King, Cities, and Elites in Macedonia c. 360-168 BC

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Abstract: King, Cities, and Elites in Macedonia c. 360-186 BC. Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Benjamin Raynor, New College, Trinity term 2014

This thesis investigates the nature of the relationship between cities and king in the late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonian kingdom. It will consider the cities from two main perspectives: the city as a community, and the city as a settlement. Section 1 re-examines the evidence most commonly used to argue for the Macedonian cities gaining substantial autonomy in this period. It will be argued that this evidence has less to tell us about the political autonomy of the Macedonian cities than their 'social relations' with other Greek communities: Macedonian cities engaged in international exchanges which did not represent any challenge to the authority of the monarch, but which could also be used to represent the relationship between king and city as cooperative. Such latitude was balanced, however, by forceful expressions of royal dominance in other arenas. Section 2 considers the position of the cities within the royal economy, and examines how, as a result of the king's monopolisation of Macedonia's resources, and the fact that the Macedonian elite was more interested in advancing their position at court than acting as civic benefactors, the cities were left economically subordinated to the king. Section 3 uses the increasingly abundant archaeological evidence to consider how royal building programmes served to project royal ideology into the localities. Royal palaces, large-scale urban development, and fortifications created an experience of urban space in Macedonia which emphasised the roles of the monarch as guardian, benefactor, and unifying figure. The picture that emerges is of a kingdom of civic communities which were engaged in meaningful exchanges with their peers outside Macedonia, but which were living in large and impressive urban settlements which stood as monuments to the extent and ubiquity of royal authority. Late-Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia was a kingdom of *poleis*, but that kingdom was first and foremost a royal space.

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Abbreviations

Ancient authors and works are cited following the standard conventions in *LSJ* and Lewis and Short. The following abbreviations are for works cited directly in the text, or offering clarification for works or texts which are less well known or from which fragments are cited. All other literature cited can be found in the bibliography.

ADelt	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον.*
AEMTh	*Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη.*
Ancient Macedonia	Proceedings from the International Conferences on Ancient Macedonia, Thessaloniki (1970-).
BullEpig	*Le Bulletin épigraphique.*
CH	*Coin Hoards* (1975-).
CID	*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes,* 4 vols. (Paris 1977-2002)
EAM	A. D. Rizakis and J. Touratsoglou, *Επιγραφές Άνω Μακεδονίας: Ελίμεια, Εορδαία, Νότια Λυγκηστίς, Ορεστίς* (Athens, 1985).
EKM I	L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας: μεταξύ του Βερμίου όρους και του Αξιού ποταμού. Τεύχος Ά: Επιγραφές Βέροιας* (Athens).
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1923-1955).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGCH	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C. M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973).
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae,* 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903-1905).
Ps. Skylax	Pseudo-Skylax's *Periplous*: Shipley (2011).
RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC* (Oxford 2003).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*

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Introduction

Under Philip II, the Macedonian kingdom experienced the largest expansion in its history and became the most powerful territorial state in the Balkan peninsula. The enlarged kingdom included many cities, within both the Macedonian heartland around Pieria and the newly conquered territories to the east. The integration of these cities into a state ruled by a strong monarchy was critical to the success of Philip II and his Argead and Antigonid successors, and formed one of the key structural tensions of the late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonian kingdom. This thesis will consider the status of these cities within the Macedonian kingdom, in particular the nature of their relationship with the monarch, from the reign of Philip II (360-336 BC) to the end of Macedonia's existence as an independent state following the battle of Pydna in 168 BC. It will examine this relationship from a number of perspectives: what formal and informal structures were established to tie together central and local authorities; the nature and degree of the cities' self-governance; the position of the cities within the royal economy of Macedonia, and the implications for the cities' freedom of action; and how an image of a powerful and unifying royal authority was presented to the cities through royal programmes of monumental building, urban development, and fortification.

As an heuristic and analytic category, 'the city' resists rigid definition. Comparative and cross-cultural studies have attempted to find a number of characteristics which can be used to define the city against other settlement types.[1] Concentration and size of population are generally seen as crucial, but identifying demographic thresholds at which point a smaller settlement 'graduates' to a city seems arbitrary and unhelpful. Other approaches seek to identify social or economic characteristics of truly 'urban' life, such as significant craft specialisation, substantial inequalities in wealth and status among the populace, or the supply

[1] Horden and Purcell (2000) 92-6; chapters in Marcus and Sabloff (2008).

of a substantial number of different services to a large dependent hinterland. Attempted definitions therefore range very widely in considering many different aspects of 'the city' as a category for analysis, from spatial and geographical to social, political, and economic. Such difficulties in rigorously defining the city led Cowgill to conclude that we should speak not of 'the city', but simply 'cities' or 'a city' to avoid reifying or essentialising our scholarly categorisations.[2] Horden and Purcell even advocated dissolving the category of urban settlements entirely as a specific unit of analysis in their micro-ecological approach to the Mediterranean, seeing them as 'architectonic agglomerations' where wider ecological processes may be intensified but were not fundamentally altered.[3]

As long as we are aware of such complexities in approaching the city as a category, it can remain a useful, indeed crucial, element in analyses. In Macedonia, many constituent communities of the kingdom were institutionally defined as cities. City as community is the most important sense of the ancient Greek term most often translated as 'city': *polis*. Hansen and Nielsen distinguished two principal meanings of "*polis*", a settlement and a community.[4] As a community, the *polis* was a social and political formation, a group of citizens tied together through shared history and shared religious and political life. Though usually resident in a nucleated settlement and a dependent hinterland, the survival of *polis* communities through violent physical dislocations demonstrates that the citizen body was the key element of the *polis*.[5] Macedonian cities like Pella, Dion, Amphipolis, and their many peers appear in royal letters, civic decrees, and the literary sources as historical actors in the networks of political, diplomatic, and symbolic exchange that constituted the quotidian relationships of an ancient kingdom. In this context, the city was a form of association: a group of citizens engaged in decision-making processes in a community structured by civic

[2] Cowgill (2004) 525.
[3] Horden and Purcell (2000) 89-122.
[4] Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 39-46.
[5] Mackil (2004).

institutions.

It is this aspect of the Macedonian city, as a form of association, which has received most attention in recent years. Study of the increasingly voluminous epigraphic record, mainly under the aegis of the Centre for the Study of Greek and Roman Antiquity (KERA) in Athens, has greatly enhanced our understanding of ancient Macedonia.[6] A series of studies, most notably M. B. Hatzopoulos' *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, have shed light on the character of civic life in ancient Macedonia.[7] The cities of Macedonia possessed *polis*-style institutions familiar from throughout the Greek world (councils, magistrates, etc.) and their residents often identified themselves using a civic ethnic. The emergence of the city as an important institutional and social form on the local level in Macedonia has reinvigorated debate on the nature of the relationship between city and king.[8] This thesis is in part a contribution to this ongoing discussion.

Yet a city was also a form of nucleated settlement, a built environment distinguished from its surroundings by density of settlement and construction. Here it is useful to bear in mind the distinction between urbanisation and urbanism, as the difference can get muddled when discussing cities as physical settlements.[9] Urbanisation is 'the geographical fact of agglomeration', where a larger and more densely built and settled area is distinguished from its less densely built and settled surroundings. Therefore an important element in defining a city physically is assessing the relative density of settlement and construction, with a certain threshold of size and density distinguishing the city from other settlement types.[10] Urbanism, by contrast, is 'the social construction of city-community'. This can be considered in terms of

[6] Mainly through the ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ series of publications. Full catalogue of KERA's work available at http://www.eie.gr.
[7] Hatzopoulos (1996a).
[8] Eg. Errington (2007); Lane Fox (2011f).
[9] Purcell (2005) 252.
[10] Though not a sufficient element; Renfrew (2008) 31.

the character of life to be found within a city, and would include the social, economic, and political features considered above. Yet it can also be considered in terms of the culturally specific forms which urbanised areas took. Comparative studies have identified a number of common physical features of urbanism, such as fortifications, axial organisational principles, and a core of monumental buildings, which seem to recur across multiple cultures.[11] But it remains true that the precise form which a large nucleated settlement took depended upon a multitude of culturally specific factors (eg. distribution of authority, economic relations, religious practices) which produced a unique urbanism.[12] Again, when establishing definitions there is the difficulty of distinguishing the city from other settlement types, and again we should be wary of rigidity in our categorisations. In this thesis I will examine the physical remains of a number of the best excavated settlements in the territory of ancient Macedonia. In terms of their physical characteristics, they all display sufficient density of construction, size, and features of urbanism (monumental buildings, grid-planning, fortifications) that they can be unproblematically categorised as cities in the physical sense.

Considering the Macedonian city as a type of settlement is now much easier, thanks to steady archaeological work at sites throughout northern Greece in recent decades. A number of large and impressive Classical and Hellenistic settlements have emerged, at Pella, Dion, Edessa, and elsewhere.[13] We are now in a position to begin to consider the extent of urbanisation in Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia, and the character of Macedonian urbanism. However, much of this material remains underutilised thanks to its incremental publication in specialist Greek-language journals.[14] One aim of this thesis is to bring this archaeological material more to the forefront of discussions of ancient Macedonia.

[11] Trigger (2003), (2008).
[12] Hansen (2008) on the urbanism of the *polis* compared to other cultures; also Purcell (2005).
[13] See multiple chapters in Lane Fox (2011a); regular reports in *AEMTh*.
[14] Eg. *ADelt* and *AEMTh*.

These are the two main perspectives on the ancient Macedonian city in this thesis: the city as a form of community and the city as a type of settlement and built environment. The Macedonia of the thesis title is therefore the part of the ancient kingdom where cities as *polis*-communities and cities as large settlements can be identified and studied. This excludes the mountainous 'Upper Macedonian' territories to the west and south-west of the Emathian plain. Recent archaeological work, for example at Aiani in ancient Elimeia, is beginning to reveal some urbanisation in parts of Upper Macedonia from at least the Archaic period.[15] But in the Upper Macedonian cantons of Orestis, Tymphaia, Eordaia, Elimeia, and Lynkestis, *polis* institutions remained unknown down to the end of the monarchy.[16] Upper Macedonia will therefore appear little in this thesis, which will concentrate on those areas of the historical Macedonian kingdom where *polis* institutions were found. This includes 'Lower Macedonia', the heartland of the ancient kingdom in Pieria, and its adjacent coastal plains, from the vale of Tempe in the south to Almopia and the Axios river in the north and east. It will also include the topographically diverse territories to the east conquered by Philip II: the Chalkidian peninsula, the area between the Axios and Strymon rivers, and the area around Mt Pangaion and the plain of Philippoi between the Strymon and Nestos rivers.[17]

The Macedonian city of Sections 1 and 2 of this thesis is the city as community. The degree of self-governance exercised by the cities of Macedonia has been an enduring focus of Macedonian scholarship. Section 1 will consider this question anew. Following a summary of the institutional structure of the Macedonian kingdom in chapter 1, the evidence mobilised in support of arguments for a significant degree of 'autonomy' will be re-examined. Chapter 2 considers Pseudo-Skylax's *Periplous*, a number of *theorodokoi* lists, and the *asylia* decrees of the fourth and third centuries BC. I will argue that this evidence has less to tell us about the

[15] Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2011); see below chapter 11.
[16] See below chapter 1.
[17] Borza (1990) 30-50 on the tripartite division of Upper Macedonia, Lower Macedonia, and Eastern Macedonia.

political autonomy of the Macedonian cities than about their 'social relations' with other Greek communities of the Aegean. Macedonian cities engaged in certain kinds of international exchanges that were important outlets for their civic agency, yet that did not represent any challenge to the authority of the king because they operated in a different political sphere to the monarch's high diplomacy and waging of wars. Yet the case of the mid-third century *asylia* decrees also shows that these same international exchanges could be used to represent the relationship between king and city as essentially harmonious and cooperative. Though it occurred in a context of purely symbolic exchange, this construction of a 'cooperative compact' was important for tying together king and city.

Financial matters were inevitably important in the relationship between king and city. Section 2 therefore sketches out the 'shape' of the Macedonian royal economy. Chapter 3 considers the position of the king, chapter 4 that of the cities, and chapter 5 focuses on the wealthy Macedonian elite. The picture that emerges is one of a wealthy king, cities with limited resources, and an elite more interested in spending their money advancing their position at court than in enhancing their reputations within civic communities. The diplomatic language of cooperation between king and city found in Section 1 was therefore balanced by the real economic subordination of the cities to the king.

Section 3 turns to the archaeological record to consider how the relationship between king and city was constructed and articulated through urban development, monumental building, and fortification programmes. The focus therefore changes from city as community to city as built environment. When looking at the Macedonian city from this perspective, the authority of the monarch is much more forcefully expressed. Chapter 6 considers the events of Kassandros' period of control in Macedonia, to provide historical context for the most active period of royal building and urban development in the kingdom. Chapter 7 is a case study of

the royal capital of Pella, which reveals an urban environment in which the civic authorities and the monarch were both important, but where the monarch's dominance was emphatically monumentalised in the royal palace and military installations. Chapter 8 considers the other royal palaces at Aigai and Demetrias and the royal strategies of distinction used in these residences, such as the control of routes of movement to and within the palaces. Finally in chapter 9, a discussion of urban development at a number of sites throughout Macedonia demonstrates the importance of large-scale building and fortification programmes to constructing an experience of Macedonian urban life which emphasised the roles of the monarch as guardian, benefactor, and unifying figure.

Considering the Macedonian city as a physical environment therefore acts as a counterpoint to considering the city as a form of community. Changes were occurring from the late fourth century BC in how the Macedonian *poleis* associated with the king and with their peers in the Aegean world. In the same period, the built environment of many Macedonian cities was being transformed. But these two roughly contemporary processes reveal quite different aspects of the relationship between king and city. Only by integrating multiple perspectives into our analyses can we approach a fuller appreciation of the relationship between centre and locality in ancient Macedonia.

SECTION 1: The 'autonomy' of the Macedonian cities

From the latter part of the twentieth century, new epigraphic and archaeological evidence has transformed our picture of late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia. Macedonia has now emerged as a land of cities.[18] But were these cities autonomous? To what extent and in what areas were they allowed to manage their own affairs? In his analysis of Macedonian institutions, M. B. Hatzopoulos argued that the cities of Macedonia acquired substantial autonomy over the course of the late fourth and third centuries.[19] In this section I will re-examine the evidence for this development, and suggest that it does not display a straightforward increase in autonomy for the Macedonian cities, but rather the exercise of civic agency in networks of inter-*polis* interaction which did not intersect with the chief concerns of the king.

