

ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

# ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

22

M. B. HATZOPOULOS

MACEDONIAN INSTITUTIONS  
UNDER THE KINGS

I

A HISTORICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC STUDY

ATHENS 1996

DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS

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ISBN 960-7094-90-5  
ISBN 960-7094-89-1 (Set)

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Καλλιτεχνικὴ ἐπιμέλεια ἔξωφύλλου  
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*Το Fanoula Παραζογλου  
και τοῖς λοιποῖς Μακεδόσι πᾶσιν*





## FOREWORD

*The present work is the product of a particularly prolonged incubation. It has been written on and off over the last thirteen years, but its inception actually goes back still earlier, when, some two decades ago, I proposed a similar subject as a doctoral dissertation at Cambridge University under the supervision of N.G.L. Hammond. At the time I had in mind a comparative study of Macedonian kingship, which I saw as a sequel to my older Sorbonne dissertation on Le Culte des Dioscures et la double royauté à Sparte. Although I strove to keep this project alive as long as possible, financial and family reasons did not permit its realisation. Nevertheless, the creation in 1979 of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity at the National Hellenic Research Foundation and my appointment there as research scholar and, soon afterwards, as head of its Macedonian Programme gave me the opportunity to approach the subject from a different angle. Our project to collect the inscriptions of Macedonia and progressively to publish them in a series of regional corpora, revealed a (to me) new and untapped source of information about Macedonian political institutions. Taking advantage of a sabbatical year offered to me by the National Hellenic Research Foundation, I submitted a new version of this project to the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N.J., and, mainly thanks to Chr. Habicht's support, I was accepted as a member there for the year 1983-1984. In that ideal environment I was able almost to finish a first draft of the present book. In this endeavour I benefited substantially from the presence of many distinguished scholars belonging to the permanent faculty, such as Chr. Habicht, G. Bowersock and A.S. Bradford, and of temporary members such as P. Herrmann, F. Paschoud and W. Eck. I was also greatly helped by the squeezes, photographs and copies of Macedonian inscriptions, which Ch. Edson had entrusted to the Institute and which he very generously gave me permission to use. Work was pursued after my return to Greece and the first draft of my text was completed a few months later.*

*Before I could finalise my work with the addition of the necessary notes, I was confronted with a problem which I had not foreseen. During my visits to the numerous museums and archaeological collections of Macedonia and my extensive travels in that region, I had come across a*

*great amount of unpublished epigraphic material, some recently discovered, but most of it unearthed several decades earlier. Since these inscriptions not only enhanced our knowledge of Macedonian political institutions but practically revolutionised the generally accepted image of pre-Roman Macedonia, it was clear to me that their evidence could not – and should not – be ignored. On the other hand, I could not use them if they had not been previously published. Thus I spent the following years publishing new epigraphic material that was entrusted to me, and waiting for colleagues in the Archaeological Service and the University of Thessalonike to publish the inscriptions to which they had legal claim.*

*Ten years later, most of these texts have entered the public domain, mainly through the MEΛETHMATA series produced by our Centre, but also through scholarly journals and proceedings of congresses and symposia. They have been collected in an Epigraphic Appendix (volume II of the present publication), which provides the essential documentation for the views propounded in this work.*

*Unfortunately, and in spite of my expectations largely founded upon assurances received, out of the ninety-three texts which I had originally included in the Appendix, fifteen very important ones remain unpublished. Five of them should have appeared in the proceedings of an international symposium held at Thessalonike in 1993 (nos 10, 14, 21, 32, 56), but it seems that, three years later, all the papers presented by its participants have not even been collected, and that at least half of these very important documents have been altogether withdrawn from the Acta. Two others, discovered by G. Bakalakis at Dion, were entrusted for publication to the present excavator three decades ago, but have not yet seen the light (nos 11 and 57). Another couple of inscriptions from Amphipolis would have been made public property long ago, had the untimely death of D. Lazaridis not entangled them in a still unfinished doctoral dissertation (nos 16 and 61). The texts of another two have appeared in non-scholarly publications and are still being studied by their editors (nos 64 and 76). The publication of three more has been delayed by events beyond the control of those to whom they were entrusted (nos 59, 67, 78). Finally, a relatively recent epigraphic discovery is still being studied (no 77).*

*Confronted with this situation I had two options: 1) to omit the unpublished texts from the Appendix, or 2) to publish these texts –if not all, at least those which had been discovered more than ten years ago– in the Appendix, since, according to Greek law, all exclusive rights of publication expire after the lapse of a decade.*

*I rejected the first solution, because it would have put me in the position of being either dishonest or arbitrary, and in either case unscholarly. For I would have been forced either to advance as hypotheses what in fact constituted for me certain knowledge, thus laying claim to the pos-*

*session of prophetic gifts; or to affirm facts on the authority of my word only, without offering the slightest tangible proof.*

*After some thought I rejected the second solution too, although it might have proved a salutary step towards the abolition of an abusive practice, because I knew that some of the editors were not entirely responsible for the delays, and I felt that any discrimination along such lines would be perceived as arbitrary.*

*Finally I opted for a compromise intermediary solution. I decided to retain the relevant entries in the Appendix, but, instead of publishing the unpublished texts, to limit myself to reproduction of the passages already made known in print or photograph, along with a summary of their contents. Two texts I completely omitted. One, very recently discovered at Dion, is a letter by Antigonos Gonatas, which among other things confirms the local origin of the Macedonian epistatai and the early (late third century) date of the great Delphic list of theorodokoi. The other is engraved on a fragmentary opisthographic stele acquired by the Museum of Thessalonike under unknown circumstances several decades ago. Dr P. Nigdelis, who had been entrusted with its publication by the late director of the Museum, on the express condition that he should not reveal to me its contents, kindly informed me that it contained the mobilisation diagramma issued by Philip V on the eve of the campaign of Cynoscephalae. In a joint letter the above mentioned scholar and K. Sismanides obligingly add that another version of the same diagramma has been discovered at Nea Poteidaia and that both texts provide valuable information on the organisation of the Macedonian army.*

*After these necessary –if not always pleasant– explanations, there remains the gratifying duty of thanking the very numerous persons without whose help this book would never have been completed. I must first thank these scholars who laid the foundations on which I was able to build: Ch. Edson, who collected and made available to me epigraphic material which otherwise would have been irretrievably lost; N.G.L. Hammond, whose friendship and example was a constant source of encouragement and inspiration and whose monograph on the Macedonian State tactfully followed paths other than those I had been treading; and finally Fanoula Papazoglou, who has laid so much of the geographical foundation of all subsequent work, and whose intuitions about the nature of the Macedonian institutions have so often proved right. It is difficult fully to acknowledge what I owe to M. Sakellariou, Director of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity for its first thirteen years, who offered me his trust and support in the realisation of this project; also to my friends and colleagues –past and present– in the Macedonian Programme: Louisa Loukopoulou, Argyro Tataki, Despoina Diamantourou, Katerini Liampi, Anna Panayotou, A. Rizakis, J. Touratsoglou and –last but not least– Lukretia Gounaropoulou, without whose help the Epi-*

*graphic Archive of Macedonia, to which this work is deeply indebted, would never have been realised. Sincerest thanks are also due to the archaeologists of the Archaeological Service, living and dead, active and retired, who entrusted me with the publication of material either discovered by them or kept under their care: Ph. Petsas, one of the last living pioneers of Macedonian archaeology, Maria Siganidou and Julia Vokotopoulou, so suddenly departed, Photeini Papadopoulou-Zapheiropoulou, Aikaterini Despoini, Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Aikaterini Rhomio-poulou, and also their younger colleagues, archaeologists and guardians of the museums of Macedonia; and finally Constantina Delmouzou and Ch. Kritzas, directors of the Epigraphic Museum in Athens, D. Triantaphyllos, Ephor of Thrace, Ephi Sakellaraki, Ephor of Euboea, I. Pappachristodoulou and Ersi Brouskari, respectively Ephor of the Dodecanese and Custodian of the Museums of Kos. I also wish to thank Th. Pazaras, I. Papangelos, J. Touratsoglou and D. Hardy for letting me study epigraphic material which they are preparing for publication, and my colleagues of the Archaeological Service D. Matsas and P. Chatzidakis for providing photographs of inscriptions from Samothrace and Delos. I am especially grateful to the French School of Archaeology at Athens and particularly to its director R. Etienne, to Clarisse Prêtre and to Kalliope Christophi and Philippe Collet, who made available to use the bounties of the School's photographic archive. To Dr Viktoria Sokolovska of Skopje I owe the photograph of the royal letter from Alkomena. When writing this book, I repeatedly resorted to, and greatly benefited from the advice on numismatic matters of G. Le Rider, O. Picard and D. Portolos. The onerous task of reading and commenting on the entire manuscript was generously undertaken by Ph. Gauthier, to whom I am deeply grateful. Obviously he is responsible neither for the views expressed herein nor for any errors that still remain. I wish to thank D. Hardy, who improved my English, and also G. Fowden to whose advice on matters of language I frequently resorted. It is difficult to describe how much I owe to Niki Eisangelea, who indefatigably typed again and again successive versions of the manuscript, and to P. Paschides, who with the help of Eirene Kalogridou meticulously corrected the proofs, improved the General Index, prepared the index of the Epigraphic Appendix, transformed a shapeless manuscript into a book and contributed in many and various ways to the completion of this work. My profound gratitude finally goes to all persons close to me, who not only patiently bore with me, but also enthusiastically supported me during the thirteen-year gestation of the present volume.*

*Paris - Athens, November 1995 - June 1996*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

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*"En ces dernières décennies surgit peu à peu  
la Macédoine hellénistique en ses institutions;  
elle se met à parler dans ses inscriptions".*

L. Robert, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique",  
*RevPhil* 48 (1974) 193 (= *OMS* V 280)



## RETROSPECT AND DEFINITION OF AIMS

Studies on Macedonian institutions have a tendency to appear in waves. The early thirties –to go no farther back– saw the publication of F. Granier's and F. Hampl's dissertations<sup>1</sup> on the Macedonian Assembly and the Macedonian King respectively, and of a significant number both of shorter (but scarcely less important) papers,<sup>2</sup> in some cases provoked by them, and of lengthy treatments of the same subjects as parts of comprehensive monographs.<sup>3</sup> A second wave came in the late forties and early fifties, when A. Aymard,<sup>4</sup> starting from

1. F. Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* (Munich 1931); F. Hampl, *Der König der Makedonen* (Weida 1934).

2. V. Costanzi, "Sulla costituzione macedonica", *Athenaeum* 7 (1930) 157-67 (cf. *eiusdem*, *Studi di storia macedonica* [Pisa 1915]); A. Momigliano, "Re e popolo in Macedonia prima di Alessandro Magno", *Athenaeum* 13 (1935) 3-21; W.S. Ferguson, *Gnomon* 11 (1935) 518-22 (Review of Granier's dissertation); S. Dow-C. F. Edson, "Chryseis", *HSCP* 48 (1937) 127-80.

3. F. Geyer, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II.* (Munich-Berlin 1930); A. Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone* (Florence 1934); P. Zancan, *Il monarcato ellenistico nei suoi elementi federativi* (Padova 1934); H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, vol. I-III (Munich 1964-1967<sup>2</sup>); F.W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge 1940); cf. two earlier monographs with significant discussions on the institutions of ancient Macedonia: W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913); H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol. I-II (Munich 1926). However, the best understanding of Macedonian realities is to be found in the work of K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I-IV (Strasbourg-Berlin 1912-1927<sup>2</sup>).

4. A. Aymard, "Le protocole royal grec et son évolution", *REA* 50 (1948) 231-71 (= Aymard, *Etudes* 73-99); *eiusdem*, "L'usage du titre royal dans la Grèce classique et hellénistique", *Revue de droit français et étranger* 27 (1949) 579-90; *eiusdem*, "Sur l'assemblée macédonienne", *REA* 52 (1950) 115-37 (=Aymard, *Etudes* 143-63); *eiusdem*, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ", *RIDA* 4 (1950) 61-97 (= Aymard, *Etudes* 100-122); *eiusdem*, "Tutelle et usurpation dans les monarchies hellénistiques", *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 85-96; *eiusdem*, "L'institution monarchique", *Relazioni del X Congresso di scienze storiche, Roma 4-11 Settembre 1955*, II (Florence 1955) 215-34 (= Aymard, *Etudes* 123-35); cf. the roughly contemporary Raleigh lecture by F.E. Adcock, "Greek and Macedonian Kingship", *ProcBritAc* 39 (1953) 163-80.



the foundation laid by M. Holleaux<sup>1</sup> and making extensive use of epigraphic evidence for the first time, published a series of brilliant studies on the Macedonian kingship and on the Macedonian Assembly, partly in response to a stimulating monograph by an Italian jurist.<sup>2</sup> The third wave came in the seventies and eighties. To a certain extent it was the coincidental result of various scholars' independent endeavours approaching the subject from different angles. Such is the case of the excellent chapters devoted to Macedonian political institutions by J.N. Kalléris in his monograph *Les anciens Macédoniens*,<sup>3</sup> and by N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith in the three-volume *History of Macedonia*,<sup>4</sup> or A. Giovannini's<sup>5</sup> and Fanoula Papazoglou's<sup>6</sup> papers on Antigonid Macedonia, read at the Second and Third International Symposia on Ancient Macedonia respectively, or Hammond's synthesis on the Macedonian state<sup>7</sup> and K. Rosen's unpublished dissertations on the relations between King and People in Late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia.<sup>8</sup> Most of the recent production on the subject, however, is the result of or the response to a highly challenging work, which, for the controversy it has aroused, can be only compared to Hampl's dissertation on the King of the Macedonians, namely P. Briant's exhaustive study of the Macedonian Assembly in his monograph on Antigonos the One-eyed.<sup>9</sup> Reaction to this book came in acutely polemical form from different quarters: in France itself from P. Goukowsky<sup>10</sup> and E. Lévy<sup>11</sup> of the Universities of Nancy and Strasbourg respectively, and among the English-speaking

1. Cf. M. Holleaux, "Dédicace d'un monument commémoratif de la bataille de Sellasia", *BCH* 31 (1907) 94-114 (= Holleaux, *Etudes* III, 55-73).

2. P. De Francisci, *Arcana Imperii*, vol. I-IV (Milan 1947-1948, *non vidi*).

3. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 576-623.

4. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 3-31; 150-66; 383-404; 647-52; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 383-404; Hammond, *Macedonia* III 472-87.

5. A. Giovannini, "Le statut des cités de Macédoine sous les Antigonides", *Ancient Macedonia* II (Thessalonike 1977) 465-72.

6. Fanoula Papazoglou, "Sur l'organisation de la Macédoine des Antigonides", *Ancient Macedonia* III (Thessalonike 1983) 195-210.

7. N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State* (Oxford 1989).

8. K. Rosen, *King and People in Macedonia* (unpublished dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria 1970); *eiusdem*, *König und Volk im hellenistischen Makedonien* (unpublished dissertation, without indication of place or date).

9. P. Briant, *Antigone le Borgne* (Paris 1973).

10. P. Goukowsky, "Antigone, Alexandre et l'assemblée macédonienne", *RevPhil* 49 (1975) 263-77.

11. E. Lévy, "La monarchie macédonienne et le mythe d'une royauté démocratique", *Ktéma* 3 (1978) 201-25.

scholarly community, mainly under E. Badian's<sup>1</sup> and later E.N. Borza's influence,<sup>2</sup> from R. Lock,<sup>3</sup> E.M. Anson,<sup>4</sup> W.S. Greenwalt<sup>5</sup> and especially from R.M. Errington,<sup>6</sup> who had already questioned Aymard's main conclusions, on which Briant's thesis was founded.<sup>7</sup> However, most of the arguments of Errington's very thorough and extensive paper have been refuted in an equally thorough and extensive study by L. Mooren<sup>8</sup> and a shorter but no less decisive note by Hammond.<sup>9</sup>

1. E. Badian, "A King's Notebooks", *HSCP* 72 (1968) 197-98; *eiusdem*, "Alexander the Great, 1948-1967", *CW* 65 (1971) 42; cf. Mooren 212.

2. Cf. E.N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus* (Princeton, N.J. 1992<sup>2</sup>) 231-52; cf. his response to N.G.L. Hammond's lecture "The Macedonian Imprint on the Hellenistic World", *Hellenistic History and Culture* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1993) 23-35.

3. R. Lock, "The Macedonian Assembly in the Time of Alexander the Great", *CP* 72 (1977) 91-107.

4. E.M. Anson, "Macedonia's Alleged Constitutionalism", *CJ* 80 (1985) 303-316; cf. *eiusdem*, "The Evolution of the Macedonian Army Assembly", *Historia* 40 (1991) 230-47.

5. W.S. Greenwalt, "Polygamy and Succession in Argead Macedonia", *Arethusa* 22 (1989) 19-45.

6. R.M. Errington, "The Nature of the Macedonian State under the Monarchy", *Chiron* 8 (1978) 77-133; cf. *eiusdem*, "The Historiographical Origins of Macedonian 'Staatsrecht'", *Ancient Macedonia* III (Thessalonike 1983) 89-101 and now, *eiusdem*, *Geschichte* 196-222.

7. R.M. Errington, "Macedonian 'Royal Style' and its Historical Significance", *JHS* 94 (1974) 20-37.

8. L. Mooren, "The Nature of the Hellenistic Monarchy", in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 24-26 May 1982* ("Studia Hellenistica", 27; Louvain 1983) 205-40; cf. the similar conclusions of Ph. Gauthier, "Histoire grecque et monarchies", *Les monarchies* (Paris 1986) 43-62, and of F. Gschnitzer in his unpublished lecture "Stadt und König im antiken Makedonien", read at the Goethe Institut of Thessalonike on October 22 1992.

9. N.G.L. Hammond, "Some Passages in Arrian Concerning Alexander", *CQ* 30 (1980) 461-65; cf. *eiusdem*, *State, passim*; cf. *eiusdem*, "The Macedonian Imprint on the Hellenistic World", *Hellenistic History and Culture* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1993) 12-23. Mooren's, Gauthier's and Hammond's arguments were curiously if not outright ignored, at least passed over without discussion by K.W. Welwei, "Zum Problem der frühmakedonischen Heeresversammlung", *Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festschrift G. Wirth*, vol. I (Amsterdam 1987) 1-24; A.E. Samuel, "Philip and Alexander as Kings: Macedonian Monarchy and Merovingian Parallels", *AHR* 93 (1988) 1270-86 (an original comparison but an excessive assimilation of the Macedonian to the Early Germanic kingship; in my opinion, a comparison between the Classical Macedonian constitution and that of Capetian France would be more to the point) and by Sylvie Le Bohec, *Antigone Dôsôn* (Nancy 1993) 201-253, who seems to have been profoundly influenced by Errington. I have presented a brief synthesis of my own

These are the main developments of the last fifty years. Over and above them, hundreds of pages have been written on the subject in the inexhaustible historical bibliography on Alexander the Great, the Hellenistic world and, more recently, Philip II and Macedonia in general.<sup>1</sup> As the unabated polemic unmistakably shows, the successive interpretations of the same and unchanging –hitherto predominantly literary– evidence has not lead to generally accepted conclusions. Beside the emotional reactions that most scholarly issues concerning Macedonia usually unleash,<sup>2</sup> there must also be some other reasons for this discouraging state of affairs: most probably that the very evidence which has been continuously dissected and analysed for half a century was in itself insufficient, contradictory and inconclusive.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it seemed unwise to add to the already impressive bibliography another theoretical essay on the Macedonian constitution (or on its absence), or a systematic treatise based on reconstruction by analogical reasoning and excessive solicitation of evidence from Macedonia itself or supposedly related states, contemporary or otherwise.<sup>4</sup> However, hundreds of thousands of Macedonians, living in over a hundred communities,<sup>5</sup> were somehow governed, and several documents pertaining to their government have come down to us in the form of inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> Some of them are well known and have been duly exploited, but many have been hardly noticed or have even been completely ignored. It is true that none of these documents lim-

views in the chapter "The Political Institutions" of the collective volume *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton, N.J. 1993) 55-57.

1 . For some recent bibliographical surveys, cf. on Alexander: J. Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* ("Erträge der Forschung" 10; Darmstadt 1972); on the Hellenistic World: C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* I-II (Paris 1978) 13-76; on Macedonia: E.N. Borza, "The History and Archaeology of Macedonia: Retrospect and Prospect", ("Studies in the History of Art" 10; Washington 1982) 17-30; M.B. Hatzopoulos, "A Century and a Lustrum of Macedonian Scholarship", *AncW* 4 (1981) 91-108; *eiusdem*, "Greek and International Scholarship on Ancient Macedonia: Some Recent Developments", *Macedonian Hellenism* (Melbourne 1990) 110-15.

2 . Cf. Borza, "History" 18-19; *eiusdem*, *Olympus* 5-12; Hatzopoulos, "Scholarship" 94.

3 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Scholarship" 106-107; Borza, *Olympus* 231-36.

4 . I shall resort to comparisons only with incontrovertibly related states in time and space and even then, not so much in order "to fill the gaps", as to provide an additional perspective.

5 . Pliny, *NH* 4.33: *Macedonia postea CL populorum*, cf. Papazoglou, "Aspects" 367 and n. 297; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 438-40. Most of these 150 communities must have been situated in Macedonia proper and not in the much less urbanised Illyrian appendix of the province.

6 . Cf. the Epigraphic Appendix, published as the second volume of this study.

ited in scope and often fragmentary, taken separately, solves any of the "main problems" of Macedonian "Staatsrecht".<sup>1</sup> But considered as a whole, even if they do not allow the composition of a Μακεδόνων Πολιτεία, they go a long way towards showing what political life in Late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia was actually like at different levels, starting from the humblest, that of the villages and the cities. Without underestimating the importance of political life at the highest level of King, Council and Army, where world history was often made, it is necessary not to forget that the political horizon of most Macedonians was almost exclusively limited to their village or city. For the understanding of this everyday political life these epigraphic documents are much more instructive than the mostly silent, sometimes misinformed, and not infrequently biased literary authorities and, consequently, will be used concurrently with or even in preference to them.<sup>2</sup> Even for the higher levels of political life, they often provide valuable insights allowing us to supplement, check and interpret these authorities in the light of the conclusions drawn from the previous comparison of literary and epigraphic documentation at the lower level of city and village institutions.

Whether the institutions under study are local (mostly on the basis of inscriptions) or "national" (mostly on the basis of literary texts), description of what is known and presentation of the evidence will take precedence over theoretical reconstruction and discussion of opinions. The plan of this study itself is dictated by the kind of evidence available at least as much as by what formal logic and completeness would ideally require. Thus, there will be no special section devoted to the King, although the survival of a strong kingship was the element that originally attracted me to the study of Macedonia and its institutions. This omission by no means signifies that I underestimate the importance of this central element of Macedonian government. On the contrary, as the reader will not fail to notice, the King's overwhelming presence pervades this work from the beginning to the end. However, our relatively abundant information about the Macedonian kings has time and time again been the subject of excellent studies, and has also been discussed in most works about Macedonia, Alexander the Great or the Hellenistic period, which, conversely, tend to ignore most of the other Macedonian political institutions. Instead

1 . Errington, "Origins", 89-101.

2 . Borza, "History" 18; 23-25; Hatzopoulos, "Scholarship" 103-104; cf. Hammond, "Arrian" 462.

of a possibly tedious and –under present conditions– inevitably controversial reworking, I considered it much more urgent to present all the elements of the Macedonian state that are *not* the King, so as to put into their proper place those pieces of the Macedonian institutional puzzle which have long been left more or less in obscurity, and to permit the King's relative position to be perceived *a contrario* and to be viewed and understood in perspective. Once the position of the King in relation to the other elements of the state has been defined and agreed upon,<sup>1</sup> the foundations will perhaps have been laid for a more objective and, hopefully, less controversial study of the Macedonian royal institution, its functions and "ideology", both in themselves and in comparison with other Greek or non-Greek kingships, a project which I have been planning for the last twenty years. Finally, there will be no attempt to speculate on the remote and often misty origins of the various institutions. The "Indogermanen" and their "Heerkönigtum" will be left for others to admire or condemn. On the other hand, if and when continuity can reasonably be established, reliable evidence from Roman times will be considered. Indeed, our starting point and at the same time point of reference (from which inroads into a less well-known past will occasionally be attempted) is what we know best: conditions at the very end of the period of Macedonian independence, which were abolished or, more often, perpetuated by the Romans. Then, moving backwards from the literary tradition about the Roman settlement of 167 B.C., I shall first discuss the local political units in different parts of Macedonia. Then I shall proceed to examine the "central" (regional or federal) institutions of the Macedonian Commonwealth; and I shall complete this inquiry by studying the relationship between central and local authorities. I shall conclude with a few remarks on the character and the historical development of the Macedonian state under the kings.

1 . From the comments and the criticisms which will follow as much –if not more– than from this book itself.

## THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT OF 167 B.C.

After the Macedonian army had been crushed at Pydna on 22 June 168 B.C. and the Macedonian cities and king Perseus himself had surrendered to Aemilius Paullus, the Romans had to make provision for the future status of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Information about the Roman settlement, which was solemnly communicated to the Macedonians in the spring of the next year, has been preserved in a number of authors, who (with one exception) have all used, directly or indirectly, the account by Polybios. The simplicity of the question of the sources makes it convenient to follow the most complete version, that of Livy, supplementing and checking it with the more concise and often fragmentary accounts of the other authors.<sup>2</sup>

Livy describes the Macedonian settlement in two different chapters of book 45. In chapter 18 (cf. 22) he relates, from annalistic sources, the general instructions given by the Senate to the commission of ten, which was to assist Aemilius Paullus in his formulation of the settlement; and in chapters 29-32 the final decisions, which were announced to the Macedonians at Amphipolis.

Although much of the detail remains controversial, because of the corrupt condition of the only surviving manuscript, the guidelines of the Senate can be summarised in four points: 1) that the Macedonians should be "free", 2) that the mines and the rest of the royal land should remain unexploited, 3) that Macedonia should be divided into four parts or districts, each of which was to have its own assembly and, finally, 4) that the Macedonians should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used to pay to their own kings. These guidelines, with only minor alterations, were followed by Aemilius Paullus and the ten commissioners in the formulation of the more de-

1 . For these events, cf. Meloni 409-31 and now Papazoglou, *Villes* 53-66.

2 . For two recent surveys of the ancient sources and the modern literature, see Nicolet 758-61 and Will II, 280-82; cf. also E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1984), vol. II, 423-29, with the justified reservations of J.L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme* (Rome 1988) 179-86.

tailed settlement announced to the Macedonians assembled at Amphipolis. They will also prove a convenient starting point for our examination of the political institutions of pre-Roman Macedonia.

As in the senatorial instructions, the first point of the public proclamation provided that the Macedonians would be free. To the Latin phrase of Livy:<sup>1</sup> *liberos esse placebat Macedonas habentis urbes easdem agrosque, utentis legibus suis, annuos creantis magistratus* correspond the Greek expressions ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς τε Μακεδόνας... ἐλευθέρους ἀφείναι,<sup>2</sup> τὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔθνος... ἤλευθέρωσαν,<sup>3</sup> ἔνθα ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκαν,<sup>4</sup> ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκαν τὰς ἀλούσας πόλεις,<sup>5</sup> τὰς δὲ πόλεις Μακεδόνων... ἀλούσας παρ' ἐλπίδα πάσας ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκεν<sup>6</sup> of Diodoros, establishing a complete equivalence between "the Macedonians", "the Macedonian people" and "the cities of the Macedonians". This equivalence, which is only implicit in Livy's participial clause explaining the precise content of the freedom offered by the Romans, is explicitly present in Justin's corresponding expression: *magistratus per singulas civitates constitutis libera facta est,*<sup>7</sup> and may well go back to Polybios' Greek original, of which one can obtain a fairly good idea from the corresponding passage of Plutarch: Μακεδόσι μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας οἰκεῖν καὶ αὐτονόμους, where τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας<sup>8</sup> is equivalent to *liberos esse... Macedonas*, ἀπέδωκε... οἰκεῖν to *habentis... easdem*, τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις to *urbes... agrosque* and αὐτονόμους to *utentis legibus suis*.

Although the general meaning of the first point of the settlement is relatively clear, it begs a number of questions: 1) Is the equation of the freedom of "the Macedonians" with that of "the cities of the Macedonians" based on the situation antedating the Roman conquest, or does it reflect an innovation? In other words, was Macedonia already

1 . Livy 45.29.4; cf. 45.18.1: *liberos esse Macedonas*, 45.22.3: *Macedonas... liberos esse*.

2 . Diod. 31.8.3.

3 . Diod. 31.8.2.

4 . Diod. 31.8.6.

5 . Diod. 31.8.1.

6 . Diod. 31.8.4.

7 . Just. 33.2.7.

8 . Plut., *Aem.* 28. 6; cf. Diod. 31.8.1: ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μακεδόνων βασιλείας ἐκράτησαν, ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκαν τὰς ἀλούσας πόλεις and 31.8.4: τὰς δὲ πόλεις Μακεδόνων... ἀλούσας παρ' ἐλπίδα πάσας ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκεν. The expression *habentis urbes easdem agrosque* is probably the result of a mistranslation of the reflexive pronoun of the Greek original; cf. Pol. 4.25.7: χώραν ἔχοντες καὶ πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν.

exhaustively divided into a number of cities with their territories (except for the royal land), according to the typical Greek pattern, or was "the local organisation ... largely tribal",<sup>1</sup> Macedonia differing in this respect from the Greek norm, at least until the Roman conquest, if not also even later? 2) Did the Macedonians possess (cf. *habere*)<sup>2</sup> their cities and their territories, and were they governed by their own laws (cf. *uti legibus suis*), electing annual magistrates (*annuos creare magistratus*), or were the so-called Macedonian cities with their territories in fact mere administrative districts before 167, first acquiring the advantages of civic autonomy thanks to the Roman settlement? 3) In this particular sense at least, were the Macedonians "free" under their kings, or were they liberated only when the Romans abolished the national kingship?

As long as we depended exclusively on literary evidence, no unambiguous answer could be given to these questions. Regarding the freedom of the Macedonians, some of our sources use the neutral term *liberos esse*, some the verbs ἀφιημι or ἀποδίδωμι, which imply a continuation<sup>3</sup> or a restoration of a previous situation, while others employ the terms ἐλευθερῶ or *libero*, suggesting the emergence of a new status. Similar uncertainties affect the question of Macedonian self-government: the expressions range from the neutral terms *habentis*, *utentis* and *creantis*, to ἀπέδωκε... αὐτονόμους or ἀφρουρήτους ἀφῆκαν, which imply a continuation of a pre-existing situation, to Justin's statement connecting the election of annual magistrates with Macedonian freedom and with the laws given by Aemilius Paullus, which has been understood to mean that these were Roman innovations.<sup>4</sup> The same ambiguity of our literary sources is responsible for much of the scepticism with which the division of Macedonia into civic units has been regarded; and as late as 1963 so highly qualified a scholar as J.H. Oliver could write: "Under the kings of Macedon, the old native communities, no matter how urban, cannot have been civic communities like Greek states ...".<sup>5</sup>

Leaving aside for the time being the formidable question of the "freedom" of the Macedonians before the Roman conquest –not only

1 . Larsen, *Greece* 443.

2 . "*Habere*", translating ἔχειν has the latter's technical meaning "possessing"; cf. N.G.L. Hammond, "Alexander's Letter concerning Samos in Plut. Alex. 28.2", *Historia* 42 (1993) 381.

3 . Cf. Bikerman, *Séleucides* 135, n. 5-6.

4 . Cf. Schuler 93.

5 . Oliver, "Constitutions" 164.



because there is perforce an element of subjectivity, if not of polemical controversy, in such a wide issue, which makes it utterly improper as an introduction to an objective examination of the evidence, but also because, even in the particular and restricted sense defined earlier, any answer to it depends to a large extent on the answer that will be given to the other two questions which have been raised— the following two parts of this study will be devoted to the problems of the subdivision of Macedonia into civic units and of the existence of institutions of self-government under the kings. The institutions of the central government and the modifications made to them by the Romans will be discussed in a third part, while the relations between the local units and the central government will be the subject of a fourth part. Only at the end of this inquiry and in the light of the partial conclusions reached in each of these parts shall I risk an —inevitably tentative— global assessment of the character of the Macedonian state and of the degree of freedom enjoyed by its citizens before the Roman conquest.

PART ONE

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VILLAGES, PEOPLES AND CITIES



Φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων κακῶς μαχομένους Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις Θραξίν, χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκεν, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς μὴ χωρίων ἔτι ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι, πόλεων τε οἰκίτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθει χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν.

"Philip took you over when you were helpless vagabonds, mostly clothed in skins, feeding a few animals on the mountains and engaged in their defence in unsuccessful fighting with Illyrians, Triballians and the neighbouring Thracians. He gave you cloaks to wear instead of skins, he brought you down from the mountains to the plains; he made you a match in battle for the barbarians on your borders, so that you no longer trusted for your safety to the strength of your positions so much as to your natural courage. He made you city dwellers and established the order that comes from good laws and customs".<sup>1</sup>

This forceful and justly celebrated piece of rhetoric from Arrian's reconstruction of Alexander's speech at Opus has contributed more than any amount of archaeological discoveries during the last hundred years to the shaping of modern conceptions about civic institutions, or rather about the absence of civic institutions, in ancient Macedonia. Fanoula Papazoglou<sup>2</sup> and J.N. Kalléris<sup>3</sup> have collected an impressive number of "orthodox" opinions on the absence of urban centres and city life in that area: according to the prevalent view, genuinely civic institutions were on the whole unknown and political life was organ-

1. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.2 (transl. P. A. Brunt). For the authenticity of this speech, see Papazoglou, *Villes* 39, n. 6, with references. This chapter has been made the object of a communication "Épigraphie et villages en Grèce du Nord: *ethnos, polis et kome* en Macédoine", published in *L'epigrafia del villaggio* (Faenza 1993) 151-71.

2. Papazoglou, *Cités* 37, n. 1; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 37, n. 1.

3. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 614, n. 6; cf. 575, n. 1; 576, n. 1; 590, n. 2. One might add Heuss's (279-80) qualification of the Macedonian state as "*stadtfeindlich*", repeated with approval by Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 80, n. 34.

ised along tribal lines,<sup>1</sup> not only before Philip II, but also after his reign and in some parts of Macedonia even after the Roman conquest, to the very end of Antiquity.

The validity of this quasi-dogma has been systematically challenged in very recent years in two major works of Macedonian scholarship: Papazoglou's monograph on the Macedonian cities in Roman times<sup>2</sup> and the second volume of Kalléris linguistic and historical studies on the ancient Macedonians.<sup>3</sup> The first, although it devotes a number of pages in one of its introductory chapters and in its conclusions<sup>4</sup> to the question of the development of city life in Macedonia before the Roman conquest, is essentially a gazetteer of Roman Macedonia. The second, given its general scope, restricts itself to a mainly theoretical –though penetrating– discussion of the problem for the period before Alexander the Great.<sup>5</sup> In particular, neither is primarily concerned with the social, political and institutional realities corresponding to terms such as "village", "city" and "people", or to the relations between them in Macedonia.<sup>6</sup>

Villages (κῶμαι, χωρία, συνοικίαι) of the original heartland of the Macedonian kingdom, as well as of Upper Macedonia and of the "New Lands" beyond the Axios and the Strymon, are mentioned in the writings of both Classical and Hellenistic authors and also in works of later authors drawing on earlier sources.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, these not very numerous literary texts have little or nothing at all to say about the nature and the organisation of the Macedonian villages. For this kind of information one has to turn to epigraphic evidence.

1. Cf. in particular Rostovtzeff, *Empire* 253 and 650; Larsen, *Greece* 443. The "orthodox camp" was joined recently by Errington, *Geschichte* 205-212, whose conclusions I have challenged in my review of his book, *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 601-602.

2. Papazoglou, *Cités* 314; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 441-42.

3. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 576-623.

4. Papazoglou, *Cités* 37-44; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 37-51 and 441-42.

5. Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 613, n. 1: "... le régime urbain de l'époque hellénistique, dont l'examen doit être repris un jour, avec celui de l'époque précédente naturellement et à la lumière des documents à venir..." The dozen pages which Kanatsoulis, "Πόλις" 232-245 devotes to the Macedonian cities before the Roman conquest are clearly insufficient.

6. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* XVI: "Lorsque, il y a plus de trente ans, je commençais ce travail, j'avais l'intention de faire l'histoire de l'organisation municipale de la Macédoine romaine. J'ai dû pourtant renoncer à cette idée..."; cf., however, 437.

7. Cf. Thuc. 4.124.4; Livy 31.45.14; Strab. 7 frg. 18; frg. 36; Plut., *Alex.* 15.3. Various aspects of the ancient Greek *kome* are discussed by M.H. Hansen, "*Kome*. A Study in how the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements that were not *Poleis*", *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* ("Historia Einzelschriften" 95; Stuttgart 1995) 45-81.

## CITIES, VILLAGES AND SYMPOLITIES IN THE NEW LANDS

The earliest inscription mentioning villages (κῶμαι) as legal entities<sup>1</sup> has been known for some time, but was published only recently.<sup>2</sup> It is a decree emanating from the city of Gazoros and the "neighbouring villages" in honour of a certain Plestis.

"----- drachmae ... as they were unable to find here, he promised to the citizens to sell them grain until the new harvest: wheat at two drachmae and four obols the medimnos and barley at one drachma and four obols the medimnos; and he did that in that year and did not stop selling at the same price in the sixth year too. Therefore, since in a manner worthy both of the King and of the citizens, he took care to save the land and to enable those who stayed at home to perform their obligations, and strove to preserve the neighbouring villages both all together and each one separately, it was resolved by the Gasorians and the neighbouring villages that the decree be sent to the King and that be elected from among the citizens those who shall go to the King, in order to converse with him on the subject of the decree, and that those who shall be elected shall consecrate a stele to Artemis in Gasoros, wherever Plestis pleases, and shall engrave the decree; that they shall also crown him with a crown of leaves, so that the others, seeing the benefaction bestowed to him by the citizens, will take care to save their fellow-citizens. They were elected and it was approved by vote: Kozisiotos son of Bastikilas, Dionysios son of Apollodoros, Mantas son of Kerzoulas".

This decree was found on the hill of Hagios Athanasios, at the site of ancient Gazoros, 3 km to the east of the modern village of that name.<sup>3</sup> The loss of the stele on which was inscribed the beginning of

1 . As opposed to tracts of land not constituting any sort of "political" units. The earliest epigraphic example of the latter type is to be found on a fourth-century inscription from Kalamoton which is discussed below.

2 . See Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

3 . Veligianni 105. The distance is given as "about a kilometre north-east of the present-day village" by Mastrokostas 257. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 382-83.

our text with the prescript makes its dating and hence the general context of the decree difficult to determine. The editor has taken the expression ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει as meaning the sixth regnal year of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.<sup>1</sup> This dating, however, rests on very uncertain grounds: 1) the letter forms allegedly indicate an early-third-century date,<sup>2</sup> 2) the mention of an embassy sent to communicate the decree to the King is incompatible with the direct relations between cities and King prevailing in Antigonid Macedonia,<sup>3</sup> 3) the best candidate for a non-Antigonid king in control of Macedonian cities is Ptolemy II.<sup>4</sup> To these arguments one could object:

1) Letter forms, especially of an isolated provincial inscription in "vernachlässigte Schrift",<sup>5</sup> are an eminently unreliable criterion for dating purposes. However, if one had to express an opinion on the basis of letter forms, a dating in the second half of the third or even the first half of the second century is much more likely.<sup>6</sup> Particularly characteristic for the chronology of Macedonian inscriptions of this period is the shape of the letter *alpha*,<sup>7</sup> which in this text appears sometimes with a straight, sometimes with a convex and at least once (L. 10) with a broken bar. There is no Macedonian example of an *alpha* with a convex bar before the second half of the third century.<sup>8</sup> It is noteworthy that the inscription from Kyzikos,<sup>9</sup> with allegedly similar letter forms, advanced by the editor in order to justify the

1. Veligianni 111. I had the opportunity to present and discuss most of the problems concerning this inscription ("A Hellenistic Decree from Gazoros") at the Epigraphic Colloquium held at the Institute for Advanced Study, at Princeton, N.J. on 31.1.1984. With the permission of Mrs Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki I was able to study the stone at Serrhai in July 1985. Most of my objections were subsequently, but independently, raised by J. and L. Robert in *BulleEpigr* 1984, 259. Ph. Gauthier, "Récoltes", 413-18, has, also independently, reached the same conclusion concerning the interpretation of L. 4 of the inscription.

2. Veligianni 110, n. 11.

3. Veligianni 111.

4. Veligianni 111-112.

5. Veligianni 110, n. 11.

6. Mastrokostas 256-57 and also: Papazoglou, "Philippe" 100 and n. 53; cf. Chr. Habicht, *Gnomon* 56 (1984) 708 (review of *SEG* 29 [1979]; 30 [1980]); Gauthier, "Récoltes" 413 and n. 3; cf. Veligianni 105-106.

7. Cf. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 104, n. 4; see, however, M. Holleaux, "Inscription trouvée à Brousse", *BCH* (1924) 5, n. 3 (= *Etudes* II 76, n. 3).

8. The earliest exactly dated example from Macedonia is the manumission act from Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 93) which, as I argue elsewhere (Hatzopoulos, "Document" 144-47), belongs to January 235 or 234. Instances of *alphas* with convex bars also occur in a decree from Kassandreia (Epigraphic Appendix no 48), which, as I argue in the same paper, must also belong to the reign of Demetrios II.

9. C. Smith-R. de Rustafjaell, "Inscriptions from Cyzicus", *JHS* 22 (1902) 195.

early-third-century dating,<sup>1</sup> has *alphas* with consistently straight bars. As far as we can judge from the securely dated official Macedonian inscriptions of this period, the change occurs during the long reign of Philip V: in the earliest letter of his fourth regnal year (219/8, or, rather, 218/7), to Amphipolis,<sup>2</sup> the bars of the *alpha* are straight; the same is true of the list of his 9th year (214/3, or, rather, 213/2) from Amphipolis,<sup>3</sup> but the first decree from Morrylos, which probably dates from shortly after his 15th year (208/7, or, rather, 207/6) already has broken bars;<sup>4</sup> whereas in his letter from Dion from his 16th year (207/6, or, rather, 206/5)<sup>5</sup> and in the treaty with Lysimacheia from his 21st (or, rather, 20th) year (202/1), also from Dion,<sup>6</sup> both straight and convex bars are present, and the second decree from Morrylos, from his 17th year (206/5, or, rather, 205/4) has broken bars,<sup>7</sup> like the first one; his other letter to Amphipolis from his 30th year (193/2, or, rather, 192/1)<sup>8</sup> again has only straight bars; the *diagramma* concerning the Sarapeion of Thessalonike from his 35th year (188/7, or, rather, 187/6)<sup>9</sup> has exclusively convex bars, whereas his *diagramma* to Amphipolis from his 39th year<sup>10</sup> (184/3, or, rather, 183/2) has straight bars. The letter to Archippos, from his 42nd year (181/0, or, rather, 180/79)<sup>11</sup> with its *alphas* with exclusively broken bars, provide the transition to the reign of Perseus, which is characterised by the exclusive use of the broken bar type in the official documents.<sup>12</sup>

1. Veligianni 110, n. 11

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 9. It is impossible to decide whether the royal letter from Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 10), with its straight bars, belongs to the seventh year of Philip V (216/5, or, rather, 215/4) or of Antigonos Doson (224/3) (cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 40, n. 1) or whether that of Alkomena (Epigraphic Appendix no 19), with its broken bars, belongs to the eighth year of Philip V (215/4, or, rather, 214/3) or of Perseus (173/2); cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 302, n. 55. The reasons for believing that the first regnal year of Philip V was 221/0 and not 222/1 are explained in a forthcoming paper.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 61.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 11.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 3.

7. Epigraphic Appendix no 54.

8. Epigraphic Appendix no 14.

9. Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

10. Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

11. Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

12. We now have five official documents securely dated to the reign of Perseus: one from Dion (Epigraphic Appendix no 35), one from Aigeai (Epigraphic Appendix no 30), possibly one from Alkomena (Epigraphic Appendix no 19), one from Thessalonike (Epigraphic Appendix no 31) and one from Amphipolis (Epigraphic Appendix no 29).



A similar story is told by the relatively numerous dedications dating from the long reign of Philip V. Three of them present *alphas* with straight<sup>1</sup> and one with broken bars.<sup>2</sup> However, given that Antigonos Doson's dedication to Apollo already had *alphas* with broken bars,<sup>3</sup> it would be unwise to draw any conclusions about the relative chronology of these otherwise undated documents.

2) It must be first noted that the word "ambassadors", which never figures in a Macedonian epigraphic text<sup>4</sup> cannot be read on the stone but is entirely restored. Naturally, this does not affect the nature of the mission of this three-member committee, which was that of an embassy. Macedonian kings, however, both Temenid and Antigonid, did communicate with the cities under their rule through embassies. The fact is attested by literary as well as epigraphic evidence: in Alexander's answer to the Philippians an embassy to the king is twice mentioned.<sup>5</sup> An embassy to an unnamed king is also mentioned in another inscription from Philippi,<sup>6</sup> which although reported only by the very unreliable Serrhaian doctor Mertzides, may be at least partly genuine.<sup>7</sup> According to Diodoros,<sup>8</sup> the Macedonians sent embassies to Alexander at Babylon in 324/3 and, as we shall argue below, it is highly probable that "the ambassadors from the cities", whom Alexander entertained along with his Friends and the officers of the Macedonian army at Dion in autumn 335,<sup>9</sup> had come from the cities of Macedonia. This is explicitly reported in the case of the embassies

1 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 25, 26, 27.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 28.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 24.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 57. It occurs only in the copy of an inscription of Philippi, the wording of which is very doubtful, though it may be partly genuine (see Epigraphic Appendix no 7).

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 6, although, as we shall see below (p. 184-89), Philippi at that time lay outside the boundaries of Macedonia proper.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 7.

7 . Cf. Robert, "Mertzidès" 146. To this instance, in which the envoys are explicitly qualified as "ambassadors", others might be added, in which they are generally referred to as ἀνδρες; cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 57.

8 . Diod. 17.113.2. On the authenticity of these embassies, see P.A. Brunt, "Appendix XXII: The Embassies at Babylon", in *Arrian II* ("Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass. - London 1983) 499.

9 . Diod. 17.16.4: τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν. P. Goukowsky's translation (*Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique, Livre XVII* ["Collection des Universités de France"; Paris 1976] 27: "les ambassadeurs des cités grecques") is completely arbitrary.

(*legationes civitatum Macedoniae*) who came to offer support to Perseus in spring 171.<sup>1</sup>

3) There is not the slightest evidence that Ptolemy II (or any other Ptolemy) ever possessed Macedonian territories west of the Nestos. The passage of Polybios<sup>2</sup> referred to by the editor<sup>3</sup> concerns Ptolemy III,<sup>4</sup> and, in any case, does not mention possession, but "effective watch", which is already, according to the greatest living authority on this historian,<sup>5</sup> "an exaggeration designed to denigrate (by comparison) Ptolemy IV". J. and L. Robert<sup>6</sup> have recently also rightly raised the practical difficulties of such an embassy from Gazoros to a distant Lagid King.

4) Thus, the expression ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει of our decree,<sup>7</sup> which finds its parallel in a letter of Philip V<sup>8</sup> and also in the two decrees from Morrylos,<sup>9</sup> probably refers to the sixth year either of Philip V (217/6, or, rather, 216/5) or of Perseus (175/4),<sup>10</sup> when a citizen of Gazoros, who was perhaps a large landowner, was honoured by his native city<sup>11</sup> for what is clearly a case of παράπρασις<sup>12</sup> in time of dearth, until the new harvest (ἕως νέων and not ἕως ἰ νέων as the editor thought),<sup>13</sup> current prices of wheat and barley being roughly the double of those offered by Plestis.<sup>14</sup> Regarding now internal evidence, the concern to supply the population with the necessary quan-

1. Livy 42.53.2.

2. Pol. 5.34.8.

3. Veligianni 111.

4. Cf. Walbank, *Commentary* I, 565; Bagnall 160-61.

5. Walbank, *Commentary* I 565.

6. *BullEpigr* 1984, 259.

7. L. 8.

8. Epigraphic Appendix no 14.

9. Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54.

10. Cf. Gauthier, "Récoltes" 413, n. 3, *BullEpigr* 1988, 864.

11. Cf. Veligianni 109; "In der Person des Geerten ist mit Sicherheit ein Königlicher Funktionär zu sehen, der zugleich Bürger von Gazoros ist". For the relationship between the honorand and the city, see below in Part IV, chapter 2; cf. also *BullEpigr* 1984, 259 and Gauthier, "Récoltes" 418.

12. On *paraprasis* see J. Triantaphyllopoulos, "Παράπρασις", *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967* (Oxford 1971) 65-69 and for the rate of reduction in particular 68; cf. L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 347, n. 3 with an extensive bibliography.

13. For more details, see Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

14. For the price of grain in the Hellenistic period, see A. Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1925) 164-83 and F. Heichelheim, "Sitos", *RE Suppl.* 6 (1935) 887-90; cf. Gauthier, "Récoltes" 418, and, more recently, G. Reger, "The Public Purchase of Grain on Independent Delos", *ClassAnt* 12 (1993) 300-334.

tities of corn at acceptable prices is reminiscent of the appointment of Aristoboulos son of Athenaios as *σιτώνης* at Delos<sup>1</sup> and of the connections of Admetos son of Bokros with the same island under the reign of Demetrios II.<sup>2</sup> However, as we have seen, the letter forms<sup>3</sup> rather point to the reign of a later Antigonid, Philip V or Perseus. If one may draw a parallel from the decree in honour of Alketas of Morrylos,<sup>4</sup> in which the same vocabulary is used (cf. *προενοήσατο τῆς χώρας τοῦ διασωθῆναι – προνοηθῆναι τῆς τῶν πάντων σωτηρίας*), Plestis' benefactions may be related to dangers of famine arising from military operations in the area. If the fifth and sixth year of Philip V's reign are retained (218/7-217/6, or, rather, 217/6-216/5), one may think of the Dardanian incursions;<sup>5</sup> if the fifth and sixth year of Perseus' reign (176/5-175/4), again of the Dardanian or –more likely– the Thracian ones.<sup>6</sup>

We shall not here take the discussion of the exact relationship between Gazoros, Plestis and the King any further than necessary for the dating of the inscription, since the position of the Macedonian cities *vis-à-vis* the regional and the central authorities forms the subject of a later section of this study. What will interest us here is the relationship between the city and its villages, to which the editor has rightly drawn attention.<sup>7</sup> The *κῶμαι* are mentioned twice: in the motivation of the decree<sup>8</sup> (*ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀξίως τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν προ[ο]νοήσατο τῆς χώρας τοῦ διασωθῆ[να]ν καὶ [δ]ύνασθαι τοὺς ἰ μένοντας ἐν οἴκῳ τὰς ληιτ[ο]υργίας συντελεῖν καὶ τὰς συ[ν]κυροῦσας κώμας ἐξήτησεν διασ[ω]ν[σ]αι κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν...*) and in the ratification formula<sup>9</sup> (*ἔδοξεν Γασ[ω]ρίοις κ[α]ὶ ταῖς συ[ν]κυροῦσαις κώμαις*), as entities separate from Gazoros but participating along with it in the ratification of the decree. The editor has very aptly stressed this duality and adduced analogous formulae from the Lycian cities Xanthos, Limyra and Telmessos<sup>10</sup> (to which

1. *IG XI 4, 666.*

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 50. A shortage of grain in this region is also attested by two Samothracian decrees dating from roughly the same period (cf. Gauthier, "Ἐξαγωγή" 76-89).

3. See above, p. 52-54.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 54.

5. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia III* 385-86.

6. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia III* 492 and 495-97.

7. Veligianni 112-14. For what follows, cf. Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 164-71.

8. L. 11-14.

9. L. 15-16.

10. Veligianni 113, n. 26.

one could add another fragmentary inscription from this last city),<sup>1</sup> with parallel mentions of the citizens (or the city) and the *perioikoi* (ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοις καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις; ἔδοξε Λιμυρίων τῆι πόλει καὶ τοῖς [π]εριοίκοις; δεδόχθαι Τελμησισέων τῆι πόλει καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις; ἔδοξε [Τελμησισέων] | τῆι πόλει καὶ τοῖς π[εριοίκοις]). Unfortunately, there is no agreement on the nature of the relationship between these *poleis* and their *perioikoi*. The editor of the (first) Telmessos and the Limyra decrees considers that the enfranchised inhabitants of the urban centre (πόλις) and of the territory (χώρα) together constitute the state, and interprets the term *perioikoi* as "Bewohner umliegender Ortschaften, die bei rechtlicher Gleichstellung mit dessen Bürgern einem städtlichen Zentrum zugeordnet sind".<sup>2</sup> I. Hahn, however, in an article published only two years after the completion of M. Wörrle's "Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens II", challenged the latter's interpretation, drawing a fundamental distinction between the citizens and the *perioikoi* of these cities, who, according to him, were "die Einwohner der von der städtlichen Sittelpunkten kollektiv abhängigen, mit gewisser Selbstverwaltung ausgestatteten dörflichen Niederlassungen, die keine Eigentumsrecht –keine *enktesis*– besaßen, die lediglich Besitzer waren, keine Vollbürger, aber auch nicht persönlich abhängig, und die in gewisse Entscheidungen der Polis-Bürger –insofern diese ihre Interessen berührten– einbezogen wurden".<sup>3</sup> The editor of the Gazoros inscription adopts Hahn's interpretation and concludes that the two groups were of unequal standing.<sup>4</sup>

Without underestimating the usefulness of the Lycian parallels, I think that one must first turn to other similar evidence from Macedonia and above all from Gazoros itself.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately we are relatively well informed about this city of the Strymon valley, both from literary sources and from other inscriptions. It was famous for its cult of Artemis (Gazoria) and is mentioned as a city by Ptolemy and Stephanos

1. Wörrle, "Forschungen II" 237, n. 189, with bibliography.

2. Wörrle, "Forschungen II" 239.

3. Hahn 60. He was particularly influenced by Briant, "Remarques" (= *Rois* 95-135).

4. Veligianni 114.

5. Veligianni 114 simply mentions that in Roman Imperial times Gazoros belonged "to an administrative unit of five cities". See *BullEpigr* 1984, 259: "Ne peut-on se demander si les 'villages' de Gazôros dans cette inscription ne sont pas les établissements nommés sous Septime Sévère comme formant une pentapole avec Gazôros: Serraiioi, Bergaiioi, Skimbertioi et les futurs Hadrianopolitai?"

Byzantios.<sup>1</sup> The second most important inscription from Gazoros is again a decree, of A.D. 158, which was first scientifically published by Cl. Vatin, in 1962,<sup>2</sup> and since then republished and commented upon several times,<sup>3</sup> notably by E.I. Mastrokostas<sup>4</sup> with corrections, though it was Fanoula Papazoglou's<sup>5</sup> particular merit first to have suggested the correct interpretation of it.

The decree was voted by the Council and ratified by the People of an unnamed city and was sent for publication by the three presidents of these two bodies to the *μνήμων*<sup>6</sup> at Gazoros in April, A.D. 159 Papazoglou<sup>7</sup> was the first to suggest that the three presidents represented a higher authority than the *mnemon* at Gazoros, namely the unnamed city by whose Council and People the decree had been passed. However, that did not necessarily imply that Gazoros was a village (*κώμη*) and that the literary sources which referred to it as a *polis* were wrong. A funerary inscription from the nearby village of Toum̄ba, dating from A.D. 144/5 mentions a Μωμώ Μέστου θυγάτηρ, Γαζωρία,<sup>8</sup> apparently indicating that Gazoros was—at least to a certain extent—an autonomous community in the middle of the second century, when the decree was also passed. Another inscription from Philippoi, first published by J. Roger<sup>9</sup> and independently studied by Ch. Edson,<sup>10</sup> suggested the correct solution. It is a text commemorating a sacrifice offered between A.D. 201 and 209 in honour of the emperor Septimius Severus by the citizens of a group of five communities, called in the inscription οἱ Πενταπολίται, among which figure the Γαζώριοι. The other *ethnika* mentioned are the Hadrianopoli-

1. See Papazoglou, *Cités* 280-81, with references; cf. *eiusdem*, "Notes" 531-35; *eiusdem*, "Philippes" 100-101 and now *eiusdem*, *Villes* 382-83.

2. Vatin, "Inscription" 57-63. The first amateur publication was due to C. Trypheroulis, a teacher of the *gymnasion* of Serrhai in the Athenian daily *Καθημερινή* 12.7.1961.

3. Pleket 70-71, no 49; Kaphtantzis I 320-24; *SEG* 24 (1969) 205, no 614; cf. *BullEpigr* 1964, 239; Mihailov, "Inscriptions" 15, no 45, to cite only the most important replications and comments.

4. Mastrokostas 255-57.

5. Papazoglou, "Notes" 531-35.

6. This was the first appearance of a *mnemon* in a Macedonian inscription. This functionary appears again in at least one, and probably two Hellenistic decrees from Morrylos (Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54). On these officials see now Lambrinudakis-Wörle 283-368.

7. Papazoglou, "Notes" 532.

8. Roger, "Strymon" 46; Kaphtantzis I, 297-98, no 495; cf. *BullEpigr* 1946-1947, 140; Mihailov, "Inscriptions" 14, no 39; cf. Lambrinudakis-Wörle 339, n. 298.

9. Roger, "Philippes" 37-41; cf. *BullEpigr* 1948, 101, p. 163.

10. Edson, "Notes" 94-96; cf. *BullEpigr* 1948, 101, p. 163.

tai, the Bergaioi, the Skimbertioi and, according to Edson, the Sirrharioi. Of these the Skimbertioi and the Hadrianopolitai are otherwise unknown.<sup>1</sup> Papazoglou had originally tentatively related the former to the "*vicani... Zcambu.....*" of an inscription of Kokkinogeia (Koumpalista) and interpreted the latter as a later name of the *Scotus-saei liberi* of Pliny, who in Ptolemy are associated with Berga and Gazoros.<sup>2</sup> She later abandoned these identifications and proposed to locate both communities in the area between Serrhai and Angista.<sup>3</sup> In her latest work, in which she accepts Samsaris' identification of Hadrianopolis, she refrains from making any suggestion about the Skimbertioi.<sup>4</sup>

Although the lower left side of the altar on which the inscription is engraved is worn, there is no doubt that the first word of line 19 is to be read ΒΕΡΓΑΟΙ.<sup>5</sup> Berga is well known.<sup>6</sup> In addition to Strabo,<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy,<sup>8</sup> Stephanos Byzantios,<sup>9</sup> Pseudo-Skymnos<sup>10</sup> and Hierokles<sup>11</sup> mention it; the first as a village (κώμη) of Bisaltia, 200 *stadia* (c.

1. Samsaris' attempt to identify Hadrianopolis with the modern village Adriane, on the eastern edge of the plain of Drama ("Προβλήματα" 545-48), although it has been accepted by Papazoglou (*Villes* 408-409), does not carry conviction, because all the hitherto identified communities of the Pentapolis were situated some fifty km to the west, in the Strymon basin (cf. *BullEpigr* 1988, 854). Papazoglou ("Philippe" 96-97) herself had given some good reasons for attributing this part of the plain of Drama to the Roman colony of Philippi. Her present preference for the existence of a hypothetical Hadrianopolis in this area is by no means supported—as she contends—by the funerary monument discovered near the railway station of Platania and mentioning the βουλευτής Δεντούπης Βείθου and his son ἀντιστράτηγος and φορολόγος. An ἀντιστράτηγος is without parallel in Roman Macedonia, whereas he is perfectly at home in Thrace, to which the upper Platania valley surely belonged, as Papazoglou ("Philippe" 96-97) had rightly stressed.

2. Papazoglou, "Notes" 533.

3. Papazoglou, "Philippe" 101-102.

4. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 410, n. 189.

5. As I was able to verify on Edson's squeeze, kept at the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, N.J.).

6. On Berga see Papazoglou, *Cités* 266-69; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 355-59 and Edson, "Notes" 94-96, with references. Its site has not yet been securely identified (see p. 61, n. 3, below).

7. Strab. 7 frg. 36: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Βισάλταις ἀνά ποταμὸν ἰόντι τὸν Στρυμόνα καὶ Βέργη ἴδρυται, κώμη ἀπέχουσα Ἀμφίπολεως περὶ διακοσίουσιν σταδίοις.

8. Ptol. 3.12.28: Ὀδομαντικῆς καὶ Ἡδωνίδος Σκοτούσσα, Βέργα, Γάσωρος, Ἀμφίπολις, Φίλιπποι.

9. Steph. Byz. s.v. Βέργη: πόλις Θράκης πρὸς τῇ Χερρονήσῳ. Στράβων δὲ κώμην αὐτὴν λέγει.

10. Pseudo-Skymnos 653-54: ἐφ' οὗ κατὰ μεσόγειον Ἀντιφάνου πατρὶς/κεῖται λεγομένη Βέργα.

11. Hierokles 640, 6.

36 km) to the north of Amphipolis, but the second and the third as a city. Berga also figures in epigraphic texts: as an independent city in the fifth-century Athenian tribute lists,<sup>1</sup> in the Epidauros *theorodokoi* list dating from the fourth decade of the fourth century B.C.<sup>2</sup> and now twice in a fourth-century inscription from Dion dealing with the distribution of land.<sup>3</sup> The mention of a Βεργαῖος in an agonistic list of Dion dating from the Hellenistic period<sup>4</sup> and of a πολίτης Βέργης in a second-century A.D. funerary inscription from Ancyra<sup>5</sup> confirms Ptolemy's and Stephanos' information and suggests that Berga was still a city at the time of Hierokles, leaving Strabo's evidence (undoubtedly based on some earlier author) on the city's subordinate status isolated and unexplained.

At the beginning of line 18 Roger read: [.....]OI and tentatively suggested ΣΙΠΠΑΟΙ.<sup>6</sup> Edson went beyond this by giving unqualified endorsement to what had been a mere suggestion.<sup>7</sup> The reading was adopted by Papazoglou, who even contended that the "federal" authorities of this Pentapolis had their seat in Serrhai, the most important of the constituent communities.<sup>8</sup> If Papazoglou's contention were true, we would be dealing with a different political formation, having a different centre from the "sympolity" around Gazoros mentioned in the Hellenistic decree. Actually, on the basis of this very decree, Mastrokostas challenged Papazoglou's interpretation, insisting not only that Gazoros cannot have been dependent on Serrhai, but that it was itself the centre of the political formation, where its decrees were published.<sup>9</sup> But there are also other, probably more decisive, reasons for rejecting Papazoglou's interpretation. To begin with, Serrhai was a community of an entirely different class, a major city from Classical times to the Roman period and beyond, up to the present day.<sup>10</sup> Its

1 . *ATLI*, 474.

2 . *JGIV*, I, 94, 14 19.

3 . This inscription was mentioned by D. Pandermalis in his communication to a symposium on Macedonian Epigraphy held at Thessalonike in December 1993.

4 . This inscription – unless it is the same as the previous one – was also mentioned by D. Pandermalis in his communication to the first International Congress of Macedonian Studies held in Melbourne in February 1988.

5 . *JGR* 3, 215. The fifth/fourth-century Thasian coins which have sometimes been attributed to Berga (cf. Edson, "Notes" 95, with references) have nothing to do with that city, as Professor O. Picard, who is preparing a special study of them, has kindly pointed out to me.

6 . Roger, "Philippe" 41.

7 . Edson, "Notes" 94.

8 . Papazoglou, "Notes" 532-33; cf. *eiusdem*, *Villes* 358 and 380.

9 . Mastrokostas 256-57.

10 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 281-83; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 379-81.

citizens travelled, settled and died in other parts of Macedonia and even abroad.<sup>1</sup> In Roman times, in particular, it played an important part in the life of the province, contributing along with Thessalonike and Beroia to the filling of the most prestigious office of the High Priest of the federal *koinon*.<sup>2</sup> Nothing even remotely similar can be said about any other member of the Pentapolis.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it is astonishing that its participation in this sympolity is not otherwise recorded. The city has produced more than fifty inscriptions, some of them decrees or official dedications,<sup>4</sup> which should have mentioned the Pentapolis, if Papazoglou's reconstruction of the relationship between the members of the Pentapolis and its central authorities were correct.<sup>5</sup> Although it is an *argumentum e silentio*, the fact that all public documents mention exclusively the city and its authorities cannot be lightly dismissed. At this point, it becomes necessary to verify the evidence on which the entire theory had been built: Roger had simply written: "Quant à la cinquième ville, ici nommée la première, on attendrait assez naturellement le nom de Σίρραι (Serrès): la pierre autoriserait la lecture, mais sans en exclure d'autres non plus absolument".<sup>6</sup> It was on the authority of Edson's unqualified statement: "My squeezes confirm Roger's suggestion; I read [Σ]ιρραῖοι"<sup>7</sup> that Papazoglou's theory was built. In fact Edson studied, photographed, copied and squeezed this inscription on 5 May 1938, well before Roger's publication. At that time, not influenced by the latter's suggestion, he had copied; [ ] ι ΔΟΙ which he very tentatively interpreted as Ζηρήνιοι.<sup>8</sup> My reading of the squeezes [ ] ι ι ΔΟΙ is close to Edson's first impression. In particular, the first visible trace is not an *iota* but must belong to the right-hand hasta of an *alpha*, a *delta* or a *lambda*, which excludes all possible forms of the *ethnikon* of Serhai. One could find arguments for restoring at the beginning of line

1. Cf. Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 140, no 223 (Pella); *IG* XII, 8, 206 (Samothrace).

2. Cf. Kanatsoulis, "Κοινόν" 70-71.

3. The Macedoniarch allegedly from Berga mentioned by Kanatsoulis ("Μακεδονίαρχαι" 29-30) comes in fact from an ancient site which can certainly not be identified with Berga, since it lies at a distance of more than 50 rather than of 36 km from Amphipolis. In *BullEpigr* 1987, 708, I propose to identify this site with Euporia; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 473.

4. Cf. Kaphtantzis I 72-115, no 1-49.

5. Cf. the relation of Styberra to Derriopos, amply attested in the inscriptions of the former (see p. 81-87, below).

6. Roger, "Philippe" 41.

7. Edson, "Notes" 94; see, however, n. 54.

8. Edson, *Notebooks, First Meris* 632.



18 the name of some other community of this region, which would fit better with the evidence than either Serrhai or Zerene(?),<sup>1</sup> but the complete obscurity of the Skimbertioi and the Hadrianopolitai makes it perfectly possible that the fifth member of the Pentapolis was just another unattested community.

The spectre of the imagined Serrhai once removed, one can see the remarkable institutional continuity between the Hellenistic and the Roman period. Indeed it would not be too bold to assume that Hadrianopolis –under its former name–, Skimberte(?), Berga and Gazoros may have formed a local sympolity in Hellenistic times with its centre (where the archives were kept) in the last named community, which enjoyed the advantage of possessing the famous sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>2</sup> The Roman Pentapolis is then nothing other than οἱ Γαζώριοι

1. At the Epigraphic Colloquium held at the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, N.J.) I had suggested that the first and mutilated *ethnikon* of the list of the cities of the Pentapolis might be Tragilos and I restated this hypothesis in my communication to the symposium on the epigraphy of villages (Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 168). Palaeographically this is not impossible: the first and entirely missing character might have been a ligature of *tau* and *rho*, like the one used in L. 7 for the word Τροάϊνοῦ; the second, triangular letter an *alpha*; the upper part of the hasta visible in the third position may have belonged to a *gamma*; the incomplete hasta in the fourth position can be restored as an *iota* and the triangular letter which comes next as a *lambda*; the remaining three letters are clearly *iota*, *omicron* and *iota*, forming all together the word Τραγίλιοι. Tragilos (cf. Edson "Notes" 95, n. 55; Papazoglou, *Cités* 271-72; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 361-62; Koukouli, "Τράγιλος" 123-46) was both geographically and spiritually close to Berga. They are both situated in Bisaltia, on the *right* bank of the Strymon, and are identically described by Stephanos Byzantios as πόλις Θράκης πρὸς τῇ Χερρονήσῳ. In fact Tragilos, whose ruins lie some 17 km from Amphipolis, must not have been more than 20 km distant from Berga. On the other hand, Tragilos is closer to Gazoros than either Berga, which was certainly a member of the Pentapolis, or Serrhai, which was not. Moreover, as Edson has very astutely noted ("Notes" 95, n. 55), Berga and Tragilos, along with Amphipolis, participated in the middle of the fourth century in a literary movement on the banks of the Strymon, whose most prominent figures were Antiphanes of Berga, Asklepiades of Tragilos and Zoilos of Amphipolis. It is true that the Classical and Hellenistic site was destroyed and abandoned c. 270, but the discovery of Roman finds walled in buildings of Aidonochori indicate that a more modest settlement, a *kome* as Koukouli-Chrysantaki calls it, prolonging the life of ancient Tragilos, must be sought at a different site, probably further to the east, in the same general area. This opinion on the survival of Tragilos as a *kome* well into Roman times is shared by Papazoglou, *Villes* 361-62. The extension of the Pentapolis along both banks of the Strymon would go a long way to explain the Roman decision to join the western bank of that river to the first *meris* (Livy 45.29.6; cf. 30.3).

2. This suggestion was independently made by myself at the Epigraphic Colloquium mentioned on the previous note, and by the Roberts, *BullEpigr* 1984, 259. The cult of Artemis Gazoria or Gazoritica was widespread in Macedonia from the territory of Philippoi (P. Perdrizet, "Voyage dans la Macédoine première" *BCH* 22 [1898] 345-

καὶ αἱ συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι of the Hellenistic decree, neither subordinate villages, nor independent cities, but associated communities of an intermediate status. Probably this, and not constant changes of fortune, is the best explanation of the fact that Berga is described sometimes as a city, sometimes as a village and then again as a city, or of the apparent demotion of the Gazorioi from the dominant element in the Hellenistic decree to the subordinate status of the Roman one. Even if Gazoros was the most important community and could boast the status of a city—whatever that was worth—it still had to comply with the decisions of higher instance embodied by the Presidents, the Council and the People of the whole "federation". This is true even if meetings and votes regularly took place in Gazoros itself, the largest urban centre.<sup>1</sup>

Similar sympolities consisting of lesser cities or villages grouped around a more important urban centre or of associations of villages have long been known to exist in Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> Four other inscriptions, again from the New Lands, east of the Axios, seem to attest their existence in Macedonia too, suggesting that Gazoros does not constitute an isolated phenomenon.

A few years ago Fanoula Papazoglou called attention to a recently discovered inscription from the village of Metallikon, near Kilkis.<sup>3</sup>

48) as far west as Skydra (cf. *SEG* 17 [1960] 317; Delacoulonche 244, no 28; *SEG* 2 [1924] 396). The only information about Gazoros which Stephanos Byzantios, *s.v.* Γάζωρος, deems worthy of mention concerns, characteristically, the cult of Artemis.

1. Papazoglou ("Notes" 532-33), however, is drawing an erroneous inference from the fact that the decree was "sent" (ἀπεστάλακμεν) to the *mnemon* of Gazoros ("le décret émis par la boulè et le demos de la cité inconnue fut adressé directement au mnémon de Gazoros... Gazoros était soumise aux autorités municipales qui ont voté le décret et qui siégeaient dans la ville inconnue... des autorités communes qui siégeaient vraisemblablement a Serrai..."). The use of the verb ἀποστέλλω for the transmission of the decree from the legislative authorities of a city to the *mnemon* does not imply in any way that the seat of these authorities was different and distant from that of the archive. The same verb (ἀποσταλήναι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸν μνήμονα; τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἀποσταλήναι τε παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῷ μνήμονι) is used in Morrylos, where there cannot be the slightest doubt that the *ekklesia* and the *mnemon* were situated in the same city. In fact, it is highly probable that Gazoros was the seat both of the Assembly and the Council and of the public archive of the Pentapolis. (Cf. also Lambrinudakis-Wörrle 339, n. 299. Wörrle is, however, probably mistaken in linking the transmission of the decree to the *mnemon* to its "cadastral" contents. The Morrylos decree was also transmitted to the *mnemon* although it concerned an entirely different matter; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 37).

2. See Robert, *Villes* 54-66 and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 59-60. See also Papazoglou, "Notes" 534, n. 4 and Wörrle, "Forschungen II" 243, n. 215 and 220.

3. Papazoglou, "Πολιτεία" 100-105; cf. *BullEpigr* 1960, 202.

This dedication to Hadrian and Sabina by the Bragylioi permitted for the first time the identification of the important archaeological site at Metallikon<sup>1</sup> with the ancient Macedonian city of Bragylai, known until then only from the Delphic list of *theorodoko*<sup>2</sup> and from Hierokles.<sup>3</sup> Hardly less interesting is the dedicatory formula itself: Βραγυλίων ἢ βουλή καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία. Papazoglou adduced examples from Skaptopara in Thrace and Stratonikeia in Asia Minor to establish that πολιτεία meant the territory of Bragylai as opposed to the πόλις, which by that time had lost its political significance and had acquired the more restricted sense of urban centre. Papazoglou's interpretation constituted a notable advance. However, it was not altogether satisfactory. First, within the framework of Greek institutions and the corresponding mentality, neither a "centre urbain" nor a "territoire municipal"<sup>4</sup> could offer –presumably after a vote– a dedication to an emperor or to any other honoured person. One has to look for constituted bodies of people and not for geographical units. The geographical sense of the term attested in Late Greek is only secondary and derivative and in any case out of place in what was obviously a case of a decision taken by the Council and two other constituted bodies. Second, as Papazoglou herself recognised, the expected formula should have been Βραγυλίων ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in this dedication at least, πόλις and πολιτεία appear as substitutes for δῆμος and probably as its constituent parts.<sup>6</sup> Third, Papazoglou did not take into account the analogous use of the term πολιτεία in inscriptions from Upper Macedonia, where, as we shall see below, it signifies an elementary political unit with limited powers of independent action, but disposing of full political rights when acting within a wider framework in conjunction with other similar units. If analogies from other parts of Macedonia are at least as pertinent as those from Thrace and Caria for the interpretation of the Metallikon dedication, ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία of Bragylai, like the Γαζῶριοι καὶ αἱ συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι of the Pentapolis, designate respectively the citizen body of the main urban centre and of the other smaller communities, who form collectively the δῆμος of this enlarged political unit, share the same Council (βουλή) and are seen in the dedication transacting business together (συμπολιτευόμενοι). The term is attested,

1. See Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 92-93, with references.
2. Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 70-71.
3. Hierokles 639; cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 255-56; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 184.
4. Papazoglou, "Πολιτεία" 105.
5. Papazoglou, "Πολιτεία" 101.
6. Cf. *IG* IX, 2, 107: 'Α πόλις ἃ 'Αλέων καὶ ἃ βουλά.

if not as yet in Macedonia, in other parts of the Greek world and in particular in Lycia, which has offered until now the closest analogies (Ἄρνεατῶν καὶ τῶν συμπολιτευομένων οἱ δῆμοι; Ἀπερλειτῶν καὶ τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος; Ἄρνεατῶν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συμπολιτευομένων πάντων etc.),<sup>1</sup> and, closer to Macedonia, in Thesaly.<sup>2</sup>

A recent epigraphic discovery made in Eleutherochorion, some 8 km to the north-west of Metallikon, seems now to strengthen the pertinence of these analogies and to confirm the interpretation which has been suggested in the previous pages. In an inscription of the middle of the second century, only recently properly published,<sup>3</sup> the Roman governor P. Clodius Capito Aurelianus declares that he has re-established the boundaries for the Bragylioi, the Tiberioi and the Kissynioi in accordance with the decisions made by King Philip. In a practically identical boundary stone found at a house in Metallikon itself in 1982 only the Bragylioi are mentioned.<sup>4</sup> Obviously, the otherwise unknown *ethnika* of the Tiberioi and the Kissynioi belong to minor communities which most probably formed with Bragylos a single political unit and are comprised in the collective term πολιτεία, as in the roughly contemporary dedication to Hadrian and Sabina.<sup>5</sup> These two boundary stones taken together can also offer a satisfactory explanation both of the variations of the name of the city, which appears sometimes in the singular as Βράγυλος (from which form the

1 . Cf. Wörrle, "Forschungen II" 243, n. 215 and 220, with references.

2 . Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 62-65, no 96, but see now a new interpretation proposed by J.C. Decourt, "Décret de Pharsale pour une politographie" *ZPE* 81 (1990) 163-84, with Ph. Gauthier's objections in *BullEpigr* 1991, 320; see also *SEG* 40 (1990) 486.

3 . Sarikakis, *Ἀρχοντες* II 96; Aichinger, "Reichsbeamten" 629; *SEG* 30 (1980) 573. In fact the text must read: "Ὅρους ἀποκατέστησε κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην <MENHN> ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀροθεσίαν Π(όπλιος) Κλώδιος Καπίτων Αὐρηλιανὸς ἀνθύπατος | Βραγυλίους, | Τιβηρίους, Κισσυνίους. Ὅρος [θεμέ]λιος ἠρῶν. See Hatzopoulos-Loukopolou, *Morrylos* 58, n. 1; cf. *BullEpigr* 1993, 367. I am indebted to Professor Habicht for his valuable advice on the probable reading of this inscription.

4 . As the guardian of the Kilkis Museum, where both inscriptions are kept, kindly informed me.

5 . The possibility that the boundaries in question were not between the Bragylioi, Tiberioi, Kissynioi on the one hand and another community on the other, but between the three aforementioned communities themselves can be virtually excluded. In addition to the evidence of the second boundary stone, mentioning the Bragylioi alone, in the dative, we also have the evidence of a boundary stone from nearby Morrylos mentioning the Morrylioi alone (see below). The usage goes back to the late Classical period and appears in the ὀροθεσία of Philippoi by Alexander: ὄρισαι δὲ τὴν [χώραν][τοῖς Φιλίπποις] Φιλώταν καὶ Λεονν[ᾶτον ..] (Epigraphic Appendix no 6).

*ethnikon* Βραγύλιοι normally derives) and sometimes in the plural as Βράγυλαι, and of the fact that the second boundary stone was found very close to the urban centre. Bragylos and the συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι, the Τιβήριοι and the Κισσύνιοι seem to have formed a composite political unit, which was named after the most important of its constituent parts, sometimes put in the plural (Βράγυλαι), in accordance to the well-known Greek practice. The boundary stone found at Eleutherochorion, 8 km to the south of the urban centre, is that of the composite political unit (cf. Βραγυλίοις, Τιβηρίοις, Κισσυνίοις) with a different political unit to the north. On the other hand, the boundary stone found very close to the urban centre and mentioning only the Bragylioi must be that of Bragylos, the most important of the constituent parts, itself. In fact, a similar situation occurs in the city of Morrylos, the immediate neighbour of Bragylai to the south, where a roughly contemporary boundary stone, "Ὄρος Μορι[ρ]υλίων ἢ τῆς μητροπόλεως, was recently found, as we have already mentioned, very close to the urban centre situated at Ano Apostoloi. As is explained in greater detail in another study, *metropolis* here is used, as in the less urbanised parts of Asia Minor and in Egypt, to denote the administrative centre of the most important constituent part of a composite political unit.<sup>1</sup>

We must now go back to the original question and see whether we are entitled to speak of inequality between the citizens of Gazoros and of the neighbouring villages. The editor's main argument adduced in favour of her theory, that the *komai* can vote no decree of their own but can only participate in decisions of the city of Gazoros, is not convincing. There is ample evidence of Macedonian *komai* passing decrees concerning their own affairs. To confine ourselves to Eastern Macedonia, we know of several decisions taken by simple *komai* or groups of *komai* of Philippoi concerning honours to persons, dedications to divinities and the administration of local revenues. The evidence dates from Roman times, but there is no reason to believe that we are dealing with a recent innovation.<sup>2</sup> In all probability both Gazoros and each of its associated communities separately could make decisions on local matters but none could by itself vote decrees binding the wider political unit. Such decisions had to be taken by all the constituent parts, cities as well as villages, of the sympolity. What seems even more important, the constituent parts of the sympolity were not autonomous units in their dealings with the central govern-

1 . Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 57-63.

2 . Cf. Collart, *Philippes* 286-87; Kanatsoulis, "Πόλις" III 29-31.

ment and the outside world in general. This is made clear from the fact that the embassy to the king was decided upon and sent out not by each individual community but by the enlarged political unit as a whole. In conclusion, neither the motivation clauses nor the formula of enactment of the decree betrays any inferiority of the *komai*. On the contrary, one gets the impression that, although the first sentence of the motivation clauses (ἐπει οὖν ἀξίως τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν προενοήσατο τῆς χώρας τοῦ διασωθῆναι καὶ δύνασθαι τοὺς μένοντας ἐν οἴκῳ τὰς ληιουργίας συντελεῖν), does not refer exclusively to the urban centre, but also to the villages of the surrounding *chora*, the *komai* were explicitly mentioned immediately afterwards (καὶ τὰς συνκυρούσας κώμας ἐξήτησεν διασῶσαι κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν), in spite of the obvious redundancy, in order that the constitutional dualism be formally and unequivocally expressed in the motivation clauses as well as in the formula of enactment. But the most decisive proof that the inhabitants of the *komai* were fully enfranchised comes from the constant use (L. 3, 10, 24, 25) of the term πολίτης in reference not only to the inhabitants of Gazoros but also of the συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence enables us perhaps to go beyond the mere description of the constituent parts of the Pentapolis and to examine how it functioned in practical terms. The closest parallel of a Macedonian decree providing for the election of three ambassadors and the awarding of similar honours (crown of leaves, engraving of the decree) is offered, in spite of obvious differences, by the somewhat later decree of Lete in honour of the Roman quaestor M. Annius:<sup>2</sup>

### Lete

στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χάριν τῶν πεπραγμένων θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ

ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτάς, οἵτινες πορευθέντες πρὸς αὐτόν... τό τε ψήφισμα ἀποδώσουσιν

ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὸν στεφανὸν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην, ἣν καὶ τεθῆναι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, προνοηθέντων τῆς τε ἀναγραφῆς τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῶν τε πολιταρχῶν καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ταμίου

### Gazoros

στεφανώσουσιν δὲ στεφάνῳ θαλλίνῳ

αἰρεθῆναι ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν οἵτινες πορεύσονται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαλεγησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψηφίσματος<sup>3</sup> ἀναθήσονται δὲ οἱ αἰρεθέντες στήλην Ἄρτέμει ἐν Γασώρῳ ἢ ἂν αἰρήται Πλησις καὶ ἀναγράψουσιν τὸ ψήφισμα

1. I owe this argument to Ph. Gauthier.

2. *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 700.

3. Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 57: ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν.

Ἐπεχειροτονήθη... καὶ εἰρέθησαν πρε- Εἰρέθησαν καὶ ἐπεψηφίσθη Κοζισίωτος  
σβευταὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν Ἀδαῖος Ἀδαίου, Βαστικίλα, Διονύσιος Ἀπολοδόρου,  
Λύσων Φιλώτα, Ἀμύντας Διέους Μάντας Κερζούλα

One cannot fail to observe the secondary position of the *ekklesia*. The Letaeian decree may use the traditional formula: δεδόχθαι Ληταίων τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ, but from the rest of the inscription it is clear that the real discussion took place in the Council. The People merely approved what the Council had decided. Even the ambassadors are described as πρεσβευταὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ("ambassadors chosen from among the *bouleuta*" rather than "ambassadors of the *bouleuta*"). The same inferior position of the People, whose role is limited to the approval of the decisions made by the Council, is betrayed in the closing formula of the Gazoros Hellenistic decree: εἰρέθησαν καὶ ἐπεψηφίσθη. Cl. Vatin had already made this observation, but on the subject of the Roman decree from the same city:<sup>1</sup> "on peut voir à quel point le rôle du Conseil est déterminant; de l'Assemblée du Peuple il n'est pas question ou elle est réduite à approuver et à se taire", but he attributed this particular feature to the late date of the decree which he was discussing. The Hellenistic evidence now indicates that this is an inherited institutional feature, going back to the period of Macedonian independence under the kings. We shall discuss it in more detail below, in our examination of the Macedonian civic institutions. Here it suffices to note that this additional confirmation of the institutional continuity, to which it bears evidence, further authorises the use of the Roman decree for the understanding of the functioning of government in Gazoros in Hellenistic times.

The sympolity possessed a common Council and People's Assembly (cf. δόγμα τὸ κυρωθὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου). Propositions were introduced and discussed in the Council (cf. εἰσηγησαμένου Ἀλκίμου τοῦ Ταραλα), which voted its resolutions by secret ballot (cf. καὶ περὶ τούτου ψήφου διενεχθείσης ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι λευκαί). This *probouleuma*<sup>2</sup> was submitted to the Assembly, which, as Vatin points out, accepted it or rejected it, apparently without further deliberation and by the simpler procedure of raising hands. The decree was then communicated, "as the law requires" (καθάπερ ὁ νόμος προστάσσει) to the *mnemon*, the keeper of the government ar-

1. Vatin, "Inscription" 61.

2. For probouleutic formulae in Macedonia, see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 74-80.

chives of the constituent communities of the sympolity.<sup>1</sup> As we said before and as we shall have the occasion to see in more detail below, many of these procedures are common to all Macedonian communities. What is of special interest here is that the executive magistrates who transmit the text of the decree to the *mnemon* for publication are not regular city (or "federal") magistrates, as in most Macedonian decrees, but three *ad hoc* presidents (τῶν κληρωθέντων προέδρων). The obvious reason is that the sympolity, although it held common meetings of the *bouleutai* and of the citizens, did not have a permanent board of executive magistrates. Three persons who were appointed by lot—at least in Roman times—perhaps from among all the magistrates of the different communities, presided over each meeting. This particular feature provides welcome confirmation of the legitimacy of using evidence from the Roman decree in order to supplement the picture of the political organisation of the Hellenistic period. Actually, the normal—not only Macedonian but Panhellenic—procedure was for the deliberative body to charge executive magistrates with the implementation of a decree and, in the case of an honorary one, with the engraving and erection of the commemorative stele.<sup>2</sup> Even if the decree provides for the appointment of a special board, such as the ambassadors of Lete, these do not assume the normal duties of the magistrates in this field. The Hellenistic decree of Gazoros, however, explicitly entrusts the specially appointed board with this mission. The obvious explanation is that, in the Hellenistic period, as in Roman times, there were no permanent magistrates of the enlarged political unit formed by the Γαζώριοι καὶ αἱ συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι.

It is now perhaps possible to recapitulate the main features of the *komai* in the new Macedonian territories. As the Macedonians expanded east of the Axios,<sup>3</sup> they met two kinds of communities: cities centred around urban settlements founded by south Greek colonists,

1. For a different procedure of separate popular votes, cf. Robert, *Villes* 62. For the transmission of decrees to the *mnemon*, cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 36-39.

2. Cf. Epigraphic Appendix nos 36, 37, 41, 53, 54, 55 and 58. On this problem, Ph. Gauthier has had the kindness to send me the following commentary: "L'exégèse du décret Vatín est séduisante. Toutefois, le 'Conseil', s'il est constitué de conseillers représentant soit Gazoros, soit telle autre communauté, ne forme-t-il pas une sorte d'exécutif? Le choix des trois présidents de l'Assemblée, pour transmettre la décision au *mnemon*, ne s'explique-t-il pas le plus simplement du monde parce qu'ils authentifient, ès qualités, la ratification par le peuple, donc la légalité du document?"

3. On the expansion of the Macedonians see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 15-25.



especially in Chalkidike and on the coast, and pre-Greek tribes settled in villages, especially in the hinterland. Although considerable interpenetration and acculturation had taken place over the centuries, these elements, to which were progressively added important contingents of Macedonian colonists, had on the whole remained distinct until the reign of Philip II. The consequences of the Macedonian conquest for the Greek cities will be discussed later. Here we shall concentrate on what seems to have happened in the "native" hinterland.

From the ordeal of massive population expulsions and transplantations, which had been practised since the foundation of the Argead kingdom but attained an unprecedented scale under Philip II, there emerged a new political landscape (cf. *ita ex multis gentibus nationibusque unum regnum populumque constituit*).<sup>1</sup> In some cases the pre-Greek tribes were expelled, especially when they resisted, but otherwise they were called upon to participate in the life of the new settlements along with the colonists. However, Macedonian foundations *e nihilo*, numerous as they were, must have constituted an exception. In most cases native communities were either expanded with immigrants and their territory extended to comprise a vast territory with its *komai* (cf. Serrhai with the κώμη Ὀλδηνῶν, if it really belonged to that city and was not a member of the Pentapolis<sup>2</sup>) or combined and provided with a Greek constitution (cf. Arrian's νόμοι χρηστοί),<sup>3</sup> if they were too small to form separately viable units. Within these enlarged units some inequalities perhaps subsisted, but they do not seem to have been linked—at least directly and officially—to the ethnic origin of the inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> Only the major communities had the right to the title of *polis*. The rest were simple *komai* and one may expect that the more urbanised Macedonians and other Greeks tended to settle mainly in those of the first category, which was also called the *metropolis* of the composite political unit.<sup>5</sup> But the distinction was principally one of prestige, the only conspicuous difference between the two sorts of communities being the presence or absence of a Council. Since we do not know whether the Council of the symphony was formed directly from the Council(s) of the constituent

1. Just. 8.6.2; cf. Ellis, "Transplants" 9-16.

2. G. Bakalakis, "Αρχαία εὐρήματα ἐκ Νέου Σκοποῦ (Σερρῶν)", *Ephemeris* 1936, *Archaiologika Chronika* 17-19; cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 283; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 384.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.2.

4. For the colonising policies of the Temenid kings in Krestonia, Anthemous, Mygdonia and Amphipolis, see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 77-79; *eorundem*, *Recherches* 65-67; 117-22 and Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 80-86.

5. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 57-63.

communities or on a representative basis, we cannot determine to what extent *komai* were in this respect underprivileged in comparison with cities. Whatever the case, this in no way implies that the *kometai* were formally disenfranchised, since the available evidence clearly indicates that they participated on equal terms, as fully enfranchised citizens called *politai* in our documents, along with the *politai* of the urban centres in the meetings of the People's Assembly. Thus –*pace* Papazoglou<sup>1</sup> to the Macedonian kings rather than to Roman policy must be ascribed the origin of local sympolities, such as that of Gazoros or of Bragylos and also, probably, of Morrylos.<sup>2</sup> The origin of the Gazoros sympolity in particular could perhaps be traced to the times of Philip II and Alexander the Great.

From the fragmentary inscription with Alexander the Great's provisional rulings concerning the city of Philippoi<sup>3</sup> it can be argued that the colonists settled there under his father were claiming all the land west and north-west of the city as far as the territory of Serrhai (Σειραϊκή γῆ) and were striving to expel the pre-Greek population (Θραῦκες) from it. It seems, however, that the King, while recognising the rights of the Philippians over part of this territory (presumably east of Mount Menoikion), decided –at least provisionally– that these "Thracians" of the Strymon valley should remain in possession of their own communities and of their land. Papazoglou's recent study on the territory of Philippoi has convincingly established that in Roman times the territory of the colony did not extend to the north-west beyond the defile between Mount Pangaion and Mount Menoikion and that the area south-east of Serrhai between the western slopes of these mountains and Lake Kerkinitis was occupied by the Pentapolis, whose cities or *komai* had remained independent.<sup>4</sup> Clearly Alexander's provisional rulings, the fairness and insight of which have been justifiably underlined by Vatin,<sup>5</sup> were never revised but were upheld by the subsequent Macedonian kings and even the Romans. By that time, of course, Alexander's policy of coexistence –if not of fusion–

1. Papazoglou, "Notes" 534.

2. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 60-61, speculate that the introduction of the administrative term *μητρόπολις* in Hellenistic Egypt by the Ptolemies may reflect Macedonian experience and tradition. Local sympolities seem to have constituted a feature of the less urbanised regions of Northern Greece (cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 62-63 and Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 151-53; with references).

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 6 and particularly my remarks in *BullEpigr* 1987, 714.

4. Papazoglou, "Philippos" 99-102.

5. In his oral report to the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Athens, 3-9 October 1982).

between Greek and "barbarian" had borne fruit and little, besides personal names perpetuated by tradition, could distinguish the descendants of the former colonists from those of the "natives".

We should like to know more about other small communities in the hinterland of the "new territories", which have received only a fleeting reference in some literary source or a passing mention in some inscription: Philippopolis, Gareskos, Kallipolis, Orthopolis in Parorbelia,<sup>1</sup> Kalliterai and Ossa in Bisaltia,<sup>2</sup> Paroikopolis,<sup>3</sup> Tristolos, Petra and Neine<sup>4</sup> in Sintike are little more than names. In some privileged cases we are lucky enough to have a somewhat less incomplete image. A second/third-century A.D. inscription from near Drama mentions a dedication of Iollitai to Dionysos and to the citizens of Tripolis.<sup>5</sup> We know nothing about this community, which seems to owe its name to some Macedonian Iollas. But the Tripolitai look very much like the Pentapolitai. We are probably dealing with the same type of sympolity, with the sole difference that it is composed of three, instead, of five, constituent parts. Although the inscription dates from Roman times, the origin of this political formation may also go back to the time of the kings.<sup>6</sup> From an inscription from Beroia we hear about three sons of a certain Apollodoros: Bastos, Tarys and Alexandros, who left their native slopes of Mount Bertiskos above the Bisaltic Euporia (Εὐποριανοὶ ὄρεινοὶ) and, apparently with the help of the famous late-first-century A.D. president of the Macedonian *koinon* K. Popillios Python, became well-to-do residents of Beroia.<sup>7</sup> In the hinterland of Krestonia, in imperial times too, Sosias son of Sosipolis from the otherwise most obscure community

1. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 257-62; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 346-50; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 199.

2. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 272; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 364.

3. Until its identification with the ancient site at Sveti Vrač (Sandanski) is definitely established; cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 278-79; *eiusdem* "Notes" 535-44; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 371-75; *BullEpigr* 1956, 159 and 1987, 717.

4. Cf. Vasilka Gerasimova-Tomova, "Zur Untersuchung einer antiken Stadt am mittleren Strymon (Struma)", *Klio* 62 (1980) 19-26; *eiusdem*, "Grabmale aus der antiken Stadt Neine", *ŽA* 29 (1979) 133-42; Papazoglou, *Villes* 376.

5. Perdrizet, "Philippe" 317.

6. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 301; *eiusdem*, "Notes" 554; *eiusdem*, "Philippe" 105; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 409. For another local *koinon* in Eastern Macedonia, see *IGBulg* IV 2264.

7. It was first published by Delacoulonche 248, no 35; the text was re-edited with corrections and commentary by Rostovtzeff, "Inscriptions" 172-74, no 2; cf. *BullEpigr* 1954, 158. On Euporia see Papazoglou, *Cités* 269-71; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 359-61, with references and discussion of its site (cf. also Hammond, *Macedonia* I 197 and *BullEpigr* 1987, 708).

of Ioron, makes a dedication to Asklepios, Hygieia and the citizens of the nearby city of Morrylos.<sup>1</sup> Another Iorian, Torkouatos son of Lysimachos, who also seems to have sought his fortune in distant Beroia, rose to such prominence that he was honoured by a decree of the Macedonian *koinon*.<sup>2</sup> Bastos, Tarys, Alexandros, Apollodoros, Sosias, Sosipolis, Torkouatos and Lysimachos present a mixture of Greek and pre-Greek names similar to that of the two Gazoros decrees. In fact the strongest argument against the relevance –on European soil at least– of Hahn's<sup>3</sup> schematic distinction between Greek full citizens on the one hand and "native" inferior *perioikoi* on the other is provided by the very names of the ambassadors of the Hellenistic decree and of the "presidents" of the Roman one: bearers of Greek and pre-Greek names alike participate fully in the life of the enlarged community and share equally the offices and the honours. The two elements, perhaps still distinct in the Hellenistic period, have completely fused by the time of the Roman decree. As Vatin had very aptly observed in the commentary he devoted to it: "il ne s'agit donc pas d'une hellénisation récente et superficielle, mais d'une fusion déjà ancienne d'éléments ethniques divers" and farther below: "on admirera plutôt la force de rayonnement des institutions politiques grecques qui se sont imposées et implantées vigoureusement en plein pays thrace".<sup>4</sup> The new Gazoros inscription amply confirms the intuition of the French scholar about the high antiquity of the roots of this fusion.

1. So obscure that Müller, in his edition of Ptolemy's Geography (509,3), proposed to emend the reading of the manuscript which had preserved its name.

2. O. Walter, "Archäologische Funde (Makedonien)", *AA* 57 (1942) 178, no 18; cf. *BullEpigr* 1942, 96. On Ioron see Papazoglou, *Cités* 255; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 337, with references and discussion, and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 96-99, who propose to locate this Krestonian city near Palatianon.

3. Cf. Hahn 59; cf. Fanoula Papazoglou, "La structure sociale de la cité hellénistique et romaine", *GLAS CCCXLIII de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Classe des Sciences historiques*, no 5 (1986) 1-8; *eiusdem*. "La population des colonies romaines en Macédoine", *ŽA* 40 (1990) 111-24, with my remarks in *BullEpigr* 1992, 297.

4. Vatin, "Inscription" 61. For this reason it is difficult to accept Papazoglou's (*Villes* 374-75) contention that τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἃ διὰ χρόνου φόρον διδῶσιν, mentioned in a letter of Antoninus Pius to the city of Paroikopolis (?) (*IGBulg* IV 2263) are disenfranchised native πάροικοι and that it is natural to suppose that in such a city, founded amid a barbarian population, there was a great number of inhabitants deprived of civic rights.

## ADDENDUM

Chrysoula Veligianni, in an article ("Gazoros und sein Umland. Polis und Komai", *Klio* 77 [1995] 139-48), published after the completion of the present chapter, returns to the inscription which she had (re)edited twelve years earlier (Epigraphic Appendix no 39), in order to discuss the comments and suggestions that her former paper had prompted. She does not object to Ph. Gauthier's ("Récoltes" 413-18) emendation of the fourth line of the inscription (ἕως νέων instead of ἕως ἱ νεῶν), but she maintains that the honorand, Plestis, was a "royal functionary" (see, however, the objections of Jeanne and Louis Robert [*BullEpigr* 1984, 259] and of Gauthier himself ["Récoltes" 418, n. 30]) and she seems reluctant to accept a dating of the inscription under either of the last two Antigonids (see, however, the unanimous opinion of all scholars who have dealt with the matter, p. 52, n. 6, above).

However, most of her paper is devoted to the question of the status of Gazoros and its συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι. Veligianni concludes (p. 148) that "the formulation of the decree indicates that the inhabitants of the villages belonging to the city's territory were separated from the citizens' body and had a subordinate status", and that "this structure of the political organization is not analogous to the political organization of the rest of Macedonia", where "the village inhabitants enjoyed the same citizen rights as those of the cities".

Veligianni's conclusions depend exclusively on her interpretation of the formulation of the motivations and the enactment formula of the decree, which, according to her, make a clear distinction between the Gazorians, who are citizens, and the inhabitants of the villages "belonging to the city's territory", who are not. As I have tried to show in the preceding pages, neither the distinction between the Gazorians and the inhabitants of the villages, nor the fact that the Gazorians were indeed citizens necessarily make non-citizens of the inhabitants of the "villages". One has only to take into account that the citizenship in question is not that of Gazoros only, but of a wider political entity; Gazoros *and* the villages attached to it, the later day Pentapolis. This follows from the very formulation of the motivations: in line 3 the term πολῖται obviously applies to the inhabitants of the villages as well as to those of Gazoros, not only because it is extremely unlikely on general grounds that Plestis' ἐπαγγελία and παράπρασις were restricted to the inhabitants of Gazoros (cf. Veligianni, p. 143: "die Wohltaten des Geehrtes auch den Komen zugute

kamen"), but also because the use of the conjunction οὖν in line 9 leaves no doubt that they equally concerned the inhabitants of Gazoros and those of the villages who were saved thanks to his generosity and rewarded him by the enactment of the decree, voted by both; in lines 10-13 the preservation of the χώρα, where the villagers lived, appears as the main concern not of some population of subordinate status but of citizens explicitly called πολῖται, which can only mean that not only the Gazorians were included in that term; if, as the author states, the villages belonged to the territory (χώρα) of Gazoros, the preservation of which is mentioned in line 11, why should their preservation "all together and each one separately" be repeated in lines 13-14 (unless it is for the reason I suggested above, p. 67)? As for the absence of any mention of the inhabitants of the villages in the hortative formula, far from indicating that they were unimportant, clearly shows that they were included among the *politai*. Veligianni's assertion (p. 142) that the decree was not voted in a common assembly carries even less conviction, given her failure to provide any plausible parallel of some alternative sort of procedure. Finally, I fail to understand how the enactment formula (ἔδοξεν Γασωρίοις καὶ ταῖς συνκυρούσαις κώμαις) could mention both Gazoros and the "villages", while the closing formula (εἰρέθησαν καὶ ἐπεψηφίσθη) should concern only Gazoros (Veligianni, p. 143, n. 18). The author's reluctance to accept the citizen status of the villagers is all the more difficult to understand since she too, after Jeanne and Louis Robert and myself, sees in the Pentapolis of Roman times the successor of "Gazoros and the attached villages". She hypothesises, however, that the other members of the Pentapolis attained city status only in Roman times. (The argument that this delay was due to the mixed origin of its population, which put it apart from the Macedonian state and *ethnos* [p. 143], ignores the fact that, not only the Pentapolis, but also most of the Macedonian hinterland beyond the Axios had a population of mixed origin). But, as I have explained both in the present chapter (p. 59-63) and in a previous paper ("Villages" 167-68), Berga and Tragilos, at least, the only members for which we possess some information, had been cities for centuries before the Roman conquest.

To conclude: an evolutive model is not *a priori* impossible (p. 246-47, below), but given 1) the specific formulae of the decree, 2) the past history of some at least of these "villages" and, finally, 3) analogy from the rest of Macedonia, I still believe that in Late Hellenistic times the "villagers" of the future Pentapolis enjoyed citizen status and formed a sympolity with its administrative centre at Gazoros.



## VILLAGES, CITIES AND *ETHNE* IN UPPER MACEDONIA

Although one should not *a priori* exclude the possibility that some civic traditions had independently developed among the pre-Greek populations of Eastern Macedonia,<sup>1</sup> the striking similarity of the institutions encountered there with those of the rest of Macedonia leave little doubt that the forms of local government studied in the previous chapter were introduced by the Macedonian administration and the Macedonian settlers. If we want to study these institutions in their birthplace, we have to turn to Upper Macedonia, the original cradle of the Macedonian *ethnos*, where the *kome* remained the basic unit of local government until well into Roman times.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not yet possess any complete Upper Macedonian decree from the pre-Roman period. The most ancient public document from this area emanating from a local authority is a fragment of a fourth- or early-third-century catalogue (rather than decree)<sup>3</sup> from Hagios Georgios (Tsourchli)<sup>4</sup> in Tymphaia,<sup>5</sup> the Upper Macedonian canton, usually coupled with Parauaia as a single unit.<sup>6</sup> The surviving portion of the date is indicated perhaps by a regional magistrate (*strategos?*), by a day of the Macedonian month Gorpaios, and by two local magistrates: the *skoidos* and perhaps the *poli-*

1 . Such as, for instance, the primitive inhabitants of Berga.

2 . Cf., among recent discussions, Papazoglou, *Cités* 315-16; *eiusdem*, "Koina" 170-71; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 362-67; *eiusdem*, "Macedonia" 198-99; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 442; Kanatsoulis, "Ὀργάνωσις" 184-92; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 85-123 and my discussion in "Villages" 153-60.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 63. The document can be only dated from its letter forms, which present notable similarities with those of a whole series of Macedonian inscriptions examined in my paper "Lettre".

4 . On the important site of Hagios Georgios (Tsourchli), see Papazoglou, *Villes* 244.

5 . This is the opinion of the editors of the *Ἐπιγραφές Ἄνω Μακεδονίας* (see map at the end of the volume). On Tymphaia-Parauaia, see Mack 102-103, 121-25; Hammond, *Epirus* 680-82; Papazoglou, *Villes* 229-32 and, for my opinion, Hatzopoulos, "Atintanes" 187-88.

6 . Cf. Bosworth, *Commentary* 76-77; *eiusdem*, "Pellion" 91, n. 22; *eiusdem*, "Illyrians" 81; Hatzopoulos, "Limites" 82, n. 15; *eiusdem*, "Atintanes" 187-88.



*tarches*.<sup>1</sup> *Skoidos*, of which this inscription is the first epigraphic attestation, is the title of a magistrate whose exact functions are not yet clear.<sup>2</sup> Nor can we be certain about the title and, therefore, the duties of the second official, but there can be little doubt that he was another civic magistrate. Be that as it may, the document provides decisive evidence that not only under the Romans, but already under the kings, Tymphaia was composed of a number of self-governing communities.<sup>3</sup> Apparently none of them was significant enough in order to enjoy the status of a *polis*<sup>4</sup> and this explains why our literary sources invariably content themselves with referring to individuals from this region with the general *ethnikon* Tymphaios.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the mention of civic officials as executive magistrates of this apparently rural community should not surprise us. That such officials were traditionally Macedonian and were not first introduced by the Romans follows from the fact that we find them in Orestis in Roman times, although the country was no longer a part of Macedonia at the time of the Roman conquest and remained outside the province thereafter. Moreover, the pre-Roman origin of the politarchs has now been also independently established beyond doubt, as we shall see in more detail below.<sup>6</sup> The fact that we find them occupying the same position

1. I would tend to agree with Fanoula Papazoglou, "Politarques" 448, n. 43, who believes that this magistracy originated in the peripheral regions (cf. Upper Macedonia) or even perhaps in the external possessions of the Antigonids. I had aired the same hypothesis in my communication "Politarques" 142.

2. Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 262-64, with references, bibliography and discussion.

3. For the importance of this document –if indeed it should be dated after the first quarter of the third century and not earlier, as it seems to me more likely now– as evidence that Tymphaia-Parauaia had reverted to Macedonia after the death of Pyrrhos, who had annexed it to Epeiros, see Hatzopoulos, "Atintanes" 188; *eiusdem*, "Villages" 155.

4. With the apparent exception of Aiginion, on which see Hammond, *Epirus* 681; *eiusdem*, *Macedonia* I 139, n. 1. It is, however, doubtful whether, by the time we begin to have some evidence about its institutions, it still belonged administratively to Macedonia.

5. Cf. Arr., *Ind.* 18,6: "Ἀτταλός τε ὁ Ἄνδρομένης Τυμφαῖος."

6. My suggestion that the title of the second civic magistrate be restored as *πολιτάρχης*, an office which did not become general in Macedonia before the second century B.C., is not necessarily contradicted by the fact that our inscription belongs to an earlier period. This office –unless it was created *de nihilo*–, before being generalised, perhaps existed in some Macedonian regions, and Tymphaia in Upper Macedonia may have been one of these regions. This would explain its diffusion in the lower valley of the Aoos (Olympe) in the late third century, when this area came under Macedonian control (Papazoglou, "Politarques" 448, with my answer to Cabanes' objections in Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 37, n. 4; Cabanes, *BullEpigr* 1994, 356, indefatigably repeats that the politarchy in Charadros was a Roman creation, without explaining

in Upper Macedonian documents from Roman times is merely another confirmation of the remarkable stability of Macedonian institutions. This institutional permanence and continuity, that we verified also in Gazoros, encourages us not to reject *a priori* later documents containing valuable information about the internal organisation of Upper Macedonian *komai*.

Kranochorion is today an utterly insignificant village of some 200 inhabitants on the left bank of the Haliakmon,<sup>1</sup> in ancient Orestis. There is no reason to believe that the ancient Battyna, to which it has succeeded, was any more important. The only decree<sup>2</sup> of Battyna that has come down to us is "signed" by no more than 56 citizens.

Few documents offer such a vivid picture of political institutions at work in a Macedonian community as this decree, enacted in April A.D. 193,<sup>3</sup> which provided for measures against encroachment on communal land (δημοσία γῆ, δημόσιοι τόποι) by non-Orestans. It was voted during a meeting of the People's Assembly, which was apparently composed of the entire citizen body, whose "signatures" were appended at the end of the original document. The Assembly was convoked and presided over by the politarch (ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαττυναίων πολιτάρχου), who appears as the sole magistrate of the community. Many citizens participated freely in the discussion—or rather the general lamentation (πολλῶν ἀποδυρομένων)—and finally a proposal—probably at the initiative of the politarch—was put to the vote and was unanimously approved (ἔδοξε τῷ τε πολιτάρχῃ

why in 167 B.C. the Romans chose to introduce this magistracy in this community only out of the entire Epeiros, which they had conquered by then).

1. According to the census of 1961 this village had 226 inhabitants.

2. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 186; for an excellent analysis, see Gschnitzer, "Battynäer" 149-56, and also now Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 156-58 and Buraselis, "Battynäer" 279-92. Decisive progress towards the establishment of a satisfactory text was made by Edson in 1937, who studied the stone and took photographs and squeezes (*Notebooks, Fourth Meris* 312). A good text would have been available much earlier, had the squeeze taken by A. Evans at great pain in 1910 not been stolen from him (letter to A.J.B. Wace, March 5, 1911, kept with Wace's papers at the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge).

3. There has been some dispute whether the era used is the "national" Macedonian one, as I have presumed, or a special Orestan one starting from 197/6 (or 196/5), the year of the "liberation" of Orestis from Macedonia. For some recent discussions cf. Papazoglou, "Aspects" 363, n. 275; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 240, n. 34; Gschnitzer, "Battynäer" 151 and 156, n. 25-27; Aichinger, "Reichsbeamten" 636-37; Buraselis, "Battynäer" 287-88. In any case, the other possibly Orestan dated inscription from Sistani (Rizakis-Touratsoglou 187) does not seem to use some special Orestan era, but the "national" one, and its evidence weighs against such a hypothesis for the dating of the decree of Battyna.

καὶ τοῖς πολεῖταις ὁμογνομοῦσιν). The text was sealed by the politarch and finally engraved on the stele.

All the scholars –with one recent and notable exception<sup>1</sup> who have studied this important document qualify Battyna as a *polis*.<sup>2</sup> However this word is nowhere used in the text of the decree. On the contrary, the community is consistently referred to as a πολιτεία (L. 10 and 30). It was a corporate body, which owned land, could receive land as a grant (L. 10), had a treasury to which payments were made (L. 30) and an archive where public documents were kept (L. 36), as in Gazoros. Its collective will found expression in the Assembly of the citizens, which could pass legislative regulations, like these recorded on the stone, grant citizenship –local but consequently also Orestan<sup>3</sup> (L. 21) and perhaps also the right of *enktesis* or the leasing of public property (L. 21-22). Its decisions were carried out by its sole annually elected magistrate (τὸν κατ' ἔτος γεινόμενον πολιτάρχη) – eventually with the help of citizens that he could commandeer (L. 25-26)– who was also in charge of the public seal and presumably the public archive and the treasury.

In what respect, then, was Battyna less than a *polis*? Neither the exiguity of the community nor the presence of apparently only a single magistrate constitutes a determining factor. Ledon in Phokis, in the time of Pausanias, had a mere 70 inhabitants,<sup>4</sup> whereas Panopeus could boast neither a magistrates' office nor a gymnasium nor a theatre nor an agora.<sup>5</sup> This, however, did not prevent either of them from being considered as cities or from participating in that capacity in the *koinon* of the Phokians. Perhaps even more than the absence of a Council, whose importance should not be underestimated, for it usually constituted the characteristic body determining the status of a community,<sup>6</sup> it was the absence of an international and –more sig-

1. Gschnitzer, "Battynäer" 151.

2. From Woodward ("Macedonia" 341) to Papazoglou (*Cités* 184-86; cf. *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 364 and, with some reservations, *Villes* 240-41), with the exception of Hammond (*Macedonia* I 114), who calls it a tribe (see also Buraselis, "Battynäer" 279, n. 2).

3. For a similar practice in Hellenistic Akarnania, cf. *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup>, 2, 391-392 and *addenda* p. 78, discussed by Cabanes, "Etats" 105; *eiusdem*, "Pouvoir" 354.

4. Paus. 10.33.1.

5. Paus. 10.4.1.

6. For the Council embodying the autonomy of a community, cf. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I 798; M.H. Hansen-T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance", *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantium* ("Historia Einzelschriften" 87; Stuttgart 1994) 37-44.

nificantly— of a national legal status which distinguished *politeiai* such as Battyna from the *poleis* of Macedonia. Not being *poleis*, the Upper Macedonian *politeiai*, like the Athenian *demoi*, (and unlike some of the "senior" members of the East Macedonian sympolities) could not establish individually any "international" relations, even in non-political fields.<sup>1</sup> Whatever their particular origin, for the outside world their citizens bore the citizenship of one of the major regional (rather than tribal) units, under whose *ethnikon* they were known.<sup>2</sup> More significantly, in the strictly political field within Macedonia itself, the Upper Macedonian *politeiai*, like the individual members of the East Macedonian Pentapolis, could not deal directly with the central authorities, be they the King, the Macedonian *koinon* or the Roman governor. They had to act through the agents of the major unit, who alone were empowered to represent all the small individual communities *vis-à-vis* all external authorities. In the same way that the sympolity around Gazoros communicated its decree to the King through the three ambassadors whom they collectively elected, the Battynaeans transmitted their decision to the Roman governor through the three ambassadors of their *ethnos*.<sup>3</sup> The only difference between these two cases, which are separated by nearly four hundred years and the whole width of Macedonia, is that the ambassadors of the sympolity had to be elected *ad hoc*, whereas the Orestans seem to have disposed of a permanent board of representatives.<sup>4</sup> There is no doubt that these ambassadors were appointed from among the most prominent members of their "nation". One of the three mentioned in the Battyna inscription, Kointos Ioulios Krispos, receives honours as

1. Cf. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 84-88; *eiusdem*, "Cités" 467. The inferior status of the Upper Macedonian *politeiai* compared with that of some of the members of the East Macedonian sympolities possibly reflects the different origins of the two categories. The sympolities of the New Lands were formed by the federation of pre-existing communities after the breakdown of older, pre-Macedonian, "ethnic" units, whereas the *politeiai* of Upper Macedonia were the different villages in which had settled members of ancient Macedonian *ethne*, that continued to function as such down to Roman times.

2. Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 597. Note, however, the case of Peithon son of Kratteas from Alkomena, a *kome* belonging to the *ethnos* of the Derriopes, who in Arrian, *Ind.* 18.6 figures simply as Ἀλκομενεύς.

3. L. 32-33: διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν το[ῦ] ἔθνους.

4. Cf. Pappadakis, "Δόγμα" 474. Gschnitzer, "Battynäer" 153 and 156, n. 30, rejects this view and suggests the alternative interpretation that the politarch of Battyna, before introducing this decree, had already obtained a decision of the "federal government" of the Orestans to send an embassy to the Roman governor. His arguments in favour of this complicated scenario do not seem decisive to me. See also Buraselis, "Battynäer" 286, n. 22.

a High Priest and benefactor from another similar small community, Lyke, on the islet of Hagios Achilleios on Lake Mikra Prespa.<sup>1</sup> Lyke, like Battyna, is referred to in this document as a *politeia* (Λυκαίων ή πολειτεία), and from another inscription of roughly the same period it is clear that this community too had only one politarch.<sup>2</sup> The pre-script formula: πολειταρχοῦντος ἐν Λύκη Φιλίππου is strongly reminiscent of that of the Hellenistic inscription from Hagios Georgios (see above) and other epigraphic and archaeological discoveries made on the islet leave no doubt that the history of the community goes back well into Hellenistic times.<sup>3</sup> The same remarkable continuity in the political organisation of Orestis is manifest also at the superior level of the *ethnos*. In Hellenistic times, on Delos, the Orestai dedicated to Apollo the statue of a king whose name has not survived.<sup>4</sup> Nearly two and a half centuries later at Argos Orestikon, which was probably the main settlement of the region, the same Orestai dedicated in similar terms a statue to a Roman emperor.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately the state of the stone does not permit the determination of the exact titles of the magistrates under whom the dedication was made. Alexandros in the sixth line was almost certainly the ἀγωνοθέτης, but the title of Drakas son of Alexandros in the fourth line could probably be restored as [ιερητεύο]ντος (other less likely possibilities: [προεδρεύο]ντος or [γραμματεύο]ντος or [στρατηγοῦ]ντος or [προστατοῦ]ντος).<sup>6</sup>

1. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 149: [Λυ]καίων ή πολειτεία | Κ. Ἰούλιον Κρίσπον | τὸν (ἀ)ρχιερεῖ καὶ εὐεργετῆν τιμηῆς χάριν, δι' ἐπιμελητῶν | Νειχάρχου τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ Τ. Φλασίου | Διονυσίου.

2. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 147.

3. For the excavations at Hagios Achilleios, see mainly Ph. Petsas, "Δοκιμαστική ἀνασκαφή νησίδος Ἁγίου Ἀχιλλεῖου Πρεσπῶν", *Deltion* 17 (1961-62), *Chronika* 219-26.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 74.

5. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 188. In late antiquity Argos Orestikon was renamed Diokletianopolis, acquired the status of a city, and absorbed the *ethnos* of the Orestai (cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 180-84; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 236-39).

6. Cf. *agonothetes* as an eponymous official in Epeiros after the Roman conquest, Cabanes, *Epire* 551-53, nos 26-31; 586-87, no 71. For a dating by a *iepeús* in other inscriptions, probably from Orestis, see Rizakis-Touratsoglou 12, 71 and 74; for *proedroi*, cf. the Roman decree from Gazoros discussed above; the secretary (*γραμματιστάς*) appears as the eponymous magistrate on an inscription from Ambrakia dating from after the Roman conquest (Cabanes-Andreou, "Règlement" 501); *strategos* was the title given to the chief magistrate of the other minor northern Greek *ethne* "liberated" by the Romans at the same time as the Orestans, and in particular of the Magnetes and the Perrhaiboi (cf. Busolt II 1492-95); it seems that the chief magistrate of the Dassaretans was also a *strategos* (cf. N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 [1931] 220, no 587); for *prostatai*, cf. the very numerous instances from neighbouring Epeiros and, in particular, Cabanes, *Epire* 535-46, nos 1-8, 10-13; 561-62, no 35; 565-68, nos

Of what was now this Drakas chief magistrate? It might be thought that a second-century A.D. monument with an honorary inscription for a certain P. Ailios Polyuktos by the *synedroi*, built into a mosque in Kastoria could provide a clue.<sup>1</sup> But whether the stone came from Kastoria itself, the ancient Keletron,<sup>2</sup> or from nearby Argos,<sup>3</sup> there can be little doubt, despite the persistent –but repeatedly contradicted by epigraphic evidence<sup>4</sup> prejudice to the effect that Upper Macedo-

43-45; 569-80, nos 47-54; 581, no 56; 588-92, nos 74-77, and also possibly from Beroia (Feyel 194-95); one may wonder whether Alexandros, the head of the fourth *meris* in the Beroia inscription, is not related (possibly the son?) to Drakas son of Alexandros, the *agonothetes* of the Orestan *koinon*. To the same family may belong Alexandros son of Drakas, who figures with the incomplete title [---]ακτορεύοντο(ς) (which on the basis of an inscription from Resna mentioned by Papazoglou, *Villes* 271, n. 89, should be restored [πρ]ακτορεύοντο(ς) [*BullEpigr* 1989, 433]; cf. the πολιτικός πράκτωρ in the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia [Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 42]) on a dedication from Lyke (Rizakis-Touratsoglou 147). Is it possible that the same obscure title figured on the inscription from Argos Orestikon?

1. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 189: [Π.] Αἴλιον | Πολύευκτον | οἱ σύνεδροι | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

2. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 182; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 238. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 116. On the ancient name of the town, see the discussion and references in *BullEpigr* 1951, 126.

3. On Argos cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 180-82; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 236-38; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 110-11. To the information contained in the works mentioned there it is perhaps not pointless to add A. Evans' letter to A.J.B. Wace of March 5, 1911, which is kept with Wace's Notebooks at the library of Pembroke College Cambridge, for it contains information concerning the discovery of the inscription in honour of Emperor Claudius, which was not accessible either to Rizakis-Touratsoglou (188) or to Papazoglou (*Villes* 237, n. 17). "The most important site that I explored was that of Orestis, in Orestian Argos on the Belica, the larger of the two confluents of the Haliacmon-Vistritza. It is in the immediate neighbourhood of the large Bulgar-speaking village, or small town of Krupista. I found the absolute clue to the site in a monument erected in honour of Claudius by the KOINON ΟΡΕΣΤΩΝ, found near the mosque and afterwards walled in at the Turkish School. I got at it by a ladder. I copied this and other inscriptions. They contain a great many Macedonian names. The site of Orestae is about 1 hour from Castoria – not more than 1/4 mile from Krupista".

4. Inscriptions pertaining to the Macedonian *koinon* have long since been known to have been found in Elemia and Lynkos (Kanatsoulis, "Κοινόν" 38). More recent discoveries now definitely also link Derriopos (Kanatsoulis, "Μακεδονιάρχαι" 30-32; cf. J.R. Wiseman, "A Distinguished Macedonian Family of the Roman Imperial Period", *AJA* 88 [1984] 577-78) and Pelagonia (Papazoglou, "Pélagonie" 295-96, no 8), to the *koinon*; it is true that the distinguished Yugoslav scholar doubts that the inscription under discussion concerns the "federal" *koinon*, for "on n'aurait pas omis de l'indiquer spécialement s'il s'agissait du conseil provincial", but this presumption is simply erroneous: all the recorded members of the Macedonian *koinon* are referred to in inscriptions simply as *synedroi* (Kanatsoulis, "Κοινόν" 90-92).

nia was not part of the Macedonian *koinon* in Roman times,<sup>1</sup> that it refers not to some local Orestan *koinon*, but to the Common Macedonian *synedrion*. In fact, if we are to understand the organisation and the functioning of the Orestan *koinon*, we shall have to turn to a federal decree of another Upper Macedonian "nation" found at Čepigovo, the ancient Styberra in Derriopos.<sup>2</sup> We shall again be using a document of a later period. The remarkable continuity, both at the level of the village and at that of the *ethnos*, that we have verified in the case of Orestis is sufficient to vindicate in principle the legitimacy of such an approach. One should be very cautious, however, and not automatically and indiscriminately transpose details of administrative organisation over a period of several centuries.

The similarity of the prescript of the decree from Derriopos to that of the Roman decree from the Pentapolis of Gazoros is striking: Παρά Φιλίππου τοῦ Ποσιδίππου, Ὁρέστου ἢ τοῦ Ὁρέστου, Παραμόνου τοῦ Λυκίνου, τῶν ἀποκληρωθέντων προέδρων, δόγματος ἀναγραφή τῆ ἸΑ τοῦ Δαισίου μηνὸς τοῦ ΓΜΣ ἔτους (Derriopos) – Παρά Σύρου τοῦ Εὐάλκου, Κοξειμάσου [τοῦ] ἢ Πολυχάρμου, Δούλεους τοῦ Βείθους, τῶ[ν] ἢ κληρωθέντων προέδρων, τῆ Ἰ τοῦ Ἀρ[τ]εμισίου μηνὸς τοῦ QP σεβαστοῦ ἢ τοῦ καὶ FT ἔτους, Αἰούλα (sic, Διούλα?) Ἡρουνος ἢ τῶ ἐν Γαζώρῳ μνήμονι. Δόγμα τὸ κυρωθὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἀπεστάλακμεν ἢ πρὸς σε καθάπερ ὁ νόμος συντάσσει (Pentapolis).

Three *ad hoc* presidents chosen by lot are responsible for the transmission and publication of a decree called in both cases a *dogma*. Although the archive keeper is not mentioned in the Derriopos decree, the formula with παρά, which is of venerable antiquity in Macedonia (see the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia, below), is unambiguous. The obvious question is who were these presidents and what was their relationship to Derriopos, mentioned in the decree, on the one hand, and to the city of Styberra, in the ruins of which it was found, on the other. The most convincing answer has been provided by Papazoglou

1. Cf. E. Kornemann, "Koinon", *RE Suppl.* IV (1924) 930; J.M.R. Cormack, "High Priests and Macedoniarchs from Beroea", *JRS* 33 (1943) 42-43; Kanatsoulis, "Κοινόν" 37-38; Papazoglou, *Héraclée* 21-22; Deininger 92. What all these scholars failed to realise is that the Macedonian *koinon* was not a *provincial* assembly but a "national" one, continuing the Commonwealth of the independent Macedonian *ethnos*, as we shall see below.

2. The most recent edition is that of N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 185-86, no 500; cf. the corrections and discussion of the date by Papazoglou, "Eres" 18-19; but the less inaccurate one remains that of P. N. Papageorgiou, "Ἐπιγραφή Δερριόπου ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ", *Athena* 20 (1908) 3-4.

in a series of studies:<sup>1</sup> Styberra was the main, yet only one of the several communities forming the *ethnos* of the Derriopes. The decree emanates not from Styberra, which was a *polis* since Hellenistic times,<sup>2</sup> with a Council and an Assembly, as we know from other inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> but from the *ethnos*, and this gives it its unique value. The politarchs of all the communities of Derriopos,<sup>4</sup> on the initiative of their acting chairman (τῶν περι Βάρβαρον Φιλίππου ἐν Δερριόπῳ πολιταρχῶν), convened the Council of the *ethnos* (συναγαγόντων τὸ βουλευτήριον) composed of *bouleutai* from Styberra, which certainly disposed of a *boule*,<sup>5</sup> and perhaps of representatives from other communities too<sup>6</sup> and three presidents of the meeting were appointed by lot.

It seems, indeed, that in Derriopos only Styberra was important enough to have its own Council<sup>7</sup> and qualified, therefore, as a *polis*,<sup>8</sup> whereas Alkomena, the only other community of this *ethnos* which is more than a mere name to us, does not seem to have disposed of such a constituted body and is therefore referred to as a *kome*.<sup>9</sup> Papazoglou had thought that Alkomena was a *kome* of Styberra, on which it was dependent.<sup>10</sup> But there is no reason to believe this any more than

1. Papazoglou, *Cités* 212-16; *eiusdem*, "Koina" 165-67; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 365-66 and now "Stèles", 233-70 and *Villes* 292-97.

2. Cf. Pol. 28.8.8; Livy 31.39.4; 40.24.7; 43.18.5; 19.2; 19.13; 20.3. Cf. the early-second-century dedication from Tirizis in Scythia published recently by M. Lazarov, *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (1985, 3) 47-50: Ἀντίγονος Ἡρακλείτου Στυβερραῖος Μακεδῶν ὑπὲρ βασιλείως Σαριάκου Διοσκούροις Σωτήρσιν, to which Papazoglou, *Villes* 472, has drawn attention.

3. Vučković-Todorović 79: Ποσιδίππον Θεοσάλου | ἡ Στυβερραίων βουλή | καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν πολείτην | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα; cf. N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 186, no 501: Στυβερραίων | ἡ πόλις καὶ οἱ συναπραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι Ἀρχέπολιν Ἀπολλοδώρου τὸν εὐεργέτην.

4. We know the name of at least one politarch of Styberra; cf. Demitsas 304, no 260.

5. Vučković-Todorović 79.

6. Cf. the organisation of Magnesia after 196 and the place of Demetrias in it (Busolt II 1491-94).

7. Vučković-Todorović 79.

8. Demitsas 304, no 261; N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 186, no 501; *eiusdem*, *Spomenik* 98 (1941-1948) 184-86, no 388; 186-87, no 389; Vučković-Todorović 79; 81. Livy 39.53.14-16 qualifies as an *urbs* Perseis, the new settlement which Philip V founded in Derriopos in 183. But its site has not been identified and it is not even certain that this project was ever completed (cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 224; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 304-305).

9. N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 140-41, no 339 and 342: ἠρίθμησεν τῇ Ἀλκομεναίων κώμῃ; ἠρίθμησεν τῇ κώμῃ Ἀλκομεναίων. On Alkomena see Papazoglou, *Cités* 221-23; *eiusdem*, "Fragment" 307-308; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 302-303.

10. Papazoglou, "Koina" 167.



that Battyna or Lyke were *komai* of Argos Orestikon. Alkomena, like the Orestan *politeiai*, was simply a lesser member of the *ethnos* of the Derriopes, but in no way directly dependent on any—even major—fellow community.<sup>1</sup> The decree mentions the Council as the recipient of the legacy, the decision is taken by the Council, and the capital is paid out to the ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν βουλῆς δηναρίων. The overlapping of the Council of the city with that of the *ethnos* that we suggested above, goes a long way to explain certain otherwise incomprehensible confusions between city and *ethnos* both in this decree<sup>2</sup> and in other documents of Derriopos.<sup>3</sup> The ratification by the Popular Assembly of the *ethnos* is not mentioned in the decree, although reference is made to this body in another inscription (δήμῳ Δερριόπων).<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to say with certainty whether its absence is due to the nature of the specific matter under discussion, which exclusively concerned the Council, or to an evolution which had rendered the already purely formal meetings of the assembly completely obsolete (cf. the Roman decree from Gazoros). In the individual communities, however, there is no doubt that the popular Assembly remained a living institution: the *demos* of Styberra, along with the *boule*, voted honours to Posidippos son of Thessalos,<sup>5</sup> and we possess two decrees of the *kome*—i.e. apparently only of the popular Assembly—of Alkomena, which accepted two legacies similar to those that M. Ouettios Philon donated to the *ethnos* of the Derriopes.<sup>6</sup> If the status of Styberra reminds one of Gazoros, that of Alkomena is strongly reminiscent of that of Berga. Literary sources call it a *polis*,<sup>7</sup> and just as a citizen of Styberra is called Styberraios (cf. Gazorios), its *ethnikon* Alkomeneus (cf. Bergaios) is used to qualify one of its "citizens".<sup>8</sup> The epigraphic evidence, however, attests explicitly that, although the community

1. In her recent work Papazoglou leaves open the question whether Alkomena was a *kome* of Styberra or a constituent member of the *koinon* of the Derriopes (*Villes* 303).

2. L. 9-11: κέ περιῶν τήν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐτείμησε μεγάλως κέ τελευτῶν οὐδέ τῆς | κατὰ τήν βουλήν τεμιῆς ἤμέλησεν.

3. Vučković-Todorović 81: Μή με λίθου μεγέθει μέμψη, πόλι, γράμματι κρεῖνον ἐνόια(ν) δήμῳ μάρτυρ[ι] | Δερριόπων.

4. Vučković-Todorović 81.

5. Vučković-Todorović 79.

6. N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 140-41, nos 339 and 342.

7. Strab. 7.7.9 C 327; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλκομεναί.

8. Arr., *Ind.* 18.6; cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 222; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 303. It is interesting to note that the "federal" *ethnikon* does not appear on inscriptions (its appearance in *IG* VII 356 is due to a misreading for Εὐρώπιος, as B. Petrakos has pointed out in his unpublished thesis on Oropos). Outside Macedonia a citizen of Styberra is referred to as Στυβεραῖος (*IG* XII 8, 206) or Στυβεραῖος Μακεδῶν (Papazoglou, *Villes* 472).

was divided in *phylai* (4), like any other Greek city, it was not a *polis* but a *kome*.<sup>1</sup> As with Berga (cf. above), the peculiarity of its constitutional position rather than a change of status provides the least unlikely explanation of this discrepancy.<sup>2</sup> Its status was undoubtedly the same as that of other Derriopian communities, of which we know only the names from literary texts or inscriptions: Bryanion, and perhaps Athacus, Pluinna<sup>3</sup> and the community of the Dolenestai, whose *ethnikon* figures in an ephobic catalogue from Styberra.<sup>4</sup> There is also another similar document from the same locality which contains an epigram mentioning the *demos* of the Derriopes instead of the city of Styberra as one would expect.<sup>5</sup> These last two pieces of evidence indicate that the city and the *ethnos* shared not only the same Council but also the same gymnasium. This particularity also explains the otherwise unjustifiably ambiguous allusions in the decree of the Derriopes to Philon's "home city", which can only be Styberra and to the "Council", which, because of the context, must be the Council of the *ethnos* (ὄτι κὲ πρόην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐτείμησε μέγᾳ κὲ τελευτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς ἰ κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τειμῆς ἤμέλησεν). The reference to the "ancient honours to his home city" alludes almost certainly to the oil foundation which Philon had financed at least eight years earlier. Just as the new legacy was bequeathed to the Council common to the *ethnos* and to the *polis*, so the previous foundation had benefited the gymnasium, which, reasonably enough, given the small size of the other communities, was shared by the city and the *ethnos*.

It is now easier to understand a dedication from Lynkos, which has caused no little controversy.<sup>6</sup> It was erected by Paulos Kailidios Phronton, who had been an *agoranomos*, had undertaken an embassy

1. N. Vulić, "Une inscription grecque en Macédoine", *Mélanges G. Glotz* II (Paris 1932) 869-76.

2. Papazoglou, *Cités* 222-23; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 302-303, prefers the latter explanation.

3. Strab. 7.7.9 C 327; Livy 31.34.7; 39.4-5; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 303-304.

4. Cf. Papazoglou, "Stèles" 240, n. 7; cf. 249.

5. Vučković-Todorović 81.

6. Cf. Demitsas 270-73, no 248; Perdrizet, "Héraclée" 161-64; N. Vulić, *Spomenik 77* (1934) 31-33, no 4; Rostovtzeff, *Empire* 650-51, n. 97; Papazoglou, *Cités* 191; *eiusdem*, "Koina" 164; *eiusdem*, *Héraclée* 14-15; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 364-65; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 262-63; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 85-86; Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 147-48: Παῦλος Καιλίδιος Φρόντων ἀγορανομήσας, πρεσβεύσας εἰς Δελφοῦς ἰ ἐπὶ τὸν Πύθιον, ἀργύριον ἐπιδούς τῇ πόλι εἰς σείτου ἀγορασίαν, σείτον ἰ ἐν σπάνει παραπωλήσας, γυμνασιαρχήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, εἰκόνων ἰ ἀναθέσεως καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου διὰ ἰ δόγματος, ταμεύων καὶ πολιταρχῶν, γυμνασιάρχης<ας> ἀποδοδεύ[γ]μ[έ]νος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Λυγκηστῶν ἔθνους καὶ υἱὸς ἰ πόλεως διὰ δογμάτων, τὴν στήλην ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων[v].

to Delphoi, had given money to the city to buy corn, had sold corn below market price in time of dearth, had become a gymnasiarch at his own expense, had been honoured by a decree of the Council with images and statues after his term as treasurer and politarch, and had been appointed, by decrees, gymnasiarch both of the city and of the *ethnos* of the Lynkestai, and "son of the city".

Herakleia was the only city of Lynkos<sup>1</sup> and apparently the only community to possess not only an Assembly, which convened in the theatre of the city grouped into urban tribes,<sup>2</sup> but also a Council.<sup>3</sup> The very few other communities of which we know the names (the Δεβ[.]αῖοι and the [..]αῖοι,<sup>4</sup> Nicea and other localities of unknown name or location) were simple *komai*, as far as we can judge from their modest remains.<sup>5</sup> In the light of the relationship of Styberra with the Derriopes it is very probable that the apparent confusion in Phronton's career is due not to carelessness but to the interpenetration of the two entities. Whereas Phronton's *agoronomia* was most probably held in Herakleia, his embassy at Delphoi may have been on behalf of the whole *ethnos*, as in the other analogous cases of the ambassadors of the συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι or of the *ethnos* of the Orestai. His *epidosis* and *parapraxis* concern only the city, but his *gymnasiarchia* is explicitly brought into relation both with the city and the *ethnos*, which like Derriopos and Styberra, must have shared the same gymnasium. Phronton, as politarch and treasurer may have served both entities, as is clear from the decree of Derriopos. Consequently, the *dogma* of the *bouleuterion* (cf. L. 5-6 of the Derriopos decree) which decided the erection of "images and of statues" may have been enacted on behalf of the city, as well as of the whole *ethnos*.<sup>6</sup>

1. Papazoglou, *Héraclée* 22-24; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 259; cf. 267; Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 17-19.

2. Janakievski 21. We know the names of at least four "tribes": Ἀρτεμισιάς, Ἀσκληπιάς, Ἡράκλειος, Διονυσιάς.

3. Papazoglou, "Septimia" 162.

4. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 181; Papazoglou, *Villes* 268.

5. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 194-99; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 365, n. 284; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 268-76; Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 18. Before the foundation of Herakleia the most important settlement was undoubtedly at Florina (cf. A.D. Keramopoulos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ", *Praktika* 1934, 70-72; G. Bakalakis, "Ἀνασκαφή ἐν Φλωρίνῃ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας", *Praktika* 1934, 91-114; and now Maria Lilimbaki-Akamatis and J. Akamatis, "Ἐλληνιστικὴ πόλις στὴ Φλώρινα", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 [Thessalonike 1993] 67-74), which should be most probably identified with the Ἀρραβαίου κῶμαι of Thucydides 4.124.4 (cf. Hatzopoulos, "Limites" 83, n. 16).

6. The humble βουλής ὑπηρέτης buried at Krateron (Rizakis-Touratsoglou 173) must have served the *bouleuterion* of the *ethnos* at Herakleia.

Unfortunately, no similar documents have yet been discovered concerning the other *ethne* of Upper Macedonia. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that they were organised along closely related lines from Classical times to the end of the Principate. The case of the Elemiotai is the clearest. A Hellenistic inscription from Delphoi<sup>1</sup> leaves little doubt that the ancient *ethnos* survived not only as a recruitment unit (see below), but also as a political organisation after the abolition of its ancient kingship and its annexation to the Temenid kingdom under Perdikkas III.<sup>2</sup> The use of the "federal" *ethnikon* was not exclusive and it seems that in several cases the name of the particular community was used even outside Elemia, like those of Styberra and Alkomena in Derriopos. This must be the case with Arkynia and Herkeia,<sup>3</sup> the location of which is to be sought not far from Gonnoi, but not in Pieria, and thus inevitably in Elemia. In fact urbanisation was an earlier and more widespread phenomenon in Elemia than in other Upper Macedonian regions, as the case of its capital, Aiiane, has revealed.<sup>4</sup> Besides Aiiane, which is explicitly qualified as a *polis*,<sup>5</sup> another city whose name is not known may have existed at Kozani, where a fragmentary inscription mentions the Council (and probably the popular Assembly),<sup>6</sup> unmistakable evidence, as we have already observed, of the status of the community. But it is equally possible that the Council (and eventually the People) named therein

1. Perdrizet, "Proxènes" 111-14: Θεοί | Δελφοί ἔδωκαν Φιλάρχῳ Ἑλληνίων Μακεδόνι Ἐ[λ]ειμώτ[η] | ἐκ Πυθείου; cf. an Early Hellenistic inscription from Phrygia (*MAMA X* [1993] 220): Φίλιππος | Μακεδών. Ἐνθα με γαῖα ἐκάλυψε | Φίλιπον Σωρία υἱόν, | μητρὸς δὲ Ἀντιγόνης | κρυπτόμ ὑποχθόνιος | ἀλλοτρίας δὲ ἔλαχον χώρας καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔμαντοῦ. | Εἰμι δὲ Ἐλημιώτης, | ἐκ πόλεως δὲ ΤΕΛΑ.

2. Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Limites" 85, n. 48.

3. Helly, *Gonnoi* II, no 12 and no 93 B, L. 28; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 440.

4. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 173; *eiusdem*, "Koina" 167-68; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 365; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 247-48 and 472; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 119. For the excavations of recent years, see Georgia Karamitrou-Mentesidi, *Aiani of Kozani, Archaeological Guide* (Thessalonike 1989); *eiusdem*, "Excavation at Aiani 1990", *AEMΘ 4, 1990* (Thessalonike 1993) 75-92; *eiusdem*, "Ἡ ἀρχαία Αἰανή" *Ancient Macedonia V* (Thessalonike 1993) 653-67; *eiusdem*, the chapter "Aiiane" in *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton, N.J. 1994) 29-32.

5. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 15.

6. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 34, unless we are dealing with a federal decree of the Elemiotai. Papazoglou, *Villes* 249-54 contends that a city named Elemia existed and was located at Kozani, but this is unlikely (see below). Her doubts concerning the restoration of the inscription which she had proposed in "Aspects" 365, n. 287, are justified, especially for a reason she does not mention: Μ(ἄρκος) Μάλειος Ἀπολλοδώρου is onomastically hardly acceptable. The beginning of the text should probably be restored: [Κ]ατὰ τὸ δό[ξαν τῆ | β]ουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | Ἀ]μμαλει[νὸν Ἀπολλο]δώρου (for the name Ἀμμαλεινός, cf. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 167).

are those of the *ethnos* of the Elemiotai, which would have their parallel in the Council and the People of the Derriopes mentioned in the inscriptions studied earlier in this chapter.

