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## Illyrians and Macedonians in the Fifth Century BC An Impossible Peace\*

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**ABSTRACT** The Illyrians lived in a mountainous territory that bordered the rich plains of Macedonia. Therefore, since the archaic age, they tried several times to penetrate Macedonia. Greek sources emphasize the resistance of the Macedonian kings, who were repeatedly defeated by the Illyrians. During the Peloponnesian War Macedonian king Perdikkas II allied with the Spartan general Brasidas to fight against the Illyrians and stopped their advance. But only half a century later the great king Philip II managed to keep the Illyrians permanently away from the borders of Macedonia.

**KEYWORDS** Illyrians, Macedonians, Perdikkas II, Eurydike, Amyntas.

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The relations between Illyrians and Macedonians in the fifth century are known only thanks to Greek sources that call the men settled on the north-western borders of Macedonia “Illyrians”. However, the Greeks knew that the Illyrians were divided into many tribes, such as Dardanians, Taulantians, Autariats.

In this regard, Strabo’s and Appian’s passages dedicated to the Illyrians are the final repository of a centuries-old tradition. The former focuses on the socio-political organisation of the Illyrian tribes<sup>1</sup>; the latter, on the other hand, mentions not only the names of the tribes, but also dwells on their mythical origins<sup>2</sup>. According to Appian, Illyrios, son of Polyphemos, had six sons, who were indeed the progenitors of the six main Illyrian tribes<sup>3</sup>.

Although we know very little about the oldest Illyrian institutions<sup>4</sup>, according to modern scholars<sup>5</sup>, the Greek sources cite as ‘King of the Illyrians’ the tribal chief who

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\*All dates of the text must be considered BC, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>1</sup> Str. 7.7.8 (C 326); for a reflection on Book 7 of his *Geography*, partially in fragments, see SBORDONE 1982, 197-206.

<sup>2</sup> App. *Illyr.* 2; about this book by Appian, see MARASCO 1993, 463-495.

<sup>3</sup> On the mythological wedding of Polyphemos and Galatea, see LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1997, 164; SORDI 1999, 109-116.

<sup>4</sup> For an original analysis, see PAPAZOGLU 1965, 143-179: according to her, at least at the end of the fifth century, the Illyrians had a well-organized state structure, dominated by a single ruling dynasty, with a decisive “unifying” function of the tribal system. This thesis has been severely disputed, particularly by HAMMOND 1966, 239-253. Somewhat softer on this topic are CARLIER 1987, 39-46; CABANES 1988, 87-106; BORZA 1990, 180-181; COPPOLA 1993, 26-27. Closer to Papazoglou’s position is HATZOPOULOS 1987, 81-94.

<sup>5</sup> See D.S. 16.44, where reference is made to Bardylis, king of the Illyrians, cited also, out of context, by Plb. 38.6.4 (referring to a fragment of Theopomp. in *BNJ* 115 F 28); Bardylis is also known to Luc. *Macr.* 10.13. The name of Agron, king of the Illyrians, quoted by Plb. 2.2.4, is present also in Ath. 2.2.40, and in Ael. *VH* 2.41.56 who, in the same place, also mentions another king of the Illyrians, named

had been able to impose himself on the leaders of the other tribes thanks to his strategic skills and the military strength of his men, in a context of great appreciation of collective warrior virtues<sup>6</sup>.

Relations between Illyrians and Macedonians were long characterised by Illyrian pressure on Macedonian borders<sup>7</sup>. In this framework, Hammond<sup>8</sup>, whose opinion is now widely shared<sup>9</sup>, hypothesises a great Illyrian expansion in the Archaic period, in the westernmost Macedonian plain crossed by the Axios River, to the area of today's Vergina. This hypothesis is essentially based on the archaeological *facies* of that territory in the early Iron Age; a fragment from Strabo<sup>10</sup>, moreover, seems to confirm an ancient Illyrian presence in the Macedonian plain in the proto-historical age.

