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POSSIBLE THRACIAN AND SCYTHIAN INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND OF THE ARGEAD DYNASTY'S ORIGIN¹

Abstract: The article is dedicated to the question of how the legend about the emergence of the Argead dynasty was formed. The paper studies written ancient sources, as well as numismatics, which are associated to the legend about the Macedonian royal house. The article raises the question of the emergence of an etymological connection between the Greek word goat (αἴζ) and the first Macedonian capital, Aigai. Attention is also drawn between the similarities of the images of a goat in the Scythian, Thracian and Macedonian cultures, as well as to the congeniality of evidence of written tradition in describing the founding of Macedonian and Scythian dynasties. Based on the studied material, the author comes to the conclusion about the possible Thracian and Scythian influence on the formation of the myth about the origin of the Argead dynasty.

Keywords: *Argead dynasty, ancient Macedonia, legend, Thrace, Scythia, iconography, goat, Aigai.*

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THE LEGEND OF THE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY'S ORIGIN

The question of the of the Macedonian dynasty's origin is as controversial as the question of the origin of the Macedonians.² Several ancient stories about the founding of the Argead dynasty have survived to this day. In addition to written sources, there are the so-called Thraco-Macedonian staters and Macedonian coins associated with the legend of the founding of the Macedonian royal house. In this part of the work, I would like to analyze the process of the formation of the legend about the royal Macedonian house, as well as its changes over time.

The earliest testimony is the story of Herodotus about the ancestors of Alexander I, in which the ancient historian describes how the descendants of Temenus moved to the territory of Macedonia (Hdt., 8, 137-140). The narrative of Herodotus became the basis of further development of the legend

¹ The study was supported by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

² I do not consider the problem of the origin of the Macedonians since the period of formation of the Macedonian region is beyond the time frame of this study. However, more details on this issue can be found in the following studies: EDSON 1970, 17-44; HAMMOND/GRIFFITH 1979. A detailed study of the ethnicity of the Macedonians is contained in the work of E. N. Borza: BORZA 1990. The author of the work sometimes goes in the direction of assumptions, nevertheless, he describes the complexity and multi-stage nature of this process in detail. See also, RAYMOND 1953, GREENWALT 1985, 43-49; MÜLLER 2016, HATZOPOULOS 2020.

about the emergence of the Macedonian royal dynasty in the works of ancient authors.³

In the beginning of the story, Herodotus reports that three brothers, Gauanes, Aeropus and Perdiccas, the descendants of Temenus, left Argos and went to Illyria. From Illyria, crossing the mountains, the brothers arrived in Lebaea, the city of Upper Macedonia (ἄνω Μακεδονία). There they entered the service of the king for which they received a payment. The oldest looked after the horses, the second herded the cows, and the youngest, Perdiccas, looked after the small livestock (Hdt., 8, 137). It was the youngest of three brothers who became the founder of the dynasty.

Herodotus was the first to mention that the Macedonians were the descendants of Temenus. Subsequently, Thucydides supports this version, but does not provide information as detailed as one finds in the work of Herodotus (Thuc., 2, 99). The main idea of both Herodotus and Thucydides is that the Macedonians were descendants of Temenus and came from Argos. The idea that the Macedonians came from Argos was probably the dominant one in the time of Herodotus and Thucydides. The reminiscence of the Greek thought about the importance of Argos influenced the Macedonian legend and the Macedonians themselves tried to connect their origin to this city.⁴

Another version of the legend about the foundation of the Argead dynasty can be found in a source that was created around the same time as *The History* of Thucydides. The work of Euripides, *Archelaus*, was apparently written at the very end of the fifth century BCE during his stay in Macedonia.⁵ The main character of the play is Archelaus, son of Temenus, who was exiled and went to Thrace, to the king Kisseus. The king was at war with his neighbors and Archelaus agreed to help him defeat his enemies. However, after the victory of Archelaus, Kisseus refused to pay him and decided to kill Archelaus instead. One of the slaves of the king told Archelaus about Kisseus' plans. To prevent his own death, Archelaus killed the king and, following Apollo's command, went to Macedonia led by a goat and founded the city Aigai.⁶

