

## Chapter I : Introduction

### § 1. THE REALM OF MACEDON<sup>1</sup>

FOR fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great, the Eastern Mediterranean with its adjacent lands was undergoing the birth-pangs of a new age. When at length the unwieldy empire of Alexander settled down into its new form, Macedon itself proved to have changed far less fundamentally than either of the rival kingdoms which had been set up in Egypt and Syria. There Macedonian dynasties had had to impose their government upon foreign subjects, differing from themselves in culture and economic and social development; but the Antigonids acquired a Macedon not vitally different from that of Philip II, and a people of their own blood and outlook;<sup>2</sup> and if the wars had been a severe drain on the man-power of the land, many had returned rich,<sup>3</sup> and the gaps in a prolific population had to some extent been filled.<sup>4</sup>

The predominance of the monarchy in Macedon goes back to the fifth or early fourth century, when one of the kings—his identity is uncertain<sup>5</sup>—instituted a popular infantry force of *πεζεταίροι* from among the free yeomanry who composed the mass of the people. In this force the king acquired not only an instrument of Macedonian expansion, but also a check on the power of the aristocracy, whose cavalry had hitherto provided

<sup>1</sup> For this section see in particular Beloch, IV, 1, 272 *seq.*; Tarn, 167 *seq.*; Geyer, *P-W*, 'Makedonia', cols. 680 *seq.*, 769 *seq.*; P. Zancan, 110 *seq.*, 130; Momigliano, *Athen.* XIII, 1935, 3 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> For the survival of *national* Macedonian characteristics under the Antigonids see Kaerst, II, 330 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arrian, VII, 12; Diod. XVIII, 16, 4; Justin. XII, 12, 7–10 for the 10,000 men sent back with a talent each by Alexander.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 70, n. 5, thinks Macedon was perhaps irremediably depopulated.

<sup>5</sup> Anaximenes of Lampsacus (*FGH*, II, A, 72, F. 4) ascribes the institution of both *εταίροι* and *πεζεταίροι* to 'Alexander'; this may be Alexander II (369–8)—so Jacoby, *FGH*, II, C, 107, and Granier, 9—or (more probably) Alexander I Philhellene (c. 480), as is assumed by Ferguson, *Gnomon*, XI, 1935, 520, Costanzi, *Athen.* VIII, 1930, 164, and Momigliano, *ibid.* XIII, 1935, 3; *Filippo il Macedone*, 8 *seq.* Emendations have, however, been suggested, to 'Philippos' (Kaerst, I, 193; Plaumann, *P-W*, 'Εταίροι', col. 1378) or 'Archelaos' (Köhler, *Berlin S.B.* 1893, 493 *seq.*; Beloch, III, 1<sup>2</sup>, 23; Geyer, *P-W*, 'Makedonia', col. 713). In any case, Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, is right in regarding the *εταίροι* as the earlier body (cf. Granier, 6).

the only military force.<sup>1</sup> The strength which this new citizen-army afforded the monarchy<sup>2</sup> was reflected in the popular right, which it inherited, to acclaim each new king upon his accession,<sup>3</sup> even though in practice the throne was hereditary; and further, custom gave it the power to act as a supreme court in cases of high treason.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, with foreign policy in his own hands, a strong king did not need to pay great attention to its embryo powers.

The administration of Macedon, moreover, was centralised in Pella, and the local governors were appointed directly by the king; thus it is, as Tarn observes,<sup>5</sup> incorrect to describe the system as feudal. Under the Antigonids *strategoi* controlled the outer provinces of Macedonia proper, and *epistatai* (helped by *dikastai*) the subject districts and the important towns, Greek and Macedonian.<sup>6</sup> The royal council itself—Alexander's οἱ ἄμφ'

<sup>1</sup> Geyer, *op. cit.* col. 712 *seq.*; Momigliano, *Athen.* XIII, 1935, 8–9.

