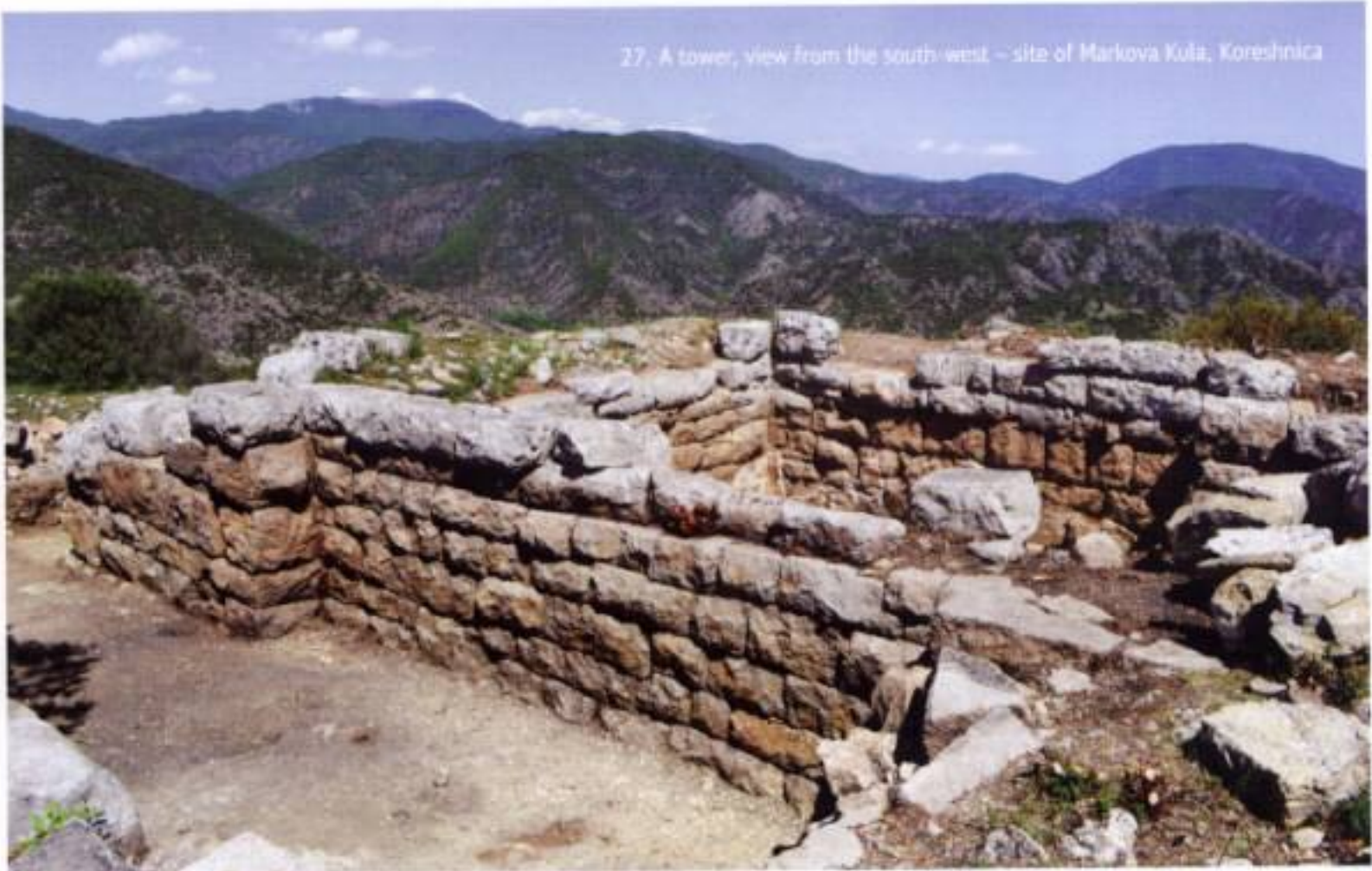
What can we learn from this quotation? That the biggest city in Paeonia, at that time, was within Macedonia. Polybius emphasizes this in his text three times.

Further sources referring to 209 BC speak of a strong and deep Dardanian breakthrough in Macedonia, but through the western corridors, via Pelagonia and Lyncestis, all the way to Orestis. This western direction of the Dardanian breakthrough is again considered to have occurred due to the strong control of the Vardar Valley by King Philip V, as dictated by the conquered city of Bylazora and the Macedonian military base at the site of Kale Otovica near the village of Bashino Selo, region of Veles, from the Antigonids castle near Kale in Veles, as well as other auxiliary positions known from archaeological research.

In this context, we can make reference to three other pieces of historical data, considering them useful for this text.

King Philip V, convinced that for his counterattack against Rome, it would be useful to observe above the ground from the highest mountain, decided to climb the mountain Haemus (the mountain Balkan Planina in the Republic of Bulgaria). For this expedition, he started from the city of Stobi. After crossing the land of the Thracian Maedi, and the deserted area afterward, he arrived at the foot of Mount Haemus on the seventh day. But before leaving, he returned his Roman-disposed son Demetrius back to Macedonia, in order to prevent him from finding out his final intentions for war against Rome. For this event, Titus Livy noted: *For the safety of Demetrius in Macedonia, Didas, the governor (captain / strategist) of Paeonia, one of the royal officers (general), was assigned to accompany him with a small entourage.*

27. A tower, view from the south-west – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



Below in the same book, Livy cited the way *Demetrius* pictured his escape to the Romans—the governor of Paeonia was seen as the god-sent assistant in his venture, since *Demetrius* hoped to go through his province without submitting to danger.

Further below, Livy says: *They were armed and gathered by the Paeonian Didas of Paeonia, who killed the young Demetrius.*

What can we learn from this information? We can learn that at the time of the elimination of the Macedonian prince *Demetrius*, the younger son of King Philip V, Paeonia was already a Macedonian province, and from an administrative aspect, a strategy or a military protectorate, with a military commander in charge—the royal General *Didas*, who was a Paeonian of Paeonia.

In short, we will summarize the initial archaeological elements of Philip's project – the Strategy Paeonia. The starting point in the annexation of Vardar Paeonia was the Demir Kapija gorge, where the Argeadae Dynasty formed powerful fortifications on the rocky peaks. Demir Kapija under the Argeadae was a northern Macedonian border point with a military base on Markova Kula, village of Koreshnica, ever since the classical period (fig 27). The second direction that the Antigonids took in their conquest of Paeonia is the road from Amphaxitis to the Doberus and Astraeum, present-day regions of Gevgelija and Valandovo, via the area of the village of Kosturino in the region of Strumica, and further to the region of Radovich.

The main Macedonian military fortifications in Demir Kapija extended on both banks of the river Axios. On the left bank extended the Macedonian fortifications with guard towers on the site Markova Kula, Koreshnica, and Chelevechko Kale, village of Chelevec. On the right were the Macedonian fortifications on the sites Ramnishte and Gomi Krastavec, on the high rocky ridge between Demir Kapija and the village of Klisura (figs 12, 13-15).

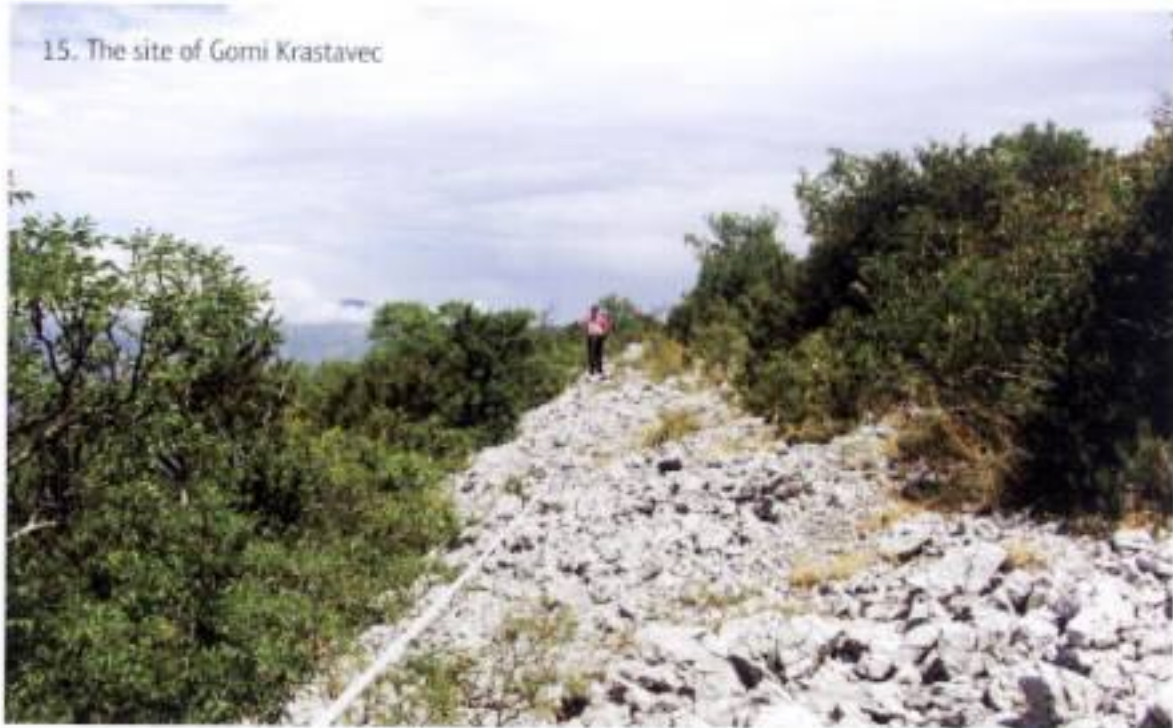
13. The site of Gornj Krastavec



12. Armor arrow – site of Gornj Krastavec



15. The site of Gornj Krastavec





17. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



18. Philip II (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



19. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



20. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



21. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



22. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



23. Demetrius (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



24. Demetrius (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



25. Demetrius (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica



26. Lysimachus (obverse and reverse) – site of Markova Kula, Koreshnica

The research of their contents and perimeters date the fortification of Markova Kula, Koreshnica, by means of the discovered bronze coins of Alexander I, Amyntas III, Philip II, Alexander III, Cassander and Demetrius I and Lysimachus in the 4th (figs 16-26), and in the first half of the 3rd century BC, at the earliest, whereas the finds of coins of the castle at Gorni Krastavec, as well as the identical fortification frame with the military base at Ramnishte, Demir Kapija, date these two fortifications in the period after the reign of Alexander III and in the first half of the 3rd century BC, by means of the coins of Alexander III (a silver drachma minted posthumously in Colophon in 310 BC (fig 11), and four bronze coins of Demetrius I (figs 7-10).

The Macedonian penetration into Paeonia was primarily prompted with the aim to prevent the Dardanian breaches into the Axios valley. This means that the expeditions of the Antigonids were mainly undertaken in that direction. This is exactly what historical sources confirm, referring to some points regarding the expeditions of the Macedonian kings Philip V and Perseus in that direction, such as: the conquering of Bylazora, the beginning of Philip's expedition to Mount Haemus from the city Stobi, or the march of the Macedonian army under Perseus to the city of Almana at Axios (Kochilari) in an attempt to hire allies for the war against Rome.