Relations between Illyrians and Macedonians, however, enter history in the first decade of the Peloponnesian War when Perdikkas II was king of the latter. In the summer of 423, Perdikkas II recruited Illyrian mercenaries to fight against Arrhabaios, ruler of the Lynkestians<sup>11</sup>. In that summer, Athenians and Spartans had just signed a one-year truce, and the Spartan commander Brasidas had been in Macedonia for twelve months. King Perdikkas II convinced Brasidas to lead a second military campaign in the Lynkestis, after the first campaign in the summer of 424 had ended in a deadlock<sup>12</sup>. This second campaign was, however, halted by the Illyrian mercenaries recently enlisted by Perdikkas: these sided with Arrhabaios, and forced Greeks and Macedonians to a quick retreat, due to the terror they aroused as warlike men who had unexpectedly become enemies<sup>13</sup>.

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Gentios, known to App. *Illyr.* 25. 6 too; in Latin, the expression *rex Illyriorum* is frequent in Livy with regard to the Illyrian wars fought and won by the Romans from the second half of the third century (see e.g., Livy, 38.7.2; 40.42.4; 42.26.2; 43.9.4; 44.23.1; 30.2).

<sup>6</sup> On the importance of warrior virtues in ethnic states, see in particular, Aristot. *Pol.* 1324b 10-23, who, however, among the examples quoted, does not cite the case of the Illyrians, mentioning, on the contrary, Skythians, Thracians and Macedonians (see, in this regard, the reflections of Hammond in HAMMOND–GRIFFITH 1979, 166).

<sup>7</sup> On this topic, see LANDUCCI GATTINONI 2004, 23-52.

<sup>8</sup> HAMMOND 1972, 420-427.

<sup>9</sup> For the same reflections, see also HAMMOND 1982, 619-656; on the same line, with an explicit reference to the position of Hammond, see BORZA 1990, 74-75; WILKES 1998, 59-60.

<sup>10</sup> See Str. 7 frg. 11 (*Epitome vaticana*): Ἡμαθία ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία. ἔλαβε δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἀπ' ἀρχαίου τινὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων Μακεδόνοϋ, ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Ἡμαθία πρὸς θαλάσση. κατεῖχον δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην Ἠπειρωτῶν τινες καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Βοττιαῖοι καὶ Θραῖκες: “What is now called Macedonia was in earlier times called Emathia. And it took its present name from Macedon, one of its early chieftains. And there was also a city Emathia close to the sea. Now a part of this country was taken and held by certain of the Epeirotes and the Illyrians, but most of it by the Bottiaei and the Thracians”. On this book of Strabo, see SBORDONE 1982, 197-206.

<sup>11</sup> On the problem of the mercenaries during the Peloponnesian war, see the recent synthesis of BETTALLI 2013, 51-69. See Thuc. 4.124.4: Βρασίδαϲ δὲ καὶ Περδίκκαϲ (...) μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τροπαῖον στήσαντεϲ δύο μὲν ἢ τρεῖϲ ἡμέραϲ ἐπέσχον, τοὺϲ Ἰλλυριοὺϲ μένοντεϲ, οἳ ἔτυχον τῷ Περδίκκα μισθοῦ μέλλοντεϲ ἤξειν: “Brasidas and Perdikkas (...) after this they set up a trophy and halted for two or three days, awaiting the Illyrians, who had been hired by Perdikkas and were momentarily expected”.

<sup>12</sup> On the geographical extension of the kingdom of Perdikkas II during the first phase of the Peloponnesian war, see already Thuc. 2.99, who underlines that only the so-called Lower Macedonia was under the direct rule of the Argead sovereign, while Lynkestians, Elymians and other *ethne*, e.g., the inhabitants of the so-called Upper Macedonia, were mere allies of Perdikkas, albeit in a subordinate position, and were ruled by sovereigns to whom no one denied royal dignity (in this regard, see the remarks of HAMMOND 1972, 436-440).

<sup>13</sup> See Thuc. 4.125.1: Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διαφερομένων αὐτῶν ἡγγέλθη ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ' Ἀρραβαίου, προδόντεϲ Περδίκκα, γεγένηνται: ὥϲτε ἤδη ἀμφοτέροιϲ μὲν δοκοῦν ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ τὸ δέοϲ αὐτῶν, ὄντων ἀνθρώπων μαχιμῶν. “Meanwhile, as they were disputing, it was announced that the Illyrians had betrayed Perdikkas and taken sides with Arrhabaios; consequently, because of their fear of these people, who were warlike, both generals now agreed that it was best to retreat”.