<sup>2</sup> This citizen-army was called up at need; but permanent garrisoning, etc., was usually entrusted to mercenaries; cf. Griffith, 67 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Syr.* 54; Plut. *Demet.* 18; cf. Beloch, IV, 1, 379–80.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Arr. III, 26; IV, 14, 3; Diod. XVIII, 37, 2; XIX, 51, 1; Plut. *Alex.* 55, 3; *Eumen.* 8, 3; Curt. VI, 8, 25; Polyb. V, 27, 5 *seq.*; 29, 6. See Tarn, *Ant. Gon.* 189 ('certain obscure rights'); *CAH*, VI, 390; Granier, 42 *seq.*; cf. however Ferguson, *Gnomon*, XI, 1935, 522, 'The kings did not submit cases of alleged treason to it (*sc.* the Macedonian army) when they thought it unsafe to do so. It took no action when...Philip V executed Apelles and Leontius without trial.'

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* 190, against Wilamowitz, *Staat und Gesellschaft*<sup>2</sup>, 1923, 143.

<sup>6</sup> The *strategos* was primarily a military officer in a specific area, though he might operate with a town as his sphere (cf. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher*, 17–29); the term *epistates* covers officers with functions varying from place to place (cf. Holleaux, *BCH*, LVII, 1933, 26 *seq.*; Heuss, *op. cit.* 29–35). For the evidence relating to Macedon see Tarn, 195. Under Philip a *strategos* (*praetor*) is mentioned for Paeonia (Livy (P) XL, 21, 9; 23, 2); and this position is probably referred to elsewhere, e.g. Polyb. V, 96, 4: 'Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τεταγμένος πρὸς τῆς Φωκίδος (cf. *Syll.* 552); Polyb. XXII, 13, 3: 'Ὀνόμαστον τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τεταγμένον. (Heuss, *loc. cit.*, claims that the Jason who in 218 was placed by Alexander in charge of Phanoteus (Polyb. V, 96, 4) was also a *strategos*; but it seems improbable that the authority to make such appointments was delegated.) For *epistatai* under Philip see Polyb. V, 26, 5 (Thessaly and Macedonia); perhaps Polyb. XXII, 13, 4 (Cassander at Maronea); Makaronas, *AE*, 1934–5, 117 *seq.* (Archippus, *epistates* at 'Greia' (otherwise unknown); inscription found between Kosane and Verria, at Koilada); Livy (P) XXVIII, 6, 1 (Plator, probably *epistates* at Oreus). Pelekides, 6, has an inscription mentioning (line 23) an *epistates* at Thessalonica, and also *dikastai* (cf. *IG*, XI, 4, 1053 (Thessalonica), where Pelekides also restores οἱ δικασταί); and another earlier example of an *epistates* with a Macedonian city as his sphere of operation is the Harpalus, governor of Beroea, to whom Demetrius II addressed a letter, while crown prince (*Syll.* 459; cf. Edson, *Harv. Stud.* XLV, 1934, 227 *seq.*; Pelekides, 12, n. 3). Philip also left *epistatai* in Caria; cf.

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αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι and the φίλοι of the Antigonid court—formed an advisory body and in some respects a civil service;<sup>1</sup> but it had no rights beyond those of advising, and under a forceful king could be rendered of little importance.

Nevertheless, the king of Macedon was not an absolute monarch, but had his powers increasingly modified by other sources of authority within the state. Of these the most important was the army-assembly, which had exerted its influence in the chaotic years following Alexander's death;<sup>2</sup> and since it was recruited by districts, it seems probable that it encouraged the persistence of some kind of regional patriotism. For while it is true that, by the time of Alexander, the absorption of the outlying districts into Macedon was almost complete,<sup>3</sup> there is evidence of a strong regional sense in these parts which potentially, though by no means inevitably, conflicted with national loyalty. Thus as late as the time of Sellasia<sup>4</sup> a man could describe himself as an inhabitant both of Elimiotis and of Macedon; and the support given to Pyrrhus in 288 by the western provinces points to a degree of separatism at that time.<sup>5</sup>

Early in Antigonos Doson's reign, the army-assembly succeeded in obtaining constitutional recognition of its semi-independent authority inside the state, probably as the result of a mutiny which took place shortly after Doson assumed the guardianship of the young heir, Philip.<sup>6</sup> Confronting the mutinous army, Doson pointed out his services in subduing Dardania and recovering the greater part of Thessaly from the Aetolians,<sup>7</sup> and threatened to 'hand back the state'. The bluff succeeded,