It is true that Philip V had stabilized the defence of the hilly and mountainous area between the regions of Veles and Ovchepole in the south and the Skopje-Kumanovo region in the north. However, it has not yet been conclusively proven whether that was the northernmost Macedonian border at that time, taking into account the latest numismatic findings of the Argeadae and Antigonids in the regions of Polog, Skopje and Kumanovo.

In this context, we believe that although it is evident from the field research that King Philip V set up a military garrison in Bylazora and established a base at Otovichko Kale near the Veles lake Mladost, as well as a guarding castle at Kale S'lp above the riverbed of Axios, it is still early to claim that this was the northernmost frontier of the kingdom of Macedonia at the time.

Philip V organized the colonization of the valley of the Axios. He established the military base Antigonea, which was subsequently converted into a civilian city, and settled colonists in Gurbita (Gradishte, village of Zgropolci). It can be assumed that it was precisely him who revitalized the old city of Almana (Gradiste, Kochilari) by means of colonization.

In this context, the defining of the protogenic character of Gradishte, Negotino is very important. Today we can assume that King Philip V formed a strategic military base upon entering the Axios valley, fifteen kilometres northwest of the Demir Kapija gorge, where the previous Argeadae Dynasty consolidated their northern border. He arrived at the ancient crossroads of present-day Negotino where the road separated to the west toward the city of Audaristus and Pelagonia, and to the east toward As-

tibus via the mountain Serta. Basically, there is no historical data that Antigonea of Axios was shaped as a city from the start, and vice versa. The name Antigonea (Antigonia) occurs much later, on the so-called Peutinger's Map (Tabula Peutingeriana), created according to original documents dating from the 4th century AD. Life in the city of Antigonea, near Negotino, began in the Archaic period, but archaeologists have registered a cultural horizon dated in the Hellenistic (Middle Macedonian) period, for which, at this point of research, it is still unknown whether it occurred as a result of the Macedonian military presence.

The concentration of the Macedonian army in the regions of Veles and Ovchepole was, nonetheless, inevitable. We mentioned that the result of the Macedonian presence in these areas is illustrated by at least two mentioned fortifications-Otovichko Kale near the village of Bashino Selo, and Kale near the village of S'lp. Just north of Kale- S'lp is another castle of a questionable Antigonids origin founded in Early Antiquity. It is the castle at the site of Cuculigovo, near the village of Karabuniste. During surface surveys there was discovered an iron axe of the type labrys, with two blades, and a shape characteristic of the 4th and 3rd century BC.

Historical sources from this period remain silent about the relationship of the Antigonids and the Paeonian city of Audaristus (Gradishte, Drenovo). However, given the visual communication between the Macedonian military fortress at Gomi Krastavec with the acropolis of the city of Pelagonia at the peak Visoka, village of Krushevica, where coins of the kings Demetrius I Poliorcetes and Antigonus Gonatas were recorded, we believe that the Antigonids closely controlled the road communications from the Axios valley to Pelagonia. The same occurred with the communication line along the river Babuna, between northern Pelagonia and the Veles region.

Key Antagonid fortifications in the direction of the river Axios, over the city of Audaristus/Euristus and the mountain pass Pletvar, to the city of Ceramiae (Varosh, near Prilep) were registered on the sites of: Strazha and Markova Kula, village of Farish; Markov Chardak, village of Toplica and Kale, village of Pletvar.

In the direction of the valley of Axios, along the valley of the Erigon, toward the Lyncestian city of Lyncus (Crmobuki), were registered fortifications on the following sites: Zobot, village of Dradnja; Bogdanova Niva, village of Chanishte; Kale, village of Rapesh (figs 135, 134) and Kula, village of Skochivir (fig 80).

In the direction of Veles, along the river Babuna, toward the mountain passes of Kletovnik and Gostirazhni in Pelagonia, we registered Antigonids castles and bases on the following sites: Veleshko Kale,

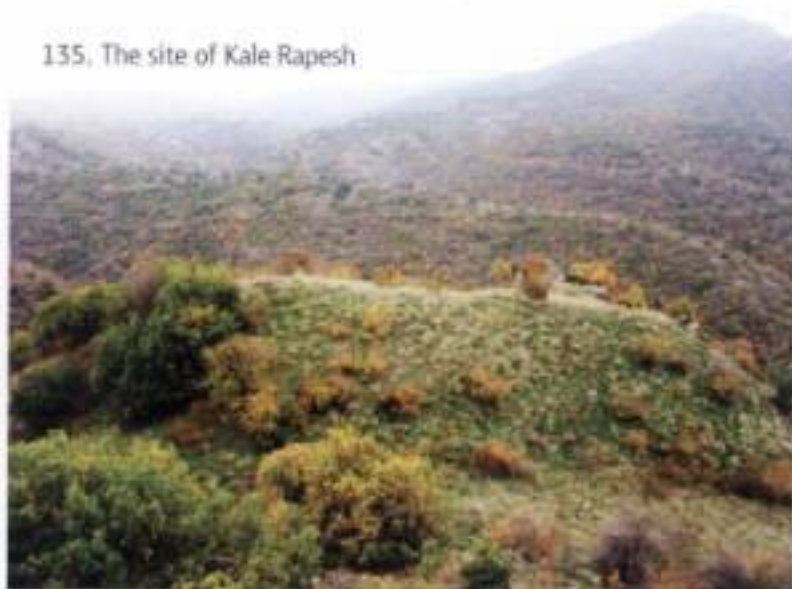


134. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Kale Rapesh



80. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Kula, village of Skochivir

135. The site of Kale Rapesht



Veles; Kale, village of Stari Grad; Gradishte Krst, village of Omorani; Markovo Kale, village of Teovo and Kale, village of Gostirazhni, at the passage from Babuna to Pelagonia.

In this regard it seems the Paeonians of Axios and the Pelagones were more temperate and more cooperative, unlike the Paeonians of the valley of the Astibus. We recorded evidence of the resistance of the eastern Paeonians, and analogous to that, a demonstration of military force by Philip V and Perseus, in this particular direction. Starting

from Demir Kapija, on the hilly mountain ridge of Konechka Planina, Philip V probably formed at least two military fortifications. The first is on the site of Kale on Beli Rid, village of Kalanjevo, and the second on Kale Anteni, village of Leskovica. In this direction, we identified a strong military Antigonids castle on the site Citate, village of Sheoba, at a distance of 4.5 km southwest under the great Paeonian city on the site of Golemo Kale, village of Puhche, located on the crest of Serta.

In the north-western extension of Serta were located Paeonian towns on the sites of Perchi Kulbashi, village of Adzi Redzhepli; Gradishte-Veledrica and Gradishte, near the village of Dragoevo, which were controlled directly by means of the army of Perseus situated in their acropolises.

The valley of the river Astibus from Stobi to the city of Astibus (Shtip) was an ancient communication. This was particularly the reason why the Antigonids considered the strategic position of this road corridor. The road control was established, firstly, by the castle at Vrshnik- Plocha, village of Dzirimirci, on the left bank of the Axios, opposite of Stobi; then by the castle Kale Kara-Tash, village of Ubogo; then by the big city, probably Bragyle, on the site of Isar, village of Creshka, followed by Gradishte, village of Jamularci, on the hill opposite the estuary of the river Svetnikolska in Astibus, but also by the castles on the sites of Kale and Tisa, village of Skandalci, on the left bank of Astibus, as well as the sites of Dolno Kale, village of Bogoslovec, on the right bank of Astibus, and by the acropolis of the city of Ioron, on the site of Isar, village of Adzi Amzali, at a distance of 4 km southwest of the riverbed of Astibus.

The situation in the southern part of the Paeonian Ovchepole was similar. The Macedonian army which came from Stobi along the lower reaches of the river Astibus, and then in the lower reaches of Svetnikolska Reka arrived in Ovchepole and in this location, established a strong military base on the site of Gradishte, near the village of Delisinci for control of this part of Paeonia and probably for the attack on Bylazora in 217 BC. West of Svetnikolska Reka, at the site of Kula, village of Kjoseleri, was registered a significant Antigonids castle dated by means of coins of Perseus, visually oriented toward the Paeonian city of Bylazora.

On the area to the west, outside the city of Astibus, were discovered coins of the Macedonian kings in the fortified settlement of Gradishte, near the village of Krivi Dol. Coins of the Antigonids were also found in the castle at the site Lozensko Gradishte, near the village of Dolni Balvan, northeast of Astibus.

The road communication from Amphaxitis by Doberus (Valandovo) to Astraeum (Strumica?) was controlled by the Antigonids castles of the sites Vesterno, village of Rabrovo, Vasilica, village of Kosturino and Padamica, village of Kuklish.

According to the preliminary observation of the listed road communications and the Antigonids fortification posts, at this point we can discuss, chronologically, of at least two stages in the annexation of the ancient kingdom of Paeonia and its administrative transition into a Macedonian area called the Strategy Paeonia.

The valley of the Axios was conquered in the first phase by establishing fortifications and by colonization of the following points:

1. Demir Kapija (on the right bank of the Axios: a military base of Demetrius I Poliorcetes at the site of Ramnishte, castle-specula on the site of Gomi Krastavec, on the left bank of the Axios: a military base on the site of Markova Kula, village of Koreshnica);
2. Kale Beli Rid, Kalanjevo (a guarding castle and a specula);
3. Antigonea (military base);
4. Stobi (initially probably a military base, and subsequently a colonial settlement);
5. Gurbita, Gradishte, village of Zgropolci (colonial settlement);
6. Almana, Gradishte, village of Kochilari (colonial settlement);
7. Otovichko Kale, village of Bashino Selo (military base);
8. Kale, village of S'lp (a guarding castle and a specula);
9. Tsutsuligovo, village of Karabunishte (a questionable Antogonid castle).

In the second phase were outlined the operations for the annexation of the eastern part of Paeonia, along the valley of the Astibus (Bregalnica).

In the region of Doberus (Valandovo?) and Astraeum (Strumica / Radovish?)

1. Vesterno, village of Rabrovo (a guarding castle and a specula);
2. Vasilica, village of Kosturino (a guarding castle and a specula);
3. Padamica, village of Kuklis (a guarding castle).