Yet other communities are known to us from passing epigraphic references. We learn in this way of Polystratos, son of Attalos, Ἐρδάρριος, who made a dedication to Herakles Propylaios at the ancient site at Kozani;<sup>1</sup> of two persons who lived in Alaibeia or Alebea (very possibly Herodotos' Λεβαίη) κώμη τῆς Ἐλημίας and made consecrations to the Autochthonous Mother of Gods at the sanctuary of Leukopetra near Beroia,<sup>2</sup> and of a couple who lived in ρεγιῶνι Ἐλημιωτῶν κώμη Δουρέοις and made a similar dedication.<sup>3</sup> Yet another dedicant οἰκῶν ἐν Ἐλημίᾳ gives his *ethnikon* as (?) Bistyrrios.<sup>4</sup> Megara –provided it is indeed a place-name– is known to us from an early imperial dedication,<sup>5</sup> and Greia and Euia –if really located in Elemia– from a royal letter which is discussed below.

In an honorary inscription from Servia of A.D. 200/201<sup>6</sup> survives some of the phraseology of the decree that had decided the erection of the monument:

"The community (*politeia*) of the Oblostai (honours) Phlaouia and Alexandra and Iouliane, their fellow-citizens (*politeides*) for their virtue and good-will, through the *epimeletai* Apollodoros son of Loukios, and Apollodoros son of Markos, in the year 232 of the Augustan era (which is also 348)".

It is not without interest to find again the same political vocabulary in the community of the Oblostai as in the Orestan Battyna and Lyke: the political unit is called *politeia*, a term clearly signifying a status inferior to that of a city, but its members are termed not *kometai*, like those of the subordinate villages of a major city (cf. the *vicani* or βικανοί of the peregrine villagers in the territory of the Roman colony of Philippoi),<sup>7</sup> but *politai*, as equal citizens both of the local community and of the *ethnos*.

1 . Rizakis-Touratsoglou 4.

2 . Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 305.

3 . Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 304. I have discussed the possible meaning and location of this place-name in Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61.

4 . Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 301-302 and 304, with references and a different reading and interpretation.

5 . Rizakis-Touratsoglou 143.

6 . Rizakis-Touratsoglou 37. In 1981 I had copied Ὀβλοστίων rather than Ὀβλοστίων.

7 . Collart, *Philippes* 285-88; cf. Edson, *Notebooks, First Meris* 652.

From the "ethnic" organisation of the Elemiotai we possess only two dedications in honour of Antoninus Pius and of Marcus Aurelius, which, however laconic, establish beyond doubt the existence of Ἐλημιωτῶν τὸ κοινόν and finally lay to rest the ghost of an alleged city Elemia.<sup>1</sup> "Elemiotes", being attested as the *ethnikon* of an *ethnos*, could not at the same time also have been that of a city.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the scarcity and the ambiguity of the evidence, Pelagonia, which in any case occupies an intermediary position between Upper Macedonia and Paionia, cannot make a very useful contribution to the discussion of the relationship between local and regional authorities in Upper Macedonia. Until the Roman conquest it was part of Paionia and, consequently, outside the borders of Macedonia proper. Only after the battle of Pydna and the partition of Paionia did it become a part of the fourth Macedonian *meris*, along with the other cantons of Upper Macedonia and with Eordaia. However, even in Roman times, although a pattern similar to that of the other Upper Macedonian cantons might be expected on general grounds, there is no certain evidence as yet of an "ethnic" organisation of Pelagonia.<sup>3</sup> Literary sources, indeed, name local communities, such as Ceremiae and Pisaion, and inscriptions mention other local units, such as Kolobaise, the Geneatae, the ....xini, the Dostoneis and the Neapolitai, the last two with the qualification of *koinon*.<sup>4</sup> As Papazoglou suggests, they seem to form small sympolities, like the ones

1. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 35-36; Papazoglou, "Koina" 168-69, *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 365 and n. 287; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61.

2. Papazoglou, *Villes* 249-53 reverted to her first opinion (Papazoglou, *Cités* 174-77) that a city named Elemia did exist in Roman times. She considers as decisive the fact that Livy 43.21.5 uses the expressions *Elimeam profectus* and *circa eam* which, especially the first, is grammatically possible only if *Elimea* is a city and not a region (otherwise he would have written *in Elimeam*). The argument is well taken, but at best it only proves that Livy considered Elemia to be a city. The Roman historian, however, had no first-hand knowledge of this area, and, as is well known, for these events he merely paraphrases or summarises the original Greek text of Polybios. Consequently, he had no means of telling if a Greek expressions such as ὁ δὲ Περσεύς πορευθεὶς εἰς Ἐλίμειαν, referred to a city or to a region. All he could do was to guess, and he may very well have guessed wrong. More recently A. Megas, "Ἐλίμεια-Αἰανὴ στὸν Λίβισ", *Α' Συμπόσιο Ἱστορίας-Λαογραφίας-Γλωσσολογίας Δυτικομακεδονικοῦ χώρου* [1976] 13-18, has proposed a slight but ingenious emendation to this passage of the notoriously corrupt manuscript of Livy: namely that CIRCAEAM should be emended to CIRCAAEANEN (= περὶ Αἰανῆν in Polybios' original).

3. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 199-211; *eiusdem*, "Koina" 169-70; *eiusdem*, "Pélagonie" 297; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 362, n. 274; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 69-71; 276-92 and 307; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 75.

4. Papazoglou, *Cités* 209-11; *eiusdem*, "Pélagonie" 292-97; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 367, n. 296; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 289-92.

encountered east of the Axios, also on originally Paionian soil. However, the *synedros* mentioned on a funerary inscription from Dunje was certainly not a member of the Council of the Dostoneis, as Papazoglou thinks, but like his Orestan colleague from Keletron or Argos, a Councillor of the federal Macedonian *synedrion*, whose members were the only officials to bear that title.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the existence of an urban centre named Pelagonia, to which Papazoglou remains attached<sup>2</sup> in spite of Hammond's objections,<sup>3</sup> is very improbable, and not solely on grounds of analogy based on the precedents of Derriopos, Lynkos and Elemia. A new inscription from Leukopetra, mentioning a slave γένει μακεδονικόν, ὃν ἠγόρασα ἐν Πελεγονικῇ,<sup>4</sup> clearly bought in the Pelagonian district and not in a city, makes the existence of an urban centre of such a name more doubtful than ever. The fact that Hierokles mentions a Pelagonia<sup>5</sup> carries no more weight than in the case of Eordaia, to which we shall turn now.

Eordaia did not originally have a Macedonian population and could not boast of an independent past similar to that of the other Upper Macedonian political formations, but had been a part of the Temenid kingdom since the beginning of the fifth century at the latest and from the political point of view, was, strictly speaking, a part of Lower Macedonia. However, its geographical situation and its economic, social and political level of development bring it close to Upper Macedonia and make it an area of transition between the upland principalities and the "maritime" kingdom.<sup>6</sup> We have no decrees of Eoridian communities or of a federal organisation of this region, but we do have a literary reference to Ἐορδαῖοι Μακεδόνες<sup>7</sup> which is strictly parallel to the mention of Λυγκησταὶ Μακεδόνες in Thucydides<sup>8</sup> and suggests a similar type of political organisation. Moreover, the use of the *ethnika*, leaves no doubt that Eordaia conformed to the structure of the other Upper Macedonian cantons. On a funerary monument from Herakleia Lynkou we read: Νείκανδρος Ὠφελίωνος

1. See above p. 83, n. 4.

2. Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 203-209; *eiusdem*, "Pélagonie" 273; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 362, n. 274; *eiusdem*, "Macedonia" 192; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 283-89.

3. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 74-75.

4. Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 304.

5. Hierokles 641.5.

6. On Eordaia, see Papazoglou, *Cités* 125-29; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 159-69; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 106-110; 436-38; II 62-64. For the expression παρά θάλασσαν Μακεδονία, see Thuc. 2.99.2.

7. Philostr., *Vit.soph.* 622; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 167.

8. Thuc. 4.83.1.

Ἐορδαῖος Κραννέστης,<sup>1</sup> which is strictly comparable to Φίλαρχος Ἑλλανίωνος Μακεδῶν Ἐλειμώτης ἐκ Πυθείου, the only difference being that, as the former inscription was engraved inside Macedonia, the *ethnikon* "Macedonian" is not mentioned.

Evidence about both the *ethnos* and the local communities goes back to the period of the kings. Several contemporaries of Alexander the Great are qualified by the *ethnikon* "Eordaios",<sup>2</sup> and from the catalogue of the Epidaurian *theorodokoi* we have the name of Mene-laos son of Nikanor, representing the whole district (ἐξ Εὐορδαίας) in the late fourth century.<sup>3</sup> Among the local communities Arnisa is known from the time of the Peloponnesian War,<sup>4</sup> Bokeria, which gave its name to the main lake of the district,<sup>5</sup> from a fourth- or third-century inscription and from an epigram in the *Anthology*,<sup>6</sup> and now from a Roman boundary stone discovered near Pyrgoi in Eordaia, delimiting the territories of the *Cielaeos*, the *Bocerraeos* and the *Dolichaeos*,<sup>7</sup> the Kormestai from a late Hellenistic dedication,<sup>8</sup> the Brynaioi from a first-century manumission,<sup>9</sup> and [---]BAPEA κώμη Ἐορδαίων from a second-century consecration from Leukopetra.<sup>10</sup> Epigraphic and, more generally, archaeological finds attest the existence of several other communities, whose names have not come down to us.<sup>11</sup> What has been in dispute is whether any of the Eordaian communities had the status of a city. A ghost that must be exorcised outright is the supposed city of Eordaia. Papazoglou is the last to defend its existence,<sup>12</sup> but the very arguments she had (rightly) used (only to disavow them later) against the existence of a city of Elemia<sup>13</sup> show that a city named Eordaia is an impossibility; for the same *ethnikon* cannot be used at the same time for the citizens of a

1. E. Preuner, "Aus alten Papieren", *AM* 46 (1921) 11-12.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 6.28.4; *Ind.* 18.5.

3. *IGIV*<sup>2</sup> 94 Ib 38.

4. On Arnisa see Papazoglou, *Cités* 125-26; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 161-62; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 106-109; Hammond-Hatzopoulos I 135; 142-43.

5. Papazoglou's (*Villes* 165) reticence is unfounded; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Artémis" 407.

6. On Bokeria, see Hammond-Hatzopoulos 135 and n. 6, with references; cf. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 109; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 164-65.

7. The inscription will be published by G. Souris.

8. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 88; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 165-66.

9. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 115; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 162.

10. Unpublished.

11. Cf. the map of the epigraphic finds from Eordaia in Rizakis-Touratsoglou.

12. Papazoglou, *Cités* 127-29; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 368, n. 304; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 166-69; *contra* Hammond, *Macedonia* I 109.

13. Papazoglou, "Koina" 168; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 365, n. 287.



region and for those of an homonymous city. The simultaneous attestation of a Νείκανδρος Ὁφελίωνος Ἐορδαίος Κραννέσσης and of a Γλαύκα Λουκίου Ἐορδαία<sup>1</sup> prove beyond doubt that such a city did not exist. The Eordaioi who brought their litigation against the orator Philiskos before Caracalla<sup>2</sup> were consequently not the citizens of a city but of an *ethnos*, which, like the Orestai, the Elemiotai and the Derriopes, must have possessed its own political organisation, its own *koinon*.

The status of the other communities mentioned previously is not known. On the other hand, we know that Kelle (or Kellion) was a city on its own right in Roman times.<sup>3</sup> Professor Hammond and I identified it with the ancient site near the modern village of Petrai,<sup>4</sup> and the

1. *SEG* 25 (1971) 708.

2. Philostr., *Vit. soph.* 622-23.

3. Papazoglou, *Cités* 126-27; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 162-64; Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 35-37.

4. Hammond-Hatzopoulos I 137; 141-42; Papazoglou, *Villes* 161-64 rejects Hammond's and my own identification of Gradista by Petrai with Kelle and of Vegora with Arnisa in order to maintain her former identification of the first site with Arnisa and to locate Kelle at Vegora (*eiusdem*, *Cités* 125-27). She gives four reasons for her choice: 1) Arnisa should be closer than Kelle to the defile of Lynkos, since it was the first city which Brasidas encountered when he had entered Perdikkas' realm. 2) She rejects the correction of the distance between *mutatio Grande* and *mansio Cellis* in the *It. Burg.* from XIII to VIII miles, since in her own words "de si petites distances ne sont pas indiquées sur la Table". 3) She does not believe that Cellis was the only city of Eordaia. In her opinion the administrative centre of the region should be called Eordaia and should be located in the centre rather than the periphery of the region. 4) She contends that if the southern part of lake Begorritis was dry land in Antiquity, the Via Egnatia need not have passed through Vegora. To these objections one might oppose the following arguments: 1) The identity of the city which Brasidas first encountered depends as much on its proximity to the defile as on the route which the Spartan leader followed. As anyone who has visited the area readily understands, Brasidas, in order to reach Petrai (Kelle) first, should have changed the direction of his retreat and turned eastwards. If he, more naturally, followed the straight and easier route, which is the same as the Ottoman and modern road, he reached Amyntaion and thence Vegora (Arnisa), the first community under Perdikkas' sway on his way to Lower Macedonia. 2) It is difficult to understand what the words "de si petites distances ne sont pas indiquées sur la Table" mean. The figures under discussion are not those of the *Tabula* but of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and it is simply not true that such short distances are not indicated there (cf. VIII m.p. between *mansio Arcas* and *mutatio Brutus*; VIII m.p. between *civitas Sidona* and *mutatio Ad Novum*; III m.p. between *mutatio Calamon* and *mansio Sicamenes*; III m.p. between *civitas Interamna* and *mutatio Tribus Tabernis*; VIII m.p. between *mutatio Sacaria* and *civitas Trevis*; III m.p. between *civitas Fulginis* and *civitas Foro Flamini*; III m.p. between *mutatio Victuriolas* and *civitas Mutena*). In all these instances we are dealing with distances between a *mutatio* and a *mansio* or *civitas*, as in our case. The reason is that the change of horses was sometimes necessary after particularly difficult stretches of the road, whereas accommodation for spending the night was not always available at the same spot. Hence the need first to stop at the *mutatio* and then to move on to the

excavations initiated there at our instigation have brought to light an important Hellenistic settlement.<sup>1</sup> The existence of a Kellion near Korytsa in Dassaretis, a region probably colonised under the reign of Philip II, is an indication that the name of the homonymous Eordaian community, the origin of which goes back to the Early Iron Age, had remained unchanged at least since the Late Classical period.<sup>2</sup> Yet we do not know its exact status in pre-Roman times.

I have left for the end our most important, but tantalising document from Upper Macedonia, a fragmentary letter of Philip V found at the modern village of Koilas,<sup>3</sup> which is usually considered as being situated in ancient Eordaia, but may have actually belonged to Elemia.<sup>4</sup>

"King Philip to Archippos, greetings. I have sent you the copy of the *hypomnema* submitted to me by Nikanor the *tetrarches* and his men. I concede therefore to them the arable land of Korrhagos son of

*mansio* or the *civitas*. The emendation of the distance between *mutatio Grande* and *mansio Cellis* in the *It. Burd.* was entirely independent of the identification of the latter with the site near Petrai. Moreover, it was absolutely necessary in order to bring the total distance between Herakleia and Kelle into line with the figures transmitted by the other Itineraries and the *Tabula*. The alternative would have been to suppose that the *It. Burd.* followed a longer and different route. The particular reasons for the presence of a *mutatio* at the head of the pass and of a *mansio* at a short distance from it were explained in detail on p. 137 of my joint article with N.G.L. Hammond. The presence of Roman baths in the plain at a short distance from the main site of Petrai is typical of stations on Roman roads (cf. p. 140 describing a similar situation at Edessa). For all these reasons our identification of the site by Petrai with Kelle (and of Vegora with Arnisa) continued to seem to me more convincing (cf. *BullEpigr* 1988, 817; M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Gnomon* 63 [1991] 57). The new inscription from Pyrgoi, however, which will be published by G. Souris (see p. 93, above), may vindicate now Papazoglou's contention, for a boundary stone between Bokeria (situated at Pharangi), Doliche (situated at Pyrgoi?) and Kelle makes better sense, if the last city is to be identified with nearby Vegora rather than with more distant Petrai. If such is the case, the site by Petrai should be identified with Arnisa and the divergent distances in *It. Burd.* shall have to find a different interpretation.

1. Polyxene Adam-Veleni, "Ανάγλυφο Ἀθηναῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρης Φλώρινας", *Ametos* (Thessalonike 1987) 1-9; *eiusdem*, "Eine Werkstatt für Reliefgefäße in Petres/W.Makedonien", *Akten des XIII internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie* (Berlin 1988) 309-311; *eiusdem*, "Petres", *Greek Civilization* (Athens 1993) 50-51; G. Veleni, "Νεότερες ἐρευνες στὰ ἑλληνιστικὰ σπιτία τῶν Πετρῶν", *AEMΘ 1, 1987* (Thessalonike 1988) 9-18; *eiusdem*, "Städtebauliche Forschung in der hellenistischen Siedlung von Petres", *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie* (Berlin 1988) 484-85; G. Veleni - Polyxene Adam-Veleni, "Ἡ ἑλληνιστικὴ πόλις τῶν Πετρῶν, ἀνασκαφικὲς παρατηρήσεις", *AEMΘ 2, 1988* (Thessalonike 1991) 5-17.

2. Hammond, "Frontier" 213-14.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

4. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61, n. 49.

Perdikkas, one of the metics in Greia, which according to them has a surface of 50 *plethra*, as long as they perform the sacrifices in the month of Apellaios. You, after transcribing my letter, display it before the *epistasion*. In the 42nd year, on the (--) of Audnaios. *Hypomnema* to king Philip from Nikanor son of Philotas, *tetrarches*, Theoxenos son of Kleitinos, *hypaspistes*, Bilos son of Nikanor, *lochagos*, and the Euiestai serving in the first *lochos*: Alexandros son of Proitos, Antigonos son of Alexandros, Nikanor son of Armennas, (---)machos son of Krateuas, (-----) son of Antigonos, Anti-----".

The unsatisfactory nature of some aspects of all the hitherto proposed solutions regarding the identity of the different persons and groups mentioned in the document is clear from the fact that one of its recent editors rejects the traditional identification of the main group, in order to present an entirely new one.<sup>1</sup> As L. Moretti points out, Nikanor and his *protolochia* cannot be military settlers –why should there be such a group in the heart of Macedonia?– nor can they be an entire unit of the garrison of this area. So he suggests that they belong to a religious *koinon* formed spontaneously among the soldiers serving in this garrison.<sup>2</sup> Archippos, on the other hand, has been almost unanimously<sup>3</sup> identified as the *epistates* of Greia, the city in whose ruins the inscription was found. As to Korrhagos' status, it has been discussed in some detail by C.B. Welles,<sup>4</sup> whose unconvincing theory (that Korrhagos was a metic and not a citizen of Greia, because allegedly for a Μακεδών like him to become a Γρηγεύς would have been a loss rather than a gain) has not yet found an altogether satisfactory alternative, although Moretti took an important step in the right direction.<sup>5</sup>

The organisation of the Macedonian army and the relations between the central authorities and the local communities form another part of this study; the relevant questions raised by this document are therefore reserved for a later discussion.<sup>6</sup> Here we shall endeavour to answer the following queries: 1) Where was the royal letter and the appended *hypomnema* published? 2) Who were the Euiestai? 3) What was Greia? 4) In what sense was Korrhagos a metic?

1. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 97-100, no 110.

2. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 98.

3. With the notable exception of the first editor Makaronas; see in particular Welles, "Texts" 248; Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 99, n. 3.

4. Welles, "Texts" 248.

5. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 98-99.

6. See Part IV, below.

Both Welles and Moretti take for granted that Greia was the *city* where the inscription was set up and whose *epistates* was Archippos.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is less certain and Ch. I. Makaronas, the first editor, had prudently refrained from making this identification.<sup>2</sup> He had suggested that the royal letter had been set up in "some city of Eordaia" from where Nikanor and his soldiers had addressed their *hypomnema*. In that he was, generally speaking, most probably correct. Indeed, following the usual diplomatic practice, the political or administrative position of the addressee, Archippos, is not mentioned and so remains unknown to us.<sup>3</sup> The fact, however, that Korrhagos is referred to as τῶν ἐγ Γρηῖαι μετοίκων seems to imply that Archippos and the petitioners belonged to a different community. In fact, if Greia had been the locality where they lived, the King would have been expected to use not the expression τῶν ἐγ Γρηῖαι μετοίκων but τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν μετοίκων, as in his letter to Amphipolis,<sup>4</sup> where the name of the city of the addressee is also omitted, but the metics from Ainos are referred to as οἱ Αἴνιοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες παρ' ὑμῖν. On the other hand, there is no cogent reason why Korrhagos, although domiciled at Greia, should not have held land in another community, the one to which Archippos and the petitioners belonged. In the Battyna decree the δυνατώτεροι τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν, also metics, since they did not possess Orestan citizenship, obviously did not live in that miserable hamlet, but in one of the major communities, such as Argos, the capital of the *koinon*, perhaps already a city, or the walled *oppidum* of Keletron on the site of Kastoria. If the analogy with Battyna is valid, Korrhagos was a metic not because he was not a citizen of Greia, but because he was not a citizen of Elemia (or Eordaia) at all, which, like Orestis, was the significant political unit and where lay both the community of Greia and Korrhagos' land. A clue to the identification of the community where the stele was set up, and in the neighbourhood of which the piece of land must have been included in the *hypomnema* of the petitioners. Unlike the addressee, whom the royal letter leaves unnamed, the petitioners, for obvious reasons, had to identify (and locate) themselves in their petition.<sup>5</sup> This could be done through the use of the *ethnikon* Euiestai, if, as all editors concur, this

1. Welles, "Texts" 248; Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 98-99.

2. Makaronas, "Ἐπιστολή" 121.

3. Cf. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 26, and n. 2 (= *Etudes* III 216 and n. 2), with references. Theoretically, as we shall see below, he may not even have been an *epistates*, but a *dioiketes* or an *oikonomos*.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

5. Cf. *OGIS* 139.

is indeed an *ethnikon*. The identification of a military unit simply through an *ethnikon* and the absence of a geographical indication, (cf. τῶν ἐν Θῆραι τασσομένων στρατιωτῶν,<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων Λυκίων<sup>2</sup>) contrasts with the usage of the other Hellenistic kingdoms with regard to their professional soldiers, but would correspond to what we should expect for a unit recruited locally, and to all that we know about the Macedonian army. This will be discussed more fully later, but can be briefly stated here: generally speaking there was no standing army.<sup>3</sup> As with all citizen militias (στρατιῶται πολιτικοί)<sup>4</sup> of Greece, soldiers were levied (on a geographical basis) according to need, in order to serve for a few months during the campaigning season. The principal exceptions were the royal bodyguards (*pezetairoi* under Philip II, *hypaspistai* under Alexander the Great, *peltastai* under the Antigonids), picked professional soldiers from all over Macedonia,<sup>5</sup> who stayed with the King and served continuously for several years, and, of course, the mercenaries, hired according to needs and used in peace time for garrison duty, usually outside Macedonia proper.<sup>6</sup> Now, it is obvious that the petitioners are neither mercenaries—for they all have typically Macedonian names—nor do they seem to belong to the royal bodyguards—for in that case why were they not stationed with the king, and why are they designated by the term *Euiestai* instead of *peltastai* (*vel sim.*)?<sup>7</sup> These would be sufficient grounds for discarding the possibility that they were professional soldiers on garrison duty. But there are other reasons as well: even if there temporarily happened to be a detachment of professional soldiers (*peltastai*) at that forsaken place,<sup>8</sup> why should the petitioners go

1. Lenger 80-82, no 33.

2. *OGIS* 146-147; cf. Bagnall 110, n. 111, with bibliography.

3. The best syntheses on the organisation of the Macedonian army in the Late Classical and the Hellenistic period are to be found in Berve I 103-217; Walbank, *Philip* 289-94; Griffith, *Macedonia II* 405-449 and 705-713; cf. now Errington, *Geschichte* 212-22 and Le Bohec, *Antigone* 289-320.

4. Cf. Diod. 18.12.2.

5. E.M. Anson, "The Hypaspists: Macedonia's Professional Citizen-Soldiers", *Historia* 34 (1985) 246-48.

6. Cf. Griffith, *Mercenaries* 65-79.

7. Cf. Walbank, *Philip* 291 and n. 9. For examples of different expressions used to qualify mercenary soldiers cf. notes 1 and 2, above.

8. Cf. the 2,000 peltasts momentarily used for the defense of Thessalonike, *but in time of war* (Livy 44.32.6) Even if we accept Pelekides' (*Πολιτεία* 16, n. 2; cf. Makaronas, "Ἐπιστολή" 126-27) reasonable emendation of Livy's (42.51.4) *Eulyestas* to *Euiestas*, the fact that the commanders of the royal bodyguards in 171 were both from Euia does not make their 2,000 men natives of the same community any more than the fact that the two commanders of the Macedonian cavalry were both from Anti-

to such trouble in order to secure this grant and to have it engraved on a stele, when royal bodyguards were the mobile force *par excellence* of the Macedonian army?<sup>1</sup> Therefore, there can be little doubt that we are dealing with a lasting arrangement (cf. "as long as they perform the sacrifices in the month of Apellaios"), implying that the petitioners were permanently domiciled in the community in which (or in the neighbourhood of which) the field in question lay. And this brings us to the meaning of στρατευόμενοι. From the Rhodian and Athenian parallels<sup>2</sup> for the use of this expression it is sufficiently clear that in citizen armies it does not signify permanent service or even necessarily effective service at a given time, but may be simply employed to indicate the unit where one serves whenever one is called to arms. The least improbable conclusion would be that the petitioners are simply the local levy or a part of the local levy. This does not necessarily exclude –any more than in the forts of Attica– some form of garrison duty to which local recruits might have been periodically liable. Our inscription comes from a site which controls the entrance to the pass of Kastania –and thence to Lower Macedonia– where the presence of some sort of check point would not be surprising. The mention of the *hypaspistes* might constitute an additional argument in favour of such a hypothesis.<sup>3</sup> If, then, Euiestai is an *ethnikon*, Euia is the name of the community where the inscription was engraved in antiquity and discovered in modern times. Greia, as was said above, may be the name of another community where Korrhagos was domiciled. Neither of them need be a city and in any case both of them belonged to the basic political unit of Elemia (or Eordaia), whose citizenship the same Korrhagos did not possess.<sup>4</sup> There is no

goneia tells us anything about their troopers (for the way higher officers were appointed, see part IV, below).

1. Mercenary detachments enjoyed a greater stability, as the relevant document from Thera attests (Lenger 80-82, no 33), but such a composition of the detachment is incompatible with the typically Macedonian names of its members. One wonders on what basis Makaronas ("Ἐπιστολή" 123) peremptorily speaks of "στρατιωτικῶν μάλιστα οὐχι τοπικῆς ὁμοιογενείας". The festival of the Appellaia, which the petitioners were to celebrate, had a preeminently local character and denotes a group with deep local roots (cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 558-59, with references).

2. Cf. *BullEpigr* 1966, 289 and for Athens, Petrakos, "Ἡ ἐπιγραφικὴ τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ καὶ τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος", *Πρακτικά τοῦ Ἡ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐπιγραφικῆς. Ἀθήνα 3-9 Ὀκτωβρίου 1982* I (Athens 1984) 335, with numerous examples and references and now *eiusdem*, "Ἀνασκαφὴ Ῥαμνοῦντος", *Praktika* 1991, 24-63.

3. Cf. Welles, "Texts" 249, n. 1; Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 97-100, no 110.

4. His particular status as a metic makes it easier to understand the fate of his 50 *plethra*. As we shall have occasion to see later, the Battyna inscription strongly sug-

reason why a community named Euia should not have been located near the modern village of Koilas. Hammond<sup>1</sup> equates Beue, on the border between Lynkos and Dassaretis, with Euia, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, along with Lychnidos, as a city of the Dassaretans.<sup>2</sup> Even if this section of Ptolemy's Geography is trustworthy, which is far from certain, the presence of an Euia in Dassaretis in no way excludes the existence of homonymous community in Elemia (or Eordaia). Macedonian settlers from Eordaia colonised eastern Dassaretis and transplanted the names of the river Eordaikos and of Kellion there.<sup>3</sup> Settlers from nearby Elemia may well have done the same with Megara<sup>4</sup> and Euia. In this original Euia (ἐν Εὐίοις τῆς Μακεδονίας)<sup>5</sup> –and not in Dassaretis– must have taken place the en-

gests that in Macedonia –as in Thessaly (cf. Habicht, "Zeugnisse" 275)– federal citizenship did not necessarily and automatically imply the right of ownership (*enktesis*) in the communities of which one was not a citizen. If Korrhagos had not been granted that right, he could not have been an owner but simply a leaseholder of communal, or, as seems to be the case here, of royal land. After his death, unless there was an explicit stipulation to that effect (cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 20 and no 22; cf. no 21) the land was not transmitted to his heirs, but reverted to the original owners, thus again becoming available for another use. For other examples of the use of the names of former owners or leasees for the identification of plots or royal land, cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 65. For the relation between full ownership of civic land and civic rights, cf. the case of Aristodikides from Assos (Welles, *Correspondence* 60-71, no 10-13) in conjunction to that of Aristolochos (Welles, *Correspondence* 186-88, no 45). There is little doubt that *politeia* –or at least *enktesis*– were among the "privileges" (φιλόνομα) which Aristodikides would demand in exchange for the incorporation of the royal land donated to him into the civic land of Ilios (see Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 52-53 and, now, Epigraphic Appendix no 55: ἰσοπολιτεῖαν... καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φιλόνομα).

1. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 64.

2. Ptol. 3.12.29

3. Hammond, "Frontier" 213-14.

4. For Macedonian Megara, cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 96; Megara χωρίον μακεδονικόν on the way from Molossis to Illyria mentioned by Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 2.2) cannot, evidently, be that of Elemia (Eordaia); it must be sought in the part of Dassaretis colonised by Macedonians from Elemia (or Eordaia), which is crossed by the only route joining the Ioannina basin to the Lake district, and "the Taulantian mountains" (Arr., *Anab.* 1.6.11) and the Taulantian kingdom beyond. An unexpected confirmation of this hypothesis has now come from an inscription on a *pitcher* in precisely this area, at a village near Korytsa: Φίλιππος Εὐρυδικῶν Μεγαρεὺς ἐποίησεν (S. Anamali, "Aperçu comparatif entre l'onomastique dyrrhachienne et apolloniote et celle des centres de l'arrière-pays illyrien", *Grecs et Illyriens dans les inscriptions en langue grecque d'Epidaure-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia d'Illyrie* [Paris 1993] 115). Evidently, this Megarian with his typical Macedonian name and patronymic did not come from southern Greece but was a local craftsman.

5. Diod. 19.11.2. Eurydike, apparently fearing an invasion from Epeiros, had moved with her forces into Eordaia or Elemia in order to intercept the Epeirotic army,

counter between Olympias, on the one hand, and Arrhidaïos and Eurydike, on the other, in 317. There is, however, another possibility, already suggested by Moretti, which cannot be excluded. We may indeed be dealing with "un koinòn con finalità religiose costituitosi spontaneamente tra alcuni dei militari di guarnigione colà".<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, it is the very name of the Εὐιέσται which might suggest such an interpretation, for it is highly reminiscent of those of religious associations of soldiers from Rhodes and elsewhere (Παναθηναῖοι, Ἀθαναῖοι, Σαμοθρακισταί, Λημνιασταί, Ἀπολλωνιασταί, Βακχισταί etc.).<sup>2</sup> In effect, Εὐιέσται may be a masculine equivalent of the ἱεραὶ Εὐιάδες in an inscription from Lete<sup>3</sup> and designate a religious association devoted to the cult of Dionysus. Such an interpretation would leave the petitioners without a readily recognisable identity (unless, of course, we locate them at Greia, though this seems improbable, given the phrasing of king Philip's answer, as we saw above), since there were certainly many *protolochiai* in the Macedonian army.

Whichever solution is adopted, one fact remains certain: the petitioners were citizen, non-professional, soldiers, recruited locally and perhaps serving locally, if one accepts the hypothesis of a check point near the site of the discovery of the inscription.<sup>4</sup> Evidence from Tymphaia, Orestis, Derriopos, Lynkos, Elemia and Eordaia attests to the permanence of the old style of political organisation, which can best be described in Thucydidean terms: a majority of unwalled villages federated into *ethne*.<sup>5</sup> Recent epigraphic discoveries both in Epeiros and in Macedonia<sup>6</sup> have amply demonstrated that this kind of organisation was not incompatible with a very high degree of political maturity and sophistication. Its persistence in Hellenistic and Roman Macedonia has hitherto been explained either as the result of the survival of traditions of regional autonomy and of the preservation of

which would have to use either the Kastania or the Armissa pass to penetrate into Lower Macedonia (both passes were successively used by Pyrrhos in 289 and 288; see Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* 148-49 with fig. 2 and 154; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61, n. 49).

1. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 98.

2. Launey 1018-1028.

3. *BullEpigr* 1987, 684.

4. The modern name of the hill where the inscription was found is Mount Skopos ("Scout"), for it commands the pass of Kastania.

5. Thuc. 1.5.1: πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κόμας οἰκουμέναις; cf. Cabanes, "Monarchies" 327; Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 152-53.

6. For Epeiros cf. the evidence discussed by Hammond, *Epirus* 525-40; Cabanes, *Epire* 120-72; for Macedonia, cf. the documents discussed in this chapter.



"clan formations"<sup>1</sup> or as the result of the *fiat* of the Roman conqueror.<sup>2</sup> The second thesis, defended by D. Kanatsoulis, is completely untenable and reflects a mechanical conception of historical evolution based on *a priori* postulates: on this view when the originally independent Upper Macedonian kingdoms were annexed to the Argead monarchy they were placed under the direct government of royal administrators, for the centralised régime of the Macedonian kings was incompatible with the decentralised form of federal self-government that existed before. After the abolition of the Macedonian kingship, the Romans, unwilling and/or unable to restore the old Upper Macedonian kingships and reluctant to submit the country to their direct rule, created the regional *koina*, whose documents from the Roman period we examined in this chapter.

However, it is not difficult to point out that there is no *a priori* incompatibility between kingship and federal self-government. The Orestai, who still lived under a king in the second half of the fifth century,<sup>3</sup> were fully participating as an autonomous unit in the life of the Molossian kingdom in the first half of the fourth,<sup>4</sup> and annexation to the Macedonian kingdom did not put an end to its self-governing existence, as is amply attested by the late-third-century dedication of the Orestan *koinon* at Delos.<sup>5</sup> There may have been, as we shall see in later chapters, some form of central control at the top, but that did not affect its fundamental structure any more than subsequent control of the "free" Orestans (or the other Upper Macedonians, for that matter) by the Romans, to whose very initiative Kanatsoulis attributes the creation of these self-governing entities. What is true of the Orestai can be said *mutatis mutandis* of the Tymphaioi and Parauaioi, as long as they remained a part of the Macedonian kingdom, of the Lynkestai, of the Elemiotai and perhaps of the Derriopes.<sup>6</sup> The question of the Eordaioi (and perhaps one should add the Almopes, whose case is closely related)<sup>7</sup> brings us to a discussion of Papazoglou's and Ham-

1. Papazoglou, "Koina" 170; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 85-123, who systematically uses the term "tribal" to describe the political organisation of the peoples of Upper Macedonia.

2. Kanatsoulis, "Οργάνωσις" 188.

3. Thuc. 2.80.6; *IG*<sup>1</sup> 89.

4. Cabanes, *Epire* 536-39, no 2; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 185.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 74.

6. The exact position of Derriopos and Pelagonia within the framework of the *strategia* of Paionia, to which they both belonged in pre-Roman times is not easy to determine (cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 276-83; 292-95).

7. The original Almopes were expelled from their home country along with the Eordoi (cf. Thuc. 2.99.5) and they too sought refuge in Eastern Macedonia (cf.

mond's explanation in terms of the survival of the traditions of independence, clan formations and tribal organisation.

From the time of the annexation of the Upper Macedonian kingdoms by the Temenids to the Roman conquest, *pace* Bosworth,<sup>1</sup> we have no evidence of any unrest caused by local particularism. The alleged Orestan revolt of 197 seems rather like a pious fiction invented by the Romans and contradicted by the account of the military events, the only *raison d'être* of which was to provide a justification for the detachment of Orestis from the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Third Macedonian war the "freedom" of the Orestai had to be defended by foreign troops, probably against the Orestai themselves.<sup>3</sup> The "clan formations"<sup>4</sup> invoked by Papazoglou are as inexistent as Hammond's "tribal states"<sup>5</sup> are misleading. What we do see are federations of self-governing villages and small townships organised not on a "gentilic" but on a local, geographical, basis. No more in Upper Macedonia than in Epeiros is there the slightest vestige of groups united by parentage or descent. The four "tribes" (*phylai*) attested at Alkomena,<sup>6</sup> and at Herakleia<sup>7</sup> like the "tribes" of the Lower Macedonian cities, which we shall discuss in the following chapter, have nothing primeval about them, but are recent "artificial" subdivisions of the citizen body.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, it must remain beyond question that we are dealing with civic communities potentially open to new members from elsewhere, naturally by due process of law. Their particular common features are due to a type of economic and social life, well

Bakalakis, "Περὶ Ἀλμώπων" 484-88). *Eordenses*, *Almopi*, *Pelagones* are mentioned together by Pliny, *NH* 4.35 and Almopia, along with Eordaia and Pelagonia, is one of the pseudo-cities – in fact districts (cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I, 109; 166) – mentioned by Hierokles 638.10 (cf. Const. Porphy., *Them.* 49.17). In spite of Ptolemy's (3.11.22) Horma, Europos and Apsalos, village life remained the rule and city life does not seem to have ever taken roots in Antiquity. Hierokles' evidence, on the contrary, indicates that Almopia continued to form the sole – and only – administrative unit until Early Byzantine times (cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 169-73).

1. Bosworth, "Upper Macedonia" 105.

2. Cf. Ellis, "Unification" 46.

3. Livy 42.38.1

4. Papazoglou, "Koina" 170. In the new edition of her work on the Macedonian cities (*Villes* 442) the Yugoslav historian seems to abandon this view.

5. *E.g.* Hammond, *Macedonia* I 88.

6. N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 140, no 339; cf. 141, no 342.

7. Janakievski 21.

8. This is certainly true of Macedonia, whatever reservations one may have about Roussel's (*Tribu et cité* [Paris 1976]) generalisation of this interpretation to all the Greek civic tribes.

studied in Epeiros,<sup>1</sup> which delayed and limited the development of urban centres, allowing the open villages to preserve their relative autonomy, and combine in the equalitarian structure of an *ethnos* rather than being subordinated to cities, as happened in the more urbanised parts of Macedonia. Not only the social and economic conditions but also the formal political structure of the Upper Macedonian *ethne* are highly reminiscent of those of the Epeirotic ones and particularly of the Molossian, which we know best. At the top of the political pyramid was the King, later replaced by the *stratagos* in Epeiros<sup>2</sup> and probably a similar, annually elected magistrate in the Upper Macedonian *ethne*.<sup>3</sup> The board of the Upper Macedonian politarchs around some sort of chief magistrate representing the constituent communities of the *ethnos*<sup>4</sup> reminds us strongly of the Molossian *synarchontes*, *hieromnamones* or *damiorgoi* around the *prostatas*.<sup>5</sup> An Assembly and—at least after the revolution of 232 in Epeiros, if not earlier—a Council in both cases complete the main organs of the state, which, in an inscription from Dassaretis, the transitional area between Upper Macedonia, Epeiros and Illyria, are epigrammatically enumerated as Δασσαρητίων ἄρχοντες, βουλή καὶ δῆμος.<sup>6</sup> The social and economic, as opposed to "gentilic", origin of the Upper Macedonian political organisation explains why we encounter the same structure not only in the Upper Macedonian (and Epeirotic) *ethne*, with their common tradition of independence and ethnic affinities which had not been upset by recent migrations, but also in Eordaia, which constituted a relatively new unit, conquered by the Temenids and settled by Lower Macedonians in the late sixth century at the earliest.<sup>7</sup> Geography more than history seems to be the determining factor, as becomes readily apparent to anyone who travels west of Edessa. It is probably this experience acquired in Eordaia that the Temenid kings applied to the colonisation and the administration of the rural parts of the new eastern territories previously discussed.

1 . Cf. the fundamental works of Hammond and Cabanes.

2 . On the problem of the number of the Epeirotic *stratagoi* (one or three) see now P. Salmon, "Les magistrats fédéraux du koinon des Epirotes (236-167)", *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* (Clermont-Ferrand 1987), 125-34, with Cabanes' objections in *BullEpigr* 1988, 796.

3 . See p. 82 and n. 6, above.

4 . Cf. N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 185-86, no 500: τῶν περι Βάρβαρον Φιλίππου ἐν Δερριόπῳ πολιταρχῶν.

5 . Cf. Cabanes, *Épire* 167-72.

6 . N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 75 (1933) 58, no 177. On Dassaretis, see Papazoglou, *Cités* 224-30.

7 . Hammond, *Macedonia* II 62-63; 64; cf. Zahrt, "Entwicklung" 361.

## CITIES AND VILLAGES IN THE OLD KINGDOM

Macedonian history begins when the Argeads, a group of transhumant shepherds, who for generations had tended their flocks on both the western and eastern slopes of the Pierian mountains, hardly distinguishing themselves from their Elemiot brothers across the Haliakmon, seized the old Phrygian settlement of Edessa, established their seat there renaming it Aigeai and became sedentary.<sup>1</sup> The eastern slopes of the Pierian range next fell into the hands of the Macedonians, who made Dion their religious centre, already active in Archaic times. Bottia proper, the western and north-western fringe of the plain, followed and eventually the uplands of Eordaia and Almopia, west and north of this plain.

Although Herodotos and Thucydides<sup>2</sup> describe the origin and the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom, their evidence had not been properly understood until N.G.L. Hammond, in a major break-through of Macedonian scholarship, was able to establish that Aigeai, the first capital of the Temenid kings, was not to be sought in the well known city of Edessa, but at a presumably homonymous settlement at the site of Palatitsia-Vergina, on the northern slopes of the Pierian mountains facing the Central Macedonian Plain,<sup>3</sup> in the area which Herodotos

1 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 162.

2 . Herod. 8. 137-139; Thuc. 2.99.2-6.

3 . Our understanding of the early history of Macedonia is principally due to the pioneer work of N.G.L. Hammond, who at the First International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia in 1968 (Hammond, "Background" 58-67) presented for the first time his revolutionary views on the geography and the expansion of the early Macedonian kingdom. The British scholar has returned time and time again –and particularly in the relevant chapters of the first two volumes of his monumental *History of Macedonia*– to this question. His latest syntheses can be read in the chapter "The Establishment and Consolidation of the Kingdom of Macedonia" of the collective work *Macedonia* (M.B. Sakellariou ed.) and in his monographs: *State* 1-36; *Miracle* 1-8. Cf. Zahrt, "Entwicklung" 325-68, with my remarks (Hatzopoulos-Loukopolou, *Researches* 15-31) and Borza, *Olympus* 58-97, with imprudent ventures into philology and linguistics. A new piece of evidence concerning the early history of the Temenid kingdom came recently from an unexpected quarter. Professor Ph. Petsas, in his

calls "Μακεδονίς γῆ".<sup>1</sup>

This was the cradle of Macedonian power before the Persian Wars and it remained the heartland of the kingdom until the fall of the last king. Further expansion came only in the wake of Xerxes' and Mar-donios' retreat, when lower Paionia with Pella and Ichnai, Mygdonia beyond the Axios, and all the new territories up to the Strymon were added to the Temenid possessions.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of the Temenid kingdom in the Μακεδονίς γῆ had occurred before the onset of the movement which led to the development of important urban centres, whether indigenous or founded by colonists from southern Greece. With the exception of Methone,<sup>3</sup> which, according to tradition, was an Eretrian foundation,<sup>4</sup> the Macedonians encountered only rural pre-Greek populations whom they ruthlessly exterminated or expelled. Whatever urban development took place subsequently between the Peneios and the Loudias was the product of local forces at work.

Things were radically different in the areas conquered in the second wave of expansion in the wake of the Persian Wars. Besides the relatively primitive pre-Greek populations, who had maintained their traditional way of life in the hinterland of Mygdonia, in Krestonia and Bisaltia,<sup>5</sup> there were along the coast, if not genuine Greek colonies,

communication to the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, recognised the name of Λεβαΐα, Herodotos' legendary capital of the Upper Macedonian kingdom, where the three Temenid brothers had sought refuge, in the Eleman *kome* of Ἀλεβέοι or Ἀλαβέοι (rather than Ἀλλιβεοί) mentioned in two inscriptions from Leukopetra (Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφεὺς" 305; cf. *eiusdem*, "Μήτηρ" 238; Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61. For a brief synthesis on the emergence of Macedonia, see also Hatzopoulos, "Emergence" 19-26). The recent attempt of Ph. Phaklaris, "Aegae: Determining the Site of the First Capital of the Macedonians", *AJA* 98 (1994) 609-616, to challenge the identification of Aigaei with Vergina relies both on inexact data and unsound reasoning and should be mercifully forgotten (cf. my observations in the forthcoming *BullEpigr* 1995, 396 and in "Aigéai: la localisation de la première capitale macédonienne", *REG* 109 [1996]).

1. Herod. 7.127.1.

2. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 61-62; 65. The whole question is now discussed in detail in Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 15-31.

3. Cf. Kahrstedt, "Städte" 86; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 594, n. 1. On Methone, see now Hatzopoulos-Knoepfler-Marigo 639-68. Pydna, on the other hand, appears as a Macedonian city from the beginning of recorded history: ἐκ Πύδνης τῆς Μακεδονικῆς already in 480 (Diod. 11.12.3); cf. Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου (Thuc. 1.137.1).

4. Plut., *Mor.* 293.

5. On the pre-Greek populations of Lower Macedonia see Papazoglou, "Structure" 65-69. On the fate of these populations after the Macedonian conquest see Hammond, *Macedonia* I 437-38 and *Macedonia* II 62 and now Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 15-31; 65-67; 117-22.

mixed Greco-barbarian settlements, such as Pella, Ichnai,<sup>1</sup> Chalas-tra,<sup>2</sup> Sindos<sup>3</sup> and Therma,<sup>4</sup> which had developed a highly original

1. Pella and Ichnai were not incorporated into the "national" Macedonian territory before the beginning of the fourth century (see p. 171-79, below). There is no certainty about the date of their conquest by the Temenid kings. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 64-65, would put it at about 510-505, but Ichnai continued its autonomous coin issues until c. 480 (Price-Waggoner 29-30). The two facts are perhaps not incompatible. Pella and Ichnai may have continued a formally autonomous existence, as dependent allies of the Temenid kings, even after their subjection to them for all practical purposes. The most eloquent vestige from this period is an inscription of the first half of the fifth century. It is an epitaph of [Or]thagores or [Py]thagores son of Aristokrates and Aristobole engraved on a marble stele in early Ionic characters (*BullEpigr* 1990, 464). The alphabet matches the dialect and the typically Ionic names of the dead (see below).

2. The importance of the Ionian penetration was confirmed by the recent spectacular discoveries at "Sindos" (see the catalogue of the exhibition in the Museum of Thessalonike = *Sindos*) and now Aikaterini Despoini, "Sindos", in *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* [Princeton, N.J. 1994] 33-35), which should probably be identified with the necropolis of ancient Chalastra (on the improbability of its identification with Strepsa, see Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 60, n. 161). Of particular importance are a golden ring, with the word ΔΩΡΟΝ engraved on it in early Ionic characters very similar to those of the Pella funerary monument, and an early Ionic capital from a monumental construction. The intensity of the relations with southern Greece has been confirmed by the excavations of the urban centre of the settlement at Toumba Anchialou (M. A. Tiverios, "Ερευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της 'Αγχιάλου", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 [Thessalonike 1993] 315-32; cf. *eiusdem*, "Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της 'Αγχιάλου (Σίνδος) κατά τὸ 1991", *AEMΘ* 5, 1991 [Thessalonike 1994] 235-46).

3. Before the new discoveries from Pella and "Sindos" it was the site of Thessalonike which offered the most striking examples of the intensity of Ionian penetration in the area (cf. Petsas, "Επιδράσεις" 66-67). The finds should perhaps be attributed to Sindos, which according to Herodotos (7.123.3) was situated between Chalastra and Therma. Particular mention should be made of the monumental Ionic temple, architectural members of which have been uncovered scattered at the centre of the modern city of Thessalonike; see Andronicos, "Art during the Archaic and Classical Periods", *Macedonia. Four Thousand Years of Greek History and Civilization* (Athens 1982) 93-94 and Petsas, "Επιδράσεις" 66-67, with references (cf. also Aikaterini Despoini, "Ο ἀρχαῖος ναὸς τῆς Θέρμης καὶ τὰ ἀνάγλυφα τοῦ 5ου αἰ. π.Χ." in *Θεσσαλονίκη* [Athens 1986] 20-21).

4. According to the latest discoveries, Therma should be located at Mikro Karabourrou (cf. M.A. Tiverios, "Οστρακα ἀπὸ τὸ Καραμπουρνάκι, *AEMΘ* 1, 1987 [Thessalonike 1988] 247-60, with references; *eiusdem*, "Ἀπὸ τὰ ἀπομεινάρια ἑνὸς προελληνιστικοῦ ἱεροῦ 'περὶ τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον", *Μνήμη Λαζαρίδη* [Thessalonike 1990] 71-88; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 190-96). Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1, F 146, calls Therma πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων. One wonders whether the second element of the description is purely geographic or whether it betrays the mixed character of the settlement (whatever the exact ethnic significance of "Thracian"), analogous to what one would expect at "Sindos" on the basis of the mixed (southern Greek and "northern", local?) origin of the finds.

and sophisticated urban life-style. There the Macedonians, as later in Chalkidike and the regions beyond the Strymon, found already established civic institutions, and probably had more to learn than to teach. To the extent that we are primarily interested in the more specific and original aspects of the Macedonian political institutions, we shall focus our attention preferably on the organisation of the primitive nucleus of the Old Kingdom, making only subsidiary use of the evidence from territories acquired after the Persian Wars and probably colonised much later.<sup>1</sup>

In the Old Kingdom, too, villages are relatively well-attested, but their importance cannot be compared to those of Upper Macedonia or the rural areas of the New Territories.<sup>2</sup> From Thucydides' account it emerges that already at the time of the Peloponnesian War the major Macedonian settlements such as Pydna, Beroia, Europos were walled cities,<sup>3</sup> indistinguishable from this point of view from the ancient southern Greek colonies or mixed settlements, such as Therma,<sup>4</sup> while recent archaeological discoveries have established that the fortifications of other important Macedonian urban centres, such as Aigeai, Pella, Edessa and Dion, were either roughly contemporary or are to be dated to the following century.<sup>5</sup> Herakleion, too, was probably fortified from the time of the Peloponnesian War, for the Athenian

1. These "allied" or subject cities of the Temenid kings probably provided the bulk of the Macedonian hoplite forces mentioned in our fifth-century sources (cf. Thuc. 4.124.1: τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων ὀπλίτας).

2. For what follows, cf. Hatzopoulos, "Villages" 162-64.

3. On Pydna, cf. Thuc. 1.61.2-3: Πύδναν πολιορκούστας... τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν; on Beroia, cf. Thuc. 1.61.4: καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροϊαν κάκειθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες καὶ πεύρασαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἔλόντες .. (for the reading and the meaning of this passage see Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 54-57 and Badian, *Potidaea* 171-185); on Europos, see Thuc. 2.100.3: Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἔλεϊν δὲ οὐκ ἔδύναντο.

4. Cf. Thuc. 1.61.2: Θέρμην ἄρτι ἡρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολιορκούστας.

5. For a general evaluation, cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 145. More precise data are now available thanks to the preliminary reports on recent excavations: for the fortifications of Aigeai see Andronicos, "Ανασκαφές στὴ Βεργίνα", *Praktika* 1981, 55-56; "Ανασκαφή Βεργίνας 1982-83", *Praktika* 1983, 42-43; cf. P. Phaklaris, "Ανασκαφές στὴν ἀκρόπολη τῆς Βεργίνας", *AEMΘ* 3, 1989 (Thessalonike 1992) 37-44; on the walls of Pella, see Ch. Makaronas, "Pella", *Deltion* 26 (1971), *Chronika* 399-400 and (with many doubts) Maria Siganiδου, *Ergon* 1985, 30-31; *eiusdem*, "Τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Πέλλας", *Ἀμητός* (Thessalonike 1987) 765-87; on the walls of Dion see *Ergon* 1984, 35; 1985, 25 and now Stephanidou-Tiberiou, "Τεῖχη" 567-79 and provisionally, "Stadtmauer" 22-25; *eiusdem*, "Ἐρευνα" 189-99; *eiusdem*, "Προβλήματα" 153 and for those of Edessa, Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 23 (1968), *Chronika* 337-38; G. Touchais, "Chronique des fouilles en 1983", *BCH* 108 (1984) 798; Anastasia Chrysostomou, "Τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Ἐδεσσας", *AEMΘ* 1, 1987 (Thessalonike 1988) 161-72.

Tribute Lists reveal that it was able to challenge the authority of Perdikkas II and remain a member of the Athenian League for years.<sup>1</sup>

From Classical and Hellenistic evidence we can locate most of the cities of Pieria: Phila near Pyrgetos,<sup>2</sup> Herakleion at Platamon,<sup>3</sup> Leibethra south of Leptokarya,<sup>4</sup> Dion at Malathria,<sup>5</sup> Pydna south of Makrygialos,<sup>6</sup> Petra at modern Petra<sup>7</sup> and possibly Balla at Palaiogratsanon and Phylakai (or Agassai?) at Moschopotamos (Dranista);<sup>8</sup> the foundation of the Roman colony of Dion, however,

1. Cf. Edson, "Notes" 96-98, with references.

2. Papazoglou, *Cités* 104-105; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 115-16; Hammond, *Macedonia I* 135; cf. 137.

3. Edson, "Notes" 96-98; Papazoglou, *Cités* 103-104; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 114-15; Hammond, *Macedonia I* 135 and Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 18.

4. Papazoglou, *Cités* 103; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 113-14; Hammond, *Macedonia I* 135-37. A recent epigraphic discovery has confirmed Leibethra's position between Dion, Herakleion and Gonnoi (cf. Pandermalis, "Λατρεῖες" 333; *SEG* 27 [1977] 283 and particularly *BullEpigr* 1978, 272, with references); cf. Eutychia Pandermali, "Λειβήθρα", *Οἱ ἀρχαιολόγοι μιλοῦν γιὰ τὴν Πιερία* 1 (Thessalonike 1985) 47-50.

5. Papazoglou, *Cités* 101-103; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 108-111; Hammond, *Macedonia I* 125-27. On the recent spectacular discoveries, see Pandermalis, "Δῖον" 5-53 and *eiusdem*, "Dion" in *Greek Civilization* (Athens 1993) 38-40, with recent bibliography.

6. The controversy to which the identification of the site of Pydna had given rise (cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 100-101; *eiusdem*, *Villes*, 106-108; Hammond, *Macedonia I* 127-29) is difficult to understand today, after Hammond's ("The Battle of Pydna", *JHS* 104 [1984] 31-32) brilliant demonstration, which has been confirmed beyond doubt by the recent archaeological and epigraphic discoveries (cf. M. Bessios, "Ανασκαφές στὴν Πύδνα (1988)", *AEMΘ* 2, 1988 [Thessalonike 1991] 181-93; *eiusdem*, "Ανασκαφή στὸ βόρειο νεκροταφεῖο τῆς Πύδνας 1989", *AEMΘ* 3, 1989 [Thessalonike 1992] 155-63; *eiusdem*, "Ανασκαφή στὸ βόρειο νεκροταφεῖο τῆς Πύδνας, (1990)", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 [Thessalonike 1993] 241-46; *eiusdem*, "Μαρτυρίες Πύδνας. Τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Δεκαδρύου", *Ancient Macedonia V* [Thessalonike 1993] 1111-19 and Epigraphic Appendix no 55).

7. Papazoglou, *Cités* 105; *eiusdem*, *Villes*, 116-118; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia I* 123. According to Papazoglou it was a fortress rather than a city.

8. On Phylakai and Balla see Papazoglou, *Cités* 106-108 *eiusdem*, *Villes* 120-22; and Hammond, *Macedonia I* 154-55. However, neither of them should be sought on the northern slopes of the Pierians facing the Central Plain; for there is no ancient urban site between Aigeai (Vergina), near the gorge of the Haliakmon, and Aloros (Kypsele), by the ancient coast. Moreover, the northern slopes of the Pierians did not belong to Pieria but to Bottia, since the ancient geographers placed Aigeai and Aloros in the latter district (cf. Strab. 7, frg. 20; 22; Ptol. 3.12.36, who uses instead of Bottia the term Emathia). Stephanos Byzantios' evidence (*s.v.* Βάλλα) concerning the transfer of the population of Balla to Pythion perhaps provides a clue to the effect that Balla should not be sought far from Perrhaibia. On the other hand, the mention of a citizen of Phylakai on a list found in Beroia might or might not indicate geographical proximity. Now, there are only two known sites which could be considered to correspond to Ptolemy's and Pliny's descriptions by being both Pierian and "mediterranean": Palaiogratsanon and Moschopotamos. The usual objection to the identifica-



and the incorporation in it of the greater part of the region<sup>1</sup> has not permitted the perpetuation of the vestiges of the division between the civic territories, when it has not obliterated them outright, perhaps beyond recovery. It is true that, thanks to the inscriptions of Gonnoi, we are relatively well informed about the boundaries of the territory of this Thessalian city with those of Herakleion and Leibethra around lake Askyris.<sup>2</sup> But the delimitation between Phila and Herakleion, Leibethra and Dion, Dion and Pydna and Pydna and Methone, not to mention Balla and Phylakai and the even more obscure Agassai, Akesamenai, Galadrai,<sup>3</sup> can, for the time being, be at best only the object of an educated guess. On the other hand, the Central Plain, left practically undisturbed by the foundation of the Roman colony of Pella, lends itself much better to a survey of its division into civic territories. Some of the results of such a study have been published in a different context.<sup>4</sup> Here I am proposing a more comprehensive and at the same time a more concise presentation of my main conclusions.

tion of the first with one of these cities, *viz.* that it lies not in Pieria but in Elemia (cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 106; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 121), is not cogent. The ancient boundary between the two districts need not have followed the ridge of the Pierians, but, like the Ottoman one between the *kazas* of Katerini and Elasson, might have run closer to the Haliakmon, leaving the hills of Palaiogratsanon in Pieria. However, I would place Balla rather than Phylakai at this site: Balla should be close to Pythion according to the evidence preserved by Stephanos Byzantios and should also be close to the Sarantaporos defile, if we are to accept Keramopoulos' attractive hypothesis connecting Balla with Volustana (Keramopoulos, "Volustana" 314-18). Moschopotamos, on the other hand, commands the principal inland road and pass over the Pierians from Pieria to Bottia, justifying fully a name such as Phylakai. Naturally, this must of necessity remain a mere hypothesis as long as it has not been confirmed by decisive new evidence as a result either of systematic investigation or of a chance find. The more so in that another Pierian city, Agassai, lay, like the site by Moschopotamos, to the north-west of Dion (cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 105-106; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 118-19). In this connection it must be also added that Moschopotamos has produced almost exclusively Hellenistic monuments, a very unusual occurrence in Macedonia, where finds from the Roman period usually abound, but which could be connected with the fact that Agassai was destroyed by the Romans in 168 (Livy 45.27.1).

1 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 105; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 116-18; *eiusdem*, "Aspects" 359 and n. 255; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 139.

2 . Helly, *Gonnoi* I 35-36; II 2-6, no 2; but see now G. Lucas, "La Tripolis de Perrhébie et ses confins" in *Topographie antique et géographie historique en pays grec* (Paris 1992) 93-137.

3 . On these cities, cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 100 and 105-106; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 119-20; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 139, n. 1.

4 . Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos; Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa"; Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* and Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα", with discussion and references, and also Chrysostomou, "Τοπογραφία" 205-238, with much useful information and some questionable assertions.

From the middle of the first millennium B.C. to the beginnings of the twentieth century, most of the Central Macedonian Plain was occupied by a lake and swamps communicating with the sea through the river Loudias, which gave it its name (Λουδιακή λίμνη).<sup>1</sup> All settlements from Antiquity to modern times were situated in the foothills of the mountains which surround the depression on three sides: Mount Paikon to the north, Mount Bermion to the west, the Pierian mountains to the south. From time immemorial a road ran around the plain joining these communities together. Its northern section was later known as a part of the Via Egnatia.

If we start from the river Axios, on the north-eastern edge of the plain, and we move westwards, we encounter first Allante or Allanteion, probably a Temenid foundation of the fifth century, designed to cut off the ancient Paionian centre of Ichnai from the sea and control the western approaches of the crossing of the Axios. Its urban centre was at Nea Chalkedon and its territory extended from the river to the eastern outskirts of Palaia Pella, with the lake forming its southern border. To its north lay Ichnai, spared by the Macedonians but squeezed between the foothills of Mount Paikon and the new Temenid foundation.<sup>2</sup>

Pella's territory (Πελλαία, *Pellaeum*) must have extended far to the east, perhaps as far as the Xeropotamos river, over a distance of some 18 km. To the south it probably reached the modern bridge over the Loudias on the Thessalonike-Beroia road, thus attaining a north-west to south-east maximum extension of some 30 km. Recent archaeological exploration has located two suburbs and at least four *komai* in the territory of Pella (at Archontikon, Damianon B, Agrosykia and Leptokarya B).<sup>3</sup> A fifth one was perhaps located at Hagios Nikolaos near Krya Vrysi.<sup>4</sup> Immediately to its west, in Roman times at least,

1. The problem of the westward extension of the Thermaic Gulf and its adjacent marshes in antiquity was recently discussed by Zahrt, "Entwicklung" 334-41 and by Kirsten-Opelt 219-60; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 60 and P. Chrysostomou, "Ἡ λατρεία τῆς Συρίας Θεᾶς (Ἀταργάτιδος) στὴ Δυτικὴ Μακεδονία", *AEMΘ* 3, 1989, (Thessalonike 1992) 106-107.

2. On Allante and Ichnai, see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 56-61; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 154-55; 182-83 and 470.

3. On the boundaries and the territories of Pella, Edessa and Kyrrhos, see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 49-52. P. Chrysostomou has discussed the topography of this area in two different articles, "Ὁ τύμβος Α' τῆς Ραχῶνας Πέλλας", *Ametos* (Thessalonike 1987) 1007-1025 and "Τοπογραφία" 205-238.

4. P. Chrysostomou, "Ἡ λατρεία τῆς Συρίας Θεᾶς (Ἀταργάτιδος) στὴ Μακεδονία", *AEMΘ* 3, 1989 (Thessalonike 1992) 105-106. However, I am not convinced that the

began the territory of Edessa. This, however, did not extend to the north of the road, where two and perhaps three small cities shared the fertile and well-irrigated foothills of Mount Paikon.

Kyrrhos has been located at Palaiokastron near Arabessos<sup>1</sup> and Genderrhos, ignored by the ancient authorities but recently identified on an inscription,<sup>2</sup> was possibly located at Mandalon.<sup>3</sup> The exact location of Tyrissa is not known,<sup>4</sup> but Pentaplatanos, where important ancient remains have been discovered, offers an attractive possibility.

The territory of Edessa, although strategically situated<sup>5</sup> and very extensive, in fact contained arable land on a comparatively limited scale, for in its western part it was squeezed between the massifs of Mount Barnous (Nitze) and Mount Bermion, whereas its eastern part was to a large extent practically reduced to a corridor bordering the road between the territories of Kyrrhos and Genderrhos<sup>6</sup> on the north and the lake on the south.<sup>7</sup> It must have formed an elongated surface with a maximum length of 40 km and must have possessed a total surface comparable to that of Pella. Remains of numerous ancient rural communities have been discovered in the territory of Edessa: at

*epiklesis* Γυρβιάτσοα is the *ethnikon* of the *kome* (cf. Panayotou-Chrysostomou 384-86, no 14 and *BullEpigr* 1992, 301).

1 . On Kyrrhos, see Vavritsas, "Επιγραφή" 7-11; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 152-54.

2 . Unpublished; cf. Vavritsas, "Επιγραφή" 10.

3 . Mandalon, better known for its prehistoric settlement (cf. A. Papanthimou-A. Papasteriou, "Ο προϊστορικός οικισμός στο Μάνδαλο: νέα στοιχεία στην προϊστορία της Δ. Μακεδονίας", *Ancient Macedonia V* [Thessalonike 1993] 1207-1216) has also produced important finds ranging from the Classical to the Late Roman period (cf. Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 21 [1966], *Chronika* 341; *eiusdem*, "Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1966-67", *Makedonika* 9 [1969] 177, no 97; Panayotou-Chrysostomou 372-79, nos 7-9).

4 . On Tyrissa, see Papazoglou, *Cités* 124-25; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 158-59; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 160. P. Chrysostomou, "Ο τύμβος Α' της Ραχώρας Πέλλας" *Ametos* (Thessalonike 1987) 1007-1009 and *eiusdem*, "Τοπογραφία" 213-15, locates Tyrissa at Pentaplatanos.

5 . Since it comprised both the Stena Armisses (the ancient station on the Via Egnatia known as *Ad Duodecimum*) and the Stena Edesses, the two exits of the most important pass connecting Lower Macedonia with the western highlands.

6 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 154; 470. On the problems raised by a boundary stone *Κυρρέστιας πρὸς Μενήϊδα*, see Panayotou-Chrysostomou 369-70, no 5 and *BullEpigr* 1994, 405, with earlier bibliography.

7 . On the territory of Edessa, see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 40; 49-52; cf. Hammond-Hatzopoulos II 48-53.

Ekklesiokhorion,<sup>1</sup> Agras,<sup>2</sup> Nesion,<sup>3</sup> Drosia,<sup>4</sup> Mesemerion,<sup>5</sup> Rizarion,<sup>6</sup> Kaisariana,<sup>7</sup> Sebastiana,<sup>8</sup> Platane,<sup>9</sup> Phlamouria,<sup>10</sup> and Karyotissa,<sup>11</sup> attesting the existence of a significant number of *komai*. Their names remain unfortunately unknown.<sup>12</sup> The inscriptions found in the urban centre and in the territory of Edessa rarely mention *ethnika*, and when they do so, they proudly boast the *ethnikon* of the city itself: Edessaïos or Edessaia.<sup>13</sup>

Another important road in addition to the later Via Egnatia ran across the territory of Edessa, joining this east-west axis with a north-south one, leading along the foothills of Mount Bermion to Beroia and to the crossing of the Haliakmon river.<sup>14</sup> The narrow stretch of land between Mount Bermion and the lake was divided between four cities.

The territory of Edessa to the south marched with those of two small cities: Skydra to the east and Marinia to the west of the north-

1. Numerous tombs and no less than six inscriptions are known to have been found at Ekklesiokhorion: Duchesne-Bayet 106, no 146; Delacoulonche 240-41, no 20-23; Edessa Collection no 95 (unpublished).

2. Delacoulonche 85-86 and 238, no 15; Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 97-98.

3. Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 98 (the inscription republished there is not from Nesion near Edessa, but from that in Emathia); Hammond-Hatzopoulos II 50-51.

4. Hammond-Hatzopoulos I 139-40; Rizakis-Touratsoglou 86 and 132, with references.

5. Delacoulonche 240, no 18; Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 97; a relief with an unpublished inscription has been used in the construction of the village fountain.

6. Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 81 and 84-85, gives a complete list of the rich finds from the village. The fragments of the reliefs from the sarcophagus, the hoard of bronze coins and the milestone (Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 48-49) are in the Edessa Collection; the golden ring and the golden earrings are in the Thessalonike Museum; see also Ph. Petsas, "Χρονικά αρχαιολογικά 1951-1965", *Makedonika* 7 (1966-1967) 308, no 103; cf. Anastasia Chrysostomou, "Τιμητική επιγραφή από την "Εδεσσα", *Ametos* (Thessalonike 1987) 993.

7. Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 85-86; J.M.R. Cormack, "Inscriptions from Pella, Edessa and Beroea", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 22-23 (1974) 205, no 4; cf. *BullEpigr* 1974, 330.

8. Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 23 (1968), *Chronika* 327.

9. Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 86.

10. Stougiannaki (*et al.*) 86-87; Ph. Petsas, "Χρονικά αρχαιολογικά 1966-1967", *Makedonika* 9 (1969) 178, no 99.

11. Delacoulonche 216-17 and 277, no 93; for a full bibliography see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 50, n. 1; from the same site come the unpublished items nos 245-46 and 249 of the Edessa Collection.

12. The *Τόπος Μακρός* or *Μακροπέδιον* mentioned in an inscription from Edessa (cf. *BullEpigr* 1977, 270) more probably describes a place than a village.

13. On the use of this *ethnikon* see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 51, n. 2.

14. Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 24; 34-35 and 52.

south road from Edessa to Beroia. The urban centre of Skydra was identified with the extensive remains between the modern villages of Arseni and Episkope by A. Delacoulonche in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> We owe to Ph. Petsas the identification of Marinia, a city ignored by our literary authorities, with the ancient remains at the modern village still called Marina.<sup>2</sup>

To the south of these two small cities lies the extensive and very impressive archaeological complex of Leukadia-Kopanos.<sup>3</sup> It has been variously identified as Kition and Mieza.<sup>4</sup> There should be no doubt that this city is Mieza for several reasons, not the least of which is that a Macedonian Kition has never existed, except as a corruption in the only surviving manuscript of Livy book 42.<sup>5</sup> But there are also

1. Delacoulonche 89-96 and 243-45, nos 27-30; Papazoglou, *Villes* 149-150, doubts Delacoulonche's identification, in my opinion without reason.

2. Petsas, "Ἐναί" 49-50. The site was described by Delacoulonche 24-25 (cf. Maria Karamanoli-Siganidou, *Deltion* 31 [1976], *Chronika* 262-63 and Papazoglou, *Villes* 150).

3. The most convenient descriptions of the site will be found in Petsas, *Τάφος* 1-18 and in J.P. Touratsoglou, *Lefkadia* (Athens 1973), *passim*; cf. for recent excavations Vasiliki Misaelidou-Despotidou, "Ἀπὸ τὸ νεκροταφεῖο τῆς ἀρχαίας Μιέζας", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 (Thessalonike 1993) 127-41, with bibliography. According to the latest reports, its urban centre with a theatre has been now discovered.

4. In addition to the works cited in the previous note see the discussion in Papazoglou, *Cités* 119-20; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 150-52 and Hammond, *Macedonia* I 163-64 and 166.

5. Citium (= Kition) figures only in Livy 42.51.1-2: *litterisque circa praefectos dimissis Citium, -Macedoniae oppidum est- copias omnis contrahit. Ipse centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est.* It must be stressed that this section of Livy (books XLI-XLV) is preserved in only one manuscript (codex Vindobonensis Lat. 15), a photostatic edition of which has been published by C. Wessely, *Livius, Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 15* (Leyden 1907), in the series *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti* XI, and that it is incomplete and often presents very unsatisfactory readings. For example, no less than four (not purely orthographic) emendations – two of them significant – have been necessary in the sentences cited above. Thus, the reading "Citium", which in the first of the two instances is an emendation for "TITIVM", cannot be adopted as a matter of course without further reference to the historical and geographical context of the passage. Now, Perseus was moving from Pella to Thessaly through Eordaia and Elemia. The first day after leaving "Kition" he camped on the shores of Lake Begorritis and the following day he advanced into Elemia by the Haliakmon (Livy 42.53.5: *Eordaeam petens, ad Begorritum quem vocant lacum positus castris, postero die in Elimeam ad Haliacmona fluvium processit*). Before the secure identification of Pharangi with Bokeria and, consequently, of Lake Begorritis with the lake of Ostrovo (see Hammond-Hatzopoulos I 135-36; 143), some scholars had maintained that Perseus had crossed from the Central Plain to Eordaia through the pass of Kato Bermion and accordingly placed "Kition" at Naoussa (see discussion and references in Papazoglou, *Cités* 120-22; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 148-49;

positive reasons for the identification of this city with Mieza. The site of the Nymphaion, where Aristotle taught Alexander and his companions, has been known at Ano Kopanos for some time<sup>1</sup> and the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* requires a location between Beroia and Edessa.<sup>2</sup> A new indication comes now from a series of *ethnika* from inscriptions of Leukopetra, recently made known by Petsas.

Leukopetra, where the sanctuary of the Μητηρ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθων lay, was in the territory of Beroia, some 12 km to the south-west of the urban centre, and most of the dedications there were made by Beroians, who usually did not indicate their *ethnikon*. A few of them are "foreigners", all of them –with one exception– from other parts of

Meloni 217 and n. 2; Petsas, *Τάφος* 5-14). This hypothesis, very improbable in itself given the impracticability of the pass (1550 m high; cf. Kromayer 236, n. 2), is now definitely destroyed. There can be no doubt that Perseus followed the "royal way", the later Via Egnatia and crossed through the Stena Edesses. Consequently, it should be precluded that he made a deliberate detour by mustering his armies near Naoussa. "Kition" must be sought farther north, somewhere between his starting point, Pella, and the entrance of the pass at Edessa. The obvious place, which offers an ideal mustering point in this area, is the plain south of the city of Kyrrhos (cf. Livy 42.51.3: *castra ante urbem ponit omnisque armatos in campo instruxit*), between Pella and Edessa, where the *mutatio* between these two cities lay in Roman times (see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 51-52). Kyrrhos is a relatively obscure Macedonian city whose name has been only too often misspelt in the manuscript tradition of the ancient authorities. Κύρρος, which is the epigraphically attested form (see Vavritsas, "Ἐπιγραφή" 7-11), figures only in Thucydides 2.100.4, and Prokopios, *Aed.* 4.4 (cf. Strab. 16.2.7-8 C 751; Steph. Byz., s.v. Κύρρος; Pliny, *NH* 4.34: *Cyrrestae*). Diodoros (18.4.5) has Κύρνος, Ptolemy (3.12.36) Κύριος, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (606) "Scurio" (=εἰς Κύρρον; cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 51) and Jordanes (*Get.* 287-88) "Cerru" or "Cerras". The form Κύριος is perhaps not a mistake, but a genuine alternative form (for Macedonian -ρι- in hiatus>-ρρ-, see A. Heubeck, "Κοίρανος, Κόρρανος und Verwandtes", *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, neue Folge* 4 [1978] 96). A corruption of CYRIVM to CITIVM (in both instances the name is in the accusative) is easily explained (there are several instances of confusion between Y and I; cf. 44.46.4: PIDNA = PYDNA; 45.30.6: LINCETAE = LYNCESTAE etc.; and the way in which a confusion between R and IT might occur is illustrated in 42.53.5, where EXERCITU is written in such a manner that it could be read EXERCRU by a careless copyist; see Wessely, *Livius, Codes Vindobonensis Lat. 15* [Leyden 1907]), pl. 65v; the *corruptela* can be reconstructed as follows: CYRIVM> CIRIVM> CIITIVM> CITIVM> TITIVM. Papazoglou, *Cités* 123; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 149, n. 6, had already suspected that the name Kition may have been the result of a corruption but did not pursue the matter any further.

1. Plut., *Alex.* 7. 4; Pliny, *NH* 31.30; for the discovery of the Nymphaion by Petsas in 1965, see *Ergon* (1965) 21-28 and the subsequent reports: Ph. Petsas, "Ανασκαφαι Ναούσης", *Praktika* 1965, 36-46; *eiusdem*, "Ανασκαφαι Ναούσης", *Praktika* 1966, 30-38; *eiusdem*, "Ανασκαφαι Ναούσης", *Praktika* 1968, 65-71, and now Maria Siganidou-K. Trochides, "Η σχολή του Ἀριστοτέλους στη Μίεζα", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 (Thessalonike 1993) 121-25.

2. Plassart, "Théorodoques" 17, III 57-60.

Macedonia. Now, all these Macedonians, except for a lady from Kyrros,<sup>1</sup> are from three cities or *ethne* bordering with Beroia on three sides. Aigeai on the south-east, Elemia on the south-west and Eordaia on the west. The fourth place of origin of a dedicant mentioned in these inscriptions is the "lands of Mieza" (οἰκοῦσα ἐν Μιεζέοις τόποις).<sup>2</sup> It should not, therefore, come as a surprise that the neighbouring city on the only remaining possible direction, *i.e.* the north, (the area to the north-west of Beroia being occupied by the lake) is Mieza.

The boundary between the territories of Beroia and Mieza must have coincided with that of the modern *eparchiai* of Emathia and Naoussa.<sup>3</sup> The territory of Mieza was thus larger than that of either Marinia or Skydra, but still relatively small. Its important ancient remains, however, densely distributed across the whole territory, bear witness that it abounded in agricultural wealth, as it does today. Sites such as Stenemachos,<sup>4</sup> outside the main settlement of the Leukadia-Kopanos complex, must have been *komai*. The names of two of them have come down to us thanks to an inscription with deeds of sale discovered inside the Tomb of the Judgement: one was called Gaimeion and the name of the other, which was apparently situated near the border with Marinia, began with "Nea".<sup>5</sup> The third-century inscription on which they are recorded attests a brisk market and prices notably higher than those found in Amphipolis at about the same time, where the price for a *plethron* of vineyard (among the most expensive varieties of cultivated land)<sup>6</sup> was 53 drachmae,<sup>7</sup> whereas at Mieza unspecified land was sold at 70 drachmae the *plethron*,<sup>8</sup> an unmistakable sign of the prosperity of the region and of the productivity of the land.

The territory of Beroia to the south of Mieza combined the fertility of the latter with the extensiveness of that of Pella and Edessa.

1. M.B. Hatzopoulos, "Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone à Leukopetra: consécration d'esclave par une dame de Kyrros", *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς Συμπόσιου για τη Μακεδονία "Επιγραφές της Μακεδονίας"*.

2. Petsas, "Μήτηρ" 238; *eiusdem*, "Επιγραφές" 303-305; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61-62.

3. Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 58.

4. Four inscribed funerary monuments have been discovered at Stenemachos and are kept in the Beroia Museum (no 117; 193; 211; 249), two of which are published (cf. *BullEpigr* 1965, 792 and 1988, 830, no 9).

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

6. Cf. Guiraud 556; Vatin, "Inscription" 63.

7. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 33-38. For the price of land in Macedonia, see also Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 49-54.

8. Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

Moreover, it commanded both the north-south road from Edessa to the Haliakmon –and thence to Aigeai and to the sea– and the road which led along the southern shore of Lake Loudiake to Pella and Allante and thence to the crossing of the Axios and the head of the Thermaic Gulf beyond.<sup>1</sup> A track, rather than a road for wheeled traffic, across Mount Bermion to Elemia and Eordaia, also offered an alternative (albeit less satisfactory) route to the northern crossing through the defile of Edessa.<sup>2</sup> From the border of Mieza in the north to the Haliakmon in the south there is a maximum distance of about 30 km, and from the Bermion passes in the south-west to the Loudias bridge in the north-east nearly 55 km, probably making Beroia the city with the largest civic territory in the whole of Bottia. Naturally, the wild highlands of Mount Bermion were most of the time uninhabited –the realm of wild game only–<sup>3</sup> and most of the present-day plain was occupied by the waters and swamps of Lake Loudiake.<sup>4</sup> There are however unmistakable vestiges of great agricultural prosperity and of dense population in antiquity.<sup>5</sup> Remains have been found at Trilophon, Phyteia, Komnenion, Asomata, Rachi, Makrochori, Lazochori, Nea Nikomedeia, Stavros, Skyllitsi, Nesion, Schoinas,<sup>6</sup> etc. We also know more ancient names of *komai* and *choria* than any other Bottian city:<sup>7</sup> Kyneoi,<sup>8</sup> Auranton,<sup>9</sup> Bare Nikio,<sup>10</sup> and Kannonea.<sup>11</sup> Some of them may coincide, but for the time being we

1. Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 33-35; cf. *eiusdem*, "Χώρα" 57-60.

2. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 158-59.

3. Struck, *Niederlande* 26-27; cf. Edson, "Antigonids", 229.

4. In modern times the lake began no more than 12 km to the north-east of Beroia.

5. Cf. Delacoulonche 114-15.

6. For references, see Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 59.

7. Thanks to the inscriptions from the rural sanctuary of Μήτηρ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθων at Leukopetra; see Petsas, "Μήτηρ" 238; *eiusdem* "Ἐπιγραφές" 303-306. On these villages, see now Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 62-66.

8. Derived either from a Macedonian proper name (cf. Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 303) or from the word for "dogs" (=κύνες); cf. the modern village of Skyllitsi in the same area.

9. The expected Macedonian form of Attic ἄρραντον > ἄφραντον (cf. Αὐδουναῖος < Ἀφδουναῖος < Ἀφιδουναῖος) = "not watered", "not wetted", a not inappropriate name for a farm or a small rural settlement.

10. Undoubtedly Βάρη Νικίου; cf. Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 304; Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 64.

11. Either from the name Kanon (cf. Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 305), now attested in Macedonia (Epigraphic Appendix no 62) or more probably from the name of the "reed" (cf. the modern village of Schoinas near Nesi), a not inappropriate name for a village in the vicinity of Lake Loudiake (cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 64).



are unable to match ancient names with sites.<sup>1</sup> In Roman times some of them had become the property of rich Beroians,<sup>2</sup> who would sometimes use the wealth that they derived from them for the benefit of their fellow citizens.<sup>3</sup>

Although the permanence of Beroia as an inhabited urban centre has not allowed any systematic excavation, the richness of what has come accidentally to light leaves no doubt about the importance and the prosperity of the city from Classical to Roman times.<sup>4</sup> We also have epigraphic evidence of "tribes" (*phylai*) in Beroia: Peukastike, Paionis, Bereike and a fourth beginning with an *alpha*. The relevant inscriptions date from the Early Roman period, but the origins of these tribes undoubtedly goes back to the time of the kings.<sup>5</sup> Rostovtzeff<sup>6</sup> contended that "the persistence of the tribal and rural organisation of Macedonia is attested by the division of the large territory of Beroia into φυλαί, which had geographical names and corresponded probably to the *pagi* of the Danube provinces". These are, of course, artificial, secondary, divisions of the citizen body and have nothing to do with any supposed primitive "tribal groups". On the contrary, their presence confirms the high degree of development of the city and the sophistication of its civic organisation.<sup>7</sup>

Across the Haliakmon river, on its right bank, began the *chora* of Aigeai, which perhaps extended to the stream Krasopoulis, 13 km to the east of the Haliakmon crossing, allowing a very small territory for the old capital when compared to the three major cities: Pella, Edessa and Beroia. Aigeai too was densely settled. Ancient remains, in addition to those at the urban centre of Vergina-Palatitsia, have been found at Sphekia, Sykea, Polydendron, Voskina and Metochi.<sup>8</sup> In this last case we are fortunate enough to know the ancient name of the

1. Two possible exceptions are Skyllitsi and Schoinas, which may continue in rejuvenated forms older Kyneoi and Kannonea.

2. Cf. Αὐρήλιος Νεικόβουλος ὁ πρὶν Νεικοβούλου, Βεροιαῖος, οἰκῶν ἐν Αὐράντῳ χωρίῳ Αὐρηλίου Νεικάνορος.

3. Cf. Delacoulonche 114-15 and 261, no 65.

4. On the importance of Beroia, cf. Edson, "Antigonids" 232-35; *eiusdem*, "Strepsa" 177-78; 180, and particularly n. 135 on page 189. See now Tataki 45.

5. See Ch. Edson's review of Chr. Habicht's book *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, CP 53 (1958) 62, n. 8 and Touratsoglou, "Πολιτεία" 481-86, with references.

6. Rostovtzeff, *Empire* 650.

7. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 146, n. 33.

8. For references, see Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 59-60. For a recent attempt to challenge the identification of Aigeai with the ancient site at Vergina, see p. 105, n. 3, above.

village: Blaganoi.<sup>1</sup> The importance of Aigeai, however, is to be sought not in the fertility of its soil but in the historic memories attached to it as long as Macedonian kings reigned over a free Macedonian *ethnos*.

Immediately to the east of Aigeai, from the stream Krasopoulis to the (then) coast, lay the territory of Aloros, whose urban centre was identified recently with the important, and for years unnoticed site of Kypsele.<sup>2</sup> Aigeai, "the hearth of the Macedonian kingdom"<sup>3</sup> and Aloros, one of its oldest coastal cities, dominated the east-west road, which lead along the Pierian foothills from the coast of the Thermaic Gulf to the crossing of the Haliakmon.<sup>4</sup> South of Aloros began the territory of Methone, the northernmost city of Pieria, to which we have already referred.

There is no reason to believe that *komai* were a regular feature of the territories of the Pierian cities, any less than of those of the Central Plain. And in fact we know the name of a *kome* of Dion: Pimpleia.<sup>5</sup> Also, most of the stations mentioned in the Pierian section of the Peutinger Table and the related geographical works must have been villages of Dion.<sup>6</sup> Yet, as has already been pointed out above, the foundation of the Roman colony seriously upset the organisation of civic territories in that part of Macedonia, to an extent which only the continuation of the present systematic excavations at Dion and its area may one day reveal. Moreover, given that some of the cities of Pieria are of disputed origin and were intermittently under non-Macedonian domination, they lend themselves less than the cities of the Central Plain to a study of the particular features of the organisation of civic territories in Macedonia. This is even truer of the old

1 . The place name comes from the Macedonian dialect word *blaganos* (= frog; cf. Hesychios, *s. v.* βλαγάν), as I show elsewhere (Hatzopoulos, "Artémis" *passim*).

2 . Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 36-39. Following the publication of the results of my exploration, the XVII Ephorate of Antiquities started an excavation at the site of Aloros in summer 1988 (cf. Maria Apostolou, "Ανασκαφή στην Κυψέλη Ἡμαθίας", *AEMΘ* 2, 1988 [Thessalonike 1991] 307-315).

3 . Diod. 22.12: ἐστία τῆς μακεδονικῆς βασιλείας.

4 . On this road, see Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 26-35.

5 . On Pimpleia, see Papazoglou, *Cités* 103; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 112; Hammond, *Macedonia* I 135-36, with references, and in particular, Kotzias, "Λεϊβηθρα" 29 and 34, which unfortunately contains many inaccuracies (cf. *BullEpigr* 1953, 105).

6 . Anamon, Hatera (or Imera), Sabation, but the manuscript tradition is far from reliable. On these stations, see Papazoglou, *Villes* 122-23, with references and previous bibliography.

south Greek colonies of the New Lands refounded by the Macedonian kings in Late Classical and Hellenistic times.<sup>1</sup>

The *komai* of the new cities of Thessalonike and Kassandreia, for which there is positive evidence, and undoubtedly also those of other cities such as Antigoneia and Stratonikeia, which were similarly founded, were of a very different kind from those of the Macedonian heartland; for most of them had enjoyed city status before the synoecism which reduced them to an inferior condition.

Strabo reports that in order to found Thessalonike, Cassander brought together 26 *πολίσματα* of Krousis and of the head of the Thermaic Gulf; he goes on to mention six of them: Apollonia, Chalastra, Therma, Gareskos, Aineia and Kissos.<sup>2</sup> This passage poses some of the most acute problems of Macedonian topography and historical geography, that cannot be discussed here; for Apollonia, Aineia and Gareskos continue to appear as independent cities long after the synoecism.<sup>3</sup> Chalastra, too, makes a doubtful appearance in an inscription from Thessalonike,<sup>4</sup> while the relationship between the latter city and Therma remains highly controversial.<sup>5</sup> A *kome* of Thessalonike which seems to have passed until recently unnoticed is Perdylos. We know it from the mention of vineyards *ἐν τῇ Περδυλίᾳ* in a Thessalonikan inscription<sup>6</sup> and from the use of the *ethnikon* Perdylios and Perdylia on funerary inscriptions from Chalkidike.<sup>7</sup> Another inscription, discovered some seventy years ago but only very recently published, has revealed to us the names of some eight small cities of Mygdonia (or of their *ethnika*)—Rhamioi, Paraiptioi, Osbaioi, Prassilos, Gedrolos (?), Kisseitai, Eugeis (?), Kallipolitai—, most of which were eventually included in the new royal foundation.<sup>8</sup> Altos is known as a *kome* both from an inscription and from literary evi-

1 . For reasons of convenience I examine in this chapter the Macedonian foundations the *komai* of which, although outside the limits of the Old Kingdom, have more in common with those of the Macedonian heartland than with those of the New Lands

2 . Strab. 7 frg. 21 and 24.

3 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Cités* 137-58; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 189-212, with references. See also now, Despoina Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, "Χώρα Θεσσαλονίκης: μία προσπάθεια ὀριοθέτησης", *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη* (Thessalonike 1990) 99-106; Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 122-45; Hatzopoulos, "Ἀπολλωνία" 161-63.

4 . *IGX* 2, 1, 815.

5 . Cf. p.107, n. 3 and 4, above.

6 . *IGX* 2, 1, 259.

7 . Feissel-Sève, "Chalcidique" 285-86, no 4; cf. G. Daux, "Notes de lecture", *BCH* 104 (1980) 555-56.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 4.

dence,<sup>1</sup> but Nibas, Boukephaleia and Kekropis, which are mentioned by Aelian<sup>2</sup> and Stephanos Byzantios as subdivisions of Thessalonike,<sup>3</sup> are in all probability not villages but names of administrative subdivisions of the citizen body, parallel to the "tribes" (*phylai*), Antigonis, Dionysias, and Asklepias, known epigraphically.<sup>4</sup>

The origin and nature of the "villages" of Kassandreia is closely similar to those of Thessalonike. Cassander assigned to his new foundation the whole of the Pallene peninsula and a large section of south-western Chalkidike north of the isthmus of Poteidaia, with the territories of Poteidaia, Olynthos, Sermylia, Strepsa, Sinos, Spartolos and probably the other, minor southern Bottic cities. These, as far as they survived physical destruction, were reduced to the status of *komai*.<sup>5</sup> The fact is explicitly attested for Mende and provides the best explanation of the mention ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ on an inscription from Roman times found not far from the ruins of Olynthos.<sup>6</sup> The case of Aphytis on Pallene, which struck coins in the second century,<sup>7</sup> poses as many problems as that of Apollonia and Aineia for Thessalonike. Klitai, too, was perhaps a *kome* of Kassandreia.<sup>8</sup> Kassandreia's citizen body was also divided into *phylai* and *demoi*, of which we know the name of two: the Hippolyteis and the Hippotadeis.<sup>9</sup>

A new inscription from Kalamoton<sup>10</sup> has revealed that the subjection of lesser communities to larger ones in the new Macedonian foundations east of the Axios had already been initiated by Alexander the Great before his Asian campaign. When he refounded Kalindioia

1. *IG X 2*, 1, 226; L. 3: ἀπό τῆς Ἀλτίας; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄλτος χωρίον πλησίον Θεσσαλονίκης, ὡς Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς (*FGrHist 774 F 2*), τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἄλτιος.

2. Ael., *N.A.* 15.20: Θεσσαλονίκη τῆ μακεδονίτιδι, χώρος ἐστὶ γειτνιών καὶ καλεῖται Νίβας.

3. Steph. Byz., s.v. Βουκεφάλεια... οὕτω γὰρ καὶ δῆμος Θεσσαλονίκης; s.v. Κεκροπία χώρα καὶ Κεκροπὶς φυλῆ... ἐστὶ καὶ δῆμος Θεσσαλονίκης, οἱ δημόται Κεκρόπιοι.

4. *IG X 2*, 1, 183; 184; 185; 265. The φυλὴ Γνωαίας, attested by another inscription (*IG X 2*, 1, 278), is a later creation, probably in honour of Cn. Pompeius; cf. Ch. Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica", *HThR* 41 (1948) 160, n. 4; *eiusdem*, review of Ch. Habicht's book *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, *CP* 53 (1958) 62, n. 8; Touratsoglou, "Politeia" 483, n. 6 and now *eiusdem*, *Thessaloniki* 6 and n. 9.

5. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 43-49, with references.

6. See Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 63-65; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 426-27.

7. Gaebler, *Münzen* III 2, 46. But one may legitimately wonder whether these coins really belong to Aphytis and not to Kassandreia, in whose territory the sanctuary of Ammon Zeus lay; cf. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 33.

8. On Klitai, see Zahmt, *Olynth* 194-95 and now, Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morriylos* 87-92.

9. Epigraphic Appendix nos 21 and 44; cf. the tribe Ὀλυμπιεῖς in Seleukeia in Pieria (Holleaux, "Séleucie" 62 and 63 [= *Etudes* III 248 and 250]).

10. Epigraphic Appendix no 62.

as a Macedonian city at the beginning of his reign, he incorporated into it the villages (*choria*) Thamiskos(?), Kamakai and Tripoi, which had previously enjoyed the status of cities.<sup>1</sup> From a later decree of Kalindoia we know that there, too, the citizen body was divided into "tribes" (*phylai*).<sup>2</sup> The subordination of lesser communities to new royal foundations in the New Lands should probably be traced to Philip II, the real creator of the new Macedonia. Although there is no formal proof, the most likely assumption is that the numerous *komai* of the extensive territory of Philippoi actually date from his reign and are not a late creation of the Romans.<sup>3</sup>

In our description of the organisation of the civic territories of the Old Kingdom, which was the original birthplace of the Macedonian city, we have reported an important number of rural settlements and more than half a dozen names of ancient villages which have come down to us. These villages, however, as numerous and prosperous as they may have been, do not have an importance comparable to those of Upper Macedonia or the New Lands. They are not constituent parts of *ethne* nor do they combine on a practically equal footing with small townships to form sympolities. The development of urban centres in the Central Plain was so early and powerful that they very soon dominated completely the surrounding rural settlements by their relative weight. It is not without significance in this respect that, contrary to what we observe in Upper Macedonia and the New Lands, the inhabitants of the villages stress their citizenship with particular insistence<sup>4</sup> and in one only case do we encounter someone who describes himself simply by the *ethnikon* of his *kome*.<sup>5</sup> In the Old Kingdom the tradition of centuries made the *polis* the centre of communal life, both as a settlement and as a political organism.<sup>6</sup>

1. At least the latter two; see Zahrt, *Olynth* 193; 251, with references.

2. Sismanides 77, L. 32. See now Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 77-80.

3. On the *komai* of Philippoi see Papazoglou, *Villes* 411-12, with references.

4. For examples from Edessa see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 50-51; for examples from Beroia see Petsas, "Μήτηρ" 18; *eiusdem*, "Ἐπιγραφές" 303; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 62-63.

5. Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 303 and now, *eiusdem*, "Τ. Κλαυδία Πρόκλα Μητρι Θεῶν". Ἀναθηματικὸς βωμὸς καὶ προβληματικὲς ἐπιγραφές ἀπὸ τῆ Λευκόπετρα Βεροίας", Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον Βαβοῦσκο (Thessalonike 1992) 327: Ἀλέξις Ἀλεξίου Κυνάστης. I do not share Professor Petsas' opinion that there is a difference of legal status between a Βεροιαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Κυνέοις and a Κυνάστης. *Kyneoi* was a *kome* of Beroia and its free population were citizens of that city.

6. On the relation between cities and villages in the Old Kingdom, see also Hatzopoulos, "Village" 162-64 and 170-71.

At the end of this survey it is possible to conclude that the whole of Macedonia, with the exception only of royal lands, was divided into civic territories, which were, as a rule, centred around an urban settlement.<sup>1</sup> In the New Lands we encountered more or less equal associations of small communities in the form of sympolities, while the original feature of Macedonia west of Mt. Bermion was the survival of relatively large associations of open villages known as *ethne*, whose character, however, was geographic and not "tribal" or "racial". Nevertheless, however interesting and original, these political forms were but survivals, while the dominant political organism, starting with the Old Kingdom, was the *polis*. Moreover, although they exhibit a great variety of size both of their urban centres and of their territories, the cities of the Old Kingdom of Macedonia were readily comparable in their external configuration to those of the rest of Greece. In fact their very variety is an unerring sign that they are the product of a slow and natural indigenous development and not the artificial creation of an external *fiat*.

The next question is whether these conclusions on the external form of the Macedonian cities apply also to their internal organisation, or, as we put it before: did the Macedonians "possess" their cities and their territories and were they governed by their own laws and did they elect their annual magistrates? Or were the so-called Macedonian cities with their territories in fact mere administrative districts before 167 and for the first time acquired the advantage of civic autonomy only thanks to the Roman conquest?

1. Heuss's assertion (280) that the Macedonian cities had no "Bodenrecht" is groundless.



PART TWO

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THE CIVIC INSTITUTIONS





The organisation and government of the Macedonian cities are becoming increasingly well known, through a series of new documents emanating from them which have been uncovered in recent years. Until the beginning of this century we possessed only a fragmentary decree from Kassandreia,<sup>1</sup> a possibly authentic fragment of a decree of Philippoi,<sup>2</sup> another suspect decree of the Akrothooi,<sup>3</sup> a complete decree from Thessalonike recorded on a Delian inscription<sup>4</sup> and another complete decree from Amphipolis.<sup>5</sup> These, however, were of little help for the understanding of Macedonian civic institutions. The decree of the Akrothooi passed completely unnoticed. It was doubted whether Kassandreia and even more Philippoi –granted, of course, that the fragment in question was not a mere forgery of the very unreliable Serrhaian physician S. Mertzides–<sup>6</sup> should be considered as genuine Macedonian cities;<sup>7</sup> the complete decree from Amphipolis, on the other hand, dated from the days immediately following the capture of the city by Philip II and was hence considered as the last, rather than the first, of its kind.<sup>8</sup> There remained only the Thessalonikan decree, whose very isolation and the uncertainties about the reading of some key passages made it very difficult to interpret.

Just before the first World War information started to leak out about four complete Macedonian decrees of Philippoi, Amphipolis, Kassandreia and Pella, which had been discovered at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos.<sup>9</sup> Their evidence, however, remained practically unexploited for several decades, because they were not published before the early fifties.<sup>10</sup> Even then, the fact that three of them did not

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 44.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 38.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 43.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 50.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 40.

6 . Cf. Robert, "Mertzidès" (= *OMS* II 1289-303).

7 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 202-203, with references; cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 358-61 and particularly note 3 on page 359. See now Hatzopoulos, "Cassandrée", *passim* and *eiusdem*, "Philippe" 321-24.

8 . Perdrizet, "Proxènes" 111; Hampl 27; cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 351.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 36, 41, 47, 58. The first to make use of them for the study of Macedonian institutions was Tarn, to whom Herzog, who had discovered them, had sent a copy (cf. Tarn, *Antigonos* 184 and particularly n. 54).

10 . For the account of their publication, see *BullEpigr* 1953, 152.

originate from "genuine" Macedonian cities of the Old Kingdom tended to obscure their significance,<sup>1</sup> and only in the last twenty years has their importance for the understanding of Macedonian civic institutions been fully grasped.<sup>2</sup> The recent discovery of two early-second-century civic laws from Beroia<sup>3</sup> and Amphipolis respectively<sup>4</sup> and eight new practically complete decrees from Beroia,<sup>5</sup> Dion,<sup>6</sup> Pydna,<sup>7</sup> Gazoros,<sup>8</sup> Kassandreia (two)<sup>9</sup> and Morrylos (two)<sup>10</sup> has now made possible the drawing of a fuller and, more particularly, more balanced picture: the fourth of these, which has been already examined, and the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth ones, too, come from the New Lands, but the first three originate from the original heartland of Macedonia. Over and above these we also now possess one fragmentary decree from Anthemous,<sup>11</sup> two from Kassandreia<sup>12</sup> two other fragmentary decrees from Thessalonike<sup>13</sup> and another one, from Philippi, whose virtually complete restoration has recently been made possible.<sup>14</sup> At the same time a rich harvest of decrees of Early Roman times has provided additional evidence of the continuity of civic institutions between the two periods.<sup>15</sup>

1 . Cf. Bengtson, "Randbemerkungen" 462-63; cf. Heuss 280.

2 . Particularly by Giovannini, "Cités" 465-72 and Papazoglou, "Organisation" 195-210.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60, Side A, Lines 22 and following and the whole of side B.

4 . A very fragmentary opisthographic stele from Amphipolis; see Epigraphic Appendix 42. A mid-fourth-century inscribed fragment from Dion presented by D. Pandermalis at a symposium on Macedonian epigraphy held at Thessalonike in December 1993 probably belongs to a civic fiscal law (Epigraphic Appendix no 56).

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60, A, Lines 1-22.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 57. A fragmentary inscription presented by D. Pandermalis at the same Symposium on Macedonian epigraphy preserves another decree of Dion or –more probably– of the Macedonian *koinon* (Epigraphic Appendix no 32) from the city of Dion.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 55.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 45-46.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54.

11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 49.

12 . Epigraphic Appendix no 48.

13 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 51-52.

14 . Epigraphic Appendix no 37. Another fragmentary decree has been discovered at Amphipolis, but its surviving portion contains no significant information about the institutions of that city (*BullEpigr* 1979, 271).

15 . Cf. the new decrees from Anthemous and Kalindoia –Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 44-48, no A2; 75-77, no K1; 77-80, no K2 (*SEG* 42 [1992] 558, 578 and 579, respectively)– and a decree from Beroia, to be published by D.A. Hardy and J.P. Touratsoglou, which are now added to those previously known.

## ASSEMBLY, COUNCIL AND MAGISTRATES

The most ancient of all Macedonian city decrees (apart from the one dating from the time of the capture of Amphipolis by Philip II) was discovered by chance at Dion in 1964, but is still unpublished.<sup>1</sup> Its closing lines have been cited by D. Pandermalis with the additional information that, judging from its *stoichedon* style, it must be dated to c. 300, during the reign of Cassander.

"...the presidency in the gymnastic games and in the Dionysia, and having engraved this decree on a stone stele to expose it before the temple and to erect his statue in the *temenos* of Olympian Zeus..."

In the following lines the appointment of a committee of ten, including the *archontes*, who were to announce the decree to the honorand, was mentioned. The gymnastic games can be none other than the famous Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίῳι celebrated since the days of King Archelaos.<sup>2</sup> The *temenos* of Zeus Olympios is the most ancient and venerable sanctuary of Macedonia.<sup>3</sup> The mid-fourth-century fragmentary civic law from the agora of Dion,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, mentions the city treasurers. Thus, Dion appears at the end of the fourth century as a fully developed city, having its own magistrates (ἄρχοντες, ταμίαι), electing committees (ἐλέσθαι ἄνδρας), voting and publishing decrees (ψηφισμα), erecting statues and being responsible for the organisation of festivals and games.<sup>5</sup> This picture is perfectly consistent with the archaeological evidence which has been accumulating in recent years.<sup>6</sup> Although its sanctuaries had been active since at least the

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 57.

2 . See Hatzopoulos, "Oleveni" 38-41; Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 146, n. 3; 150; 156, with references; cf. *BullEpigr* 1978, 232, for additional epigraphic evidence. A fragmentary inscription presented by D. Pandermalis at a symposium on Macedonian epigraphy held at Thessalonike in December 1993 contains additional information about the games. They included, among other contests, the *pentathlon*, the *dolichos* and possibly the *taurotheria*.

3 . Just. 24.2.8: *sanctissimum Iovis templum veterrimae Macedonum religionis*.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 56.

5 . For a city responsible for the organisation of federal games, cf. the case of Anaktorion (Moretti, *Iscrizioni* I no 59).

6 . Cf. Pandermalis, "Διον" *passim*.

end of the sixth century,<sup>1</sup> Thucydides still calls Dion an "insignificant town" (πόλισμα),<sup>2</sup> but by the middle of the fourth century it is already a *polis* in Pseudo-Skylax.<sup>3</sup> By this time the Classical theatre in the sanctuary area outside the city was already in use<sup>4</sup> and the walls of the city, 2.5 km long, were soon to be built.<sup>5</sup>

Pydna, too, in a decree<sup>6</sup> which may be connected with the events of the year 169,<sup>7</sup> appears as a fully autonomous city, with its own magistrates and revenues (τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἀνάλωμα ἀνενεγκεῖν τοὺς ταμίας ἐκ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος ἱεροῦ λόγου), sending embassies (ἀποσταλείς πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως), voting and publishing decrees (δεδοχθαι τῆι πόλει... ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰστήλην λιθίνην καὶ

1. Cf. Pandermalis, "Δῖον" 14-17; Semele Pingiatoglou, "Τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Δήμητρας στὸ Δῖον. Ἀνασκαφὴ 1990", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 (Thessalonike 1993) 205-215.

2. Thuc. 4.78.6; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 145.

3. Pseudo-Skylax 66.

4. Cf. Karadedos 340; Pandermalis, "Δῖον" 23-26.

5. Stephanidou-Tiberiou, "Stadtmauer" 22-25; *eiusdem*, "Τείχη" 569 and 575-77; *eiusdem*, "Ἐρευνα" 189-99; *eiusdem*, "Προβλήματα" 153-60.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 55.

7. The letter forms (*alpha* with a broken bar, *theta* with a point in the middle, *xi* with a vertical hasta, *pi* with a right hasta shorter than the left one, *sigma* with either divergent or parallel bars, *omega* smaller than the other letters and "suspended" at the top of the line) indicate a date in the second quarter of the second century. Philippos, the father of Proteas, the ambassador, *rogator* of the decree and priest of Apollo Dekadryos, may be identical with the *theorodokos* of Apollo in Pydna mentioned in the Delphic list (Plassart, "Théorodoques", 17, III 55), as Bessios has also independently suggested (1118-19). Now, this part of the list does not date from the decade 190-180 B.C., as Plassart –and Bessios after him– thought, but from *circa* 220 (Hatzopoulos, "Théarodoques" 345-47; cf. D. Knoepfler, "Le temple du Métroon de Sardes et ses inscriptions", *MHelv* 50 [1993] 42-43, with *BullEpigr* 1994, 432). A son of Philippos can be expected to have been active 25-30 years after his father, *i.e.* theoretically from 205-190 onwards. Such a dating agrees perfectly with the letter forms, which are typical of the reign of Perseus (cf. the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia, Epigraphic Appendix no 60). Although a date after 168 –which would connect the need to restore the statue of Apollo Dekadryos with the depredations perpetrated by the Romans after the surrender of Pydna– cannot be formally excluded, an earlier date, and particularly in 169, after the first invasion of Pieria by the Romans is on the whole more likely. It was the time when Perseus was actively engaged in restoring the destructions wrought by the Romans and when craftsmen, like the two honoured citizens from Demetrias, would have flocked in Macedonia and particularly to Dion (Livy 44.8.5). An appeal to them by a Pydnaian embassy while they were less than 30 km away is much more likely than an expedition of the two ambassadors to Demetrias some 160 km distant. The need to restore the statue might even, in that case, be connected with the Roman invasion, since the sanctuary of Apollo "of the ten oaks" may have stood outside the city walls and fallen victim to the cupidity or the fury of the invading Romans in 169 (cf. Hatzopoulos, "Sanctuaries" 108; *BullEpigr* 1994, 389).

στήσαι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ), granting honours and privileges, including *proxenia*, (εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ προξενίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου κα[ι] εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φιλόανθρωπα ὑπάρχειν καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις), without the slightest reference to the King or to any other representative of the central authorities:

"With good fortune. Proteas son of Philippos, a Pydnaian, who had been sent by the city as ambassador to Karponidas and Alexiphaes from Demetrias and who is the priest of Apollo Dekadryos proposed: whereas Karponidas and Alexiphaes, complying with the city's letter and with his (Proteas') and Kleoboulos' son of Antikrates, his fellow ambassador's requests, restored the statue of Apollo Dekadryos, with all possible zeal and nobleness offering up their piety to the godhead and to the city worthy favours; in order that our city, too, may show herself bountiful and reciprocating the honours towards those who honour her with ardour, let it be resolved by the city of Pydna to praise Karponidas and Alexiphaes for the goodwill which they show towards the city, and to grant to them and their descendants isopolity, proxy and security in war and peace and all the other privileges, exactly as to the other benefactors, and in order that it be clear to all that honours bestowed by those who receive benefactions amount to gratitude twice as great for the benefactors, to inscribe the decree on a stone stele and to set it before the temple in the most conspicuous place and to have the treasurers disburse the expense out of the sacred fund".

More detailed and richer in information is the decree from Beroia relating to the adoption of a law on the appointment of a gymnasiarch and to the functioning of the city gymnasium, which until then had been operating as a private institution. The text (217 lines) of this inscription engraved on a 1.75 m high stele has been known since 1949, but was not published until nearly three decades later in 1977.<sup>1</sup> A complete examination of this most significant document is well beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>2</sup> We shall confine ourselves to only what is immediately relevant to the functioning of the civic institutions of Beroia. This information is mainly to be found in the decree proper, which introduces the text of the actual law:

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60, Side A, Lines 22 and following, and side B.

2 . See Ph. Gauthier and M.B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia* ("ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ" 16; Athens 1993) and, for an English translation, M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge 1981) 203-207, no 118.

"When Hippokrates son of Nikokrates was *strategos*, on the 19th of Apellaios, at the meeting of the Assembly, Zopyros son of Amyntas, the gymnasiarch, Asklepiades son of Heras, Kallippos son of Hippostratos proposed: Whereas all the other magistrates rule according to a law and in the cities where there are gymnasia and where anointing with oil is an established practice the laws concerning the gymnasiarchs are deposited in the public archives, it is good that the same should be done here and that the law which we submitted to the *exetastai* be inscribed on a stele and placed in the gymnasium and be also deposited in the public archive; if this is done, the young people will be more respectful and will be readier to obey their leader and their revenues shall not be dissipated, since the gymnasiarchs who shall be successively elected shall rule according to a law and shall be held accountable. It was resolved by the city that the gymnasiarchical law which was proposed by Zopyros son of Amyntas, the gymnasiarch, Asklepiades son of Heras, Kallippos son of Hippostratos be adopted and deposited in the public archive and that the gymnasiarchs shall make use of it and that it be also deposited in the gymnasium engraved on a stele. It was approved on the first of Peritios ... Transmitted by the politarchs; concerning the decree: one nay".

Thus, the gymnasiarchical law was introduced as a decree to the Assembly on the 19th of Apellaios of the year in which Hippokrates son of Nikokrates was *strategos* by the gymnasiarch Zopyros son of Amyntas and two other citizens, Asklepiades son of Heras and Kallippos son of Hippostratos, whose position we shall discuss later. It was adopted with only one dissenting vote<sup>1</sup> on the first of Peritios, forty days later, and a copy of the text was transmitted by the politarchs to the authorities of the gymnasium, in order to be engraved on a stele and be set up there (παρά τῶν πολιταρχῶν. Τοῦ ψηφίσματος). The politarchs are again named in line 43 as the chief executive magistrates. In the performance of their duties they are helped by the *exetastai*, who appear both as responsible for receiving and examining the accounts of incumbent and outgoing magistrates (εὔθυναί) and as exercising a preventive control over the legality of propositions of de-

1. Of the Assembly, naturally, not of the politarchs, as the editor (Cormack, "Law" 140; cf. *BullEpigr* 1978, 274; Moretti, "Legge" 48 and 55) suggested. Similar mentions, which occur also in other Macedonian decrees –from Amphipolis (Epigraphic Appendix no 41, L. 17: ἐψηφίσθη παραπάσαις); Gazoros (Vatin, "Inscriptions" 58, L. 25-26: καὶ περὶ τούτου ψήφου διενεχθείσης ἐγένοντο πάσαι λευκαί); cf. Battyna (Rizakis-Touratsoglou 186, L. 15-16: ἔδοξε τῷ τε πολειτάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς πολεῖταις ὁμογνώμοισι)– refer always to votes of large bodies, Assemblies or Councils. See also Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 45.

crees and laws,<sup>1</sup> like the *nomophylakes* in other Macedonian foundations.<sup>2</sup> All the magistrates are annual (ἡ πόλις αἰρείσθω γυμνασίαρχον ὅταν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς),<sup>3</sup> perform their duties according to laws (αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι κατὰ νόμον ἀρχουσι),<sup>4</sup> come into office in the first of Dios and leave it a year later.<sup>5</sup> The gymnasiarchs and presumably the other magistrates are responsible (ὑπεύθυνοι) before their fellow citizens and must publish and settle all the accounts of their administration within one month after the end of their term of office.<sup>6</sup> It also appears that the whole political life of Beroia is governed by a body of laws (κατὰ τοὺς κοινούς νόμους)<sup>7</sup> which are administered by a variety of standing courts, whose competence depends on the nature of the case (ἐπὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος δικαστηρίου; ἐπὶ τῶν καθηκόντων ἀρχείων).<sup>8</sup>

This and other information which may be gleaned from the long and rich text of the law form a picture of a highly developed and sophisticated civic life. One is impressed by the complex procedure of the adoption of the law, particularly by the provision of a month's reflection between its introduction to the Assembly of the citizens and the actual vote, such as we encounter in Hellenistic Boiotia.<sup>9</sup> Equally

1. On the *exetastai* in general see Busolt I 472, n. 3 with references; in Beroia, Moretti, "Legge" 47-48; Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 42-43.

2. The *nomophylakes* in Kassandria and Demetrias are examined in an unpublished article by Chr. Habicht, "Ein Beschluss von Demetrias für Richter aus Herakleia Trachinia" (cf. H.J. Wolff, "Normenkontrolle' und Gesetzesbegriff in der attischen Demokratie", *SBHeid* [1970], 8, n. 5), which he most kindly let me read during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. It is possible that the *dikastai* of Thessalonike had duties similar to those of the *nomophylakes* and the *exetastai*. The attribution of both financial and legislative-judicial control to a single board of magistrates (cf. Touloumakos, "Δικασταί" 407-421) may continue an old Macedonian tradition of the office of *skoidos*, whose multiple attributions have perplexed scholars (cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 262-64, with references, and Epigraphic Appendix no 25).

3. A L. 22-23.

4. A L. 5-6; cf. 15.

5. A L. 35; cf. B, L. 88-91.

6. A L. 15-16; cf. B 87-97; 107-109; K. Adshead, "SEG XXVII 261 and the History of the Euthyna", *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday, GRBS Monograph* 10 (1984), Durham, N.C., 1-6.

7. B L. 43-44; 87.

8. B L. 37; 100-101; 105; 108-109. On the civic institutions of Beroia, see now Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 41-48.

9. Cf. J. Tréheux, "Elaboration et formulaire des décrets béotiens" in Cl. Nicolet (ed.) *Du pouvoir dans l'Antiquité: mots et réalités* (Genève 1990) 117-23; cf. D. Knoepfler, "Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie", *Chiron* 22 (1992) 429-30.



noteworthy is the genuinely democratic functioning of the Assembly evidenced by the negative vote in the open ballot by the Beroean who dared to maintain his opposition to the law against the unanimous opinion of his fellow-citizens.<sup>1</sup> An excellent expert of Hellenistic epigraphy, L. Moretti, can with good reason affirm that "una legge del genere avrebbe potuto essere redatta negli stessi termini anche a Corinto, o a Rodi, o a Mileto"<sup>2</sup> and further on that "l'iscrizione prova anche, tuttavia, che la democrazia funzionava egregiamente a Berea attorno alla metà del II secolo: non solo per la ἐκκλησία... ma per la ricca articolazione del processo democratico di formazione delle leggi, testimoniato appunto nella legge ginnasiarchica. Probabilmente sotto i re di Macedonia, malgrado lo sbrigativo giudizio di Polibio, la democrazia non era un nome vuoto, ma una realtà operante all'interno delle singole poleis".<sup>3</sup>

This highly instructive text of the gymnasiarchical law would have put an end to the controversy about the existence of genuine institutions and annual magistrates in pre-Roman Macedonia, had it not been practically unanimously dated after the battle of Pydna and the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy.<sup>4</sup> The dating of this inscription has actually been entangled in the different –but in practice closely connected– controversy of the dating of the appearance of the politarchs. Thus, at the same time that the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia was being used as evidence for the dating of the introduction of the politarchy in the civic constitutions of Macedonia,<sup>5</sup> the mention of politarchs in its text was serving as an argument for the dating of the inscription after 167.<sup>6</sup> The only way to break out of this vicious circle is to resort to external evidence. This is what I tried to do in an earlier study.<sup>7</sup> As I argued there, the presence of this magistracy in Philippopolis in Roman times, when this city had ceased to be Macedonian since the downfall of the monarchy in 168, could only mean that it had been introduced there by the Macedonians before that date.<sup>8</sup> My suggestion that the politarchs had a pre-Roman origin

1 . Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 47-48.

2 . Moretti, "Legge" 46.

3 . Moretti, "Legge" 55.

4 . Kanatsoulis, "Περὶ τῶν πολιταρχῶν" 170; Cormack, "Law" 140-41; cf. Schuler 94 and Helly, "Politarques" 544, n. 32. On the date, see now Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 35-41.

5 . Schuler 94; Gschnitzer, "Politarches" 493-95; Musti, "Polibio" 188.

6 . Cormack, "Law" 140-41.

7 . Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" *passim*.

8 . Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" 137-49. The section of my study in which I discussed the date of the gymnasiarchical law was curiously omitted from the *acta* of the

seemed to be vindicated by the publication of an inscribed plaque with dedications to Artemis Tauropolos by King Perseus and the People of Amphipolis represented by its two politarchs.<sup>1</sup> However, E. Voutiras, drawing attention to the fact that the second dedication was less deeply engraved and probably due to a different hand, challenged the obvious interpretation of the dedications,<sup>2</sup> which meanwhile had been further strengthened by Jeanne and Louis Robert's analysis of their exact historical context.<sup>3</sup> The Greek scholar instead put forward a theory according to which, after the defeat of king Perseus at Pydna and the reorganisation of Macedonia in 167 B.C., the new civic authorities of Amphipolis, in order to obliterate the royal dedication without destroying the monument, covered the inscribed surface of the plaque with a coating of plaster and marble powder and engraved the second dedication on this new surface. I explained elsewhere why this hypothesis cannot stand:<sup>4</sup> 1) Voutiras can adduce no parallel for the use of such a technique of *damnatio memoriae*; 2) no trace of such –invariably extremely adhesive– coating has been reported on the stone and particularly in the grooves of the letters of Perseus' dedication; 3) if the dedication of the People of Amphipolis had not been intended to be visible alongside with the royal dedication but was destined to replace it, it would not have been painstakingly engraved below it, but right over it, on the hypothetical coating, on the upper part of the inscribed surface, which is the normal place for such an inscription; 4) if the engraving of the dedication of the People of Am-

phipolis had not been intended to be visible alongside with the royal dedication but was destined to replace it, it would not have been painstakingly engraved below it, but right over it, on the hypothetical coating, on the upper part of the inscribed surface, which is the normal place for such an inscription; 4) if the engraving of the dedication of the People of Am-

congress (cf. Papazoglou, "Politarques" 441, n. 11 and *BullEpigr* 1987, 644 and 1988, 829). The case made there has now been strengthened by the discovery of new evidence attesting the existence of politarchs in other cities (Olympe, Charadros) which had been Macedonian possessions (the former) or in the Macedonian sphere of influence (the latter) under the Antigonids, but had ceased to be Macedonian after the Roman conquest. It was Fanoula Papazoglou's particular merit to point out the relevance of the Olympe inscription mentioning politarchs to the question of the origin of this magistracy (Papazoglou, "Politarques"). P. Cabanes, who with Ioanna Andreou had published the document mentioning a politarch in Charadros ("Le règlement frontalier entre les cités d'Ambracie et de Charadros", *BCH* 109 [1985] 499-544 and 753-57), disputed Papazoglou's conclusions ("Les politarques en Epire et en Illyrie méridionale", *Historia* 37 [1988] 480-87) and suggested that the introduction of this magistracy to the west of Pindos could be ascribed to the Romans (cf. *BullEpigr* 1990, 435; 1994, 356). For reasons that I explain elsewhere (Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 37, n. 4), Cabanes' arguments do not carry conviction. Be that as it may, the pre-Roman origin of the politarchs in Macedonia itself can be established on a prosopographical basis, as I show below.

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 29.

2. Voutiras, "Amphipolis" 347-55.

3. *BullEpigr* 1984, 253.

4. *BullEpigr* 1988, 861 and Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 38-39.

phipolis *on the stone itself* was merely the secondary and accidental result of its engraving on the coating, it would never have had the regularity which it actually possesses. I also suggested a likelier and less complicated explanation: the difference in the depth of the grooves of the dedications is due to the different techniques used in each case: genuine engraving for the royal dedication, simple incision for that of the People of Amphipolis (followed in both cases by the painting of the letters), which was added to it for reasons that it is unnecessary to repeat here. I should like to add that a Hellenistic funerary stele from Pella offers a good parallel, illustrating my suggestion concerning the dedication of Amphipolis, with the minor difference that the order in which the two techniques were used is reversed.<sup>1</sup> The stele first received the light incision of the name of Harpalos son of Dionysogenes in the normal place, the upper part of the inscribed surface. The name of his son Zopyros son of Harpalos was deeply engraved below it some time later. Now that the paint is gone, the first inscription, like the People's dedication on the inscription from Amphipolis, is hardly visible. It is, however obvious that there is no need to invent a scenario like the one imagined by Voutiras, and to suppose that the name of the father was engraved after that of the son over a plaster coating which would have obliterated the son's name! Here there can be no question that the two names were meant to be simultaneously visible and that no *damnatio memoriae* was intended.

The dedications of King Perseus and of the People of Amphipolis present the additional interest of providing a criterion for the dating of some other second-century inscriptions mentioning two politarchs. If G. Schuler is correct in dating to 167 the Amphipolitan inscription in honour of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus which mentions five politarchs,<sup>2</sup> then the increase of the number of politarchs in Amphipolis and other major cities such as Thessalonike and Beroia, where they formed boards of five (or more) in Roman times,<sup>3</sup> must be an innovation subsequent to the settlement of 167. And in fact in Beroia, too, the earliest document mentioning politarchs which can be firmly dated after the fall of the monarchy (122/1 B.C.) presents a board of

1. Maria Sigamidou, *Deltion* 29 (1973-1974), *Chronika* 714 and pl. 511β; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 39, pl. XV-XVI.

2. Schuler 94-96; but see the objections aired by Musti, "Polibio" 187-88 and Voutiras, "Amphipolis" 354, n. 30. Only a new examination of the stone, which is not lost (cf. *BullEpigr* 1988, 861) can give a definitive answer to this question.

3. See Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" 147-49, with references.

five magistrates.<sup>1</sup> This makes it very probable that in Thessalonike, too, the second-century dedication with the names of five politarchs, which S. Pelekides dated to the period of the kings<sup>2</sup> should be regarded as the first Thessalonikan public document after Pydna. Conversely, as I suggested in my earlier study, the documents of these major cities mentioning only two politarchs must belong to the pre-Roman period. Such is the case of the dedication to Dionysos from Thessalonike<sup>3</sup> and also possibly of the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia. Since in all known cases the *ius agendi cum senatu et cum populo* in Macedonia seems to be a prerogative either of the magistrates directly concerned by the decree<sup>4</sup> or, more usually, of the chief magistrates of the cities,<sup>5</sup> one may wonder whether the two unspecified *rogatores* who, along with the gymnasiarch, introduce the law, are none other than the two politarchs themselves. Moreover, the dedications of Amphipolis and Thessalonike, and perhaps also the gymnasiarchal law from Beroia, provide evidence not only of the fact that the politarchs are of pre-Roman origin—a possibility that even Schuler would, theoretically at least, admit—but that they were already the chief executive magistrates, something that this scholar categorically rejected when he wrote that: "Pending publication of the inscription in question (*i.e.* the gymnasiarchal law), one can offer only hypotheses: if it dates to before 167 B.C., Holleaux is correct in his assertion that the politarchs go back to the monarchical period, *but they were not then the chief officers*".<sup>6</sup>

The establishment of the fact that the politarchs existed in pre-Roman Macedonia and exercised the same functions of chief executive magistrates as in Roman times does not necessarily mean, of course, that the gymnasiarchal law dates before 167. At least it need no longer imply the opposite. In that same earlier study I also advanced some positive arguments for dating the gymnasiarchal law to the last years of the kingdom,<sup>7</sup> but definite proof was still lacking.

1. Allamani-Souri, "Ἡρακλῆς" 85-86, with an error in the date: the 27th year of the Macedonian era is not 121/0 but 122/1; cf. BullEpigr 1994, 395.

2. *IGX* 2, 1, 27.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 72; cf. Voutiras, "Amphipolis", 352-54, who ascribes this dedication to the period after 167 B.C.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 55.

5. Epigraphic Appendix nos 40, 45, 46, 47, 50, 53.

6. Schuler 94; the italics are mine.

7. See now Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 37. Besides the prosopographical argument developed below, it should be stressed that the different clauses of the law taken severally, as well as the spirit of the law as a whole, can only be understood in the context of an independent Macedonia under its kings (cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 173-76).

It has been supplied now by a recently published letter of Philip V to the city of Beroia dated to August 215 (or, rather, 214) and containing a list of army officers:<sup>1</sup> the first three names are Polemaios son of Harpalos, Timokles son of Kallippos and Hippostratos son of Kallippos. There can be no doubt that the first is the father of the well-known Harpalos son of Polemaios, one of the most important officers of King Perseus, his ambassador to Rome and his *hieromnemon* at Delphi.<sup>2</sup> It is then most probable that Hippostratos son of Kallippos is the father of one of the three *rogatores* of the gymnasiarchical law, Kallippos son of Hippostratos (Timokles would then be his uncle), possibly identical with another important officer of King Perseus, Cal(l)ippus, *praefectus classis*.<sup>3</sup> The expected gap between the generation of Polemaios and Hippostratos and that of Harpalos and Kallippos, presumably Hippostratos' eldest son, can hardly exceed the 48 years which separate Philip's letter of 215 (214) from the Roman settlement of Macedonia in 167. Moreover, it is out of question that prominent members of families who were traditionally attached to the kings and had themselves, like their ancestors, held high positions in the king's officer corps should have escaped deportation in Italy to 167, since *regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum, praefecti navium et praesidorum, ...omnes igitur, qui in aliquibus ministeriis regis etiam qui in legationibus fuerant*, along with their sons aged 15 or more, are explicitly mentioned in the declaration of Amphipolis among those condemned to perpetual exile.<sup>4</sup> One can hardly see how a son of Philip V's *hegemon* and probably Perseus' own *praefectus classis* could have remained in Macedonia after 167, enjoying a prominent position in his native Beroia and happily introducing laws about the organisation of its gymnasium.<sup>5</sup>

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

2. Tataki 116-17, nos 230 and 422.

3. Livy 44.28.1. For another identification, see Rosen, *König* 174, n. 19. However, Κάλλιππος Μενάνδρου, one of the five ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταὶ of an inscription from Amphipolis (Epigraphic Appendix no 65), whom he suggests, seems a less likely candidate for the important post of *praefectus classis* than the Beroian *rogator* and probably politarch.

4. Livy 45.32.4-6; cf. Walbank, *Commentary* I 33-34; III 369.

5. Victoria Allamani-Souri and E. Voutiras would ascribe the royal letter not to Philip V, but to Antigonos Doson (cf. Allamani-Souri, "Ἡρακλῆς" 85, n. 20) and are not absolutely convinced that the persons mentioned in the appended list are officers (ἡγεμόνες). They conclude that Kallippos son of Hippostratos may have held an important position in Beroia after 167. The suggestion that the author of the letter might be Antigonos Doson is interesting and might throw new light on the Cleomenic war. In any case, if it proved exact, it could but strengthen my argument, for dating the gymnasiarchical law after 167 would lengthen the chronological gap between Kallip-

## THE COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY

The Pella decree from Kos voted in 243, some three quarters of a century earlier, does not convey a different picture.<sup>1</sup>

"Of Pella. When Asklepiodoros was priest, in the month of Gorpaios. Whereas the *architheoros* Aristolochos son of Zmendron and the *theoros* Makareus son of Aratos, arriving from Kos, renewed the familiar ties which exist between the Koans and the Macedonians and gave an account of the goodwill of the city of Kos towards King Antigonos and the Pellaians and the rest of the land of the Macedonians and announced the Asklepieia celebrated in their city and the contests due to take place at the festival and also the truce and demanded that the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos be inviolable, it was resolved by the city that the announcement of the Asklepieia by the Koans and the truce be accepted and that they be praised for the honours which they pay to the gods and for their goodwill towards King Antigonos and the Macedonians; that inviolability be granted to the sanctuary as to the other sanctuaries; that the treasurers give to the *theoroi* the same presents of hospitality which are given to others announcing contests having crowns as prizes and that a *theorodokos* of the Koans be elected, Hipp..... son of ..... was elected".

Although a royal capital, Pella does not seem in the light of this text any less autonomous a city than Beroia: it passes a decree praising the Koans for their piety towards the gods and their goodwill not only towards the Pellaians but also towards the other Macedonians and king Antigonos, recognising the inviolability (*asylia*) of the sanctuary of Asklepios, ordering the treasurers to give presents to the Koan *theoroi* and appointing one of their fellow-citizens *theorodokos*.

Neither individual magistrates, other than the treasurers, nor the Assembly nor the Council are mentioned in the Pellaian decree. However, as Papazoglou<sup>2</sup> has rightly pointed out, this should not be taken as an indication that the city did not possess these indispensable organs of civic self-government. Bengtson's<sup>3</sup> conclusion to the contrary

pos and his father Hippostratos to over 57 years, that is to say, to two generations instead of one. As for the status of Hippostratos son of Kallippos and his colleague Polemaiios son of Harpalos, Timokles son of Kallippos etc., a closer examination of the list of names in which they figure, attempted below, will leave no doubt that they were far from being simple soldiers of the Macedonian army.

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 58.

2 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 204.

3 . Bengtson, "Randbemerkungen" 463; cf. Errington, *Geschichte* 206, with my remarks in *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 602.

is due to an oversight. He argued that since the decrees of the "eigentlichen makedonischen Kommunen" did not mention an *ekkle-sia* and a *boule*, that such institutions did not exist there. Not only can such *argumenta e silentio* be very misleading—one might then argue from the Lacedaemonian decree of the same series,<sup>1</sup> which mentions neither Gerousia nor Assembly, that these had disappeared from Sparta at that time!— but also the contemporary decree of Amphipolis, which Bengtson sets among the "eigentlichen makedonischen Kommunen", does mention the Assembly, however incidentally.<sup>2</sup>

"Of Amphipolis. When Antigonos was king for the forty-first year, Xenias son of Orges *epistates*, Lysimachos priest; decrees of the 19th of Gorpiaios. Whereas Aristolochos son of Zmendron sent out as *architheoros* by the city of Kos and Makareus son of Aratos along with him as *theoros* presented themselves before the Assembly and renewed the familiar ties which exist between the Koans and the Macedonians and pointed out the goodwill of their city towards King Antigonos and the Macedonians and announced the Asklepieia celebrated in their city and the truce and demanded that the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos be inviolable, let it be resolved by the city of Amphipolis that the announcement of the Asklepieia and the truce be accepted and that they be praised for the honours which they bestow to the gods and for their goodwill towards King Antigonos and the Macedonians; that the sanctuary be inviolable, as it is also the wish of King Antigonos; that the magistrates give to the *theoroi* a present of hospitality such as is given to those who announce the Pythia; that Dionysios son of Epigenes be the *theorodokos* of the sacred embassy of the Koans. It was adopted by a unanimous vote".

The decree of Amphipolis is submitted for approval simply "to the city" (δεδοχθαι τῆι πόλει τῆι Ἀμφιπολιτῶν) without any further elaboration, exactly like that of Pella (ἔδοξε τῆι πόλει). But, as Papazoglou has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> it is also unambiguously reported that the *theoroi* of Kos pleaded their cause before the Assembly (ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν [*sic*]). That the decisions concerning the *asylia* and the appointment of a *theorodokos* were taken by a corporate body also emerges from their description as a *psephisma* and by the final formula: ἐψηφίσθη παραπάσαις (ψηφοῖς).<sup>4</sup> Likewise the magistrates do

1 . Herzog-Klaffenbach 11, no 4.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 41.

3 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 205.

4 . For the expression, see Herzog-Klaffenbach 18. My first impression was that it refers to a vote of the Council (cf. Gazoros, Vatin, "Inscription" 57, L. 25-26: καὶ περὶ τούτου ψήφου διενεχθείσης | ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι λευκαί), the popular vote being a

not figure in the prescript or in the deliberative formula, but are mentioned as recipients of the order to give the appropriate gifts to the *theoroi*.<sup>1</sup> What is true of Amphipolis must also be true of Pella. If the magistrates, the Council and the Assembly are not explicitly mentioned, it is only because of the more "laconic" style of the decree.

If our interpretation of the Amphipolis *asylia* decree is accepted, there is no longer any need to believe that the other Amphipolitan decree that we possess, ordering the exile of Philon and Stratokles in 357<sup>2</sup> is the last of its kind.<sup>3</sup>

"It was decided by the People that Philon and Stratokles be exiled from Amphipolis and from the land of Amphipolis for ever, they themselves and their children, and, that if they are caught there, they be treated as enemies and put to death with impunity and their properties be confiscated and the tenth part be consecrated to Apollo and to Strymon, and that the *prostatai* write their names on a stone stele; and that, if anyone should attempt to repeal this decree or to receive them back by whatsoever shift or device, his property be confiscated and he be exiled from Amphipolis for ever".

As we shall see later, the incorporation of Amphipolis into the Macedonian Kingdom may indeed have been a gradual process, and its constitution may have undergone some changes. However, despite the obvious differences in style between the two decrees, separated by more than a century, there is no reason to see an unbridgeable gap between the *demos* and the *prostatai* of the Philon and Stratokles decree and the *ekklesia* and the *archontes* of the *asylia* one. How much real independence either of them reflects is a different matter, which cannot be separated from the study of the relations between central and local government in Macedonia and will, therefore, be examined in a later chapter.

If the decrees of Amphipolis have not been sufficiently convincing, those of Thessalonike can perhaps provide more decisive proof that the "eigentlichen makedonischen Kommunen" did not lack the

χειροτονία (cf. Morrylos, Epigraphic Appendix no 53, L. 23: ἐπεχειροτονήθη; no 54, L. 28-29; Gazoros, Vatin, "Inscription" 58, L. 26-27: ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος in the Roman decree, corresponding to ἐπεψηφίσθη [Epigraphic Appendix no 39, L. 26] in the Hellenistic one). However, as Ph. Gauthier has kindly let me know, a ψηφοφορία by the Assembly should by no means be excluded. In effect, the inscribed text, complete with the name of the *theorodokos*, seems to be the final one adopted by the Assembly and in that case the reference to the unanimous vote should concern the latter body.

1 . L. 33.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 40.

3 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 351, with references.



civic institutions which make of them genuine cities and not simple "communes".

Of the three Thessalonikan decrees published by Ch. Edson in his *corpus*, the first, from the reign of Demetrios II,<sup>1</sup> is too fragmentary to provide much information of a constitutional character. The surviving fragment of the second, dated to 223, however, preserves a pre-script very similar to that of the *asyllia* decree of Amphipolis:<sup>2</sup>

"When Antigonos was king for the seventh year, Nikolaos son of Pausanias priest, on the 22nd (or 21st) of Holoios, when Pantauchos son of Arkesines was *epistates*, Gaiteas son of Paillos, Epokillos son of Dionysophanes, Protogenes son of ..... were treasurers, it was resolved by the ..... of Thessalonike .....".

The editor has restored the word "*boule*" rather than "*polis*" of Thessalonike, because the formula reappears in a slightly modified form in the third and only practically complete decree of this city, from the second half of the third century, a copy of which was found among the ruins of Delos a century ago and which for a long time constituted our only complete example of an unambiguously Macedonian city decree.<sup>3</sup>

"Sosipatros the *hypepistates* and the *dikastai* Menandros, Nikodemus, Philodemos, Hippias, Pauson proposed: whereas Boulon, the ambassador sent by the People of Delos to our city, handed in the decrees by which the People (*sc.* of Delos), wishing to thank Admetos son of Bokros for his benefactions to them, crowned him with a laurel crown of the god and (honoured him) with two bronze statues, of which it was decreed that the one be erected on Delos, in the *temenos*, near the altar of Zeus Polieus, and the other in Thessalonike, and demanded that our city, being friendly to them, concede the most appropriate place for the engraving of the crown and the erection of the statue, so that they may be accomplished according to what is written in the decree and, since Boulon spoke in accordance with the decrees, let it be resolved by the Council to praise the People of Delos, for gratifying the Thessalonikans, the fellow-citizens of Admetos, by crowning him for the aforesaid benefactions, since he is worthy of the honours decreed in his behalf, and to let the magistrate responsible for the contests disburse for the engraving of the crown ..... and for the erection of the statue the place that the members of the Council shall decide upon".

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 51.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 52.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 50, L. 10-32.

The Thessalonike decree is preceded by a letter of this city to the Council and the People of Delos relating the visit of the Delian ambassador Boulon, who had brought the decrees in honour of Admetos son of Bokros, recording his speech before the Assembly of Thessalonike (παρελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ διαλεγέντος ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις) and mentioning the appended decree of Thessalonike by which the honours voted to Admetos were accepted and the Delians praised for the favour shown to one of its citizens.<sup>1</sup>

The Thessalonikan decree itself was proposed by one *hypepistates* and five *dikastai* and submitted for adoption to the Council. It also provided that the *bouleutai* would choose the place where the statue of Admetos should be erected. The naming of the Council alone as the deliberative body is not unusual for Macedonia.<sup>2</sup> It occurs in three other decrees from Kassandreia.<sup>3</sup> The best preserved one is yet another *asylia* decree for the Asklepieion of Kos also dated to 243.<sup>4</sup>

"Of Kassandreia. The *strategoí* and the *nomophylakes* proposed: Whereas *theoroi* have arrived from the city of Kos announcing the Asklepieia and the contests which take place there and the truce and give an account of the goodwill of their city towards King Antigonos and the city of Kassandreia and all the other Macedonians and demand that their sanctuary of Asklepios be inviolable, with Good For-

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 50, L. 1-9.

2 . Cf. Roussel, "Péliganes" 31; in Hellenistic times at the Macedonian foundation of Laodikeia the decision to erect a statue is taken by the Council acting alone, without the ratification of the Assembly.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 44; 46; 47.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 47. An example from Roman times is the decree of the Derriopes discussed above (p. 84-87). But it is of a much later date—nearly 500 years—and was voted not by a city but by the *ethnos* of Derriopos, which by that time apparently did most of its administrative work through a representative body. Even the second-century (158/9 A.D.) decree of the Bisaltic Pentapolis (Vatin, "Inscription" 57-63; [SEG 29 (1969) 614] cf. *BullEpigr* 1965, 239; Papazoglou "Notes" 531-35; Mastrokostas 255-57), after mentioning the vote of the Council (τοῖς βουλευταῖς βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξεν... καὶ περὶ τούτου ψήφου διενεχθείσης ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι λευκαί), does mention the more expeditive approval by the People with the usual formula of the Macedonian decrees of Roman times (ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος). Nevertheless, it is to be noted that Council decrees are not unknown (cf. Swoboda 58). However, their very scarcity and the mention of the Assembly in the letter of the Thessalonikans suggested to me the hypothesis that, despite Roussel's doubts (*JG* XI 4, 1053) about the incompleteness of L. 32 (78), which Dürrbach seems to have adopted in his later editions of the text (cf. Dürrbach, *Choix* 62), the latter's first impression was correct (Dürrbach, "Decrets" 129), and that a formula similar to that of the Morrylos decrees (Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54) concluded the text of the inscription. My French colleague Clarisse Prêtre kindly informs me that my hypothesis is not borne out by the inspection of the stone.

tune, let it be resolved by the Council that the announcement of the Asklepieia be accepted and also the contests and the truce and that the sanctuary of Asklepios be inviolable according to the wish of the King; that the city of Kos be praised, because it takes care to perform its duties towards the gods fairly and gloriously and keeps its goodwill towards King Antigonos and our city and all the Macedonians; that the treasurer give to the visitors the present of hospitality which is prescribed by the law; that they be invited to the *archegeteion*; that the relevant expenses be disbursed by the treasurer. These made the announcement: Aristolochos son of Zmendron *architheoros*, Makareus son of Aratos *theoros*. The sacrifice shall take place in eight months".