Holleaux, *BCH*, xxviii, 1904, 346 and 358; Persson, *BCH*, xlvi, 1922, 395 (doubtful, cf. Roussel, *REG*, xxxvii, 1924, 355); and a recently found inscription (Laumonier, *BCH*, lviii, 1934, 291–8; see below, p. 116, n. 3) shows a native dynast, Olympichus of Alinda, acting there as his *strategos* (c. 201).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the post of Megaleas under Philip (Polyb. iv, 87, 8: ἐπὶ τοῦ γράμματός). The ἑταῖροι did not survive the break-up of the empire; their place is taken under the Antigonids by φίλοι; Polyb. v, 2, 1; 16, 5; 22, 8; xxvii, 8, 1 (cf. Ferguson, *Gnomon*, xi, 1935, 521). On one occasion Philip employs the φίλοι as a court for high treason (v, 16, 5–8); and a recently found inscription (Roussel, *Rev. Arch.* iii<sup>6</sup>, 1934, 39 *seq.*, col. iii) shows them acting as judges in the distribution of booty.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zancan, 35 *seq.*; on the army-assembly in general see Granier.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, 177.

<sup>4</sup> *GDI*, 2765 (date: 222, Pomtow).

<sup>5</sup> Tarn, 185.

<sup>6</sup> Justin. xxviii, 3, 11 *seq.*; Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 8; Porphyry, *FGH*, ii, B, 260, F. 3, 14.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 11.

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the army withdrew its opposition and Dosoḅ became king. However, the evidence of inscriptions which appeared shortly afterwards suggests that Dosoḅ's triumph was less complete than Justinus would have us believe; for these speak not merely of βασιλεὺς Μακεδῶν or βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, but also of βασιλεὺς καὶ Μακεδόνες,<sup>1</sup> thus giving official recognition to the Macedonians as a constituent body. Now admittedly this change brought no increase of real power to the army-assembly;<sup>2</sup> but by recognising it constitutionally as an element in the state, it set the seal of authority on such powers as it already enjoyed. 'A divergence that had been traditional now acquired the sanction of law.'<sup>3</sup>

It was probably at the same time that the Macedonians obtained recognition as a 'league'. A Delian inscription<sup>4</sup> refers to τὸ κοινὸν Μ[ακε]δόν[ων], thus showing that in some form or other the Macedonian people were, towards the end of the third century, a 'league';<sup>5</sup> and Tarn associates the founding of this κοινὸν with the incident of Dosoḅ and the mutinous army.<sup>6</sup> Earlier dates have been proposed; thus Zancan follows Beloch<sup>7</sup> in placing its institution at the time of the anarchy which followed the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus. But the only other evidence for the existence of the κοινὸν is the entry of the Macedonians into

<sup>1</sup> Evidence: *Syll.* 518 (Dosoḅ' s dedication on Delos after Sellasia), Polyb. vii, 9, 1; cf. 9, 5; 9, 7 (Philip's treaty with Hannibal), and four non-Macedonian records, *OGIS*, 283 (Attalus's dedication after Chios), Polyb. xviii, 46, 5 (the Isthmus proclamation) and two Latin inscriptions commemorating the defeat of Perseus (*Dess.* 8884: *L. Aimilius L.f. Imperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepet*; *CIL*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 48, xxvii (acta triumph. Capit.); *L. Aimilius...ex Macedon. et rege Perse*). Two other inscriptions, *AJA*, xi, 1896, 582 seq., no. 67, and *GDI*, 5043 (probably dating to Dosoḅ' s reign; cf. Tarn, 471), also show traces of this formula, but are very fragmentary; and Plut. *Moralia*, 197 F: τοῦ πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνων πολέμου is perhaps in a different category; see further Dow and Edson, *Harv. Stud.* xlvi, 1937, 128 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ferguson, *Gnomon*, xi, 1935, 522: 'It (*sc.* the army-assembly) was...an organisation dependent on the king for its convocation and agenda, and destitute of constitutional remedies when its rights were ignored.'

<sup>3</sup> Zancan, 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Syll.* 575 (restored by Dittenberger); cf. Durrbach, *Choix d'insc. de Délos*, i, 71, no. 55.

<sup>5</sup> See Tarn, *Hellen. Civil.* 45; *CAH*, vii, 751; *JHS*, xxix, 1909, 269; *CQ*, xviii, 1924, 21; Zancan, 110 seq.; Treves, *Athen.* xii, 1934, 395; xiii, 1935, 52-4. De Sanctis's argument (iv, 1, 9, n. 26; cf. *Riv. Fil.* lxiii, 1935, 421) that the κοινὸν was an association of Macedonian residents on Delos is to be rejected.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant. Gon.* 54, n. 36; 390, n. 61; *JHS*, xli, 1921, 16-17; cf. Treves, *Athen.* xiii, 1935, 53-4.

