

LOCALISATION OF THE FOUR ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS IN THE DISTRICT PARORBELIA, MENTIONED BY STRABO (BOOK 7. FR. 36), FOUNDED BY PHILIP II OF MACEDON IN THE 4TH CENTURY BC

Abstract: A fragment of the seventh book of Strabo's work Geography contains too important information about the historical geography of the lands along the valley of the Strymon River. Among other information, reported by Strabo, this ancient author has also provided us with very valuable but extremely concise information about four ancient settlements located in the geographical area named Parorbelia. The four ancient settlements mentioned by Strabo in a series – Kallipolis, Orthopolis, Philippoupolis and Gareskos, located in the middle of the Parorbelia, in a valley that begins from the ancient settlement Eidomene, have provoked a number of scholarly debates. Many modern researchers have tried to search and suggest different possible locations for these four ancient settlements, but so far no reliable and lasting solution has been found on this issue due to the scarce information in the text of Strabo. The only point that all scholars agree is that this text of Strabo implicitly contains information about the colonisation activity of the Macedonian king Philip II around the middle of the 4th century BC, which is clearly suggested by the name of one of these settlements – Philippoupolis. Here, the author found the correct solution that in fact the Parorbelia area covered the lands both north and south of the ancient Mount Orbelos. The most plausible locations of the four ancient settlements mentioned by Strabo along with the ancient Mount Orbelos and the district Parorbelia are precisely found and presented on modern maps.

Keywords: localisation, ancient settlements, Parorbelia, Philip II of Macedon, Strymon.

Metodi MANOV

National Institute of Archaeology with Museum – Sofia
hemusthegreat@abv.bg

DOI: 10.14795/j.v7i2.515

ISSN 2360 – 266X

ISSN-L 2360 – 266X

A fragment of the seventh book of Strabo's work Geography or, "Geographica" (Strab. 7. fr. 36), extant unfortunately in its abbreviated version through a manuscript called *Epitome Vaticana*, contains too important information about the historical geography of the lands along the valley of the Strymon River from its springs to its confluence into the Aegean Sea near the ancient city of Amphipolis. Among other information about some Thracian tribes along the Strymon River, reported by Strabo, this ancient author has also provided us with very valuable but extremely concise information about four ancient settlements located in the geographical area named Parorbelia.

According to different interpretations of the text of Strabo by some contemporary authors, this area was part of ancient Macedonia, which is why it can be called “Macedonian Parorbelia”¹ or, according to other authors, this area should not be called “Macedonian”, but simply it was located on the side of ancient Macedonia next to the Bisaltae².

The most important part of this fragment of the text of Strabo in the original Greek is the following: “...ὕπὲρ δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως Βισάλται καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἡρακλείας, ἔχοντες αὐλῶνα εὐκαρπον, ὃν διαρρεῖ ὁ Στρυμὼν ὠρμημένος ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ῥοδόπην Ἀγριάνων, οἷς παράκειται τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡ Παρορβηλία, ἐν μεσογαίᾳ ἔχουσα κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα τὸν ἀπὸ Εἰδομένης Καλλίπολιν, Ὀρθόπολιν, Φιλίππουπολιν, Γαρησκόν.”³ And translated into English this text reads as follows: “... Above Amphipolis, however, and as far as the city Heracleia, is the country of the Bisaltae, with its fruitful valley; this valley is divided into two parts by the Strymon, which has its source in the country of the Agrianes who live round about Rhodope; and alongside this country lies Parorbelia, a district of Macedonia, which has in its interior, along the valley that begins at Eidomene, the cities Callipolis, Orthopolis, Philippopolis, Gareskos.”⁴

The four ancient settlements mentioned by Strabo in a series – Kallipolis, Orthopolis, Philippopolis (the name is in this form in the original Strabo’s Greek text) and Gareskos, located generally in the middle of the Parorbelia district, in a valley that begins from the area of another ancient settlement – Eidomene, have provoked a number of discussions in contemporary historiography. Many modern researchers have tried to search and suggest different possible locations for these four ancient settlements, but so far no reliable and lasting solution has been found on this issue due to the scarce information in the text of Strabo. The situation is fairly defined by N. Hammond as follows: “...a fragment from the *Epitome Vaticana*, which has been abbreviated to the point of obscurity.”⁵

Years ago, I made a thorough review of the main views of various contemporary authors with the presumptive possible localisations of all known ancient settlements, together with the four settlements discussed here, which were usually associated only with the Middle Strymon Valley – between the Kresna Gorge and Rupel Gorge, which are mentioned by different ancient authors, and two of the settlements in the same area – Neine and Herakleia, are attested respectively in two epigraphic monuments⁶. But of course, my theoretical considerations regarding the localisation of ancient settlements in this region were then

hesitant and consistent with previous achievements in contemporary historiography on the subject, which were constructed only through hypotheses. With the dynamics of archaeological and historical studies of the same region, and thanks to the acquisition of new knowledge and experience, now my observations and conclusions on the issues discussed will be significantly altered and a clear and accurate localisation will be presented specifically for each of the four ancient settlements mentioned by Strabo.

The order of mentioning the names of the ancient settlements: Kallipolis, Orthopolis, Philippopolis and Gareskos, seems to be important in finding their exact locations in this sequence. But to this day, there is still considerable controversy in contemporary historiography as to exactly where to locate these four ancient settlements. Every contemporary author, writing on this subject, has presented different hypotheses regarding the exact localisation of each of these four settlements, according to his own ideas about the historical geography of the Strymon River valley and its adjacent lands.

In general, the basic controversy about the localisation of the four ancient settlements mentioned by Strabo as located in the interior of the region Parorbelia in a valley (“aulon”), which begins from Eidomene, is mainly related to the geographical positioning of that area. Two major, but diametrically opposed, hypotheses for localisation of the Parorbelia area, as suggested by several contemporary authors, have been the subject of debate for years among all researchers who have dealt with this problem. As far back as 1957, F. Papazoglou, in her work on the ancient settlements in the Roman province of Macedonia⁷, which was later published in French with some additions, has analysed in more detail Strabo’s account of these four settlements in the Parorbelia region⁸. She has rightly raised the question, first of all, of what we should understand by the name of *Parorbelia*. This geographical name is found only in the text of Strabo in this form, and it is considered that another ancient author, Claudius Ptolemy (Ptol. 3.12.22), designated the same geographical area by the name *Orbelia*⁹.

In fact, the elucidation of the geographical name *Parorbelia* as a territorial scope is directly related to its specific etymology. This etymology is quite clear and literally means – “lands located around the Mount Orbelos”. The same and even more clear and direct meaning is the used *Orbelia* form by Claudius Ptolemy¹⁰. The mountain with the ancient name of Orbelos was first mentioned in the accounts of the ancient author Herodotus (Herod. 5.16), referring to the events of the last decade of the 6th century BC, when he told about the conquest of the lands located around the ancient city of Siris (now Serres in Greece) in the valley of the lower stream of the Strymon River, as well as for the deportation of some Paeonians to Asia by the commander of Darius I – Megabazos. In this narrative, Herodotus also provides information about the inhabitants of the pile dwellings in

¹ GEROV 1961, 167; MITREV 2001.

² PAPAZOGLU 1957, 259; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 347.

³ The original Ancient Greek text is taken here from the edition: Strabonis Geographica. Ed. A. Meineke, 1-3. Leipzig: Teubner. 1877. Available online at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-grc1:7.fragments.36>. Accessed 12 October 2019.

⁴ The translation of this passage from Ancient Greek to English is taken here from the edition: Strabo. Ed. H. L. Jones, The Geography of Strabo: in eight volumes. III [Books VI – VII]. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1924. Available online at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0198%3Abook%3D7%3Achapter%3Dfragments%3Asection%3D36>. Accessed 12 October 2019.

⁵ HAMMOND 1972, 199.

⁶ MANOV 2008, 18-36 with ref.; 168-170.

⁷ PAPAZOGLU 1957.

⁸ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 257-262; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-350.

⁹ GEROV 1960, 244 and 249; GEROV 1961, 167 with ref.; HAMMOND 1972, 199; GEROV 1977, 48 and 50; MITREV 2001, 257; DELEV 2014, 441-443 with ref.; contra – see fluctuations that probably *Parorbelia* and *Orbelia* are not exactly the same region, in: PAPAZOGLU 1957, 261; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 348.

¹⁰ GEROV 1961, 167 with note 12 there; GEROV 1977, 48.

Lake Prasias, identified by most researchers with present-day Lake Kerkini (Butkovo), located on the Strymon River south of Mount Belasitsa in present-day Greece¹¹. Recently, other hypotheses have been made about the localisation of Lake Prasias, suggesting a new identification of it with the drained and nonexistent Lake Pravi in Greece, in the region of Mount Pangaeum¹². These new hypotheses, however, seem inconsistent with the claim of the ancient writer Herodotus about the proximity of Lake Prasias with Mount Orbelos alone.

An overview of mentioning Mount Orbelos by ancient authors has been made numerous times¹³, so it is not necessary to repeat here everything already done in this direction. In addition, Mount Orbelos, as an identification and accurate localisation, has always been the subject of numerous discussions and different assumptions in contemporary historiography, which have been presented in various publications¹⁴ and it is not necessary to comment in detail again. It is important to note that Orbelos was also mentioned by the ancient author Arrian (Arr. Anab. 1.1.15), describing the beginning of the campaign of Alexander the Great in Thrace in 335 BC¹⁵. However, B. Gerov has given in a clear and comprehensible manner the different understandings of the localisation of Mount Orbelos by different ancient authors, and presented the main views on the identification of this mountain by different contemporary authors in historiography until the publication of the first part of his summarizing work on the West Thracian lands¹⁶, as well as in several of his articles later¹⁷. Opinions vary from identifying Orbelos only with the mountain Belasitsa, to various notions of whether and also other mountain ranges are included along with Belasitsa to the west and northwest of it, and to the east of the Strymon River all the way to the Nestos River – up to Mount Phalakron (Boz Dag), and many contemporary authors in the past have identified it even with the mountain with the present-day name of Pirin¹⁸. The most common and obscure is the idea of location of Mount Orbelos by the ancient author Claudius Ptolemy, where it encompasses many other mountains beginning in the northwest – from the western branches of the Balkan Mountains and reaching the confluence of the Nestos River into the Aegean Sea¹⁹.

The detailed analysis of Strabo's text by F. Papazoglou clearly identifies the two main and completely opposite views

of some authors in the older European historiography on the problem. In the past, some authors localised the Parorbelia area just north of Mount Belasitsa – such as the views of H. Kiepert and W. Tomaschek were, others localised the same area just south of Belasitsa, as C. Müller believed, and only M. Döll was of the opinion that the district Parorbelia was located on both the northern and southern sides of Belasitsa, but he has suggested that it extended much further north to the lands of the Agrianes in the upper reaches of the Strymon²⁰. F. Papazoglou has categorically accepted the localisation of the Parorbelia area just south of Mount Belasitsa (Belles/Kerkini in Greek) as the only relevant one. The same idea that Parorbelia was located south of Belasitsa (Beles/Kerkini) was later adopted also by N. Hammond²¹. B. Gerov has also pointed out the various hypotheses, but he was an extreme supporter of the opinion that under Parorbelia should be understood only lands north of Belasitsa – located mainly along the valley of the Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa River, as well as the lands of the Middle Strymon valley between the Kresna and Rupel Gorges²².