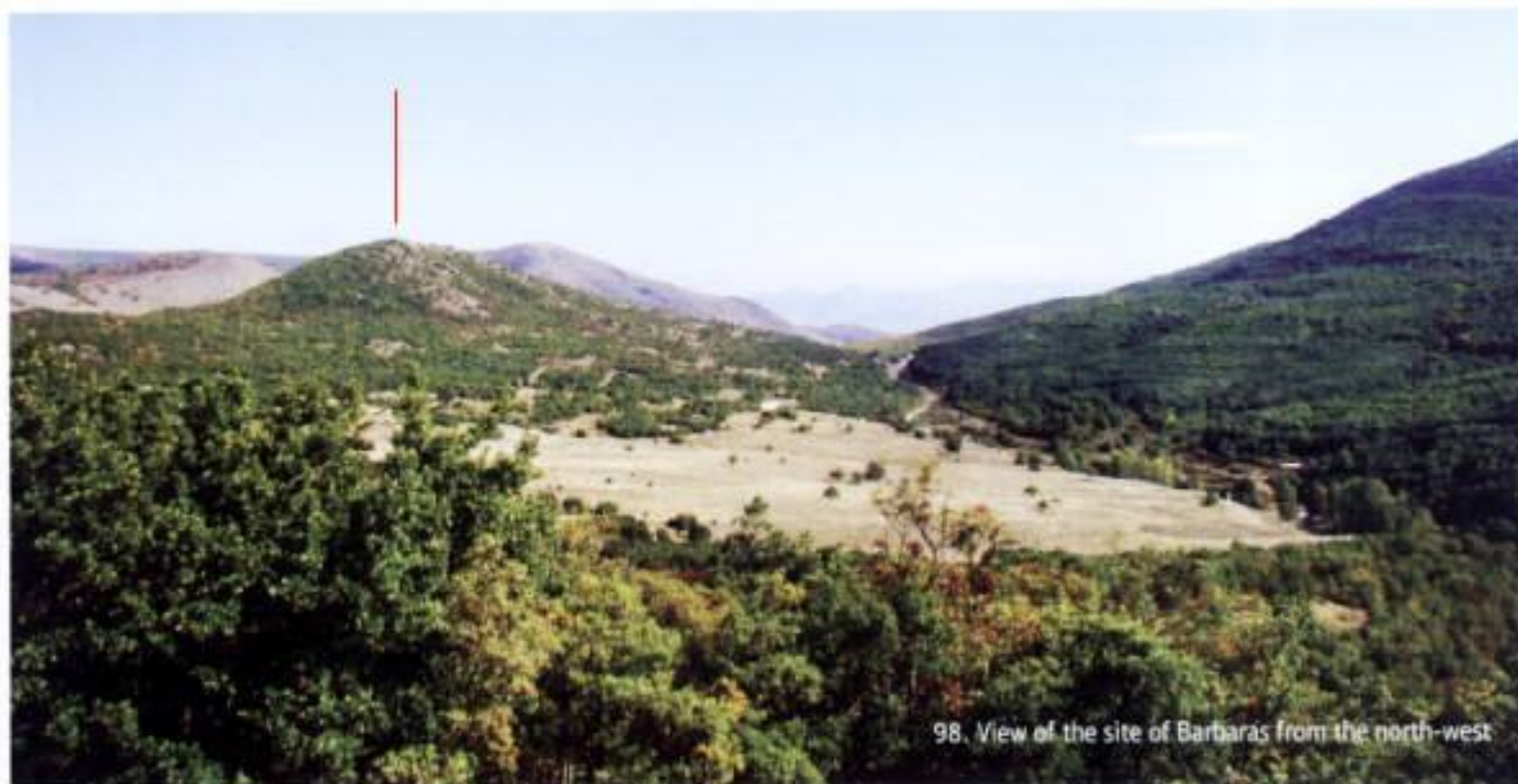
In the region of Paeonia, along the lower reaches of the river Astibus, with the estuary Lakavica, inhabited by the Paeonian Iori and Bragyle:

1. Kale Anteni, on the crest of Serta, village of Leskovica (a guarding castle and a specula);
2. Citate, village of Sheoba (military base);
3. Perchi Kulbashi, village of Adzi Redzhepli (military base with an acropolis);
4. Kula, village of Kjoseleri (a guarding castle and a specula);
5. Tisa, village of Skandalci (a guarding castle and a specula);
6. Kale, village of Skandalci (castle);
7. Dolno Kale, village of Bogoslovec (guarding castle on the road along the Astibus);
8. Gradishte, village of Delisinci (military base);

9. Gradishte, village of Krivi Dol (base);
10. Isar, village of Adzi Amzali, city of Ioron (Macedonian military unit of Perseus in the acropolis);
11. Lozenski Rid, village of Dolni Balvan (a guarding castle);
12. Gradishte, village of Jamularci (a guarding castle);
13. Isar, village of Creshka, city of Bragyle (assumed Antogonid military contingent);
14. Kara Tash, village of Ubogo (a guarding castle);
15. Vrshnik Plocha, village of Dzidimirci (a guarding castle).

Perseus defends the narrows of Pelagonia

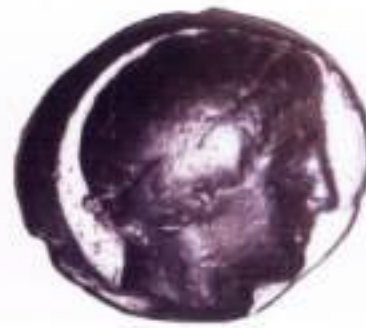
Part of the burden brought along by the military actions of 199 BC was also carried by the young thirteen-year-old Macedonian prince Perseus. During the winter of 200/199 BC, the Roman consul Galba entered into an agreement for military cooperation with the leaders of the local tribes, neighbours of Macedonia—the Illyrians, Athamanians and Dardanians. In the spring, when the military operations were launched in Lyncestis, Philip V sent part of his army, under the command of his son Perseus, to block the Dardanians, when he entered Lyncestis in a counterattack against Galba. This location was noted as *angustias quae ad Pelagoniam sunt mittit* and *faucibus ad Pelagoniam* by the historian Titus Livius. However, in late spring, the army was revoked and the narrows on the north of Pelagonia were left to be defended by a smaller military contingent. When researching this issue, the Macedonian archaeologist V. L. Adams came to the conclusion that there were two northern entrances into Pelagonia: the entrance in the village of Barbaras (fig 98), where the Dardanians entered travelling along the river Treska from the Skopje basin, as well as the entrance near the village of Gostirazhni, which the Dardanians could use as a detour via the valley of the river Babuna. However, V. L. Adams proved that the narrows of Pelagonia that Perseus blocked, were, in fact, on the passage Barbaras. The Macedonian army first



98. View of the site of Barbaras from the north-west



90. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras



91. Philip II (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras



92. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras



93. Philip V (reverse) – site of Barbaras



94. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras



95. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras



96. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras



97. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Barbaras

established a military camp on a flat terrain a few kilometres south of the mountain pass Barbaras, on the site of Kale, near the village of Debreshte, as well as a strong military castle on the site of Ostrec, on both passages over the sharp hill Ostrec, near the depopulated village of Barbaras. Moreover, several smaller castles were established on the surrounding hills in order to block the somewhat higher two auxiliary passages. These were the castles on the sites of Kale 3, village of Rilevo, Kale-Lenishte, village of Debreshte and Kale-Zemnik, village of Koshino. It is assumed that Philip V formed the military base on Kale Debreshte around 230 BC. V. L. Adams and A. Jakimovski, the researchers of the castle Ostrec, Barbaras, discovered a great number of bronze coins of Philip V and Perseus, which were evidently part of the money of the Macedonian soldiers who established the castle on this position (figs 90, 92-97, fig 98). The coin of Philip II of Macedon, which was found on Ostrec indicates that this strategic position was used during his reign. (fig 91)

Perseus's campaign of the Penestae city of Uscana (Kitino Kale, Kichevo)

According to historical sources the areas northwest of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia constantly generated extremely hostile tribes in Early Antiquity. Among them, the Dardanians, as the most aggressive, constantly raided the Paeonian areas and Macedonian civilizations, took material goods and enslaved people, thus undermining the rising European civilization in this part of the Balkan Peninsula, reflected by the early Paeonian and Macedonian cities, towns and fortresses of Early Antiquity.

The list of their raids is probably much longer than the defensive interventions and counter expeditions of the Macedonian and Paeonian kings.

The Macedonian king Perseus, ever since the young age of thirteen, had the opportunity to experience the Pelagonian Plain, especially its northern part, where, in 199 BC his father King Philip V sent him off to block the strait north of Pelagonia, thus disabling the attack of the Dardanians along the valley of the Treska through Poreche.

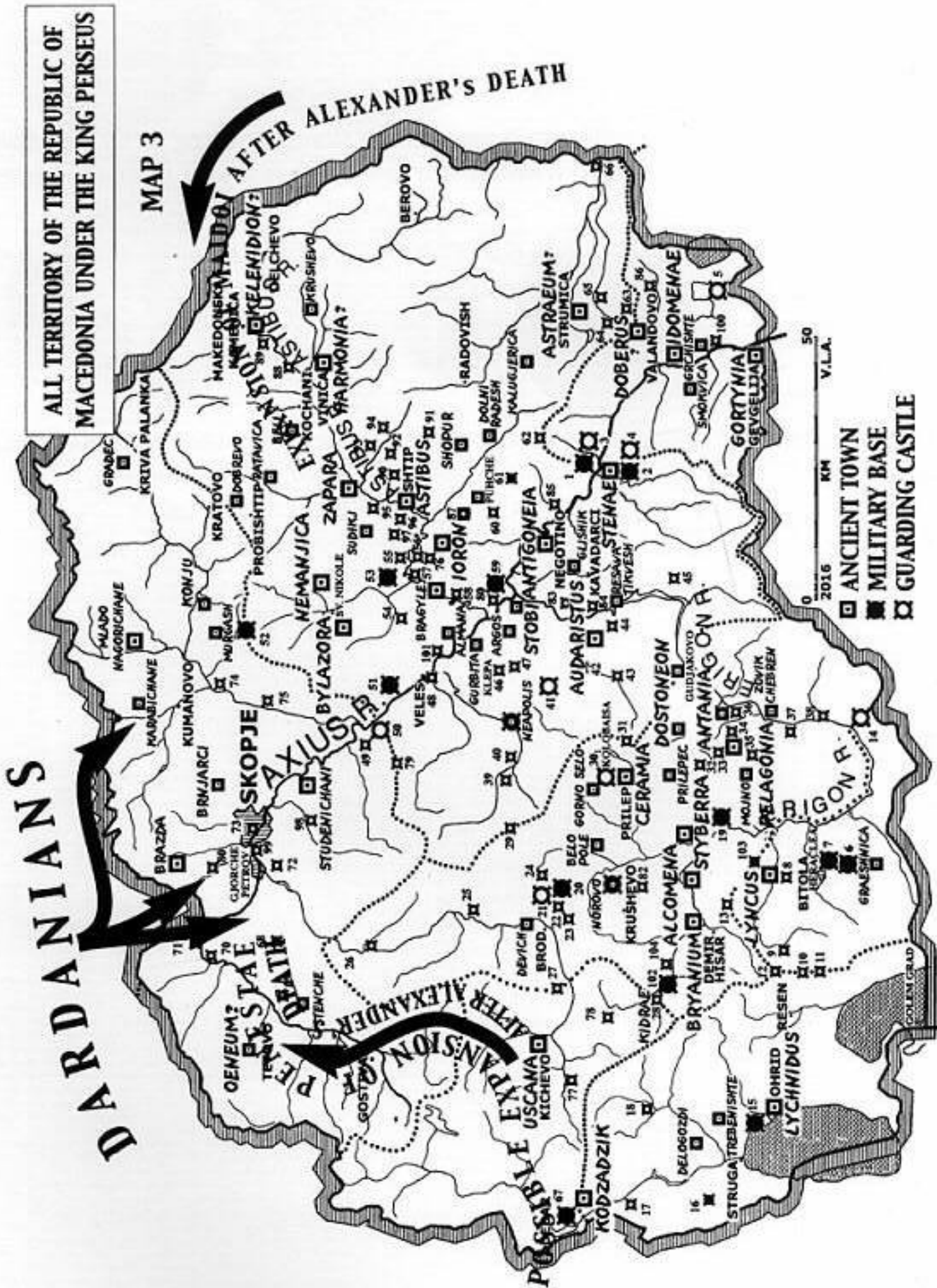
Historical data disclose that Perseus conquered the Penestae city of Uscana (Kitino Kale in Kichevo) in 171 BC, and settled his troops in the acropolis. However, in the autumn of 170 BC the residents of Uscana removed Perseus's soldiers. They were apparently more inclined to the Roman invaders, given that they received a garrison of 4,000 Roman legionnaires and 500 Illyrians.