Given that the bulk of this section will argue for a new approach to the main evidence for Macedonian civic autonomy, it will be useful to first sketch out the institutional structure of the Macedonian kingdom as a whole. To provide a general synchronic overview, significant generalisation is required. Any statements made about the nature of the institutions in question and their interactions may not always be fully valid in relation to individual historical episodes.

[18] Epigraphy: Hatzopoulos (1996a), (2006), (2009); running commentary in *BullEpig*. Archaeology: annual reports in *AEMTh*, *ADelt*. Chapters in Lane Fox (2011a) survey much of the archaeological material in English. See also section 3 of this thesis.
[19] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 463-86.

Chapter 1 - The institutional structure of the Macedonian kingdom

The debate on the nature of the Macedonian kingdom has been categorised as the interplay between two broad scholarly schools of thought, the "constitutionalist" position and the "autocratic" position.[20] The debate centres around the extent of the authority that the various constituent elements of the Macedonian state wielded in relation to one another. 'Constitutionalists' hold that the Macedonian state evolved according to traditional customs and laws which granted rights to certain parties within the state, such as a council of nobles, a common or army assembly, or the local communities. The king was bound to respect these rights, and exercised his own authority as one of several empowered parties within the kingdom. Others interpret the Macedonian state as more autocratic, where the king reigned supreme and any other body wielded authority only with the assent of the king. An approach which falls between the extremes of the two camps probably makes most sense of the available evidence.

The most visible and characteristic institution of the Macedonian state was the monarchy. As the chief leader in a vigorous warrior culture, the Macedonian king was first and foremost the commander of the Macedonian army. His power on campaign was absolute. Consultation with other leading figures was at the king's discretion, and he had the right to punish breaches of discipline among the troops with flogging and death.[21] The ability to deploy this absolute power was in practice restricted by the ability of an individual king to maintain the loyalty of his generals and troops. A king could expect his position to deteriorate rapidly should the army's faith in the king as a military leader crumble.[22] Yet the general Macedonian deference

[20] Summaries of the debate: Borza (1990) 231-52; King (2010). 'Constitutionalist' position: Granier (1931) 4-28, 48-57; Aymard (1948), (1950a), (1950b), (1955); Briant (1973); Goukowsky (1975); Hammond (1980); Hatzopoulos (1996a). 'Autocratic' position: de Francisci (1948) 345-435; Lock (1977); Errington (1978), (1983); Lévy (1978); Anson (1985), (1991).
[21] Arr. *Anab*. 7.8.3; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 156.
[22] Alexander III at the Hyphasis in 326 (Arr. *Anab*. 5.25) and at Opis in 324 (Arr. *Anab*. 7.8) (Carney (1996));

for the institution of monarchy was commented upon in antiquity.[23] Kings who displayed their own heroism and prowess in combat (as was expected of them) could usually count upon the support of the citizenry-in-arms.

By at least the mid-fourth century, royal display and luxury marked the king out as the pre-eminent personality in Macedonia. There were some traditional expectations laid upon the king which circumscribed his ability to act unilaterally.[24] Arrian has Kallisthenes state that Macedonian kings traditionally ruled by "custom" rather than by force, reflecting that the Macedonians expected certain things of their king.[25] He was generally expected to be accessible, and to receive and consider petitions submitted by his people.[26] Macedonian citizens seem to have enjoyed some kind of *isegoria* before the king, though the wisdom of its exercise would have been determined by circumstance.[27] Yet the Macedonian kingship was no "glorious servitude", as Antigonos Gonatas is said to have remarked to his son.[28] The king effectively acted as the chief priest of the state, responsible for daily relations with the gods, a role which clearly set him apart.[29] Macedonian kings acted as sole judge in certain legal cases.[30] The culturally and socially attractive power of the royal court made the king the centre of wealth and patronage in the kingdom.[31] Modes of royal display advertised the success, power, and possibly even the divine nature of the king.[32] The king was no *primus inter pares*, but a powerful, rich, and elevated monarch.

Demetrios Poliorketes in 294 (Plut. *Dem.* 44.1-7; Plut. *Pyrr.* 11.4-6).
[23] Curt. 3.6.17.
[24] Bosworth (2002) 256-8.
[25] Arr. *Anab.* 4.11.6. Mooren (1983) 222 for the point that 'custom' here was not less binding than written statutory law.
[26] Bosworth (2002) 256-61. A negative tradition surrounds those Macedonian kings and leaders who did not make themselves suitably accessible: Plut. *Dem.* 42.1-6 (Demetrios Poliorketes); Arr. *Succ.* F 19 (Antipatros). Plutarch preserves an anecdote in which Philip II is told by an old woman that if he had no time to hear her then he should not be king (Plut. *Mor.* 179C), though this anecdote was also applied to Antipatros (Stob. 3.13.48), Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut. *Dem* 42.4) and Hadrian (Dio 69.6.3); Millar (1992) 3.
[27] As Kleitos discovered in 328 BC: Arr. *Anab* 4.7.8-10. For the general right: Polyb. 5.27.5-6; Plut. *Alex.* 51.5.
[28] Aelian *VH* 2.20; Lane Fox (2011g) 498-9, 506-9.
[29] Arr. *Anab.* 7.25.3-6; Plut. *Alex.* 23.2; Just. 7.2.9-12, 9.4.1; Curt. 10.7.2; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 155.
[30] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 157, 392-5; Plut. *Alex.* 42.2; Plut. *Mor.* 178 F-179A.
[31] Paschidis (2006); Ma (2011).
[32] Lane Fox (2011f).

In the Archaic and Classical periods one family, the Argeads, dominated the monarchy from c. 650 to the death of Alexander IV in c. 310.[33] Yet, despite scholarly attempts to identify rules which governed monarchical succession in the Macedonian kingdom,[34] the interdependent abilities to gather a significant following and gain military victories were always the governing factors in determining succession.[35] Beyond the relatively minor influence of the development of an aura of traditional legitimacy around members of the Argead house, the Argead domination of the monarchy was due to the fact that it was a member of this house who emerged victorious at each succession. After the 290s and 280s, one of the most extended succession crises in the history of the Macedonian kingdom, the introduction of the practice of co-regency may have smoothed the accession of Demetrios II after the death of his father Antigonos Gonatas in 239.[36] Indeed, this accession, the appointment of Antigonos Doson (229-221) as a guardian for the underage Philip V, and the survival of Philip to take the throne after the death of Doson (who had assumed the kingship at some point in his reign) may point to a more stable dynastic succession under the Antigonids. However, our sources for the third century are so impoverished that we cannot say whether or not these successions were less bloody than those of the early and mid fourth century. We simply do not have enough details.

The monarchy underwent changes over the course of our period. The Argead dynasty came to an end in 310 BC or shortly afterwards, when Kassandros murdered Alexander IV.[37] The

[33] Also called the 'Temenid' house, based on supposed descent from the Argive Temenos: Hdt. 8.137-9; Thuc. 2.99.3. 'Argead' derives from an early Macedonian tribal name, shared by an eponymous ancestor of this tribe (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Argeou*). Argead will be used throughout here. For discussion of the nomenclature: Hammond and Griffith (1979) 26-9; Borza (1990) 81-3; Anson (2010) 3.
[34] Hatzopoulos (1986).
[35] Borza (1990) 298. Badian (2000) 53 on the violent ends of most Macedonian kings.
[36] *SEG* 12.314, with Hammond and Walbank (1988) 317-18.
[37] Diod. 19.105.2-3; Just. 15.2.3-5 (Justin mixes up Herakles and Barsine with Alexander IV and Rhoxane: Schachermeyr (1920)); Paus. 9.7.2. Alexander IV has almost certainly been found in Tomb III at Aigai: Lane Fox (2011b) 29-30.

Antipatrid dynasty of Kassandros and his sons was short-lived, and the royal succession completely broke down in the 290s and 280s.[38] The dynasty established by Antigonos Gonatas had much in common with the other Hellenistic kingships of the eastern Mediterranean, and some of its characteristics (such as the increasingly non-Macedonian makeup of the royal court and army, and the introduction of co-regency) mark a clear break with Argead precedents.[39] Yet the Hellenistic kingships had their roots in the Argead kingships of Philip II and Alexander III. Rulers in Macedon after the death of Alexander III still linked themselves to Macedonian royal traditions. Kassandros linked himself to the past by honouring Philip III and his wife Eurydike with a royal burial, as did Antigonos Gonatas in his construction of the Great Tumulus at Aigai.[40] It is probable that Antigonos Gonatas reinstituted the Royal Pages and Bodyguards which we see operating in later Antigonid Macedonia, in order to "give his kingship the sense of stately tradition and national legitimacy necessary after a turbulent half century".[41] The chief preoccupation of the Macedonian king remained the acquisition of territory and booty through success in war.[42] Strong continuities tie together the nature of kingship in Macedonia from the classical period to the Roman conquest of Macedonia.

The king was surrounded by the leading men of the kingdom, who acted as officials, generals, and advisors. Under the Argead kings, these were the 'Companions' (*hetairoi*).[43] This term came to refer to the entirety of the Macedonian heavy cavalry under Alexander III, but from at least the fifth century it had referred to the elite of the kingdom in the greater retinue of the

[38] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 219-259.
[39] Ma (2011) 533-5. Psoma (2012) suggests that Amyntas III and his son Alexander co-reigned during the last years of Amyntas' reign based on the oaths they both swore in a treaty with Athens dated to the late 370s (*IG* II/III^2). As discussed by Psoma, Argead kings could certainly make clear their preferred successor: Alexander III's position in the last years of Philip II's reign (excepting his brief exile) is the best known example. Whether Amyntas' treaty with Athens is indicative of the same phenomenon or amounts to rather more genuine co-regency is unclear.
[40] Diod. 19.52.5; Hammond (1978); Lane Fox (2011g) 505-6; see below ch. 6.
[41] Ma (2011) 535. Pages: Hammond (1990). Bodyguards: Hatzopoulos (2001b) 56-66.
[42] Austin (1986); Bosworth (2002) 246-78.
[43] Stagakis (1970); Heckel (2003).

king.[44] The end of the Argead dynasty brought about the end of this group, however, and by the time of the Antigonid dynasty, 'Friends' (*philoi*), had replaced the Companions.[45] They served much the same function as had the Companions, but the *philoi* were a characteristic of the Hellenistic kingdoms and show clearly that the Antigonid dynasty did not fully depend upon a reconstitution of Argead royal style. These men depended on the king for wealth, opportunity, and advancement, while the king had them undertake military and diplomatic missions. The move towards 'Friends' of geographically diverse origins and bound to the king through ties of reciprocity and obligation had begun under Alexander III.[46] A Nasian Thersippos is termed a "Friend of the Kings" in a decree dated to between 323 and 317.[47] Plutarch's anecdote regarding Phokion's' refusal of Alexander III's generosity is instructive here too. Plutarch has Alexander claim that "he could not regard as his friends those who wanted nothing of him", highlighting the means through which a king bound his *philoi* to him.[48] Both Companions and Friends derived their privileged position from their close relationship with the King, a position which they would lose if they fell out of favour.[49]

Much debate has revolved around the role that 'the Macedonians' themselves played in the government of the Macedonian state.[50] It seems impossible to deny that in some decisions of state from the reign of Alexander III onwards there appears an element of the Macedonian central authorities, usually some variant of "οἱ Μακεδόνες", operating alongside the king. In the late Antigonid kingdom there is evidence for this Macedonian community being formally constituted as "τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων", with a decision making body and some financial

[44] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 158-60, 395-404.
[45] Savalli-Lestrade (1998) 291-306; Ma (2011) 533-5.
[46] Ma (2011) 533.
[47] *OGIS* 4; Paschidis (2008) 408-13.
[48] Plut. *Phoc*. 18.4.
[49] Paschidis (2006), esp. 253-4; Ma (2011). Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 330-7 views membership of the king's council, those at the peak of the court elite, as largely standardised and permanent.
[50] Granier (1931); Aymard (1950b); Briant (1973) 279-350; Lock (1977); Errington (1978); Lévy (1978); Hammond and Griffith (1979) 160-2; Hammond (1980) 461-5; Mooren (1983) 217-32; Papazoglou (1983) 195-210; Errington (1990) 218-29; Anson (1991); Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 261-322; King (2010) 384-8.

resources.[51] Deducing the functions, organisation, and limitations of this element of the Macedonian state is difficult. The evidence for such a body is sparse – almost non-existent before Alexander III's reign, and intermittent thereafter. Many scholars have already studied the available evidence in great detail. I wish only to stress a few points.

We should not expect any citizen body of Macedonians to exert much political influence before the army reforms of Philip II. This is just as well, as we lack any such evidence beyond two questionable passages from Ephoros and Theopompos.[52] These reforms greatly expanded the number of Macedonians serving in the infantry and led to the political and social empowerment of an enlarged infantry class.[53] From this point forth it was increasingly necessary for Macedonian kings to involve this class to some degree in the running of the state, whence the appearance of "οἱ Μακεδόνες" as a political force in our sources for Alexander III. This seems to have been formally recognised by the later Antigonid period, when 'οἱ Μακεδόνες' and 'τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων' appear alongside the king in the literary evidence as a constituent part of the state, and in the epigraphic record making dedications, appearing with the king in treaties, and recognising the *asylia* of Kyzikos.[54] Given that these latter actions are difficult to envisage without some kind of decision-making body, we should probably envisage a more formal operation of the κοινὸν as an institutional representation of the Macedonian *ethnos* by the late Antigonid period. Perhaps an assembly gathered at one or both of the two yearly meetings of the *ethnos* (the Xandika in March or the autumn gathering at Dion) with more or less formally appointed representatives or magistrates.[55] Papazoglou has plausibly suggested that such a body was established under Antigonos Gonatas as part of

[51] Papazoglou (1983) 197-202; see below ch. 3.4.
[52] Diod. 16.3.3 with Hammond (1937); Just. 7.5.10 with Hammond (1991a).
[53] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 405-31; Hatzopoulos (1996a) 267-71; Greenwalt (2007).
[54] Papazoglou (1983); Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 32-5; *IC* II.xii.20 (treaty between Antigonos Doson and the Macedonians and Eleutherna); *IC* III.iii.1 (treaty between Antigonos Doson and the Macedonians and Hierapytna).
[55] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 270.

the reconstitution of the Macedonian state following the chaos of the early third century.[56]

However, whatever more formal structures developed in the Antigonid period, the operation of groups of Macedonian citizens in affairs of state remained an irregular and changeable phenomenon. Sometimes these were popular assemblies, sometimes assemblies under arms of whatever Macedonian soldiers were to hand. In some cases, such as capital trials, the increased participation of the Macedonians acting as a body seems to have led to an expectation that whatever Macedonians were to hand would play a part in the legal process.[57] But the 'rights' of the Macedonians in this regard were negotiable, their extent dependant upon context.