The decree was introduced by the *strategoï* and the *nomophylakes* (οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ νομοφύλακες εἶπαν) and was submitted for adoption to the Council (ἀγαθῆι τύχηι δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι). Although the *polis* as a whole is referred to twice (L. 6 and 14) a vote of the Assembly is nowhere explicitly mentioned. Similarly no reference to the People is made in two other relatively well-preserved decrees from Kassandreia dating in 285/4 and shortly before 247 respectively.<sup>1</sup>

"When Timesios was priest of Lysimachos, in the month of Demetrios, Pantainos son of Symmachos from (the deme of) Hippolyteis proposed: whereas Androbolos son of Menon, an Aitolian from Nau-paktos, is being useful to the city of Kassandreia and shows himself helpful to persons from this city arriving in Aitolia, let it be resolved by the Council that he be made *proxenos* of the Kassandreans...".

"When Antileon was priest, on the fifteenth(?) of Hyperberetaios the *strategoï* proposed: whereas Dorotheos son of Doros from Seleukeia is being useful to the city of Kassandreia and, being in Queen Phila's retinue, puts himself willingly at the disposal of the citizens of Kassandreia who visit her for private or public business, let it be resolved by the Council...".

These Kassandrian decrees, too, were submitted by an otherwise unknown *rogator* or by the board of the *strategoï* exclusively to the Council (δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι). However, because of their fragmentary state, we cannot be sure that their adoption by the People was not mentioned in the parts of the inscriptions which are now lost. In any case, the decree of Amphipolis should caution us against considering the decrees of Thessalonike and Kassandreia as genuine Council decrees. There, too, the vote of the Assembly is not explicitly mentioned. On the contrary, a *ballot* vote (ἐψηφίσθη παραπάσαις), at first

1 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 44 and 46.

sight, would rather seem to indicate a vote by the Council. Yet the deliberative formula (δεδοχθαι τῆι πόλει τῆι Ἀμφιπολιτῶν) implies a vote of both bodies and the formula designating the *theorodokos* suggests that we are dealing with a text drafted or, at least, finalised after the vote of the Assembly, when that designation took place. Moreover, it should be also noted that it was indeed usual practice in Macedonia to engrave the text of the *probouleuma*, the actual text introduced by the *rogatores* to the Council, adding eventually at its end the fact and the date of its adoption by the Assembly with the formula ἐπεχειροτονήθη.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly not a coincidence that in all four cases under examination the exclusive reference to the Council is always accompanied by the deliberative formula (δεδοχθαι) and never by the sanctioning one (ἔδοξεν). This is a strong indication that we are dealing with texts reflecting the first stage of the adoption process of these decrees. Therefore, I should be inclined to interpret the absence of reference to the Assembly in the second decree of Thessalonike and in the first one of Kassandreia as an omission due to the abbreviation of the actual decree, though it may to some degree reflect the minor importance of the popular vote as compared to the decision of the Council. In all probability, in most cases the *probouleuma* of the *boule* was summarily adopted by the Assembly not by a formal casting of ballots but by the simple raising of hands. This impression is strengthened by a number of decrees that are admittedly of the Roman period but relate in more detail the procedure of their adoption, which had probably remained unaltered from Hellenistic times.<sup>2</sup>

To brevity too I should ascribe the absence of an eponymous official indicating the date at the beginning of the decree; for we know that such an eponymous official existed from the two other Kassan-

1. See next note and p. 140, n. 4, above.

2. Lete, 119 B.C. (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 700): Ληταίων οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν εἶπαν... δεδοχθαι Ληταίων τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ... ἐπεχειροτονήθη...; Beroia, second/first century (inscription to be published by D.A. Hardy and J.P. Touratsoglou): προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν... ὁ δῆμος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον... ἔδοξεν...; Kalindoia, first half of the first century B.C. (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 75-77, no K1 = *SEG* 42 [1992] 578): οἱ πολιτάρχαι, συνβου[λευσάμενοι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ σ]υναγαγόντες ἐκκλη[σίαν εἶπαν]; 1 A.D. (*SEG* 35 [1985] 744 = Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 77-80, no K2): οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν [κα]ὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας εἶπαν ἐν τῶι δήμῳ... δεδοχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ... ἐπεχειροτονήθη...; Gazoros, 159 A.D. (Vatin, "Inscription" 57-59): τοῖς βουλευταῖς βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξεν... καὶ περὶ τούτου ψήφου διενεχθείσης ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι λευκαί. Ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. Ἐπιχειροτονῶ, contrary to what Robert, "Thessalonique" 195, claims, does not mean a confirmation, but simply its adoption by the People (cf. Piérart, 237, n. 10).

decrees cited above and also from two other, unfortunately very incomplete ones.<sup>1</sup>

"When Antileon was priest, on the fifteenth (?) of Xandikos, the *nomophylakes* proposed: whereas Ammonios, an Alexandrian, being in the King's retinue, is being useful to the city of Kassandreia ....."

and

"When Archon was priest, on the fifteenth (?) of Hyperberetaios, Derkylides son of Straton, *name* son of Antileon, Alk..... son of *name* ....."

The dating by an eponymous priest also occurs in two grants of land and a grant of privileges, which we shall examine later.<sup>2</sup> The relations between the different constitutional organs were governed in Kassandreia, as in Beroia, by a body of written laws of which we get only a glimpse in an allusion in lines 14-15: δούναι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τοῖς παραγεγενημένοις ξένιον τὸ διάταγμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου. As we find a similar provision –with, naturally, the same implication– in the contemporary *asylia* decree of Philippoi, which we shall be examining presently (L. 15-16: δούναι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τοῖς θεωροῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ξένια ὅσον καὶ τοῖς τὰ Πύθια ἐπαγγέλλουσιν δίδονται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται; cf. L. 17-18: τὸν δὲ ταμίαν δούναι τῷ ἄρχοντι ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου αὐτῶν ἀργύριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου) it becomes highly probable that only the relative brevity of the corresponding expressions in the decrees from Pella (L. 13-15: δούναι δὲ καὶ ξένια τοὺς ταμίαις τοῖς θεωροῖς, ἃ καὶ τοῖς τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας ἐπαγγέλλουσι δίδονται) and Amphipolis (L. 14-16: δούναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ξένιον τοῖς θεωροῖς, ὅσον καὶ τοῖς τὰ Πύθια ἐπαγγέλλουσι δίδονται) is responsible for the absence of an explicit reference to the relevant *nomos* there too.

It would be just as rash as drawing conclusions about the non-existence of an Assembly from its omission from the previous decrees, to draw similar conclusions about the Council from its omission from the *asylia* decree of Philippoi.<sup>3</sup>

"Of Philippoi; on sacred matters; concerning the sacred embassy from Kos. Proposition of the Assembly. Whereas the city of Kos, in conformity to tradition and to the oracle, [has founded] the sanctuary of Asklepios and has sent out Aristolochos son of Zmendron as *architheoros* and along with him Makareus son of Aratos as *theoros* to

1 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 45 and 48.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 20-22 . For more details, see Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 17-29; *eiusdem*, "Document" 135-55 and *eiusdem*, "Cassandree" 575-84.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 36.

announce the sacrifice to Asklepios and the truce, who presenting themselves before the Assembly pointed out and renewed the familiar ties which exist between the city of Kos and the city of Philippoi and King Antigonos and the other Greeks and Macedonians and demanded that the sanctuary be inviolable, with Good Fortune, let it be resolved by the Assembly that the city accept the announcement of the Asklepieia of Kos and the truce, such as the *theoroi* announce them; that the city of Kos be praised for the honours which they bestow on the gods and for their goodwill towards King Antigonos and the city of Philippoi and the other Greeks and Macedonians; that inviolability be granted to the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos, as is also the wish of King Antigonos, that the treasurer pay out to the *theoroi* on behalf of the city as a present of hospitality a sum equal to that which the law prescribes should be given to those announcing the Pythia; that the *archon* invite the *theoroi* to the *prytaneion* to partake of the sacrifices on behalf of the city; that the treasurer give the *archon* for each one of them the sum prescribed by the law; that, in order that they be conveyed safely to Neapolis, the *strategoï* send along with them the mercenary soldiers who are in the service of the city; that *theorodokos* of the sacred embassy from Kos be Herakleodoros son of Aristion, who welcomed the sacred embassy".

The decree of Philippoi is described as a simple proposition of the Assembly (ιερω̄ν ὑπερ̄ τῆς ἐκ Κω̄ θεωρίας γνώμη τῆς ἐκκλησίας [*sic*]) and the resolution formula is: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι δεδόχθαι τῆι ἐκκλησίαι (*sic*). Neither Council nor *rogatores*, nor any magistrates, eponymous or otherwise, are mentioned. That they existed is sufficiently clear from the *asylia* decree itself and also from other inscriptions from Philippoi. The chief magistrate is mentioned twice in our decree (L. 16-17: καλέσαι δὲ τοὺς θεωροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά ὑπερ̄ τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἄρχοντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον τὸν δὲ ταμίαν δοῦναι τῶι ἄρχοντι ὑπερ̄ ἑκατέρου αὐτῶν ἀργύριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου) and the chief military officers in the next line (L. 19-20: τοὺς στρατηγοὺς συμπέμψαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς ξένους στρατιώτας τοὺς παρὰ τῆι πόλει μισθοφοροῦντας).

The *archon*, as an eponymous official –alternating with an *hierous*– is also known from a series of still unpublished deeds of sale.<sup>1</sup> The *archontes* as a board and the Council –indirectly but unambiguously through the mention of the *bouleuterion*– are now at-

1. Hatzopoulos, "Philippes" 320; cf. also Robert, "Mertzidès" 146, no 4, but also 142, no 10.

tested at Philippoi from another decree, fully published only recently for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

"Proposition of the Assembly. Whereas Deritas, *proxenos* of the city, is well disposed towards the city in all matters and does all the good he can according to his possibilities and, on being solicited now by the *archontes* concerning the present state of need, has promised to lend money without interest and declares his goodwill to the People, let it be resolved by the Assembly to praise and ..... of the administration of the money; that the *archontes* set up the decree which has been adopted opposite the *bouleuterion* and that the treasurer disburse the expenses incurred in the engraving".

Although the *rogatores* are left unmentioned and the decision figures only as γνώμη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, there is no reason to doubt that both the magistrates and the Council played an active part in the drawing up of the two decrees of Philippoi. Likewise, the existence of a Council and its participation in the legislative process should normally be assumed in other cities, such as Morrylos, whose surviving decrees do not mention it explicitly, but describe only the public vote, by a show of hands, at the Assembly.<sup>2</sup>

"Euxenos son of Samos, Menandros son of Holoichos, Nikanor son of Paramonos, the *archontes* proposed: whereas Paramonos son of Samagoras, when Demetrios son of Sopatros was *strategos*, presenting himself to the Assembly gave to the city and to Asklepios a cow of his herd, from which and from its numerous descent, in the fifteenth year, when Epinikos was *strategos*, although it was resolved by the city to crown him with a crown of leaves, the then *archontes* did not transmit the decree with a document of their own, let it be resolved by the city of Morrylos, whereas he (Paramonos) acts towards them as a citizen without reproach and in all matters devotes himself to the common interest, that he be praised and crowned with a crown of leaves, and himself set up the stele (with the decree) in the most conspicuous place of the sanctuary of Asklepios, in order that the other citizens, seeing that some gratification is granted to such men, be eager to adopt a similar disposition, and that the decree be sent to the *mnemon*. It was adopted on the 17th of Hyperberetaios"

and

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 37. For more detail, see Hatzopoulos, "Philippos" 315-26.

2. Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 33 and 78.

"..... in times of heavy expenditure contributing to the maintenance of the visitors, on the occasion of the visits of the authorities and the other obligations of providing shelter, entertaining and spending from his own; in the seventeenth year, having accepted to build the city wall, alone, in order to provide for the safety of all, he had corn brought to the market, and over and above that, spending freely, gave pasturing cows to the citizens and to the god. For these reasons, it was resolved to praise Alketas for his care and devotion to the citizens and to crown him with a crown of leaves and a painted image, to set up his image in the most conspicuous place of the sanctuary of Asklepios, to keep as a holiday this day of the month of Daisios when Alketas was elected by the citizens to the highest office, in order that the others too seeing the liberality of the city, become more zealous, to have the *archontes* send the decree to the *mnemon*, to have it engraved on a stone stele and to set it up in the most conspicuous place. It was adopted..."

### THE MAGISTRATES

One of the main arguments adduced by Schuler<sup>1</sup> against the existence of politarchs in pre-Roman Macedonia is the "lack of uniformity in the titles of city officials" in the monarchical period as opposed to the "uniformity of the Roman period", when "there was, as far as is presently known, only one treasurer for each city, and the politarchate was widespread". Schuler's observation concerning the Roman period is correct and subsequent discoveries have confirmed it,<sup>2</sup> but the list of "monarchical" magistrates which he establishes is understandably incomplete and –what is more serious– it conveys an inaccurate impression.<sup>3</sup>

In fact we have some evidence, more or less detailed, for some fourteen Macedonian cities (Thessalonike, Kassandria, Amphipolis, Philippi, Anthemous, Apollonia, Pella, Kalindoia, Morrylos, Anti-

1 . Schuler 93.

2 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" 147-49.

3 . Schuler (93) writes: "In Amphipolis there was an *epistates* as well as an archon". I know of no instance where a single archon is mentioned at Amphipolis. The *asylia* decree (L. 33) speaks only generally of the *archontes*. The catalogue from the 9th year of Philip V (Epigraphic Appendix no 61) lists boards of three *archontes* under each eponymous priest. Schuler also writes that "At Thessalonica there were an *epistates*, a *hypepistates*...". We have no instance where the *hypepistates* is mentioned along with the *epistates*, the former being most probably merely a *locum tenens* of the latter (see below).



goneia, Pydna, Beroia, Mieza, Dion). It falls into two chronologically divided groups. The division is unequal. The first period extends from the middle of the fourth to the beginning of the second century, covering more than 150 years; the second is limited to only the last years of the Antigonid dynasty. The second group comprises a smaller number of documents—only three—and not unnaturally so, given the relatively short period that it covers: the dedications of Perseus and of the People of Amphipolis to Artemis Tauropolos,<sup>1</sup> the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia<sup>2</sup> and the dedication to Dionysos from Thessalonike.<sup>3</sup>

The magistrates mentioned in the above documents are the *politarchs*. In Beroia we also hear of the *exetastai* and of a *politikos praktor*.<sup>4</sup> It is also possible that the *agoranomoi*, who appear in a later second-century inscription from Beroia<sup>5</sup> were already active before the fall of the monarchy, as in other Macedonian cities.<sup>6</sup> The gymnasiarchical law leaves no doubt that the magistracies were elective and annual (A, L. 22-23: ἡ πόλις αἰρείσθω γυμνασίαρχον ὅταν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς; cf. ἐν τῷ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρῷ; καθ' ἔτος ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις on an early Roman document).<sup>7</sup> We do not know when the elections took place. The second decree of Morrylos would seem to suggest a date in the month of Daisios, during the homonymous festival (Δαΐσια) of the θεοὶ εὐεργέται.<sup>8</sup> However, one would expect elections to take place one or two—and not four—months before the entry of the new magistrates into office, which occurred on the first of Dios, the first day of the Macedonian year (A, L. 34-35: ὁ δὲ γυμνασίαρχος, ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, συναγέτω Δίου μηνὸς τῆι νομηνιαί...). The transmission of power between outgoing and ingoing magistrates—in the case of the gymnasiarch at least, but probably also of his other colleagues—took place on the second day of Dios (A, L. 41-42: τῆι ὑστέραι τοῦ Δίου).<sup>9</sup> Not only the gymnasiarch, but also the *exetastai*, the *politikos praktor* and presumably all the

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 22. 29

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 72.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 42-43.

5 . Woodward, "Beroia" 146-47, no 4.

6 . Thessalonike: Epigraphic Appendix 71; Kassandreia: Epigraphic Appendix no 69; cf. an inscription from Anthemous of 106/105 B.C.: Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 49-50, no A4 (= *SEG* 42 [1992] 561).

7 . Inscription to be published by D.A. Hardy and J.P. Touratsoglou.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 54: [τῆ]ν ἡμέραν αὐ[τῆ]ν ἐ]κάστου Δαι[σί]λου μη[ν]ὸς ἱερὰν, ὅτε Ἄλκείας ἠρέ[θη] | εἰς μεγίστας ἀ[ρ]χάς. On the festival of the Daisia and the date of the elections, see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 32, 45-49.

9 . Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 42.

other magistrates were responsible and consequently liable to be prosecuted and punished if they committed any irregularities during their term of office (B. L. 33-37).<sup>1</sup>

From the dedications of Amphipolis and of Thessalonike it is clear that the politarchs formed a board of two and that they both served as eponymous officials. This is precisely the situation in Roman times, with the only difference that in the big cities, such as Thessalonike, Amphipolis and Beroia, their number was increased to five or more.<sup>2</sup>

The politarchs are explicitly mentioned only twice in the gymnasiarchical law. Along with the *exetastai*, they supervise the transmission of power to the new gymnasiarch on the second of Dios (A, L. 42) and are responsible for the communication of the law to the relevant authorities for its publication (B, L. 110). If our identification of Asklepiades son of Heras and of Kallippos son of Hippostratos is correct, then they are also, along with the gymnasiarch, the *rogatores* of the law.<sup>3</sup>

Although the decree of the gymnasiarchical law does not explicitly say so, the expression used therein (A, L. 3-5) suggests that, as after the Roman conquest later in the same century,<sup>4</sup> the *rogatores* of the decree had summoned the assembly.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it would seem that already under the last Antigonids, the politarchs were the chief executive magistrates, with the same duties as their colleagues of Roman times. The decrees of both Lete (118 B.C.) and Kalindoia (A.D. 1) are introduced by the politarchs (Lete, L. 2-3: Λητᾶίων οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν εἶπαν...;<sup>6</sup> Kalindoia first decree L. 1-4: [Ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]ΟΥ, Λυσανίας Ὀλυμπίχου | [Ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]ΟΥ οἱ πολιτάρχαι συνβου[λευσάμενοι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ σ]υναγαγόντες ἐκκλη[σίαν εἶπαν...; Kalindoia, second decree, L. 2-5: οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν [κα]ὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας εἶπαν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ...<sup>7</sup> In the decree from Lete the responsibility of the publication lies with the politarchs and with the treasurer, who must presumably disburse the expenses (L. 46-48: προνοηθέντων τῆς τε ἀναγραφῆς τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆς στήλης τῶν τε πολιταρχῶν καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ταμίου). The decree of the Battynaiοι

1. On the civic magistrates of Beroia, see Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 41-48.

2. Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" 147-49.

3. Cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 43-44.

4. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 75, no K1 (SEG 42 [1992] 578, L. 2-4: οἱ πολιτάρχαι, συνβου[λευσάμενοι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ σ]υναγαγόντες ἐκκλη[σίαν εἶπαν].

5. Cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 43-44.

6. *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 700.

7. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 75-80, nos K1-K2.

was sealed by the politarch (L. 42: Ἀλέξανδρος Λεωνίδου, ὁ πολιτάρχης [ἔπε]σφραγισιάμην),<sup>1</sup> like the public documents of Pella in the second half of the second century.<sup>2</sup>

The introduction of laws and decrees does not seem to have been an exclusive prerogative of the chief magistrates. In Pydna the decree honouring the two craftsmen from Demetrias is introduced by the priest of Apollo Dekadryos who headed the embassy.<sup>3</sup> In Beroia the gymnasiarch is one of the *rogatores* of the gymnasiarchical law. On the other hand, it can be argued that the priest of Apollo at Pydna was, like his colleagues of Beroia,<sup>4</sup> Kalindoia<sup>5</sup> and Amphipolis,<sup>6</sup> at the same time the priest of Asklepios and, therefore, the eponymous magistrate of that city and that the crucial role of the Pydnaian ambassador or the exceptional circumstances of the transformation of a private association into a public institution,<sup>7</sup> requiring a solemn manifestation of the assent of the head of that association, accounts for these apparent divergences from the usual rule.

The documents from late Antigonid Beroia and Amphipolis, which are confirmed by some closely parallel texts from the Roman period,<sup>8</sup> also indicate that the politarchs were exclusively responsible for convening and presiding the sessions of the Assembly and of the Council. In an earlier work about the Greeks of Sicily under the Romans,<sup>9</sup> I insisted on the highly exceptional position—at least by usual Greek standards—of the chief magistrates of the Sicilian cities, usually called *proagoroi*, who combined in their hands the supreme executive with the supreme legislative authority, since, contrary to the rule current in most Greek cities, they had, besides their executive powers, the absolute right to convene and preside over the Council and the Assembly and to introduce propositions to them. For that reason I

1. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 186; cf. Gschnitzer, "Battynäer" 150.

2. Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 91 and pl. 28γ; I. Akamatis, "Ἡ ἀγορὰ τῆς Πέλλας", *AEMΘ* 2, 1988 (Thessalonike 1991) 80-81.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 55.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 82.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 62.

6. Chrysoula Veligianni, "Lex sacra aus Amphipolis", *ZPE* 100 (1994) 401-405.

7. Cf. Moretti, "Legge" 47-49.

8. Cf. Kalindoia (Hatzopoulos-Loukopolou, *Recherches* 75, no K 1: οἱ πολιτάρχαι συνβουλ[λευσάμενοι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ σ]υναγαγόντες ἐκκλη[σίαν]...); Battyna (Gschnitzer, "Battynäer" 149, L. 1-2): Ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαττυναίων πολιτάρχου; Derripos (N.Vulić, *Spomenik* 71 (1931) 185-86, no 500, L. 4-6): τῶν | περὶ Βάρβαρον Φιλίππου ἐν Δερριόπῳ πολιταρχῶν συναγαγόντων τὸ βουλευτήριον.

9. M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς τῆς Σικελίας κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊοκρατία* (Athens 1976) 155-56.

equated their office with that of the Athenian *epistates ton proedron*, who would enjoy an annual, instead of a daily term of office. At that time, influenced by F. Sartori, I rejected Beloch's opinion, who attributed their origin to Timoleon and proposed to recognise in them a Roman creation. In view of my more recent work on Macedonia, as we shall see later, Sartori's *argumentum e silentio* seems to me far less cogent today than it did then.<sup>1</sup>

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence cited above is that the same high degree of uniformity which Schuler<sup>2</sup> rightly recognised in the Roman period was already the dominant characteristic during the last years of the reign of Philip V and during the reign of Perseus. Indeed, the most striking feature of this evidence is the unbroken continuity between pre-Roman and Roman civic constitutions. In its light, Schuler's<sup>3</sup> speculations that annual magistrates called politarchs were created by a *fiat* of the Roman conqueror can no longer stand. There can be no doubt that the "democratic" constitutions of ancient Macedonia go back to the period of the kings, which, incidentally, makes more than suspect Polybios' sweeping assertion that the Macedonians were not used to "democratic" government.<sup>4</sup>

The next point that one should examine is whether the alleged lack of uniformity, which Schuler ascribes to pre-Roman Macedonia, is as real as he believes, even in the earlier part of the royal period.

The first element arguing against his thesis is that in the earlier royal period all Macedonian cities, without exception, had an eponymous priest. For Amphipolis,<sup>5</sup> Kalindoia<sup>6</sup> and Mieza<sup>7</sup> we have unambiguous evidence that he was the priest of Asklepios and such

1. The pre-Roman origin of the "monarchical" or "oligarchical" tendencies in Greek civic constitutions had been recognised by Busolt I 451 and Holleaux, "Séleucie" 45 (= *Etudes* III 233); cf. R.E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: a Constitutional History* (Oxford 1983) 104; 166-74.

2. Schuler 93.

3. Schuler 93-94.

4. Cf. Musti, "Polibio" 186; Moretti, "Legge" 55; unless one is to understand, along with Larsen, Aymard and Walbank, "republican" instead of "democratic" (cf. Walbank, *Commentary* III 467, with bibliography), which I personally doubt.

5. Epigraphic Appendix nos 41, 61, 48-87 and 89; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 74-76.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 62; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 65; *eorundem, Recherches* 110-113; cf. *BullEpigr* 1988, 847.

7. Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

seems also to be the case in Morrylos<sup>1</sup> and Beroia<sup>2</sup> and possibly Pella<sup>3</sup> and Antigoneia.<sup>4</sup> We do not know the priesthood of the eponymous official of Thessalonike. Edson<sup>5</sup> had suggested that he was the priest of "the gods" (ἱερεὺς τῶν θεῶν), known from inscriptions of the Roman period, but evidence which he ignored indicates that, in this city too, the cult of Asklepios is attested from relatively early times.<sup>6</sup>

The situation in Kassandreia is far from clear.<sup>7</sup> Two documents, one decree<sup>8</sup> and one land grant<sup>9</sup> are dated by the priest of Lysimachos. However, this priesthood must have been very short-lived, for a priesthood of Lysimachos is conceivable only while the king was master of the city between 287 and 281, and in no case either be-

1. Both decrees of Morrylos (Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54) describe the temple of Asklepios as the ἐπιφανέστατος τόπος; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 63-67 (but see note 6, below).

2. The Hellenistic manumission act (Epigraphic Appendix no 93) is dated both by a regnal year and by a priest (Apollonides son of Glaukias). In the roughly contemporary accounts of the priests of Apollo, Asklepios and Hygieia (Epigraphic Appendix no 82) figures the name of Demetrios son of Glaukias. The parallel case of Agathanor and Thrason sons of Thrasykles, who both became priests in close succession, and the analogy from Kalindoia, (Epigraphic Appendix no 62), where three brothers succeed to the same priesthood one after the other and two other brothers seem to be appointed to the priesthood with a six years interval, point to a similar interpretation of Apollonides' priesthood. The prominent position of the priests of Asklepios in Beroia emerges from the slightly earlier second letter of Demetrios to Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 8), granting to the priests of Herakles Kynagidas the same privileges already enjoyed by the priests of Asklepios, obviously the supreme divinity of the city; cf. *BullEpigr* 1991, 389.

3. A dedication to Asklepios is dated by the priest, apparently of the same deity; Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 65, n. 6. A similar dating is used for the *asylia* decree for the Asklepieion of Kos (Epigraphic Appendix no 58), in which the eponymous priest is called—hardly by accident—Asklepiodoros. The evidence both from Beroia and Pella indicate that the priesthood of Asklepios tended to become attached to certain families.

4. Feissel-Sève, "Chalcidique" 292, no 16; cf. Voutiras, "Λατρεία" 259.

5. Edson, "Macedonica" 135.

6. Cf. Voutiras, "Λατρεία" 256-57. The case of Beroia, where the most important sanctuary was not that of Asklepios but that of Herakles Kynagidas (cf. Edson, "Antigonids" 226-32), shows that the eponymous character of the priesthood of Asklepios in the cities of Macedonia was not linked to the local importance of the cult but to other considerations. Under these circumstances one wonders if even in a city such as Dion the eponymous priest was not that of Asklepios (cf. Pandermalis, "Λατρείες" 336-37).

7. See Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 21-29; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Document" 139-43, *eiusdem*, "Cassandree" 576-80.

8. Epigraphic Appendix no 44.

9. Epigraphic Appendix no 22.

fore or after. A grant of land by king Cassander is simply dated ἐφ' ἱερέως Κυδία (cf. the grant of privileges by the same king: Ἐπι Κυδία)<sup>1</sup> without any further specification,<sup>2</sup> and such is also the case of three other decrees examined above.<sup>3</sup> The 243 *asylia* decree<sup>4</sup> is undated, but the mention of the *archegeteion* has been considered a confirmation of the hypothesis that the unspecified priest was in fact the priest of the founder, the *archegetes* Cassander.<sup>5</sup> It has also been supposed that Demetrias, whose constitution is, as we shall see, closely related to that of Kassandreia, offers a close parallel.<sup>6</sup> Demetrios' name, however, never appears on the inscriptions, which mention simply "the founders" (κτίσται, ἀρχηγέται in the plural). This, and the fact of the well-known opposition of Cassander, as of his father Antipater before him, to deification have incited first the Roberts and then Habicht to express some reserves.<sup>7</sup> Counter-arguments based on the specific character of these foundations and on the Greek traditions of heroic cults for the founders of cities are certainly possible, but on the whole it is indeed more prudent to speak generally of a cult of the founders, whether legendary or historical, heroic or divine.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, one could be more positive about Philippi. Some of its public documents are dated by an eponymous priest,<sup>9</sup> and there are no grounds to affirm that he was not the eponymous official of the city but only of the sanctuary.<sup>10</sup> Actually some of these deeds are dated instead by an *archon*<sup>11</sup> and it has never been suggested that he was not the *archon* of the city but only of some religious association. In my opinion there should be no doubt that the two variants are parallel and equivalent. Although the identification of the building where the document with Alexander's instruction to the ambassadors of the city was discovered with a heroon of Philip has recently been disputed,<sup>12</sup> the existence of a cult of Philip

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 21.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 20.

3. Epigraphic Appendix nos 45-46 (Ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀντιλέοντος) and no 48 (Ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀρχωνος).

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 47.

5. Cf. Herzog-Klaffenbach 17, with references.

6. Cf. Habicht in his unpublished article "Demetrias".

7. *BullEpigr* 1953, 152; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 37, n. 3.

8. Cf. references in preceding note.

9. Hatzopoulos, "Philippos" 320-24.

10. Cf. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 26, n. 1.

11. Hatzopoulos, "Philippos" 320-24.

12. M. Sève - P. Weber, "Le côté nord du forum de Philippos" *BCH* 110 (1986) 531-81.

has now been confirmed by the discovery of a new inscription mentioning Philip and his *temene* among the names of various divinities.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the eponymous priesthoods of the early royal period are highly uniform and, leaving aside the uncertain cases, in fact present only two varieties: the priesthood of Asklepios or that of the divinised (or heroicised) legendary and historical founders of the city.

If we now turn to the other magistrates, we find a similar pattern. In Thessalonike,<sup>2</sup> Amphipolis,<sup>3</sup> Beroia,<sup>4</sup> and Mieza,<sup>5</sup> we find an *epistates* (or *hypepistates*) surrounded by a board of assessors: five *dikastai* at Thessalonike, an unknown number, but probably two *tagoi* in Mieza,<sup>6</sup> *archontes* and perhaps *polemarchoi* in Amphipolis.<sup>7</sup> *Tagoi* existed also possibly in Beroia.<sup>8</sup> We do not know what specific titles, if any, are hidden behind the generic appellation of the three *archontes* of Apollonia,<sup>9</sup> of Morrylos,<sup>10</sup> Anthemous<sup>11</sup> and Kalindioia<sup>12</sup> or of the indeterminate number (certainly fewer than ten) of the *archontes* of Dion.<sup>13</sup> The *epistates* is not only consistently the chief magistrate but also an eponymous official alongside or in lieu of the priest. This is clear from the dedication of Beroia<sup>14</sup> and from another found at Oreskeia in the Strymon valley, but presumably of Amphipolitan origin.<sup>15</sup>

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 83.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 50; 52.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 41, 61, 84-89 and 91.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 73.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 92, which mentions also *dikastai*. The latter, however, are not among the chief magistrates (cf. Touloumakos, "Δικασταί" 412-13). The same is true of the *dikastai* of Kassandreia (Polyain. 6.7.2).

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 61 and 44.

8 . In a late-second or early-first-century funerary epigram Paterinos son of Antigonos is described as having been appointed twice to the office of *tagos* (J.P. Touratsoglou, "Πατερίνος Ἀντιγόνου, ἥρωος", *Κέρνος, Τιμητική προσφορά σὸν Γ. Μπλακάλακη* [Thessalonike 1972] 154). By that time Beroia was governed by politarchs and not by *tagoi*. Nevertheless, the poetic language, deliberately archaic, may retain some reminiscence of the institutional framework still valid in the beginning of the second century.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 66; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Ἀπολλωνία" 180.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 22-32.

11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 68; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 48-49, no A3 and 63-64.

12 . Epigraphic Appendix no 67; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Ἀπολλωνία" 180.

13 . Epigraphic Appendix no 57.

14 . Epigraphic Appendix no 73.

15 . Epigraphic Appendix no 77. A third dedication dated by an eponymous *epistates* has been kindly reported to me by my colleague K. Vitkos. It probably comes

In Kassandreia there are two bodies of magistrates of indeterminate numbers: the *nomophylakes* and the *strategoï*.<sup>1</sup> We do not know whether one of them enjoyed a preeminent position, similar to that of the *epistates* in the cities of the first group. The existence of such an *archon* is ascertained in Philippi, where he may serve as an eponymous official in lieu of the priest.<sup>2</sup> He is surrounded by a board of *archontes*;<sup>3</sup> some of them, but presumably not all, are called, as in Kassandreia,<sup>4</sup> *strategoï*. These, true to their name, had military duties: they commanded the mercenaries who were in the city's service. The duties of the Kassandrean *strategoï* ought not to be dissimilar, for that city, too, employed mercenaries,<sup>5</sup> and later trained its youth for its defence.<sup>6</sup>

Among the junior magistrates, four or three *agoranomoi* are attested in Thessalonike,<sup>7</sup> and in Kassandreia<sup>8</sup> respectively, three *tamiai* in Thessalonike,<sup>9</sup> two in Apollonia,<sup>10</sup> two at least, in Pella<sup>11</sup> and at Dion<sup>12</sup>, but only one in Kassandreia<sup>13</sup> and in Philippi.<sup>14</sup>

From this tedious enumeration a relatively clear pattern emerges, combining an apparent variety with a remarkable degree of uniformity. There is a certain "monarchical" quality in all these civic constitutions: supreme authority is vested in one chief magistrate, whether he is called *epistates* or *archon*. In all cases he is surrounded by a

from the Perrhaibian Tripolis, which was annexed by Macedonia, and should be dated to the fourth century.

1. Epigraphic Appendix nos 45, 46, 47, cf. 48; Hatzopoulos, "Cassandrée" 576-80. The surviving fragment of no 48, which preserves the names of three *rogatores*, suggests that either of these boards had at least three members (and probably no more); cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 63, n. 2.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 36 and Hatzopoulos, "Philippe" 320.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 37; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Philippe" 320-324.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 36, L. 19.

5. Polyain. 6.7.2.

6. Livy 44.11.7.

7. Epigraphic Appendix no 71.

8. Epigraphic Appendix no 69; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandrée" 577. An inscription from Beroia dating from the first years of the Roman conquest (Woodward, "Beroia" 146-47, no 4) and mentioning three *agoranomoi* and one secretary, and another from Anthemous with the names of two magistrates bearing the same title (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 49-50, no A4) are strong indications that similar boards existed in these two cities also under the kings.

9. Epigraphic Appendix no 52; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 165-66.

10. Epigraphic Appendix no 66; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Ἀπολλωνία" 180.

11. Epigraphic Appendix no 58, L. 14.

12. Epigraphic Appendix no 56.

13. Epigraphic Appendix no 47, L. 16.

14. Epigraphic Appendix no 36, L. 15; 18; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Philippe" 322.



relatively small number of assessors, five being the maximum recorded. However, as with the eponymous priests, two distinct groups are formed. On the one hand Thessalonike, Amphipolis, Pella, Apollonia, Anthemous, Beroia, Mieza, Morrylos, Kalindoia and possibly Dion, sharing one or more of the following characteristics: an *epistates* as a chief magistrate, a single board of assessors and two or more treasurers, and on the other Philippoi and Kassandreia, having in common: the absence of an *epistates*—the chief magistrate, when attested, (Philippoi), being named simply *archon*—a more diversified board of assessors, which includes military officials (*strategoï*), and a single treasurer.

The uniformity is hardly surprising. Behind it one may legitimately suspect the regulating authority of the Macedonian kings. The diversity, on the other hand, however apparent, requires an explanation.

Some years ago, in an unpublished paper, which he kindly communicated to me, Chr. Habicht drew attention to the similarities between the civic constitutions of Kassandreia and of Demetrias.<sup>1</sup> In fact, these are not limited to the eponymous priesthood of the "founders" and the presence of the *strategoï* and the *nomophylakes*, but also extend to the calendar. We know the months Athenaion, Areios, Artemision, Aphrodision, Demetron, Deios, Hermaion, Hestios, Hephaistion, Posideon from Demetrias.<sup>2</sup> One of our earliest grants from Kassandreia is dated by the month Athenaion, while the earliest decree bears the name of the month Demetron.<sup>3</sup> We are clearly dealing with a calendar based on the names of the twelve gods.<sup>4</sup> Habicht drew attention to its Platonic origin<sup>5</sup> connecting it with a passage from the *Laws*. The *hierokerykeia* deeds of sale from Philippoi, where the months Aphrodision, Hermaion, and Hephaistion are recorded,<sup>6</sup> which were not brought into the discussion by Habicht, in my opinion strengthen his argument, leaving no doubt that this calendar was both more widespread and of a significantly earlier origin. A Platonic origin, admissible *sans plus* in the case of Cassander and Demetrios, acquires quite another dimension if referred to the early

1 . Habicht, "Demetrias".

2 . Cf. *BullEpigr* 1973, 77, p. 69 and Knoepfler, "Calendrier" 33, n. 45, with references.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 21 and 44.

4 . Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 579-80.

5 . Pl., *Leg.* 828; cf. Habicht, "Demetrias"; cf. Reverdin 62-65.

6 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Philippes" 320-322.

years of the reign of Philip II, in the fifties of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> The institution of the *nomophylakes*, need not then be referred to Aristotle, as Habicht had proposed,<sup>2</sup> but to Plato himself: in the city of the *Laws* the *nomophylakes* and the *strategoï* are respectively the highest civil and military magistrates.<sup>3</sup> The eponymous priest also finds his prototype in the Platonic city.<sup>4</sup> The *temene* at Philippoi<sup>5</sup> could be directly connected to the ἐξαιρέτα τεμένη prescribed by Plato as a prerequisite for the distribution of land to the citizens of the city of the *Laws*.<sup>6</sup> Even the naming of the tribes and other subdivisions of the cities after gods and heroes, (θεὸν ἢ θεῶν παῖδα),<sup>7</sup> attested thus far only in Kassandreia (Hippotadeis, Hippolyteis)<sup>8</sup> Thessalonike (Kekropis, Dionysias, Asklepias),<sup>9</sup> and Herakleia Lynkou, also founded by Philip II (Asklepias, Artemisias, Herakleios, Dionysias),<sup>10</sup> may conform to a Platonic model. However, the most spectacular consequence of Platonic influence on the Macedonian court under the reign of Philip may be the king's own burial, and the cult which he received at Aigeai.<sup>11</sup> In that respect, too, he may have

1. This Platonic influence need not have come from the published text of the *Laws*, which Plato left unfinished at his death in 347, nearly ten years after the foundation of Philippoi, (cf. Piérart XIII), but through the close connection between the Macedonian court and the Academy from the middle of the century (Griffith, *Macedonia* II 206-207 and 517-18). This unquestionable connection is independent from the alleged hostility of Plato to Macedonia (S. Dušanić, *History and Politics in Plato's Laws* [Belgrade 1990] 373-78). A hypothesis of D. Knoepfler concerning the similar calendars of Histiaia and Demetrias, which the Swiss scholar finally did not pursue ("Calendrier" 33, n. 45), suggests that the Platonic philosopher Euphraios from Oreos, who was active at the Macedonian court in the middle of the fourth century and who favoured Philip's accession, may have been the origin of the calendar based on the names of the twelve gods, which apart from Plato's *Laws* and the Macedonian royal foundation of Philippoi, Kassandreia and Demetrias, is encountered only at Histiaia-Oreos.

2. Habicht, "Demetrias".

3. Piérart 122-208; 236-46. The fact that in the *Laws* the *nomophylakes* form a council rather than a board does not annul the striking resemblance between the "city of the Magnetes" and the Macedonian royal foundations.

4. Piérart 321-23.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 83; cf. Vatin, "Lettre" 269; Ducrey, "Dieux" 207-212.

6. Pl., *Leg.* 738 d.

7. Pl., *Leg.* 771 d; cf. Reverdin 62-65; Piérart 66-70.

8. Epigraphic Appendix nos 21 and 44.

9. *IG* X 2, 1, 183; 185; 265.

10. Janakievski 21. Although the inscriptions date from the Roman period, there is no doubt about the pre-Roman origin of these tribes.

11. The relevance of Pl., *Leg.* 947 d-e for the understanding of Philip II's burial at Aigeai has been repeatedly pointed out by the excavator. The most recent expression of his opinion on the heroic cult of Philip at Aigeai can be found in Andronicos,

set the model followed later by Cassander, Demetrios and other Hellenistic rulers.

Some fifty years ago O. Reverdin<sup>1</sup> established a striking parallel between Plato's ideal burials for heads of state and the actual burial of Timoleon in Syracuse, roughly contemporary with that of Philip. Marta Sordi,<sup>2</sup> working independently, and taking into consideration only the philosopher's *Letters*—and not the *Laws*, which might have provided much closer parallels—recognised definite Platonic influence in Timoleon's settlement of Sicily and particularly in the office of the eponymous priest of Syracuse. The parallelism is even more striking if we accept Beloch's<sup>3</sup> suggestion that the appearance of *pro-agoi*, with attributions identical to those of the chief executive magistrates of the Macedonian cities, is to be ascribed to Timoleon. Furthermore, Sordi<sup>4</sup> put forward convincing arguments for the existence of political connections between Timoleon and Philip II. It is true that Beloch's and Sordi's conclusions were later challenged, and with much vehemence.<sup>5</sup> But a highly polemical tone cannot compensate for the absence of cogent arguments. It is indeed difficult to dismiss convergences ranging from the simultaneous introduction of similar constitutional provisions to funerary ritual as insignificant coincidences, when they concern contemporaries whose links both between themselves and with a common source of inspiration, as paramount as Plato was in the middle of the fourth century, can be established.

Platonic influence, however, manifest as it is in the constitutions of Philippi and Kassandria, does not suffice to explain the differentiation of these two cities from the rest of the realm. In particular, it leaves unanswered the question why this influence made itself felt so strongly in these two specific cities. The first to notice this differentiation was W. W. Tarn.<sup>6</sup> He was soon followed by W. Kolbe,<sup>7</sup> who, particularly impressed by the fact that, unlike Thessalonikans or Amphipolitans, the inhabitants of Kassandria were never called

*Vergina* 65-66; 229-32 and *eiusdem*, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs", *BSA* 82 (1987) 147.

1. Reverdin 158-63.

2. Sordi, *Timoleonte* 77-80.

3. Beloch III 1, 589-90.

4. Sordi, *Timoleonte* 8-12.

5. R.J.A. Talbert, *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily 344-317 B.C.* (Cambridge 1974) 116-45, but see Marta Sordi, *La Sicilia dal 368/7 al 337/7 a.C.* (Rome 1983) 77-80.

6. Tarn, *Antigonos* 186, n. 62.

7. Kolbe 434-36.

Μακεδόνες or Μακεδόνες ἐκ Κασσανδρείας in inscriptions, but always Κασσανδρεῖς, concluded that "die Bewohner von Kassandreia im staatsrechtlichen Sinn nicht Makedonen gewesen sind" and that one should distinguish between two categories of cities: those which belonged directly to the Macedonian kingdom, such as Pella and Thessalonike, and those which had only an "alliance relationship" with the kingdom. The theory did not meet with unanimous approval. Notably it was rejected by Paola Zancan as insufficiently documented.<sup>1</sup> The publication of the Kos *asylia* decrees incited H. Bengtson to renew the discussion, adding Philippoi (besides Kassandreia) to Kolbe's "allied" cities for precisely the same reason: the consistent use of the *ethnikon* Φιλίππεύς instead of Μακεδών or Μακεδών ἐκ Φιλίππων.<sup>2</sup> This use had already been remarked by P. Perdrizet, who had interpreted it in a similar manner, without drawing, however, such far-reaching conclusions.<sup>3</sup> J.A. Alexander, in his communication to the first symposium on *Ancient Macedonia*, had confirmed Tarn's observation, adding 19 new cases to the 18 collected by the British scholar, in which the *ethnikon* of the city was used exclusively, without reference to the Macedonian *ethnos*.<sup>4</sup> At the same time he could not help noting that in the *asylia* decrees Kos is praised for its goodwill towards king Antigonos, the city of Kassandreia and all the other Macedonians. He saw in this an expression of the duality of the Kassandreians, proud both of the autonomy of their city and of being part of the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>5</sup> More recently G.T. Griffith<sup>6</sup> remained somewhat undecided on the issue. Commenting on the *asylia* decrees, he wrote on one page that at that time "Philippoi perhaps considered itself a Greek city still, in a way that Amphipolis and Kassandreia, equally Greek as to their original population, did not"<sup>7</sup> and on the next that "Philippoi had become a 'city of Macedonia' indistinguishable in status from Pella, Amphipolis, and the others".<sup>8</sup> At about the same time that Griffith was writing these lines, the suggestion of a difference of status between Kassandreia and Philippoi on the one hand and the other Macedonian cities on the other was being categorically rejected by Papazoglou,<sup>9</sup> on the basis of the very same decrees which

1. Zancan 115, n. 1.

2. Bengtson, "Randbemerkungen" 462-63; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandrée" 580-81.

3. Perdrizet, "Proxènes" 111; cf. Collart, *Philippes* 178.

4. Alexander, "Cassandreia" 131, n. 17.

5. Alexander, "Cassandreia" 131.

6. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 359-60.

7. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 359; n. 3.

8. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 360.

9. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 202-206.

had inspired Bengtson's opposite views and Griffith's hesitations. She argued that expressions such as πρὸς τε τὸμ βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὴν Κασσανδρέων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς Μακεδόνας πάντας (cf. πρὸς τε τὸμ βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν καὶ Μακεδόνας πάντας) or πρὸς τὴμ πόλιν τὴν Φιλίππων καὶ πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ Μακεδόνας (cf. πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὴμ πόλιν τὴν Φιλίππων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ Μακεδόνας) leave no doubt about the ethnic and political position of both cities. I think that the somewhat equivocal state of the evidence, which Griffith rightly stressed,<sup>1</sup> is incompatible with sweeping statements, but requires a more qualified judgement, particularly attentive to *nuances* according to place and time.

Since the days of Kolbe the number of people calling themselves *Kassandreis* has significantly increased and we know now of some 60 cases.<sup>2</sup> But at the same time there have appeared two exceptions to the general rule. On a mid-third-century funerary monument of Pargasai (Demetrias) is inscribed the name of Σωσικράτεια Ἀρτέμωνος Μακέτα.<sup>3</sup> As A.S. Arvanitopoulos has rightly pointed out, one can hardly deny that this Macedonian lady is the sister of Ἀριστόδημος Ἀρτέμωνος Κασσανδρεύς, who was buried at the same place in about the same period.<sup>4</sup> The second case relies on a (most reasonable) correction by Pelekides<sup>5</sup> of an inscription from Thebes<sup>6</sup> known since 1874 and mentioning Προῖτος Χαιρήμονος Μακεδῶν ἀπὸ [Κασ]-σαγ[δρείας]. Edson,<sup>7</sup> noting that the Theban inscription dates to second or first century B.C., suggested that the Macedonian territory was extended to include Kassandreia after the transformation of Macedonia into a Roman province in 148. That Kassandreia was in Roman times part of Macedonia emerges unambiguously from the use of the Macedonian era in both the city and its territory.<sup>8</sup> The inscription

1. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 360.

2. For a relatively recent list of Kassandreians abroad, see Alexander, "Kassandreia" 133-46.

3. Arvanitopoulos I 134, no 11.

4. Arvanitopoulos I 417, no 167. Arvanitopoulos dates Sosikrateia's stele "between 275 and 250" and Aristodemus' at about 250. It is safer to say that they are roughly contemporary.

5. Pelekides, *Πολιτεία* 3, n. 4.

6. *IG* VII 2482.

7. *IG* X 2, 1, 1031.

8. On the territory of Kassandreia, see Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 43-47. The Macedonian era is used in the following published inscriptions found in the territory of Kassandreia: Feissel-Sève, "Inscriptions" 464, no 23 (Hagios Mamas); *eorundem*,

from Thebes may –but does not necessarily– date from after the Roman conquest, but the one of Sosikrateia from Demetrias is certainly pre-Roman. Moreover, there can be no satisfactory explanation of the expression of the Koan decree: "the city of Kassandreia and *all the other Macedonians*",<sup>1</sup> unless Kassandreia considered itself a part of the Macedonian commonwealth. But now, new epigraphic discoveries have furnished definitive proof that Kassandreia had already been incorporated into Macedonia proper in the third century B.C.

In 1988 I republished a fragment of an inscription discovered before the War near Hagios Mamas and originally published by Robinson as a deed of sale of Olynthos and showed that it was in fact the beginning of a decree of the city of Kassandreia dating from the second half of the third century B.C.<sup>2</sup> A few years later I was able to (re)publish two more decrees of Kassandreia dating from the reign of Antigonos Gonatas which have already been mentioned.<sup>3</sup> This brought to eight the number of public documents from Kassandreia.

The chronological disposition of the documents –three grants and five decrees– of Kassandreia,<sup>4</sup> shows that between 285/4 and the reign of Antigonos Gonatas the status of Kassandreia had been radically altered. One of Cassander's grants is dated by the month Athenaion, and the earliest decree for Androbolos from Naupaktos is dated by the month Demetrios,<sup>5</sup> whereas the three later decrees from the reign of king Antigonos and probably from that of king Demetrios, in the case of the latest one, are dated by the months Xandikos and Hyperberetaios.<sup>6</sup> Now, Athenaion and Demetrios reveal an Ionic type of formation which is out of place in any Macedonian city. The former is encountered, as far as I know, only in Demetrias, and the latter in that city, too, and also in Histiaia.<sup>7</sup> I have recently established that it was also in use in the calendar of the

"Chalcidique" 316-17, no 72 (Hagios Nikolaos); 316, no 71 (Parthenon). An unpublished one has been discovered at Ormylia.

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 47.

2 . D.M. Robinson, "A New Inscription from Macedonia", *TAPA* 69 (1938) 55-56, no 8; Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 26-28; *eiusdem*, "Document" 140; Epigraphic Appendix no 48.

3 . Hatzopoulos, "Document" 135-55; cf. *eiusdem*, "Cassandrée" 577-80; Epigraphic Appendix nos 44-45.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 20-22 and 44-48.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 21 and 44.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 45-46 and 48.

7 . A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology, Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity* ("Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft" I, 7; Munich 1972) 85 and 98 and Knoepfler, "Calendrier" 32-33.

Chalkidian League.<sup>1</sup> After the discovery of the grant dated by the month Athenaion, it is no longer possible to maintain that the presence of Demetrios in Kassandreia is a legacy of that defunct state to its successor. They must now both be interpreted as an innovation of the Macedonian kings, who, as we suggested above, gave the names of the twelve gods to the months of the calendar in the new cities which they founded. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Xandikos and Hyperberetaios belong to the Macedonian calendar. Now, the calendar, which regulates religious and civic life, is not a minor element in the life of a city, but a very important factor and a decisive criterion of its character and status. The calendar and the era enable us to distinguish the cities of Macedonia proper, which belonged to the Macedonian *koinon*, from the rest of the *provincia Macedonia* in Roman times. There is no reason to think that its importance was less decisive in the preceding period.<sup>2</sup> It is clear now that the apparent ambiguity of the evidence concerning Kassandreia is due to a change of its status in the course of its history. On the one hand, the use of the *ethnikon* *Κασσανδρεύς*, the calendar employed in its early documents, together with its other original institutions, the indignation raised among the Macedonians by its foundation and the measures taken by Cassander in order to appease them<sup>3</sup> leave no doubt that Kassandreia was originally founded as a non-Macedonian city, theoretically independent and allied to Macedonia. On the other hand, the use of the Macedonian calendar in later Hellenistic documents and the gradual adoption of the *ethnikon* "Macedonian" by its citizens shows that the city was incorporated into the Macedonian kingdom sometime before the middle of the third century.<sup>4</sup> Kassandreia did retain some elements of its primitive constitution, such as the *strategoí* and the *nomophylakes*, and most Kassandreians did continue to call themselves by the name of their city exclusively, but the use of the Macedonian calendar and the wording of the *asylia* decree leave no doubt that for all practical purposes the city had been assimilated πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς Μακεδόνας πάντας.<sup>5</sup> As we shall see below,

1. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 34-36 and 65-66; and independently D. Hennig, "Kaufverträge über Häuser und Ländereien aus Chalkidike und Amphipolis", *Chiron* 17 (1987) 158-59; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 579-80 and D. Knoepfler, "Calendrier" 31-33.

2. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 75 and 85.

3. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 46 and 53-54.

4. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 582-84 and, independently, D. Knoepfler, "The Calendar of Olynthus and the Origin of the Chalcidians in Thrace", *Greek Colonists and native Populations* (Oxford 1990) 105-106.

5. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 584.

this important change in the status of Kassandreia occurred at the beginning of the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.

The position of Philippi is less clear. We have fewer examples of *ethnika*, less than twenty, and there is no certain instance of a Philippiian who is called a Macedonian before Roman times.<sup>1</sup> No document prior to the Roman conquest is dated by the Macedonian calendar or betrays any trace of Macedonian political institutions. The expression πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Φιλίππων καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ Μακεδόνας (or πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Φιλίππων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ Μακεδόνας)<sup>2</sup> admit more than one interpretation: the city of Philippi, "King Antigonos and the Greeks besides and the Macedonians" as Griffith<sup>3</sup> translates, or "King Antigonos and the city of Philippi, the other Macedonians and the other Greeks", as Papazoglou apparently understands it.<sup>4</sup> In any case, its wording is markedly different from that of the cities of Macedonia proper (Pella, Amphipolis, Kassandreia). One has to wait until the first century for a piece of epigraphic evidence indicating beyond doubt that Philippi was part of Macedonia.<sup>5</sup>

1. This is true not only of the Philippians attested on inscriptions of the city and its territory, but also of those attested on inscriptions discovered *extra fines civitatis*. (See Argyro Tataki, *A Prosopography of Macedonians outside Macedonia* [forthcoming]). From literary sources we know the historian Μαρσύας Κριτοφῆμου Φιλίππεύς (*FGrHist* 136) and the two *makrobioi* Βασίλια(ς) Ἀστικόσου, Μακεδῶν ἀπὸ Φιλίππων and Φρόντων Ἀλβουτίου, Μακεδῶν ἀπὸ Φιλίππων (Phlegon, *FGrHist* 257 F 37, nos 47 and 49). The nature and the date of these last two instances greatly reduce their value as evidence for the use of the *ethnikon Makedon* by Philippians and the position of Philippi in Hellenistic times.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

3. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 359, n. 3.

4. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 203.

5. The earliest inscription from Philippi dated by the Macedonian era was published by Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Deltion* 31 (1976), *Chronika* 301; cf. *BullEpigr* 1987, 713. See on the question of Philippi, Hatzopoulos, "Cassandrée" 582 and now, *eiusdem*, "Philippos" 322.





## NATIONAL TERRITORY, ROYAL LAND AND ALLIED CITIES

At this point one can no longer avoid asking the exasperatingly theoretical question: what was Macedonia? who were the Macedonians? (or rather, who were Macedonians?)

The first scholar who really posed this problem was Hammond. His conclusion was that the Macedonians were an élite group among the whole population, who served in the army and took part in the army assembly, most inhabitants of Macedonia being citizens of a town or of a "tribal state", but not *Makedones*. On the other hand, fully enfranchised *Makedones* were also registered as citizens of a town or of a "tribal state". The grant of Macedonian citizenship was a regal privilege.<sup>1</sup> The opposite conclusion was reached by Kl. Rosen in his unpublished dissertation.<sup>2</sup> He, too, distinguishes two forms of citizenships, a broader one of the whole state and a narrower one of a town or a "tribe". He maintains that most Macedonians possessed both, but might use either or both of them on documents for reasons that can be best described as affective. A few, however, the highest nobles and the poorest inhabitants of royal land, had only Macedonian citizenship. On the other hand, there were no cases of city or "tribe" citizenship without concomitant Macedonian citizenship. This applied to Macedonia in its entirety, including cities such as Kassandreia and Philippi. Both of these contradictory conclusions were reached on the basis of the same evidence: the *ethnika* recorded by the literary authorities and, above all, in inscriptions, where people from Macedonia are sometimes listed simply as *Makedones*, sometimes simply as citizens of a city or region, and sometimes with both state and city or regional *ethnika*.

1. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 163-64; 647-52; III 12; 86; 484; cf. his somewhat modified views in *eiusdem*, *State* 49-64; 152-65 and 382-95; see, however, already Briant, *Antigone* 332-37.

2. Rosen, *König* 9-13.

Hammond's theory came under heavy attack in Errington's review of his study,<sup>1</sup> and the same fate would have probably befallen to Rosen's theory, had it be known to the reviewer. In fact, the use of the Macedonian *ethnika* in the Late Classical and the Hellenistic period follows the well-known pattern of those of all the federal states of this time and should be viewed in this context.<sup>2</sup> The subtle reasons for the use of the one or the other formula have been exhaustively studied by P. Roesch<sup>3</sup> in the case of Boiotia, and his conclusions are not irrelevant for Macedonia. Inside the country, or in lands under Macedonian domination, the city (or regional) *ethnika* are normally used. Outside Macedonia, in official documents at least, the state *ethnikon* was employed as a rule, sometimes accompanied by the city (or regional) one. No excessive formalism, foreign to the Greek spirit, should make us forget the essentially practical aspect of the question. Someone from Pella could possibly dispense with the qualification *Makedon*, since everybody was likely to know where his home-city lay. This was certainly not the case for a Macedonian from Degme<sup>4</sup> or from Arkynia.<sup>5</sup> Thus there is no need—for the Late Classical and Hellenistic times at least—to invent heterogeneous categories of Macedonians regrouping "Mitglieder des Hochadel"<sup>6</sup> and "schlichte Bewohner der χώρα βασιλική".<sup>7</sup> However, it need not have been so from the beginning of the Macedonian state, and the almost complete absence of Kassandreans and Philippians describing themselves as Macedonians does require further investigation, the question being whether all the free inhabitants of the lands under Temenid (or Antipatrid or Antigonid) rule had always been Macedonians. This question has two aspects. The first is geographical: were all royal dominions part of the Macedonian state? The second is constitutional: did all free inhabitants have the same rights and obligations? At this point a historical approach is needed.

1. Errington, "Macedonia" 79-80; cf. E.M. Anson, "The Meaning of the Term *Macedones*", *AncW* 10 (1984) 67-68; Fanoula Papazoglou, review of Hammond-Walbank, *JA* 40 (1990) 229-30.

2. Cf. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 77; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 616-22.

3. P. Roesch, *Etudes Béotiennes* (Paris 1965) 441; cf. J. Touloumakos, "Εξωπολιτικές σχέσεις Μακεδόνων και Νοτίων Έλλήνων κατά την έλληνιστική και αυτοκρατορική εποχή", *Ancient Macedonia V* (Thessalonike 1993) 1530-32.

4. Arvanitopoulos 265-66, no 57; 381-83, no 139.

5. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 13-14, no 12.

6. Rosen, *König* 11.

7. Rosen, *König* 12.

The history of Macedonia is a long tale of conquests. It is to conquest that its kings owed their prestige and their very right to reign.<sup>1</sup> The three mythical Temenid brothers were both the founders and the conquerors of the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>2</sup> A rapid synthesis of the process is given by Justin<sup>3</sup> who concludes: *aliisque regibus pulsis in locum omnium solus successit (Caranus) primusque adunatis gentibus variorum populorum veluti unum corpus Macedoniae fecit crescentique regno valida incrementorum fundamenta constituit.*

The base from which the Temenids "issued forth and subdued the rest of Macedonia",<sup>4</sup> was, as has been said before, the γῆ Μακεδονίς, previously known as Bottia.<sup>5</sup> The name Bottia did not disappear, but remained in use, as we shall see later, with the meaning either of the lands conquered during the first phase of the Macedonian expansion in the plains both north (Central Macedonian Plain) and east (Plain of Katerini) of the Pierian mountains, or, in a more restricted sense, of the lands of the Central Plain only, also known as Emathia. This is the way Thucydides uses it, when he gives the first detailed description of the Macedonian expansion:<sup>6</sup> Τὴν δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατὴρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους, πρῶτοι ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχη ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας, οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὄκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικός κόλπος καλεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ), ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἱ νῦν ὄμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσιν τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἡδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἑορδίας καλουμένης Ἑορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δὲ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατόκηται, καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας Ἀλμωπας. ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τὸν τε Ἀνθεμῶντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν.

1. Arist., *Pol.* 1310 b: ἡ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοτῶν.

2. For a recent discussion of these legends, see Hammond, *Macedonia* II 3-14; W.S. Greenwalt, "The Introduction of Caranus into the Argead King List", *GRBS* 26 (1985) 43-49.

3. Just. 7.1.1-12.

4. Herod. 8.138: ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

5. Diod. 7.16: ἄλλ' ἰθ' ἐπειγόμενος Βουτηίδα πρὸς πολύμηλον; Just. 7.1.3: *Populus Pelasgi, regio Bottia dicebatur.*

6. Thuc. 2.99.3-6.

Indeed, in later times the Bottiaioi are amply attested in Chalkidike,<sup>1</sup> the Edonians east of the Strymon<sup>2</sup> and the Almopes at Mt. Pangaion.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the rest of the information is less accurate. Thucydides seems to draw a distinction between the fate of the Pieres, the Bottiaioi, the Edones, the Eordoi and the Almopes on the one hand, who were exterminated or deported, and the inhabitants of Anthemous, Krestonia and Bisaltia, on the other, who did not suffer the same fate.<sup>4</sup> The case of Anthemous, which we have studied in detail, seems to confirm Thucydides' indirect suggestion that its inhabitants were—at least partially—spared.<sup>5</sup> The survival of the pre-Macedonian population is even more amply attested in Kalindioia and its region, which, although populated by Bottiaioi, was eventually annexed to the Macedonian possessions of Mygdonia.<sup>6</sup> There may have been minor inaccuracies or exceptions in Thucydides' list, but what we know about Macedonia generally confirms the Athenian historian's statement.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, as far back as we can go, we see two sorts of lands in the Temenid kingdom:<sup>8</sup> lands

1. Cf. Zahrt, *Olynth* 171-78.

2. This is where Herodotos (5.124.2; 7.110.1; 114.1; 9.75) locates them at the time of the Persian Wars. From his and from Thucydides' (1.100.3; 2.99.4; 4.102. 2-3; 107.3; 5.6.4) indications it emerges that in the fifth century their lands extended from Ennea Hodoi (Amphipolis) to the plain of Dato (Philippoi). Thucydides (4.109.4), however, mentions Edones who had fled southwards instead of eastwards and had established themselves in Chalkidike, in the Athos peninsula. This information is confirmed by Stephanos Byzantios (*s.v.* Στῶλος), who locates them at Stolos, and possibly by an inscription from Olympias in eastern Chalkidike (J.A.R. Munro, "Epigraphical Notes from Eastern Macedonia and Thrace", *JHS* 16 [1896] 313-14, no 2; but see also Feissel-Sève, "Chalcidique" 317, no 74; cf. E. Oberhammer, "Edones", *RE* 5 [1905] 1974 and Zahrt, *Olynth* 186, with references and discussion). According to Strabo 7, frg. 11, the inhabitants of Mygdonia and Sithonia were also of Edonian stock. The Edonian origin of the inhabitants of Mygdonia also emerges from the passage of Thucydides cited above, which shows that the conquering Macedonians expelled them from this land; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* and, in particular, 23-24.

3. Bakalakis, "Περὶ Ἀλμῶπων" 484-88; cf. Collart, "Vigne" 9-21; *BullEpigr* 1944, 129.

4. Thuc. 2.99.3-6; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 437-38; II 62. See now Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 15-25.

5. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 15-25 and 63-67.

6. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 71-74 and 117-22.

7. For the fate of Krestonia, see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 77-79; for that of Bisaltia, cf. my observations p. 70-72, above.

8. I leave out of the discussion the peoples of Upper Macedonia, who were "allied and subject" to the Macedonians proper, but remained outside the kingdom of "maritime" Macedonia (see Thuc. 2.99.2: τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχα μὲν ἐστί τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα, βασιλείας

whose primitive inhabitants had been exterminated or expelled and which were inhabited by the conquering Macedonians and their descendants and belonged to Macedonian communities, and lands inhabited by non-Macedonians and belonging either to more or less subject "allied" communities (cities<sup>1</sup> or tribes<sup>2</sup>) or to the Crown (βασιλική γῆ).

### THE INCORPORATION INTO MACEDONIA OF SOUTHERN PAIONIA, WESTERN MYGDONIA AND KRESTONIA

From the beginning of recorded history the lands west of the Loudias are Macedonian in the first, stronger sense: the ancient authorities leave no doubt about that;<sup>3</sup> if not all, then the overwhelming majority of the inscriptions, in Classical and Hellenistic times at least, bear Greek names, very often with a typically Macedonian flavour.<sup>4</sup> In Pella, however, just east of the Loudias, the most ancient

δ' ἔχει καθ' αὐτά; cf. 100.5: οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεζῶ μὲν οὐδὲ διεννοοῦντο ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπειψάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων, ὅτη δοκοίη, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Θρακῶν.

1. The Greek or "mixed" (see p. 106-108, above) cities of southern Paionia (Pella, Ichnai) and of Mygdonia (Chalastra, Sindos, Therma, Lete etc.) must have provided most of the hoplite force of the Macedonian kings until the end of the fifth century (cf. Thuc. 4. 124.1: καὶ ἦγον ὁ μὲν [*sc.* Περδίκκας] ὧν ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων Ἑλλήνων ὀπίτας), the Macedonians themselves disposing only of cavalry units capable to take the field.

2. Cf. the "Thracians" campaigning with Perdikkas in 414 (Thuc. 7.9; cf. Papastavrou, "Περδίκκας" 215). The same origin is probably to be ascribed to the light infantry which took the field with Perdikkas and Brasidas in 423 (Thuc. 4.124.1: καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς). In these passages one can see the "ethnic" specialisation of the Macedonian army in the fifth century: a cavalry composed of Macedonians proper –and eventually Upper Macedonian "allies"– a hoplite infantry composed of "Greeks" from the "allied" cities, and a light infantry recruited among the pre-Greek "allied" populations of the kingdom.

3. The relevant passages of the ancient authorities are cited by Zahrt, "Entwicklung" 352-54, who correctly places the north-east frontier of the Macedonian homeland on the Loudias rather than the Haliakmon. The southern frontier of Makedonis cannot be determined with the same certainty. The very passages cited suggest, however, that the homeland of the Macedonians extended well beyond the "spurs of the Pierians", towards the ὄρος Μακεδονικόν (Herod. 7.131), the northern slopes of Mt. Olympos. Unfortunately, Zahrt's discussion is obscured by an erroneous conception of the extent of the Thermaic Gulf in Antiquity, which requires a detailed re-examination elsewhere (provisionally, see Kirsten-Opelt 219-60; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 46-53 and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 88-89).

4. My friend and colleague Argyro Tataki is preparing a prosopography of Macedonia based on the epigraphic material collected at the Research Centre for Greek and

inscription yet found is written in the Ionic dialect and bears good Ionic names,<sup>1</sup> and Thucydides, probably after Hekataios, still regards the region where it was situated as part of Paionia.<sup>2</sup> The situation changed dramatically from the first decades of the fourth century, when the city begins to receive an important influx of colonists.<sup>3</sup> Ichnai, also in Paionia for Thucydides, cannot have become a part of Macedonia proper until after the Persian Wars, since it continued to mint its own coinage until *c.* 480 B.C.<sup>4</sup> This *—pace* Kalléris<sup>—5</sup> no city of Macedonia proper ever did before the second century.<sup>6</sup> If such is the case of the Paionian cities west of the Axios, it must, *a fortiori*, have been true of those east of the river, such as Chalastra, Sindos and

Roman Antiquity of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. The oldest inscriptions on stone found in Macedonia proper, leaving aside the recent finds from Aiane in Upper Macedonia published by Georgia Karamitrou-Mentesidi, ("Ανασκαφή Αλανής 1990", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 [Thessalonike 1993] 75-92; cf. *Bullepigr* 1994, 385) are one mid-fifth-century (the editor dates it to 400, but both the type of the monument and the lettering *—particularly the nu—* point toward a significantly earlier date) funerary text from Dion (*Bullepigr* 1987, 677), another late-fifth-century (note in particular the second declension genitive singular ending written with a simple *omicron*) funerary text from Dion (*SEG* 25 [1971] 705) and a mid-fourth-century epigram from Aigeai (Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Τὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεία ἀπὸ τῆ μεγάλης τοῦμπα τῆς Βεργίνας* [Thessalonike 1984, diss.] 44-54, no 3 and 271, no 9 [*SEG* 35 (1985) 772]). The names of the dead are respectively: Theotimos son of Parmenon, Aristotima daughter of Sosos and Antigonos son of Theo[—], all notable for their dialectic-epichoric aspect.

1. Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati, "New Inscriptions of Pella", *Makedonika* 26 (1987-1988) 52-54, no 1; cf. *Bullepigr* 1990, 464: [Ι]υ]θαγόρης or [Ῥ]θαγόρης | Ἄριστοκράτειος | Ἄριστοβόλη. Not only are the names and the morphology typically Ionic in this inscription; the Ionic influence in Pella is so strong that the Corinthian Timareta feels the necessity to ionicise her name into Timarete on her fifth-century monument (*SEG* 30 [1980] 579; cf. *Bullepigr* 1981, 314 and 1983, 257).

2. Thuc. 2.99.4; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 56.

3. By the first quarter of the fourth century, after Amyntas III had transferred his usual residence from Aigeai to Pella, names in inscriptions acquire a more mixed aspect. "Panhellenic" (Dexios [*SEG* 27 (1977) 299], Xanthos, Demetrios) names are found side by side with typical "Macedonian" ones (Amadika; cf. *Bullepigr* 1988, 839) and a *defixio* is written in a North-Western Greek dialect, which could well be Macedonian (E. Voutiras, "Ένας διαλεκτικός κατάδεσμος ἀπὸ τὴν Πέλλα", *Έλληνικὴ διαλεκτολογία* 3 [1992-1993], 43-48; cf. L. Dubois, "Une tablette de malédiction de Pella: s'agit-il du premier texte macédonien?", *REG* 108 [1995] 190-97).

4. Price-Waggoner 28-30; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 22.

5. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 606. One of Kalléris' main arguments was based on the now obsolete identification of Edessa with Aigeai; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 84-86.

6. It was Svoronos' (*L'hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine* [Athens-Paris 1919] 33-34) particular merit to state unambiguously for the first time the principle that the cities of Macedonia proper did not mint autonomous issues (before the Hellenistic period).

Therma. It is probably to the first of these that belongs the so called "cemetery of Sindos"<sup>1</sup> with its astoundingly original mixture of cultures, recalling Hekataios' description of Therma as πόλις Ἑλλήνων Ὀρηϊκῶν.<sup>2</sup> In fact the same strong Ionic influences that we encounter in Pella and Chalastra are also paramount in the Early Classical remains discovered in the centre of Thessalonike.<sup>3</sup> The possibility of mixed, southern Greek-indigenous settlements that both the material culture and Hekataios' description of Therma suggest should not be *a priori* rejected.

The onomastic material not only from Krestonia and Bisaltia,<sup>4</sup> but also from "half-Thracian" Therma<sup>5</sup> and Mygdonian Lete<sup>6</sup> and from "Paionian" Pella<sup>7</sup> and Ichnai,<sup>8</sup> leaves no doubt that the pre-Macedonian population was neither immediately nor entirely replaced by Macedonian colonists. A relatively high percentage of the names attested in the lands conquered after 479 are of pre-Greek origin.<sup>9</sup>

1. The excavator (Despoini 12) has retained the alternative identification of the site with either Chalastra or Strepsa, rejecting the possibility that the complex Nea Anchialos-Sindos could be attributed to the ancient city of the latter name. The reason, although not stated, is probably that the remains from the site extend from the Prehistoric to the Roman period (Rey 169; Agnès Sakellariou, *Deltion* 20 [1965], *Chronika* 421), whereas Sindos is a *hapax* of Herodotos (7.123.3; cf. though, Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 147), which is never heard of again after the Persian Wars. But, as I have argued elsewhere (Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 57-60; *eiusdem*, *Donation* 41-43), the identification of the "table" of Anchialos with Strepsa is not possible, since the latter was located in Chalkidike. Thus we are left with Chalastra as the only candidate. If the old bed of the Axios ran indeed by "Sindos" (Despoini 12), the difficulties created by Strabo's (7 frg. 20) information that "the Axios empties between Chalastra and Therma", would be greatly reduced (cf. M. Tiverios, "Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της Ἀγχιάλου (Σίνδος) κατά τὸ 1990", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 [Thessalonike 1993] 324-25 and *eiusdem*, "Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της Ἀγχιάλου (Σίνδος) κατά τὸ 1991", *AEMΘ* 5, 1991 [Thessalonike 1994] 235-46; but now *contra*, *eiusdem*, "Οἱ ἀνασκαφικές έρευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της Ἀγχιάλου κατά τὸ 1992", *AEMΘ* 6 [1992] 357-67).

2. *FGrHist* 1 F 146.

3. On the problem of the origin of these remains and of the location of Therma, see Tiverios 71-88.

4. Cf. the onomastic appendix 1 at the end of this chapter. For Krestonia in particular; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 77.

5. Cf. Mihailov, "Thessalonique" 81-83.

6. See the onomastic appendix 2 at the end of this chapter.

7. Cf. Delacoulonche 282, no 103; *SEG* 24 (1969) 543; 551; cf. Mendel III no 958; and J.P. Touratsoglou, "Anthroponymie thrace en Macédoine orientale", *Pulpu-deva* 2 (1978) 134, no 8d; 135, no 11.

8. Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8944.

9. This does not mean that most of the areas under consideration did not eventually receive important contingents of Macedonian colonists (see the onomastic appendix 1 at the end of this chapter).



But the most positive evidence of "annexation without incorporation" of lands beyond the Axios is provided by Thucydides' description of Perdikkas II's offer of Mygdonian lands around Lake Bolbe to the Chalkidians in 432.<sup>1</sup> Now, the Macedonian king could not have taken such a course of action unless he was in possession of these Mygdonian lands and at the same time these lands had not been settled by Macedonians; for it is evident that he would neither deliver his people to a foreign state nor would he eject them from their new homes, as though his fellow countrymen were worse than Paionians or Krestonians. The only satisfactory explanation of Perdikkas' gesture is that this part of Mygdonia had not been distributed to Macedonians, individually or corporately, but was still "crown property": βασιλική χώρα, a reserve of land which had been acquired as a result of conquest (δορικήτος).<sup>2</sup>

The offer was accepted; the Chalkidians founded Apollonia there, known both as *Mygdonike* and *Chalkidike*,<sup>3</sup> and the Bottiaioi, to whom a similar offer was possibly made,<sup>4</sup> perhaps founded the cities of "northern" Bottike: Kalindoia, Kamakai, Tripoi, Thamiskos. Perdikkas' offer to the Chalkidians (and the Bottiaeans) is reminiscent of the similar offer of Anthemous made by Amyntas I to Hippias around 505 B.C.<sup>5</sup> To the similarity of the offer corresponds the similarity of the circumstances. As Amyntas probably did not possess Anthemous at that time, but was merely suggesting a plan of joint occupation to Hippias,<sup>6</sup> so Perdikkas had probably already lost Mygdonia as a result of the rebellion of his brother Philip,<sup>7</sup> who seems to have been his governor in the "New Lands". We know, in fact, from Thucydides<sup>8</sup> that Philip had at this time an ἀρχή on both banks of the Axios, since it comprised not only Gortynia, Europos and Atalante on

1. Thuc. 1.58.2: τοῖς τ' ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾗ; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 72; Hammond, *Macedonia* II 122-23, and Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia" 165.

2. For an excellent discussion, see Funck 45-55.

3. Cf. Zahmt, *Olynth* 156-57.

4. Cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 71-73.

5. Herod. 5.94.1; cf. Edson, "Notes" 91.

6. I. Papastavrou, *Μακεδονική πολιτική κατά τὸν 5ον π.Χ. αἰῶνα: Ἀλέξανδρος I* (Thessalonike 1936) 1-2; Edson, "Strepsa" 186, n. 47; cf. Zahmt, "Entwicklung" 360 and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 23.

7. Thuc. 1.57.2-4. The Athenian historian explicitly connects Perdikkas' offer with Philip's revolt (1.57.5-58.2).

8. Thuc. 2.100.3-4. For other references and discussion, see Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 69-70.

the west bank, but also at least Idomene and probably all the territories on the east bank, up to the mouth of the Strymon. It is true that Thucydides seems to distinguish the *arche* of Philip on the Axios from Mygdonia, Krestonia and Anthemous<sup>1</sup> and to imply that Philip, and later his son Amyntas, aimed at dethroning Perdikkas, in order to take his position.<sup>2</sup> However, Sitalkes' plan of campaign in 429 denotes different war aims, which are best understood if Philip's governorship extended to all the "New Lands". For the Thracian king, instead of marching "to the right of Pella and Kyrrhos" towards Bottia and Pieria, in order to oust Perdikkas from the heartland of the kingdom and from his very capital, and to install the young pretender on his throne, turned to the conquest of "Paionia", Mygdonia, Krestonia and Anthemous and the northern fringe territories of the Chalkidians and the Bottiaioi, presumably those that Perdikkas had offered them in 432.<sup>3</sup> Such a strategy is understandable only if Sitalkes was aiming not to install Amyntas on the Macedonian throne at Aigeai, but to reinstate him in his ancient *arche*, possibly no longer as a governor but as an independent prince.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in 432, too, the first operations of the Athenians and their ally Philip, Amyntas' father, were directed against Therma, which was held by Perdikkas, apparently since he had expelled his brother from his *arche*. It is particularly significant that Therma was given back to Perdikkas only when the Athenians (and Sitalkes) decided to sacrifice Philip and to abandon their efforts to restore him, in order to reconcile themselves to the Macedonian king (431).<sup>5</sup> It is also important to note that in their previous settlement with Perdikkas (432), when the Athenians still needed Philip's services against the Chalkidians, they had refrained from such a course of action, because it would obviously have alienated their ally. This is possibly one of the reasons why their first reconciliation with the king was so short-lived.<sup>6</sup>

1. Thuc. 2.100.3: ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὔσαν ἀρχήν...; Thuc. 2.100.4: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προυχώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου.

2. Thuc. 2.95.2: Φιλίππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πολέμον ὄντα μὴ καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ; Thuc. 2.95.3: τὸν τε Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦγε...; cf. Papastavrou, "Περδίκκας" 196-97.

3. Thuc. 2.100.4-101.5.

4. See also now, Badian, *Potidaea* 180-81, who has independently come to the same conclusions.

5. Thuc. 2.29.6-7; 95.2.

6. Thuc. 1.61.4-62.2. For the circumstances of the new rift between Perdikkas and the Athenians, see Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 56-57 and now Badian, *Potidaea* 174-79.

If the evidence has been rightly interpreted, the territories conquered after 510 were not automatically assimilated into the rest of the kingdom. Depending on the particular circumstances of the conquest of each district, some of the inhabitants were expelled, but most of them retained their homes. Whole tracts of land, and in particular forests and mines, became Crown property, but as a general rule subject cities and peoples remained in the possession of their territories, probably assuming the obligation to pay some form of tribute and to supply "allied" contingents to the royal army.<sup>1</sup> The King's interests were represented by a viceroy or governor general, whose exact title is unknown, but who was responsible for keeping the subject cities and peoples in obedience and for collecting the tribute. The members of the royal family were the obvious candidates for such a position of trust and power. Nevertheless, the ties of blood were often insufficient to restrain the holders of this prestigious office from exploiting it, in order to set themselves up as independent rulers. It is clear from Thucydides' account that Philip and his son Amyntas had both the means and the will to secure the εὔνοια or the φιλία of the subject populations by their benefactions.<sup>2</sup> In another study I have suggested that they had accomplished the highest act of εὐεργεσία to which a Greek could aspire, the foundation of a new city, Herakleia, on the ruins of the destroyed Paionian Abydon, near the crossing of the Axios.<sup>3</sup>

The same causes producing the same effects, we hear half a century later of another Macedonian king, Amyntas III, who, incapable of holding his more distant possessions after the defeat inflicted on him by the Illyrians, offered to the Chalkidians much of his "bordering" territory, presumably eastern Mygdonia and Anthemous.<sup>4</sup> Amyntas eventually recovered from the defeat only to find the Chalkidians unwilling to return the territories which he had temporarily ceded to them. It is possible that, finding him too insistent, they set up as a rival king Argaios, who managed to control most of

1. Cf. Thuc. 4.124.1, where, according to our interpretation suggested above (p. 171, n. 2), appear the three elements of the Macedonian expeditionary force: Macedonians proper serving as cavalrymen, hoplites from the "Greek" cities and "barbarian" light infantry.

2. Cf. Thuc. 2.100.3: ὁμολογία διὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα.

3. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 62-71.

4. Diod. 14.92.3; 15.19.2-3; cf. Ellis, "Amyntas" 1-8; Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 35-39; 71-73 and Hammond, *Macedonia* II 59; 172 and 193.

the kingdom for two years.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that some years later (370) we find another pretender, Pausanias, perhaps a brother of Argaios,<sup>2</sup> repeating the feat of Amyntas, son of Philip, and invading eastern Macedonia from a base in Chalkidike, presumably Kalindoia. The cities once again opened their gates to him and he was soon master of Anthemous, Strepsa and Therma and some smaller cities.<sup>3</sup> Should we attribute his rapid success to similar causes and suppose that he, too, like Philip for Perdikkas, had acted as governor general of the "New Lands" during the short reign of his brother Argaios? The fact is that, when Amyntas had managed to expel his rival, the Chalkidians used a much more formidable instrument of policy than Pausanias in order to maintain their acquisitions in eastern Macedonia (383): the slogan of freedom, to which all the cities, small and large, readily responded from the Chalkidian border up and including Pella.<sup>4</sup> Although Macedonian cities too, like Pydna, are known to have seceded in the past, it is probable that most of "the cities of Macedonia" which the Chalkidians liberated from the Macedonian king had not yet been incorporated into the kingdom, but remained subject and tributary as in the time of Perdikkas. It is also possible that the decision of Amyntas to move his capital to Pella, where Philip II *grew*, but was not *born*,<sup>5</sup> is related to the need for a reorganisation and closer control of the "New Lands", and a strengthening of their ties with the "Old Kingdom". The success encountered by Pausanias when he invaded Anthemous and Mygdonia at the death of the old king, shows that the reorganisation had not reached these areas or, at any rate, that it had not yet borne fruit. At the beginnings of Philip II's reign, not only the cities of Chalkidike<sup>6</sup> and Sirrhai (Serrhai)<sup>7</sup> on the

1. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 175-76. The genealogical speculations of P. Goukowsky, "Les maisons princières de Macédoine de Perdikkas II à Philippe II", *Hellenika Symmikta* (Nancy 1991) 55-60, carry no more conviction than Hammond's hypothesis, that Argaios was a son of Archelaos.

2. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 184.

3. Aeschin. 2.27; for a detailed account of these events see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 35-36; 71-72. The inscribed sling bullets with the name of the Olynthians discovered at Galatista-Anthemous (W.N. Bates, "Two Inscribed Slingers' Bullets from Galatista", *AJA* 34 [1930] 4-6) might point to Olynthian support for Pausanias in 370, at a time when the Chalkidian League had been dissolved (cf. Zahrt, *Olynth* 193, n. 209); cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 35-36.

4. Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.12-13; cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 594-95, with references to modern discussions; see also Hatzopoulos, "Béotie" 248.

5. Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 42-44, with references.

6. *FGrHist* 115 F 139; 144; 152.

7. *FGrHist* 115 F 140.

Strymon, but even Therma<sup>1</sup> are still referred to by Theopompos as cities in *Thrace*.

The pattern repeats itself in the reign of Amyntas' sons Perdikkas III and Philip II and it is Hammond's merit to have attracted attention to it.<sup>2</sup> Speusippos, in his letter to Philip, reminds the king that he owed to Plato the successful beginning of his career as a ruler,<sup>3</sup> and Karystios of Pergamon gives more details on the subject of this allusion: Euphraios of Oreos, Plato's disciple, persuaded Perdikkas to assign some territory to Philip, who, with the force he maintained there, was able upon Perdikkas' death to "attack suddenly" and to become master of the situation.<sup>4</sup> As I have argued in another study,<sup>5</sup> this "sudden attack"<sup>6</sup> of Philip and of his force immediately after Perdikkas' death alludes undoubtedly to Philip's first military action, when "he suddenly appeared with his soldiers and engaged battle"<sup>7</sup> against the pretender Argaios and the Athenian expeditionary force which was supporting him. The battle took place between July and October 360, somewhere between Aigeai and Methone, as Argaios was returning from his unsuccessful attempt to persuade "those at Aigeai to welcome his return and to become the founders of his own kingdom".<sup>8</sup> The topography of the area allows only for two possibilities: either Philip must have moved along mountain tracks through the Pierian mountains, coming from southern Pieria near the Thessalian border, or he must have forded the Haliakmon, coming through Alante from the east. Nothing connects Philip's first movements after Perdikkas' death with southern Macedonia or Thessaly, nor is there the slightest indication that some sort of governorship ever existed in this region. On the other hand, everything links Philip with eastern Macedonia. Diodoros, following Ephoros, tells us that, before the battle against Argaios, Philip had withdrawn his forces from Amphipolis, had placated the Paionians, and had persuaded the Thracian king not to help Pausanias to make a bid for the throne.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, thanks to a fragment of Theopompos, we have a detailed account of

1. *FGrHist* 115 F 125.

2. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 188; cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 206-207.

3. *Epist. Socrat.* 30.12 (R. Herscher, *Epistologr. graeci*).

4. Karystios, *FHG* 4.356 F 1 (=Athen. 11.506 e-f).

5. Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 51.

6. Karystios, *FHG* 4.356 F 1: ἐξ ἐτοίμου δυνάμεως ὑπαρχούσης ἐπέλεσε τοῖς πράγμασι.

7. Diod. 16.3.6: ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συνάψας μάχην.

8. Diod. 16.3.5-6. On the date of the battle, see Hatzopoulos, "Oleveni" 36-37; on the topography, Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 51.

9. Diod. 16.3.3-4.

Philip's march into Thrace and of his meeting with the Odrysian king Kotys at Onokarsis, whose historicity has been unnecessarily doubted.<sup>1</sup> The evacuation of Amphipolis must have been a very recent event at the time of the battle against Argaios; for as the supporting of the pretender by Mantias, the Athenian general in Macedonia, proves, it had not yet produced the change in Athenian policy which it could not, and in fact did not, fail to produce once it was reported to Athens. Moreover, we know that Theopompos mentioned Allante in connection with the very first events of Philip's reign.<sup>2</sup> The most likely explanation of the admittedly fragmentary but coherent evidence is that Philip's *arche*, like that of Philip, the homonymous brother of Perdikkas II, was the governorship of the New Lands.

### PHILIP II'S CONQUEST OF METHONE AND PYDNA

With Philip's reign we begin to have some more detailed evidence about the fate of the eastern Macedonian provinces and the other newly-acquired territories. Justin,<sup>3</sup> following Theopompos,<sup>4</sup> gives a most tragic description of the hardships that Philip's policy of population transplants imposed on the inhabitants of "greater Macedonia". But J.R. Ellis,<sup>5</sup> in one of his early but already excellent studies on Philip, showed the importance of this policy for the obliteration of the old divisions and the emergence of a new, unified Macedonia. It is not accidental that Justin (Theopompos) himself describes Philip's achievements in practically the same terms as those of the legendary Karanos, making Philip—at least implicitly—the second founder of the Macedonian state.<sup>6</sup> The details of the evidence for each city or region have been masterfully discussed by Griffith.<sup>7</sup> Here we need only

1. Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 31; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Oleveni" 37, and now "Letter"; *contra* Badian, "Philip" 52-55.

2. Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 33. For these events, see also Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 64-66.

3. Just. 8.5.7-6.2.

4. I hope to show elsewhere that Trogus Pompeius' source for books VII-IX of his *Philippica* is Theopompos' homonymous work.

5. Ellis, "Transplants" 9-17.

6. Just. 7.1.12: *adunatis gentibus variorum populorum veluti unum corpus Macedoniae fecit* (Karanos); 8.6.2: *atque ita ex multis gentibus nationibusque unum regnum populumque constituit* (Philip). It is possible that a late-third- or early-second-century inscription discovered recently at Nikiti in Chalkidike attesting to the existence of an altar of "King Philip saviour and founder" alludes to this achievement of Philip II (Epigraphic Appendix no 78; cf. nos 75 and 76).

7. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 348-82.

summarise his conclusions, adding, whenever possible, new information and complementary details from epigraphic evidence which was not readily available for Griffith to use.

The Macedonians from Pydna known to us from the second half of the fourth century and after<sup>1</sup> leave no doubt about the fate of the city after its conquest by Philip. His political enemies once removed, the King incorporated Pydna into the national territory of the Macedonian Commonwealth. The city, which had already belonged to the kingdom in the past, became indistinguishable from the other Macedonian cities.

The fate of Methone was different. According to Diodoros, the ancient inhabitants were expelled, the city was razed, and its territory was distributed among the Macedonians.<sup>2</sup> Griffith does not make very clear the way he understands its subsequent history. On the one hand he rightly points out that this had to be a *viritim* distribution, since we never hear of a Macedonian from Methone, but on the other, on the evidence of Strabo, he makes the contradictory assertion that "Methone evidently became a city of Macedonia like Pella and Diium".<sup>3</sup> Although the question can only be definitely settled by systematic excavations, a recent survey has established that the Archaic and Classical city, destroyed in 354, was succeeded by a Hellenistic settlement 1 km to the north-west of the latter.<sup>4</sup> The Macedonian origin of the settlers, probable in itself, is confirmed by the typically Macedonian name (Φυλομάγα) engraved on a golden leaf which was

1 . From the period before the conquest of the city by Philip we know the *theorodokos* of Epidauros Damatrios (*IG* IV 1<sup>2</sup>, 94 b 7), and the assassin of Alexander II, Apollophanes (Dem. 19.194). From the reign of Alexander the Great: Agathon (Berve no 9), Antigona? (Berve no 86), Metron son of Epicharmos (Berve no 519), Nikarchides son of Simos (Berve no 562), Pantaleon (Berve no 603). Other Pydnaians known from inscriptions *extra fines Macedoniae* which date before the Roman conquest are: Aristagoras (*Tituli Calymnii* no 25), Lykos son of Aristokleides (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 339, *Addenda* 332), and the three *theorodokoi* of Delphian Apollo: Archias, Philippos and Dionysogenes, sons of Alkimachos. From Hellenistic inscriptions from Pydna we know the names of Helenos and his son Neoptolemos (Edson, "Olympias" 91), Theodoros son of Menandros (Thessalonike Museum no 6955), Proteas son of Philippos and Kleoboulos son of Antikrates (Epigraphic Appendix no 55). The "young huntsman" son of Kallikrates—if his name is indeed followed by an *ethnikon*—should not be included in this list, although the stele comes from Pydna (Bakalakis, *Ἀνάγλυφα* 41-52). These names, with the exception of that of Antigona, whose Pydnaian origin is however uncertain, and of Neoptolemos and Helenos, who are of Molossian origin, display no particular epichoric characteristics and might be found in any cosmopolitan harbour of the Aegean, such as Pydna had become by the fifth century.

2 . Diod. 16.34.5.

3 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 361-62.

4 . Hatzopoulos-Knoepfler-Marigo 654-68.

discovered in a late-fourth-century tomb at the nearby cemetery of Palaiokatachas.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the complete silence of all other sources, both literary and epigraphic, on Methone and its inhabitants justifies Papazoglou's opinion that Methone ceased to exist as a city after its destruction by Philip.<sup>2</sup> Strabo,<sup>3</sup> as in many other cases, was repeating a much older account when he referred to Methone as to an actually existing political entity. Its territory must have been added to that of Pydna, whose importance and prosperity rapidly increase in Late Classical and Hellenistic times.

### PHILIP II'S ANNEXATION OF AMPHIPOLIS AND EASTERN MACEDONIA

Until recently, it was not possible to reach a firm conclusion on the fate of Amphipolis and the details of Philip's settlement. The most balanced picture had been sketched by Griffith. From the existence of a Macedonian cavalry unit from Amphipolis (in fact recruited from a wider area, as we shall see below), from the mentions of a certain number of Macedonians (either by birth or naturalisation) from Amphipolis, and from two allusions of Aischines and Demosthenes,<sup>4</sup> the British historian had concluded that "By 343 then (and probably earlier) Amphipolis had become in effect a Macedonian provincial capital with a population still predominantly Greek", but that a number of Macedonians were settled in the properties of exiled Amphipolitans and the lands of the destroyed smaller Greek cities of the region.<sup>5</sup> He suggested that the city institutions still functioned but he observed that there was no evidence about Assembly meetings after the decree sanctioning the exile of Philip's political enemies, which he seemed tempted to describe in Perdrizet's terms: "le dernier acte peut-être de sa liberté".<sup>6</sup> The epigraphy of Amphipolis seemed to bear out Griffith's main contention: all sorts of documents of the Late Classical and Hellenistic period show the coexistence of bearers of both typically Macedonian and typically Ionic names living and dying alongside one another and –more importantly– equally sharing the main offices of the city government and trading on an equal footing.

1 . *BullEpigr* 1991, 385.

2 . Papazoglou, *Villes* 105-106.

3 . Strab. 7 frg. 20; frg. 22. On the sources of this part of Strabo's work see p. 233-34, below.

4 . The references are given by Griffith, *Macedonia* II 351-54.

5 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 355-56.

6 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 351; cf. p. 127, above.



The systematic study of the deeds of sale from Amphipolis<sup>1</sup> now enables us to follow step by step the incorporation of the city into Macedonia. Philip II not only spared most of the original population of Amphipolis, but also retained the chief magistrate (*epistates*) for several consecutive years, simply adding to him the priest of Asklepios, to deputise for him in his capacity as eponymous official. Not only the *epistates*, but also other magistracies, such as the board of polemarchs, retained their name and functions.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, numerous Macedonians, not only from the Old Kingdom, but also from Upper Macedonia<sup>3</sup> and even from the westernmost New Territories (Ichnai, Gareskos)<sup>4</sup> took the place of the dead or exiled political enemies of Philip and, along with the old Amphipolitans, formed the new citizen body of Amphipolis, henceforth a Macedonian city. This is clearly attested by the introduction of new Macedonian personal names, which appear along with the older Attic-Ionic and Edoonian ones, by the replacement of the old calendar of Amphipolis by the Macedonian one, and, finally, by the replacement of the Amphipolitan drachma by Philip's gold staters, the minting of which begins shortly after the conquest of the city. The most interesting part of the evidence concerns the gradual but complete fusion of the pre-Macedonian with the Macedonian element, which was rendered possible by Philip's policy of strict equality between old and new citizens, vanquished and victors. A prosopographical study of Amphipolis leaves no doubt that by the time of Philip the Macedonian *ethnos* (and citizenship) was an open society, by no means restricted by considerations of blood and descent to persons originating from the Old Kingdom (and Upper Macedonia).<sup>5</sup>

1. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis, passim*.

2. We possess a dedication of *polemarchoi* without provenience, but of probable Amphipolitan origin, dating from the first half of the fourth century (Epigraphic Appendix no 64). The polemarchs reappear in the ephebarchical law dated to 24/3 B.C., but undoubtedly reproducing a text of the Hellenistic period (Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 162).

3. Cf. *BullEpigr* 1972, 265: Ἀραβαῖος.

4. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 38-39, no VII: Γαρήσκιος; 52, no XII: Καλλιστρατος Δάδου, Νέων Ἰχναίου and 86, n. 1.

5. It is particularly interesting to note that in all the deeds of sale none of the eponymous priests or the *epistatai* bear typical Macedonian names, a clear indication that the old Amphipolitan families continued to form the local aristocracy from among whom the highest civic dignitaries were chosen. This impression is confirmed by other documents. In the Amphipolitan decree of 243 for the Asklepieion of Kos (Epigraphic Appendix no 41) the *epistates*, Xenias son of Orges, has a typical pre-Macedonian and probably pre-Greek patronymic, whereas the name of the eponymous priest, Lysimachos, is not necessarily Macedonian. Nearly a century later, under

As I have already stressed, the *asylia* decree of Kos clearly shows that the Assembly continued to meet, and that in this respect the decree condemning Philon and Stratokles to perpetual exile is by no means the last act of Amphipolitan liberty. On the contrary, the evidence offered by a board of *prostatai* in fifth-century Thasos, similar to those of the exile decree, would indicate that we are dealing with exceptional measures, executed by exceptional magistrates, who had been entrusted with the duty of restoring civil peace and reorganising the city after a period of troubles.<sup>1</sup> There is no need, either, to suppose that the autonomous existence of all the small cities around Amphipolis came to an end. The citizens of Phagres, where the Pieres had taken refuge after their expulsion by the Macedonians, are mentioned along with other cities of the region in an inscription of the late fourth or the early third century,<sup>2</sup> proving beyond doubt that the city was still extant.<sup>3</sup> Apollonia was indeed destroyed,<sup>4</sup> but Oisyme<sup>5</sup> and probably Galepsos are mentioned as autonomous cities in Hellenistic sources, literary or epigraphic, referring to contemporary conditions.<sup>6</sup>

the reign of Perseus, in the dedication by the city to Artemis Tauropolos (Epigraphic Appendix no 29), the two politarchs, who had succeeded the *epistates* as the highest magistrates of the city, continue to belong to the pre-Macedonian stratum of the population, as their names, Timonides son of Asklepiades and Mestyllos son of Metrodoros, bear witness. On the other hand, the three junior magistrates, *emporou epimeletai*, who under the later Antigonids make a dedication to the gods (Epigraphic Appendix no 65), seem to be of Macedonian extraction: [---]aros son of Nikanor, Kalligenes son of Andronikos, Kallippos son of Menandros. Paradoxically, only after the Roman conquest did bearers of Macedonian names attain the highest magistracies of Amphipolis, such as the politarchs Hermoitas son of Harpalos (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 419, no 2), Holoichos (*BullEpigr* 1977, 279) and the gymnasiarchs Philippos (F. Cumont, "Ein neues Psephisma aus Amphipolis", *ÖJh Beibl.* 1 [1898] 180-84), Adaios son of Euemeros and Adaios son of Philagros (*Ergon* [1984] 23-24 with *BullEpigr* 1990, 485).

1. Pouilloux, *Thasos* 208; 388-89 (cf. "une magistrature d'exception à laquelle les Thasiens confièrent le soin de remédier au désordre des institutions bouleversées"). Unless we are dealing with a board of regular magistrates, such as the *prostatai* of Nagidos in Cilicia (Jones-Habicht 319 = *SEG* 39 [1989] 1426, L.19).

2. *FdD* III 1, 497; cf. L. Robert, "Une ville de Thrace dans une inscription de Delphes", *Hellenica* I (Paris 1940) 89, n. 4.

3. Cf. *BullEpigr* 1990, 491; Katerini Liampi, "The Mint of Phagres", *Nomismatika Chronika* 10 (1991) 32-35.

4. Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 363, with references.

5. On Oisyme, see Papazoglou, *Villes* 196-98; 399-403; O. Picard, "Le monnayage d'Oisymè", *Nomismatika Chronika* 12 (1993) 13-16. See also p. 187, n. 2, below.

6. Galepsos was destroyed by Philip II according to Strabo 7, frg. 33, but is mentioned by Livy (44.45.14-15), drawing on Polybios, in the context of the Third Macedonian War. The city was probably refounded by the Macedonians along with Oisyme-Emathia. See Papazoglou, *Villes* 398-99.

The fate of Argilos seems more uncertain, but, as we shall see in more detail below, it was most probably not physically destroyed, but simply ceased to be an autonomous city, received Macedonian settlers, and was incorporated into the territory of Amphipolis.

Autonomous cities, then, in eastern Macedonia? Most of them most probably. But also incorporated into the national Macedonian territory? And if the answer to the latter question is "yes", since when, and up to what point eastwards?

Amphipolis, which is best documented, can provide some useful indications for the whole area. As I have tried to show in my monograph on the deeds of sale from Amphipolis, the city was not incorporated into Macedonia immediately after its conquest. For a period of time it remained a theoretically independent ally of Philip. From this period, which the series of deeds of sale leaves no doubt did not last much longer than one year, date the decree against Philon and Stratokles as well as two short issues of bronze coins with Macedonian symbols and the legend ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.<sup>1</sup>

Amphipolis also constitutes a good indication regarding the extension of Macedonian national territory to the east. The incorporation of Amphipolis means that this territory included at least the Strymon basin on both banks of the river.

As we had the occasion to see at the beginning of this study, the Bisaltian and Odomantian communities were gradually urbanised, organised on the model of the other Macedonian cities, and incorporated into the national community. Whatever Livy (Polybios)<sup>2</sup> may say, the Bisaltai at the time of Perseus had not maintained their "tribal" organisation. The Gazoros decree<sup>3</sup> shows beyond doubt that some of them, at least, were integrated into the Pentapolis. The rest formed cities, like Euporia or perhaps other small sympolities.<sup>4</sup>

Most scholars,<sup>5</sup> on the strength of Strabo,<sup>6</sup> have maintained that Philip extended the Macedonian frontier to the Nestos. This assertion can only concern the national territory, for Philip's empire extended well beyond that river to the Propontis. However, it is clear from Strabo's fullest statement that he did not have in mind a formal an-

1 . Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 74-82 and O. Picard, "Deux émissions de bronzes d'Amphipolis", *BCH* 118 (1994) 207-214.

2 . Livy 44.45.8.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

4 . See the onomastic appendix 2 at the end of this chapter.

5 . Cf. Collart, *Philippe* 139, 161 and 166-67; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 364; Badian, "Philip" 66 and n. 54, with bibliography.

6 . Strab. 7.7.4 C 323; frg. 33; frg. 35.

nexation but he was simply recording the opinion of "some" authors who were impressed by the interest which the king had shown in that area. The Nestos under Philip and Alexander was no more a *political* frontier of Macedonia than the Strymon had been under Perdikkas III, in the description of Pseudo-Skylax.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand there is ample evidence that many years after Philip's death the national territory of Macedonia did not extend beyond the Strymon basin, a fact to which Köhler<sup>2</sup> was the first to draw attention: the eastern border of Macedonia and the starting point of Alexander the Great's expeditions in both 335 and 334 is Amphipolis, to the east of which extends Thrace and the Greek coastal cities;<sup>3</sup> the Strymon was again the eastern limit of Macedonia that Kynnana had been forbidden by Antipater to cross in 323.<sup>4</sup> One could add three other pieces of evidence: In a late-fourth-century or early-third-century inscription from Delphoi, which probably mentions Neapolis, this city, although situated *west* of the Nestos, is possibly designated as a city of Thrace and not of Macedonia ([Νεο]πολιται τοι ἐ[πι Θράκας]);<sup>5</sup> in 189, when Q. Fabius fixed the boundaries of Ainos and Maroneia, Paroreia, the district between Mt. Menoikion, Mt. Pangaion and Mt. Lekane along the royal highway, the later Via Egnatia, was still a part of Thrace;<sup>6</sup> and

1 . Pseudo-Skylax 66.

2 . Köhler, "Städte" 487.

3 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.1.5; 11.3.

4 . Polyain. 8.60.

5 . See *FdD* III 1, 497 (where E. Bourguet prefers the reading [---]ολίται τοι ἐ[ν Ἐλλησπόντῳ] and speculates on a possible *ethnikon* [Ἄρ]γολίται, but see the index of *Syll*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Νεαπολίται; G. Bakalakis, "Νεάπολις, Χριστούπολις, Καβάλα", *Ephemeris* 1936, 47; D.I. Lazaridis, *Νεάπολις, Χριστούπολις, Καβάλα: ὁδηγὸς Μουσείου Καβάλας* [Athens 1969] 25 and Papazoglou, *Villes* 403).

6 . Livy 39.27.10. The location of Paroreia results not only from the passage of Livy (39.27.10; cf. 42.51.5) and from Pliny (*NH* 4.35) but also from a passage of Appian (*B.Civ.* 4.87: Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανός, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἄντωνιος μετὰ ὀκτῶ τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεμψέφασαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θράκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενά τὰ Κοπρίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον...), who calls this district Θράκη ὄρειος, locates Philippoi in it, and places it outside Macedonia, to which, however, it undoubtedly belonged at the time of the Roman civil wars, as an inscription recently discovered at Philippoi and dated by the national Macedonian era to 43/42 (Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Deltion* 31 [1976], *Chronika* 301, pl. 243δ; cf. *BullEpigr* 1987, 713) now proves beyond dispute. Once again, the failure to take into consideration that Philip II did not establish the eastern frontier of Macedonia on the Nestos and that even after the second-century reforms and the Roman conquest Macedonia proper did not extend beyond the defile of Akontisma is responsible for the interminable controversy on the location of the defile of the Sapaioi. Collart's (*Philippes* 198-205) attitude in this respect is typical. He gives an accurate description of the strategic requirements that this location should meet; he stresses the military

in 188, the Roman army of C. Manlius, returning from Asia Minor had to cover at least two days of march along the royal highway in Thracian territory between Neapolis and the eastern border of Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> There could not be clearer evidence that, as late as that date, Amphipolis remained the easternmost Macedonian city, leaving Philippoi, Neapolis and the lesser cities to the east in Thrace. Neapolis is indeed explicitly described in the same passage of Livy as a Greek colony, exactly like Abdera. As far as Philippoi is concerned, the autonomous coinage of the city,<sup>2</sup> the exclusive use of the *ethnikon Philippeus*<sup>3</sup> and the mention of the "other Greeks" before the Macedonians in the *asylia* decree of Philippoi alone of all the Antigonid cities<sup>4</sup> are best explained if in 243 that city was still outside the national Macedonian territory. This is how king Eumenes of Pergamon could pretend in 185 that the cities of Thrace just east of the Nestos were "so distant from the frontier of Macedonia".<sup>5</sup> By 171, however, the same Paroreia, which was a part of Thrace in 189, is described by the same author, Livy (Polybios), along with "the district by the Strymon" (Parastrymonia) as part of *Macedonia* bordering Thrace (to the west).<sup>6</sup> This is indirectly confirmed by the entry of Stephanos Byzantios, who, probably using one of the later books of Polybios' *History*, calls Paroreia (and also Philippoi) a "city" of Macedonia.<sup>7</sup> The same lexicographer<sup>8</sup> and Pseudo-Skymnos<sup>9</sup> also inform us that Oisyme was refounded by the Macedonians as Emathia. The fact that among our literary sources only Polybios (in Livy<sup>10</sup> and

value of the defile of Akontisma; but fails to make the right identification only because Appian places the defile of the Sapaioi outside Macedonia, whereas according to Collart the Nestos had formed the eastern frontier of Macedonia from the time of Philip II. Recent studies (Papazoglou, "Philippes" 93-96; Loukopoulou 95-96) however, have established beyond doubt that in the first century Thrace, and in particular Rhaskouporis' Sapaian kingdom, began precisely at the defile of Akontisma.

1 . Livy 38.41.10; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 78.

2 . Le Rider 438-39.

3 . Perdrizet, "Proxènes" 109, n. 1; cf. Collart, *Philippes* 178; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 358-61; Hatzopoulos, "Philippes" 322-23. Φίλιππεύς is the *ethnikon* used *extra fines civitatis*. The Philippians called themselves Φίλιπποι as their coinage and the official documents of their city show (cf. Epigraphic Appendix nos 6 and 36).

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 36.

5 . Livy 39.27.6.

6 . Livy 42.51.5.

7 . Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Παρώρεια... ἔστι καὶ Μακεδονίας πόλις. The error of calling this district a city is a common one.

8 . Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Οἰσύμη.

9 . Pseudo-Skymnos 656-58.

10 . Livy 43.7.10; 44.44.5-6.

Strabo<sup>1</sup>) uses that name and that the inscriptions until the beginning of the second century continue to use the name Oisyme indicates probably that the Macedonian colonisation of the Pierian coast was part of the same reorganisation which advanced the Macedonian national frontier to the defile of Akontisma.<sup>2</sup> The Macedonian calendar must have been introduced then –possibly along with Macedonian settlers– in Galepsos<sup>3</sup> and Philippi, in the latter city ousting after

1. Strab. 7 frg. 11.

2. See Papazoglou, *Villes* 84-85; 409, with references. Oisyme has been identified with Nea Peramos and the surrounding area of the bay of Eleutherai. The Hellenistic epigraphic and, therefore, also onomastic material from this area is very scanty: a late-fourth-century list of dedicants (G. Bakalakis, "Ανασκαφή ἐν Καβάλα καὶ τοῖς πέριξ", *Praktika* 1938, 90-94, no 1: Dioskourides, Straton, Sosimenes, Phanis, Sosis, Thaliarchos, Alkimachos, Herogeiton), the name of another Straton father of Telesias, an Oisymaian, on an early-second-century inscription from Delphoi (*SGDI* 2600) and the name of the *theorodokos* of the Delphic Apollo in that city in approximately the same period: Epigethes son of Telesias. Almost all the names have Thasian connections –as is only to be expected in a Thasian foundation– and none betrays the presence of settlers from the Old Kingdom, which one would, however, anticipate on the basis of Pseudo-Skymnos (656-70) and of Stephanos Byzantios (*s.v.* Οἰσύμη), who states that the city was refounded by the Macedonians and given the name Emathia. The question is further complicated by the fact that both passages of Livy –the second with some doubt– indicate that Emathia was not east but west of Amphipolis, on the right bank of the Strymon. Papazoglou's (*Villes* 196-198) contention that in these passages Livy is only calling in these passages Thessalonike Emathia, a name that he had found in his source (Polybios), without warning his readers, is clearly desperate. Three solutions are possible: 1) Livy (Polybios) may have committed a mistake as to the relative position of Amphipolis and Oisyme-Emathia, 2) Oisyme after all –and in spite of Pseudo-Skymnos (656) and the list of the Delphic *theorodokoi* (Plassart, "Théorodouques" 18, III 81)– may have stood on the west bank of the Strymon, 3) The identification of Oisyme and Emathia may be as erroneous as that of Thessalonike and Emathia affirmed by Zonaras 12.26. In either of the last two cases Emathia should be sought on the coast west of the Strymon and east of the Rendina pass. Unfortunately, the only Hellenistic site in that area is that of Nea Kerdyllia, which has been identified with Argilos and whose onomastic material, indeed rich in Macedonian names, is discussed below.

3. Galepsos has been identified with the ruins of Gaïdourokastron (cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 399). Its territory has produced several inscriptions. They spread over from the Classical to the Roman period. To the Hellenistic age belong at least six funerary *stelae* with the names of [---]e daughter of Straton (*BullEpigr* 1953, 115), Apollodoros son of Theron (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 443, no 2), Men[---]e (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 443, no 4), Aristoklea daughter of Polydoros (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 443, no 3), Menandros (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 443 no 5), Hegesipolis son of Polemarchides, Hadymos son of Epikrates, Epikrates son of Polemarchides (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 443-44, no 7). It is significant that the names of the last two monuments, the latter of which is not earlier than the second century, indicate the presence of a Macedonian element in the population, whose onomastic traces can be detected well into the second century A.D. (Philotas on a funerary stele dated in the 305th year of the national Macedonian era). Inscriptions using the Macedonian calendar and the national Macedonian era, which

many centuries the original Platonic calendar of Philip's model Greek foundation.<sup>1</sup> It must be no coincidence that, after the creation of the

remained popular in Galepsos throughout the Roman period, appear as early as the first half of the first century; (cf. *BullEpigr* [1978] 302; Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Deltion* 31 1976, *Chronika* 303 with pl. 243ε and 308 with plate 248γ).

1. The earliest inscription dated by the Macedonian calendar and the Macedonian national era was found in the urban centre of Philippoi and belongs to the year 43/42 (Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Deltion* 31 [1976], *Chronika* 301 and pl. 243δ; cf. *BullEpigr* 1987, 713). Other inscriptions using the Macedonian calendar have been found in the territory of Philippoi at Koudounia (Perdrizet, "Philippe" 317) and Eletheroupolis (unpublished, Edson, *Notebooks, First meris*, no 643). The pre-Roman epigraphic –and therefore onomastic– material from Philippoi is scanty. In a dedication to Apollo Komaios and Artemis one can read the name of Diodotos son of Epigenes (*BullEpigr* 1964, 262), in another to the gods of Samothrace those of [---]les son of Philteas, [---]lies son of Exekestos, Apollonios and Apatourios (unpublished, Edson, *Notebooks, First meris* no 589). On the fragmentary deeds of sale of the *hierokerykeia* only the names of the *archon* Xen[on] (?) and of the buyers Histiaios and Pausa[nias] (?) are recognisable (unpublished, Edson, *Notebooks, First Meris*, nos 585; 598; 596). A fragmentary list contains the names of [---]archos, [---]solnos, Pytheas, Stratarchos, Timaios and Tharsynon (Collart, *Philippe* 179-80, with references). From funerary monuments we have the names of Xeno daughter of Prokles (unpublished, Edson, *Notebooks, First meris* no 601), Euephenes son of Exekestos (D.I. Lazaridis, *Deltion* 19 [1964], *Chronika* 373 and pl. 431β), Antipatros son of Timodemos and Armena daughter of Sotas, Xenodike daughter of Philippos, Kratinos son of Noumenios on three different stelae (Lemerle 158-59, nos 54-56). Collart (*Philippe* 177-79, with references) has composed an "external" prosopography of Hellenistic Philippoi including the names of the *proxenoi* of Delphoi [---]krates, Sosikrates, Sosthenes, Sokrates, Timokles sons of Timandros, who had been the *theorodokos* of the Epidaurian Asklepios at Datos (a most conclusive piece of evidence of the permanence of the Thasian population of Datos in the new foundation of Philip II), Hermolykos, a mercenary in Athens, Medon son of Pythias, Iatrokles and Artemidoros (Artamidoros) sons of Minnion, Nikomachos son of Apeimantos, Eupolemos son of Menedemos (Menedamos) *proxenoi* known from a Theban list, finally a *mystes* from Samothrace: Praxon. To these could be added Apellis and Kyrnios sons of Menekles (Pouilloux, *Thasos* 319, no 113 bis), a son of Kallistratos (*SEG* 18 [1962] 235, L. 26), Dorotheos (*SGDI* 2564), Nikostratos son of [---]lon? (B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 13 [1944] 234, no 6) the *theorodokos* of Delphic Apollo, Antinikides son of Epikrates (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 80) the *theorodokos* of the Koan Asklepieion, Herakleodoros son of Aristion (Epigraphic Appendix no 36) and a Philippian settled in Theangela in Caria: Hierokles son of Apollonios. From literary sources Collart (*Philippe* 183-84) collected the names of Marsyas son of Kritophemos, the late Hellenistic historian, and of Adrastos the pupil of Aristotle. The *ethnikon* with which these citizens of Philippoi figure –when they have one– is uniformly Φιλίππευς and never Μακεδών or Μακεδών ἀπὸ Φιλίππων. The only possible exception is Marsyas, who is called by Pliny (*NH* 1.12-13) *Marsyas Macedo*. The qualification Μακεδών ἀπὸ Φιλίππων appears first in Phlegon of Tralleis (*FGrHist* 257 F 37.47 and 49) but the names of his *makrobioi*, Baskia daughter of Astikosos and Phronton son of Alboutios, date from the Roman imperial period. It is however interesting to note that the appearance of the Macedonian name Marsyas (and possibly of the *ethnikon* Makedon) in the later Hellenistic period is not

Roman province of Thrace, Akontisma eventually became the eastern frontier of the Roman province of Macedonia, and that Philippoi with its territory marks the easternmost extent of the Macedonian calendar and of the Macedonian national era, although the Macedonian province, when first founded in the second century, had also included all the Thracian possessions of the Antigonids, which extended as far as the Hebros.<sup>1</sup>

### THE ANNEXATION OF EASTERN MYGDONIA AND THE CHALKIDIKE PENINSULA

The same phenomenon of progressive incorporation can be observed in the New Lands of Chalkidike. When Philip conquered Poteidaia in 356, he expelled the Athenian cleruchs and sold the Poteidaians into slavery, but he did not incorporate the city into the national territory. On the contrary, he granted to the Chalkidians, as former Macedonian kings had done, the use not only of Poteidaia with its territory, but also of Anthemous.<sup>2</sup> There is general agreement that a reversal of policy occurred after 348, and that Philip proceeded to extensive annexations and the distribution of land to Macedonians.<sup>3</sup> The exact modalities of this operation, however, constitute one of the most controversial chapters of Macedonian history. Griffith again

an isolated phenomenon. Out of the more than sixty citizens of Philippoi whom we know by name only seven (Antipatros and his father Timodemus, Armena and her father Sotas, Xenodike and her father Philippos and Pausanias) show a possible Macedonian connection, and all except one (Pausanias) belong, like Marsyas, to the later Hellenistic period. The situation is very similar to that of Galepsos examined above.

The Hellenistic onomastic material from Neapolis: Dieus and Philton sons of Antikrates (*BullEpigr* 1938, 221), Apollophanes (*BullEpigr* 1938, 221), Neotas son of Simylos (unpublished, Edson, *Notebooks, First series* no 563), Syntrophos son of Syntrophos (Demitsas 974 –if it is indeed Hellenistic) and Philton and Apollonides sons of Philton, the Delphic *theorodokoi* (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 82), is too scanty to permit a similar study. For other possible "Neapolitai from Thrace" see the relevant list in the forthcoming book by Argyro Tataki, *A Prosopography of Macedonians outside Macedonia*.

1. On the Thracian possessions of the last Antigonids, see Hatzopoulos, "Antigonides" 80-87 and Loukopoulou 63-81.

2. On the fate of Poteidaia, see Griffith, *Macedonia* II 361, with references; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation 44*; *eiusdem*, *Amphipolis* 66-67.

3. See Griffith, *Macedonia* II 366, with references in n. 3. To the works cited in Griffith's non-exhaustive list of references should be added Paola Zancan's important contribution in the form of an appendix to her monograph ("Su l'annessione della Calcidica al regno di Macedonia" 137-44) and now Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 139-40.



makes an excellent appraisal of the situation,<sup>1</sup> but on some points additional evidence makes further clarification possible.

One should begin with the situation which Philip found at his accession. Eastern Mygdonia was divided between the independent cities of Apollonia and Arethousa.<sup>2</sup> Although it is not certain whether these cities came under Philip's domination during the campaign of Amphipolis (357) or at the time of the Olynthian war,<sup>3</sup> the final settlement concerning them most probably does not antedate 348, as their fate is inseparable from that of the other cities of northern Chalkidike, which were conquered at that time; consequently, it is better understood if examined in the general context of the settlement applied after the dissolution of the Chalkidian League.

On the eve of the war the Κοινὸν τῶν Χαλκιδῆων, a "federal" state with ξυναὶ ἀρχαί, a common eponymous priest, united armed forces, but composed of autonomous cities under local magistrates,<sup>4</sup> seems to have comprised the whole of the Chalkidike south of Mygdonia, with the exception of Akanthos and the other cities of the Akte peninsula.<sup>5</sup> These were independent cities and seem not to have participated in the war. When the hostilities were over, some of the cities of the Chalkidike were (theoretically) still free but had become allies of Macedonia; some had been destroyed; some had not suffered physical destruction, but large tracts of their territories had been confiscated and they had perhaps lost their *polis* status; and, finally, some had been annexed to the national Macedonian territory, usually after receiving a larger or smaller number of Macedonian settlers. As Griffith<sup>6</sup> very aptly points out, the differences in the treatment meted out to them were not always a direct consequence of their behaviour during the war. Political expediency—to a large extent a matter of geopolitical considerations—more than merit seems to have been the determining factor behind Philip's decisions. Physical destruction was the exception, dictated by the desire to make an example.<sup>7</sup> Such a

1. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 365-79.

2. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 192-94.

3. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 157.

4. On the Chalkidian League in its final phase, see Zahrnt, *Olynth* 104-111. The "federal" character of the state has been confirmed by recent epigraphic discoveries, which have also revealed the presence of the "federal" eponymous priest and the local magistrates; see Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 65-70.

5. On the extent of the League on the eve of the war against Philip, see Zahrnt, *Olynth* 106-110; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Donation" 44-45.

6. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 373-74.

7. I disagree with Griffith's opinion (*Macedonia* II 378) that Olynthos' destruction could have been dispensed with, as in the case of Thebes, but was finally decided for

cruel fate was reserved only for Olynthos and Stageira. Philip clearly wanted to signify both to the friends and to the enemies of the hegemonic city of Chalkidike that its supremacy in the region was over, without hope or fear of recovery, and Stageira was destroyed in the heat of the action in the earlier stages of the war.<sup>1</sup>

In the north, Apollonia and Arethousa in eastern Mygdonia, and undoubtedly Argilos in Bisaltia, on the right bank of the Strymon, were eventually incorporated into the national territory, and Therma certainly shared the same fate.<sup>2</sup> The incorporation of Apollonia emerges from the fact that it supplied a squadron of *hetairoi* cavalry to Alexander's expeditionary army,<sup>3</sup> and from the typically "Macedonian" board of its magistrates, as revealed in a Late Hellenistic dedication.<sup>4</sup> The names of the magistrates figuring in the same inscription<sup>5</sup> leave no doubt that its annexation to the national territory as a Macedonian city was accompanied by the establishment of settlers from the Old Kingdom or Upper Macedonia.<sup>6</sup>

The conversion of Arethousa into a Macedonian city is reflected in

economic reasons. Thebes was eventually destroyed fifteen years later for precisely political reasons. As the treatment of the other Chalkidian cities amply shows, there was no need to raze a city to the ground in order to appropriate its lands: massive expulsions and confiscations would have been as effective.

1. Cf. Zahrt, *Olynth* 243; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 317 and 372, with references. I think that the former's arguments for the identification of Diodoros' mysterious Geira (or Zeira) with Stageira are convincing.

2. Cf. Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 140.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 1.12.7. For some recent discussions on the identity of this Apollonia see Zahrt, *Olynth* 155-58; Hammond, *Macedonia* II 194, n. 2; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 368-69; Bosworth, *Commentary* 109-110, with references. Arrian's Apollonia is undoubtedly the Mygdonian one, as Hammond has rightly seen. Griffith's opinion that it was probably the Chalkidian one stems from his failure to understand that the recruitment areas of the Macedonian army were not and could not be mere "administrative centres" but genuine cities. At the time of Alexander the Great's expedition only the Mygdonian Apollonia met this requirement. See now Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia" 161, and N.K. Moutsopoulos, "Η θέση της Μυγδονικής Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἡ παραλίμνια (;) χάραξη τῆς Ἐγνατίας Ὀδοῦ", *Ancient Macedonia* V (Thessalonike 1993) 999-1110.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 66.

5. Hermogenes son of Metrodoros, Stratios son of Paramonos, Admetos son of Parmenion, Antigonos son of Amyntas, Antipatros son of Paramonos; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia" 179-80.

6. This does not mean, however, that the original citizens were expelled or disenfranchised. In fact, the name and the patronymic of the commander of the squadron of Apollonia (Arr., *Anab.* 1.12.7: Σωκράτης ὁ Σάθωνος) betrays no recognisable Macedonian connection.

two Delphic proxeny decrees.<sup>1</sup> While in the first, dated to the middle of the fourth century, the recipient is described as Ἄρεθούσιος ἀπὸ Θράκης, in the second, voted some fifty years later, the *ethnikon* used is Ἄρεθούσιος Μακεδών. The unmistakably "Macedonian" epichoric name of the second recipient,<sup>2</sup> who was possibly a companion of Alexander the Great,<sup>3</sup> leaves little doubt that the incorporation of Arethousa into the national territory was accompanied by the settlement of Macedonian colonists.

No such decisive argument can be adduced in the case of Argilos in Bisaltia. Strabo describes it as a city.<sup>4</sup> But he is the only post-fourth-century source to mention it, and the context of his citation makes it highly improbable that he was using contemporary information. In fact, the mention of cities like Apollonia (in Pieris), Daton, Myrkinos and Drabeskos point to a source earlier than the first half of the fourth century. Equally inconclusive are the single deed of sale<sup>5</sup> and the dozen of funerary inscriptions discovered among the ruins of the city.<sup>6</sup> The first editor of the deed of sale attributed it to Amphipolis and dated it to the second half of the fourth century.<sup>7</sup> The document, however, presents a number of original characteristics, which set it apart from most of the similar deeds from Amphipolis. These same original characteristics reinforce the palaeographic considerations which suggest an earlier date than that proposed by the editor, in the middle of the fourth century. The systematic study and publication of all the deeds of sale from Amphipolis and the surrounding area has now established that this document certainly antedates the conquest of Argilos by Philip.<sup>8</sup> For this reason, it throws little light on the subsequent fate of the city. From the funerary inscriptions, half of which bear "Macedonian" names,<sup>9</sup> one can only deduce that the site contin-

1. *FdD* III 1, 154 and 186 and p. 106, n. 1; cf. G. Daux, "Contributions récentes de l'épigraphie à l'histoire de la Macédoine antique", *Ancient Macedonia* II (Thessalonike 1977) 324-25, with references.

2. Poulydamas. The earlier *proxenos* from Arethousa is called Theodoros. Our unique funerary inscription from that city (Aikaterini Rhomiopoulou, "New Inscriptions in the Archeological Museum, Thessaloniki", *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* [Thessalonike 1981] 299, no 1), dating from the first half of the fourth century, shows Ionic inflections (Γέρων Ἐλικύδεο).

3. Cf. Berve II 322-23, no 648.

4. Strabo 7, fgr. 33.

5. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 14-19, no I.

6. See p. 389-90, below.

7. Lazaridis, "Contrats" 426-29.

8. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 73-74.

9. The early-fourth-century funerary monuments without exception bear Ionic names: Mnesagores son of Hegesippos; Arthmios son of Lak[---] (*SEG* 30 [1980]

ued to be occupied and that it received significant number of settlers from the Old Kingdom or Upper Macedonia. From the above evidence no firm conclusion can be drawn regarding the status of the old Andrian colony, but the odds are against its having a continued autonomous existence. It was most likely annexed to the territory of Amphipolis.

South of Mygdonia, the valley of Anthemous, too, was incorporated into the national territory. Although the site of Strepsa (Basilika) seems to have been abandoned, the site of Anthemous (Galatista) shows continuous occupation from Classical throughout Hellenistic and Roman times.<sup>1</sup> The survival of Anthemous as an autonomous city is confirmed by the mention of an Anthemousian squadron of *hetairoi* cavalry, which took part in the Asian expedition of Alexander the Great,<sup>2</sup> and by one Late Hellenistic<sup>3</sup> and one Early Roman decree<sup>4</sup> from Galatista. The existence of a typically "Macedonian" board of magistrates in Hellenistic times,<sup>5</sup> and the mention of citizens with Macedonian epichoric names<sup>6</sup> leave little

547-48). Out of the ten Hellenistic funerary inscriptions published by Perdrizet ("Voyage" 432-34, nos 1-10) only two (nos 6 and 10), which belong to a Corinthian and a manumitted slave, show no Macedonian trace at all. The others betray the Macedonian connection of those in whose memory they were erected, either through the epichoric character of the names or the dialect form of their declension (no 3): Dionysophanes son of Attalos (no 1); Hadeia daughter of Philippos (no 2); Dion son of Athenagoras (no 3); [G]aiteas son of [La]gos (no 4); Pausanias son of Stratokles (no 5); Matero daughter of [---] (no 7); Antigona daughter of Menelaos, Peukestes son of Eurylochos, Nikadas son of [---] (no 8); Nikostratos son of Aineias (no 9). Another Hellenistic funerary stele, published by Daphne Hereward (*SEG* 24 [1969] 609) presents names and patronymics that are either typically Macedonian (Holoichos, Amyntas) or which would not be out of place in Macedonia (Aristo, Noumenios, Meto, Proxenos).

1. On the sites and the antiquities of Galatista and Basilika see Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 58-59, n. 154-156, and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 35-39, with references.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 2.9.3. Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 367-70; Bosworth, *Commentary* 211. Bosworth shares the same misunderstanding with Griffith, which goes back to Hampl 32-33. In Anthemous as in Apollonia we are not dealing with a simple distribution of estates in an otherwise unorganised territory, but with the (re)foundation of Macedonian cities, of which Alexander the Great's cavalrymen were regular citizens.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 49.

4. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 44-48, no A2 = *SEG* 42 (1992) 558.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 68.

6. From the limited pre-Roman material from Galatista we have the names of Iolas in the Hellenistic decree (Epigraphic Appendix no 49) and of Polemon son of Hipponikos on a funerary stele (*SEG* 2 [1924] 411 = Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 56, no A10), which denote a Macedonian connection. Also typically Macedonian is the name of the commander of Alexander the Great's Anthemousian squad-

doubt that it received Macedonian settlers and was incorporated into the national territory. One would expect that Strepsa would have shared the same fate with Anthemous, to which it was closely associated.<sup>1</sup> However, for reasons at which we can only guess, although all its ancient inhabitants were not expelled but continued to possess land along with the Crown, it suffered extensive confiscations and eventually lost its status of city and was incorporated into the vast territory of Kassandreia.<sup>2</sup> Its last public document is a deed of sale of the middle of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup>

There is no pre-Roman epigraphic evidence for Aineia and Dikaia, which were located on the coast of the Thermaic Gulf west of the Anthemous valley,<sup>4</sup> but this is of no great consequence: if they were not incorporated into the Macedonian national territory in 348, which is very likely, since typical Macedonian burials were discovered at Nea Mechaniona, the site of ancient Aineia, attesting to the settlement of Macedonian colonists in the third quarter of the fourth century,<sup>5</sup> they were some thirty years later, when they were included into the territory of Thessalonike.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, we do not know whether the rich "Macedonian" onomastic material from Thessalonike dates from the foundation of the city by Cassander or from an earlier colonisation and refoundation of Therma as a Macedonian city under the reign of Philip. The recent discovery at Toumba, one of the possible sites of

ron Peroidas son of Menestheus (Arr., *Anab.* 2.9.3). On the other hand, the names and patronymics of the three *archontes* in the dedication to Demeter (Epigraphic Appendix no 68: [---]chios son of Philinos, Sosigenes son of Dameas and Dionysios son of Tralis) show that not only the pre-Macedonian Greek population, but also the pre-Greek population as well remained in Anthemous and was integrated into the citizen body. See now Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 65-67.

1. Cf. Aischin. 2.27.

2. See Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 41-43.

3. Chr. Makaronas, "Χρονικά αρχαιολογικά 1940-1950", *Makedonika* 2 (1940-1952) 621, no 45 and fig. 10 and Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 42, n. 5 with plate X.

4. For the precise location of these cities, see Zahrt, *Olynth* 142-44 and 181-82.

5. Vokotopoulou, *Τύμβοι*.

6. The exact relationship between Thessalonike and Aineia after the foundation of the former is not altogether clear. Aineia is mentioned as an autonomous city in the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III, L. 75) and by Livy (40.4.9; 44.10.7; 32.8; 45.30.4) in his account of second century Macedonian history (cf. *BullEpigr* 1987, 680). The problem is further complicated by the use of the *ethnikon* Θεσσαλονικεύς on a funerary monument discovered at Epanomi, although its late date makes its evidence about the status of the area far from decisive (Feissel-Sève, "Chalcidique" 288-89, no 11 and fig. 26; for the use of *ethnika* inside the civic territory of Macedonian cities in Roman times, cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 50-51 and Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 62-63). On the problem of the autonomy of the city, see now Papazoglou, *Villes* 418.

ancient Therma, of a *kantharos* with a dedicatory inscription by a Macedonian lady seems to favour the latter hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence from cities south of Anthemous and Mygdonia tells a different, more protracted and more complex story. It seems that the cities of Bottike, of both its northern and its southern part, which had been members of the Chalkidian League or had simply sided with it,<sup>2</sup> suffered extensive expropriation and confiscation of property: of the seven known Bottiaian cities there is positive evidence that five were converted partly or entirely into royal land. In southern Bottike, in the reign of Philip, there was distribution of land to prominent Macedonians in the ancient territory of Sinos and, under the reign of Alexander, in Spartolos.<sup>3</sup> Under the reign of Alexander, too, there was distribution of land in northern Bottike, but of a different kind. Instead of *viritim* grants to Macedonian grandees, Kalindioia, Tripoai, Kamakai and Thamiskos were made the object of an outright donation to the Macedonian Commonwealth, were opened up for colonisation, and were refounded as a Macedonian city.<sup>4</sup> The onomastic material,<sup>5</sup> the cults<sup>6</sup> and the dialect<sup>7</sup> amply attest that, although the ancient inhabitants were neither expelled nor disenfranchised, the new colonists acquired a political and cultural preponderance.<sup>8</sup>

Similar conditions seem to have prevailed in Olynthos itself and the central Chalkidian territories. Olynthos was razed to the ground and most –if not all– of its inhabitants were dispossessed, expelled, killed, or sold into slavery. The territory of the former capital of the League was converted into royal land. Distributions of part of it to high-ranking Macedonians took place as early as the reign of Philip.

1. *BullEpigr* 1990, 474.

2. On the relations between Olynthos and the Bottiaioi during the last years of the Chalkidian League, see Zahrt, *Olynth* 176-78. A deed of sale recently discovered near Rodokepos, probably the ancient site of Spartolos, and presented by I. Papangelos at the international conference *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Μακεδονίας* held at Thessalonike in December 1993, leaves no doubt that this city belonged to the Chalkidian League shortly before its destruction by Philip II.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 20; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 24; 30; 42.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 62; cf. *BullEpigr* 1988, 847 and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 112-17.

5. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 117-22.

6. Cf. the cults of Apollo Pythios (for his cult at Aigeai, see K.A. Rhomaios, *Ὁ μακεδονικός τάφος τῆς Βεργίνας* [Athens 1951] 12-13) and Artemis Hagemona (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 80-82, no K3).

7. Cf. the dialect form Hagemona of the epithet of Artemis.

8. As in Lete, the survival of the pre-Hellenic population is warranted by its subsequent reemergence in Roman times (cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 117-22).

This is unambiguously asserted by Diodoros<sup>1</sup> and confirmed both by other literary<sup>2</sup> evidence and by inscriptions, which refer to grants of property on the "table" (Trapezous), the hill to the south-east of the city. Much of the land, however, remained in the direct possession of the Crown, as it appears from the continuation of the royal donations until well into the third century.<sup>3</sup>

The fact of very extensive confiscations, combined with the absence—from our admittedly only document—<sup>4</sup> of any trace of non-Macedonian holders in the territory of Sermylia, may well indicate that its inhabitants, too, shared the fate of those of Olynthos and Stageira, who were also dispersed, whether they were enslaved or obliged to flee.<sup>5</sup>

For the other cities of the League we have very little or no evidence.<sup>6</sup>

We also have a series of eight deeds of sale from two ancient sites in central Chalkidike, Kellion and Smixi, which are probably to be identified with Stolos and Polichne respectively.<sup>7</sup> They are dated by eponymous priests who are also known from similar documents from Olynthos, Torone and Spartolos, and one of them is also dated by an *epistates*, Nikon son of Oporis. The mention of the *epistates* might be taken as an indication of a date later than the Macedonian conquest. However, such an inference is contradicted by all other internal and external evidence of the inscription<sup>8</sup> and these deeds of sale can, therefore, give us no indication about the fate of Stolos and Polichne. The fact that they are never heard of again in Hellenistic or Roman times is probably a sign that they did not fare any better than Sermylia.<sup>9</sup>

1 . Diod. 16.53.3.

2 . Dem. 19.145.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 20 and 22; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 45-46.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 22.

5 . Plut., *Alex.* 7.3; cf. Zahmt, *Olynth* 243.

6 . Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III, L. 88 had read the name of Assera on the great catalogue of the *theorodokoi* of Delphoi. In fact, as J. Oulhen, who is preparing a new edition of the catalogue, and myself have independently concluded, the correct reading of the entry is Abdara, a form of the name of the city of Abdera in Thrace.

7 . Six of them were published and extensively discussed in Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 15-40; for a seventh, see *Bullepigr* 1990, 481; an eighth remains unpublished.

8 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 67-68.

9 . Vokotopoulou, "Χώρα" 125-30, maintains that the inscription inv. no 6128 of the Thessalonike Museum (Epigraphic Appendix no 4) dates from the reign of Demetrios Poliorcetes and that the cities mentioned therein were situated in south-eastern Chalkidike. In fact the inscription dates from the reign of Philip II and con-

Griffith cautiously deduces from the fact that Mekyberna remained inhabited until the foundation of Kassandreia that its population stayed unharmed and that there was no Macedonian colonisation. He also makes the same deduction about Poteidaia.<sup>1</sup>

The end of a city as a political organism should not be confused, however, with its physical annihilation. The survival of a number of Olynthians in their home city after the destruction of 348 has been deduced from the continued occupation of the north-west quarter of the city until the end of the fourth century, at least, as is amply attested by the discovery there of a significant number of fourth-century Macedonian coins.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of an early-third-century inscription,<sup>3</sup> mentioning non-Macedonian holders in the territory of Olynthos (Trapezous), and the appearance of the name of Olynthos itself in a second-century A.D. inscription found in the neighbourhood of the city<sup>4</sup> prove beyond doubt that all the ancient population of the city was not exterminated or dispersed, and that a community of this name survived, probably as a *kome*, long after the destruction of the former capital of the Chalkidian League and the foundation of Kassandreia on its territory.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, as has already been stressed, there is unambiguous evidence not only of confiscation but also of distribution of land to Macedonians in the territory of Olynthos. The epigraphic material is scanty, but the little that exists may help us not so much to evaluate the accuracy of this view, which is beyond doubt, as to answer the related query: were these Macedonians to whom royal land, confiscated from the previous inhabitants, was granted, exclusively high-ranking absentee landlords, or also very present colonists of a more humble origin?

The first piece of evidence comes precisely from the part of the city which survived the destruction of 348. It is a funerary inscription for a number of Macedonians.<sup>6</sup> Owing to the fragmentary state of the monument, only the name of one Leonidas son of Derdas can be read today. The editor proposes no date for the document, but the letter

cerns the region between Mount Kissos and the Ammites river (*BullEpigr* 1990, 473; Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 123-45.

1. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 361 and 372-74.

2. Zahmt, *Olynth* 116, with references.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 22.

4. Ph. Petsas, "Χρονικά ἀρχαιολογικά 1966-1967" *Makedonika* 9 (1969) 186, no 123.

5. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 64-65; cf. L. Robert, "Hellenistica", *REA* 1934, 521 (=OMSIII 1570); Zahmt, *Olynth* 115-17; Papazoglou, *Villes* 426-27.

6. D.M. Robinson, "Inscriptions from Olynthus, 1934", *TAPA* 65 (1934) 132-33, no 8.



forms belong to the middle of the fourth century and are certainly earlier than those of the grants of Cassander (the middle bar of the *epsilon* is longer, the hastae of the *sigma* more divergent and, in particular, the *omega* more open).<sup>1</sup> It is more reasonable not to explain away this inscription as a historical and topographical coincidence, but to recognise in these Macedonians the inhabitants of the north-western quarter, where colonists from the Old Kingdom had apparently come to join the surviving, probably pre-Macedonian Olynthians. Another fourth-century inscription, with a typically Macedonian name and coming from the same general area provides an additional argument in favour of this interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

The use of the *ethnikon* Μακεδόνες implies incontrovertibly that the Macedonian settlers named in the inscription had not yet formed a Macedonian political unit but considered themselves Macedonians *in partibus*. This, however, was not the case for long, at least not in all the conquered cities. In the region north-east of Olynthos we know that Philip himself (unless it was Alexander) refounded Stageira.<sup>3</sup> It seems, however, that the city was incorporated into the national territory, since along with the surviving original inhabitants it received Macedonian settlers, as both literary and epigraphic sources attest.<sup>4</sup> Macedonian colonisation, as we have already noted, and incorporation into the national territory were also the ultimate fate of Kalindoia, Kamakai, Tripoai and Thamiskos, presumably at 334, at the beginning of the reign of Alexander the Great. This is the implication both of the wording of its oldest inscription (ἀφ' οὗ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδωκε Μακεδόσι Καλίνδοια καὶ τὰ χωρία τὰ περὶ Καλίνδοια...) and of its constitution, which we have examined above.<sup>5</sup>

1 . For the letter forms in this area in the middle and second half of the fourth century, cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 58-59, with plates X-XVIII and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 136-38, with plates LXXXVIII-XC.