In a state of permanent Roman military presence on the north-western borders of Ancient Macedonia, this meant improvement of their starting aggressor positions for the conquest of the Kingdom of Macedonia.

The Romans secured their access to Macedonia from the direction of Lychnidus. Furthermore, in 170 BC, they established a military contingent in Uscana, thus providing another important entrance to Macedonia.

The routes by means of which the Dardanians penetrated Macedonia are well known:

- 1) the main route through the region of Skopje, along the river Axios (Vardar);
- 2) a more complex auxiliary route from the Skopje region via the mountain trails through the mountain ranges of Kitka and Solunska Glava on the relation Varvara - Aldinci - Gorno Jabolchishte; at the section: Dolno Jabolchishte - Drenovo - Lisiche - Chaska in Azot at the river Babuna and the section: Gorno Jabolchishte - Nezhilovo - Gostirazhni - Pelagonia;
- 3) an auxiliary route along the Treska River, from Matka to the village of Devich and the mountain pass Barbaras for access to Pelagonia;
- 4) the north-eastern entrances, the routes via the region of Sveti Nikole: Katlanovo - Gradman-ci - Rudnik - Veles; Gorno Konjari - Sushica - Malino - Preot - Trstenik to Bylazora; Kumanovo - Dobroshani - Orashec - Kolicko - Alakince to Bylazora; the section of Orashec - Gradishte - the pass Karaula to Bylazora;
- 5) the northwest direction, under the eastern foot of the mountain Ljuboten, then through Polog via Kichevo, Demir Hisar in Pelagonia etc. All other routes had long detours and were, by all means, impractical.



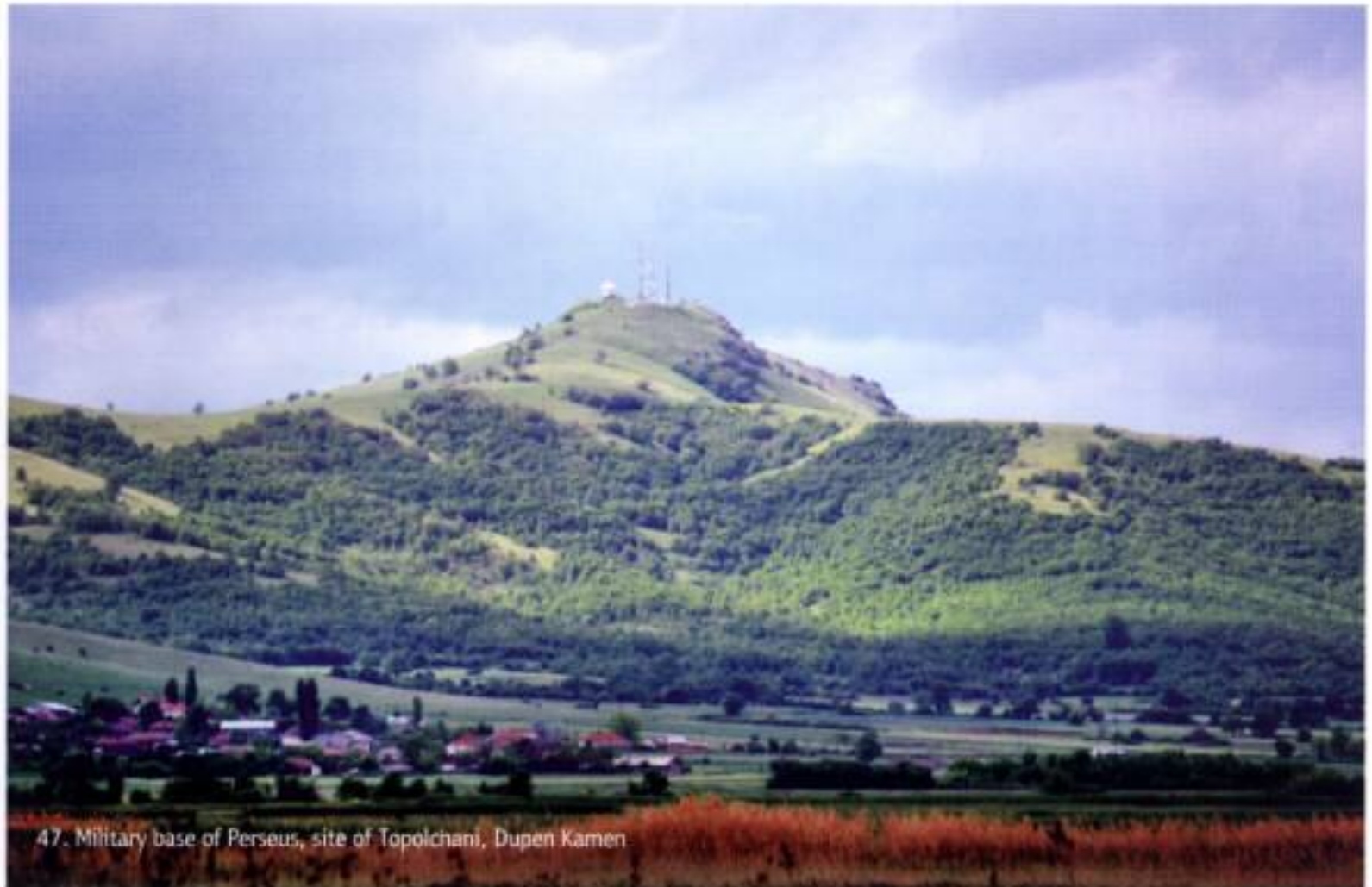
170. Map no. 3 – The kingdom of Perseus on the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia

We could also assume that the Dardanians used the river valley of the Drylon (Drim) along the western foot of the mountain Scordus (the mountain Shar Planina) to enter Pelagonia, but this road had many detours compared to the above-mentioned five routes. Hence, we believe that Perseus had to recover the city of Uscana from the Romans, as it was located on an important strategic location. This was the region of Kichevo, the area that joined the military forces of the Dardanians, from the direction of Kosovo - Polog - Kichevo, and the Illyrians, from the direction of Drim - Debar - Kichevo.

The city of Oeneum (Isar, village of Shipkovica?) protected the strategic crossing on the mountain Shar Planina, by means of which the Illyrians were able to pass in a short amount of time and enter Pelagonia.

According to Titus Livy, Perseus, seeing that the side of Macedonia which lies toward Illyria, is exposed to danger (quod ab Illyrico pateret), since the Illyrians themselves were not peaceful, but they, nevertheless, enabled the Roman breakthrough, and if he could conquer the Illyrian neighbours, and King Gentius, who has been reluctant for a long time, he would require his alliance, had started with an infantry of ten thousand...

It is true that Perseus in his campaign against the Dardanians, in the early winter months of 171 BC, pacified these angry Macedonian enemies in a short amount of time, but further below, Livy, recounting Polybius, speaks of Perseus's delegation to the Illyrian king Gentius, stating that: *They crossed Shar Planina (Scordi Montis), passing through the Illyrian wastelands that the Macedonians had deliberately devastated to disable the Dardanians to easily pass to Illyria or Macedonia.*





28. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



29. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



30. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



31. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



32. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



33. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



34. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin



35. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Alcomena Buchin

This information leads to the idea that the Penestae city of Oeneum was perhaps located at the eastern foot of the mountain Shar Planina, whose crest was crossed by the delegation of Perseus, and whose extent of spreading to the south is still unknown. The main candidate for the ubication of Oeneum is the site Isar, village of Shipkovica, near the river Pena, west of Tetovo.

These data offer certain references for the identification of the route of Perseus's march in the winter of 170/169 BC toward the Penestae fortresses, as well as the cities of Uscana, Draudacum and Oaeneum.

According to Titus Livy, Perseus went from the base in Styberra. Its base, according to the field research of V. L. Adams was situated on the site of Dupen Kamen, above the village of Topolchani (fig 47). From here, Perseus led an army of 12,500 soldiers, and behind them marched military units transporting gear for sieging and entering of city walls. The campaign occurred during difficult winter conditions. The troops from Styberra marched through the strait near Buchin, along the river valley of the Erigon and the lands of the ancient cities of Alcomena (figs 28-36, fig 37) and Bryanium (fig 37, 38-41, fig 42). They entered the region of Kichevo at the passage Turla between the villages of Crsko and Vrane-shtica, defended by the small castle at the site Kale, village of Malo Crsko (figs 48, 49). With a march of more than two days, the Macedonian army set up camp outside the walls of Uscana, the site Kitino Kale, in the centre of Kichevo. The planimetry of the ancient city of V. L. Adams, represents an area within the city walls of covering exactly 2 ha, which is the largest area in the entire region of Kichevo, but also unique, particularly in reference to the sites Markulija, village of Arangel and Chukare, village of Dlapkin Dol-two fortified settlements covering an area of 1 ha.