The right to elect a king is also sometimes posited for a gathered body of Macedonians. However, we are relatively ill informed about the specifics of royal succession in any period of Macedonian history. For those instances where we do have evidence, there is more going on than the simple exercise of a constitutional right by the Macedonians to elect their king.[58] Instances where individuals are hailed as king cannot be taken as evidence of the right to elect a king, and I am unconvinced that genuine elections occurred.[59] A king ignored the will of his people at his peril, and a king without support from his soldiers would not remain king for long. This is what lies behind literary references to the influence of the common

[56] Papazoglou (1983) 208-10.
[57] Polyb. 5.28.1-8: the royal peltasts asked Philip V to wait until they were present to conduct a trial of Leontios, their commander. There was an expectation that a trial would occur in the presence of gathered Macedonians, but as the request shows, Philip V was not beholden to wait for a "quorum" of Macedonians. The peltasts expected Philip to only involve those troops present: Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 301.
[58] Philip III was acclaimed as king only after a compromise had been reached between cavalry and infantry: Arr. *Succ.* F 1.3; Diod 18.2.4. Demetrios Poliorketes was acclaimed as king by Alexander V's army (suddenly leaderless and in enemy territory) at Larissa in 294: Plut. *Dem.* 37.2-3. Plut. *Pyrr.* 11.14 may refer to acclamation by a gathered Macedonian army for Pyrrhos. The "πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων", surely a group limited in number, are said to have played a key role in Lysimachos winning the throne at Plut. *Pyrr.* 12.10. Ptolemy Keraunos was acclaimed as king by the late Seleukos I's army: Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 8.3. "οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων" feature prominently in Plutarch's account of Antigonos Doson's accession (Plut. *Aem.* 8.2-3), though the accounts of Justin and Eusebius may indicate popular acclamation (Just. 28.3.9-16; Euseb. *Chron* I 237-8).
[59] Aymard (1950b) 134-5; Lévy (1978) 220; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 276-9.

Macedonians upon the succession.[60] But we should not conceive of a formal constitutional right of the Macedonians to elect their king. Nor should we conceive of a formal constitutional obligation for a Macedonian king to be acclaimed as such by the Macedonians before being 'legitimate'. Such acclamations were acts of royal display and a chance to gain, demonstrate, and reinforce the loyalty of one's subjects. They were good public relations, but not a constitutional necessity. As we have already discussed, military success was the key to a succession, not constitutional procedure.

Overall, we should not conceive of the operation of this element of the Macedonian state too formally. Over time, certain expectations will have developed with regards to the participation of groups of Macedonian citizens in affairs of state as a result of the enlargement of the phalanx in the mid-fourth century. But these will have developed organically and they did not place any formal restrictions upon the exercise of the king's power. Thus the ability of any Macedonian assembly to wield any perceived rights successfully will have depended entirely upon the context.

Under the central authorities of king, court, and "the Macedonians", the Macedonian kingdom was divided into administrative districts from at least the time of Alexander III, a system that was expanded and regularised under Philip V.[61] Below this level were the local communities of Macedonia. Scholars used to view the Macedonian kingdom as organised *kata ethnē*, a tribal kingdom lacking any substantial or sophisticated urban development.[62] However, Hatzopoulos has demonstrated that the Macedonian kingdom was divided into civic territories from at least the time of its enlargement under Philip II.[63] Generally these were grouped

[60] Curt. 10.6.23; Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.9; Livy 40.9.8-12.18; King (2010) 384-8.
[61] Touratsoglou (1993) 40-1; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 231-60. Note recent scepticism on whether these administrative districts, the *merides*, predated the Roman settlement of 167 BC: Juhel (2011).
[62] Eg. Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (1910) 154: "L'institution gréco-romaine, d'après laquelle la terre se subdivise en territoires de cités, était et resta pour l'essentiel étrangère aux Macédoniens".
[63] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I, 50-123.

around an urban centre. In the absence of an urban centre notably larger or more prestigious than its neighbours, communities could be organised into administrative "sympolities" of more or less equal standing.[64] Hatzopoulos also demonstrated the existence of organs of civic governance, such as councils, assemblies, and civic magistrates on a local level in pre-Roman Macedonia.[65] This arrangement was not present everywhere. In Upper Macedonia west of Mt. Bermion there is evidence for the survival of larger associations of smaller *komai*, retaining something of a tribal character and lacking a nucleated urban centre, though still possessing magistrates and assemblies.[66] Overall, urban development and civic institutions appear to have been extensive and widespread in Macedonia from at least the late classical period.[67]

The king communicated with the cities and local communities via magistrates called *epistatai*.[68] These were civic officials, elected generally from within their own communities in Macedonia, who operated alongside other civic magistracies.[69] There may have been an *epistates* in every community in Macedonia, as the *epistates* is designated as an alternative to the *gymnasiarchos* as a point for athletic registration in a *diagramma* from Amphipolis of 183/2 BC.[70] Certainly there will have been enough *epistatai* dispersed throughout the kingdom to ensure smooth communications with the various constituent administrative entities of the Macedonian kingdom. In some royal correspondence, *epistatai* are addressed alongside other civic magistrates and the rest of the civic community. Such letters communicated royal instructions in which the king felt it prudent to involve local structures.

[64] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I, 50-73.
[65] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 129-48.
[66] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I, 77-104.
[67] Hatzopoulos (2003) 127 and (2006) 93-6 for the novelty of such evidence.
[68] Lane Fox (2011f) 379 n. 59; *SEG* 52 (2002) 584.
[69] For the 'orthodox' position, that *epistatai* were royally appointed functionaries responsible only to the crown, see Holleaux (1933); Hammond (1999); Errington (2002). This orthodoxy cannot now stand; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 372-429, (2009) 54-5. *SEG* 48 (1998) 783 for the *epistates* from Dion who was a local man; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 381-2 for a survey of evidence for local men as *epistatai* in fourth and third century Amphipolis and Thessalonike; Paschidis (2006) 263-5 for Plestis at Gazoros and Alketas at Morrylos, both probably *epistatai*, and also citizens of these communities.
[70] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 381, II no. 16.

It is also clear that in matters which involved the interests of the king they were beholden to obey the royal command and ensure that any royal instructions were carried out. This is reflected in the nature and form of royal instructions addressed to *epistatai* alone. These were royal concerns which the *epistates* in question would have been capable of carrying out using only the force of their office.[71] Hatzopoulos points out the similarities between this and the Seleukid kingdom, where short προστάγματα communicated royal orders to subordinates but the cities required a more elaborate form of address.[72] The difference for Macedonia was that the *epistatai* could be called upon to act as either royal subordinates or civic magistrates depending upon the circumstances. The *epistatai* only acted as conduits between king and city in one direction. If the cities wished to contact the king, they had to send embassies, presumably at their own expense.[73] This highlights that the *epistatai* existed for the benefit of the king, not the local communities. One is reminded of Ma's comment that the Seleukid empire was in essence 'an apparatus for transmitting and issuing orders'.[74]

Lane Fox and Ma have called attention to the importance of the Macedonian court elite in representing and relating royal authority throughout the various different regions of the Macedonian kingdom under both the Argead and Antigonid monarchies.[75] Local 'big-wigs' represented court life and royal will in the localities, and will have used networks of patronage and obligation to monitor and ensure cooperation with the central authorities. Such informal networks of influence complemented more formal institutional structures.

To summarise: at the apex of the Macedonian state was the kingship, an office in which a great deal of authority was centralised. He was surrounded by the leading men of the

[71] Hatzopoulos (2009).
[72] Hatzopoulos (2009) 51-2, with Ma (1999) 240-1. The term 'προστάγματα' was not used in Macedonia, where all royal communications were called 'ἐπιστολαί': Mari (2006) 211; Hatzopoulos (2009).
[73] Diod. 17.16.4; Arrian 1.11.1; Livy 42.53.2; Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 6.1; Hatzopoulos (2009).
[74] Ma (1999) 141.
[75] Lane Fox (2011f) 383-4; Ma (2011) 539-43.

kingdom, who acted as advisors, dignitaries, and commanders in a number of official and unofficial capacities. It became increasingly necessary or politically astute to involve "the Macedonians" in the running of the state from the mid-fourth century. The kingdom itself was divided into a series of local communities, including cities, *sympolities*, and *komai*, divided among a number of districts. A structure of officials dispersed throughout Greater Macedonia acted as conduits for the interaction between the king and the various individual communities throughout his territory. The relationship of these communities with the central authorities is the focus of the rest of this chapter. The evidence for the apparently developing autonomy of Macedonian cities in the late Classical and Hellenistic period merits re-examination, a task to which I now turn.

Chapter 2 - King and Cities

2.1 Macedonian civic autonomy?

What precisely do we mean by 'autonomy' when we ask the question 'were the Macedonian cities autonomous'? Does it mean full independence in all decisions of state? Or does it allow for subordination to a greater power, denoting instead self-government in local affairs? The modern English word 'autonomous' is flexible and permits multiple uses. The series of concepts associated with it do not map easily onto the ancient Greek term *autonomia*.[76] *Autonomia* was open to a range of readings in the ancient world depending upon the context, and often derived its meaning from the state with which it was contrasted.[77] Bickerman and Ostwald identified its general use in the classical period as a term used to defend the self-governing status of a weaker state from the imperialist encroachments of a stronger one.[78] Such ideas may be behind references to a state of *autonomia* being incompatible with membership in a larger organisation like a federation.[79] But this aspect of the term's use seems to have changed by the Hellenistic period, and it became compatible with subordination to a greater power.[80] There was no question of Antigonos Monophthalmos committing to a blanket policy of non-interference in the affairs of the Greek cities under his influence when he declared that *all* the Greeks should be 'free, exempt from tribute, and autonomous'.[81] The older scholarly consensus that full independence in governance was a defining characteristic of the Greek *polis* has to be abandoned in the face of work on both the range of dependant relationships between *poleis* and the continued vitality of civic life

[76] Hansen (1995c) 22-5.
[77] Sealey (1976) 397; Bosworth (1992) 123.
[78] Bickerman (1958); Ostwald (1982).
[79] Hansen (1995c) 34-5.
[80] Hansen (1995c) 38-43.
[81] Diod. 19.61.3; 'εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, αὐτονόμους'.

throughout the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean after 338 BC.[82] *Autonomia*, at least by the Hellenistic period, need not imply full independence, but rather self-governance in local affairs. Yet the tension between the areas in which a polity was free from interference, and those where the interests of a hegemonic or imperial power were at stake, remained.

It is in this sense that I understand Hatzopoulos' arguments regarding civic autonomy in the Macedonian kingdom. Therefore in considering the autonomy of the Macedonian cities, we are not considering whether or not they were completely independent of any outside influence by a greater power when making decisions.[83] We are considering the degree of political self-government the cities possessed in this period. Were they free to govern their own affairs in many areas? Or were their civic institutions organs for purely limited quotidian administrative functions, with decisions on any important matters of political, religious, military, diplomatic, or financial weight reserved for the king?

Hatzopoulos has argued that the Macedonian cities experienced a substantial increase in autonomy between the mid-fourth and the late third centuries.[84] The starting point is the mid-4th century *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax.[85] Pseudo-Skylax describes some cities around the Thermaic Gulf merely as a *polis* (Herakleion, Dion, Aloros, Pella, Therme) while he accords others the moniker *polis hellenis* (Pydna, Methone, Aineia). These latter three also appear in a contemporary list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros of 360/59.[86] It lists the following entries for the area in and around Macedonia: Pydna: Damatrios; Methona: Polyphantos;

[82] Autonomy and the *polis*: Finley (1981) 5; Green (1990) passim; Murray and Price (1990); Giovannini (1993) 269; discussion and bibliography at Hansen (1995c) 21-5. Dependencies/dependant *poleis*: Gschnitzer (1958); Hansen (1993b) 18-20, (1994) 16, (1995b) 34-9, (1995c), (1995d) 73-8, (1996b) 127-33; Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 87-94. Vitality of civic life in Hellenistic period; Jones (1964); Robert (1969); Gauthier (1987), (1993); Ma (1999), (2013).

[83] Basically impossible within the area of influence of a Hellenistic king: Ma (1999) 160-5 for the precarious position of the Seleukid 'autonomous' cities.

[84] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 463-486; Mari (2007). Dissenting responses to Hatzopoulos' model: Errington (2002), (2007) esp. 278; Lane Fox (2011f) 380-5.

[85] Ps. Skylax 66.

[86] *IG* IV^2 1, 94/95; Perlman (2000) 67-78, Ep. Cat. E.1/E.2.

Makedonia: Perdikkas; Aineia: Euboulos. Hatzopoulos argues that these two sources show that the king at this time acted as sole representative of the cities of his kingdom in foreign relations. Meanwhile cities outside the kingdom, Pseudo-Skylax's *poleis hellenides*, were fully autonomous cities governing their own affairs.[87]

Other *theorodokoi* lists from later in the 4th century and into the 3rd supposedly show a change in this state of affairs. In a list from Nemea from around 323-316, Amphipolis, Allante, and Lete each appear as cities from Macedonia visited by Nemean *theoroi*.[88] The presence of the name Aristonous under a *vacat* in this section suggests the delegation visited a fourth city as well. Then, sometime after 316, the Epidauran list of 360/59 had *addenda* added to it, with the addition of Pythion, Kassandreia, and Ainos. It seems that from the end of the 4th century more and more *poleis* of Macedonia began to receive delegations from panhellenic sanctuaries. This trend finds its full expression in the 'Delphi Great List' of c. 230-210, in which 28 separate settlements within Macedonia are recorded appointing one or more *theorodokoi* in response to the embassy.[89] Hatzopoulos argues that the foundations for this development were laid by Philip II, who promoted civic self-government, based on part of the speech Alexander III gives to his troops at Opis in 324 in Arrian's *Anabasis*.[90] The result was an increase in civic autonomy in Macedonia.