This play was not historical, and there is no doubt that Archelaus was only a fictional character of Euripides in order to please his patron, the Macedonian king Archelaus I, who lived during the 5th century BCE.⁷ However, it seems that this version of the Legend was also based on the story of Herodotus. The main character came from Argos, he entered the service of the king, who decided not to pay him, then he moved to Macedonia. Euripides significantly reworked Herodotus' version, making Archelaus the main character in the narrative. In addition, in the version of Euripides there is a mention of the first capital of Macedonia, as well as oracles and the sacred animal, the goat, which brought the king to the first Macedonian capital Aigai.

³ BORZA 1990, 80.

⁴ See KELLY 1976.

⁵ Information that Euripides visited Macedonia is contained in the *Vita* that serves as preface to the Byzantine manuscripts of Euripides' plays. See, LEFKOWITZ 1979, 187-210; HARDER 1985.

⁶ HARDER 1985, 132.

⁷ GREENWALT 1985, 44.

Euripides not only rewrote the legend of Macedonian house for the first time, but also added even more Greek elements to it. During the time of Archelaus, Pella became the new capital of Macedonia, but Aigai did not lose its sacred and religious significance.⁸ The legend that the first king of Macedonia, led by goats, founded the first sacred capital of Macedonia recalls the legend of how Delphi was found. Diodorus reports that goats discovered Delphi and even in his lifetime, the citizens of Delphi used goats when they consulted the oracle (Diod., 16, 26). Various mythological themes and legends about Delphi fill the works of Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides, thus it seems logical to assume that Euripides used similar Greek motifs to create a new version of the Macedonian dynasty's legend, in which there is a connection between the holy capital and goats.

Perhaps it is not coincidental that it was during the reign of Archelaus I during which the image of a goat appeared on Macedonian coins.⁹ It may also be that during this period the connection between the name of the first Macedonian capital Aigai and the Greek word for goat αἴγες arose. In the first version of the legend, Herodotus only reports that the youngest brother took care of small livestock and there is no information about goats (τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων) (Hdt., 8, 137). In ancient times there was already a trend that Greek cities whose names began with "Ai" minted coins with the image of a goat. However, the name of these cities had nothing to do with goats, but with their geographical location.¹⁰ This new version of the legend of goats, the oracle and the embossing of coins with depictions of a goat may be part of the propaganda during Archelaus' reign.

In later sources, one can find mentions of oracles that were received by the Macedonian kings. Diodorus reports that the first ruler of Macedonia was Caranus, but his descendant Perdiccas received a prophecy from Delphi, according to which he needed to found a city in the place where he would see goats (Diod., 7, fr. 16). Caranus himself, according to Diodorus, was a descendant of Temenus (Diod. 7, fr. 17). We also find information from Clement of Alexandria on the connection of goats with oracles (Clem. Al., protr. 2, 11). Euripides first mentions that the Macedonian king came to Macedonia led by a goat, the name Caranus appears for the first time in the testimonies of Diodorus. In later sources, the name Caranus is also present. Justin reports that Caranus appears as the founder of the dynasty, who arrived in Macedonia, following a herd of goats, and founded the Macedonian kingdom (Iust., VII, 1, 7). Plutarch (Alex., 2, 1) and Pausanias (Paus., 9, 40) mention Caranus as well.

Greenwalt researches the appearance of Caranus in the list of founders of the Macedonian dynasty. He concludes that the legend with its main character was widespread in the works of later ancient authors and aimed to ease tension in the political situation in the Macedonian kingdom during the 4th century BCE. The constant struggle for political power between potential heirs during this time meant that the new

⁸ GREENWALT 1985, 45.

⁹ Goat iconography was also present on Alexander's coins. In the next part, I will consider the fact that Alexander borrowed this image, which was previously minted on Thracian coins.