In this first (and already problematic) contact between Illyrians and Macedonians, we can emphasise two points:

- a) The role of Arrhabaios, ruler of a territory situated between the Illyrians and the Macedonians<sup>14</sup>.
- b) The description of the Illyrians as not only brave but even “savage” warriors.

On the first point, Thucydides clearly highlights the independence of Arrhabaios from Perdikkas: about the 424 military campaign, he mentions the Macedonian king’s willingness to fight a “neighbouring” monarch, without any mention of his (possible) previous “rebellion”<sup>15</sup>. Thucydides also reaffirms the independence of Arrhabaios when reporting that Brasidas wanted to persuade Arrhabaios to become an “ally” (ξύμμαχος) of the Lacedaemonians<sup>16</sup>. Arrhabaios, therefore, was attacked by Perdikkas and Brasidas in 423, but managed to reverse the situation thanks to the betrayal of the Illyrian mercenaries enrolled by his enemies. Although Thucydides does not tell us anything about the agreements between Arrhabaios and the Illyrians, the former had most likely made a more advantageous proposal than Perdikkas.

As for the fear aroused by those warlike Illyrian mercenaries, it is well described in the long speech that, according to Thucydides, Brasidas addressed to his soldiers, frightened by this unexpected crowd of enemies, in order to encourage them<sup>17</sup>. Thucydides points out that this crowd of enemies was made threatening by the volume of their shouts and the thunderous agitation of their weapons. In this passage focused on Brasidas’ speech, Thucydides, for the first time, clearly describes the terror aroused in the “civilized” armies by the bellicose appearance and behaviour of the “barbarians”. This description later became a real literary *topos* in Greek and/or Roman culture, often referring to the world of the Celts, who, in the collective imagination of Greeks and Romans, were for a long time the “barbarians” *par excellence*<sup>18</sup>.

According to Thucydides, however, Brasidas offered the frightened Spartans the solution that would enable them to win: he emphasised the real weakness of the enemy array, lacking order and stability, compared to the *kosmos* of the Spartan hoplites. According to Brasidas, the Greek infantry could overcome the “barbarians,” even under outnumbered conditions, provided that the Greeks should not confuse courage with recklessness<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> On the geography of the so-called region of Lynkos (the term Lynkestis is mentioned only in Ptol. 3.13.30), see PAPAZOGLU 1988, 256-258.

<sup>15</sup> See Thuc. 4.83.1: Περδίκκας δὲ Βρασίδαν καὶ τὴν στρατιάν εὐθὺς λαβὼν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως στρατεύει ἐπὶ Ἀρράβαιον τὸν Βρομεροῦ, Λυγκηστῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ὄμορον ὄντα, διαφορᾶς τε αὐτῶ οὔσης καὶ βουλόμενος καταστρέψασθαι: “But Perdikkas immediately took Brasidas and his army, together with his own forces, and made an expedition against his neighbour Arrhabaios, son of Bromeros, king of the Lyncestian Macedonians; for he had a quarrel with him and wished to subdue him”.

<sup>16</sup> See Thuc. 4.83.2: Βρασίδης ἐς λόγους ἔφη βούλεσθαι πρῶτον ἐλθὼν πρὸ πολέμου Ἀρράβαιον ξύμμαχον Λακεδαιμονίων, ἣν δύνηται, ποιῆσαι: “Brasidas said that he wished, before appealing to arms, to have a conference with Arrhabaios and make him an ally of the Lacedaemonians, if he could”.

<sup>17</sup> In general, on Brasidas’ speech, see the remarks of HORNBLOWER 1996, 395-400, with bibliography; WALLACE 1998, 213-225; NICOLAI 2000, 145-155; BRUNO SUNSERI 2010, 5-16.