The evidence shows us that in the Epidauran list no city within the Macedonian kingdom received *theoroi* individually, while those dubbed *polis hellenis* by Pseudo-Skylax did. By contrast, in the late 4th and 3rd centuries, many cities within the Macedonian kingdom were establishing independent relationships with major panhellenic sanctuaries. Does this indicate a substantial increase in civic autonomy in Macedonia? I will argue that the evidence does

[87] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 472-3.
[88] *SEG* 36 (1986) 331; Perlman (2000) 105-31, Ep. Cat. N.1.
[89] Plassart (1921).
[90] Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.2; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 473-4.

not support such a 'strong' argument for Macedonian civic autonomy. I will instead propose a 'weak' interpretation. On the basis of our current evidence, we can say no more than that the cities of Macedonia found ways of engaging with their peers in the wider Aegean world which did not constitute any challenge to the authority of the king. This strictly limited civic activity, confined to 'social relations' between cities, cannot serve as evidence for increasing self-government by Macedonian cities.[91]

2.2 The speech at Opis

Before considering the rest of the evidence in detail, we may dispense with Alexander's Opis speech in Arrian relatively quickly. The relevant text is at Arrian *Anabasis* 7.9.2, in Alexander's speech to his troops following the mutiny at Opis in August 324.[92] His speech as recorded by Arrian is a highly rhetorical piece. Part of the speech gives a description of the policies of Philip II:

> "First of all, as is right, I shall begin my speech with my father Philip. For Philip found you vagabonds and destitute, most of you clad in hides, feeding a few sheep up in the mountains which you had to fight with difficulty against Illyrians, Triballians, and the neighbouring Thracians to keep. Instead of hides he gave you cloaks to wear, and he led you down from the mountains into the plains, and made you capable of fighting the neighbouring barbarians, so that you could trust in your own valour rather than inaccessible strongholds to preserve yourselves. He made you city dwellers, and gave you useful laws and customs."[93]

Hatzopoulos sees this passage as a rhetorical summation of Philip II's program of modernisation and civic development throughout his greatly enlarged Macedonian kingdom.[94] Certainly the achievements of Philip II in transforming a backwater kingdom into the

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[91] Giovannini (1977).
[92] Arr. *Anab*. 7.8.1; Plut. *Alex*. 71.1-4; Just. 12.11.5-8; Diod. 17.109.2-3: with Hammond (1983) 107 and Bosworth (1988a) 101, n. 33.
[93] Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.2.
[94] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I, 473-4. Ellis (1976) 58 and Hammond and Griffith (1979) 658-60 argued that the passage refers to Philip II's policies in Upper Macedonia alone, but there is no such distinction made in the text.

foremost power on the Balkan peninsula are not in question.[95] Unfortunately, the nature of this speech in Arrian makes it impossible to use this passage to reconstruct Philip II's policies. Bosworth gives a convincing and thorough analysis of this speech.[96] Though he identifies a common thread of argument in the sources which can possibly be traced back to the thoughts expressed by Alexander at Opis,[97] the speech is a purely literary construction by Arrian himself. At best, the speech can be taken as Arrian's interpretation of the kind of rhetoric that he felt his audience wanted to read, or of the kind of arguments he would have had Alexander make were he Alexander's speech writer. Therefore we cannot use the passage at 7.9.2 to retrieve information on Philip II's policies. It cannot form part of our evidence for considering the development of civic institutions and self-government in Macedonia.

2.3 Pseudo-Skylax's *Periplous*

Pseudo-Skylax's *Periplous* is a sequential record of landmarks arranged as a coastal itinerary. It was wrongly attributed to the navigator Skylax of Karyanda, the Greek navigator who explored the Indian Ocean for Darius I.[98] Shipley has argued that, in spite of its appearance, the *Periplous* would not serve as a useful navigational aid for sailors. He suggests instead that the work is a kind of political geography which attempts to present the extent of the inhabited world accessible to Greeks.[99]

While a general consensus of some time in the mid-fourth century for a date of composition had begun to emerge,[100] recent works have favoured slightly later dates. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen argued for a late *terminus post quem* of c. 330, based upon the placement of the

[95] Ellis (1976); Cawkwell (1978); Hammond and Griffith (1979) 203-698; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1980); Wirth (1985); Hammond (1994); Worthington (2008).
[96] Bosworth (1988a) 101-33.
[97] Bosworth (1988a) 103.
[98] Hdt. 4.44.
[99] Shipley (2011) 9-14.
[100] Fabre (1965); Peretti (1979); Marcotte (1986); Counillon (1998).

border between Lykia and Pamphylia between Perge and Aspendos by Pseudo-Skylax. They suggest that this arrangement by Pseudo-Skylax postdates the assignment of Nearchos as satrap of Lykia by Alexander III, when a small part of Pamphylia was added to Lykia.[101] Given the high number of inconsistencies in Pseudo-Skylax, however, we cannot place much faith in the minutiae of border arrangements. Shipley prefers a date c. 338-7, arguing the inclusion of Naupaktos in the Aitolian section reflects a date after Philip II fulfilled his promise to award this city to the Aitolians. He had made this promise by c. 340, and probably fulfilled it at the apex of his influence in the Greek peninsula after Chaironeia in 338.[102] However, as Shipley points out, Pseudo-Skylax mentions cities which had been destroyed by this date, such as Olynthos and Sicilian Naxos.[103] Furthermore, it seems probable that Pseudo-Skylax gathered information from sources of different ages in compiling his work. The Sicilian town of Himera, destroyed at the end of the fifth century, and Ithome, founded in 369, are both mentioned as existing cities.[104] One might also mention Methone, included by Pseudo-Skylax in the Macedonian section considered below and destroyed by Philip II in 354.[105] Therefore individual sections within the *Periplous* may draw on sources from widely different chronological periods, with the author content not to resolve inconsistencies. Therefore determining an overall date of composition is difficult, as each section of the *Periplous* could reflect territorial arrangements in quite different periods. The date of each chapter of the *Periplous* must perhaps be judged separately.[106] Offering a more exact date of composition for the *Periplous* than the mid-fourth century seems unwise. The date of the whole work may be significantly earlier in the fourth century than recent works have favoured.

[101] Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137-38.
[102] Shipley (2011) 7; Demosthenes 9.34; Strabo 9.4.7.
[103] Shipley (2011) 8.
[104] Diod. 11.49.4, 13.62; Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137.
[105] Diod. 16.31.1, 34.4; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 254-8.
[106] Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137.

In Pseudo-Skylax 66 the Macedonians are described as an *ethnos* beyond the Peneios river. Then a number of cities are described. Herakleion is "the first city of the Macedonians", a reference to the order in which a traveller moving northward from the Peneios would encounter the Macedonian cities. Then Dion is left without qualification. Next is Pydna, a *polis hellenis*, then Methone, a *polis hellenis*. Then Aloros, a *polis*, Pella, a *polis* with a royal seat (*basileion*), Therme, a *polis*, and finally Aineia, *hellenis*. Scholars have identified the distinction between *polis* and *polis hellenis* as a political one, with a *polis* not possessing political autonomy while a *polis hellenis* was a fully self-governing Greek city-state.[107] On this view Pseudo-Skylax differentiates between those cities under the sway of the Macedonian king (*polis*) and those who control their own affairs (*polis hellenis*). But is Pseudo-Skylax really making a political distinction between free Greek and subject Macedonian cities?

The inclusion of Pydna as a *polis hellenis* is problematic. There has been debate over the origin of Pydna and whether or not it was a native Macedonian foundation or a Greek colony,[108] but recent excavations have revealed that it was probably a Macedonian settlement.[109] It has therefore been argued that the inclusion of Pydna as *hellenis* indicates that *polis hellenis* cannot be an ethnic distinction, but a political one which acknowledges the autonomy of the city.[110] But how firm is the evidence for a period of independence for Pydna before the mid-fourth century?

Our sources for Pydna's history are quite patchy. Pydna is recorded by Thucydides as a part

[107] Kahrstedt (1953) 91-111; Kalléris (1954-1967) I 593, 603 n. 3; Hatzopoulos (1996a) 473; Mari (2002) 68-9 n. 5, (2007) 3.
[108] Kahrstedt (1953) 85-90; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 140; Papazoglou (1988) 106, n. 13; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 106 n. 3, 406.
[109] Bessios and Pappa (1996) 5; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 806.
[110] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 473; Mari (2007) 33 n.6. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151-2 argue that the distinction between *polis* and *polis hellenis* here depends upon who controlled the settlement, though they generally insist (at 138) on *polis hellenis* being an unevenly applied ethnic criterion.

of the Macedonian kingdom in the reign of Alexander I.[111] The city was unsuccessfully besieged by the Athenians during the revolt of Potidaia in 432.[112] In 410 the new Macedonian king Archelaos besieged the city, captured it, and moved it four kilometres inland: it must have revolted some time before this, possibly very recently.[113] Pydna next appears in our sources during a period of Athenian control. It was captured by Timotheos in 364/3 before being recaptured by Philip II in 357.[114]

At some point during or after the reign of Amyntas III, Pydna struck its own bronze coinage. There were two series, Series A (young Herakles/eagle devouring a serpent) and Series B (female head/owl). Some have interpreted this bronze coinage as a sign of Pydna's autonomy, indicating that the city revolted from the Macedonian kingdom at some point during Amyntas III's reign, though Hatzopoulos thinks that it had returned to the kingdom and ceased its coinage by the reign of Alexander II.[115] I, however, am inclined to follow Tselekas on the coinage, as he better explains the types chosen for both of Pydna's fourth century coinages.[116] Tselekas links Series A to a political alignment with Macedonia, and Series B to an alignment with Athens. Tselekas also rightly challenges the assumption that the striking of such a coinage would not have been allowed were the city politically subject to either Macedonia or Athens, reflecting a move away from older assumptions about coinage and sovereignty.[117] The Herakles/eagle series reflects links with Macedonia, and stylistic similarities link them to the coins of Amyntas III. There is no reason to think that Amyntas would not have allowed a

[111] Thuc. 1.137.1.
[112] Thuc. 1.61.2-3; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 122-4.
[113] Diod. 13.49.1-2, where the revolt seems to be portrayed as recent. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 137 reserves judgement on the date of Pydna's revolt; Tselekas (1996) 12 puts the revolt sometime between 432 and 411; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 806 place it in 410 with Archelaos' reaction immediate.
[114] Din. 1.14; Dem. 4.4; Diod. 15.81.6. The date of Pydna's capture is not settled. High chronology of 364/3: Hammond and Griffith (1979) 186; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 806. Low chronology of 360/59: Errington (1990) 37; Lane Fox (2011d) 264-7. I follow the high chronology here given that Din. 1.14 and Dem. 4.4 both group the captures of Pydna and Methone with the capture of Potidaia in 364/3. For Pydna's recapture: Dem. 1.9; Diod. 16.8.3.
[115] Hatzopoulos (1985a) 253 n. 66; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 806; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 192 for the traditional view.
[116] Tselekas (1996).
[117] Tselekas (1996) 19-24. See Section 2 of this thesis for further discussion of coinage and sovereignty.

city under his control to strike coinage of its own, particularly if the city in question chose types for the coinage which reflected allegiance and subordination to the Macedonian king. Given that Series A is the only evidence for the supposed revolt of Pydna during the reign of Amyntas III, we now have no reason to assume that the city did not remain under Macedonian control until its capture by Timotheos. Indeed, evidence of an Amyntaion in Pydna suggests a refoundation of the city by this king, providing further evidence of significant Macedonian influence over Pydna's fate in this period.[118]

The female head/owl series, due to the presence of the owl, has to be linked to the period of Athenian control. Dreher argues that during this period, Pydna was probably an ally of Athens but not a member of the Second Athenian Confederacy.[119] Demosthenes refers to the cities of Potidaia, Pydna, and Methone in the *First Philippic* in terms which suggest that Athenians could have viewed them as subordinate communities, whatever their technical status.[120] This subordination may well be reflected in Pydna's choice of coin types. By the time of Timotheos' campaigns in the north, the Second Athenian Confederacy was moving away from its founding ideal of a free alliance of autonomous states enjoying a beneficial relationship with a powerful Athens to something rather more imperial.121

Therefore the fourth-century coinage does not support a period of independence for Pydna in the first half of the fourth century. There remains the period of independence of indeterminate length in the late fifth century, between the Athenian siege of 432 and the city's recapture by Archelaos in 410. However, the inclusion of Dion in the list of *poleis* in the area would argue for a fourth-century date for the source of the Macedonian section. Dion is included directly after Herakleion, which is identified as the "first city of the Macedonians", implying that both

[118] Habicht (1970) 11-12.
[119] Dreher (1995) 26.
[120] Dem. 4.4; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 186.
[121] Cawkwell (1981).

were significant landmarks.[122] It seems probably that the settlement only grew in any significant manner after the establishment there of the Macedonian Olympia by king Archelaos (413-399).[123] Significant development of the city site has only been uncovered from the late fourth century, where a regular grid plan and city walls have been linked to the development of the city under Kassandros.[124] It seems unlikely, were Pseudo-Skylax using a source from the late fifth century here, that it would have highlighted Dion as a significant settlement. It is therefore unlikely that Pydna was enjoying its fifth century period of independence at the time that the source recorded its catalogue of Macedonian landmarks.

We therefore have no evidence to suggest that Pydna was not under the control of the Macedonian king between its capture by Archelaos in 410 and its capture by Timotheos in 364/3. Between this and its recapture by Philip II in 357, its alignment with an increasingly imperialist Athens should make us wary of classifying the city as independent and autonomous. It is unlikely that Pseudo-Skylax drew upon a source from the time of Pydna's independence in the late fifth century for this section. It would therefore be most unwise to say its labelling as a *polis hellenis* indicates its political independence, since Pydna in the late fifth century and first half of the fourth century was caught up in the imperial politics of greater powers and periodically subject to their actions. In such a political climate, it is unlikely that a binary *polis/polis hellenis* distinction regarding autonomy adequately describes the relative political independence of *any* city around the Thermaic Gulf, including Pydna.