¹⁰ FISCHER-BOSSERT 2007, 23-29.

name Caranus, in Ancient Greek κάρανος (leader, captain), seemed more effective in legitimizing their power.¹¹ After Archelaus died 399 BCE, several kings followed one after another: Orestes (399-398), Aeropus (398-394), Amyntas II (394/3), Pausanias (394/3), and Amyntas III (393-369).¹² None of these rulers ruled for a long time and none were direct heirs of Perdiccas I, so it was not possible to legitimize their power through the help of the legend about Perdiccas.

In later times, there is a serious revision of the first version of the legend, which was written by Herodotus. The name change of the first Macedonian king is often connected to the political situation in Macedonia. In addition, new storylines appear in the legend, which aim to legitimize the power of the Macedonian rulers. It seems logical that during the time of Archelaus the mention of and connection between goats, oracles and the first Macedonian capital appeared, since during this period the Macedonian legend was written by Euripides and contained many Greek elements. In addition, Delphi not only played an important role for the Greeks, but also for the Macedonians, who participated in the Third Sacred War¹³ just a short time later, during the 4th century BCE. The legend that the first Macedonian king was led by goats and received a prophecy from the oracle may be a reminiscence of a similar Greek myth about Delphi.¹⁴ Caranus appears to be a fictional character who emerges during an unstable political situation during the 4th century BCE in Macedonia and was intended to legitimize the power of potential Macedonian rulers who were fighting for their power.

POSSIBLE THRACIAN AND SCYTHIAN INFLUENCE

The legend written by Herodotus became the basis for further developments of ideas about the origin of the Argead dynasty. In addition, Herodotus' version is chronologically the first and earliest evidence of how the Argeads appeared in Macedonia. In this part of the work, I would like to dwell in more detail on the content of Herodotus' legend in order to trace the possible Thracian and Scythian influence on the story.

First, I would like to consider the fact that in *the History* by Herodotus two similar legends about the origin of different dynasties occur simultaneously. Herodotus reports that three brothers, Gauanes, Aeropus and Perdiccas, the descendants of Temenus, left Argos and arrived in Macedonia. The younger brother became the founder of the Macedonian dynasty (Hdt., 8, 137). Researchers have already noticed that Herodotus transmits a similar legend about Scythians.¹⁵ The first inhabitant of this country was Targitaos. The ancestors of Targitaos were Zeus and the daughter of Borysthene. Targitaos had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais; the youngest founded the Scythian kingdom (Hdt., 4, 5). This legend, according to Herodotus, is widespread among the Scythians. *The History* also contains the Greek version of the origin of the Scythians from Heracles

who had three sons, Agathyrso, Gelonus and Scythes. The youngest became the founder of the Scythian kingdom (Hdt., 4, 8-10).¹⁶ Herodotus reports that the Greeks themselves convey this version and the ancient historian uses a speech construction with *accusativus cum infinitive*, which indicates once more that this version belongs not to Herodotus, but to the peoples from whom the ancient historian heard it. Thus, both among the Greek population and among the Scythian, the version about the three brothers as the founders of the Scythian kingdom was commonplace. Such stories could be a kind of a universal myth-making, which was widespread both in the Greek world and beyond. Nevertheless, the similarity of the two legends in one source, *The History*, may indicate the prevalence of such legends at the same time among peoples who lived not so far from each other and possibly had cultural contacts or indirect influence on each other.