The differing views on the exact location of the Parorbelia region have been generated not only by the unclear exact identification of the ancient Mount Orbelos, but also by the uncertain location of the ancient settlement Eidomene, for which there is also much controversy in contemporary studies on the subject. F. Papazoglou has first pointed out the more general possible localisation of the ancient city of Eidomene – in any case in the valley of the Axios (Vardar) River – probably located near the town of Gevgelija or near the present village of Miletkovo in the Republic of North Macedonia²³. But later, she eventually chose to locate it near the present-day village of Marvintsi – just opposite Miletkovo, east of the Vardar River in what is now the Republic of North Macedonia, following some publications by other researchers from North Macedonia, which is why it is so presented on the maps in the latest edition of her most famous work²⁴. In fact, in his earlier studies B. Gerov was also convinced by following the opinions of other authors in European historiography before him, including apparently taking into account the detailed review of the opinions in the older literature by F. Papazoglou²⁵, and based on the calculations of distances in the well known Peutinger Table, where Eidomene also appears with a similar name during the Roman period – *Idomenia*²⁶, that this ancient settlement was located at the modern village of Miletkovo on the west bank of the Axios (Vardar) River²⁷. However, later influenced by new publications, he adopted a new localisation of Eidomene near the village of Marvintsi²⁸. But thanks to an extremely important epigraphic monument, discovered by chance in 1984 at Isar-Kale near the present village of Marvintsi

¹¹ See PAPAZOGLU 1957, 260; HAMMOND 1972, 193-194 with ref.; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 347-348 with ref.; see also HATZOPOULOS 2008, 15-17 with ref.

¹² HATZOPOULOS 2008, 17-20 with ref.

¹³ OBERHUMMER 1940, 791-792; GEROV 1961, 167-168 with ref.; HAMMOND 1972, 198-199 with ref.; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-348 with ref.; MITREV 2001, 257-260 with ref.; HATZOPOULOS 2008, 22-26 with ref.; DELEV 2014, 27.

¹⁴ GEROV 1961, 168 with note 2 there; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-348; MITREV 2001, 257-260 with ref.; DELEV 2014, 27.

¹⁵ See HAMMOND 1972, 198; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-348 with ref.; HATZOPOULOS 2008, 26-27 with ref.

¹⁶ GEROV 1961, 167-168.

¹⁷ GEROV 1970, 12-13 with ref.; GEROV 1977, 48 with ref.

¹⁸ OBERHUMMER 1940, 791-792; see GEROV 1961, 168 with note 2; GEROV 1970, 13 with note 48; GEROV 1977, 48 with note 15; MITREV 2001, 257-260 with ref.; HATZOPOULOS 2008, 22-26 with ref.; DELEV 2014, 27 with ref.

¹⁹ HAMMOND 1972, 198-199 with ref.; see also SPIRIDONOV 1980 with ref.

²⁰ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 258-259 with ref. in notes 2-4 with the older literature; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-348 with ref.; GEROV 1977, 48 with note 18.

²¹ HAMMOND 1972, 199-200.

²² GEROV 1961, 167 with note 12, with the older literature cited there; GEROV 1970, 12-19 with ref.; GEROV 1977, 48-49 with notes 19 and 20 there.

²³ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 258 with ref.

²⁴ PAPAZOGLU 1988, 175-180; 175, map 5; 229, map 13.

²⁵ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 132-133 with ref.

²⁶ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 133 with note 14 there; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 177 with note 22.

²⁷ GEROV 1961, 163-164 with notes 1 and 8 there.

²⁸ GEROV 1977, 49 with note 20 there.

in the Republic of North Macedonia, which was published in due time in 1985 and in 1986 by V. Sokolovska²⁹, the problem for the exact location of Eidomene seems to have been clarified to a great extent. The epigraphic monument is a *stadium*-stone inscribed on both sides, marking the respective distances in Greek *stadia* between the two ancient settlements of Eidomene (on the stone the name is in the form of Idomene) and Doberos, which is generally dated to the Hellenistic period – during the reign of the Macedonian king Philip V (221 – 179 BC), or Perseus (179 – 168 BC)³⁰. In interpreting this inscription, due to the damage and the lack of the precisely indicated number of *stadia* on the opposite side of the stone, V. Sokolovska decided that the Paeonian settlement Doberos was at the place of the present-day archaeological site “Isar-Marvintsi” – on a hill near the village of Marvintsi³¹. And for Eidomene (Idomene), V. Sokolovska, I think quite rightly, has suggested, as well as other authors earlier, that this ancient settlement was most probably located in the “Mramor” (i.e. “Marble”) locality, with obvious traces of ancient constructions – on the western bank of the Axios (Vardar) River, in the immediate vicinity of the modern village of Miletkovo in North Macedonia³². Recently, however, I revised V. Sokolovska’s views on the content and interpretation of the text of this epigraphic monument from Marvintsi, stating explicitly that I considered it very possible to locate Eidomene (Idomene) in the “Mramor” locality near the village of Miletkovo on the west bank of the Axios (Vardar), but in fact the other ancient settlement mentioned in the same inscription – Doberos, was not on the Isar-Marvintsi hill, but was probably located at the site of the present-day town of Valandovo³³, just as B. Gerov has long ago considered³⁴.

F. Papazoglou has asked the question – why, since in the text of Strabo about the four cities the starting point for them is „... the valley beginning from Eidomene ...“, should we look for these cities much further north. Since the Parorbelia and Eidomene are mentioned in the same place, why should we search this geographical area much to the north – in the lands around Mount Ograzhden and Maleshevska Mountain and in the Strumitsa /Strumeshnitsa River valley, as other authors thought before³⁵. F. Papazoglou identifies the Parorbelia specifically as the lands south of Belasitsa and north of Mount Krousia (or Krusha – ancient Dysoron), which are generally the lands between Lake Doiran and Lake Kerkini (Butkovo), and she also considers that the Parorbelia was located just west of the Strymon River³⁶. F. Papazoglou is therefore of the opinion that the valley (*aulon*) in the Parorbelia region, mentioned by Strabo, is actually the plain between Mount Krusha (ancient Dysoron) and Mount Belasitsa (ancient Orbelos), which begins to the east of the ancient settlement Eidomene, in which all four commented

ancient settlements were located³⁷.

In her first book on the historical geography of ancient Macedonia, F. Papazoglou does not present specific localisation of each of the four settlements, but places them on a map with the most likely common localisation precisely in the lands located between Lake Doiran and Lake Kerkini (also known as Butkovo), south of Mount Belasitsa³⁸. She tried to comment on possible location of only two of the four settlements – Philippoupolis and Gareskos, suggesting that it could not be excluded that Gareskos in the Parorbelia region was located north of Mount Belasitsa, judging by the fact that Gareskos was mentioned together with Paroicopolis/ Parthiopolis by Claudius Ptolemy³⁹. And for the other two settlements – Kallipolis and Orthopolis, she only admits that, because no other ancient author mentions them, their location remains completely unclear⁴⁰. In the French edition of the same book, the settlements in the Parorbelia are given the same comments, with the four settlements represented on the map in the same way as in the first edition – grouped in pairs, with a question mark after each of the four names⁴¹. However, in addition, F. Papazoglou has quoted a statement of Appian (App. Syr. 57) that among the established new cities by Alexander’s Successors in the East, in Asia, with different names, which were literally copied from ancient Macedonia in Europe, a settlement with the same name Kallipolis was also mentioned⁴². F. Papazoglou, following the old hypotheses of M. Döll, also suggested that the city of Philippoupolis, which was mentioned by Strabo as a city in the Parorbelia, was most likely the settlement that Arrian had envisaged in his work, “*Anabasis*”, and this ancient author did not refer to the city of Philippi near Mount Pangaeum⁴³. This interpretation, however, is in complete contradiction with the text of Arrian, who says that when Alexander, along with his troops, departed from Amphipolis to Thrace, he had Mount Orbelos and the city of Philippi on his left, and then crossed the Nestos River (Arr. *Anab.* 1.1.5). The passage is discussed in a huge number of studies that need not be mentioned here. It is sufficient to mention the comments of N. Hammond⁴⁴ and M. Hatzopoulos⁴⁵, and most contemporary researchers have no doubt at all that Arrian actually mentions the city of Philippi near Mount Pangaeum. In support of her views on localising in general the four settlements in the Parorbelia mentioned by Strabo, as located just south of Mount Belasitsa, F. Papazoglou also cites an epigraphic monument from Amphipolis, dated to the 3rd century BC, in which two persons with the ethnical (Γαρρήσκοι) are mentioned⁴⁶. However, N. Hammond has adopted F. Papazoglou’s ideas and also believes that the four ancient settlements mentioned in fragment 36 of the

²⁹ SOKOLOVSKA 1986, 139-142 with ref.

³⁰ SOKOLOVSKA 1986, 139.

³¹ SOKOLOVSKA 1986, 140.

³² SOKOLOVSKA 1986, 140.

³³ MANOV 2012, 141 with ref.; see also HATZOPOULOS 2008, 22 with footnotes 32 and 33 there.

³⁴ GEROV 1961, 163 with note 8 there.

³⁵ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 258; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-348.

³⁶ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 258-261; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 347 and the map at the end of the book.

³⁷ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 258; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-348.

³⁸ PAPAZOGLU 1957, where the four settlements are represented in pairs with a question mark after each name – on one of several maps attached at the end of the book without any numbering.

³⁹ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 261-262; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 349 with notes 20 and 21 there.

⁴⁰ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 262; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 349-350.

⁴¹ PAPAZOGLU 1988, 348-350 and the map applied at the end of the book.

⁴² PAPAZOGLU 1988, 349-350 with note 23.

⁴³ PAPAZOGLU 1957, 260-261 with ref.; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 348 with ref.

⁴⁴ HAMMOND 1972, 198.

⁴⁵ HATZOPOULOS 2008, 26-28 with ref.

⁴⁶ PAPAZOGLU 1988, 349 with note 21.

seventh book of Strabo's Geography should be located just south of Belasitsa, generally in the valley, beginning to the west from the boundaries of the Amphaxitis region in the Axios (Vardar) valley and through the pass Stena Dov Tepe north of Lake Doiran reaching east to the Strymon River near Neon Petritsi in Greece⁴⁷. In addition, Hammond has considered Gareskos to be the westernmost of the four settlements in the district Parorbelia and was probably located on the west coast of present-day Lake Doiran – a little to the north of the modern town of Stari Doiran⁴⁸.

However, even though Strabo does not explicitly mention that these four settlements have anything to do with the Macedonian king Philip II, because of the supposed connection of his information with that of another ancient author – Polyaeus, about the military actions of Philip II against the Thracian tribes, who were called collectively as the “Orbelians” (Polyaen. 4.2.16), all modern scholars, who have dealt with Strabo's text discussed here, agree that the laconic account of these four settlements actually implicitly contains information about the conquest and colonisation activities of the Macedonian king Philip II about the middle of the 4th century BC, generally in the lands around Mount Orbelos in the valley of the Strymon River, because one of the settlements specifically bears the name of that Macedonian ruler – Philippopolis⁴⁹.

F. Papazoglou alone has hesitated and considered that Parorbelia and Orbelia were not the same terms and did not cover the same lands⁵⁰. But it has also been suggested that even the term *Paroreia* used by Livy (Liv. 39.27.10; 42.51.5) may have been a synonymous variant of the name of the same Parorbelia region, where symptomatically the name *Parastrymonia* was also used by Livy⁵¹. And the term “Orbelians” used by Polyaeus has been found not to be related to any ethnic definition of the locals, but the name is derived from the name of Mount Orbelos and is rather a geographical definition of Thracians inhabiting lands in the Orbelia region, or Parorbelia⁵². However, B. Gerov believed that Polyaeus' account referred only to the Thracian tribe Maedi⁵³. In addition, some contemporary authors have also argued that Philip II may have founded or rather recolonised and reorganised into a higher status some settlements in the newly conquered lands, most probably located in the same places of those already existing before Thracian settlements⁵⁴. These Thracian settlements were certainly in fact villages, because it has long ago been established through archaeological studies, as well as evidenced by ancient writers, that small villages prevailed throughout Thrace, and a more serious urbanisation activity in these lands was undertaken during the campaigns of Philip II in

Thrace in the 4th century BC⁵⁵.