The disassociation of *polis hellenis* from political status is in fact consistent with the use of *polis hellenis* elsewhere in the work. There are several communities which were indisputably independent Greek settlements, such as Perinthos and Mytilene, which are not accorded the

[122] Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 140-3; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 800.
[123] Diod. 17.16.3; Borza (1993). Mari (2011b) 456 suggests that Archelaos may have only reorganised the Olympia.
[124] See below ch. 9.7.

moniker *hellenis*.[125] Furthermore, if the distinction between *polis* and *polis hellenis* was political, why are none of the settlements in the section Pseudo-Skylax 34-65, which covers the centre of the Greek world, labelled *hellenis*? It cannot be taken as given that all the cities recorded in this section exercised autonomy, and that therefore the additional qualifier could be done away with in this section. The relationships between urban communities in southern Greece were complex, and it cannot be said that all communities identified as *poleis* in this section enjoyed full political autonomy.

It seems Pseudo-Skylax was inconsistent in his application of this classification, and we can draw no firm conclusions about the political status of a community from either the presence or absence of the label *hellenis*. Overall it is unwise to press the text of the *Periplous* too closely for any political distinctions. For instance, Pseudo-Skylax 66 identifies 26 separate major communities along the coastline of what is termed "Macedonia", before ending the section by saying that the Strymon river marks the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace. This could only describe the political extent of Macedonia after the conquests of Philip II in 348 were consolidated and the Chalkidian peninsula was absorbed into the Macedonian kingdom. Yet there are cities included by Pseudo-Skylax that were destroyed or much reduced by Philip II during and after his conquests, such as Olynthos, destroyed by Philip in 348.[126] Sermylia is mentioned, though it too seems to have been destroyed by Philip as there is no mention of the city as an independent political community after 348.[127] Therefore it seems unlikely that Pseudo-Skylax (or his source) records a political situation following the conquests of Philip II. Pseudo-Skylax instead uses the terms Macedonia and Thrace as broad geographical areas to which the smaller regions, such as Mygdonia, Bisaltia, and the various constituent parts of

[125] Ps. Skylax 67 for Perinthos, Ps. Skylax 97 for Mytilene; Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 138.
[126] Dem. 9.26, 56.
[127] Flensted-Jensen (2004) 841. Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 121 thinks that it may have later become a *komē* of Kassandreia, though only "so far as (it) survived physical destruction".

the Chalkidian peninsula belonged.[128] Although the border may have been generally defined as the river Strymon by the middle of the fourth century, a general perception that Pseudo-Skylax reflects, this was not a political distinction.[129] We must therefore take Pseudo-Skylax's divisions between cities in Macedonia and cities in Thrace as a vague, programmatic distinction, useful for signalling different sections of the work, but not a political judgement.

Given the inconsistencies in Pseudo-Skylax's use of descriptive terms, and the fact that these terms favour geographical description rather than political, cultural, or ethnic identification, it is unwise to draw a political conclusion from Pseudo-Skylax's use of the terms *polis* and *polis hellenis*. Perhaps Pseudo-Skylax was offering a vague cultural assessment. It is possible that, to Pseudo-Skylax or his source, the *poleis* in the Macedonian section possessed physical or institutional features which marked them out as particularly 'Macedonian' in some way. One might suggest the royal palace for Pella, or the shrine of the Macedonian *ethnos* for Dion. Perhaps the *poleis hellenides* Pydna, Methone, and Aineia seemed more typically 'Greek' in their urban fabric or institutions. Or perhaps Pseudo-Skylax is simply distinguishing between cities inside and outside the Macedonian kingdom: though this of course in and of itself tells us nothing about the political autonomy of those cities.

Ultimatley we cannot safely conclude that mere *poleis* in Pseudo-Skylax 66 lacked political autonomy, while *poleis hellenides* were fully independent communities. The author's use of these terms is too inconsistent, and the history of these northern communities and the greater powers with whom they interacted too complex. But do the *theorodokoi* lists support a political interpretation of *polis/polis hellenis*? Pseudo-Skylax does call each of Pydna, Methone, and Aineia *polis hellenis*, and all three cities appoint *theorodokoi* for Epidauros in 360/59. Is this significant? In other words, does the appointment of *theorodokoi* indicate a

[128] Flensted-Jensen (2004) 810.
[129] Flensted-Jensen (2000b) 121-5.

city's autonomy?

2.4 The *Theorodokoi* lists

2.4.1 The autonomy argument

At some point during the Classical period in Greece it became standard practice for panhellenic agonistic festivals to send out messengers known as *theoroi* to announce the festival.[130] They were usually sent out the year before the festival. Their role was to invite the communities they visited to take part in the festival by sending athletic competitors and a delegation to offer a sacrifice, and to secure the recognition of the sacred truce.[131] In these communities, the *theoroi* were received by an appointed member of the community, known as a *theorodokos* ('one who entertains a *theoros*'), who had responsibility for care of the *theoroi* while they visited their community.[132] The *therodokia* as an institution is first attested during the first half of the fourth century.[133]

As discussed above, the presence of an increasing number of Macedonian cities in a series of *theorodokoi* lists form the primary basis for the view that these cities enjoyed a significant increase in autonomy during the period from roughly 360-220 BC. It is argued that the in the middle of the fourth century, the Macedonian king acted as sole representative of his kingdom in relations with large panhellenic sanctuaries. By the late third century, many Macedonian

[130] Boesch (1908) 7-11. Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 103 for the major festivals for which *theorodokoi* are attested up to the late Classical period (the Pythian Games, the Olympic Games, the Asklepieia at Epidauros, the Nemean Games, and the Heraia at Argos). Perlman (2000) 157-166 for the later development of *theorodokoi* for the festivals of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi and Demeter Chthonia at Hermione. Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. for the evidence for all the festivals minus the Pythian Games. For *theorodokoi* for the Pythian Games: *Syll.*[3] 90; *SEG* 24 379; *SEG* 25 576. For the term *theoros*: Bill (1901); Boesch (1908) 1-11; Daux (1967); Perlman (2000) 13-14.
[131] Isok. 4.43-4; Perlman (1995) 118.
[132] Sometimes appointed by the invited community, sometimes by the community responsible for the festival: Perlman (2000) 60-62.
[133] Perlman (2000) 13.

cities were establishing their own relationships with these sanctuaries. This is taken as indicative of a significant increase in individual autonomy for the Macedonian cities. Given that this argument suggests an increase in the Macedonian cities' autonomy over time, it is worth considering the relevant lists and their dates in chronological sequence, and laying out the main points of the argument in relation to each list. I will argue that we cannot make conclusions regarding the autonomy of the Macedonian cities from these lists. The reception of *theoroi* cannot be considered a firm indicator of autonomy, and the evidence for Macedonia in fact suggests a continuing centralisation of authority in Macedonia in the late fourth century, rather than an increasing independence of action by the cities. Instead, these *theorodokoi* lists attest to the engagement of the Macedonian cities in inter-city networks of symbolic and honorific exchange.

2.4.2 Epidauros

The first document that interests us is a list of *theorodokoi* from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros.[134] The list has to date from the reign of Perdikkas III, who appears as *theorodokos* for Macedonia. Perdikkas III's reign ended when he and more than 4,000 of his men were killed in a disastrous confrontation with Illyrian forces from the kingdom of Bardylis.[135] The date of this has been a matter of some debate, as the precise moment of Philip II's accession following the death of Perdikkas is difficult to pin down. Hatzopoulos offers the best clarification of events in Macedonia in the Athenian archon year 360/59, the date given by Diodoros for the accession of Philip II. Perdikkas III died early in this archon year, in late summer 360.[136] This gives us a lower limit for the appointment of Perdikkas as a *theorodokos*

[134] *IG* IV^2 1, 94; Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E.1.
[135] Diod. 16.2.4-5.
[136] Hatzopoulos (1982); contra Hammond (1992), who dates Philip II's accession to spring 359, and is followed by Perlman (2000) 69 and Rigsby (2007) 112. Hatzopoulos' date allows us to accept the evidence for Philip II's dealings with the Thracian king Kotys, who died in late September 360: Hatzopoulos (1995); Lane Fox (2011e) 334-8.

for the Asklepieia at Epidauros.

Our upper limit for the list is provided by the foundation of Datos, which also appears in the list. There is some uncertainty over to what the term "Datos" actually refers. Disagreements stem from the confusion in the ancient sources over the agent or group responsible for the foundation of Datos, its later fate, and whether it should be identified with Krenides, the Thasian mining town which was captured by Philip II in 356 and refounded as Philippoi.[137] Picard is probably right that there is only one settlement at issue here.[138] Collart argued that Datos was the name of the region prior to Thasian settlement, and that Krenides was the name of the new nucleated urban settlement.[139] This regional name is probably behind a reference in Herodotos, where he records that the Athenian Sophanes died fighting ἐν Δάτῳ in the 460s.[140] This same regional designation is also probably reflected in the reference to Δάτου χώρα[ς] in Alexander III's boundary settlement for Philippoi.[141] The area was certainly absorbed into the territory of later Philippoi.[142]

Perlman has demonstrated that Datos/Krenides was not founded until spring 360 BC at the earliest. Kallistratos of Aphidna, the Athenian exile upon whose recommendation the town was founded, cannot have arrived in the north before November/December 361, making spring 360 the earliest possible date for the foundation of Datos.[143] This gives spring 360-late summer 360 as the date for the appointment of the *theorodokoi* in the Epidauran list. Rigsby

[137] See below section 3 for Philippoi. Sources for Datos/Krenides: Ps. Skylax 67; [Hippoc.] *Ep.* 5.94, 7.121; Zen. 4.34; Isok. 8.24; Eustathios, *ad Dionysium Periegetem* 517; Ephoros F. 37; Strabo 7 f. 34 and 42 (ed. Jones (1917-1932); Diod. 16.3.7; App. *BCiv.* 4.105.
[138] Picard (1994b), including discussion of the intriguing bronze coinage struck by the Thasian colony bearing the legend 'ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ' and attesting the very close links between the mainland colonists and Thasos. For further discussion and bibliography of the vexing question of Datos/Krenides: Rigsby (2007); Fournier and Hamon (2007) 378-80.
[139] Collart (1937) 39-47.
[140] Hdt. 9.75.
[141] *SEG* 34 664.15; Hatzopoulos (1996a) II 6. Loukopoulou (2004) 860 thinks this indicates a separate settlement of Datos.
[142] Collart (1937) 133-60; Counillon (1988); Rigsby (2007).
[143] Perlman (2000) 69-70, based on the testimony of Apollodoros in [Dem.] 50.43-52; also Lane Fox (2011d) 267.

has highlighted that this is a very tight chronology, tighter still if we take late summer 360 as a date for the death of Perdikkas III rather than spring 359 as Rigsby does.[144] He also suggests Epidauros would not send out *theoroi* this early for the Asklepieia of spring 358. He therefore suggests that Kallistratos did not found Datos but augmented an existing city, suggesting a reference to such a city in Herodotos 9.75. This opens up the date for the appearance of Datos in a *theorodokoi* list to the whole of Perdikkas' reign, and Rigsby suggests a date c. 363. However, I see no reason to reject the unanimity of the sources on Datos/Krenides being a new foundation in spring 360, in spite of the tight chronology. The reference in Herodotos probably refers to the region rather than an existing city. The Epidaurans were rebranding the Asklepieia as a new panhellenic festival at this time. In the process of advertising their enlarged festival, the Epidaurans may well have sent out multiple *theoric* delegations over an extended period of time in order to guarantee a large turnout for their inaugural panhellenic Asklepieia. This would allow for a delegation in Macedonia in 360.

Therefore this list records a delegation in the north between spring 360 and late summer of the same year. In the section recording the journey of the *theoroi* through Macedonia, beginning after the entry for Homolion, the northernmost Thessalian city recorded therein, it lists the following entries: Pydna: Damatrios; Methona: Polyphantos; Makedonia: Perdikkas; Aineia: Euboulos. The list then proceeds into the Chalkidian peninsula. Perdikkas III appears to act as sole representative of his kingdom in relationships with the *theoroi*. He is Macedonia embodied, as far as relations with foreign sanctuaries are concerned. This has been taken as evidence of the political non-existence of urban centres within the Macedonian kingdom at this time. They are not separately represented as the king is the only source of authority that matters, and the only person that the *theoroi* needed to visit in order to guarantee the observance of the sacred truce. The contrast between "Macedonia" and the individual

[144] Rigsby (2007).

appointments of *theorodokoi* in Pydna, Methone and Aineia, on the other hand, is taken as evidence of these cities' political independence.[145]

2.4.3 Nemea

The next list that concerns us was found on an inscribed stele excavated in 1978 from a well in the Temple of Zeus at Nemea, down which it had been thrown at some point in the latter half of the third century BC.[146] It is a list of *theorodokoi* who entertained the *theoroi* sent out to announce a celebration of the panhellenic games of Zeus at Nemea. Perlman's 'Hand One' inscribed the section on Macedonia, Cyprus, and Akarnania.[147] The section for Macedonia occupies lines 10-17 of Column II. Under the heading *Em Makedoniai*, it proceeds as follows: In Amphipolis, Persas son of Nikolaos; In Lete, Menandros son of Lysandros; From Alante, Aphthonetos son of Pythodoros. Then follows an uninscribed line, then a name without patronymic; Aristonous.