There is no evidence of direct contacts between the Scythians and the Macedonians; however, interactions between the Scythians and the Thracians existed.¹⁷ Before the Persian invasion of the territory of Scythia, the Thracians and Scythians maintained relations for a long time.¹⁸ One of the earliest evidence of contacts between the Thracians and the Scythians is the burial ground near the village Bârsești which consisted of forty kurgans with the rite of cremation and pottery, which, apparently, continued its development from the culture found near the village Stoicani.¹⁹ Archaeological finds near the village Bârsești point to the further development of Stoicani ceramics and are characterized as an example of pre-Scythian culture and date back to the 6th century BCE.²⁰ An iron ax of non-Scythian origin, four acinaces, Scythian arrowheads and Thracian fibulas were found in the burial ground. A similar example is a burial ground found near the village Costești. It also contains a rite of cremation, Scythian-type weapons and Thracian brooches. Already from the 4th century BCE on, Scythian ceramics were present in Istria and Dobruja.²¹

In addition, there is written evidence about contacts between the Scythians and Thracians. Herodotus mentions the marriage of the daughter of the Odrysian king Teres I and Scythian king Ariapeithes (Hdt., 4, 80). This event usually dates back to the 5th century BCE as a political step by the Odrysian king in order to protect himself from the invasion of the Scythians.²² In the 5th century BCE the Scythian king Scyles tried to flee to the Thracian king Sitalces, asking for asylum (Hdt., 4, 80). Scyle's stay in Thrace is associated with the discovery of Scyle's golden ring in Istria, onto which the name of the king is engraved in Greek letters.²³

Probably, one of the most important facts that indicates close contacts between Thracians and Scythians

¹¹ GREENWALT 1985, 49.

¹² GREENWALT 1985, 49.

¹³ BUCKLER 1989, 9-30.

¹⁴ CHAPPELL 2006, 331-348.

¹⁵ SPRAWSKI 2010, 129.

¹⁶ Many researchers agree that the Greek version of the origin of the Scythians from Hercules is a revision of the Scythian version: GRAKOV 1950, 7-12; PETROV/MAKAREVICH 1963, 20-31; RAEVSKIJ 1977, 32-36.

¹⁷ The question of the relationship between the Scythians and the Thracians has been studied rather poorly. For the most complete information see: MELYUKOVA 1979. On this topic see also: BRAUND 2015, 352-366.

¹⁸ MELYUKOVA 1979, 242.

¹⁹ BRUYAKO 2004, 71-83.

²⁰ MELYUKOVA 1979, 93.

²¹ ARTAMONOV 1974, 132.

²² BLAVATSKAYA 1952, 55. See also, FOL 1972.

²³ VINOGRADOV 1980, 105-106.

and the possibility of the similar folklore is the description of Agathyrsi. Herodotus mentions that Agathyrsos was the son of Heracles and the brother of Scythes, the founder of the Scythian kingdom (Hdt., 4, 5). Agathyrsi occupied the region in the mountainous part of ancient Dacia.²⁴ According to Herodotus, Agathyrsi liked to wear gold jewelry and they did not differ in customs from the Thracians (Hdt., 4, 104). Passion for gold is not the only thing that brings the Scythians and Agathyrsi together. The name Agathyrsos is of Iranian origin, which also indirectly indicates kinship with the Scythians.²⁵ The presence of archaeological and written evidence of contacts between Scythians and Thracians, Thracians and Macedonians respectively may indicate the mutual influence of peoples among themselves. Such contacts may have also influenced the spread of a similar storyline of the legend in these areas.

Delving deeper into the content of the legend that Herodotus conveys, we would like to highlight a few more examples of Thracian influence. Herodotus reports the story about the queen of Lebaea who baked bread for Perdiccas and his brothers. Each time only more bread came out of the dough. The king took this as a divine sign that would not lead to anything good and ordered the brothers to leave the country. However, the brothers demanded payment for their work. The king pointed to the sun and called it payment. Perdiccas replied that they accepted the king's payment and drew a spot of sunshine on the floor with a knife. Then he scooped up sunlight three times from the outlined circle and left with his brothers (Hdt., 8, 137).