<sup>7</sup> iv, 1, 383.

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the Symmachy of Leagues set up by Doson in 224–3,<sup>1</sup> and certainly there is nothing to support so early a date as Beloch's for its foundation. Equally uncertain is the exact meaning of the word *κοινόν* in this context. A recent theory<sup>2</sup> connects this Macedonian League with the old army-assembly, but assumes some influence from the urban centres which, as we shall see, had arisen as a hybrid element, half Macedonian and half Greek. Probably, too, it is to be associated with the regionalism, which played so important a part in economic developments during the last decade of Philip's reign, when the local units—corresponding roughly to the cantons of the leagues of north Greece<sup>3</sup>—were granted, along with the cities, special autonomous rights of coining.<sup>4</sup>

The cities, however, formed an exceptional category within the general economy of Macedon. The majority of the Macedonian population were free peasant cultivators or cattle farmers,<sup>5</sup> as yet largely unaffected by the wide spread of slavery,<sup>6</sup> which was common to the whole of the Greek world after Alexander.<sup>7</sup> The possession of land in Macedon rested upon a grant from the king, and carried with it the duty of serving in the army.<sup>8</sup> Once there had been vast royal estates, and, in spite of the many gifts of Philip II and Alexander,<sup>9</sup> large remnants of these, farmed by tenants, existed in the time of Perseus;<sup>10</sup> it has been suggested that the 100,000 *medimni* of corn given by Queen Chryseis to Rhodes, after the great earthquake of c. 227,<sup>11</sup> and the corn accumulated by Perseus,<sup>12</sup> came from these private lands. But,

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. iv, 9, 4 (rejected unnecessarily by Treves, *Athen.* XIII, 1935, 52).

<sup>2</sup> Zaccan, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, 52–3.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 224; 265 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Tarn, 190.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Beloch, iv, 1, 304, for the growth of slavery even in the more backward districts. For the existence of some slaves in Macedon under Philip V cf. Polyb. xxiii, 1, 11.

<sup>7</sup> The sending back of captured Greek mercenaries to work in the Macedonian mines (Arrian, i, 16, 6) is a special case which does not affect the general rule.

<sup>8</sup> This was a general duty; cf. Momigliano, *Athen.* XIII, 1935, 3 *seq.*, for a criticism of Hampf's legalistic attempt to distinguish between wars of defence which involved the whole people, and foreign wars, in which, he claims, the people fought for the king virtually as mercenaries.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 15, 2; *Syll.* 332.

<sup>10</sup> Cicero, *de leg. agr.* II, 19, 51.

<sup>11</sup> Polyb. v, 89, 7; cf. Beloch, iv, 1, 343; Holleaux, *REG.* xxxvi, 1923, 480–98 (=I, 445–62); Hiller v. Gaertringen, *P-W*, Suppl.-B. v, 'Rhodos', col. 785.

<sup>12</sup> Livy (P) XLII, 12, 8; Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 8, 8; 28, 2.

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by the third century, lots had become alienable,<sup>1</sup> and the way was open, as at Sparta, to the accumulation of land in a few hands. The failure of the nobles to attain any such political power as belonged to the Athenian *pentacosiomedimni* at the time of Solon suggests, it is true, that this power had not advanced very far; on the other hand, it is significant that land was possessed by cities such as Beroea.<sup>2</sup>

In essentials, then, the social organisation of Macedon in the third century was that of a self-sufficient agricultural community, still scarcely affected by the impact of foreign trade. From the military point of view, this meant that large-scale operations of the citizen-army could only be carried out at the expense of the country's agriculture (for though women might to some extent deputise in the fields, the probability is that, as in the Balkans to-day, adequate cultivation required the constant attention of both sexes). Hence the Antigonids were always reluctant to prolong their campaigns, and winter demobilisation was the rule;<sup>3</sup> and since, moreover, the comparative poverty of Macedon was an automatic check on the enrolling of mercenaries, this economic factor assumed peculiar importance during any period of continuous campaigning.