Hand One is not easy to date. The presence of Nikokreon, son of Pnytagoras and king of Salamis from 331-311/10 BC as *theorodokos* for Salamis provides that the embassy must have taken place within the period of his reign.[148] The presence of *theorodokoi* for both Oiniadai and Derion helps us narrow the date ranges further. We know that by 324 BC the Aitolians had captured Oiniadai and driven out its inhabitants, when Diodoros recounts Alexander III's anger with the Aitolians for this action in his narrative of the events leading to the outbreak of the Lamian War.[149] Oiniadai was reoccupied by 313 BC. Diodoros relates how in this year

[145] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 472-473; Mari (2007) 32-33.
[146] *SEG* 36 (1986) 331; Perlman (2000) 105-31, Ep. Cat. N.1.
[147] Perlman (2000) 105-7, arguing for three masons contra Miller (1988) 150-2.
[148] Nikokreon is first attested as king of Salamis in 331 BC, when he served as a *choregos* at Tyre (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1). He was appointed *strategos* of Cyprus by Ptolemy (Diod. 19.79.5). He is recorded by the Marmor Parium (*IG* 12.5.444) as having died in the archonship of Simonides at Athens (311/10 BC), apparently through setting himself on fire (Diod. 20.21; Polyain. 8.48).
[149] Diod. 18.8.6. Plut. *Alex.* 49.8, where Alexander's anger is mentioned in relation to Parmenion's and Philotas'

Kassandros urged the Akarnanians to evacuate their smaller villages and move to larger population centres in order to fortify themselves against Aitolian attack.[150] The inhabitants of Oiniadai and Derion are mentioned by name, the former moving to Sauria while the Derioi settled at Agrinion. Therefore there are two periods when *theorodokoi* for both Oiniadai and Derion could have been recorded in this list: either 331-324, between the accession of Nikokreon and the latest point at which the Aitolians could have expelled Oiniadai's inhabitants; or 324-313, between the earliest possible date for the Akarnanian reoccupation of Oiniadai and the abandonment of both Oiniadai and Derion.

Perlman argues for a period c. late 315 to summer 313 BC for the date of Hand One.[151] She argues that Kleonai did not lose control of the Nemean Games nor become a *komē* of Argos until the final quarter of the fourth century. Perlman argues that this was most likely to have occurred during Kassandros' campaigns in the Peloponnese against Polyperchon, when Kleonai would have been forced to seek protection through closer affiliation with Argos.[152] The price was the surrender of control of the Nemean Games to Argos, as reflected by the fact that later the same magistrates administered both the Nemean Games and the Heraia at Argos.[153] The Nemean list (or at least that part inscribed by Hand One) therefore to Perlman represents an addition to the list of *theorodokoi* for the Argive Heraia, with the combined lists used for sacred envoys from both festivals.

However, Perlman's date requires the rejection of the identification of the Aristonous in the

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deaths, led some scholars to date Oiniadai's capture to c. 330: Oberhummer (1887) 133; Swoboda (1913) 298; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1, 50, n. 3; Kirsten (1937) 1211, (1940), 314; Flacelière (1937) 42. Badian (1961) preferred a date in 324, arguing that the Aitolian negotiations with Antipatros with which Plutarch opens the story are better suited to 324. A cautious approach is best: Larsen (1968) 265 n. 4; Perlman (2000) 109.

[150] Diod. 19.67.3-5.

[151] Perlman (2000) 131-52.

[152] Kleonai was aligned with Argos both before and during the Peloponnesian War (Strabo 8.6.19, Diod. 11.65; Thuc. 5.67.2, 72.4, 74.3). Kleonai is not attested as a civic subdivision of Argos before the late fourth century (*SEG* 30 355; *IG* IV 616).

[153] Perlman (2000) 132, Ep. Cat. A.2.28; *SEG* 16 253; *SEG* 25 362; *SEG* 34 282. Kleonai continued to enjoy a priveleged role in the administration of the Nemean Games: Piérart (1982).

Nemean list with the only individual bearing that name securely attested elsewhere. The Aristonous who appears at line 17 in column 2 inscribed under a *vacat* should probably be identified with the bodyguard of Alexander the Great, who sided with Olympias in Macedonia after the death of Alexander and who was murdered by Kassandros in 316 BC.[154] The embassy which the Nemean *theorodokoi* list records must therefore have taken place prior to the death of Aristonous in 316. We have no other attested Aristonous, and in order to serve as a *theorodokos* in the heartland of the Macedonian kingdom this individual would have had to have been of high social standing.[155] Several scholars suggest that Aristonous had been granted estates in the region of Pella.[156] This would leave us Amphipolis-Lete-Allante-(Pella) as the itinerary of the *theoroi* for the Nemean Games recorded in this inscription, a sensible route (we will return to the *vacat* below).[157]

Based on this identification, I favour a date of c. 323-316 for the Nemean list. Aristonous cannot have arrived in Macedonia before the latter part of 323. As a Royal Bodyguard he was probably present when Alexander died in Babylon in summer 323. It is in fact probable that he did not return to Macedonia until after he led the expedition to Cyprus in 321.[158] We have no further information on him before he threw in his support with Olympias in 316, so he could have appeared as a *theorodokos* in Pella any time between his return to Macedonia and 316.

So in the period c.323-316, several individual Macedonian cities appointed *theorodokoi* to

[154] Berve (1926) II 69, no. 133; Tataki (1998) 150 no. 20; Knoepfler (2001a) 185-190; Heckel (2006) 50; *LGPN* IV s. v. 45. Aristonous assumed a trierarchy at the Hydaspes in 326 (Arr. *Ind*. 18.5), was wounded in the Mallian town (Curt. 9.6.15) and was awarded a gold crown at Susa (Arr. *Anab*. 7.5.6). He joined the Perdikkan cause in 323 (Curt. 10.6.16) and led an expedition against the Cypriot kings who had allied with Ptolemy in 321 (Arr. *Succ*. 24.6). By 316 he was back in Macedonia. He took control of troops still loyal to the Argeads in 316 (Diod. 19.35.4), defended Amphipolis against Kassandros' forces (Diod. 19.50.3) and was executed after the surrender of the city (Diod. 19.51.1).
[155] Perlman (2000) 37-45: *theorodokoi* were usually well-to-do individuals.
[156] Berve (1926) II 69, no. 133; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 475; Heckel (2006) 50.
[157] Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 58-9 n.6.
[158] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 474 n. 7.

entertain *theoroi* announcing the Nemean Games. This contrasts with the list of Epidauros from 360/59, where the Macedonian king appeared as sole representative of the kingdom in relations with that panhellenic sanctuary. This has been seen as an innovation, whereby the Macedonian cities were for the first time developing their own capacity for independent action, instead of being beholden to the king in all matters of international relations.[159] Hatzopoulos argued that this took place as a direct result of a deep internal change in the nature of the Macedonian state triggered by the actions of Philip II.[160] In his schema, Philip II adopted the example of the civic and federal template of the neighbouring Chalkidian League as a template for restructuring his kingdom. Cities and regions which had enjoyed independent civic life were absorbed into the Macedonian kingdom and reorganised as "cells" of 'Greater Macedonia'. Hatzopoulos argues that these cities were genuine communities with vigorous civic lives and the ability to exercise a significant measure of political autonomy. This came to be the rule for all cities in Macedonia. Mari suggests that the clearest evidence of this shift in the institutional balance of the kingdom does not emerge until after the reign of Alexander the Great.[161] However, both agree that the evidence which best reflects this change lies in the increasing visibility of individual Macedonian cities participating in the international religious life of the Greek cities of the Aegean and surrounding areas. The Nemean list of *theorodokoi* from c.323-316 represents some of the first such evidence.

2.4.4 Epidauran *addenda*

The next *theorodokoi* that concern us are found in the *addenda* to the Epidauran list of 360/59. The *addenda* were added to the side of the initially inscribed text of the list. An effort was made to align the newly inscribed cities with their correspondent geographical area in the

[159] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 461-96; Perlman (2000) 126-31; Mari (2007) 38-41.
[160] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 461-86.
[161] Mari (2007).

original list, space restrictions permitting. In the addenda, three more cities of the (now greatly expanded) Macedonian kingdom are recorded as having *theorodokoi* for Epidauros. These are Pythion,[162] Kassandreia,[163] and Ainos.[164]

An example of a Macedonian *ethnos* providing a *theorodokos* appears in these *addenda:* "Euordaia" is recorded here alongside the cities of Macedonia.[165] Eordaia was an oddity among the Upper Macedonian cantons. It had not originally been inhabited by Macedonians, but its native population was driven out and the region absorbed into the Argead kingdom by the reign of Perdikkas II (454-413 BC).[166] Hatzopoulos characterises it as "an area of transition between the upland principalities and the 'maritime' kingdom".[167] In terms of geography and social organisation it had far more in common with these Upper Macedonian territories than the lowland Argead kingdom.[168] In the structure of the greater Macedonian kingdom after Philip II, the region seems to have been organised along the lines of the other Upper Macedonian *ethnē*, with institutions of local government based around local federations of villages rather than around large urban centres.[169] While most of the evidence for the organisation of Eordaia as a unit of local government is Hellenistic or later, we have evidence from the time of Alexander of Macedonians identified with the ethnic "Eordaios".[170] Therefore it should come as no surprise to us that one *theorodokos* should appear for a region of Macedonia alongside individual cities. The *ethnos* of the Eordaians was already organised to represent itself through appropriate organs of government. These organs could have seen to the appointment of a *theorodokos* in the same way as the council and assembly of a city.

[162] Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E.1.39.
[163] Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E.1.40. See below section 3 for Kassandreia's status at this time: technically an allied city, but under the *de facto* control of the king.
[164] Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E.1.46-50.
[165] Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E.1.38. The spelling of Eordaia with an upsilon is otherwise unattested: Perlman (2000) 127 n. 117.
[166] Thuc. 2.99.5-6.
[167] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 92.
[168] For Eordaia: Hammond (1972) 106-110, 436-8; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 62-4.
[169] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 92-3.
[170] Arr. *Anab*. 6.28.4, *Ind*. 18.5.

There is no need to invent a city of Eordaia.[171]

These *addenda* are difficult to date. Perlman identifies three masons who inscribed the *addenda*, Masons A, B, and C.[172] Masons A and B inscribed the cities in Macedonia. A *terminus post quem* for Mason A is given by the appearance of Kassandreia, founded by Kassandros in 316 BC.[173] Some of Mason B's lines, given the irregularity of the letter heights and spacings, seem to have been fitted in where there was space in between some Mason A's contributions. Therefore 316 BC is a possible *terminus post quem* for the lines inscribed by Mason B as well. However, none of the other cities present in the *addenda* are helpful for narrowing down a date, and there is no way at all to determine in what order or with what chronological gaps the masons inscribed the individual cities' *theorodokoi*. At best one can give an approximate date of 316 BC for the work of Masons A and B, and for the addition of Eordaia, Pythion, Kassandreia, and Ainos to the section for Macedonia.

Given the roughly contemporary nature of the documents, the Nemean list of c. 323-316 and the *addenda* to the Epidauran list have been combined to create a list of cities interacting independently with panhellenic sanctuaries by the end of the fourth century BC.[174] These cities are Amphipolis, Lete, Allante, Pythion, Kassandreia, and Ainos, with the possible additions of Pella (if one interprets Aristonous' presence in this way, which one probably should) and Eordaia (if one argues for the existence of such a city, which one certainly should not). Given the geographically dispersed nature of these cities and the variations in their histories, it is argued that these recorded cities represent only a fraction of the total number of

[171] The city Eordaia: Papazoglou (1977) 368 n. 304, (1988) 166-9; Perlman (2000) 127 n. 117; contra Hammond (1972) 109. Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 92-4 points out that the same ethnic cannot be used at the same time for the inhabitants of both a region and an homonymous city. The appearance of "*Neikandros Opheliono*s *Eordaios Krannestēs*" and "*Glauka Loukiou Eordaia*" in the same inscription (*SEG* 25 708) proves there was no city of Eordaia.
[172] Perlman (2000) 78-9.
[173] Diod. 19.52.2.
[174] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 474-5; Perlman (2000) 126-9; Mari (2007) 38-41.

cities in Macedonia interacting with sanctuaries.[175] To these may perhaps be added the Macedonian cities recorded in a roughly contemporary inscription from Argos which records money contributions from Thessaly and Macedonia.[176] It is dated to c. 316-293 BC due to the presence in the list of both Kassandreia, founded 316,[177] and Pagasai, absorbed into Demetrias upon the latter city's foundation by Demetrios Poliorketes.[178] The cities from Macedonia in the list are Aigai, Edessa, Allante, Europos, Kassandreia, and Philippoi, and others now lost may also have been recorded. The itinerary order of the list suggests a record of a delegation of *theoroi*. It is not clear for what the contributions, in the order of 20 or 30 drachmae, were meant. They may have been contributions to a festival in Argos, or perhaps money for sacrifices related to the mission of the *theoroi* (itself unclear) on the spot.[179] Perlman has suggested that the list records the route of *theoroi* sent out to announce an Argive festival, perhaps the Nemean games or those of Hera.[180] Whatever the precise nature of the text, it probably represents another list of Macedonian cities establishing relationships in their own right with a Greek sanctuary.

The evidence of these lists has been taken as proof that there had been a widespread and significant structural change in the way in which all cities within the Macedonian kingdom related to panhellenic sanctuaries between the middle and the end of the fourth century. No longer did the king autocratically dominate the external affairs of the Macedonian cities. These cities, as a result of changes in the institutional structure of the kingdom, had become fully fledged members of the international community of independent Greek cities.

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[175] Perlman (2000) 129 suggests that the three (or four) Macedonian cities in the Nemean list of c. 323-316 BC "should best be regarded as supplementary to another list whose Macedonian itinerary would more closely resemble those of *IG* IV, 617 and the list from Delphi". There is, however, no compelling reason to view the record of the journey of the *theoroi* through Macedonia recorded in the Nemean list as incomplete. The itinerary Amphipolis-Lete-Allante-Pella serves perfectly well on its own as an itinerary for a delegation of *theoroi* travelling east to west through Macedonia.
[176] *IG* IV 617; Perlman (2000) 127-9.
[177] Diod. 19.52.2; see ch. 9.5 below.
[178] Plut. *Dem.* 53.3; see ch. 8.2 below.
[179] Perlman (2000) 127-9; Lane Fox (2011f) 381.
[180] Perlman (2000) 129.