The sun is kind of a key symbol in the story of Herodotus. I believe it can also indicate the Thracian influence. The solar cult, widespread among the Thracian tribes, had deep roots and early origin. The first evidence of sun worship has already been found in the Late Bronze Age.²⁶ One of the earliest examples is a stone slab from Razlog, depicting a young man in front of a boat with the sun.²⁷ On the coins of the Thracian tribes, solar signs are also quite common.²⁸ Herodotus mentions that the Thracians honor only three gods: Ares, Dionysus and Artemis (Hdt., 5, 7). Some researchers suggest that it was Dionysus who became a kind of personification of the solar cult among the Thracians in the Greek interpretation.²⁹ Greenwalt noted that the king's madness after Perdiccas' words about payment in Herodotus's story may once again refer us precisely to the elements of the Dionysian cult.³⁰

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

I would like to dwell in more detail on the numismatic evidence that may point to Scythian and Thracian influences on the development of the legend of Macedonian royal house. During the reign of Alexander, intensive minting of Macedonian coins begins. Alexander expands the borders

of Macedonia, capturing the territories of Bisaltae and Mygdons.³¹ Control of the Thracian silver mines results in Macedonian coins with strong Thracian influence regarding their value, weight, and iconography.³²

By the time of Alexander I, there were several types of Macedonian coins, which differed in five reverses and three obverses.³³ The image of a rider with two spears standing near a horse, or a rider seated on his horse wielding an acinaces or a spear is quite common. Researchers have already noted similarities between this iconography and the iconography on the coins of the Thracian tribe of Bisaltae, as well as the possible Persian and nomadic influence on the horseman's posture and armor.³⁴ There is no doubt that after the conquest of the Thracian mines, Thracian iconography presented on Macedonian coins. Alexander I also tried to develop political contacts and economic relations with Greek *poleis*, therefore elements of Greek iconography appeared on the Macedonian coins in the time of Alexander I, such as the image of a lion's head and Alexander's initials in Greek letters.³⁵

As I already noticed, a goat played a special role in the legend of the foundation of the royal Macedonian house. Among the coins of Alexander's time, there are coins with the image of goats. Coins with the image of a goat are found in classical period of Macedonian history only during the reign of Alexander I and later during the reign of Archelaus I. I have already mentioned that the minting of coins with the image of a goat in the time of Archelaus related to the policy of the Macedonian ruler, as well as to the change in the legend about the origin of the Macedonian kingdom and the addition of more Greek elements to its content. In this part of the work, I would like to dwell on the question of how the iconography of goats appeared on the coins of the Alexander era.

During the history of Macedonian numismatics, a special group of coins is distinguished - the so-called Thraco-Macedonian staters, which date back to the 6th century BCE.³⁶ The question of their origin is still controversial. Svoronas rejected the belonging of the coins to the city of Aigai, since they depict a male goat (τράγος), which etymologically does not correspond to the name of the city. Among other things, he identified the monograms on the coins as the signature of the Thracian tribe Derrones.³⁷ Babelon dated these coins to the time of Alexander I and believed that monograms are just stamps of those responsible for minting coins.³⁸ Some researchers identified several Thracian tribes near the silver mines of the Pangaion Hills, who could mint those coins.³⁹ There is a point of view that these coins came from Galepsos. This city was inhabited by the Pierians, a Thracian tribe. Herodotus indicates that the Pierians lived near the

²⁴ BATTY 2007, 202.

²⁵ ARTAMONOV 1974, 132; RAMER/SCHWARTZ 2019, 3.

²⁶ RABADJIEV 2015, 444.

²⁷ RABADJIEV 2015, 444.

²⁸ KRAAY 1976, 214; YURUKOVA 1992, 23.

²⁹ GREENWALT 1994, 5.

³⁰ GREENWALT 1994, 6.

³¹ KREMYDI 2010, 161.

³² KREMYDI 2010, 161.

³³ TRONCOSO 2018, 138.

³⁴ HEINRICHS/MÜLLER 2008, 283-309.

³⁵ See, HAMMOND/GRIFFITH 1979, 109-110; BORZA 1990, 174.

³⁶ RAYMOND, 1953.

³⁷ LORBER 2000, 114.

³⁸ LORBER 2000, 115.

³⁹ TACEVA 1992, 59; KRAAY 1976, 139.