B. Gerov, however, has strongly disagreed with F. Papazoglou and N. Hammond's hypothesis about the localisation of the district Parorbelia, as well as the four settlements there, south of Mount Belasitsa⁵⁶. According to B. Gerov, following the hypothetical localisation of ancient settlements made earlier by other contemporary authors, the mentioned four ancient cities should be searched along the valley of the Strumeshnitsa River and in the valley of the Middle Strymon, with the westernmost of them – Kallipolis, was probably somewhere in the valley in the middle course of the Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa River, and the rest should be sought in the easterly direction, as far as the western foothills of Mount Pirin⁵⁷. The starting point of B. Gerov for postulating the localisation of the four cities mentioned by Strabo, just north of Mount Belasitsa, is the preliminary decision that “... the valley beginning from Eidomene ...” must necessarily be only the valley of the Strumeshnitsa River to the north of Belasitsa along with the Middle Strymon valley between the Rupel defile and the Kresna defile⁵⁸. In fact, B. Gerov took into account in his attempts to locate these four settlements in the Macedonian Parorbelia also and the modern geographical maps made at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century by the two German scholars, who have done extensive research in the field of historical geography – father and son – Heinrich Kiepert and Richard Kiepert, who published a series of atlases with maps of ancient settlements from the Balkans and other parts of the ancient world in their well known editions *Atlas Antiquus* and *Formae Orbis Antiqui*. But these maps have often hypothetical locations of ancient settlements based solely on the assumptions of their authors, and in some cases they do not correspond at all to the real location of particular ancient settlements. So far, more categorical, of course, hypothetical, localisation of three of the four settlements mentioned by Strabo are presented on one map by H. Kiepert in the revised twelfth edition of *Atlas Antiquus* in the distant 1903, edited actually after the death of its author, with the help of his son R. Kiepert. For the sake of clarity here one fragment of this map will be illustrated with the required magnification (fig. 1)⁵⁹. On the fragment of the map illustrated here as the first and most western settlement is placed Kallipolis, exactly on the site of the present-day town of Strumica (Strumitsa) in today's Republic of North Macedonia⁶⁰. This map of H. Kiepert presents the alleged locations of three of the four settlements in the Parorbelia – Kallipolis, Philippopolis (written as Philippopolis) and Gareskos, but the settlement with the name Orthopolis is missing at all, probably because H. Kiepert could not offer any location for it.

Following strictly the order of mentioning the settlements by Strabo, as well as following his own logic, B. Gerov localised the next settlement – Orthopolis, on the site of the archaeologically attested ancient settlement

⁴⁷ HAMMOND 1972, 199–200.

⁴⁸ HAMMOND 1972, 199 with note 2 there.

⁴⁹ KATSAROV 1922, 192–193 with ref., citing earlier such views in contemporary European historiography; GEROV 1960, 244 with ref.; GEROV 1961, 169; HAMMOND 1972, 199; PAPAOGLOU 1988, 346–350; DELEV 2014, 443.

⁵⁰ PAPAOGLOU 1957, 261; PAPAOGLOU 1988, 348–349.

⁵¹ DELEV 2014, 34 with ref.; 441 with ref.; see also HAMMOND 1972, 199 with note 2 there.

⁵² DELEV 2014, 443.

⁵³ GEROV 1960, 244; GEROV 1961, 169 with note 1 there; GEROV 1977, 50.

⁵⁴ GEROV 1961, 175; DELEV 2014, 340.

⁵⁵ GEROV 1961, 175; GOCHEVA 1986 with notes 1 and 2 there.

⁵⁶ GEROV 1961, 167 with note 12; GEROV 1977, 48–49 with ref.

⁵⁷ GEROV 1961, 207–208 with ref.; GEROV 1977, 50 with note 26 there; 51 with ref.

⁵⁸ GEROV 1961, 167 with the discussion in note 12 there; GEROV 1977, 50 with note 26.

⁵⁹ KIEPERT 1903, Tab. V.

⁶⁰ KIEPERT 1903, Tab. V.

near the present village of Rupite at the confluence of the Strumeshnitsa River into the Strymon River⁶¹. For the ancient settlement of Philippopolis – by the way, this is the original form of the name of this settlement, given by Strabo, which most contemporary authors quote by the name Philippopolis (which is really only a written version), B. Gerov believed that it was located at the foothills of Mount Pirin, probably at the site of the ancient settlement attested by some ancient materials near the present-day village of Gorno Spanchevo in Southwestern Bulgaria, located near the road connecting the Strymon valley with the Nestos (Mesta) River valley through the Paril Saddle between the mountains Pirin and Slavyanka⁶². Regarding the location of the last settlement mentioned by Strabo, which, incidentally, is the only mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy as a settlement in the region of Orbelia – Gareskos, with the same settlement mentioned by Pliny the Elder (Plin. Nat. hist. 4.35), but as an ethnic name on behalf of the inhabitants, B. Gerov suggested that it was located on the site of the present-day town of Sandanski in Southwestern Bulgaria, and he also believed that it was probably this settlement that was the tribal centre in this region⁶³. Not accepting this hypothesis of B. Gerov, however, one contemporary author considers that Gareskos cannot be located on the site of the present-day town of Sandanski, but must be sought somewhere west of the Strymon, because, according to him, the Macedonian Parorbelia was located to the west of the Strymon, as it was bordered by the settlement of Eidomene on the Axios (Vardar) River, and he apparently follows F. Papazoglou's ideas⁶⁴. Because of this notion of the location of the Parorbelia just west of the Strymon River and south of Belasitsa, the hypothetical localisation of the four settlements mentioned in the text of Strabo, which have been presented in previous attempts by other authors, was generally rejected⁶⁵.

In presenting with the original Ancient Greek text the fragment from the seventh book of Strabo's work Geography, which mentions the four settlements in the Parorbelia, M. Hatzopoulos made no attempt to locate these settlements, only stating that from Strabo's information it is not clear whether these settlements should be located north or south of Mount Orbelos. Because, according to him, the valley where these settlements were located could be either the valley south of Mount Belles (Belasitsa), between the Strymon River and Lake Doiran, or, the other option, it could be the valley of the river Strumitsa, to the north of this mountain⁶⁶.

Before presenting the localisation of the four ancient settlements on the modern map, we must inevitably give both their historical context and the exact time at which they received their names, known from Strabo's text, or, to be given the exact time in which the Macedonian ruler Philip II had conducted his campaign in the lands of the Parorbelia. It has already been pointed out above that all contemporary authors agree that this particular but too brief Strabo's

account actually reflects the founding of new or recolonising of older Thracian settlements by the Macedonian king Philip II in an unspecified period of time, generally around the middle of the 4th century BC, during his invasion of the land of the "Orbelians"⁶⁷. Later, B. Gerov has presumed that this campaign of Philip II had to be placed sometime before his great campaigns in Thrace and the Danube area during the years 342 – 339 BC⁶⁸.

Recently, a new attempt was made to be dated this campaign of Philip II in the lands of the "Orbelians", mentioned briefly by Polyaeus (Polyaen. 4.2.16), in the chronological framework between 356 and 339 BC⁶⁹. Elsewhere, the same contemporary author has attempted to point out even narrower chronological frames of Philip II's invasion of the Orbelia lands, using otherwise successfully as possible additional evidence of this campaign few lead sling bullets found during archaeological excavations of the *acropolis* of the ancient settlement of the modern town of Strumica (Strumitsa) – known by the name "Carevi Kuli" ("Tsarevi Kuli" – "Tsar's Towers")⁷⁰, which are inscribed with the names of two Philip II's commanders who also participated in the siege and conquest of the city of Olynthos, or that this campaign of Philip II had taken place in these lands probably in the years 342 – 339 BC⁷¹.

However, as we shall see later, the most appropriate time for this campaign of Philip II, which was practically conducted against the Thracian tribes in the valley of Lower and Middle Strymon, as well as in the valley of the Strumeshnitsa River, which is a right tributary of the Strymon, in fact, was the next year after the siege, conquest and destruction of the city of Olynthos in the Chalcidice. About the events regarding the siege and the conquest of the city of Olynthos by Philip II, a brief but clear information was provided by the ancient writer Diodorus (Diod. 16.53.2-3). The destruction of Olynthos by the troops of the Macedonian king Philip II is attested and proved categorically also by archaeological excavations at the site of this ancient city, as there were found several bronze arrowheads with the name of Philip II⁷², as well as a large number of inscribed lead sling bullets, some of which also bear the name of Philip II himself, and others are inscribed with the names of the commanders of that Macedonian ruler⁷³. The capture and destruction of Olynthos by the troops of Philip II is undoubtedly dated in the autumn of 348 BC⁷⁴. It is well known that after these unpleasant events for the Athenian allies on the Chalcidice, negotiations were launched to conclude a lasting peace treaty between Athens and Philip II, known as the Peace of Philocrates, after the name of an Athenian politician who made this proposal for the first time⁷⁵.

So far, some authors, mainly in Bulgarian

⁶¹ GEROV 1961, 207.

⁶² GEROV 1961, 208.

⁶³ GEROV 1961, 192; GEROV 1970, 20; GEROV 1977, 50.

⁶⁴ MITREV 2012, 158.

⁶⁵ MITREV 2012, 169 with ref.

⁶⁶ HATZOPOULOS 2008, 23.

⁶⁷ See GEROV 1961, 169; 175; see also DELEV 2014, 340; 441-443; 487.

⁶⁸ GEROV 1977, 49-50.

⁶⁹ NANKOV 2015a, 24-25 with ref.

⁷⁰ ANGELOVSKI 2012.

⁷¹ NANKOV 2015b, 3 with ref.

⁷² ROBINSON 1941, 382-383 and Pl. CXX, Nos. 1907-1911.

⁷³ ROBINSON 1941, 418-433; those sling bullets inscribed with the name of Philip II – Nos. 2228-2241 and Plate CXXXII, figs. 2228-2229; fig. 2238.

⁷⁴ ROBINSON 1941, 378; CAWKWELL 1978, 85; LEE 2001.

⁷⁵ See CAWKWELL 1978, 91-94; 98-101; YORDANOV 2018, 103-118 with ref.

historiography, have tried to suggest a campaign of the most prominent commander of Philip II – Antipater, along the northern Aegean coast the following year after the capture and destruction of Olynthos – in 347 BC. This march of Antipater is considered preventive and undertaken in response to yet another new rapprochement between the Odrysian state of Kersebleptes and Athens⁷⁶. From reports of Polyaeus (Polyaen. 4.2.22) we learn that Philip II himself has carried out a campaign in an unspecified year against the Greek cities of Abdera and Maroneia on the northern Aegean coast. This brief account of Polyaeus on the campaign of Philip II himself along the northern Aegean coast was linked to the fragmentary information of another ancient author – Theopompus, where he actually mentions Antipater's march to the lands of Thrace as far east as the Thracian Chersonese, and both ancient reports being combined and used to construct different hypotheses⁷⁷. These events have long ago been commented many times by contemporary historians and numismatists, and it is believed that in the march of Philip II, probably in the summer or autumn of 347 BC, Antipater was also involved and was engaged in the conquest of Abdera and Maroneia⁷⁸. Until recently, some scholars have also made the assumption that it was precisely because of this campaign in that Antipater was supposedly involved, when the autonomous coinage of these two Greek cities on the northern Aegean coast came to an end, based also on J. May's assumptions that probably the tetradrachm coinage of Abdera was discontinued in 347/346 BC⁷⁹.

The publishers of J. May's work on the coinage of Abdera do not actually mention any Antipater's campaign against Abdera and Maroneia, but only the campaign of Philip II himself against those two cities, suggesting that this campaign led to the ceasing of the silver tetradrachm coinage in both Aegean cities⁸⁰. However, recently the hypothesis in J. May's work of ending Abdera's tetradrachm coinage around 347/346 BC was questioned and denied. Mainly on the basis of a mixed coin hoard with silver coins of Abdera and Philip II's posthumous silver coins, it was suggested that the striking of Abdera's city tetradrachms was not definitively interrupted by Philip II around 347/346 BC⁸¹, but it continued during the reign of Alexander the Great, and even after, as a new chronology of the last, IX period of the silver coinage of Abdera, the years 336 – 311 BC were determined⁸². The military actions of the prominent commander of Philip II, Antipater, were indeed explicitly witnessed, as far as the area north of the Thracian Chersonese, when he had conquered Apros and some other Thracian fortified settlements in the same region. However, these actions of Antipater are dated mainly to 346 BC – just before the conclusion of the Peace of

Philocrates in the same 346 BC⁸³. As E. Badian pointed out in his detailed study of the campaigns of Philip II in Thrace, there is no direct evidence that Antipater was involved in an earlier campaign on the northern Aegean coast as early as 347 BC, and the information in the fragments of the ancient author Theopompus refers mainly to 346 BC, but it is still possible to assume that Antipater's march began as early as the previous 347 BC⁸⁴.