To this self-sufficient agricultural system there were, however, already important exceptions. Two main sources of income in Macedon were the mines and forests, and both were state (i.e. royal) monopolies.<sup>4</sup> Admittedly, the alluvial gold, which had been so great a source of wealth in the fourth century, had now given out;<sup>5</sup> though some gold may still have been mined inside Macedon,<sup>6</sup> the chief mineral products were now silver, iron and lead.<sup>7</sup> But the extraction of these metals and the trade in timber and pitch from the forests were left mainly in the king's hands,<sup>8</sup> and constituted an important part of the national revenue; at the same time this retarded the rise of a trading class and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Syll.* 332 (Cassander's decree).

<sup>2</sup> The letter sent by Demetrius II, when crown prince, to Harpalus, probably the *epistates* of Beroea (see above, p. 2, n. 6) refers to πολιτικάί πρόσοδοι.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Griffith, 65, 67–8.

<sup>4</sup> Beloch, IV, 1, 343 *seq.*; Geyer, *op. cit.* col. 680 *seq.*; Tarn, 187 *seq.*; Glotz, *REG*, xxix, 1916, 318 *seq.* <sup>5</sup> Perdrizet, *Klio*, x, 1910, 1; 25–7; Tarn, 188.

<sup>6</sup> There was still gold to be mined in Macedon in 167; cf. Livy (P) XLV, 29, 11: *metalla quoque auri atque argenti non exerceri, ferri et aeris permitti.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Polyb. v, 89, 6–7.

<sup>8</sup> For the monopoly trade in timber and pitch see the epigraphical and literary material quoted by Geyer, *op. cit.* col. 680.

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development of the usual features of third-century Greek economy.

It was inside this system that the cities of Macedon formed a group of economic enclaves. Ever since the fifth century, when the Macedonian kings had begun to stress their connections with Argos and had adopted a philhellenic policy,<sup>1</sup> towns such as Beroea, Pella and Edessa, on the Hellenic model, had existed in Macedon; and though nothing is known of their original status, by the third century they were enjoying a semi-autonomous position inside the kingdom. Pella, for instance, could pass decrees in its own name;<sup>2</sup> and, as we saw, cities might possess land.<sup>3</sup> At the same time their citizens remained Macedonians, and inscriptions bear the name of the city or the nation, quite arbitrarily;<sup>4</sup> and though they may have served as focal points

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geyer, *op. cit.* col. 698; Thuc. II, 99, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Pella granted ἀσυλία to the temple of Asclepius at Cos (cf. Tarn, 184). L. Laurenzi, *Historia*, v, 1931, 620–21 (cf. Segre, *Riv. Fil.* LXI, 1933, 367, n. 3; LXII, 1934, 181) has now found evidence for similar grants by Amphipolis, Cassandreia and Philippi, dated 242 (Gonatas's 41st year). On the degree of civic independence shown in these decrees, see P. Collart, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine* (Paris, 1937), 181–2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 6, n. 2. Immediately before the third Macedonian war with Rome, *civitates Macedoniae* sent embassies to offer Perseus contributions of corn and money (Livy (P) XLII, 53; cf. Costanzi, *Athen.* VIII, 1930, 161); this may be evidence of the independent status of the Macedonian towns: on the other hand, the *civitates* may be the Greek coastal towns (Tarn, 184, n. 54).

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, 184, n. 54. From the point of view of the cities themselves a distinction was apparently drawn between the local citizen and the Macedonian from another part of the kingdom. Philip's letter to Archippus (see above, p. 2, n. 6) grants Nicanor, a tetrarch, the land of Corrhagus, son of Perdicas, τῶν ἐν Γρήναι μετοίκων. What is the meaning of μέτοικος in this context? It might be argued that in a letter from Philip it represents a status inferior to full Macedonian citizenship, and that Greia has a purely local significance. But it is difficult to see how Corrhagus, son of Perdicas (both well-attested Macedonian names: cf. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, II, nos. 444–5, 626–8), could be anything but a full Macedonian citizen. It therefore seems probable that his inferior status relates to Greia, and that as a stranger from another part of Macedon, cultivating (it appears) neighbouring royal land, Corrhagus was reckoned a resident alien in the city. This certainly suggests a degree of independence in a very insignificant Macedonian city not elsewhere attested, and rather recalling the position inside federal states (cf. Busolt-Swoboda, II, 1315, for οἱ ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πολιτεύοντες (*IG*, XII, 2, 15; 5, 526), Aetolian citizens not attributed to any town; Aymard, *Assemblées*, 110 *seq.* for Achaea); it also prompts the query whether every Macedonian had normally a πόλις or ἔθνος citizenship as well as his national rank as a Macedonian. On our present evidence these questions cannot, perhaps, be satisfactorily answered. Meanwhile there is no foundation for Welles's suggestion (*AJA*, XLII, 1938, 248) that by accepting Greian citizenship Corrhagus would have lost status as a Macedonian. See further, below, p. 265.