<sup>18</sup> See MITCHELL 1993, 44-45, who focuses on the birth and development of the literary *topos* on the fear aroused by “barbarians” on a war footing. On the Celts in general, see now BEARZOT-LANDUCCI-ZECCHINI 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Thuc. 4.126.5-6: οὗτοι [= οἱ Ἰλλυριοί] δὲ τὴν μέλλησιν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀπείροις φοβερὰν· καὶ γὰρ πλήθει ὄψεως δεινοὶ καὶ βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι, ἣ τε διὰ κενῆς ἐπανάσεις τῶν ὄπλων ἔχει τινὰ δήλωσιν ἀπειλῆς. προσμεῖζαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὰ οὐχ ὁμοιοί· οὔτε γὰρ ταξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἂν λιπεῖν

Thanks to Thucydides, then, we know of an Illyrian presence in North-western Macedonia during the reign of Perdikkas II; then, in the literary tradition relating to Perdikkas' son Archelaos<sup>20</sup>, who became king around 413, silence descends again on this people of the north. According to Thucydides, Archelaos' reign, lasting about fifteen years<sup>21</sup>, marked a great development of Macedonia's war apparatus; the sovereign "built the strong places and fortresses that are now in the country, and cut straight roads, and in general organized his country for war by providing cavalry, arms and other equipment beyond anything achieved by all the eight kings who preceded him"<sup>22</sup>.

Archelaos' military activities are only briefly mentioned by Diodorus in relation to the taking of Pydna in 411/410<sup>23</sup>. We could, however, assume that Aristotle refers to a war fought by Archelaos in a short passage of *Politics* where we read that the Macedonian king "gave the elder of his daughters to the king of Elymeia when hard pressed in a war against Sirras and Arrhabaios"<sup>24</sup>. According to Aristotle, Archelaos

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τινα χώραν βιαζόμενοι, ἢ τε φυγή καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἴσην ἔχουσα δόξαν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνεξέλεγκτον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρείον ἔχει (αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ μάχη μάλιστ' ἂν καὶ πρόφασιν τοῦ σώζεσθαί τιτι πρεπόντως πορίσειε), τοῦ τε ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν ὑμᾶς ἀκινδύνως ἡγοῦνται· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἂν πρὸ τούτου ἐχρῶντο. σαφῶς τε πᾶν τὸ προὔπαρχον δεινὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁράτε ἐργῶ μὲν βραχὺ ὄν, ὄψει δὲ καὶ ἀκοῇ κατασπέρχον. ὁ ὑπομείναντες ἐπιφερόμενον καί, ὅταν καιρὸς ᾖ, κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει αὐθις ὑπαγαγόντες, ἔς τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς θάσσον ἀφίξεσθε καὶ γνώσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄχλοι τοῖς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις ἄπωθεν ἀπειλαῖς τὸ ἀνδρείον μελλήσει ἐπικομποῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἂν εἰζώσιν αὐτοῖς, κατὰ πόδας τὸ εὐψυχον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὄξει ἐνδείκνυνται: "Now as for these Illyrians, for those who have had no experience of them, the menace of their attack has terror; for their number is indeed dreadful to behold and the loudness of their battle-cry is intolerable, and the idle brandishing of their arms has a threatening effect. But for hand-to-hand fighting, if their opponents but endure such threats, they are not the men they seem; for having no regular order, they would not be ashamed to abandon any position when hard pressed; and since flight and attack are considered equally honorable with them, their courage cannot be put to the test. Besides, a mode of fighting in which everyone is his own master will provide a man the best excuse for saving himself becomingly. They think, too, that it is a less risky game to try to frighten you from a safe distance than to meet you hand to hand; otherwise, they would not have taken this course in preference to that. And so you clearly see that all that was at first formidable about them is but little in reality, startling merely to eye and ear. If you withstand all this in the first onrush, and then, whenever opportunity offers, withdraw again in orderly array, you will the sooner reach safety, and will hereafter know that mobs like these, if an adversary but sustain their first onset, merely make a flourish of valor with threats from afar in menace of attack, but if one yields to them, they are right upon his heels, quick enough to display their courage when all is safe".

<sup>20</sup> For a synthesis of Archelaos' reign, see Hammond in HAMMOND–GRIFFITH 1979, 137-141; BORZA 1990, 161-179; GREENWALT 2003, 131-153.