In fact, the year 347 BC was the most suitable for the implementation of new conquests by the Macedonian ruler Philip II, given his crushing victory over the Chalcidian League and the destruction of its capital city of Olynthos in the previous 348 BC, when Philip II was already at the top of the military glory after the entire Chalcidice peninsula was annexed to Macedonia and the city of Athens had tremendous fears about its future⁸⁵. After the capture and destruction of Olynthos by the troops of Philip II in 348 BC, as early as the beginning of 347 BC, Athens had sent to the capital of ancient Macedonia – Pella, the Athenian actor Aristodemos, according to the report of the Athenian politician and orator Aeschines (Aeschin. De falsa legat. 2.15-17), to request from Philip II the release of captive Athenian citizens who until the conquest of Olynthos lived in the city, as well as to begin peace negotiations with the Macedonian king⁸⁶. However, while in Athens and other parts of ancient Hellas in the coming months of 347 BC the Greeks were busy rethinking their relationship to Philip II, with the ability either to make a lasting peace with him or to continue their hostilities against him⁸⁷, Philip II took advantage of this time and as late as the spring of 347 BC along with his troops began a campaign to conquer new lands that were part of ancient Thrace.

The troops, led by Philip II, first headed east and established a lasting and unconditional control over the city of Amphipolis, located just above the confluence of the river Strymon into the Aegean Sea. Although it is believed in the scholarly literature on the problem that Philip II succeeded in conquering Amphipolis as early as 357 BC, when, it was also supposed that the striking of civic tetradrachms was also discontinued⁸⁸, this city remained the "bone of contention" between Philip II and Athens in the years to come⁸⁹. However, in 347 BC this time Philip II had left a considerable garrison in Amphipolis, for he knew very well that Athens would reassert its claims to this *polis*, and would ever again attempt to regain control of its own colony near the mouth of the river Strymon. As evidenced by Aeschines (Aeschin. De falsa legat. 2. 32-33) on further negotiations prior to the conclusion of the Peace of Philocrates, the Athenians had made it one of the preconditions for Philip II to return to their possession precisely Amphipolis. But in the end, Philip II had refused to return Amphipolis at all, and finally even the Athenians had agreed to be so before the conclusion of

⁷⁶ See FOL 1975, 182 with ref.; JORDANOV 1995, 163-165 with ref.; YORDANOV 2018, 104 with ref.

⁷⁷ See FOL 1975, 182 with ref.; YORDANOV 2018, 104-105 with the literature cited there.

⁷⁸ FOL 1975, 182 with ref.; YURUKOVA 1992, 68 with ref.; YORDANOV 2000, 52 with ref.

⁷⁹ MAY 1966, 286-291; SCHÖNERT-GEISS 1979, 451 with ref.; YURUKOVA 1992, 68 with ref.; see JORDANOV 1995, 163-167 with ref.; YORDANOV 2000, 52 with ref.; YORDANOV 2018, 104 with ref.

⁸⁰ MAY 1966, 286-291.

⁸¹ See MAY 1966, 287; 290; in fact, according to J. May himself, Period IX was until about 350/45 BC.

⁸² CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE 2007, 134 with notes 4-9 there.

⁸³ FOL 1975, 182 with ref.; BADIAN 1983, 66 with ref.; JORDANOV 1995, 165 with ref.

⁸⁴ BADIAN 1983, 66 with note 53 there.

⁸⁵ CAWKWELL 1978, 91-98; see also JORDANOV 1995, 163-167 with ref.

⁸⁶ KATSAROV 1922, 148-149; YORDANOV 2018, 103-104 with ref.

⁸⁷ See CAWKWELL 1978, 91-98; JORDANOV 1995, 103-118 with ref.

⁸⁸ MAY 1966, 287; 289 with note 5.

⁸⁹ CAWKWELL 1978, 69-90.

the Peace of Philocrates⁹⁰.

Before any final decisions on the localisation of the four settlements in the district Parorbelia mentioned by Strabo are given, it will still be necessary to clarify better which the ancient mountain Orbelos really is. It has already been mentioned that so far in modern historiography there are different opinions about its identification, and in recent years it seems that most authors have accepted the identity of the ancient Mount Orbelos only with the modern Belasitsa⁹¹. However, the hesitations as to whether this ancient name was understood to mean an entirety of several mountains on either side of the Strymon River remained and were in the right direction⁹². This is most evident by Arrian's reports about the campaign of Alexander the Great in Thrace in 335 BC⁹³. Despite M. Hatzopoulos' recent view of the plausible identification of the ancient Mount Orbelos as a larger range of mountains west – east, another contemporary author believes that the ancient Orbelos must be understood to mean the Pirin – Orvilos (Slavyanka) range, located in the north – south direction, with only the Pirin Mountains represented on a map by the name Orbelos, which opinion is a return to older notions in European historiography⁹⁴. The situation, in my opinion, for the more precise localisation of the ancient Mount Orbelos, is best and most clearly perceived by N. Hammond, who considers that the chain of Mount Orbelos extended both west and east of the Strymon River⁹⁵.

Based both on the hypotheses already expressed in this direction and the aforementioned information of Arrian, as well as on the basis of the new data I have, I can say with the greatest confidence that in fact the real ancient Mount Orbelos was not only the present-day mountain Belasitsa. Here, a clear identification will be made of the actual location of the ancient Mount Orbelos. Actually, this ancient mountain had included the present-day mountain Belasitsa (Belles /Kerkini), as also the mountains Sengel (Angiströn) and Slavyanka (Orvilos). In fact, the ancient Mount Orbelos was divided into two parts by the river Strymon through the well known by its modern name Rupel Gorge. Of course, sometimes in their conceptions of Orbelos the ancient authors had added other mountains to the main chain, reaching the Nestos (Mesta) River, such as the lower Stargatch Mountain and Mount Phalakron (Boz Dagh)⁹⁶. Probably not by chance the ancient name of this bigger mountain was retained in the modern name Orvilos for its easternmost part. On the map here the name of Mount Orbelos is represented by capital Greek letters to cover the chain of all major modern mountains listed (fig. 2).

⁹⁰ About those events, see CAWKWELL 1978, 98-101; 100.

⁹¹ See PAPAZOGLU 1957, 260; GEROV 1961, 168 with ref.; HAMMOND 1972, 198; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 347-348; DELEV 2014, 27 with ref.

⁹² GEROV 1961, 168 with ref.; HAMMOND 1972, 198; MITREV 2001, 259-260 with ref.; HATZOPOULOS 2008, 24 with ref.; DELEV 2014, 27 with ref.; 441.

⁹³ See comments in this regard, in: HAMMOND 1972, 198-199 with ref.; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 346-347 with ref.; HATZOPOULOS 2008, 26-27 with ref.

⁹⁴ ZANNIS 2017, 87; 105, fig. 1 there.

⁹⁵ HAMMOND 1972, 180 – map 17 there; 198.

⁹⁶ See GEROV 1961, 168 with ref.; HAMMOND 1972, 198; MITREV 2001, 259; HATZOPOULOS 2008, 23-26; DELEV 2014, 27 with ref.

This very clear identification of the ancient Mount Orbelos will be of great importance also for the completely reliable identification of the geographical names Parorbelia and Orbelia. Based on the two names of the same geographical area, which are directly derived from the name of Mount Orbelos, we will have to understand literally that Parorbelia or Orbelia are all those lands that are located around Mount Orbelos both to the north and to the south (fig. 3). It will thus be seen that the question of the exact location of this geographical area was unnecessarily debated mainly by B. Gerov and F. Papazoglou, the latter being followed in these ideas also by N. Hammond, with their extreme claims for its location, respectively, only north of Belasitsa or only south of Belasitsa. Recently, the thoughts of another contemporary author have been forwarded in this direction, who expressed them too cautiously that Philip's expansion and colonisation probably covered the valleys on both sides of Belasitsa, having densely approached the tribal territories of the Maedi⁹⁷. In fact, the colonisation of the Thracian lands by Philip II in this part of Thrace had completely covered the tribal territories of the Maedi, as B. Gerov⁹⁸ believed, but also the lands of the Thracian tribe Sinti, as well as the lands of other Thracian tribes, as will be seen below.

The next very important question that will provide a clear starting point for localising all four settlements mentioned in the text of Strabo is to clarify the location of the valley (*aulon*), in which, according to Strabo's very general and concise account, were located exactly the four ancient settlements – Kallipolis, Orthopolis, Philippopolis and Gareskos. It has already been mentioned above that Strabo's brief explanation that this valley (*aulon*) was located in the middle of the Parorbelia, beginning from Eidomene, has hitherto caused great difficulty in understanding in which direction this valley was situated. Because of this ambiguity, numerous hypotheses have emerged, localising the *aulon* in different directions. The settlement of Eidomene itself has long ago been the subject of considerable debate in contemporary historiography, as detailed outlined above, but its exact location is still uncertain and has not been definitively resolved. Yet B. Gerov, in accordance with some earlier studies in European historiography on the problem, firmly upheld his hypothesis that the ancient settlement of Eidomene was located near the present village of Miletkovo in the present-day Republic of North Macedonia, on the western bank of the Axios (Vardar) River⁹⁹, which will be considered the most plausible here. F. Papazoglou interpreted Strabo's text that this valley should have been located to the east of Eidomene, and according to her, Strabo had in mind the fertile valley from Lake Doiran to the course of Lower Strymon at Lake Kerkini (Butkovo) south of Belasitsa¹⁰⁰. Another contemporary author has also, to some extent, correctly chosen the direction of disposition of this valley – generally to the east of Eidomene¹⁰¹.

In fact, the passage discussed here from Book 7 of

⁹⁷ DELEV 2014, 340.

⁹⁸ GEROV 1960, 244.

⁹⁹ GEROV 1961, 163-164 with note 8 there; see also SOKOLOVSKA 1986, 140-141.

¹⁰⁰ PAPAZOGLU 1988, 349 with note 19 there.

¹⁰¹ DELEV 2014, 441.

Strabo's Geography presents a relatively detailed description of the Strymon River and its adjacent lands from its sources to its infusion into the Aegean Sea near the ancient city of Amphipolis, as pointed out above. The emphasis in the narrative of the ancient author is placed on the description of the lands of Lower Strymon – mainly the lands of the Bisaltae, which are said to inhabit a fertile valley through which Strymon flows. Immediately in the next sentence, Strabo says that in the valley (*aulon*), which is in the middle of the Parorbelia district, there are four important settlements, the first of them being Kallipolis. Or, in my opinion, we need to understand the text of Strabo as follows – the first settlement of this series – Kallipolis, was generally located somewhere opposite Eidomene. Once the issue has been clarified that the Parorbelia area actually covered the lands both north and south of the ancient Mount Orbelos, we can now proceed to the actual localisation of the four settlements mentioned in the text of Strabo.

Just recently, I have unambiguously presented the exact location of the settlement Orthopolis mentioned by Strabo, based on the information used by me in a monograph published in 2017¹⁰². However, not all important facts can be written in a single book, which is why a number of topics have only been highlighted or briefly touched upon, leaving them for further study in the future. The exact localisation of the four ancient settlements can now be presented, and the order of their locations will be done exactly as they are listed by Strabo. In addition, they will be presented on a modern geographical map with their original sounding names, but transcribed in Latin letters, and under each ancient settlement will be given in brackets and the name of the modern settlement where each respective ancient settlement was once located.