2.4.5 Delphi

This trend is seen as having its fullest expression in the so called "Great List" of Delphi for the festivals of Pythia and Soteria.[181] The dating of this list has long been a matter of dispute. In the initial publication of the full decree, Plassart dated it to the first quarter of the second century BC.[182] These arguments were based upon prosopography, with individuals present as *theorodokoi* in the list from Delphi were found as *proxenoi* in other securely dated lists of the first quarter of the second century. Plassart's dates were used by L. Robert, though he preferred to remain uncommitted as to the precise date of the decree.[183] However, G. Daux has proposed a higher date of 235-220 BC for columns 1-3, which make up the bulk of the list.[184] These arguments too have been based upon prosopographic grounds. The apparent rarity of coincidence of persons between the lists of *proxenoi* for Delphi and the list of *theorodokoi* can possibly be explained by the fact that most of the *theorodokoi* (in fact all of columns 1-3) of the "Great List" belong to an earlier generation of leading citizens. Recent work has further stacked the argument in favour of an earlier date of c. 235-220 for the main part of the list.[185] Cohen provides another argument in support of an earlier date: the appearance of "Mantineia" in the list.[186] Given that the name of this settlement was changed to Antigoneia after its capture by the Achaians in 223, a name chosen to honour the assistance given by Antigonos Doson in this action, the *theorodokoi* list may antedate this event.[187] Perlman accepts a date of c. 230-210 for the whole of the Delphic great list.[188] An early date for the main part of the list now seems almost certain.

[181] Plassart (1921).
[182] Plassart (1921) 38-44.
[183] Robert (1946) 514-15, (1960a) 168.
[184] Daux (1949) 23-7, (1957) 393-5, (1980) 121.
[185] Habicht (1982) 381; Gauthier (1989) 149-50; Hatzopoulos (1991a) 345-7.
[186] Cohen (1995) 123-4. Mantineia appears at Plassart (1921) col. II.113.
[187] Pausanias (8.8.11) has the Mantineians themselves decide to rename the town, but Plutarch (*Arat*. 45.6) has Aratos arrange for the change. Walbank (1933) 167-211, (1957-79) I 257, 263, 274 for the chronology.
[188] Perlman (2000) 31.

The section for "Thessaly and Macedonia" in the great list starts at column 3, line 10. 28 separate settlements in the Macedonian kingdom provide one or more *theorodokoi* for the *theoroi* from Delphi. This is therefore seen as an expression of the full blossoming of the trend towards civic independence throughout Macedonia that had begun in the latter part of the fourth century.[189] Multiple cities throughout the kingdom appear as full participants in the international religious life of the Greek cities in and around the Aegean.

In summary, it is argued that the *theorodokoi* lists show that in the middle of the fourth century the Macedonian king acted as sole representative of his kingdom in international relations with large Greek sanctuaries. The Nemean list and the *addenda* to the Epidauran list show that towards the end of the fourth century, an increasing number of Macedonian cities were developing their own relations with such sanctuaries. By the latter part of the third century, independent action in international relations was common for cities throughout Macedonia, as indicated by the Delphi Great List. Macedonian cities had therefore enjoyed a great increase in individual autonomy.

2.4.6 The *theorodokoi* lists – a new interpretation

There are a number of problems with this interpretation of the *theorodokoi* lists. The underlying assumption in this argument is that one can infer the political status of a community from its appointment of a *theorodokos*. In the Epidauran list, Pydna, Methone and Aineia appear independently appointing *theorodokoi*, and they appear in Pseudo-Skylax 66 as *poleis hellenides*. These sources are seen as distinguishing between a group of free

[189] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 475-6; Perlman (2000) 129; Mari (2007) 39. Mari (2007) 47, plate 3 provides a thorough summary of the evidence for the appearance of Macedonian cities in relation to Greek sanctuaries down to the Delphi 'Great List'.

cities, which were autonomous and able to appoint *theorodokoi*, and those that were in the Macedonian kingdom, which were not.[190] However, one must avoid circularity of argument, where the presence of these cities in the Epidauran list confirms that *polis hellenis* in Pseudo-Skylax is a political distinction, and the identification of these cities in Pseudo-Skylax as *poleis hellenides* confirms that the reception of *theoroi* indicates an appreciable level of autonomy. This is especially true given the difficulties in using Pseudo-Skylax for political distinctions already discussed. We must establish independently whether or not the appointment of *theorodokoi* is a good indication of civic autonomy.

This has been a matter of significant debate. Some scholars, starting with Robert, argued that in order to make a meaningful announcement of the festival, the delegation of *theoroi* would have needed access to an authority that could guarantee the recognition of the sacred truce.[191] Others have followed Kahrstedt in seeing the toponyms in a list of *theorodokoi* as nothing more than records of where the *theoroi* visited and lodged, and make no assumptions about the political status of the communities in question.[192] Gauthier has pointed out that the nature of the state must be taken into consideration when assessing what can be gleaned on individual settlements from the *theorodokoi* lists, noting that in federal states, unlike in a *polis*, settlements and political centres would not necessarily coincide.[193] This debate on the nature of the *therodokia* is likely to run and run, and Perlman was not wrong in stating that it could induce "a feeling of *aporia*".[194]

Hansen and Nielsen, however, have indicated a possible synthesis of these opposing views. They have noted that the majority of toponyms found in the full corpus of *theorodokoi* lists

[190] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 472-3.
[191] Robert (1946) 506-10, (1982) 330-33; Daux (1949) 2; Perlman (1995) 115-18, (2000) 30-34, 45-60; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 473.
[192] Kahrstedt (1936) 425; Cook (1973) 221, 342-3, (1988) 9-19.
[193] Gauthier (1979).
[194] Perlman (2000) 33.

are elsewhere attested as *poleis*, as opposed to *komai* or another form of settlement.[195] This makes sense, as the delegations of *theoroi* would have wanted to make most efficient use of their time and resources, and this would entail announcing mainly in the larger nucleated settlements of an area. It was worth announcing the festival at as many urban centres as was practical, in order to secure the maximum number of delegations and participant athletes. But not every city of import in a region appears in the *theorodokoi* lists. Perhaps not every city of major political or symbolic weight in a geographical region was visited, as it would have been beyond the reach of the resources available to the delegation. If important cities could miss out on visits from *theoroi*, we should be wary of reading too much into the appearance of a city in a *theorodokoi* list.

Hansen has also shown that, during Theban political domination of Boeotia in the mid fourth century, several cities in the list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros of 360/59 were effectively dependencies of Thebes.[196] Therefore a *polis* which lost its political independence did not necessarily lose the right to receive *theoroi*.[197] *Mutatis mutandis*, one can make no inferences about the acquisition of a much greater degree of autonomy from a city being recorded for the first time in *theorodokoi* lists.[198]

These observations make it possible to harmonise aspects of the opposing positions on the

[195] Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 105.
[196] Hansen (1996b); Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 104. Contra Keen (1996) and Rhodes (1999), but Hansen's arguments lead to a more nuanced and useful understanding of *autonomia*: Hansen (1996b) 134-6. The communities in question are Thespiai, Koroneia, Orchomenos, and either Lebadeia or Chaironeia (Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 104 take Lebadeia: Perlman (2000) 74 n. 34 and 74-8 argues either city can be restored in the line).
[197] Similarly, one cannot conclude that a city which ceases to receive *theoroi* has suffered a loss of political status: Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 106 on the cities of Epeiros. In the Epidauran list of 356 BC (Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat E.2, *IG* IV^2 1 95) nine tribes, regions and *poleis* in the area have *theorodokoi*, but in the Argive list of *theorodokoi* c. 330-324 BC (Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. A.1.1.11, *SEG* 23 189.1.11) only [Ἄπε]ιρος. Κλεοπάτρα appears. This should not be taken to indicate that any *poleis* have been destroyed or lost their status, merely that a greater united political community now represents these communities in relation to this sanctuary.
[198] Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 105 on Kassopa in Epeiros: nothing can be gleaned on the character of this settlement from the appearance of this community in the Epidauran list of *therodokoi* of 356 (Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat E.2, *IG* IV^2 1 95).

theorodokia. Kahrstedt and Cook were right to argue that one cannot make direct political inferences about communities in *theorodokoi* lists. Beyond the arguments stated above, it is not at all clear that *theoroi* made a meaningful announcement of *epangelia* at each stop, especially if the delegation was operating within a federal state in which many state functions were concentrated in one individual or in one body.[199] But the observations of Robert and those following his position on the generally important and significant nature of the communities recorded in the lists have been verified by Hansen's findings. The fact that they are usually identified elsewhere as significant *poleis* can be explained by the *theoroi* needing to make best use of their time and resources by generally only visiting larger communities where their announcement would reach more potential participants.[200]

To return to the cities of Macedonia, as mentioned above both Pydna and Methone were effectively subordinated to Athens from their capture by Timotheos in 364/3[201] to Pydna's capture by Philip II in 357[202] and Methone's destruction by the same king in 354:[203] it is again worth remembering the changing nature of the Second Athenian Confederacy in these years.[204] This has clear implications for the interpretation of the Epidauran list of *theorodokoi*. We have dated the delegation whose activities this list records to between spring 360 and the death of Perdikkas III in battle in late summer 360. Therefore Pydna and Methone were not politically autonomous at the time of this delegation, as they were subject to Athens. This cannot be reconciled with the idea that the reception of *theoroi* is a clear indication of political autonomy. More generally, our demonstration that *polis hellenis* cannot simply be seen as a politically charged term in Pseudo-Skylax undercuts the support that Pseudo-Skylax 66 lends

[199] Gauthier (1979).
[200] It is worth noting that the symbolic capital of a community was also important in determining whether a community was worth visiting by *theoroi*: Bresson (2007) on Hamaxitos in the Troad, a tiny community of no particular import which made its way onto the Delphi Great List because the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheos was in its territory. I would like to thank Aneurin Ellis-Evans for directing me to this.
[201] Din. 1.14; Diod. 15.81.6.
[202] Dem. 1.9; Diod. 16.8.3.
[203] Dem. 4.4; Diod. 16.31.6 and 34.4-5.
[204] Cawkwell (1981).

to seeing the visits of the *theoroi* from Epidauros to Pydna, Methone, and Aineia as politically significant.

This all shows that the existence of relationships surrounding international festivals does not indicate significant independence of action on behalf of a city, nor does the existence of these relationships constitute any challenge to a greater political authority. We cannot therefore make any conclusions about the relative political autonomy of individual cities based upon their appearance in a list of *theorodokoi*. This conclusion leaves the 'autonomy argument' for Macedonia irrevocably shaken.

2.4.7 Centralisation of authority in Macedonia

How then do we explain the difference between the Epidauran list of 360/59, where Perdikkas appears as sole representative of the kingdom, and the Delphi 'Great List', with its 28 Macedonian cities? This is the development shown by the *theorodokoi* lists presented in its starkest form. But the situation in the Epidauran list may not be so simple a contrast with the list of Delphi as it first appears. It is true that Perdikkas acted as *theorodokos* for the entire kingdom, with no urban centres in his kingdom apparently deserving of an individual visit. He seems to stand out from the other *theorodokoi* of the region, who represent individual cities. But we should in fact see a near equivalence between Perdikkas and the other *theorodokoi* who appear in this part of the list.

In 360, the last year of the reign of Perdikkas III, the Macedonian kingdom was neither large nor powerful.[205] Athenian territorial gains in the region of the Thermaic Gulf threatened Perdikkas' territory. These included not only bases in the Chalkidian peninsula such as

[205] Lane Fox (2011d) 267 - "An overview of Perdikkas' kingdom in 360 BC thus conveys weaknesses on even more fronts than the Diodoran narrative reveals."

Potidaia, but also Pydna and Methone. These latter two cities were still in Athenian possession at the time of Perdikkas' death,[206] and they represented a particular threat given their location on the coastline of lower Macedonia itself and their proximity to key sites in the Macedonian heartland. An inscription from nearby Dikaia suggests that Perdikkas may have wielded limited judicial authority with regard to certain foreigners within his kingdom.[207] The inscription gives a number of decrees of Dikaia's assembly, and names Perdikkas as ruler of a nearby territory. He appears in lines 21-25 as a witness to the oaths taken by each Dikaian citizen, and agrees to execute any Dikaian whom he may find within his kingdom in breach of the oaths, "if he is so able". Lines 23-27 provide for the ability of Dikaians to arrest such offenders within the territory of Perdikkas. Lane Fox is surely correct to link this to an anti-Athenian upheaval in 362/1 at Dikaia against those who had supported Timotheos in 364/3, particularly given that the Argaios who appears as a figure suspect to the Dikaians was probably Argaios the Argead challenger of 387-4 and 360/59.[208] The implications of the role of Perdikkas and the free rein given to Dikaian citizens who encounter a Dikaian oathbreaker within Macedonia paint a weak picture of Perdikkas' personal ability to control affairs within his own kingdom.

Other threats included Timotheos, again operating in the north. Though the Chalkidian League in the east was relatively quiet and may have remained neutral during the succession crisis which followed Perdikkas' death,[209] it remained a threat to Macedonia. Two potential royal usurpers remained at large in 360. Pausanias had come close to seizing all of Macedonia in 369 after the death of Amyntas III,[210] and was still active at Kalindoia in the

[206] Contra Hammond and Griffith (1979) 187.
[207] Voutiras and Sismanides (2007).
[208] Lane Fox (2011d) 265-6. Diod. 14.92.4 for Argaios in 387-4, with Hammond and Griffith (1979) 172 and 174, n.1. Diod. 16.2.3, 3.3-6 for Argaios in 360/59, with Ellis (1976) 49-50; Psoma (2001) 240-1; Lane Fox (2011e) 336-9.
[209] Psoma (2001) 241.
[210] Aesch. 2.26-29. Aesch. 2.26 has caused confusion, as the text is defective – see Hatzopoulos (1985b) and Lane Fox (2011d) 257-8 for proposed emendations. Pausanias' genealogy is not clear: Hammond and Griffith

east where he appears as *theorodokos* in the Epidauran list.[211] Argaios was probably lingering in the Chalkidice, judging from the speed with which the Athenians were able to mobilise local forces for him after Perdikkas' death.[212] The Upper Macedonian cantons to the west remained independent. All in all, the Argead kingdom at this time was small and weak.