Pangaion Hills and, apparently, had access to gold and silver mines (Hdt., 7, 112).⁴⁰

There are several types of Thraco-Macedonian coins, differing in the depiction of details on the obverse and reverse. For example, coins are distinguished by their monograms, the presence on the coins of the image of flowers, granules, etc.⁴¹ However, the goat iconography is almost identical. On the Thraco-Macedonian coins, the goat is depicted in motion with its front legs bent, one leg slightly extended forward. The head of a goat with traced massive horns is turned back, and the mouth is slightly open.

Comparing the iconography of these staters with coins from the time of Alexander I shows that the depictions of the goats are similar. On the coins of Alexander, the legs are similarly depicted, bent and with a hoof put further forward. The bearded head is also turned backwards. However, the horns are smaller, only the front part of its body is depicted, and on some coins the head points forward. The iconography is simpler and lacks decorations such as rosettes and flowers.

The depiction of a goat is one of the symbols of the East Greek art, especially the so-called Wild Goat style which was spread in such Greek cities of Ionia as Chios, Miletus and Rhodes.⁴² This style developed in Ionic Greece under oriental influence.⁴³ As a rule, there are animalistic images with the addition of decorative natural elements in the form of leaves or rosettes. At the same time, the most frequent and striking image is the image of goats, which, incidentally, is also found in eastern Iranian art.⁴⁴ Animals are often depicted in motion, either grazing or running.

Attention is now drawn to the decorative ornaments of the Klazomenian sarcophagi (500 – 480 BCE). There is the image of two goats on the right and left edges at the bottom of the sarcophagus lid. Both animals are in motion, the position of the legs identical to what is seen on the Thraco-Macedonian coins, the heads turned backwards. Among other things, there are other decorative details on the sarcophagus that can also be seen on some Thraco-Macedonian staters. The biggest differences are the body proportions, the horns and the pattern of the snout. The Ionian style seems more refined, the animals themselves are less realistic and out of proportion. Apparently, this style developed under a strong influence of the Ionian style, but also absorbed the traits of the black-figure style.⁴⁵ Similar ornamentation is attested for Chios, Samos, Lesbos, Abdera and Oisyme.⁴⁶

The first contacts between the Greeks and the Thracians are already attested in the epos of Homer (Il., 2, 840-845). Greek colonization of the 8th-7th centuries BC led to the fact that the Greek cities appeared very close to the Thracian borders.⁴⁷ During the reign of Pisistratus, many Greeks became interested in the wealth of Thrace and tried to use the Thracian mines, which further contributed to living

with each other (Hdt., 5, 23). Already in the era of the early Iron Age, the Thracian tribes borrowed not only the ceramic traditions of the early Bronze Age, but also of Asia Minor and Greece.⁴⁸ Greco-Thracian contacts influenced the development of trade relations between the Thracians and Greeks, as well as the spread of the Greek and Asia Minor style in Thrace.

On the other hand, we also find a Scythian depiction of wild goats. The Scythian depiction of wild animals has a strong connection with Eastern art as well.⁴⁹ A particularly interesting example is the treasure found in the north-west of Iran near the Ziwiye plat.⁵⁰ Although images of hunting scenes and wild animals were common in Iranian culture,⁵¹ it is the finds of the Ziwiye hoard that are closest iconographically to the Scythian animal style.

One can come upon archaeological finds with similar images of goats in the Kelermessky and Ulsky kurgans, which date back to the 8th-7th centuries BCE. The find from Kelermes is especially valuable: the image of a goat is practically identical to the image of a goat on the Thraco-Macedonian coins. The head is turned back, large horns are drawn, the mouth is slightly open. The position of the legs in the Scythian image is different, since both legs are bent, as well as the position of the ears. Almost identical images of goats with their heads turned back and bent legs were found in the Ulsky kurgan I, II and Melgunov kurgan.⁵² In such finds one can see the original nomadic features of a style reflected in the proportions of the body, horns and objects of an animal. One can also find similar features on Thraco-Macedonian coins. The similar body proportions of the animals can show the cultural similarities of the Scythians and Thracians in this period.