The real situation regarding Philip II's campaign in the Parorbelia been following. In fact, in the spring of 347 BC, Philip II had finally secured his possession of the very important city of Amphipolis and did not allow the Athenians to have any more claims to that city. Having left a considerable garrison there, then in that same 347 BC from Amphipolis along with his troops Philip II undertook another military manoeuvre that may have been conceived long ago – to seize the lands of the Thracian tribes in the lower and middle reaches of the Strymon River, to the northeast and north of the Thracian tribe Bisaltae, located west of Lower Strymon and since long ago controlled by Macedonia. Thracian lands that Philip II wanted to conquer previously been within the lands controlled by the Odrysian rulers Teres II and Kersebleptes. He wanted to tear off that portion of the Odrysian holdings before his larger-scale military offensive against the two Thracian rulers, thus also wanting to secure the rear of the Macedonian state from the north from possible attacks by the Thracian tribes living in the lands east of Lower Strymon and north in the Middle Strymon valley that would take aim at Macedonia¹⁰³. For this reason, in 347 BC, along with his troops, Philip II had headed northwest of Amphipolis, and conquering the lands of the Thracian tribe Odomantes/Odomanti on the eastern

banks of the Strymon River north of the ancient city of Siris/Sirra (present-day Serres in Greece), he had also conquered a Thracian village in that region and had camped there (fig. 4). Because of its important strategic location, and because of the beautiful nature around it, Philip II had ordered this Thracian village to be urbanised and given the status of a *polis*, naming it Kallipolis (literally from Ancient Greek – “Nice city”). This ancient settlement named Kallipolis was actually located exactly on the site of the modern town of Sidirokastro in present-day Northern Greece (fig. 5). As is now understood, it was located east of the Strymon River almost in a straight line directly opposite Eidomene. In fact, Kallipolis (nowadays Sidirokastro) and Eidomene, which was most likely located on the western bank of the Axios (Vardar) River – near today's village of Miletkovo in the Republic of North Macedonia, were located at almost the same latitude. As can be seen from the map presented here, the current location of Kallipolis is in complete agreement with what Strabo said. However, for reasons unknown to us – probably due to a significant damage to the original prototype, in the well-known Peutinger Table (*Tabula Peutingeriana*), considered to have been created probably in the 4th century AD and extant in a later medieval copy of the 13th century, right at the site of the present-day town of Sidirokastro in Greece lacks any settlement. But this issue will be discussed elsewhere, not here.

The Macedonian troops, led by Philip II, then went north and entered the Strymon River gorge, which is now known by its name Rupel Gorge. After entering the lands north of Mount Orbelos and conquering the Thracian lands in the area there, Philip II settled in a new camp in a Thracian village, located right in the area between the confluence of the Strumeshnitsa River and the Strymon River, at the foot of the long-extinct small volcano that today bears the name Mount Kozhuh, ordering this Thracian village to be urbanised and named Orthopolis (“City in the right direction”), because finally the troops of Philip II were on the right way after crossing the Rupel Gorge and entering the lands of Middle Strymon (see fig. 5). So far, only B. Gerov has made the assumption that one of the four settlements in the Parorbelia region mentioned by Strabo was probably located at this site, and this was most likely the settlement named Orthopolis¹⁰⁴.

The next Thracian settlement to be conquered by Philip II was the Thracian village on the site of the present-day town of Sandanski. Since it was located at the foot of the Pirin Mountains in a very strategic location, looking south and west to the surrounding lands, and was also rich in mineral springs, Philip II had appreciated its location and therefore gave this settlement his own name, also giving it the status of a *polis*. Thus, the settlement became known as Philippopolis (“Philip's City”) (see fig. 5). So far, in the past, there were two more important hypotheses about the possible earlier name of the ancient settlement on the site of the present-day town of Sandanski in the pre-Roman period. According to D. Dechev¹⁰⁵, the site of present-day Sandanski may have been the site of an ancient settlement named Alexandropolis, mentioned by the ancient writer Plutarch

¹⁰² MANOV 2017, 96 with ref.

¹⁰³ See KATSAROV 1922, 192–193 with ref.; GEROV 1960, 244 with ref.; GEROV 1961, 169; DELEV 2014, 340 and 443; see also Adams 2007a, 286.

¹⁰⁴ GEROV 1961, 207; GEROV 1970, 23; see also MANOV 2017, 96 with ref.

¹⁰⁵ DETSCHEV 1954, 114 with note 1 there.

in the biography of Alexander the Great (Plut. Alex. 9.1) in connection with the rebellion of the Maedi in 340 BC, when for the suppression of this revolt with troops from Macedonia was sent the very young Alexander, the son of Philip II, who was then only 16 years old. This event was certainly dated to 340 BC, when Philip II was at the same time busy with the siege of Byzantium¹⁰⁶. The uprising of the Maedi was successfully suppressed, and according to Plutarch, Alexander himself conquered their city – unfortunately it was not mentioned what its name was until that time, expelled its Thracian inhabitants and settled it with a mixed population, i.e. probably Alexander settled Greeks and Macedonians there¹⁰⁷. However, B. Gerov has rejected this identification of D. Dechev that Alexandropolis was at the site of the present-day town of Sandanski, believing that rather Gareskos, the last of the four settlements mentioned by Strabo, was located at that place¹⁰⁸.

Years ago, following my own logic, in accordance with the current scholarly discussions on the problem of identifying the ancient settlement at the same place, I assumed that if the ancient settlement at the site of the present-day Sandanski in pre-Roman times was indeed named Alexandropolis, as it was supposed by D. Dechev¹⁰⁹, why not suggest that in an earlier time the same settlement was named Philippoupolis, when the name had been thus given to it by Philip II during his campaigns in the lands of the Maedi, and which later – after his own victory over the Maedi in 340 BC, Alexander the Great had changed to Alexandropolis¹¹⁰.

More recently, however, it was found that the ancient settlement of Alexandropolis in the lands of the Maedi, mentioned by Plutarch, was actually located on the site of Orthopolis¹¹¹. But the name Alexandropolis was not actually given by Alexander the Great himself during the rebellion of the Maedi in 340 BC, as the ancient writer Plutarch said. Because Alexander, the son of Philip II, did not have the authority in those years, when he was still an underage youth, to change the names of settlements already named by his father. In fact, this problem has been noticed and debated by other authors in modern historiography – that any such action by the still too young Alexander would be interpreted as a rebellion against his own father, Philip II¹¹². It has recently been found out that the actual name Alexandropolis was given many years later by the king of Thrace, Kavaros – in 255 BC, in honour of Alexander the Great's actions, because in the previous 256 BC, he, just like Alexander in the distant 340 BC, had to appease the rebellious Maedi and permanently establish his authority over them¹¹³. Several years later, in 242 BC, King Kavaros had renamed the same settlement Alexandropolis into Herakleia on the Strymon, in honour of Heracles, the mythical founder of the Argead

dynasty¹¹⁴. And it is precisely this Herakleia, also known by the name Heraclea Sintica, near the present-day village of Rupite in Bulgaria, whose very certain location was recently found out by discovering one epigraphic monument written in Latin and dated in 307/308 AD¹¹⁵. Since several years, the ancient settlement already with the known name Heraclea Sintica has been the subject of intense archaeological excavations¹¹⁶. But another paper will be devoted specifically to issues related to Herakleia on the Strymon, also known as Heraclea Sintica.

Despite the fact that the places of the settlements with the names Philippoupolis and Alexandropolis did not coincide, and the real situation turned out to be different, it can now be seen that this assumption about the location of Philippoupolis years ago was in the right direction. However, some contemporary authors have expressed doubts as to whether in Strabo's account discussed here, under the name Philippoupolis it is not really about the city of Philippopolis on the Hebros River in the middle of Thrace¹¹⁷. But this is not the case, because Strabo had explicitly presented Philippoupolis along with the other three settlements as being located only in the district Parorbelia, and this settlement is quite different, moreover, named thus, as it was found out, a few years earlier, in 347 BC, before the same name be given to the homonymous settlement on the Hebros, which had happened only in 341 BC¹¹⁸.

Of course, in studies related to historical geography and specifically when trying to locate an ancient settlement, the general situation must be taken into account, which is true for most ancient settlements, that in different periods of the existence of a settlement, it has received a different name, most often with a significant change in the political situation – such as the conquest of a settlement by another ruler during the pre-Roman period, or by different emperors during the Roman period, and even later – during the Byzantine period, due to the personal views or preferences of any ruler for naming a specific settlement.

In recent years, many scholars have adopted the identification of the ancient settlement, which existed in the Roman period until the late antiquity at the site of the present-day town of Sandanski, being first proposed by J. and L. Robert in 1948, with Parthicopolis, which name was most likely given by the emperor Trajan (98 – 117 AD) in honour of his victory over the Parthians, and earlier, during the reign of the emperor Vespasian (69 – 79 AD), the same settlement was probably named Paroicopolis¹¹⁹. D. Dechev's hypothesis was also accepted that the earlier ancient city, named Alexandropolis, was probably located in the same place¹²⁰.

The last settlement in the district Parorbelia mentioned by Strabo is Gareskos. It is the only one of the

¹⁰⁶ See GEROV 1960, 244; GEROV 1961, 168-169 with ref.; ADAMS 2007b, 3; DELEV 2014, 340 with ref.

¹⁰⁷ GEROV 1960, 244; ARCHIBALD 1998, 236; ADAMS 2007b, 3; DELEV 2014, 340 with ref.

¹⁰⁸ GEROV 1960, 249 with note 4 there; GEROV 1961, 192.

¹⁰⁹ DETSCHEW 1954, 114-115.

¹¹⁰ MANOV 2008, 21.

¹¹¹ MANOV 2017, 96.

¹¹² See ADAMS 2007b, 3 with note 1 there.

¹¹³ MANOV 2017, 96.

¹¹⁴ MANOV 2017, 96.

¹¹⁵ See MITREV/TARAKOV 2002; MITREV 2003; LEPELLEY 2004.

¹¹⁶ See a very good overview of archaeological investigations of this ancient settlement up to 2015, in: VAGALINSKI 2015, and also NANKOV 2015a.

¹¹⁷ GOCHEVA 1986, 63-64; ADAMS 2007b, 10 with note 40 there.

¹¹⁸ See MANOV 2017, 36-38.

¹¹⁹ See PAPAZOGLU 1957, 278-279 with ref.; POPOVA 1981, 178-180 with ref.; PAPAZOGLU 1988, 372-373 with ref.; PILLINGER 2006; MITREV 2017; PETROVA 2017; contra – GEROV 1970, 20-21 with ref.

¹²⁰ See POPOVA 1981, 178-180 with ref.

four important settlements in Strabo's account that does not explicitly include in its name the Greek word for city – *polis*. In fact, it was located exactly at the site of today's smallest town in Bulgaria – Melnik¹²¹ (see fig. 5). So far, the assumption of a possible location of Gareskos in the place of present-day Melnik was first made by W. Tomaschek in the late 19th century, but he has still hesitated whether the ancient Gareskos attested in the text of Strabo was located there, or in this place was the ancient settlement of Parthicopolis, known by Claudius Ptolemy¹²². In addition, in his another earlier work W. Tomaschek believed that this settlement was a Macedonian colony, receiving its name from a homonymous settlement in Mygdonia¹²³. In fact, it is the only settlement in the Parorbelia whose name is of Thracian origin, which has only been slightly modified by Philip II to resemble the name of the homonymous settlement Gareskos, which was located in Mygdonia in the area of Thessalonica in Greece, which was also explicitly mentioned by Strabo in another extant fragment of the same seventh book of his work Geography (Strab. 7. fr. 21)¹²⁴. The area of today's smallest town of Melnik, located on the site of the ancient Gareskos, is known for its large arrays of vineyards and production of considerable quantities of high quality wine, a tradition that has certainly come from ancient times. In medieval times a significant fortress had been built there, preserved still today¹²⁵.

Perhaps because of his reasoning logic, as probably due to the fact that he explicitly noted that the ancient author Ptolemy mentioned in the Orbelia (= Parorbelia) only the settlement Gareskos, as probably also because of his preconceived opinion that Gareskos was located at the place of the present-day town of Sandanski¹²⁶, whose ancient settlement has already been researched through years of archeological investigations, and it has been suggested that it was probably the most significant ancient settlement in the region of the Middle Strymon valley, B. Gerov considered that it was the tribal centre of this area, as mentioned above¹²⁷. But the absence of the component "*polis*" only in the name of this settlement – Gareskos, unlike the other three discussed herein settlements with their names submitted so by Strabo, may quite rightly point us just in the opposite direction of thoughts. It seems that unlike Kallipolis, Orthopolis and Philippopolis, Gareskos had no status of *polis* during the expansion and colonisation of Philip II in these lands. Most likely it was left only with the status of a *phrourion* or *chorion*. Probably in later times it is still possible that Gareskos may have acquired the status of a *polis*, though too small in size and population, because it was mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy (Ptol. 3.12.22) among all other settlements, generally under the term *poleis* (ancient cities). It has long ago been speculated that during his colonisation activity in Thrace and especially in the Parorbelia, Philip II had probably settled in these settlements and part of the inhabitants of

some of the destroyed cities in Chalcidice¹²⁸.