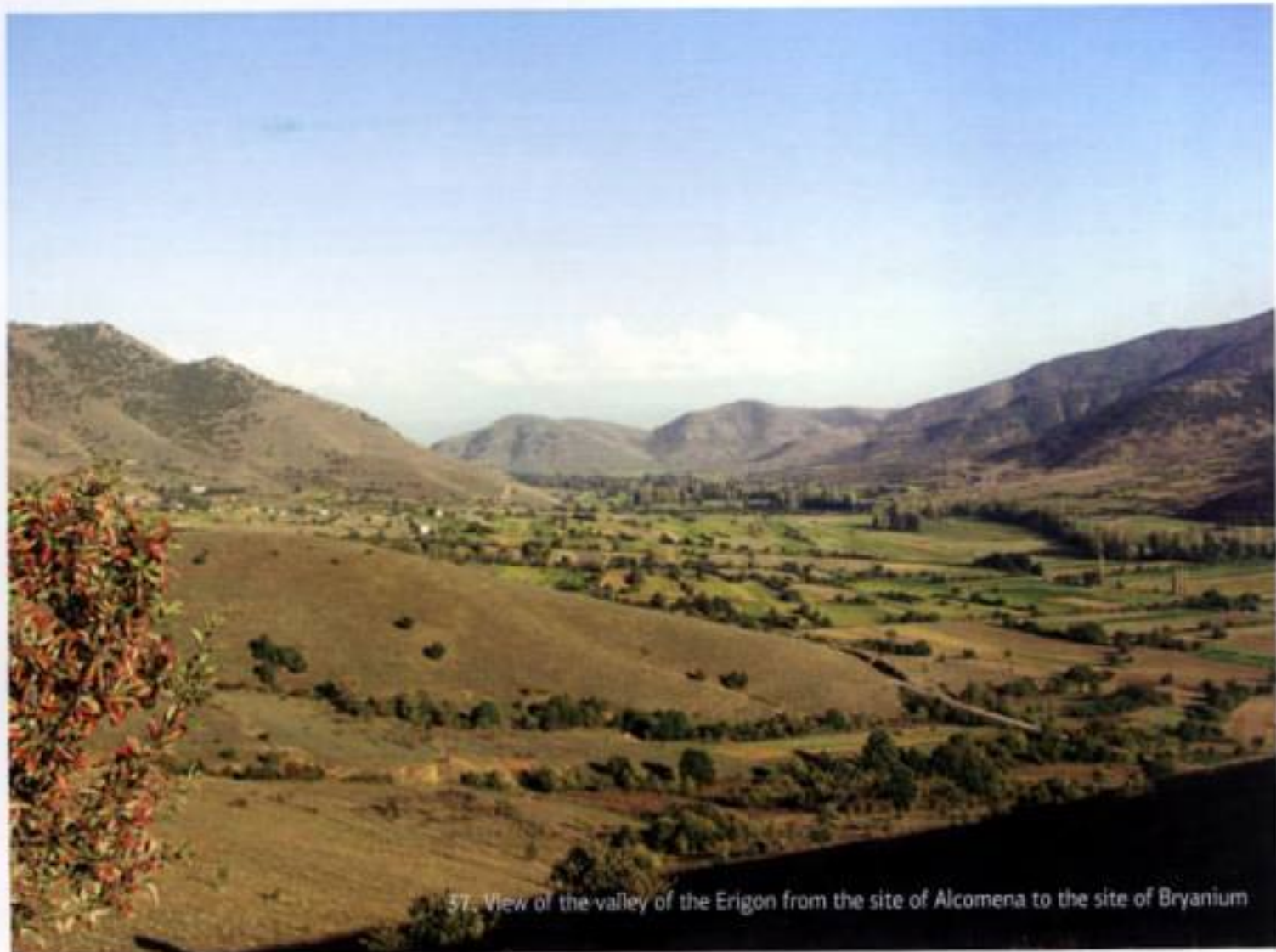


48. Pella (obverse and reverse) – site of Turla



49. View from the site of Turla toward Kichevo

36. Acropolis at the site of Alcomena



37. View of the valley of the Erigon from the site of Alcomena to the site of Bryanium

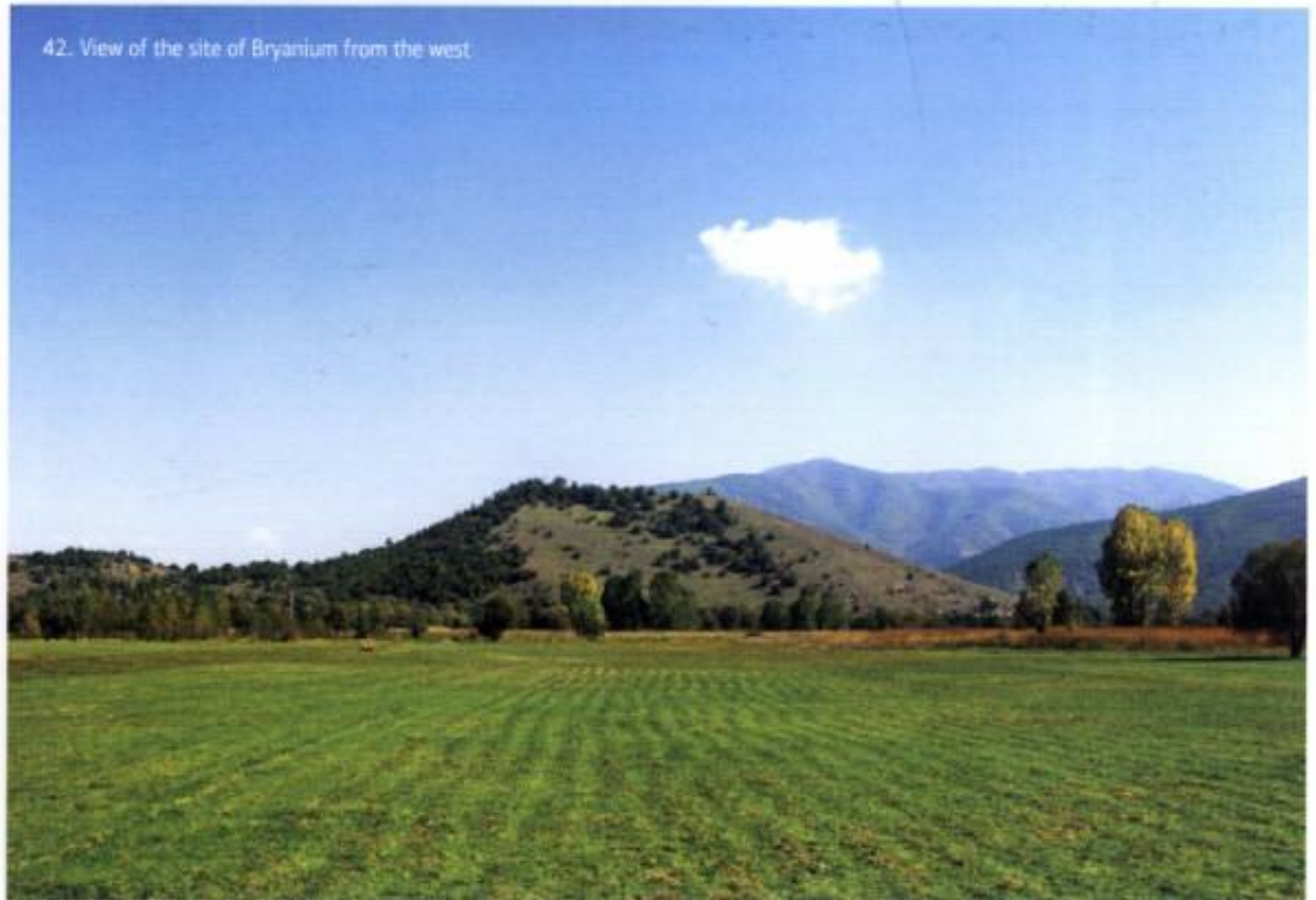


39. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Bryanium



40. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Bryanium

41. Philip V (obverse) – site of Bryanium



42. View of the site of Bryanium from the west

Perseus and the Bastarnae Clondicus

Before the onset of winter in 169/168 BC, the Macedonian king Perseus established a camp near Elpeus (Mavrolongos in Pieria under Olympus) on the southern border of the kingdom. In the air, one could sense the spirit of final confrontation with the Romans and the survival of the Kingdom of Macedonia. Hence, in February or March 168 BC Perseus gathered 22,000 soldiers, or half of the army near Elpeus, and headed north, marching along the river Axios (Vardar). His aim was to win over and hire the Bastarnae led by Clondike, but also to attack the Dardanians from Polog, as a precaution, and join the forces of the Illyrian king Gentius.

Titus Livius noted that Perseus and his army established a camp on the bank of the Axios with a quick march, after arriving in the city of Almana.

For the location of the city of Almana near Axios were proposed three options: the fortresses near Veles, Demir Kapija and Valandovo, until the moment when V. L. Adams and G. Kiprovski discovered the remains of this city at the site Gradishte, near the village of Kochilari, southeast of Veles. At the same time, in 2009, V. L. Adams located Perseus's camp at the site of Asarlak Kochilari, at a distance of 4.5 km northwest of the position of Almana, on the left bank of the river Axios.

At the same time, Clondicus, leading the Bastarnae from the north, started his journey with 20,000 soldiers.

The numerous Macedonian army surpassed that of Clondicus by 2000 soldiers which clearly indicates that Perseus considered the possibility that the credulous and wild Bastarnae would turn against him, or, perhaps, even the possibility of confrontation by the Dardanian forces.

From the camp at Axios Perseus sent the nobleman Antigonus in a delegation in order to invite the Bastarnae to start negotiations in the city of Bylazora. The Bastarnae settled at Desudaba in Maedica, at a distance of 112 km from the Axios and the king's camp. The route which Antigonus took undoubtedly led through the basin of Ovchepole, and afterward, along the Kriva Reka at the pass Deve Bair in the region of Kjustendil, in present-day Bulgaria. The meeting of Antigonus and Clondicus had an unfavourable outcome. Once the delegate offered the planned gifts, clothes, silver and horses, the leader of the Bastarnae replied: *"Go back and inform the king that the Bastarnae will not move an inch until they receive the gold and the hostages."*

To this, Perseus expressed a reluctance to accept such a large army and unpredictable wild barbarians in Macedonia. As a result of this, or, possibly, because the amount for their hire seemed too high, he offered to hire only 5,000 soldiers, calculating that this would be sufficient to acquire the necessary superiority over the Romans. The Bastarnae, however, demanded full commitment for all 20,000 people. Perseus disagreed and the negotiations failed.

The Bastarnae returned north feeling furious, robbing villages and towns along the way. Perseus returned to Pieria without allies.

Then, as it is already well known, on June 22, 168 BC, at the Battle of Pydna, the Roman legions under the consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus disastrously defeated Perseus and the Macedonian army.

So ended the second Macedonian royal dynasty of the Antigonids. Afterward, Rome divided Macedonia into four areas (Meridas):

- Macedonia First (Macedonia Prima) with the capital Amphipolis, between the rivers Strymon and Nest, northward to the mountain foot of Thrace.
- Macedonia Second (Macedonia Secunda) with its capital Thessalonica, between the river Axios and Strymon, along with the lands of Paeonia, east of Axios.
- Macedonia Third with the capital Pella, between the rivers Axios and Peneus to the south, along with the Paeonian lands west of the Vardar, with the city of Stobi.

Macedonia Fourth with the capital Pelagonia (near the villages of Bonche and Krushevica in the Republic of Macedonia) incorporated the former areas of Eordaia, Lyncestis, Pelagonia, to the west at the borders with Epirus and Illyria.

AFTERWORD

Judging by the displayed historical, geographical, archaeological and numismatic material, we can conclude that the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia in the Early Ancient period was completely incorporated into the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia.

In the timeframe between the 5th to 2nd century BC, in the central and southern part of the Balkan Peninsula, were formed the civilizations of several nations: the civilisation of the Hellenes in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula, the Paeonian-Macedonian civilization of the Paeonians and Macedonians, who were gradually ethnogenetically assimilated, as well as the civilizations of the Thracians and Illyrians. Among them, in the 4th century was established the powerful Kingdom of Macedonia, led by wise diplomats and warriors, kings of both Macedonian royal dynasties-the Argeadae dynasty and the Antigonids. Forced to defend themselves against the aggressive attacks of the continental Balkan tribes, of which the Illyrians and Dardanians were the most dominant, they gradually, and in stages, annexed and assimilated the northern Paeonian communities from the 4th century BC until the first half of the 2nd century BC, which enabled them to occupy and govern the entire territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia in the administrative framework of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia.