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for the local patriotism, which obtained its recognition in the κοινὸν Μακεδόνων,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence of any divergence of interest between these cities and the monarchy.

The position of the Greek towns was rather different. Originally independent, they had been forcibly absorbed into Macedon, where they continued to form social and economic, if no longer political units. In general they were loyal to the king, and on occasions their inhabitants called themselves Macedonians;<sup>2</sup> but their peculiar status is shown by the fact that whereas the usual tax throughout Macedon was based on land,<sup>3</sup> from the fourth century onwards harbour dues existed as an additional impost for these coastal cities.<sup>4</sup> After Alexander new towns appeared. Cassander established his large port at Cassandreia and amalgamated twenty-six villages farther up the coast to form Thessalonica;<sup>5</sup> and though the Antigonids were not famed as founders of cities, a few were set up by Gonatas as centres of administration rather than trade. However, Greek or Macedonian, all these cities fall together into a special category, with interests different in kind from those of agricultural Macedon; and this cleavage was subsequently to prove a factor of some political importance.<sup>6</sup>

The citizen-army, the regional areas with their κοινόν, the cities—these were the main checks on absolutism, when Philip succeeded to the throne of Macedon. They presented him with three possible courses of action. By strength of personality he might dominate his people and prevent their theoretical rights

<sup>1</sup> On the close connection between the Macedonian city and the surrounding countryside see Hampl, 79. Edson, *Harv. Stud.* XLV, 1934, 236 *seq.*, has an interesting analysis of the part played by Beroea in its separatist support of Pyrrhus in 288.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *GDI*, 2762 (Arethusa); *GDI*, 2764 and *IG*, XII, 9, 199 (Amphipolis); *AE*, 1914, 183, no. 242 (Ἀρκυνία: if indeed this otherwise unknown town is Greek and not Macedonian). But the essentially Greek nature of these towns persisted, as can be seen from the worship of Philip V in the Greek manner at Amphipolis (Perdrizet, *BCH*, XVII, 1894, 416: inscription in which Alcaeus, son of Heracleides (i.e. a Greek), couples Philip with Isis and Sarapis).

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 28, 6; Livy (P) XLV, 18, 7; 29, 4; though direct evidence is lacking, this tax must plainly have been of ancient standing. Its yield was small.

<sup>4</sup> *Syll.* 135; [Aristot.] *Econom.* II, 22, 1350a; cf. Momigliano, *Filippo*, 51 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cassandreia*: Diod. XIX, 52, 1; Strabo, VII, 330, fr. 25; Pausan. V, 23, 2; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Thessalonica*: Strabo, VII, 330, fr. 21. 24; Steph. Byz. *s.v.*

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 265 *seq.*



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from growing into a real political force; he might weakly allow the κοινόν and the regionalism which it embodied to develop into something approaching the genuine leagues of Greece; or, finally, he might continue to acknowledge its rights on paper until such time as he could utilise them to his own ends, and by well-timed concessions secure new forms of support to consolidate his position and his policy. This was Philip's main political problem within his own realm. But at the same time he inherited very close associations with Greece, in part complementary to his position at home, in part obscuring the questions of internal policy with a series of new problems, which often had their focal point outside Macedon. In the next section, therefore, we must consider shortly the foreign policy of Philip's immediate predecessors, and the frontiers of the Macedon they bequeathed to him.