Thanks to the reconstruction of the events of the expansion activity of the Macedonian king Philip II in the district Parorbelia and the recolonisation of the old Thracian settlements, it can already be said that this activity of the Macedonian conqueror had covered mainly the lands in the valleys of Lower and Middle Strymon. He had first conquered the lands to the east of the Strymon River, located south of the ancient Mount Orbelos, and then along with his troops he had passed to the north through the Rupel Gorge, and had also conquered the lands of the Thracian tribe Maedi north to the Kresna Gorge, supposed so far¹²⁹ and as implicitly contained in Polyaeus' rather laconic account (Polyaen. 4.2.16). There was no road through the Kresna Gorge in ancient times, so alternative routes were sought for the movement of troops from south to north, mainly passing west from there – through the valley of the Bregalnitsa River (the ancient Astibos) in present-day North Macedonia.

The military and colonisation activity of Philip II around the middle of the 4th century BC, or, as the exact year has already been presented – in 347 BC¹³⁰, in these lands was not limited only to the founding or rather the recolonisation of the four mentioned by Strabo settlements in places of older and smaller Thracian settlements. His conquest had also covered the lands north of Belasitsa and west of the Strymon in the valley of the Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa River, although nothing was specifically mentioned in the official ancient sources because Polyaeus used the general term "Orbelians", which is a purely geographical term, but did not define the Thracian tribes invaded by the Macedonian ruler in the 4th century BC¹³¹. In fact, it can already be stated explicitly that, by the name of the "Orbelians", Polyaeus has apparently understood also part of the Thracian tribe Odomantes south and southeast of the Rupel Gorge – in the area of the present-day town of Sidirokastro, as well as both neighbouring Maedi and Sinti tribes living north and northwest of Belasitsa – or, all of them inhabiting the lands directly adjacent to the ancient Mount Orbelos. Lately, there has been ongoing debate about the more accurate identification of the lands of the two Thracian tribes Sinti and Maedi, mentioned together for the first time by Thucydides in his account of the campaign of the Odrysian ruler Sitalkes against Macedonia in 429 BC (Thuc. 2.98). Thanks to the account of Pseudo-Aristotle (Pseudoarist. De mirab. ausc. 115-116/840b-841a) about the flow of the river Pontos, identified with the present-day Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa River, through the lands of the Sinti and Maedi, the opinion has already begun to emerge that probably the Sinti and Maedi had inhabited in ancient times, in general, the present-day lands in the areas of the modern towns of Petrich and

¹²¹ Today, the town of Melnik has a population of only about 300 people.

¹²² TOMASCHEK 1887, 365; see GEROV 1961, 192 with note 5 there, with another page incorrectly cited; GEROV 1970, 19 with note 89 there.

¹²³ See PAPAOGLOU 1988, 349 with note 20 there.

¹²⁴ PAPAOGLOU 1988, 200 with ref.; DELEV 2014, 43 with ref.

¹²⁵ See NESHEVA 2008, 76-115; 342-348.

¹²⁶ GEROV 1960, 249.

¹²⁷ GEROV 1961, 191-192; GEROV 1977, 50-51.

¹²⁸ This hypothesis has been first stated at the end of the 19th century by several German scholars, cited by KATSAROV 1922, 192-194 with ref. Later the same hypothesis was repeated by GEROV 1961, 176 with note 3 there. Recently, the idea has been further developed and modified by other authors: see ADAMS 2007a and ADAMS 2007b; see especially HATZOPOULOS 2012, 45, noting that the residents of Kallipolis and Gareskos in the Parorbelia area were probably from small settlements with the same names in Mygdonia.

¹²⁹ GEROV 1960, 244; GEROV 1961, 169; 175-176; see also DELEV 2014, 441-443.

¹³⁰ MANOV 2017, 96.

¹³¹ See DELEV 2014, 443.

Sandanski, and the adjacent lands of the valley in the lower stream of the Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa River, as well as the valley of the Middle Strymon¹³². But earlier it was supposed that the Sinti had inhabited the lands mostly south of Belasitsa and had reached from the northwest behind this mountain to the middle, and possibly to the upper reaches of the Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa River¹³³.

In fact, the Macedonian king Philip II had also conquered the lands of the Sinti with the ancient Thracian settlements in the valley of the middle and upper reaches of the river Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa, including certainly the two largest such settlements – one on the site of the present town of Strumica (Strumitsa) and the other located at the site of the modern town of Radovich – both in the present-day Republic of North Macedonia (see fig. 5). As reliable and visual evidence of the military actions of Philip II in the lands along the Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa valley, practically also part of the lands of the Parorbelia region, in this case located to the north and northwest of Mount Belasitsa, we can reasonably also consider the found recently about 20 lead sling bullets during archeological excavations of the *acropolis*, called the Carevi Kuli (“Tsarevi Kuli” – “Tsar’s Towers”), belonging to the ancient settlement near the present-day town of Strumica (Strumitsa) in the Republic of North Macedonia, mentioned above¹³⁴. Several of them bear the names of two certainly identified commanders of the Macedonian king Philip II – Hipponikos and Kleoboulos¹³⁵, who had also participated in the battles during the siege, conquest and destruction of Olynthos in 348 BC¹³⁶. It is a very important fact that one of these Philip II’s commanders, the one named Kleoboulos, was also involved in battles in inland Thrace, as for the first time his name was identified on several lead sling bullets found during the archaeological excavations of the Thracian mountainous residence “Kozi Gramadi” in Sredna Gora and for the first time was proved a battle of troops of the Macedonian king Philip II in the interior of Thrace during his wars against the Thracian rulers Teres II and Kersebleptes in 342 – 341 BC¹³⁷. A few years later, several more sling bullets bearing inscribed the same name, Kleoboulos, were also found in a mountainous site in the area of the present-day town of Sliven – north of the ancient city of Kabyle¹³⁸.

As can be seen from the last map presented here (fig. 6) with the locations of the four ancient settlements mentioned in Strabo’s very brief account, they correspond exactly to what was said by this ancient author that they were located in a valley situated in the middle of the Macedonian Parorbelia, which area was adjacent to the lands of the

Bisaltae. This valley (*aulon*) in the district Parorbelia proved to be the valley of the Strymon River as in its middle reaches, as well as partly in its lower reaches, located both north and south of the ancient Mount Orbelos, which is split into two parts by the Strymon River through the Rupel Gorge.

REFERENCES

Ancient main source used:

The original Strabo’s Ancient Greek text:

Strabonis Geographica. Ed. A. Meineke, 1-3. Leipzig: Teubner. 1877. Available online at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-grc1:7.fragments.36>. Accessed 12 October 2019.

English translation of Strabo’s text:

Strabo. Ed. H. L. Jones, The Geography of Strabo: in eight volumes. III [Books VI – VII]. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1924. Available online at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0198%3Abook%3D7%3Achapter%3Dfragments%3Asection%3D36>. Accessed 12 October 2019.

ADAMS 2007a

Adams, W. L., The Frontier Policy of Philip II. In: Kaplanidou, D., Chiotti, I. (eds.), *Ancient Macedonia (Archaia Makedonia) VII. Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II. Papers read at the Seventh International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies), 283-291.

ADAMS 2007b

Adams, W. L., “Symmiktous Katoikisas” and the City Foundations of the Thracian Frontier. In: Iakovidou, A. (ed.) *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology, Komotini – Alexandroupolis 18-23 October 2005* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation – Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity), 3-12.

ANGELOVSKI 2012

Angelovski, B., Survey for the Studying of the Lead Projectiles and Findings from the Carevi Kuli – Strumica. In: Maneva, E., Lilčić, V., Mitrevski, D. (eds.), *Stephanos Archaeologicos in honorem professoris Ivani Mikulcic [Folia Archaeologica Balkanica 2]*. (Skopje: Faculty of Philosophy – Skopje, Department of Art History and Archaeology), 255-261.

ARCHIBALD 1998

Archibald, Z. H., *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace. Orpheus Unmasked* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

BADIAN 1983

Badian, E., Philip II and Thrace. In: Fol, Al. (ed.), *PULPUDEVA. Semaines philippopolitaines de l’histoire et de la culture thrace. Plovdiv, 3-17 octobre 1980*, Volume 4 (Sofia: Editions de l’Academie bulgare des sciences), 51-71.

CAWKWELL 1978

Cawkwell, G., *Philip of Macedon* (London – Boston: Faber & Faber).

CHRISTOV/MANOV 2011

Christov, I./Manov, M., Ancient Macedonian Sling Bullets from the Area of a Thracian Rulers’ Residence near the Peak of Kozi Gramadi, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 1, 21-33.

CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE 2007

Chrysanthaki-Nagle, K., *L’histoire monétaire d’Abdere en Thrace (VI^e s. avant J.-C. – II^e s. après J.-C.)* [= Meletemata 51] (Athenes – Paris: Diffusion de Bocard).

¹³² DELEV 2014, 440 with ref.

¹³³ See GEROV 1960, 242 with ref.; GEROV 1977, 47 with notes 7 and 8 there. Most recently, a paper I read at a scholarly conference (forthcoming publication) specifically featured the lands inhabited both by the Sinti and Maedi, localising also the Mount Kerkine, mentioned only by Thucydides. It was clearly demonstrated that the Sinti had inhabited the lands west of the Maedi – in the upper and middle reaches of the river Strumitsa/Strumeshnitsa.

¹³⁴ ANGELOVSKI 2012.

¹³⁵ ANGELOVSKI 2012, 258 with fig. 1 there; 259 with fig. 2 there.

¹³⁶ ROBINSON 1941, 426-429; LEE 2001, 13-15 with ref. and figs. there; CHRISTOV/MANOV 2011, 25 with ref.; NANKOV 2015a, 24-25 with ref.; NANKOV 2015b, 1-2 with ref.

¹³⁷ CHRISTOV/MANOV 2011, 28 with figs. 1-6 there.

¹³⁸ NANKOV 2015b, 3-4 with ref.; 4 with fig. 1 c-d there.