An important question is whether the Thracian-Macedonian coins depict a she- or a he-goat, because the legend of the founding of the Macedonian dynasty is connected with the appearance of the goat and the first Macedonian capital, Aigai. It is very easy to make a mistake when trying to identify the sex of the animals in the pictures. The body proportions of female and male wild goats are not very different. I have already pointed out the similarities with oriental art and most depictions of animals in Scythian and oriental cultures represent male animals. The similarity in proportions between Scythian and Thracian art allows to assume that a male goat on the Thracian-Macedonian Coins is shown. It means the original iconography of Thraco-Macedonian staters could have nothing to do with the first version of the legend of the founding of the Argeads. Probably, the connection between the iconography of the coins and the Greek city Aigai could appear in the time of Alexander I, when the Macedonian king conquered part of the Thracian territories.

⁴⁸ CHICHIKOVA 1968, 15.

⁴⁹ The origins of the animal style have been sought in various places: in Ionia, in mountainous regions of northern western Asia and perhaps in central Asia, in the northern regions of Eurasia and in Siberia. See, MELYUKOVA 1979.

⁵⁰ BRENTJES 1982, 79-81; POGREBOVA/RAEVSKIJ 1992, 145.

⁵¹ For more on the depiction of wild animals and especially goats in Iran, see: GODARD 1965; GHIRSHMAN 1978; BRENTJES 1982.

⁵² JACOBSON 1995, 333.

⁴⁰ PSOMA 2003, 227-242.

⁴¹ LORBER 2000, 116.

⁴² GREAVES 2015, 81.

⁴³ BUSCHOR 1921, 42-84.

⁴⁴ GODARD 1965.

⁴⁵ COOK/DUPONT 1998, 121.

⁴⁶ COOK/DUPONT 1998, 128.

⁴⁷ ZLATKOVSKAYA 1971, 19.

To summarize the foregoing, Thraco-Macedonian staters contain many elements of the East Greek style. In the iconography one can also notice the peculiarities reminiscent of the Scythian style of animals. Because of the successful foreign policy of Alexander, some Thracian tribes were subdued. The Macedonians adopted some elements of Thracian iconography into their coinage. This becomes visible when one compares the poses of the animals or the depiction of a horseman on the coins of Alexander I and on the Thracian coins. However, Alexander's coins depicting the goats differ from the Thraco-Macedonian staters and become more similar to Greek images.

As already mentioned, the first evidence that goats guided the first Macedonian king to the capital of Macedonia is in the work of Euripides during the time of Archelaus I. This story most likely has its roots in the Greek myth about Delphi. There is no evidence that such a myth existed in the time of Alexander I. Herodotus gives no information about a goat and only mentions that the youngest brother Perdiccas I took care of the small livestock. The very detailed narrative of Macedonian history gives reason to believe that if the myth existed during Herodotus' time, he would have written about it. Probably in the time of Alexander I, the legend of the Greek origin of the Argeads was just beginning to develop. The first version of the legend contains plots that indicate Thracian cultural influence. Alexander I can use the first version and the minting of Macedonian coins to demonstrate Greek origin and approach to the Greek world. Archelaus I continued his political course towards rapprochement with Greek cities, which led to a redevelopment of the legend and a new minting of Macedonian coins depicting a goat.

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Fig. 1. The image of a goat on the Thraco-Macedonian Stater (500-480 BC). (Collection of the Numismatic Department of the State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow).



Fig. 2. The image of a goat on the coin from the time of Alexander I (470-450 BC). (Collection of the Numismatic Department of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Berlin).



Fig. 3. The image of a goat on the Klazomenian sarcophagi (500-480 BC). (Altes Museum, Berlin).



Fig. 4. The image of a goat in Scythian kurgans (after ARTAMONOV 1966). 1. Melgunov kurgan. 2-3. Kelermes kurgan.