2 . D.M. Robinson, "New Inscriptions from Olynthus and Environs", *TAPA* 62 (1931) 53-54, no 5.

3 . Zahmt, *Olynth* 243; Papazoglou, *Villes* 435, with references. The refoundation of Stageira by Philip II transmitted by our literary sources seems to have been confirmed by the discovery of a "Hellenistic" wall on the site of the city. See now K. Sismanides, "Ἐρευνες στὴν ἀρχαία Κασσάνδρεια καὶ τὰ ἀρχαία Στάγειρα", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 (Thessalonike 1993) 377; cf. *eiusdem*, "Ἀνασκαφές στὴν ἀρχαία Σκιώνη καὶ τὰ ἀρχαία Στάγειρα κατὰ τὸ 1991", *AEMΘ* 5, 1991 (Thessalonike 1994) 319-33.

4 . Nikanor from Stageira had a typically Macedonian name. The same is perhaps true of the name or divine epithet ΑΓΕΜΟ[--] read in an inscription discovered on the site of the city (Ph. Petsas, "Χρονικά ἀρχαιολογικά 1968-70", *Makedonika* 15 [1975] 251; cf. Hamp 33).

5 . See p. 156-58, above.

Should one see in this contrast between the fates of the cities of the northern and of the central parts of the peninsula an intentional policy, distinguishing lands close to the kingdom destined to be incorporated into the national territory from regions in central Chalkidike, which, like eastern Mygdonia and Anthemous in earlier times, were meant to remain royal lands, forming a buffer zone between the national territory and the theoretically independent "allied" cities of the three southern prongs of the peninsula? This is the most probable interpretation.

The extreme south and south-eastern regions of the Chalkidian peninsula seem to have been spared both destruction and Macedonian colonisation during the reigns of Philip and Alexander. This appears to be the case not only of Akanthos<sup>1</sup> and of the cities of Akte,<sup>2</sup> which were never part of the Chalkidian League, but also of Mende, Skione and Aphytis<sup>3</sup> and even of Torone, which had offered resistance to Philip.<sup>4</sup> They all remained autonomous Greek *poleis*, probably free "allies" of Philip, as a passage of Isokrates suggests.<sup>5</sup> Eventually they, too, were incorporated into the Macedonian national territory, but at the end of a protracted and complex evolution, whose decisive step was the foundation of Kassandreaia.

### CASSANDER'S POLICY IN THE CHALKIDIKE PENINSULA

Diodoros (Hieronymos) gives a very clear picture of exactly what Cassander was doing when he founded the city which he named after himself: "He also founded on Pallênê a city called Kassandreaia after his own name, uniting with it as one city the cities of the peninsula, Potidaea, and a considerable number of neighbouring towns. He also settled in this city those of the Olynthians who survived, not few in number".<sup>6</sup> From this and other additional evidence there is no doubt about the extent of the territory of the new city in the Pallene peninsula: it comprised the entire peninsula and, whatever their degree of local self-government, Aphytis, Mende and Skione certainly became

1 . Cf. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 150; Papazoglou, *Villes* 433-34.

2 . Cf. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 152.

3 . Cf. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 169; 202-203; 235-36; Papazoglou, *Villes* 427-29.

4 . Diod. 16.53.2; cf. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 250; Papazoglou, *Villes* 429-30.

5 . Isok. 5.20: τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον τὰς μὲν ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεως πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν προσήκτα, τὰς δὲ σφόδρα λυπούσας αὐτὸν ἀναστάτους πεποιήκεν.

6 . Diod. 19.52.2 (transl. by C.B. Welles).

*komai* of Kassandreia. North of the isthmus, in addition to the territory of Poteidaia, the new city seems to have inherited the territories of all the cities of the Chalkidian League south of Anthemous and Stageira, including the lands of the southern Bottic cities (Spartolos, Sinos etc.), those of Strepsa, Olynthos<sup>1</sup> and Sermylia, some of which seem to have survived only as *komai*, but whose names remained long attached to the territories which they once possessed. The territory of the new city extended as far east as Piloros and probably comprised the whole of the Sithonia peninsula. Vast tracts of royal land, technically outside the city's boundaries, subsisted until the end of the Macedonian independence. This is relatively well known.<sup>2</sup> What has not always been sufficiently stressed is the markedly non-Macedonian character of the foundation. Diodoros, however, is explicit: the city was destined for the inhabitants of the Greek cities of Pallene, which, as we have seen, had remained unscathed and became free allies,<sup>3</sup> for the inhabitants of Poteidaia, but above all for the surviving Olynthians, who formed the most important section of the population of the new city (οὐκ ὀλίγους).<sup>4</sup> Olynthos, the Chalkidian League, "the worst enemies of the Macedonians" (Ὀλυνθίους ὄντας πολεμιωτάτους Μακεδόνων) was being resurrected practically within its pristine frontiers.<sup>5</sup> As Zahrnt very aptly points out, the Epidaurians, like the other Greeks, did not miss the point and when updating their list of *theorodokoi* added the new entry ἐν Κασσανδρείαι next to the old entry of Olynthos and not next to that of Poteidaia, although there was actually no shortage of space on the stone and Kassandreia was founded on the site of the latter city.<sup>6</sup> One can well imagine how the foundation of Kassandreia was exploited in the propaganda war of Antigonos against Cassander, the more so that among "the soldiers and the visiting Macedonians" in the former's camp in Asia<sup>7</sup> there certainly must have been some who had settled in the ancient Chalkidian territories and possessed land there.<sup>8</sup> Their genuine indig-

1. Where the north quarter as well as Mekiyberna were not abandoned (Robinson, *Excavations* VIII 9-10; Robinson-Clement 363, 372-74).

2. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 45-47, with references.

3. Alexander, "Cassandreia" 128-29, suggests that Pantainos, the *rogator* of the decree from Kassandreia (Epigraphic Appendix no 44) is the son of a citizen of Mende.

4. Diod. 19.52.2.

5. Diod. 19.61.2.

6. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 119.

7. Diod. 19.61.1.

8. For the significance of the foundation of Kassandreia, see Zahrnt, *Olynth* 119, and now Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 45-47; *eiusdem*, "Cassandrée" 576-77.

nation at what amounted to high treason was compounded and exacerbated by fear of dispossession. This also helps to explain why Cassander had to reassure the possessors of royal land in the territory of Kassandreia and to reaffirm the validity of previous, even hereditary, grants.<sup>1</sup> The reason for their reaffirmation is to be sought not in a hypothetical limitation of the grants to the duration of a dynasty or the life span of a king and the subsequent need for a reconfirmation in case of a change,<sup>2</sup> but in the foundation of Kassandreia, which naturally affected, or might appear to affect, ancient holdings in its territory.<sup>3</sup>

The consequences of the contemporary foundation of Ouranopolis by Alexarchos, the brother of Cassander, cannot be fully evaluated for lack of sufficient evidence. It is in any case certain that it did not bring about the –permanent at least– disappearance of neighbouring Akanthos, which continues to be mentioned in our sources,<sup>4</sup> for the new city was not founded on the territory of Akanthos, but on that of Sane.<sup>5</sup> It is also certain that in the case of Ouranopolis, too, royal land was used not for distribution among Macedonians, but for the foundation of an independent Greek city.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of the foundation of Kassandreia is better understood when it is compared to the foundation of Thessalonike, which was radically different, had opposite consequences and, like Cassander's marriage with Philip's daughter, was perhaps intended to mitigate the indignation of the Macedonians. It is no coincidence that the foundation of Thessalonike was never used as an argument in the propaganda war against Cassander. Thessalonike was from the beginning a Macedonian city, as its constitution,<sup>7</sup> its calendar,<sup>8</sup> not to

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 20; cf. 21.

2. Cf. Errington, "Style" 24; Rosen, *King* 71-75; Rostowzew, *Studien* 252.

3. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 48-49.

4. Zahrt, *Olynth* 150, with references, to which should be added the Hellenistic decree from Abdera in honour of Philon son of Python, published by Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard, "Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace", *BCH* 37 (1913) 122-37, no 39.

5. Zahrt, *Olynth* 209-210; I.A. Papangelos, "Οὐρανοπόλεως τοπογραφικά", *Ancient Macedonia* V (Thessalonike 1993) 1155-1187. The author (p. 1168) believes that Akanthos was initially subsumed into the territory of Ouranopolis, but that subsequently the old Andrian colony regained its autonomy and superseded the new royal foundation; cf. *eiusdem*, "Περὶ τῆς Οὐρανοπόλεως", *Μῆκος καὶ πλάτος* 1 (1989) 40-42; Julia Vokotopoulou-Elizabeth Tsigarida, "Ανασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὰ Νέα Ρόδα Χαλκιδικῆς", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 (Thessalonike 1993) 455-68.

6. The independent status of Ouranopolis emerges both from its original institutions and from its right to issue its own coinage (cf. Zahrt, *Olynth* 210).

7. See p. 150-51, 154, 156-59, above.

8. Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 52.

mention its rich onomastic material,<sup>1</sup> amply attest. Its foundation had the further effect of incorporating into the national territory the remaining north-western part of the Chalkidike peninsula with the formerly independent Greek cities of Aineia and Dikaia, and of the hinterland of the Thermaic Gulf as far east as Kalindoia, with the small cities of the Rhamioi, Paraipioi, Eugeis (?) Kisseitai, Osbaioi, Prasilioi (?), and perhaps Ardrolioi (Gerdrolioi ?), to which should be added Therma, Ole, Altos, Perdylos, Gareskos, Nibas, as well as Sindos, and Chalastra to the west of the Gulf, all in all some 26 *πολίσιμα*<sup>2</sup> which –whatever degree of local self-government was left to them– now became *komai* of the great metropolis. The southern boundary of the territory of Thessalonike, and for a time of the national Macedonian territory itself, ran between Aineia (Nea Mechaniona) and Cape Epanomi, which, as an inscription found in its vicinity seems to indicate did not belong to it.<sup>3</sup>

#### ANTIGONOS GONATAS' POLICY IN THE CHALKIDIKE PENINSULA

Kassandreia had a tumultuous existence as an independent state.<sup>4</sup> It gave refuge to King Demetrios Poliorketes, when he lost Macedonia to Pyrrhos, and his wife Phila committed suicide there. It seems to have been refounded by Lysimachos, who received a cult there and perhaps made it one of his royal residences. After his death it remained faithful to his widow Arsinoe, and Ptolemy Keraunos was able to capture it only by trickery. A few years later it gave refuge to another queen, Eurydike, the mother of Ptolemaios Keraunos, who garrisoned it with Macedonian troops. It recovered its freedom and an unprecedented degree of independence, concluding international treaties as a sovereign power with Antiochos I and with the Lacedaemonians, only to fall victim to tyranny and social revolution under the *strategos* and demagogue Apollodoros. The tyrant was finally expelled in 276, when Antigonos Gonatas conquered the city after a

1. See Mihailov, "Aspects" 69-84.

2. Cf. Despoina Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, "Χώρα Θεσσαλονίκης: μία προσπάθεια οριοθέτησης", *Μνήμη Λαζαρίδη* (Thessalonique 1990) 99-107, with Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 123-45. The foundation of Thessalonike was the object of a lecture which I gave at the University of Cologne in June 1990.

3. Feissel-Sève, "Chalcidique" 288-89, no 11.

4. E. Meyer, "Poteidaia-Kassandreia", *RE Suppl.* X (Stuttgart 1965) 628-31; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 583-84, with references.

siege of ten months. The new Macedonian conquest sealed the end of Kassandreia's independent existence. Apollodoros and his international alliances with the Seleucids and Sparta must have revived the worst Macedonian memories of the Chalkidian League. Fourteen years later, judging from the *asylia* decree for the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos, the Kassandreians were indistinguishable from "the other Macedonians" (τοὺς λοιποὺς Μακεδόνας).<sup>1</sup> Kassandreia had been incorporated into the national territory. Describing its siege during the third Macedonian War, Livy (Polybios) also speaks of "the rest of Macedonia" (*ceterae Macedoniae*).<sup>2</sup> The *asylia* decree shows that some elements of its old constitution, such as the boards of the *strategoï* and the *nomophylakes*, for a time at least, remained unaltered. The change of status was made tangible by the introduction of the Macedonian calendar, which replaced the old "Platonic" one, as we learn from a document from Hagios Mamas, which until recently had been misinterpreted and neglected<sup>3</sup> and from the new decrees from the site of the city itself.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that the incorporation of Kassandreia into Macedonia was part of a larger programme of Antigonos Gonatas, if we should attribute to him, as is very likely, the foundations of Antigoneia,<sup>5</sup> after his own name, and of Stratonikeia, after the name of his sister.<sup>6</sup> The first comprised the territory of Krousis between the *chora* of Thessalonike and that of Kassandreia. The second extended north of Akanthos and perhaps comprised the territory of Stageira, the attempted revival of which had not produced the expected results.<sup>7</sup> Antigonos, despite his interest in philosophic speculation, seems to have been unwilling to take risks. Both cities received contingents of Macedonian colonists, as the onomastic material<sup>8</sup> as well as the

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 47.

2. Livy 44.11.2.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 48.

4. Epigraphic Appendix nos 45 and 46.

5. Cf. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 155; Papazoglou, *Villes* 419-21.

6. Cf. Zahrnt, *Olynth* 244; Papazoglou, *Villes* 432-33. The latter has disputed the traditional identification of Stratonikeia with modern Stratoni, but without reason, as the recent excavations have shown (Helen Trakosopoulou in *AEMΘ* 7, 1993, forthcoming).

7. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 435-36 and p. 198, above.

8. From Antigoneia come, besides a Hellenistic (Epigraphic Appendix no 81) and some Imperial inscriptions with "Panhellenic" or Roman names, a gold tablet with a typical Macedonian patronymic: Κλέαρχος Ἀμύντα, which was part of the Papailiaki Collection. Several Antigonians are also attested in literary texts and inscriptions discovered outside their city. At least three of them (Archippos, Aridaïos, Timokrates sons of Archidamos) belong to a family originating from the Old Kingdom

cults<sup>1</sup> indicate, and were probably endowed with a Macedonian constitution, if my suggestion concerning the eponymous priesthood of Asklepios in Antigoneia is correct.<sup>2</sup> It seems that in Chalkidike, a chapter opened a hundred years earlier, under Philip II, was definitely closed with Gonatas' reign. Torone, Akanthos, and perhaps some cities of the Akte peninsula do not seem to have undergone violent change. The old habit of referring to the citizens by the simple *ethnikon* of their city persisted into the second century B.C.,<sup>3</sup> but, as in the case of Kassandreaia, it must by then have been void of any constitutional significance.<sup>4</sup> By the reign of Antigonos Gonatas or later – though not much later – the whole of the Chalkidike peninsula had become a part of Macedonia indistinguishable from the rest.<sup>5</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, from the beginning of the fifth century, when we get our first glimpse of the Macedonian kingdom, to the conquest of Macedonia by the Romans in 168, the possessions of the Macedonian kings were always more extensive than the lands inhabited by Macedonian citizens: they also comprised subject or "allied" cities and peoples and spear-won (δορικήτος) royal land. We do not know what was the exact status of these cities in Classical times, but what we do know about Demetrias,<sup>6</sup> Abdera, Maroneia and Ainos<sup>7</sup> –or Kassandreaia and Philippoi before their incorporation– should give us, *mutatis mutandis*, a fairly accurate idea of the position of "allied" cities in

(Epigraphic Appendix no 38 and Argyro Tataki, in her forthcoming monograph on the prosopography of Macedonians outside Macedonia). There is no external prosopography of Stratonikeia –at least for the time being– but three Late Hellenistic funerary monuments from Stratonikeia (*SEG* 24 [1969] 575-577 and *BullEpigr* 1966, 242) have revealed to us the names of Nikoptelema daughter of Epilykos, Herodoros son of Theagenes, Aphthonetos son of Arissteas and Hedisste daughter of Hermias. Of these, the first bears a typically Macedonian name.

1 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 70 and 81.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 81; cf. p. 154, above, and now Voutiras, "Λατρεία" 259.

3 . Cf. Argyro Tataki, *A Prosopography of Macedonians outside Macedonia* (forthcoming).

4 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 583-84.

5 . As the calendar used in the inscriptions of the Roman period clearly indicates; cf. Zahnt, *Olynth* 114-15.

6 . Cf. F. Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien* (Stuttgart 1924) 68-75; F. Stählin-E. Meyer, *Pagasai und Demetrias* (Berlin-Leipzig 1934).

7 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 379-82; Martin 184-95; Lorber 63-76.

Classical times. In addition to the exclusive use of the civic *ethnika* and the particular calendars and magistrates, the cities of eastern Macedonia and Chalkidike seem to have enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy before their incorporation into the national territory. It is not coincidental that the proxeny decrees of "Macedonia", with one exception,<sup>1</sup> come from these districts: Philippoi<sup>2</sup> and possibly the city of the Akrothooi<sup>3</sup> and Kassandreia,<sup>4</sup> the last, which is the only one to have a secure chronology, dating from before the crucial reign of Antigonos Gonatas. As we shall see below, this privileged situation of the allied cities must account for the fact that Philippoi could issue its own coinage well before the great reforms of the second century,<sup>5</sup> and could grant exemption from import and export taxes,<sup>6</sup> which in Macedonia proper were "federal" taxes and could therefore be remitted only by decision of the central authorities.<sup>7</sup>

We know less about the royal land. Part of it was retained –but in trust and for future use—<sup>8</sup> and exploited directly by the kings.<sup>9</sup> Some of it was rented to entrepreneurs and some of it was granted to individuals on a more or less permanent basis.<sup>10</sup> Although there is reason to believe that in some cases, especially when the grant was hereditary (ἐμ πατρικοῖς) and the grantee the citizen of a city whose territory marched directly with the land granted, Crown land was converted into privately owned civic land (πολιτικὴ χώρα),<sup>11</sup> the basically revocable nature of grants of Crown land persisted to the end of the Macedonian independence.<sup>12</sup>

Both Hampl's thesis, stressing the dual nature of the Macedonian state and land,<sup>13</sup> and Rosen's reaction in his unpublished dissertation, where he insists on the non-personal character of the royal posses-

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 55.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 37.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 43.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 44.

5 . On the coinage of Philippoi, see Le Rider 438-39.

6 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 38.

7 . See p. 434-35, 439-40, below.

8 . Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.9: κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδεῖξαι θησαυροὺς ἔμους ὃ τι μὴ ταῦτα, ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἔνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται.

9 . Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 1.16.6; Berve I 173.

10 . See p. 434, below.

11 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 29-35 and 48-49.

12 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 17. For reasons unknown to us the land of Korrhagos had reverted to the Crown and been made available for the King to grant to Nikanor and his Euiestai.

13 . Hampl 10-56.



sions,<sup>1</sup> are to a certain degree justified. It can indeed be argued that the Macedonian kings granted freedom to "allies", or gave away or retained conquests, not as private persons but as magistrates of the Macedonian state.<sup>2</sup> The fact remains, however, that these cities or territories were not part of Macedonia proper. The cities "over which Perdikkas rules"<sup>3</sup> in the treaty with Athens include both those of the national territory and those of the subject "allies".<sup>4</sup> The same applies to the similar clause of Amyntas III's treaty with the Chalkidians: Ἐάν τις ἐπ' Ἀμύνταν ἴη ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ πολέμοι.<sup>5</sup> When Philip II uses the expression: "my land",<sup>6</sup> he may mean equally the national Macedonian territory or his external possessions. Polybios in Livy and Appian attributes to Philip V and Perseus the same ambiguous use of the expression *mei regni*. When Perseus says that *Abrupolis fines mei regni usque ad Amphipolim pervastasset*,<sup>7</sup> he may mean either all his possessions from Thrace westwards or only the properly Macedonian part of his *arche*; both had suffered from Abroupolis' hordes, who seem to have reached the walls of Amphipolis. When, a few paragraphs later, the same king says that the Dolopians were *mei regni, meae dicionis* (cf. τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς),<sup>8</sup> he clearly refers to external possessions, to subject allies to whom he had imposed a governor (*praefectum a me impositum*). When, Philip V uses the same expression (*regni mei fuisse*) for the Orestai,<sup>9</sup> however, it conceals an entirely different reality. These are *civitates Macedonum*,<sup>10</sup> not simply cities of Macedonia, but cities of the Macedonians, which, however small or remote, had for the Macedonian king an infinitely greater value than the rich plains of Thessaly, the strategic cities of Thrace, and all the other possessions that he had lost. By their loss, the kingdom was irreparably mutilated and an extremely dangerous precedent had been set. It is in the same sense that in the *asylia* decree the citizens of Pella speak of themselves and "of the rest of the land of the

1 . Rosen, *King* 65-79.

2 . See below, p. 433.

3 . *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 89, L. 40: ἐπὶ πόλιν οὐδεμ[ια]ν ἧδὼν Π[ερδίκκας κρατῆ]; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13: καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἠσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας.

4 . Cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 89, L. 9 and Thuc. 4.124.1: καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων ὀπίστας.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 1.

6 . [Dem.] 12.2: ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐμῆς; 5: τὴν χώραν μου κακῶς ἐποιεῖτε.

7 . Livy 42.41.11.

8 . Livy 42.41.13; cf. App., *Mac.* 11.6: Δόλοψι ... οὔσι τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς.

9 . Livy 39.28.11.

10 . Livy 39.28.2; 28.11; cf. 33.34.6: *Orestis -Macedonum ea gens est.*

Macedonians" (τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν τὴν Μακεδόνων");<sup>1</sup> the parallel passages of the other Macedonian *asylia* decrees, where the expression "the (other) Macedonians"<sup>2</sup> is used instead, leaves no doubt that only the national territory is meant. The distinction may not seem always clear, for historical evolution tended to blur it, as more and more allied cities and peoples and royal domains were incorporated into Macedonia proper, but Philip V's reaction to the loss of Orestai attests that it was never completely obliterated.

Thessaly never became Macedonian, with the possible exception of Perrhaibian Tripolis.<sup>3</sup> The other Perrhaibians figure among the Greek allies in the Hellenic League of the time of Philip II.<sup>4</sup> Even Demetrias, a Macedonian foundation and a royal residence remained to the end outside the national territory.<sup>5</sup>

Thrace, too, from the Nestos to the Hebros, although part of the Macedonian *arche*, never belonged to the national territory, but was administered directly by a lieutenant general (*strategos*).<sup>6</sup> "Macedonian" Illyria also, with the exception of the region of the lakes, which was colonised with Macedonians from Eordaia, as Hammond has convincingly argued,<sup>7</sup> was never incorporated into the national territory. Antipatreia, although a royal Macedonian foundation, was not a city of Macedonia.<sup>8</sup>

North of the present Greek frontier lay Paionia, which also remained outside Macedonia to the end of Macedonian independence, first under its own kings and later under specially appointed *strategoí*.<sup>9</sup> Still in the second century, a citizen of Eudaristos<sup>10</sup> was not a Macedonian, but an Εὐδαρισταῖος Παίων.<sup>11</sup>

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 58, L. 6.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 47, L. 6-7 and 13-14; no 41, L. 7-8 and 13.

3 . Cf. G. Lucas, *Les cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse (Thessalie)* (Lyon 1992, unpublished dissertation) 168-73.

4 . Tod, *GHI* 224-31, no 177.

5 . See p. 204, above.

6 . Cf. Bengtson, *Strategie* II 336-39; Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" 141-42, and particularly the section of my paper which was omitted by the editors; *eiusdem*, "Antigonides" 86-87.

7 . Hammond, "Frontier" 213-17; cf. *eiusdem*, *State* 161.

8 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 74-75.

9 . On Paionia, see Merker 35-54 and more recently, Sokolovska 32-34; Mikulčić - Sokolovska 110 (probably a forgery; cf. *SEG* 40 [1990] 560). It would seem that from the middle of the fifth century to the end of the Macedonian independence Pelagonia remained a part of Paionia (cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 279).

10 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 327.

11 . B. Petrakos, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐρετρίας", *Deltion* 23 (1968), *Meletai* 111, no 77; Νικάνωρ Βλαίου Εὐδαρισταῖος Παίων; cf. *BullEpigr* 1969, 456.

The position of Derripos was peculiar. Although a region of Paionia according to Livy,<sup>1</sup> not only was it the most Hellenic region of northern Macedonia,<sup>2</sup> but its citizens were not considered Paionians but Macedonians.<sup>3</sup> This special status of Derripos does not facilitate the delimitation of the north-western frontier of Macedonia.

Herakleia itself had been founded on the very frontiers of Macedonia, like the other Macedonian cities bearing that name.<sup>4</sup> This is why the Via Egnatia is said to pass διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν,<sup>5</sup> as separate entities,<sup>6</sup> and the city itself is called Ἡράκλεια ἢ πρὸς Λύγκων,<sup>7</sup> instead of ἐν Λύγκῳ. It is possible that the territorial continuity of the Upper Macedonian *ethne* was secured by the foothills of Mt. Peristeri extending from Lynkos to Derripos.<sup>8</sup> In that sense Hammond is right to contend that not all the inhabitants of Macedonia (*i.e.* of the Macedonian *arche*) were Macedonians.<sup>9</sup> There was, however, constant pressure to open up new lands for Macedonian colonisation, and to assimilate the "allies", and, through the process which we have just described, the national territory always tended to become coextensive with the Macedonian possessions. This process, initiated perhaps in the fourth century by Amyntas III, received its greatest impetus under Philip and Alexander. Antigonos Gonatas' foundations or refoundations in the Chalkidike peninsula and the policy of the last Antigonids in eastern Macedonia made the national Macedonian territory extend without interruption from the Pindos mountains practically to the Strymon valley and perhaps beyond. For this reason the Late Classical and Hellenistic *ethnika* cannot be used as evidence for the existence of two categories of citizens within Macedonia proper. On the contrary, they show the extraordinary legal homogeneity of

1. Livy 39.53.14; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 307.

2. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 294, cf. *eiusdem*, "Stèles" 250-56.

3. In the reign of Alexander the Great Peithon son of Krateuas from Alkomena (Ἀλκομενεύς) is counted among the Μακεδόνες (Arr., *Ind.* 18.6) and in the second half of the second century in distant Scythia Antigonos son of Herakleitos calls himself Στυβερραῖος Μακεδών. (M. Lazarov, "A recently discovered inscription of Antigonos 'for the King Sariak-' ", *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 3 [174] [1985] 47-50 [in Russian with a summary in English].)

4. Cf. Gouaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 68-69.

5. Pol. 34.12.7.

6. Papazoglou, *Villes* 260, n. 23.

7. Th.D. Axenidis, "Ἐπιτύμβιοι ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλίας", *Platon* 5 (1953) 213-14, no 1: Φίλαγρον Ἡρακλεώτην τῆ(ς) πρὸς Λύγκων Ἀμπελίνη σύμβιος μνείας χάριν ἥρωος χρηστὲ χαῖρε.

8. For an attempt to represent the limits of Macedonia proper on a map, see *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton, N.J. 1994) 18-19.

9. See p. 167-68, above.

the Macedonian land and the Macedonian people. By that time, all the free inhabitants of the national territory, regardless of their ultimate ethnic origins were citizens of one Macedonian civic community (city, *ethnos* or sympolity) and together formed the Macedonian *ethnos*, one of the two constituent parts of the Macedonian state.<sup>1</sup>

## ONOMASTIC APPENDIX

### 1. The onomastic material from Lower Paionia, Western Mygdonia and Krestonia

If one examines the pre-Roman onomastic material attested in the lands conquered after 479, the Greek names, and more specifically the epichoric Macedonian ones, form an overwhelming majority. Only after the Roman conquest do pre-Hellenic names appear in significant numbers in Lower Paionia, Mygdonia-Anthemous, Krestonia and Bisaltia. The situation in Lower Paionia, Western Mygdonia and Krestonia before the Roman conquest is as follows (eastern Mygdonia with Anthemous and Bisaltia are examined below): from Allante we know the names of the *theorodokos* of Nemea, Aphthonetos son of Pythodoros (Miller 148 B 21-22) and of the *theorodokoi* of Delphoi, Andronikos and Dikaios sons of Chionides (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 17, III 64). All the names are Greek and that of Andronikos in particular has a Macedonian flavour. However, it must be borne in mind that Allante was not an indigenous settlement, but most probably a Temenid foundation (cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 61, with references). The onomastic material from Ichnai, too, consists of the names and paronymics of three persons: Antigonos son of Asandros, *proxenos* of Delphoi (*FdD* III 3, 207), Dies son of Alketas, *theo-*

1. It is possible that active participation in the political life on the civic and the "ethnic" level was restricted to those wealthy enough to go through the ephebic training and to equip themselves either as horsemen or hoplites (the *ἑταῖροι* and *πεξέταιροι* or *ἀσθέταιροι* of Alexander's army) and that the poorer Macedonians who performed auxiliary duties (cf. Curtius 6.8.23: *lixae et calones*) did not enjoy the same rights (Cf. Hammond, "Imprint" 16; but see Griffith, *Macedonia* II 389-90; see below). In Hellenistic times the minimum *census* of thirty *minae*, mentioned in the still unpublished ephebarchical law of Amphipolis, which, although dating from the late first century reproduces provisions of an early-second-century code, would leave the majority of the free male population, if not outside the citizen body, perhaps outside the citizen army and maybe outside active political life as well (cf. Diod. 18.18.4-5, where a census of 2,000 drachmae excluded from active citizenship 22,000 Athenians out of 31,000 in 222 B.C., if the numbers are correct).

*dokos* of Delphoi (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 17, III 63) and Eurydike daughter of Dadas, who died and was buried in Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8944). It presents an expected mixture of pre-Hellenic (Dadas) and Greek Macedonian (Antigonos, Asandros, Alketas, Dies, Eurydike) names. The pre-Hellenic element is completely absent from Europos in pre-Roman times. Among the twelve known Europaeans: Philippos son of Koinidas (Savvopoulou 37, no 6 = *SEG* 38 [1988] 614); Bedetas son of Argaios (Savvopoulou 39, no 8 = *SEG* 38 [1988] 616), Nikaia daughter of Paramonos and Aristoboule (*Greek Civilisation* 80-81, no 15) Agathon son of Boutas (*JG* VII 356, L. 2-3), Machatas son of Sabattaras (*SEG* 18 [1962] 178), Deinon son of Nestor (*IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 1, 29 132), Paramonos (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 17, III 62), Polemon son of Polemokrates (Arvanitopoulos 364-66, no 127), Aischylinos son of Sosidemos (Helly, *Gonnoi* II 31-32, no 31), Seleukos son of Antiochos (Berve, no 700) and Argaios (Berve no 107) –to whom Simias son of Nikarchos and Nikarchos son of Simias could be added, if the funerary stele recently transferred from Hagios Petros to the Kilkis Museum (Delacoulonche 283, no 108; cf. *SEG* 27 [1977] 288) does belong to Europos– eight of whom show a clear Macedonian connection (Philippos, Bedetas, Nikaia, Agathon, Machatas, Paramonos, Seleukos, Argaios) through their name or patronymic. The onomastic material from Idomene is confined to the names of the *theorodokoi* of Delphoi, Hikkotimos and Ameinokrates (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 17, III 68), and to the name and patronymic engraved on a funerary stele from Isar-Marvinci, the probable site of Idomene: Zoilos son of Ischolaos (Victoria Sokolovska, *Isar-Marvinci* [Skopje 1986] 91; cf. F. Papazoglou, "Pélagonie" 278), all of whom have Greek Macedonian names. From Krestonia most of the usable Hellenistic onomastic material comes from Morrylos (on which see below). From Bragylai we have only the name of the two Delphic *theorodokoi*: Andronikos son of Kassandros, and Kephalon son of Antiochos, both duly "Macedonian" (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 70-71), as their names and/or patronymics attest. From Charakoma we have the name and patronymic of the *theorodokos* Demokritos son of Eudemos, both indistinguishably Greek (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 72). If we accept its identification with the site at Drymos, which has been suggested (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 95-96), the common Greek name and patronymic of Eugenea daughter of Phylakides (Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 22 [1967], *Chronika* 377 and pl. 284 $\alpha$  [I can make no sense of the second line: ΦΡΟΥΡΟΣ ΛΕΩΣ] could be added to them. The identification of Klitai with the site at Palaion Hagionerion, which has also been suggested (Hatzopoulos-Louko-

poulou, *Morrylos* 92), would place this city, too, in Krestonia, thus adding to the onomastic material of that region the name and patronymic, both indistinguishably Greek, of the *theorodokos* of Delphoi Phaneas son of Solon (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 85). But, as I said before, only *Morrylos* provides any significant material (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 112): the impeccably Macedonian names of the two *theorodokoi* Hadymos and Seleukos sons of Argaios (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 84, with our correction, Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 112); from the earlier Hellenistic decree (Epigraphic Appendix no 53) we have the names of the *archontes* Euxenos son of Samos, Menandros son of Holoichos and Nikanor son of Paramonos, and the name of the honorand Paramonos son of Samagoras. All these persons betray their Macedonian origin either through their names or their patronymics. From the later Hellenistic decree (Epigraphic Appendix no 54) we have the name of the honorand Alketas, which is equally Macedonian. On a third/second-century *ex voto* we read the name of Eulandros (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 66-67, no VI). Two fourth/third-century funerary inscriptions supply the names of Antigonos son of Nikandros and Adyra daughter of Antigonos (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 68). It is interesting to note that whereas the first monument bears purely Macedonian names (Antigonos, Nikandros), the second displays perhaps a mixture of a Macedonian name (Antigonos) with an "indigenous" one (Adyra) [See, however, Cl. Brixhe-Anna Panayotou, "Une inscription très courtisée: *SEG* 24, 548 (Pella)" *ZPE* 91 (1992) 134]. The material from Western Mygdonia and in particular Lete is far richer. From the city of Topsisin, which in an earlier study I have identified with Herakleia in Mygdonia (Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 62-71) come not very many, but highly interesting anthroponymic examples (still unpublished): Menneas son of Priamos, Neikanor son of Hippotas, Nikanor son of Herakleides, Nikolaos son of Hadymos, Hadymos son of Nikolaos, Kynnane wife of Hadymos, all with a strong Macedonian flavour. On the list of the *theorodokoi* of Nemea figures the name of the earliest known citizen of Lete, Menandros son of Lysandros (Miller 148 B 19-20), who bears a typical Macedonian name and patronymic. Thus, already in the late fourth century settlers from the Old Kingdom were present in Lete. From inscriptions discovered outside Macedonia we have the names of the *theorodokoi* of Delphoi, Argeios son of Melanthion and Apollonios son of Diony[---] (Plassart, "Théorodoques" 18, III 73-74), both Greek but not specifically Macedonian, and that of a certain Apollonophanes son of Lysanias, a Macedonian from Lete, mentioned on an inscription from

Magnesia on the Meander (*IMagn* 2, L. 10-11). The latter's patronymic could be considered as epichoric. From other cities of Macedonia are attested: Archon son of Philiskos, in Pella (*SEG* 24 [1969] 544) and Zoilos in Morrylos (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 66, no VI), the first with a panhellenic name and patronymic and the second with a name very common among Macedonians. From Lete itself we also have two lists of names, one Late Classical and the other Hellenistic. On the earlier one (Epigraphic Appendix no 79) we can read the names of Lysandros son of Amyntas, Lyson son of Pleistiades, Ptolemaios, Antiphilos, Menandros, Polemon, Arrhabaios, Epikrates, Attinas, Antigonos, Lysanias, Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Attalos, Iollas, Demetrios, Antigonos, Antigonos, Alketas, Epigonos, Euthymides, Antigonos, Sirrhas, Epimenes, Menandros, [--]agoras, Agestratos, Adaios and Sopatros. All the names, with two exceptions (Arrhabaios, Sirrhas), are Greek and in their overwhelming majority typically Macedonian (Amyntas, Ptolemaios, Arrhabaios, Attinas, Lysanias, Attalos, Iollas, Antigonos, Alketas, Sirrhas, Menandros, Adaios, Agestratos). One cannot help noticing the presence of some rare and typically Lynkestian names, such as Sirrhas and Arrhabaios, a possible clue as to the origin of the Macedonian colonists of Lete. On the surviving part of the later list (Epigraphic Appendix no 80) one can read the names of Herakleides son of Menandros, [---]ikos son of Philotas, [---] son of Sosiphilos, Antiphon son of Amyntas, Myron son of Herakleides, Sostratos son of Menandros, [---]ratos son of Menandros, Philotas son of Lysimachos, Simalos son of Demainetos, Nikomachos son of Nikanor, Philippos son of Antimenes, Philoumenos son of Diaites, Somenes son of Lysimachos, Karaikes son of Philippos, Dioskourides son of Aristokles, Simias son of Hippotas. In this list, too, the names and the patronymics are exclusively Greek, but the proportion of the typically Macedonian names (Amyntas, Menandros, Philotas, Nikanor, Philippos, Simias, Hippotas) is smaller, as a result of the propagation of the *koine* "panhellenic" names, which is a well-known phenomenon in Macedonia (Tataki 332-63). Two inscriptions from the sanctuary of Demeter at Lete reveal a series of feminine names: the priestess Berenika and the three *archineusasai*, Stratto daughter of Nikostratos, Melis daughter of Kleon and Lysidika daughter of Antigonos, and also of the *neusasa* Alexandra daughter of Argaios. The names and patronymics are again all Greek and a majority of them typically Macedonian (Berenika, Lysidika, Antigonos, Alexandra, Argaios; see Hatzopoulos, *Cultes* 44-45). Two funerary inscriptions complete the Hellenistic onomastic material from Lete. One bears the name of Kleupatra

daughter of Nikanor (Duchesne-Bayet 99, no 132) and the other that of Alexandros son of Simias (*BullEpigr* 1977, 273). Names and patronymics in both cases are typically Macedonian. Only the name of Chyris figuring on two fourth-century agonistic stelae remains obscure and might be considered of pre-Greek origin (Hatzopoulos, *Cultes* 55-58). This overwhelming predominance of Greek and specifically Macedonian names should not be reckoned as evidence that the pre-Hellenic element of the population was totally exterminated or deported. Lete provides some of the most striking examples of the coexistence side by side of typically Macedonian and pre-Greek names in inscriptions of the Roman period (cf. *SEG* 1 [1923] 276: Pereitas son of Phila ... Herodes son of Beithys; *BullEpigr* 1953, 112 [with mistakes, some from the *editio princeps*, which have been corrected here]: Landros son of Dionysios ... Antimenon son of Neikanor ... Heliodoros son of Taroulas, Kotys son of Terepes ... Pereitas son of Ploutiades ... Pausanias son of Adaios, Adaios son of Adaios, Sedalas son of Mokasos, Zeipas son of Bastikeilas, Epikrates son of Beithys, Paramonos son of Mestylos), when the political and social upheavals allowed the indigenous elements to come to prominence after centuries of obscurity.

## 2. The onomastic material from the Strymon Valley.

Pre-Roman epigraphic material from the Strymon basin comes, besides from Amphipolis and Argilos, which we have already discussed, from only three ancient settlements with their territories: the modern villages of Aidonochori-Eukarpia-Kastri, from Terpni and from Neos Skopos (the origin of the isolated Hellenistic funerary monument from Siderokastron [Kaphtantzis I 301-302 no 500] cannot be ascertained). The first has for a long time been identified with Tragilos (cf. *BullEpigr* 1970, 377; 1971, 409; 1977, 282). The preliminary publication of the excavations by Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki ("Τράγιλος" 144-46) has now established that the city was not destroyed by Philip II, at the time of the conquest, but survived under the Macedonians until c. 270. Tragilos' onomastic material has a uniformly Ionic aspect: Ardrine (*BullEpigr* 1977, 282), Alexidemos son of Nikon (*BullEpigr* 1977, 282); Megon son of Antiphanes (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 437, no 1); Epichares son of Antiphilos (Kaphtantzis I 316, no 532), Isokrates, Phileto daughter of Kyknos (*BullEpigr* 1970, 377). The absence of the slightest trace of Macedonian names seems to indicate that Tragilos acquired the status of a Macedonian city without the dispatch of Macedonian settlers there, at



least in notable numbers. Incidentally, the uniformly Ionic character of the extant names –to which that of the *theorodokos* of Asklepios, Peisies (*JG* IV 1<sup>2</sup> 94, L. 20) and of the author Asklepiades (G. Wentzel, *RE* 2 [1896] 1628, no 27) could be added– and the complete absence of pre-Hellenic onomastic material make questionable the supposed indigenous origin of the city and indicate a possible connection with Argilos (cf. Koukouli, "Τράγιλος" 143). As we noted before (p. 62, n. 1), the destruction of the site at Aïdonochori did not mean the end of Tragilos. A more modest settlement, lower in the foothills and not far from the main road on the western bank of the Strymon, perpetuated its name, which figures as Trinlo in the Peutinger Table, at a distance of ten *m.p.* from Amphipolis (Papazoglou, *Villes* 361-62). The name of Tragilos can perhaps be read on the dedication of the Pentapolitai (see above p. 62, n. 1). From this new site must come the Late Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions and other monuments found, often walled in, at Aïdonochori (Koukouli, "Τράγιλος" 146), Eukarpia (*SEG* 30 [1980] 617), and Kastri (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 428-30, nos 1-5). The name Kallista, figuring in one Late Hellenistic stele (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 428-29, no 1) may indicate some Macedonian penetration at some later stage, which is not surprising. At Terpni have been found an Early Hellenistic tomb, where Dioskourides son of Apollodoros and Hipponax son of Apollodoros were buried (*BullEpigr* 1969, 373), and a somewhat later dedication of Isidoros son of Apollas to Horos and Arphokrates (*SEG* 1 [1923] 283). The settlement styled itself as *polis* in Roman times (Perdrizet, "Voyage" 437-38; *SEG* 31 [1981] 639; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 359, n. 45). The editor of the last inscription identified it with Graero of the Peutinger Table. The importance and the antiquity of the site make the insignificant and otherwise unknown Graero a highly unlikely candidate, unless, with Papazoglou (*Villes* 359), we recognise in Graero the name of Berga. The real choice is between the two most important and anciently attested settlements of that region: Berga and Euporia. Berga is usually identified with another important site near modern Vergi (Kopatsi), where finds from the Classical (and even Prehistoric) to Roman times have been made (Roger, "Strymon" 37-43; cf. Edson, "Notes" 94, n. 48; Koukouli, "Τράγιλος" 125-28) and which also had the status of a *polis* (*BullEpigr* 1987, 708). That would leave Euporia as the most likely candidate for the ancient site at Terpni. There are, however, difficulties (Papazoglou's contention *Cités* 266-68; cf. *eiusdem*, *Villes* 355-59, that Berga should be placed on the left bank of the Strymon is based on a mistaken conception of the Pentapolis discussed above, p. 60-62): 1) Modern Vergi is situated

more than 50 km north of Amphipolis, whereas according to Strabo 7, frg. 36 it should be *c.* 200 stades, that is 10 to 15 km less; 2) Euporia should be according to the Peutinger Table 25, *m.p.* or *c.* 37 km from Roman Tragilos-Trinlo, on the road along the Strymon east of Aïdonochori, or 35 *m.p.* or *c.* 52 km from Amphipolis (for Amphipolis as the starting point of that section of the Peutinger Table, see Papazoglou, *Cités* 270-71; cf. *eiusdem*, *Villes* 360-61), but 52 km is the exact distance between Amphipolis and modern Vergi (Kopatsi) and not Terpni, which is only 42 km distant from Amphipolis; 3) it is difficult to understand, if Euporia was at Terpni and Berga at Vergi (Kopatsi), how more distant Berga was a member of the Gazorian Pentapolis, while Euporia was not, forming a sort of enclave in the territory of the sympolity. 4) In the inscriptions of Kopatsi (cf. *SEG* 30 [1980] 591; 592; 612; 615) we encounter the same mixture of Greek and non-Greek names as in the honorary and funerary monuments erected by citizens of Euporia in Beroia (for this family of Euporians, see Tataki, 133-34, no 325), whereas only Greek names figure in the inscriptions from Terpni. The obvious solution to all these difficulties is to abandon the traditional identifications and to place Euporia at Vergi and Berga at Terpni: Euporia would be then at the expected distance from Amphipolis, Berga would be at a distance of some 227 stadia from Amphipolis, which is more likely to have been rounded to "*c.* 200" by Strabo or his source than the *c.* 281 of the distance between Amphipolis and Vergi (Kopatsi); finally, there would be no difficulty in understanding why Berga –and not more distant Euporia– was a member of the Pentapolis. The name Euporia was evidently due to the proximity to the first ford of the Strymon north of Amphipolis at the northern end of Lake Kerkinitis. From Neos Skopos, on the other side of the Strymon, just opposite Terpni, come two Hellenistic stelae, one of Gouras son of Skoros (*Bullepigr* 1938, 215) and the other of Sosime daughter of Koitaros (unpublished, copied by Edson on VIII/10/38). It is remarkable that three out of the four names are of pre-Hellenic origin (on Gouras and Skoros-Skoris, see Papazoglou, "Structures" 165, on the suffix *-aros* of Koitaros, *ibidem* 163-64). Fortunately, we know the name of the ancient settlement at Neos Skopos from a first/second-century A.D. inscription, which names the κώμη Ὀλδηνῶν. Was it a village of Serrhai, as we suggested above (p. 70) or was it one of the συγκυροῦσαι κῶμαι of the Gazoros decree? The fact that it does not figure on the dedication of the Pentapolitai is not a decisive argument against this hypothesis. It could be the community that was later raised to the status of a *polis* and given the name of Hadrianopolitai (rather than

Skotoussa 18 *m.p.* north of Serrhai –which was not part of the Pentapolis– as had suggested Papazoglou, "Notes" 533; but see now *eiusdem*, *Villes* 408-409 and *BullEpigr* 1988, 854). Another settlement in this region was situated near the modern village of Toumba (cf. Roger, "Strymon" 44-47). It is as likely a candidate for the mysterious Skimbertioi as any other. In that case the Pentapolis would stretch from Gazoros to Neos Skopos and from Aïdonochori to Terpni on either side of lake Kerkinitis and would include a significant part of Bisaltia, which, as Papazoglou (*Cités* 263-66; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 351-55) has rightly argued, was not confined to the western bank of the Strymon. The attribution of Gazoros to Odomantike by Ptolemy does not constitute a major difficulty, any more than the attribution to the same district in some of his manuscripts of another city, Berga, which also belonged in fact to Bisaltia.

PART THREE

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THE MACEDONIAN COMMONWEALTH



Fanoula Papazoglou, in an excellent paper on the organisation of Antigonid Macedonia, collected some of the evidence showing that both the King and the Macedonians were constituent parts of the state.<sup>1</sup> She also alluded briefly to the fact that "the cities of Macedonia" and "the Macedonians" were equivalent expressions, indicating that at the time of the Roman conquest "Macedonia was already divided in administrative districts, cities or rural communities, enjoying local autonomy",<sup>2</sup> but did not press the matter further. In fact, the relevant passages are much more numerous than the two which she adduces and, combined with the evidence reviewed in the first two parts of this study, prove beyond doubt the equivalence between "the Macedonians" (Μακεδόνες, *Macedones*)<sup>3</sup> "the Macedonian *ethnos*" (τὸ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος)<sup>4</sup> or the Macedonian cities (αἱ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πόλεις,<sup>5</sup> αἱ πόλεις Μακεδόνων,<sup>6</sup> *civitates Macedoniae*<sup>7</sup>), on the one hand, and "Macedonia" (Μακεδονία,<sup>8</sup> *Macedonia*,<sup>9</sup> *i.e.* "the land of the Macedonians", (cf. ἡ ... χώρα ἢ Μακεδόνων)<sup>10</sup> on the other.

This equivalence finds its exact parallel in Thessaly under Macedonian rule, where, as Marta Sordi has argued, "the cities of Thes-

1. Papazoglou, "Organisation"; cf. *eiusdem*, *Villes* 37-51. To the passages cited one could add Livy 42.36.1: *cum iam bellum regi eorum (sc. legatorum) et Macedonibus et senatus decresset et populus iussisset*.

2. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 206; cf. *eiusdem*, *Villes* 44.

3. Cf. Livy 45.18.1: *liberos esse Macedonas*; 22.3: *Macedonas liberos esse*; 29.1: *liberos esse placebat Macedonas habentis urbes easdem agrosque, utentis legibus suis, annuos creantis magistratus*; Diod. 31.8.3: ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ... τοὺς τε Μακεδόνας ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι. Cf. Plut., *Aem.* 28.6: Μακεδόσαι μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας οἰκεῖν καὶ αὐτονόμους.

4. Diod. 31.8.2: τὸ δὲ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος εἰς δουλείαν ἂν δικαίως ἀγαγόντες ἠλευθέρωσαν.

5. Diod. 32.15.7: ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πόλεων; cf. the same expression in Philip V's *diagramma* from Amphipolis: ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς κατὰ Μακεδονίαν (Epigraphic Appendix no 16).

6. Diod. 31.8.4: τὰς δὲ πόλεις Μακεδόνων... ἀλούσας παρ' ἐλπίδα πάσας ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκεν; cf. 31.8.1: ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκαν τὰς ἀλούσας πόλεις.

7. Livy 45.1.9: *civitates omnes Macedoniae in dicionem populi Romani venisse*; 45.41.6: *civitates omnes Macedoniae se dederunt*.

8. Plut., *Aem.* 24.1: Οἱ Μακεδόνες... ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰμίλιῳ δύο ἡμέρας ὄλης κύριον αὐτὸν κατέστησαν Μακεδονίας.

9. Livy 44.45.6: *omnis ferme Macedonia intra biduum dedita*.

10. Epigraphic Appendix no 58.

saly" (αἱ ἐν Θεσσαλίαι πόλεις), "the Thessalians" (οἱ Θεσσαλοί,) and "the Thessalian Commonwealth" (τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν) or "the Thessalian *ethnos*" (τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν) are used as equivalent terms with the technical meaning of the assembly of the representatives of the Thessalian cities, which, according to the Italian historian, in the absence of a primary assembly constituted the deliberative body of the federation.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that, independently of Sordi, Papazoglou has used several passages from Livy concerning events in connection with the Third Macedonian War and the subsequent organisation of Macedonia by the Romans, in order to argue that the well-known series of third-century epigraphic documents<sup>2</sup> and allusions in the literary authorities<sup>3</sup> mentioning "the Macedonians" refer "not to the military assembly, as some scholars have argued, but to a body similar to the *synedria* of the Hellenistic *koina*".<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the Yugoslav scholar considers the formulae of the *asylia* decrees, where "οἱ Μακεδόνες" or "ἡ χώρα ἡ Μακεδόνων" are mentioned along with the King,<sup>5</sup> as evidence that the origin of the transformation should not be ascribed, as it usually is, to Antigonos Doson (or Philip V), but to Antigonos Gonatas.

Papazoglou's very stimulating paper puts forward a series of formidable problems ranging from the nature of the Macedonian kingship to the real content of some much discussed Roman measures which were part of the settlement of 167. To these we should now return, in order to try to deal with the question of the "freedom of the Macedonians" as members of self-governing political units, which was asked in the Introduction but left unanswered, pending the solution of the problems of the division of Macedonia into civic territories and of the existence of institutions of local autonomy under the kings.

I hope to have demonstrated in the first two parts of this study that the Macedonian national territory was exhaustively divided between *poleis* and *ethne* (which are definitely not "tribes", but regional groupings of rural communities) which were governed according to laws—at least partly written—and which elected their annual magistrates. To that extent at least the Macedonians were undoubtedly "free". Did their freedom go beyond local affairs and were they as a

1. Sordi, *Lega* 331, based on M. Segré, "Grano di Tessaglia a Coò", *RFIC* 62 (1934) 169-93; cf. also Just. 8.3.2: *civitates*.

2. Epigraphic Appendix nos 24, 33, 34; *OGIS* 283; *InscrItal* XIII 1, 1, *ad annum* 167; *ILS* 8884; *InscrCret* II Eleutherna, 20; III, Hierapytna 1A.

3. Pol. 7.9.1; 18.46.5; 28.8.2; Livy 31.6.1; 43.19.4.

4. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 206-207.

5. Epigraphic Appendix nos 36, 41, 47, 58.

whole a constituent part of the state, as Papazoglou and other modern scholars uphold, or were they, on the contrary, passive subjects of autocratic rulers, as other equally reputed historians have argued?<sup>1</sup>

One cannot help observing that for all our information about the very extensive local self-government enjoyed by the Macedonians on the eve of the Roman conquest we are indebted to epigraphic evidence, whereas our literary sources –almost exclusively dependent on Polybios– are ambiguous, when they are not outright misleading. Our most obvious task is, then, to enquire into the extent –in other matters as well, and first of all in that of "the freedom of the Macedonians"– of the ambiguity or disingenuity of the Polybian tradition, which, in the absence of epigraphic evidence, had completely confused and misled modern scholars on the problems of the division of Macedonia into civic territories and of local self-government; and to disentangle, if possible, the respective responsibility of the secondary sources, of Polybios himself, and of the Roman official texts.

There is no doubt that Polybios in his work affirms again and again that the Macedonians were not free under their kings.<sup>2</sup> His clearest statement is made in connection with the revolt of Andriskos: "For the Macedonians had met with many signal favours from Rome; the country as a whole had been delivered from the arbitrary rule and taxation of autocrats and, as all confessed, now enjoyed freedom in place of servitude (καὶ μεταλαβόντες ἀπὸ δουλείας ὁμολογουμένως ἔλευθερίαν), and the several cities had, owing to the beneficent actions of Rome, been freed from serious civil discord and internecine massacres...".<sup>3</sup> There can be no doubt that Polybios wants us to believe that the Romans had not only made the Macedonians free men instead of slaves,<sup>4</sup> but had also delivered them from the evils of civil strife. Let us leave aside the historian's sweeping statements about Rome's φιλανθρωπία and concentrate instead on the concrete evidence which can be adduced in support of his contention. It is true that the Romans abolished the Macedonian kingship, if that is what is meant –as it seems to be– by deliverance "from arbitrary rule" (μοναρχικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων), but they certainly did not abolish taxation

1 . See p. 37-46, above.

2 . With the exception of the famous passage on Macedonian *isegoria* (Pol. 5.27.6: εἶχον γὰρ αἰεὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἰσηγορίαν Μακεδόνες πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς).

3 . Pol. 36.17.13: Μακεδόνες γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐτετεύχισαν φιλανθρωπιῶν, κοινῇ μὲν πάντες ἀπολυθέντες μοναρχικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ φόρων καὶ μεταλαβόντες ἀπὸ δουλείας ὁμολογουμένως ἔλευθερίαν, ἴδια δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις ἐκλυθέντες ἐκ μεγάλων στάσεων καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων... (translation by W.R. Paton).

4 . Cf. Musti, "Polibio" 184-88; Moretti, "Legge" 55.



(φόρων). Both Polybios himself and Livy's annalistic source agree that the "tribute" paid by the Macedonians was merely halved to 100 talents a year.<sup>1</sup> Larsen, however, has clearly shown that this constituted a much heavier burden for them than the 200 which were due to the King.<sup>2</sup> Not only were the mines and the rest of the royal land confiscated,<sup>3</sup> thus impoverishing a great number of Macedonians, while most of Macedonia had still to assume the expenses of defense, which had hitherto been met by the King (see below), but the money was spent no longer locally and reinjected into the economy, but shipped away to Rome and irretrievably lost to Macedonia. Moreover, this harsh tax was imposed after the country had been deprived of most of its reserves in precious metals. More than 5,600 talents, corresponding to a tribute of no less than fifty-six years, had been officially removed to Rome. To these should be added perhaps an equal amount in unofficial exactions.<sup>4</sup>

So much for the Roman "favours" that the Macedonians had received "as a whole" (κοινῇ). The "favours" which the Macedonian cities received "severally" (ἰδίᾳ) baffles even a sympathetic commentator such as F.W. Walbank; for simply "there is no evidence for troubles in the cities of Macedonia... under Perseus".<sup>5</sup> On contrast, Polybios himself provides ample evidence for serious and extensive troubles in Macedonia, culminating in a mass assassination at Pella after the reception of the Roman "favours".<sup>6</sup>

It is clear that Polybios' affirmations are at best tendentious –if they are not deliberately false. Even the equation of the Macedonian kingship with servitude reflects nothing but his own prejudices; the Macedonians themselves, whether Alexander himself,<sup>7</sup> Kleitos the

1. Livy 45.29.11: *Vectigal exercentibus dimidium eius impositum quod pependissent regi* (from Polybios) and 45.18.7: *et dimidium tributi, quam quod regibus ferre soliti erant, populo Romano pendere* (from an annalistic source): Plut., *Aem.* 28.6: ἑκατὸν τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελοῦσιν, οὐ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσέφερον (from Polybios).

2. Larsen, *Greece* 298-99; Gruen 427-29, speculates that the Romans did not impose a tribute but simply collected a war indemnity, but as Ferrary (p. 179, n. 194) rightly points out, the terms used in our sources do not allow for such an interpretation.

3. Larsen, *Greece* 299; Gruen 426, n. 157, doubts the reality of the confiscation, but it is formally attested by Cicero, *De lege agraria* 1.2.5. For an excellent discussion of the Roman settlement, see now Papazoglou, *Villes* 53-64.

4. Cf. A. Giovannini, "La circulation monétaire en Grèce sous le protectorat de Rome", *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 29 (1982) 178.

5. Walbank, *Commentary* III 682.

6. Pol. 31.2.12; 17.2; 35.4.11.

7. Arr., *Anab.* 2.7.4: ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλους ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, ἐς χεῖρας ἤξειν.

Black<sup>1</sup> or Alexander's royal pages,<sup>2</sup> thought of themselves as free men<sup>3</sup> and some of the rest of the Greeks, at least, depicted them as such.<sup>4</sup> Although Polybios in two other passages affirms that they "were not governed according to laws"<sup>5</sup> and that "they were not used to a democratic government",<sup>6</sup> there were Macedonians and other Greeks who would contrast the "laws" and "democracy" under a legitimate king with "tyranny" under a usurper.<sup>7</sup> Indeed an official Amphictionic decree, passed after Philip V had lost control of Central Greece, seems not to have hesitated to include the Macedonians among the αὐτόνομα ἔθνη and the δημοκρατούμενοι πόλεις.<sup>8</sup> As Polybios in another passage disparages in similar terms the Spartans,<sup>9</sup> who share with the Macedonians and the Aitolians the author's unrelenting animosity, one is justified in entertaining the gravest doubts

1 . Plut., *Alex.* 51.5: εἰς μέσον ἂ βούλεται λέγειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον... ἢ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησιᾶν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων. *Parrhesia* and *isegoria* (Pol. 5.27.6) are for Polybios precisely the main characteristics of democracy (Pol. 2.38.6: ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ καθόλου δημοκρατίας ἀληθινῆς σύστημα; cf. 4.31.4, with Walbank's *Commentary* I 478; 27.4.7 and Musti, "Polibio" 160-61.

2 . Arr., *Anab.* 4.14.2: καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

3 . Cf. Curtius 6.6.11: *Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est.*

4 . This is the case of the Greek author who lies behind Curtius 4.7.31: *et Macedones, adsueti quidem regio imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra quam ceterae gentes...* (cf. Just. 11.11.12). It is noteworthy that Rosen, *King*, calls the first chapter of his thesis, where figure many of these references, Μακεδόνες ἐλεύθεροι.

5 . Pol. 4.76.2: Θετταλοὶ γὰρ ἐδόκουν μὲν κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύειν καὶ πολὺ διαφέρειν Μακεδόνων, διέφερον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἔπασχον Μακεδόσι καὶ πᾶν ἐποίουν τὸ προσταττόμενον τοῖς βασιλικοῖς.

6 . Pol. 31.2.12: συνέβαινε γὰρ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀήθεις ὄντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας στασιάζειν πρὸς αὐτούς.

7 . Cf. *FGrHist* 153: οὐ δήπου νόμοι οὐδὲ δημοκρατεία κατὰ Μακεδονίαν, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ ὑποτετάγμεθα; Luc., *Dial. de mort.* 14.4: καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων, ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, ἡξίους; Kallérís, *Macédoniens* 587, with references.

8 . *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 613, according to Giovannini, "Amphiktyonie" 147-54. *Contra*, F.W. Walbank, "The Causes of the Third Macedonian War: Recent Views", *Ancient Macedonia* II (Thessalonike 1977) 89-91 and n. 43a; but accepted by J.L. Ferrary in *Nicolet* 755; cf. Chr. Habicht, "The Role of Athens in the Reorganization of the Delphic Amphictiony after 189 B.C.", *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 59-71 and Ferrary 161-63. See also now Anne Jacquemin, D. Laroche and F. Lefèvre, "Delphes, le roi Persée et les Romains", *BCH* 119 (1995) 125-36.

9 . Pol. 4.22.3-4: ...πυνθανόμενος τοὺς Λακεδαμονίους εἰς σφαγὰς καὶ ταραχὰς ἐμπεπλωκέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαμόνιοι συνήθεις ὄντες βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ πάντως τοῖς προεστῶσι πειθαρχεῖν, τότε προσφάτως μὲν ἠλευθερωμένοι δι' Ἀντιγόνου, βασιλέως δ' οὐχ ὑπάρχοντος παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἑστασίαζον πρὸς σφᾶς, πάντες ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἴσον αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι τῆς πολιτείας.

about the historical value of such statements.<sup>1</sup> It is thus reasonable to conclude that Polybios' comments on the "favours" of the Romans and the "benefits" deriving from the Roman settlement are "disingenuous and inadequate", as has been said of the parallel statements concerning Sparta,<sup>2</sup> and may bear much of the responsibility for the confusion of our secondary sources, which interpreted and summarised Polybios' account (and perhaps even the official Roman documents themselves) under the influence of his bias.

What about the Roman decisions then? It can be argued that, although clearer and more succinct, they were not altogether devoid of ambiguities, serving the immediate propaganda purposes of Rome and permitting Polybios to use them, without much twisting around, in order to score his own points against the Macedonians. The Isthmos declaration offers an excellent parallel case, where the Greek and some Macedonian subjects of Philip received a less false taste of Roman favour.<sup>3</sup> If we examine the text closely (ἀφιᾶσιν ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις), we find practically all the elements of the Amphipolis declaration and all its ambiguities. In fact, only the term ἀφορολογήτους has disappeared, for in the meantime a comfortable tribute had come to mean more to Rome than the reputation for disinterestedness.<sup>4</sup> At Amphipolis, as well as at the Isthmos, continuity and innovation seem hopelessly confused, as the immediate needs of Roman propaganda intermingle with traditional implicit premises of Greek political thought, whose vocabulary the Romans were of necessity borrowing.<sup>5</sup> The tacit premise is that Greeks, including Macedonians, whether cities or "peoples" (*ethne*), are "naturally" free. The Romans, having removed royal Macedonian authority and not having replaced it by their own, "were leaving" (ἀφιᾶσιν) these peoples and cities in the state of their pristine, "natural" freedom, as the absence (for the time being) of garrisons and tribute and the use of their "ancestral" constitution were bearing witness.<sup>6</sup> It is not without interest to note that some, at least, of the peoples and cities liberated at the Isthmos had come under

1 . One wonders how an author who defines democracy in terms of *parrhesia* and *isegoria* (Pol. 2.38.6; 4.31.4; 27.4.7) and at the same time concedes these qualities to the Macedonians (Pol. 5.27.6), can deny them any democratic traditions without being completely incosequential.

2 . Walbank, *Commentary* I, 469; cf. Musti, "Polibio" 186.

3 . Pol. 18.46.5.

4 . Cf. Ferrary 179-80.

5 . Cf. Walbank, *Commentary* II 610-12 and Will II 145-47, for precedents.

6 . Cf. Ferrary 180-83.

Philip V's sway as a result of a war which had been undertaken by the Hellenic League against the Aitolians and whose aims had been officially described in exactly the same terms: ὅτι πάντας τούτους ἀποκαταστήσουσιν εἰς τὰ πάτρια πολιτεύματα, χώραν ἔχοντας καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολογήτους, ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, πολιτείαις καὶ νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις.<sup>1</sup> A hundred years earlier a similar formula had been used in the propaganda war of Antigonos during his struggle against Cassander.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a little cynically, one might say that "freedom" theoretically signified the removal of the current masters (but also very often, practically, their replacement—sooner or later—by new ones). It appears, however, that in the protracted wars of the Roman Republic and its Greek clients against the Hellenistic kingdoms, the term *eleutheria* acquired the additional *nuance* of removal of *royal* authority, which was defined as *ex hypothesi* incompatible with freedom, as explained at length in the formal grounds of the relevant decision of the Senate.<sup>3</sup> The constituent *poleis and ethne* of Macedonia are clearly assimilated to the other northern Greek cities and peoples of the Isthmos declaration.<sup>4</sup> This becomes even clearer if we consider the case of the Orestai, the only Macedonians to be "freed" in 196: *Orestis—Macedonum ea gens est—quod primi ab rege defecissent, suae leges redditae*.<sup>5</sup> As we have seen in the first part of this study,<sup>6</sup> these laws had never been taken away (to be given *back*) from the Orestai, who used the same civic constitutions under the kings and in the Roman period. The restoration of the ancestral laws, or *autonomia*, simply meant the removal of royal authority. This was the precedent and the example used three decades later for the rest of Macedonia. In 167 the Romans and their Greek friends believed, or feigned to believe, that, if the authority of the kings was suppressed and was not replaced by a (visible) Roman one, even if a tribute had to be paid every year, the "cities" and the

1. Pol. 4.25.7; cf. Walbank, *Commentary* II 612.

2. Diod. 19.61.3; cf. Walbank, *Commentary* I 472.

3. Livy 45.18.2; cf. Ferrary 180-81.

4. As is clear from the significant silences in the final Illyrian settlement in Livy 45.26.1-15, its symmetry with the Macedonian one is superficial, for the kingdom of Genthios knew of no *leges*, at least resembling the written laws of Macedonian cities, and possessed no *urbes* in the Greek sense of πόλεις; cf. Musti, "Polibio" 186: "Inoltre, la *libertas* concessa dai Romani ai Macedoni sembra avere un bien piu ampio contenuto di determinazioni concettuali (Liv. XLV 29,4 e 9) che non quella riservata p.e. agli Illiri (*ibid.* 18,1; 26, 12-15); una ricchezza di contenuto pari a quella che penso si debba attribuire al concetto di δημοκρατία".

5. Livy 33.34.6.

6. See p. 102, above.

"peoples", which would be governed by their "ancestral" (ideally eternal) laws, would recover their essential "natural" freedom and the Macedonians as a whole, the Macedonian Commonwealth, would be free. And this is precisely how they proceeded: the civic constitutions of the Roman period continue without visible break those of late royal times, laws, magistrates and assemblies retaining over the centuries the same names and, outwardly at least, the same functions.

This analysis of the first clause of the Roman settlement, whose version in our literary authorities can fortunately be checked against epigraphic evidence, may serve as a precedent—and also as a caution—for the evaluation of the other three points, concerning: 1) the fate of the mines and the rest of the royal land, 2) the division of Macedonia in four parts and 3) the reduction by half of the tribute paid to the kings.

The fate of the mines and of the royal land need not detain us here. Whatever the real reasons for the prohibition of their exploitation, besides the obvious intention to ruin the Macedonian aristocracy, nobody doubts the decision itself.<sup>1</sup> The questions which this decision and its subsequent revision have raised essentially concern the history of Macedonia after the Roman conquest and may be left to the attention of other scholars.<sup>2</sup>

The reduction of the tribute on the other hand, does require a more careful examination here, for it is less straightforward than it would seem at first sight. This is the first and only time that we hear of a tribute as a lump sum paid annually not by a subject population but by the Macedonians themselves; and no wonder, for it would have been incompatible with their status of free citizens. As we shall see in detail in another section of this study, the income of the Macedonian kings (in time of peace at least) derived mainly from the direct exploitation or, more usually, the lease of royal land, and particularly of mines, quarries and forests, which formed royal monopolies, and also from harbour dues, import taxes and fines, the last apparently shared with the local communities. The solution of this difficulty is probably to be sought in a detail of the relevant passage of Plutarch: ἑκατὸν τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελοῦσιν, οὐ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσέφερον.<sup>3</sup> A hundred talents was not—and could not be—the exact half of the necessarily variable revenues from the diverse taxes, dues

1 . With the exception of Gruen 426, but see Ferrary 181, n. 202.

2 . Cf. Larsen, *Greece* 299; 313; Papazoglou, "Macedonia" 195; Gruen 426-27, with references and bibliography.

3 . Plut., *Aem.* 28.6.

and rents (now greatly reduced by the prohibition of the exploitation of the gold and silver mines), but an arbitrary round figure, imposed then for the first time on the "freed" Macedonians, to be paid yearly to Rome as a lump sum.<sup>1</sup> The reason is obvious: the suppression of the royal administration and the simultaneous unwillingness of the Romans to replace it by the services of publicans<sup>2</sup> left them no other choice, if they wished to exact that money, than to require a fixed sum each year from all the Macedonian communities taken as a whole. The consequences of such a system are discussed immediately below in connection with the next, third clause of the Roman settlement.

A much longer discussion, indeed, will prove inevitable for the clause concerning the division of Macedonia into four parts and the establishment of four regional governments, as problems of text transmission of the unique manuscript aggravate the by no means negligible difficulties of historical interpretation. The account of the settlement is preserved in two passages of Livy, one based on an annalistic source<sup>3</sup> and the other on Polybios,<sup>4</sup> and also, in more succinct versions, in Diodoros<sup>5</sup> and Strabo,<sup>6</sup> who were using Polybios. As in the case of the first clause at the beginning of this study, we shall follow the more extensive version of Livy, supplementing and controlling it whenever possible, with the summarised accounts of the other authors.

The Latin expression in Livy (Polybios) of the final settlement of the senatorial commission announced in Amphipolis is beyond doubt: *deinde in quattuor regiones dividi Macedoniam...* (there follows the geographical description of these districts). *Capita regionum, ubi concilia fierent, primae regionis Amphipolim, secundae Thessalonicen, tertiae Pellam, quartae Pelagoniam fecit. Eo consilia suae cuiusque regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari iussit.* It corresponds precisely to the relevant passage of Diodoros: τὴν δὲ χώραν ὅλην διεῖλον εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη... (there follows the geographical description of these districts), ἡγούντο δὲ καὶ πόλεις τέσσαρες τῶν αὐτῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου Ἀμφίπολις, τοῦ δευτέρου Θεσσαλονίκη, τοῦ τρίτου Πέλλα, καὶ τοῦ τέταρτου Πελαγονία. ἐν ταύταις ἀρχηγοὶ τέσσαρες κατεστάθησαν καὶ οἱ φόροι ἤθροίζοντο. This is not the case with the Senate's initial decision (from Livy's an-

1. Cf. p. 222, above.

2. Livy 45.18.1-5; cf. Diod. 31.8.7.

3. Livy 45.18.6-7.

4. Livy 45.29.5-10.

5. Diod. 31.8.8.

6. Strab. 7, frg. 47.

nalistic source), transmitted in a corrupt text, which has been extensively emended in order to be rendered as similar as possible to the corresponding passage of the commission's final decision: *in quattuor Macedones describi Macedoniam visum quaeque consilium habere placuit* becoming in the modern editions: *in quattuor regiones describi Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque concilium haberet placuit*.

The problems of the third clause are numerous; one of them in particular: whether the assemblies referred to in Livy should be understood as primary *ekklesiai* or as representative *synedria*, has been discussed *ad nauseam*. It had stirred little controversy<sup>1</sup> until the publication of a posthumous article by M. Feyerl, who challenged the traditional view that the *synedroi* (to whom the administration of the Macedonian Commonwealth would be entrusted) mentioned by Livy at the end of his description of the Roman settlement, were members of regional councils.<sup>2</sup> He argued instead that these formed a representative council of the whole of Macedonia, whereas the assemblies mentioned in the passages concerning the division of Macedonia into districts were in fact primary assemblies. The publication of Feyerl's article coincided with a more doctrinaire reassertion of the representative thesis by J.A.O. Larsen,<sup>3</sup> who until that time had not formally excluded the possibility of primary assemblies—at least as electoral bodies—in the four Macedonian districts.<sup>4</sup> Larsen responded in a thorough paper, in which, making the most of a material error of Feyerl concerning the manuscript tradition, he returned the dead scholar's arguments and endeavoured to discredit his views on the holding of popular assemblies in the four districts and on the existence of a common Macedonian representative body.<sup>5</sup> The cautious answer of A. Aymard, who maintained an agnostic position on the regional primary assemblies,<sup>6</sup> and the doubts expressed by D. Musti<sup>7</sup> and more recently by Fanoula Papazoglou<sup>8</sup> have not yet threatened the prevalence of the "orthodox" view,<sup>9</sup> so convincingly argued by Larsen. Very recently, however, Papazoglou returned to the question in great detail and argued convincingly in favour of Feyerl's main the-

1 . Cf. though, Frank; Larsen, *Greece* 298.

2 . Feyerl 187-98.

3 . Larsen, *States* 295-97.

4 . Larsen, *Greece* 298.

5 . Larsen, "Consilium".

6 . Aymard, "Organisation".

7 . Musti, "Polibio" 185-86.

8 . Papazoglou, "Macedonia" 192; cf. 199.

9 . Cf. Will II 280-82; J.L. Ferrary in Nicolet 759; Gruen 424.

ses: that the assemblies of the *merides* were primary ones and that the *synedrion* was the representative political organ of Macedonia as a whole.<sup>1</sup> First, she pointed out that in the passage where the creation of the *synedrion* is announced (*quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores quos synhedros vocant legendos esse, quorum consilio res publica administraretur* [or *res publicae administrarentur*; the reading of the unique manuscript being RESPADMINISTRARENTUR]),<sup>2</sup> *respublica* (or *res publicae*) cannot designate the *merides*, mistakenly termed "republics" by modern authors, which are always called *partes* or *regiones* by Livy, but simply public affairs. This crucial passage should, therefore, be translated: "concerning the status of Macedonia, senators, whom they call *synhedroi*, should be elected, to whose discretion the administration of Macedonia should be entrusted", and should not be used as evidence for the existence of four distinct *synedria*. Papazoglou again drew attention to three passages in Polybios,<sup>3</sup> where Macedonia is referred to as a single entity and stressed that the danger which the Romans were striving to avoid was that of a primary assembly of the whole Macedonian *ethnos*, which could be carried away by a demagogue (*Denique ne, si commune consilium* [or *concilium*, our only manuscript using the two forms indiscriminately] *gentis esset, improbus vulgi adsentator aliquando libertatem salubri moderatione datam ad licentiam pestilentiam traheret, in quattuor regiones describi* [or *discrubi*] *Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque consilium* [or *concilium*] *haberet, placuit...*).<sup>4</sup> Naturally, the Romans would have felt no such misgivings, if they had in mind a few senators chosen under their auspices. Consequently, the division by four involved primary assemblies and not representative councils. Finally, Papazoglou found additional arguments in numismatic evidence suggesting that Macedonia preserved a loose unity. According to her, this unity found its expression in the common *synedrion*, which coexisted along with the primary assemblies of the four *merides*. As we shall see below, Fanoula Papazoglou's conclusions partly coincide with and partly complete those that I had reached half a decade earlier, in the first draft of this section, proceeding along different lines.

Following the same pattern as in our enquiry on the first clause of the Roman settlement, concerning the "freedom of the Macedonians",

1 . Papazoglou, *Villes* 55-64.

2 . Livy 45.32.2.

3 . Pol. 31.2.12; 17. 1-2; 35. 4.11.

4 . Livy 45.18.6-7.



the questions which shall again be asked are: 1) Was Macedonia divided into districts for the first time by the Romans, or were such divisions already in existence under the kings? and 2) If the regional division antedates the Roman conquest, did these districts dispose of some political organisation, including "magistrates" (ἀρχηγοί, *magistratus*) and assemblies (*concilia*) or was such an organisation introduced for the first time by the Romans? In other words, were the Romans radically innovating or were they adopting (and perhaps adapting) a pre-existing institutional framework?

## THE DISTRICTS

The textual uncertainties of a passage of Livy based on his annalistic source<sup>1</sup> make it useless –at least as a starting point– for our enquiry. Emendation cannot precede but only follow the correct understanding of the historical situation described in a text. The passage of Livy from Polybios<sup>2</sup> and the corresponding Greek summaries in Diodoros<sup>3</sup> and Strabo<sup>4</sup> seem to imply that the Romans were indeed innovating, but without making clear whether the innovation consisted a) in the fact of the division itself, b) in the number or the boundaries of the regional units which were adopted, or, finally, c) in the rules governing the internal and external relations of these districts.

That Macedonia under the kings was not only subdivided into civic territories but also into regional districts has been common knowledge since the end of the last century, when H. Gaebler devoted the first of three numismatic studies to this matter.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, since then, not only has no historian pursued the exploration of this question any further, but even the numismatic evidence itself, which in the meantime has become significantly richer, had not until very recently been made the object of a comprehensive re-examination.<sup>6</sup>

Gaebler was the first to propose an exhaustive classification and a comprehensive theory of the Hellenistic Macedonian "autonomous" coins, which had been known for some time: between c. 187 and 168 a certain number of Macedonian cities, namely Amphipolis, Aphytis, Apollonia, Pella and Thessalonike, and the Macedonians as a whole, received the right to strike "autonomous" coins. These coins were issued 1) at Amphipolis, without any distinctive characterisation, 2) at

1 . Livy 45.18.6-7, where we do not know whether the word used twice in Livy's original text was *concilium* or *consilium*.

2 . Livy 45.29.5-9: *Deinde in quattuor regiones dividi Macedoniam...*

3 . Diod. 31.8.8: τὴν δὲ χώραν ὅλην διεῖλον εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη...

4 . Strab. 7, frg. 47: Παῦλος μὲν οὖν... εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διέταξε τὴν χώραν...

5 . H. Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens" I, VII and VIII, published respectively in *ZfN* 20 (1897) 169-92; 36 (1926) 111-16 and 183-98.

6 . J. Touratsoglou's important monograph *The Coin Circulation in Ancient Macedonia* (Athens 1993) confirms and expertly documents the conclusions which I had independently reached some ten years earlier, when I was writing this section of the present book.

Thessalonike, with the name of the Amphaxians (or their monogram or that of the city), 3) in Pella, with the name or the monogram of the Botteatai. The Paionians too, under Macedonian rule, coined 1) in Doberos, with the name of the people and the monogram of the city and 2) in Paroreia, with only the monogram of that city.

Some points of Gaebler's chronology have been challenged and some of his attributions, as we shall see below, could and probably should be revised.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, certain points are incontrovertible: 1) even if they begin earlier and last longer, these autonomous coins were certainly issued and circulated under the last two Antigonids. 2) Three *ethnika* at least are certain, for they occur not (or not only) in monograms but fully spelt: the Amphaxians (ΑΜΦΑΞΙΩΝ), the Botteatai (ΒΟΤΤΕΑΤΩΝ) and the Paionians (ΠΑΙΟΝΩΝ). 3) In the first two cases the *ethnika* do not designate ancient, pre-Hellenic peoples miraculously re-emerging after centuries of Macedonian domination, but regional subdivisions of the Macedonians, as is clear from the legends, which are indifferently: ΑΜΦΑΞΙΩΝ, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΑΜΦΑΞΙΩΝ or ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Α and ΒΟΤΤΕΑΤΩΝ, Β, or ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Β. Before trying to identify the other, less clearly spelt out, Macedonian districts, one should try to locate those which can and have been securely identified.

The only recent discussions of some length about the location of Amphaxitis are due to Papazoglou and they are to be found in the two editions of her excellent book about the Macedonian cities in Roman times.<sup>2</sup> In her earlier work, the author starts by implicitly identifying Amphaxitis with the "narrow strip" located by Herodotos and Thucydides on the west bank of the Axios, to which she reluctantly adds some territory on the east bank of the river, including Thessalonike. She then goes on to reject Strabo's unambiguous statement that the Axios is the boundary between Bottia (to the west) and Amphaxitis (to the east) and also Ptolemy's list of Amphaxian cities, which, besides Thessalonike, includes Stageira and Arethousa, in order to conclude, finally, that she agrees with Hirschfeld and locates Amphaxitis on both banks of the Axios, but in fact ascribes to it only cities on its west bank (with the possible exception of Idomene, of which she confesses that she does not know the exact location). In the more recent edition of her work, after conceding that the term is ambiguous and has been diversely interpreted, Fanoula Papazoglou lo-

1 . See now Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 71-72.

2 . Papazoglou, *Cités* 131-35; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 174-77; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 25, n. 3 and 85-87.

cates Amphaxitis mainly on the west bank of the Axios, but includes under the same heading the cities which Ptolemy ascribes to Paraxia, although she maintains that Amphaxitis and Paraxia are not identical. On the other hand, in spite of Ptolemy's unambiguous testimony, she does not include Thessalonike in the same chapter, but prefers to examine it in the following chapter devoted to Mygdonia. It is a pity that Hammond, who understood the correct meaning of the term and suggested that it described a region vaster than just the eastern bank of the Axios, extending to the watershed between the valleys of the Axios and the Echedoros, did not pursue the matter any further.<sup>1</sup>

Papazoglou's hesitations are difficult to explain, the more so since she is fully aware of the fact that information about the Axios being the boundary between Bottia and Mygdonia and about the "narrow strip" along that river goes back to the fifth-century authors Herodotos and Thucydides (or rather, as we now know, to the sixth/fifth-century *logographos* Hekataios), whereas the name Amphaxitis does not appear before the end of the Classical period. Moreover, she notes herself that the name of Amphaxitis is not comparable to the old "tribal" names of Mygdonia and Krestonia etc., to which it succeeded, but has instead a clearly recent, administrative origin. Once the unfortunate and *a priori* identification with the narrow strip of "Paionia" is abandoned, one can go back to consider anew the information provided by the ancient geographers who explicitly refer to this region.

Strabo in his description of Macedonia liberally mixes information from Hekataios, reflecting conditions of the late sixth century, down to Polybios, describing the situation of the middle of the second century, *via* Ephoros, who is his most probable source for the fourth century; and it is not always easy to isolate these successive layers of historical and geographical data.<sup>2</sup> He mentions Amphaxitis in fragment 23. The second part of this fragment must go back to the scholiasts of Homer.<sup>3</sup> For the first part, describing the Axios as having its mouth between Chalastra and Therma, Hammond has suggested a source later than Herodotos, who describes a more western mouth of the river, but prior to the foundation of Thessalonike, which displaced Therma in importance, if it did not supersede it.<sup>4</sup> Baladié, too, does not ascribe either the first part of this fragment to any particular author, but among Strabo's sources of the period after Herodotos and

1 . Hammond, *Macedonia* I 167; 176-79; cf. Zahmt, "Entwicklung" 340, n. 50 and Baladié 257.

2 . Cf. Baladié 13-41.

3 . Hammond, *Macedonia* I 177; Baladié 26.

4 . Cf. Baladié 162, n. 9.

before Thessalonike's foundation in 316 B.C. the most likely candidate is Ephoros, whose geographical book Δ' was used—directly or indirectly—both by Strabo and Pseudo-Skymnos, especially for their description of Macedonia. If this deduction is correct, then the information that the Axios was the boundary between Bottia (Bottiaia) and Amphaxitis (εἶτα ὁ Ἄξιός, διαιρῶν τὴν τε Βοττιαίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀμφαξιτίν γῆν) must belong to the second half of the fourth century, which is the earliest *terminus post quem* for the existence of these administrative units.

The context of the other mention of Amphaxitis in Strabo is very different. Fragment 11 is a severely summarised account of the situation before the expansion of the Macedonians, when the lands which eventually came into their possession were still occupied by Epeirotic peoples, Illyrians, Bottians, Thracians and Paionians, which, as Hammond has shown, goes back to Hekataios.<sup>1</sup> In this context (Θρακῶν δὲ Πίερες μὲν ἐνέμοντο τὴν Πιερίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον, Παίονες δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄξιόν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην διὰ τοῦτο Ἀμφαξιτίν, Ἡδῶνοι δὲ καὶ Βισάλται τὴν λοιπὴν μέχρι Στρυμόνος) the phrase "which is called from this river Amphaxitis" is a gloss of Strabo or perhaps even of the excerptor, who knew that name from the passage previously cited, and, therefore, cannot be used (as by Papazoglou in her earlier work<sup>2</sup>) as proof that some two centuries later it designated a district on both banks of the Axios.

If the Axios was the western boundary of Amphaxitis, which was the eastern one? One clue is provided by the names of the cities listed under that region in Ptolemy's *Geography*.<sup>3</sup> In his description of the coast, moving from east to west, he mentions, after the mouth of the Strymon, the district Amphaxitis with the cities Arethousa and Stageira,<sup>4</sup> then Chalkidike with Akrothooi, Stratonike, Akanthos and Singos, then Paraxia with Torone,<sup>5</sup> then Pallene with Kassandreia, then again Amphaxitis with Thessalonike and the lands as far as the

1 . Cf. Baladié 35.

2 . In the new edition of her work she points out that the term is used anachronistically in this fragment (Papazoglou, *Cités* 131-32; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 176).

3 . Ptol. 3.12.8 and 11.

4 . Papazoglou *Villes* 174, n. 8, following T.L.F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro dissertatio geographica* (Berlin 1839) 234, n. 57, emends in this passage of Ptolemy (3.12.8: Ἀμφαξιτιδος Ἀρέθουσα, Στάγειρα) Ἀμφαξιτιδος to Ἀμφακτίας, which she locates near Akte, the easternmost prong of the Chalkidike peninsula. But, as we shall see below, this emendation is both arbitrary and superfluous.

5 . Papazoglou, *Villes* 174, n. 8 reads Παρακτίας instead of Παραξίας in Ptolemy 3.12.10 (Παραξίας Ἀμπελος ἄκρα, Δέρρις ἄκρα, Τορώνη), once again an unwarranted emendation; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 83-84.

Axios, In the description of the interior, Chalkidike receives Augaia, Paraxia, Klitai, Morrylos and Antigoneia Psaphara. Amphaxitis is conspicuous by its absence. Instead we have a new district, Mygdonia with the cities Antigoneia, Kalindoia, Bairos, Physkai, Terpyllos, Karabia, Xylopolis, Asseros, Apollonia and Lete.

These results can be tabulated as follows:

<u>Chalkidike</u>	<u>Paraxia</u>	<u>Pallene</u>	<u>Amphaxitis</u>	<u>Mygdonia</u>
Akrothooi	Torone	Kassandraia	Arethousa	Antigoneia
Stratonike	Klitai		Stageira	Kalindoia
Akanthos	Moryllos		Thessalonike	Bairos
Singos	Antigoneia			Physkai
Augaia	Psaphara			Terpyllos
				Karabia
				Xylopolis
				Asseros
				Apollonia
				Lete

The first impression is that Amphaxitis is the land corridor extending between the Axios and the Strymon north of the Chalkidike peninsula and south of the Krestonian mountains. This is confirmed by Ptolemy's earliest surviving map, which places Amphaxitis in the basis of the Chalkidike peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Now this definition of Amphaxitis corresponds precisely to that of Mygdonia in earlier times (πέραν Ἀξιού μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδοῖαν καλουμένην)<sup>2</sup> and indeed Ptolemy's map has no choice but to inscribe the name of Mygdonia just above that of Thessalonike, which according to the geographer belongs not to that district but to Amphaxitis. The absence of Mygdonia from the description of the coast, in spite of the maritime character of the district (παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονία),<sup>3</sup> the absence of Amphaxitis from the description of the interior, although – unless one is to suppose a situation comparable to that of Pakistan between 1947 and 1967 – there must have been inland cities belonging to that district between Thessalonike and Arethousa, and, last but not least, the identity of the geographical definitions of Amphaxitis and Mygdonia can be best explained if we suppose that Ptolemy used two different names for the same geographical area, the more modern belonging to the vocabulary of the Hellenistic administration, and the

1 . This map has been published in Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos*, pl. XXX.

2 . Thuc. 2.99.4; cf. Geyer 16; *ATL* III 309, n. 47; Papazoglou, *Cités* 136; Zahrt, *Olynth* 206; *eiusdem*, "Entwicklung" 342-43.

3 . Cf. Thuc. 2.99.3.

older one preserving a traditional, pre-Macedonian geographical term. However the equation of Ptolemy's Amphaxitis with Mygdonia does not solve all the difficulties. Among Ptolemy's Mygdonian cities an Antigoneia is listed, which, as Robert<sup>1</sup> and Papazoglou<sup>2</sup> have independently argued, cannot be the Paionian Antigoneia on the Axios. We must be dealing with the Antigoneia Μακεδονίας of Stephanos Byzantios,<sup>3</sup> the Antigoneia ἡ ἐν Μακεδονίαι of the *senatus consultum de Stratonicensibus*,<sup>4</sup> which is the same as the Antigoneia of Livy and Pseudo-Skymnos,<sup>5</sup> Antigoneia Psaphara of Ptolemy himself. Antigoneia in Mygdonia must disappear, not because it never existed, but because it is the same Antigoneia Psaphara of Paraxia, which, however, is not in Mygdonia but in Krousis.<sup>6</sup>

Ptolemy was clearly using different sources with different names for by-and-large the same regions and cities. Paraxia, sharing the same cities with Mygdonia, is undoubtedly, as Hammond has independently suggested,<sup>7</sup> another name for Amphaxitis. The theory that Paraxia is a copyist's error for Paraktia or Paralia and should be understood as a part of the Chalkidike peninsula was possible only as long as Morrylos was thought to be located in that region. Its secure identification with the ancient site at Ano Apostoloi in the vicinity of Kilkis has now made this identification obsolete.<sup>8</sup> Ano Apostoloi,

1. Robert, "Mertzidès" 143-46 (= *OMS* II 1296-99).

2. Papazoglou, *Cités* 306. In the new edition of her book Papazoglou, *Villes* 323-24 and 419-20, following the relocation of Morrylos and Klitai in the hinterland of the east bank of the Axios, revised her earlier opinion and identified Antigoneia Psaphara no longer with the city of Krousis but with the Paionian city of the same name. She further suggested that Paraxia may be an epithet of Mygdonia along the Axios, which should be not confused with Amphaxitis. As has been pointed out elsewhere (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 87), there is no cogent reason for removing Antigoneia Psaphara from the sandy shores of Krousis. For Papazoglou's suggestion about Paraxia, see below.

3. Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀντιγόνηα... τρίτη Μακεδονίας, Ἀντιγόνου κτίσμα τοῦ Γονατοῦ.

4. *OGIS* 441, L. 182-83.

5. Livy 44.10.8-12; Pseudo-Skymnos 631.

6. Cf. Robert, "Mertzidès" 145 (= *OMS* II 1298): "et le nom d'Antigoneia de Mygdonie doit disparaître" See also note 2, where he writes: "Il se peut d'ailleurs que l'erreur de Ptolémée soit plus grave, et qu'il ait confondu les deux Antigoneia".

7. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 179.

8. See Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 39-40 and 83-87. The identification of Morrylos with Ano Apostoloi has led Fanoula Papazoglou, *Villes* 174-76 with note 8 and 324, to the conclusion 1) that Ptolemy has erroneously situated an Antigoneia Psaphara in Paraxia and that the epithet of this Antigoneia, which she locates in Paionia, should be emended to Παραξία. On the other hand, she suggests to emending 2) Ἀμφαξιτιδος to Ἀμφακτίας, as we said before, and Παραξίας to Παρακτίας in

however, is no more in Mygdonia than Antigoneia; it is in Krestonia.<sup>1</sup> The identification of Amphaxitis, Mygdonia and Paraxia will help us explain this and a third paradox. Among the cities of Mygdonia figures Asseros, which is undoubtedly on the Singitic Gulf,<sup>2</sup> and at the same time Ptolemy's only coastal Paraxian city is Torone, which is again securely located on the same gulf.<sup>3</sup> The only possible explanation is that (like Mygdonia in earlier times)<sup>4</sup> Amphaxitis-Paraxia did not simply mean the land by the Axios but also had a wider sense as an administrative term, signifying all the Macedonian lands between the Axios and the Strymon valley. Ptolemy, using a variety of sources, some going back to the Classical period, attributed most of the cities of this district to different, older, traditionally named regions (Mygdonia, Chalkidike, Pallene) or to the purely verbal variant Paraxia, leaving for Amphaxitis only some sorry remnants at the two extremes of the area.

If we admit this interpretation of Ptolemy and agree to define Amphaxitis as the Macedonian lands between the Axios and the Strymon valley, we can better understand the earliest direct literary attestation of this term where it appears in full context: (Φίλιππος) ἀσφαλίσάμενος δὲ ταύτην (τὴν πόλιν Βυλάζωρα) Χρυσόγονον μὲν ἐξαπέστειλε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπισυνάξοντα τοὺς ἄνω Μακεδόνας, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βοττίας καὶ τῆς Ἀμφαξίτιδος ἦκεν ἔχων εἰς Ἔδεσσαν προσδεξάμενος δ' ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μετὰ Χρυσόγονου Μακεδόνας ἐξώρμησε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παρῆν ἑκταῖος εἰς Λάρισαν.<sup>5</sup>

3.12.10, which she understands as an epithet of Χαλκιδική. For my part, I prefer a solution which respects the ancient text as far as possible and offers an explanation of Ptolemy's confusions.

1. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 85-86; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 179-82. Papazoglou, *Villes* 187-88, ascribes the whole valley of the Echedoros to Mygdonia without good reason. As, on the other hand, she attributes the site of Palatianon (probably Ioron) near the sources of this river to Paionia, while she locates Morrylos, Bragylai and Klitai in Amphaxitis, she practically wipes Krestonia off the map.

2. See Zahrt, *Olynth* 162-66, with previous bibliography. Papazoglou, *Villes* 224, seems to believe in the presence of a homonymous city in Mygdonia, against the opinion of all her predecessors, but with no arguments.

3. Singos, however, which is also beyond doubt on the Singitic Gulf, is ascribed to Chalkidike. Chaitai, *pace* Hammond, *Macedonia* I 179, is to be identified with Klitai; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 25, n. 3 and 87-92.

4. Papazoglou, *Cités* 136; Zahrt, *Olynth* 206.

5. Pol. 5.97.3-4.



We are in the spring of 217 and Philip V was returning from Paionia, where he had just restored full Macedonian domination.<sup>1</sup> The contingents enumerated must represent the whole Macedonian field army (μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως) or rather, if the rule which Rosen has suggested in his unpublished thesis is correct, most of his army.<sup>2</sup> It is divided into three groups or, more precisely, recruitment regions: Bottia, Amphaxitis and Upper Macedonia. It would be unreasonable to dismiss as mere coincidence the mention of two of these three recruitment regions in similar terms in Arrian's *Anabasis*, in a passage which, to my knowledge, has always been misunderstood or misinterpreted: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἔξω, Φιλώταν μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀνωθεν Μακεδονίας ἰππέας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρασ τὸ δεξιόν, ἥπερ μάλιστα προὔκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ. Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ Σώπολιν τοὺς ἐκ Βοττιαίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἰππέας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρασ ἐπάγειν ἔταξε, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρατείνας κατὰ μέσους ἐπῆγε.<sup>3</sup>

Two confusions have obscured the meaning and hampered the understanding of this passage. The first consists of the identification of Bottia, west of the Axios, with Bottike in Chalkidike. This error, which has never ceased to find favour,<sup>4</sup> should have been put to rest after Griffith's detailed discussion and refutation.<sup>5</sup> The publication of an inscription from Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 10) provides the ultimate proof. It is a letter of Philip V (or Antigonos Doson) written in August 214, rather than 215 (or 223) in which the king describes the rewards granted to the officers who had fought with him. A list of three groups of twenty officers, sixty in all, is appended at the end of our letter. We shall return to the significance of this letter for the knowledge of the organisation of the Macedonian army later in this study. What needs to be stressed here is that Beroia, where the inscription was found, and to whom the letter was addressed, is referred to as a subdivision of a larger military and administrative district: Bottia (περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κοινῇ μὲν γέγραφα πρὸς Βοττεάτας καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθ' ἴδιαν ἔκρινον ἐπιστεῖλαι).

1 . Merker 53.

2 . Rosen, *König* 38 and 136a; see p. 455-56, below.

3 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5.

4 . Among many scholars who have adopted this view, last but not least is Bosworth, *Commentary* 58-59, with previous bibliography.

5 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 367-68.

Herodotos<sup>1</sup> and Thucydides<sup>2</sup> consistently divide the lands between the Axios and the Peneios into two regions: Bottia and Pieria. Emathia is ignored by these two authors and seems to have been used in Classical times merely as a prehistoric name for the cradle of the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>3</sup> In Ptolemy, however, the situation is completely reversed.<sup>4</sup> Bottia, which in Herodotos began on the western bank of the Axios, has completely disappeared and the whole coast between the Axios and the Peneios belongs to Pieria. In the list of the inland cities, however, only two of uncertain location, Phylakai and Balla, belong to Pieria, while all the rest of the cities east of Mt. Bermion are listed under Emathia (Europos, Tyrissa, Skydra, Mieza, Kyrrhos, Idomene, Gordynia, Edessa, Beroia, Aigeai, Pella). One of the reasons for the extreme confusion in the excerpts of the seventh book of Strabo's *Geography* is undoubtedly the author's or the excerptor's efforts to combine these two mutually exclusive and incompatible traditions: thus in the same fragment it is affirmed καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τούτου (*sc.* τοῦ Δίου) ἢ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ κόλπου παραλία Πιερία καλεῖται ἕως τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐν ἣ καὶ πόλις Πύδνα... εἶτα Μεθώνη καὶ Ἄλωρος πόλεις... ἢ μὲν οὖν Πύδνα Πιερικὴ ἐστὶ πόλις ἢ δὲ Ἄλωρος Βοτταϊκὴ.<sup>5</sup> The author does not seem able to decide whether Bottia had any coast at all in order that Aloros might at the same time be a Bottian city and be situated on the coast. This contradiction has been noted by Papazoglou;<sup>6</sup> what has not been noticed before is that it goes back to Polybios himself: Polybios (and the Polybian passages of Livy) mention Pieria seven times.<sup>7</sup> These mentions are compatible both with the Classical and the more recent content of this geographical term. A small detail, however, betrays the relation between Strabo's more recent definition and that of Polybios. In three passages of the latter author<sup>8</sup> Pieria is depicted in the same terms as in the passage of Strabo: the region which extends from Dion to the north towards the head of the Thermaic Gulf (καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἢ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ κόλπου παραλία). For Emathia things are even clearer. In Polybios, as in Ptolemy, it means the inland—as opposed to the coastal—

1. Herod. 7.123; cf. 131.

2. Thuc. 2.99.3; 100.4.

3. Justin (Trogus Pompeius) 7.1.1; 7, from Theopompus; Strab. 7, frg. 11, from Ephoros; cf. Pliny, *NH* 4.10; Steph. Byz., *s. v.*; Solinus 1.15 etc.

4. Ptol. 3.12.36-37.

5. Strab. 7, frg. 22; cf. frg. 20, where information introduced by νομιζουσι betrays perhaps the use of a different authority.

6. Papazoglou, *Villes* 103.

7. Pol. 4.62.1; Livy 39.26.1; 44.7.4; 8.2; 9.10; 20.3; 43.1.

8. Pol. 4.62.1; Livy 44.8.2; 9.10; cf. 7.4; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 103.

part of the Central Macedonian plain.<sup>1</sup> Polybios' expression: ...ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ παραθαλαττίων πόλεων... εἰς τὴν νῦν μὲν Ἡμαθίαν τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν Παιονίαν προσαγορευομένην...<sup>2</sup> (cf. ...*ex maritimis civitatibus... in Emathiam, quae nunc dicitur, quondam appellata Paeonia est...*)<sup>3</sup> was interpreted by Hammond as meaning Hellenistic Paionia, to the north of Macedonia proper, and particularly the region of Kavadarči.<sup>4</sup> Polybios, however, makes sufficiently clear that in writing "Paionia" he is using an obsolete term (τὸ... παλαιὸν... προσαγορευομένην), which, antiquarian that he was, he had found in his Classical or even pre-Classical readings, where it meant the Central plain west of the Axios and doubtless as far as Pieria.<sup>5</sup>

The use of the term Emathia as a near equivalent of Classical Bottia, on the one hand, and its equation with pre-Classical Paionia (with some degree of error) in Hellenistic writers such as Polybios, on the other, explain an otherwise incomprehensible crux, which has puzzled generations of scholars:<sup>6</sup> both Livy<sup>7</sup> and Diodoros,<sup>8</sup> translating or summarising Polybios, locate Edessa and Beroia in "Paionia", but in a "southern Paionia", which has no common frontier with Dardania, as the real Paionia of Polybios' time had. In fact, in Livy's description of the third *meris*, which is discussed in more detail below, we recognise Ptolemy's subdivision: first Pieria, as the coastal strip from the Axios to the Peneios (*tertia pars facta, quam Axios ab oriente, Peneus ab occasu cingunt*), then Emathia or "Paionia" (*adiecta huic parti regio Paeoniae, quae ab occasu praeter Axium annem porrigitur; Edessa quoque et Beroea eodem concesserunt*; cf. ...προστεθέντων καὶ τινων τόπων τῆς Παιονίας, ἐν οἷς καὶ πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι Ἡδεσσα καὶ Βέροια). This substitution of Emathia for what was practically in Classical times Bottia, and its joint use with Pieria in order to describe the original cradle of the Macedonian kingdom are not Polybios' innovations, but can be traced back at least to the second half of the fourth century, when Marsyas of Pella made Amathos and Pieros the eponymous of these two subdivisions and simultaneously the two

1. For a city Emathia in two passages of Livy of Polybian origin, see Papazoglou, *Villes* 196-98.

2. Pol. 23.10.4.

3. Livy 40.3.3; cf. Plut., *Aem.* 8.7: τὰ μεσόγεια χωρία καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις.

4. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 145; 657.

5. Thuc. 2.99.4; Strab. 7, frg. 38; cf. *Souda*, s.v. Ἡμαθία.

6. Papazoglou, *Villes* 68-71, with references.

7. Livy 45.29.8.

8. Diod. 31.8.8.

sons of Makedon, the eponymous of all the original Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> This subdivision was already current at the time of the Early Hellenistic source of Martianus Capella, who describes Macedonia immediately west of the Axios as *Periam Emathiamque*.<sup>2</sup> A recent discovery at Pella, which belonged to the Emathian subdivision, now provides epigraphic confirmation: early Hellenistic water pipes which came to light during the excavations of the city bear the stamp HMA(θίας).<sup>3</sup>

The substitution of Emathia for Bottia did not mean, however, the disappearance of the latter term. Liberated from its exclusive links with the Central plain, it became available to describe, as Emathia too had occasionally already done, the whole cradle of the Macedonian kingdom, including Pieria. As far as literary sources are concerned, this is the case not only in its use as one of the four recruitment districts of Macedonia,<sup>4</sup> as we saw above, but also in an ordinary geographical description, such as that of Philip's march in 211 B.C., where Bottia is understood as extending as far south as Thessaly.<sup>5</sup> This is also the implication of mention of Pydna in connection with Bottia in a fragmentary inscription from Gonnoi, which has hitherto passed unnoticed because of the restorations proposed by its editors.<sup>6</sup>

-----  
 ---- Υ εὐορκ -----  
 ---- προχειρίσαμεν[-----  
 [--τῶ]ι Μικίωνι τῶι γεωμ[έτρηι-----]  
 4 [τούτ]ων οὐκ εὐθέως συνε[λθόντων-----]  
 --EPHN ἐπιτή<ι>δειον, οἱ προχ[ειρισθέντες--]  
 [τήν ἐπί]σκεψιν τῶν ἐν Βοττεΐαι Β -----

1. *FGrHist* 135-36, F 13, with commentary.

2. Martianus Capella 6.655, the regions east of the Axios being Mygdonia (corresponding to Amphaxitis) and Edonis (corresponding to Parastrymonia discussed below); cf. Solinus 1.15.

3. *SEG* 24 (1969) 557; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 153. Papazoglou, *Villes* 124, n. 2, challenges this view on the grounds that contemporary coins minted at Pella bear the legend BOTTEATON showing that the name of this region was Bottia. Our colleague did not take into consideration the possibility that the two terms were used with different meanings, as I try to show in the following paragraph.

4. *Pol.* 5.97.3-4.

5. Livy 26.25.4: *...per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiaeam in Thessaliam descendit*. The fact that Philip was obviously following the west to east axis as far as Edessa and thence the north to south one, and that the region named immediately before Bottia is Lynkos could be seen as an argument that, besides Emathia and Pieria, Eordaia, too, was part of Bottia in the more extensive, administrative sense of the term.

6. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 107-110, no 98.

- 8 [-- ἐποί]ησαν, εἰς τὴν Πύδναν ἀνακα[λέσαι---]  
 8 [καὶ δι]αγράψαι τοὺς τόπους -vac.- ἔτ(ους)---  
 -vac.- Πετραῖος Γοννέων τοῖς ταγο[ῖς καὶ τῆι πόλει]  
 [χαίρειν' οἱ παρ]ὰ τῶν Ἡρακλειωτῶν κομίζο[ντες-]  
 [----πρὸ]ς τὸν [β]ασιλέα καὶ -----  
 12 ----- ὑμᾶς -----  
 -----ONHM-----  
 -----

"...εἰς τὴν Πύδναν" has been made a circumstantial complement of ἀνακα[λέσαι] and it has been assumed that the officials of the Macedonian administration (οἱ προχ[ειρισθέντες]) were recalled from Bottia to Pydna. Such a restoration and interpretation, however, make very little sense. We are dealing with a letter of Philip V concerning the territorial conflict between Herakleion and Gonnoi. As the editor rightly points out, the officials and the geometer are dispatched by the king in order to perform an *episkepsis* ("une inspection ou tournée pour l'établissement d'un cadastre"), which will provide the necessary information for the solution of the conflict. If such is the case, as it undoubtedly is, one can see no earthly reason why these officials would be recalled to *Pydna* (εἰς τὴν Πύδναν ἀνακαλέσαι), in order "to describe the lands" (διαγράψαι τοὺς τόπους) which lay between 60 (Herakleion) and 90 (Gonnoi) km south of this city. For the mention of Pydna and the use of the verb ἀνακαλῶ to make sense, a different reconstruction of the situation is necessary: the officials were initially sent to inspect the disputed lands between Herakleion and Gonnoi. As some people, whose presence was indispensable for their work (representatives of the communities? witnesses?) did not show up soon enough ([τούτ]ων οὐκ εὐθέως συνε[λθόντων]), in order not to remain idle, they went to Pydna ([ἀνεχώρ?]ησαν εἰς τὴν Πύδναν) for an inspection of (royal?) lands in Bottia ([ἐπι]σκεψιν τῶν ἐν Βοττειᾷ β[ασιλικῶν?]). Now the king was either *recalling* them to their original task (ἀνακα[λέσας νῦν συγέταξα αὐτοῖς δι]αγράψαι τοὺς τόπους) or was asking Petraios to do so (ἀνακα[λέσας νῦν σύνταξον αὐτοῖς δι]αγράψαι τοὺς τόπους). In the light of what has preceded, we need not hesitate to accept Pydna's location in Bottia; the more restricted, Classical definition of the term was probably the reason behind the adoption of the less likely restoration and interpretation by the editor, which is challenged here.

The second confusion which has hampered the understanding of the passage of Arrian describing the subdivisions of the Macedonian cavalry during the Balkan campaign results from the fact that it has

always been taken for granted that these subdivisions are the same as the *ilai* of the early years of the Asian campaign, on the flimsy evidence that Herakleides (of the Bottia subdivision) and Sopolis (of the Amphipolis subdivision) reappear there as commanders of one (unnamed) *ile* each.<sup>1</sup> It should be stressed, however, that: 1) The subdivisions of the Balkan campaign (Bottia, Upper Macedonia etc.)<sup>2</sup> never reappear. 2) In the passage describing this campaign the units are consistently indicated, as in Polybios, by the expression οἱ ἐκ..., whereas in analogous passages concerning the early Asian campaign the units are consistently referred to as *ilai*. 3) The regional subdivisions of the Balkan campaign are three (or four, if we suppose that in the centre of his formation Alexander had, besides the royal squadron, a unit of the remaining region, Amphaxitis, which is not mentioned in the two wings), whereas the *ilai* of the early Asian campaign (cf. the order of battle at Gaugamela) were roughly twice as many: six (or seven) besides the royal squadron.<sup>3</sup> 4) The units of the Balkan campaign were much larger units than the *ilai*.<sup>4</sup> In the two instances, in which we can be certain about the origin of these units (Apollonia,<sup>5</sup> Anthemous<sup>6</sup>) the *ilai* are named after *cities*, that is to say administrative units much less extensive than *districts* such as Bottia or Upper Macedonia (for Amphipolis see below). 6) This situation finds its parallel in the naming of the infantry *taxeis* in the same battle of Gaugamela, which are also named after civic communities (*ethne*), such as the Orestai, the Lynkestai and the Tymphaioi, into which the district of Upper Macedonia was divided.<sup>7</sup> For these reasons the fact that Herakleides and Sopolis are mentioned as *ilarchai* in the early Asian campaign<sup>8</sup> is no cogent argument for identifying the first set of units with the second. If, as I am suggesting here, the *ilai* were subdivisions of the larger units of the Balkan campaign, Herakleides and Sopolis may well have been the leaders of the latter as a result of the

1. Arr., *Anab.* 3.11.8.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5.

3. Cf. P.A. Brunt, "Alexander's Macedonian Cavalry", *JHS* 83 (1963) 32-36; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 408-414; cf. Bosworth, *Commentary* 58-59; 300-301.

4. In the Balkan campaign Alexander had with him 3,000 cavalry (Diod. 17.9.3), of which at least 2,000 were Companion cavalry. Even if we allow for four regional units besides the royal one, the strength of each would hardly fall below 400 men, as opposed to the approximately 200 men (cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 411) of the *ilai* of the Asian campaign.

5. Arr., *Anab.* 1.12.7.

6. Arr., *Anab.* 2.9.3.

7. Diod. 17.57.2; cf. Curtius 4.13.28.

8. Arr., *Anab.* 3.11.8.

leadership by rotation practised in the Macedonian army.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, despite the doubts usually aired,<sup>2</sup> Philotas was not merely the commander of the Upper Macedonian cavalry but of the entire Companion cavalry. As the cavalry was divided into three parts for the battle against the Triballians, Philotas was given command of its right wing, where the normal position of the commanding officer is.<sup>3</sup> According to the same principle of rotation, the *ilarches* Herakleides was that day the leader of the entire cavalry from Bottia. The case of Sopolis is more complicated, for, due to the *lacunae* in our information, it is not clear whether only the city of Amphipolis is meant, in which case we are dealing with a smaller unit, comparable to the *ilai* of Apollonia and Anthemous, or whether it is a case of *pars pro toto*, and the whole region east of Amphaxitis is meant.

Such information is perhaps preserved in a passage of Pseudo-Skymnos.<sup>4</sup> After a general geographical description and a legendary prehistory of Macedonia, whose probable source is Ephoros, the anonymous second-century author gives a list of the peoples of Macedonia:

ἔθνος τὸ Λυγκηστῶν τε καὶ τῶν Πελαγόνων  
τῶν κειμένων ἔχει τε παρὰ τὸν Ἄξιόν  
καὶ Βουτεατῶν τῶν τε περὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα.

The original reading of the *codices* has been variously manipulated: M. Letronne, its first modern editor, after the discovery of the *codex Parisinus*, violently emended the second and the beginning of the third line in τῶν κειμένων τε περὶ τὸν Ἄξιόν ἔχεται τῶν Βουτεατῶν, in order to connect the Botteatai with the Axios, and translated: *Buteatarumque, qui iuxta Axium sedent*. K.O. Müller, the last modern editor, less violently, emends the second line to τῶν κειμένων ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τὸν Ἄξιόν, in order to connect the Axios with the Pelagones, and translates: *populus Lyncestarum atque Pelagonum qui ibi iuxta Axium sunt*. Both emendations are superfluous, for not only do they not improve the meaning of the text but they obscure its neat distinctions hardly veiled by the attempt at poetic diction: first come the Upper Macedonian people of the Lynkestai, then the Pelagonians, who were part of Paionia and whose *ethnikon* was used as a poetic equivalent for that of the Paionians,<sup>5</sup> then "(the *ethnos*) of those who

1. Arr., *Anab.* 1.14.6; cf. 1.28.3; 5.13.4.

2. Cf. Bosworth, *Commentary* 57.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5.

4. Pseudo-Skymnos 621-23.

5. Cf. Strab. 7, frg. 38 and 39.

live by the Axios", in other words the Paraxians or Amphaxians, then "(the *ethnos*) of the Botteatai", and finally "(the *ethnos*) of those (who live) by the Strymon".

Naturally, these *ethne* have nothing to do with the original and authentic pre-Macedonian "tribes", but represent administrative subdivisions of Macedonia, as in two passages of Arrian<sup>1</sup> and Curtius,<sup>2</sup> where *ethnos* and its Latin equivalents *gens*, *natio* are used to indicate recruitment districts of the Macedonian army. Since it is clear from the context that these passages concern the entire Macedonian army, they cannot be interpreted as referring exclusively to the Upper Macedonian non-urban political units known as *ethne*, but must be equated with the administrative subdivisions of Macedonia: Βοττία, Ἀμφαξιτις, Ἄνω Μακεδονία, mentioned by Polybios and/or Arrian, which constituted the larger recruitment and administrative districts and in which the cities –the elementary administrative and recruitment units both in Arrian and Polybios– were regrouped.

"The region by the Strymon" and Paionia (which is probably meant by Pseudo-Skymnos' poetic approximation "Pelagonians")<sup>3</sup> also appear as recruitment districts in a Polybian passage of Livy.<sup>4</sup> Didas, the *strategos* of Paionia, has under his orders in 171 his Paionians, but also Paroreians, Parastrymonians and Thracians inhabiting Macedonia.

Paionia, both as a (semi-)autonomous kingdom and as a Macedonian subject territory has been made the object of several studies.<sup>5</sup> After its total annexation to Macedonia by Philip V in 217, it extended from the Illyrian border to the Strymon, comprising Derriopos, Pelagonia proper and the territories east of the Axios, perhaps as far east as Herakleia Strymonos.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the exact significance of the monogram Δ,<sup>7</sup> this was the "autonomous" district which minted the coins with the legend ΠΑΙΟΝΩΝ in the first half of the second century. The Agrianians, too, were outside Macedonia proper, a semi-autonomous Paionian people within the Macedonian protection from

1. Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.10-11.

2. Curtius 5.2.2-6.

3. Strab. 7, frg. 38 and 39.

4. Livy 42.51.5-6; cf. 58.8.

5. Merker 35-54; Papazoglou, *Villes* 307-343; Sokolovska 9-34; Mikulčić-Sokolovska 101-110 (apparently a forgery; cf. *SEG* 40 [1990] 560), with bibliography.

6. Cf. Livy 40.24.5; Strab. 7.7.4; frg. 4 and 36; Papazoglou, *Villes* 307-308.

7. My doubts have now been confirmed by Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 71, who points out that the same monogram is found on coins of Thessalonike and Amphipolis.



the time of Philip II.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to understand why these peoples as well as "the Thracians inhabiting the kingdom"<sup>2</sup> were recruited into separate units under the responsibility of Didas. It was a traditional policy for Macedonian kings not to incorporate into the Macedonian national levies recruits not "speaking Greek or trained in the use of Macedonian arms",<sup>3</sup> conditions that none of these groups fulfilled. Didas was given command over them because, as *strategos* of Paionia, he was the geographically closest military official used to handling non-Macedonian units.

Who were "those from Paroreia and Parastrymonia"? Gaebler<sup>4</sup> and Bengtson<sup>5</sup> after him (although less explicitly) consider these regions as parts of Paionia. This is certainly not the case. They are listed separately in this passage of Livy and an earlier one shows,<sup>6</sup> as we mentioned before, that in 189 Paroreia was considered part of Thrace, apparently under the jurisdiction of the *strategos* of Thrace (τεταγμένος ἐπὶ Θράκης).<sup>7</sup> A reminiscence of this situation is to be found in Appian's description of the same region between Mt. Pangajon, Mt. Menoikion and Mt. Lekane as Θράκη ἢ ὄρειος.<sup>8</sup> In our passage describing events of 171, however, Paroreia and Parastrymonia lie outside Thrace and simply border with it (*loca subiecta Thraciae*).<sup>9</sup> They form a separate unit on a par with Upper Macedonia, Bottia and Amphaxitis, corresponding to the (ἔθνος) περὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα of the anonymous geographer.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, if the monogram  $\overline{\text{P}}$  of the coins studied by Gaebler were to be read ΠΑΡΩΡΑΙΩΝ (or rather ΠΑΡΑΣΤΡΥΜΟΝΙΩΝ, as is equally possible), there would be no reason to supply ΠΑΙΟΝΩΝ rather than ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.<sup>11</sup> Amphipolis, whose types figure on the  $\overline{\text{P}}$  coin-

1 . Cf. Bosworth, *Commentary* 65 and the article by Sokolovska 9-34.

2 . Livy 42.51.5.

3 . Plut., *Alex.* 47.6.

4 . Gaebler, "Doberos" 188-89.

5 . Bengtson, *Strategie* II 342-43.

6 . Livy 39.27.10.

7 . Pol. 22.13.3; cf. Livy 39.34.2.

8 . App., *B.Civ.* 11.87.

9 . Livy 42.51.5, translated by A.C. Schlesinger in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge Mass.-London 1964) as "these places march with Thrace"; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 199, n. 2 and Papazoglou, *Villes* 307, n. 4.

10 . Pseudo-Skymnos 621-23.

11 . Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 72 and 33 n. 4, has now challenged this reading on the grounds that the same monogram figures on coins of Thessalonike and Pella.

age<sup>1</sup> and which belonged to that district, was definitely Macedonian, and so was Oisyme-Emathia. Philippoi, too, was definitely not Paionian. Even Gazoros on the left bank of the Strymon appears indistinguishable from the other Macedonian communities in the Hellenistic decree.<sup>2</sup> However, as it was suggested in the discussion on the national Macedonian territory, its extension east of the Strymon, between the mouth of the river and the Sapaeon defile, was a very gradual affair, which was not completed, if our analysis was correct, before the last decades of the Antigonid kingdom, and even after its completion the Macedonian policy of colonisation was never thorough or ruthless enough to wipe out the former inhabitants. As documents from the Hellenistic and even the Roman period show, not only did they remain in their homes, but they also retained their names, their peculiar religious traditions and perhaps to a certain extent their speech. Strabo,<sup>3</sup> in a passage of Polybian origin<sup>4</sup> –but Polybios may, in his turn, have been using a fourth-century source– states that the Strymon is the ethnic limit of the Macedonians (and the Paionians) towards the east. This offers a possible explanation for Arrian's<sup>5</sup> enumeration of cavalry units. The one originating east of the Strymon is not named after a district like the others (Upper Macedonia, Bottia), but after a single city: Amphipolis. Actually, in the third quarter of the fourth century Amphipolis was probably the only Macedonian city, or at least the only Macedonian city of some importance in that area, which could make a contribution to the *national* levy. As the last passage from Livy shows,<sup>6</sup> even after the complete annexation and reorganisation of the district, its unhellenised inhabitants continued to be levied separately and were not incorporated into the phalanx, in which recruits from cities like Amphipolis, Emathia (Oisyme) and Philippoi undoubtedly served. These non-phalanx, non-Macedonian troops are comprehensively referred to as Bisaltians (who, as we know, lived between Amphipolis and Herakleia Sintike)<sup>7</sup> in a passage of Livy describing Perseus' efforts to organise some resistance in eastern Macedonia after his defeat at Pydna.<sup>8</sup>

1 . Cf. Gaebler, *Münzen* III 2, pl. IX, 16 (Amphipolis) and XXXVI, 27 ("Paroreia").

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

3 . Strab. 7.7.4 C 323.

4 . Cf. Baladié 27.

5 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5.

6 . Livy 42.51.5.

7 . Strab. 7, frg. 36.

8 . Livy 44.45.8. It is thus possible that –before the late Antigonids at least– Macedonia proper comprised only three administrative-military districts: Upper Macedo-

Going back to our original question, whether Macedonia was divided into districts already under the kings, the answer must be unambiguously affirmative. What must be examined now is whether the pre-Roman districts corresponded geographically to the *merides* of the Roman settlement.

The kernel of the *unam... et primam partem: quod agri inter Strymonem et Nessum sit annem*, with its *Bisaltas... fortissimos viros* living *circa Strymonem*,<sup>1</sup> corresponds exactly to the Antigonid Parastrymonia-Paroreia, and its *ethnos* living *περὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα*.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Bisaltia, although on the right bank of the Strymon, and Herakleia Sintike, perhaps formerly part of Paionia, were included in the first *meris* has its perfect correspondence in the Antigonid line of division between Amphaxitis and Parastrymonia, which north of the coast followed not the river but the ridge of Mt. Kerdylion, exactly like the modern boundaries between the *nomoi* of Thessalonike and Serrhai (and before them between the *kazas* of Langadas and of Serrhai). The only Roman innovation in this area was that the *strategia* of Thrace was abolished and Abdera, Maroneia and Ainos were declared

nia, Bottia and Amphaxitis. Such a tripartite division would explain certain peculiarities of the army of Alexander, the Macedonian army that we know best. In 334 the backbone of its infantry consisted of 24,000 men, half of which followed Alexander in Asia, while the other half remained with Antipater in Macedonia (Diod. 17.17.3-6). Since the first half consisted of three hypaspist chiliarchies and six territorially recruited *taxeis* each 1,500 men strong (cf. Diod. 17.57.2-3), it is reasonable to infer that this was the case of the other half too. Thus the "heavy" Macedonian infantry (not including the hypaspists) would consist of 12 *taxeis* of 1,500 men each. On the other hand, at the same date, the Companion cavalry consisted of 1,800 horse who followed Alexander and 1,500 who stayed with Antipater (Diod. 17.17.4-5). If we leave aside the royal squadron 300 strong (Griffith, *Macedonia* II 409), we are left with 3,000 horse—1,500 in Asia and 1,500 in Europe—divided in regional *ilai*. Seven such *ilai* are present at Gaugamela in 331 (Arr., *Anab.* 3.11.8), but there is reason to believe that the 300 Macedonian horse, that arrived as reinforcements before the battle of Issos (Arr., *Anab.* 1.29.4) comprised one of the *ilai* that had been left with Antipater. Thus the 3,000 strong Macedonian cavalry levy seems to have been divided into 12 territorially recruited *ilai*, each 250 horse strong. The 12 territorially recruited infantry *taxeis* and the 12 territorially recruited cavalry *ilai* might theoretically be levied in three regions subdivided in four recruitment areas or in four regions subdivided in three such areas. Given, however, the predilection of the Greeks for basic military units divisible by two, it would seem more likely that in Alexander's time there were still only three administrative-military districts: Upper Macedonia, Bottia, Amphaxitis, each providing four infantry *taxeis* and four cavalry *ilai*, that is 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse. On the other hand, we do know that Amphipolis—or more probably the whole Strymon valley—provided at least one cavalry unit (Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5). Thus, in the present state of knowledge no firm conclusion can be reached.

1. Livy 45.29.5 and 30.3.

2. Pseudo-Skymnos 621-23; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 354.

free, but the Thracian hinterland was annexed to the first *meris*, the ancient Parastrymonia-Paroreia.<sup>1</sup>

The second *meris*, *quam ab ortu Strymo amplecteretur amnis... ab occasuque Axios terminaret fluvius*,<sup>2</sup> corresponds also exactly to the Antigonid Amphaxitis from Στρυμόνος ποταμού έκβολαί to Ἄξειοῦ ποταμοῦ έκβολαί,<sup>3</sup> the only Roman innovation being that the *strategia* of Paionia, like that of Thrace, was abolished and the part of it east of the Axios was added to the second *meris* (*additis Paeonibus, qui prope Axium flumen ad regionem orientis colerent*).<sup>4</sup>

We have already had the opportunity to note that the third *meris*, with its coastal part from the Axios to the Peneios and its inland "Paionia" with Edessa and Beroia, corresponded to the Antigonid Bottia with its subdivisions of Pieria and Emathia.<sup>5</sup> Another passage from Livy offers a new confirmation of this suggestion.<sup>6</sup> The author (in fact Polybios), in his effort to justify the division of Macedonia, describes and praises the advantages of each part. For the third *meris*, after enumerating the well-known list of the "famous cities" (Edessa and Beroia), he adds to it another "Paionian" city, Pella and then continues: *habet et Vettiorum bellicosam gentem, incolas quoque permultos Gallos et Illyrios, impigros cultores*. The last two *ethnika* refer to the introduction of Gallic and Illyrian *paroikoi* by Philip in his effort to revitalise Macedonia.<sup>7</sup> But the Vettii, *bellicosa gens*, who form the bulk of the population are, as has long since been recognised,<sup>8</sup> none other than the Antigonid Botteatai, not a "tribe" or a "nation", but the inhabitants of an administrative district.

Finally, the fourth *meris* gathered the Upper Macedonian *ethne* (Lynkestai,<sup>9</sup> Tymphaioi,<sup>10</sup> Atintanes), to which Pelagonia (presumably with Derriopos),<sup>11</sup> in other words the western part of the former *strategia* of Paionia, was added.

1 . Livy 45.29.5-6; Diod. 31.8.8; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 67.

2 . Livy 45.29.7; cf. Diod. 31.8.8 and Papazoglou, *Villes* 67-68.

3 . Ptol. 3.12.7 and 11.

4 . Livy 45.29.7.

5 . See p. 239-41, above. A possible exception is the attribution of Eordaia (beyond Mt. Bermion) to the fourth *meris*, if indeed it belonged to Bottia in Hellenistic times.

6 . Livy 45.30.2-8.

7 . Pol. 23.10.4-5; cf. Livy 42.51.5; 45.30.5.

8 . In spite of Gaebler, "Makedonen" 186-88, who cites the scholars that have equated Livy's Vettii with the Botteatai.

9 . The Orestai had been separated from Macedonia since 197; see p. 225, above.

10 . Probably along with the inseparable Parauaioi; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Atintanes" 187-88. For the problem of Eordaia, see p. 92-95 and note 5, above.

11 . Papazoglou, *Villes* 70; 292-97 and 307.

Thus, not only the division of Macedonia into districts, but also the districts themselves in their geographical extent did not constitute a Roman innovation, but were basically part of the Antigonid legacy. Recent numismatic evidence strongly suggests that even the technical term *meris* itself does go back to the Macedonian kings. It appears for the first time –explicitly or implicitly– in several series of coins bearing the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ/ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΜΕΡΙΑΟΣ or ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ/ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ/ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ and ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ/ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ, these last minted only in bronze.<sup>1</sup> The silver tetradrachms of the first *meris* fall into two entirely different types: the first one, which is shared with the tetradrachms of the second *meris*, displays a bust of Artemis in the centre of a Macedonian shield on the obverse and the club of Herakles surrounded by an oak wreath on the reverse,<sup>2</sup> while on the other figure a laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and Artemis Tauropolos on the reverse.<sup>3</sup> The latter type was known until recently from only two specimens. All these series have been traditionally –and quite naturally– connected with the division of Macedonia in four *partes* by the Romans and dated accordingly to the period 168-148. The precise beginning of this coinage has been variously linked with the events of 168-167 or with the reopening of Macedonian mines in 158. However, the discovery of the Sitochoron (or Larisa) hoard in 1968 gradually undermined the simplicity of this arrangement.<sup>4</sup> Composed of several hundreds of silver coins, it contained issues of Macedonian kings, from Philip II to (mainly) Perseus (360-168), of the Aitolian League (217-215), of Seleucid kings, from Antiochos I to Seleukos IV (261-175), of Lagid kings, from Ptolemy II to Ptolemy III (285-221), of cities in Thrace (posthumous Lysimachi difficult to date with precision), of Athens (proto-"new style" of very controversial date), a single tetradrachm of Pharnakes (185-169), two hitherto unknown tetradrachms of Pergamon, which cannot be dated with any precision, one cistophorus, which may not belong at all to this hoard, several hundreds of Macedonian imitations of Rhodian drachmae and six tetradrachms of the first *meris*, of the rarer variety (head of Zeus/Tauropolos).

M.J. Price, in his initial communication of the discovery of the hoard, in order to respect the traditional dating of this rare issue, ascribed its burial to the year 168/7, although the rest of the coins indi-

1. MacKay, "Bronze" 5-13; *eiusdem*, "Coinage" 256-64; Crawford 128-32; Touratsoglou, "Macedonia", *BAR* 326 (1987) 53-72; cf. *eiusdem*, *Circulation* 31-42.

2. Gaebler, *Münzen* III 1, 53-59, nos 154-80, pl. II 2-3; III 2, 6, no 40, pl. III 2.

3. Gaebler, *Münzen* III 1, 53, nos 154-55, pl. II 1; III 2, 6 no 39, pl. III 1.

4. *IGCH* 237; Price, "Larissa" 233-43.

cated an earlier date.<sup>1</sup> His solution did not seem satisfactory either to me or to O. Picard. The latter aired his doubts in a public discussion (1982)<sup>2</sup> and I wrote a rather long letter to the author, to which he very kindly responded by communicating to me the contents of the hoard (1984). Martin Price, in his final publication, dates this coinage "in the second half of 168 or 167" and the burial of the hoard itself "c. 165".<sup>3</sup> His conclusion is based on two elements: the presence of the first *meris* coinage and that of a posthumous Lysimachos issue from Byzantion, which he dates in "c. 165 B.C."<sup>4</sup> Now, as G. Le Rider most kindly let me know *per litteras*,<sup>5</sup> the dating of the latter issue has no objective basis. We know only that a coin of the same obverse die, but with a different monogram on the reverse, was part of the Trapezous hoard, which was buried c. 150. The specimen from Trapezous, however, was not as well preserved as the Sitochoron one. In any case, nothing whatever permits the dating of the posthumous Lysimachos in 165 rather than five years earlier. In other words the dating of the Sitochoron hoard in c. 165 is based solely on the supposed date of the Macedonian tetradrachms of the first *meris*, the very term whose date we are trying to determine.

First, it must be stressed that the Tauropolos tetradrachms of the first *meris* cannot have been minted "in the second half of 168 or 167",<sup>6</sup> this type being discontinued after three brief issues as a consequence of the closing down of the silver mines, to be resumed only "about 160 B.C."<sup>7</sup> in the form of the Artemis/club type. One should be reminded that, although Perseus gave himself up to the Romans in July 168, military operations against several Macedonian cities (Aiginion, Agassai, Aineia) were pursued until autumn, and that the decision to close down the mines was taken in Rome in December 168 at the latest.<sup>8</sup> It is hard to believe that in this brief interval between autumn and winter the devastated cities of the first *meris* could have had the leisure to inaugurate a new prestigious coinage.<sup>9</sup> But there is an even more serious objection: if one sticks to the traditional

1. *IGCH* 237.

2. Picard, "Romains" 246.

3. Price, "Larissa" 238 and 243.

4. Price, "Larissa" 242-43; cf. 235, no 14.

5. Letter of 29/6/1990.

6. Price, "Larissa" 238.

7. Price, "Larissa" 238.

8. For the chronology, see Meloni 467-68.

9. It would seem that the only coinage minted in Macedonia during this period (168-167) was issued in the names of the Roman quaestors C. Publilius and L. Fulcinius, as MacKay ("Bronze" 5-13) has convincingly established.

opinion on the origin of the *merides*, shared by Price, it is impossible to dissociate their creation from the other measures decided by Rome, and especially from the closing down of the mines. These measures were discussed at Rome in December 168 and announced to the Macedonians in spring 167. Between the battle of Pydna in June 168 and these dates, either the mines were still open but the *merides* had not yet been created, or the *merides* already existed but the mines had already been closed down. In order to escape from this dilemma, the scholars who hold to the *opinio communis* dissociate the prohibition of mining from that of minting.<sup>1</sup> However, even if one overlooks the obvious connection between the distribution of silver mines and the silver coinage of the *merides* (*i.e.* the presence of both in the first and second and the absence of both in the third and fourth) and accepts an early date for the Artemis/club tetradrachms, one comes face to face with a greater improbability. As O. Picard kindly pointed out to me,<sup>2</sup> a change of types necessarily indicates a break with the previous coinage, which ceases to be the legal tender. It is a very inconvenient and costly measure for the owners of earlier issues and it always entails a painful period of adaptation. One can see no earthly reasons why the authorities of the first *meris*—or the Romans for that matter—would impose such an inconvenience on their population, issuing two different types of coinage in swift succession. On the other hand, although Price rightly stresses the fact that there were only a few issues of the Tauropolos coinage,<sup>3</sup> it is no less true that the few specimens extant come from different dies, bear different monograms, and are even of different styles. All these considerations preclude their having been minted only during the few weeks before the beginning of the Artemis/club series.

M.H. Crawford has connected the Tauropolos coinage with that of the Amphaxians, which he regards as the equivalent for the second *meris* of what he considers the preliminary issue for the first *meris*, with the type of the Tauropolos.<sup>4</sup> This obvious parallelism between the two issues need not have the significance ascribed to it by the British numismatist. As Price himself aptly points out: "the tetradrachms of Amphaxitis share monograms and the shield design with the silver coinage of Philip V, and may certainly be placed under

1. Cf. MacKay, "Bronze" 12, n. 12; *eiusdem*, "Coinage" 257; Chr. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischen Münzserien* (Berlin 1972) 125, and also Crawford 131.

2. Letter of 3/4/1984.

3. Price, "Larissa" 238.

4. Crawford 129.

the monarchy".<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it should be stressed that there should be no *a priori* objection to a coinage of the first *meris* before 168. The division of Macedonia into four districts corresponding to the *partes* of the Roman settlement of 167 goes back, as we have already seen, to the reign of Alexander the Great and probably of Philip II. We know the names of three of these districts: Upper Macedonia, Bottia and Amphaxitis, corresponding to the fourth, third and second *meris* respectively. We do not know the official name of the district around Amphipolis. It is equally certain, as we shall see in detail below, that these districts had a military, administrative and political function, and that at least two of them (Bottia and Amphaxitis) had a bronze and silver coinage minted in their names. The absence of such coinage from Upper Macedonia –if such is indeed the case–<sup>2</sup> would not be surprising, since this region was poor in mines and even after 168 issued only a few bronze coins.<sup>3</sup> The absence of a coinage of the easternmost part of Macedonia, so rich in metals, would be more surprising, unless, of course, we do ascribe to it the rarer type of tetradrachms of the first *meris*. Its peculiar name is perhaps due to the diversity of its component parts, which included Amphipolis, the middle valley of the Strymon, containing a strong indigenous element, and perhaps other regions to the east of this river.<sup>4</sup> Its later formation could also explain its absence from our fourth- and third-century sources.

We have seen that the minting of the Tauropolos tetradrachms after the Macedonian defeat at Pydna is inconsistent with the the historical evidence. We have also seen that, on the contrary, historical evidence favours the dating of this coinage under the kings. But now new numismatic evidence enables us to go beyond mere likelihood –negative or positive– and to establish with certainty that these issues date from the last years of Macedonian independence. J. Touratsoglou has proved by his thorough study of monograms that those present on the Tauropolos coinage also occur on the issues of Philip V and Perseus. This settles the matter conclusively. As the Greek numismatist concludes, "the division of Macedonia into 'Merides' (of whatever administrative nature) not only existed before the Roman conquest

1 . Price, "Larissa" 237.

2 . At least one of the types (Gaebler, *Münzen* III 1, 61, no 188, pl. II6; III 2, 7, no 43, pl. III 8) bears a close resemblance to a regional type used by the Roman quaestor C. Publilius in 168 (MacKay, "Bronze" 12). This "uncertain regional type" may well belong to Upper Macedonia, *alias* fourth *meris*.

3 . Cf. MacKay, "Coinage" 257-58.

4 . Cf. p. 245-47, above.



but can be traced back at least to the first decades of the second century B.C."<sup>1</sup>

According to the Roman settlement each of the four districts was to have its "capital", respectively Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Pella and Pelagonia (or "the Pelagonians"), where the assemblies would be summoned and meet, the revenues would be brought in and the magistrates, called *archegoi* by Diodoros, would be appointed (*creari, κατεστάθησαν*).<sup>2</sup> This brings us to our second question: were these elements of "political" organisation introduced by the Romans for the first time or did they pre-exist (and if they did in what form?) under the kings?

The numismatic evidence collected by Gaebler strongly suggests that Thessalonike and Pella were already administrative centres of Amphaxitis and Bottia respectively.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, although his attribution of all the ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ coinage without a distinctive monogram to an "Edonian" district cannot be retained,<sup>4</sup> there is no doubt that some of them display typical Amphipolitan types<sup>5</sup> and must have been coined in that city, such as those which bear the monogram  $\overline{\text{P}}$ .<sup>6</sup> Might we not see here an indication that Amphipolis, before becoming the capital of the first *meris*, had been that of the Parastrymonian-Paroreian Antigonid district?<sup>7</sup> Pelagonia, on the other hand, is a different matter. Whatever the solution to the vexed question of the very existence of such a city,<sup>8</sup> it is certain that we are dealing with a Roman innovation, because originally Pelagonia did not belong to the

1. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 71.

2. Livy 45.29.9; Diod. 31.8-9; cf. Strab. 7, frg. 47.

3. Gaebler, "Makedonen" 181-92.

4. Gaebler, "Makedonen" 185-86 and 192. The hypothesis that all the issues in the name of the *Makedones* without a distinctive monogram should be ascribed to the "Edonian" district was aired by Gaebler without any supporting arguments and is challenged not only by me here but also –independently– by Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 40.

5. Cf. the head of the Strymon (Gaebler, *Münzen* III 2, 2, no 11, pl. II 22), who was venerated in Amphipolis, (cf. Gaebler, "Makedonen" 183, n. 3), or the head of Poseidon, which figures both on the coins of Amphipolis (Gaebler, *Münzen* III 2, 34, nos 26-27, pl. IX 1-2) and on those of the *Makedones* without a distinctive monogram (Gaebler, *Münzen* III 2, 2, no 13, pl. II 24).

6. It occurs on the types with the head of Poseidon mentioned in the previous note (See Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, list of monograms on coins of Macedonia under Philip V and Perseus).

7. See, however, Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 32-33 and 72, who objects to this interpretation of the monogram.

8. See p. 92, above.

Upper Macedonian Antigonid district but to Paionia.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this change, which was evidently detrimental to the genuine Upper Macedonians, whose participation in the running of the district must inevitably have been hampered, can be only surmised. If we leave aside this controversial instance, the coinage of the last Antigonids appears in all its symmetry: royal issues, both in silver and bronze, issues in the name of the Μακεδόνες, both in silver and bronze, coins in the names of the Βοττεᾶται, Ἀμφάξιοι and πρώτη μερίς, both in silver and bronze, and coins of their respective capitals: Pella, Thessalonike and Amphipolis, only in bronze.<sup>2</sup> What, then, of the coinage attributed by Gaebler to Apollonia and to Aphytis,<sup>3</sup> which, however, were never capitals of districts like Pella, Thessalonike and Amphipolis? In a previous work I developed a series of arguments against the attribution of the coinage with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ to Apollonia.<sup>4</sup> The information that these coins are not found around lake Bolbe but in the vicinity of ancient Kassandreia has now been independently confirmed,<sup>5</sup> and Touratsoglou has adduced from the absence of monograms a new argument for ascribing this coinage not to a city but to a sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> The same doubts are raised by the coins with the legend ΑΦΥΤΑΙ(ΩΝ), since Aphytis had even ceased to be a city after the synoecism of Kassandreia.<sup>7</sup> It would thus seem that in both cases we are dealing with issues of the sanctuaries of Apollo, the tutelary deity of Olynthos,<sup>8</sup> and of Zeus Ammon, the great divinity of Aphytis,<sup>9</sup> which had both come under the control of Cassander's new foundation.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note the particular position of Kassandreia: a major Macedonian city, but not the capital of a district minting its own issues outside the four-tier pyramidal structure of the official Macedonian coinage.

In our discussion of the question of the very existence of the Antigonid districts we have already seen that these were undoubtedly

1. See p. 91-92, above.

2. Cf. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 40, who, however, draws no distinction between the coinage of the *Makedones* and that of the districts.

3. Gaebler, "Doberos" 192-98; *eiusdem*, *Münzen* III 2, 47, no 3, pl. XI 24 (Apollonia); 46, no 14-15, pl. XI 17-18 (Aphytis).

4. Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia" 178-79.