§ 2. PHILIP'S EARLY YEARS<sup>1</sup>

Late in 240 or early in 239 B.C. Demetrius II succeeded Antigonos Gonatas on the throne of Macedon;<sup>2</sup> and about the same time Pyrrhus's son, Alexander, died, leaving the kingdom of Epirus in the weak hands of his widow and half-sister Olympias and her two sons. Threatened by the Aetolians, Olympias turned for aid to Macedon, and Demetrius sealed a compact to help her, in a marriage alliance which brought her daughter Phthia (or Chryseis, as she was familiarly known) to Pella as his queen. However, neither this marriage, nor yet a second between the princess Nereis and Gelon of Syracuse, could save the house of Pyrrhus; its remnants were swept away in the republican revolution of 233, Phthia's sister Deidamia was butchered by the people of Ambracia, and the young son of Demetrius and Phthia, the prince Philip, born in 238,<sup>3</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> References in this section have been restricted in general to standard modern works.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tarn, *Ant. Gon.* 409; *CAH*, VII, 744; Beloch, IV, 2, 121. In *Phthia-Chryseis* (to be published in 1940) Tarn points out that Gonatas's death cannot be accurately dated to any month in 240–39; in assigning it definitely to 240 Dinsmoor (p. 108) is basing his calculations on Beloch's discredited theory (IV, 2, 113; 256) that in about 200 the Roman consular year ran from August to August.

<sup>3</sup> For this date see below, Appendix III, p. 295. If the alliance was a reply to the Aetolian move on Acarnania, it will not have preceded Gonatas's

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soon the only surviving member of the Epirote line outside Sicily.

Demetrius's reign had been one of constant warfare, first against the Aetolians and the Achaeans, and then on the northern frontier, in the struggle against the Dardanians, which eventually cost him his life.<sup>1</sup> When in the spring of 229<sup>2</sup> he died, leaving as sole heir a boy of eight, it was a critical situation for Macedon. Fortunately the country found its saviour in Antigonos Doson, a cousin of Demetrius, who assumed the guardianship of Philip, married his mother Phthia-Chryseis<sup>3</sup> and, as *strategos*,<sup>4</sup> set about the immediate task of reorganisation. First he had to expel the Dardanians from the northern districts;<sup>5</sup> and though he contented himself with clearing the lower Axios valley, and left the barbarians in possession of Bylazora, the capital of Paeonia,<sup>6</sup> he evidently secured a decisive victory. At any rate, there is no record of further trouble on these frontiers until Doson is occupied, some six years later, in the Peloponnese; and even then it was the Illyrians, and not the Dardanians, who burst into the northern provinces.<sup>7</sup>

The Dardanians were not, however, Doson's only neighbours

death (cf. Tarn, *CAH*, vii, 733); and as Philip was born in 238, the marriage must have been in 239. On Philip's parentage see Tarn, *CQ*, xviii, 1924, 17 *seq.*; *Phthia-Chryseis*; Fine, *CQ*, xxviii, 1934, 99 *seq.*; Treves, *Athen.* xii, 1934, 408–9; Dow and Edson, *Harv. Stud.* xlvi, 1937, 127–80. The ancient authorities (Justin. xxviii, 3, 9–10; Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 8, 3; Euseb. *Chronica* (ed. Schoene), i, 237, 238; Porphyry, *FGH*, ii, B, 260, F. 3, 14; *Etym. Magn. s.v. Δώσων*) all suggest that Philip's mother was Chryseis, whereas inscriptions make it clear that she was Phthia; in his forthcoming paper Dr Tarn shows to my satisfaction (and, as Mr Edson kindly informs me by letter, to his also) that Phthia and Chryseis were one and the same person, Chryseis being a familiar nickname that won popular currency and eventually ousted the princess's real name in the majority of the written sources.

<sup>1</sup> On Demetrius see Treves, *Rend. Linc.* 1932, 167–205.

<sup>2</sup> See below, Appendix III, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> According to Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 8, 3, Doson was married to his predecessor's widow by οἱ πρότεροι Μακεδόνων, who feared anarchy; Justin. xxviii, 3, 9–10, suggests that the marriage was a move of Doson himself, who *regem se constitui laborat*. It is difficult to say which of these two indifferent sources is the more accurate. But, at least, Tarn's exposure of the worthlessness of Eusebius (in *Phthia-Chryseis*) makes it no longer possible to prefer this writer's account that Doson married Chryseis only when he was elevated to the throne.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 8, 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Bettingen, 17 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Bylazora is probably about the site of the modern Köprülü; cf. Geyer, *op. cit.* col. 661–2.

<sup>7</sup> Polyb. ii, 70, 6.