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List of the Early Antique towns on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia

AMPHAXITIS

1. GORTYNIA, the site of Vardarski Rid, Gevgelija
2. IDOMENAE, the site of Isar, village of Marvinci (Valandovo district)
3. DOBERUS, probably the site of Isar, Valandovo
4. Gradishte, village of Smokvica (Gevgelija district)

LYNCUS, KINGDOM OF

1. LYNCUS, the site of Gradishte, village of Crnobuki (Bitola district)

DASSARETIS

1. LYCHNIDUS, Ohrid
2. ENCHELANA, probably Trebenishko Kale, village of Trebenishte (Debarca district)
3. Gradishte, village of Delogozdi (Struga district)

DERRIOPUS

1. STYBERRA, the site of Bedem, village of Chepigovo (Prilep district) (figs 137-142),
2. DERRIOPUS, the site of Bakarno Gumno: fig 43, Bedem: figs 44,46).
3. ALCOMENA, the sites: Buchinsko Kale – acropolis (figs 28-35, fig 36), Buchinski Rid - lower town, village of Buchin (Krushevo district)
4. BRYANIUM, the site of Gradishte (fig 42, figs 38-41), village of Graishte (Demir Hisar district)



137. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra, Chepigovo



138. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra, Chepigovo



139. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra, Chepigovo



140. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra, Chepigovo



141. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra, Chepigovo



142. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra, Chepigovo



43. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Bakarno Gumno, Chepigovo



44. Philip II (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra

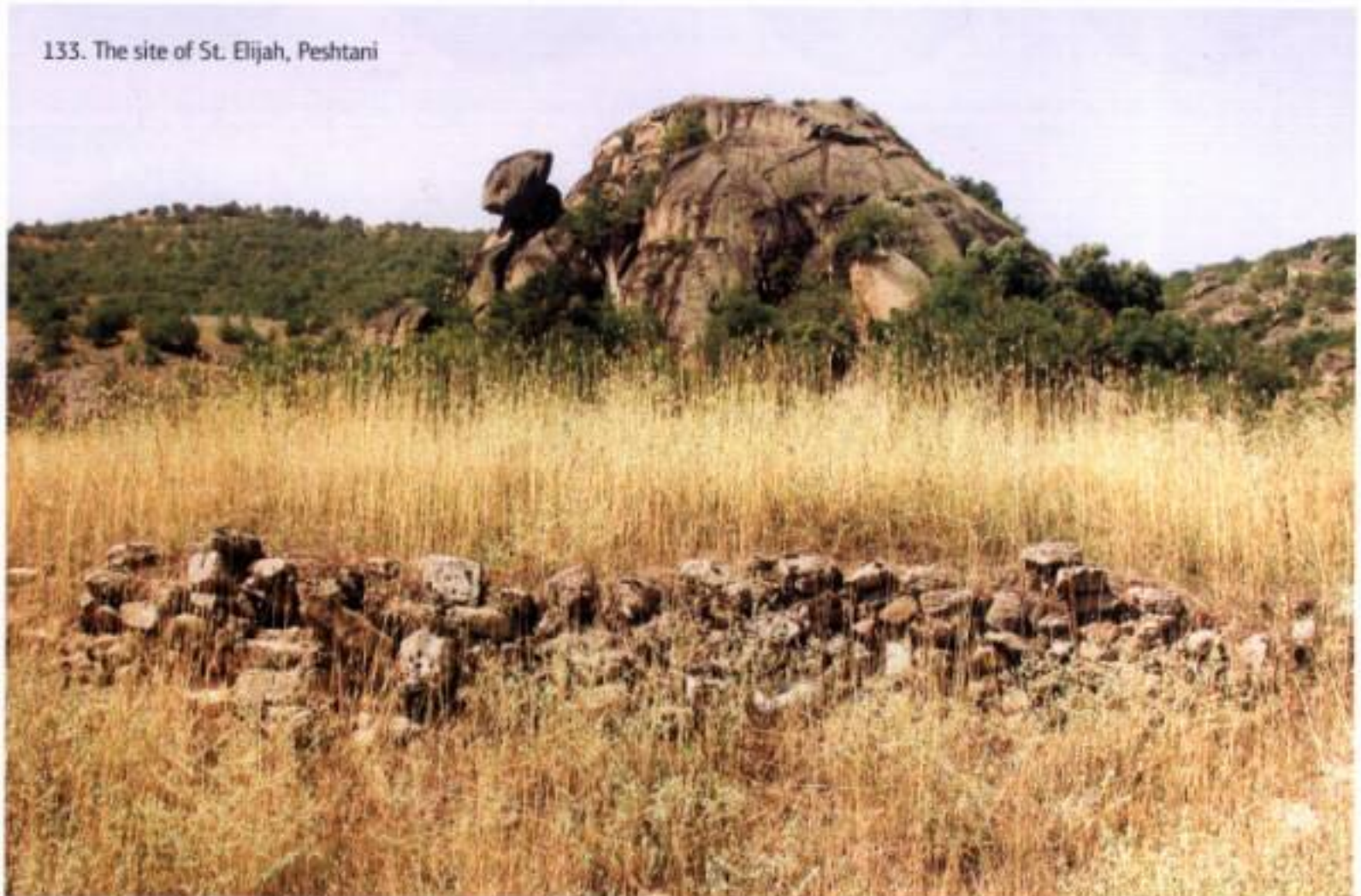


46. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of Styberra

PELAGONIA, KINGDOM OF

1. PELAGONIA, the sites: Visoka - acropolis, village of Krushevica and Staro Bonche - lower town, village of Bonche (Prilep district), figs 115-124.
2. CERAMIAE, the site of Markovi Kuli - acropolis, and lower town on the eastern side of the village of Varosh (Prilep district)
3. DOSTONEON, the site of the Monastery St. Elijah, village of Peshtani (Prilep district), figs 125-133.
4. ANTANIA, the site of Gradot, village of Manastir (Prilep district)
5. Grad Chebren, village of Zovik (Novaci district)
6. Elenik, village of Mojno (Mogila district)
7. Dolishta, village of Prilepec (Prilep district), figs 148-158.
8. Kale, village of Norovo (Krushevo district), with the necropolis on the site of Malo Kale, village of Podvis (Krivogashtani district), figs 100-114.
9. Markov Chardak, village of Belo Pole (Dolneni district)
10. KOLOBAlSA, Orlov Kamen or Mal Surun, village of Gomoselo (Prilep district)
11. Devini Kuli, village of Devich (Brod district)

133. The site of St. Elijah, Peshtani





125. Philip II (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



126. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



127. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



128. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



129. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



130. Philip V (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



131. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



132. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of St. Elijah, Peshtani



100. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



101. Philip II (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



102. Philip II (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



103. Antigonus Gonatas (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



104. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



105. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



113. Wall part – site of Norovo



112. Amyntas (obverse) – site of Norovo



106. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



107. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



108. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



109. Demetrius Poliorcetes (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



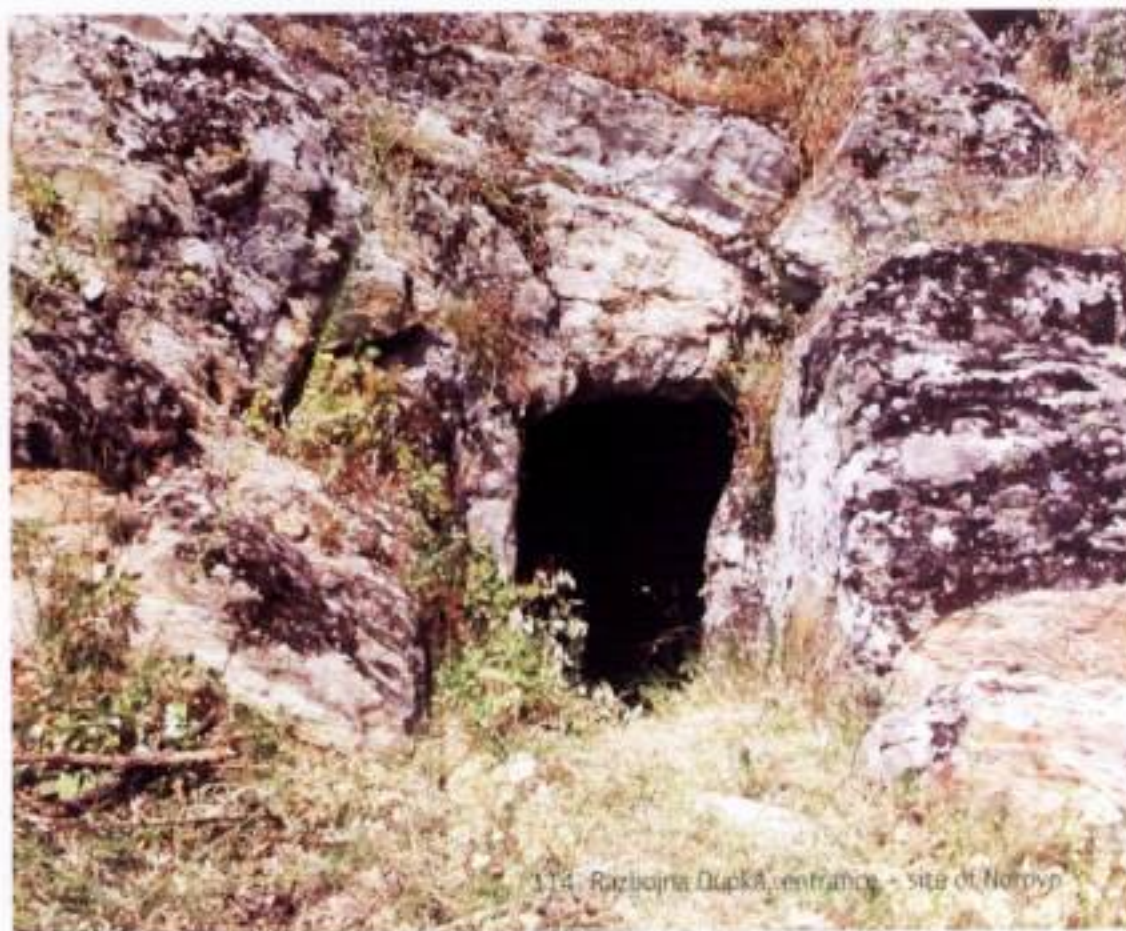
110. Archelaus (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



111. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Norovo



112. Amyntas (reverse) – site of Norovo



114. Razbojita Dapka, entrance – site of Norovo

PAEONIA, KINGDOM OF

1. **ASTIBUS**, the site of Isar - acropolis, the site of Star Konak - lower town, Shtip (Shtip district)
2. **BYLAZORA**, the site of Gradishte (figs 86-89), village of Knezje (Sveti Nikole district)
3. **AUDARISTUS**, the site of Gradishte, village of Drenovo (Kavadarci district)
4. **ANTIGONEA**, the site of Gradishte, Negotino (Negotino district)
5. **STENAE**, the site of Klisursko Maalo - Banja, Demir Kapija (Demir Kapija district)
6. **ASTRAEUM**, probably the site of Carevi Kuli, Strumica (Strumica district)
7. **IORON**, the site of Isar, village of Adzi Amzali (Shtip district)
8. **BRAGYLE**, probably the site of Isar, village of Creshka (Shtip district)