5. K. Sismanides, "Ἐρευνες στήν ἀρχαία Κασσάνδρεια καί τὰ ἀρχαία Στάγειρα", *AEMΘ* 4, 1990 (Thessalonike 1993) 374-75.

6. Cf. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 33, n. 5.

7. Cf. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 33, n. 5, and Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 44.

8. Cf. Baege 43-44.

9. Cf. Baege 16.

10. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 65.

military districts ("Rekrutierungsbezirke", "Wehrgemeinden").<sup>1</sup> It is also clear that three out of the four *merides* retained that function.<sup>2</sup> The question which arises is whether the Antigonid districts had been only that, or they were already performing some at least of the political (*concilia iudici, magistratus creari*) and financial (*pecuniam conferri*) functions reserved to the *merides* by the Roman settlement.<sup>3</sup>

Livy's *pecunia* and Diodoros' φόροι<sup>4</sup> certainly refer only to state revenues; for there is no indication that city revenues did not continue to be collected by the cities as before. Unfortunately, we do not know in enough detail how or where these state revenues were collected under the kings.<sup>5</sup> Although Pella was the seat of the main treasury of the kingdom,<sup>6</sup> it was not the only one; for Aemilius Paullus requested more than one city to transport to Amphipolis the "royal monies" deposited there,<sup>7</sup> and in fact there is sufficient numismatic evidence that in this field Thessalonike and Amphipolis played a part similar to that of Pella under the kings.<sup>8</sup> The presence of both a treasury and a mint in the same city either before or after 167 was not the result of coincidence, but reflects the current practice of the ancients. Thus the minting of the coins of the first *meris* in Amphipolis and of the second in Thessalonike is closely connected with the presence of the respective treasuries attested by Livy and Diodoros. In the same way the minting of the ΒΟΤΤΕΑΤΩΝ coinage at Pella, of the ΑΜΦΑΞΙΩΝ in Thessalonike and of the  $\overline{\text{P}}$  or of the first *meris* in Amphipolis must be connected with the presence of treasuries there under the kings, although only the treasury of Pella is explicitly attested in our literary sources.

As we have said before, the districts of the royal period were not inherited, traditional, "tribal" divisions, but artificial, administrative units. This, however, does not mean that they were mere geographical abstractions.<sup>9</sup> The issuing of coins with the name of a human group (Βοττεᾶται, Ἀμφάξιοι etc.) has more than a purely financial significance. It denotes unmistakably some degree of financial autonomy,

1 . Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 598-99, with references.

2 . The first, the second and the fourth (Livy 45.29.14; cf. Diod. 31.8.9).

3 . Livy 45.29.9.

4 . Diod. 31.8.9.

5 . See, however, Part IV, chapter 3, below.

6 . Cf. Livy 44.6.2; 10.1; Plut., *Aem.* 23.6.

7 . Livy 45.29.1.

8 . Cf. Gaebler, "Makedonen" 185; A. Mamroth, "Die Silbermünzen des Königs Perseus", *ZfN* 38 (1928) 3.

9 . Cf. Gschnitzer, "Tetraden" 453.

some kind of corporate, "political" personality of the entity in whose name these coins were issued. This was not, as most scholars thought,<sup>1</sup> a recent development of the last years of the royal period. As we know now, long before the beginning of the Antigonid "autonomous" issues, Philip V (or Antigonos Doson), wrote a letter κοινῆι πρὸς Βοττεάτας as opposed to καθ' ἰδίαν to the city of Beroia.<sup>2</sup> This can only mean that the Botteatai already had a corporate existence, which could hardly be at that time anything other than an assembly, and a place where they met and where letters could be addressed.<sup>3</sup>

Were these assemblies primary or representative? I think that the former alternative is more probable: these units had a strong military character which is hardly compatible with representation; they appear in the fourth century,<sup>4</sup> when representative assemblies were definitely not the rule; their creation, as we shall see below, seems to be connected with the Macedonian expansion under Philip II and the practical difficulties of holding frequent primary assemblies of the whole *ethnos* in the new greater Macedonia.

It is also evident that corporate entities could not function—even on the most elementary level—without some sort of officials or magistrates, be they as few and as embryonic as one might wish to imagine them. Several years ago I argued that the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia<sup>5</sup> preserves the name and the title of one of the chief officials of Bottia, the district to which Beroia belonged (Ἐπι στρατηγούντος Ἰπποκράτου τοῦ Νικοκράτου).<sup>6</sup> This hypothesis was subsequently strengthened by a late-third-century (or early-second-century) document from Morrylos, where *strategoī* appear twice as eponymous officials of an entity which is different from the city (ἐπι τῆς Δημητρίου τοῦ Σωπάτρου στρατηγίας... ἐν τῷ πέντε καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει (ἐπι) τῆς

1. See, however, Hammond, *Macedonia* III 464-68; 477.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

3. Cf. the letter of king Eumenes II to the Ionian *koinon* (Welles, *Correspondence* no 52, L. 17-18: κοινῆι τε καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν πρὸς ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων; cf. L. 69-70: κοινῆι τε πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν).

4. This early dating of the districts is confirmed by the Macedonian origin of the Ptolemaic *strategoī* (cf. Bagnall 215-16). This is not the only instance of Macedonian institutions being transplanted to parts of Alexander's empire (cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 60-61).

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 60.

6. Hatzopoulos, "Politarques", in the complete version, which was not fully published by the editors of the proceedings of the conference. See also now Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 36-37 44-45.

Ἐπινίκου στρατηγίας... τοὺς τότε ἄρχοντας...<sup>1</sup> The same office is undoubtedly also meant in the enumeration of the distinguished services of Harpalos' forefathers, which must go back to the time of the kings (ἐννοηθεῖς δὲ τῆς τῶν πάππων στρατηγίας) in the first-century B.C. honorary decree from Beroia.<sup>2</sup> Their method of appointment remains unspecified in our evidence, but their use as eponymous officials constitutes a strong indication that they were annual and, presumably, elected magistrates. Otherwise such chronological indications as ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦντος Ἴπποκράτου τοῦ Νικοκράτου (Beroia) or ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητρίου τοῦ Σωπάτρου στρατηγίας (Morrylos) *figuring alone* would be useless for dating purposes.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, one can hardly doubt that the *strategoī*—not unlike the *epistatai*, discussed in greater detail below—<sup>4</sup> functioned also as representatives of the central government, not only in military matters, but also in other fields. Such a double nature of these offices would offer a satisfactory explanation for some expressions encountered in the Gazoros Hellenistic decree (ἀξίως τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν)—whether the honorand was an *epistates* or a *strategos*—and particularly for the fact that it was also communicated to the King. Unfortunately, the very little that we know about the *archegoī* of the *merides* does not permit any significant comparison in that field between the chief executive magistrates of the pre-Roman and of the Roman regional divisions.

The evidence concerning the Macedonian districts of the royal period which we have examined recalls F. Gschnitzer's judgement on the Thessalian *tetradēs* ("Eines können wir mit Sicherheit sagen: die Tetraden sind lebendige politische oder administrative Einheiten, nicht etwa blosse Namen, Abstraktionen der geographischen Wissenschaft oder historische Reminiszenzen") and authorises us to repeat —

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

2. Inscription to be published by D.A. Hardy and J.P. Touratsoglou.

3. I have adopted here Gauthier's suggestion and read accordingly ἐν τῶι πέντε καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει (ἐπὶ) τῆς Ἐπινίκου στρατηγίας. If the text should be read as it stands, without the addition of ἐπὶ, the mention of a fiftieth year of the *strategia* of Epinikos could only be sought in the iteration of the office, not unusual in the case of military magistracies, as for instance of the Athenian *strategoī*. In Paionia too, the regional *strategos* Didas is reported to be in office in 181 and again in 171 (Livy 40.21.9 and 42.58.8), whether he had remained in that position without interruption or had been appointed anew to it. In any case, the exceptional mention of a 15th year of the *strategia* of Epinikos—admitting that it were true—would rather confirm than refute the conclusion that the regional *strategoī* were annual magistrates, since it would show *a contrario* that Hippokrates and Demetrios were holding the office for the first time, or had held it only once when the relevant documents were drawn.

4. Part IV, chapter 2.

*mutatis mutandis*—Sordi's conclusion from the study of the Aitolian districts (μέρη, ἔθνη or τέλη):<sup>1</sup>

1) The division of Macedonia into districts had a precise significance and gave to each district its legal personality.

2) The districts enjoyed a certain autonomy within Macedonia.

3) In order to express their collective will the districts had to possess the necessary political organs.

Were the "republican" *merides* radically different? On the whole, as in the case of the cities, the evidence for (at least formal) continuity between royal and Roman districts is overwhelming—in spite of the incorporation of the *strategiai* of Thrace and Paionia into the Macedonian *merides*<sup>2</sup> (and, of course, of the monstrous prohibition of *con-nubium* and *commercium* between the districts).<sup>3</sup>

On the controversial subject of the character of the assemblies of the *merides*,<sup>4</sup> we can suggest that if, as we have argued, the assemblies of the royal districts were primary ones, it is more than probable that they maintained their character after 167 and that Livy's *consilium* of 45.18.6-7 and *concilium* of 45.29.9 are simple spelling variants and have an identical meaning: that of primary assemblies. As Musti has very pertinently pointed out, this makes far greater justice to the logic of Livy's text.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the exact wording and spelling of the original manuscript, all scholars agree that the reason for the Senate's decision *in quattuor regiones describi Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque concilium haberet* is stated immediately before: "lest, if there were a common legislature for the nation, some relentless demagogue would turn the freedom given in healthy moderation into licence which brings ruin".<sup>6</sup> If the Senate had in mind to avoid the *licentia pestilenta* by the introduction of representation, our source would just say so and would mention the institution of a *synedrion* (a representative assembly) there and then, as it was perfectly capable of doing, and not several chapters later, in an entirely different context (see below). Since our source insists that deliverance from demagoguery was to be sought in the division of Macedonia and the *exclusive* holding of regional meetings, we have better accept this straightforward statement, and since we have verified that the regional assemblies were not an innovation in themselves, we have no choice but to

1. Gschnitzer, "Tetraden" 453; Sordi, "Origini" 432-33.

2. Livy 45.29.5-7; cf. Diod. 31.8.8.

3. Livy 45.29.10; see, however, p. 354, n. 6, below.

4. See p. 228-29, above.

5. Musti, "Polibio" 185-86.

6. Livy 45.18.6-7.

conclude that, if innovation there was, it must have consisted in their *exclusive* character and the prohibition of holding common assemblies of the whole nation.

In conclusion, as J. Touratsoglou<sup>1</sup> aptly pointed out on the basis of his study of the late Antigonid coinage, there emerges a multi-tiered pyramidal structure of the Macedonian state: at its base the cities, at its apex the King and the Macedonian Commonwealth, and in between the four districts. Although this structure is attested from the time of Alexander the Great<sup>2</sup> and, consequently, must be attributed to the initiative of Philip II,<sup>3</sup> there is no doubt that it was expanded and strengthened in the reign of Philip V. Hammond has endeavoured to explain the new coinage in economic terms.<sup>4</sup> In my opinion, Touratsoglou justifiably stresses the political aspects of this monetary reform: "The common iconography and the organization of a central system of coinage on three levels –parallel and successive at the same time– exactly reflect the "Macedonian" policy of Philip V and clearly state his goals. The former was a guarantee of the cohesion of the state; the latter a proof of its composite, variegated nature. Together they confirm one fact: this introspection gave a new foundation to the kingdom and breathed new life into it (into the various "tribal" groups and into the very heart of the nation) and brought to the fore its crucial element (the rising power of the cities)".<sup>5</sup> I would add that this reform was carried out at a time when the Macedonian state had practically lost all its external possessions and had perforce been reduced to a "national" state. If it was no longer an empire stretching from the Adriatic sea to the coast of Caria, it could at least, in its regenerated form, allied to the Romans and at peace with the other Greeks, join the refounded Amphictiony as an *ethnos* no less autonomous than the other members,<sup>6</sup> as its new coinage minted precisely the year of this refoundation (188) proclaimed.<sup>7</sup>

1. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 40-41.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5 (districts); Miller 148 B, L. 16-24 (cities).

3. See Conclusion, below.

4. Hammond, *Macedonia* III 464-66.

5. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 40-41.

6. See p. 223, above.

7. The 34th year of the reign of Philip V, in which the first autonomous coins of Thessalonike were issued, is not the year 187/6, as Gaebler, "Thessalonike" 112, thought but the year 189/8 (or, rather, 188/7).

## THE COMMON ASSEMBLY

The evidence for the existence, alongside the King, of a constituent part of the Macedonian state called "the Macedonians" (οἱ Μακεδόνες) or "the Commonwealth of the Macedonians" (τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων) is unambiguous,<sup>1</sup> and no ingenious manipulation can obscure it.<sup>2</sup> Even more decisive than the literary attestations, the relevant inscriptions are numerous and have recently been collected by Papazoglou.<sup>3</sup> It is enough to mention two for the time being, the

1 . Among the innumerable contributions, see Mooren's answer to the "negationist" theory, which has gone unchallenged; cf. Hammond, "Arrian" 461-65 and Papazoglou, "Organisation" 197-202.

2 . It is noteworthy that Goukowsky, though himself elsewhere ("Antigone" 263-77) very critical of Briant, dismisses Lock's criticism of Briant's main thesis about the dual nature of the Macedonian state (*Alexandre I 232*, n. 29: "Les vues de R. Lock, *Class. Phil.*, 72 [1977], pp. 95-96 ne méritent pas d'être discutées, car cet auteur rejette arbitrairement les textes qui le gênent..."; cf. 230, n. 10).

3 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 197-202; *OGIS* 283: [ἀ]πὸ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον | καὶ Μακεδ[όνας παρὰ Χιον] | ναυμ[αχίας]; *ILS* 8884: *L. Aemilius L. f. inperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepet*, *InscrItal* XIII, 1, 1, *ad annum* 167: *L. Aemilius L. f. M. n. Paullus II, procos ... ex Macedon. et rege Perse*; *Cn. Octavius Cn. f. Cn. n. propr. ... ex Macedon. et rege Perse*; cf. *Pol.* 18.46.5: καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας; *Pol.* 28.8.2: πρὸς τὴν τούτου (*sc.* βασιλέως Φιλίππου) καὶ Μακεδόνων φίλιαν καὶ συμμαχίαν; *Livy* 31.6.1: *Philippo regi Macedonibusque qui sub regno eius essent*; 33.32.5: *Philippo rege Macedonibusque devictis*; 42.36.1: *bellum regi... et Macedonibus*. Errington, "Style" 35-36, examining only some of these instances, concludes that they tell us nothing about Macedonian constitutional formulae but simply reflect Roman political aims or Pergamene misconceptions about Macedonian constitutional arrangements. He does not deal, however, with the passages from Polybios or the Polybian passages of *Livy* which are not tributary to any official Roman or Pergamene formula, nor does he consider a different series of passages in which the parallel mention of the two constituent elements of the state can by no stretch of the imagination be considered as reflecting some formulaic practice of Macedonia's enemies or friends. Such is the case of the letter—or rather testament—which king Antigonos Doson addressed to the Macedonian people (*Pol.* 4.87.7: ἔγραφε [*sc.* Ἀντίγονος] Μακεδόσι ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκημένων), or of the trial of Ptolemaios in the reign of Philip V (*Pol.* 5.29.6: κρίνας [*sc.* Φίλιππος] ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέκτεινεν). Even more interesting is the parallel mention—but also the contrast made—by Polybios (or *Livy*) between the Macedonians and their king (*Pol.* 4.16.5: Λακεδαιμόνιοι... ὀφείλοντες δὲ Μακεδῶσι καὶ Φιλίππῳ...; *Livy* 32.19.7: *Macedonum beneficiis et vete-*



dedication of "the commonwealth of the Macedonians" for Philip V at Delos (Τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα Φίλιππον βασιλέως Δημητρίου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς)<sup>1</sup> and the dedication of "the Macedonians" for the same king at Samothrace (Βασιλέα Φίλιππον βασιλέως Δημητρίου Μακεδόνες Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις).<sup>2</sup>

Such dedications are incomprehensible without the existence of a constituted body with some sort of finances and some kind of organisation of its own.<sup>3</sup> The rich series of silver and bronze coins with the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ tell precisely the same story, underlying the financial autonomy of the Commonwealth, and the literary texts simply echo the formulae of the inscriptions in clearly distinguishing between the King and the People, the two constituent parts of the state.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the probable discovery of the first decree of the Mace-

*ribus et recentibus obligati erant, regem ipsum suspectu haberant*). Now these literary attestations have been matched by an epigraphical one, the list of the priests of Asklepios from Kalindoia (Epigraphic Appendix no 62), dated [ἀφ' οἷ] βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδωκε Μακεδόνι Καλίνδοια καὶ τὰ χωρία τὰ περὶ Καλίνδοια. The interpretation of this document as a gift of the King to a distinct entity, to wit the Macedonian Commonwealth, has been independently shared by N.G.L. Hammond, "The King and Land in the Macedonian Kingdom", *CQ* 38 (1988) 382-86, and myself, *BullEpigr* 1988, 847, and Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 110-17. As Mooren 231 very aptly stresses, "each individual piece of evidence can be variously interpreted. When all the pieces are taken together the picture that emerges is that of a state which cannot be identified with its king". Moreover, Errington in his discussion of the formula βασιλεὺς ὁ δεῖνα καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι fails to see the penetrating distinction that Fanoula Papazoglou ("Organisation" 199-200) has made between the mention of Μακεδόνες without an article and that of the allies with an article. The former belong, along with the king, to the first half of the formula and signify the Macedonian state, whereas the latter form its second half. Consequently, the formula should be understood as "the Macedonian state and the allies".

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 33.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 34.

3. Cf. Mooren 218. Tréheux 39-46, blends some sensible remarks (the κοινὸν Μακεδόνων is nothing more than the community of the Macedonians) with patent inaccuracies (p. 46, n. 46: "la monnaie n'a jamais été frappée au nom des Macédoniens, mais toujours au nom du roi, et du roi régnant!") and fails to grasp the importance of the very existence of a Macedonian community besides the king for an understanding of the nature of the Macedonian state; cf. Ph. Gauthier, *BullEpigr* 1989, 274 and Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 40, n. 25.

4. Cf. Mooren 218. Tréheux 45-46, maintains that the community of the Macedonians had no financial autonomy, but he ignores the evidence presented by Mooren (in fact he does not seem to be aware of his contribution) and denies the existence of coinage issued in the name of the Macedonians. It is curious that Tréheux does not draw the obvious parallel between the dedication to Apollo after the battle of Sellasia and the dedication to Artemis Tauropolos after Perseus' successful campaigns in Thrace (Epigraphic Appendix no 29). Οἱ Μακεδόνες (cf. τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων) who participated financially from the sale of the booty in the erection of the Delian

donian *koinon*, recognising the inviolability of Kyzikos and praising that city for its goodwill towards the king and its friendship towards all the other Macedonians ought to remove any remaining doubts.<sup>1</sup>

F. Granier undertook the first systematic study of the Macedonian Army Assembly, which he considered to be the embodiment of the Macedonian Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> Some of his conclusions were challenged after the publication of his monograph,<sup>3</sup> but a more systematic discussion and partial rejection of them was made in later works of A. Aymard<sup>4</sup> and P. Briant.<sup>5</sup> The latter's fundamental study, establishing that the Macedonian assembly was normally not an Army Assembly but a popular one, was itself inevitably not always free of errors, which were pointed out and denounced by a number of acerbic and often hardly constructive critics,<sup>6</sup> some of whom, pushing the paradox to the limits of absurdity, denied the very existence of a constituted Macedonian assembly.<sup>7</sup> Hammond, for the reign of Alexander the Great,<sup>8</sup> and, Papazoglou, for the later Hellenistic period,<sup>9</sup> did justice to the most excessive and untenable positions put forward by Briant's (and Aymard's) critics. Mooren, in a long recently published study pointed out the numerous errors of interpretation and logic on which some of this radical criticism had been constructed. We shall have to return to this debate at the end of this book,<sup>10</sup> but it would be a waste of time to repeat here the arguments for and to refute the arguments against the existence of "the Macedonians" as a constituent part of the state, the more so since problems which hitherto have hardly received the attention which they deserve wait to be examined:

monument were no more an unorganised crowd than ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀμφιπολιτῶν, who co-financed the erection of the Amphipolitan one (cf. *BullEpigr* 1984, 253).

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 32.

2 . F. Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* (Munich 1931).

3 . Cf. W.W. Tarn, *JHS* 51 (1931) 307 (review of Granier's book); Bikerman, *Séleucides* 8-11 and 23-24; P. De Francisci, *Arcana imperii*, vol. II (Milan 1947) 343-495 (*non vidi*), a clear minority against the very numerous authors who accepted his views (cf. Briant, *Antigone* 288, n. 2).

4 . Aymard, "Assemblée" 115-37 (= *Etudes* 143-63).

5 . Briant, *Antigone* 279-350.

6 . Cf. Goukowsky, "Antigone" 263-77; E. Manni, "Due ricerche su Antigono Monofalmo", *Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 465-71; see, however, F.W. Walbank, "Antigonus the One-eyed", *CR* 90 (1976) 93-95.

7 . From Lock 91-107 to Anson, "Evolution" 230-47, through Lévy 201-25, and Errington, "Nature" 77-133.

8 . Hammond, "Arrian" 461-65.

9 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 195-210; cf. *BullEpigr* 1984, 240.

10 . See Conclusion.

How should "the Macedonian Commonwealth" be understood? In which form did it materialise? In that of a primitive army assembly or in that of a representative body, like the *synedria* of the Hellenistic federal states?

Granier affirmed vigorously that until the fall of the monarchy the only constitutionally established body of the Macedonians was the Army Assembly. Briant's great merit, that was recognised even by one of his harshest critics,<sup>1</sup> was that, following Aymard's lead, he demonstrated that the Macedonian Assembly was not normally a military assembly but –like all other Greek assemblies– a popular one, which could meet both under arms and without arms, according to circumstances (cf. the Aitolian, Achaian, Spartan assemblies). Errington's unfortunate effort to deny the existence of such an assembly had nevertheless one positive result: to bring to the fore the importance of a group which had hitherto received little notice and which our sources usually call οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων.<sup>2</sup> Using the same sources and raising at the same time the question both of the organisation and of the origin of the Macedonian *koinon*, Papazoglou independently suggested that the Late Hellenistic Macedonian *koinon* (e.g. of the Delos inscription) was not Granier's Army Assembly, but "un organisme semblable aux *synedria* des *koina* hellénistiques", and tentatively ascribed this transformation to Antigonos Gonatas.<sup>3</sup> Some of the questions that Papazoglou raised had in fact been dealt with extensively in a dissertation by Kl. Rosen.<sup>4</sup> As this has unfortunately remained unpublished and one cannot simply refer to it, I shall have to repeat or restate its most pertinent suggestions giving, naturally, full credit to their author.

Hammond, commenting on Errington's most recent study, noted that "he makes the mistake, shared by almost all writers on this subject, of working backwards from the Hellenistic period and preferring

1. Goukowsky, "Antigone" 273.

2. Errington, "Nature" 99-105.

3. Cf. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 207; cf. *eiusdem*, *Villes* 44-47. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 237-47, devotes a chapter to the "Macedonians" under Antigonos Doson. Her rich historiographical retrospect dispenses me from reproducing here a complete bibliography. On the other hand, she practically repeats Errington's arguments against the existence of a constituted primary assembly and Tréheux's minimalist interpretation of the term *koinon*. Although she rightly stresses (p. 245) that this term does not by itself imply the existence of a federal organisation, as Papazoglou seems to think, and that the latter's interpretation, in order to be accepted, would require additional evidence, she omits to say that such evidence was actually advanced by the Yugoslav scholar.

4. Rosen, *König* 20-21; 114-19.

Latin writers such as Curtius to contemporary Greek inscriptions and writers".<sup>1</sup> The objection, although not unfounded, needs some qualification. One may be justified in "working backwards" from a period better documented to the misty beginnings of Macedonian history, while there is nothing wrong with Hellenistic writers as such, but only with writers incapable or unwilling (or both) to understand the workings of the Macedonian state. It so happens that our knowledge of Antigonid Macedonia depends almost exclusively on Polybios, who, as we have already had the opportunity to verify,<sup>2</sup> can be as unreliable as the worst sensationalist scandalmonger historian of Antiquity, provided that he is out of sympathy with his subject-matter.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, there is no doubt that, as with the Aitolians<sup>4</sup> and with the Spartans,<sup>5</sup> Polybios had quite an axe to grind with the Macedonians and their kings.<sup>6</sup> No wonder that, apart from court gossip and dramatically composed<sup>7</sup> horror stories we hear precious little about the internal life of the Macedonian kingdom. The elaborate civic and regional organisation of Antigonid Macedonia studied in the previous chapters, as far as Polybios is concerned, simply does not exist, and without the epigraphic and numismatic evidence would have remained unknown. The contrast with (directly or indirectly) surviving works by Macedonian or quasi-Macedonian writers, such as Ptolemy or Hieronymos could not be greater. The conclusions that an uninformed historian might draw in some cases could be extremely bizarre.

The Macedonian Assembly is a case in point. We hear practically nothing about it until the accession of Philip II, when it makes a sudden and meteoric apparition in two passages taken respectively from

1. Hammond, "Arrian" 463, n. 29.

2. See p. 221-24, above.

3. Cf. Edson, "Perseus" 191-202; Walbank, "Φίλιππος" 55-68 and especially 68, n. 58; Musti, "Ventennio" 1149-1150; 1162.

4. Cf. Antonetti 133-41, who does not accept Lehmann's vindication of Polybios.

5. J.-G. Texier, *Nabis* (Paris 1975) 14-15; 19-20; cf. P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: a Tale of two Cities* (London-New York 1989) 60, with bibliography 244, n. 3.

6. It is characteristic that Polybios ascribes to all three peoples whom he hates the same incapacity to govern themselves and the same propensity to civil strife (Aitolians: 30.11; Spartans: 4.22.4; Macedonians: 31.2.12 and 17.2). One might add that the Boiotians do not fare much better; cf. M. Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de la Béotie au IIIe siècle av. notre ère* (Paris 1942) 302-306.

7. Cf. Walbank, "Φίλιππος" 55-68.

the contemporary historians Ephoros<sup>1</sup> and Theopompos,<sup>2</sup> to disappear completely for the next 25 years, until the accession of Alexander the Great. From then on it remains extremely active until the accession of Antigonos Gonatas and the death of Pyrrhos, when Hieronymos' work stops. After that date the Macedonian Assembly practically disappears from the sources, to reappear only *negatively* in the Senate's decision of 167 not to permit the holding of common assemblies of the whole Macedonian people.<sup>3</sup> This hundred-year-long eclipse is certainly –though implicitly– one of the reasons why Papazoglou ascribes to Antigonos Gonatas the substitution of a Hellenistic *synedrion* for the allegedly primitive *Heeresversammlung*.

The obvious question is whether the vanishing-acts of the Macedonian Assembly reflect genuine historical changes or simply changes in the perspective of our authors. But before starting to look for that assembly we should first make clear in our minds what we ought to be looking for. In connection with what kind of events should we scrutinise our sources to see if they have retained some record of its meetings? Were there rules of periodicity, or depending on the business to be transacted, that decided its summons? Essentially, was the King (or his lieutenant) free to convene or not to convene the Assembly? In other words, did customary law make the participation of the Assembly in the transaction of some state business a right (and an obligation), which could not be ignored without the risk of appearing to act in transgression of a traditional code of behaviour? We shall first try to define the different circumstances in which the active participation of the Macedonian Assembly in the government process is attested during the reign of Alexander the Great and his successors, when the relevant evidence is the richest; and on the basis of the results thus obtained we shall then enquire whether some traces of a

1 . Diod. 16.3.3. For Diodoros' source see N.G.L. Hammond, "The Sources of Diodorus Siculus XVI", *CQ* 31 (1937) 79-91 and Marta Sordi, in *Diodorus Siculus Bibliotheca, liber XVI, introd., testo e commento a cura di Sordi M.* ("Biblioteca di Studi Superiori LVI"; Florence 1969) X-XXXIII.

2 . Just. 7.5.10. For Trogus' source, cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 208 and N.G.L. Hammond, "The Sources of Justin on Macedonia to the Death of Philip", *CQ* 41 (1991) 496-508, with whom I agree on the attribution of this passage; however, as I shall explain elsewhere, Theopompos' *Φιλιππικαὶ ἱστορίαι* lie behind not only this passage, but also behind books VII-IX of Trogus' *Philippica* in their entirety.

3 . Cf. the table with the Assembly's interventions in Briant, *Antigone* 312-13. Anson, "Evolution", in his endeavour to circumscribe the political and judicial activity to the period between 330 and Eumenes' death, ignores or misinterprets evidence incompatible with his thesis (his treatment of Olympias' trial [p. 247, n. 66] is characteristic in this respect).

similar role of the Macedonian Assembly under analogous circumstances can be detected in our far less satisfactory sources (from this point of view) covering the period from Antigonos Gonatas' accession to the Roman conquest.

### UNDER THE TEMENIDS AND THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Philip's military reforms have often been described and their importance stressed.<sup>1</sup> However, their consequences in the social, economic and political fields have only very rarely been explored.<sup>2</sup>

Thucydides' and Xenophon's accounts of operations in the North during the reigns of Perdikkas II and Amyntas III leave no doubt that the Macedonian army comprised only negligible hoplite forces of heavy infantry.<sup>3</sup> Thucydides in two different passages gives a relatively clear picture of the composition of the Macedonian army at the time of the Peloponnesian war. It consisted of 1) an excellent but small corps of heavy cavalry, 2) a small number of hoplites recruited from the few cities—colonial or independent—of the kingdom and, 3) numerous light troops supplied by the barbarian client princes or tribes of the Macedonian king. Macedonia clearly lacked a hoplitic force worthy of that name, capable of securing the defence of the kingdom. To its absence or insignificance corresponded the absence from the Macedonian political scene of a "middle class" of free peasants, which is only to be expected, since heavy infantry was recruited from among its ranks and in an ancient Greek context military contribution and political weight were indissociably linked together. Thus, until the reign of Philip II, whatever the theoretical rights of the Macedonian People's Assembly,<sup>4</sup> the reality of political power was shared between the King, the religious and military head of the *ethnos*, and hardly more than a hundred chiefs of aristocratic families, the King's Companions (ἑταῖροι), whose hostage he could easily become.<sup>5</sup>

1. For some recent syntheses, see G. Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (London-Boston 1978) 30-35; G.T. Griffith, "Philip as a General and the Macedonian Army", *Philip of Macedon* (Athens 1980) 58-77; N.G.L. Hammond, *Philip of Macedon* (London 1994) 18-22.

2. The most notable exception being some excellent pages which we owe to Griffith, *Macedonia* II 405-431 (see also 383-92).

3. Thuc. 2.100.5; 124.1; Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.38-3.6.

4. Cf. Granier 6-21.

5. On the ἑταῖροι, see 334-36, below.

Without going into the detail of Philip's military reforms, it can easily be agreed that the king's main contribution was the creation of an extremely efficient heavy infantry, the Macedonian phalanx. The main difference between this Macedonian new model army and the Classical Greek phalanx, was that it deliberately privileged the offensive armament at the expense of the defensive one. Particularly, the size of the bronze shield was reduced by one-third and the even more expensive breastplate was completely discarded at the same time that the Classical two-meter long *dory* was replaced by the much longer (3.50 to 4.50 m.) *sarissa*. This information has been repeated only too often. What has been more rarely stressed is that this new armament, since it was notably less expensive, permitted the equipment of a much greater number of Macedonians and consequently their participation in the military but also the political life of their kingdom.<sup>1</sup> At the time of Philip's death, the number of Macedonians who could be called to serve in the territorially recruited divisions (τάξεις) of the Macedonian heavy infantry possibly attained the number of 30,000.<sup>2</sup>

What was less well-known, but now, thanks mainly to G.T. Griffith, equally established, is that Philip, in addition to the heavy infantry units recruited on a territorial basis and serving for the limited duration of a campaign, also formed a nucleus of professional infantry men "chosen among the tallest and strongest of all the Macedonians",<sup>3</sup> who served with him the whole year round as household troops and, on the analogy of the household cavalry of the Companions, were called Foot Companions (πεζέταιροι).<sup>4</sup>

Although we are less well-informed about Philip's reforms regarding the Macedonian cavalry,<sup>5</sup> from contemporary reports by Theopompus<sup>6</sup> and from the situation which Alexander inherited at the beginning of his reign, it appears that Philip, thanks to his conquests

1 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 420-26.

2 . In 334 Alexander, according to Diodoros (17.17.3-4), took with him 12,000 Macedonian foot (including 3,000 hypaspists) and left in Europe another 12,000 Macedonian foot under Antipater. To these 21,000 phalanx troops should be added a few thousand more of the 10,000 strong advance force, which had been sent by Philip to Asia Minor in 336. Finally, it is unlikely that these figures include all possible reserves (see, among some recent discussions, Bosworth, *Commentary* 98-99 and Brunt LXIX-LXXI).

3 . Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 348: Θεόπομπός φησιν ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπίλεκτοι οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι ἔδορυφόρου τὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πεζέταιροι.

4 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 414-18 and 705-713.

5 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 408-414.

6 . *FGrHist* 115 F 224-225.

which enabled him to donate estates to a great number of Macedonians, Thessalians and other Greeks, was able of widening the narrow circle of his *ἑταῖροι* and to attach to his exclusive service more than 800 Companions, who not only manned the three hundred men strong squadron (*ἄγημα*, βασιλική ἴλη) but were also the king's table companions, counsellors and comrades-in-arms.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the distribution of lands to the Macedonian commonalty in the newly conquered lands enabled a greater number of the Macedonian commons to afford service in the cavalry. They formed territorially recruited squadrons serving for the duration of a campaign, after the fashion of the men of the phalanx. At the end of Philip's reign their number probably amounted to 3,000.<sup>2</sup>

Astonishing as it is, our Athenocentric sources are completely silent on the political effects that these sweeping military reforms could but produce. We can only surmise them from the consequences that Philip's successor and heir drew at the very beginning of his reign and about which our only source of information is a clumsy and therefore hotly disputed passage by a contemporary historian, Anaximenes of Lampsakos:

"Anaximenes, in the first book of his *Philippika*, referring to Alexander, writes thus: 'Then having trained the upper class as cavalry he called them Companions (*hetairoi*). The mass of the people and the foot soldiers he organised in companies and sections and the other formations, and gave them the name Foot Companions (*pezetairoi*). In this way he intended that each class by sharing in the royal Companionship should be always exceedingly loyal' ".<sup>3</sup>

In my opinion, G.T. Griffith's brilliant demonstration should leave no doubt that the Alexander in question can be none other than Alexander the Great, for only since his reign the terms *ἑταῖρος* and *πεζῆταιρος*, which under Philip II's reign still designed élite corps, were extended to the entire heavy cavalry and heavy infantry respectively. Moreover, it is highly improbable that Harpokration, to whom we owe this citation, would have called any other Alexander, besides Alexander the Great, just by his name, without any further specification. Of course, as Griffith stressed, neither Alexander the Great, nor

1 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 395-404.

2 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 408, and p. 247, n. 8, above.

3 . *FGrHist* 72 F 4: 'Αναξιμένης ἐν α' Φιλιππικῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγων φησὶν "ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους ἰππεύειν συνεθίσας ἑταίρους προσηγόρευσε, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς εἰς λόχους καὶ δεκάδας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς διελὼν πεζεταιίρους ὠνόμασεν, ὅπως ἑκάτεροι μετέχοντες τῆς βασιλικῆς ἑταιρείας προθυμώτατοι διατελώσιν ὄντες", with Griffith's translation (*Macedonia* II 706).



any other Macedonian king, created either the Macedonian heavy cavalry, which existed from time immemorial, or the Macedonian heavy infantry, which was one of his father's greatest achievements, but simply extended the term "companion" to all Macedonians serving in the heavy cavalry and the phalanx.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that Alexander was only formally recognising the extraordinary social and political advancement of the Macedonian commons achieved under the reign of this father, which had elevated them to the level held until then by the King's Companions. To put it differently, these Macedonians had fully acquired the political rights formerly reserved to the King's immediate circle.

This goes a long way to explain the passionate attachment of the Macedonian commons to Philip and to his offspring, so strikingly illustrated in the events following Alexander's death at Babylon in 323.<sup>2</sup> The Macedonian heavy infantry would have no other king unless he was begotten by Philip (*Philippo genitus*) and belonged to his kin (*stirpem Philippi*).<sup>3</sup>

In fact, Philip, confronted with the problem of an unruly aristocracy, which had been responsible for his father's destitution and his eldest brother's assassination,<sup>4</sup> resorted to a potentially dangerous wager, but for which he received a bounteous reward. Instead of eliminating the ἑταῖροι, he increased their numbers, elevating to this dignity a great number of Macedonians and other Greeks to whom he distributed estates in the New Territories, permitting them to acquire a social rank equal to that of the aristocratic families of the Old Kingdom. And in the same manner that he overcame the danger from the excessive influence of the old aristocratic families by increasing the number of the ἑταῖροι, he neutralised the potential threat of a numerous and exclusive corps of Companions by enabling an even greater number of common Macedonians to participate as foot soldiers in the military and political life of the kingdom, and by extending to them the rights that until then constituted prerogatives of the mounted ἑταῖροι. Thus, the People's Assembly, meeting at ordinary sessions, probably twice a year at the opening of the campaign season in March and at its closing at Dion in October, but also at extraordinary sessions, whenever the King deemed it necessary, counterbalanced the potentially stifling political weight of the Companions. It is therefore

1 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 705-713.

2 . On these events, see Briant, *Antigone* 237-58 and 330-37.

3 . Curtius 10.7.2; 7.11.

4 . Hatzopoulos, "Béotie" 247-53.

only understandable that the Macedonians of the phalanx, who had witnessed and benefited from extraordinary social and political ascension, would defend by all means their newly acquired rights with a determination equalled only by their attachment to the dynasty of the kings who had been their benefactors.

### Capital cases<sup>1</sup>

In the reign of Alexander the Great the mandatory participation of the Macedonian Assembly is affirmed *expressis verbis* by Curtius for the trial of capital cases (*de capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus—in pace erat vulgi—et nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas*)<sup>2</sup> and the overwhelming evidence from this period (336-272) bears out this affirmation. The few instances of the transgression or circumvention of the rule which have been alleged,<sup>3</sup> do not affect its overall validity, the more so in that they were violently denounced by contemporaries. As Mooren very aptly remarks: "In world history one can hardly find, I think, a single dynasty of which members never violated rights, traditions or laws".<sup>4</sup> The Belgian scholar's rectification of Errington's misunderstandings of some crucial passages,<sup>5</sup> and the refutation of the premises on which the latter's argument against the mandatory character of the relevant Macedonian customary law had been constructed<sup>6</sup> relieves us from the need to repeat the same demonstration here. Two phrases

1. When writing this part of my study I was, unfortunately, not aware of R.A. Bauman's monograph *Political Trials in Ancient Greece* (London-New York 1990), which can be read with much profit.

2. Curtius 6.8.25 (cf. 6.9.34, in which passage Alexander said to Philotas: "*Macedones... de te iudicaturi sunt*"). For the philological questions raised by this passage, which has been discussed *ad nauseam*, cf. Mooren 228-31.

3. In particular by Lock 101-104; Lévy 214-16; Anson, "Constitutionalism" 312-13.

4. Mooren 226, n. 99.

5. Mooren 228-31. Errington, "Nature" 87-91, in particular, did not understand that the assembly, which was dismissed after the first day of Philotas' trial, was reconvened the following day (cf. Goukowsky, *Alexandre II* 118-34). I would add that he did not understand either that Amyntas' brothers Attalos, Simias and Polemon were unanimously acquitted by the Assembly (Curtius 7.2.6: *una vox erat pari emissa consensu*) and that Alexander simply concurred with this verdict, as the use of the conjunction "*et*" clearly indicates (Curtius 7.2.8: "*et ipse*", *inquit*, "*Amyntan mea sententia fratresque eius absolvo*").

6. Mooren 222; cf. Goukowsky, "Antigone" 273-75. For an interesting study of the Macedonian contribution to Hellenistic law which has gone unnoticed, see J.N. Kalléris, "Ἡ μακεδονικὴ παράδοσις εἰς τὸ ἑλληνιστικὸν δίκαιον", *Μνήμη Γεωργίου Α. Πετροπούλου*, vol. I (Athens 1984) 423-40.

written nearly three decades ago by the "doyen" of Macedonian studies can serve as an epilogue to a largely unnecessary debate which, had they been given sufficient attention, might have been avoided: "There are a number of instances where kings did put to death prominent Macedonians without a trial by the assembly. But the occasional, and infrequent, violation of a constitution does not mean that it has ceased to exist".<sup>1</sup>

Having, I hope, put to rest this preliminary but hardly real issue, we can turn to the very real problem of how this *vetustus Macedonum modus* was practically implemented. Unfortunately, most of our examples from this period concern trials taking place under exceptional circumstances, during foreign or civil wars outside Macedonia. In all these cases, as Goukowsky has rightly stressed, judgement was passed by only a fraction of the Macedonian army, which happened to be present.<sup>2</sup> We have only two accounts of trials in Macedonia itself: that of Pausanias, Philip II's murderer, in 336 and that of Olympias in 319.

Concerning the first trial, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> Philip's murder took place during the annual *panegyris* marking the beginning of the Macedonian New Year at the autumn equinox. Both the descriptions of our sources and analogy with other northern Greek states (Aitolia,<sup>4</sup> Epeiros<sup>5</sup>) –and even modern practice–<sup>6</sup> make it extremely probable that it was one of the two occasions when as many Macedonians as could afford the trip gathered in one of the "hearths of the

1. Edson, "Macedonia" 32, n. 82; cf. B. Tripodi, "La *immunitas cunctarum rerum* concessa da Alessandro Magno ai Macedoni (Just., 11,1,10)", *AnnPisa* 9 (1979) 519, n. 19: "...non ci sentiamo, tuttavia, di condividere per intero con Errington e la lettura delle fonti, e la sua riduzione della storia interna macedone ad un gioco di lotte di corte, con la conseguente visione dei Μακεδόνες come masse tendenzialmente sediziose, costituenti solo una forza amorfa di pressione, strumentalizzata da quei sovrani la cui posizione era insicura dopo la loro accessione..."; S.M. Burstein in *Hellenistic History and Culture* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1992) 37: "Errington has come perilously close to positing something unparalleled: an autocracy in which the murder of Clitus is *normal*. The king can do anything. A Merovingian warlord might get away with a murder –many murders– but not even the Merovingian system ever assumed that this was normal behaviour...".

2. Goukowsky, "Antigone" 273-77.

3. Hatzopoulos, "Oleveni" 38-42.

4. M. Holleaux, "Sur les assemblées ordinaires de la Ligue aitolienne", *BCH* 29 (1905) 362-72 (= *Etudes* I 219-27); Larsen, "Assembly" 1-3; cf. Sordi, "Origini" 437.

5. N.G.L. Hammond, "Prehistoric Epirus and the Dorian Invasion", *BSA* 32 (1930-1931) 140; cf. Cabanes, *Epire* 165-66.

6. Cf. Stella Géorgoudi, "Quelques problèmes de la transhumance en Grèce ancienne", *REG* 87 (1974) 155-85.

kingdom".<sup>1</sup> It is presumably to these Macedonians that Alexander delivered Pausanias to be judged ([εἰς κρίσιν τοῖς Μ[ακεδόσι] | [αὐτὸν π]αρέδωκε...)<sup>2</sup> The conciseness and the fragmentary state of the surviving sources make any farther elaboration hazardous.<sup>3</sup>

The interpretation of the passage of Diodoros relating Olympias' death,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, has been lately the object of extensive controversy. Briant understood that Cassander had Olympias tried and condemned by an Army Assembly (ἐν κοινῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκκλησίᾳ) and that Olympias asked instead to be tried by the People's Assembly (ἐν πᾶσι Μακεδόσι).<sup>5</sup> E. Lévy, although he did not fully understand the Greek text himself, rightly questioned Briant's interpretation and pointed out that: 1) the important point is that Olympias was condemned *in absentia*, 2) it is impossible to draw a distinction between κοινῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκκλησία, Μακεδόνες, πάντες Μακεδόνες and τὸ πλῆθος, for the context makes it clear that the same body is meant in all cases, and Justin describes the convocation of the allegedly Army Assembly with the words: *ad contionem vocato populo*.<sup>6</sup> What Lévy had not understood is that Olympias had not yet been condemned when Cassander decided to murder her instead of having her executed. Indeed, if the trial had been concluded, Olympias actually condemned and the Assembly dismissed, what need would Cassander have had to fear Olympias' apology and a change of heart by the Assembly (εὐλαβεῖτο τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων εὐμετάβολον... φοβηθεῖς μήποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἀκοῦον τῆς βασιλίσης ἀπολογουμένης μετανοήσῃ), and to try first to induce her to flee and then to send an army detachment loyal to him and finally the relatives of her victims to murder her surreptitiously? He would only have had to carry out the official sentence. More recently, Elisabeth D. Carney is also at a loss to understand what really happened and particularly why the

1 . For another example of a religious festival with a meeting of the assembly and of the federal council, cf. Diog. Laert., *Vita Theophr.* 5.37, with Heisserer 73-74.

2 . P.J. Parsons, "The Burial of Philip II?", *AJAH* 4 (1979) 98-99, with my restorations, which are based on parallel expressions such as τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐπέτρεψεν (Diod. 17.79.6) or εἰς τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων κρίσιν παραχθεῖς (Diod. 17.80.2); cf. Pol. 5.16.5: αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τοὺς φίλους ἀπέδωκε κρίσιν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μεγαλέαν.

3 . Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, "Philip's Tomb in Historical Context", *GRBS* 19 (1978) 331-50, who restores [τὸν δὲ μάντι]ν τοῖς Μ[ακεδόσι] παρέδωκε [κολάσαι] and imagines that the person condemned and crucified was a diviner, otherwise unattested, who had declared the omens favourable that day and fell victim to an occupational hazard (see also Hammond, *Macedonia* III 5).

4 . Diod. 19.51.1-4.

5 . Briant, *Antigone* 297-99.

6 . Just. 14.6.6; Lévy 208-210.

death sentence on Olympias was not normally executed.<sup>1</sup> A closer examination of the proceedings of roughly contemporary trials (although not held in Macedonia), such as that of Alexandros son of Aeropos, Amyntas, and especially Philotas, and, at the same time, a more minute analysis of Diodoros' text may solve that difficulty.

The Macedonian capital trials, of which a relatively detailed description has survived, follow the well-established Greek adversarial procedure of *logos* and *antilogos*.<sup>2</sup> First the accusation was heard, then the accused –or, if he was absent, his parents and friends–pleaded his cause, and only then did the Assembly, after deliberation, during which anyone could take the stand and express his opinion,<sup>3</sup> pronounce its sentence by shouts after the traditional Homeric fashion,<sup>4</sup> still current in Classical Sparta.<sup>5</sup> The King, or any other presiding official, had the option to adjourn the court at any of these stages.<sup>6</sup> Although formal sentence was passed only at the end of the adversarial procedure and the deliberations, the Assembly could, and usually did, express its feelings at any time during the proceedings,<sup>7</sup> making clear the probable outcome of the trial before the actual pronouncement of the sentence.

According to our sources, Cassander had summoned the Assembly of the Macedonians and had incited the relatives of her victims to ac-

1. Elisabeth D. Carney, "Olympias, Adea Eurydice, and the End of the Argead Dynasty", *Ventures into Greek History* (Oxford 1994) 373-74 and n. 31: "The ordinary procedure would have been for those voting for her condemnation to carry out her execution immediately. Since they refused to do this, one can only conclude that whatever happened after that violated Macedonian tradition, and this suggests that the condemnation, despite its course in an obviously partisan audience, had no real force, whether because people admired Olympias or because they feared taking responsibility for her death or both".

2. Cf. Hom., *Il.* 18.497-508; Goukowsky, "Antigone" 274: "Nous y voyons les Macédoniens entendre les deux parties –égales devant l'Assemblée souveraine– et réagir, individuellement ou collectivement, avec une franchise d'hommes libres. Nous y voyons d'autre part Alexandre soutenir en personne l'accusation, produire les témoins à charge et les pièces à conviction, comme le ferait un citoyen devant un tribunal athénien. Alexandre se retire même pendant que Philotas plaide sa cause... L'instruction de l'affaire appartient donc bien aux Macédoniens et ce n'est qu'après l'audition des parties qu'ils tuent ou qu'ils acquittent".

3. Cf. Curtius 6.11.1-7.

4. See Carlier 185-86; cf. Curtius 7.2.6: *una vox erat pari emissa consensu, ut insonantibus et fortibus viris parceret*.

5. Thuc. 1.87.1: κρίνονσι γὰρ (*sc.* οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) βοή και οὐ ψήφω; cf. Plut., *Lyc.* 26.3-5; Arist., *Pol.* 1271a 10.

6. Cf. Curtius 6.11.9: *consilium in posterum diem distulit* (misunderstood by Errington; cf. Mooren 229).

7. Cf. Curtius 6.9.3; 7; 10.36; 11.8; 7.2.1; 2.3; 2.7.

cuse Olympias. Justin, indeed, summarising Trogus, who was probably translating and adapting a Greek original, writes: *a quibus accensi Macedones sine respectu pristinae maiestatis occidendam decernunt*.<sup>1</sup> Diodoros, however, who was probably summarising the same Greek original, writes: καὶ τῆς μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδος οὔτε παρούσης οὔτε ἐχούσης τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῆς θάνατον, ὁ δὲ Κάσσανδρος πέμψας τινὰς τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα συνεβούλευε λάθρα φυγεῖν.<sup>2</sup> From the Greek text it is clear that only the first part of the trial, *i.e.* the accusation, had taken place. But as no one could "be acquitted unless he had pleaded his cause"<sup>3</sup> in a Macedonian trial, so no one could be condemned without pleading his cause. The Assembly had apparently been impressed by the accusation and had probably shown certain signs that they were disposed to go along with Cassander's wishes and condemn the old queen to death, but the trial had obviously been adjourned at that critical moment. This is the meaning of the imperfect κατεγίνωσκον instead of the aorist κατέγνωσαν: the Macedonians were going to condemn her to death. But because of "the Queen's great prestige, and the volatility of the Macedonians",<sup>4</sup> Cassander could not be sure that the current mood might not be reversed if Olympias was given the opportunity to be heard. Faced with the dilemma of leaving the trial unfinished or of otherwise risking an acquittal, Cassander decided to assassinate her, quietly if possible, disguising her murder as a more or less accidental death occurring during a flight which, in itself, would be an admission of guilt, or, when this scheme failed, by letting a mob of "indignant relatives of the victims" take the law into their own hands.

More than the different stages, what we need to note here is that the trial was held from the beginning to the end before the whole "normal" Macedonian Assembly,<sup>5</sup> which is nowhere qualified as military, but, on the contrary, is referred to by terms which to an unprejudiced reader suggest a body composed of civilians: κοινὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκκλησία, πάντες Μακεδόνες, τὸ πλῆθος, *populus*).<sup>6</sup> The question which still remains to be answered is whether this was an extraordinary assembly especially convoked by Cassander for the trial, as Justin's expression would lead us to believe (*sed Cassander ad*

1 . Just. 14.6.6.

2 . Diod. 19.51.2.

3 . Curtius 7.2.9.

4 . Diod. 19.51.3.

5 . Not before a "fractional" one, as Briant, *Antigone* 297-99, and Hammond, "Arrian" 465, thought.

6 . Cf. Lévy 208-209.

*contionem vocato populo sciscitaturus quid de Olympiade fieri velint*),<sup>1</sup> or one of the ordinary seasonal meetings of the Macedonian Assembly, as Diodoros' text would seem to suggest (προετρέψατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν ἀνηρημένων ὑπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐν κοινῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγορεῖν τῆς προειρημένης γυναικός).<sup>2</sup> The fact that the fall of Pydna and the trial coincide with the celebration of the annual festival of the Xandika (τοῦ δ' ἔαρος ἀρχομένου),<sup>3</sup> which certainly was an occasion—probably the only other occasion besides the festival of Zeus in autumn—for a plenary convention of all the Macedonians, suggests the possibility that, here too, we are dealing with an ordinary assembly during a festival which, like the autumnal *panegyris*, lasted several days.<sup>4</sup>

### Succession and regency

For the other main function of the Macedonian Assembly, the appointment of the new king or of the regent(s), we are unfortunately much less well-informed. For among our best sources the chapters which Ptolemy undoubtedly devoted to Alexander's accession were understandably outside the scope of Arrian's *Anabasis*, and were consequently not included in his work,<sup>5</sup> whereas Diodoros has summarised to the point of rendering incomprehensible the beginning of Hieronymos' *History of the Diadochi*,<sup>6</sup> and his continuous narrative fails us shortly after the new Antipatrid dynasty takes over the Macedonian kingship. Thus, inevitably, we shall have to be less selective in the choice of our sources in order to form an idea of the part played by the Assembly in the appointment of kings and regents before Antigonos Gonatas and his alleged reform of the Macedonian "constitution".

From what we can gather from the admittedly late and occasionally unreliable sources describing the accession of Alexander the Great, it seems that the young heir apparent, with the support of leading Macedonians such as Alexandros son of Aeropos and, perhaps, Antipater, was surrounded by his followers and was acclaimed

1 . Just. 14.6.6.

2 . Diod. 19.51.1.

3 . Diod. 19.50.1; cf. Livy 33.3.5 and 43.21.5.

4 . See p. 272, above.

5 . Cf. Bosworth, *Commentary* 45.

6 . Cf. P. Goukowsky in *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique Livre XVIII* ("Collection des Universités de France"; Paris 1978) IX-XXIV.

king immediately after Philip II's murder, by the very Macedonians who had assembled at Aigeai for the autumnal *panegyris*.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander the Great's half-brother, Philip III, and his yet unborn son, Alexander IV, were indeed hailed kings by the βασιλικάι δυνάμεις, the standing army in Asia, according to the compromise reached by the Council and the cavalry, on the one hand, and the infantry, on the other,<sup>2</sup> and assemblies of the army of Asia repeatedly appointed the successive real administrators of the kingdom,<sup>3</sup> but we do not know the exact circumstances of Cassander's accession to the throne.<sup>4</sup> We are equally ignorant concerning the accession of his sons Philip IV, Antipater and Alexander V.<sup>5</sup> In 294 Demetrios was acclaimed "king of the Macedonians" by an assembly of Alexander V's army at Larisa and their decision seems to have been approved by the rest of the Macedonians (...ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα Μακεδόνων... ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκοὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀκούσιος ἡ μεταβολή).<sup>6</sup> These two stages of Demetrios' accession to the Macedonian throne, violently telescoped, seem to be reflected in Justin's version of the same events: (*Demetrios*) *per insidias Alexandrum interfecit occupatoque Macedoniae regno caedem apud exercitum excusaturus in contionem vocat ...Per haec mitigato populo rex appellatur*.<sup>7</sup> Although it is not stated in so many words (ὁ Πύρρος... βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη Μακεδόνων), it seems that the Macedonian levy acclaimed Pyrrhos as king in 288.<sup>8</sup>

1. As I shall show elsewhere, the ἀνάδειξις of Alexander enacted in the theatre according to the *P.Ox.* XV 1798 (= *FGrHist* 148 F 1), Pseudo-Kallisthenes I 26 (Müller) and Iulius Valerius 17 (cf. Arr., *Anab.* 1.25.2), his address to the assembled Macedonians, and the obtention of the latter's favour, that is to say his acclamation as the new king, immediately follow Philip's assassination on the same spot.

2. Cf. Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 1.3.

3. Cf. Anon. (*Heidelberg Epitome*), *FGrHist* 155 F 1, 4-6; Diod. 18.36.7 (Peithon and Arrhidaios in 321); Diod. 18.39.2 (Antipater in 321).

4. The only ancient testimony is both too late and too laconic (Sync., p. 504 [Bonn]: Ὁ Κάσσανδρος... ἐαυτὸν Μακεδόσι βασιλέα ἀνηγόρευσε) to be used as evidence for or against an acclamation by the Assembly. Cassander had been appointed by Philip-Arrhidaios (in fact Eurydike) administrator of the kingdom (Just. 14.5.1-3; cf. Diod. 19.11.1). After the execution of the royal couple, the capture of the rest of the royal family and his marriage to Alexander's half-sister Thessalonike, he also became, as the nearest male parent, the tutor of the young Alexander (IV). It is possible that as such he acquired a life-long right to the kingship (cf. Costanzi, *Studi* 83-84). In any case, the solemn burial of the young Alexander in 306 made him the undisputed master not only of the royal power but also of the royal title.

5. Cf. Granier 115-16.

6. Plut., *Demetr.* 37.2-3.

7. Just. 16.1.9 and 18.

8. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 11.14; cf. Just. 16.2.3: (*Pyrrus*) *quippe exercitu eius (sc. Demetrii) corrupto ipsoque in fugam acto regnum Macedoniae occupavit*.



On the other hand, Plutarch stresses the decisive role of the *πρώτοι Μακεδόνων*, whom Lysimachos "corrupted by letters and conferences" in the latter's wrestling of the Macedonian crown from Pyrrhos.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Plutarch's statement that Pyrrhos lost "Macedonia in the same way in which he had won it", and his allusion to the changing mind of the "popular assemblies" may indicate an eventual acclamation by an assembly.<sup>2</sup> Seleukos never reached Macedonia but his murderer Ptolemaios Keraunos was appointed king by his victim's army (*creatus ab exercitu rex*)<sup>3</sup> and the *anadeixis* of Arsinoe took place before the army at Dion (...*in sanctissimum Iovis templum veterrimae Macedonum religionis... ad contionem quoque vocato exercitu capiti sororis diadema inponit reginamque eam appellat*).<sup>4</sup> We hear nothing about the accession of Ptolemaios' brother and the succession of Meleagros, but we do hear about his expulsion by the Macedonians (*Makedonii vero eum... ab imperio expulerunt*) and the appointment in his stead of Antipater, a nephew of Cassander (*regem crearunt*).<sup>5</sup> The last royal acclamation that we know of in Macedonia is that of Sosthenes, who, however, refused the title of king (*cum rex ab exercitu appellatus esset...*).<sup>6</sup>

From the above cases there can be no doubt that the Macedonians constituted in assembly had a say in the appointment of a new king and that this say could range from the mere formality of an acclamation, when the traditional rules of succession<sup>7</sup> or the dominant posi-

1. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.10.

2. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.11-12

3. Trogus Pompeius, *Prol.* 17; cf. Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 8.3.

4. Just. 24.3.2. On the other hand Arsinoe's expulsion by the Macedonians (Trogus Pompeius, *Prol.* 24: *utque Arsinoën sororem suam imperio Macedonicarum urbium exiit [sc. Ptolemaeus]*) is reminiscent of that of Amyntas III (Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.13: Καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἠσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας).

5. Euseb., *Chron.* I 235 (Schoene).

6. Just. 24.5.14. For a systematic discussion of all the above cases, see Granier 115-22 and Ritter 105-124.

7. I tried to put down the Macedonian rules of succession in Hatzopoulos, "Succession" 279-92. W. Greenwalt, "Polygamy and Succession in Argead Macedonia", *Arethusa* 22 (1989) 19-45 (cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* III 98-99; *eiusdem*, *State* 32-33, substantially agreeing with Greenwalt on Macedonian polygamy, but accepting besides the existence of rules of succession and attributing a role to the Assembly), argues for the absence of any set of rules of succession because of the inherently disorderly nature of the polygamous royal household. First, I do not think that Greenwalt—or anybody else for that matter—has established that genuine polygamy (*i.e.* simultaneous procreation of children with more than one wife) was practiced in Macedonia. (Alexander's polygamy is the exception which confirms the rule, for it was clearly borrowed from the Persian court). If, on the other hand, by polygamy we

tion of a pretender left but little choice, to a genuine election, when a dynasty became extinct, when there was no heir capable of assuming the throne immediately or when there were conflicting claims.<sup>1</sup> Thus, although election was more often than not purely theoretical, the awareness of this right never became extinct and was revived whenever an appropriate case presented itself, as is amply illustrated not only by the examples cited above, but also by the very utterances of the protagonists themselves in our sources, which, however unhistorical, reflect and reproduce what their authors felt that historical verisimilitude required. The theoretical right of the Macedonians to elect their king in this period is explicitly asserted by Arrhidaios, the future Philip III, when he threatened to renounce the throne and entreated the phalanx to "elect a better man",<sup>2</sup> or by Antigonos Doson, who in a similar manner dared the assembled Macedonians to choose another king.<sup>3</sup> Ultimate sovereignty, as Curtius states elsewhere, was felt to belong to the people.<sup>4</sup>

mean a succession of unions producing offsprings, we are dealing with a pattern by no means uncommon, which in many other cases has not precluded the existence of rules of succession. Second, and more important, the ancient authors explicitly refer to the existence of such rules in Macedonia (cf. Curtius 10.7.6, discussed in my article cited above, and Livy [Polybios] 40.9.8; who refers to the *vetustus Macedoniae mos* setting the order of succession; cf. 40.11.6: *moris Macedonum* and 12.13: *more Macedonum*, for the *mores Macedonum* preserved in Curtius Rufus, see Tarn, *Alexander* II 106-107; Hammond, *Macedonia* II 151 and Griffith, *Macedonia* II 383, n. 1). It is obvious, as I had already hinted (Hatzopoulos, "Succession" 291), that these rules did not exist from all eternity, but were gradually elaborated, as the need arose, on the basis of one or two simple principles and on precedent. The most telling parallel is perhaps that of the elaboration of French succession rules in the tumultuous period of the last direct Capetian and the Vallois kings. See also Aymard, "Assemblée" 134-35 (= *Etudes* 160-62).

1. Cf. Aymard, "Assemblée" 134-35 (= *Etudes* 160-62); Lévy 220.

2. Curtius 10.8.19: *eligite potiore*.

3. Just. 28.3.15: *Quorum si illos paeniteat, deponere imperium et reddere illis munus suum, quia regem quaereant cui imperent*. One should read *in extenso* these two passages, remarkably parallel both in concepts and in symbols, which show an unmistakable constancy of Macedonian "constitutional" notions.

4. Curtius 10.6.23: *harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres*; cf. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.9: κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδείξει θησαυροῦς ἐμούς, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἡμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἕνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται; cf. Pseudo-Kallisthenes 33.11 (Kroll): ἐλέσθωσαν Μακεδόνες ὃν ἂν βούλωνται βασιλέα... ὁ δὲ αἰρεθεῖς... (significantly perhaps, the same expressions recur in the section of the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia which concerns the election of the gymnasiarch [Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 18, L. 22-24: ἡ πόλις αἰρείσθω... ὁ δὲ αἰρεθεῖς...]). The different factors which determine succession to the throne are enumerated several times in the tendentious discussion which according to Livy (40.9.8-12.18; in fact Polybios) allegedly took place between Philip V and his two sons. These are: 1) the rules of succession (*vetustus Ma-*

### Other political powers and relations to the Council<sup>1</sup>

The Macedonian Assembly appears in our less reliable sources on a number of other odd occasions. Some of them, such as Kleitos' posthumous condemnation, can be assimilated to its judicial functions as a sort of trial and acquittal of the king.<sup>2</sup> Others, such as the laying down of rules concerning royal hunting,<sup>3</sup> are difficult to classify or interpret. There remains, however, a number of meetings of the Assembly sanctioning political decisions (all of them taking place *bello*, i.e. away from Macedonia), which cannot be classified under the categories either of trials or acclamations. Such are the decisions not to carry out "Alexander's last plans" in 323,<sup>4</sup> the declaration of war against Eumenes in 321,<sup>5</sup> and the declaration of war against Cassander in 316.<sup>6</sup> These cases are beyond dispute. It is true that Briant claims that the actual decision to abandon Alexander's plans was taken by the Council and that the Assembly was merely informed about it.<sup>7</sup> This is certainly not what Diodoros says, as even Errington, who tries by all means to minimise the importance of the Assembly, has to admit.<sup>8</sup> Moreover a deliberation and a proposition by the Council, which is not in itself unlikely, by no means excludes a final decision by the Assembly. In order to make this point clear we shall have to proceed in a roundabout way, using evidence from trials of capital cases and appointments of kings and regents for which we possess more detailed descriptions than for deliberations and decisions of a more purely "political" nature.

The very circumstantial account of Philotas' trial shows that a preliminary investigation of the case before the Council was the normal

*cedoniae mos, moris Macedonum, more Macedonum*), 2) the will of the previous king (*patris iudicium, pater tradet, voluntate patris, tuo etiam iudicio*), 3) the will of the Macedonians (*pro isto stant Macedones, Macedonum iudicia*). It is clear that normally the first factor sufficed to determine the successor and that the two others were formalities more or less automatically obtained.

1. For the membership and the powers of the Council, see 323-59, below.

2. Curtius 8.2.12.

3. Curtius 8.1.18.

4. Diod. 18.1.6.

5. Diod. 18.37.2; cf. 59.4.

6. Diod. 19.61.1-3.

7. Briant, *Antigone* 256-57.

8. Errington, "Nature" 117, n. 35.

procedure<sup>1</sup> when the Assembly was acting as a court of justice, and this makes it highly probable that –*pace* Errington<sup>2</sup> there is no real contradiction between Diodoros<sup>3</sup> and Polyainos<sup>4</sup> accounts of Peithon's trial, the former describing the preliminary accusation before the Council (κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ συνεδρίου) and the latter the actual judgement by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων. It is all the more surprising that Briant, who admits this, goes on to suggest that the δικαστήριον to which Perdikkas summoned Antigonos was the Council and that the similarity of the expressions used by Diodoros to describe Antigonos' attempted trial and Meleagros' actual condemnation implies the same procedure before the Council rather than the Assembly.<sup>5</sup> In fact the preliminary investigation would naturally take place before the same body, but, as it was certainly a capital case,<sup>6</sup> actual judgement would have to be passed by the Assembly. Briant's contention that Diodoros uses the term *dikasterion* in his description of the trial of Alexandros son of Aeropos, which took place before the *synedrion*,<sup>7</sup> is clearly mistaken. What Diodoros<sup>8</sup> says is that Alexandros "was arrested and bound and placed under guard, until he should face a court". When he describes the actual trial, he clearly says that the court before which he was brought was the Macedonian Assembly.<sup>9</sup> For the same reason Briant's suggestion<sup>10</sup> of an attempted trial of Ptolemy before the Council in 321 must be abandoned. The relevant passage<sup>11</sup> of Arrian is indeed difficult to interpret, but it is certainly unhelpful to ignore the technical expression (ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους), which unambiguously refers to a trial before the Assembly.<sup>12</sup> What is true of the abortive trial of Antigonos must also be true, as Briant has skilfully shown,<sup>13</sup> of Melea-

1 . Cf. the "trial" of Perdikkas: Briant, *Antigone* 268-69 with Diiod. 18.36.4: πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων... πᾶσα δ' ἡ φάλαγξ.

2 . Errington, "Nature" 120, n. 148.

3 . Diiod. 19.46.4.

4 . Polyain. 4.6.14.

5 . Briant, *Antigone* 156, n. 3; 253-54.

6 . Diiod. 18.28.4.

7 . Diiod. 17.32.3; cf. 80.2 and Arr., *Anab.* 1.25.4.

8 . Diiod. 17.32.3.

9 . Diiod. 17.80.2: εἰς τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων κρίσιν παραχθεις...

10 . Briant, *Antigone* 263-68.

11 . Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 9.28.

12 . Arrian, in *Anab.* 1.25.4, describes only the first stage, what we would call the preliminary investigation of the accusations against Alexandros the Lynkestian, which lead to his arrest: καὶ οὕτω ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

13 . Briant, *Antigone* 253-54.

gros' actual trial and condemnation. This is all the more interesting in that the parallel narratives of Arrian<sup>1</sup> and Curtius<sup>2</sup> (which nevertheless share the same source), had they been our only sources of information, would have convinced us that Meleagros was executed without a trial.<sup>3</sup>

The "probouleutic" role of the Council, which we have recognised in trials of capital cases, was not limited to such occasions. As Hammond has recently established, the same procedure was normally followed for the appointment of kings and regents.<sup>4</sup> First the Council would reach a decision and then the other Macedonians would be invited to approve it and to take the oath of allegiance. What enraged the infantry in Babylon in 323 was that the Council had the cavalry take the oath separately, before the Assembly as a whole had had a chance to discuss and approve the Council's propositions. For the events of the murder of Perdikkas Briant has convincingly argued<sup>5</sup> that there is no real contradiction between Arrian's<sup>6</sup> and Diodoros'<sup>7</sup> descriptions –both taken from the same source: Hieronymos of Kardia– of the appointment of Arrhidaios and Peithon as *epimeletai*, but that we are dealing with two different stages of the same process, retained by the two secondary sources: Ptolemy first persuaded the Council to appoint Peithon and Arrhidaios as "administrators" and then this choice was ratified by the Assembly. It is indeed clear from

1 . Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 1.4: ἀναίρει δ' οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον Μελέαγρον.

2 . Curtius 10.9.21: *confugit (sc. Meleagros) ad templum, ac ne loci quidem religione defensus occiditur.*

3 . However, it should be remembered that the Council alone was competent to judge minor offenses not entailing the death sentence and that the King or a regent could pass sentence, even alone, in matters of military discipline (Berve I 217; cf. the punishment of the seditious soldiers at Opis in 324 and in Babylon in 323). But even such measures were resented and were considered, by some Macedonians at least, as tyrannical and contrary to the *nomos* (cf. Goukowsky, "Antigone" 275, n. 33 and Arr., *Anab.* 7.8.3, who, commenting on the events, interprets them as contrary to the expected behaviour of a Macedonian king: "courted as he [*sc. Alexander*] now was in the barbarian manner, he had ceased to be so kindly as in old times to the Macedonians" [translation by P.A. Brunt]).

4 . Hammond, *Macedonia* III 101. It is probable that in Sparta, too, the Council (γερονσία) and the Assembly (ἀπέλλα) shared the responsibility of appointing a new king. As P. Carrier (p. 248) very aptly writes: "On peut se demander... si tout simplement, comme dans la procédure probouleutique normale, l'accord des gérontes et du peuple n'était pas nécessaire...".

5 . Briant, *Antigone* 273-74.

6 . Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 9. 30: συνεδρίου δὲ κροτηθέντος ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς πάσης δυνάμεως ἀντι Περδίκκου Πίθων καὶ Ἀρριδαῖος ἐν τῷ τέως ἀνερρήθησαν...

7 . Diod. 18.36.7: οἱ γὰρ Μακεδόνες, βουλῆς προτεθείσης... πάντες προθύμως εἴλοντο.

the parallel cases of Perdikkas' appointment as *epimeletes* in 323<sup>1</sup> and of Antipater's in 321<sup>2</sup> that the ultimate decision for the appointment of the chief administrators of the kingdom belonged to the Assembly. In effect, the simplest interpretation of the events which marked Antipater's appointment is that, in this case too, a choice made by the Council was eventually ratified by the Assembly, and that the opposition encountered by the old general was expressed precisely before the Assembly which had been summoned for this purpose.

The question which is inescapably raised is whether only the appointment of kings, regents and central "administrators" (*epimeletai*) was reserved for ratification by the Assembly, or whether the procedure extended to the appointment of local administrators as well. According to Diodoros,<sup>3</sup> Seleukos, in 316, refused to give an account of his administration of Babylon to Antigonos, for "it had been given to him by the Macedonians" (ἦν οἱ Μακεδόνες αὐτῷ δεδώκασιν). It has been traditionally understood that Diodoros implies that the Assembly had ratified the distribution of satrapies at Triparadeisos in 321. Briant utterly rejects this possibility and maintains that the decision was taken by the Council.<sup>4</sup> He fails, however, to take into consideration a unique piece of contemporary epigraphic evidence, the Attic decree in honour of a citizen of Kyzikos, which clearly states that Arrhidaios, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, had been "appointed by the King, and Antipater and the other Macedonians" (τοῦ καθ[εσ]τώτο[ς σατρά]που ὑπὸ βασιλ[έω]ς καὶ [Ἀντιπ]άτρου καὶ τῶ[ν ἄ]λλων Μ[ακεδό]νων).<sup>5</sup> If one is not inclined to juggle with the evidence, the only way to understand the Greek text is that the distribution was decided by the Assembly (presumably on a proposition prepared by the Council in its usual probouleutic capacity). This, in spite of Briant's long argumentation to the contrary,<sup>6</sup> leaves open the possibility that, as the use of the third person *plural* in the end of the list of the ap-

1. Briant, *Antigone* 280; cf. Just. 13.14.1: *dux ab omnibus legeretur*.

2. Diod. 18.39.2; Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 9.31-33.

3. Diod. 19.55.3.

4. Briant, *Antigone* 256; cf. 231, n. 12.

5. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 401 (cf. 402: ~~πλείστοι τῶν [τε ἄλλων Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου...]~~). A.B. Bosworth, "Perdiccas and the King", *CQ* 43 (1903) 421-22 discards, once again, the wording of the decree as "vague and inaccurate", although he cites the Thersippos decree (*OGIS* 4: ἕων | [τοῖς βασιλῆεσσι φίλος καὶ τοῖς στρατ[ά]γχοις] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόνεσσι), which clearly shows that "the other Macedonians" is a technical term designating the Macedonian Commonalty (cf. the English expression "other ranks").

6. Briant, *Antigone* 137-38; 255-56.

pointments (ἔταξαν) has been thought to indicate,<sup>1</sup> such had already been the case in the distribution of Babylon and that the decisions taken by the Council presided by Perdikkas were in fact ratified by the Assembly. This is a case where one should resist the temptation to emend the text in order to make it conform to one's own prejudices about what the Greek language or, even worse, the historical situation requires. The passage of Diodoros concerning the appointment of Peithon as commander of the army dispatched against the Greek rebels of the Upper satrapies is a case in point, to which Professor Hammond has kindly drawn my attention: the original reading of the manuscript (τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐλομένου στρατηγὸν Πίθωνα),<sup>2</sup> saying that the Assembly elected Peithon as commander, was emended in order to make Perdikkas proceed personally to that appointment (τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐλόμενος στρατηγὸν Πίθωνα), not because there was anything wrong with the original Greek text, but simply because it did not conform to the prejudices of the editors concerning the Macedonian institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Naturally, it is only to be expected that our sources, heavily abridged, concentrate on what is, in the opinion of the secondary authority, the most important actor or the most dramatic episode of a decision. We saw this in the case of Peithon's trial, of Meleagros' trial and of the appointment of Peithon and Arrhidaios as *epimeletai*. The most striking example is the omission of the part played by the Council in the redistribution of offices at Triparadeisos. It goes unnoticed by practically all our sources, which attribute all the decisions instead to Antipater personally, without even the slightest reference to the kings.<sup>4</sup> Briant even feels the need to invoke the precedent of Babylon in order to justify the role in decision making that he ascribes to the Council.<sup>5</sup> Although his contention is right, he need not have had recourse to analogy, for one of our lesser authorities, the Heidelberg *Epitome*, actually uses for the Triparadeisos decisions the technical term *συνδιασκεψάμενος*,<sup>6</sup> which clearly implies a meeting of the Council.

There is no doubt that the same division of labour –the *synedrion* retaining its probouleutic role and the Assembly ratifying its propositions– was also operative in a different category of decisions regard-

1 . Diod. 18.3.5 with Granier 66.

2 . Diod. 18.7.3.

3 . See now Hammond, *Macedonia* III 117, n. 1.

4 . Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 9.34-36; Diod. 18.39.5-7.

5 . Briant, *Antigone* 231, n. 12 and 256.

6 . Anon. (*Epitome Heidelberg*), *FGrHist* 155 F 1.4.

ing "foreign policy". Arrian attributes the decision to declare war on Eumenes in 321 to the Council alone, but the unambiguous expressions of Appian (ψηφισαμένων εἶναι πολέμιον τῶν Μακεδόνων),<sup>1</sup> and Justin (*se hostem a Macedonibus iudicatum bellumque Antigono decretum*)<sup>2</sup> leave no doubt that the declaration of war was adopted as a *dogma* by the Assembly, which also appointed the commander, as it had done in the case of the war against the rebellious Greek colonists of the Upper satrapies.

In the declaration of war against Cassander in 316, it is the deliberation of the Council which has been omitted from the narrative of our sole source. Diodoros has retained only the next stage, when Antigonos summoned the assembly (συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν κοινήν) and "introduced a decree according to the terms of which it was voted that Cassander was to be an enemy" (ἔγραψε δόγμα καθ' ὃ τὸν Κάσσανδρον ἐψηφίσατο πολέμιον εἶναι).<sup>3</sup> The *dogma* was ratified by the Assembly (ἐπιψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ῥηθέντα διαπέστειλε πανταχῇ τοὺς κομοῦντας τὸ δόγμα). The same procedure and the same terminology is used in the case of a decision taken by the Macedonians with Eumenes (σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ δόγμα ποιοῦνται ... οἱ δὲ ἐπίθοντο).<sup>4</sup> There can be no doubt that *dogma* is the *terminus technicus* for the decrees of the Macedonian Commonwealth (κοινή ἐκκλησία), as it was also –to cite two examples from neighbouring states– of the Molossian and the Thessalian *koinon*.<sup>5</sup> How such decrees were prepared by the Council we know from another passage of Diodoros,<sup>6</sup> where Rosen<sup>7</sup> and Bri-

1. App., *Syr.* 53; cf. *Mith.* 8; Nepos, *Eum.* 5.1: *exercitu suffragium ferente capitis absentes damnantur* and Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 11.39: καὶ ὅτι πολέμιος ἐψηφίσθη Μακεδόσαι.

2. Just. 14.1.1: cf. 13.8.10: *bellumque adversus eos Antigono decernitur*; cf. Plut., *Eum.* 8.3: οἱ Μακεδόνες θάνατον τοῦ Εὐμένους κατέγνωσαν, ἀπεδείχθη δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου στρατηγός; *ibid.* 8.11: δόγμα ποιοῦνται; see also Rosen. *König* 204, n. 90.

3. Diod. 19.61.1-3.

4. Plut., *Eum.* 8.

5. Cf. Diod. 19.36.4 and 17.4.1.

6. Diod. 18.25.4-5.

7. Rosen, *König* 204, n. 90: "In seiner verkürzten Darstellung hat Diodor den Rechtsvorgang auf die Worte δόγμα γράψαντες zusammengezogen, die aber 'gemäß den vorherigen Abmachungen' die sie mit den ἡγεμόνες getroffen hatten, nur den offiziellen Entscheid und zwar durch die Heeresversammlung beinhalten können. Das wird durch einen parallelen Vorgang fünf Jahre später berichtet: 315 legte Antigonos seinen Soldaten, die er in Tyros als offizielle Heeresversammlung für das Gesamtreich berufen hatte, ein Dogma vor (ἔγραψε δόγμα), in dem er Kassander zum Reich-



ant<sup>1</sup> have rightly recognised the faithful description of the official procedure followed for the declaration of war by Antipater and Krateros against Perdikkas (οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κρατερὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον ...συνήδρευσαν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. Προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς περὶ τούτων ἔδοξεν ὁμογνομόνως... αὐτοὶ δὲ δόγμα γράψαντες ἀκόλουθον τοῖς προειρημένοις...). The corresponding English translation by R.M. Greer in the Loeb series ("Craterus and Antipater... met in council with their commanders. When the situation had been presented for deliberation it was unanimously decided... When they had recorded a decree embodying these plans..."),<sup>2</sup> especially its last part, is perhaps imprecise. Δόγμα γράφω cannot possibly have here a different meaning from the one which it had in the passage cited above, particularly since, as has long since been recognised, in his books on the wars of Alexander's successors, Diodoros has largely reproduced the technical vocabulary of the official documents extensively used by Hieronymos of Kardina, his source for that period.<sup>3</sup> Δόγμα γράψαντες, here too, might be translated "they introduced a decree", obviously to an assembly of the Macedonian levy campaigning with them against the Aitolians, as Goukowsky in the commentary of his edition has suggested.<sup>4</sup> In this instance it is the second stage of the whole procedure that Diodoros will have omitted.

Although the same expression (δόγμα... γράψαντες) is used for the preparation of the *diagramma* of Philip III on the freedom of the Greeks in 319,<sup>5</sup> the identical interpretation of it as a proposition of a decree introduced and eventually ratified by the Macedonian Assembly is more difficult to establish. Contrary to all previous cases the decision was not taken *bello*, during a campaign, when a significant number of citizens, perhaps most of them, were gathered under arms in the same camp and could be easily summoned to an assembly, but in time of peace, when the citizens were dispersed in a vast country of nearly 50,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The composition of the Council of "Friends" (φίλοι) which "wrote the decree" is also different. This peace-time *synedrion*, comprised, besides "all the military leaders" (τούς τε

feinde erklärte, falls er seinen Forderungen nicht nachkäme. Die Soldaten verab-schiedeten das Dogma (Diod. XIX 61)"; cf. *eiusdem*, "Documents" 78-81.

1. Briant, *Antigone* 184, n. 5.

2. Diod. 18.25.4-5.

3. Rosen, "Documents" 41-94.

4. P. Goukowsky, *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique, Livre XVIII* ("Collection des Universités de France"; Paris 1978) 39, n. 2.

5. Diod. 18.55.4. For the nature of this sort of document, see Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 295-312.

ἡγεμόνας ἅπαντας), who are mentioned in the war-time *synedria*, "the most notable among the other Macedonians" (καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους).<sup>1</sup> As the expression οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες is one of the terms used to describe the Macedonian commonalty (κοινόν),<sup>2</sup> it is possible to see in these civilians some sort of select representatives acting instead of the Macedonian *ethnos*, which was not deemed practical to summon to an Assembly. One thinks immediately of the πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων to whom Lysimachos successfully appealed and from whom he obtained the Macedonian throne.<sup>3</sup> "After the question... had been presented for deliberation and many and various speeches had been made, it was decided..." (προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς... καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων λόγων... ῥηθέντων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς) which measures should be taken to counter Cassander and a decree was drafted and adopted accordingly (καὶ τὸ κυρωθὲν δόγμα γράψαντες).<sup>4</sup> This does not seem to have been submitted for ratification to any Assembly, for it was immediately communicated to the ambassadors of the Greek cities in the form of a royal *diagramma*.

Another peace-time meeting of the *synedrion* alone (without any participation of the Assembly), the first under the presidency of Polyperchon, which proposed to Olympias that she should return to Macedonia and assume the care of Alexander's son, is also described by Diodoros, but the narrative is much more succinct and its participants are simply called the Friends (μετὰ τῶν φίλων) or the *synedroi* (τῆ τῶν συνέδρων γνώμη), without any further elaboration.<sup>5</sup> A more detailed account of a peace-time meeting of the Council in pre-Antigonid Macedonia is preserved by Diodoros in his description of Alexander's deliberations and decision concerning the timing of the Asian campaign, after his return from southern Greece, at Dion in autumn 335.<sup>6</sup> The participants are again the military commanders (τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν στρατιωτῶν) and "the most notable of the Friends" (τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους τῶν φίλων). The expression, whether

1. It is interesting to note that the same term ἀξιολογώτατος was used in Roman times, as an equivalent of *eminentissimus*, to qualify the Macedoniarchs, the chief representatives of the Macedonians. On these officials, see *BullEpigr* 1987, 643, with bibliography, and Papazoglou, *Villes* 58, n. 27.

2. Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 401; see also *OGIS* 4: ἔων [τοῖς βασι]λήεσσι φίλος καὶ τοῖς στρατο[άγοισι] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοισι Μακεδόνεσσι.

3. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.10.

4. Diod. 18.55.2.

5. Diod. 18.49.4.

6. Diod. 17.16.1-4.

it is due to Diodoros himself or his source Kleitarchos,<sup>1</sup> is probably improper; for in the previous instances, for the accounts of which Diodoros was using Hieronymos, an author—unlike Kleitarchos—with a direct and extensive experience of Macedonian government,<sup>2</sup> "the Friends" (οἱ φίλοι) is a simple equivalent for all the members of the Council (οἱ σύνεδροι);<sup>3</sup> these, in their turn, are subdivided into military commanders (οἱ ἡγεμόνες) and "the most notable of the other Macedonians, (οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν [ἄλλων] Μακεδόνων). It is perhaps significant that the delegates of the Macedonian cities (οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις) appear along with the military commanders and the Friends in the ceremonies of the Olympia, the great autumn festival in honour of Zeus and the Muses held at Dion, with which the meeting was concluded. These, like the Molossian *hieromnamones* of the Naia,<sup>4</sup> the great "national" festival in honour of Zeus Naios held ad Dodona, and also perhaps the Thessalian *hieromnemones* (of Athena at Itonion?)<sup>5</sup> represented the local communities and their interests *vis-à-vis* the King and the assembled *ethnos*.

If we assess the evidence from the period of Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi, we may come to the following conclusions.

The King was not expected to impose capital punishment—except in emergency cases involving a very serious breach of military discipline, such as open mutiny during a campaign—without a formal trial before an Assembly. This, however, was not and could not, for obvious practical reasons, be an assembly of the whole Macedonian citizen body. With the exception of the trials of Pausanias and Olympias, all the accounts which we possess concern trials during campaigns beyond the borders of the kingdom. Inevitably, the assemblies which passed judgement were only a fraction, not merely of the Macedonian citizen body as a whole, but also of the army, which military necessities kept usually divided in fractions. I am not, however, sure that one should see there with Goukowsky<sup>6</sup> a denaturation of the primitive Macedonian *nomos*. What was important was not the pres-

1. For Kleitarchos as the source of book XVII of Diodorus, see P. Goukowsky, *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique, Livre XVII* ("Collection des Universités de France"; Paris 1976) IX-XXXI.

2. For Hieronymos as the source of Diodoros for the history of the Diadochoi, see P. Goukowsky, *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique, Livre XVIII* ("Collections des Universités de France"; Paris 1978) IX-XXIV.

3. This is Diodoros' usual terminology in book XVII too; cf. 17.39.2 and 54.3.

4. Cabaries, *Epire* 170.

5. *GHI* 147; cf. Tam, *Antigonos* 54, n. 35. I disagree with the commonly held view that these were the Thessalian delegates to the Delphic Amphictiony.

6. Goukowsky, "Antigone" 274.

ence of the whole citizen body at the assembly, which was never deemed necessary by ancient Greek political thought,<sup>1</sup> but the opportunity of a public adversarial procedure before one's peers, where all present could avail of their fundamental right of *isegoria*.<sup>2</sup> This is the meaning of the grievances of the βασιλικοί παῖδες after the execution of Philotas and especially Parmenion<sup>3</sup> or of Arrian's unfavourable comments on the execution of the ring leaders of the mutiny at Opis,<sup>4</sup> although in the first case the death sentences had been pronounced by an assembly<sup>5</sup> and in the second there had been an obvious breach of military discipline. The same explanation applies to Olympias' demand to be given the opportunity to present her defence, which has been misunderstood as an objection to the composition of the assembly which was judging her.<sup>6</sup> Neither she nor any of the other known defendants, who were all heard by only a fraction of the judges theoretically possible, ever raised an objection of this kind.

If the presence of all the citizens was impossible to obtain during a campaign, when most enfranchised Macedonians were perforce gathered together, it was even more difficult in peace time. How was it possible, for each capital trial, to summon the whole Macedonian people from Argos Orestikon to Amphipolis and from Herakleion to Idomene? The trials of Pausanias and Olympias are not very instructive in this respect, for the first certainly took place during the great autumn *panegyris* of the Macedonian people, similar in more than one respects to the Aitolian Thermika.<sup>7</sup> Olympias' case, on the other

1. Aymard, "Organisation" 103-104 (= *Etudes* 173-74); Briant, *Antigone* 317, n. 6; cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 209-210.

2. Cf. Pol. 5.27.5-6 and also Plut., *Alex.* 51.5.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 4.14.2; cf. Curtius 10.4.1: *incognita causa*, and also Mooren 224-25.

4. Arr., *Anab.* 7.8.3.

5. According to Diod. 17.80.1, Parmenion was tried and condemned *in absentia*.

6. See p. 273-76, above.

7. For the Zeus festival at Aigeai in autumn 336, see Diod. 16.91.4: Εὐθὺς οὖν θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐπετέλει τοῖς θεοῖς... ἀγῶνας τε μουσικούς... and 92.1: τέλος δὲ πολλῶν πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν πανηγυριν συρρέοντων καὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ τῶν γάμων συντελουμένων ἐν Αἰγείαις τῆς Μακεδονίας; cf. Zeus' festival at Dion, Diod. 17.16.3: θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας συνετέλεσεν ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ σκηνικούς ἀγῶνας Διὶ καὶ Μούσαις... τὴν δὲ πανηγυριν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑννέα συνετέλεσεν... λαμπραῖς παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐσιάσας. See also the description of the Aitolian depredations at Dion, Pol. 4.62.2: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διέφθειρε τῶν ἀναθημάτων ὅσα πρὸς κόσμον ἢ χρεῖαν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι συμπορευομένοις. Compare with the same author's description of Thermion, Pol. 5.8.5: καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔτος ἀγοράς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιφανεστάτας ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καταστάσεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ συντελούντων, ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰς ταῦτα παρα-

hand, may have been introduced during the great spring festival of Xandika, which, like the Aitolian Panaitolika, seems to have been held in a different city each year.<sup>1</sup> In the light of the above considerations there should be no *a priori* objection for the trial of capital cases by regional assemblies which could be summoned more easily and more often, and which would be no less representative than assemblies of bigger or smaller fractions of the army during campaigns. It is particularly interesting to note in this connection that the *merides*, which succeeded to the districts of the royal period, seem to have maintained their character as judicial districts until well into Roman imperial times.<sup>2</sup>

The other major role of the Assembly, the acclamation of a new king, is quite a different matter. If the new king was to be acclaimed at all, usually on proposition of the Council (see below), it had to be by a body ideally representing the whole people –under arms or not– for otherwise no common oath could be sworn<sup>3</sup> and rival kings could be acclaimed by rival assemblies representing different fractions of the army or different regions of the country. Acclamation was most necessary in cases where there was not a single undisputed heir.<sup>4</sup> Besides, it so happens that the period under study is one of the most turbulent of Macedonian history, and that the instances recorded in some detail are those of the most spectacular successions which took place under conditions of foreign or civil war –*bello*, as Curtius would say.<sup>5</sup> Alexander the Great's successor was not an easy choice and could only be acclaimed by the βασιλικάι δυνάμεις of Asia. Demetrios, Pyrrhos, Ptolemaios Keraunos (and Arsinoe) and Sosthenes seized the throne violently or were given supreme power under war conditions, when most Macedonians were under arms. Not unnatu-

σκευάς τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἐν τοῖς βίοις ὑπαρχόντων εἰς τοῦτον ἀπετίθεντο τὸν τόπον. This πανήγυρις, like the Macedonian one, took place in autumn (Pol. 4.37.2: τὰς γὰρ ἀρχαιφρείας Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἐποιοῦν μετὰ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερινὰν εὐθέρως). See finally the parallel athletic events at the two πανηγύρεις (D. M. Robinson, "Inscriptions from Macedonia 1938", *TAPA* 49 [1938] 64-65, no 16: Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίῳι ἀνδρα[ς] ὀπλίτην Νέμεα ἀνδρας στάδι[ον] Βασιλεια στάδιον, διαυλο[ν], ὀπλίτην τει αὐτεῖ and *SEG* 11 [1950] 338: ...Βασιλεια ἀν[δ]ρας στάδι[ον] ... Θερμικά στάδιον, ὀπλίταν...).

1 . Cf. the Xandika of 182, which took place probably at Pella (Livy 40.6.1-7) and those of 171, which took place in Elemia, perhaps at Aiane (Livy 43.21.5); see also Granier 24. For the Panaitolika, see M. Holleaux, "Sur les assemblées ordinaires de la Ligue étolienne", *BCH* 29 (1905) 362-72 (= *Etudes* I 219-27) and Larsen, "Assembly" 2.

2 . Cf. Kanatsoulis, "Συνέδρια" 301, n. 39.

3 . Cf. Aymard, "Assemblée" 126 (= *Etudes* 153); Briant, *Antigone* 320.

4 . See p. 278-79, above.

5 . Cf. Curtius 6.8.25.

rally, the role of the Army Assembly is clearly recorded in all these cases. But, as Briant has pertinently argued,<sup>1</sup> when such conditions did not prevail –*pace*, to use Curtius' terminology– there is no reason to expect any intervention by army assemblies. Unfortunately, successions under peaceful conditions, and therefore not spectacular, are very poorly recorded in our sources. It is only natural that we possess no details about Cassander's accession. When he was ready to ascend to the Macedonian throne, he became king unopposed. Partly the same reason, but above all the sorry state of our sources, account for the same lack of details concerning the accession of Philip IV, Antipater and Alexander V. Poor as they are, they nevertheless record that the Macedonians expelled Meleagros (Μακεδόνες δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἐκβάλλουσιν ὡς ἀνάξιον φανέντα, ἄρξαντα δύο μῆνας)<sup>2</sup> and appointed Antipater in his stead (καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται βασιλέα Ἀντίπατρον), only to expel him too and replace him by Sosthenes (*unum de principibus Macedonum*) who governed as a *strategos* for two years (*cum rex ab exercitu appellatus esset, ipse non in regis sed in ducis nomen iurare milites compulsit*;<sup>3</sup> καὶ δι' ὄλων δύο ἔτων προστάς τῶν πραγμάτων).<sup>4</sup> Only in the case of Sosthenes is the acclamation of an Assembly explicitly attested, undoubtedly, as we noted before, because of the dramatic conditions of the acclamation, but from the other, better-recorded, cases it would not be unreasonable to suppose some sort of acclamation in the other instances too, and also that the Council, the *protoi*, to whom Sosthenes belonged, played their familiar probouleutic role. For the procedure followed in the expulsion of Meleagros and Antipater we may obtain a better insight from the parallel case of the expulsion of Aiakidas from the neighbouring Molossian kingdom, which was multifariously related to Macedonia. Plutarch (στασιάσαντες οἱ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ τὸν Αἰακίδην ἐκβαλόντες κατηγάγοντο τοὺς Νεοπτολέμου παῖδας)<sup>5</sup> is no more explicit than Eusebios, our source on the ephemeral Macedonian kings, but Diodoros has a much more detailed account permitting us to follow the process both on the local and the federal level (οἱ δὲ χωρισθέντες τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατεστασίασαν ἀπόντα τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ κοινῶ δόγματι φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες πρὸς Κάσσανδρον ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν).<sup>6</sup> *Dogma* here is again the *terminus*

1. Briant, *Antigone* 318-19.

2. Euseb., *Chron.* I 235 (Schoene).

3. Just. 24.5.14.

4. Euseb., *Chron.* I 235 (Schoene).

5. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 2.1.

6. Diod. 19.36.4.

*technicus* for the federal decree, as in Thessaly and Macedonia. Diodoros adds that such an act was unheard of in Epeiros, but the information is clearly inaccurate, for it had already occurred in 385, when the Molossians had expelled Alketas, who was restored only with the help of the Illyrians.<sup>1</sup> By a remarkable coincidence, it is from the same period that dates the first evidence of the expulsion by the Macedonians (ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἐξεβλήθη) of a Macedonian king, Amyntas III, and his replacement by the pretender Argaios.<sup>2</sup> As has already been noticed,<sup>3</sup> the cases of Meleagros and Antipater on the one hand and of Amyntas on the other are closely parallel. The same striking continuity may also be observed in the role played by the *protoi* at the time both of the accession of Sosthenes and of the accession of Philip II. After the Illyrian disaster and the death of Perdikkas III, the second son of Amyntas III, Argaios tried again to take advantage of the ensuing anarchy, and before Philip had had the time to secure his position as his older brother's successor, he marched with Athenian support to Aigeai "and invited τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς to welcome his return and become the founders of his kingship".<sup>4</sup> There has been a long controversy whether the Army Assembly, the People's Assembly, sections of either or the citizens of Aigeai should be understood by the ambiguous expression used by Diodoros in this passage.<sup>5</sup> The last solution, favoured by people with as divergent views as Kalléris and Errington, is difficult to accept, for it would be most unusual for our author to use this roundabout expression instead of the plain and well-attested *ethnikon* (Αἰγαῖοι)<sup>6</sup> if the citizens of that city were simply meant. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the expression γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχηγούς<sup>7</sup> implies rather a first step, however important, than the final obtention of the kingship, as would have been the case if an acclamation by the Assembly was meant (and, anyway, it is difficult to imagine who would have already called an Assembly there, or how and for what reason). Perhaps there is a more likely interpretation. As we have noted several times before, short of a revolutionary situation, the Assembly ratified propositions—not to say decisions—previously taken by the Council, and we have seen that in

1 . Diod. 15.13.1; cf. Granier 163-65.

2 . Porphyr., *FHG* III, 691, F 1.

3 . Briant, *Antigone* 311.

4 . Diod. 16.3.5.

5 . Cf. Granier 28; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 594-95; Briant, *Antigone* 316-18, Errington, "Nature" 97-99.

6 . See Papazoglou, *Villes* 132-33. The *ethnikon* is also attested in one or perhaps two unpublished inscriptions from Leukopetra (cf. Hatzopoulos, "Χώρα" 61-62).

7 . Diod. 16.3.5.

the case of Lysimachos the part played by the *protoi* was considered decisive by Plutarch (or by his source), who focused his narrative on it accordingly, reserving perhaps only a passing allusion for the Assembly (πολλοί).<sup>1</sup> If one does not forget that the building of a palace and the expansion of Pella did not automatically signify the transfer of the capital there in the modern sense of that expression, and that the Macedonian kings continued to share their time between the two cities in which (as well as in other cities of the realm) their palaces were built,<sup>2</sup> one would find no difficulty in accepting that Aigeai was the expected place for the court to be and for the *protoi* of the Macedonians to be holding a meeting after the announcement of the army's defeat and of the King's death, especially in *summer*, when conditions at Pella were particularly uncomfortable. Argaios, had he been favoured by the Council, would still have to be acclaimed by the Assembly (whatever the composition of this body at that period),<sup>3</sup> as Philip II, with whom οἱ ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς preferred to side, eventually was, but a decisive step towards supreme power would have been made.

1 . Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.10; cf. 12.12.

2 . Errington, "Nature" 98, writes: "Since the reign of Archelaos at the latest Pella had been the chief royal residence and capital city; and if a particularly influential section of the Macedonian people existed anywhere, then at Pella, not at Aegae". This assertion comes as the conclusion of a series of arguments tending to prove that Aigeai could not and in fact did not function as a seat of any branch of the Macedonian government. In particular, he argues that Alexander's address to the Macedonians at his accession did not take place at Aigeai, that Pausanias' posthumous (?) crucifixion – for this is the meaning of ἀποτυμπανισμός (see L. Gernet, "Sur l'exécution capitale: à propos d'un ouvrage récent", *REG* 37 [1924] 261-93 = *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* [Paris 1968] 302-29)– did not take place there, and that the *sedition* against Doson occurred "presumably" at Pella. First, Justin 9.7.10, clearly indicates that Pausanias' crucifixion took place at Aigeai. Secondly, since a combined study of all the sources on Philip's death and Alexander's accession, which I shall attempt in a distinct monograph, leaves no doubt that Philip's funeral, the punishment of his murderers and Alexander's address to the Macedonians (for the ultimate connection between funeral and accession, which is comparable with French mediaeval practice, see Briant, *Antigone* 318-20) closely followed one another, the inescapable conclusion is that the last event also took place at Aigeai. Thirdly, Justin does not tell us where the *sedition* which had blockaded Antigonos Doson in his palace (*regia*) had occurred. But there is no reason to presume that it was at Pella rather than at Aigeai, where the exquisite royal palace is still to be seen. Finally, the elevation of Pella to a royal seat did not occur under Archelaos, but later, under Amyntas III, as I have shown elsewhere (Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 40-44). Anyway, Macedonia –no more than many modern nations until a few centuries ago– did not possess a capital, with the current meaning of this term.

3 . Cf. p. 267-71, above.



Unfortunately, none of the cases examined permit us to draw any conclusion concerning the procedure which had to be followed for the ratification of the choice of the *protoi* in time of peace: was it necessary for an extraordinary assembly to be immediately summoned or could the acclamation and the oath of allegiance wait until the following spring or autumn *panegyris*? In spite of the inherent difficulties of summoning an extraordinary plenary assembly in such a vast country, the first alternative seems to me on the whole more likely. The need for it was not supposed to occur more often than once or twice in a lifetime, while the advantages of putting an immediate end to the inevitable uncertainties and possible rival ambitions are both obvious and overwhelming. Moreover, it is possible that the funeral was followed by the lustration of the army,<sup>1</sup> which necessarily brought together a great number of Macedonians.

If the holding of an Assembly (plenary or regional, under arms or without arms, according to circumstances) was mandatory for capital trials and for the appointment of a new king, the same does not necessarily apply to the other matters for which the ratification by an assembly was solicited from time to time. The appointment of regents (*epitropoi*) and chief administrators (*epimeletai*) can indeed be assimilated to the appointment of a new king and, as far as our evidence allows us to form an opinion, the same procedure was followed. Things are less clear regarding the appointment of local administrators. As I have argued before, it seems that the distribution of offices at Babylon in 323 and at Triparadeisos in 321 was ratified by the Assembly. The Assembly also appointed the commanders for the war against the revolted Greek colonists of the Upper satrapies and against Eumenes in 323 and 321 respectively. There is no evidence, however, that in Alexander's lifetime such questions were discussed by any constituted body larger than the Council, which is examined in the following chapter. Anyhow, the distribution of satrapies was perforce only a temporary prerogative of either kings or assemblies. Even more exceptional than the appointment of satraps was the holding of the assembly which decided about Alexander's *hypomnemata*. Perdikkas was under no obligation to consult the Assembly on the matter, but, probably still feeling insecure about his position, did so, as Diodoros explicitly states "that he might not appear to be arbitrarily detracting anything from the glory of Alexander".<sup>2</sup> In this he was

1. Just. 13.4.4.

2. Diod. 18.3.3: ἵνα μὴ δόξη διὰ τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης καθαρεῖν τι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γνώμης.

exercising the prerogative of any king or regent to put before the Assembly any matter that he deemed too important to decide by himself or even in his Council. In asking for their ratification, or rather their rejection, by the Assembly, Perdikkas was perhaps also using (or abusing) a somewhat different procedure: that of the public reading for approval of the royal will (in which the dead king sometimes designated his successor),<sup>1</sup> to which these plans were assimilated (see below).

Was the king or the regent always bound to put before the Assembly the question of the declaration of war (and conversely of the conclusion of a treaty) as was the case *e.g.* in Aitolia?<sup>2</sup> From the available evidence it seems that, like the Epeirote kings,<sup>3</sup> the Macedonian kings (and regents) were not formally obliged to do so, but were well-advised to take this salutary precaution if they did not want to find themselves in the uncomfortable position of Aiakidas.<sup>4</sup> Antigonos certainly did so<sup>5</sup> as Antipater and Krateros seem also to have done.<sup>6</sup> Perdikkas, satisfied with the approval of his council, did not,<sup>7</sup> and paid for this omission with his life. The point which can hardly be missed is that no free man can be expected to fight and risk his life against his will, and no royal prerogative either in Macedonia or in Epeiros could change this simple fact. The gathering of the men under arms at the beginning of a campaign usually offered the appropriate opportunity for such a consultation, which, as in Sparta, probably retained a very archaic and informal character.<sup>8</sup>

1. Such is the case of Alexander in his fictitious testament, which, however, reflects authentic contemporary practice (R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* ["Zetemata" 9; Munich 1977<sup>2</sup>] 224-25; Heckel 80-81), and presumably of Antigonos Doseon (Pol. 4.87.7).

2. Cf. Larsen, "Assembly" 16-17.

3. Diod. 19.36.3-4. As Granier 104, remarks: "Darin kann man eine Erinnerung an das ursprüngliche Recht der Heeresversammlung sehen, über Krieg und Frieden zu bestimmen, das aber wie in Makedonien tatsächlich auch hier längst ausser Übung gekommen war". The situation recalls that of archaic Sparta, where a king such as Kleomenes I could engage the state in a military expedition without even revealing its destination (Herod. 5.74-75; cf. Carlier 257-60).

4. Diod. 19.61.3.

5. Diod. 18.25.4.

6. Diod. 18.25.1.

7. Diod. 18.25.6.

8. Cf. the decision to fight the Romans in 171 (Livy 42.53.1: *Cum per omnem orationem satis frequenti assensu succlamatum esset, tum vero ea vociferatio simul indignantium minitantiumque, partim iubentium bonum animum habere regem, exorta est ut finem dicendi faceret, tantum iussis ad iter se parare*), which can be compared with the shouting contests of the Spartan assembly (Thuc. 1.87.1); cf. Larsen, "Origin" 168.

Unfortunately, on the question of the conclusion of treaties, the evidence from the formulae of the surviving documents – fragmentary more often than not – is not very revealing about the part played by "the Macedonians".<sup>1</sup> Most explicit is the variously dated fifth-century treaty between Perdikkas II and Athens,<sup>2</sup> which, besides Perdikkas (and his descendants), formally mentions the Macedonians in terms reminiscent of the appointments of Triparadeisos ([Περδίκ]κο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνο; cf. ὑπὸ βασιλ[έω]ς καὶ [Ἀντιπ]άτρου καὶ τῶ[ν] ἄλλων Μ[ακεδό]νων) and lists more than eighty-five Macedonians, who, along with Perdikkas, took the oath on behalf of the Macedonian state.

Our second (in chronological order) surviving treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalkidians is far less explicit.<sup>3</sup> The list of witnesses, if they were ever mentioned, has been lost and the treaty is introduced as between "Amyntas son of Errhidaios and the Chalkidians". However, it must be noted that an *argumentum e silentio* is not cogent, the more so that in the clauses of the treaty the Macedonians, not Amyntas, are mentioned as interested parties on a par with the Chalkidians (τέλειουσι τέλεα Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐκ Μακεδονίης καὶ Μακεδόσι ἐ[κ] Χαλκιδέων).<sup>4</sup> Their absence from the title of the treaty is no more significant than the absence of the descendants of Amyntas, although the treaty was to have a validity of 50 years and Amyntas at that time was well advanced in age (he died an extremely old man some 20 years later) and could not have been expected to live that long.<sup>5</sup> Thus, although the procedure by which it was concluded escapes us, the treaty was clearly not with Amyntas personally but with the Macedonian state. The surviving fragments of our third document, Amyntas III's treaty with Athens<sup>6</sup> are useless for our purpose. Finally, in the preserved lower part of our last document from this period, the treaty of 356 between the Macedonians and the Chalkidians,<sup>7</sup> a passing reference is made Φιλίππῳ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι but no firm "constitutional" conclusion can be drawn from it, both be-

1. See the not very satisfactory article by D.J. Mosley, "Greek Perpetual Alliances with Macedon", *RSA* 2 (1972) 7-11.

2. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 89; cf. W.S. Ferguson's (*Gnomon* 11 [1935] 519) remark: "Treaties were, therefore, not, as Hampl maintains (57ff.), private conventions of the king, but public obligations assumed by the Macedonians as a whole".

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 1.

4. Cf. Hammond, "Arrian" 462.

5. Cf. *Just.* 7.4.8.

6. *GHI* 129.

7. Epigraphic Appendix no 2.

cause of our ignorance of what the main part of the treaty might have contained, and because of the precedent of the other Macedono-Chalkidian treaty between Amyntas and the Chalkidians, which has obviously omitted the king's descendants and the other Macedonians for reasons of concision. Equally unwarranted are the sweeping conclusions about the non-existence of "Macedonian officers of state or institutions" drawn from the fact that the choice of the Macedonian witnesses is left to the discretion of the Chalkidians.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, the clause [ὁμοίως δὲ Χαλκι]δεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ οὖς ἄλλους Χαλκιδεῖς κελεύσω[σι---], if it means anything at all, implies that Philip "non poteva giurare da solo e che quindi la sua volontà personale era mediata dai suoi consiglieri, così come la sua libertà d'azione era controllata, in specie nelle azioni conclusive"; as F. Carrata Thomes rightly observes.<sup>2</sup> These ἄλλοι can be none other than his *hetairoi*, his Councillors, to whom we shall return below. No useful information either can be obtained from the very fragmentary and heavily restored epigraphic text of the treaty between Philip II and "the Greeks".<sup>3</sup> It should be noted, however, that Arrian refers to it in terms which unambiguously show that, whatever the procedure by which it was concluded, it was a treaty not with Philip personally but with the Macedonian state (πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης).<sup>4</sup> Even less useful for our purpose are the documents from Alexander the Great's reign, whose kingship can by no means be considered as reflecting standard Macedonian "constitutional" practice.

For the period under discussion we can conclude that from the earliest surviving document the Macedonians seem to be contracting parties to the treaties negotiated by their kings with foreign powers, but the available evidence does not enable us to determine whether their undeniable role in the process of witnessing these treaties was in any sense proportional to the role they played in their ratification.

Our conclusion from the above survey of the evidence is that, even without a major reform during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, we should expect to find Macedonian assemblies (plenary or fractional, armed or unarmed) recorded in the subsequent period only for the trial of capital cases and the acclamation of kings (or regents). They might, but need not be consulted for major decisions of foreign policy

1 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 384.

2 . F. Carrata Thomes, "Il trattato con i Calcidesi nella prima attività diplomatica di Filippo II", *ParPass* 8 (1953) 355.

3 . *GHI* 177.

4 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.24.5; cf. Momigliano, "Re" 17.

(declaration of war, conclusion of treaties) and the appointment of local officials. They could also be expected to meet at the two major autumn and spring festivals (*panegyreis*), when presumably routine business would be conducted. It should also be remembered that in all these cases the Assembly would be expected to ratify propositions prepared by a more restricted body, the *synedrion*, usually composed of the king's immediate entourage, military commanders and notabilities of all the Macedonian regions and cities (see below); and that, moreover, everyday government business would be normally carried out by this Council which, to use Larsen's words for the Aitolian *synedrion*, would be expected "to make decisions on the less vital questions"—*i.e.* other than capital cases and the appointment of kings and regents— "and to function between the relatively rare meetings of the Assembly".<sup>1</sup> In that capacity the Macedonian Council could, as we have seen, vote decrees, exactly like the Aitolian *synedrion* did.

#### UNDER THE ANTIGONIDS

It is time now to compare the results of our inquiry into the reigns of Alexander the Great and his Successors with the information which we can glean for the period from the accession of Antigonos Gonatas to the destruction of the Antigonid dynasty.

##### Capital cases

Before the beginning of the continuous narrative of Polybios, the reigns of Antigonos Gonatas, Demetrios II and Antigonos Doson are practically blanks from the point of view which interests us here. Perseus is indeed depicted by Polybios as a "conventional melodramatic villain":<sup>2</sup> he is accused of virtually assassinating his brother before his accession and during his reign he is gratified with several stray murders of Macedonians of all stations of life.<sup>3</sup> However, no executions are mentioned. Philip V, on the other hand, besides a respectable number of outright murders,<sup>4</sup> is also depicted as responsible for several executions.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, only in one case do we have a

1 . Larsen, "Assembly" 13.

2 . Edson, "Perseus" 201.

3 . Livy 40.58.8; 42.5.4; 44.10.1.

4 . See Walbank, *Commentary* II 88, with references; cf. Diod. 28.2-3.

5 . Pol. 23.10.1-16; 40.55.6-8.

somewhat detailed description of the procedures involved. Can any useful information be gleaned from this heavily biased and richly adorned narrative of Polybios, whose main purpose is to show –albeit at the price of some invention and much drama– how the "darling of Hellas" became a "cruel and ruthless tyrant"?<sup>1</sup>

The affair of Apelles and his companions is complicated, but fortunately Walbank has done much to unravel its obscurities and to facilitate its understanding.<sup>2</sup> Megaleas, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ γραμματείου ("Lord Chancellor") and Krinon, whose exact position is unknown, refused to conform to Philip's orders during a campaign in the Peloponnese and the king fined them twenty talents for insubordination and had them put in jail until they paid it. Leontios, Megaleas' friend and commander of the peltasts (the royal guard), immediately asked for an audience and insolently questioned Philip about the fate of his friend. The young king stood his ground, but although he had acted, given the circumstances, within his legal disciplinary powers, condemning not to corporal punishment, but to a fine one who had contravened the Army Code,<sup>3</sup> he preferred to strengthen his position by obtaining the approval of the Council. Aratos, who had been the victim of Megaleas' heavy-handed behaviour in the past, seized the opportunity to bring forth accusations of high treason not only against Megaleas and Krinon but also against Leontios and Apelles, the king's "Prime Minister" (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων), and produced witnesses to substantiate these accusations. According to Polybios the defendants had nothing to reply and "were unanimously found guilty by the King's Friends".<sup>4</sup> It must be noted that Leontios and Apelles, although implicated, were not tried at that time, for the Council had been summoned only to try Megaleas and Krinon, a telling detail of the strict legality of the trial.<sup>5</sup> Indeed Leontios offered himself as surety for Megaleas, who was set free.<sup>6</sup> Later Leontios, Megaleas and a certain Ptolemaios, presumably the commander of the *agema*, incited their men (the peltasts and the

1 . Walbank, "Φίλιππος" 55; cf. 67: "These factors make Polybios' account of the last years of Philip V one of the least satisfactory of his whole work".

2 . Walbank, *Commentary* I 550-52 (in p. 551, Walbank alleges that Philip had acted autocratically in fining Megaleas and Krinon, but his allegation is unfounded).

3 . Cf. Berve I 200, with examples, and, for our very period, the *diagramma* from Chalkis (Epigraphic Appendix no 13).

4 . Pol. 5.16.7.

5 . Walbank, *Commentary* I 551, alleges that the "Friends" were not Doso's old council, but Philip's own choice, but his references to Bikerman, *Séleucides* 40 and to Diodoros 34.3.1 are irrelevant. They both concern other kings and other kingdoms, and the second in particular describes a most unusual act.

6 . We do not know what Krinon's fate was; cf. Walbank, *Commentary* I 552.

*agema*) to start a riot, looting the lodgings of the king's most prominent Friends and attacking even the royal quarters. The king, facing an open mutiny, tried to appease the spirits and took no action against those physically or morally responsible, until Megaleas took flight, first to Athens and then to Thebes, leaving Leontios to deal with the situation. The king, as was the normal procedure, had Megaleas' surety, Leontios, arrested, but before that, in order to avoid a repetition of the riots, he sent away Apelles and the peltasts whom Leontios commanded. When the peltasts eventually did hear about their commander's arrest, they sent a deputation to the king, "begging him, if he had arrested Leontios on any other charge, not to try the case in their absence, for if he did so they would all consider it a signal slight and affront—with such freedom did the Macedonians always address their kings— but if it was on account of his bail for Megaleas, they would subscribe among themselves to pay it off. But this warm support of Leontios by the peltasts served only to exasperate the king, who for this reason put Leontios to death sooner than he had purposed."<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards the king obtained treacherous correspondence between Megaleas and the Aitolians. Philip, considering Apelles the leader of the conspiracy, arrested him together with his son and his minion and sent him to Corinth. Simultaneously, he dispatched "Alexander to Thebes to arrest Megaleas and bring him before the magistrate to answer his bail".<sup>2</sup> Megaleas "did not await the issue"<sup>3</sup> but committed suicide. Apelles, his son and his minion "happened to die about the same time".<sup>4</sup> Ptolemaios was tried before the Macedonians and executed (κρίνας ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέκτεινεν).<sup>5</sup> We do not hear anything about Krinon's fate.

Errington<sup>6</sup> and Lévy,<sup>7</sup> in their discussion of this affair, rightly allege that Aymard and Briant misunderstood the case, only to fall themselves into a greater misunderstanding. It is true that the deputies of the peltasts "do not urge Philip to wait until a Macedonian army assembly can be summoned: what they demand is that he should wait until they were present",<sup>8</sup> but the conclusion that the absence of such a demand "is therefore a further indication that no such established

1 . Pol. 5.28.1 (translation by W.R. Paton).

2 . Pol. 5.28.6 (translation by W.R. Paton).

3 . Pol. 5.28.7 (translation by W.R. Paton).

4 . Pol. 5.28.8: συνέβη μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον.

5 . Pol. 5.29.6.

6 . Errington, "Nature" 83-85.

7 . Lévy 215-16.

8 . Errington, "Nature" 84.

constitutional machinery existed"<sup>1</sup> is unfounded. On the contrary, it is proved by this very demand. As we saw before, capital cases were expected to be tried before an assembly, but as Lévy very pertinently points out, "personne n'a jamais soutenu que l'assemblée de l'armée devait nécessairement comporter toutes les troupes".<sup>2</sup> In fact the King could hold the trial at any moment of his choice before the βασιλικάι δυνάμεις, whichever troops happened to be in his camp at that time (cf. my remarks on the trial of Philotas, above). The peltasts never doubted that Leontios would duly be tried (ποιήσασθαι... κρίσιν)<sup>3</sup> according to his "constitutional rights", but tried to put pressure on the king to wait for the end of their mission and their return so that they might be themselves present in the assembly before which the trial would be conducted (μὴ χωρὶς αὐτῶν).<sup>4</sup> But such a demand, besides being contrary to the plans of Philip who had "invented" the peltasts mission, not only infringed upon the royal prerogative to choose the time and the place of the trial, but also presaged that if such "a warm support" was given the opportunity to find formal expression, the king would have a very difficult time in securing Leontios' condemnation and elimination. Hence his anger and his haste to finish with Leontios "earlier than he had planned". Nor does Polybios state when or where or how Leontios was put to death (ἐπανείλετο),<sup>5</sup> but there is no *a priori* reason that his execution should not have been the result of a formal condemnation, a notion that another similar verb, such as e.g. ἀπέκτεινεν, can be used to convey in Polybios' Greek.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, Philip's haste is best explained by his wish to avoid precisely the presence of the peltasts, who sooner or later would return to the king's camp and would have weighed heavily on the decision, since they must have formed something like half the strength of the total of 6,000 "national" troops whom Philip had taken out of Macedonia that year.<sup>7</sup> This would not be the first example of the use of the verb (ἐπ)αναίρω (cf. *occido*) without further precision to describe an execution, although we know from some other source, as in the case of Meleagros, that a formal trial had taken place.<sup>8</sup> Polybios in this

1. Errington, "Nature" 85.

2. Lévy 215.

3. Pol. 5.26.5.

4. Pol. 5.26.5.

5. Pol. 5.27.8.

6. Pol. 5.29.6: Πτολεμαῖον κρίνας ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέκτεινεν.

7. Cf. Pol. 5.2.4.

8. Briant, *Antigone* 253-54; cf. Arr., *Succ.*, *FG+Hist* 156 F1.4: ἀναίρει (sc. Περδικκας) δὲ οὐ πολλῶι ὕστερον καὶ Μελέαγρον, but Diod. 18.4.7: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ



instance was concerned to show the counterproductiveness of the peltasts' demand, and not to describe the working of the Macedonian judicial machinery. If Philip was already betraying some of the traits which allegedly later made of him the tyrant decried by Polybios and was killing his closest collaborators without trial (*ἀκρίτως*),<sup>1</sup> it is improbable that our heavily biased historian would have missed the opportunity to report it, as he did later in a similar case,<sup>2</sup> and even to comment upon it. As Errington repeatedly pointed out in an earlier work of his, Philip's councillors were too eminent to be put aside without scrupulous respect for legal forms.<sup>3</sup> Are we to believe that the king who dared not (or had not the right) to fine one of his councillors without a formal decision of the *synedrion*, would now dare execute them without a trial, especially when all the friends of the defendant, Apelles, and consorts, were still free and active in the court? Even after Leontios' execution, Philip had to wait for the discovery of (genuine or forged) evidence against Apelles and Megaleas in order to put the first under arrest and to dispatch Alexandros to arrest the second. It is significant that neither of them was executed.<sup>4</sup> Megaleas committed suicide while awaiting for his trial. We do not know how Apelles died in prison. But even if he was in fact assassinated, the affair was hushed up and the legal forms, which required a formal trial before an Assembly of Macedonians for any execution, were respected. Most important, the only (other) of Philip's opponents who was executed, was put to death after having been duly tried before the Macedonians (*κρίνας ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν*).<sup>5</sup> Walbank's contention that an assembly is out of question, because the troops had been sent home at the time of the trial,<sup>6</sup> proceeds from the erroneous assumption that the whole army had to be present in such an assembly.<sup>7</sup> In fact Philip

Μελέαγρον... ἐπιλαβόμενος οἰκείας διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς ἐπιβουλὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον ἐκόλασε, which seems to imply a formal accusation.

1. Cf. Diod. 28.3.1.

2. Diod. 28.2-3, from Polybios.

3. Errington, "Philip" 29-30. Curiously, the same author asserts on the previous page that the leaders of Philip's opponents were "nothing without the King", but then again that "they were too powerful to live once Philip had outgrown their usefulness".

4. Megaleas was deferred to the *archai* (Pol. 5.28.6: ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς), an expression reminiscent of a clause in the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 60, side B, L. 105: διακριθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν καθηκόντων ἀρχείων).

5. Pol. 5.29.6. It is interesting to note that Polybios writes that Philip executed Ptolemaios (Πτολεμαῖον... ἀπέκτεινεν). Without the incidental notice κρίνας ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, which might easily have been omitted, we would be deploring another of Philip's victims.

6. Walbank, *Commentary* I 552.

7. Cf. Aymard, "Assemblée" 133, n. 2 (= *Etudes* 160, n.1).

had retained at least the royal guards with him and there were perhaps more Macedonian troops in Demetrias, where the trial took place. Errington's objection, that Ptolemy was much too eminent for Philip to risk a trial before an assembly,<sup>1</sup> can and must be turned against him. Ptolemaios, like Leontios, like Philotas and Alexandros son of Aeropos under another king, was in fact much too important to be put to death without at least outward respect for due process of law.

### Succession and regency

Unfortunately, details about the accession of Macedonian kings and the appointment of regents from Antigonos Gonatas to Perseus are cruelly lacking.

Given the very poor quality of our mid-third-century sources,<sup>2</sup> and also the fact that Antigonos Gonatas' son, Demetrios, had been associated with his father in the government of the realm for long years, thus securing an uneventful succession,<sup>3</sup> we should not wonder that no details of it have survived.<sup>4</sup> Demetrios' dramatic death on the other hand, and the subsequent upheavals in the kingdom, quite naturally did not remain unrecorded and some details filtered down in our surviving sources. The three main relevant texts are to be found in Plutarch,<sup>5</sup> Justin<sup>6</sup> and Eusebios.<sup>7</sup> The first says that Demetrios II died, leaving as his only heir a son, Philip, who was still a child. The *protoi* (οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων) married Antigonos, the dead king's cousin, to his widow and appointed him first as regent and then, when they had appreciated his moderation and his services to the state, as king. The beginning of Justin's account is the same, but the sequel seems to differ. Demetrios again dies, leaving an under-age son, Philip, and Antigonos is appointed as his tutor and is united with Philip's mother. Justin does not specify by whom Antigonos was appointed, but goes on to say that he strove to become king and that sometime later he faced a rebellion of the Macedonians, which he overcame by offering his resignation, but at the same time by remind-

1 . Errington, "Philip" 35, n. 60.

2 . Tarn, *Antigonos* 4: "The record of this world is a wreck, the worst wreck in all Greek history".

3 . On Demetrios' association to the throne, see now Hatzopoulos, "Document" 144-47.

4 . Cf. Aymard, "Assemblée" 134 (= *Etudes* 161).

5 . Plut., *Aem.* 8.2-3.

6 . Just. 28.3.9-16.

7 . Euseb., *Chron.* I 237-38 (Schoene).

ing them of his services to the state. The Macedonians repented and asked Antigonos to resume his office, but he refused until they had arrested and executed the instigators of the *seditio*. Eusebios states simply that "the Macedonians, seeing that Phouskos (Antigonos) was conducting the regency with fairness appointed him king and joined him to Chryseis".

Leaving aside the controversial issue of the identity of Philip's mother,<sup>1</sup> we shall concentrate on the problem of who appointed Antigonos regent and then king, and the connected question of the relation of the second part of Justin's narrative to this appointment. Some scholars have rejected Plutarch's evidence on the general grounds that the *protoi* had no right to appoint the king, since that was the prerogative of the Assembly, but most have combined the accounts of Plutarch and Justin and suggested that the two narratives refer to two different stages of the same procedure.<sup>2</sup> Only Errington, in his study of the nature of the Macedonian state, rejected Justin's account as irrelevant to the question at hand on the double grounds that 1) it has nothing to do with Antigonos' accession, for he was already king, since he had been wearing the diadem and could speak of his *regnum* and 2) Justin is referring not to an assembly, but to a *seditio minax*, a στάσις. His conclusion is that Briant was mistaken in using this passage in his discussion of the People's Assembly (*versus* the Army Assembly), for it is worthless as evidence for the constitutional right of the people of Macedonia to acclaim a king.<sup>3</sup> Errington's arguments and conclusions were enthusiastically espoused by Sylvie Le Bohec in her recent monograph on Antigonos Doseon.

Errington's arguments are not convincing. In effect, we know of another instance where a "king" gives back his diadem (*diadema detrahit capiti dexteram qua id tenebat protendens, ut si quis se digniorem profiteretur, acciperet* = Arrhidaios in Curtius<sup>4</sup>; cf. *proiectoque in vulgus diademate ac purpura dare haec eos alteri iubet* = Antigonos in Justin)<sup>5</sup> and who speaks of his reign (*reddere hoc imperium* = Arrhidaios in Curtius;<sup>6</sup> cf. *deponere imperium et reddere illis munus suum* = Antigonos in Justin<sup>7</sup>). This is Philip-Arrhidaios, at a moment

1. See now Sylvie Le Bohec, "Phthia, mère de Philippe V: examen critique des sources", *REG* 94 (1981) 34-46, with bibliography.

2. See Le Bohec, *Antigone* 134-36, with bibliography.

3. Errington, "Nature" 92-94; 100-105.

4. Curtius 10.8.20.

5. Just. 28.3.12.

6. Curtius 10.8.19.

7. Just. 28.3.15.

when his appointment is still an object of fierce dispute and the cause of a *sedition*. As Lévy has very pertinently suggested, "Antigone Doson s'appuya d'abord sur les πρώτοι mais il sut ensuite se faire confirmer par un peuple qui le contestait".<sup>1</sup> Arrhidaios' position, although antithetic, was strikingly comparable. He had obtained the support of the majority of the Assembly (the phalanx), but had not been recognised by the Council or the cavalry, who were contesting his appointment. This had not stopped him, however, from assuming the royal insignia<sup>2</sup> and surrounding himself with bodyguards (*satellites*),<sup>3</sup> exactly like Alexander the Great before him<sup>4</sup> and Antigonos Doson after him,<sup>5</sup> who according to this hypothesis had so far obtained only the endorsement of the *protoi*. In Antigonos' case Justin can speak of *adhuc invidiosum illud regnum* and *recipere eum regnum*, which is the normal translation of the Greek ἀρχή; for, contrary to Arrhidaios, Antigonos had wielded power (ἀρχήν) as regent during some time.<sup>6</sup> Errington should also have noted that an assembly and a riot were, unfortunately, by no means incompatible and that this would by no means be the only meeting of a Macedonian assembly which would turn into a riot. The classical parallel is precisely offered by Curtius' description of the accession of Philip-Arrhidaios. If the objection is raised that its historicity is doubtful,<sup>7</sup> the assembly called by Antipater at Triparadeisos can offer an equally pertinent example. As we have already noted, Antipater had presumably been appointed chief administrator (*epimeletes*) by the Council, but when he summoned the Assembly, his appointment was challenged by Eurydike and her party,<sup>8</sup> who so roused the army that the old general had to flee for his life. Only later was he able to appease the soldiers and be confirmed in his position. Thus the usual interpretation of Justin's account is not only compatible with the terminology he employs, but this terminology is also most satisfactorily explained in the historical context that this interpretation posits. Indeed Justin begins the first

1 . Lévy 220.

2 . Curtius 10.7.13.

3 . Curtius 10.7.4.

4 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* III 4-5.

5 . Cf. Just. 28.3.11: *sine satellitibus*.

6 . The precise length of his regency cannot be determined; see Le Bohec, *Antigone* 126-33.

7 . Cf. Just. 13.3.3: *seditione crevit*; 13.4.7: *seditionis auctores*; Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 1.1: ...τήν τε στάσιν τῆς στρατιᾶς... which can be compared to Curtius 10.7.1: *Iamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat, in seditionem ac discordiam versa contione*.

8 . Cf. Briant, *Antigone* 277.

part of his narrative with Antigonos' appointment as regent and his marriage to the late king's widow (*Antigonos tutor datus accepta in matrimonio matre pupilli*).<sup>1</sup> This clearly corresponds to Plutarch's: οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων Ἀντίγονον ἐπάγονται... καὶ συνοικίσαντες αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Φιλίππου πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίτροπον καὶ στρατηγόν... (προσηγόρευσαν).<sup>2</sup> In Plutarch's narrative the subsequent development of Antigonos' appointment as king is alluded to very succinctly at the end of the same period: εἶτα πειρώμενοι μετρίου καὶ κοινωφελοῦς βασιλεία προσηγόρευσαν.<sup>3</sup> Justin concludes the corresponding period of his narrative by mentioning not the actual appointment, but Antigonos' efforts to become king: *regem se constitui laborat*.<sup>4</sup> If we were to believe Errington, Justin, after this introduction about Antigonos' royal ambitions completely forgot the subject which he had just introduced, in order to describe in detail, for some unexplained reason, another event completely unrelated both to what preceded it and to what followed.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, although this allegedly irrelevant episode had nothing to do with Antigonos' appointment as king, by some extraordinary coincidence, it was introduced in exactly the same manner as Plutarch's description of this very appointment (*interiecto deinde tempore* = εἶτα) and was connected with the same services (*beneficia* = κοινωφελούς), thanks to which Antigonos obtained the throne. Finally, as H.-W. Ritter has very acutely pointed out, Justin's account preserves with admirable fidelity the exact relationship between King and People in Macedonia.<sup>6</sup>

On the whole, it seems more reasonable to accept the traditional interpretation of the passage of Justin and to take Antigonos' accession as evidence of continuity rather than change. The general pattern is the same as at the beginning of Philip II's rule,<sup>7</sup> when no direct heir of Perdikkas III capable of wielding power immediately was available

1. Just. 23.3.9.

2. Plut., *Aem.* 8.3.

3. Plut., *Aem.* 8.3.

4. Just. 28.3.10.

5. Errington, "Nature" 92-93.

6. Ritter 157: "Die Einsetzung zum König war *munus* des *populus* an Antigonos. Einmal im Besitze des *regnum* hatte der König aber das *imperium*, die, die ihn eingesetzt hatten, mussten seinen Befehlen zu gehorchen. Er konnte alles zurückgeben. Dies war damit bereits vollzogen, dass er Diadem und Purpur niederlegte. Der *populus* konnte in diesem Augenblick einem anderen die Herrschaft und ihre Zeichen geben (*dare*), und wenn Antigonos sie wieder übernehmen (*recipere*) sollte, musste ihn der *populus* erst auffordern (*iubere*), eine Aufforderung, die er ablehnen (*recusare*) konnte".

7. Cf. Aymard, "Tutelle" 87 (= *Etudes* 232).

and the Assembly conferred the royal title on the regent (*compulsus a populo regnum suscepit*).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the important part played by the *protoi* has its precedent in the accession of Lysimachos,<sup>2</sup> while the strife which accompanied the appointment to the kingship is strongly reminiscent of the tumultuous assemblies at Babylon and Triparadeisos. Even the symbolism of the diadem and the purple find a precedent in Arrhidaios' dramatic gesture,<sup>3</sup> but also in Alexander the Great's speech after the sedition at Opis.<sup>4</sup> It is not without interest to note that Antigonos, respectful of the rights of the Macedonians, did not arrest and execute the *seditionis auctores* himself—as Alexander and Perdikkas had done, arousing bitter criticism, although they had acted within their rights as commanders-in-chief during a campaign—<sup>5</sup> but asked the assembled Macedonians to arrest, judge and execute them.<sup>6</sup>

We do not know either exactly where or when these events took place. Errington, who on other occasions censures Briant for presuming on insufficient grounds that Alexander's acclamation and Pausanias' execution took place at Aigeai,<sup>7</sup> himself presumes and repeats no fewer than three times that the *stasis* against Antigonos occurred in Pella.<sup>8</sup> The reader is left to guess that the location of these events in Pella is prompted by the mention of the "palace" (*in regia*).<sup>9</sup> Errington, however, who adopts Hammond's identification of Vergina with Aigeai,<sup>10</sup> surely knows that the main feature of the site is precisely its magnificent and until very recently unique palace known since the middle of the last century. The session of the *protoi* and the confirmation of the people are just as—if not more—likely to have taken place at the same place, where we know that in similar circumstances at least two aspirants to the throne (Argaios and Alexander the Great) tried (and succeeded or failed) to gain the support of the *protoi* and to be acclaimed by the people.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, it is impossible to tell whether these events took place at an extraordinary

1 . Just. 7.5.10.

2 . Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.10.

3 . Curtius 10.8.20: *diadema detrahit capiti ...*

4 . Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.9: ὡς ἔμοιγε αὐτῷ τί περίεστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη ἢ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦτο;

5 . See p. 282, n. 3, above; cf. Briant, *Antigone* 254-5.

6 . Just. 28.3.16.

7 . Errington, "Nature" 98.

8 . Errington "Nature" 93, n. 4; 98 and 103.

9 . Just. 28.3.11.

10 . Errington, "Nature" 98.

11 . See p. 276-7 and 292-3, above.

meeting or during one of the regular *panegyreis* of the *ethnos*. However, even more important than specific details of the procedure itself is the unambiguous survival of the awareness that the people possessed the ultimate sovereignty and the inalienable right to appoint the King, which is expressed in the fictitious –or not– words that Justin (or rather his indirect third-century source)<sup>1</sup> attributes to Antigonos: *dare haec (diadema ac purpuram) eos alteri iubet... quorum si illos poeniteat, deponere imperium et reddere illis munus suum, quia regem quaerant, cui imperent.*<sup>2</sup> The kingship (*viz.* regency) is a public office (*munus*), which the Macedonians could confer upon whomsoever they wished and could equally well revoke, should the man they had appointed prove unworthy (cf. Meleagros). This is what Briant meant when he wrote: "...le document le plus important est celui de Justin, qui décrit assez exactement les rapports entre le roi et les Macédoniens",<sup>3</sup> which Errington seems to have misunderstood.

Thanks to Antigonos' precautionary measures, Philip V's accession was unopposed and uneventful and for this reason –as was only to be expected– is not recorded in our sources.<sup>4</sup> Although he did not receive the royal title,<sup>5</sup> his rights were expressly provided for, when Antigonos was appointed king with the clear obligation not to raise children of his own who might dispute his young ward's succession.<sup>6</sup> The *protoi* had no real decision to make, and if acclamation there was, it was merely a formality, part of the presentation of the new king which must have accompanied the public reading of the testament left by Antigonos.<sup>7</sup> Polybios was clearly contradicting himself when he wrote elsewhere, blinded by his hatred against Macedonia, that the Macedonian kingship was a μοναρχική ἐξουσία, ἀνυπέυθυνος κατὰ πάντα τρόπον;<sup>8</sup> for, when he described how Antigonos, on his death, left a will in which "he gave an account of his administration, and left orders how and by whom each matter was to be managed with the view of leaving no pretext for rivalries and quarrels among the courtiers",<sup>9</sup> his expression ἐγγραφε Μακεδόσι clearly implies some kind of

1. For Justin's (Trogus') source, see H.-D. Richter, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Historiographie* (Frankfurt-Bern-New York-Paris 1987) 138-39.

2. Just. 28.3.15.

3. Briant, *Antigone* 314-15.

4. Cf. Pol. 4.87.7.

5. See Aymard, "Tutelle" 90-93 (= *Etudes* 234-36); Le Bohec, *Antigone* 124-26.

6. Cf. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 468-76.

7. Cf. the ἀνάδειξις of Ptolemy V (Pol. 15.25.1).

8. Pol. 27.10.2.

9. Pol. 4.87.7 (translation by W.R. Paton).

Assembly as the addressee, of which his description of the succession of Ptolemy Philopator<sup>1</sup> gives a parallel, however inexact and degenerate, that *mutatis mutandis* could help us visualise the formalities of the succession of Antigonos. After the cremation of the bodies of Ptolemy and Arsinoe a tribunal (βῆμα) was erected "in the largest colonnade of the palace" and as there could be no genuine People's Assembly in Ptolemaic Egypt, "a meeting of the bodyguard and household troops and of the infantry and cavalry officers was summoned". The regents mounted the tribunal, announced the death of the King and the Queen and proclaimed the traditional mourning. "After this they crowned the boy and proclaimed him king, and then read a forged will, in which it was written that the king appointed Agathocles and Sosibios guardians of his son". That the reading of the royal will was not an innovation but an inherited element from the Temenid period both in Ptolemaic Egypt and in Antigonid Macedonia emerges from the fictitious description of Alexander the Great's will in *Alexander's Last Days*, a work of fiction, which was, however, written immediately after the great conqueror's death and used genuine material in order to attain the desired verisimilitude.<sup>2</sup> After the description of Alexander's funeral, Perdikkas and Holkias are depicted as proceeding to the tribunal (*suggestus*) facing the assembled army (*ad exercitum*). When they had obtained silence through the κῆρυξ (*praeco*), Perdikkas announced the death of the King. As soon as the herald had restored silence, Holkias read the will, which settled the question of succession, the appointment of central and local administrators and a number of other various matters. The reading before the Assembly implied that in theory at least the people had the right to reject its provisions, as they rejected "Alexander's last plans",<sup>3</sup> the genuine incident which gave the author of this remarkable piece of fiction the idea of the public reading of the imaginary will. It is particularly noteworthy that, should Roxane not bear a male child, sovereignty would revert to the Macedonian *ethnos*, who were invited to *elect* a new king (ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα).

Whatever Polybios (or Livy) may pretend,<sup>4</sup> the same smoothness

1 . Pol. 15.25.3-12 (translation by W.R. Paton); cf. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 124-25.

2 . Cf. Heckel 80-81.

3 . Diod. 18.4.2-6.