- DELEV 2014
Delev, P., *Istoriya na plemenata v Yugozapadna Trakiya prez I hil. pr. Hr. / A History of the Tribes of South-Western Thrace in the First Millennium B.C.* (in Bulgarian, English summary) (Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Publishing House).
- DETSCHIEW 1954
Detschew, D., Ein neuer Brief des Kaisers Antoninus Pius, *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 41, 110-118.
- FOL 1975
Fol, Al., *Trakiya i Balkanite prez rannoelinisticheskata epoha* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo).
- GEROV 1960
Gerov, B., Der thrakische Stamm der Mäden. Ethnographisch-historische Untersuchung. In: Busuioac, E. (ed.), *Omăgiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani* (București), 241-249.
- GEROV 1961
Gerov, B., Prouchvaniya varhu zapadnotrakijskite zemi prez rimsko vreme, chast I, *Godishnik na Sofijskiya universitet, Filologicheski fakultet* 54/3, 155-406.
- GEROV 1970
Gerov, B. À propos de la population et des localités de la vallée du cours moyen de la Struma dans l'Antiquité. In: Beševliev, V./Tăpkova-Zaimova, V. (eds.), *Studia Balcanica. Recherches de géographie historique* (Volume 1) (Sofia), 7-23.
- GEROV 1977
Gerov, B., Probleme der historischen Geographie Nordostmakedoniens. In: Yovos, J. (ed.), *Ancient Macedonia II. Papers read at the Second International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, 19-24 August 1973* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies), 45-52.
- GOICHEVA 1986
Gocheva, Z., Gradovete na Trakiya i kolonizatsiyata na Filip II. In: Velkov, V./Naidenova, V./Petrov, I. (eds.), *Vtori natsionalen simpozium "Poselishten zhivot v Trakiya"*, Yambol, 6 – 9 Oktomvri 1986 (Yambol), 60-74.
- HAMMOND 1972
Hammond, N. G. L., *A History of Macedonia. Volume I. Historical geography and prehistory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- HATZOPOULOS 2008
Hatzopoulos, M. B., Retour à la vallée du Strymon. In: Loukopoulou, L. D./Psoma, S., with the collaboration of Iakovidou, A. (eds.), *Thrakika Zetemata I* [= Meletemata 58] (Athens), 13-54.
- HATZOPOULOS 2012
Hatzopoulos, M. B., Philippe II fondateur de la Macédoine nouvelle, *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 125, 37-53.
- JORDANOV 1995
Jordanov, K., The Wars of the Odrysian kingdom against Philip II 352 – 339 BC. In: Tasić, N. (ed.), *BALCANICA. Annuaire de l'Institut des Etudes balkaniques* 26 (Belgrade), 153-173.
- KATSAROV 1922
Katsarov, G., *Tsar Filip II Makedonski. Istoriya na Makedoniya do 336 god. pr. Hrista* (Sofia: Pridvorna pechatnitsa/Courtiers royal printing house).
- KIEPERT 1903
Kiepert, H., *Atlas Antiquus. Zwölf Karten zur alten Geschichte. Zwölfte berichtigte Ausgabe, mit 12 Karten und einem Namenverzeichnis* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer/Ernst Vohsen). Available online at: <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/10450970>. Accessed 6 October 2019.
- LEE 2001
Lee, J. W. I., Urban Combat at Olynthos, 348 BC. In: Freeman, P. W. M./Pollard, A. (eds.), *Fields of Conflict: Progress and Prospect in Battlefield Archaeology. Proceedings of a conference held in the Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, April 2000*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 958 (Oxford), 11-22.
- LEPELLEY 2004
Lepelley, Cl. Une inscription d' "Heraclea Sintica" (Macédoine) récemment découverte, révélant un rescrit de l'empereur Galère restituant ses droits à la cité, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 146, 221-231.
- MANOV 2008
Manov, M., *Selishtniyat zhivot v dolinata na Sredna Struma spored antichnite epigrafski pametnitsi ot IV/III v. pr. Hr. – III v. sl. Hr. (Life in the Settlements in the Valley along the Struma (Strymon) River Middle Course according to 4th/3rd c. BC – AD 3rd c. Epigraphic Data)* (in Bulgarian, English summary) [= Razkopki i prouchvaniya 38]. (Sofia: National Institute of Archaeology and Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences).
- MANOV 2012
Manov, M., Otnovo po vaprosa za lokalizatsiyata na peonskiya grad Dober /Again on the Question of Localization of the Paionian Town of Doberos (in Bulgarian, English summary). In: Manov, M. (ed.), *Vasilka Gerasimova-Tomova in memoriam* (Sofia), 137-142.
- MANOV 2017
Manov, M., *V tarsene na Tyulis ili Trakiya mezhdur 341 i 218 g. pr. Hr. / In Search of Tyulis or Thrace between 341 and 218 BC* (in Bulgarian) (Sofia: Borina Publishing House).
- MAY 1966
May, J. M. F., *The Coinage of Abdera (540–345 B.C.)*. Edited by C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins. (London: Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No. 3, Spink & Son).
- MITREV 2001
Mitrev, G., „Orbelia“ und „makedonische Parorbelia“ in den Quellen und in der Historiographie. In: Wendel, M. (ed.), *Karasura. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Thrakien. 15 Jahre Ausgrabungen in Karasura, Internationales Symposium, Čirpan/Bulgarien 1996, Volume I* (Weissbach), 257-262.
- MITREV 2003
Mitrev, G., Civitas Heracleotarum: Heracleia Sintica or the Ancient City at the Village of Rupite (Bulgaria), *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 145, 263-272.
- MITREV 2012
Mitrev, G., *Dolinata na Struma prez Antichnostta. Plemena i selishta. Kniga parva / The Valley of the Strouma River in Antiquity* (in Bulgarian, English summary) (Asenovgrad: Ekobelan).
- MITREV 2017
Mitrev, G., The Data for Paroecopolis/Parthicopolis and the Problem on the Name of the Ancient Town at Sandanski. In: Nankov, E. (ed.), *Sandanski and Its Territory during Prehistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages: Current Trends in Archaeological Research. Proceedings of an International Conference at Sandanski, September 17 – 20, 2015. Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia, Volume 3* (Veliko Tarnovo), 106-112.
- MITREV/TARAKOV 2002
Mitrev, G./Tarakov, T., Civitas Heracleotarum. Novootkrit epigrafski pametnik s imeto na antichniya grad pri Rupite, Petrichko / Civitas Heracleotarum. A New Epigraphic Inscription Indicating the Name of the Ancient City near the Village of Rupite, Petrich Region (in Bulgarian, English summary), *Arheologiya* 4, 25-32.
- NANKOV 2015a
Nankov, E., In Search of a Founder and the Early Years

- of Heraclea Sintica. In: Vagalinski, L., Nankov, E. (eds.), *Heraclea Sintica: From Hellenistic Polis to Roman Civitas (4th c. BC – 6th c. AD). Proceedings of a Conference at Petrich, Bulgaria (September 19 – 21, 2013)*. Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia, Volume 2 (Sofia), 7-35.
- NANKOV 2015b
Nankov, E., The Mobility of Macedonian Army in Thrace during the Reign of Philip II and the Inscribed Lead Sling Bullets from Kozi Gramadi, *Bulgarian e-Journal of Archaeology (Be-JA)* 5, 1-13.
- NESHEVA 2008
Nesheva, V., *Melnik. Bogozidaniyat grad /Melnik. God-masoned town* (in Bulgarian, English summary) (Sofia: IVRAI).
- OBERHUMMER 1940
Oberhummer, E., Orbelos. In: Wissowa, G./Kroll, W./Mittelhaus, K. (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband VII (Stuttgart), 791-792
- PAPAZOGLU 1988
Papazoglou, F., *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* [Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Supplément 16]. (Athènes: Ecole française d'Athènes; Paris : Dépositaire, Diffusion de Bocard).
- PAPAZOGLU 1957
Papazoglu, F., *Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba / Les cités macédoniennes à l'époque romaine* [= Živa Antika, Posebna izdanya, Kniga 1/Antiquité Vivante, Monographies No. 1] (in Serbian, French summary) (Skopje: Skopje University Press).
- PETROVA 2017
Petrova, S., Quarries and Workshops in the Territory of Parthicopolis (1st – 6th c. AD). In: Nankov, E. (ed.), *Sandanski and Its Territory during Prehistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages: Current Trends in Archaeological Research. Proceedings of an International Conference at Sandanski, September 17 – 20, 2015*. Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia, Volume 3 (Veliko Tarnovo), 152-169.
- PILLINGER 2006
Pillinger, R., Die Stifterinschrift des Johannes in Sandanski (Bulgarien) und ihr monumentales Umfeld, *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 12, 56-72.
- POPOVA 1981
Popova, V. The pavement mosaics of bishop Ioannes' basilica in Sandanski. In: Danov, Chr./Fol, Al. (eds.). *Spartacus. Symposium rebus Spartaci gestis dedicatum 2050 a.* (Sofia), 173-181.
- ROBINSON 1941
Robinson, D. M., *Excavations at Olynthus. Part X: Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds, An Original Contribution to Greek Life (with a new up-to-date map of Olynthus)*. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 31 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press – London: Humphrey Milford – Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- SCHÖNERT-GEISS 1979
Schönert-Geiss, E., Zur Geschichte Maroneias von den Anfängen bis zum 4. Jh. v. u. Z., *Klio* 61/2, 437-451.
- SOKOLOVSKA 1986
Sokolovska, V., *Isar – Marvintsi i Povardarjeto vo antichko vreme. Posebno izdanie I (Isar – Marvinci and the Vardar Valley in Ancient Times. Special edition I)* (English summary) (Skopje: Museum of Macedonia).
- SPIRIDONOV 1980
Spiridonov, T., La montagne Orbélos selon Claude Ptolémée. In: Popov, Vl. (ed.), *THRACIA. Problemes ethno-culturels de la Thrace antique*, volume V (Sofia), 243-254.
- TOMASCHEK 1887
Tomaschek, W., Zur Kunde der Hämus-Halbinsel II. Die Handelswege im 12. Jahrhundert nach den Erkundigungen des Arabers Idrisi, *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 113 (Jahrgang 1886; Wien, 1887), 285-373.
- VAGALINSKI 2015
Vagalinski, L., Recent Archaeological Data about Heraclea Sintica. In: Vagalinski, L./Nankov, E. (eds.), *Heraclea Sintica: From Hellenistic Polis to Roman Civitas (4th c. BC – 6th c. AD). Proceedings of a Conference at Petrich, Bulgaria (September 19 – 21, 2013)*. Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia, Volume 2 (Sofia), 86-125.
- YORDANOV 2000
Yordanov, K., *Politicheskite otnosheniya mezhdu Makedoniya i trakijskite darzhavi* (359 – 281 pr. Hr.) [= Studia Thracica 7] (Sofia: "Ral-Kolobar").
- YORDANOV 2018
Yordanov, K., *Filip II Makedonski* (Sofia: Polis).
- YURUKOVA 1992
Yurukova, Y., *Monetite na trakijskite plemena i vladeteli* (Sofia: "Petar Beron").
- ZANNIS 2017
Zannis, A., Society, Religion and Culture in the Middle Strymon Valley. In: Nankov, E. (ed.), *Sandanski and Its Territory during Prehistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages: Current Trends in Archaeological Research. Proceedings of an International Conference at Sandanski, September 17 – 20, 2015*. Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia, Volume 3 (Veliko Tarnovo), 87-105.



Fig. 1. Fragment from the map of ancient Greece and the Aegean islands in *Atlas Antiquus* (KIEPERT 1903, Tab. V: *Graecia cum insulis et oris maris Aegaei*), with the hypothetical locations of three of the four ancient settlements in the Parorbelia. (Image source: the image is directly taken from: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/Heinrich_Kiepert_Graecia_cum_insulis_et_oris_maris_Aegaei_Troas_et_Hellspontus.jpg through: <http://www.davidrumsey.com> and also through: <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/10450970> – David Rumsey Map Collection at Stanford University Libraries – Stanford University, USA.

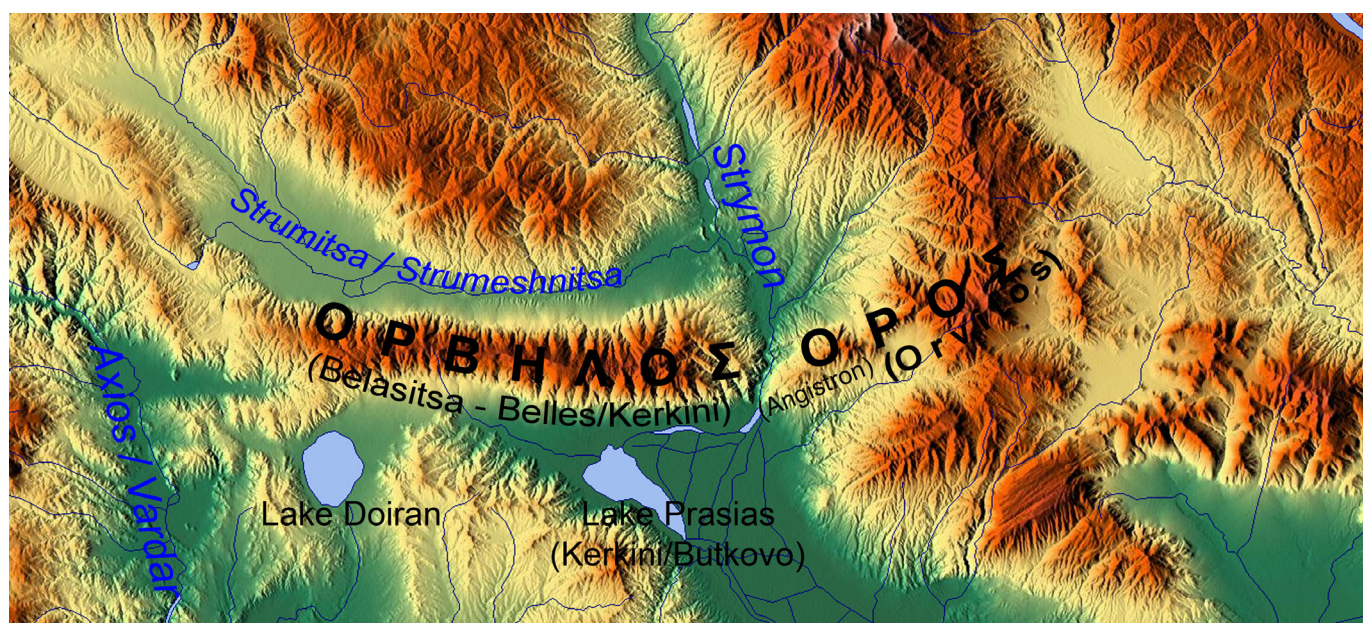


Fig. 2. Map with the actual location of the ancient Mount Orbelos. (Image source: the base of the map is taken from: <https://maps-for-free.com/>. The additional elements – by the author).