<sup>21</sup> We have no explicit information on the moment of Archelaos' accession to the throne: in Thuc. 7.9 we read that in the summer of 414 Perdikkas II was fighting in the surroundings of Amphipolis. The first piece of news about Archelaos dates to the winter of 411/4 10, when Theramenes helped him in the reconquest of Pydna (see D.S. 13.49.1-2). Archelaos therefore ascended the throne between the autumn of 414 and the autumn of 411; the date of the king's death is set by D.S. 14.37.6 at the end of the Attic year 400/399, i.e., in the late spring of 399 (on the death of Archelaos see, GREENWALT 2019, 11-17).

<sup>22</sup> Thuc. 2.100.1-2: Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑποδόμησε καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τᾶλλα διεκόσμησε τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσοι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτώ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι: "Archelaos, son of Perdikkas, when he became king, built those [strongholds] that are now in the country, and cut straight roads, and in general organized his country for war by providing cavalry, arms, and other equipment beyond anything achieved by all the eight kings who preceded him". On Thucydides' judgement of Archelaos, see HORNBLLOWER 1991, 374-377.

<sup>23</sup> See D.S. 13.49.1-2.

<sup>24</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* 5.8.8 1311b 9-14: (Archelaos) (τῶν θυγατέρων) τὴν μὲν προτέραν κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ Ἀρράβαιον ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἑλμείας. On Aristotle's *Politics* see DESLAURIERS–DESTREE 2013; DE LUNA–ZIZZA–CURNIS 2016.

had first promised her to his favourite, Krataios, who, enraged at the insult suffered, treacherously killed the ruler<sup>25</sup>.

Arrhabaios' name immediately leads us back to the events of 423, when the relations between Macedonians and Lynkestians were bad; therefore, scholars assume an open state of war between Macedonia and Lynkestis, even in the late fifth century. Diodorus seems to suggest that Archelaos' attempt to find help for this war from the king of Elymeia, through his daughter's wedding, caused the king's death, as a disappointed wedding suitor plotted the regicide, perhaps disguising it as a hunting accident<sup>26</sup>.

As for the war between Arrhabaios and Archelaos, Aristotle also mentions an ally of Arrhabaios named Sirras, who is, however, difficult to identify. Aristotle's text does not provide any information, nor does Sirras as a name appear in the historiography on the events between the end of the fifth and the following century<sup>27</sup>. The only other literary account of a man named Sirras is in a passage by Strabo dedicated to the dynasties that in the past had reigned over the *ethne* north of Macedonia. According to Strabo, the lord of Lynkestis, Arrhabaios, belonged to the Korinthian *genos* of the Bakchiades. Strabo, moreover, adds that the mother of Philip II, Eurydike, was Arrhabaios' daughter's daughter (θυγατριδῆ) and Sirras' daughter (θυγάτηρ)<sup>28</sup>: this patronymic has found recent and certain confirmation in three epigraphic documents<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> This passage from Aristotle is found in an excursus (see Aristot. *Pol.* 5.8.8 1311a 23-1312a 39) on attacks stirred by profound personal hostility. In this context, the philosopher inserts a broad description of the reasons that, in his opinion, would cause Archelaos to be killed, i.e., a plot organized by his favorite, whom Aristotle calls Krataios (Κραταῖος). The latter is indicated as the murderer of the sovereign also by the unknown authors of [Pl.] *Alc.* 2.141d, and of [Plu.] *Amator.* 23 (*Mor.* 768f) and by Ael. *VH* 8.9, who, however, calls him "Krateias" (Κρατεύας).

The version of D.S. 14.37.6 is completely different. He speaks of the accidental killing of Archelaos, during a hunting party, by his *amasius* Krateros (Κρατερός). Regarding these events, see Hammond in HAMMOND–GRIFFITH 1979, 167-168: he speculates about an "official" version, which spoke of an accidental death, taken from the chronograph source of Diodoros, and of "unofficial" *rumores* (but probably close to the truth) that denounced a plot hatched against the sovereign, *rumores* collected, first of all, by Aristotle and, later, by the other sources cited above; CARNEY 1983, 260-272; BORZA 1990, 177; GREENWALT 2019, 11-17 agree with Hammond.