4 . Livy 40.54.6-57.1; cf. Edson, "Perseus" 199-202; cf. Walbank, "Φίλιππος" 68: "...his (sc. Polybios') experiment with the tragic mode makes it necessary to treat his picture of Philip's last years with the utmost suspicion"; Hammond, *Macedonia* III 490-91.



characterised the succession of Philip V.<sup>1</sup> In spite of his insinuations (sufficient to ruin the credit of any other historian) that Perseus was a bastard, it is beyond doubt that he was the eldest legitimate son of Philip<sup>2</sup> and that, like Demetrios II, he had been for many years associated with the government of the kingdom as the heir apparent.<sup>3</sup> His acclamation on the proposition of the *protoi*, if there had been no change in the traditional procedures, would be a mere formality, which could have been omitted by our sources.<sup>4</sup> Polybios, of course, had every reason to suppress these orderly procedures. He proposes instead a fabrication of the worst taste which modern scholars have unanimously rejected: Philip, discovering that his younger son Demetrios had been the innocent victim of Perseus' machinations, decided to leave his kingdom to a certain Antigonos, son of Echekrates and nephew of Antigonos Doson, who alone had had the courage to defend Demetrios and who had been instrumental in the discovery of the truth. Polybios (Livy) says that "if longer life had been his lot, there is no question that he would have left Antigonos in possession of the throne, but Philip died unexpectedly".<sup>5</sup> Polybios pretends that Antigonos would nonetheless have acceded to the throne, if he had been with Philip at the latter's deathbed and if the king's death had not been kept secret by his physician, one of Perseus' minions, who did not disclose it until the "bastard", informed by him, had the time to arrive at his father's death-bed. "Thus Perseus caught everyone unprepared and ignorant, and grasped the sceptre which he had won by crime",<sup>6</sup> writes our author, as if succession to the throne was determined by the rule of "first come, first served". This is, of course, disingenuous, as the same author makes sufficiently clear by his description of the measures allegedly taken by Philip in order to secure the accession of Antigonos. Philip, from the south-western border of his kingdom to the lands beyond the Strymon, "canvassed the cities of Macedonia and recommended Antigonos to the *principes*", the *protoi*.<sup>7</sup> The fact that the old king is depicted as taking all this trouble, clearly means that in Polybios' mind the *protoi* had a decisive part to play in the appointment of the new king. It is interesting to note, how-

1. Cf. Aymard, "Assemblée" 134 (= *Etudes* 161).

2. Meloni 9-15.

3. Meloni 16-23. See also Chr. Habicht, "Makedonen in Larisa?", *Chiron* 13 (1983) 31.

4. Aymard, "Assemblée" 134-35 (= *Etudes* 161).

5. Livy 40.56.7 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

6. Livy 40.47.1 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

7. Livy 40.64.7.

ever, that in a previous passage he seems to ascribe this part to the *volgus Macedonum*,<sup>1</sup> the Μακεδόνων πλῆθος, the usual term for the Assembly. The *protoi* (or *principes* in Livy) reappear in the long debate between Perseus and Demetrios before Philip, which, although probably entirely imaginary, is very instructive for what Polybios considered the decisive factors in a Macedonian succession. Among Demetrios' supporters Perseus names, besides the Romans and the Greeks, who have only an indirect influence in the contest, the *magna pars principum* who *in Romanis spem omnem dignitatis et fortunae posuerunt* and the *Macedones qui pace Romanae gaudent*.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that the first group, interested in rank and power, are the same *principes* - πρῶτοι and that the second are the *volgus Macedonum*, τὸ Μακεδόνων πλῆθος, who simply want to live in peace. The latter had made an earlier appearance as the *multitudo Macedonum*,<sup>3</sup> whose support for Demetrios made Perseus think "that no hope for the throne was left to him except through crime", for, as he complained to his father, "the eyes of almost all the Macedonians are turned towards him and they say that they will have no other king...".<sup>4</sup> One cannot help being reminded of the very expression that Plutarch uses to describe the difficulties which Alexander had to overcome in order to secure his appointment against his rivals Amyntas and Alexandros the son of Aeropos ("All Macedonia was ... looking towards Amyntas and the sons of Aeropos").<sup>5</sup> In a later passage of the same debate between the two brothers, the *Macedonum iudicia*, Μακεδόνων κρίσις, is explicitly mentioned<sup>6</sup> besides the rhetorical agreement "of all gods and men" and the inevitable, but nevertheless irrelevant, Romans, as the reasons for which Demetrios would allegedly win the throne. It is true that Perseus admits that there are two important factors in his favour: that of the Macedonian customary law (*Macedoniae mos, Macedonum mos, mos Macedonum*)<sup>7</sup> and Philip's will (*patris voluntas, patris iudicium*).<sup>8</sup> But in his mind they would ultimately prove less decisive than the preferences of the *protoi* and of the *plethos*.

1 . Livy 39.53.2: *Volgus Macedonum... Demetrium cum ingenti favore conspiciant simul et spe haud dubia regnum ei post mortem patris destinabant*.

2 . Livy 40.10.8-10.

3 . Livy 40.5.2.

4 . Our author continues "than the one whom the Romans shall have given them". Obviously, the Romans could only indirectly determine the succession: by influencing those who would have to make the choice, *i.e.* the Macedonians.

5 . Plut., *Mor.* 327 C.

6 . Livy 40.12.8.

7 . Livy 40.9.8; 11.6 (cf. *ius*); 12.13.

8 . Livy 40.9.8; 11.6; 12.13; cf. 11.6: *si pater tradet*.

Although the whole debate is fictitious, Polybios had roughly to respect the realities of Macedonian government. There were rules of succession; Philip might and could leave a will, but ultimately such advantages might well prove in vain; for the leaders (*protoi*) and the people (*plethos*) would inevitably have the last word.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, the whole argument, which is based on the possibility that customary law and Philip's will could and would be ignored and Demetrios could be appointed king, would make no sense whatsoever.<sup>2</sup>

### Other political powers and relation to the Council

Unfortunately, regarding the other political powers of the Assembly, we have practically no evidence for the period subsequent to Antigonos Gonatas' accession. As we saw in our survey of the previous period, the most important, and most likely to be recorded, sphere of action is the one related to the declaration of war and the conclusion of treaties.

Treaties from this period surviving in some detail, either in literary or epigraphic sources, are not numerous. We can barely list six: 1) Demetrios II's treaty with Gortyn,<sup>3</sup> 2-3) two treaties of "king Antigonos" with the Cretan cities of Eleutherna<sup>4</sup> and Hierapytna,<sup>5</sup> 4) Philip V's treaty with Carthage,<sup>6</sup> 5) Philip V's treaty with Lysimacheia<sup>7</sup> 6) Perseus' treaty with Genthios.<sup>8</sup>

The first, dated to the third year of Demetrios' reign (237/6), appears as an alliance between the Macedonian king, and the Gortynians and their allies, without any explicit reference to the Macedonians. The two treaties with Eleutherna and Hierapytna, on the other hand, both mention the Macedonians as contracting parties along with "king Antigonos". The significance of the mention of the Macedonians and the identity of "king Antigonos" however, have lately become the object of a heated debate.<sup>9</sup> To mention only its latest phases, Errington, in his effort to demonstrate that "the Macedonians" never had a

1 . Since the *ethnos*, as the heir of the dead king (Curtius 10.6.23), would have to settle a disputed succession.

2 . Cf. Pol. 23.7: Περσεύς ἐδεδίει περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, μὴ πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἔξωσθη.

3 . *Staatsverträge* 498.

4 . *Staatsverträge* 501.

5 . *Staatsverträge* 502.

6 . Pol. 7.9.1; 5; 7.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 3.

8 . Pol. 29.4-5.

9 . See Buraselis, "Ἐλεούθερνα" 114, n. 4, with references.

legal corporate existence, suggested that their presence is uniquely due to the fact that "Dodon had found it convenient, when founding the League, perhaps for booty purposes, to create a political *persona* of his Macedonians for League purposes" and consequently not only dated the two treaties from the time of the Hellenic Symmachy, but also proposed to restore in both texts the name of the "allies" after that of Antigonos and of the Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> His conclusions were almost immediately challenged independently by W. Huss<sup>2</sup> and Papazoglou.<sup>3</sup> The former, for very precise historical reasons concerning the general configuration of Cretan politics in the third century, into which it is not necessary to enter here, confirms the dating of both treaties to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, which earlier scholars had suggested. Papazoglou convincingly shows that, where the Macedonians figure by the side of their king in official Antigonid documents, their presence stems from the very structure of the Macedonian state and is by no means linked to the membership of the kingdom in the Hellenic Symmachy, from which "the Macedonians" are neatly distinguished in the relevant formulae (in order to be, on the contrary, joined to the King as the two constituent parts of the state); she then goes on to propose that the treaties with the Cretan cities, whose formulae present striking analogies with the *asylia* decrees of Philippos, Amphipolis, Kassandreia, Pella<sup>4</sup> should also be attributed to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. K. Buraselis, who did not yet know Papazoglou's full argumentation,<sup>5</sup> reconsidered recently the whole question in a very well-documented paper.<sup>6</sup> He rejected as indecisive the traditional arguments in favour of a dating in the reign of Dodon, based on the letter forms and on the alleged absence of the Macedonians in official documents before the reign of this king. This approach cannot but be commended, for only a decade separates the reigns of the two Antigonoi, making any decision on palaeographical criteria supremely uncertain. Equally shaky is the *argumentum e silentio*, which, moreover, —notwithstanding Buraselis' doubts— Papazoglou has utterly ruined. Buraselis, however, on the basis of the unequal terms of the treaties, which in his opinion are typical of an hegemonic alliance, reinserts them into the framework of the Hellenic Symma-

1. Errington, "Style" 34-35.

2. W. Huss, *Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV* ("Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte" 69; Munich 1976) 139-42.

3. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 208-209.

4. Epigraphic Appendix nos 36, 41, 47, 53.

5. Buraselis, "Ελεύθερα" 116, n. 4, citing Papazoglou, "Aspects" 352, n. 223.

6. Buraselis, "Ελεύθερα" 114-25.

chy, not only as dating from after its foundation, but as being the very documents by which the two cities became members of the Symmachy. Thus, although he recognises that the restoration of the "allies" is impossible, at least in one crucial passage of the treaty with Eleutherna,<sup>1</sup>—in fact, in the other passage of the same treaty, the Greek produced from Errington's suggestion is so highly improbable as to make this restoration, too, virtually unacceptable—<sup>2</sup> he joins and even surpasses him in his interpretation of the mention of the Macedonians. Unfortunately, Buraselis' theory suffers from a fundamental confusion between the very specific Hellenic Symmachy (συμμαχία) and the bilateral alliances of the Macedonian state with peoples, cities and dynasts, which inevitably in Greek can only be called by the same name (συμμαχία). The members of the Hellenic Symmachy under the reign of Antigonos Doson are exhaustively listed by Polybios:<sup>3</sup> Achaians, Epeirotes, Phokians, Macedonians, Boiotians, Akarnanians and Thesalians, who after the Cleomenic Wars were joined by the Lacedaemonians.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is by no means sufficient to show that the Cretan contingent at Sellasia was not composed of mercenaries,<sup>5</sup> in order to prove that Hierapytna and Eleutherna were members of the Symmachy in 222. There were also Gauls, Agrianians and Illyrians in that battle, who are not listed among the mercenaries but among the allies of the Macedonian king.<sup>6</sup> Does that make them automatically members of the Hellenic Symmachy? Sylvie Le Bohec argued at a recent colloquium that the Illyrians had been members of the Hellenic Symmachy before the battle of Sellasia,<sup>7</sup> but there is no reason to separate their case from those of the other "barbarian" clients of the Macedonian king, as almost all the scholars who have studied this

1. Buraselis, "Ἐλευθέρινα" 123-24.

2. Errington "Style" 35: [---πρ]ὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδό[νας καὶ πρὸς? τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς] Ἐλευθερναίους. Buraselis, "Ἐλευθέρινα" 123, n. 4, conscious of the awkwardness of the Greek, tries to improve it by proposing the following restoration: [---πρ]ὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδό[νας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν τοὺς] Ἐλευθερναίους. In either case there is no reason whatever to repeat the article τοὺς before the *ethnikon* Ἐλευθερναίους.

3. With the possible, but by no means certain, exception of the Euboians and the Opountian Lokrians; see Pol. 4.9.4, with Walbank, *Commentary* I 256.

4. See Will I<sup>1</sup> 354; Will I<sup>2</sup> 389 and more recently Le Bohec, *Antigone* 378-90, with references.

5. Buraselis, "Ἐλευθέρινα" 121-22.

6. Pol. 2.65.2-4; for the distinction between these contingents and the 3,000 mercenaries; cf. Walbank, *Macedonia* III 357, with references; cf. *eiusdem*, *Commentary* I 273-75.

7. Le Bohec, "Démétrios" 203-208; cf. *eiusdem*, *Antigone* 386-87.

question agree.<sup>1</sup> Cretan cities, like the Gauls, Agrianians and Illyrians, could and did have bilateral "hegemonic" alliances with the Macedonian state ("ein Kontrakt, der die Miete von Soldtruppen durch den König regeln und durch Androhung von Konventionalstrafen sichern soll", as H.H. Schmitt very aptly observes of the treaty with Eleutherna), independently of the Symmachy.<sup>2</sup> In fact, these very "Konventionalstrafen", which Buraselis uses as his main argument for interpreting the treaties with the Cretan cities in terms of the Hellenic Symmachy,<sup>3</sup> prove precisely the opposite, since we know that all decisions of the *synedrion*, presided over by the Macedonian king as its *hegemon*, "were subject to ratification by the legislative bodies" of the separate members.<sup>4</sup> Now, it so happens that in the treaty with Eleutherna, where a procedure of ratification is provided for, the name of the σύμμαχοι cannot be restored without doing violence to the Greek text, whereas the treaty with Hierapytna, in which, given its extremely fragmentary condition, a mention of the σύμμαχοι alongside king Antigonos and the Macedonians cannot be *a priori* excluded, leaves no latitude to the Cretan city to ratify or reject the Macedonian King's demands to dispatch troops: if it does not provide the agreed number of men in thirty days, its magistrates are fined the enormous sum of 10,000 drachmas! Buraselis' *caveat*, that subsequent adhesion treaties of new members may have differed from the original treaties between the founding members<sup>5</sup> cannot meet this basic objection, for we know that the same fundamental right which is denied to Hierapytna was granted to new members which joined the Symmachy even after Sellasia.<sup>6</sup> In conclusion, the treaties with Eleutherna and Hierapytna cannot and should not be connected with the Hellenic Symmachy<sup>7</sup> and consequently the choice between Antigonos Gonatas and Antigonos Doson is best left open, since palaeography cannot decide a difference of ten or twelve years.

Our fourth document, Philip V's treaty with Carthage, again mentions the Macedonians along with king Philip (ὕπὸ βασιλέως Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων... Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Μακεδόνες) and consistently presents the same distinction between the Macedonian

1 . See the list in Le Bohec, "Démétrios" 203, n. 6-13, and more recently Walbank, *Macedonia* III 357.

2 . *Staatsverträge* 501, p. 197.

3 . Buraselis, "Ἐλεῦθερνα" 117-21.

4 . Walbank, "Philip" 16.

5 . Buraselis, "Ἐλεῦθερνα" 124, n. 3.

6 . Cf. Pol. 4.31.1-2; 33.12.

7 . Walbank, *Macedonia* III 352.

state represented by these two elements and the allies (καὶ τῶν συμμάχων... καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι εἰσὶ αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι... καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ σύμμαχοι),<sup>1</sup> which has been masterfully analysed by Papazoglou.<sup>2</sup> It is clearest in the administration of the oath by the ambassador whom king Philip had sent "on behalf of himself and the Macedonians and on behalf of the allies" (ὄν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς ἡμᾶς Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημητρίου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων).<sup>3</sup> Papazoglou very aptly draws attention to the absence of the article before "the Macedonians" and concludes: "si les Macédoniens n'y étaient mentionnés qu'en qualité de membres de la Symmachie, on aurait vraisemblablement écrit: καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι".<sup>4</sup>

There is no mention of the Macedonians in the treaty between Philip V and Lysimacheia, but only of the king. However, its very fragmentary condition makes any definite conclusion precipitate and premature, the more so since new fragments are still coming to light and new joinings modify traditional readings.<sup>5</sup>

The text of the treaty between Perseus and Genthios has not survived either on stone or by some literary authority. What is interesting about it is that Polybios preserves the ceremony of the administration of the oath.<sup>6</sup> It took place at Dion, where the texts of other treaties have been found or are known to have been displayed,<sup>7</sup> in the presence of the whole Macedonian cavalry, *i.e.* the totality of the men under arms whom Perseus could rapidly move back and forth from the line of the Elpeios, which they were holding against the Romans, and the holy city of the Macedonians.

This short *excursus* into the style of treaties under the Antigonids sheds no more light than the one attempted in the treaties of the previous period, on the question whether the Macedonians participated in any way in the actual decision about their conclusion. It is explicitly stated, by Polybios for instance, that the Macedonians, as an *ethnos*,

1 . Pol. 7.9.1; 5; 7.

2 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 199-200.

3 . Pol. 7.9.1.

4 . Papazoglou, "Organisation" 199-200.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 3; cf. D. Pandermalis, "Inscriptions from Dion. Adenda et Corrigenda", *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessalonike 1981) 285-86.

6 . Pol. 29.4.4-6.

7 . The treaty between Philip V and Lysimacheia (Epigraphic Appendix no 3), the treaty between Philip II and the Chalkidians (Epigraphic Appendix no 2); cf. Just. 24.2.8.

were members of the Hellenic Symmachy,<sup>1</sup> and although no detail survives, their adhesion must have been the result of a treaty. But did the Macedonians have an opportunity to express their opinion as a constituted body on that issue, any more than in the other treaties in which they are explicitly named? Unfortunately, in the present state of our evidence there can be no direct answer to this question. However, if the Macedonians were expected to express their opinion on the declaration of wars decided in virtue of such treaties, a presumption would be created that the relevant treaties themselves had received some form of ratification.

Polybios preserves the account of only one war declared on Macedonian initiative. It is the declaration of war against Aitolia in the summer of 220.<sup>2</sup> But this was a war decided and waged not by Macedonia alone, but by the Hellenic Symmachy as a whole, and Polybios chooses to describe in detail the deliberations and decision of the Common Council. He then goes on to relate how the *synedroi* dispatched envoys to the allies, "so that on the confirmation of the decree by the popular Assembly in each state they might all join in the war against the Aitolians".<sup>3</sup> But among the allies Polybios chooses to give no details at all concerning the Phokians, the Macedonians, the Boiotians and the Thessalians, whereas he provides circumstantial descriptions regarding the vote of the Achaians,<sup>4</sup> the Akarnanians,<sup>5</sup> the Epeirotes,<sup>6</sup> the Messenians<sup>7</sup> and the Lacedaemonians,<sup>8</sup> certainly not because such votes did not take place among the members of the first group, but presumably because they were not distinguished by any remarkable occurrence as the others were (with the exception of Achaia; but how could Polybios ever omit it?).

As far as Macedonia is concerned Polybios simply notes that "while wintering in Macedonia Philip spent his time in diligently levying troops for the coming campaign and in securing his frontiers from attack by the barbarians of the interior"<sup>9</sup> and that as a result of these efforts, when the spring (219) came, he was able to move "out of Macedonia with his forces consisting of ten thousand heavy-armed

1 . Pol. 4.9.4.

2 . Pol. 4.25.1-35.6.

3 . Pol. 4.26.2 (translation by W.R. Paton).

4 . Pol. 4.26.7.

5 . Pol. 4.30.1-6.

6 . Pol. 4.30.7.

7 . Pol. 4.31.1-33.12.

8 . Pol. 4.34.1-35.6.

9 . Pol. 4.29.1 (translation by W.R. Paton).



infantry, five thousand peltasts and eight hundred horse, all the above being Macedonians".<sup>1</sup> These are the highest surviving figures of a Macedonian levy that took the field under Philip V before the battle of Cynoscephalæ. They are even higher than the figures of Antigonos Doson's Macedonian troops at Sellasia (10,000, 3,000 and 300 respectively).<sup>2</sup> As Philip's (or Antigonos Doson's) letters to Beroia and to the Botteatai clearly show,<sup>3</sup> such results were not possible without a serious "advertising campaign" and the close and true cooperation of the Macedonians, which would be most solemnly expressed in a *koinon dogma*, voted either separately at the regional assemblies, such as that of the Botteatai, or at the gathering of the troops at the Xandika before the beginning of the campaign (see below).

The absence of evidence concerning the declaration of war from the subsequent years, until the fall of the Macedonian monarchy, is not only due to the fragmentary condition of our main source, Polybios, but also to the fact that the major wars, the so-called Second and Third Macedonian Wars, which might have offered the opportunity of a detailed description, were not declared by Macedonia but by Rome. The Macedonians were in each case left with no other choice but to fight back or surrender to the Romans. It is interesting, however, to note that the detail of the circumstances in which the Macedonian state accepted the war imposed on it in 171 are clearly reminiscent of those of a declaration of war, as known from previous instances.

A few days after the Macedonian envoys had returned from Italy with the news that "the senate had decreed and the people had ordered war with the king and the Macedonians",<sup>4</sup> Perseus summoned the Council. "There a contest of opposing views took place for a time. There were those who thought that ... anything else which must be endured for the sake of peace should not be rejected ... However, by far the majority held a bolder opinion", *i.e.* that they should resist and that Perseus should "either, in a fashion worthy of a brave man, endure whatever the fortune of war might bring, or as a conqueror free the world from Roman domination". The king accepted the view of the majority and, summing up the debate, "*Geramus*", *inquit*, "*dis bene iuvantibus, quando ita videtur, bellum*". Only then did he write to the regional *strategoï* to inform them about the situation and the place and date of the meeting of the troops.<sup>5</sup> Both these elements are

1. Pol. 4.37.7.

2. Pol. 2.65.2.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

4. Livy 42.36.1 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

5. Livy 42.51.1.

uncertain, and in particular the place of the meeting has been much disputed. As I have argued above,<sup>1</sup> "Citium" is a scholarly ghost which must definitely be abandoned. The meeting undoubtedly took place at Kyrrhos. As for the date, it was certainly the very beginning of spring. Is it possible to be more precise? In spite of the uncertainties of Livy's translation-adaptation of Polybios, the expression *mota parumper acies, non iusto decursu tamen*<sup>2</sup> is strongly reminiscent of the ἐπι παρατάξει κινήματα, the διαδρομαί, which were the most characteristic feature of the Xandika.<sup>3</sup> It is thus very likely that the exact date of the meeting can be fixed at the *panegyris* of the month of Xandikos, when, as a rule, the annual spring gathering and review of the army took place. After the *diadromai* Perseus convoked an ἐν ὄπλοις ἐκκλησία (*armatosque sicut erant in contione vocavit*)<sup>4</sup> of the Macedonians and, mounting on a tribunal (βῆμα) surrounded by his sons he addressed the Assembly and "cheered the soldiers on to war". Since the war had already been declared by the Romans, there was no question of holding a formal vote. This however did not stop the Assembly from expressing its will. "Although throughout all the speech there had been often enough outbursts of applause, at that moment indeed such an outcry arose from those who were at once enraged and threatening, while some of them bade the king be of good cheer, that he put an end to his speech, merely ordering them to prepare for a march".<sup>5</sup> That this was not simply a gathering of the troops that just happened to be convoked in early spring, but the regular *panegyris* of the Xandika finds further confirmation in the simultaneous presence of the *legationes civitatum Macedoniae*,<sup>6</sup> the deputies of the Macedonian cities (ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις), whose presence under similar conditions we had noted at the autumn *panegyris* of 335.<sup>7</sup>

For the regular spring *panegyreis* of the month of Xandikos we have three other pieces of evidence from this period: 1) The best known is the detailed description of the *lustratio* of 182 by Polybios, which survives in Greek fragments and in Livy's Latin translation.<sup>8</sup> The place is not explicitly stated, but the mention of the separate *do-*

1. See p. 114, n. 5, above.

2. Livy 42.52.4.

3. *Souda*, s. v. διαδρομαί; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes* 85-89.

4. Livy 42.52.4. For similar armed assemblies of the Aitolians, see Larsen, "Assembly" 9-10.

5. Livy 42.52.5-53.1 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

6. Livy 42.53.2-3.

7. Diod. 17.16.4.

8. Pol. 23.10.17; Livy 40.6.1-7.9.

*mus* of Perseus and Demetrios and of the *regia* of Philip leaves no doubt that it must have been one of the royal capitals, either Aigeai or Pella, probably the latter, if we judge from the mention of imposing two-storey mansions, the like of which have been uncovered only there.<sup>1</sup> In fact the plain west of the city would have provided an excellent terrain for the meeting itself and for the review and the manoeuvres. It is also interesting to note that the purification and the exercises were followed by *πότοι καὶ εὐωχίαι, κῶμοι* (*convivium, cena*), as in the autumn *panegyris* (which is probably the Greek term translated by Livy as *festus dies*).<sup>2</sup> 2) A second passing reference to the Xandika of 169 is again to be found in a passage of Livy translated or adapted from Polybios, where it is stated that "Perseus also, setting out for Elimea, and purifying his army in that neighbourhood, led his forces at the instigation of the Epirotes to Stratus".<sup>3</sup> No further details are provided. 3) A last Polybian reference to the vernal *panegyris* is probably to be found in another passage of Livy relating events of early 197 (*primo vere*), before the battle of Cynoscephalae: "He (Philip) thus filled up his ranks, and ordered a muster of all the troops at Diium about the time of the vernal equinox".<sup>4</sup> The vernal equinox fell in the month of Xandikos, and it would be imprudent to dissociate this event from the normal annual gathering of the troops and the rites and ceremonies connected with it.

If the name of the festival were not stated, one might think that Larsen is describing the Macedonian spring *panegyris* when he writes: "The spring meetings, the *Panaitolika* were held in different places from year to year and were at times so scheduled as to constitute both a meeting and the mobilisation of the army for the coming campaign".<sup>5</sup>

Although no description of the autumn *panegyris* survives from the Antigonid period, the evidence that we have examined from the preceding one, and particularly from the reign of Alexander the Great, seems to authorise, *mutatis mutandis*, a reference to Larsen's description of the autumn Aitolian *panegyris*, to whose close resemblance with the Macedonian one we have repeatedly drawn attention: "In the autumn, after the year's campaigns were over, the assembly met

1 . Livy 40.8.8: *ex parte superiore aedium versisque in viam fenestris*; cf. Makaronas-Giouri.

2 . Livy 40.7.2.

3 . Livy 43.21.5 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

4 . Livy 33.3.1 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

5 . Larsen, *States* 199.

regularly at Thermum, a place that was more a sanctuary than a city but yet, in a sense, the capital of the Confederacy".<sup>1</sup>

We have now collected enough evidence to evaluate Papazoglou's suggestion which ascribes to Antigonos Gonatas "sinon la transformation définitive de la Macédoine en *koinon*... du moins les fondements de la réforme qui aboutira à la création du *koinon*".<sup>2</sup> *Koinon* is, of course, an unfortunate term, for as A. Giovannini has brilliantly shown, it does not designate a particular form of state organisation but any "community".<sup>3</sup> From the earliest times τὸ κοινὸν (τῶν) Μακεδόνων meant nothing other than the "community" or the "commonwealth" of the Macedonians, and could be opposed both to any individual Macedonian, in particular the king,<sup>4</sup> and to partial groups of Macedonians taken separately, such as cities, districts, or other smaller bodies. Τὸ κοινὸν (τῶν) Μακεδόνων means no more and no less than the Macedonians, and in this sense there can be no reform or evolution, a Macedonian community having always existed from the beginning of the recorded history of the people to the Roman conquest (and beyond), as official documents, starting with Perdikkas' treaty with Athens<sup>5</sup> and going down to the treaties of the last kings and even to the Roman celebrations of their final victory<sup>6</sup> amply attest.

If, on the other hand, one is referring to the fundamental political structures of the community, the Macedonians were an *ethnos* in Greek political terminology, both because of the common origin of its dominant element and because it was not a *polis*, the only other possible form which a free Greek community could assume. Naturally, this character of Macedonia did not change either. What Papazoglou seems to have principally in mind is that "le terme de Μακεδόνες, dans les documents que nous avons passé en revue plus haut, désignerait non point l'assemblée militaire, comme l'ont prétendu certains savants, mais un organisme semblable aux *synedria* des *koina* hellénistiques".<sup>7</sup> In her note 48 Papazoglou refutes Granier's opinion on the

1. Larsen, *States* 199.

2. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 209.

3. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 14-24; cf. Tréheux 46.

4. Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.5: οὐκ ἑαυτῷ (sc. Φιλίππῳ) μᾶλλον τι τὴν δόξαν τήνδε ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσέθηκεν.

5. *IG*<sup>1</sup> 89; L. 26: [Περδίκ]κο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων.

6. *ILS* 8884: L. *Aimilius L.f. imperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepet; Inscr Ital XIII* 1,1, ad annum 167 : L. *Aimilius L.f.M.n. Paulus II procos. ... ex Macedon. et rege Perse; Cn. Octavius Cn. f. Cn. n. propr. ... ex Macedon. et rege Perse.*

7. Papazoglou, "Organisation" 207.

alleged role of the military assembly in Doso's accession, and points out that our sources mention only the *πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων*, *Macedones*, *vulgus*, *Μακεδόνες*. It is curious not only that there is no reference to Briant's essential discussion on the subject (Lévy's article was published perhaps too late) but also that she does not see that the *vulgus*, which she connects with Doso's accession, cannot possibly refer to the *synedrion* of her hypothesis. Of course, the dilemma between a (military or not) assembly and a *synedrion* is a false one. As we have seen in the previous pages, from Alexander's accession at the latest down to the fall of the monarchy, Macedonian assemblies had been functioning as political bodies: Army Assemblies, plenary or not, functioned in time of war, People's Assemblies, plenary or regional, in time of peace. These assemblies judged capital cases, played a more or less important part in successions, were consulted on the declaration of war and must have also carried out routine work, such as voting honours,<sup>1</sup> granting *proxenia*,<sup>2</sup> and *asylia*<sup>3</sup> or dispatching embassies<sup>4</sup> in their regular, apparently biannual meetings. To this extent Papazoglou's hypothesis does not seem correct. This, however, does not mean that the second part of her hypothesis, to wit that Macedonia had some organ "semblable aux *synedria* des *koïna* hellénistiques" is necessarily also wrong. It has to be considered on its own merits.

1 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix nos 33-34.

2 . Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 1.9.9; see, however, p. 368, n. 2, below.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 32.

4 . Cf. Diod. 17.113.2.

## THE COUNCIL<sup>1</sup>

Not all pre-Roman Hellenistic "ethnic" states seem necessarily to have possessed a *synedrion*. On the contrary, both the ethnic states bordering Macedonia – Molossia and Thessaly – do not seem to have disposed of such an organ of government. Lévêque<sup>2</sup> and Larsen<sup>3</sup> are undoubtedly right, *pace* Cabanes,<sup>4</sup> in noting the absence of a *synedrion* in monarchical Epeiros and in identifying Justin's *senatus*<sup>5</sup> with the board of the heads<sup>6</sup> or the representatives of the local communities, variously described as *damiorgoi*, *synarchontes* or *hieromonones* in our fourth-century epigraphic documentation.<sup>7</sup> Justin (Trogus), probably intentionally used the term *senatus* (instead of *consilium*), for he must have found in his Greek source the word *γερονσία* and not *συνέδριον*. It has been thought that the Epeirotes too, both the Molossians and the Thesprotians, had a body of officials called *peliganes*, who are equated by Strabo with the *gerontes* of Sparta and Massalia,<sup>8</sup> in both cases restricted boards with a number of members comparable to that which is epigraphically attested for Molossia. These officials, interpreted as *ἔνδοξοι* by Hesychios,<sup>9</sup> must be equivalent to the *κράτιστοι τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν*, with whose support Pyrrhos got rid of his rival Neoptolemos.<sup>10</sup> It must be stressed that this is not a "Council" (*boule*), for it is not an emanation of the As-

1. On the Council in Macedonia, see Hammond, *Macedonia* II 158-60; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 383-84; 397-400; Hammond, *State* 53-58; Le Bohec, "*Philoi*" 93-124; *eisdem*, "Entourage" 315-26, with bibliography, and on the Hellenistic Councils in general, Corradi 231-343 and Habicht, "Gesellschaft" 1-16.

2. P. Lévêque, "Recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire de l'Épire" *REG* 70 (1957) 498.

3. Larsen, *States* 279.

4. Cabanes, *Épire* 166. For a discussion, see p. 493-94, below.

5. Just. 17.3.12.

6. Papazoglou, "Problèmes" 130-131.

7. Cabanes, *Épire* 534-40, nos 1-3.

8. Strab. 7 frg. 2; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 242-45; cf. now the *πρεσβύτεροι* of the *Balaítai* (Cabanes, "Recherches" 220-21, no 7). For Macedonia, see p. 326, above.

9. Hesych., s. v. *πελιγάνες*: οἱ ἔνδοξοί παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταί.

10. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 5.14.; cf. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* 119-22.

sembly, but a board of delegates of the local units, who filled the important offices of president (*prostatas*) and secretary (*grammateus*) by rotation.<sup>1</sup>

Quite independently, Sordi has reached a similar conclusion regarding Thessaly, where no *synedrion* is attested before the Romans reshaped its government in 196. On the basis of the admittedly scanty literary and epigraphic evidence, she concludes<sup>2</sup> that the *πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν*, mentioned by Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> formed a sort of *gerousia* acting as a probouleutic body *vis-à-vis* the federal assembly and provided the *prostatai* (προστατευόντων)<sup>4</sup>—and now she might add the *grammateus*<sup>5</sup> of the *koinon*. It is true that Sordi considers the pre-Roman Thessalian assembly not as a primary but as a representative one, formed by the delegates of the cities.<sup>6</sup> She comes to this conclusion on the basis of the following evidence: 1) Xenophon conveys the impression that the election of Jason to the office of *tagos* in 375 depended on the support of the *cities*.<sup>7</sup> 2) Justin, describing Philip II's position in Thessaly, speaks of *civitates quarum paulo ante dux fuerat*.<sup>8</sup> 3) In two third-century decrees the πόλεις αἱ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, Θεσσαλοί, τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν and τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν figure as strictly synonymous and interchangeable expressions.<sup>9</sup> Our Macedonian experience, however, amply proves that none of these arguments is cogent. A great number of passages has been cited above where (οἱ) Μακεδόνες, τὸ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος, αἱ πόλεις Μακεδόνων, αἱ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πόλεις are used as strictly equivalent and interchangeable terms.<sup>10</sup> This is equally true of Μακεδόνες and τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων in the dedications of Samothrace and Delos respectively.<sup>11</sup> The phe-

1. Cf. the restricted board of the Aitolian ἀπόκλητοι, who, like the Macedonian πρόδοι, or the Epeirote κράτιστοι, are also rendered as *principes* by Livy (cf. Larsen, "Assembly" 24; *eiusdem*, *States* 200, n. 2 and Livy 36.28.8-9) and may have been originally the representatives of the constituent communities.

2. Sordi, *Lega* 234.

3. Plut., *Pel.* 33.6; cf. Plut., *Alex.* 54.3: οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων. On the other hand, should we not compare the Thessalian federal ἱερομνήμονες (*GHI* 147) with the Molossian ones (Cabanes, *Epire* 539-40, no 3)?

4. W. Peek, "Griechische Inschriften", *AM* 59 (1934) 57, no 15.

5. K. Gallis, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Λαρίσης", *AAA* 5 (1972) 275-79, with *BullEpigr* 1973, 240.

6. Sordi, *Lega* 329-34.

7. Xen., *Hell.* 6.1.8.

8. Just. 8.3.2.

9. M. Segrè, "Grano di Tessaglia a Coò", *RFIC* 62 (1934) 189-91.

10. See p. 219, above and cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 16: ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς κατὰ Μακεδονίαν, or Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.12: καὶ τὰς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν.

11. Epigraphic Appendix nos 33-34.

nomenon is certainly not confined to the reigns of Philip V and Perseus, for which we happen to be better informed. Well before the reign of Antigonos Gonatas the loss of the Macedonian kingship by Arsinoe is presented in Trogus as the loss of the rule over the cities of Macedonia (*imperio Macedonicarum urbium exiit*).<sup>1</sup> A primitive form of the same fundamental equation is perhaps detectable in Perdikkas' treaty with Athens, where the Macedonian contracting party seems to figure as "Perdikkas" or "Perdikkas and the sons of Perdikkas" or "Perdikkas and the kings with Perdikkas" or "Perdikkas and the other Macedonians" as far as the administration of the oath is concerned,<sup>2</sup> but as "the kingship of Perdikkas and of the sons of Perdikkas" or "the cities over which Perdikkas rules" in the description of the Macedonian side covered by the treaty.<sup>3</sup> This disposes of Sordi's second and third arguments. In order to refute Sordi's first argument, Larsen, who is convinced that the Thessalian Assembly was at that time a primary one, suggests that the cities did not play any formal part in the appointment of the *tagos*, and that Xenophon's expression Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἡρημένων πόλεων εὐπετῶς ἂν ἐγὼ ταγὸς Θεσσαλῶν ἀπάντων κατασταίην<sup>4</sup> alludes merely to a patron-client relationship in that part of Thessaly which would decide the vote.<sup>5</sup> It is not necessary to go that far and reject the natural meaning of Xenophon's words. In Macedonia, too, we have the striking parallel of Philip V's alleged attempt to secure the throne for his cousin Antigonos, which is described by Livy (Polybios) as *circumire Macedoniae urbes principibusque Antigonum commendare*.<sup>6</sup> This should not imply, in Thessaly, any more than in Macedonia, that there was no primary but a representative assembly. Nevertheless, it is equally evident that the cities and their representatives had some part

1. Pompeius Trogus, *Prol.* 24; cf. Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 3.7: κάκεινην τῆς βασιλείας ἐξεκήρυξε, where βασιλεία appears as an equivalent of *imperium Macedonicarum urbium*, and for a similar situation, Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.13: Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας.

2. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 89, L. 26: [Περδίκ]κο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων.

3. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 89, L. 38: Περδίκκαν κ[α]ὶ τὸ[ς] παῖδ]ας τὸ[ς] Περδίκκο]; L. 40: [οὐ στρατε]υσόμεθα ἐπὶ πόλιν οὐδεμ[ια]ν ἢδὲ Π[ερδίκ]κας κρατέ[ε]; cf. *GHI* 177: [οὐδὲ τ]ῆν βασιλείαν [τ]ῆν Φ[ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων καταλύσω, and also *FGrHist* 153 F 1: ἐπεχείρησα[ν] ἐκβαλ[εῖ]ν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπ[οστ]ερ[ῆ]σαι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, where χώρας is the equivalent of the πόλεις, as in another document (Epigraphic Appendix no 58) it is the equivalent of Μακεδόνες.

4. Xen., *Hell.* 6.1.8.

5. Larsen, *States* 12-26.

6. Livy 40.56.7.



to play in the central government and it remains to be seen what exactly that was.

Deputations from cities (*legationes civitatum Macedoniae*, Xandika 171;<sup>1</sup> οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις, Olympia 335<sup>2</sup>) seem to take part, along with the assembly, in both the spring and the autumn Macedonian *panegyreis*. Neither Philip V's *principes*<sup>3</sup> nor Lysimachos' *protoi*<sup>4</sup> seem to be in permanent session, but rather to reside normally in their home cities. However, they seem to convene on certain occasions, as for Antigonos Doson's appointment<sup>5</sup> or possibly for Argaios' rejection in 360.<sup>6</sup> The Latin term *principes*<sup>7</sup> translates not only the Greek *protoi*, but also a variety of other Greek terms, all of which, however, refer to the same category of persons, such as οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων,<sup>8</sup> οἱ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δοκιμώτατοι,<sup>9</sup> οἱ ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων.<sup>10</sup> It would perhaps not be exceedingly bold to relate these ἐν τέλει Macedonians with the ἐν τιμαῖς, who may have been called *peliganes* not only by the Macedonians, but also by the Molossians and the Thesprotians.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the term *peliganes* was used to denote the members of the city councils, the *bouleutai*, in the Macedonian colonies of the Seleucid kingdom was affirmed by Hesychios,<sup>12</sup> and has been confirmed beyond doubt by an inscription of Laodikeia.<sup>13</sup> This, however, does not preclude —one might even say that, on the contrary, it makes it highly likely— that the term, like that of *tagos* in Thessaly, was used to designate both a local and a "national" office. And indeed Arrian uses the equivalent expression οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ἐταίρων<sup>14</sup> (cf. Plutarch: οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύ-

1. Livy 42.53.2.

2. Diod. 17.16.4: σκηνὴν δὲ κατασκευασάμενος ἑκατοντάκλινον τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν; cf. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 186, L.32-33: διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν το(ῦ) ἔθνους.

3. Livy 40.10.8.

4. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.10.

5. Plut., *Aem.* 8.3: οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων Ἀντίγονον... πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίτροπον καὶ στρατηγόν, εἶτα... βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν.

6. Diod. 16.3.5: τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς (for the meaning of this expression. see p. 292-93, above).

7. Cf. Livy 45.6.7 and Curtius 5.1.42; 8.6.2.

8. Diod. 18.55.1: οὐδὲν δ' ἄνευ τῆς τῶν φίλων γνώμης κρίνων πράττειν συνήγαγε τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους.

9. Ael., *V.H.* 14.48.

10. Arr., *Anab.* 4.13.1.

11. See p. 323, above.

12. Hesych., s.v. πελιγᾶνες: οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταί.

13. Roussel, "Péliganes" 21-32.

14. Arr., *Anab.* 5.28.4.

τατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων<sup>1</sup> and Strabo: τοὺς γέροντας<sup>2</sup> and the πρεσβυγενεῖς of the Spartan *gerousia*<sup>3</sup>) in order to describe the members of Alexander's council which decided the retreat from India. In fact this is not the only link between the *principes Macedonum* and the Council. Diodoros, describing Polyperchon's convocation of the *synedrion*, writes: συνήγαγε τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους,<sup>4</sup> whereas the convocation of Alexander's *synedrion* in 335 is described as συνήγαγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους τῶν φίλων.<sup>5</sup> As we noted before, one can hardly escape the conclusion that in both cases we are dealing with the same categories of persons. It is no easier to distinguish between the πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ἐταίρων<sup>6</sup> whom Alexander called together at Hyphasis and the πρεσβύτεροι of the μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου of Philip V.<sup>7</sup> Nor does it seem reasonable not to consider together the πρῶτοι (τῶν) Μακεδόνων,<sup>8</sup> who sat at council in Aigeai<sup>9</sup> or elsewhere to appoint a new king, and the πρῶτοι τοῦ συνεδρίου,<sup>10</sup> whom Philip V allegedly slaughtered and who are referred to as simply οἱ φίλοι in Diodoros' following chapter,<sup>11</sup> or the πρῶτοι τῶν ἐταίρων of Alexander's time.<sup>12</sup>

The *synedrion* of the royal period cannot, however, be equated with some representative assembly of the cities of Macedonia, such as the one which existed under the Romans. As already under Philip II,<sup>13</sup> the *synedria* of Hellenistic kingdoms were Privy Councils.<sup>14</sup> This was the case even in the "ethnic" kingdoms of Macedonia and Epeiros. The Molossian kings Aiakidas,<sup>15</sup> Neoptolemos,<sup>16</sup> and Pyr-

1 . Plut., *Alex.* 54.3.

2 . Strab. 7, frg. 2; cf. the πρεσβύτεροι of the Balaiitai (Cabanus, "Recherches" 220-21, no 7) and also the Achaian γεροσοῖα (Pol. 38.13.1; cf. Aymard, *Assemblées* 153-54).

3 . Diod. 7.12.6.

4 . Diod. 18.55.1.

5 . Diod. 17.16.1.

6 . Arr., *Anab.* 5.28.4.

7 . Pol. 4.23.8-9.

8 . Plut., *Aem.* 8.3; cf. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 12.10.

9 . Cf. Diod. 16.3.5.

10 . Diod. 28.2.

11 . Diod. 28.3; cf. Pol. 18.7.4-6 and Walbank, *Commentary* II 558, with further references and also Plut., *Fam.* 17.5; *Mor.* 197 A; Paus. 7.7.5.

12 . Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 113 (in spite of the editor's different interpretation).

13 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 395-404.

14 . Cf. Corradi 231-32.

15 . Plut., *Pyrrh.* 2.1.

16 . Plut., *Pyrrh.* 5.6; cf. 5.3.

rhos<sup>1</sup> had "friends" (φίλοι) or "companions" (ἑταῖροι) and there is good reason to believe that this institution, whose existence must also be presumed for the earlier reign of Alexander I from the mention of the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες,<sup>2</sup> was traditional in both kingdoms, on either side of the Pindos range. The Epeirote "friends",<sup>3</sup> frequently mentioned along with the commanders of the army,<sup>4</sup> formed the King's Council, as in Macedonia. Even the technical term of "first" companion is attested in both kingdoms.<sup>5</sup> It is obvious, however, from Epeiros, for which we have both literary evidence for the *synedrion* and epigraphic evidence for the board of the representatives of the local communities, that these two bodies can in no way be equated. The King's friends and companions were of his own choice. Not only were they not appointed by the local communities, one for each, but might even not be citizens at all. Pyrrhos, for instance, in greater extent than his Macedonian counterparts, chose his friends among non-Epeirotes.<sup>6</sup> This aspect of the Hellenistic royal *synedria* has been rightly stressed in a short but comprehensive article by Chr. Habicht.<sup>7</sup> It does not follow, however, that the kings did not have every reason to secure a fairly proportional representation of the communities of the kingdom among their friends. Griffith, in his discussion of the origins of Alexander's *hetairoi*, the only body numerous enough to allow a quantitative approach, notes: "Though a statistically significant record is unattainable, what does survive is suggestive of a ruling class drawn from Macedonia in its widest term, with Pella and the old kingdom preponderant but by no means overwhelmingly so".<sup>8</sup> It is not unreasonable to expect that what was true of the "companions" or "friends" in general applied also to the πρῶτοι τῶν φίλων, τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ συνεδρίου.<sup>9</sup>

1. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 4.2; cf. 5.6; 16.16; 17.1; 30.5; 34.1; Diod. 22.10.3; Dion. Hal. 20.9.10.

2. Livy 8.24.12.

3. Dio Cass. 9, frg. 30.3: ἐβουλευθή μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὧνπερ εἰώθει; Zon. 8.4.4: μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐβουλευέτο ὡς εἰώθει.

4. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 17.8: τῶν φίλων... καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν; 21.15: φίλοι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοί; 29.2: τοὺς θ' ἡγεμόνας ἐκέλευεν ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις διηγείτο τὸν ὄνειρον.

5. Plut., *Pyrrh.* 20.8: πρῶτον ὄντα πάντων τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν; cf. Diod. 17.80.1: Παρμενίων ὁ πρῶτος εἶναι δοκῶν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλων.

6. Cf. D. Kienast, "Pyrrhos" *RE* 24 (1963) 133; F. Sandberger, *Prosopographie zur Geschichte des Pyrrhos* (Stuttgart 1970; *non vidit*).

7. Habicht, "Gesellschaft" 7.

8. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 402.

9. Diod. 19.46.4.

If the bases of this reasoning are not to be rejected, one may conclude that in Macedonia, as well as in Epeiros and probably in Thessaly, the representatives (πρέσβεις, *legationes*—the local term, at least in Macedonia, being possibly πελιγᾶνες) of the local communities (cities or *ethne*) formed a board, which convened at least as often as the Assembly and possibly more often. This board, however, is not to be equated, in Macedonia any more than in Epeiros, with the royal Council, from which it is clearly distinguished. At the same time this distinction should not be taken to mean that there were no points of contact between the two bodies. The Council of the "friends" and "commanders" could be widened in some instances to include also the hundred or so representatives of the cities. Although the context is described as religious, such seems to be the case in Diodoros' account of the Olympia of 335 (Σκηνήν δὲ κατασκευασάμενος ἑκατοντάκλινον τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν).<sup>1</sup> As we know from Arrian,<sup>2</sup> Phylarchos,<sup>3</sup> Polyainos<sup>4</sup> and Aelian,<sup>5</sup> the same or a similar tent was the usual structure in which Alexander carried out government work during his campaign. Its arrangement and its finality have been compared to the palace of Vergina,<sup>6</sup> where, as has long been seen, *euo-chiai* and government work used to take place in parallel (or jointly).<sup>7</sup> At Pella too, the other royal capital, there seems to have been a permanent structure, which, according to the scholar who studied it, served both religious and political purposes as a sanctuary of Herakles and "the Bouleuterion of the Macedonians".<sup>8</sup> If this interpretation is correct, its dating in the first half of the fourth century could be seen as evidence for the high antiquity of such enlarged meetings, and it would then be tempting to see in the *circa* eighty-five persons named on the Macedonian side in the treaty of Perdikkas with Athens the earliest surviving list of such a body.<sup>9</sup>

1. Diod. 17.16.4.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 7.24.1-3.

3. Phylarchos, *FGrHist* 81 F 41.

4. Polyain. 4.3.24.

5. Ael., *V.H.* 9.3.

6. R.A. Tomlinson, "Ancient Macedonian Symposia", *Ancient Macedonia I* (Thessalonike 1970) 308-315; cf. E.N. Borza, "The Symposium at Alexander's Court", *Ancient Macedonia III* (Thessalonike 1983) 45-55.

7. Heuzey-Daumet 202-219.

8. Hadzisteliou-Price 68.

9. *IG*<sup>13</sup> 89, L.46: [καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶ]ν ὁμοσ(ά)ντων καὶ τῶν πόλε[ων].

The association of the Council with the representatives of the cities, though regular, does not seem to have been frequent. If the cities exercised some influence on decision making, it was through the Council, the real organ of everyday government, whose composition, although theoretically freely decided by the King, had practically to take into account considerations of representativeness.

G. Corradi,<sup>1</sup> more than half a century ago, later Hampl,<sup>2</sup> and Griffith<sup>3</sup> very recently have stressed the informal character of the Council. To use the latter's words: "a Council that had rights and powers would not have vanished from the record (*i.e.* of the reign of Philip II) if such a Council existed... nor was the composition of the councils standardized".<sup>4</sup> A closer study of the evidence seems, however, to reveal that both conclusions in this extreme form are by-and-large incorrect.

## MEMBERSHIP

*Pace* Griffith,<sup>5</sup> the assertion that Philip II's council is never mentioned is not correct. Nepos writes of Eumenes: *utrique autem in consilio semper adfuit*,<sup>6</sup> implying not only that Philip and Alexander had a *synedrion* but that this Council had permanent members. Griffith based his assertion on the argument that, allegedly, not even the term *synedrion* existed, since it is never used in sources referring to events previous to Alexander the Great's death.<sup>7</sup> This is clearly erroneous, for, even if the use of the word *consilium* in our Latin authors is not taken into account, as Griffith wishes, there are at least two such instances in Diodoros: 1) 'Ο δ' Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραλαβὼν πάντας τοὺς φίλους...<sup>8</sup> 2) 'Ο δ' Ἀλέξανδρος συναγαγὼν τοὺς φίλους... προσήνεγκε τοῖς συνέδροις.<sup>9</sup>

The second of these is even more interesting than the first, for although the word *synedrion* is not used, the term *synedroi*, which ap-

1. Corradi 231-55.
2. Hampl 76-77.
3. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 397-400.
4. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 397-98.
5. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 397.
6. Nepos, *Eum.* 1.6.
7. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 397.
8. Diod. 17.54.3.
9. Diod. 17.39.2.

pears instead, not only implies its existence, but further conveys the impression that its members held a permanent position.

Griffith has argued against permanent membership from the fact that Philotas did not attend the session of the Council in which he was indicted.<sup>1</sup> If, however, one reads the relevant passage carefully, it becomes clear that Philotas was indeed a permanent member of the Council and that his absence is presented by the author as an anomaly (*Advocato tum consilio amicorum, cui tamen Philotas adhibitus non est*),<sup>2</sup> evidently due to the suspicion of high treason that weighed upon him. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence that at least some members of the Council had a permanent seat, and although it comes from the hours which followed Alexander's death, there can be no doubt that the relevant rules go back at least to the king's lifetime. In effect, Ptolemy, in the meeting which followed Alexander's death, proposed a government by the Council: "My advice is this, that the throne of Alexander be set up in the royal quarters, and that *those who were summoned to his counsels* should come together whenever there should be need of general consultation and that what the majority of them shall decide shall stand approved".<sup>3</sup> This proposition, whose authenticity is generally accepted,<sup>4</sup> makes sense only if *qui consilii eius adhibebantur* is a well-defined, "standardized" –to use Griffith's expression–<sup>5</sup> body, with a permanent composition. In fact, there is evidence supplied by the same author, that there was a list of the names of such persons: *Multi duces, frequentia militum exclusi, regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis qui nomimatim citarentur adire prohiberet*.<sup>6</sup> Other passages, from a variety of authors but all probably going back to the trustworthy and knowledgeable Hieronymos of Kardia, although they concern "fractional" councils of Macedonian regents, confirm that the Council had permanent members: Plutarch writes that Eumenes was made member of Perdikkas' Council (ἴσχυε μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ συμβουλίου μετεῖχεν)<sup>7</sup> and a similar expression is used to describe the members of the Council of Antigonos (ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ συνεδρίου),<sup>8</sup> and also that of Philip

1 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 398.

2 . Curtius 6.8.1; cf. the trials of Megaleas and Krinon under Philip V, where the accused are present in the Council (Pol. 5.16.5-8).

3 . Curtius 10.6.15 (translation by J.C. Rolfe); cf. Just. 13.2.12.

4 . Cf. Mooren 206, n. 2, with references, and 233.

5 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 397.

6 . Curtius 10.6.2.

7 . Plut., *Eum.* 3.12.

8 . Diod. 19.46.4.

V by Polybios a century later (οἱ δὲ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου).<sup>1</sup> In Late Hellenistic Egypt it seems that the permanent members of the Council were called πάρεδροι,<sup>2</sup> which is all the more remarkable in that the same term is used by Herodotos in our earliest mention of the King's Council in Macedonia.<sup>3</sup>

The question which inevitably arises is how the fixed composition of the Council is compatible with its "privy" character and the alleged freedom of the King to choose its members. In fact, there was freedom of choice, but a partial one, for it was limited both by factors on which the King had hardly any control and by his own earlier decisions.

The Council which was summoned to decide Alexander's succession and of which Curtius gives the fullest description was composed of the *corporis custodes*, i.e. the *somatophylakes*, who convoked it, the *principes amicorum*, i.e. the πρώτοι τῶν φίλων and the *duces copiarum*, i.e. the ἡγεμόνες τῶν τάξεων, whose names must have figured in a list.<sup>4</sup> Of these categories, the *somatophylakes* had a fixed number,<sup>5</sup> whether they were appointed by the king himself or by "the Macedonians" from among certain families.<sup>6</sup> The φίλοι, or the ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι too, were formally appointed,<sup>7</sup> presumably for life, and received from the King the purple head-dress (*kausia*) and a cloak (*chlamys*), the insignia of their office,<sup>8</sup> to which they owed their designation of *purpurati* in our Latin sources.<sup>9</sup> The custom is of the highest antiquity and has its parallel in Sparta, where the kings offered a cloak to each newly appointed life-member of their Council,

1 . Pol. 4.23.7.

2 . Corradi 254, with references.

3 . Herod. 8.138.1; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 158-59.

4 . Curtius 10.6.1-2; cf. Briant, *Antigone* 243-44, with references.

5 . W. Heckel, "The *somatophylakes* of Alexander the Great: Some Thoughts", *Historia* 27 (1978) 224-28 and particularly 225, n. 8; N.G.L. Hammond, "The Various Guards of Philip and Alexander III", *Historia* 40 (1991) 396-418 and particularly 414.

6 . Cf. Just. 13.3.1: *satellitesque illi ex tribu sua legunt*; and Arr., *Succ.*, *FGrHist* 156 F 9.38, where the subject of ἀπέφηνε is Antipater, but, as I have argued above, all the appointments seem to have been ratified by the Macedonians.

7 . Cf. Berve I 30-37 and Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 176.

8 . Cf. Plut., *Eum.* 8.12: καὶ τιμὰς ἡγάπων παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ φίλοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐξῆν γὰρ εὐμένει καὶ καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας διανεμειν, ἥτις ἦν δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη παρὰ Μακεδόσι; cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 177-78 with further references, and now Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, "Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume", *JHS* 113 (1993) 122-47.

9 . Curtius 3.6.4; 12.7; Livy 30.42.6; 31.35.1; 33.8.8; 42.51.2; 44.26.8; 45.32.4; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 178; cf. Berve I 30.

the *gerousia*.<sup>1</sup> As for the ἡγεμόνες τῶν τάξεων, they, too, were *ex officio* members. Only by cashiering them could the King exclude them from the *synedrion*.

As was long ago observed by Berve,<sup>2</sup> the King's choice was less free than would seem at first sight. He might have had the possibility to appoint to the Council some of his non-Macedonian friends or the closest of his boyhood companions among the *ex βασιλικοὶ παῖδες* – although most of them would anyway belong to the highest nobility of the cities – but, as is clear in the case of both Alexander the Great and of Philip V, about whom we are relatively well-informed, many, perhaps most of the "King's friends" were members not because of their affectionate intimacy with the King – in many cases the relationship was clearly one of antagonism, even of hostility (Alexandros son of Aeropos, Parmenion, Philotas, under Alexander the Great;<sup>3</sup> Apelles, Megaleas, Leontios, Ptolemaios etc. under Philip V<sup>4</sup>) – but practically *ex officio*, because of their position in the kingdom and in their own *πατρίδες* (cf. the families of Amyntas, Koinos, Krateros, Meleagros, Perdikkas under the last Temenids<sup>5</sup> or the families of the Harpaloi and Polemaioi or the Pantauchoi and Balakroi of Beroia under the Antigonids).<sup>6</sup> The restrictions weighing upon the King in the choice of his Council were nevertheless light compared to those limiting his freedom to dismiss a member once he had been appointed. Here again a distinction must be made between the non-Macedonian members, freely chosen by him, and those who owed their position less to the King's free choice than to their power-base within the country. Philip V, for instance, could dismiss and imprison the Tarentine Herakleides "to the great joy of the people" – although, even in this case, Livy implies that a formal indictment had been necessary –<sup>7</sup> but he could not in the same manner dismiss one of his Macedonian *optimates* (ἄριστοι)<sup>8</sup> without facing not the *gaudium*, but the anger

1. Plut., *Ages.* 4-5; cf. a parallel Cretan custom in a different context, Strab. 10.4.21 and Athen. 11.782c.

2. Berve I 32.

3. Berve II 17-19, no 37; 298-306, no 606; 393-97, no 802.

4. Pol. 4.87.6-13; cf. Walbank, *Philip* 20-22 and Errington, "Philip" 19-36.

5. Berve II 26-28, no 57; 215-18, no 439; 220-27, no 446; 249-50, no 494; 313-16, no 627.

6. Tataki 116-17, nos 228 and 230; 255, no 1082; 245-46, no 1011; 132-33, nos 320-21; cf. *BullEpigr* 1991, 389 and Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 40-41.

7. Livy 32.5.7: *multis criminibus oneratum*; cf. Diod. 18.4.7: ἐπιλαβόμενος οικείας διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας, discussed by Briant, *Antigone* 253.

8. Just. 12.10.10; Plut., *Alex.* 70.3.



and the resistance, even sometimes the revolt of the whole body politic. The Macedonian "friends", the *principes Macedonum*, even less than the offspring of "vulgar mechanics",<sup>1</sup> could not be summarily dismissed. Polybios does pretend that "in the courts of kings... courtiers at the word of the king are at one moment universally envied and at the next universally pitied".<sup>2</sup> But, as has long been recognised, Polybios' flight of oratory is part of the ready-made stock of the anti-monarchical *koinoi topoï* of his times<sup>3</sup> and is in fact contradicted by contemporary events. Apelles, although slighted by the king and excluded from the sessions of the Council, retained so much power that he had formally to be indicted of high treason in order to be neutralised.<sup>4</sup> Leontios, although arrested and put in jail, preserved the unwavering loyalty of his power-base, the hypaspist corps, to the point that his prompt execution became a necessity for the king's own safety.<sup>5</sup> As has already been argued, in cases such as those of Alexandros, Philotas, Amyntas, Apelles, Megaleas, Leontios etc. there were only two ways for the King (or the regent) to get rid of them: either formally to accuse them of high treason, taking the risk of seeing them acquitted (cf. Amyntas),<sup>6</sup> or to murder them, with all the loss of prestige (εὔνοια) and the danger of violent revolt that such a course of action would inevitably provoke (cf. Perdikkas).<sup>7</sup>

These checks and balances imposed on the power of the King *vis-à-vis* his Council derive not from some formal set of rules, which determined the relations between these two organs of government, but from the social position of the Macedonian "friends", who formed the bulk and the core of the Council, and from the long-established pattern of their relationship to the King.

### The Friends

There are numerous studies on the "friends" (φίλοι, ἑταῖροι) in Macedonia and generally in the Hellenistic kingdoms, and it would be

1. Pol. 13.44 (translation by W.R. Paton).

2. Pol. 5.26.12-13 (translation by W.R. Paton).

3. Walbank, *Commentary* I 559-60.

4. Pol. 5.26.10-28.9.

5. Pol. 5.27.1-8.

6. Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 3.27.1-3.

7. For a penetrating analysis of Perdikkas' mistake, cf. Briant, *Antigone* 179-80. No historical value can be attached to the flight of rhetoric in Livy 45.32.3-6, which aims to justify the ruthless decapitation of the Macedonian *élite* as necessary for the security of the Macedonian "freedom".

superfluous to repeat what has been written in them on this subject.<sup>1</sup> Time and the most recent disquisitions have not vindicated Hampl's<sup>2</sup> contention that the relationship between King and Friends was unilateral and strictly private. Stagakis<sup>3</sup> and Habicht<sup>4</sup> have brought to light and stressed the reciprocal nature of the relationship: the king being the companion of his companions, with whom he forms a partnership (ἑταιρεία). To the donations of royal land<sup>5</sup> correspond the rich presents, crowns,<sup>6</sup> loans,<sup>7</sup> which the "friends" were expected to offer and did offer to the king. Statistical information is naturally lacking, but a few examples are enough to show that what a king might give and what he might expect in return were at least comparable. We know, for instance, the amount that in one case a Macedonian king asked from one of his *hetairoi*: Alexander the Great required from Eumenes 300 talents but obtained, with difficulty, only 100 out of the more than 1,000 that his companion kept in his tent.<sup>8</sup> Whatever the historical value of this anecdote,<sup>9</sup> the sums have to be likely. On the other hand, we know the exact extent of one roughly contemporary royal δωρεά.<sup>10</sup> The three separate tracts given by king Lysimachos to Limnaios son of Harpalos amount to 2,400 *plethra* of olive groves and 20 *plethra* of vineyards.<sup>11</sup> The amount is undoubtedly impressive, but if we calculate its monetary value on the basis of the highest price that we have from Hellenistic Macedonia (70 drachmae the *plethron*—we know of a price of 53 drachmae the *plethron* for vineyards, and olive groves were certainly less valuable), the sum would hardly exceed 28 talents. In fact, an estimate on the basis of a mean value of 30 drachmae the *plethron* would be closer to reality. In that case, the total

1. Besides the works indicated at the beginning of this chapter, see also G. Plau-mann, "ἑταῖροι", *RE* 8 (1913) 1374-1380; Berve I 30-37; Hampl 66-77; Carrata Thomes, *Eteri*; G. Stagakis, *Institutional Aspects of the Hetairos Relationship* (unpublished thesis, University of Wisconsin 1982); *eiusdem*, "Observations" 86-102; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 172-79; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 395-404; Herman 103-49; Hammond, *State* 53-58.

2. Hampl 73.

3. Stagakis, "Observations" 100-102.

4. Habicht, "Gesellschaft" 12.

5. Cf. Plut., *Alex.* 15.3; *eiusdem*, *Mor.* 342 D.

6. Diod. 16.92.1; cf. Ehippos, *FGrHist* 126 F 5.

7. Plut., *Alex.* 15.3; *eiusdem*, *Eum.* 2.5-6; Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.6.

8. Plut., *Eum.* 2.5-6.

9. Cf. Berve II 157, n. 1.

10. Epigraphic Appendix no 22.

11. These amounts can be compared to a *viritim* distribution of 125 *plethra* of corn land (ψυλί) and 12.5 *plethra* of vineyards (Welles, *Correspondence* 205-209, no 51).

value of the donation would amount to *circa* 75,000 drachmae or 12.5 talents.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the two tracts of land given by Philip II to the family of Koinos over the lifetime of two generations should have been significantly more valuable.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the possession of such, indeed extensive, properties, along with other assorted privileges, offered to the King's *hetairoi* an economic and moral independence and consequently a freedom of judgement and speech, of which Koinos, precisely, gave a superb example on the Hyphasis.<sup>3</sup> What has been overlooked, especially by modern scholars, who insinuate without the slightest evidence that Koinos paid his freedom of speech with his life,<sup>4</sup> is that the undeniable displeasure of the King had no effect whatsoever on the continued enjoyment of Koinos' possessions, which he held from the King, by himself and by his heirs after his death. Thus the riches and honours that the kings heaped on their companions, instead of enthralling them, seem to have had the exactly opposite effect of making them freer, as persons of independent status and means, who, along with the King and the common people, formed the state. Since they dressed differently, and married<sup>5</sup> and were even buried separately,<sup>6</sup> it does not come as a surprise to see the *hetairoi* mentioned as a separate entity along with the King,<sup>7</sup> or the King and his "forces", who in the new Hellenistic kingdoms had taken the place of the non-existent *ethnos*.<sup>8</sup>

### The military commanders

The case is even clearer with the military commanders who (to the extent that they were not anyway members of the Council) were called upon to participate in certain sessions of the *synedrion* because

1. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 51.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 20.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 5.27.1-28.4; cf. Curtius, 9.3.3-19.

4. E. Badian, "Harpalus", *JHS* 81 (1961) 20; Bosworth, *Conquest* 133-34.

5. Plut., *Alex.* 70.3.

6. Cf. Plut., *Eum.* 9.5. What was true of the ἡγεμόνες, was *a fortiori* true of the ἑταῖροι. It is a widely held view that the Macedonian monumental tombs were destined to receive the remains of the dead *hetairoi* (cf. P. Chrysostomou, "Νέοι τύμβοι στήν Πελαγία χώρα", *AEMΘ* 1, 1987 [Thessalonike 1988] 152-53).

7. Cf. *FGrHist* 153 F 1: περι τήν σὴν βασιλε[ιαν] καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τ[ῶν] σῶν ἑταίρων παρενό[μη]σαν.

8. See Habicht, "Gesellschaft" 4, with references; cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 41, no 6, L. 6-7; Herman 112-13. For the more independent position of the Macedonian companions and friends as compared to those of the new Hellenistic Kingdoms, cf. *ibid.* 115-16.

of their position in the military hierarchy. From the instances where the rank of the officers participating in that capacity is given, it appears that only the highest *hegemones*, those commanding autonomous units, were summoned.<sup>1</sup> These, as we shall see in the following section of this study, were selected and for all practical purposes elected by the Council and the Assembly. Moreover, many of them, and in particular the commanders of the territorial infantry *strategiai*, were companions anyway and had their seat in the Council. Their prestige with the soldiers under their command, who were often their fellow-countrymen and with whom they enjoyed a patron-client relationship, and their appointment, probably sanctioned by the informal approval of the whole army, made them practically irremovable. Even when they were separated from their men as a result of promotion, they retained enough power to make it seem advisable for the King to accept their replacement by one of their close relatives.<sup>2</sup> Thus Alketas seems to have succeeded his brother Perdikkas to the command of the *taxis* of Orestis-Lynkos, when the latter was promoted to the position of *somatophylax*,<sup>3</sup> and Simmias—in spite of Bosworth's convoluted argumentation—<sup>4</sup> appears to have replaced his brother Amyntas, during the latter's protracted absence in Macedonia.

## POWERS

Such was the composition of the Council which counselled the King—to use Habicht's words—"in allen Fragen der äusseren Politik, der Administration und der Kriegsführung: sie gaben ihr Votum auch in Prozessen ab, die der königlichen Gerichtsbarkeit unterliegen".<sup>5</sup> It is currently suggested, rather than asserted, that the convocation of a council was by no means mandatory and that the King was free to seek its advice or not.<sup>6</sup> Habicht's particular contribution, however, was to show that in Antigonid Macedonia at least, the King could not make any major decision before consulting with his Council.<sup>7</sup> When,

1 . Arr., *Anab.* 2.16.8: συναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἰλάρχας; 3.9.3: συγκαλέσας αὐ τοὺς τε ἑταίρους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας; cf. 2.7.3: ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας.

2 . Berve I 30 and 119, with references.

3 . Cf. Berve II 22, no 45.

4 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 300-301.

5 . Habicht, "Gesellschaft" 3.

6 . Cf. Corradi 231; Walbank, *Commentary* I 470; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 397.

7 . Habicht, "Gesellschaft" 2.

for instance, in 197, at the conference of Nikaia, Philip V's enemies communicated to him the conditions under which they were willing to put an end to the war, the king asked to delay his answer until he had consulted with his "friends".<sup>1</sup> Although no written Macedonian "constitution" existed, the binding force of this "fundamental law of the realm" was such, and was so universally known and accepted that his Roman and Aitolian enemies, despite the fact that they suspected him of stalling for time, had no choice but to accede to his demand and wait until Philip returned the following day with proposals approved by his Council after a debate which had lasted for many hours.<sup>2</sup> Philip's argument, *mutatis mutandis*, was no less cogent than the one used by Phaineas, the Aitolian *strategos* some years later, "that he and the Apocleti would do what Glabrio ordered, but that the consent of the people was required if the orders were to be enforced".<sup>3</sup> Glabrio, whatever his real feelings, had to concede that the Aitolian point was well taken and to grant a truce. In both cases the outcome was the resumption of war. Nevertheless, even when such delays and consultations were clearly far from promising, "constitutional forms" had to be observed and even those who had not the least doubt that they were in fact subterfuges, had no choice but to feign to take them at face value and to comply with them.

The cases in which the Macedonian kings or regents would not act without associating the Council with their decision are as numerous as they are varied. The evidence is among the richest that we have for a Macedonian governing body. We have already seen the Council functioning in its "probouleutic" capacity in the appointment of kings, regents and other administrators and officers, in the preliminary investigation of capital cases and in the declaration of war.<sup>4</sup> It decided on first and last instance in non-capital cases. The examples are numerous and range from the reign of Alexander the Great, with the Council holding regular sessions as a court of law<sup>5</sup> and deciding on non-capital cases, such as the cashiering and imprisonment of Alexandros son of Aeropos,<sup>6</sup> to the reign of Philip V, when it functioned in exactly the same capacity, when, for example, it decided to impose a heavy fine on Megaleas and Krinon.<sup>7</sup> All important questions of

1 . Pol. 18.7.3-8.

2 . Pol. 18.8.1-3.

3 . Pol. 20.10.11-14 (translation by W.R. Paton); cf. Livy 36.28.7-9.

4 . See p. 280-98, above.

5 . Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 7.24.2.

6 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.25.4.

7 . Pol. 5.16.5-8.

strategy, policy and administration, as we shall see below, seem to have been, without exception, examined by the Council, such as the timing of the invasion of Asia, the various peace overtures made by Dareios, the conditions under which peace was granted to conquered peoples, and the return from India. Even questions of lesser importance, such as those of provincial organisation, were not outside the normal scope of the Council's competence. As Carrata Thomes rightly concludes: "non bisogna dimenticare che in forza del loro prestigio gli ἑταῖροι hanno il tacito diritto di partecipare ad ogni riunione di qualche momento presso il sovrano".<sup>1</sup>

The detailed examination of all questions submitted to the Council between the death of Alexander the Great and the end of the royal period would require an entire dissertation. The instances examined in this chapter leave no doubt that the extreme variety of its powers, the wide scope of its competence and the high frequency of its sessions remained undiminished and even seem to have expanded.

There remains a last and major aspect of the Council to be examined. Corradi, in his study of the *synedrion*, forcefully asserted that "il carattere assoluto della monarchia di Macedonia al tempo di Alessandro non viene in realtà per nulla intacato dall'azione esercitata dal συνέδριον del sovrano; esso ci appare quasi sempre con carattere esclusivamente consultativo, non deliberativo... Ciò vediamo in Macedonia anche più tardi, quando Perseo...".<sup>2</sup> In support of his assertion, Corradi adduces three instances from Diodoros pertaining to Alexander the Great's reign which we shall examine immediately, and a fourth one from Livy, concerning Perseus, which is discussed below. Two of the three instances regarding Alexander, however, are part of the series of five anecdotes inserted by Kallisthenes in his History in order "to show Parmenion as a reluctant campaigner, envious of Alexander's glory".<sup>3</sup> Even if we admit with Bosworth that one of these supposed disagreements did occur and that it served Kallisthenes as a model for the invention of other similar ones for the above stated reasons, we may suspect that the circumstantial detail is not necessarily completely accurate, but has been "improved" in order to underline "the romantic impulsiveness of the young king"<sup>4</sup> as opposed to Parmenion's caution and timidity. Thus, when we are told that before the battle of Gaugamela Alexander rejected Parmenion's advice ("If I

1 . Carrata Thomes, *Eteri* 41-42.

2 . Corradi 238; cf. Walbanbk, *Commentary* I 470; Le Bohec, "*Philoi*" 99.

3 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 257; cf. 114-16, with further references.

4 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 115.

were Alexander, I should accept what was offered and make a treaty") with the celebrated retort "So should I, if I were Parmenion", it is more than likely that accuracy of detail in the deliberation of the Council was sacrificed to "the most famous of the exchanges between Alexander and Parmenion", which "is reproduced by virtually every source for the history of Alexander".<sup>1</sup> The third instance, concerning Alexander's answer to Dareios' peace proposals after the battle of Issos, proves precisely the contrary of Corradi's contention: "Alexander summoned his Friends to a council and concealed the real letter. Forging another more in accord with his interests he introduced it to his advisers and sent the envoys away empty handed".<sup>2</sup> Whatever the truth about this forgery—Goukowsky in his recent edition of Diodoros accepts it as historical, and anyway the rumour, if not the fact itself, must be genuine—<sup>3</sup> the story makes sense only if 1) Alexander did have to summon the Council before taking a decision and 2) the Council's decision was for all practical purposes binding for him. If either of these conditions were not fulfilled, there would have been no need to forge (or no rumour that he had forged) the letter and the whole story would remain incomprehensible.

In fact our sources regularly present the decisions of the Council as collective resolutions.<sup>4</sup> The verbs used: *δοκῶ*, *decerno* are precisely the technical terms of decrees voted by Assemblies or Councils.<sup>5</sup> Even in the "anecdotal" first two cases adduced by Corradi, Alexander is in effect not depicted as taking an authoritative decision alone, but as pleading his cause and apparently succeeding in convincing the Council about the correctness of his views. In the first instance Diodoros does not omit to mention that Alexander's retort countering Parmenion's advice did not mark the end of the discussion: "He then proceeded to show them where their advantage lay and by appeals aroused their enthusiasm for the contests which lay ahead".<sup>6</sup> In the second instance too, Diodoros' account, although garbled and confused, makes sufficiently clear that in fact, before the readmit-

1 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 257; cf. the fact that the Persian envoys appear to be present to the debate, which is certainly erroneous (see also Curtius 4.11.10 and 16).

2 . Diod. 17.39.2 (translation by C.B. Welles).

3 . P. Goukowsky, *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique, Livre XVII* ("Collection des Universités de France"; Paris 1978) 57, n. 2.

4 . App., *Anab.* 1.25.5: ἐδόκει τοῖς ἑταίροις; 2.6.1: οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχεν ἄγειν ἐκέλευον; 5.25.4: ἔγνωσται; Curtius 6.8.15: *omnes... decernunt*; 6.11.10: *et ceteris quidem placebat*.

5 . Curtius 8.2.12: *Macedones decernunt*; Just. 13.8.10: *bellumque decernitur*; cf. 14.1.1 and Diod. 18.59.4.

6 . Diod. 17.16.3 (translation by C.B. Welles).

tance of the Persian envoys, Alexander's retort to Parmenion's advice did not put an end to the debate, but that the king "continued with proud words and refuted the arguments of the Persians, preferring glory to the gifts extended to him".<sup>1</sup>

That the general image and the technical vocabulary implying genuine deliberation is not some aberrant peculiarity of the historians of Alexander is evident from the great number of similar examples from the subsequent periods of Macedonian history. The decisions of Antipater's and Krateros' Macedonian Council in 321 are reported by Diodoros: Οἱ δὲ περὶ Κρατερὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον... συνήδρευσαν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. Προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς περὶ τούτων ἔδοξεν ὁμογνωμόνως...;<sup>2</sup> the Macedonian Council's decision under Polyperchon in 319 is described in terms almost identical: συνήγαγε τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους... προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς... πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων λόγων... ρηθέντων... ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς.<sup>3</sup> Identical or similar terms describe the decisions of the Macedonian Council under Philip V: συναγαγὼν τοὺς φίλους ἀπέδωκε κρίσιν... κατεκρίθησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων.<sup>4</sup> The formulae used by the literary authorities have their strict parallels in the decrees of the Macedonian local Councils or Assemblies that have been preserved on stone: συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας... (Beroia);<sup>5</sup> τῶν περὶ δεῖνα συναγαγόντων τὸ βουλευτήριον... τοῦ δεῖνος ποιησαμένου λόγους ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ (Styberra);<sup>6</sup> καὶ πολλῶν ἀποδυρομένων... ἔδοξεν ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν (Battyna).<sup>7</sup>

It is true that decisions, "decrees" (*dogmata*) voted by the Council, sometimes even without the presence of the King, might be promulgated as royal *diagrammata* whose formal wording betrayed no trace of the procedure through which they had been adopted. Arrhidaios' *diagramma* on the freedom of the Greeks is a case in point. Although it was in fact a resolution of the Council summoned and presided over

1. Diod. 17.54.5 (translation by C.B. Welles).

2. Diod. 18.25.4.

3. Diod. 18.55.1; cf. 25.6; Περδίκκας δὲ τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίσας προέθηκε βουλήν... πάντων δ' ἐπενεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ...; cf. 60.5- 61.3.

4. Pol. 5.16.5-7. This expression is indistinguishable from the one used for the resolutions of the *syndrion* of the Hellenic League, where decisions were taken by vote: Pol. 4.25.5: οἱ τῶν συμμάχων συνέδροι πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκφέρειν ἐβουλεύσαντο.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 60.

6. P.N. Papageorgiou, "Ἐπιγραφή Δερριόπου ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ", *Athena* 20 (1908) 1-14.

7. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 186.



by Polyperchon, it was presented as a personal decision of the King.<sup>1</sup> Polybios, after ascribing another decision of the Macedonian Council to Philip V personally,<sup>2</sup> offers us in his commentary the best analysis of the fiction which, both in official documents and in historical works, presented the head of the state –in a way not without equivalents in modern times– as solely responsible for decisions taken in fact by collective bodies: "It is, however, the duty of us writers to attribute to the supreme ruler the expression of opinion which prevailed at his council".<sup>3</sup> There is therefore no reason to accuse Polybios of using "a loose expression",<sup>4</sup> when on another occasion he describes the actual process through which a supposedly royal decision was reached: ἐπικυρωθείσης δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης...;<sup>5</sup> where he employs the appropriate technical terminology which we encounter both in other passages of literary authorities describing the adoption of official documents by the Council (cf. καὶ τὸ κυρωθὲν δόγμα γράψαντες)<sup>6</sup> and in inscriptions on stone preserving decrees of Macedonian local communities (cf. ἐκρωθή, Beroia;<sup>7</sup> ἐπεχειροτονήθη, Morrylos).<sup>8</sup> Expressions such as ὁμογνωμόνως, ὁμοθυμαδόν used for decisions of the Council make sense only if there was, if not necessarily an actual vote, at least an orderly and formal expression of opinion similar to those whose results are noted in our inscriptions by terms like ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν<sup>9</sup> or παραπάσαις.<sup>10</sup> There is in fact an *a contrario* proof of this suggestion from the instances where decisions were not unanimous and where dissenting opinions were expressed. We have a detailed account of the meeting of the Macedonian Council that followed the Roman declaration of war against Perseus and the Macedonians: some of the *synedroi* proposed that a tribute or territory be ceded to the Romans, "however, by far the majority held a

1 . Diod. 18.55.1-56.8.

2 . Pol. 5.2.1: τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ βουλευομένῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων... ἔδοξε. We see the same convention in an official Attalid document, in which the resolution this time is referred to as having been taken by the king alone, although it was in fact taken against his own proposal (Welles, *Correspondence* 245-47, no 61, L. 21: ἔκρινον οὖν).

3 . Pol. 4.24.2 (translation by W.R. Paton).

4 . Walbank, *Commentary* I 471.

5 . Pol. 4.24.8.

6 . Diod. 18.55.4.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60, L. A 21.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 53 and 54.

9 . Rizakis-Touratsoglou 186.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 41. For consensual decisions in ancient Greek states, cf. E. Flaig, "Die spartanische Abstimmung nach der Lautstärke: Überlegungen zu Thukydides 1.87", *Historia* 42 (1993), 139-44.

bolder opinion", *i.e.* that they should resist Roman aggression arms-in-hand. The King, who presided the Council, is presented as simply acknowledging the decision of the majority: "*Geramus ergo*", *inquit*, "*dis bene iuvantibus, quando ita videtur, bellum*".<sup>1</sup> Similarly, after the victory at Kallinikos, Perseus summoned the Council to decide about the general policy (*de summa rerum*). Some of the *synedroi* proposed (ὑπέδειξαν τινες τῶν φίλων) and the majority decided (ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν φίλων) to send an embassy to sue for peace. Perseus' role is again limited merely to complying with the opinion of the majority (συγκαταθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Περσέως).<sup>2</sup> Corradi uses a sentence from Livy's version of this episode (*numquam ab talibus consiliis abhorrebat regis animus*) as his fourth example, to which we alluded above allegedly showing that the King was always the sole master of the decisions of the Council: "Al re spettava effettivamente la deliberazione".<sup>3</sup> Corradi's conclusion, however, can in no way follow from Livy's words. They are not in his source (Polybios) and therefore must simply reflect a personal –and disparaging of Perseus– judgement of the Roman historian or, at best, an inaccurate translation of the expression (συγκαταθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Περσέως) in the Greek original. The decisive element, which seems to have escaped Corradi's notice is that for Livy, too, the policy to sue for peace was not the result of some personal preference of the King, but of a decision of the majority of the Council: "And so, *as the opinion was approved by the assent of the majority*, envoys were sent to the consul".<sup>4</sup>

Decisions by majority was not a recent innovation of the late Antigonids but an old and constant practice of the Council, as is revealed by the proposal made by Ptolemy at Babylon after Alexander the Great's death, which was in some ways put into effect by Eumenes a few years later. It is sufficiently clear from Curtius<sup>5</sup> and Justin<sup>6</sup> that what Ptolemy was in fact suggesting was that Macedonia should become a Republic, and that he was adroitly arguing that this would not cause a serious upheaval, since it would simply mean the continuation of a traditional practice, with the only difference that the king's seat

1 . Livy 42.50.1-51.1.

2 . Pol. 27.8.1-5; cf. Livy 42.62.1-9.

3 . Corradi 239.

4 . Livy 42.62.9 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger): *Itaque ut plurimum assensu comprobata est sententia, legati ad consulem missi*. The restoration or not of *ut* after *itaque* does not change the logical sequence of events.

5 . Curtius 10.6.15.

6 . Just. 13.2.11-12.

would remain unoccupied (at least by a living man):<sup>1</sup> "My advice is this, that the throne of Alexander be set up in the royal quarters, and that those who were summoned to his counsels should come together whenever there shall be need of general consultation, and that what the majority of them shall decide shall stand approved and that the generals and commanders of troops shall obey those men".<sup>2</sup> Evidently, Ptolemy's insistence on continuity rather than change is disingenuous, for the prestige and the leadership of the King could and often did make an enormous difference. Yet it is equally undeniable that he had grounded his proposition on the foundation of an already existing practice.

Ptolemy's proposal was thwarted in 323 by the common soldier's attachment to the Temenid dynasty. "Republican" government<sup>3</sup> was, however, eventually put into effect, on a smaller scale, in the itinerant fraction of the Macedonian state of which Eumenes was in charge for some time as στρατηγῶ τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας αὐτοκράτορι.<sup>4</sup> The story is also told by Plutarch, Polyainos and Nepos, but the fullest description is in Diodoros, and it leaves no doubt as to its significance.<sup>5</sup> Eumenes, as Ptolemy had suggested, set up a reproduction of Alexander the Great's throne, on which reproductions of his diadem, robe and other insignia were laid, in an imitation of the famous royal tent where the King used to carry out government work (χρηματίζειν).<sup>6</sup> Eumenes and his officers, after adoring the deified and absent king, sat around the empty throne and took counsel on whatever matter required urgent consultation, as Ptolemy had suggested (συνεδρεύοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ κατεπειγόντων);<sup>7</sup> cf. *coeant quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit*;<sup>8</sup> In the decision making Eumenes contented himself with a share equal to that of the other members of

1. See now the excellent analysis of Ptolemy's plan by Mooren 206 and particularly 233-40; cf. Errington, "Alexander" 140. For the origins of majority rule in Greece, see Larsen, "Origin" 164-81 and F. Ruzé, "Plethos. Aux origines de la majorité politique", *Aux origines de l'hellénisme - la Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (Paris 1984) 247-63.

2. Curtius 10.6.15 (translation by J.C. Rolfe): *Mea sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis eius adhibebantur, coeant quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit, eoque quod maior pars eorum decreverit stetur, duces praefectique copiarum his parent.*

3. Cf. Plut., *Eum.* 13.11: ὡσπερ ἐν δημοκρατίαις.

4. Diod. 18.58.1.

5. Plut., *Eum.* 13.4-8; Polyain. 4.8.2; Nepos, *Eum.* 7.2-3, Diod. 18.60.4-61.3; 19.15.3-4, discussed with bibliography in Mooren 238, n. 146.

6. Phylarchos, *FGH Hist* 81 F 41.

7. Diod. 18.61.2.

8. Curtius 10.6.15.

the Council (ὁ δ' Εὐμενῆς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς χρηματιζομένοις ἴσον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν ἀποδεικνύων),<sup>1</sup> which can only mean that decisions were taken by a majority vote. The "equality" between Eumenes and his fellow officers in the Council is rooted in the essential equality which the king's "companions" or "friends" actually enjoyed or were expected to enjoy in the King's Council when Alexander was still alive. Kleitos indeed had challenged Alexander either to respect the equal right of speech of his companions or not to invite free men to dinner: εἰς μέσον ἃ βούλεται λέγειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον... ἢ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄνδρας ἔλευθέρους καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων. At the root of such utterances<sup>2</sup> and practices lay the fundamental principle of ἰσηγορία, which, along with παρρησία, the Macedonians enjoyed *vis-à-vis* their king and which precisely gave to that relationship its essentially free and "democratic" quality.<sup>3</sup>

The return from the Hyphasis offers the best and justly most celebrated example both of the *isegoria* of the king's counsellors and of the impossibility for the King to act against the express wishes of the majority of his Council. Macedonian kings could indeed govern only by consent and persuasion (cf. *nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas*),<sup>4</sup> but persuasion was meaningless without the prerequisites of freedom of speech (παρρησία) and equality in debate (ἰσηγορία). At Hyphasis Alexander had to provoke the debate himself and to ask those who had a different view to speak up. His invitation (Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλόμενον, εἰ δὴ τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσι γιγνώσκει),<sup>5</sup> which is reminiscent of the well-known formula of the Athenian assembly (τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται),<sup>6</sup> is part of a system of government, of which Koinos, speaking in response to the king's invitation, states the principles: οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐθέλεις Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξιον φῆς, πεισθεὶς δὲ οὐ βιάσσεσθαι.<sup>7</sup> In spite of the external signs of respect shown to the King,<sup>8</sup> the contest was essentially between equals, and Alexander lost it, since the vast majority of the Macedonians

1. Diod. 18.61.2.

2. Plut., *Alex.*, 51.5; cf. Rosen, *King* 8.

3. Pol. 5.27.6; cf. Musti, "Polibio" 193-94.

4. Curtius 6.8.25.

5. Arr., *Anab.* 5.27.1.

6. Cf. Dem. 18.170.

7. Arr., *Anab.* 5.27.2.

8. Curtius 9.3.4: *Quem (sc. Coenum) ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti - ita enim regem alloqui mos est...*

sided with Koinos. Alexander might resent his counsellor's παρησία, but he nevertheless had no choice but to acknowledge the verdict of the majority. He could only declare his attachment to the rule enunciated by Koinos "that he would compel no Macedonian to go with him against his will",<sup>1</sup> and try by his words or his silences to persuade the Council and the other Macedonians to change their mind. When he failed, he had to accept the loss of face and order the retreat.

The situation on the Hyphasis was, however, exceptional, for a highly emotional issue was at stake, that Alexander could not avoid and the Macedonians would not cede. In most cases the King would not commit himself and his prestige until he saw how his counsellors felt and then, more often than not, he would side with the majority, as we saw Perseus doing, or, if he felt that he stood a good chance, he would plead his cause with the hope of convincing the Council and imposing his point of view. Majority decision or consensus obtained after long discussions, rather than violent clashes, seem to have been the rule. Naturally, much depended upon the personal qualities of the King. But pleading a point of view against the first reactions of the majority and making the Council change its mind was by no means a royal prerogative but a right of all the members of the Council. Arrian, in fact, describes a meeting of the *synedrion* where Parmenion was able to overturn the opinion of the majority and to impose his point of view.<sup>2</sup> The situation has every chance of being historical, as it is strongly reminiscent of the one described in the famous letter of Attalos II to Attis, where the king narrates how a member of the Council succeeded in overturning the opinion of the majority and rejecting the proposal of the King (πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπεραγόντως ἐγίνοντο λόγοι, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον πάντες κατέρρεπον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν γνώμην, ...Χλῶρος δ'... ἦν... συμβουλευῶν... ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι μετεῖχον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα... ἔκρινον οὖν...)<sup>3</sup> What was possible in a "colonial" kingdom of the East, without an entrenched aristocracy and a genuine citizen army, is certainly not to be *a priori* rejected in the case of Macedonia, when the spokesman for the minority was a powerful and charismatic person like Parmenion and the king himself had remained uncommitted.

Such was the Council or rather the Councils, of the Macedonians. An inner and permanent core composed of the King's "companions" or "friends", theoretically freely selected by him, but essentially the

1 . Arr., *Anab.* 5.28.2: βιάσασθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδόνων ξυνέπεισθαι.

2 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.9.3-4.

3 . Welles, *Correspondence* 245, no 61.

most prominent persons of the realm, belonging to the leading families of the local political units and forming the army's high command.<sup>1</sup> This inner circle could be expanded to include the totality of the army commanders of the higher ranks, or the deputations of the cities, who could be invited to sit with the King not as personalities selected by him but because they had been appointed by the local communities to represent them. More mobile, easier to summon and to consult than the Macedonian Assembly, one can hardly wonder why the Council assumed responsibility for current government decisions, acting both entirely on its own and as an informal probouleutic body for the Assembly, and why in times of crisis, it was the first to meet and to take urgently the necessary measures to assure the continuity of the State, that the People were subsequently invited to ratify. When the King died or was for some reason impeached, sovereignty reverted theoretically to the People, but in fact fell more often than not into the hands of the "first of the Macedonians", who formed a Council of State. One might think that, after the battle of Pydna, the Romans, since they had set their minds on abolishing the kingship and, on the other hand, did not trust the people, should have turned to this body, which had shown in the past the inclination, if not the actual capacity to govern without or instead of a king. This however did not happen, and understandably so; for the Romans could trust neither Perseus' closest collaborators nor the Macedonian high command, who were more or less the same persons and whom they were planning to include, along with the subaltern officers, in the wholesale deportation to Italy, in order to break for ever both the spirit of independence and the military machinery of the Macedonian state. If the Council of State and the military hierarchy, which was accustomed to work with it in the enlarged sessions, were excluded from consideration, the Romans had necessarily to fall back on the remaining components of the enlarged Council, the deputations of the Macedonian cities, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις,<sup>2</sup> *legationes civitatum Macedoniae*,<sup>3</sup> if not the ἐπιφανέστατοι at least the ἐπιφανεῖς<sup>4</sup> men of their *ethnos*. Accordingly, at the beginning of spring 167, Aemilius Paullus summoned at Amphipolis a Council of the *protoi* of the cities, *denos principes civitatum*,<sup>5</sup> τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν Μακεδόνων.<sup>6</sup> From

1 . Cf. Carrata Thomes, *Eteri* 40-42.

2 . Diod. 17.16.4.

3 . Livy 42.53.2.

4 . Cf. Pol. 23.10.11 and 29.4.6 and also Berve II 26.

5 . Livy 45.29.1.

6 . Diod. 31.8.6.

Livy's detailed account, however, it is clear that the Roman consul intended the Amphipolis meeting not as a simple political conference, but as his non-martial version of the Macedonian spring festival: the pomp of the consul's tribunal where, flanked by the ten Roman commissioners, he addressed the *circumfusa multitudo Macedonum*, is described in terms similar to those used for Perseus' tribunal, from where, four years earlier, surrounded by his sons, he had addressed the assembled Macedonians at the Xandika of 171.<sup>1</sup> The parallelism between the royal pomp of the Macedonian assemblies and that which Aemilius Paullus deliberately displayed at Amphipolis is stressed by Livy himself in the sentence: *Adsuētis regio imperio tamen novi imperii formam terribilem praebuit...*<sup>2</sup> Pace Aymard,<sup>3</sup> the word *multitudo* (*multitudine Macedonum*) used to describe the *Macedonum concilium* (*Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium*)<sup>4</sup> cannot be interpreted differently from the words *multitudo* and *Thessalorum concilium* used by the same author to describe a meeting of the Thessalian League.<sup>5</sup> Nor is it possible to separate the *multitudo Macedonum*<sup>6</sup> of the first meeting called by Aemilius Paullus from the *multitudo Macedonum* of the second meeting (*Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium*)<sup>7</sup> any more than it is the "multitude" of the Thessalians from the Thessalian Assembly, as Musti has suggested.<sup>8</sup> Musti, however, is right to draw attention to the fact that the Amphipolis political meeting was combined with a festival, sacrifices, banquets, and musical and athletic contests, (*ludicrum... artificum omnis generis qui ludicram artem faciebant... multitudo et athletarum et nobilium equorum... legationes cum victimis... magnis ludis... dandis spectaculis... epulae quoque legationibus paratae... convivium...*),<sup>9</sup> to which participants poured in from all over the Greek world, very much as at the autumn Macedonian *panegyris* with its μουσικούς και σκηναίους

1. Livy 42.62.4-5: *armatosque, sicut erant, in contionem vocavit (sc. Perseus). Ipse constitit in tribunali, circa se habens filios duos.* Livy 45.29.1-2: *cum decem legatis circumfusa omni multitudine Macedonum in tribunali consedit (sc. Aemilius Paullus).*

2. Livy 45.29.2. The continuation of the ceremony, with the announcement of the Roman decisions, recalls the fictitious scene of the reading of Alexander the Great's will (*Liber de morte* 114).

3. Aymard, "Organisation" 105 (= *Etudes* 175).

4. Livy 45.32.1.

5. Livy 42.38.6-7.

6. Livy 45.29.1.

7. Livy 45.32.1-4.

8. Musti, "Polibio" 185-86.

9. Livy 45.32.8-11.

ἀγῶνας, θυσίας, εὐωχίας, πότους, ἐστιάσεις and διαδόματα.<sup>1</sup> It is evident, that, as at similar events under the kings, Macedonians from all over the land would have flocked to Amphipolis. Only this time they were to learn that never again would they convene as a responsible political body. The four districts would maintain their regional assemblies, but for the Romans responsibility for Macedonia as a whole lay only with the representatives of the cities, who had received the order to assist at the meeting and to bring with them "all the official despatches, which had been filed anywhere, and the royal money".<sup>2</sup> The meeting of the deputations of the cities was indeed public, but the "Macedonian crowd", which used to form a theoretically sovereign assembly, was on this occasion, and was meant to remain henceforth, a group of passive spectators. They are still this under the Early Empire, when we begin to have some detailed epigraphic information about the organisation of Macedonian self-government. Already in our earliest pieces of evidence the sovereign body of the Macedonian Commonwealth is no longer the Assembly but the *synedroi*, who vote the *dogmata* of the *Koinon*.<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no executive besides this new Macedonian Council. The religious functions of the King and the honours attached to them seem to have devolved to the ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, an annually elected figurehead, continuing perhaps the ἱερεὺς and the γυμνασίαρχος of the federal Macedonian contests of the royal period.<sup>4</sup> The decrees in honour of K. Popillios Python at the end of the first century A.D. are our main source of information on his duties.<sup>5</sup> If one excepts several benefactions which he assumed voluntarily, such as paying the tribute, selling grain at a low price, or repairing roads ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, they essentially consisted in organising the annual games and the sacrifices and entertainment connected with the meetings of the representatives of the *ethnos*. The strikingly numerous correspondences not only in the general picture but also in the very words used (ἀγῶνας... θυμελικούς καὶ σκηνικούς,<sup>6</sup> cf. ἀγῶνας... σκηνικούς ἀγῶνας;<sup>7</sup> κ(α)ὶ διαδόμασιν... πανδήμοις,<sup>8</sup> cf. πάση δὲ τῇ

1 . Diod. 16.91.4-92.5 and 17.16.3-4.

2 . Livy 45.29.1 (translation by A.C. Schlesinger).

3 . On the Roman *koinon*, see Kanatsoulis, "Κοινόν" 27-102.

4 . Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 147-51.

5 . *SEG* 17 (1960) 315.

6 . *SEG* 17 (1960) 315.

7 . Diod. 17.16.3.

8 . *SEG* 17 (1960) 315.



δυνάμει διαδοῦς ἱερείᾳ)<sup>1</sup> make it sufficiently clear that, although the Macedonian People had been disenfranchised as a body, the *panegyreis* culminating at the autumn festival, which in the third century A.D. at least had recovered the name of Olympia,<sup>2</sup> still brought together at the seat of the Koinon great crowds who followed the public proceedings of the *synedrion* (κ(α)ὶ διαδόμασι παρ' ὄλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνου πανδήμοις κατὰ πᾶσαν σύνοδον ὑποδεξάμενον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν).<sup>3</sup> These last words leave little doubt that, although only the *synedroi* took an active part in the deliberations, participation in the festivities extended to the whole People. Thus the σύνοδος, which concerned only the first, is indissolubly combined with the welcome (ὑποδεξάμενος) of the *eparchia* (= *ethnos*) and the *universal* distributions. It is important to note that the striking similarities extend to the 167 *panegyris* of Aemilius Paullus, whose correspondences with the 335 *panegyris* of Alexander the Great and the 171 *panegyris* of Perseus we have also noted. Better still, the Amphipolis meeting is the indispensable link which connects the pre-Roman with the Roman form of *panegyris* and provides the explanation of the replacement of the Assembly by the Council.

The decision of the Romans to abolish the Common Assembly (κοινὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ) of the Macedonians has already been examined and explained.<sup>4</sup> But perhaps it is not inappropriate to add a few comments now that it has become clearer which government bodies the Romans had found at the time of the conquest and consequently which ones they had a choice of retaining, adapting or abolishing. It must be evident by now that the *commune concilium* of Livy's manuscript, which was in danger of being carried away by a demagogue and was, therefore, to be abolished by division, can in no way be understood as the *synedrion* of the kings, which even for the needs of the most imaginative propaganda could not have been termed *vulgus*, and which was anyway condemned to disappear because of the deportation of its inacceptably aristocratic members. *Vulgus*, along with *concilium* and *contio*, on the other hand, is one of the Latin terms regularly used to describe the Macedonian Assembly.<sup>5</sup> *Commune consilium* and *suum quaeque consilium* in the two controversial passages of Livy<sup>6</sup> have, therefore, rightly been emended to *commune concilium* and *suum*

1. Diod. 17.16.4.

2. Kanatsoulis, "Κοινόν" 94-102.

3. *SEG* 17 (1960) 315.

4. See p. 347-49, above; cf. p. 227-29.

5. Cf. the examples in Briant's list (*Antigone* 312-13).

6. Livy 45.18.6 and 7.

*quaeque concilium* respectively, the latter expression alluding to the regional assemblies of the districts, which already existed under the kings and were maintained after Pydna. Accordingly, the spelling *concilium* should be maintained in the two other controversial passages of Livy: *ubi concilia fierent*<sup>1</sup> and *eo concilia suae cuiusque regionis iudici*.<sup>2</sup> Given these conclusions and what we have seen of the extreme formal conservatism guiding the Roman settlement of 167, which is the more reasonable: to understand the ultimate measures concerning the constitution of Macedonia (*His rerum externarum cognitionibus interpositis Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium; pronuntiatum, quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos syndros vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio res publica administraretur*)<sup>3</sup> as pertaining to the constitution of regional councils, which had never existed before and were never heard of again, or to connect them with the constitution of the new, reformed Macedonian Council, for which there is ample documentation extending over two hundred years? By what sort of logic are we to believe in the existence of *synedria* which became extinct as soon as they were created, and to reject as an impossibility the *synedrion* with a subsequent history of many centuries and also with a prehistory, albeit under a different form, whose continuity and common traditions are betrayed by the identity of names and honorific titles used for their members (ἄξιολογώτατοι, πρῶτοι, κράτιστοι)?<sup>4</sup>

The staunchest opponents of Feyel's view that Livy's Macedonian *synedroi* are the same as the *synedroi* of the Macedonian *koinon*, for which a rich epigraphic documentation from the Roman period exists,<sup>5</sup> have been Larsen<sup>6</sup> and Kanatsoulis.<sup>7</sup> Feyel's reconsideration of the *communis opinio* was based: 1) on the most natural understanding of the relevant passage of Livy,<sup>8</sup> which to the unprejudiced reader seems to refer to a common council for the administration of all Macedonia; 2) on the fact that both passages of Livy in which the division of Macedonia is discussed seem to concern primary assemblies,<sup>9</sup>

1. Livy 45.29.9.

2. Livy 45.29.9.

3. Livy 45.32.1-2.

4. Kanatsoulis, "Μακεδονίαρχοι" 1-38 and particularly 19, with reference to Lemerle, "Inscriptions" 143-44 and n. 1.

5. Feyel 187-98.

6. Larsen, "Consilium" 73-90.

7. Kanatsoulis, "Συνέδρια" 294-304.

8. Livy 45.32.1-2.

9. Livy 45.18.6-7 and 29.9.

a) because the term *concilium* is used, b) because, at that time, only primary assemblies could elect magistrates, c) because the reference to the danger from demagogues in connection with the abolition of the *commune concilium gentis* is understandable only in the context of a popular assembly and of an aristocratic representative *synedrion*; 3) on the fact that Polybios, on three different occasions,<sup>1</sup> refers to Macedonia and the Macedonians in a way which is understandable only if a united state existed; 4) on the fact that an inscription of Beroia shows that the *synedrion* was composed of representatives of the four *merides*.<sup>2</sup>

Larsen's main argument against Feyel's revisionist view concerns the latter's material error in thinking that in the first relevant passage of Livy<sup>3</sup> *concilium* was the original reading of the manuscript. It is only after devoting more than half his paper to this undeniable error on the part of Feyel that he broaches the real historical issues. He begins by admitting that Feyel's interpretation is "plausible" (but superficially so, as he hastens to add) and that "the statement about the *synedroi* in 32.2, when reread by itself, seems to refer to a single *synedrion* of all Macedonia". Larsen, however, after a "closer examination" rejects it.<sup>4</sup> In summary his arguments are the following: 1) The creation of the four parts, each with its own assembly, its own elected magistrates, each collecting its own taxes, each –with the exception of the third– levying its own armed forces, as well as the restrictions on *commercium* and *connubium* are incompatible with the existence of a *synedrion* for the whole country, which would nullify the ban of the Senate "on central government for all Macedonia– the natural meaning of the normally accepted text of 18.6".<sup>5</sup> 2) It is impossible to believe that, as Feyel had suggested, the Romans intended the common *synedrion* as a concession to Macedonian national feeling, for this is incompatible both with the general historical conditions prevailing at that moment and with the structure of Livy's (Polybios') account. 3) Since there was a Macedonian *ethnos* with institutions of both direct and representative government other than the kingship, the abolition of the latter, the creation of the *merides*, and the limitation of the armed forces would not be sufficient measures against a Macedonian revival. Therefore, although the reason for the creation of the four *regiones*, each with its own assembly, "is that thus there would be less

1 . Pol. 31.17.1-2; 31.2.12; 35.4.11.

2 . *SEG* 16 (1959) 391.

3 . Livy 45.18.6.

4 . Larsen, "Consilium" 81-82.

5 . Larsen, "Consilium" 83.

danger that some leader would arouse the common people and cause trouble", the Senate's motives, as reported by Livy, should be rejected, for "in spite of the language used, it is unlikely that the Senate was thinking primarily of a demagogue who might rouse the lower classes to a social revolution so that a primary assembly would be a greater danger than a representative assembly".<sup>1</sup> 4) An indication of the unrepentant Macedonian nationalism is precisely the fact that the Macedonians "referred to themselves as Macedonians adding, when necessary, an indication of the *meris* to which they belonged",<sup>2</sup> which is in turn responsible for the fact that all our literary authorities speak—in a loose way—of Macedonia as a whole. Larsen has then to proceed to some remarkable intellectual gymnastics, in order to explain that the term *Makedones* was used, without any further qualification, for the Macedonians who "were quarrelling among themselves" in Pol. 31.2.12 (in this case he suggests that "there may have been *stasis* in several or all *merides*"); that the *Makedonia* in Pol. 31.2.12, which Damasippos had to flee (or from which he was exiled) after killing the *synedroi* at the citadel of the capital city, Pella, during this same *stasis*, which, as we have just seen, had affected "several or all *merides*", may have been the whole of Macedonia, but that the *synedroi* assassinated were only those of the third *meris*; that the *Makedonia* whither Scipio proceeded and the *Makedones* who had specially invited him "to settle their domestic quarrels", in Pol. 35.4.1 could refer only to one Macedonian *meris* and to its inhabitants (in this case because "the people of any of the *merides* would refer to themselves as Macedonians, probably adding 'of the – *meris*'", but that this sort of precision would be naturally omitted in a literary account. Larsen, however, at the end of this statement concludes, rather inconsequently: "back of the statement may be an invitation from one or more or all the *merides*").<sup>3</sup> 5) The absence of any evidence for councils of the *merides* and the abundance of evidence for the federal council "is not surprising"; for "the evidence preserved in inscriptions depends on chance. Moreover, when the larger organisation had once been formed, its assembly and officials would enjoy more prestige than would those of the *merides* and so would be more likely to be mentioned in inscriptions on monuments to decoration-mad local dignitaries".<sup>4</sup> 6) Finally, Larsen conceded that the inscription from

1. Larsen, "Consilium" 85.

2. Larsen, "Consilium" 86.

3. Larsen, "Consilium" 86-87.

4. Larsen, "Consilium" 88.

Beroia mentioning both the *synedrion* and the officials of the *merides*, particularly after Edson's improved reading, "at first glance seem to strengthen" Feyel's case, but he hastened to add that the four functionaries mentioned "may just as well be officials of the regional *synedria*".<sup>1</sup> Aymard and Kanatsoulis supplied two further arguments in favour of Larsen's refutation of Feyel's revisionist view. The former observed that the symbolical powers which Feyel ascribes to the federal council are incompatible with Livy's assertion that this body was created in order to "conduct the affairs of the State".<sup>2</sup> The latter asserted that the functionaries mentioned in the Beroia inscription cannot be the four presidents of the *synedrion*, as Feyel argued, for 1) there is not enough space for four names; 2) the fourth *meris* did not belong to the Macedonian *koinon*.<sup>3</sup>

Larsen's objections can be answered as follows:

1) Although he devotes more than half his paper to establishing that the original reading of the manuscript in one of the controversial passages of Livy was *consilium* and not *concilium*, he has to concede at the end that "this is now of no great importance", for "it is now pretty well agreed that the manuscript evidence is of little value".<sup>4</sup> One should add that Livy's manuscript uses indiscriminately both spellings in its references to the assemblies of the four districts.<sup>5</sup>

2) The four districts are in no way incompatible with the existence of a common deliberative body. To begin with, the districts had existed in a more or less similar form before the Roman settlement, having each their own chief magistrates (*strategoi*), levying troops, and disposing of their own finances, presumably for the collection of taxes. We simply do not know if some restrictions on *commercium* and *connubium* already existed under the kings<sup>6</sup> or if they were introduced for the first time by the Romans, but, in any case, their exis-

1. Larsen, "Consilium" 89.

2. Aymard, "Organisation" 101 (= *Etudes* 170).

3. Kanatsoulis, "Συνέδρια" 299-304.

4. Larsen, "Consilium" 87.

5. Cf. Aymard, "Organisation" 98 (= *Etudes* 166).

6. Why, for instance, did Korrhagos, the metis in Greia, possess royal and not civic land (Epigraphic Appendix no 17)? Was it perhaps because he did not enjoy *enktesis*? If such is the case, one may further ask whether the quality of metis was related to civic or to regional affiliation, just as in Roman times, for citizens of Skydra and Marinia could, apparently without problem, buy land in the neighbouring city of Mieza, which like these cities belonged to the Bottia region (Epigraphic Appendix no 92). In nearby Molossia the concession of citizenship to women was perhaps intended to permit lawful *epigamia* and the rearing of legitimate children (Larsen, *States* 278).

tence is no more incompatible with a federal council in Macedonia than it was, for instance in Thessaly, where similar restrictions seem to have existed.<sup>1</sup>

3) It is a rather desperate historical method to substitute for what a text actually says ("the statement about the *synedroi* in 32.2, when read by itself, seems to refer to a single *synedrion* of all Macedonia")<sup>2</sup> one's interpretation of the historical situation (which in fact cannot be separated from the evidence of this text among others), unless there is some inescapable necessity. The universally accepted fact that the Romans wished to sap Macedonian strength by undermining the unity of the country<sup>3</sup> does not tell us how far they went in that direction, or that, after abolishing the kingship and forbidding the holding of common assemblies for the whole *ethnos*, they also excluded meetings of a representative *synedrion* with reduced prerogatives and no executive magistrates. As Feyel<sup>4</sup> very aptly remarks, the Romans proceeded in a similar way in Boiotia.

4) Larsen's argumentation is self-defeating, for even in his perspective the abolition of all common institutions was not sufficient to prevent a Macedonian revival, as the restoration of the kingship under Andriskos proved. For the rest it can only be repeated here that it is extremely bold to substitute one's own opinions for the unambiguous evidence of the ancient sources, especially in a case such as this, where nothing obliges us not to accept Livy's clear statement that the Roman ban on a common assembly was due to the fear that some demagogue might rouse the masses.

5) The formula Μακεδόνων –μερίδος has nothing to do with repressed national sentiment.<sup>5</sup> It is strictly parallel to Μακεδόνων Ἀμφαξιῶν or Μακεδόνων Β(ο)τ(τατῶν), which appear on coins long before the Roman conquest. Moreover, as has already been suggested, it is very likely that the first issue of Μακεδόνων πρώτης dates from the royal period. On the contrary, as Papazoglou has very aptly noted,<sup>6</sup> the very use of such a formula is the clearest evidence for the maintenance of a united Macedonia, of which the districts were mere subdivisions like the Boiotian μέρη or the Thessalian τετράδες<sup>7</sup>

1. Cf. Marek 281-96 and now, Hennig 324-30, with references.

2. Larsen, "Consilium" 81-82.

3. Cf. Feyel 195-96.

4. Feyel 197, n. 2.

5. Cf. Larsen, "Consilium" 85-86.

6. Papazoglou, "Aspects" 305, n. 10; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 63.

7. Giovannini, "Cités" 467.

(*merides, mere, partes*). Larsen's desperate juggling with the terms *Makedones* and *Makedonia* in the passages cited by Feyer is the best proof of the untenability of his position.<sup>1</sup> But there are two other Polybian passages that Feyer did not use, which are even more damaging for the "orthodox" view upheld by Larsen. Both the latter scholar<sup>2</sup> and Aymard<sup>3</sup> stress that there was no common Macedonian army. Polybios,<sup>4</sup> however, describing Andriskos' occupation of the Macedonian throne, refers to two defeats of the (republican) Macedonians *as a whole*, the first east of the Strymon and the second west of that river, which made the young pretender "master of the whole of Macedonia". If Andriskos had fought against four separate Macedonian states, how is it possible that Polybios, in his fairly detailed account, makes no mention of it at all, but instead refers to Macedonia and to the Macedonians as a whole? And more important, how can these two victories on either side of the Strymon have made him master *of the whole of Macedonia* unless he had vanquished there the united armed forces of the whole of (republican) Macedonia? Both the east and the west bank of the Strymon belonged to the first *meris*.<sup>5</sup> Even if we allow that the second battle was fought against the separate forces of the second *meris*, one still cannot see how these victories would have made him master of the whole of Macedonia, and in particular of the fourth *meris*, which according to the "orthodox" view had its own armed forces. But is the orthodox interpretation of Livy's (Polybios') passage on the *praesidia armata* the right one? What Livy says is that the Romans authorised the three districts which bordered with the barbarians to establish garrisons along the frontiers.<sup>6</sup> The reference is clearly to permanent garrisons, and for obvious reasons. The kings maintained a standing army several thousands strong composed of the royal cavalry squadron and the royal "guard" on foot (*pezetairoi* under Philip, *hypaspistai* under Alexander, *peltastai* under the Antigonids), both of which were Macedonian professional troops, and also a variable number of mercenaries. These troops were immediately available, either already posted along the frontiers and in strategic positions near them, or in the capital with the king. They were the first to confront all emergencies

1. Larsen, "Consilium" 86-87.

2. Larsen, "Consilium" 82.

3. Aymard, "Organisation" 99 (= *Etudes* 167): "Mais ces forces armées demeurent séparées, auront chacune leur chef et ne sont destinées qu'à agir isolément".

4. Pol. 36.10.4-5.

5. Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 67.

6. Livy 45.29.14.

until the citizen militia, which formed the bulk of the army, mobilised.<sup>1</sup> Aemilius Paullus' prohibition (and permission) in this matter did not concern mobilisation in case of invasion; no one would have discussed the natural right and duty of the Macedonians to defend themselves against the barbarians; and in fact the Macedonians continued to be mobilised in case of emergency long after the country had been reduced to a province (cf. the famous Lete decree, which besides the permanent garrisons –ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις τόποις φρουρῶν–, mentions the possibility of mobilising the citizen militia –ἐτέρους μὲν στρατιώτας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν παρὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων).<sup>2</sup> The measures of the Roman settlement of 167 concerned rather the future of the *standing* Macedonian armed forces. All central permanent military organisation was prohibited and only limited garrisons were posted along the frontiers of Macedonia (as a whole) with the barbarians,<sup>3</sup> perhaps under local command. Who commanded the citizen levies in case of emergency is anybody's guess –one might think of a rotation among regional commanders– but it would be absurd to believe that Aemilius Paullus made an obligation for the Macedonians not to combine forces but instead to fight invasions separately, the armed forces of each *meris* waiting patiently to wage its own battle. Even more decisive in my opinion is another passage of Polybios concerning the alleged folly and ingratitude of the Macedonians towards the Romans from whom they had received signal favours both "as a whole" (κοινῇ) and "severally" (ἰδίᾳ).<sup>4</sup> One would expect to find the *merides* mentioned as the units opposed to the individual cities (cf. the letter of Philip V [or Antigonos Doson] to Beroia, where, although Macedonia was still a unitary kingdom, καθ' ἰδίαν referring to the city of Beroia is opposed to the κοινῇ referring to the district of Bottia),<sup>5</sup> or at least, since Polybios is drawing a comparison with the royal period, as the *partes* opposed to the erstwhile united Macedonian fatherland. In fact they are not mentioned at all. Polybios opposes Μακεδόνες... κοινῇ μὲν πάντες το ἰδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις, according to the well-known pattern of the royal period, in which the Macedonian *ethnos* is the union of the individual *poleis*. The *merides*

1 . See p. 443, below.

2 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 700.

3 . Cf. Livy 45.29.14.

4 . Pol. 36.17.13. Aymard, "Organisation" 102, n. 30 (= *Etudes* 171, n. 1) notes that Feyer failed to use it, but dismisses it perfunctorily: "ce passage ne serait pas d'ailleurs plus démonstratif que les autres".

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 10.



appear to be no more than convenient but hardly essential administrative subdivisions which one tends to forget.

6) Larsen is right to maintain that an *argumentum e silentio* on the *synedria* of the *merides* cannot be conclusive.<sup>1</sup> Still it must be noted that in contrast we have relatively abundant evidence about the federal *synedrion*.

7) The little we know about the *merides* in Roman times "at first glance seems to strengthen Feyel's case",<sup>2</sup> to use Larsen's own words. Kanatsoulis' contention that there is not enough space for four names on the inscription from Beroia<sup>3</sup> is absolutely unfounded, for we simply do not know the extent of the missing left part of the stone. His other argument that the fourth *meris* did not belong to the Macedonian Commonwealth at that time (first century A.D.) cannot be retained either; for it is based on the erroneous assumption that the status of *civitas libera* was incompatible with participation in the *koinon*. Kanatsoulis clearly confuses the Roman *provincia Macedonia*, outside which the *civitates liberae* theoretically remained, with the Macedonian *ethnos*. In spite of a widespread misconception, the Macedonian *koinon* has nothing to do with the late, artificial provincial cult unions, but is the Commonwealth of the Macedonian *ethnos* and is definitely not coextensive with the varying frontiers of the province;<sup>4</sup> this, incidentally, is very strong evidence that it antedates the creation of the province, continuing the *koinon* of the royal period.<sup>5</sup> Nor is Aymard's objection cogent.<sup>6</sup> Even in a very loose federation a federal council does have some work to do. For instance, despite the continued existence of the *merides*, the payment of the tribute was in Roman times a function of the federal council,<sup>7</sup> which seems to have been generally responsible for the sharing out of common expenses

1 . Larsen, "Consilium" 88, but then why insist on the "decoration-mad local dignitaries" which argues against him? If these local dignitaries had in fact been as decoration-mad as he pretends, they would not have failed even to mention the less prestigious title of *synedroi* of the regional *synedria*, provided that such *synedria* had indeed existed.

2 . Larsen, "Consilium" 89.

3 . Kanatsoulis, "Συνέδρια" 299.

4 . The epigraphic evidence shows that it comprised Thessalonike and Upper Macedonia, which were allegedly free, but did not include the Illyrian part of the province, where no documents of the Macedonian *koinon* have ever been reported. For the distinction between the Macedonian *ethnos* and the Roman *provincia*, cf. Papazoglou, "Aspects" 306-307.

5 . Cf. Papazoglou, "Aspects" 305.

6 . Aymard, "Organisation" 100-101 (= *Etudes* 169-70).

7 . L. Robert, "Un juriste romain dans une inscription de Béroia", *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 29-34.

among the *merides*.<sup>1</sup> Pace Aymard, there is no *a priori* reason to believe that this was otherwise in the period between the Roman settlement of 167 and the revolt of Andriskos. The same is true regarding relations with foreign powers and in particular the Romans. After the creation of the province, as earlier under the kings, the basic recruitment units in case of mobilisation were the cities, and there is no reason to believe that this was not also the case in the intermediary period between 167 and 148. However, the entity responsible for the payment of tribute and presumably for the mobilisation of the levies in case of a national emergency, which in the Lete inscription appears in the usual equation *Makedones = hai poleis*,<sup>2</sup> must have been the *synedrion* to which, according to Livy, the administration of Macedonia was entrusted. Federal cults and festivals must also have been this council's responsibility. Finally, as Feyel points out,<sup>3</sup> the fact that Damasippos took the trouble to massacre the *synedroi* at Pella is an unerring sign of their importance. There were perhaps other duties, such as arbitrations between cities or districts, which were entrusted to the federal council. All these various duties taken together are certainly important enough to justify Livy's expression: *senatores... quorum consilio res publica administraretur*.<sup>4</sup> Still, it was, as Feyel calls it, "l'ombre d'un pouvoir central"<sup>5</sup> when compared with the extensive powers of the central authorities –King, Council and Assembly– of the royal period.

1 . J.H. Oliver, "Hadrian and Beroia", *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 369-70.

2 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 700: ἑτέρους μὲν στρατιώτας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν παρὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ κέκρικε μεταπέμψασθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι θλίβειν τὰς πόλεις τοῖς ὄψωνιαις.

3 . Feyel 192-93.

4 . Livy 45.32.2.

5 . Feyel 197.



PART FOUR

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CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT



How much autonomy the all-encompassing power of the central authorities under the king left to the local communities is the next – and last – question to which we must now turn. By local communities I mean the cities and the territorial ethnic units of Upper Macedonia, because these were the only genuinely autonomous entities. Villages, as we saw in the beginning of this study, either together formed federations equivalent, for administrative purposes, to cities or were subordinated to cities. Districts, on the other hand, were subdivisions of the Macedonian *ethnos*<sup>1</sup> and theoretically, at least, should be classified, like the Macedonian Assembly, of which they were mere fractions, along with the central authorities. Consequently, in the following chapters we shall concentrate on the relations between central authorities and cities or local *ethne* in external relations and in administrative, military and financial matters.

1 . Cf. the μέρη of Boiotia or the Thessalian τετράδες (Giovannini, "Cités" 467).



## FOREIGN RELATIONS

After the excellent paper on the status of the Macedonian cities under the Antigonids read by A. Giovannini at the Second International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia<sup>1</sup> one can dispense with long discussions on the subject of the autonomy of the Macedonian cities in their foreign relations. Therefore, I shall limit myself to restating the Swiss scholar's main conclusions, for which I shall seek confirmation in some additional and hitherto unexploited evidence. I shall conclude by stating the consequences from such an interpretation of the division of attributions between King and cities in the field of foreign affairs for the understanding of the overall pattern of the relationship between central and local authorities in Macedonia under the kings.

On the evidence of the surviving *asylia* decrees of the four Macedonian cities for the Asklepieion of Kos,<sup>2</sup> Giovannini's first conclusion is that the participation of the Macedonian cities in Panhellenic festivals proves that they were considered as genuine *poleis* by the other Greek states and not as simple communes or administrative districts. It is the very same conclusion that we reached from a different approach in the first part of this study. His second conclusion is that this participation, which belongs to what he calls the sphere of "social relations" between Greeks, proves nothing about the Macedonian cities' real autonomy in matters of foreign policy. The grant of *asylia*, that is inviolability in time of peace and in time of war, is on the other hand a major decision of foreign policy, the non-respecting of which may even constitute a *casus belli*. It would seem, therefore, at first sight that the Macedonian cities enjoyed extensive latitude in the field of international relations. In fact, however, this is an illusion. A closer examination of the evidence reveals indeed that, whereas the decision to participate in the festival was taken on the free initiative of the cities, for the grant of *asylia* the decrees make specific references to the will of king Antigonos or to a general regulation recognising the inviolability of all sanctuaries. The recently discovered decree of the

1 . Giovannini, "Cités" 465-72.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 36, 41, 47, 58.



Macedonian *koinon* granting *asylia* to Kyzikos provides further proof that such a decision lay within the competence of the central Macedonian authorities.<sup>1</sup>

Such a division of attributions is neither specifically Macedonian nor is it linked to monarchical constitutions in particular. The similar terms in which the decree from the Achaian Aigeira expresses, on the one hand, its free decision to take part in the Asklepieia and, on the other, justifies the grant of *asylia* to the Koan sanctuary by a general ruling, in fact a federal decree of the Achaian League ([δόγ]μα ἐστὶ τᾷ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς [Ἀ]χαιοῖς)<sup>2</sup> shows that we are dealing with a typical division of attributions in foreign policy between central and local authorities in non-unitary states, independently of their republican or "monarchical" constitutions.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the Akarnanian decree recognising the Panhellenic character of the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia and of its festival stipulates that each city of the *ethnos* should appoint *theorodokoi* for the *theoroi* of the Magnetes (καὶ θεαροδόκους καταστάσαι ἑκάσταν πόλιν τᾶν Ἀκαρνανίδων τοὺς ὑποδεξιμένους ἀεὶ τοὺς παραγινομένους θεωροὺς παρὰ τῶν Μαγνήτων).<sup>4</sup>

The cities themselves are not consulted; they are simply required to comply with the federal decree. A surviving federal decree of the Aitolian League on a similar matter shows that this is no mere coincidence.<sup>5</sup> In 182 the decision to participate in the Nikephoria and to grant *asylia* to the *temenos* of Athena at Pergamon was taken by a federal decree. The Aitolian cities, constituent parts of the League, just like the Akarnanian ones, were simply ordered to appoint the necessary *theorodokoi* before a fixed date and their local magistrates were instructed to report their names to the federal *strategos*. The appointments were made presumably through decrees of the local units,

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 32.

2 . Herzog-Klaffenbach 12, no 4 (= *SEG* 12 [1956] 371).

3 . For some monarchical examples, cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 129, no 27: τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμᾶς τασσομένοις παραδώσομεν (Ptolemy III); *ibid.* 31: γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις, ὅπως καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀκολούθως ἀποδέξωνται (Antiochos III); *ibid.* 141, no 34: καὶ αἱ πόλεις δὲ αἱ πειθόμεναι ἔμοι ποιήσουσιν ὁμοίως ἔγραψα γὰρ αὐταῖς παρακαλῶν (Attalos I). Τὰ πράγματα signifies the civil administration, as in Welles, *Correspondence* 182, no 44. See also the reference to Philip V's letter to Chalkis (*IMag* 47: [οἱ στρα]τηγο[ὶ] εἶπαν [περὶ ὧν ὁ β]ασιλεὺς Φίλι[π]πος ἔγρα[ψε]ν; cf. Pol. 23.10.8: ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων διατεταγμένοις and Lenger 109-110, no 45: ὧν ἐπεστάλακαμεν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων τεταγμένοις).

4 . *IMag* 31, L. 31-34.

5 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 629, with the corrections by L. Robert, "Notes" 336-38 (= *OMS* I 151-57), and *FdD* III 3, 240.

such as that of Aigeira or Amphipolis, Pella, Kassandreia and Philippoi. In Aitolia even the sending of envoys abroad by a member of the League was subject to the permission of the federal authorities, as the great inscription from Xanthos has shown. The ambassadors of the Dorians could not undertake their mission without the vote of a federal *dogma* ("Ἐδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς πρεσβείας δόμεν τοῖς Δωριέοις...").<sup>1</sup>

There is also another field of international relations whose study, which Giovannini did not attempt in his paper, confirms his conclusions: that of the granting of *proxenia*.

In non-unitary states, the right to grant *proxenia* to foreigners was either shared by both the local and the central authorities or, more rarely, was exclusively reserved to the latter. Epeiros is the best example of a state in which the granting of *proxenia* seems to have constituted a monopoly of the federal authorities.<sup>2</sup>

From our literary sources we know that Macedonia, like the other Greek states, appointed *proxenoi* from the time of Philip II, at the latest.<sup>3</sup> It seems all the more remarkable, at first sight, that the relevant epigraphic evidence is practically non-existent: 1) one and possibly two honorary decrees from Philippoi mentioning *proxenoi* or granting *proxenia*,<sup>4</sup> 2) the beginning of a decree from Kassandreia granting *proxenia* to an Aitolian,<sup>5</sup> 3) a rather suspect decree of the Akrothooi granting *proxenia* to an Alexandrian,<sup>6</sup> 4) a decree from Pydna granting *proxenia* and many other privileges to two citizens of Demetrias probably in 169.<sup>7</sup> It is true that very few city decrees and perhaps only one federal decree of the Macedonian *koinon* from the royal period survive on stone. Nevertheless, that all our proxeny decrees, with a single exception, come from cities not belonging to Macedonia proper should perhaps not be dismissed as mere coincidence.

Nothing much can be said about the decree of the Akrothooi, of which no photograph, no squeeze, and no reliable description exists, except that, if its publication is based indeed on a genuine document,

1. J. Bousquet, "La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos", *REG* 101 (1988) 15 (= *SEG* 38 [1988] 1976), L. 73-74.

2. Cabanes, "Etats" 103-104; *eiusdem*, "Pouvoir" 353; cf. Hennig 320-21.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 1.9.9.

4. Epigraphic Appendix nos 37 and 38.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 44. We simply do not know what privileges were granted by Kassandreia to Ammonios from Alexandria and to Dorotheos from Seleukeia during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas (Epigraphic Appendix nos 45 and 46), but in any case, these were not really "foreigners" but courtiers serving with the Macedonian king or the Macedonian queen.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 43.

7. Epigraphic Appendix no 55.

it must be dated between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the second century. However, it should not be forgotten in this connection that, as I hope to have established in the second part of the present study, the southern part of the Chalkidian peninsula was not incorporated into the Macedonian Commonwealth before the middle of the third century. Kassandreia, on the other hand, was without doubt still not a part of Macedonia proper, when the decree in honour of the Aitolian Androbolos was voted as the calendar used in the document attests (see above).

There is no way of dating with sufficient precision the surviving honorary decree from Philippi, but on palaeographical grounds a date around 180-170 would not be unlikely. It must be remembered in this connection too that Philippi does not seem to have become part of the Macedonian Commonwealth until the very end of Macedonian independence. The decree mentioned only by Mertzides cannot, naturally, be dated. It should be noted, however, that the honorands are citizens of Antigoneia, a city of Macedonia under the authority of the Macedonian kings just like Philippi, and that the granting of proxeny or of other privileges to them does not come under the heading of foreign relations any more than the reciprocal grant of proxeny between the Pergamioi and the Aterargoi in Epeiros.<sup>1</sup>

I think the explanation of the apparent exception of the Pydnaian decree should be sought in the same direction. Since Demetrias was under the sway of the Macedonian king, a grant of proxeny to two of its citizens did not impinge, in Macedonia any more than in Epeiros, on the authority of the central government in the sphere of foreign relations.

Thus all attested civic proxeny decrees either emanate from cities outside Macedonia proper at the time of their enactment or concern citizens of royal Macedonian foundations attached to the Macedonian Crown. Under these conditions it is hard to escape the conclusion that in Macedonia, as in Epeiros, the granting of *proxenia* to foreigners was an exclusive privilege of the central authorities—and in particular of the federal assembly—and that the extreme scarcity of epigraphic evidence for genuine Macedonian *proxenia* decrees is not unconnected with the practically total lack of surviving Macedonian federal decrees.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, it is unlikely that the fact that *proxenia* decrees

1. Cabanes, *Epire* 561-62, no 35; cf. 381-82 and *eiusdem*, "Etats" 103-104 and "Pouvoir" 353-54.

2. See, however, Epigraphic Appendix no 32. Ph. Gauthier rightly points out to me that it is doubtful that the Macedonian Assembly had to enact a great number of

come almost exclusively from cities formally not part of, but allied to Macedonia, is a mere accident. The granting of *proxenia*, be it to a lesser degree than the granting of *asylia*, belonged to the sphere of foreign relations reserved to the central authorities.

*proxenia* decrees, since royal patronage in the form of *xenia* (cf. Arr., *Anab.* 1.9.9) provided a more efficient means of protection for foreigners in their dealings with Macedonia.



## ADMINISTRATION

The conclusion from the examination of the foreign relations raises a more difficult question than the one it solves: in what perspective should the relations between the cities and the king be viewed? That of "*Stadt und Herrscher*",<sup>1</sup> as is usually the case, or that (or, rather, also that) of central and local authorities, as the analogy from other non-unitary states suggests?

The answer can only be sought in the contemporary administrative documents themselves, more often than not pieces of official correspondence between the King and subordinate authorities. We know of 13 epigraphic texts of this kind,<sup>2</sup> some of them composite, preserving in a more or less fragmentary condition 18 letters, 15 of them royal (or vice-royal), and at least five and probably six royal *diagrammata*. The addressees of the royal letters, which form the bulk of this evidence, are, in all cases in which the relevant mention has been preserved, persons referred to simply by their name. It has been practically always assumed that these are the names of the *epistatai*, the local representatives of royal authority.<sup>3</sup> This assumption, which was made many decades ago,<sup>4</sup> was never really reconsidered in the light of subsequent discoveries which have both enriched and transformed the traditional picture of the administrative structures of Macedonia. For this reason we shall begin our discussion of the administrative relations between local and central authorities by reconsidering the nature and role of the *epistatai* and only then shall we examine successively the different categories of addressees in connection with the various fields covered by the interventions of the central authorities.

1. A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus* (Aalen 1963<sup>2</sup>).

2. Epigraphic Appendix nos 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19. To these one may add three documents which have no particular addressee: the *diagramma* concerning discipline in the Macedonian field army (Epigraphic Appendix no 12), the *diagramma* concerning discipline in fortresses (Epigraphic Appendix no 13) and the Mygdonian boundary delimitation (Epigraphic Appendix no 4).

3. See the commentaries in the publications of the relevant texts.

4. See Woodward, "Beroia" 137.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MACEDONIAN *EPISTATAI*

Since the beginning of this century the "orthodox" view has been that royal control was assured in Macedonia proper (and Thessaly) through royal functionaries established in the cities and called *epistatai*, and in the recently acquired, peripheral territories (Paionia, Thrace) through *strategoï*, who were in charge not of single cities but of entire districts.<sup>1</sup> Several years ago, in a paper written for the Third International Congress on Thracian Studies held in Vienna, I challenged this view and suggested that during the last years of the Antigonid dynasty there was no longer direct royal control of the cities, which were governed by annually elected magistrates, the politarchs, and that royal control had shifted to the district level through the division of Macedonia itself in four *strategiai*.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent epigraphic discoveries and the reexamination of the existing evidence in their light has confirmed beyond dispute both the introduction of politarchs and the existence of regional *strategoï* under the late Antigonids. At the same time they have proved that the two facts were not related, as had initially been suggested, for the districts were already active before the issuing of the district coinage and the reforms subsequent to the Macedonian defeat at Cynoscephalae, and that, therefore, their origins should be placed much earlier, probably in the fourth century (see below). Moreover the new epigraphic evidence made it highly questionable whether the *epistatai* could be simply described as "royal officials".<sup>3</sup> It became therefore imperative that the whole question should be examined *ab initio*.

1 . Tarn, *Antigonos* 194-96; Bengtson, *Strategie* II 317-30, and more particularly 323-24 with n. 1; Walbank, *Philip* 2-3; cf. still Errington, *Geschichte* 205-212; Le Bohec, *Antigone* 255-79. Holleaux "Remarques" 454-55 (= *Etudes* I 269-70), assumed that royal *strategoï*, *epistatai*, *hypepistatai* and *dikastai* were present both in Macedonia proper and in the external possessions of the Macedonian kings, but his view was challenged both by Tarn, *Antigonos* 195, n. 96, and by Beloch IV 1, 397.

2 . Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" (p. 10-17 of the manuscript; these pages were omitted by the editors).

3 . Holleaux, "Remarques" 452 (= *Etudes* I 267): "...gouverneur, homme de confiance du souverain"; Tarn, *Antigonos* 195: "the governor of a town or district appointed directly by the King"; cf. Bengtson, *Strategie* II 328: "königliche Funktionäre". It is without reason that Bengtson, *Strategie* II 325-26, supposes that Apollodoros of Kassandreia was an *epistates*. Polyainos 6.7.1 describes him as a *strategos* and there is not the slightest evidence for *epistatai* in that city, whose officials are known from inscriptions to have borne different titles (see p. 143-46, above).

Polybios, our virtually unique literary authority for that period,<sup>1</sup> is as usual hardly interested in the internal organisation of Macedonia. Besides a vague reference τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων διατεταγμένοις,<sup>2</sup> in which it is customary to recognise the *epistatai*,<sup>3</sup> Polybios explicitly mentions the *epistatai* only once, in connection with the conspiracy of Apelles, to whom, according to the Achaian historian, "the *epistatai* and *cheiristai* in Macedonia and Thessaly" referred all matters.<sup>4</sup> W.R. Paton, in the Loeb edition, understandably translates "the prefects and officials in Macedonia and Thessaly".<sup>5</sup> However, Polybios' coupling of the *epistatai* with the *cheiristai* and Macedonia with Thessaly is clearly misleading.<sup>6</sup> First, the contemporary inscriptions leave no doubt that the *cheiristai* belonged to the army commissariat,<sup>7</sup> whereas the *epistatai* always appear having an official capacity within the city institutions. Secondly, although epigraphic evidence from Antigonid Thessaly is by no means unimportant and has steadily increased in the last years, *epistatai* never appear as officials in the Thessalian cities.<sup>8</sup>

1. Cf. Aymard, *Assemblées* 5-6.

2. Pol. 23.10.8.

3. Cf. Walbank, *Commentary* III 231. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 276, considers the τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ... as governors of regions in the external possessions of the Macedonian kings.

4. Pol. 5.26.5: οἱ τε ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἐπιστάται καὶ χειρισταὶ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐποιούνητο πρὸς ἑκείνον.

5. Polybios, *the Histories*, with an English Translation by W.R. Paton, vol. III (London - Cambridge, Mass. 1966) 65 (Pol. 5.26.5).

6. For what follows, cf. *BullEpigr* 1991, 375.

7. Epigraphic Appendix nos 12 and 13; cf. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 112, no 114. Contra Bengtson, *Strategie* II 325: "Verwaltungs-funktionäre", with an irrelevant reference to Pol. 5.34.4; Walbank, *Commentary* I 559, with references. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 260-61, who ignores the mention of *cheiristai* in the Army code of Amphipolis, accepts Polybios' information and considers them to be civil administrators in Macedonia and Thessaly under the orders of the *epistatai*.

8. The restoration of the word [ἐπιστ]ατοῦντος, proposed by the Roberts (cf. *BullEpigr* 1953, 152, p. 157) in a decree of Homolion (Herzog-Klaffenbach 13, no 5 = *SEG* 12 [1955] 372, L. 19-20) is unwarranted. Similarly, one can draw no conclusion from the mention of *epistatai* in a very fragmentary inscription from the Thessalian city of Gonnoi (Helly, *Gonnoi* II 100-105, no 93), dealing with a territorial conflict with the Macedonian city of Herakleion and in which the equally Macedonian city of Leibethra was possibly involved (*ibid.* 105). Finally, a late-fourth-century dedication dated by an eponymous *epistates*, which was seen by my colleague K. Vitkos at the monastery of Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson, comes, as A. Tziafalias kindly informs me, from the Perrhaibian Tripolis, which was then part of Elemia (see p. 207, above). As far as we can judge, (Habicht, "Urkunde" 197; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie", 252), the representatives of the Macedonian king under the Antigonids had the title of *strategoï* and were presumably the successors of the earlier *tetra(da)rchai*.



Since no firm conclusion can be drawn from such a patently unreliable source, known for his slipshod use of technical terms,<sup>1</sup> we are left only with the epigraphic evidence. I had devoted to it a section of my article on the politarchs which was omitted by the editors of the relevant volume.<sup>2</sup> In an appendix I drew a list of 14 explicit and 3 implicit epigraphic attestations of Macedonian *epistatai*. Some ten years later Sylvie Le Bohec studied these Macedonian officials independently and drew a list of her own with 14 explicit and implicit attestations, because she had overlooked two documents from Amphipolis and one from Mieza.<sup>3</sup> Since my earlier article, to a boundary settlement from Gonnoi, one decree, one royal letter and six deeds of sale from Amphipolis, two decrees and a royal *diagramma* from Thessalonike, three letters and a dedication from Beroia, a register of sales from Mieza and, finally, a royal letter from Eordaia (or Elemia), in which not the *epistates* himself but the *epistasion*, his office, is mentioned, new discoveries and further study have added four new deeds of sale from Amphipolis, while one of the earlier ones was reattributed to Argilos, to which it seems to belong. The list was finally further enriched with a catalogue of magistrates and a *diagramma* from Amphipolis, a dedication discovered near Oreskeia on the Strymon valley but probably of Amphipolitan origin, and a new deed of sale from Kellion in Chalkidike.

No	Provenance	Date	Reference
1.	Amphipolis	c. 357	Hatzopoulos, <i>Amphipolis</i> 19-24, no II
2.	Amphipolis	357/6	Epigraphic Appendix no 84
3.	Amphipolis	357/6	Epigraphic Appendix no 85
4.	Amphipolis	c. 356-52	Epigraphic Appendix no 86
5.	Amphipolis	c. 356-52	Epigraphic Appendix no 87
6.	Amphipolis	c. 352-50	Epigraphic Appendix no 88
7.	Amphipolis	c. 352-50	Epigraphic Appendix no 89
8.	Amphipolis	c. 350-301	Epigraphic Appendix no 90
9.	Amphipolis	third century	Epigraphic Appendix no 91
10.	Amphipolis	243	Epigraphic Appendix no 41
11.	Amphipolis	214/3 (or, rather, 213/2)	Epigraphic Appendix no 61

1 . Cf. Aymard, *Assemblées* 9-16, and Bagnall 214, n. 1.

2 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Politarques".

3 . Le Bohec, "Epistates" 281-88; cf. *BullEpigr* 1991, 375. See also now Le Bohec, *Antigone* 255-69, with a partial list on pages 277-79.