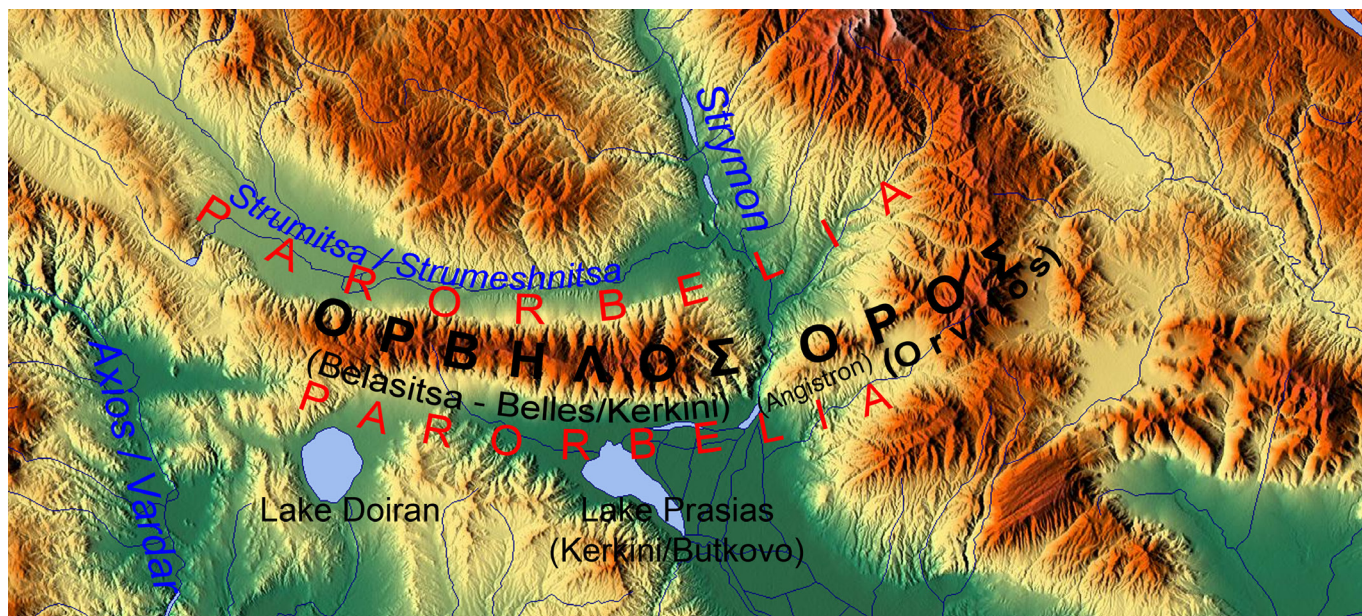


Fig. 3. Map with the actual location of the ancient Mount Orbelos and the district Parorbelia. (Image source: the base of the map is taken from: <https://maps-for-free.com/>. The additional elements – by the author).

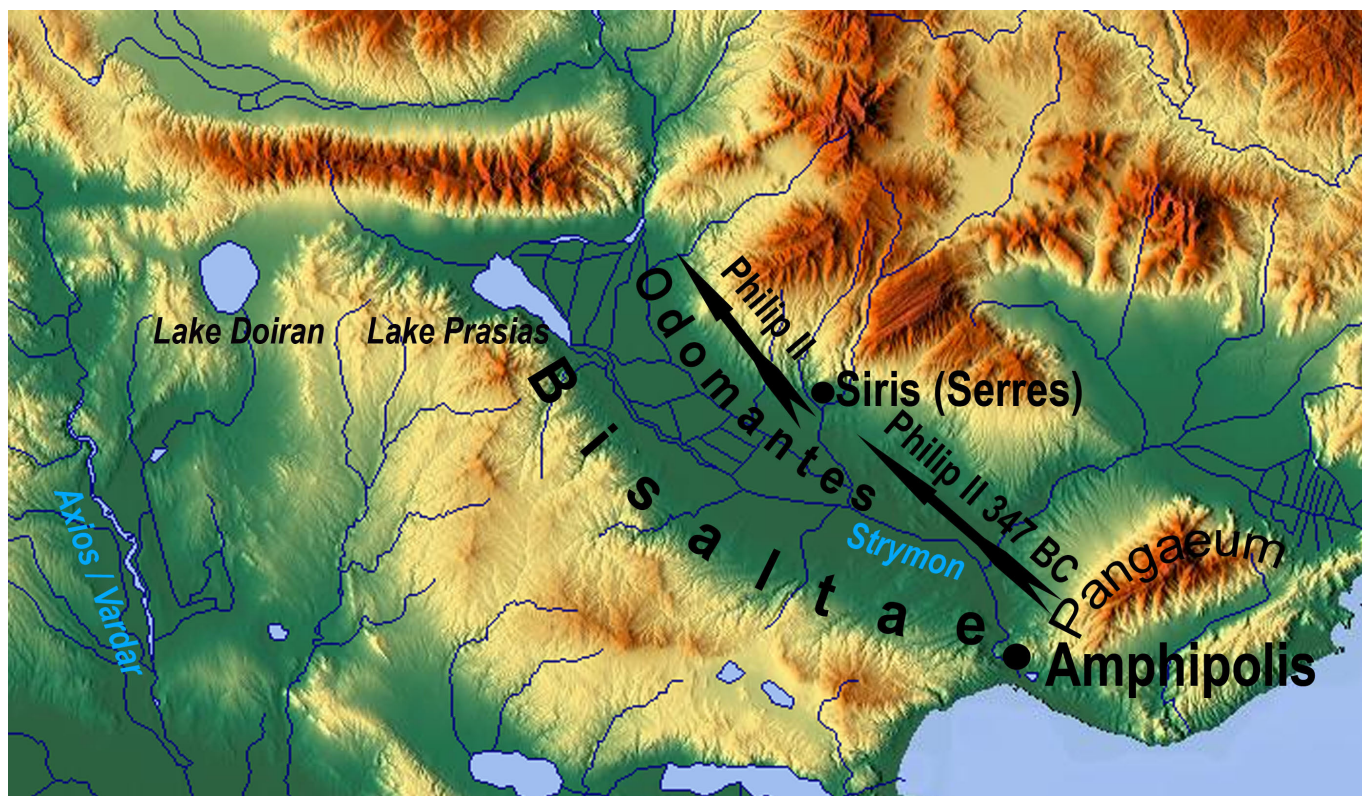


Fig. 4. Map representing the area of the beginning of the campaign of Philip II of Macedon in 347 BC northwest of Amphipolis. (Image source: the base of the map is taken from: <https://maps-for-free.com/>. The additional elements – by the author).



Fig. 5. Map presenting the actual locations of the four ancient settlements in the Parorbelia, founded by Philip II of Macedon during his campaign in 347 BC, together with the location of Eidomene. (Note: all names of modern settlements are put in brackets). (Image source: the base of the map is taken from: <https://maps-for-free.com/>. The additional elements – by the author).

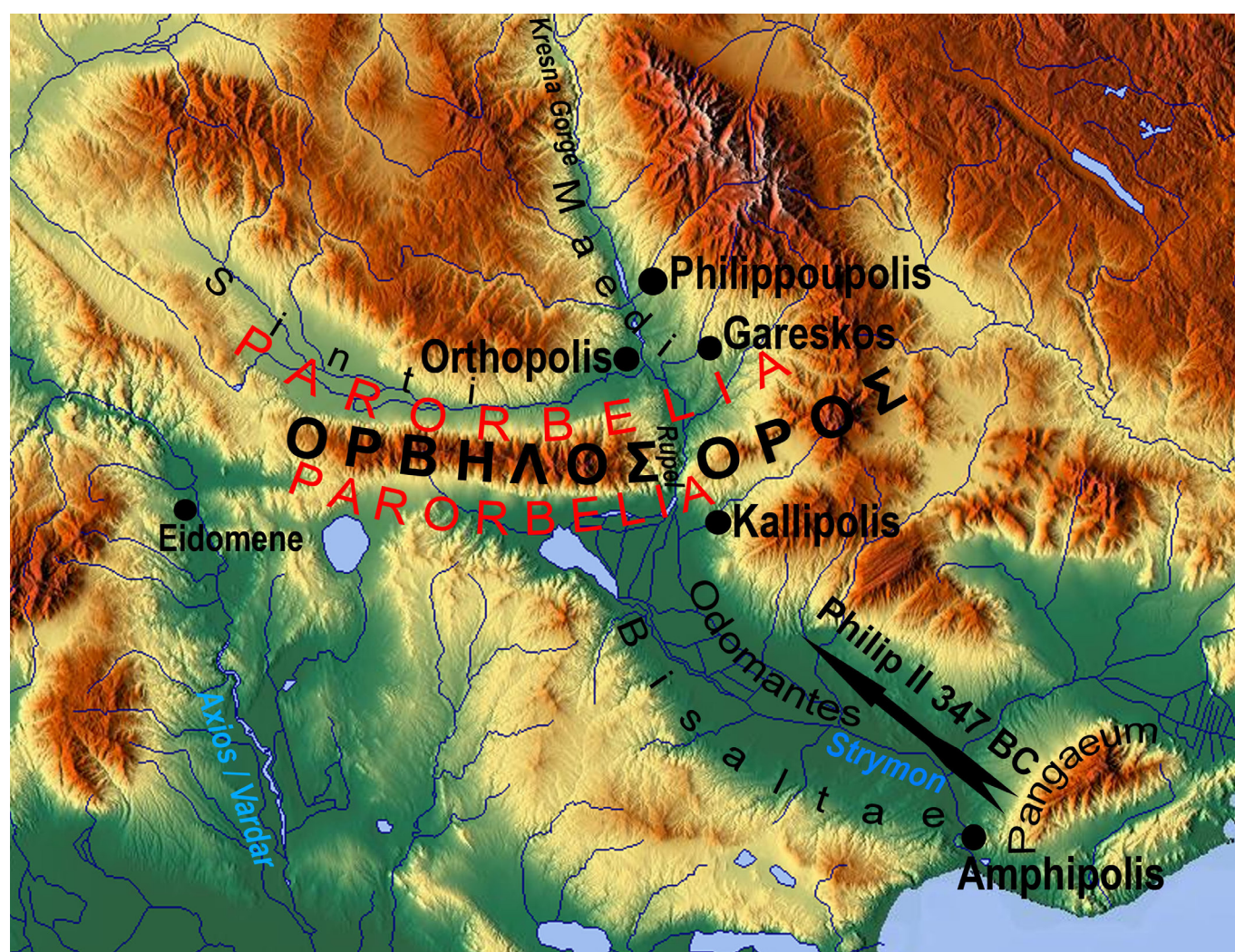


Fig. 6. Panoramic map of the campaign of Philip II of Macedon in 347 BC with the settlements founded in the Parorbelia and with the valley of the Strymon River in its middle and lower reaches. (Image source: the base of the map is taken from: <https://maps-for-free.com/>. The additional elements – by the author).