<sup>26</sup> On the hunting accident in which Archelaos allegedly died, see D.S. 14.37.6, and, for a commentary of the whole issue, see above, n. 25. On the existence of an open state of war between Macedonia and Lynkestis at the end of the fifth century, see the reflections of Hammond in HAMMOND–GRIFFITH 1979, 139, and BORZA 1990, 164, accepted by all the scholars.

<sup>27</sup> The noun "Sirras" is present in the lexicographic tradition where, however, it appears as a geographical term: Theopompos, as a matter of fact, cited a place in Thrace called "Sirras." See Steph. Byz. s.v. Σίρρα = Theopomp. in *BNJ* 115 F 125.

<sup>28</sup> Str. 7.7.8: οἱ δὲ Λυγκησταὶ ὑπ' Ἀρραβαίῳ ἐγένοντο, τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν γένους ὄντι· τούτου δ' ἦν θυγατριδῆ ἢ Φιλίππου μήτηρ τοῦ Ἀμύντου Εὐρυδίκη, Σίρρα δὲ θυγάτηρ: "The Lynkestai became subject to Arrhabaios, who was of the stock of the Bacchiads: Eurydike, the mother of Philip, Amyntas' son, was Arrhabaios' daughter's daughter and Sirras' daughter". As a matter of fact, in the Strabonian codices we read Ἴρρα, already corrected into Σίρρα by A. Meineke, upon L. Dindorf's proposal, in the nineteenth-century Teubnerian edition of Strabo, based on the comparison with Aristot. *Pol.* 5.8.8, 1311b9-14 (on the genesis of this textual correction, see MEINEKE 1852, 88); this correction, rejected by BELOCH 1923, 78, is now certain, thanks to a triple epigraphic confirmation (see below, n. 29).

<sup>29</sup> These are three statue bases, all found in Macedonia, in Vergina, in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first was found in the excavations of the temple of the goddess Eukleia and published in ANDRONIKOS 1984, 49-51: we read in it Εὐρυδίκη Σίρρα Εὐκλείαι (for a commentary, OIKONOMIDES 1983, 62-64). The second had been reused as the column base of a Paleo-Christian basilica and was published by SAATSOGLOU PALIADELI 1993, 1339-1361: in this second inscription we read, albeit with great difficulty, Εὐρυδίκη Σίρρα. In the third inscription, found in the excavations of the temple of the goddess Eukleia and mentioned in the appendix to SAATSOGLOU PALIADELI 1993, 1356-1358, Εὐρυδίκη Σίρρα Εὐκλείαι seems to be again readable with extreme clarity.

Although Strabo says nothing about Sirras' status, three different anecdotes claim that his daughter Eurydike was Illyrian<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, in my opinion, it is conceivable that Eurydike's father Sirras was Illyrian and that his alliance with Arrhabaios of Lynkestis against Archelaos of Macedonia<sup>31</sup> had been strengthened by his marriage to Arrhabaios' daughter. Hammond denies that Sirras was Illyrian and concludes he was Lynkestian<sup>32</sup>: he believes that the information about an Illyrian origin of his daughter Eurydike is the result of Athenian propaganda hostile to Philip II, considered a "barbarian" also due to the fact that he was the son of an Illyrian woman<sup>33</sup>. According to Hammond, Theopompos would be the source of the anecdotes that have come down to us: a fragment of the first book of *Philippics* seems, in fact, to contain references to the ancestors of the Macedonian ruler<sup>34</sup>.

Many scholars<sup>35</sup>, on the contrary, accept the Illyrian origin of Sirras and the existence of an alliance between Illyrians and Lynkestians, ratified by the wedding between Arrhabaios' daughter and the Illyrian dynast Sirras, otherwise unknown to us. In this hypothesis, the alliance between Arrhabaios and Sirras against Archelaos, king of Macedon, seems to be the sign of a close relationship between the Illyrians and the Lynkestians: Thucydides had already mentioned this relationship in connection to Perdikkas II and Brasidas' expedition to Lynkestis in 423<sup>36</sup>. At that time, the Illyrian mercenaries enrolled by the Macedonian sovereign against Lynkestis had passed to the other side, and had forced Macedonians and Spartans to abandon Lynkestis. About twenty years later, at the end of the fifth century, the Illyrians directly and openly supported the Lynkestians against the Macedonians, with a hostility that was no longer defensive but extremely threatening towards the enemy country.