12.	Amphipolis	183 (or, rather, 182)	Epigraphic Appendix no 16
13.	Amphipolis (?) <sup>1</sup>	late third century	Epigraphic Appendix no 77
14.	Argilos	c. 360	Hatzopoulos, <i>Amphipolis</i> 14-19, no I
15.	Stolos	351/50	Hatzopoulos, <i>Actes</i> 27-31, no III
16.	Thessalonike <sup>2</sup>	240-230	Epigraphic Appendix no 50
17.	Thessalonike	223	Epigraphic Appendix no 52
18.	Thessalonike	187 (or, rather, 186)	Epigraphic Appendix no 15
19.	Herakleion	250-201	Helly, <i>Gonnoi</i> II no 93A; cf. <i>BullEpigr</i> 1973, 244
20.	Beroia <sup>3</sup>	fourth or third century	Epigraphic Appendix no 73
21.	Mieza	250-201	Epigraphic Appendix no 92
22.	Euia <sup>4</sup>	181 (or, rather, 180)	Epigraphic Appendix no 17

### MODERN OPINIONS ON THE *EPISTATAI*

The modern discussion on the nature of the Macedonian *epistatai*, of which Sylvie Le Bohec's article is the latest product, begins with F. Dürrbach's publication in 1886 of the copy of the Thessalonikan decree found at Delos.<sup>5</sup> The French scholar proposed to read in the first line of the decree after the name of the *hypepistates* the title of the ἀ[ρμ]ο[σταί], rather than that of the λ[ογ]ο[σταί].<sup>6</sup> This suggested restoration was later adopted by Ch. Michel.<sup>7</sup> H. Swoboda, in his study on Greek decrees, rejected Dürrbach's restoration.<sup>8</sup> Although he does not

1. It is probable that Adaios (?), the addressee of Philip V's letter to Amphipolis (Epigraphic Appendix no 19), was the *epistates*.

2. This inscription names a *hypepistates* instead of an *epistates*.

3. It is probable that Harpalos, the addressee of Demetrios' three letters to Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 8), was the local *epistates*.

4. Archippos, the addressee of the royal letter is not explicitly referred to as an *epistates*, but his position is surmised from the qualification of the edifice where this document should be published as an ἐπιστάσιον. It is probable that Nikolaos, the addressee of Doules' letter to Alkomena (Epigraphic Appendix no 17), was the local *politarches* or *epistates*. For an eponymous *epistates* in an unpublished dedication from the Perrhaibian Tripolis, see p.156, n. 15 and 373, n. 8, above.

5. Dürrbach, "Décrets" 124-33.

6. Dürrbach, "Décrets" 131-32.

7. Michel no 322.

8. Swoboda 122-23; cf. 93 and 154-55.

state explicitly his reasons for doing so, it is most probable that he found incongruous the presence of such functionaries side by side with the (*hyp*)*epistates*, whom he considered to be a city official, head of a board of homonymous officials, the presiding magistrate of the Council and the Assembly. Seven years later M. Holleaux, who had already studied the problem of the Hellenistic *epistatai* when he was preparing the edition of some Rhodian inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> returned to the question in order to uphold Dürrbach's conjecture.<sup>2</sup> He calls the proposed restoration "a necessary conclusion";<sup>3</sup> he describes the "harmosts" as "des officiers de police et d'armée, délégués par un Etat souverain dans les villes sujettes ou vassales, et chargés d'y maintenir, au besoin par la force, avec le concours des garnisaires qu'ils commandaient, l'autorité de cet Etat";<sup>4</sup> he rejects Swoboda's interpretation of the (*hyp*)*epistates* as a city magistrate, (vice-) president of the Assembly, first because he cannot envisage a sub-president (instead of a vice-president) of homonymous magistrates and mainly because, contrary to Swoboda,<sup>5</sup> he considers that, already before the Roman conquest, the principal magistrates of the Macedonian cities were called *politarchai* and not *epistatai*; the latter he considered as a sort of military governors<sup>6</sup> imposed on subject cities not only by the Antigonids, but also the Ptolemies, the Seleucids and Rhodes,<sup>7</sup> citing for the Antigonids in particular the case of Brachylles, who was appointed by Antigonos Doson as *epistates* of Sparta.<sup>8</sup> Holleaux concluded that the *epistates*, the *hyp**epistates* and the *harmostai* were royal functionaries,<sup>9</sup> who resided in every city of some importance, represented the King and intervened on his behalf, whenever important questions, such as relations with foreign states, as in our inscription, were debated by the city. That is why they disappeared along

1. M. Holleaux, "Notes sur l'épigraphie et l'histoire de Rhodes", *BCH* 17 (1893) 52-69 (= *Etudes* I 409-25).

2. Holleaux, "Remarques" 446-55 (= *Etudes* I 261-70).

3. Holleaux, "Remarques" 447 (= *Etudes* I 262).

4. Holleaux, "Remarques" 448 (= *Etudes* I 263).

5. Swoboda 155-56.

6. Cf. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 26-27 (= *Etudes* III 217): "... le titre d' ἐπιστάτης est porté par celui qui dans une localité sujette... est le représentant délégué par la puissance souveraine... Il a charge de surveiller cette localité et de la maintenir dans sa condition dépendante... l'épistate paraît réunir en sa personne les pouvoirs d'un gouverneur civil et ceux d'un commandant de place; il a normalement sous ses ordres les troupes en garnison dans la ville".

7. For the Ptolemies, see now Bagnall 224; cf. 142; 163; 221.

8. Pol. 20.5.12.

9. The βασιλικοὶ of Pol. 4.76.2.

with their master after 168, whereas, had they been ordinary magistrates, they would have survived the abolition of the monarchy. Three and a half decades later, in his publication of an inscription from Seleukeia in Pieria,<sup>1</sup> Holleaux repeated substantially the same views on the *epistates* in Macedonia and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Thanks to the formidable erudition and prestige of its exponent, the French scholar's view prevailed and became the *communis opinio*.<sup>3</sup> Difficulties and inconsistencies were spotted sometimes, but the validity of the theory as a whole was not affected. The most important objections were aired by A. Heuss in 1937.<sup>4</sup> He pointed out that the similarities in the formulae of the prescripts of the decree of Thessalonike and of that of Seleukeia in Pieria<sup>5</sup> obliged us to see in the officials cited there the same sort of functionaries, and since the *archontes* of Seleukeia were described by Holleaux as "des représentants de la cité, désignés par les citoyens non sans qu'une ratification royale ait pu être nécessaire",<sup>6</sup> the *harmostai* or *logistai* of Thessalonike too were "ein rein städtisches Beamtenkollegium". The *epistates* himself, he argued, had duties which placed him within the framework of the city organisation and which made him too "ein echter städtischer Gemeindebeamter". Moreover, he remarked that the mere title of *epistates* was not an element decisive enough to classify all its bearers in the same category as Sosipatros of Thessalonike or Theophilos of Seleukeia. He stressed that the word *epistates* in Greek had many meanings and covered a great variety of situations and that *epistatai*, military governors or civil "comissars", such as those of Philip V in Caria, Brachylles in Sparta, Rhodian *epistatai* in military outposts, on the one hand, and civil *ad hoc* "commissars", such as those of the Ptolemies, the Attalids, Rhodes etc., on the other, should not be confused with the *epistatai* of Seleukeia in Pieria and Thessalonike, with whom they had nothing in common.<sup>7</sup> He pointed out in

1. M. Holleaux, "Une inscription de Séleucie-de-Piérie", *BCH* 57 (1933) 6-67 (= *Etudes* III 199-254).

2. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 26-31 and 67 (= *Etudes* III 216-20 and 253-54).

3. Cf. Tarn, *Antigonos* 195-96; Welles, *Correspondence* 187-88, no 45; Walbank, *Philip* 3; Bengtson, *Strategie* II 324-28; Kanatsoulis, "Πόλις" I 241-2; Rosen, *König* 16-17 and, most recently, Le Bohec, "Epistates" 286-88; *eiusdem*, *Antigone* 269-71.

4. Heuss 59-61; see also Birkman, *Séleucides* 163.

5. Σωσίπατρος ὁ ὑπεπιστάτης καὶ οἱ δ[ικα]σταὶ (reading yet unknown to Heuss) Μένανδρος, Νικόδημος, Φιλόδημος, Ἰππίας, [Π]αύσων εἶπαν (Thessalonike) – Θεοφίλου ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη (Seleukeia).

6. Holleaux, "Séleucie" (= *Etudes* III 235).

7. Heuss 31-36.

particular the case of Apollonios in Nakrasa,<sup>1</sup> who was almost certainly not a royal Attalid official, but "einer von den Gemeindeepistaten", presumably like those that Swoboda had in mind, and the case of Aischylos of the deed of sale from Amphipolis, in whom Heuss, after A. Kirchoff,<sup>2</sup> saw an official of the local temple of Asklepios, for, as he argued, a royal *epistates* could not serve as an eponymous *archon*, since "royal officials were never appointed, like the republican ones, for a limited term of one year".<sup>3</sup> Heuss, unlike Swoboda, whom he criticises,<sup>4</sup> thus distinguished, among the *epistatai* who were magistrates, between purely "civic" *epistatai*, such as those of Nakrasa and Amphipolis, and "royal" ones, such as those of Thessalonike and Seleukeia, who, "although they participated in the city government, did not belong to a board, were not citizens and did not change every year", and whom—in order to distinguish them from the former—he calls "monarchisch-städtische Reichsbeamte".<sup>5</sup>

Time has vindicated some of Holleaux' assumptions, but his basic conclusion concerning the *harmostai* has been utterly destroyed, while his theory on the nature and the role of the *epistatai* needs a far more drastic modification than that proposed by Heuss. In effect, in 1934 S. Pelekides published Philip V's *diagramma* from Thessalonike, which proved beyond doubt that the correct restoration of the lacuna in the Delian decree was neither *harmostai* nor *logistai* but *dikastai*.<sup>6</sup> It is true that Pelekides himself, as well as Welles, who reedited the *diagramma*,<sup>7</sup> and Bengtson<sup>8</sup> and Rostovtzeff,<sup>9</sup> who commented on it more or less extensively, interpreted the new title along the same lines as Holleaux's illusory<sup>10</sup> *harmostai*: they unanimously considered the *dikastai* to be royal functionaries. Only Heuss in the postface of the 1963 second edition of his monograph,<sup>11</sup> remarked upon the analo-

1. OGIS 268.

2. A. Kirchoff, "Ist in Athen jemals nach Priestern der Soteren datiert worden?", *Hermes* 2 (1867) 171.

3. Heuss 61.

4. Heuss 61.

5. Heuss 58.

6. S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike 1934) 5-23.

7. Welles, "Texts" 249-51.

8. Bengtson, *Strategie* II 326, n. 3.

9. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. III (Oxford 1957<sup>2</sup>) 1429, n. 241.

10. Cf. Holleaux's, "Remarques" 448 (= *Etudes* I 261), severe irony: "(M. Swoboda) au lieu d'une énigme, selon lui nécessairement insoluble, il aime mieux ne trouver ici qu'une illusion".

11. Heuss 286.

gous position of the *archontes* of Seleukeia and the *dikastai* of Thessalonike *vis-à-vis* the (*hyp*)*epistates* and argued that the Thessalonikan officials belonged "offenbar der obersten städtischen Behörde im Thessalonike des Jahres 187 v. Chr.". This suggestion was taken up and exhaustively and convincingly discussed by J. Touloumakos, who concluded that the *dikastai* of Thessalonike "ein ständiges Gremium gewesen sein müssen, d.h. ein wie die anderen Magistrate, jährlich gewähltes und zu jeder Zeit aktionbereites Richterskollegium".<sup>1</sup>

Holleaux had challenged Swoboda's interpretation of the (*hyp*)*epistates*, in order to preserve the homogeneity of the board which he formed with the other officials, who according to Dürrbach's reading were called *harmostai* and in whom Holleaux saw a board of *royal* officials. Now that the reading *harmostai* must be definitely abandoned, do Holleaux's arguments concerning the *royal* character of the (*hyp*)*epistates* retain their validity or should his postulate of homogeneity be turned against his interpretation?<sup>2</sup> If the *dikastai* are civic magistrates, ought not the (*hyp*)*epistates* to be so too? Holleaux's theory<sup>3</sup> of an elaborate royal bureaucracy for the administration of the cities under the Antigonids called collectively *praefecti praesidiorum* in Livy<sup>4</sup> and subdivided hierarchically in *epistates*, *hyp*-*epistates* and *harmostai* in every city of the realm, has been disproved by subsequent discoveries.<sup>5</sup> The *harmostai* are, as we have seen, nothing but a ghost, while the *epistatai* had disappeared by the reign of Perseus, rendering the already untenable interpretation of the *praefecti praesidiorum* utterly impossible. The latter most probably represent Livy's translation of the Greek term *phourarchos*, known to us from contemporary epigraphic sources.<sup>6</sup> Concerning Holleaux's criticism of Swoboda for confusing the title of *hyp**epistates* with that of the *antepistates*, since he interprets it as meaning the "délégué" of the *epistates* ("une sorte de vice-président qui le remplacerait occasionnellement à la tête du collège"),<sup>7</sup> it is enough to reject both Swoboda's and Holleaux's arbitrary supposition that the *hyp**epistates*

1. Touloumakos, "Δικασταί" 416. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 102, n. 5, ignoring both Heuss' postface and Touloumakos' article, continues to speak about βασιλικοὶ δικασταί and to refer to Heuss 88. The same unawareness is displayed by Le Bohec, *Antigone* 261-62.

2. Cf. Holleaux, "Remarques" 453 (= *Etudes* I 268).

3. Holleaux, "Remarques" 454-55 (= *Etudes* I 270).

4. Livy 45.32.3-5.

5. Astonishingly, this obsolete theory has been resurrected by Le Bohec, *Antigone* 276, simply rejuvenated by the substitution of the *dikastai* for the defunct *harmostai*.

6. Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 13; cf. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 263-66.

7. Holleaux, "Remarques" 446-49 (= *Etudes* I 264).

was the head of a homonymous board of magistrates, in order to suppress the difficulty allegedly posed by his title, and to see in this official the occasional deputy of the head of the board of civic magistrates, whatever their particular name (δικασταί, ἄρχοντες, ταγοί etc.). Holleaux himself does not hesitate to have a sub-president act as a vice-president, when, a few pages below, he writes: "l'affaire était réservée à la compétence du gouverneur royal ou, à son défaut, du sous-gouverneur..."<sup>1</sup> A "sub-president" behaving as a vice-president is not any more difficult to accept than a "sub-governor" behaving as a vice-governor.

Finally, as the new discoveries have proved, Holleaux was right in maintaining that the politarchs were a pre-Roman magistracy and existed under the kings. What the French scholar did not know is that they did not exist simultaneously with the *epistatai*, and therefore can no longer be considered as contemporary representatives of the royal and the civic authorities respectively, but must of necessity be interpreted as chronologically successive chief officials in the cities, whose royal or civic origin remains to be determined.

Heuss justifiably rejected Holleaux's theory about the *harmostai* even before he had heard of the reading *dikasta*<sup>2</sup> and of another inscription from Laodikeia with a formula similar to that of Seleukeia,<sup>3</sup> but his distinction between the (*hyp*)*epistatai* of Thessalonike and Amphipolis, already highly improbable in itself, has now been definitely disproved by the fragmentary decree from Thessalonike,<sup>4</sup> in which the *epistates* serves as an eponymous official, exactly as in Amphipolis. However, the quantity and quality of the new discoveries of the last decades are such that they call for the reconsideration of the whole set of evidence. Specifically, it will enable us to show that the Macedonian *epistatai* I) were present not only in the most important cities, as Holleaux thought, or in the ancient colonies of southern Greeks, as Tarn maintained, but in every city of the kingdom; II) were citizens of the cities in which they served; III) were eponymous magistrates; IV) were annually appointed; V) in accordance with their origin, functioned in the same way as the other civic magistrates.

1 . Holleaux, "Remarques" 454 (= *Etudes* I 269).

2 . Heuss 59.

3 . Roussel, "Péléganes" 21: Ἀσκληπιάδου ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη; cf. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 7 (= *Etudes* III 199): Θεοφίλου ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 52.

THE NATURE OF THE *EPISTATAI*  
IN VIEW OF RECENT EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES

I. The first point is made clear from the new *diagramma* from Amphipolis.<sup>1</sup> It enjoins on the gymnasiarchs of the cities of Macedonia to register the athletes arriving in the kingdom to take part in *stephanitai* contests, and to dispatch the registrations to the priest and the gymnasiarch appointed for the contests. The *diagramma*, however, provides for the case of cities having no gymnasiarch among their magistrates. In such a case the registration is to be carried out by the *epistatai*. This last clause leaves no doubt that a Macedonian city, however small and unimportant, would have at least one magistrate and that this would be the *epistates*. This information confirms the impression created by Philip V's letter to Archippos<sup>2</sup> and perhaps Doules' letter to Nikolaos.<sup>3</sup> If lesser political units subordinate to *ethne* such as Euia and Alkomena had each an *epistates*, one cannot escape the conclusion that this magistrate was present in each and every Macedonian city. This conclusion, which raises the total number of the *epistatai* to several dozen is, as we shall see below, not without consequence for the determination of the character—civic versus royal—of these functionaries.

II. Heuss had dissociated Apollonios of Nakrasa from Holleaux's royal *epistatai*, because he considered him to be a local man.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the Rhodian inscriptions, which were at the origin of Holleaux's defence of Dürrbach's restoration, mentioned Rhodian *epistatai* sent out of their island to govern foreign communities, and the Antigonid example from Polybios, which he cited in support of his theory concerned in effect a Boiotian sent by Antigonos Doson as a governor to Sparta;<sup>5</sup> Apollonios, however, had been elected *agonothetes* at Nakrasa,<sup>6</sup> a clear proof for Heuss that he was a "Gemeinde-" and not a "königlicher Epistates". If we now turn to Macedonia, we see that in *all* cases there is enough prosopographic or onomastic information enabling us to ascertain the origins of the Macedonian *epistatai*: they are not like Holleaux's *epistatai* foreigners sent from outside to rule a

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 19. That is to say if Nikolaos was not already a polittarch but still an *epistates*.

4 . Heuss 60.

5 . Pol. 20.5.12.

6 . *OGIS* 268.



subject city, but citizens of the community. I have shown elsewhere that Sparges, with his typical Edonian name, who figures in six Amphipolitan deeds of sale, belonged to an old family of the former Athenian colony.<sup>1</sup> Orges, the father of the *epistates* Xenias of the *asylia* decree of Amphipolis,<sup>2</sup> has a very rare Edonian name, which in Macedonia recurs only in another inscription from Amphipolis,<sup>3</sup> leaving no doubt that, in this case too, the *epistates* belongs to an Amphipolitan family. The *epistates* of the *archon* list of Amphipolis<sup>4</sup> is probably none other than the son of Lysimachos, the eponymous priest of the same city and beyond doubt a local man in the *asylia* decree.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Andronikos, figuring without a title in the *diagramma* of Thessalonike, but in all probability the current *epistates* of that city, can be identified with Andronikos son of Alexandros, one of the *agoranomoi* of Thessalonike in an earlier dedication,<sup>6</sup> when he was still at the beginning of his civic career.<sup>7</sup> Finally, Sosipatros the *hypepistates* along with Holleaux's "*harmostai*" of Thessalonike refers to this city, as ἡμετέραν πόλιν,<sup>8</sup> something that the French scholar failed to notice. This can only mean that he and the rest of the board were citizens of Thessalonike and not foreigners, "délégués par un Etat souverain dans les villes sujettes ou vassales et chargés d'y maintenir, au besoin par la force, avec le concours des garnisons qu'ils commandaient, l'autorité de cet Etat".<sup>9</sup>

III. Besides the new *diagramma* from Amphipolis, only in one decree<sup>10</sup> and in the royal *diagramma* from Thessalonike<sup>11</sup> do we get a glimpse of the actual duties of the *epistates*.<sup>12</sup> As we shall see in more detail below, in the first of these two documents the *hypepistates* and the five *dikastai* introduce the decree. In the second the king (Philip V) demands that the "treasures" of Sarapis be opened only in

1. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 74-76.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 41.

3. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 44.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 61.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 41.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 71.

7. Cf. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 102, n. 6.

8. Epigraphic Appendix no 50, L. 22-23. There is no doubt that Harpalos too (Epigraphic Appendix no 8), although this is not expressly stated, was the *epistates* of Beroia, and a member of the well-known local family of the Harpaloi (Tatakis 116-17, 422, 424, 430). [There is also now unpublished material from Dion].

9. Holleaux, "Remarques" 448 (= *Etudes* I 263).

10. Epigraphic Appendix no 50.

11. Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

12. The document from Gonnoi (Helly, *Gonnoi* II 93A) is too fragmentary to provide any information concerning the activities of the *epistatai* mentioned therein.

the presence of the *epistates* and the *dikastai*, who are responsible for deciding about the spending of the funds. In all the other cases he figures simply as an eponymous official for the dating of the document, which may or may not additionally include the name of the *epistates*, that of the eponymous priest, the month and, on three occasions, the regnal year of the king. The order in which these different elements of the date appear may vary, with the exception of the regnal year, which always figures at the very beginning. In Amphipolis in one case we have: R(egnal year)–E(pistates)–P(riest)–M(onth), in another R–E, in two cases E–P–M, in four cases P–E and in two cases the name of the *epistates* alone.<sup>1</sup>

In Mieza the order seems to be invariably: month–*epistates*–priest, followed by the *tagoi*, in the four documents in which they are mentioned. In the dated decree of Thessalonike, on the other hand, the name of the *epistates* comes after the regnal year, the name of the priest, and the name of the month, and before that of the treasurers (R–P–M–E). Similarly in the sale deed from Kellion in Chalkidike the names of the priest and of the month precede that of the *epistates*. Finally on our documents from Argilos and Beroia the name of the eponymous *epistates* figures alone.

In this respect the *epistates* functions in a manner strictly parallel to that of the priest who serves as an eponymous magistrate in another document from Beroia<sup>2</sup> and with whom he is interchangeable, in precisely the same way that the *archon* and the priest are interchangeable in the documents of Philippoi.<sup>3</sup> In fact in Antigonid Macedonia—contrary to what happens with royal documents—there is no fixed rule for the dating of civic documents and the formulae vary from city to city or even from document to document within the same city.<sup>4</sup> We have already seen an example of elaborate dating from Thessalonike, with regnal year, priest, month and *epistates*.<sup>5</sup> At the other extreme we have seven examples from Kassandreia dated only by the eponymous priest, to whom the name of the month is added in five cases.<sup>6</sup> Philippoi follows the same pattern, mentioning, besides the month, only the priest or the *archon*.<sup>7</sup> We have already examined the extreme

1 . The deed of sale Epigraphic Appendix no 90 B is too fragmentary to show in which order the different elements of the date were given.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 93.

3 . Hatzopoulos, "Philippes" 320-22; cf. p. 155-56, above.

4 . Cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 20-21.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 52.

6 . Hatzopoulos, "Cassandree" 577-78.

7 . Hatzopoulos, "Philippes" 320-22; cf. p. 147-48, above.

variety of the Amphipolitan datings, citing or not citing the regnal year or the month but always mentioning the *epistates* and as a rule also the priest in varying orders. Anthemous<sup>1</sup> mentions all its three *archontes* for dating purposes and so do Kalindoia,<sup>2</sup> Apollonia<sup>3</sup> and Morrylos,<sup>4</sup> the latter also dating occasionally by the names of the regional *strategoi*.<sup>5</sup> Beroia seems to hesitate between the priest,<sup>6</sup> the *epistates*<sup>7</sup> and the regional *strategos*.<sup>8</sup> However, the real eponymous magistrate in Kalindoia,<sup>9</sup> as well as in Pella,<sup>10</sup> Beroia<sup>11</sup> and Antigoneia<sup>12</sup> is the priest of Asklepios. Finally, Mieza names at least the priest and the *epistates* and in some cases the *tagoi*.<sup>13</sup>

IV. The accumulation of new epigraphic evidence makes it now possible to establish that the *epistatai* were annual magistrates. A few decades ago, one might, like D. Lazarides, invoke the fact that the name of one of the Amphipolitan *epistatai* is associated with the names of two different priests, in order to argue that "le magistrat éponyme réel est le prêtre et non l'épistate, et que ce dernier a pu rester en charge pour une durée supérieure à une année" and evoke the names of "governors" included in dating formulae.<sup>14</sup> There is however a very substantial difference. The governor, for the very obvious reason that he remains in office for more than one year, is never eponymous. His name never figures alone, but always after that of the king followed by the regnal year, which only provided the dating.<sup>15</sup> If the governor became an independent dynast, like Pleistarchos or Eupolemos, then the document is dated by his name only, but always followed by his "regnal" year.<sup>16</sup> The name of an *epistates* of Am-

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 68.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 67.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 66.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 93.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 73.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 62.

10 . Cf. p. 154, n. 3, above.

11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 82.

12 . Epigraphic Appendix no 81.

13 . Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

14 . Lazaridis, "Contrats" 433; cf. *BullEpigr* 1963, 136.

15 . Cf. Robert, *Amyzon* 97-100.

16 . Cf. L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Synuri près de Mylasa* (Paris 1945) 55-62, no 44: 'Εβδόμου ἔτους, ἐπὶ Πλειστάρχου; P. Roos, "Alte und neue Inschriftenfunde aus Zentralkarien", *IstMitt* 25 (1975) 339: Τρίτου [ἔτους] ἐπὶ Πλειστάρχου μηνός [Δύσ]-τρον; R.M. Errington, "Inschriften von Euromos", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 21 (1993)

hipolis, Sparges, does appear in the company of the names of four different priests (Teison, Andron, Euainetos, Hermagoras) not in two, but actually in five different deeds of sale, but, as I have extensively argued elsewhere, this is due to the exceptional circumstances prevailing in the few years immediately following the capture of Amphipolis by Philip II.<sup>1</sup> The real test, however, is provided by the instances in which the *epistates* figures as the sole eponymous. We now possess five documents from the general Macedonian region presenting this characteristic: one deed of sale from Argilos,<sup>2</sup> one deed of sale from Amphipolis,<sup>3</sup> one deed of sale from Stolos,<sup>4</sup> one dedication from Beroia<sup>5</sup> and one dedication probably from Amphipolis.<sup>6</sup> The first three belong to the period preceding the Macedonian conquest of their respective cities and thus do not bear direct evidence on the *epistatai* as the sole eponymous officials in the Macedonian state. They provide, however, as we shall see below, valuable information concerning the origin of the office. The latter two documents, on the other hand, date beyond question from the Macedonian royal period, providing sufficient evidence that the *epistates* might function then as a sole eponymous official.<sup>7</sup> A corollary to this conclusion is that the office of the *epistates* was normally annual, for otherwise he would not have been able, by himself, to be of any use for dating purposes. The annual character of the *epistates* finds further confirmation in the deeds of sale from Mieza, where the first series ("page" I) all clearly belonging to the same year, display regularly the names of one and the same priest and of one and the same *epistates*, whereas the deeds of the second series ("page" II), which belongs to another, presumably the following, year, is dated by the name of another *epistates*.<sup>8</sup>

V. The Thessalonike decree, being along with Philip V's *diagrammata* from the same city and from Amphipolis the only document where the (*hyp*)*epistates* is more than a mere eponymous and can be

15-18: [---] ἔτους, ἐπὶ Πλεισιτάρχου, | [μηνὸς Δ]ύστρου ---; and now, A.P. Gregory, "A Macedonian δυνάστης: Evidence for the Life and Career of Pleistarchos Antipatrou", *Historia* 44 (1995) 11-28.

1 . Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 73-76.

2 . Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 14-19, no I.

3 . Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 19-24, no II.

4 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 27-31, no III.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 73.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 77.

7 . To these two documents a third can now be added: the late-fourth-century dedication from the Perrhaibian Tripolis dated only by an eponymous *epistates* (see p. 156, n. 15, above).

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

seen actually at work, deserve to be examined in greater detail. As we have already said, in the first of these documents the *hypepistates* and the five *dikastai* introduce a decree (Σωσίπατρος ὁ ὑπεπιστάτης καὶ οἱ δ[ικα]σταὶ Μένανδρος, Νικόδημος, Φιλόδημος, Ἴππίας, [Π]αύσων εἶπαν...).<sup>1</sup> It must be stressed that the *rogatio* is indistinguishable from the other four surviving *rogationes* of Macedonian cities from the royal period introduced by persons qualified specifically as magistrates,<sup>2</sup> whose civic character is indisputable (Kassandreia: οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ νομοφύλακες εἶπαν;<sup>3</sup> οἱ νομοφύλακες εἶπαν;<sup>4</sup> οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶπαν;<sup>5</sup> Morrylos: Εὔξενος Σάμου, Μένανδρος Ὀλωίχου, Νικάνωρ Παραμόνου οἱ ἄρχοντες εἶπαν<sup>6</sup>). No convincing reason can be given for the participation of a royal official in the introduction of the decree of Thessalonike, but not in those of Kassandreia and Morrylos. Holleaux's hypothesis that the *hypepistates* is involved because "il s'agit de répondre à un ambassadeur, le droit de communiquer et de traiter avec l'étranger, même quand la question à régler est, comme ici, d'importance minime, rentrant par excellence dans la catégorie des droits régaliens",<sup>7</sup> is disproved by the Kassandreia *asylia*<sup>8</sup> which also implies dealing with a foreign state. The King may have given his general assent for the granting of the *asylia*<sup>8</sup> but had not been consulted for the participation in the games and, therefore, the presence of a royal official who could make sure that the city did not transgress the royal directives would not have been superfluous. Nor can one argue that in August 243 Kassandreia was more autonomous than Thessalonike a few years later;<sup>9</sup> for, as we have seen, by that time Kassandreia had been incorporated into the Macedonian national territory and only the titles of her magistrates recalled her former status. Nor is it a question of size and importance; for Kalindoia,<sup>10</sup> Apollonia,<sup>11</sup> Anthemous<sup>12</sup> or Morrylos,<sup>13</sup> which were all governed

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 50.

2 . For the particular case of the decree from Pydna (Epigraphic Appendix no 55), see p. 368, above.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 47.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 45.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 46.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

7 . Holleaux, "Remarques" (= *Etudes* I 269).

8 . Giovannini, "Cités" 469.

9 . Cf. Bengtson, "Randbemerkungen" 462-63.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 67.

11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 66.

12 . Epigraphic Appendix no 68.

13 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

by a board of three *archontes*, were no less important than Mieza or Herakleion –not to speak of Euia (or Greia) and Alkomena<sup>1</sup> (see below)– where *epistatai* are attested. In fact, for all we know, one of Morrylos' three *archontes* was possibly called the *epistates*, but it was not deemed indispensable to name him separately. The best parallel is provided by Amphipolis, where the *asylia* decree mentions the *archontes*, without reserving any special place for the *epistates*,<sup>2</sup> who certainly existed, but seems to be named separately only for dating purposes, as in the archon list from the same city.<sup>3</sup> It is probably for the same reason that in Mieza the *epistates* is mentioned separately from the *tagoi*.<sup>4</sup> The documents from Philippoi confirm that the chief magistrate could either be named separately, especially for dating purposes (deed of sale)<sup>5</sup> or be included under the general name of *archontes*.<sup>6</sup> Finally, a strong argument for the *epistates'* civic rather than royal character is the fact that he was succeeded in all his functions by the *politarchai*, who were unquestionably civic magistrates.

In Amphipolis the last public document of the royal period is dated by the two *politarchai*<sup>7</sup> and I have argued elsewhere that the same is true of Thessalonike.<sup>8</sup> The gymnasiarchical law of Beroia,<sup>9</sup> which has now been proved to belong to the last years of the kings,<sup>10</sup> is introduced by the gymnasiarch and two other persons, who, as I argue above,<sup>11</sup> must probably be identified with the *politarchai* mentioned at the end of the document. In exactly the same fashion the highest magistrates are the *rogatores* of the decrees of Thessalonike,<sup>12</sup> Morrylos<sup>13</sup> and Kassandreia.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps even more decisive is the fact that not only the successors but also the predecessors and models of the Macedonian *epistatai* were city magistrates; for three of the *epistatai* documents which we

1 . If Nikolaos is indeed an *epistates* and not a *politarch*.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 41.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 61.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 92.

5 . Hatzopoulos, "Philippos" 320.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 36.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 29; cf. *BullEpigr* 1984, 253; 1988, 861 and Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 38-39.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix 72; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 39-40.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60.

10 . Cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 35-41.

11 . See p. 137, above; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 39-40.

12 . Epigraphic Appendix 50.

13 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

14 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 45-47.

have been discussing actually *predate* the Macedonian conquest of the relevant cities.

The deed of sale from Kellion, identified with ancient Stolos, is dated by the priest Kallippides son of Menekles and, for a previous transaction, by the *epistates* Nikon son of Oporis.<sup>1</sup> The name of the same priest can be restored in two other deeds of sale from Kellion; and in two similar documents from Olynthos. Thus, there can be no doubt that the document dates from the period when Stolos did not belong to the Macedonian kingdom but was part of the Chalkidian League. Were it necessary, this conclusion could find confirmation in the following facts: 1) The invocation θεός, τύχη occurs in the general Macedonian area only at Olynthos.<sup>2</sup> 2) The dialect is the peculiar Chalkidian Ionic, as in the other Chalkidian inscriptions prior to the Macedonian conquest, and not the *koine* used in practically all the documents of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> 3) The month Hippiion is known at Olynthos, but is completely foreign to the Macedonian calendar.<sup>4</sup> 4) The numeral system used ( $\Psi = 1,000$ ) is peculiar to the Chalkidian cities of the period of the independence and is never used in documents of the Macedonian kingdom, which employ (with some rare exceptions where the Attic acrophonic system is used) exclusively the well-known letter system that prevailed with the *koine*.<sup>5</sup> 5) The whole structure of the document follows closely the pattern of the deeds from Olynthos and not of the cities of the kingdom, such as Mieza or Amphipolis after its incorporation into the national territory.<sup>6</sup> 6) Another deed of sale from Kellion which mentions as a witness a Straton son of Kteson,<sup>7</sup> most probably the brother of Nikon son of Kteson, who figures as a buyer in our inscription and also as a seller in another deed of sale from Kellion,<sup>8</sup> is dated by the priest Antidotos son of Polykles, who is well-known as the eponymous official of yet another deed of Stolos, another from the modern village of Arnaia in Chalkidike, and several Olynthian deeds of sale predat-

1 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 27-31, no III.

2 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 28.

3 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 40-50; cf. Anna Panayotou, "Des dialectes à la koiné: l'exemple de la Chalcidique", *ΠΟΙΚΙΛΙΑ* ("ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ" 10; Athens 1990) 206-222.

4 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 65-66; cf. Knoepfler, "Calendrier" 23-58; *eiusdem*, "The Calendar of Olynthus and the Origin of the Chalcidians in Thrace", *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Canberra-Oxford 1990) 99-115.

5 . J. Walter Graham, "X = 10", *Phoenix* 23 (1969) 347-58; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 22; 56; 68.

6 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 55-57 and *eiusdem*, *Amphipolis* 54-61.

7 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 23-27, no II.

8 . Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 31-33, no IV.

ing the Macedonian conquest.<sup>1</sup> Another deed of sale from Kellion also dated by Antidotus son of Polykles mentions as a "neighbour" and as a witness respectively Archies and Epikrates sons of Oporis, most probably brothers of the *epistates* Nikon son of Oporis.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, impossible not to conclude that 1) Stolos at the time of these deeds of sale belonged to the Chalkidian League, whose federal priests were used as eponymous officials for the dating of its documents, and 2) that nevertheless, it enjoyed a certain autonomy under local magistrates called *epistatai*, who might occasionally serve as eponyms along with the federal priest.<sup>3</sup> In effect, the fact that three out of the six known occurrences of the name Oporis, throughout the Greek world, are attested at Stolos makes the local origin of the *epistates* virtually certain.<sup>4</sup>

One need hardly stress the importance of this evidence for the understanding of the institutions of the Chalkidian State. For what interests us immediately here, it is enough to have established that the *epistates* Nikon son of Oporis was almost certainly an annual local magistrate and not the agent of "the narrow despotism of some imperious master".<sup>5</sup>

The second document mentioning an *epistates* and which is earlier than the Macedonian conquest is a deed from Argilos.<sup>6</sup> Its editor attributed it to Amphipolis, but it is probable that the ancient site at Nea Kerdyllia, where it was found, belonged originally to Argilos, which was not annexed to the territory of Amphipolis before the Macedonian conquest of both cities in 357.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, it presents a number of oddities, if compared to the Amphipolitan deeds of sale of the Macedonian period: 1) There is no invocation to Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι as in the Amphipolitan deeds of the Macedonian period. 2) No priest is mentioned, as in all Amphipolitan documents, the *epistates* being the sole eponymous official. 3) It bears no Macedonian names, although, as we know from Amphipolitan inscriptions dating from the years immediately following the Macedonian conquest, the old Athenian colony, to whose territory Argilos was now annexed, was heavily colonised by Macedonian settlers.<sup>8</sup> 4) The deed has an original clause of

1. See Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 20 and n. 4, with references.

2. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 19-23, no I.

3. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 66-68.

4. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 21-22.

5. Holleaux, "Remarques" 452 (= *Etudes* I 267).

6. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 14-19, no I.

7. For what follows, see also Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 73-74.

8. For a more detailed discussion, see Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 14-19.



the type known as *πρῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* very frequent in the Cyclades, from where the colonists of Argilos had originally come. Such a clause in the general Macedonian region occurs only in Olynthos at the time of its independence. 5) Finally, although its editor ascribes it to the second half of the fourth century, a comparison of the form of its letters and of its spelling with the oldest Amphipolitan deeds and with the contemporary inscriptions from Olynthos shows that in fact it belongs rather to the first half of that century.

The third document of this sort comes from Amphipolis.<sup>1</sup> It shares a number of characteristics with the preceding deed from Argilos: 1) There is no invocation to God or to Good Fortune. 2) It is dated simply by the name of the *epistates* Sparges and bears no mention of an eponymous priest. 3) None of the names cited bears any Macedonian characteristic; they are either of the usual "panhellenic" kind or "indigenous". 4) The form of the letters has a close likeness to that of the preceding document and ought to place this deed too towards the end of the first half of the fourth century.<sup>2</sup>

As long as the deed from Argilos stood alone in the area of the mouth of the Strymon, it was legitimate to imagine ingenious solutions explaining the absence of the eponymous priest and which would at the same time respect the *opinio communis* according to which the *epistatai* were royal officials appointed for several years and who consequently could not serve as eponymous magistrates.<sup>3</sup> The recent discovery of the deed from Amphipolis required an altogether different interpretation. The clue to the solution was provided by yet another deed from Amphipolis, which, although discovered before the war, disappeared without ever being published.<sup>4</sup> A great number of oddities separate this lost deed from the Amphipolitan deeds of sale of the Macedonian period, the most important of which are the following: 1) The invocation *Τύχη ἀγαθή, θεός* is otherwise unknown in Amphipolis, where deeds of the Macedonian period use the formula *Τύχη Ἄγαθη. Τύχη ἀγαθή, θεός*, is clearly reminiscent of the variant *Θεός, τύχη ἀγαθή*, which occurs in a great number of Chalkidian deeds. 2) The complete absence of Macedonian proper names. 3) The use of a non-Macedonian month, the deed being dated *ἐπὶ ἐπιστάτου Σπάργεως, ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Τείωνος, μηνὸς Ἀφροδισιῶνος*, whereas in all other documents from Amphipolis that

1 . Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 19-24, no II.

2 . See Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 19-24 and 74-77.

3 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 19 and 22-24.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 84.

are dated by months the use of the Macedonian calendar is the rule which allows no exception. 4) Finally, the form of letters and the spelling favour a date hardly later than the middle of the fourth century. Here was a document earlier than the annexation of Amphipolis to the Macedonian commonwealth, since the local calendar is still in use instead of the Macedonian one, but at the same time different from the previous two ones, which apparently represented the norm for the period of independence both at Argilos and at Amphipolis. Its exact significance was revealed when it was studied along with the other five deeds of sale dated by the *epistates* Sparges, either alone or accompanied by a variety of priests of Asklepios. The relevant evidence has been discussed in detail elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> It is enough to report here the main conclusions: 1) Before the Macedonian conquest documents both at Amphipolis and at Argilos were dated by the chief magistrate, the *epistates*, who was the eponymous magistrate of the city. 2) After the Macedonian conquest Amphipolis (we have no evidence concerning Argilos) was not immediately colonised by Macedonian settlers, nor was it annexed to the Macedonian commonwealth. For a short period of time it remained formally independent and, for reasons unknown to us, Philip II deemed it convenient to maintain the then *epistates* Sparges in office well beyond his annual term. This unusual situation created the need for a second (and real) eponymous official and the priesthood of Asklepios was created or used in this capacity. The fourth document which we examined and which is dated by both the *epistates* and the priest of Asklepios and by the local month Aphrodision belongs precisely to this intermediate period. 3) After the Macedonian colonisation and the formal annexation of Amphipolis, Sparges, who apparently had made himself particularly useful to the Macedonian authorities, remained in office for a few more years, and subsequent documents using the Macedonian calendar are dated both by his name and by the name of different priests of Asklepios. 4) Sparges was eventually replaced by other, apparently annual *epistatai*, but in the meantime the priests of Asklepios had been raised to the dignity of eponymous magistrates in all the cities of Macedonia and in subsequent Amphipolitan documents their names normally appear along those of the *epistatai*.

The cumulative evidence from Stolos in Chalkidike, Argilos and Amphipolis on the mouth of the Strymon leaves no doubt that the office of the *epistates* had existed as a *civic* magistracy in regions bordering with Macedonia and soon to be annexed by it before the ap-

1. See Hatzopoulos, *Amphipolis* 24-28 and 74-77.

pearance of a conquering Macedonian king. On the other hand, the documents from Beroia<sup>1</sup> as well as the dedication from Amphipolis (?)<sup>2</sup> constitute an equally decisive proof that even after the Macedonian conquest the *epistates* in his solitary position was a real eponymous official as only an annual magistrate can be. His title then should be understood as ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἀρχόντων, chief magistrate and presiding official of the Council and the Assembly, like the ἐπεστακὸς ταγός and later the προστάτης and the πρωτοστάτης ταγός in Thessaly,<sup>3</sup> the *epistates* of Nagidos<sup>4</sup> or the *prostatas* of the local communities of Epeiros.<sup>5</sup>

The very number –perhaps more than a hundred– and the annual mandate of the *epistatai* do not allow us seriously to entertain the hypothesis that these were high dignitaries of the royal court, for everything we know about the political and social structure of Macedonia precludes the existence of a numerous bureaucracy, such as a pool of several hundreds of royal officers, necessary for the annual rotation of the *epistatai* in all the cities of the kingdom.

Nor is there anything in the *epistates'* duties, as they are explicitly stated by our other document, Philip V's *diagramma* from Thessalonike,<sup>6</sup> which is incompatible with what one would expect from a civic magistrate. As has been mentioned above, the King ordains that the "treasure" of Sarapis should not be opened without the presence of the *epistates* and the *dikastai* and that its revenues should not be spent "unreasonably" (ἀλόγως) but with their consent (μετὰ τῆς τούτων γνώμης). There is nothing incongruous, by contemporary Greek standards at least, in the city magistrates *as a board* being responsible for the supervision of the sanctuaries of the city and in particular in financial matters. The *epistates* of the *diagramma*, like the *hypepistates* of the decree of Thessalonike, although he receives a special mention as the chief magistrate, never acts separately, but always jointly with his lesser colleagues. But it is the new *diagramma* from Amphipolis<sup>7</sup> which provides the decisive piece of evidence showing that the *epistates* was a civic magistrate. For, if the *epistatai* of the cities of Mace-

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 73.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 69, and also from Perrhaibian Tripolis; see p. 156, n. 15, above.

3 . *IG IX 2*, 257; 69; 538; 34.

4 . Jones-Habicht 319 (*SEG* 39 [1989] 1426), L. 19: Λεωσοθένης ἐπεστάται, γνώμη προστατῶν; cf. the *prostates* and the *archontes* at Amyzon (Robert, *Amyzon* 97-101).

5 . Cabanes, *Epire* 379-83.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

donia are required to act in lieu of the *gymnasiarchoi*—who were undoubtedly civic magistrates—<sup>1</sup> one can safely deduce that they, too, were annually elected officials of the kind.

Finally, a negative indication should perhaps be added to the other arguments cited above against the assumption that the *epistatai* were royal officials: we never hear of an *epistates* receiving honours of the kind that subject cities used to lavish on representatives of the central authorities, such as *phrouarchoi*, *strategoï* and other *τεταγμένοι*. A decree of Olbasa recently published provides both a striking parallel and a telling contrast with the decree of Gazoros.<sup>2</sup> Both decrees are similarly motivated, both are to be inscribed on *stelae* and in both cases embassies are chosen in order to communicate their contents to the Attalid and the Macedonian king respectively. But, whereas the honorand of the Macedonian decree is a citizen of Gazoros, both the honorands of the Olbasa decree are strangers in the service of the Attalid king. It is also noteworthy that the decree of Olbasa cannot take effect before it has been validated (*κυρῶσαι*) by the King, whereas no such procedure is attested for the enactment of the Gazoros decree.

#### SOME ELEMENTS EXPLAINING THE PERSISTENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

How is it possible then that so many and superbly competent scholars have considered for so long that citizens of several cities appointed annually, acting and speaking like magistrates all over the Greek world, having their model in a magistracy of admittedly republican states, such as Amphipolis and the Chalkidian League, and, finally, being replaced by other officials whose character as city magistrates is universally accepted, were in fact royal and not civic officials?

The truth is that at the same time that new epigraphic discoveries were destroying Holleaux's equation of the Macedonian *epistatai* with the homonymous Rhodian officials and with Doston's Boiotian *epistates* in Sparta, other texts offered or seemed to offer new arguments in favour of his main thesis: that the Macedonian *epistatai* were royal functionaries and not civic magistrates. One could not help being im-

1 . Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 50-52.

2 . R.A. Kearsley, "The Milyas and the Attalids: a Decree of the city of Olbasa and a New Royal Letter of the Second Century B.C.", *AnatSt* 44 (1994) 47-57. For the Gazoros decree, see Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

pressed by the uniformity of the title of the chief magistrates in all Macedonian cities. This uniformity could not be ascribed to mere chance but had to reflect a conscious policy of the kings to organise on the same pattern all the cities of the realm and the will to have in each one of them a functionary directly answerable to them. Equally significant was the fact that the kings or their representatives always correspond not with the Council and the People of the cities but with the *epistates*, who appears thus personally responsible for the execution of the measures taken by the central authorities. Some of these measures, such as the clause in the *diagramma* of Thessalonike prohibiting to introduce a decree alienating any property of the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, showed the *epistates* enforcing royal decisions which in other Greek cities would normally have been enacted by civic laws or decrees. Thus, it was only natural that S. Pelekides, who first published this *diagramma*, faithfully followed Holleaux's theory without discussion and interpreted the *epistates* and his assessors – whose name he could now establish as *dikastai* – as royal officials in charge of the administration of Thessalonike.<sup>1</sup> Welles, who republished the inscription, went a step farther and suggested – a theory which has since been universally accepted<sup>2</sup> – that Andronikos, the author of the covering letter, and the *epistates* were in fact one and the same person and that his addressees were not the priests of the sanctuary, as Pelekides had thought, but the civic magistrates of Thessalonike.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, when Ch. Makaronas published Philip V's letter to Archippos, he did not hesitate to see in the latter one of Holleaux's royal officials, since the addressee was asked by the King to display the royal letter before the *epistasion*.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation met with Welles' unqualified approval<sup>5</sup> and has remained unchallenged since then. To cite the latter scholar's own words: "As the editor correctly infers, Archippos then was himself presumably an *epistates*, a royal 'overseer' or resident stationed in a city to safeguard the king's interests... We may be sure that, if an *epistates* was addressed, it was because the land in question lay within the city's jurisdiction." It is remarkable that neither Makaronas nor Welles ever stopped to think how the king could spare dignitaries "of his immediate circle" to man

1. Pelekides, *Πολιτεία* 16-17.

2. Cf. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 297.

3. Welles, "Texts" 250.

4. Makaronas, "Επιστολή" 123: "...οί ἐπιστάται, οί ἀνώτεροι οὔτοι τιτλοῦχοι τῶν ἑλληνιστικῶν χρόνων ἦσαν διοικηταὶ πόλεων, διοριζόμενοι ἀπ' εὐθείας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καί, πιθανώτατα, προερχόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀμέσου αὐλικοῦ περιβάλλοντος".

5. Welles, "Texts" 248.

every year not only a hundred or so Macedonian cities, but also each of the several scores of hamlets (κῶμαι) of the five Macedonian cantons (Eordaia, Elemia, Lynkos, Orestis, Tymphaia-Parauaia) west of the Bermion range. With the best of wills one can hardly stretch an "immediate court circle" to such an extent. Welles in particular should have known of another royal document published in 1896, to which we shall return later, that could have provided him with a much less unlikely solution.

In fact, Pelekides, Makaronas and Welles were influenced by Woodward's interpretation of another royal document, Demetrios II's letters from Beroia.<sup>1</sup> In the commentary of his edition the British scholar had suggested that Harpalos, the addressee of the crown prince's letters concerning the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia, was the governor of that city and possibly bore the title of *epistates*.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently the suggestion was unanimously adopted.<sup>3</sup>

Under these conditions and in the face of such unanimity it was only natural that more recent publications of Hellenistic administrative documents from Macedonia followed similar interpretations. Thus, Fanoula Papazoglou identified Nikolaos, the addressee of a copy of a royal letter as the *epistates*, a subordinate royal functionary, of the Derriopian hamlet of Alkomena,<sup>4</sup> and her identification was generally adopted.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Chaïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, when she published two letters of Philip V from Amphipolis,<sup>6</sup> interpreted the addressee, whose name or title did not survive because of a lacuna, as a royal functionary, an *epistates*.<sup>7</sup> The Greek scholar did have some doubts; for after the greetings to the *epistates*, whose personal name without the title, in conformity with the diplomatic rule, she would restore in the lacuna, the king continues his letter by referring to his correspondents *in the plural* (...οἱ κατοικοῦντες παρ' ὑμῶν...), a fact which "might orientate our thoughts in the direction of a corporate administrative body"; she dismisses these thoughts, however, because, as she rightly points out, the lacuna does not leave enough space for the restoration of the name of such a body as the addressee.

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.

2 . Woodward, "Beroia" 137.

3 . Cf. *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 459; P. Roussel, "Les ΚΥΝΗΓΟΙ à l'époque hellénistique et romaine", *REG* 43 (1930) 367; Edson, "Antigonids" 227.

4 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 307-308.

5 . Cf. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 104, no 112.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

7 . Koukouli, "Ἐπιστολές" 153.

These documents, which have been added to the "dossier" of the Macedonian *epistatai* and their interpretation confront us with a number of interrelated problems: 1) Have their authors or their addressees been rightly interpreted as *epistatai*? In the cases where the answer is positive, are these officials behaving as royal functionaries, *i.e.* representatives of the royal authority, or as civic magistrates, *i.e.* representatives of the local communities? What are the matters about which the kings or their representatives addressed themselves to the *epistatai* and in which form? Finally and above all, which were the fields and the procedures of the intervention of outside authorities in the affairs of the local communities? In fact, the problem of the authors and the addressees of the official documents cannot be dissociated from their diplomatic form (letter, *diagramma* etc.), their scope (purely local or concerning more than one community) and their subject matter (religious, military or other affairs), form and substance together constituting evidence for the relative spheres of competence of central and local authority in Macedonia.

#### FORM AND CONTENT OF MACEDONIAN ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter we now possess in a more or less fragmentary state 15 royal and 3 non-royal administrative letters and at least five and probably six *diagrammata* found in and/or concerning Macedonia, to which a smaller number of important documents from Thessaly, a region that had so much in common with Macedonia, could be added and examined jointly with profit.<sup>1</sup> Their evidence can only be studied as a whole.

From the fragmentary field-army "code" from Amphipolis<sup>2</sup> and the complete garrison "code" known from copies found at Chalkis and at Kynos,<sup>3</sup> it is enough to retain, for the time being, that they are probably part of the same *diagramma* valid for the totality of the Macedonian armed forces—both field army and garrison troops—and the commissariat attached to them.<sup>4</sup> Although the two documents from Philippoi are fragmentary,<sup>5</sup> enough is preserved to enable us to un-

1 . For other Macedonian royal letters concerning other Greek cities or *ethne*, see the list in Papazoglou, "Fragment" 305, n. 3.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 12.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 13.

4 . Cf. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 302; Loreto 364, n. 115.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 6 and 7.

derstand that they concern boundary disputes. The copy of the *diagramma* concerning the participation of athletes in the *stephanitai* games of the Macedonian cities, recently discovered at Amphipolis,<sup>1</sup> does not specifically concern this city, but obviously all the cities of the kingdom. Of the six letters from Amphipolis, three are too fragmentary to be of much use,<sup>2</sup> but the remaining three, although only one of them is complete, are sufficiently well-preserved for us to understand their general scope: one concerns the termination of special privileges,<sup>3</sup> another the publication of a royal grant of privileges,<sup>4</sup> and the third the insertion of the *diagramma* concerning the games into the gymnasiarchical law of the city.<sup>5</sup> From an unknown place in Mygdonia comes a boundary settlement of Philip II, apparently a *diagramma*, although this term does not figure in the surviving portion of the stele.<sup>6</sup> From Thessalonike we have the complete covering letter of Andronikos and the excerpt of the royal *diagramma* concerning the sanctuary of Sarapis.<sup>7</sup> From Beroia three complete letters of the crown prince Demetrios to Harpalos concerning the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas<sup>8</sup> and one very fragmentary but still usable letter of Philip V (or Antigonos Doson), presumably to the city, concerning military rewards have come down to us.<sup>9</sup> At Dion has been found a fragmentary covering letter of Philip V and a *diagramma* on a boundary dispute.<sup>10</sup> From Elemia or Eordaia comes the complete letter of Philip V to Archippos concerning the publication of a grant to a military unit.<sup>11</sup> From Alkomena we have the covering letter of Doules to Nikolaos and a paraphrase of a royal circular letter concerning religious observances.<sup>12</sup> Finally a small settlement in Lynkos preserves the end of a letter of Philip II to a local army unit concerning military rewards.<sup>13</sup>

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9 (second letter); no 14 (second letter) and no 18 (*hypomnema*).

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 14 (first letter).

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9 (first letter).

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 4.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 11 (and now a letter of Antigonos Gonatas).

11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

12 . Epigraphic Appendix no 19.

13 . Epigraphic Appendix no 5.



According to their subject matter, their scope, their addressees and their diplomatic form, these documents fall into a small number of categories. According to the first criterion they concern arbitrations, religious, financial and military matters. According to their scope they concern either the whole state or two (or more) local communities, one particular community or one particular group within a community. The document may aim at introducing new rules, at obtaining respect for existing ones, or at simply communicating decisions for publication. The addressee may be nobody in particular, a person in an official and often representative capacity, or a community. Finally, the only two diplomatic forms attested in Macedonia are the letter and the *diagramma*, no *prostagma*, at least readily recognisable as such, having come down to us in a documentary form.<sup>1</sup>

The two documents from Philippoi are not royal documents but reports of ambassadors which preserve the original royal document only in indirect speech. One is reported only by Mertzides, and, although its similarity with authentic documents of the same sort supports the suggestion that such an inscription was really seen by the imaginative doctor,<sup>2</sup> the accuracy of the version that he has published cannot be vouched for.<sup>3</sup> Anyway, it is so fragmentary that it cannot be very instructive in the present discussion.

The second one, which is partly still extant and much better preserved,<sup>4</sup> seems to be mainly concerned with the settlement of a dispute between the city and the neighbouring Thracians, and particularly with the fate of the untitled royal land. An embassy from Philippoi had pleaded the cause of the city before Alexander probably in the early months of 330 and reported by letter to the city a certain number of the king's decisions, some of them provisional, pending the *ἐπίσκεψις* of Philotas and Leonnatos, the king's delegates, and the actual return of the embassy with Alexander's final decisions, neither of which ever materialised.<sup>5</sup>

Such territorial settlements are by no means unusual. The inscription from an unknown location in Mygdonia preserves, as we have al-

1. See, however, p. 414, below, Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 435, n. 48 and Pol. 23.10.10: ὅσοι κατὰ βασιλικὸν πρόσταγμα τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήθησαν, but we cannot be certain that Polybios is using a technical term. On the difficulty of distinguishing between a *prostagma* and a letter, cf. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 15-18 (= *Etudes* III 207-210) and Lenger XXIII-XXIV.

2. Cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 46, no 7, L. 2-3.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 7.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 6.

5. See in particular *BullEpigr* 1987, 714.

ready seen, an ὄροθεσία of Philip II, which was probably published originally as a *diagramma*.<sup>1</sup> From documents of the Roman period we know of another ὄροθεσία "of Philip the king" for the Bragylioi, the Tiberioi and the Kossynioi<sup>2</sup> and that of "Amyntas, the father of Philip" between Doliche and Elemia.<sup>3</sup> The Macedonian kings proceeded in the same way in Thessaly, from where we have the important but very fragmentary epigraphic "dossier" of Gonnoi concerning the settlement of the boundary dispute of this city with Herakleion<sup>4</sup> and the *diagramma* with the royal letter from Dion concerning another boundary dispute between Pherai and another city, possibly Demetrias.<sup>5</sup>

Among the main pieces of the Gonnoi "dossier" is an opisthographic inscription with a document on one side (A) prescribing that the dispute between Gonnoi and Herakleion be settled according to the *diagramma*, or the *diagrammata* and bearing on the other side (B) the text of testimonies concerning the traditional boundaries of the two cities and a covering letter by a certain Hippokrates from Olosson. Unfortunately, neither the nature nor the author (nor the addressee, if there was one) of the document is preserved. The latest editor suggests that the document is a letter of king Philip V distinct from the *diagramma* mentioned therein. He justifies this assumption on the grounds that a *diagramma* "est un règlement de portée générale, et ne peut faire allusion, comme l'inscription, à une cité particulière, Gonnoi en l'occurrence".<sup>6</sup> This is not necessarily so. A *diagramma*, such as that of Thessalonike (see below), can, among other things, refer to a particular city.<sup>7</sup> The mention of the *diagramma* itself or other *diagrammata* and the mixture of infinitives and imperatives are more characteristic of a *diagramma* than of a letter and have their parallels in the *diagrammata* of Chalkis and Kynos<sup>8</sup> and of Amphipolis<sup>9</sup> and in that of Philip-Arrhidaios.<sup>10</sup> On the whole, although some other

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 4.

2 . Hatzopoulos-Loukoroulou, *Morrylos* 58, n. 1: ὄρους ἀποκατέστησε κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ὄροθεσίαν.

3 . Wace-Thompson 195: *f(i)nes... regiae factae ab Amynta Philippi patr(e) inter Dolichanos et Elemiotas*.

4 . Helly, *Gonnoi* II 100-105, no 93.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 11.

6 . Helly, *Gonnoi* II 103.

7 . Cf. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 301-303, where the qualification *lex satuta* is very aptly used.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 13.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 12.

10 . Diod. 18.56.1-8.

diplomatic form, such as a *prostagma*, cannot be formally excluded, a *diagramma* remains the likeliest possibility. The letter (ἐπιστολή) to which Hippokrates alludes,<sup>1</sup> is most probably not the document of side A of the inscription, but the actual covering letter of this official himself, whom the editor identifies with an *epistates*. This identification, too, is clearly impossible, unless we attribute to this title an entirely different content than that of the homonymous officials in the cities of Macedonia –and the editor in fact is obliged to envisage such a solution–<sup>2</sup> for Hippokrates is not attached to a city, but has administrative dealings with at least two of them, and, therefore, should be identified either with a regional official, such as the Macedonian *strategoï*, or, more probably, with an *ad hoc* arbitrator appointed by the king.<sup>3</sup>

The other important inscription of the Gonnoi "dossier" contains two closely related documents: the beginning of a letter of Petraios "to the *tagoi* and the city of Gonnoi" and a very fragmentary document which precedes it, mentioning the appointment of some people whose names have not been preserved and of a *geometres* to make a survey (ἐπίσκεψις), presumably in connection with the boundary dispute between Herakleion and Gonnoi.<sup>4</sup> The editor, from the overall aspect of the document, and particularly from the fact that it is dated, identifies it with a *diagramma*, indeed the very *diagramma* pertaining to the boundary conflict between Gonnoi and Herakleion. His arguments are by no means cogent; in particular, contrary to what the editor asserts, not only is the date not a special characteristic of the *diagramma*, but in fact Macedonian *diagrammata* are never dated.<sup>5</sup> It is also interesting to note that such an identification is in flagrant contradiction with the –inaccurate in this extreme form– assertion made by the same editor a few pages previously, that the *diagramma* is a regulation of general scope that can not refer to one particular city.<sup>6</sup> In fact it is far more likely that the first document too is a letter, probably of the king himself, Philip V. The addressee is not men-

1. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 101, no 93, L. 25; cf. the ἐπιστολή referred to in the Mygdonian boundary settlement (Epigraphic Appendix no 4, L. 30-31: [καὶ ὅσα Ὀσβα]ίοις κατ' ἐπιστολὴν προσ[δε]δομένα ἐν τῇ Ὀλαίᾳ πλῆθρα).

2. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 103.

3. Cf. Petraios in the document Helly, *Gonnoi* II 107-110, no 98.

4. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 107-110, no 98.

5. Which is only to be expected, since one of the distinguishing features of the *diagramma* is precisely that it has no *praescriptum* and consequently no date.

6. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 103. But the *diagramma* of Thessalonike, for instance, refers not only to a particular city but to a particular sanctuary in that city (Epigraphic Appendix no 15).

tioned, but the city of Gonnoi or possibly Petraios are the most likely candidates.

Unfortunately, the closest Macedonian parallel, which is better preserved,<sup>1</sup> the letter of Philip V concerning Pherai (and probably Demetrias) found at Dion and dated in the 16th year of his reign is not yet completely published.<sup>2</sup> In the concluding lines: "...see, therefore, to its engraving (the settlement) on a stone stele and to its depositing in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios. In the 16th year, on the 12th of the intercalary month", there appears a certain distinction between the recipient of the King's orders and those immediately responsible for their execution, which is difficult to reconcile with the simple assertion that "the letter is addressed to the Pheraians and possibly also to the inhabitants of Demetrias".<sup>3</sup> In fact, from a cursory examination of the stele exposed in the Museum of Dion, it appears that, in this case too, we are dealing with two distinct documents: a) a dated royal covering letter addressed to somebody who has to make sure that the litigants engrave and set up the text of the royal settlement in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Dion and, b) the royal settlement itself, probably, like the Mygdonian one, in the form of a *diagramma*.

Although many questions remain unanswered because of the fragmentary state of the evidence (or of its publication), in the best preserved instances of the surviving documents one can see a remarkable continuity in the settlement of boundary litigation over nearly one and a half centuries, from the reign of Alexander the Great to that of Philip V. Embassies from the litigant cities go to see the King and ask for his arbitration (Philippoi: [π]ρεσβεύσαν[τες ὡς βασιλέα Ἄλ]ε]ξ[α]ν[δ]ρον; ἢ πρεσβεία ἢ πα[ρὰ τοῦ Ἄ]λε]ξ[α]νδρου;<sup>4</sup> πρέσβεις ἀποσταλέντες;<sup>5</sup> cf. Gonnoi: [οἱ παρ]ὰ τῶν Ἡρακλειωτῶν κομίζο[ν]τες --- πρὸς τὸν [β]ασιλέα).<sup>6</sup> The King in his turn appoints arbiters (Philippoi: Φιλώταν καὶ Λεονν[ά]τον);<sup>7</sup> cf. Gonnoi: οἱ προχ[ειρισθέν]τες)<sup>8</sup> who after an inspection (Philippoi: ἐπισκέψα[σθαι];<sup>9</sup> cf. Gon-

1. The still better preserved Mygdonian *orothesis* of Philip II (Epigraphic Appendix no 4) is of a different type, since it seems to have originally been in the form of a *diagramma*.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 11.

3. Pandermalis, "Λατρειες" 340.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 6.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 7; cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 46, no 7, L. 2-3.

6. Helly, *Gonnoi* II no 98.

7. Epigraphic Appendix no 6.

8. Helly, *Gonnoi* II no 98.

9. Epigraphic Appendix no 6; cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 62, no 11, L. 14.

noi: [ἐπί]σκεψιν)<sup>1</sup> decide on the issue and draw or redraw the disputed boundaries (ὀρίσαι).<sup>2</sup> The exact role of the regional officials, Petraios in the dispute between Gonnoi and Herakleion, and possibly the unnamed addressee of the royal letter in the conflict between Pherai and Demetrias, cannot be precisely defined for lack of sufficient evidence. Of particular interest for the present enquiry is the fact that the higher authorities –either the King himself or the regional officials– do not communicate with the cities through some royal overseer, but address themselves directly to the communities and to their representative magistrates (cf. Gonnoi: Γοννέων τοῖς ταγο[ῖς καὶ τῆι πόλει χαιρεῖν]).<sup>3</sup>

Although in none of these cases did both the litigant cities belong to Macedonia proper,<sup>4</sup> there is no *a priori* reason to believe that the procedures followed should have been markedly different in the cases of litigation between Macedonian communities, known to us from the Roman documents mentioned above.<sup>5</sup> A confirmation of this suggestion can be found in Philip II's boundary arbitration between several Mygdonian cities.<sup>6</sup> The detailed description of the boundaries implies the presence of arbiters carrying out a tour of inspection under royal orders.

Unfortunately only a few lines survive from the text of the royal letter to Beroia dated in the 7th year of an unnamed king.<sup>7</sup> Since on palaeographical grounds the document belongs to the last quarter of the third century, the two possible candidates can only be Antigonos Doson and Philip V.<sup>8</sup> The editors of the inscription favour the former king. For me, the mention of a military expedition under way at the moment of its composition (τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῖς συ(ν)αγωνισαμένοις, ὅταν καταλύσῃσι τῆ[ν] στρατείαν) referred to in almost the same terms as in Philip V's second letter to Larisa (ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ ἐπιστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς [στρατ]είας διακούσω), which is dated on the 13th of Gorpaios of his 7th year (August 215, or, more probably, 214),<sup>9</sup> consti-

1 . Helly, *Gonnoi* II no 98.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 6.

3 . Helly, *Gonnoi* II no 98.

4 . Philippoi was not part of the national territory in 330, and we have no means of fixing the date from the second document from this city, which is only known from Mertzides' copy, in order to determine whether it dates from before or after Philippoi's incorporation into Macedonia.

5 . See p. 399, above.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 4.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

8 . Cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 40, n. 1.

9 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 543.

tutes a strong argument for ascribing the letter to Beroia, dated on the 17th of Gorpaios of the King's 7th year, also to Philip V, and for seeing in both letters, written four days apart, a reflection of the same circumstances. The fragmentary state of the document from Beroia is the more deplorable in that it deprives us of crucial information about the king's activities in one of the most decisive years of his career.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to make up for the silences of the broken stone. All that can be said from the last surviving lines is that this letter, also written from the "front" (the mention of Delos –if not an illusion– would suggest a maritime expedition, such as the attack on Kerkyra reported by Appian<sup>2</sup> and Zonaras,<sup>3</sup> or, more probably, the attack on Orikos and Apollonia reported by Livy<sup>4</sup>), concerned itself with military matters and particularly with rewards to the military who had fought with the king (τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις), in order to provide incentives and to encourage new enrolments capable of securing for the king the needed manpower. The financial aspect of the rewards to the officers will be discussed in the chapter on finance, and the significance of the appended list of names in the chapter on the Army, below. Although the *praescriptum* with the beginning of the letter is missing, its final sentence (περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κοινῇ μὲν γέγραφα πρὸς Βοττεάτας καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ καθ' ἰδίαν ἔκρινον ἐπιστεῖλαι) leaves little doubt that the addressee was the city of Beroia itself and that a similar letter had been addressed by the King to the Botteatai.

Even more frustrating, if possible, is the loss of the entire beginning of the oldest, perhaps historically the most important, and undoubtedly the most tantalising royal letter, the one written by Philip II to his *Katlestai*, probably a local military unit, in May-June 345.<sup>5</sup> Only the final lines of the letter are preserved in their entirety, with the order to "engrave (it) on a stele and to display (it) in the most conspicuous place". The analogy from the later Beroia inscription makes it very likely that this letter, too, granted some sort of privileges, possibly tax and other exemptions, to those who had fought along with the King (οἱ παραταξάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Φιλίππου). The conclusion that the letter was addressed directly to the unit recruited lo-

1. It is the year of Philip V's alliance with Hannibal, or, more probably, of his expedition in Illyria; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* III 393-95 (for 215) and 395-97 (for 214).

2. App., *Mac.* 1.

3. Zon. 9.4; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* III 395.

4. Livy 24.40.1-17.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 5.

cally is a likely inference from the use of the plural (ἀναγράφαντες, ἀνάθετε).

The grant of privileges too, but of a different nature and to a different group, is the subject of two other letters from Amphipolis, one fairly well preserved and the other extremely fragmentary.<sup>1</sup> In the first, Philip informs somebody, whose name has not been preserved, that the people from the Thracian city of Ainos resident in Amphipolis desire that the privileges and exemptions granted to them by the king himself and also by his father (Antigonos Doson) be published in the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos. In the second letter on the same stone, what is preserved from the *praescriptum* reveals that it is addressed by Philip V to a person whose name has been lost and to the Ainians of Amphipolis. It is certainly one of the documents granting the privileges and exemptions whose publication the resident Ainians had requested from the king. Although only the last syllable of the addressee of the almost complete letter has been preserved, both editors have –and with good reason– presumed that in the lacuna the name of a man and not of a corporate body (such as δῆμος) should be restored, in whom they propose to see the "royal" *epistates* of the city.

Another letter of Philip V to Amphipolis<sup>2</sup> on financial matters is differently styled. Although the name of the addressee(s) does not survive, the expression καλῶς ποιήσετε σκεψάμενοι... leaves no doubt that it must have been a corporate body, doubtless the city of Amphipolis itself. How can one explain the difference between the previous document, having as its addressee according to the editors the "royal" *epistates*, and the letter of the same king to the same city on financial matters, having as its addressee the community as a whole? But perhaps the differences are more apparent than real. As the first editor of the texts concerning the Ainians remarked with a certain puzzlement, the use of the plural παρ' ὑμῖν in the third line of the first text should make us expect a "collective administrative body", but the suggestion is immediately dismissed, since the name of no such body can fit in the *lacuna* of the *praescriptum*.<sup>3</sup> There is a way of solving the problem instead of dismissing it. It is indeed almost certain that the *lacuna* should be filled with the name of a person –I would suggest that of Adaios, which satisfies all the palaeographic requirements and which reappears in later inscriptions as the name of prominent

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 14.

3. Koukouli, "Ἐπιστολές" 153-54.

citizens of Amphipolis—<sup>1</sup> and that the person should be identified with the *epistates*. Except that the *epistates*, as we have seen, is not the royal functionary that the editors postulate, but the chairman of a board of civic magistrates presiding over the Council and the Assembly. It is not as a person but in his representative capacity that he is the addressee of the royal letter, hence the use of the plural in the text. It is also interesting to note that the letter contains no order, but simply transmits to the highest civic magistrate the wish of the resident Ainians with the implicit royal approval that the permission for publication in the "national" sanctuary of the Tauropolos be granted to them. It is up to the chief magistrate to see to the fulfilment of this wish, the granting of such permission being an executive action that he could take by himself, since it concerned the publication of decisions regarding the royal authority alone, on which no local authority could have a say.

Similarly, the other letter of Philip V to Amphipolis<sup>2</sup> does not impose a new royal decree nor does it introduce new rules, but simply (and rather politely if firmly: *καλῶς ποιήσετε σκεψάμενοι*)<sup>3</sup> reminds the Amphipolitans that the financial privileges granted to them in the difficult 24th year of his reign (198/7, during the second Macedonian War) had expired and that the city should now fulfil its normal obligations.

*Diagrammata*, on the other hand, as Bickerman has shown,<sup>4</sup> operate very differently from royal letters which, despite their official nature, always maintain something of a personal character. In effect, a *diagramma* is impersonal, since it mentions neither originator nor recipient and becomes effective as soon as it is promulgated in the residence of its author, without any other formality being necessary. This raises the question whether the *diagrammata* allowed for direct royal intervention in the affairs of the cities, of which the letters examined hitherto seem to fight shy.

As I.N. Kalléris has recently explained,<sup>5</sup> in the Macedonian legal system the term *διάγραμμα* came into use in order to differentiate written legislative texts of "national" scope both from "national" cus-

1. Adaios son of Philagros is the name of a gymnasiarch and Adaios son of Eumeros that of an ephedarch of Amphipolis of the first century B.C. (Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 161-63).

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 14.

3. For this expression, cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 69, no 13, L. 13-14; 198, no 49, L. 5-6; Robert, *Amyzon* 133, no 9, L. 6.

4. Bickerman, "Διάγραμμα" 299-303.

5. Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 427-40.



tomary law and from civic written legislative texts, for which the term νόμος was traditionally used.<sup>1</sup> It is to be expected that the *diagrammata*, because of their explicit nature as written documents and of their general scope, took precedence over both custom and local written legislations. We have no evidence showing how statute law interfered with customary law. We are a little better informed about the relation between "national" statute law and civic law, between διάγραμμα and πολιτικός νόμος.

When Bikerman and Kalléris were writing, the only *diagrammata* concerning Macedonia then known were the military ones (from Amphipolis and Chalkis) and the religious one concerning the Sarapeion of Thessalonike. In the former there could be no division or conflict of competences between central and local authorities, since it related to the "national" army and, therefore, exclusively concerned the central authority. In a previous chapter we saw that these *diagrammata* promulgated in the name of the King were neither written nor decided by him alone, but were introduced, discussed and voted in the Council, sometimes even without the presence of the King himself, as seems to be the case with the *diagramma* of 319 on the freedom of the Greeks.<sup>2</sup>

The *diagramma* of Thessalonike is a much more controversial affair.<sup>3</sup>

"From Andronikos. The *diagramma* on the property of Sarapis, which the King transmitted to me and which I have sent to you, have it engraved on a stone stele and displayed in the sanctuary, so that those in charge may know how the King esteems that things should be done. In the 35th year, on the 15th of Daisios: The *diagramma* which King Philip established. Concerning now the property of Sarapis, let no one alienate any of it in whatsoever manner, nor mortgage any of the votive offerings nor introduce a decree on their subject. If anyone commits any of these forbidden acts, let him be liable to the punishments reserved for theft and let the alienated object be redeemed through the sale of his property and be restored to the sanctuary. Similarly let not the "treasures" of the god be opened without the presence of the *epistates* and the *dikastai* nor their monies be spent without good reasons, but with the assent of the aforesaid. Otherwise, let whomsoever commits one of these acts be liable to the same punishment".

1 . Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 432.

2 . Diod. 18.56.1-8.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

S. Pelekides, the first editor, had argued that the royal *diagramma* with the covering letter was addressed from Pella by Andronikos, the *epitropos* of the king, to the priests of the Sarapeion.<sup>1</sup> Welles, who republished the text with some corrections due to Edson, rejected this interpretation, pointing out that "as the royal *diagramma* mentions action within the framework of a city constitution, the addressee must have been a civic community or its executive magistrates, presumably the city of Thessalonika", and that, therefore, "if Andronikos was in such close relation with the city that he could address it through an informal 'hypomnema', he cannot have been some personage at the royal court at Pella, a *dioecetes* or some other; he must have been the *epistates* in the city".<sup>2</sup> Bikerman's discussion in his study of the *diagramma*, in which he republishes our text, is not exempt of hesitations and contradictions: he is unwilling to state whether Andronikos was a minister at Pella or the governor at Thessalonike; on one page he declares that it is impossible to determine whether the addressees were the magistrates of the city or the priests of Sarapis,<sup>3</sup> but on another he takes the former alternative for granted;<sup>4</sup> he does not explain why Philip does not transmit the *diagramma* directly to the interested party, the city and its magistrates, as one would expect, but sends it instead to Andronikos; finally, however, he seems to accept Welles' interpretation of the successive stages of the transmission of the *diagramma*.<sup>5</sup> Bikerman's doubts and objections were justified and it is to be regretted that he did not pursue them further. No wonder Moretti, the latest editor of the text, simply repeats Welles' arguments and opinions.<sup>6</sup>

Welles' arguments, however, sometimes proceed from erroneous premises and sometimes are simply specious. He considers the *epistates* and the *dikastai* to be "crown agents", which they certainly were not. Even so, he is uneasy with the idea of the *epistates*, who in all our documents appears inextricably linked to the civic magistrates, communicating with the city—represented by whom, one may wonder, since its principle magistrates have been transformed into "crown agents"?—through a formal letter, and he is obliged to invent an

1. Pelekides, *Πολιτεία* 10.

2. Welles, "Texts" 250.

3. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 297.

4. Cf. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 298; 301-302.

5. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 302.

6. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 101-102, no 111.

"informal" *hypomnema*,<sup>1</sup> which Bikerman rightly rejects.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, his conclusion "as Andronicus refers to his correspondents in the plural and as the royal *diagramma* mentions action within the framework of a city constitution, the addressees must have been a city community..." is a *non sequitur*.<sup>3</sup> Sanctuaries, and in particular those of the Egyptian deities in Thessalonike, were corporate bodies which functioned on the model of civic communities and were, therefore, normally addressed in the plural.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, it cannot be formally excluded that the clause of the *diagramma* prohibiting the unlawful appropriation of the sacred property refers (also?) to possible abuses by the civic community of Thessalonike itself, particularly since a similar intervention of the central authorities on behalf of a sanctuary is known from another document, which is examined immediately below.<sup>5</sup> If such were the case, the *diagramma* would not be introducing new legislation into the city, but would be simply recalling and enforcing, through the application of an already existing law, the traditional principle of the distinction between civic and sacred property within the cities, which the King was bound to uphold as the highest religious authority of the whole Macedonian *ethnos*.<sup>6</sup> Even if we admit this possibility, it would not necessarily follow that all the clauses of the *diagramma* refer to the same danger. Contrary to the uncertainty concerning the first clause, there is no possible doubt that those who should not open "the treasures" without the presence of the *epistates* and the *dikastai* –precisely the magistrates representing the civic community– and should not spend the sacred monies without serious reasons and the permission of the same, can be none other than the priests and the other members of the religious association administering the sanctuary. This, too, constitutes no legislative innovation, but is a reminder and an enactment through the application of the same, already existing, law of the other traditional principle, to wit that the sanctuaries are, in their own higher interests, under the supervision of the civic authorities of the communities within the boundaries of which they lie. The most decisive evidence that the ad-

1. Welles "Texts" 250.

2. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 297, n. 1.

3. Welles, "Texts" 250.

4. Religious associations of Egyptian deities administering sanctuaries (cf. in a later inscription from Thessalonike [IG X 2, 1, 192] οἱ συνθηροσκευταὶ κλείνης θεοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος) existed and acted on the model of civic communities (cf. the θρησκευταὶ ἐπὶ θεοῦ Διὸς Ὑψίστου at Pydna [J.M.R. Cormack, "Zeus Hypsistos at Pydna", *Mélanges helléniques offerts à George Daux*, Paris 1974, 51-55]).

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 8.

6. Cf. Pelekides, *Πολιτεία* 18-23.

dressees of Andronikos' letter were the officials of the sanctuary and that our excerpt of the *diagramma* was primarily, if not exclusively, destined for them is that its publication was to take place *in the sanctuary*, "in order that those in charge may know how the King esteems that things should be done".<sup>1</sup>

Bikerman's legitimate doubts and objections are now lifted. Indeed, there is nothing incongruous in such a correspondence between the chief magistrate of a city and an association, religious or otherwise (cf. the politarchs and the gymnasium of Beroia),<sup>2</sup> and the king in fact did address his *diagramma* directly to the authorities of the city, of which Andronikos was indeed the *epistates*—not the "crown agent", somebody foreign to it, but its own chief magistrate. As has been cautiously suggested by Moretti, he is probably to be identified with Andronikos son of Alexandros, who figures in a roughly contemporary inscription, but at a slightly earlier stage of his career, in the junior magistracy of *agoranomos*.<sup>3</sup>

It has long been noticed that the question *περὶ τῶν τοῦ Σαράπιδος χρημάτων* was only one among many touched upon by the *diagramma*.<sup>4</sup> Although it is not possible to prove it, the most likely hypothesis is that the rest of the *diagramma* concerned itself with other problems either of Thessalonike or of Macedonian sanctuaries in general. It is also likely that there had been some litigation in the past, the sanctuary administrators accusing the city of appropriating its revenues and the city, on the other hand, accusing the sanctuary administrators of mismanagement, and that the mutual recriminations had come to the attention of the king, who was perhaps even invited to arbitrate. In his arbitration the king tried to be even-handed and to protect the real interests of the sanctuary. On the one hand, he insisted that the property of the god should remain inviolate, equating with theft any move to deprive the sanctuary of its property, either by outright appropriation or by using the *ex voto* as surety or even by proposing a decree in this sense. But, on the other hand—and the even-handedness is stressed by the word *ὁμοίως*, establishing an equivalence between the two clauses—he placed the administrators of the sa-

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 15. Similarly, the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia (Epigraphic Appendix no 60) and the rider to the gymnasiarchical law of Amphipolis (Epigraphic Appendix no 16) were transmitted for publication to the respective gymnasia.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 60, *in fine*; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 43.

3. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 102, n. 6; cf. p. 382, above.

4. Pelekides, *Πολιτεία* 11; Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 301; Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 102, n. 1.

cred property under the direct supervision of the city magistrates, without whose presence and consent neither the chests should be opened nor the revenues spent. The general guidelines of the *diagramma*, stressing, even in the identity of the charges retained in both cases (ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμοις) the necessary respect for a private association and the equally necessary control by the city in the long-term interest of the association itself—as opposed to the interests of its administrators at one given moment—find a close parallel in the gymnasiarchical law, where the property of a hitherto private association receives the protection that the law extends to sanctuaries (ἐὰν δέ [τ]ις κλέψῃ τι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἔνοχος ἔστω ἱεροσυλῖαι δίκη νικηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ καθή[κ]οντος δικαστηρίου), though at the same time its administration is placed under the close supervision of the city, the politarchs and the *exetastai* playing exactly the same role as the *epistates* and the *dikastai*,<sup>1</sup> whose financial duties have been examined and rightly stressed by Touloumakos.<sup>2</sup>

In recent years a third Macedonian *diagramma* discovered at Amphipolis has enhanced our understanding of the division of competence between central and local authorities:<sup>3</sup>

"To those in charge. Let the following text be inserted into the gymnasiarchical law. In the 39th year, on the 7th of Panemos. And let the gymnasiarchs of the cities of Macedonia register in the city where they disembark for the first time the athletes who arrive in order to take part in the games, interrogating them for which event they arrive, and let them transmit the document to the priest and to the gymnasiarch appointed for the games having a crown as a prize. If there are no gymnasiarchs, let these provisions be carried out by the *epistata*".

The new *diagramma* with its covering letter confirms the previous analysis of the Thessalonikan document on several points.

First the mode of transmission. The opening words: "To those in charge" constitute the perfect correspondence with the parallel heading of the Thessalonikan *diagramma*: "From Andronikos". Although in the first instance the procedure is viewed from the sender's end

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60, side B, L. 99-101.

2 . Touloumakos, "Δικασταί" 407-421. Both the *dikastai* and the *exetastai*, judicial-financial magistrates of Late Hellenistic times, may have succeeded to a magistrate called the σκοῖδος, known from an earlier inscription of Upper Macedonia (Epigraphic Appendix no 63), whom the lexicographers describe both as ἀρχὴ τις παρὰ Μακεδόσι τεταγμένη ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων (Hesychius, s.v., from a letter by Alexander) and as ταμίας τε καὶ διοικητής (Photius, s.v.; cf. Pollux, s.v., in a very different context).

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

whereas in the second from that of the recipient, what appears clearly from both documents is that the central authorities did not address themselves directly to corporate bodies within the cities –be they sanctuaries or gymnasia– but carried out government business through the civic authorities. Just as the first *diagramma* had been sent to the *epistates* of Thessalonike, so the second was dispatched to the unnamed civic magistrate(s) of Amphipolis, who alone were qualified to intervene in the internal affairs of the community in order to complete or modify existing civic legislation, either on their own initiative or, perhaps, with the approval of the local deliberative bodies.<sup>1</sup>

The excerpt of the *diagramma* itself reveals that the King, as the highest religious authority, considered himself responsible for the orderly organisation of the Panhellenic games ("having a crown as a prize") held in the kingdom. In that capacity, he was assisted on the federal level by the priest and the gymnasiarch appointed for those specific games.<sup>2</sup> On the local level, the king counted on the assistance of the gymnasiarchs. It is particularly interesting to note that Philip V expected to find gymnasiarchs in most Macedonian cities. One can see there a clear indication of the royal interest in the adoption of legislation creating such magistracies in the cities of the kingdom, and an additional argument in favour of a royal inspiration of the gymnasiarchical law of Beroia.<sup>3</sup> Finally, this text proves definitely that the *epistatai* were not superior royal officers residing in the most important cities of the kingdom,<sup>4</sup> but civic magistrates who were not absent even from the humblest communities.

The beginning of another royal document with general instructions regarding religious matters and its covering letter survives in a fragmentary inscription from Alkomena in Derriopos:<sup>5</sup>

"Doules to Nikolaos. I have sent you the copy of the letter which the King had written on the festival of Daisia. Take care of every-

1. Cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 160-61. This is what seems to have happened in Beroia (cf. *ibid.* 59). However, we do not know whether the gymnasiarchical law was drafted in response to a royal *diagramma* or –more probably– to a royal letter, as, for instance, happened in Larisa (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 543), for, theoretically at least, *diagrammata* came into effect from the moment of their promulgation in the residence of their author, without any intervention by the local authorities.

2. For these two offices, which survive in the Roman period in the person of the *archiereus*, *agonothetes* and *gymnasiarchos* of the Macedonian *koinon*, see Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 147-51.

3. Cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 59 and 176.

4. Tarn, *Antigonos* 195-96.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 19.

thing, in order that it may be accomplished in the exact manner he deems that they should. In the 8th year, on the 28th(?) of Apellaios. Concerning the expenses for the Daisia...".

Papazoglou, the first editor of the inscription, identified the unnamed king with Philip V and consequently dated the inscription in 215.<sup>1</sup> She expressed her astonishment that, contrary to the principle established by Bikerman, the royal letter was not addressed directly to the interested party, the city of Alkomena, but was transmitted to them through two intermediaries: Doules and Nikolaos. She unquestionably identified the latter with the *epistates* of the city, while the former, after envisaging the possibility that he may have been a high dignitary of the royal court, she finally identified with the regional *strategos* of Paionia, to which Derriopos belonged in the late Antigonid period.<sup>2</sup> Concerning the Daisia, she remarks that it must have been a national rather than a local holiday and she finds confirmation of this hypothesis in some aspects of the text of the royal letter, and in particular in the fact that, as far as we can judge from its surviving beginning, it does not represent a faithful transcription of the original but a transposition of it in the third person.<sup>3</sup> Papazoglou concludes that we are not dealing with an ordinary letter, but with a "circular" one concerning not one, but a great number of communities and suggests that the explanation of its complicated manner of transmission should be sought in the fact that: "la décision du roi était communiquée aux stratèges et aux autres hauts dignitaires compétents, qui la firent suivre à leurs subordonnés, aux épistates des cités intéressées".<sup>4</sup>

Only one year after the publication of the inscription, G. Daux in a short note challenged Papazoglou's dating on palaeographic grounds, and suggested that the document was some 40 years more recent and dated from 173, the 8th year of the reign of Perseus, rather than of Philip V.<sup>5</sup> The lead was taken up by the next and last editor, Moretti, who, pursuing the matter to extremes, restored the name of Perseus ([Περσ]εύς) in the lacuna where Papazoglou had read the title of the King ([βασιλ]εύς).<sup>6</sup> This ingenious restoration inevitably obliges Moretti to invent a new, more "democratic", royal style for Perseus

1 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 313.

2 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 313-14.

3 . For the "national" character of the Daisia, see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morylos* 45-49.

4 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 314-15.

5 . G. Daux, "En marge des 'Mélanges Klaffenbach', *BCH* 95 (1971) 274-75.

6 . Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 103-105, no 112.

than that of the other Antigonids. This is not all. Since everyone agrees that the regional *strategos* of Paionia from 181, under Philip V, to the fall of Perseus was a certain Didas, Moretti is obliged to reject Papazoglou's conclusion on Doules and to identify him with "un alto funzionario di corte". Moretti fails, however, to notice that in this way he deprives Papazoglou's interpretation of the unusual transmission of the document, the "circular" character of which he continues to accept, of a very crucial element. When I had to take a position on this problem in a footnote of an earlier paper,<sup>1</sup> I preferred Papazoglou's elegant and coherent construction to the improbable dead ends to which Moretti's interpretation led. Later, after a thorough study of a significantly greater number of dated documents of the late Antigonids, to which three inscriptions undeniably dating from the reign of Perseus, have now been added for the first time, I felt less inclined to ignore Daux's and Moretti's palaeographical arguments and I admitted that the letter forms of the inscription from Alkomena seemed to present greater similarities with the known documents of the reign of Perseus<sup>2</sup> and with the last document of the reign of Philip, dating from his 42nd year (181, or, rather, 180),<sup>3</sup> than with those of the earlier part of the latter's reign.<sup>4</sup> Certainty, even relative, would require either a direct examination of the stone or some better photographs than the one published by Papazoglou. Unfortunately, in spite of Victoria Sokolovska's diligent search, the stone could not be located in the archaeological collection of Prilep and no new photographs could, therefore, be made available. In any case, even the acceptance of a dating of our document in the reign of Perseus would not necessarily entail the adoption of all Moretti's conclusions. The restoration [Περσ]εὺς instead of [ὁ βασιλ.]εὺς is both historically and epigraphically improbable. There is no parallel of a Hellenistic king referred to by his own name in a document originating from his chancery. On the other hand, it is not possible to determine the exact extent of the *lacuna* without examining the stone. In case Papazoglou's restoration should be finally rejected, Sylvie Le Bohec has proposed a more plausible shorter alternative: [ὁ ἱερ]εὺς.<sup>5</sup> There remains the objection that Doules cannot have been the regional *strategos* of Paionia in the 8th year of Perseus reign (173), since that position was held by Didas

1. In the unpublished section of Hatzopoulos, "Politarques", n. 114.

2. Epigraphic Appendix nos 29-31.

3. Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

4. Cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* 22-23.

5. In an unpublished communication to a symposium on Macedonian epigraphy held at Thessalonike in December 1993.



between 181 and 171. In my earlier study I had envisaged the possibility of a correction of a passage of Livy generally considered as corrupt, which would make of Derriopos a part of Pelagonia instead of Paionia.<sup>1</sup> New information we have acquired on the regional *strategoï*, suggesting that their office was in principle annual,<sup>2</sup> leaves open the possibility that Didas did not occupy this position continually from 181 to 171, the years for which we have the relative evidence, but that he had stepped down for some time and that Doules was appointed instead sometime between his two terms of office. But perhaps such complicated hypotheses are not necessary – the more so in that all speculation concerning the *strategoï* of Paionia is gratuitous, since we know nothing about their appointment and term of office, which need in no way be the same as those of Macedonia proper – and, particularly, since there is another way of explaining the singularities of our document.

Papazoglou expresses her astonishment that our version of the letter "does not reproduce the King's letter" but has been transposed into the third person, presumably by Doules, and she explains this procedure by the need for the regional *strategos* to transmit it to the numerous *epistatai* of his district who were his subordinates.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the hypothesis of such a transposition is unnecessary. The ἐπιστολή may well have been a *prostagma*, a "*prostagma épistolaire*", similar to a *programma*,<sup>4</sup> as Holleaux, who has studied this particular diplomatic species, would have called it,<sup>5</sup> with a general, "national" scope (cf. the *prostagma* of Ptolemy and Kleopatra to Cyrene),<sup>6</sup> already couched in the third person and using imperatives and above all infinitives. All that Doules would have to do was to supply a personal verb with the King (ὁ βασιλεύς) as its subject, in order to identify the author of the executive orders. Papazoglou's other source of wonder was why the king had not communicated his orders directly to the city of Alkomena, but transmitted them through two successive royal functionaries whom she identified with the regional *strategos* of Paionia and the *epistates* of Alkomena.<sup>7</sup> Even without the complication arising from the improbability of Doules being the *strategos* of Paionia, Papazoglou's interpretation would require modification, es-

1 . In the unpublished section of Hatzopoulos, "Politarques", n. 114.

2 . Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Moryllos* 27-29.

3 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 314-15.

4 . Lenger XXI and 28-30; nos 17 and 18.

5 . Holleaux, "Séleucie" 15-20 (= *Etudes* III 207-212).

6 . Lenger 107-111, nos 45-46.

7 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 313.

pecially in the light of some conclusions of our study. Above all Nikolaos, if he is, as is most likely, the *epistates* (or politarch, if this inscription is to be dated in the reign of Perseus, after the reform which created this new magistracy) of Alkomena, he should not be qualified as a "royal officer", since we know now that these officers were civic magistrates. Thus Papazoglou's two intermediaries would be reduced to one, transmission to Nikolaos being practically equivalent to transmission to the community of Alkomena, the more so in that, if we follow Papazoglou's probable restoration, the expenses for the festival of the Daisia, according to the King's ruling, would be the responsibility of the chief magistrates.<sup>1</sup> We have also seen that Alkomena probably did not experience repeated changes of status from *polis* to *kome* and then again back to *polis*, as our contradictory evidence would seem to indicate at first sight, but was invariably a constituent member with *kome* status of the Derriopian union, which alone disposed of all the qualifications of a basic political unit *vis-à-vis* the central authorities, be they the King or the Romans.<sup>2</sup> Thus Nikolaos, like Alexandros, the politarch of the Orestan Battýna,<sup>3</sup> would not be the chief magistrate of a city, as Papazoglou qualifies Alkomena,<sup>4</sup> but of a simple *kome*, belonging to the basic political and administrative unit of Derriopos. On the other hand, it appears that the addressees of "circular" letters or *prostagmata* were not regional officers, but directly the basic units, be they cities or *ethne*. Thus Doules need not be a regional *strategos*, but could be the chief magistrate of the Derriopes, who probably had his seat at Styberra (where that name is attested also in Roman times)<sup>5</sup> and who had the duty of communicating the royal decisions to all the constituent members of the *ethnos*. Doules' covering letter to Nikolaos is an example of correspondence within a political unit, like the Amphipolitan magistrates' covering letter to those in charge of the gymnasium, or Andronikos' covering letter to the priests of Sarapis, with which it presents striking similarities of style: 1) Indication of author [and/or addressee]: Παρὰ Ἀνδρονίκου (Thessalonike), τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς (Amphipolis), Δούλης Νικολάωι (Alkomena); 2) description of transmitted document: διάγραμμα ὃ ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαπέψαντός μοι τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τῶν τοῦ Σαράπιδος χρημάτων

1 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 314, n. 4: "On pourrait suggérer, à titre d'exemple, οἱ ἐν ἀξιωμασί, οἱ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ou quelque chose de pareil..."

2 . See p. 85-87, above.

3 . See p. 79-82, above.

4 . Papazoglou, "Fragment" 313.

5 . Papazoglou, "Stèles" 252.

(Thessalonike), τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον εἶδος (Amphipolis), τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἐγεγράφει ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ Δαίσια πέπομφα πρὸς σε τὸ ἀντίγραφον (Alkomena); 3) instructions: ἐγδοτε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖν' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (Thessalonike), εἰς τὸν γυμνασιαρχικὸν νόμον καταχωρισθῆτω (Amphipolis), φρόντιζε σὺν περὶ ἐκάστων (Alkomena); 4) reference to the will of the authority in whose name the instructions are transmitted: ὅπως εἰδῶσιν οἱ πρὸς τούτοις ὄντες ὡς κρίνει γίνεσθαι (Thessalonike), ἵνα καὶ συντελήται ὡσπερ οἶεται δεῖν γίνεσθαι (Alkomena); 5) date: ἔτ(ους) Ε καὶ Λ, Δαίσιου ΙΕ (Thessalonike), ἔτους Θ καὶ Λ, Πανήμου Ζ (Amphipolis), ἔτ(ους) Η, Ἀπελλαίου ΚΗ (Alkomena). This is hardly surprising, the three cases presenting similarities of scope and subject matter, more important than the diplomatic distinction between *diagramma* and *prostagma*.

Also concerned with religious matters is the famous inscription with three letters of Demetrios to Harpalos on the subject of the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia, which offers a valuable indication that petitions of associations could cause the intervention of the central authorities and in particular the King, who had the supreme responsibility for upholding respect for the law and religion within his realm.<sup>1</sup>

"When Antigonos was king for the 36th year the *kynegoi* Chartas son of Nikanor and Attylos son of Nikanor having petitioned Demetrios, the following letters were issued:

Demetrios to Harpalos, greetings. The priests of Herakles state that some of the god's revenues have been assigned to the city. See to that they are restored to the god. Farewell.

Demetrios to Harpalos, greetings. It seems that the manumitted slaves used to consecrate *phialai* to the sanctuary. Since there have accumulated more than are needed for the god, let them consecrate, instead of *phialai*, *skyphoi* and horns. Farewell.

Demetrios to Harpalos, greetings. Let the priests of Herakles be exempt of exactly the same taxes as the priests of Asklepios. Farewell. In the 36th year, on the 15th of Dystros".

This inscription, the first royal document to be published from Macedonia, has produced since the beginning of the century not negligible amount of literature and scholarly controversy. After recent epigraphic discoveries some of the most heatedly discussed problems may be now considered as having come close to a solution.<sup>2</sup>

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.

2 . For the position of the *kynegoi*, see now Hatzopoulos, *Cultes* 97-106.

Harpalos is indeed very probably the grandfather of Harpalos son of Polemaios, who was one of the closest collaborators of king Perseus.<sup>1</sup> His father and probably the son of our Harpalos, Polemaios son of Harpalos, figures in another new inscription from the temple of Herakles Kynagidas dated in the beginning of Philip V's reign (215, or, more probably, 214) or to the reign of Antigonos Doseon.<sup>2</sup> So we have a remarkable series of three generations of the highest aristocrats of Beroia serving three generations of Antigonid kings. To the same family must also belong an Harpalos whose services to Beroia and whose ancestors' even more signal services to the same city are extolled in an honorary decree of the early first century B.C.<sup>3</sup> One may even wonder whether Limnaios son of Harpalos who was richly rewarded by Lysimachos in the eighties of the third century was not a scion of the same illustrious family, possibly an uncle of our Harpalos.<sup>4</sup>

The first letter of Demetrios, who is obviously acting as a regent instead of his father Antigonos Gonatas, is very similar in spirit to Philip's *diagramma* about the Sarapeion.<sup>5</sup> In Thessalonike it was the duty of Andronikos, the *epistates*, to see that the King's wish, that sacred property should not be misappropriated, be made known and respected. In Beroia sacred property had already been abusively appropriated by the city and it was Harpalos' duty to take the necessary steps to ensure that the traditional distinction between civic funds and funds of the sanctuaries, of which the king (or the regent) was *ex officio* the highest warrantor, should be respected and that the misappropriated sacred revenues be restored. From the similarity of Andronikos' and Harpalos' positions one is entitled to assume that the latter, too, was the *epistates* of the city, as indeed was suggested already by the first editor of the inscription.<sup>6</sup> The regent was directly addressing the *epistates* in the latter's executive capacity; no new legislation was requested but only the application of an already existing law.

The discovery of new texts in Beroia has now confirmed Cormack's restoration of the second letter, which has been by and large followed here.<sup>7</sup> These were inscribed on the same stone as Philip V's

1. Tataki 116-17, nos 228 and 230; 421-22.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 10; cf. Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 40-41.

3. Inscription to be published by A.D. Hardy and J. Touratsoglou.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 22; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 36, n. 1.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

6. Woodward, "Beroia" 137.

7. J.M.R. Cormack, "Royal Letters in Beroea", *BSA* 40 (1939-1940) 14-16.

(or Antigonos Doseon's) letter to Beroia, and record several dedications of *skyphoi* weighing 50 drachmae each by manumitted slaves in the second and first century.<sup>1</sup> They are interesting, among other reasons, first because they prove that Demetrios' ruling survived well into Roman times, two centuries or more after it was issued, and second because they show that the revenues of the temple were far from being unimportant. One cannot calculate the number of slaves manumitted every year. Nevertheless, it is significant that it would not take more than five for the relevant revenues of the temple of Herakles Kynagidas to be superior to those from "the sacrificial animals and the trunk" of the sanctuary of Asklepios, which was the most important of the city. We possess in fact a fragment with the accounts of that sanctuary for nine years from roughly the same period, the second half of the third century.<sup>2</sup> In them the sacred revenues vary from 32 drachmae and 3 obols to 229 drachmae and 2 obols, with an average of approximately 120 drachmae *per annum*, roughly corresponding to the revenues from the manumission of fewer than three slaves from the sanctuary of Herakles. In fact the number of slaves manumitted in Beroia every year must have been much higher, if we judge from the sole manumission act from that city and approximately the same period, by which no less than seven adult slaves, belonging to one master only, are liberated.<sup>3</sup> The price of 25 gold staters or 500 drachmae per slave suggests that the offerings to the sanctuary of Herakles constituted a kind of sacred *dekate*. The fact that the administrators of the sanctuary asked permission for the substitution of *skyphoi* (and *kerata*) for *phialai*, which were the traditional offerings of manumitted slaves to Herakles in Macedonia,<sup>4</sup> precisely because of the over-abundance of the latter vessels that the sanctuary already possessed, is an additional indication of the frequency of manumissions and of the steady flow of silver into the coffers of Herakles Kynagidas. The regent in his capacity of high priest of the whole *ethnos* granted the request, but needed to notify the chief magistrate of Beroia, which, like Thessalonike, was locally responsible for supervising the financial administration of the sanctuaries within its territory.

The third letter, granting the same tax exemptions to the priests of Herakles Kynagidas as to the priests of Asklepios, must be left for

1 . Inscription to be published by Victoria Allamani-Souri and E. Voutiras.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 82.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 93.

4 . Cf. Rizakis-Touratsoglou 30, with references.

discussion below, in conjunction with the problems of taxation, in the chapter on finance.

Our last document, the letter of Philip to Archippos and the appended *hypomnema*,<sup>1</sup> some of whose problems we have already discussed,<sup>2</sup> is significantly different. As we concluded, a private religious association formed by the officers and the men of the Elemian (or Eordaian) community of Euia petitioned Philip V, requesting to be granted 50 *plethra* of royal land which had been previously exploited by a metic living in another community, Greia, in order to use the revenue there for the celebration of the sacrifices of the month of Apellaios. The king transmitted a copy of the petitioners' *hypomnema* along with his positive answer to Archippos, requesting him to publish the documents "before the *epistasion*". It has been usually maintained that Archippos was the royal governor of Greia.<sup>3</sup> I hope to have established in the first part of this study that the community where Archippos was instructed to publish the grant was more likely not Greia but Euia.<sup>4</sup> But who was Archippos? It is surprising that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, with the exception of a passing allusion by Makaronas,<sup>5</sup> none of the numerous editors or commentators of this inscription have compared it seriously with a very similar text—as far as the object of the affair is concerned—a letter of Ptolemy VI to a certain Apollonios in reply to a *hypomnema* of the royal garrison of Thera, requesting the grant of certain royal lands, in order to use their revenues for religious purposes.<sup>6</sup> There are, nevertheless, certain diplomatic differences. Apollonios, to whom the royal letter is addressed, is probably the commander of the garrison, occupying a position similar to that of the tetrarch Nikanor in the letter from Euia. Conversely, the letter to Archippos corresponds, in the Theran affair, to the royal "epistolary *prostagma*" to the *dioiketes* Diogenes in Alexandria, which has not come down to us, but to which Ptolemy unambiguously alludes. Were it not for the instructions for the publication of the royal letter *locally*, one might with good reason be tempted to conclude that in the Macedonian letter too, Archippos occupied a position similar to that of the Ptolemaic *dioiketes*. What Archippos in any case was not is "the royal overseer" of the small community on the foothills of Mt. Skopos, where the inscription was found, whether

1. Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

2. See p. 95-101, above

3. With the notable exception of Makaronas, "Επιστολή" 121.

4. See p. 97-99, above.

5. Makaronas, "Επιστολή" 122.

6. Lenger 80-82, no 33, with the commentary of Bagnall 130-31.

we call it Greia or Euia. As we saw in Part I, the basic political unit in Elemia (and Eordaia), until the Later Roman Period, was the *ethnos*, subdivided into smaller communities which did not possess the attributes of autonomous units *vis-à-vis* the central authorities. Unless one is ready to believe that the King would send dozens of royal functionaries for every single village of Elemia (or Eordaia), it must be admitted that Archippos was either a royal functionary, but of a different kind and notably for a much larger area than the small community at Koilas, or that he was not a royal official at all, but a local magistrate, probably the only magistrate of the community, like the sole politarchs that we find in the *politeiai* of Upper Macedonia in Roman times, and possibly also Nikolaos, the Hellenistic magistrate of Alkomena. Either way, the *epistasion* is not, therefore, "the residence", as Moretti writes somewhat pompously,<sup>1</sup> of the royal governor, but simply the public office, the *archeion*, of the small community.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the obvious similarities between the Antigonid and the Ptolemaic document, I would incline to see in Archippos a local magistrate. It is not only that no office even remotely reminiscent of that of the Ptolemaic *dioiketes* is attested in Macedonia, but also that the whole structure of the Macedonian state is less elaborate, less hierarchical, and bears less the imprint of an all-pervasive and strictly structured bureaucracy than that of the Ptolemies. From the simple comparison of the two texts Macedonia emerges as more "democratic", if not egalitarian, and relying more on local initiative and autonomy than on a centralised civil service. Nikanor, at one with his *reserve* non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who are his fellow villagers, signs and sends the *hypomnema* to the King. The *mercenary* soldiers of the garrison of Thera hierarchically submit their *hypomnema* to the royal officer Apollonios, who transmits it with a covering letter to the King. The Macedonian king settles the whole matter by sending along with a copy of the *hypomnema* a simple letter to Archippos, asking him to publish it and perhaps implicitly to see that the conditions of the grant are respected. Ptolemy has to write two letters, one to Apollonios to inform him about his positive answer, which the latter should in his turn transmit to the soldiers, who were in fact the interested party, and another to the *dioiketes* Diogenes, to instruct him to attribute the revenues of certain royal lands

1 . Moretti, *Inscrizioni* II 98, no 110.

2 . See Makaronas, "Επιστολή" 123, n. 5; cf. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 58-61 (= *Etudes* III 245-47).

to the aforesaid soldiers. It is probable that this is not the only correspondence that the transaction necessitated, since the royal letter mentions an evaluation of that revenue by either the *dioiketes* or the *oikonomos* (or another civil servant), who also makes his appearance and who must somehow have transmitted this evaluation to the King, probably on his request, before the final decision was taken and the letter to Apollonios was written.<sup>1</sup> In Philip's letter there is no trace of such complications; neither *dioiketai* nor *oikonomoi* appear to take any part in this transaction. The Euiestans make their own evaluation of the size of the grant and inform the King directly in their *hypomnema*. Communication, execution and publication constitute a single document.

If our analysis is correct, and Archippos is indeed the chief magistrate of Euia, it is possible to answer, with the help of other documents with identical addressees previously studied, Welles' surprise at the fact that a petition of a private association to the King and the grant, in response to it, of royal land by him should be communicated to the civic authorities with the request for publication (not on stone, as Welles rightly observes;<sup>2</sup> the latter procedure is usually spelt out in similar Macedonian documents;<sup>3</sup> the copy on stone was almost certainly paid for and set up by the interested party). Permissions, orders, or publications of decisions regarding the royal authority alone, such as grants of royal land, since they did not infringe on the autonomy of the local communities, could be transmitted directly to the chief magistrate as the representative of the community, acting in his executive capacity, as the example of the letter from Amphipolis concerning the exemptions granted to the Ainians has shown.<sup>4</sup>

But there was probably another reason, the same as in the case of the sanctuaries of Sarapis<sup>5</sup> and of Herakles Kynagidas,<sup>6</sup> which required the implication of the civic authorities. The grant of royal land itself exclusively concerned the central authorities, but the good administration of the grant and generally speaking of the finances of the association was the responsibility of the local community and especially of its chief magistrate. The latter was particularly responsible to

1 . Cf. Bagnall 225. For equally complicated transactions in the Seleucid kingdom, cf. Welles, *Correspondence* 61-71, nos 10-13 and 89-100, nos 18-20.

2 . Welles, "Texts" 247-48. Moretti, *Iscrizioni* II 98, no 110, seems to have misunderstood Welles' admittedly muddled formulation.

3 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix nos 11; 13; 15.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.



ensure the respecting of the conditions under which the grant was made: ἕως ἂν συντελῶσιν τὰς θυσίας ἐ[ν τῷ Ἄπ]ελλαίῳ μηνί.

Is it possible to draw any general conclusions from this mass of disparate, complex and, last but not least, often heavily mutilated documents? The first notable feature of the evidence is that approximately half of them are concerned with religious matters (1 from Alkomena,<sup>1</sup> 1 from Thessalonike,<sup>2</sup> 3 from Beroia,<sup>3</sup> 1 from Amphipolis<sup>4</sup> and to some extent the letter from Euia).<sup>5</sup> In the light of such an impressive preponderance of religious documents, Briant's bold assertion that "si donc la royauté macédonienne est réductible à une fonction, c'est bien plutôt à celle du grand prêtre..."<sup>6</sup> seems amply justified.

The next largest group of documents (2 from Philippoi,<sup>7</sup> 1 from Dion<sup>8</sup> –and also possibly the inscription from Banitsa–<sup>9</sup> to which the dossier from Gonnoi concerning the dispute with Herakleion<sup>10</sup> and the reference to a royal letter in the territorial arbitration of Mygdonia<sup>11</sup> could be added) are royal arbitrations between local communities carried out by the King in his capacity of supreme judge of the realm, to whom groups or individuals could appeal.<sup>12</sup> It is in terms of his very same position as supreme arbitrator that should be interpreted the petitions of groups such as the *kynegoi* of the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas<sup>13</sup> (and possibly of the administrators of the Sarapeion<sup>14</sup> and of the Ainians of Amphipolis)<sup>15</sup> that existing laws – written or customary– such as the distinction between sacred and civic property, or privileges, such as tax exemptions for certain groups, should be upheld. In virtue of this same position of supreme judge the King could interpret, complete or even directly modify,

- 1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 19.
- 2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 15.
- 3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.
- 4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.
- 5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.
- 6 . Briant, *Antigone* 326, n. 2.
- 7 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 6-7.
- 8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 11.
- 9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 18.
- 10 . Helly, *Gonnoi* II 100-105, no 93.
- 11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 4.
- 12 . Griffith, *Macedonia* II 392-95; Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 423-24 and 438, n. 61-62.
- 13 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.
- 14 . Epigraphic Appendix no 15.
- 15 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

himself, or require indirectly from the cities the modification, of existing legislation.<sup>1</sup>

The third group of documents in importance (1 from Oleveni,<sup>2</sup> 1 from Beroia,<sup>3</sup> 1 from Amphipolis<sup>4</sup> –with its probable continuation from Chalkis and Kynos)<sup>5</sup> concern military matters, either honours and other rewards to soldiers and officers for distinguished services or rules governing the functioning of an elaborate military structure, granted or issued by the King in virtue of his discretionary power as Commander-in-Chief.

Finally, three documents (2 from Amphipolis<sup>6</sup> and, to a certain extent, the one from Euia)<sup>7</sup> concern mainly financial matters regarding the royal chest: allocation of revenues from royal land or exemption from taxes or payment of dues. The distribution of the royal Macedonian documents according to their subject matter cannot fail to bring to mind Aristotle's definition of the "heroic" king as commander, judge and high priest.<sup>8</sup>

Most of our documents have only a local scope and concern particular communities and even strictly defined questions. Only three of them have an unquestionably general application: the Army Code from Amphipolis and Chalkis,<sup>9</sup> the regulations regarding participation in *stephanitai* games, and the celebration of Daisia from Amphipolis<sup>10</sup> and Alkomena respectively.<sup>11</sup> Is there a correlation between scope and diplomatic form? The orthodox theory requires that the *diagrammata* have a general scope, whereas letters (or *protagmata*, from which they are not always readily distinguished) have a particular scope and application, usually responding to solicitations of the interested parties in the form of petitions (*ἐντεύξεις*), reports (*ὑπομνήματα*) or requests for arbitration, or corresponding to specific concerns of the royal authority.<sup>12</sup> Out of our four documents of an unquestionably general scope only the excerpt of the Army Code

1 . Cf. Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 434.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 5.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 12.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 13.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 9 and 14.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

8 . Arist., *Pol.* 1285 b.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 12 and 13.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.

11 . Epigraphic Appendix no 19.

12 . Cf. Makaronas, "Ἐπιστολή" 120; Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 301-303; Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 427-28 and 434-35.

from Chalkis refers explicitly to itself as a *diagramma*. It has been admitted, however, and with good reason, that the excerpts of the Army Code from Amphipolis belong to the same *diagramma*.<sup>1</sup> Kalléris has also convincingly argued that the treaty between Amyntas and the Chalkidians<sup>2</sup> refers to a *diagramma* regulating the payment of dues for the transit and exportation of timber and other goods.<sup>3</sup> This, too, was a matter of such a wide scope that it required to be settled at the highest level by the central authorities for the whole realm. But the fourth document with the regulations concerning the Daisia, although it had an equally general application, is explicitly called a letter (τῆς ἐπιστολῆς).<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the excerpt of the *diagramma* from Thessalonike and of the one from Gonnoi, if my interpretation is correct and the document in question is indeed a *diagramma*, seem to concern themselves with very specific questions: the finances of the Sarapeion of Thessalonike and the boundary dispute between Gonnoi and Herakleion.<sup>5</sup> But the very fact that we are dealing with excerpts confirms, if not properly the general, at least the non-specific character of the complete original documents. As Bikerman very aptly pointed out, a *diagramma* in the apparel of formal unity may be no more than a *lex satuta*.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE ADDRESSEES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS AND THE STATUS OF THE MACEDONIAN *EPISTATAI*

To what extent do the previous distinctions of subject matter, scope and diplomatic form determine the addressees of these documents? There is a first and obvious connection. As Bikerman has convincingly argued, *diagrammata*, like laws (νόμοι), formally at least, had no addressees, since they came into effect from the moment of their promulgation in the residence of their author.<sup>7</sup> In fact, of course, no law can come into effect without being duly published, and for that reason it had to be transmitted with a covering document to those that it concerned. In our relevant evidence, however, a significant difference is immediately apparent between the "military" and

1. Cf. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 302; Loreto 364, n. 115.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 1.

3. Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 430.

4. Epigraphic Appendix no 19.

5. For a similar case, cf. Bagnall 104.

6. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 301.

7. Bikerman, "Διάγραμμα" 299-301.

the "civic" Macedonian *diagrammata*. Of the former the King simply orders the publication in the text of the *diagramma* itself (cf. the excerpt from Chalkis: Τὸ δὲ διάγραμμα τοῦτο ἕκαστος τῶν οἰκονόμων ἀναγράφας εἰς στήλην στησάτω ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τοῦ φρουρίου);<sup>1</sup> the latter he has to transmit to the competent authorities of the local communities, who, according to the contents of the document will see to its publication, if it simply confirms or completes existing legislation,<sup>2</sup> or, perhaps, may have to draft and introduce a formal decree for vote by the Council and the Assembly, if alterations of the existing civic legislation are required.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, whereas civic courts will try cases according to civic laws, if provisions of the "civil" *diagrammata* are transgressed,<sup>4</sup> military courts, often the King in person, will try transgressors of "military" *diagrammata* according to military regulations or even *ad hoc* rules of which, theoretically at least, the King is the sole author.<sup>5</sup> The immediacy of the relationship of the Macedonian soldier to his King as Commander-in-Chief, in the second case, forms a striking contrast with the mediated relationship between King and citizen through the screen formed by the city, its laws and its authorities, in the first instance. This difference between civil and military, between time of war and time of peace, which is further discussed below, is by no means restricted to Macedonia, but constituted a general rule to which the political thinkers of Antiquity did not fail to draw attention.<sup>6</sup>

All the royal letters (including the letter of Doules) the headings of which have come down to us (3 from Beroia,<sup>7</sup> 2 from Amphipolis,<sup>8</sup> 1 from Euia<sup>9</sup> and 1 from Alkomena)<sup>10</sup> name one or more persons and not the city as a whole or one of its constituted bodies anonymously as their addressees. It is true that from the use of the second person plural in the letters of Philip V (or Antigonos Doson) to Beroia and Amphipolis<sup>11</sup> one might be tempted to presume that the prescripts, had they survived, would have indicated as addressees these communities as a whole. The temptation would be even stronger if one

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 13, L. 46-49.

2 . Such is the case of the *diagrammata* of Thessalonike and Amphipolis.

3 . See, however, p. 400 and n. 1, above.

4 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 15.

5 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix nos 12 and 13; cf. Kougeas 193.

6 . Cf. Arist., *Pol.* 1285 b.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

9 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 19.

11 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 8; 9; 14.

took into consideration the fact that in the instances in which the addressee is a person, whom we have identified as the chief magistrate, some specific action is expected from him which falls precisely within his sphere of competence, such as seeing to the publication of decisions taken by virtue of a royal prerogative (*Euia*)<sup>1</sup> or simply being informed of them (*Beroia, Amphipolis*;<sup>2</sup> cf. *Alkomena*)<sup>3</sup> or seeing to the application of existing legislation (*Beroia*)<sup>4</sup> or perhaps introducing some new law (*Amphipolis*);<sup>5</sup> whereas, on the other hand, military honours and rewards (*Katlestai, Beroia*)<sup>6</sup> or arbitrations regarded entire groups or communities. Unfortunately, such a subtle distinction would be illusory, in view of Philip's letter to *Adaioi* (?) concerning the *Ainians* resident at *Amphipolis*.<sup>7</sup> For as we have seen, although in the prescript Philip V addresses his greetings to one person, he continues his letter in the second person plural, obviously addressing himself to the city as a whole. In fact, even when the *epistatai* seem to be personally the addressees, they figure in the prescript in their representative capacity, as the chief magistrates of their communities. It is, however, undeniable that such practices betray an immediacy in the relations of these chief magistrates of the local communities with the head of the central authorities –King or Regent– that cannot be explained in terms of interstate relations, even when these are purely formal, as between a sovereign and an "allied", in fact a subject, city. For there is a decisive difference between the Macedonian *epistatai* (or *politarchai*) and the chief magistrates of even a formally independent city. The latter are theoretically only answerable to their fellow citizens; the former are also fully answerable to the central authorities of the State embodied by the King. This is the crucial ambiguity of the position of the *epistatai* or the *politarchai*, which is responsible for the persistent, but inaccurate, impression that they were royal officials. The *epistatai* and the *politarchai* were no less civic magistrates than the mayors of modern France or Greece, who similarly, and to a greater extent than their ancient counterparts, are, because of the "tutelle administrative", answerable to the central authorities and even to their regional representatives (*préfets, νομάρχαι*). This situation results from the "federal" character of the

- 1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.
- 2 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 9-10.
- 3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 19.
- 4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8.
- 5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 16.
- 6 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 5 and 10.
- 7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 9.

Macedonian state and is independent of the monarchical or republican form of the central government. Members of republican leagues also had to conform to κοινὰ δόγματα or to federal *diagrammata*, as Heuss has masterfully shown.<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting for instance, that in Aitolia, besides the *tutela* in foreign policy, which we examined in a previous chapter,<sup>2</sup> we see the local communities being answerable to the central authorities in internal matters as early as the first half of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> As the Macedonian, so, too, the Aitolian central authorities arbitrated the disputes between the local communities.<sup>4</sup> But the most flagrant intervention of the Aitolian central authorities is revealed by the federal decree of 182 mentioned above, ordering the cities to appoint, within a time limit, *theorodokoi* for the Nikephoria of Pergamon.<sup>5</sup> In Aitolia, too, the decision of the central authorities could not take effect without being mediated by the individual cities, probably by decrees appointing the *theorodokoi*. Particularly remarkable is the obligation laid upon the local magistrates to report to the federal *strategos* by the following Pythia (τοῖς δὲ θεωροῖς τοῖς ἐπαγγελλόντοισ τὸς ἀγ[ῶνας] | [τῶν Ν]ικαφορίων καταστᾶσαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκάστας θεωροδόκους τῶν ἰδίων πολιτᾶν καὶ ἀνενεγ[κεῖ]ν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τᾶν πολιῶν τῶι στραταγ[ῶ]ι Προξένωι ἐν τᾷ Πύθια). Both the procedures and the pattern of relations that they establish are not unfamiliar to the reader of the preceding pages.<sup>6</sup>

A quite independent question is whether the Macedonian *epistatai* were annually elected or appointed magistrates. Unfortunately, there is no conclusive evidence either way. As we have already seen, Sparges remained chief magistrate of Amphipolis for several years after its conquest by Philip II. At first sight this instance might seem to provide an argument in favour of the appointment of the *epistatai* by

1 . Heuss 84-87.

2 . See p. 366-67, above.

3 . Tod, *GHI* 137; cf. Cabanes, "Pouvoir" 355.

4 . *IGIX* 1<sup>2</sup>, 188; cf. Cabanes, "Pouvoir" 355.

5 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 629, with the corrections by L. Robert, "Notes " 336-38 (= *OMS* I 151-57) and *FdD* III 3, 240.

6 . One might object that there existed a major difference between the Macedonian kingdom and a republican state such as Aitolia. For instance, in the case of the Nikephoria, the decision to take part in the festivities organised by Eumenes II at Pergamon was taken not by a hereditary king but by the Aitolian Assembly, that is to say theoretically by the very same citizens who, before the following Pythia, would have to appoint the *theorodokoi* within the framework of the individual cities. However, such an objection does not take into account the fact that the decision of the "federal" assembly would be compelling even to a city of Aitolia whose whole citizen body would have cast a minority vote against the decree.

the king. On the other hand, one should not forget that circumstances in Amphipolis in the fifties of the fourth century were exceptional and that the politarchs, who succeeded to the *epistatai* in all their capacities,<sup>1</sup> probably held an elective office (cf. Beroia: ἡ πόλις αἰρείσθω γυμνασίαρχον ὅταν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς).<sup>2</sup> In an earlier paper, written at a time before I had begun to question the "orthodox" view about the *epistatai*, I considered the election of the chief magistrates as a "democratic" reform contemporary with the introduction of the politarchs and adduced the example of the *strategoï* of Pergamon for the case of civic magistrates who were at one time appointed, but whose office seems later to have become elective.<sup>3</sup> Today I would be less affirmative. The office of the *epistates* might already have been elective and still leave ample scope for democratic reform under the late Antigonids. The elected *tagoi* of Larisa<sup>4</sup> bowed with no less readiness to the King's wishes than the appointed *strategoï* of Pergamon.<sup>5</sup> The servile repetition in the Larisaeen decrees of the very expressions used in the royal letters which prompted them is markedly greater than in the decree of Seleukeia in Pieria introduced under similar conditions by the reputedly appointed *epistates* Theophilos and the *archontes*.<sup>6</sup> Polybios, however tendentious and mistaken in the details of his sweeping assertion, may be correct in maintaining that there was no less royal control in the cities of Thessaly than in those of Macedonia,<sup>7</sup> a statement that can naturally be reversed: there was probably no more royal control in the cities of Macedonia than in those of Thessaly. Between genuine election and outright appointment there existed a whole spectrum of possible solutions, more or less satisfying the royal desire for control and the cities' aspiration to self-respect, if not to genuine autonomy, such as the appointment of the *strategoï* of Pergamon by Attalos,<sup>8</sup> whom Heuss has classified as "oktroiyerte städtische Beamte",<sup>9</sup> or of "monarchisch-städtische Reichsbeamte", such as Apollodoros son of Apollodoros, simultane-

1 . Cf. the evidence from the civic dedications formerly mentioning the *epistates* (Epigraphic Appendix nos 73 and 77) and after the reform the politarchs (Epigraphic Appendix no 29).

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 60, side A, L. 22-23.

3 . Hatzopoulos, "Politarques", p. 10-17 of the unpublished section of my communication.

4 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 543.

5 . *OGIS* 267.

6 . Holleaux, "Séleucie" 6-7 (= *Etudes* III 199-200).

7 . Pol. 4.76.2.

8 . *OGIS* 267.

9 . Heuss 38.

ously appointed by Antigonos Gonatas and elected by the Athenian people (κατασταθείς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ [ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ...)<sup>1</sup> In any case, it seems improbable that the citizens of any Macedonian community would dare elect a candidate unacceptable to the king.

The replacement of the single *epistates* by a board of two politarchs—at least in the cities—was in any case an important step towards more democratic forms of civic administration, since it abolished the exclusive responsibility of one person *vis-à-vis* the central authority and introduced a genuine collegiality, which the previous system seems to have lacked because of the specially prominent position of the *epistates*.

1. *SEG* 3 (1927) 122; cf. Heuss 65 and what Bagnall 59-60 writes about Dionysios son of Aigibios in Salamis of Cyprus: "His position makes an interesting bridge between the royal authority and the civic government".





## FINANCE

In the financial field, even more than in the rest of the administration, the distinction is not so much between royal and civic but between central and local. The clearest relevant statement is to be found in Alexander's speech at Opis, where the king reminds his Macedonians: "I own nothing myself, nor has anyone treasures of mine to show, save these possessions of yours, or what is being safeguarded for you".<sup>1</sup> This passage cannot be simply dismissed as the rhetorical hyperbole of a fictitious speech; for the same notion, *i.e.* that the King is only the administrator of the state treasury, which in fact belongs to and is safeguarded for the people, recurs also in a section of Curtius, whose trustworthiness has recently been convincingly asserted: *Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres.*<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Hammond has brought attention to a number of passages from literary sources, where the recipients of state revenues are not the kings but the Macedonians:<sup>3</sup> the Thracians were obliged by Philip to pay a tithe to the Macedonians;<sup>4</sup> the Aspendians, as a punishment after their defection, were put under a governor appointed by Alexander and were made to pay an annual tribute to the Macedonians.<sup>5</sup> That this is not merely the result of careless writing by late authors becomes clear when concordant examples taken from official documents are adduced: in the treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalkidian League of the early fourth century the payments for the exportation and transit of timber are due, in the careful language of the chancery, not to Amyntas, but to the Macedonians (Μακεδόσιν).<sup>6</sup> In another instance, in the Amphictionic account of 325, we find, after the Pagasitans and before the Delphi-

1. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.9. For the authenticity of the financial information contained in the speech, cf. Rosen, *King* 165, n. 6.

2. Curtius 10.6.23. On the reliability of this section of Curtius' narrative, cf. Mooren 205-206, n. 1-2.

3. Hammond, "Arrian" 461-65.

4. Diod. 16.71.2.

5. Arr., *Anab.* 1.27.4.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 1.

ans, the Macedonians –and not Alexander– making a contribution of 5 talents, the most important of the list.<sup>1</sup> We saw before that the Macedonians as a corporate body had revenues of their own, namely from booty, and a financial autonomy which enabled them to issue coins and to make dedications in their own name or alongside the King or other corporate bodies.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to say how royal funds were distinguished from the other monies of the Commonwealth and whether, for example, there existed two distinct treasuries. The fact is that our literary sources speak always of "royal monies",<sup>3</sup> "payments to the King"<sup>4</sup> and "debts to the King",<sup>5</sup> but, given the lack of interest shown by our sources for the niceties of the internal organisation of Macedonia, an *argumentum e silentio* in such a case can hardly be considered as decisive. The royal chest is also recorded epigraphically, for a payment of a fine "to the King" (τῷ βασιλεῖ) is recorded in the third-century manumission act from Beroia.<sup>6</sup> The expression, however, need not mean more than "royal" or "Crown" in many a modern nation, where they are used as equivalent to "national" or "public".

The systematic study of the Antigonid coins, both royal and "autonomous" (national, regional or civic) would certainly be extremely helpful in determining the relations between the different financial departments of Macedonia under the kings. For instance, how should the fact be interpreted that some monograms, and particularly that of Zoilos, appear both on the regal coinage of Philip V and of Perseus and on some of the autonomous issues of the Commonwealth and of its regional subdivisions?<sup>7</sup> Is it an indication that *basilika* should be understood as central finances, both (or either) those of the King and of the Commonwealth, as opposed to those of the local communities? This hypothesis finds further confirmation in the fact that the computerisation of monograms according to codified groups reveals "the parallel arrangement/sequence (and therefore the connection)" between the issues of Philip V, Perseus and the Macedonian Commonwealth, but not of the cities Thessalonike, Pella and Am-

1. J. Bousquet, *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, II 214-16, no 100.

2. See p. 261-64, above.

3. Cf. Livy 45.29.1: *pecuniam regiam*.

4. Livy 45.18.7: *quod regibus ferre soliti erant*; 29.4: *quod pependissent regibus*; 29.11: *quod pependissent regi*; Diod. 31.8.3: ὡν πρότερον ἐτέλουν τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσιν.

5. Pol. 25.3.3: βασιλικῶν ὀφειλημάτων.

6. Epigraphic Appendix no 93, L. 21.

7. Cf. now Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 40.

phipolis. As J. Touratsoglou notes, this is "proof both of a more or less substantial independence / 'autonomy' (*i.e.* of the cities) of the decision-making centre" and of the "immediate dependence" of the issues in the name of the Macedonians on the royal ones.<sup>1</sup> If such is indeed the case, the collection of the revenues in the regional capitals provided by the Roman settlement of 167 would not constitute any innovation, since the "federal" revenues, as from old, and not the civic revenues would be affected.

Our information about the distribution between central and local finances comes from a very small number of passages of literary authors and inscriptions, mostly dealing with the grant of exemptions. Livy (Polybios), describing the sources of "royal" revenue (*vectigalia regni*) which Philip V succeeded in increasing, mentions: the produce of the land (*fructibus... agrorum*), the income from harbour duties (*portoriisque maritimis*) and the mines (*metalla*).<sup>2</sup> The first and the third of these sources of income are also mentioned in the description of the Roman settlement of 167.<sup>3</sup> A special reference is also made to timber for naval construction.<sup>4</sup> Although these sources of income are called τὰ βασιλικά<sup>5</sup> or *patrimonium*,<sup>6</sup> they no more belonged personally to the King than the *vectigalia* and *reditus* of Thessaly,<sup>7</sup> but were entrusted to his safekeeping,<sup>8</sup> in order to provide for the expenses of running the state.<sup>9</sup> As Rosen rightly points out,<sup>10</sup> even if the King was the ἀντιπρόεδρος administrator of the Crown property, he was not its real owner, or, to use the *Souda's* testimony *s.v.* βασιλεία III: οὐ τὰ δημόσια τῆς βασιλείας κτήματα.<sup>11</sup> The "irresponsibility" of the King was the inevitable consequence of the life tenure of his office. The absence of legal εὐθύνη did not mean, however, that the King was morally irresponsible. Antigonos Doson – and probably other kings too in their testaments – "wrote to the Mace-

1. Touratsoglou, *Circulation* 72.

2. Livy 39.24.2.

3. Livy 45.18.3: *Metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, locationes praediorumque rusticorum tolli placebat*, cf. 45.29.11: *Metalla quoque auri et argenti non exerceri, ferri et aeris permitti*.

4. Livy 45.29.14: *Navalem materiam et ipsos caedere et alios pati vetuit*.

5. Plut., *Alex.* 15.4.

6. Just. 11.5.5.

7. Just. 11.3.2.

8. Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.9: φυλάττεται.

9. Cf. *mutatis mutandis*, Dem. 1.22: τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν; cf. 6.22.

10. Rosen, *King* 70-71.

11. Cf. the distinction between tiles bearing the stamp ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ and those bearing the stamp ΔΗΜΟ(ΣΙΑ) at Pella (Makaronas-Giouri 187-89).

donians on his administration of the Commonwealth".<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the King had to account for his administration even in his lifetime. Thus Alexander in Opis, in order to show how little the administration of the immense Crown property had profited himself and his family, stressed that Philip at his death had "only a few gold and silver cups and not so much as sixty talents in the treasury", from which about five hundred talents of debt should be subtracted.<sup>2</sup>

Crown property, be it mines<sup>3</sup> or agricultural land (ψιλή) or forests and groves (ἔνδενδρος)<sup>4</sup> was perhaps in some rare cases exploited directly by the King,<sup>5</sup> but as a rule was either leased out<sup>6</sup> or given as δωρεά<sup>7</sup> to ἑταῖροι or φίλοι<sup>8</sup> or other individuals or groups.<sup>9</sup>

There are two conclusive passages referring to the leasing of revenue. The older one concerns the harbour dues (import-export taxes), whose existence is attested from the reign of Amyntas III,<sup>10</sup> and can be read in the *Oikonomika* of Pseudo-Aristotle and describes how Kallistratos helped a Macedonian King double the revenue from the harbour dues of the kingdom from 20 to 40 talents annually.<sup>11</sup> From the details of Kallistratos' reform it is clear that the harbour dues were annually "sold" (πωλουμένου, ὠνουμένους = farmed out) at an auction. The later one is from the latter part of the reign of Philip V. It shows that what was true of the exploitation of the harbour dues in the middle of the fourth century was true two centuries later of the mines, which, as emerges from the relevant passage of Livy, were leased to contractors for a fixed sum,<sup>12</sup> and of the forests, which could also be

1 . Pol. 4.87.7: ἔγραφε Μακεδόσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διοικημένων.

2 . Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.6 (translation by P.A. Brunt).

3 . For references, see Borza, "Resources" 8-12.

4 . For these terms, see Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 36-43. For the forests, cf. Borza, "Resources" 2-8.

5 . Cf. Aeschin., *Leg.* 156, describing prisoners from Olynthos with chains on their legs cultivating Philip II's vineyards and Arr., *Anab.* 1.16.6, where the Greek prisoners from the battle of Granikos "were sent in chains to Macedonia to hard labour", presumably on Crown property.

6 . Cf. Livy 45.29.11: *Vectigal exercentibus dimidium eius impositum quod pendissent regi.*

7 . Cf. [Dem.] 7.41: ὡς ἑαυτοῦ οὔσαν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς καρποῦται, τὴν δ' ἄλλοις δωρεῖαν δέδωκε.

8 . For a discussion of grants to "friends" see Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 29-35.

9 . For the discussion of a grant to a group of Macedonians, see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 110-17.

10 . Epigraphic Appendix no 1.

11 . [Arist.], *Oec.* 2.22. This king was probably Philip II; cf. O. Picard, "Les Thasiens du Continent et la fondation de Philippe", *Tranquillitas. Mélanges en l'honneur de Tran Tam Tinh* (Quebec 1994) 459-74.

12 . Livy 45.29.11.

leased to foreign, non-Macedonian, contractors.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the same traditional method was used also for the collection of the harbour dues and of the revenues from royal land mentioned in another passage of Livy.<sup>2</sup> Kalléris has recently presented a well-argued case that this was the traditional method of exploitation of royal possessions in Temenid Macedonia, whence it was introduced into Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it would not be utterly unwarranted to suppose that a similar system of exploitation had been used for the mines of Mt. Pangaion under Philip II, and possibly even for the mines of Mt. Dysoron from the reign of Alexander I.

For the distribution of royal land to individuals and to groups we have even a less scanty epigraphic and literary evidence. We have already referred to the δωρεά of royal land to Polemokrates, to Koinos son of Polemokrates, to Perdikkas son of Koinos, to Ptolemaios,<sup>4</sup> to Limnaios son of Harpalos<sup>5</sup> and to the conditional grant of land to the Euiestai.<sup>6</sup> There is no need to discuss further this last case, which is not a genuine grant but a temporary cession to an association, linked to the execution of a religious service. The other instances seem typical *doreai* of royal land to individual *hetairoi* or *philoï*. These, contrary to the conditional grant to the Euiestai, were hereditary grants (ἐμ πατρικοῖς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις repeated in the two inscriptions) which could be freely alienated (κυρίοις οὔσι καὶ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀποδόσθαι ἢ κεκτῆσθαι κυρίοις οὔσι καὶ πωλεῖν καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ διδόναι) and indeed were, since we know that Ptolemaios sold to Perdikkas ἐν ἀργυρίῳ a field in the territory of Spartolos, which he had obviously received as a grant.<sup>7</sup> It is probable that such personal grants to *hetairoi* or collective ones to associations, as opposed to distribution of land to Macedonian settlers for the creation of Macedonian communities, did not affect the actual cultivators, who simply transferred the payment of rent to the *hetairos*

1 . Livy 45.29.14.

2 . Livy 39.24.2.

3 . Kalléris, "Παράδοσις" 430-32.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 20.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 22.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

7 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 29-35, with bibliography. On the other hand, in the case of temporary and/or conditional cessions the eminent property remained the property of Crown, to which the land reverted at the expiration of the lease or the termination of the conditions of the grant. Although the reasons remain unknown to us, such must have been the case of the land of Korrhagos son of Perdikkas, the metic in Greia, which after reversion to the Crown was given anew to the association of the Euiestai.

or the association instead of the Crown.<sup>1</sup> It is highly improbable that Limnaios son of Harpalos, for instance, directly exploited his 2,460 plethra of γῆ ἐνδενδρος or that he moved his residence to Strepssa in order personally to tend his 20 plethra of vineyards. This is even more obvious in the distributions mentioned by our literary authorities and in particular Plutarch.<sup>2</sup> Alexander had to borrow heavily from his *hetairoi*, in order to finance the Asian campaign.<sup>3</sup> In return he distributed to them τῶ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῶ δὲ κόμην, τῶ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσσ-  
 οδον ἢ λιμένος. It is beyond doubt that in the last three cases the grant could only concern the revenue and that, naturally, it did not imply ownership by the Companions of the "harbours", the "settlements" or the "villages". The "fields" could theoretically be directly exploited, but this was by no means necessary. A combination of direct exploitation and sublease seems the best interpretation of the Gambreion inscription of 326/5, in which a certain Krateuas (not necessarily a royal functionary) cedes a field (γῆν ψιλὴν, ἀγρόν), building plots (οἰκόπεδα), and an orchard (κῆπος), adjoining the one that he is exploiting himself, to a certain Aristomenes.<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that the *terminus technicus* used for the rent (of the orchard) is φόρος, which in Macedonian usage denotes in general all revenues of royal land.<sup>5</sup> For a corollary to entrusting the Crown property to the King, in order that he might meet all the needs of the state, was that the Macedonians themselves were tribute-free, as befitted free men. From the equivalence between χώρα βασιλική and φορολογουμένη χώρα which is one of the principles of Macedonian public law clearly and repeatedly stated,<sup>6</sup> results *a contrario* the land-tax exemption of privately owned land in the territories of the Macedonian or the "allied" cities (πολιτικὴ χώρα). The "settlements" and the "villages" whose revenues Alexander renounced in 334<sup>7</sup> were not Macedonian settlements and lay outside the national territory, in the newly conquered lands which had not yet been colonised. The different types of Macedonian taxation are better illustrated from the examination of cases of tax exemption recorded in literary authorities and epigraphic documents.

1. Fanoula Papazoglou, review of Hammond-Walbank, *Macedonia* III, *ŽA* 40 (1990) 230; cf. Bikerman, *Séleucides* 181.

2. Plut., *Alex.* 15.2; cf. Just. 11.5.5.

3. Cf. Berve I 307.

4. *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 302; cf. Funck 50-55.

5. Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 1.27.4; 3.17.5, and Epigraphic Appendix no 6.

6. *OGIS* 1, L. 11-12; Welles, *Correspondence* 19, no 3, L. 83; cf. 62, no 11, L. 17; 63, no 12, L. 19-20; cf. Heuss 110.

7. Plut., *Alex.* 15.3.

The most comprehensive statement concerning the Macedonian fiscal system occurs perhaps in Arrian's description of the measures taken by Alexander after the battle of Granikos in favour of the dead and their families. He not only buried the Macedonian dead with their arms and other accoutrements but also γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὄσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραί.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the same exemptions were granted to the families of Macedonian dead of subsequent battles of the Asian campaign; for a similar statement is made in the Opis speech: οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἔντιμοι εἰσι λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι.<sup>2</sup>

The first exemption has been rightly interpreted by Berve as referring to the φόρος due for possession of royal land, χώραν meaning here βασιλικὴν χώραν.<sup>3</sup> It must be no coincidence that Arrian mentions the exemption from the φόρος on the βασιλικὴ χώρα in connection with the dead of the battle of Granikos; for most of them were cavalymen, likely grantees of important tracts of royal land.

Bosworth interprets the τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι as simply military service.<sup>4</sup> Such an explanation, however, does not take into account the use of the plural nor does it account for the corresponding expression: λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης of the Opis speech. The same feeling is conveyed by a passage of Justin, in which military service seems to be the only service from which the Macedonians are not exempted, with the clear implication that there were others as well. (*Macedonibus immunitatem cunctarum rerum praeter militiae vacationem dedit*).<sup>5</sup> In the Hellenistic decree from Gazoros liturgies are mentioned again in the plural and in a context that must imply more than military service: ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀξίως τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν προενοήσατο τῆς χώρας τοῦ διασωθῆναι καὶ δύνασθαι τοὺς μένοντας

1. Arr., *Anab.* 1.16.5.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 7.10.4.

3. Berve I 357; cf. B. Tripodi, "La *immunitas cunctarum rerum* concessa da Alessandro Magno ai Macedoni (Iust., 11, 1, 10)", *AnnPisa* 9 (1979) 513-25, and Bosworth, *Commentary* 126.