9. **ZAPARA**, probably the site of Golem Capar, village of Krupishte (Karbinci district)
10. **HARMONIA**, probably the site of Vinichko Kale, Vinica (Vinica district)
11. **KELENIDION**, probably the site of Kalata, village of Dulica (Makedonska Kamenica district)
12. **STOBI**, the site of Pusto Gradsko, Gradsko (Gradsko district)
13. **ARGOS**, the site of Vidin Grad, village of Vodovrati (Gradsko district)

14. GURBITA, the site of Gradishte, village of Zgropolci (Gradsko district)
15. ALMANA, the site of Gradishte, village of Kochilari (Gradsko district)
16. NEAPOLIS, the site of Kale, village of Stari Grad (Chashka district)
17. Grad Tikvesh, village of Resava (Kavadarci district)
18. Gradishte, village of Glishich (Kavadarci district)
19. Golemo Kale, village of Kalugjerica (Radovish district)
20. Treskavec, village of Dolni Radesh (Radovish district)
21. Pilav Tepe, village of Shopur (Radovish district)
22. Golemo Kale, village of Puhche (Shtip district)
23. Kula, village of Sudik (Shtip district)
24. Gradishte, village of Nemanjici (Sveti Nikole district)
25. Mavragan Kale, village of Ratavica (Probishtip district)
26. Gradishte, village of Dobrevo (Probishtip district)

PENESTAE

1. USCANA, Kitino Kale, Kichevo (Kichevo district)
2. Kale, village of Kodzadzik (Centar Zupa district)

AGRIANES, KINGDOM OF

1. OENEUM, probably Isar Banjiche, village of Shipkovica (Tetovo district), after Alexander's death becomes Penestian
2. Gradishte, village of Brazda (Skopje district)
3. Isar, Studenichani (Studenichani district)
4. Kale, village of Brnjarci (Gazibaba district)
5. Gradishte, village of Mlado Nagorichane village (Staro Nagorichane district)
6. Golemo Gradishte, village of Konjuh (Kratovo district)
7. Lipec, village of Murgash (Kumanovo district)
8. Gradishte, village of Gradec (Kriva Palanka district)

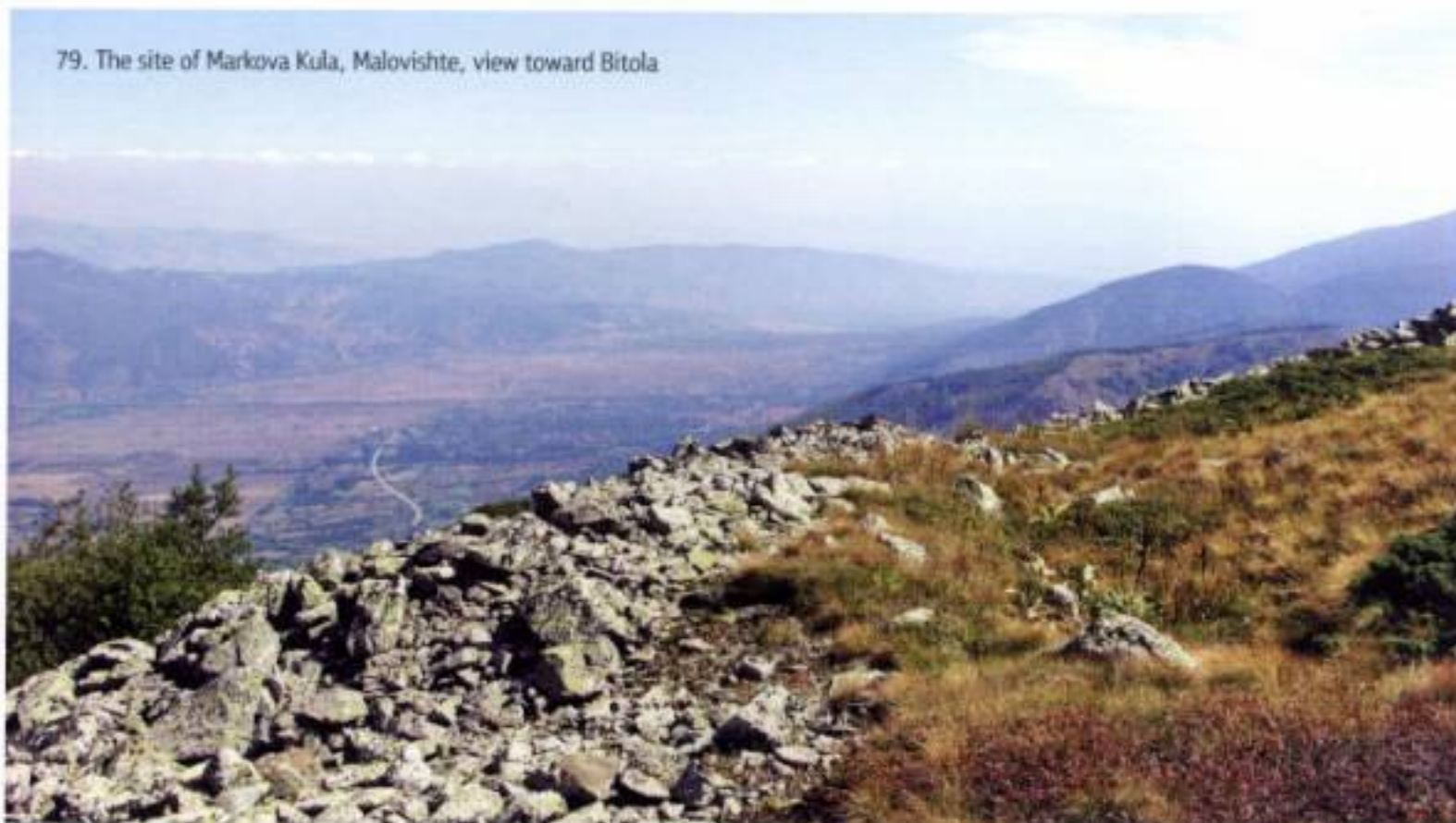
List of ancient Macedonian and other strategic bases and guarding castles in the Republic of Macedonia

1. Markova Kula, village of Koreshnica (Demir Kapija district), strategic base of the Argeadae dynasty and Demetrius I Poliorcetes
2. Ramnishte, Demir Kapija (Demir Kapija district), strategic base of Demetrius I Poliorcetes
3. Chelevechko Kale, village of Chelevec (Demir Kapija district), Early Antique castle
4. Gorni Krastavec, village of Klisura (Demir Kapija district), castle - specula of Demetrius I Poliorcetes
5. Kale Dub Karabali, Bogdanci (Bogdanci district), guarding castle - specula of Philip II of Macedon
6. Kula, village of Bistrica (Bitola district), a Macedonian strategic base [of the Argeadae and Demetrius Poliorcetes
7. Heraclea Lyncestis, Bitola (Bitola district), strategic base of the Argeadae
8. Kale Bozdoo Kladenche, Kukurechani village (Bitola district), a mobile military camp of Philip V (figs 72-74)
9. Dolno Kale, Lera village (Bitola district), guarding castle of Antigonus Gonatas (figs 75-77)

68. The site of Bistrica Glans MER



79. The site of Markova Kula, Malovishte, view toward Bitola



10. Kale, Gjavato (Bitola district), guarding castle on the mountain pass Gjavato
11. Markova Kula Vrtushka, village of Malovishte (Bitola district), high castle – specula (fig 79) over the mountain passage of Gjavato (fig 78)
12. Kale, Gopesh (Bitola district), guarding castle for the mountain pass Derven, and specula
13. Kale, village of Drevenik (Bitola district), castle - specula
14. Markovo Kale Strelj, Skochivir (Novaci district), an assumed guarding castle of Alexander III of Macedon (figs 82-85)
15. Kulishte St. Razmo, Ohrid (Ohrid district), strategic base of Alexander III of Macedon
16. Vajtos, village of Oktisi (Struga district), high castle - specula
17. Zvezda Kale, village of Modrich (Struga district), guarding castle of Antigonus Gonatas (fig 60-61)
18. Kula, village of Pesochani (Debarca district), Guarding castle of Philip II of Macedon and Philip V
19. Dupen Kamen, village of Topolchani (Prilep district), high strategic base of Perseus, near Styberra (fig 47)
20. Kale, village of Debreshte (Dolneni district), strategic base of Philip V and Perseus for the mountain pass Barbaras
21. Ostrec, village of Barbaras (Brod district), guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus on the mountain pass Barbaras
22. Kale Lenishte, Debreshte (Dolneni district), castle-specula
23. Zemnik Kale, village of Koshino (Dolneni district), guarding castle and specula for the mountain pass Preslop
24. Kale between the villages of Debreshte and Rilevo (Dolneni district), castle-specula
25. Markovo Kale, village of Modrishte (Brod district), guarding castle for protecting the road by the river Treska (fig 99)
26. Gradec, village of Zdunje (Brod district), guarding castle