Until the end of the fifth century, therefore, the enmity between Macedonians and Illyrians manifested itself only through the alliance of the latter with the Lynkestians, presented by Greek sources as the true adversaries of the Macedonians. Starting from the beginning of the fourth century, on the contrary, the contrast between the two peoples exploded directly and definitively: the history of the reign of Amyntas III, father of Philip II, was marked both by the clash with the powerful Chalkidian League led by Olynthos<sup>37</sup> and by the fierce aggression of the Illyrians, who invaded Macedonia

<sup>30</sup> See Plu. *de educ. puer.* 20 (*Mor.* 14 b): Πειρατέον οὖν εἰς τὸν τῶν τέκνων σωφρονισμόν πάνθ' ὅσα προσῆκεν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ζηλώσαντας Εὐρυδίκην, ἣτις Ἰλλυρίς οὐσα καὶ τριβάρβαρος, ὁμως ἐπὶ τῇ μαθήσει τῶν τέκνων ὀψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἤψατο παιδείας: "We must endeavor, therefore, to employ every proper device for the discipline of our children, emulating the example of Eurydike, who, although she was an Illyrian and an utter barbarian, yet late in life took up education in the interest of her children's studies". Lib. *Arg.D* 18 (FÖRSTER VIII, 606, 18): Ἀμύντα τῷ Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖ τρεῖς ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Περδίκκας, Φίλιππος: "Amyntas, king of the Macedonians, had three sons from the Illyrian Eurydike, Alexander, Perdikkas and Philip". Suda s.v. Κάρανος (K 356). Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου πατὴρ Εὐρυδίκην Ἰλλυρίδα γήμας ἔσχε παῖδας Ἀλέξανδρον, Περδίκκαν, Φίλιππον: "Amyntas, father of Philip, having married the Illyrian Eurydike, had three sons, Alexander, Perdikkas and Philip".

<sup>31</sup> See Aristot. *Pol.* 5.8.8 1311b 9-14 (see above, n. 26).

<sup>32</sup> See HAMMOND 1966, 243-244; Hammond in HAMMOND–GRIFFITH 1979, 14-16.

<sup>33</sup> Hammond's assumption is shared by OIKONOMIDES 1983, 63; GREENWALT 1989, 37-44; OGDEN 1999, 12-13.

<sup>34</sup> See Theopomp. *BNJ* 115 F 29.

<sup>35</sup> See PAPAZOGLU 1965, 151; BOSWORTH 1971, 93-105; BADIAN 1982, 99-110; MORTENSEN 1991, 51, n. 26-33; BEARZOT 2014, 627-646. According to CARNEY 2019, 25-31, Strabo's passage seems to allow us to assume that Eurydike was Lynkestian on her mother's side and Illyrian on her father's side.

<sup>36</sup> See above.

<sup>37</sup> On the League of the Chalkideis, see now ZAHRT 2015, 341-357; PSOMA 2019, 321-338.

and forced the ruler into exile<sup>38</sup>. In 360, the Illyrians defeated and killed Perdikkas III, second-born son of Amyntas III; only his third-born son, the great Philip II, managed to keep the Illyrian armies permanently away from the borders of Macedonia. But that is another story, related to the rise of the great Macedonian power in the fourth century

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<sup>38</sup> In regard to this, see Just. 7.4-6: (*Amyntas*) *cum Illyriis deinde et cum Olynthiis gravia bella gessit*. Due to the almost total silence of the sources, the story of the succession struggle that broke out in Macedonia after Archelaos' death occurring around 399, and of the accession to the throne of Amyntas III, who was not Archelaos' son, but who, like him, based his rights on the descendants of Alexander I the Philhellene, is for us complex and elusive: see the sharp recap by Hammond in HAMMOND–GRIFFITH 1979, 67-172 (*stemma* of the Argeads in attachment on p. 176), and the reflections by BEARZOT 2005, 17-41.

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