4. Bosworth, *Commentary* 126; cf. *Syll* <sup>3</sup> 1017, with the corrections by Robert, "Notes" 431-36 (= *OMS* I 188-93), and Gauthier, "Ατέλεια" 56-57: ἔσται δὲ κα[ἰ] στρα[τ]ικᾶς ἀτελῆς σὴ[μ]α[τ]ι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ...

5. Just. 11.1.10. We now find the same distinction between military and non-military personal obligations in a decree from Phanagoreia, in which mercenary veterans (just like Alexander's veterans at Opis) are exempted from all *leitourgiai* except "universal military service". See J.G. Vinogradov and M. Wörrle, "Die Söldner von Phanagoreia", *Chiron* 22 (1992) 159-70, with *BullEpigr* 1993, 377: ἀλειτούργητοι παντὸς πράγματος πλὴν πα[ν]δ[η]μου στρατείας.



ἐν οἴκῳ τὰς λητουργίας συντελεῖν.<sup>1</sup> However, the clearest distinction between military and non-military liturgies attested in a Macedonian inscription is made in the royal letter to Beroia, where again as a reward for military services the officers are granted ἀτέλειαν πολιτικῶν λειτουργιῶν.<sup>2</sup> If one gives to πολιτικός the usual meaning of "civic", it is not easy to understand how the king could dispense his officers from their obligations not to himself but to their respective cities. The grant of immunity to the priests of Herakles in the same city by Demetrios II<sup>3</sup> does not constitute a genuine parallel case, not only because it concerned one or two persons at a time instead of sixty for the rest of their lives, but also because of the special position held by priests in a Greek city, which very often entailed immunity *ex officio*. Perhaps it makes better sense that these λειτουργίαι, although required within the framework of the city, were ultimately due to the central authorities. Two Amphictionic decrees from Delphoi provide a useful parallel of a decision of a supra-civic entity dispensing a citizen or a resident of a member city from his civic obligations;<sup>4</sup> for although they both emanate from the federal *synedrion*, they grant immunity of obligations due not to the Amphictiony but to the city of Delphoi. Naturally, one may speculate that these χορηγίαι due to the city of Delphoi were part of the obligations of that city to the Amphictiony and that, consequently, there was no real interference of the federal authorities in the financial affairs of the city. A similar hypothesis can be put forward in the case of the royal letter to Beroia. Assuredly, we know very little about personal non-military obligations in Macedonia.<sup>5</sup> A very important, but badly preserved inscription from Kyrrhos may be the only surviving document referring to such πολιτικά (or τῷ σώματι) λειτουργίαι.<sup>6</sup> They concern public works not only within the city of Kyrrhos and its territory, but also perhaps outside it, in particular, the construction or repair of a road starting from Kyrrhos

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 39.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

3 . See p. 440, below.

4 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 499 (Amphictionic decree for a Delphian, 229/8): ἐδόθη ἅ αὐτὰ προδικία καὶ ἀσφάλεια καὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν τοῖ Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι, and *SGDI* 2524 (Amphictionic decree for a resident of Delphoi, 221/0): εἶναι καὶ ἀτέλειαν τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἂν τοῖ Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις... I owe both references to the kindness of François Lefèvre, who pointed out to me the parallelism between the grant of the Macedonian king and of the Delphic Amphictiony.

5 . For civil obligations (πολιτικά λειτουργίαι) in the Cyclades, see *IG* XII 5, 863-66 and particularly XII 7, 515. Cf. also *OGIS* 215: ἀτέλειαν τ[οῦ] σώματος καὶ ὧν ἂν εισάγηται ἢ ἐξάγηται.

6 . This inscription will be published by Lukretia Gounaropoulou: cf. Vavritsas, "Ἐπιγραφή" 7-9.

and possibly joining the main royal road running from Pella to Edessa, the latter-day Via Egnatia. There may have been other civil "services" too, for which a *per capita* (hence probably the term τῷ σώματι)<sup>1</sup> financial contribution was expected from the citizens of Macedonian cities. The provision of draught animals for state transportation in time of peace or war, traditionally closely connected with road service, which in Hellenistic and Roman times continued to be of paramount importance,<sup>2</sup> may well have been one of them.<sup>3</sup> What these πολιτικάί (or τῷ σώματι) λειτουργίαι have in common is that, although they are due within a civic framework, the ultimate beneficiary is the central authority. Thus we can understand how its representative, the King –just like the Amphictionic *synedrion* in the decrees from Delphoi– could grant immunity from them without appearing to be scandalously interfering in a city's affairs.

The κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραὶ are more difficult to interpret. Bosworth,<sup>4</sup> after mentioning Cassander's grant to Perdikkas, which, besides the *dorea*, comprises καὶ ἀτέλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνους καὶ εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι τῶν ἐπὶ κτήσει,<sup>5</sup> insists on the "strongly Athenian flavour" of the word εἰσφορά, which he finally interprets as an extraordinary levy upon registered capital, introduced by Kallistratos. I think, however, that Macedonian evidence should weigh more heavily than Arrian's possibly atticising vocabulary. In fact, at no time in all recorded Macedonian history do we hear of an *eisphora* of the Athenian type. Yet the occasions for such a levy repeatedly presented themselves to the Macedonian kings. When Alexander was in economic straits at the beginning of his reign, he did not resort to an *eisphora*, but borrowed from his Companions, giving royal land or other sources of royal revenue in exchange.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, when Philip V needed higher revenues for the reorganisation of Macedonia, he did not issue an order for an extraordinary levy, but tried, successfully, to raise the level of traditional revenues from import-export dues (*portorium* = ἐλλιμένιον), from the lease of royal land and mines.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, before the final confrontation between Macedonia and Rome, neither Perseus nor the representatives of the Macedonian cit-

1. I owe this suggestion to Ph. Gauthier.

2. For the Roman times, see Holleaux, "Inscription de la Lynkestide" *REG* 11 (1898) 273-78 (= *Etudes* I 271-73); cf. *SEG* 17 (1960) 315.

3. Livy 42.53.4.

4. Bosworth, *Commentary* 126.

5. Epigraphic Appendix no 20.

6. Plut., *Alex.* 15.3-7; Just. 11.5.5.

7. Livy 39.24.2.

ies suggested such a measure. Instead the latter proposed "funds for the war, each according to its ability, and grain", clearly contributions from their own *civic* incomes, which, however, the king refused.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, we know that from the beginning of the fourth century, at least, to the end of the royal period there were dues on the movement of goods, called τέλεα for the εξαγωγή and the διαγωγή<sup>2</sup> in the treaty between Amyntas and the Chalkidians, ἔλλιμένιον in Pseudo-Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> (dues) εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι τῶν ἐπὶ κτήσει in Perdikkas' grant<sup>4</sup> and now εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι καὶ πωλοῦντι καὶ ὠνουμένωι πλὴν ὅσα ἐπ' ἐμπορίαι, in the new grant to Chairephanes.<sup>5</sup> It is all the more difficult to discard the evident similarity between "exemption for himself and his descendants on imports and exports personally acquired by them" or "exemption for himself and his descendants on imports and exports, sales and purchases except for trading purposes" and the grant of "exemption to their parents and to their children of all payment of dues on personal acquisitions" the more so that a metric inscription from Beroia, dating from the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, but making explicit reference to Philip (II), mentions precisely the same exemption, only in poetic, instead of administrative diction: χάρις ἄδε Φιλίππου καὶ τέκνων τέκνοις αἰδίως ἐδόθη καὶ κτεάνων ἀτελῆς δόμος.<sup>6</sup> Such is probably also the nature of the ἀτέλεια traditionally granted to the priests of Asklepios in Beroia and extended by the regent Demetrios to include the priests of Herakles Kynagidas also.<sup>7</sup>

To these regular sources of revenue of the central authorities other casual ones should probably be added. The most important by far was booty, which was shared between the King and his men.<sup>8</sup> But there were others as well. We have explicit mention of only one, a fine imposed to anyone who attempted to reduce a manumitted person into

1 . Livy 42.53.3-4.

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 1.

3 . [Arist.], *Oec.* 2.22.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 20.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 21. The apparently paradoxical royal grant of tax exemption to citizens of Kassandreia at a time when this city was independent from Macedonia is explained by the fact that Cassander wished to maintain the privileges of local Macedonians despite the foundation of this new independent city. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Donation* 53-54.

6 . This inscription is due to be published by Th. Pazaras and myself.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 8. For a similar view on Ptolemaic taxation, see Claire Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Bruxelles 1939) 416-17. In Epeiros, too, federal taxation seems limited to import and export dues; see Cabanes, "Etats" 105-106. For parallel exemptions from the Greek East, see *OGIS* 215 and *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 278.

8 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 12.

slavery: καὶ ὁ ἄγων εἰς δουλείαν ἀποτινέτω καθ' ἕκαστον σῶμα χρυσοῦς ἑκατὸν καὶ τῶι βασιλεῖ ἄλλους ἑκατὸν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος.<sup>1</sup>

The latter recipient is clearly the βασιλικὸν ταμεῖον, the former almost certainly the civic treasury, a usage which survived in Macedonia long after the Roman conquest, with the only difference that the *fiscus* (τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον) replaced the royal treasury.<sup>2</sup>

With the fines payable to the city we come to the problem of the civic treasuries. Unfortunately, we are almost better informed about what should not be a city revenue than what should be and actually was. We have already seen that, although the cities supervised the administration of the funds of the sanctuaries and other associations of the city, a traditional rule required that the revenues of the god (πρόσοδοι τοῦ θεοῦ) should not contribute to the accretion of the πολιτικαὶ πρόσοδοι. Philip V's *diagramma* insists on the inalienability of sacred property and Demetrios as a regent rebuked Harpalos, whom we identified with the chief magistrate of Beroia, for the appropriation by the city of some revenues of Herakles Kynagidas, which, as we saw above, could easily reach several thousands of drachmae annually.<sup>3</sup> In Morrylos, however, a joint donation to the city and to Asklepios seems to be accepted as a matter of course.<sup>4</sup> We do not know either what rules were applied to avert possible conflicts between city and sanctuary, or the importance of private donations for the civic finances of local communities in Macedonia.

The only positive knowledge about civic taxation which we have comes from Philippoi and concerns the ἐπώνιον on land transactions, which was of 20 drachmae and one and a quarter obol for a property sold above 1,000 drachmae and of 1 drachma for a property sold for 50 drachmae.<sup>5</sup> It seems, therefore, that it was calculated to correspond to *c.* 2% of the amount of the transaction. Given, however, the particular position of Philippoi, which, like Kassandreia at its foundation, was a nominally independent city, it is difficult to say whether such a tax was also collected in the cities of Macedonia proper. It is all the more questionable in that a decree of Philippoi attests the grant of exemption on the import and export of goods to *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of the city.<sup>6</sup> As we have just seen, this was a tax collected in

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 93.

2 . Cf. Petsas, "Ἐπιγραφές" 302.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix nos 15 and 8; cf. p. 395 and 416-19, above.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

5 . Epigraphic Appendix no 83.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 38.

Macedonia proper by the central government, and the fact that the city of Philipoi could by itself grant exemption from it could be seen as an additional proof that at that time Philipoi had yet not been incorporated into the national territory. Yet "supervisors of the commercial harbour", whose civic character cannot be excluded are epigraphically attested in Amphipolis<sup>1</sup> and the fact remains that the Macedonian cities did have revenues of their own, which were by no means unimportant. The dedications of the cities to the gods, to Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia,<sup>2</sup> to Dionysos in Thessalonike,<sup>3</sup> to Artemis Tauropolos in Amphipolis,<sup>4</sup> which often rival the dedications of the kings, the honours lavished on both foreigners and citizens,<sup>5</sup> the contributions to Panhellenic sanctuaries<sup>6</sup> and, last but not least, the capacity to contribute to the war effort of the nation on a practically equal footing with the King<sup>7</sup> bear unmistakable witness to the financial prosperity of the Macedonian cities. What exactly its sources were must needs remain something of a mystery until an epigraphic discovery sheds new light to the problem.

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 65. For the ancient *emporion*, see the excellent collection of papers, A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds), *L'Emporion* (Paris 1993).

2 . Epigraphic Appendix no 73.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 72.

4 . Epigraphic Appendix no 29.

5 . Cf. the honorary decrees in the Epigraphic Appendix.

6 . Cf. *IG* IV 617.

7 . Cf. Livy 42.53.2-3.

## THE ARMY

It is generally accepted, as has been stated above, that the Macedonian kings could muster armies composed of mercenaries with long- or short-term contracts, of more or less dependent allies, who in certain cases did not differ much from mercenaries, but above all, for some centuries, of the best citizen army<sup>1</sup> in the Greek world. This citizen army in its turn was subdivided into two parts: a small nucleus of professional soldiers forming the "guard regiments" both of infantry (πεζέταιροι, later called ὑπασπισταί, still later ἀργυράσπιδες and finally πελτασταί) and cavalry (βασιλικαὶ ἵλαι), and recruited from all over Macedonia and a much more important mass of reserve forces levied according to needs on a territorial basis. The recruitment of "allies" need not detain us here, since it belongs to the sphere of foreign relations rather than to the internal administration of the kingdom.

Foreign mercenaries too, although it seems that they might sometimes be recruited by cities of an "allied" status such as Philippi, were as a rule engaged directly by the kings, often through international agreements, which they concluded as the sole empowered representatives of the State in its relations with foreign powers.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, in this section devoted to the relations between central and local authorities we shall deal only with the citizen component of the armed forces, which by its very nature was connected to both poles of the Macedonian government.

In the previous chapter we pointed out that in military matters the King seemed to have a more direct relationship with the Macedonians, paid and in some instances perhaps armed and equipped by him, which was usually denied to him in civil ones, as the local authorities normally formed a screen between him and the individual Macedonians. One of the fields where the relative weight of central and local

1 . Called in our sources πολιτικοὶ στρατιῶται (Diod. 18.12.2; cf. Athen. 5. 194e).

2 . The best recent syntheses on the armies of Philip and Alexander III are to be found in Griffith, *Macedonia* II 405-449 and Milns, "Army" 87-136, and for the Antigonid period in Walbank, *Philip* 285-94 and Le Bohec, *Antigone* 289-320..

authorities in military matters can best be studied is that of the appointment and promotion of officers.

Unfortunately, we have only one explicit piece of information about the appointment of Army commanders. Moreover, it has often been misunderstood and its value challenged. For this reason we shall have to reconsider it in some detail.

In his description of Alexander's Asian campaign Curtius writes that in Sittakene the king: *iudices dedit praemiaque proposuit de virtute militari certantibus. Novem qui fortissimi iudicati essent singulis militum milibus praefuturi erant—chiliarchas vocabant— tunc primum in hunc numerum copiis distributis; namque antea quingenariae cohortes fuerant nec fortitudini praemia cesserant. Ingens militum turba convenerat egregio interfutura certamini, testis eadem cuiusque factorum et de iudicibus latura sententiam; quippe verone an falso honos cuique haberetur ignorari non poterat.* Then follow the names of Atarrhias, Antigenes, Philotas Augaeus, Amyntas, Antigonus, Lyncestes Amyntas, Theodotus, Hellanicus.<sup>1</sup> Hedicke, observing that only eight persons are named, emended "*novem*" to "*nova*", which he considered as an epithet of "*praemia*", and put a punctuation mark between this word and "*qui*". This however did not solve all the difficulties. Since *χιλιάρχης* and *χιλιαρχία* occur in Arrian three times in connection with the hypaspists,<sup>2</sup> most scholars have presumed that the appointments concerned only this body of professional soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Major difficulties remained however. 1) It is generally presumed that Alexander had with him in Asia only 3,000 hypaspists;<sup>4</sup> how then could Curtius' *eight* chiliarchs be accounted for? Moreover, of the eight officers none is ever mentioned as a chiliarch of the hypaspists<sup>5</sup> and only Atarrhias appears in a context which could allow the connection of his name with the hypaspist corps.<sup>6</sup> In fact these officers cannot be ascribed to the "guard" regiments without the most serious manipulation of the evidence. Berve, who first initiated this hypothesis has to make two further hypotheses: 1) that after the arrival of re-

1 . Curtius 5.2.2-5.

2 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.29.7; 4.30.5; 5.23.7.

3 . See Bosworth, *Commentary* 148, with references.

4 . Cf. Beloch III<sup>2</sup>, 2, 330-31; Berve I 125; Milns, "Hypaspists" 188; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 416.

5 . The list includes neither Nearchos and Antiochos, explicitly described as chiliarchs of the hypaspists (Arr., *Anab.* 4.30.6) nor, for that matter, Adaios and Timandros, thought to have occupied similar positions at an earlier date (Arr., *Anab.* 1.22.4 with Bosworth, *Commentary* 148).

6 . Berve I 127; cf. II 90-91, no 178.

inforcements in 331/30<sup>1</sup> the number of the hypaspists was increased to 4,000 and 2) that Curtius has got his facts wrong and what really happened is that *pentakosiarchs* and not *chiliarchs*, as he writes, were appointed in the manner he describes, "denn die Form ihre Bestellung auf Grund persönlichen Kampfesleistungen zeigt unzweifelhaft, dass es sich um die Besetzung nur Subalternposten handelte, wie entsprechend auch die *λοχαγοί* in der Hetairenreiterei, κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων (Arr. III, 16, 11) eingesetzt wurden".<sup>2</sup> These hypotheses were also practically adopted by Bosworth and on the same grounds.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, such an elaborate solution, as R.D. Milns has convincingly argued,<sup>4</sup> cannot be accepted; for "Arrian's narrative implies strongly" that Alexander's reinforcements comprised no hypaspists, and the most decisive passages which have been adduced to establish that the Macedonian expeditionary force included three hypaspist chiliarchies concern precisely the period *after* 331/30.<sup>5</sup> The first part of Milns' argumentation might be dismissed as purely subjective but the second part is indeed irrefutable. For Milns only one solution remains: to reject *a priori* Curtius' detailed account on the grounds that "it is unlikely that so capable and strong a commander as Alexander would allow anyone but himself to make *any* officer appointment, let alone that of the *three* senior officers in the 'crack' infantry-unit of the army". It is simpler for him to rewrite the whole chapter of Alexander's Asian campaign: "there has occurred either in Curtius himself or his source at this point a conflation of two separate incidents, which took place when the army was near Susa: the reorganisation of hypaspists into chiliarchies and the consequent appointment of chiliarchs; and a military review or decoration ceremony, at which men of outstanding service in the previous campaigns were presented with awards (*nova praemia*)".<sup>6</sup> This new chapter of the *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, rewritten so as to satisfy the prejudices of mid-twentieth-century Alexander scholarship, is available to be interpreted in terms of "the growing rift between Alexander and the older Macedonian officers",<sup>7</sup> which is part of the same ideological premises on which the rewriting of Curtius' chapter had been modelled. The circle is now complete. Even more striking is the fact that both the rejection

1 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.10-11; Diod. 17.65.1; Curtius 5.1.40-41.

2 . Berve I 127.

3 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 148-49.

4 . Milns, "Hypaspists" 190.

5 . Arr., *Anab.* 4.24.10; 4.30.6; cf. Diod. 19.28.1.

6 . Milns, "Hypaspists" 192.

7 . Milns, "Hypaspists" 193.



of the original account of Curtius and its reconstruction were based on words which the Roman historian never used. Curtius never wrote, as Milns makes him do, that Alexander allowed "the senior officers in the 'crack' infantry" to be partially elected, nor do the words *nova praemia* figure in his manuscript.

These passages, however, are valuable for the understanding of the actual reform and incidentally for the rehabilitation of Curtius at this particular point, who even Milns has to admit "can often be a surprising mine of information for Macedonian institutions, both military and political".<sup>1</sup>

The weakness of the hypotheses propounded by Berve and his followers has in recent years encouraged the search for other solutions. P. Goukowsky, unfortunately only in three short notes,<sup>2</sup> submits that the reform concerned both the élite and the territorial units: according to him the six *pentakosiarchiai* of the 3,000 strong hypaspist corps were now regrouped in three *chiliarchiai*, while the six *taxeis* of the phalanx, which after the arrival of the reinforcements totalled 12,000 men, 2,000 men each, were now subdivided into smaller units, the *chiliarchiai*, counting a thousand men each. Goukowsky did not elaborate on the pertinence of this hypothesis for the justification of the number of the *chiliarchai* appointed by Alexander, but it is legitimate to deduce that he accepts the manuscript reading as it stands and implies that each of the six 2,000 men strong phalanx *taxeis* had only one chiliarch, who, added to the three hypaspist chiliarchs, totalled nine newly appointed officers.

Hammond sought a solution in a different direction.<sup>3</sup> On the one hand he adopts Hedicke's emendation and considers the list of eight names as complete, but on the other he connects this reform not with the hypaspist corps, like Berve and his followers, but with the phalanx battalions and suggests that Alexander, without abolishing the traditional *taxeis*, created eight one-thousand-strong élite units to be used in special circumstances.

1 . Milns, "Hypaspists" 191.

2 . Goukowsky, *Alexandre I* 255-56, n. 15-16; *eiusdem*, "Antigone" 277, n. 37. The same author, in a more recent and stimulating paper, has endeavoured to show that the *pezetairoi* did not belong to the territorial but to the élite units, while the *asthetairoi* were special sections of the territorial units (P. Goukowsky, "Macedonica", *REG* 100 [1987] 240-55). For this reason, and as long as the matter is *sub iudice*, I shall avoid the use of the term *pezetairoi* and *asthetairoi* for the ordinary territorial (or phalanx) *taxeis* of Alexander's army.

3 . Hammond, *Alexander* 164-65.

Finally, the most thorough reconsideration of the problem has been recently offered by J.E. Atkinson, who rejects Hedicke's emendation, concludes that the reorganisation related not to the hypaspists but to the Companion Infantry (phalanx), but can find no easy explanation why only nine, instead of twelve, chiliarchs were appointed.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that the remaining three chiliarchies were not attributed according to the same excellence principle as the rest, in order either to avoid "the risk of any territorial group gaining more than 2 chiliarchies" or to reserve the other three chiliarchies to the three officers "who had escorted the reinforcements led by Amyntas".<sup>2</sup>

Atkinson's thorough and well-argued paper is, in my opinion, decisive on two points: first, that Curtius' text should stand as it has been transmitted and, second, that the reform did not relate, at least exclusively, to the hypaspists. On the other hand, the explanations that he suggests –be it with great reserve– for the number of the chiliarchs do not seem to me convincing. The most elegant of the solutions proposed for this crux is the one suggested by Goukowsky. There are, however, two objections to it: first that the term *chiliarches* appears already before this reform in connection with Adaios,<sup>3</sup> who commanded a hypaspist *taxis* at the siege of Halikarnassos and, second, that, as Atkinson has clearly shown,<sup>4</sup> the eight surviving names of the appointees belong to obscure people, of which none appears in charge of one of the three hypaspist *chiliarchiai* or even in connection with that corps.

The first objection could be dismissed as an anachronistic use of the term due to Arrian's carelessness.<sup>5</sup> The second objection is, however, decisively strengthened by the fact that none of the known hypaspist chiliarchs appears in the list. A variant of Goukowsky's solution is perhaps suggested by the parallelism between the infantry's and the cavalry's reforms, which has not been hitherto sufficiently exploited. Milns<sup>6</sup> and Bosworth<sup>7</sup> rightly observe that "there is an exact correlation (of the reform described by Curtius) with the cavalry reforms described by Arrian precisely at this juncture: Κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λόχους δύο ἐν ἑκάστη ἰλη, οὐ πρόσθεν ὄντας λόχους ἰππικῶς, καὶ

1 . Atkinson 413-35.

2 . Atkinson 434.

3 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.22.7; cf. Kienast 48.

4 . Atkinson 425-31.

5 . Cf. Berve I 127; Bosworth, *Commentary* 148.

6 . Milns, "Hypaspists" 191-92.

7 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 149.

λοχαγούς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this passage is as clear as one could wish. Alexander divided each squadron of Companion cavalry into two sub-units (λόχοι), then instituted for the first time. "The new subdivisions were given commanders chosen κατ' ἀρετὴν, not, as hitherto, for their regional affiliations", to use Bosworth's own words.<sup>2</sup> If one keeps in mind the principles of organisation of ancient armies,<sup>3</sup> one realises that this reform did not imply the appointment of 16 but only of 8 *lochagoi* –the other 8 *lochoi* being commanded by the ilarchs– and one could repeat, *mutatis mutandis*, Bosworth's words, in order to describe the reform of the infantry which is "an exact correlation with the cavalry reform": Alexander divided each *strategia* (the six phalanx and the three hypaspist independent commands) into two sub-units (χιλιαρχία), then instituted for the first time (cf. *tunc primum in hunc numerum copiis distributis*).<sup>4</sup> The new subdivisions were given nine (*novem*) commanders chosen κατ' ἀρετὴν, not, as hitherto, for their regional affiliations.<sup>5</sup> All one has to suppose, in order to accept this

1 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.11.

2 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 149.

3 . Cf. Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 61, implicitly admitted by Goukowsky, *Alexandre I* 255-56, notes 15-16; *eiusdem*, "Antigone" 277, n. 37, and considered but rejected by Atkinson 431. For the existence of such a system in Macedonia, see below. The equal rank between the six phalanx and the three hypaspist independent commands emerges from the two parallel passages of Arrian (*Anab.* 7.25.6) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 76.6) ultimately deriving from the royal *Ephemerides*: παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, χιλιάρχας δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν (Arrian). Τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω νυκτερεύειν (Plutarch). From their comparison no doubt can remain that Arrian's στρατηγοὶ correspond to Plutarch's μέγιστοι ἡγεμόνων, χιλιάρχοι to ταξιάρχοι and πεντακοσιάρχοι to πεντακοσιάρχαι (cf. Milns, "Hypaspists" 191). It is equally clear that the biggest infantry units, which we usually call *taxeis*, but which could equally be called *strategiai* (cf. Berve I 118, with references), were described in an official document –genuine or forged but contemporary with the events and imitating official terminology– as being subdivided into chiliarchies (or *taxeis*) and pentakosiarchies (and, naturally, smaller units). Our source here is clearly not making a distinction between officers of phalanx infantry and of hypaspist infantry but between different categories of officers: army corps generals commanding the biggest tactical units (στρατηγοὶ, μέγιστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων), who were admitted inside the court, and division and brigade generals (χιλιάρχοι [= ταξιάρχοι, πεντακοσιάρχαι), who are ordered to wait outside the doors. The same distinction is made again in Diodorus (19.22.2) for the infantry as a whole, both phalanx and hypaspists (= *argyraspides*), between the *strategoï*, the immediate subordinates of the Commander-in-Chief and the δεύτεροι ἡγεμόνες, the second-in-command (cf. M. Holleaux, "Ἡγεμόνων τῶν ἔξω τάξεων", *REG* 35 [1922] 208 [= *Etudes* III 11]; Rousset, "Règlement" 43).

4 . Curtius 5.2.3.

5 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 149.

solution, which respects Curtius' text, is that one of the nine names was omitted from his text for reasons convincingly explained by Atkinson.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately (or rather unfortunately) such an occurrence is by no means unique. The most obvious parallel example is to be found in Curtius' description of the battle of Gaugamela,<sup>2</sup> where Meleagros' squadron, described as the last (*Ultima Meleagri ala stabat*; cf. *ultimum obtinuit Hellenicus*), is in fact the penultimate one, as we know from Arrian's parallel account,<sup>3</sup> which is following the same source.<sup>4</sup> Curtius, *pace* Bosworth,<sup>5</sup> never says that the *pentakosiarchiai* were abolished—in fact they continued to exist—<sup>6</sup> but that until the institution of the *chiliarchiai* they were the highest subdivisions of the *strategiai*. The first aim of both the infantry and the cavalry reform was to provide for intermediate levels of command.<sup>7</sup>

I can see only one objection to such an interpretation: the fact that at least in one instance *chiliarchai* are recorded as the commanding officers of the biggest hypaspist units (which accordingly figure as *chiliarchiai*).<sup>8</sup> In this instance Nearchos and Antiochos are explicitly called *χιλιάρχοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν*. The objection, however, provides its own refutation. Nobody would challenge that *chiliarches* was the *terminus technicus* for the commanders of the biggest hypaspist units, but that does not necessarily preclude that the word might have a different meaning for the majority of the infantry, and we have in fact seen higher infantry officers, and not particularly hypaspists, being called *χιλιάρχοι*. Moreover, we have seen these particular *χιλιάρχοι* being separated from the commanders of the biggest infantry units to which the *hypaspist* chiliarchs should normally belong, and being placed with the other "second-in-command".<sup>9</sup> In fact, the very expression *χιλιάρχοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν* implies that there were other, indeed better known, *χιλιάρχοι*, with whom the hypaspist chiliarchs should not be confused. The case is strictly parallel to that of the

1. Atkinson 416-20.

2. Curtius 4.13.27.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 3.11.8.

4. Bosworth, *Commentary* 300.

5. Bosworth, *Commentary* 149.

6. Cf. Berve I 127.

7. Cf. Milns, "Hypaspists", with references. The internal cohesion of the reform at all levels is the strongest argument for admitting, as we shall below, that the hypaspist corps was also affected by it, although its effect would seem at first sight to contradict Curtius' words, since it would result in the creation of units not of a thousand, but of five hundred men.

8. Arr., *Anab.* 4.30.6; cf. 3.29.7; 5.23.7.

9. See p. 448, n. 3, above.

cavalry λόχοι, which are explicitly called λόχοι ἱππικοί,<sup>1</sup> in order not to be confounded with the better known infantry ones.

If this interpretation is accepted, not only does the difficulty of the number of appointees disappear, but there is also no need to be perplexed by the fact that the appointees, with one possible exception, do not appear to have any connection with the hypaspist corps. Only one or two of the other seven preserved names should be expected to belong to the hypaspist corps and their subordinate position is reason enough for their not being mentioned in that capacity in our surviving sources. Moreover, this interpretation relieves us of convicting Arrian<sup>2</sup> of an anachronistic use of the term χιλιάρχης, when he applies this title to Adaios at the siege of Halikarnassos in 334.<sup>3</sup> Adaios was the commander of one of the biggest hypaspist units, which is very appropriately called *taxis*, the general term being used for any major infantry command.<sup>4</sup> The hypaspist *chiliarchai*—Adaios is probably identical with one of Philip's generals—<sup>5</sup> need not and did not have anything to do with the reform and their inferior namesakes of 331/30. The exact title of their immediately subordinate officers created then is lost to us in Curtius' general statement, in which the particular titles of the hypaspist officers disappear by assimilation, as in the account of the royal *Ephemerides* preserved in Arrian and Plutarch.<sup>6</sup>

This interpretation may settle the problems concerning the first aspect of the reform, the creation of a new intermediary level of command. It remains however, to come to a conclusion on the second one: the method of appointment of these new officers, which Milns has challenged. Besides the *a priori* objection that "it is unlikely in the extreme that so capable and strong a commander as Alexander would allow anyone but himself to make *any* officer appointment",<sup>7</sup> the only evidence that Milns can adduce is that "the natural interpretation of Arrian's Greek" in the parallel passage concerning the cavalry: καὶ

1. Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.11.

2. Arr., *Anab.* 1.22.7; cf. 22.4.

3. Berve I 127; Bosworth, *Commentary* 149; *contra* Milns, "Hypaspists" 189-90.

4. Cf. Tarn, *Alexander* II 144 and Bosworth, *Commentary* 148. For the assimilation of the chiliarchs of the hypaspists to the *strategoí* of the *taxeis* of the phalanx, cf. Milns, "Hypaspists" 191 and p. 448, n. 3, above.

5. Cf. Berve II 12, no 22; Bosworth, *Commentary* 149, with references. Milns' suggestion ("Hypaspists" 189-90) that he was the commander of a mercenary contingent is rightly rejected by Kienast (284, n. 14) and Bosworth.

6. Berve I 127, suggests that these subordinate officers of the hypaspist corps received the title of pentakosiarchs.

7. Milns, "Hypaspists" 191.

λοχαγούς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων is that "Alexander appointed as *lochagoi* those from the Companions who had been selected by himself on the basis of their skill in military matters".<sup>1</sup> Now "the natural interpretation of Arrian's Greek" is certainly not to translate ἐπέστησε... τοὺς προκριθέντας as "appointed... those who had been selected *by himself*". On the contrary, both the more current use of προκρίνω<sup>2</sup> and the change of construction from active to passive, which seems to draw attention to a distinction between the procedure of the appointment and that of the selection, make more natural the interpretation that Alexander appointed those who had been selected by some other agent. At best it is a neutral expression which cannot be used to reject the detailed account of Curtius. On the contrary, Arrian's *arete*, which is not here "skill in military matters", strongly recalls the words Curtius uses in his description of the selection process: *praemia de virtute, qui fortissimi, fortitudini*. It is clear that what is only alluded to in Arrian is fully described in Curtius. We can also guess the reason. The *rationale* and the details of the procedure, as can be seen from the parallel text of Curtius, which also contains an account of the cavalry reform, was in the original common source given in connection with the infantry reform, which for some reason Arrian chose to omit. Thanks, however, to our possession of three parallel texts: Arrian's on the cavalry,<sup>3</sup> Curtius' on both the infantry and the cavalry<sup>4</sup> and Diodoros' on the general principles,<sup>5</sup> we are able to understand both the scope and the details of the reform, which, as Bosworth rightly stresses,<sup>6</sup> are common to both.

As is generally accepted,<sup>7</sup> the cavalry as well as the phalanx were recruited on a territorial basis constituted by the districts (κατὰ ἔθνη in Arrian, *in sua quisque gentem, suarum gentium, nationum discrimine* in Curtius), subdivided in their turn into cities or groups of cities in Lower Macedonia, into *ethne* or groups of *ethne* in Upper Macedonia.<sup>8</sup> Originally the territorial principle applied not only to the re-

1. Milns, "Hypaspists" 192.

2. Cf. *LSJ*, s.v.

3. Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.11.

4. Curtius 5.2.2-5.

5. Diod. 17.65.2-4.

6. Bosworth, *Commentary* 149; cf. 320-21.

7. Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 411-12; Milns, "Army" 103-105, with references.

8. For instance, recruits from Lynkos and Orestis form a single *taxis* during Alexander's Asian campaign (Diod. 17.57.2; Curtius 4.13.28) and the same may be true of Tymphaia and Parauaia, although the former's name appears alone (cf. Hatzopoulos, "Limites" 82, n. 15; *eiusdem*, "Atintanes" 187-88).

cruitment of the soldiers but also to the appointment of the officers, who were designated within the framework of the regional and the city (or *ethnos*) organisations. By the time of Alexander the Great at least, if not earlier, there was an exception to this rule with regard to the highest commands, the "army corps generals". It is true that some of the biggest Upper Macedonian units were consistently given commanders from the same territorial units, but this was not mandatory in principle and in fact did not occur in the rest of the army.<sup>1</sup>

If, as is usually assumed,<sup>2</sup> the reinforcements received up to the reform had roughly made up for the losses (casualties and also garrisons) of the infantry and more than made up for the losses of cavalry, the 6,000 foot and 500 horse who joined the army at Sittakene would have brought the average strength of each of the biggest infantry units from under 1,500 to 2,000 ( $12,000 + 6,000 = 18,000 : 9 = 2,000$ ) and of the *ilai* from *c.* 225 to 300 ( $c. 1,900 + 500 = 2,400 : 8 = 300$ ). There is no need to attribute any machiavelian schemes to Alexander in order to understand that some intermediate link in the chain of command was needed between the *stratego*i (or *chiliarchai* for the hypaspists) and the *pentakosiarchai* of the infantry and between the *ilarchai* and their subordinate officers, perhaps the *tetrarchai*, commanding units of *c.* 60 men,<sup>3</sup> of the cavalry. The question which the creation of the new grades immediately raised was whether these new commands would be assimilated to the lower one and the new officers would be appointed *utique suarum gentium*<sup>4</sup> or to the higher ones and would be given to *delecti, exempto nationum discrimine*.<sup>5</sup> Alexander's preference for the second solution certainly shows a distrust of the territorial principle and a desire for the creation of a more "nationally"-minded officer corps, but in no way authorises Bosworth's conclusion: "It may be that there were already tensions between Alexander and the high command. If so, it would have been prudent to interpose an additional link in the chain of command between the regional ilarchs and his men";<sup>6</sup> for there is no evidence whatsoever that the higher cavalry officers, any more than the higher infantry officers, were chosen according to their territorial origin.

1 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 427; Milns, "Army" 103-105.

2 . Cf. Berve I 178-82; Brunt I LXXII; for some more recent discussions, see Atkinson 432-34 and Milns, "Pay" 250-51.

3 . Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 3.18.5.

4 . Curtius 5.2.6.

5 . Curtius 5.2.6.

6 . Bosworth, *Commentary* 320-21.

This interpretation can help us understand some singularities of the royal letter to Beroia.<sup>1</sup> After the mention of the privileges that the king is awarding at the end of the war to the officers (ἡγεμόνες) who have taken part in it, there follows a list of 60 names (with patronymics), presumably of the officers from Beroia, since the royal letter is specifically addressed to that city.<sup>2</sup> These sixty names are, however, divided by dots into groups of twenty. Moreover, in the first of the groups at least, there are separating dots between the 15th and the 16th and again the 19th and the 20th name. As I had occasion to argue before, both the districts (cf. τοὺς ἄνω Μακεδόνας... τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βοττίας καὶ τῆς Ἀμφαξιτιδος in 217;<sup>3</sup> *litterisque circa praefectos dimissis... copias omnes contrahit* in 171),<sup>4</sup> and the cities (*dilectu per omnia oppida regni habere instituit* in 197;<sup>5</sup> *dilectum raptim per urbes Macedonum habito* in 197)<sup>6</sup> served as recruitment units and this is in conformity with the fact that a letter similar to the one written to Beroia was also sent to the seat of the regional administration of Beroia.

The list, which is appended to the letter destined to Beroia, presumably concerns the ἡγεμόνες τῶν Βεροιαίων, officers commanding the troops of the city, whose appointment was decided on the local level of the city. As we know from the Army Code from Amphipolis<sup>7</sup> and Philip's letter to Archippos<sup>8</sup> in combination with the relevant literary authorities,<sup>9</sup> the ranks of the phalanx infantry were in ascending order of importance: that of *lochagos*, commanding a *lochos* of 15 men besides himself, *tetrarches*, commanding four *lochoi*, *speirarches*, commanding four *tetrarchiai* or 16 *lochoi* and *strategos*, commanding probably 16 *speirai* or 64 *tetrarchiai* or 256 *lochoi*. The smallest tactically autonomous unit was the *speira*, which could form a square of 16 by 16 men. To it were attached five officers ἐκτὸς

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 10.

2 . ...πρὸς ὑμᾶς (δ)ἑ καθ' ἴδιαν ἔκρινον ἐπιστεῖλαι.

3 . Pol. 5.97.3-4.

4 . Livy 42.51.1, where *praefecti* are probably the regional *strategoí*; cf. Bengtson, *Strategie* II 332, n. 3.

5 . Livy 33.3.1.

6 . Livy 33.19.3. For the cities as recruitment units, see also Momigliano, "Re" 19-20.

7 . Epigraphic Appendix no 12.

8 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

9 . Discussed by Loreto 338-40, with references in the notes. For a reconstruction of the reform which led from Alexander's army organisation to that of the late Antigonids, cf. Errington, *Geschichte* 217, who, however, ascribes six *speirai* to each *strategia*.



τάξεως: one σημειοφόρος, one ούραγός, one σαλπικτής, one ύπηρέτης and one στρατοκῆρυξ.<sup>1</sup> From the Amphipolis code it emerges that analogous "extraordinary" officers of higher rank (γραμματεὺς, ἀρχυπηρέτης, χειριστής) were attached to the biggest tactical unit, the *strategia*, and the central military organisation. Thus every *tetrarchia* had four officers, every *speira* 21 and every *strategia* presumably more than 336. To which units were our groups of Beroian *hegemones* attached? Only two practical possibilities can be envisaged: either we have the lists of the officers of three *speirai* or of three *strategiai*. The latter solution presents insuperable difficulties. A *strategia* would be expected to have 336+ officers. In order to obtain a number closer to the one we have, we could presume that the *lochagoi* were not listed among the officers. In that case we should have 16 officers of the *speirarches* rank in each group; in order to reach the number of 20 split into 15 + 5 (= 4 + 1) we should further suppose that the *strategos* himself was not counted among the "ordinary" officers and that the "extraordinary" officers of the *speira* level were not taken into consideration, but the "extraordinary" officers of the *strategia* level were. There is, however, a more formidable problem. The numbers of the phalanx troops recorded in the reign of Antigonos Doson and the early years of Philip V vary between 3,000 and 10,000 and never exceed the latter number.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible that 12,000 men would come from a single city (or from one of the four districts, for that matter, if, for argument's sake we suppose that the list, although the letter was addressed to Beroia, contained the names of the officers of the whole Bottia district), however important and flourishing this might be.<sup>3</sup>

It is, therefore, practically inescapable to assume that we have in fact the names of the officers of three *speirai* totalling 783 (256 X 3 + 5 X 3) men. Measured against the minimum of 3,000 and the maximum of 10,000 recorded numbers of territorially mobilised phalanx troops in that period it would represent 26% to 8% of the total. There can be no doubt that such figures are incomparably more reasonable. This will become even clearer if we take into account the pattern of the levying rules of the phalanx infantry under the late Antigonids

1. Asklepiodotos 2.9; cf. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 299-306, where the author, following a hypothesis of the editors of the military *diagramma* of Amphipolis, supposes that the term *hegemon* could, besides its general meaning (= officer), also designate the particular rank of an officer in charge of a thousand men (*chiliarchia*). Loreto 339-40 has now proved that this hypothesis was groundless.

2. Cf. Le Bohec, *Antigone* 293.

3. For the importance of Beroia under the Antigonids, cf. Edson, "Antigonids" 213-46; cf. Tatakis 419-35.

emerging from our relatively detailed information from the early years of Philip V's reign.<sup>1</sup>

In 219 Philip levied 10,000 phalanx troops;<sup>2</sup> in 218 (in fact during the winter 219/8) 3,000;<sup>3</sup> in 217 troops were levied in three out of the four districts (Upper Macedonia, Bottia, Amphaxitis);<sup>4</sup> in 216 Philip had a total of c. 5,000 troops,<sup>5</sup> but if one takes into consideration that the number of peltasts (and eventually other light or mercenary troops) never fell below 2,000 in the previous years, the phalanx levy itself should be estimated at c. 3,000 men. There is no information about any mobilisation in 215;<sup>6</sup> we again have a total of at least 12,000 men in 214, the probable year of our letter;<sup>7</sup> which would indicate a phalanx levy comparable to that of 217. The pattern is clearly one of unequal alternate figures, with the higher figure never occurring in two consecutive years. In the years 218 and 216 the mobilisation seems to affect only about one third of the number of phalangists mustered in the years 219 and 214. Moreover, it would not be unreasonable to suppose a correlation between the numbers of phalanx troops and the number of districts from which they are levied and to consider that the total of the phalangist troops levied from three districts in 217 was closer to that of years 219 and 214 than to that of the years 218 and 216. C. 10,000 men would then be the normal phalangist levy from three districts and, conversely, c. 3,000 the normal levy of one district. If these observations are exact, Rosen's rule<sup>8</sup> can be confirmed and also refined: unless there was a national emergency, the King was expected not only not to levy the same Macedonian phalanx fighters in two consecutive years, but also not to levy phalangists at all from the same district in two consecutive years. This is not surprising, since mobilisation was not effected on a personal but on a territorial basis. This conclusion is not contradicted by the rest of our information about the strength of the phalanx on different occasions under the late Antigonids. Antigonos Doson had 10,000 phalanx

1 . This pattern was first noticed by Rosen, *König* 38 and 136a, with notes.

2 . Pol. 4.37.7.

3 . Pol. 4.67.6.

4 . Pol. 5.97.3.

5 . Cf. Walbank, *Philip* 69.

6 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* III 395.

7 . For the alternative date, 223, seventh year of Antigonos Doson, favoured by the editors of the inscription, see Gauthier-Hatzopoulos 40, n. 1. We do not know the number of men from the Macedonian territorial levy who had remained to campaign with Antigonos in the Peloponnese.

8 . Rosen, *König* 38 and 136a.

troops at Sellasia, presumably from three districts.<sup>1</sup> In 199 Philip V had 20,000 foot to oppose to Sulpicius' invasion of Macedonia.<sup>2</sup> When the peltasts, the mercenaries and the other *auxilia* are subtracted (at Sellasia Antigonos' non-phalanx troops amounted to 8,000<sup>3</sup> and Philip V's at Cynoscephalae to 7,500),<sup>4</sup> a total of over 10,000 and probably 12,000 to 12,500 phalangist troops should remain to be counted, indicating that Sulpicius' invasion had been considered a national emergency, justifying the mobilisation of the whole levy. The same emergency must have been declared in 198, although no figures survive. In 197 at the battle of Cynoscephalae Philip had 16,000 phalanx troops<sup>5</sup> and such a high number must have been attained through an order of general mobilisation, even of the *emeriti* and of the 16 year old boys, *per omnia oppida*, that is to say in all the four districts.<sup>6</sup> For the next campaign after the defeat Philip disposed of only 6,000 foot, probably representing, besides the peltasts, the levy of one district only.<sup>7</sup> Perseus in 171 was able to mobilise as many as 21,000 phalangists,<sup>8</sup> but that was after the spectacular recovery of Macedonia during the next generation and also, as I have suggested, its extension to include the plain of Philippoi.<sup>9</sup> Even though we cannot determine the extent of the mobilisation of 214, the above reconstruction, if correct, helps replace Beroia's 60 officers and the total phalanx strength of 783, which they represent, into perspective.

The three groups of  $15 + 5 (= 4 + 1)$  officers should be interpreted as the normal complement of officers of the *speira* minus one "ordinary" officer. In the light of what has preceded the most likely explanation is that the missing officer is the *speirarches* himself, who was not a ἡγεμῶν τῶν Βεροιαίων; for he was presumably appointed at a higher level, either "national" like the *strategoï*, *chiliarchai* and the cavalry *ilarchai* and *lochagoï*, or perhaps regional (cf. κατὰ ἔθνη),<sup>10</sup> as was apparently the traditional practice before Alexander's army reform. In that case their names, as ἡγεμόνων τῶν Βοττεατῶν, would

1 . Pol. 2.65.2.

2 . Livy 31.34.7.

3 . Pol. 2.65.2-5.

4 . Livy 33.4.4.

5 . Livy 33.4.4.

6 . Livy 33.3.2-4.

7 . Livy 33.19.3. The levy is reported to have been carried out simply *per urbes*.

8 . Livy 42.51.3.

9 . See p. 184-89, above.

10 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.11.

have figured in the other letter which Philip sent to the seat of the district.

It must be added that the Beroia list is a very welcome addition to the military lists from other parts of Macedonia, which it helps us now to better understand. The best known is the unfortunately incomplete list appended to Philip V's letter to Archippos in the inscription from Koilas.<sup>1</sup> As I had the occasion to argue before,<sup>2</sup> the officers and soldiers mentioned therein (with the possible exception of the hypaspist, for whom no satisfactory explanation has yet been found)<sup>3</sup> are not professional soldiers—Macedonian peltasts or foreign mercenaries—but "reserve" officers and private soldiers supplied by Euia and, when under arms, serving together, who wish to form a religious association for the celebration of sacrifices in the month of Apellaios, an activity by no means strange for such a group, as Welles has rightly stressed.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that, although the officers seem to belong to the same community as the soldiers, only the latter are called Euiestai. Euia was a community of Elemia (or Eor-daia), which, although it lacked a civic centre, was for administrative purposes the equivalent of a city. Now, subaltern officers such as *lochagoi* and *tetrarchai* were, as we saw from the Beroia list, appointed at the city level. Nikanor son of Philotas and Bilos son of Nikanor were thus τετράρχης τῶν Ἐλημιωτῶν (or Ἐορδαίων) and λοχαγὸς τῶν Ἐλημιωτῶν (or Ἐορδαίων) respectively, but the soldiers, who were their fellow villagers, are naturally given the *kome ethnikon* Euiestai.

The list of the Euiestai of the *protolochia* breaks off after the sixth name, but there is no reason to doubt that the Antigonid *lochos* had sixteen men, like the Temenid *dekadarchia* or *dekania*, which preceded it.<sup>5</sup> A Hellenistic inscription from Laïna in the territory of Lete contains a name with a patronymic in two lines followed by one line in which the letters ΔΕΚΑΝ can be read, then fifteen lines each containing a name and a patronymic and finally a last line with the letters ΣΑΡΑΠΠΙΔΗΣΙΑ according to the editor.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the stone is reported lost, but we may perhaps recognise a dedication of a

1 . Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

2 . See p. 95-99, above.

3 . Cf. Welles, "Texts" 249, n. 1.

4 . Welles, "Texts" 249; cf. Rosen, *König* 24.

5 . Cf. Errington, *Geschichte* 217.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 80.

*dekania*<sup>1</sup> composed of a *dekanos* and his fifteen men to the Egyptian divinities Sarapis and Isis and perhaps "king Philip".<sup>2</sup>

Lete has also yielded another Late Classical or Early Hellenistic list composed of three lines with two or three names with patronymics and followed by another line with the words *καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι* and then 14 other lines containing two names (without patronymics) each.<sup>3</sup> Could it be that the word *hetairoi* is used here with its technical meaning of heavy Macedonian cavalry? If, as I have suggested above,<sup>4</sup> *tetrarchia* was a subdivision of the *ile* of c. 60 men, our list of 30 men including the two officers (whether or not grouped under a senior officer) would represent two of the constituent "quarters" of the *tetrarchia*.<sup>5</sup>

Literary and epigraphic evidence thus begins to shape a relatively coherent image of the administrative structure of the Macedonian army, with levies recruited at city and regional level and officers appointed at city, regional and "national" level, according to their position in the military hierarchy. If we do not reject Curtius' detailed evidence<sup>6</sup> as incompatible with our *a priori* ideas about how the Macedonians should appoint their officers, we gain some knowledge about the method of their appointment, at least on the "national" level: The king declared the post vacant and named a panel of judges who examined the candidacies. Although the decision rested with the king's appointees, the procedure was public and took place before the assembled Macedonians (*ingens militum turba convenerat*), who participated (*interfutura*) in the judgment by bearing witness to the deeds of valour alleged by the candidates and by passing judgment on the fairness of the judges themselves (*testis eadem cuiusque factorum et de iudicibus lata sententiam*). The procedure is surely too complicated to have been invented by Curtius.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, its distinctly archaic

1 . Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 155, with references.

2 . Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 75.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 79.

4 . See p. 452, above.

5 . Cf. the *oulamos* in Pol. 10.23.4. It would not be incompatible with Lete's relative importance as a city, if it supplied 1/8 of an *ile*, which would probably correspond to roughly 1/16 of the Companion Cavalry troops actually levied from the region of Amphaxitis by Alexander for his Asian campaign, or to 1/48 of the whole Macedonian cavalry levy. Lete was relatively important among the 100 or so cities of Macedonia, but even within its region it could not be compared to Thessalonike, Kassandreia or any of the new foundations, nor even perhaps to the most populous of the cities of the pre-Hellenistic period, such as Anthemous or Apollonia.

6 . Curtius 5.2.2-5.

7 . Cf. Atkinson 419.

features have their striking parallel in the appointment of the *gerontes* at Sparta, with whose institutions Macedonia has so many points in common.<sup>1</sup> There, according to the procedure that Aristotle considered childish,<sup>2</sup> each candidate appeared before the assembled people, in an order determined by lot, and the volume of applause accorded to each was estimated by a board of judges shut up in a nearby house. He who was greeted with the greatest applause was pronounced elected...<sup>3</sup> Although the Macedonian judges do not seem to have been shut up and unable to see the candidates, but remained theoretically masters of their decisions, it is evident that the assembly of the Macedonians could bear witness to the candidates' valour only by the same method of clamour, shouts or applause, and that the δήμου φάτις played a decisive part in the outcome of the contest.<sup>4</sup> The judges were well obliged to strike a balance between their own feelings (or the king's instructions) and the *communis opinio*. That this was not an *ad hoc* measure but a permanent feature of Macedonian military appointments explains an otherwise incomprehensible passage of Plutarch, obviously describing the abuse of this system, when the counterweight of the royal authority had been removed: "the soldiers were the object of demagogic blandishments for the appointment of the generals ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις".<sup>5</sup> Finally a clause of the Army Code from Amphipolis, again dealing with *praemia virtutis*, the procedure to be followed for the selection of the persons (or units? – the text is fragmentary) who should be "crowned" for bravery attests to the permanence of the same principle and reveals the composition of the select panel, which is composed, as was to be expected, of the King's Council.<sup>6</sup> Whether the *praemia* were booty<sup>7</sup> or appoint-

1 . Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 578-79.

2 . Arist., *Pol.* 1270b.

3 . Plut., *Lyc.* 26.3.

4 . Cf. Larsen, "Origin" 168-69, and now E. Flaig, "Die spartanische Abstimmung nach der Lautstärke. Überlegung zu Thukidides 1.87", *Historia* 42 (1993) 139-60.

5 . Plut., *Eum.* 13.11.

6 . Epigraphic Appendix no 12. Loreto's (344-45) interpretation of this passage is not entirely convincing. In particular, his identification of the φίλοι with the *hetairoi* cavalry and the conclusions which he draws for their role in the distribution of booty is unacceptable. Cf. Curtius 9.1.6: *copiarum duces coronis et M aureis singulos donat; ceteris pro portione aut gradu, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae honos habitus est*, and Arr., *Anab.* 7.5.4: ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἄλλοις ἄλλα, ὅπως τις κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐτιμάτο ἢ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἴ τις ἐπιφανῆς ἐγεγόνει ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τοὺς ἀνδραγαθὰ διαπρέποντας; see also 7.10.3.

7 . Cf. Diod. 17.40.1: τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφόρους γενομένους τιμήσας ταῖς ἀξίαις ἐκάστους δωρεαῖς.

ments,<sup>1</sup> the contest was likewise *de virtute* and both the procedure and the criteria the same.<sup>2</sup>

1 . Arr., *Anab.* 3.16.11: καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας.

2 . From Curtius 6.2.10 (*XXVI milia talentum proxima praeda redacta erant quis e duodecim milia in congiarium militum absumpta sunt par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude subtracta est*), with Diod. 17.74.5, who gives the soldiers' share as 13,000 talents (cf. Berve I 304-305), it is highly likely that the booty was equally shared between the king and the Macedonians (as opposed to one third for the king and two thirds for the soldiers in Sparta; cf. Pol. 2.62.1 with U. Kahrstedt, "λάφυρον", *RE* 12 [1924] 770). The Macedonians who are crowned for valour need hand no part of the booty to the χειριστής, for their double share equals the totality of the ὠφέλεια; cf. Livy 42.61.2-3; 9-10.

CONCLUSION:

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A TENTATIVE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION  
AND THE CHARACTER OF THE MACEDONIAN STATE





## FORMATION AND EVOLUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM

J.R. Ellis, in his now classic monograph on Philip II, stresses again and again the "major reasons for the impotence of Macedonia" before the reign of this great king: "the crippling absence of unity that was exploited time and time again by those with their own interests to serve".<sup>1</sup> The Australian scholar considered as the primary manifestation of this disunity "the antagonism between Upper and Lower Macedonia, west and east". This view of Macedonia before Philip is certainly true, but perhaps incomplete. In two earlier works I have tried to point out two other, probably equally crippling causes of impotence and disunity: dynastic quarrels, resulting from the particular rules of succession prevailing in the Temenid royal house,<sup>2</sup> and also, what heretofore had attracted even less attention, the centrifugal tendencies of the Macedonian cities and their leading families.<sup>3</sup> In effect, relations with the kingdoms of Upper Macedonia had been more of an external than an internal problem for the Temenid kings. Before the fourth century, Elemia, Lynkos, Orestis, Tymphaia-Parauaia were more or less dependent allies (ξύμμαχα... και ὑπήκοα),<sup>4</sup> and not part of the Lower Macedonian kingdom. Their mediatisation, as I argue elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> was achieved only progressively: that of Lynkos under Amyntas III, of Elemia under Perdikkas III and of Orestis and Tymphaia-Parauaia under Philip II. On the other hand, relations with the cities of Lower Macedonia itself was for the Temenid kings a very internal problem indeed already from the fifth century.

The threat posed by the antagonism between Upper and Lower Macedonia has been so masterfully expounded by Ellis<sup>6</sup> that it would be superfluous to re-examine it here. It would be more useful to con-

1 . Ellis, *Philip* 8.

2 . Hatzopoulos, "Succession" 279-92.

3 . Hatzopoulos, "Béotie" 247-57; cf. *eiusdem*, "Ομηρεία" 37-57.

4 . Thuc. 2.99.2.

5 . Hatzopoulos, "Limites" 82-85; cf. *eiusdem*, "Macédoine" 17-26.

6 . Ellis, "Unification" 36-46.

centrate on the lesser known threat that the development of cities constituted for the unity of Macedonia.

First we must recall what was said in the first part of this work: the city was an indigenous phenomenon in Lower Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> When the veil of obscurity is lifted for the first time at the end of the Archaic period, *poleis* and not *ethne* are the constituent elements composing Lower Macedonia. Hekataios and, after him, Herodotos explicitly mentions as *poleis* Therma, Sindos, Chalastra, Ichnai and Pella.<sup>2</sup> One might object that these were not genuine Macedonian cities but southern Greek or Paionian foundations. But such an objection cannot be made against *e.g.* Pydna or Beroia,<sup>3</sup> which, despite Thucydides' meticulous efforts not to call them *poleis* (since in the political sense they were not independent states, which was for a fifth century Athenian—contrary to Asiatic Greeks, such as Hekataios and Herodotos, used to seeing their cities under the suzerainty of outside overlords—an indispensable prerequisite for such a qualification), emerge from his own account as no less genuine cities than, for instance, Therma.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Idomene, Gortynia, Atalante, Europos or Kyrrhos<sup>5</sup> are indistinguishable in this respect from Pella, which, although Thucydides, true to his principle, avoids calling a *polis*, was already one for Herodotos.<sup>6</sup> As we stated in the first part of this work,<sup>7</sup> the excavations carried out in the major ancient sites of Lower Macedonia confirm the evidence of the literary authorities on the relatively early development of the urban phenomenon in this region.

It is at least as significant to note that the Macedonians themselves—as far back as we can go—viewed their past in "urban" and not in "tribal" terms, of which not the slightest trace survives, even in their legends. In the oldest version of the foundation oracle of the Temenid kingdom, which goes back at least to the beginning of the fifth century,<sup>8</sup> the mythical founder Perdikkas, reputed to have lived six generations or *c.* 200 years earlier, is urged to found the capital city of his state (ἄστυ κτίζε πόλιος) at the site of latter-day Aigeai.<sup>9</sup> In a some-

1 . Cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 37-51, with bibliography.

2 . See Hammond, *Macedonia* I 145-47, with references.

3 . Thuc. 1.61.2-4.

4 . Thuc. 1.61.2. It is clear from Thucydides' narrative that Pydna and Beroia, no less than Therma, were walled cities which could withstand an Athenian attack.

5 . Thuc. 2.100.3-4.

6 . Herod. 7.123.3.

7 . See p. 105-119, above.

8 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 7-8.

9 . Diod. 7.16. *Polis* here has the meaning of "state", as in two texts pertaining to neighbouring Epeiros and Thessaly: an oracle from Dodona (S. Dakaris-A. Ph.

what later version of the same foundation myth,<sup>1</sup> Karanos is depicted as conquering the city (*urbem*, πόλιν) of Edessa and renaming it Aigeai and its citizens *Aegeadae* (= Argeadai), the *ethnikon* by which the Lower Macedonians have been known since the time of Hekataios.<sup>2</sup> It is extremely interesting that the Macedonians envisaged the state found by the Temenids as a city-state (πόλις) along the classic model of an urban centre (ἄστυ, πόλις), namely Aigeai, and its surrounding *chora* (in this respect the modern historical term "the Macedonian kingdom of Aigeai"<sup>3</sup> has a certain justification) and its subsequent expansion not radically different from the expansion of southern Greek city-states, such as Sparta. It is, naturally, impossible to state to what extent such a retrospective vision corresponded to historical reality, and whether the originally pastoral Macedonians became city-dwellers already in the seventh century, either by founding their own capital on virgin ground or by conquering pre-existing "Phrygian" or "Thracian" urban settlements in the foothills of the Bermion and the Pierian ranges. It is equally vain to speculate on the kind of relations or the degree of autonomy of the "perioikic" pre-urban or urban settlements, such as Pydna, Aloros, Beroia, Edessa etc. *vis-à-vis* the central authorities at Aigeai in the obscure centuries before the Persian Wars. It is, however, beyond doubt that, whether some sort of integration into the "national" political life through the intermittent presence of leading "provincial" notables (already *hetairoi*, *peliganes*?) and through mass participation in the "Pan-macedonian" *panegyreis* of spring and autumn was achieved or not, the emergence of some embryonic form of political life at the local level could not have been altogether avoided in early Macedonia any more than in Sparta.

What was initially perhaps only a potential question must have become an urgent issue after the conquest of southern Paionia (Pella, Ichnai) and Mygdonia (Chalastra, Sindos, Therma, Lete) as a result of the Persian expansion in the Balkans and the subsequent wars. The

Christidis-Julia Vokotopoulou, "Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone", *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité II* [Paris 1993] 58-9: ἡ πόλις ἁ τῶν Χαόνων) and a fragment of Aristotle (F 498 Rose: διελὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν Ἀλεῦας ἔταξε κατὰ τὸν κληρὸν παρέχειν ἑκάστους, ἰππέας μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, ὀπλίτας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα...; cf. Polyain. 8.44: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θεσσαλίαν προσηγόρευσαν, with Sordi, *Lega* 319-20) respectively.

1 . Euphoriion, frg. 30 (Schweidweiler) and Just. 7.1.7-10.

2 . Strab. 7, frg. 11 with Hammond, *Macedonia II* 26-27.

3 . Cf. A. Daskalakis, *The Hellenism of the Ancient Macedonians* (Thessalonike 1965) *passim*.

conquered cities, whether south Greek colonies, indigenous centres or mixed settlements, as seems to be true of some of them (Therma, Chalastra, Pella), had traditions of independence and of self-government. As I suggested in a previous chapter,<sup>1</sup> it is doubtful that these "New Lands" were annexed outright. It is more likely that the cities in question became dependent allies under the supervision of Macedonian governor generals. Nevertheless, whether there was outright annexation or not, the osmosis between the "allied" cities and the cities of the Old Kingdom, under the additional impact of the opening up of the country to the all-pervasive influences and to massive colonisation from southern Greece,<sup>2</sup> was inevitable. In effect, by the second half of the fifth century, the Athenians were not making any distinction between Strepsa or Therma in the New Lands and Herakleion or Pydna in the Old Kingdom, which they "liberated" or attempted to "liberate" from the Macedonian king, in order to admit them into the Athenian League as allied cities.<sup>3</sup> There is, therefore, nothing astonishing in the fact that in the treaty between Athens and Perdikkas no visible distinction is made between the different sorts of the cities ἡὼν Π[ερδικκας κρατῆ].<sup>4</sup> For practical purposes Pydna did not differ significantly from Therma. It is not, therefore, as paradoxical as it may seem at first sight that the first recorded autonomistic revolt of a city in Macedonia broke out in 411 not in one of the non-Macedonian cities of the New Lands but in Pydna,<sup>5</sup> a city of the Old Kingdom, which had remained Macedonian from time immemorial.<sup>6</sup> Archelaos' decision to move the city twenty stades inland was ridiculously inadequate against the corrosive influences which mercantile interests and intellectual fascination were spreading from the shores of the Thermaic Gulf across the whole Macedonian realm. In less than three decades the revolt had spread as far as Pella,<sup>7</sup> while Pydna

1 . See p. 171-79, above.

2 . These influences are paramount in the whole spectre of the archaeological finds that come incessantly to light. For a recent study of funerary reliefs, see F. Felten, "Themen makedonischer Grabdenkmäler klassischer Zeit", *Ancient Macedonia V* (Thessalonike 1993) 405-431. Immigration from Mycenae and Histiaia is recorded in Paus. 7.25.6 and Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 387 respectively.

3 . For the first three, see Edson, "Notes" 96-98; 100-104 and 105, n. 125; for the Athenian attempt to capture Pydna, see Thuc. 1.61.2-3.

4 . *IGI*<sup>3</sup> 89, L. 40.

5 . Diod. 13.49.1-2.

6 . Cf. Diod. 11.12.3.

7 . Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.13.

was soon to secede again, perhaps after the assassination of Alexander II by a Pynaian local patriot.<sup>1</sup>

In fact the Macedonian kings had been caught in an insoluble dilemma. If they wanted to hold their own against their aggressive neighbours, barbarian or Greek, and to maintain some pretence of suzerainty over the "allied" kingdoms of Upper Macedonia, they had to mobilise the vast but untapped natural and human resources of their country. Then, as in recent times, "modernisation" was the price of survival. But "modernisation" in the fifth century B.C. meant above all the mass introduction of methods, institutions and attitudes developed in the most advanced states of that time, the city-states of southern Greece, and which were indissolubly linked to the phenomenon of the *polis* in all its aspects: economic, social, political, military and cultural. The Temenid kings might have preferred to leave aside the political aspect of "modernisation", but that was no more possible then than in recent times. Inevitably the mass introduction of economic, military and cultural institutions and attitudes of the *polis* type into a predominantly "ethnic" unitary state could only have and did have disruptive consequences in the political field. The classical *polis* ideal was one of autarky and independence, whose closed world, demanding total loyalty and devotion, left no place for allegiance to outside entities, such as the *ethnos* and its king.

Macedonia was not the first Greek state to experience these contradictions. Some centuries earlier the Lacedaemonians allowed one city, Sparta, to subordinate and practically absorb the whole *ethnos*.<sup>2</sup> In Boiotia first and then in Thessaly, the development of the urban phenomenon, combined with the weakness of the royal tradition, led to the temporary disintegration and eclipse of the respective *ethne*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in western Greece and especially in Epeiros, the relative insignificance of the urban phenomenon permitted the emergence of original "federal" solutions based on villages and territorial units rather than cities.<sup>4</sup> In Macedonia the protracted and, until Philip II's reign, indecisive struggle between King and cities was due to the coexistence of a strong and prestigious kingship, that could still muster popular support by stirring memories of conquest and the expan-

1 . Dem. 19.194-95; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Béotie" 253.

2 . For the Lacedaemonians as an *ethnos*, see Pseudo-Skylax 46.

3 . For Boiotia, cf. R. J. Buck, *A History of Boiotia* (Edmonton, Alberta [Canada] 1979) 75-105 and for Thessaly, Sordi, *Lega* 321-31; *eiusdem*, "Il federalismo greco nell'età classica", *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica* (Milan 1994) 12-16.

4 . See, in particular, P. Cabanes, "Société et institutions dans les monarchies de Grèce septentrionale au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *REG* 93 (1980) 324-51.

sion which it had achieved,<sup>1</sup> together with an irresistible aspiration to "modernity", resulting from the integration of the Aegean façade of Lower Macedonia into the "international" economic, diplomatic and cultural world of its times.

The Macedonian kings were blind neither to the advantages nor to the perils of such an integration. It would be superfluous to relate Alexander the Philhellene's endeavours, ranging from an active presence in the Panhellenic sanctuaries<sup>2</sup> to the encouragement of immigration,<sup>3</sup> in order to give Macedonia its place among the developed Greek states of his day. It is more interesting to note the measures which he took in order to keep the movement under reasonable control. I think that the creation of the governorship general of the New Lands, where the urban phenomenon was the strongest, can be interpreted as such a measure. However, as the Seleucids were to discover several centuries later, when they created the governorship general of the ἄνω σατραπείαι and of ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου,<sup>4</sup> the viceregal powers conceded to the governor general in order to enable him to exercise effective control over unruly populations could, or perhaps were bound to, encourage ambition and temptations of rebellion against the central authorities in the very persons who had been given the mission to prevent them. Perdikkas II would have hoped to use the hoplite infantry from the cities<sup>5</sup> under his brother's, Philip's, authority, which he, too, had strengthened with more immigrants from southern Greece, in order to keep the kings of Upper Macedonia in their place. Instead, he had to face a combined dynastic and autonomist crisis in the form of a coalition of Upper and Eastern Macedonian rebels headed by his brother.<sup>6</sup> For, as I have argued in a previous section of this work, Philip and his son Amyntas had pursued the urbanising

1. Arist., *Pol.* 1310b: "Ἀπαντες γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτύγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν... οἱ δ' ἐλευθερώσαντες... ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοτῶν; cf. Kallérís, *Macédoniens* 584-85.

2. Participation in the Olympic games (Herod. 5.22), dedication of statues at Olympia and Delphoi (Herod. 8.121.2; [Dem.] 12.21; Solinus 9.13).

3. Paus. 7.25.6. For Alexander's policy, see I. Papastavrou, *Μακεδονική πολιτική κατὰ τὸν 5ον π.Χ. αἰῶνα: Ἀλέξανδρος I* (Thessalonike 1936); A. Daskalakis, *The Hellenism of the Ancient Macedonians* (Thessalonike 1965) 147-223; Hammond's (*Macedonia* II 98-104); Errington's ("Alexander the Philhellene and Persia", *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* [Thessalonike 1981] 139-43) and Borza's (*Olympus* 98-131) more than critical appreciations and Ch. Edson's ("Macedonia" 25-29 and 36-39) more balanced evaluation.

4. Cf. Bikerman, *Séleucides* 22.

5. Cf. Thuc. 4.124.1; cf. Edson, "Macedonia" 38.

6. Thuc. 1.57.3.

policy in order to curry and use the favour of the cities entrusted to them for their own ends.<sup>1</sup> Perdikkas finally managed to put down his governor general's revolt, but he had probably to curb his father's ambitious "hellenising" policy, the more so in that not a few of the coastal and most advanced cities of Macedonia had seceded from the kingdom and joined the Athenian League.<sup>2</sup> In 429, when the urbanised New Lands were in rebellion and had joined Amyntas the son of Philip, Perdikkas had practically no infantry to oppose to the invading army of Sitalkes.<sup>3</sup> In 423, when he had recovered his eastern provinces, the Macedonian king could muster, besides his ἀγαθούς και τεθωρακισμένους Macedonian cavalrymen and numerous "barbarian" dependent allies, several hundreds of hoplites from the cities under his sway, referred to by Thucydides as τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων ὀπλίται.<sup>4</sup> These infantry forces were, however, patently inadequate to restore Temenid authority in Upper Macedonia. Perdikkas was, therefore, at the mercy of his Greek allies, and particularly Brasidas, who could thus dictate the policy that served Sparta's –but not necessarily Perdikkas'– interests.

If we are to believe Thucydides, it was Archelaos, son of Perdikkas, who "built the strongholds and the defensive walls that are now in the country and cut straight roads and made the rest of the arrangements of military importance –in cavalry and hoplites and the other forms of armament, which became stronger– more so than all the eight preceding kings put together".<sup>5</sup> The exact scope of Archelaos' reforms has been the object of endless controversy.<sup>6</sup> One thing is certain: he resumed and intensified the modernising, and hence inevitably urbanising, policy of his predecessors. In this direction point the construction of τειχη, obviously for the defence of settlements, the organisation of a hoplite force and the construction of a navy,<sup>7</sup> which would have been unrealistic without a parallel urban development. Fortunately, archaeological evidence amply confirms what would otherwise have remained a mere hypothesis based on de-

1. See p. 174-77, above.

2. Cf. Edson, "Notes" 88-105.

3. Thuc. 2.100.5.

4. Thuc. 4.124.1. The expression ἄλλος ὄμιλος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς undoubtedly refers to "Thracian" theoretically allied contingents as in Thuc. 7.9: Θραξὶ πολλοῖς.

5. Thuc. 2.100.2.

6. Cf. D. Kanatsoulis, *Ὁ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ αἱ μεταρρυθμίσεις του ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ* (Thessalonike 1948) 58-90.

7. Solinus 14.



ductions from the study of literary authorities only.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it seems that Archelaos' policy was successful. Towards the end of his reign he was able to conquer enemies certainly disposing of hoplite forces, and to establish his control on northern Thessaly.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, his modernising policy does not seem to have produced the crippling side-effects which Perdikkas had had to face. The revolt of Pydna came early in his reign and was successfully put down.<sup>3</sup> From then on Archelaos did have trouble with the kings of Upper Macedonia,<sup>4</sup> but never again with the cities of his own realm. It is true that after the defeat of Athens the Macedonian king enjoyed a more favourable "international" environment on the shores of the Thermaic Gulf. But this is perhaps not the sole explanation of his success. We should like to know whether Archelaos elaborated a response, and if so, what that response was, to the perils inherent in a policy of modernisation and urbanisation. Was it in the direction of stricter control over or of greater autonomy for the developing urban communities?<sup>5</sup> Geyer has argued that the evidence from the *ethnikon* Alorites, which a couple of decades later makes its appearance attached to the name of Ptolemy,<sup>6</sup> the son-in-law of Amyntas III, suggests that by that time not only the New Lands but also the Old Kingdom was systematically divided into cities and civic territories.<sup>7</sup> The subsequent discovery of an early-fourth-century grave monument from Pella with the name of an Herakleotes may be considered to provide a new element in favour of Geyer's hypothesis.<sup>8</sup> One might add that the assassin of Alexander II, Ptolemy's brother-in-law, is similarly qualified as Pydnaïos at a time when Pydna was apparently part of the kingdom.<sup>9</sup> It might be objected that Pydna had a tradition of an independent civic life. But this, far from constituting an obstacle, may be used to strengthen the case in favour of Geyer's hypothesis. It is indeed difficult to imagine that Herakleion, Pydna and the other cities of Macedonia, which had been –some of them several

1 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 141-50.

2 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 139.

3 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 137.

4 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 139.

5 . Should, for instance, the transfer of the citizens of Balla to Pythion (Steph. Byz., s. v. Βάλλα), be attributed, like that of Pydna, to Archelaos and interpreted as an authoritarian measure?

6 . Diod. 15.71.1.

7 . Geyer 101-103; cf. Papazoglou, *Villes* 40, n. 8 and Hammond, *State* 9-10.

8 . Maria Lilimbaki, "Επιτύμβειες επιγραφές από την Πέλλα", *AAA* 10 (1977) 263-64 (= *SEG* 27 [1977] 299).

9 . Dem. 19.194.

times— in and out of the kingdom for more than half a century, could possibly change overnight on each occasion from structured self-governing communities to amorphous, unorganised masses of simple town dwellers and back again to their previous state. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the inexorable tendency was for the civic institutions to take root and even to spread. Archelaos' response to this challenge seems to have been both to accept and to try to control the urban-civic phenomenon.

The troubles following Archelaos' death<sup>1</sup> did not permit the consolidation of the new system. By the time a certain stability returned with the accession of Amyntas III, the "international" environment had again become extremely unfavourable for Macedonia, making the modernisation programme very hazardous to pursue. Did Amyntas initially resume Archelaos' policy, passing certain measures in favour of the cities, in order to appease their ever-expanding aspirations, as the honours heaped upon him by the Pydnaians<sup>2</sup> would seem to indicate, or did he try from the beginning to stifle by force the autonomistic tendencies that he did not feel strong enough to control? Whatever the answer to this question, it seems that the years of dynastic quarrels after Archelaos' death had upset the precarious balance between King and cities in favour of the latter and that the new mercantile, cosmopolitan civic élites would no longer settle for anything less than outright "freedom".<sup>3</sup> Thus, it was the aggressively dynamic Chalkidian League which took advantage of the autonomistic movement sweeping across Macedonia, and "liberated" one after the other the cities of the kingdom as far as Pella.<sup>4</sup> With the cities gone Amyntas had also lost his citizen hoplite forces and was reduced to hiring mercenaries or begging the assistance of his Upper Macedonian rivals.<sup>5</sup> Once—with their help and above all with that of the Spartans—he had restored his authority in the Old Kingdom and also in the New Lands, he seems to have resorted to a policy of closer surveillance of the cities most inclined to give trouble. Having retained the lesson from Perdikkas II's troubles with his governor generals, he does not seem to have imitated his policy, preferring instead to be-

1 . Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 167-72.

2 . See Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 11-12, with references; *contra* E. Badian, "The Deification of Alexandre the Great", *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessalonike 1981) 31-40.

3 . Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Béotie" 248 and 254.

4 . Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.13. On the historical value of this passage, which Papazoglou, *Villes* 40, challenges, see Momigliano, "Re" 18, n. 1.

5 . Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.38.

come in a way his own governor general by transferring –then at the latest– his habitual residence from Aigeai to Pella, more strategically situated for controlling the rebellious urbanised areas on either side of the Axios.<sup>1</sup>

Amyntas III's authoritarian policy, if such indeed it was, did not prove more successful than Perdikkas II's. At his death, Pausanias, perhaps an ex-governor general of the New Lands under Amyntas' rival king Argaios,<sup>2</sup> did not have any difficulty in raising the standard of revolt and once again turning the hoplite citizen militias (ἐλληνικὴν δύναμιν)<sup>3</sup> against the throne. Only Iphikrates' timely intervention saved Amyntas' widow and preserved the rights of her young sons.<sup>4</sup> But only for a short time. It is true that Alexander II was again able to use the human and financial resources of his cities and to successfully face a Greek power, establishing himself in northern Thessaly. A few months later, however, he fell victim to a conspiracy which, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> may have represented the interests of the coastal cities and their new élites. Did the regent Ptolemy of Aloros and his friends from Pydna, Pella and the other maritime cities have the time to inaugurate a policy of greater civic autonomy? Ptolemy remained in power only three years (368-365) and under close Theban tutelage, so that he was less than a free agent himself. The fact is that even if the cities remain (or are restored?) as semi-autonomous administrative units, this is a purely internal arrangement: in the Boiotian federal decree of 365 Athenaios son of Demonikos from Pella figures simply as a Μακεδών, without any mention of his city *ethnikon*.<sup>6</sup>

One would expect an authoritarian reaction after the elimination of Ptolemy of Aloros by Perdikkas III. And in fact, as I have argued above,<sup>7</sup> it seems that the young king, following his namesake's example, restored the governorship general of the New Lands, which he entrusted to his younger brother Philip. There are two pieces of evidence which reflect the conditions in the late sixties: Pseudo-Skylax's description of Macedonia and the Epidauros list of *theorodokoi*.

1. For the attribution of this transfer not to Archelaos but to Amyntas III, see Hatzopoulos, "Strepsa" 42-43.

2. See p. 177-78, above.

3. Aesch., *Leg.* 27.

4. For these events and their date, see Hatzopoulos, "Béotie" 249-51; *eiusdem*, "Οἰμπερία" 37-49.

5. Hatzopoulos, "Beotie" 253.

6. P. Roesch, "Un décret inédit de la Ligue thébaine et la flotte d'Epaminondas", *REG* 97 (1984) 45-60 (= *SEG* 34 [1984] 355).

7. See p. 178-79, above.

In Pseudo-Skylax the Macedonians are described as an *ethnos* "after the Peneios" and a series of cities are successively enumerated: Herakleion, πρώτη πόλις Μακεδονίας; Dion, Pydna, πόλις ἑλληνίς; Methone, πόλις ἑλληνίς; Aloros, πόλις; Pella, πόλις καὶ βασιλείον ἐν αὐτῇ; Therme, πόλις; Aineia, ἑλληνίς, etc.<sup>1</sup> It has long since been recognised that the distinction between πόλις and πόλις ἑλληνίς is one of political status, mere "cities" belonging to the Macedonian kingdom, "Greek cities" being independent city-states.<sup>2</sup>

This picture is given its full significance in the list of the *theorodokoi* of Asklepios from Epidauros.<sup>3</sup> In the relevant portion, after the last Thessalian city Homolion, it has the following entries: Pydna: Damatrios. Methona: Polyphantos. Makedonia: Perdikkas. Aineia: Euboulos. Thus, although the geographical sequence is exactly the same, the Macedonian cities, the simple cities of Pseudo-Skylax, are missing and in the expected place of Pella we read the name of the ethnic state itself of which it was the capital, with its sole representative, the King. The paradoxical situation of the Macedonian cities could hardly be made clearer: developed urban centres, indisputably cities in the eyes of the geographer sailing along the Macedonian coast, they were politically non-existent, since they did not dispose even of the indispensable minimum of autonomy, which would make them more than mere administrative districts and would render them "internationally" eligible to participate in Panhellenic festivals.<sup>4</sup>

Such was the situation inherited by Philip II at the beginning of his reign. It would be useless to repeat here what we have said above and what scores of other scholars have written about the king's indefatigable efforts to modernise and urbanise the country, which made of him the second founder of the kingdom after Karanos<sup>5</sup> and which are epigrammatically summarised in Alexander's speech at Opis: πόλεων

1. Ps.-Skylax 66.

2. Kahrstedt, "Städte" 91-111; Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 593 and 603, n. 3.

3. *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 94/95; cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* II 193-95 and Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia" 160-61 and 168-69.

4. On the conditions that a city should meet in order to qualify for participation in panhellenic games, see L. Robert, "Villes de Carie et d'Ionie dans la liste des théorodokes de Delphes", *BCH* 70 (1946) 510 (= *OMS* I 331); cf. *BullEpigr* 1948, 101 and also Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 598 and Giovannini, "Cités" 467. It is interesting to compare the case of Macedonia in the Epidauros list with that of Epeiros in the Argos one (Charneux 156-88), where also only the ethnic state provides a *theorodokos* (Col. I, L. 11: [Ἄ]πε[ι]ρος; Κλεοπάτρα), not because local communities were entirely deprived of self-government, but because they were not urban centres.

5. Cf. Epigraphic Appendix no 78 and also Just. 8.6.1.

τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν.<sup>1</sup> It is also true that from his reign onwards the mention of city *ethnika* both in inscriptions and in literary authorities becomes generalised.<sup>2</sup> The question which arises is whether we are dealing with a simple continuation of measures initiated under the previous kings or with a new departure, transforming the erstwhile administrative districts into genuine civic communities, which we see functioning by the end of the fourth century at the latest.<sup>3</sup> I think that we now have a new and decisive piece of evidence, proving beyond doubt that the radical reforms which gave to the internal organisation of Macedonia the familiar aspect reflected in the bulk of evidence from Hellenistic times are the work of Philip II.<sup>4</sup> In 1978 the excavations at Nemea brought to light a fragmentary inscription with a late-fourth-century list of *theorodokoi* of the sanctuary.<sup>5</sup> The section concerning Macedonia, which the editor dates in 323,<sup>6</sup> but which probably belongs to c. 324-317,<sup>7</sup> runs as follows: "In Macedonia: In Amphipolis: Persas son of Nikolaos; in Lete: Menandros son of Lysandros; from Allante: Aphthonetos son of Pythodoros"; after a blank the name of Aristonous,

1. Arr., *Anab.* 7.9.2.

2. See Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 595-605, with references, and Papazoglou, *Villes* 40-41, also with references, but who doubts that the Macedonian cities enjoyed any sort of autonomy in the fourth century (cf. *eiusdem*, *ŽA* 40 [1990] 231). Curiously, Papazoglou seems to be unaware of—or at least does not discuss—Kalléris' arguments nor does she take into account the evidence from the Nemea list of *theorodokoi* and of the Argos list of contributions. In fact, if I judge from passages such as "Les formules Μακεδῶν ἐκ Βεροίας et Μακεδῶν Βεροιαῖος montrent clairement qu'il ne s'agit pas d'unités politiques et que la conscience nationale de l'appartenance à l'ethnos et à l'Etat macédonien était toujours vivante", the difference of opinion between the Yugoslav scholar and writers such as Kalléris, Hammond and myself is more apparent than real and stems from the different content that we attribute to the term "autonomy". In my usage at least, the autonomy of the Macedonian cities was by no means incompatible with a Macedonian "national conscience" and loyalty to the Macedonian state. What is explicitly stated in the third-century *asylia* decrees is already implicit in fourth-century *ethnika* such as Μακεδῶν ἐκ Βεροίας or Εὐρωπαῖος Μακεδῶν, stressing the double citizenship and the double loyalty, which characterises contemporary "federal" states (cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 590-91).

3. Cf. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 598-602, with references.

4. Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 605-623, refuses to ascribe any decisive role to Philip II, but, at the time he was writing, the Nemea list of *theorodokoi* had not yet been discovered and the striking contrast with the Epidauros list could not be appreciated.

5. Miller 147-69.

6. Cf. Miller 162.

7. Cf. Perlman 193-95. I personally favour a date which would allow for Aristonous (on whom see below) to have returned from Asia to Macedonia (thus after 323 and probably after 321) and to be still resident in Pella, occupying a prominent position there (thus before 317).

probably the well-known officer of Alexander and Olympias from Pella.<sup>1</sup> The contrast with the list of Epidauros, less than half a century earlier, is striking. To the solitary mention of the Macedonian king acting as *theorodokos* for the whole nation has succeeded a whole list of cities, which have now acceded to the dignity of full members of the Panhellenic community, like their sisters of Thessaly, Aitolia, Akarnania or any other "federal" states.<sup>2</sup> The legitimacy of drawing such an important inference from the Nemean list is strengthened by another roughly contemporary document, the list of donations from Argos, in which a series of Macedonian cities and the amounts of their donations to the sanctuary of Hera are listed in geographical sequence: after Homolion, Gonnoi and perhaps another Thessalian city: Aigeai, probably Beroia, Edessa, Allante, Europos, and, after a *lacuna*, Kassandreia and finally Philippoi.<sup>3</sup> It is practically already the picture of the early-second-century list of the *theorodokoi* of Delphoi. The cities of Macedonia proper, no less than those of Thessaly to the south or the "allied" cities of Kassandreia and Philippoi to the east, disposed of their own civic finances and dealt directly with Panhellenic sanctuaries on religious matters. The epigram for Archon and his family in Delphoi attests that such was already the case at the very beginning of Alexander's reign, before 334, when the young man from Pella took part in the Pythian and Isthmian games, was granted *proxenia* at Delphoi along with his brothers and was honoured by his mother-city with the erection of an elaborate monument, presumably paid for out of the civic funds.<sup>4</sup> Thus an uninterrupted tradition takes

1 . Cf. Miller 158.

2 . Cf. Charneux 181: "au point de vue international un royaume, tout comme une cité, constituait une unité politique indivisible; de même que les théores ne communiquaient pas leur message à l'administration des dèmes ou des *kômès* qu'ils traversaient en se rendant d'une cité à une autre, ils n'avaient donc pas, du moins à l'époque classique, à connaître les villes comprises dans les limites d'un royaume, mais seulement le souverain dans sa capitale", with note 3: "Dans les confédérations au contraire ils visitaient chacun des états membres...". Charneux's considerations originate from the entry mentioning the queen Kleopatra as *theorodokos* for the whole of Epeiros. The parallel case of Macedonia in the Nemea list shows that another interpretation ought to be sought for Epeiros and we have already suggested one (p. 473, n. 4, above). Nevertheless, the separate mention of the Macedonian cities in the Nemea list unmistakably shows not only that they were developed urban centres, but that they had also acquired sufficient administrative autonomy to enable them to figure, along with the independent cities and the constituent members of "federal" states, as subjects of international relations.

3 . *IGIV* 617, with further restorations and commentary by Perlman 185-92 and P. Charneux, *BullEpigr* 1987, 609.

4 . *SEG* 18 (1962) 222, with the commentary of Kalléris, *Macédoniens* 596, n. 1.

us from the beginning of Alexander's reign to the years of the last Antigonids, when the catalogue of the Delphoi *theorodokoi* lists residents in no less than 28 Macedonian cities.

It can be no coincidence that our first piece of evidence concerning the division of Macedonia into military / administrative districts also dates from the very beginning of Alexander's reign.<sup>1</sup> Unless one is ready to believe that these measures were thought out and established in the six months between the young king's accession in October 336 and the beginning of his Balkan campaign at the beginning of the spring of the next year,<sup>2</sup> this reform too must be ascribed to Alexander's father, Philip II. The population transplants and the incorporation of Upper Macedonia and the New Lands into the kingdom, the urbanisation and the development of civic autonomy, as well as the division of the enlarged kingdom into homogeneous and manageable military / administrative districts are the work of one and the same man, proceed from a common inspiration, and must therefore be examined and interpreted in conjunction.

By the early forties of the fourth century Philip had more than trebled his realm, but at the same time he had become the sovereign of several different, disparate kingdoms, having little in common besides subjection to his rule. By his early victory over the other pretenders and his triumph over the northern "barbarians" he had prevented the disintegration of the Old Kingdom; indeed he had restored its unity and given back to its people a sense of community and purpose. The cities of the Old Kingdom, beginning with its ancient capital itself, had stood behind the new king. At the same time his repeated victories over the Illyrians made Philip the undisputed master of Upper Macedonia. Old bonds were renewed, local royal families were compelled to renounce their claims to independence; even those who, like the Orestai, had joined other states, returned to the Macedonian fold. Temenid rule was also restored on the New Lands between the Axios and the Strymon valley: Mygdonia, Anthemous, Krestonia and western Bisaltia, which had now received an enormous extension by the conquest of the whole Chalkidike peninsula. That was not all. Philip had been the first Temenid king to open Thrace beyond the Rendina pass and Mt. Dysoron to Macedonian conquest. Thrace "along the Strymon" and Thrace "along the mountains",<sup>3</sup> the

1 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.2.5; cf. p. 260, above.

2 . Arr., *Anab.* 1.1.4; ἄμια δὲ τῷ ἡρμ.

3 . See p. 186 and 245-46, above.

former kingdom of Ketrporis,<sup>1</sup> had now been added to the Macedonian king's possessions.

Each part of this "greater Macedonia" had its own different history and traditions. The continuous strife between the central government and the cities of Lower Macedonia from the second half of the fifth century onwards, which nearly led to the disintegration of the common institutions of the Macedonian ethnic state in the eighties of the fourth century, is highly reminiscent of the parallel evolution in Thessaly, where the absence of a dynasty as prestigious as the Temenids, had given the centrifugal tendencies of the developing urban centres, which avidly strove for more autonomy, the opportunity to shake even deeper the foundations of "national unity" and of the authority of the Head of State. The cities would mint their own coins, the Common Assembly would no more be convened, the offices of the Head of State and of the four districts would become not only formally but effectively elective. As the rally of the ethnic institutions under Jason of Pherai and his successors showed, the strife between central authorities and cities was still inconclusive in the middle of the fourth century and the ultimate triumph of either tendency was in Thessaly no less an open possibility than in Macedonia before Philip's accession.<sup>2</sup>

1 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 253.

2 . Cf. Sordi, *Lega* 138-234. B. Helly has just published a synthesis on the Thessalian state during the Archaic and Classical periods (*L'Etat thessalien: Aleuas le Roux, les tetrades et les tagoi* [Lyon 1995]), which contains a real treasure of informations and reflections on Thessalian institutions and many other aspects of ancient Thessaly, a field in which he is a leading authority. Such a rich book is difficult to summarise and, anyway, this is not the appropriate place for a book review. Therefore, I shall very briefly state his main thesis and the reasons for which it has not convinced me. Helly argues that the traditional view, according to which the *terminus technicus* for the head of the Thessalian state was *ταγός* and that for his four subordinate officers (each one of them in charge of one of the four *τετράδες* into which Thessaly was divided) *τέτταρχοι*, is mistaken. According to the French scholar, *τέτταρχος* was the name given not to the head of each *τετράς* but to that of the entire Thessalian state, for in Greek this term could by no means refer to the head of a quarter of a unit but only to the head of four units, that is to say the four Thessalian *τετράδες* taken together, *i.e.* the whole of Thessaly. The heads of each quarter were appropriately called not *τέτταρχοι* but *τετράδαρχοι* or *τετραδάρχαι* ("heads of foursome"), for each *τετράς* was composed by four cities. *Ταγός*, on the other hand, was the title originally given to the head of a *κλήρος*, and later to the democratically elected magistrates of the Thessalian cities. This title was usurped by Jason (or attributed to him by Xenophon), for it was deemed appropriate to designate the former's exceptional (and unconstitutional) position. Unfortunately, Helly's fascinating intellectual edifice is based on erroneous premises. In Greek, *τέτταρχος* or *τετράρχης* could and did designate the head of a quarter of a unit, as in the case of the *τετράρχαι* of the Galatians, each of whom was in



This parallelism of the institutional evolution of the Old Kingdom and Thessaly was more than a coincidence. It has long been noted that Thessalians and Macedonians shared closely connected dialects, common names, common cults, common customs and, more important and at the same time more indefinable, common attitudes, a common way of life, what one might call, in spite of its modest development, a common culture, both material and intellectual.<sup>1</sup> In the political field too, over and above the common features which both Thessalians and Macedonians shared with the other Greek *ethne*, and particularly with those of northern Greece, both peoples had inherited from their common past and from their continuous proximity the same conceptions of legitimacy in the relations between the *ethnos* and its chief and even common technical terms in their political vocabulary. It is impossible to dismiss as mere coincidence or "a rhetorical commonplace" not only the constant reference to the unwritten law of the *ethnos*, but also the identical terms in which it is contrasted to arbitrary rule for the definition, *a contrario*, of legitimate, "constitutional" government, as L. Mooren has rightly stressed: Kallisthenes' words referring to the Temenid kings: οὐδὲ βίαι ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διετέλεσαν find their precise counterpart in Daochos II's words engraved on the monument erected between 337/6 and 333/2 for his fifth-century grandfather and namesake, elected "king" of Thessaly: ἀπάσης Θεσσαλίας ἄρξας οὐ βίαι ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.<sup>2</sup> Direct or indirect borrowing (an Alexander historian who would seek inspiration for his speeches in the dedicatory epigrams of Delphoi?) even less than coincidence can explain away the identity of the words and, more important, of the concepts behind them. The same remarks apply to the office of *tagos* as a civic magistrate, which besides Thessaly

charge of one of the four districts into which each Galatian tribe was divided (Strab. 12.5.1), and, *mutatis mutandis*, the same was true of other terms similarly formed such as δέκαρχος and δεκαρχία. In fact, the Greeks simply made no difference between δεκαρχία and δεκαδαρχία or τετραρχία and τετραδαρχία. Thus, it was not E. Meyer who invented the meaning "quarter" for the Greek word τετράς. That is how Harpokration understood the word and very probably how Hellenikos himself used it. Moreover, the use by Diodoros of the term ἡγεμών for the office of Jason and his succession strongly suggests that he understood it as a regular and constitutional office, for ἡγεμονία (*dux* in Justin's Latin) is also the term used by Diodoros' and Trogus Pompeius' source (most probably Kleitarchos) to describe Alexander the Great's regular and constitutional position in Thessaly. For these reasons I remain unconvinced by my friend's thesis and continue to hold the traditional views on the Thessalian head of state.

1 . For this and also what follows, see Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie" 249-54, with references.

2 . Mooren 219-20.

(and now Doris)<sup>1</sup> is attested only in Macedonia and particularly in the cities of the Old Kingdom, both by literary and epigraphic evidence.

Thus, Philip, who since 352 had also become the head of the Thessalian state, was practically facing similar problems grown from a similar past and parallel traditions on both sides of Mt. Olympos and the Kambounian range. Would it be too bold to suggest that there were common elements also in the solutions that he adopted, when he came to grips with similar situations at the same moment? Perhaps not, but with an important reservation: the Old Kingdom was no longer the whole of Macedonia, and if Lower Macedonia's strongest affinities were with Thessaly, such was not the case either with Upper Macedonia or with the New Lands beyond the Axios.

The peoples of Upper Macedonia were ethnically, economically, socially, culturally and politically more akin to the Epeirotic *ethne* than to the Lower Macedonians (or the Thessalians). Hammond has long since drawn attention to the fact that they were called Molossic *ethne* by the earliest writers, that like their Epeirote brothers they practised transhumant pastoralism, that they did not live in cities but in open villages (κατὰ κώμας) and that they were organised in territorial units (ἔθνη).<sup>2</sup> We have already noted in the first part of this study the similarities in the political organisation of the Upper Macedonian *ethne* and the Epeirotic ones, which persisted down to Roman times: the single magistrates at the village level and their common gatherings for government transaction at the regional one.<sup>3</sup> Ancient authorities rightly affirm the community of political technical terms on both sides of Mt. Pindos.<sup>4</sup> Affinities, pristine but also secondarily acquired, are explained and in their turn explain the not infrequent political permutations of the bordering *ethne* between Epeirotic and Macedonian political formations.<sup>5</sup> Philip did not ignore these realities.

In the beginning of this study we also explained the peculiarities of the New Lands beyond the Axios, especially the forms of village political life and organisation of the indigenous pre-Macedonian com-

1. D. Rousset, "Les Doriens de la Métropole, nouveaux documents", *BCH* 118 (1994) 363-68, no 3; cf. B. Helly, *L'Etat thessalien* (Paris 1995) 29. Rather than "un emploi plus répandu et plus banal", favoured by the latter scholar, I should be inclined, along with D. Rousset, to see in the diffusion of this term another sign of the linguistic and institutional *continuum* of central and northern Greece.

2. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* I 415-16; 439; II 28.

3. See p. 77-104, above.

4. Cf. Strab. 7.7.8 C 327 and frg. 2.

5. Cf. Hammond, *State* 89-91.

munities; for such was the scope of that chapter.<sup>1</sup> In practical terms, however, the most significant element of this region consisted of the Greek cities, mostly Ionian colonies, which had been under the influence of Athens and later, principally, of the Chalkidian State. One cannot overemphasise the closeness and the parallel destinies of the Temenid and of the Chalkidian (or rather, initially, the Bottic-Chalkidian) states.<sup>2</sup> Founded on Temenid initiative on partly Temenid land, the Chalkidian League became the natural partner and at the same time the most dangerous rival of the Macedonians.<sup>3</sup> One cannot help feeling that this Macedonian favourite project, which succeeded beyond the wildest hopes of its initiators, came to represent first a regrettably unattainable ideal of Hellenic modernity for the Temenid kings, and later an irresistible pole of attraction for the most modern-minded of their subjects. The physical destruction of Olynthos by Philip constitutes perhaps the most patent recognition of the mortally dangerous fascination that the Chalkidian League exercised on the Macedonians (probably not excluding Philip himself, as we shall see below).

While the Temenid kings were labouring to foster urban development, with its minimum prerequisite of self-government, without disrupting the unity of the Macedonian *ethnos* and the foundations of their own authority, the hardly viable city-states, which they had helped to unite, were becoming more and more like a genuine *ethnos*, without losing any of the advantages of southern Greek modernity inherited from their civic origins: common citizenship, right of marriage and of ownership in all League territory, common revenues from federal duty taxes, a common system of local taxation, common coinage, a common calendar, a common army, common magistrates (best illustrated in the series of federal priests known to us from sale deeds found all over the League territory, from Olynthos to Stolos and from Stolos to Torone), but at the same time a very active civic life at the local level, each city maintaining its own legal personality, the bulk of its own laws and its own magistrates presided over by the city *epistates*.<sup>4</sup> No wonder that the Temenid kings had cause to be

1. See p. 51-75, above.

2. Cf. Strab. 7, frg. 11 and A. Toynbee, *A Study of History* vol. III (London-New York-Toronto 1935<sup>2</sup>) 477-89. When I reread his penetrating pages now, after very many years, I realise how much this chapter has unconsciously borrowed from him.

3. Thuc. 1.58.2; cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* 72-73.

4. See M. Zahrt's excellent study *Olynth und die Chalkidier* ("Vestigia" 14; Munich 1971) and the relevant chapters of my study *Actes de vente de la Chalcidique centrale* ("MEΛETHMATA" 6; Athens 1988) 55-70.

jealous of such an enviable balance!

Philip II had the genius to understand that it was neither possible nor desirable to curb the aspiration to civic autonomy, but that a strong and sufficiently secure central government could integrate, domesticate, the civic movement, which had until then developed in opposition to the central authorities, and use it for its own ends. Philip confirmed (in Macedonia) or restored (in Thessaly) the authority of the Head of State. Election was not formally abolished, but the presence of a prestigious dynasty combined with the hereditary principle normally reduced it henceforth to a mere formality. Both in Macedonia and in Thessaly the main traditional prerogatives of the Head of State were the mobilisation of the army, its command and the free disposal of the federal revenues, in both countries mainly harbour duties and the *phoros* of the royal (in Macedonia) or the perioikic (in Thessaly) land. Master of the army and of the State treasury Philip and his successors, not unlike Jason of Pherai and other energetic *tagoi* of the fourth or the fifth century, were *constitutionally* free to pursue the foreign policy of their choice.<sup>1</sup> Philip, no more than Jason, is ever heard to consult anybody in matters of foreign policy (which are the only ones in which our sources take some interest). Demosthenes<sup>2</sup> or Anaximenes<sup>3</sup> allegations about Thessalian (except in Pherai) or Macedonian opposition to Philip's foreign policy derive from the same wishful thinking.<sup>4</sup> Once the *koinon* had appointed or acclaimed the Head of the State, conferring upon him his traditional prerogatives, its control over war and diplomacy (through mobilisation and the contracting of treaties) usually listed among its rights, inevitably became illusory. Once the army was mobilised under the orders of a prestigious Commander-in-Chief, the actual decision on the declaration of war was bound to be a mere formality, whereas no assembly would challenge an advantageous treaty contracted by a victorious chief. In case of failure, of course, an unsuccessful Macedonian king or Thessalian *tagos* could always be deposed. But such an extreme measure can hardly be counted among the habitual means of constitutional control. There remained the granting of *proxenia* or similar honours to foreigners, which in Macedonia, as in Thessaly, continued to be a prerogative of the *koinon*.<sup>5</sup> For all that Philip cared

1. Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie" 251.

2. Dem. 1.22; 2.11.

3. Anaximenes, *FGrHist* 72, F 11b.4.

4. On Thessaly in particular, see Griffith's excellent pages in *Macedonia* II 285-95 and 523-44.

5. See p. 368-69, above.

the Common Assembly of the *ethnos* could meet at the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios or of Athena Itonia in ordinary or extraordinary sessions.

In internal affairs Philip was no less cautious and certainly more conservative than Theopompos' dramatic descriptions would have us believe.<sup>1</sup> He undoubtedly favoured urbanisation and did not hesitate to resort to massive population transplants in order to achieve this end.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, on the whole, he was respectful of local traditions and he made the best and most extensive use of existing structures. After Philip, as before his reign, Upper Macedonia continued to be a country of open villages and maintained its territorial political organisation. Philip's innovation, if any, consisted perhaps in equating these territorial units with *poleis* and their councils of *peliganes* with civic *boulai*.<sup>3</sup> The grouping of indigenous communities in local sympolities equivalent to cities, which we examined in the first part of this study, may also go back to his reign.<sup>4</sup> To Greek cities, new or old, too peripheral to be incorporated into the Macedonian Commonwealth, especially in the southern part of the Chalkidian peninsula or in Paroreian Thrace, he granted an allied status and let them manage their own affairs. The other Greek cities, besides the few which were destroyed and left in ruins, he incorporated into the Macedonian Commonwealth, sometimes entirely refounding them, sometimes, but not necessarily and always, introducing into them settlers from the Old Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> Although he imposed an effective constitutional uniformity, which we studied in detail in another chapter,<sup>6</sup> he allowed much formal diversity to remain. *Tagoi*, *archontes*, *skoidoi* and later *dikastai* continued to coexist. Even in cases where a certain uniformity was imposed it was not invariably of Macedonian origin. The use of the Macedonian calendar was generalised in all the cities belonging to the Commonwealth, but the title of the chief magistrate of the cities, the *epistates*, which became so much a part of the Macedonian heritage that it emerged as a distinctive feature of the Macedonian foundations in Asia,<sup>7</sup> was borrowed (then, if not earlier) from the

1 . Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 224-225.

2 . Cf. Ellis, "Transplants" 9-16.

3 . See p. 77-104, above.

4 . See p. 51-75, above.

5 . See p. 181-89, above.

6 . See p. 129-165, above.

7 . Cf. Holleaux, "Séleucie" 26-31 (= *Etudes* III 217-220); Roussel, "Péliganes" 21-22 and 28.

Chalkidian League.<sup>1</sup> There was a common Macedonian *politeia*, as there was a common Thessalian *politeia* and there had been a common Chalkidian one before the destruction of the League; but the several *politeiai* of the cities and the Upper Macedonian territorial units continued to exist to the point that a resident from another community had the status of a metic.<sup>2</sup> The existence of a certain amount of legislation common to the whole *ethnos* did not prevent the several cities from continuing to vote their own particular laws.

It is not even certain that all Macedonians automatically possessed the right of *epigamia* and *enktesis* in the whole national territory, as seems to have been the case in the Chalkidian League,<sup>3</sup> but not in Thessaly.<sup>4</sup> Philip, in particular, knowing how loathsome direct taxation was to free citizens, had the wisdom to respect the financial autonomy of the cities of Macedonia no less than of those of Thessaly. The federal revenues from the harbour duties and from the public land ("royal" in Macedonia, "perioikic" in Thessaly) had to suffice for his needs, as they had been enough for the needs of the Chalkidian League.<sup>5</sup> The citizens of the Macedonian or the Thessalian cities would feel "free men" as long as they paid no direct taxes and obeyed their own elected magistrates, or, as Demosthenes would put it, they would go on being slaves *κατὰ πόλεις*.<sup>6</sup> Philip, however, was not insensitive to the additional security that the traditional constitution of Thessaly offered him both for the effective control of the cities of that country and of Macedonia.

Thessaly was traditionally divided into four *tetrades*.<sup>7</sup> It has now been successfully demonstrated: 1) that, although, like the Macedonian districts, these were often referred to as *ethne*, they were artificial military / administrative units, without any genuinely "ethnic" significance; 2) that they were later creations than the *poleis*, with which they coexisted, as in Macedonia, too, districts and *poleis* coex-

1. See p. 388-92, above.

2. Epigraphic Appendix no 17.

3. Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.19.

4. As we can surmise from the fact that decrees of Thessalian cities concede this privilege to citizens of other Thessalian cities (see Larsen, *States* 287-88; Marek 281-83; Hennig 324-25).

5. For Macedonia, see p. 431-32, above; for Thessaly, Griffith, *Macedonia* II 289-91; for the Chalkidian League, besides the harbour duties attested in the treaty with Amyntas III (Epigraphic Appendix no 1), we suspect the existence of a sales tax (Hatzopoulos, *Actes* 68-70), but this was probably a local tax.

6. Dem. 9.26.

7. On what follows, see Gschnitzer, "Tetraden" 451-64; Sordi, *Lega* 313-20; Griffith, *Macedonia* II 527-34.

isted.<sup>1</sup> As Sordi has rightly seen,<sup>2</sup> even the military organisation *κατὰ πόλεις* is neither contradictory nor incompatible with the subsistence of the *koinon* and its subdivision into *tetrades*. Apparently, as later in Macedonia, both districts and cities were used as recruitment units. Demosthenes, admittedly a hostile source, affirms that Philip introduced the *tetrarchiai* in Thessaly *ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύουσιν* (Θεσσαλοί).<sup>3</sup> The information is repeated in practically similar terms in two fragments of Theopompos, in which the *tetrades* are referred to as *μοῖραι* (cf. the Macedonian *μέρη* or *μερίδες*) and their heads are described as magistrates (*ἄρχοντες*) appointed by Philip (*κατέστησε*) "to be tyrants over their own people" (*τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν τύραννοι*).<sup>4</sup> The question which has been hotly debated is in what Philip's innovation exactly consisted, since both the *tetrades* and their chief magistrates were part of the traditional organisation of Thessaly. Sordi, in her penetrating analysis of the official titles of the heads of these regions before and after Philip's reform, observes that the change of style from *πολέμαρχος Πελασγιωτῶν*, *Φθιωτῶν* etc. to *τέτραρχος Θεσσαλῶν* indicated the passage from elective magistracies representing the interests of the particular *moi-rai vis-à-vis* the central authorities to offices obtained through appointment of the central authorities, "intended to discipline and to limit the autonomy of the cities".<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the qualification of the head of the district by the name of the higher unit, *i.e.* the whole state instead of the district itself, is strongly reminiscent of the Macedonian practice which I think to have discerned, that of appointing (and qualifying) the highest ranking officers of a locally recruited unit at the immediately superior administrative level: the *tetrarches* from Euia being appointed as a *tetrarches* of the Elemiotai (or the Eor-daioi), the *speirarchai* from Beroia as *speirarchai* of the Bottians and so on and so forth.<sup>6</sup>

The undeniably striking similarities between the Thessalian and Macedonian districts (*ἔθνη*, *τετράδες*, *μοῖραι*, *μέρη*, later *μερίδες*) can hardly be interpreted as the result of a coincidence. The fact that such an organisation is attested in Thessaly much earlier than the second half of the fourth century, when we have the first relevant evidence from Macedonia, leaves little doubt about Thessaly's priority. The

1 . See also Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 76-77.

2 . Sordi, *Lega* 113.

3 . Dem. 9.26.

4 . Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 208 and 209.

5 . Sordi, *Lega* 318-19; cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 534.

6 . Cf. p. 456-57, above.

additional fact that it appears in Macedonia roughly at the same time when it was being strengthened or restored in Thessaly by Philip, creates a strong presumption that the Macedonian king proceeded along the same lines for the reorganisation of the two *ethne*, of which he had become the Head of State. Regions and regional representatives of the central authorities, which had proved in the past effective means of controlling the centrifugal tendencies of the cities in Thessaly, could be usefully introduced in Macedonia in order to deal adequately with similar dangers. But perhaps one should not only see the negative aspect of the reform. The regional organisation offered a welcome solution to the problems stemming from the extension and the great variety of the new "greater Macedonia".

When the Macedonian national territory was limited to the Old Kingdom, Macedonians could easily gather not only for the biannual, regular *panegyreis*, but also for the extraordinary meetings of the Assembly and all other kinds of business (especially judicial), which required their presence. All the cities of Lower Macedonia were within a radius of some 50 km or two days' journey from Aigeai. But the distance of the outlying provincial cities of Greater Macedonia from Pella were four or five times greater. If the *ethnos* was not to lose all its practical relevance, it had to be subdivided into manageable units, at least for purposes of everyday practical administration, leaving the theoretically plenary assemblies for the solemnities of the biannual *panegyreis* and the necessities of mobilisation. The number and the boundaries of these units were determined by geography and history: the plateaux of the erstwhile independent Upper Macedonian kingdoms, the Old Kingdom, the New Lands between the Axios and the Strymon basin and, finally, Amphipolis and the lands along the Strymon acquired at the expense of the Thracian kingdom of Ketriporis.

Did Philip's settlement remain unchanged until the fall of the kingdom? The answer is not easy for Macedonia, and Thessaly can be of very little help in this matter, although an ever closer assimilation of the government systems of the two states seems probable, not only on the dubious strength of Polybios' assertion,<sup>1</sup> but also from the evidence of epigraphic documents indicating that in Thessaly, too, the heads of the regions adopted the title of *strategos*, as in Macedonia, instead of that of *tetrarchos* or *polemarchos*.<sup>2</sup>

In Macedonia there are unmistakable signs of change on the national level towards the end of the reign of Philip V, parallel to the re-

1. Pol. 4.76.2.

2. Habicht, "Urkunde" 193-98; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie" 252.



forms which in the cities led to the replacement of the *epistates* by the *politarches*. Before the recent epigraphic discoveries which have significantly enriched our knowledge of both the civic and the regional organisation, I had wrongly considered the districts and their officials as late Antigonid innovations, part of the same reform as the introduction of the *politarchai*, destined to balance and check the greater autonomy granted to the cities.<sup>1</sup> Today, in the light of the new evidence, I would incline to consider both as parts of the same reform movement, which tended to consent a greater autonomy to cities as well as to regions, and to which the minting of civic and regional coinage bears unmistakable witness. The promotion of the regional *strategoï* to eponymous magistrates, which is first attested in this period and is contemporary with the first autonomous coins of the districts, might in fact indicate a more liberal mode of appointment, perhaps through elections, as I suggested in the relevant chapter.<sup>2</sup> Theoretically at least, the term of their office, like that of the fourth-century Thessalian *archontes* and possibly the *polemarchoi*, did not necessarily have to be annual, but might extend to a much longer period, in fact for life. But their function as *eponymoi* suggests that their protracted presence at the head of their respective districts –if this reflects a historical reality and does not simply result from an engraver's mistake, as Ph. Gauthier has very convincingly submitted—<sup>3</sup> should be rather explained as the result of iteration. If such is the case, Philip V's reforms would have finally brought the Macedonian regional organisation to the point at which Philip II had found the Thessalian regional organisation nearly two centuries earlier, when the *polemarchoi* were elected by the *tetrades*. It would be yet another element in the parallel and often convergent histories of the two neighbouring states, besides the long since observed, and stressed, similarities between the respective highest offices; the Thessalian *tageia* being closer to the kingships of Macedonia (and Epeiros) than to southern Greek magistracies.<sup>4</sup>

1 . Hatzopoulos, "Politarques", in the unpublished section of the manuscript.

2 . See p. 257-58, above.

3 . Epigraphic Appendix no 53.

4 . Sordi, *Lega* 337; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie" 250.

## THE NATURE OF THE MACEDONIAN STATE IN LATE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC TIMES

If the historical reconstitution attempted above is substantially correct, what was the character of the Macedonian state? The latest most stimulating discussion on the nature of the Greek states is perhaps A. Giovannini's short but comprehensive *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in Griechenland*.<sup>1</sup> One of the major merits of this work was to dispel some old and tenacious misconceptions concerning the way the Greeks themselves understood and called their own political formations. In particular it stressed the impropriety of the modern use of the words *koinon* and *sympoliteia* to qualify states such as Aitolia, Boiotia or Epeiros. The Greeks consistently distinguished between two kinds of states: *poleis* and *ethne*, "cities" and "peoples" or in modern constitutional terms: city-states and what for want of a better term we call "ethnic" states. Now, there is no doubt that, whatever the legends about the beginnings of the Temenid kingdom, the Macedonians themselves and the other Greeks considered the Macedonian state as an *ethnos*, as an "ethnic" state.<sup>2</sup> As such it was a member of the Hellenic League along other ethnic states: the Thessalians, the Epeirotes, the Achaians, the Boiotians, the Akarnanians etc.<sup>3</sup> Few would challenge this first and simple conclusion.

The next question that should be asked is whether Macedonia was a unitary or a federal state. One of the most original of Giovannini's contributions was to show that the ancient Greek ethnic states were not federal states, at least as we understand them, but for all practical reasons unitary states; for the cities or smaller *ethne*, into which they were subdivided, were treated by the central authorities as if they possessed no sovereign rights.<sup>4</sup> There is an abundance of evidence, ad-

1. "Hypomnemata" 33, Göttingen 1971.

2. Cf. Ps.-Skylax 66; Diod. 31.8.2.

3. Pol. 4.9.4.

4. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 81 and 88-90. F.W. Walbank, "Were there Greek Federal States?", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 3 (1977-1978) 27-51, has made an attempt to

duced by Giovannini, for the infringement of local autonomy perpetrated by the central authorities, but not the slightest indication that the local communities protested or even could protest against such encroachments. There was no constitutional limitation to the powers of the central authorities or constitutional protection –short of secession– against their interventions. To use Giovannini's own words: "Die Zentralgewalt der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitien handelt, als ob sie die volle Souveränität besässe, als ob die Autonomie, die die Mitgliedsgemeinden geniessen, nicht mehr als eine konzedierte und von der Zentralgewalt jederzeit widerrufliche Munizipalautonomie wäre."<sup>1</sup>

The Swiss author, although he reserves no special chapter for Macedonia, as he does for Arkadia, Boiotia, Phokis, Achaia, Akarnania, Aitolia, Thessaly and Epeiros, feels the need to devote a few pages to a discussion of the disturbing paradox of Macedonia, which according to him, even though it possesses all the external characteristics of a "bundestaatliche Sympolitie", as he calls the above ethnic states, is in fact not one of them.<sup>2</sup> Its cities are called *poleis*, they have their own magistrates and their deliberating bodies, like the members of the "federal sympolities", can bestow honours and participate in Panhellenic festivals, their citizens add the *ethnikon* of their city to that of the state: "Von aussen lässt sich damit die Rechtstellung einer makedonischen Stadt von dem Status der Mitglieder einer bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie nicht unterscheiden", is the Swiss scholar's conclu-

refute Giovannini's main thesis, arguing that 1) "federal" cities were not powerless; 2) "federal" cities did not feel diminished because they belonged to a wider entity; 3) no parallel can be drawn between "federal" cities and cities inside a Hellenistic monarchy or demes in an independent city; 4) "federal" cities are not indispensable "cultural units". These arguments are not decisive: 1) the question is not whether "federal" cities were powerless or not, but whether they were sovereign powers, which they were not, not only *de facto*, as many other cities which did not belong to *ethne*, but also *de iure*; 2) whether "federal" cities felt diminished or not is irrelevant (did Oropos or Azoros feel diminished when they respectively joined the Athenian and the Macedonian state?); 3) the comparison is not with "other cities inside a Hellenistic monarchy" in general, but with monarchical *ethne* such as Macedonia and Epeiros, on which see below; 4) the use of ethnic *ethnika* by no means disproves that cities were the *par excellence* cultural units in Hellenistic times.

1. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 90.

2. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 77. Today it seems hardly credible that Tarn (*Antigonos* 180-81) could have written: "And it must always be borne in mind that Macedonia differed in two most essential particulars from other states of Northern Greece. As already noticed, she was monarchical through and through... and she had no definite religious centre". But at the time Epeiros was not considered a Greek speaking country and Dion was just a place name.

sion. Nevertheless, he peremptorily asserts that "Makedonien war aber keine bundesstaatliche Sympolitie."<sup>1</sup> The arguments used by Giovannini, who at the time had neither special interest nor special knowledge of Macedonia, are mainly based on the opinions or assertions of pre-war scholarship. According to them, in Hellenistic Macedonia traditional kingship had been transformed into absolute monarchy. The kings were the only holders of power, while the Macedonians had no legal means of giving them instructions or bringing them into account. The prerogatives of the Assembly in capital cases and the appointment of kings were no longer observed. The kings made all decisions in foreign policy, levied taxes and administrated their revenues as if it were their own money. Their decrees had the force of law and they had the power to judge those who failed to observe them. The Macedonian cities were governed accordingly. They were subjected to a royal governor (*epistates*) and to royal judges (*dikastai*), who supervised all local political activity. In brief, through the *epistates* and the *dikastai* the Macedonian cities depended entirely on the King and had only as much liberty as it suited him.

Giovannini's argumentation is based on evidence which is either inexact or inconclusive. The reader of the previous chapters knows that it is simply not true that the prerogatives of the Macedonians in capital cases and the appointment of kings were no longer observed in Hellenistic times.<sup>2</sup> It is an oversimplification to say that the King's decrees had the force of law and that he had the power to judge those who failed to observe them. In the previous chapters we examined in detail in which cases and in what manner the King could interfere in legislation.<sup>3</sup> We also saw how the King's legislative decrees were not in fact personal decisions but were taken in Council and reflected the collective will of the central authorities.<sup>4</sup> The King could indeed judge in last resort, but only if one of the litigants chose to lay the matter before him. The example cited by Giovannini concerns military disciplinary measures, which, then as now, lie outside the normal judicial system.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, we have seen in detail why neither the *dikastai* were "royal judges" nor the *epistates* a "royal governor".<sup>6</sup> Consequently, all the conclusions based in these assumptions are obsolete. The rest of Giovannini's arguments are inconclusive; for they tend to

1 . Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 77.

2 . See p. 298-322, above.

3 . See p. 396-424, above.

4 . See p. 323-59, above.

5 . Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 78.

6 . See p. 372-96; 424-29, above.

consider as exclusively Macedonian features that are common to all northern Greek "federal sympolitie", which had maintained a powerful Head of State. It is inexact simply to state that the Macedonians had no means of giving instructions to their kings (or regents). What is true is that they had no legal means of giving them binding instructions; for there was no orderly way of bringing them to account if they failed to abide by them. The Epeirotes and the Thessalians were just as powerless *vis-à-vis* their kings or *tagoi*, and like the Macedonians, they had no means of imposing their will or of bringing their Heads of State to account than to depose them, which they repeatedly did. The Macedonian king was not the only Head of State to make all decisions in foreign policy. Giovannini himself, a few pages earlier, rightly states that in Epeiros "die Aussenpolitik und die Führung im Krieg scheinen dagegen dem König vorbehalten gewesen zu sein".<sup>1</sup> Pyrrhos could wage wars without apparently consulting any legally constituted body and could conclude treaties in his own name.<sup>2</sup> Jason of Pherai and other Thessalian *tagoi* seem to have done the same. The latter's name, anyway, as well as that of Alketas, the king of the Molossians, and Neoptolemos, his son, figured on the Charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy instead and on behalf of their respective *ethne*.<sup>3</sup> It is inexact to say that the Macedonian kings could levy taxes and duties. We have examined in detail the nature of "royal" revenues inappropriately called *tributum* by Livy, whom Giovannini uses as evidence. The Macedonian king did collect and administer harbour duties and other public revenues, but so did the Thessalian *tagoi*.<sup>4</sup> But what more than anything else argues against Giovannini's separation of Macedonia from the other "bundesstaatliche Sympolitie" are the very terms which he uses in his conclusion on the relation between the central authorities and the local communities in Macedonia, which are practically the same as those used in his conclusion on precisely the same relationship in the other *ethne*, cited above: "Alle diese Hypothesen ändern aber nichts an der Tatsache, dass die Autonomie der Städte Makedoniens prekär war, dass der König sie nach seinem freien Ermessen erweitern oder einschränken konnte".<sup>5</sup> The only difference is that in the case of Macedonia Giovannini replaces the word

1. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 72; cf. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* 224.

2. Cf. *IGIX* 1<sup>2</sup>, 2, 207.

3. *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 147b, 109-11. Jason was already *tagos* of Thessaly when he joined the Second Athenian Confederacy (cf. M. Jehne, "Iasons Symmachie mit Athen und das Mitgliederverzeichnis des 2. Athenischen Seebunds", *ZPE* 89 (1991) 121-34.

4. See p. 431-32, above.

5. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 80; cf. 90:

"Zentralgewalt" by "König". But the royal versus the republican *form of government* is quite another question or criterion of constitutional distinction than that of the unitary versus the federal *form of state*. Both the King and the *ethnos*, the *Makedones*, represented the central authorities as against the particular cities and the other territorial units which constituted the Macedonian communities.

In a previous chapter we have examined the abundant evidence showing that the Macedonians were, as much as the King, a constituent part of the Macedonian state.<sup>1</sup> The situation is not unique to Macedonia but is common to all "constitutional" Greek kingships. The characteristic formula βασιλεὺς (δεῖνα) καὶ Μακεδόνες has its exact counterpart in βασιλεὺς (δεῖνα) καὶ Ἑπειρωταί.<sup>2</sup> Even in Thessaly during its most democratic period the official formula describing the state was similarly ὁ ἄρχων καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν.<sup>3</sup> The exact balance between Head of State and Commons varied from state to state as it did in pre-revolutionary Europe, the British Parliament acquiring, from the seventeenth century at least, more power *vis-à-vis* the King than the Spanish Cortes or the French Estates General. This, however, did not stop the kings of Europe and their subjects from feeling that they belonged to the same "constitutional" species, which differed both from the republicanism of the city-states of Germany, Switzerland or Italy and from the oriental despotism of the Grand Turk.

Is Macedonia then directly comparable to the republican "bundesstaatliche Sympolitien" as far as the form of state (unitary versus federal) —as against the form of government (royal versus republican)— is concerned? I think not, but for a reason different from the one alleged by Giovannini. The southern republican *ethne* (Aitolia, Achaia, Boiotia etc.) as opposed to *all* the "monarchical" northern ones (not only Macedonia, but also pre-revolutionary Epeiros, Thessaly) had created an organ of representative government in which the local communities could make their voice heard *as such*, and which the "monarchical" states lacked: I mean the "federal" *synedrion*.

It is true that Sordi has argued that the deliberating body of the Thessalian state was in fact a representative *synedrion* and not a pri-

1 . See p. 219-20, above.

2 . Cf. *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 392: [Βασιλεὺς Πύρρο[ς καὶ Ἑπειρω]ταί...]

3 . *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 184, L. 34: ἐπαιν[έ]σα[ι δέ] Ἄγέλαον τὸν ἄρχοντα<τα> [καὶ τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν Θετ[ταλ]ῶν...

mary assembly;<sup>1</sup> but her views have not been accepted<sup>2</sup> – and rightly so – for she can adduce no decisive evidence to this effect. As we saw in a previous chapter,<sup>3</sup> what she has successfully shown is that the terms οἱ Θεσσαλοί, αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἐν Θεσσαλίαι, τὸ ἔθνος or τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν are strictly equivalent. Such, however, is precisely the case in Macedonia too, where οἱ Μακεδόνες, αἱ πόλεις Μακεδόνων, τὸ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος or τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων are strictly equivalent and can be used interchangeably, although no "federal" *synedrion* existed and the deliberating body was the assembly. Sordi has also successfully shown that the account of Jason's bid for the *tageia* implies that the cities played some role in the appointment of the *tagos*.<sup>4</sup> We have drawn the same conclusions concerning Macedonia from the account of Philip V's alleged attempt to secure the appointment to the kingship of his cousin Antigonos, instead of his son Perseus, and we have seen the delegates from the Macedonian cities joining the Privy Council of the King at the national *panegyreis*.<sup>5</sup> But still this did not make the existence of a "federal" Macedonian *synedrion* any more real, and Papazoglou's theory that the Assembly was replaced by a representative body under Antigonos Gonatas can find no confirmation in the available evidence. Finally, Sordi stressed the role played, especially for the appointment of the *tagos*, by the *προεβύτατοι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν*, a sort of *gerousia*, to which she attributes a probouleutic function *vis-à-vis* the Assembly (a representative one in her perspective, but this is beside the point).<sup>6</sup> We saw the *πρωτοὶ τῶν ἐταίρων* or the *βέλτιστοι καὶ προεβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων* participating in a Council with similar attributions in Macedonia.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, such a Council, however representative in effect, cannot be equated with a "federal" *synedrion*. As Sordi has rightly stressed, in the treaty between Thessaly and Athens of 360, despite the obvious efforts to match each Athenian oath-administrating body with a corresponding Thessalian one, nothing could be found on the Thessalian side which could even remotely correspond to the Athenian *boule*.<sup>8</sup>

1 . Sordi, *Lega* 329-34.

2 . Cf. Larsen, *States* 19; Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 64; *contra* Griffith, *Macedonia* II 293, n. 1, who agrees with Sordi.

3 . See p. 219-20, above.

4 . Sordi, *Lega* 330-31.

5 . See p. 326-27, above.

6 . Sordi, *Lega* 334.

7 . See p. 326-27, above.

8 . Sordi, *Lega* 332-33. It is possible, though, that the Thessalian *hieromnemes* mentioned in the treaty constituted an embryonic form of representative council (see p. 324, n. 3, above).

Similar conclusions have been drawn from the examination of the evidence concerning pre-revolutionary Epeiros. There, too, we noted in the literary sources the existence of the κράτιστοι τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν as representatives of the local πατρίδες, and we can speculate that their role and powers were not different from those of their Macedonian or Thessalian colleagues.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, both in Macedonia and in Molossia the exact relationship between the King's Privy Council and these bodies of the representatives of the local communities still escapes us. All we can say is that no more in Molossia than in Macedonia and in Thessaly can we find even the slightest trace of a "federal" *synedrion*. Tharyps' *senatus* is a *gerousia*, a restricted board of the κράτιστοι Ἡπειρωτῶν, several lists of which have come down to us under the varying names of δαμοργοί, συνάρχοντες or ἱερομνάμονες.<sup>2</sup> Cabanes' sole argument against this interpretation, defended by Lévêque<sup>3</sup> is analogy from Akarnania and Achaia, where a restricted board of local representatives existed side by side with a large body of *synedroi*, and from republican Epeiros itself, where the dimensions of the *bouleuterion* at Dodona is supposed to imply the existence of a numerous *synedrion*.<sup>4</sup> His argumentation in both its parts fails to take into consideration the decisive importance of the monarchical phenomenon, which originally separated the northern "ethnic" states from the southern ones. In fact the "federal" *synedria* appear in Macedonia, Thessaly and Epeiros only after the abolition of their respective kingships –indeed immediately after, and as a result of this event. In Epeiros we can only note that the *synedrion* is first mentioned in the decree of the *koinon* for the festival of Artemis Leukophryene in 206.<sup>5</sup> In Thessaly it appears after the abolition of the old "monarchical" constitution and the establishment of the new "laws" on the model of the republican "federal" states, and particularly the Achaian League, by Flamininus in 196.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in Mace-

1. See p. 323, above.

2. See Cabanes, *Epire* 167-72 and 534-40, nos 1-3; cf. the *presbyteroi* of the Balaïitai (Cabanes, "Recherches" 220-21).

3. P. Lévêque, "Recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire de l'Epire", *REG* 70 (1957) 498; cf. *eiusdem*, *Pyrrhos* 212-3.

4. Cabanes, *Epire* 166-67. That a building constructed in the late fourth century was –not without alterations– later used as a *bouleuterion* can in no way guarantee the "constitutional" position of its first users. For all we know its functions may have been comparable to those of Alexander's monumental tent at Dion and may have sheltered the sacred *theoroi* who, along with the *hieromnamones*, came to Dodona to assist at the Naia.

5. *IMag* 32, L. 48; cf. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 27.

6. Larsen, *States* 283-87.



donia it is even clearer from Livy's account that the creation of the Macedonian "federal" *synedrion* by Aemilius Paullus in 167 was a direct consequence of the abolition of the kingship, since it inherited, in an extremely reduced and mutilated form, the "national" powers of the Macedonian state as a whole.<sup>1</sup> But even the material basis of Cabane's argument itself is, to say the least, uncertain. F. Kolb<sup>2</sup> and, more recently, M.H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen<sup>3</sup> have challenged the identification of even the early-third-century building with a *boulouterion*, arguing that its enormous size, capable of accommodating an attendance of several thousands, suits an *ekklesiasterion* of the *ethnos* rather than a Council Hall.

We can now better understand why form of state and form of government have been associated and sometimes confused in the minds and the writings of those who from Antiquity to modern times have studied the different forms of Greek political experience. It is thus not an accident that Polybios associates δημοκρατική with συνεδριακή πολιτεία,<sup>4</sup> or that Giovannini fails to recognise a "bundesstaatliche Sympolitie" in Macedonia. For, although theoretically distinct, the institutionalised representation of the local communities and popular (as opposed to monarchical) government in fact progressed hand in hand in the ethnic states of ancient Greece. Polybios, in his malignity, had recognised better than anyone else the fundamental similarity in the government of Macedonia and Thessaly.<sup>5</sup> Of course, in order to damage Philip V's memory, he deliberately – albeit with false details – blackened the picture as much as he could<sup>6</sup> and attributed undemocratic conditions in Thessaly to Macedonian domination. That this was not so we know from a series of earlier writers describing in similar terms the government of Thessaly under Thessalian, instead of Macedonian, heads of state. Southern Greeks of the Classical period found "tyrant" an appropriate term to qualify the Thessalian *tagoi* as

1. Livy 45.32.2.

2. F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater. Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin 1981) 90, n. 14.

3. M.H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance", in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*, ("Historia Einzelschriften" 87; Stuttgart 1994) 38, n. 62.

4. Pol. 31.2.12.

5. Pol. 4.76.2.

6. Cf. Edson, "Perseus" 191-202; Walbank, "Φίλιππος" 55-68.

much as the Macedonian kings;<sup>1</sup> Thucydides dispassionately reflected that the constitution of Thessaly was not democratic (ἰσονομία) but autocratic (δυναστεία).<sup>2</sup> Theophrastos assimilated the office of the Thessalian Head of State to βασιλικᾶς καὶ τυραννικᾶς ἔξουσίας.<sup>3</sup> The same remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, could be made about Epeiros under Pyrrhos—for which the relevant evidence is the richest—when the Assembly or the representatives of the local communities are conspicuous by their absence. In the very words of the best student of his reign: "Pyrrhos paraît prendre seul les décisions les plus importantes, même celles qui entraînent son peuple dans des aventures lointaines et risquées... On peut dire sans exagérer que Pyrrhos ne subissait aucune limitation dans son pouvoir et qu'il se conduisait en autocrate autant et plus que les monarques à royauté personnelle de l'Orient hellénistique".<sup>4</sup> Does this mean that all the scholars from Busolt,<sup>5</sup> through Larsen,<sup>6</sup> to Giovannini,<sup>7</sup> who have included Thessaly and Epeiros in their studies of the Greek federal states were mistaken? Certainly not. Their mistake was rather that they failed to recognise that royal Macedonia, too, belonged to the same species; that the so called "federal" states fell into two categories: on the one hand the developed republican ethnic states of the south, which had achieved the integration of the local communities into the ethnic state and which had institutionalised their representation on the national level, and on the other hand the more primitive "monarchical" ethnic states of the north, in which the local communities that had developed in the course of their history had not been fully integrated but more or less coexisted with the earlier ethnic structures.

Paola Zancan, in her stimulating study, concluded that the Hellenistic monarchies, as the heirs of the Macedonian state, were in fact "polyarchies" associating through a personal union the republican principle of the Greek cities, the democratic principle of the Macedonian kingship and the oriental (Egyptian) principle of patrimonial domination.<sup>8</sup> This is admittedly an oversimplification, but it has the

1. Schol. Dem. I, frg. 151 (Dilts); Phainias, *FHG* II 298 (= Athen. 10.438c); cf. Theophr. in Dion. Hal. 5.74.3. These passages have been collected by Sordi, *Lega* 335-37; cf. Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie" 250.

2. Thuc. 4.78.3.

3. Theophr. in Dion. Hal. 5.74.

4. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* 224.

5. Busolt 1470-1501.

6. Larsen, *States* 12-26; 273-94.

7. Giovannini, *Sympolitie* 163-70.

8. Zancan 149-50.

merit of pointing out the triple relation of the Macedonian Head of State with the cities, the *ethnos* and the conquered land with its inhabitants, who coexist rather than are integrated into an organic whole. Only the Macedonians can make no exclusive claim to such a polyarchy. The Thessalian *tagos* had the same parallel relations with the several cities, the *ethnos* as a whole and the conquered land with its inhabitants (*perioiko*).<sup>1</sup> This was, not unnaturally, an unstable equilibrium which, in order to maintain itself, required all the prestige of heroic dynasties and exceptionally capable personalities, such as both the Temenids and the Antigonids succeeded in providing in Macedonia. Thessaly, however, which lacked such a prestigious dynasty, had to accept a foreign one, in order to preserve an obsolescent order of things, although not beyond the beginning of the second century.<sup>2</sup> Aiakid Epeiros had fallen a few decades before and Antigonid Macedonia was not to survive to its Thessalian sister by more than thirty years. Progressiveness or backwardness should not, however, blind us to the fundamental identity of akin forms of government. Macedonia was distinguished from Thessaly and Epeiros only by nuances. In this respect one could speak of isoglosses in the institutional as well as in the linguistic field and of a *continuum* of language and government forms alike, stretching without break from Cape Maleas to the Lake District.<sup>3</sup>

1 . Sordi, *Lega* 340-43.

2 . Cf. Griffith, *Macedonia* II 294-95.

3 . In another study (*Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* ["ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ" 19; Athens 1994]) I have endeavoured to show that the same *continuum* also existed in the fields of religion and social customs.

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## GENERAL INDEX

In this index have been also included names of Macedonians of the period under consideration which figure in Greek characters in the text or the notes. On the other hand, very common words, such as Macedonia, Greece etc. have been omitted. In some entries the main reference is italicised. Roman numerals figuring at the end of entries concerning settlements ancient and modern refer to the maps at the end of the volume.

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## MAPS

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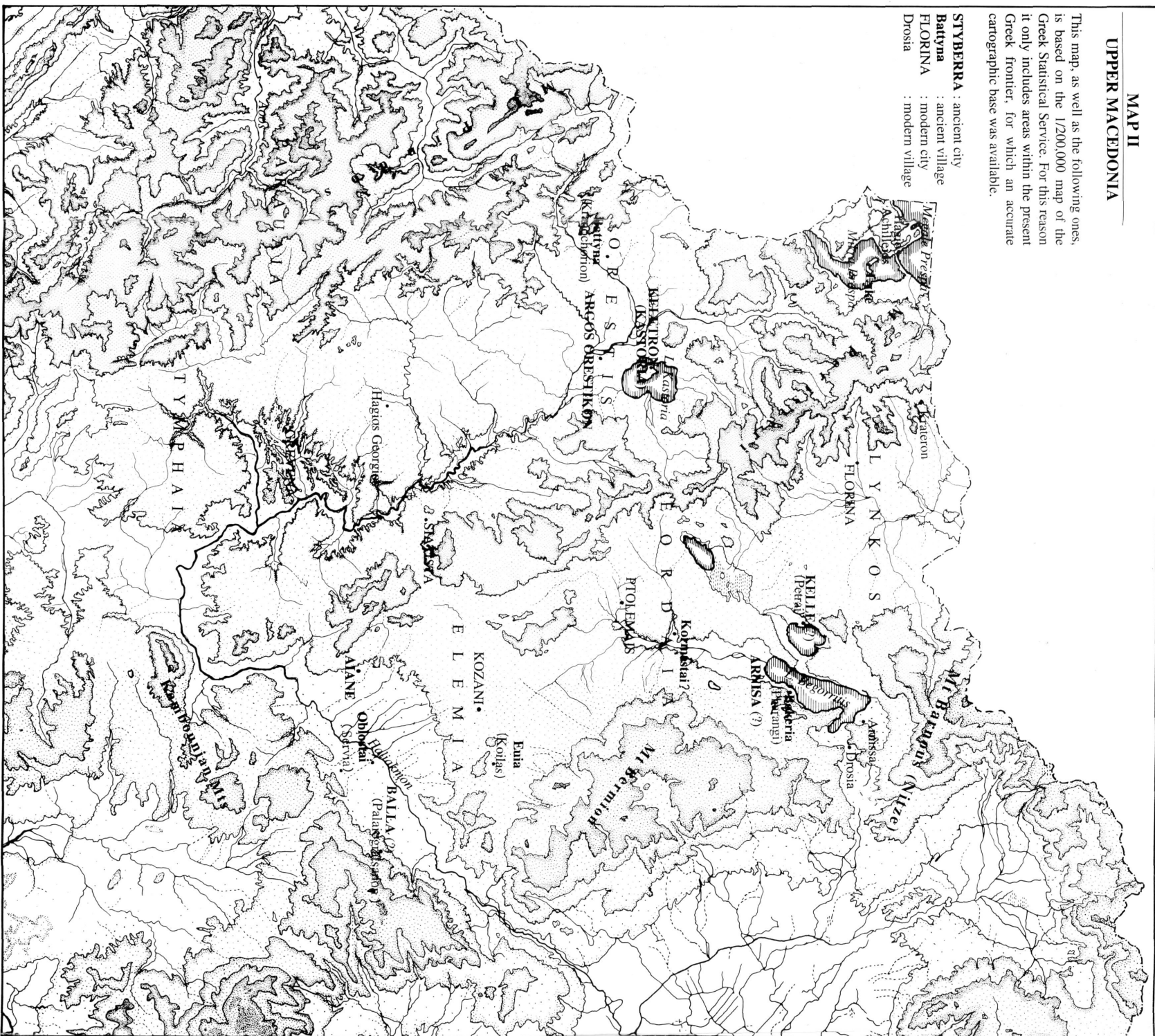




**MAP II  
UPPER MACEDONIA**

This map, as well as the following ones, is based on the 1/200,000 map of the Greek Statistical Service. For this reason it only includes areas within the present Greek frontier, for which an accurate cartographic base was available.

**STYBERRA** : ancient city  
**Batyna** : ancient village  
**FLORINA** : modern city  
**Drosia** : modern village















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A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East : Social and Political Aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993* (MEΛETHMA-



ISBN 960-7094-90-5  
ISBN 960-7094-89-1 (Set)