61. View of the site of Modrich from the east



99. Alexander III of Macedon (obverse) – site of Markovo Kale, Modrishte

51. The site of Gradiste Zeleznec,
view from the south-east

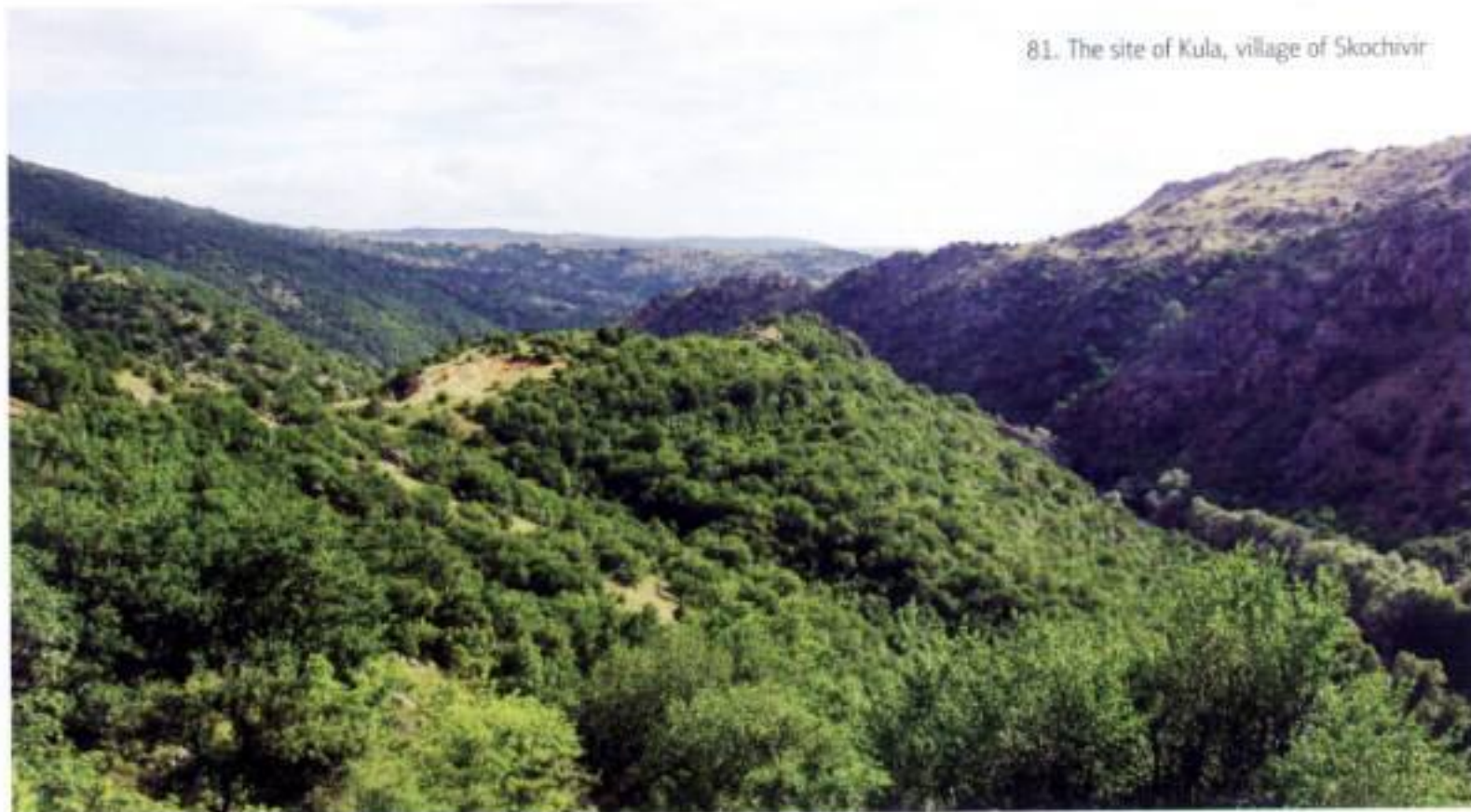


50. Cassander (obverse and reverse) – site of Zeleznec

27. Kale, village of Izishte (Brod district),
strategic castle of Philip II of Macedon
28. Gradishte, village of Zeleznec (Demir Hisar district),
strategic base of Cassander (figs 50, 51)
29. Kale, village of Gostirazni (Dolneni district),
guarding castle of Perseus, on the mountain pass between the Pelagonian Plain
and the valley of the river Babuna
30. Treskavec, village of Dabnica (Prilep district),
acropolis of the town of Kolobaisa (the site of Orlov Kamen, village of Gornoselo)
31. Gorno Kale, village of Pletvar (Prilep district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus on the mountain pass Pletvar
32. Veslec, village of Bonche (Prilep district),
guarding castle and specula for the protection of the city of Pelagonia,
north-western direction

33. Gradishte Cvetkovo, village of Bonche (Prilep district),
guarding castle for the protection of the city of Pelagonia, north-western direction
34. Gradishte, Krushevica (Prilep district),
guarding castle for the protection of the city of Pelagonia, eastern direction
35. Kale, village of Lopatica (Prilep district),
guarding castle for the protection of the city of Pelagonia, eastern direction
36. Bogdanova Niva, village of Chanishte (Prilep district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus for the road by the river Erigon
37. Kale, village of Rapesht (Novaci district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus, for the road beside the river Erigon
(figs 135, 134)
38. Kula, village of Skochivir (Novaci district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus, for the road beside the river Erigon
(figs 80-81)
39. Markovo Kale, village of Teovo (Chashka district),
guarding castle and specula of Perseus for the protection of the roads along
the rivers Babuna and Brezica
40. Gradishte Krst, village of Omorani (Chashka district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus, at the confluence of Brezica
into the Babuna river
41. Gradishte Beli Polani, village of Nikodin (Prilep district),
guarding castle of Cassandar and Antigonids (Perseus) for the road Audaristus –
Neapolis

81. The site of Kula, village of Skochivir



42. Strazha and Markova Kula, village of Farish (Kavadarci district),
guarding castles of Philip V and Perseus, for protecting the road along the river Raec
43. Markov Chardak, village of Toplica (Prilep district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus for protecting the road along the river Raec between Audaristus - Ceramiae
44. Zobot, village of Dradnja (Kavadarci district),
guarding castle - specula for the protection of Audaristus, south-eastern direction
45. Grad, village of Kumanichevo (Kavadarci district),
guarding castle - specula, high over Erigon's road
46. Klepa, village of Dvorishte (Gradsko district),
guarding castle - specula and an Early Antique sanctuary
47. Gradishte, village of Krmino (Chashka district),
guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus, protecting the mountain pass for the road Stobi - Neapolis
48. Kale, Veles (Veles district),
guarding castle for the Axios road
49. Cuculigovo, village of Karabunishte (Veles district),
guarding castle for the Axios road, 4th - 3rd century BC
50. Kale, village of S'lp (Veles district),
guarding castle of Perseus for the Axios road
51. Otovichko Kale, village of Bashino Selo (Veles district),
strategic base of Philip V and Perseus
52. Gradishki Vrh, village of Gradishte (Kumanovo district),
guarding castle for the mountain pass Bilo
53. Gradishte, village of Delisinci (Sv. Nikole district),
strategic base of Philip V and Perseus
54. Kula, Kjoseleri village (Sv. Nikole district),
guarding castle of Perseus
55. Dolno Kale, village of Bogoslovec (Sv. Nikole district),
guarding castle by the river Astibus
56. Tisa, village of Skandalci (Shtip district),
guarding castle by the river Astibus
57. Chuka, village of Jamularci (Shtip district),
guarding castle at the confluence of the river Svetinikolska into the Erigon (Bregalnica) river
58. Kale Kodzabashi, village of Ubogo (Gradsko district),
guarding castle along the Astibus road

59. Plocha Vršnik, village of Dzidimirci (Negotino district), strategic base of Philip V and Perseus
60. Citadela, village of Sheoba (Negotino district), strategic base of Philip V and Perseus
61. Kale Anteni, village of Leskovica (Shtip district), military camp of Philip V and Perseus
62. Kale Beli Rid, village of Kalanjevo (Negotino district), guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus
63. Vesterno, village of Rabrovo (Valandovo district), guarding castle of Philip V and Perseus
64. Vasilica, village of Kosturino (Strumica district), strategic base of the Antigonids over the river Trkavalishte
65. Padarnica, village of Kuklish (Strumica district), guarding castle of the Antigonids
66. Gradishte, village of Novo Konjarevo (Strumica district), guarding fortress
67. Gradishte, village of Vapa (Centar Zupa district), strategic base of Alexander II of Macedon and Antigonus Gonatas
68. Kuka, village of Rogle (Zelino district), guarding castle of Cassander over the pass Karpalak
69. Kale - Kalja, Lesnica (Zelino district, fig 6), guarding castle of the Antigonids



6. Perseus (obverse and reverse) – site of Leshnica, municipality of Zelino (region of Polog)

70. Gradishte, Jegunovce (Jegunovce district), an Early Antique guarding castle at the western gate by the Radushka gorge near the river Axios
71. Orashko Kale / Kalaja e Nices, village of Orashje (Jegunovce district), guarding fortress above the Axios road, Early Antiquity
72. Kale, village of Barovo (Sopishte district) and village of Shishevo (Saraj district), high castle-specula on the western side of Vodno Mountain

73. Skopsko Kale, Skopje (Skopje Centar district),
Macedonian guarding castle (Alexander III of Macedon and Antigonus Gonatas)
by the Axios road
74. Kula, village of Orashec (Kumanovo district),
Macedonian guarding castle above the river Pchinja
75. Gradishte, Gomo Konjari (Petrovec district),
Macedonian guarding castle by the river Pchinja
76. Kale, village of Skandalci (Shtip district),
guarding castle of Perseus in the vicinity of the Astibus road
77. Gradishte, Podvis village (Kichevo district),
guarding castle from the Hellenistic period
78. Kale, village of Crsko (Demir Hisar district),
guarding castle for the mountain pass Turla, 2nd century BC (figs 48, 49)
79. Gradishte, village of Rlevci village (Veles district),
guarding castle for the mountain pass Durmishevec, 3rd - 2nd century BC
80. Stolot, village of Ulanzi (Gradsko district),
guarding castle for the road by the river Axios, 2nd century BC
81. Markova Kula, village of Farish (Kavadarci district),
guarding castle, 3rd - 2nd century BC
82. Krajni Rid, Krivogashtani (Krivogashtani district),
guarding castle, 3rd - 2nd century BC
83. Kale, village of Shivec (Kavadarci district),
guarding castle, 3rd - 2nd century BC
84. Kale, village of Vozarci (Kavadarci district),
guarding castle, 4th - 2nd century BC
85. Gradishte, village of Vojshanci (Negotino district),
guarding castle, 3rd - 2nd century BC
86. Isar, village of Prsten (Valandovo district),
guarding castle for the road (Doberus - Amphipolis) along the southern slopes
of Belasica mountain, 3rd - 2nd century BC
87. Perchi Kulbashi, village of Adji Rejepi (Shtip district),
Perseus's controlling castle in the acropolis of the small Paeonian town on the site
88. Kale, village of Istibanja (Vinica district),
guarding castle by the Astibus road
89. Gradishte, village of Dulica (Makedonska Kamenica district),
guarding castle by the Astibus road
90. Golemo Vardishte, village of Nikoman (Shtip district),
Macedonian castle-specula

91. Crni Vrv, village of Kalapetrovci (Shtip district), strategic castle-specula, Hellenistic period
92. Osarlak, village of Kuchilat (Karbinci district), guarding castle and specula, Hellenistic period
93. Kula, village of Crvulevo (Karbinci district), castle from the Hellenistic period
94. Kula, village of Kalauzlija (Karbinci district), castle, Early Antiquity
95. Lozensko Gradishte, village of Dolni Balvan (Shtip district), Macedonian guarding castle by the Astibus river
96. Gradishte, village of Krivi Dol (Shtip district), Macedonian guarding castle
97. Kjunche, village of Kadrifakovo (Sv. Nikole district), roadside controlling castle, Hellenistic period
98. Kale, village of Varvara (Studenichani district), an Early Antique fortress
99. Gradishte, Sredno Nerezi (Skopje, Karposh district), an Early Antique fortified settlement by the Axios river
100. Gradishte, village of Gjavoto (Bogdanci district), roadside, an Early Antique castle, by the Axios river
101. Asarlak, village of Kochilari (Gradsko district), Perseus's camp from the spring of 168 BC
102. Kula, village of Babino (Demir Hisar district), strategic base of Alexander III of Macedon and Cassander by the upper reaches of the Erigon
103. Samovilec, village of Crnobuki (Bitola district), strategic base over the ancient town of Lyncus (Gradishte, village of Crnobuki), Archaic period and possibly later
104. Gradishte, Zhvan (Demir Hisar district), guarding castle of Antigonos Gonatas
105. Baba, Prilep (Prilep district), guarding castle for protecting the ancient town of Ceramiae (Varosh)



Macedonian shield 1, Bonche, area of Prilep



Macedonian Shield 1 , Bonche, area of Prilep, detail



Macedonian shield 2, Bonche, area of Prilep



Macedonian shield 3, Bonche, area of Prilep

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