I therefore suggest that there was only one city worth visiting for the *theoroi* in Perdikkas' Macedonia, the royal capital of Pella. It is useful to think of things from the perspective of the *theoroi*. In such a small kingdom, the time and resources of the delegation were best spent visiting the royal capital, which would have stood out as the best place to make their announcements and seek recognition of the truce. The *theoroi* would have met Perdikkas in Pella and accepted his appointment as *theorodokos* for his small kingdom before moving on. In visiting Pella, the *theoroi* would have done their job; they had announced the festival at the most significant urban centre in the vicinity, from where news could filter out to the surrounding countryside. Visiting any of the other (much smaller and less prestigious) urban centres in the small Macedonian kingdom, of which there were not many, was superfluous. Perdikkas was effectively acting as *theorodokos* for Pella, though he was represented on the list as *theorodokos* for a kingdom to honour him.[213] We cannot read much into the absence of any other cities of Macedonia in the Epidauran list as, unlike in later years following Philip II's expansion, a visit to the royal capital sufficed in 360. Therefore, while comparisons between Perdikkas as lone *theorodokos* for a kingdom in the fourth century and the many *theorodokoi* for the Macedonian cities in the third appear stark, on closer inspection the position of Perdikkas in 360 makes such simple comparisons misleading. The difference becomes one of the scale of the kingdom and of Perdikkas' representation, rather than of

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(1979) 184; Goukowsky (1991) 55-60; Lane Fox (2011d) 258.
[211] Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat E. 1 b.13.
[212] Lane Fox (2011d) 337-8; contra Heskel (1996) 43.
[213] Perlman (2000) 81 on the *addenda* to the Epidauran list of *theorodokoi* from 360/59. Effort was made to keep the lists up to date, but *theorodokoi* were not always erased upon their death or replacement, indicating that a primary function of these lists was to honour the sanctuary and the *theorodokos*.

institutional development.

This interpretation may lead us to a better explanation for the presence under a *vacat* of Aristonous the bodyguard in the Nemean list of c. 323-316. Two main explanations have been advanced for the presence of Aristonous under a *vacat*. The first, that he was a second *theorodokos* of Allante, is unsatisfactory.[214] The format of the inscription clearly suggests that the *vacat* should be filled by another city or community. Why then leave the uninscribed line at all if Aristonous was simply a second *theorodokos* of Allante? The second, that Aristonous was a *theorodokos* from Pella, is likely to be correct.[215] Aristonous is elsewhere attested with the ethnic Pellaios.[216] As already mentioned, Amphipolis-Lete-Allante-Pella makes a reasonable east to west itinerary across central Macedonia.[217] But this still does not explain the *vacat*. Why leave the space for Pella blank?

It seems that there was some confusion over the origins of Aristonous, who is attested as hailing from both Eordaia and Pella.[218] Miller has argued that this confusion is also reflected in a contemporary honorific decree of Eretria, where an Aristonous is named twice but again without patronymic or ethnic.[219] He argues that the confusion in Arrian's works reflects contemporary uncertainty regarding Aristonous' origins or dwelling place, so the masons for these inscriptions left out the information or left blanks to be filled in once the information was obtained and verified.[220] Unfortunately the idea that confusion over Aristonous had been transmitted to the *theorodokoi* lists is unsatisfactory. The *theorodokoi* lists were made after a

[214] Perlman (2000) Pros. Cat. 49.
[215] Berve (1926) II 69, no. 133; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 475; Heckel (2006) 50 all suggest that Aristonous went to Pella upon his return from the east.
[216] Arr. *Anab*. 6.28.4.
[217] Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 58-9 n.6.
[218] Arrian *Ind*. 18.5 (ethnic Eordaios), *Anab*. 6.28 (ethnic Pellaios). Lane Fox (2011f) 371 suggests that Aristoboulos was an Eordaian who had received land near Pella as part of Philip's efforts to tie the Upper Macedonian nobility into his enlarged kingdom.
[219] *IG* XII 9.21.
[220] Miller (1988) 158-9.

delegation returned as a record of where they had been received and by whom. Presumably a *theoros* from the south would have been able to tell whether he had stayed in a lowland city (Pella) or an upland canton (Eordaia).

The *vacat* is best seen in the context of the previous appearance of Perdikkas as sole *theorodokos* for the kingdom in the Epidauran list, of which the compilers of the Nemean list would have been aware. We have gone from one man representing the entire kingdom in 360/59 to several cities appearing in a *theorodokoi* list in c. 323-316. But this one man who had represented the entire kingdom had resided in Pella in a much smaller Macedonia. Now the Nemean delegation was also tasked with recording an appointed *theorodokos* in Pella in the person of Aristonous. But how to record him? Did Aristonous represent Pella alone? Or did the man appointed as *theorodokos* in Pella, the royal capital and the political and symbolic centre of the kingdom, represent the entire kingdom and not just Pella? After all, at least one of his predecessors as *theorodokos* there had wielded this kind of authority in his relationship with a prominent Greek sanctuary. I submit that it is this confusion which is reflected in the *vacat*.

This is highly enlightening for our consideration of the independence of Macedonian cities in this period. By c. 323-316, other cities have begun to appear in the *theorodokoi* lists. The monarchy in the wake of Alexander III's death was very weak, and the future of both the royal house and the entire Macedonian empire was increasingly uncertain. Yet there was still sufficient power centralised in the royal capital for it to confuse outsiders over to what extent a representative in Pella should be seen as a representative of the whole kingdom. If there had been any significant change in the autonomy of the Macedonian cities, even in the sphere of religious relations it was perceived by outsiders as only having gone so far. This perception of a remaining centralisation of power in the centre can perhaps also explain why there are no

more cities recorded after Pella for this delegation. After having announced the festival at Pella, royal seat and still the most important settlement of the kingdom, the *theoroi* decided that their work in Macedonia was done.[221]

A similar pattern can be seen from the roughly contemporary addenda to the *theorodokoi* list of Epidauros. The individual cities were inscribed in an apparently haphazard manner, squeezed onto the stone where they could be, and clearly at temporal intervals.[222] This reflects the slow and uneven speed at which a new relationship between the cities of Macedonia and the panhellenic Greek sanctuaries was developing. This will have been partially because of the kind of confusion over the remaining centralisation of power in Macedonia that we may have already seen expressed in Aristonous' *vacat* in the Nemean list.

2.4.8 Macedonian cities in international networks

The above considerations make an argument that the *theorodokoi* lists reflect an increase in the autonomy of Macedonian cities increasingly difficult to defend. What, then, do the *theorodokoi* lists show us? I would submit that the series of relationships represented by these *theorodokoi* lists have been misinterpreted. These relationships existed as part of exchanges between cities of roughly equal standing throughout the early Hellenistic world. The central authorities of a kingdom had little to nothing to do with these relationships. These activities represent what may be broadly termed "social relations" between cities.[223] They occurred in a different political sphere than the activities which most concerned the central authorities, namely the extraction of income and the waging of war. Therefore an increase in the number of Macedonian cities taking part in such exchanges is not reflective of an increased ability of

[221] Also, a desire to cut short their trip may have been felt keenly by the members of this delegation. Macedonia in c. 323-316 was not a safe place to wander around: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 95-144.
[222] Perlman (2000) 78-81.
[223] Giovannini (1977), (1993) 274-83; Perlman (2000) 33-4.

the Macedonian cities to act independently in areas which had previously been the sole purview of the central authorities. They instead reflect the development of alternative avenues of expression for the civic energies of these communities in directions which did not bring them into conflict with the interests of the central authorities.

John Ma studied such interactions among Hellenistic *poleis* in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean in an article which examined the applicability and utility of the concept of "peer-polity interaction" for the study of the Hellenistic world.[224] He argues for a series of interactions which build multiple and overlapping networks of association between groups of *poleis* of roughly equal standing. The city-states of the Hellenistic world developed multiple ways of establishing relationships with one another, including interstate arbitration, asking judges from other cities to settle local court cases, recognising the inviolability (*asylia*) of cities and sanctuaries, expressing ancestral kinship (*syngeneia*), offering material help, and indeed sending and receiving *theoroi* to announce major festivals.[225] These kinds of interactions developed in the wake of the conquests of Alexander III, when the new political realities of the world around them forced cities to look for new ways to interact.[226] Ma is at pains to recognise its limitations as an expressive model, as such networks were not homogenous or static.[227] But the real benefit of the model is to demonstrate that historical phenomena which are often viewed in a "top down" manner can be better understood as "horizontally" diffused. As the high politics of war and armies became an increasingly murderous high stakes game, individual cities created networks among themselves which allowed for the meaningful expression of civic identity and energy without exposing themselves to the dangers of the world of kings and leagues. This is not to say that Hellenistic cities did not raise armies and fight among one another. There is abundant evidence that they

[224] Ma (2003a). Peer-polity interaction: Renfrew and Cherry (1986).
[225] Arbitration: Ager (1996). Foreign judges: Robert (1973); Crowther (1995); *Asylia*: Rigsby (1996). *Syngeneia*: Curtry (1995); Jones (1999). Material help: Giovannini (1993) 276-7; Ma (2003a) esp. 9-12.
[226] Giovannini (1993) 265-7.
[227] Ma (2003a) 37-9.

did just that.[228] But like other interactions between cities, it is on a different scale and in a different sphere to the actions of the hegemonic states and kings.

It is in this light that we should see the increasing number of Macedonian cities establishing links with panhellenic sanctuaries. This increase, instead of indicating an increasing independence on the part of the Macedonian cities, demonstrates their integration into a wider world of Greek urban communities. This world, towards the end of the fourth century and moving into the third, was developing the kinds of networks of peer interaction identified by Ma. New political realities demanded new vectors of diplomatic interaction. This was a trend into which the *theorodokoi* lists show that the Macedonian cities were plugged. Such transactions between sanctuaries and cities honoured the cities (both those recorded in the *theorodokoi* lists and those administering the sanctuary at which the festival in question occurred) and the sanctuaries involved, and formed matrices of trans-Aegean religious and civic interaction. None of this interfered with the chief preoccupations of the king of Macedon, so such interactions developed free of royal intervention or concern among the cities of Macedonia.

There is a specifically Macedonian set of processes to take into account which will have encouraged the assumption of a certain level of independent action in a religious sphere by the cities of Macedonia. Whereas in 360/59 Perdikkas had been able to represent his entire kingdom as an adult king ruling over a small kingdom, the territory ruled by Macedonians was huge upon the death of Alexander in 323.[229] Had the *theoroi* of the Nemean games whose activities are recorded in our *theorodokoi* list of c. 323-316 wanted to secure the king as *theorodokos* for the entire kingdom, it would have been impossible. Depending upon when

[228] Ma (2000).

[229] A huge bibliography now exists on Alexander III's conquests. A selection: Lane Fox (1973); Bosworth (1988); Hammond and Walbank (1988) 32-94; Le Rider (2003); Roisman (2003); Grainger (2007); Heckel and Tritle (2009).

one dates Perlman's Hand One for the Nemean list, the king or kings (Alexander III, Philip III, and Alexander IV) were either far to the east, dead, unborn, mentally incapacitated, or an infant, or some combination of the above.[230] How could the cities of the Macedonian kingdom continue to engage in the cycle of panhellenic festival participation except by the development of a system that allowed some latitude on the part of the cities themselves? Such a state of affairs probably evolved during the campaigns of Alexander the Great and his long periods of campaigning far from the Greek mainland. The key difference in this model compared to Hatzopoulos' is a matter of motivation. The developing system of increased visibility of the Macedonian cities which we can see in the *theorodokoi* lists was not an intended result of Philip II encouraging civic pride and development.[231] It was an inevitable result of his expansion of Macedonia and the absenteeism of his immediate successors.

This devolution to a local level of certain relationships must have been quickened by the chaotic period of Macedonian history following the death of Kassandros in 297 BC. Rapid changes in leadership, a weakening of the national monarchy as an institution, and the increasing territorial fragmentation of Macedonia proper will all have increased local agency.[232] The conflict between the two sons of Kassandros, the focus of Demetrios Poliorketes away from the Macedonian heartland, the division of the kingdom between Pyrrhos and Lysimachos: all these conflicts saw the heartland of the Macedonian kingdom crossed by armies vying for individual claimants whose collective activity steadily corroded the position of the central authority in Macedonia. The main preoccupation of all dynasts fighting over Macedonia in this period was securing military dominance. But in order for civic life to continue and survive in the cities of Macedonia in this chaotic period, as it evidently did, processes whereby cities could act as local social and institutional foci for the

[230] Hammond and Walbank (1989) 95-144; Waterfield (2011) 1-92.
[231] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 461-86.
[232] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 210-58.

non-military population of Macedonia had to develop.

This was probably not an entirely smooth process. As noted above, the roughly contemporary *theorodokoi* list from Nemea and the *addenda* to the Epidauran lists seem to show some caution on behalf of the sanctuaries when beginning to engage with individual Macedonian cities. They were possibly unsure as to what extent any central authority would consider the establishment of these links appropriate. The Delphi 'Great List' attests to the eventual full development of the institution of the *theorodokia* as a means by which Macedonian cities could participate in the same international religious life as could their peers without presenting a challenge to king and court.

There is one additional consideration to bear in mind in considering the evidence of the *theorodokoi* lists. Most of the cities which actually appear at one time or another as communities within the Macedonian kingdom in the lists were conquered by Philip II, or were only sporadically a part of the Macedonia before that.[233] It is unlikely that a right to receive *theoroi* would have been restricted in a city following its conquest by Philip. Over time, there would have been an homogenising effect, whereby the older cities of the kingdom adopted the same methods of relating to the wider world as did the cities of the 'New Lands'. This could have been a side effect of the drive toward greater administrative uniformity within the Macedonian kingdom noted by Hatzopoulos.[234] This development also makes sense from the perspective of the sanctuaries. What sanctuary would have ceased to send out *theoroi* to communities to which they already had sent them, or ceased to seek out new places to send *theoroi*? Doing so concretely benefited the sanctuary and the *polis* controlling it. More invited communities led to more participating delegations, which led to more sacrifices and

[233] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 203-379; Hatzopoulos (1996a); Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004); Mari (2007).
[234] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 125-65, 371-96.

greater glorification of the sanctuaries' gods. The extra money derived could be fed into monumental building programmes and sending delegations to even more cities, in a continued effort to outdo other sanctuaries.[235] The gradually extending appearance of Macedonian cities in the *theorodokoi* lists need not reflect anything more than increasing activity of *theoroi*. It does not reflect the political status of these cities in relation to king and court.

Ultimately the apparent contrast between the mid-fourth century Epidauran *theorodokoi* list and the increasing visibility of Macedonian cities in later lists does not show an increase in the political autonomy of the Macedonian cities. It reflects the changing circumstances of the intervening years. Macedonia had gone from a small, weak kingdom on the edge of an Aegean ringed by independent *poleis*, to a major political player in a world now dominated by the power of kings. In the mid-fourth century, the king had sufficed to act as a *theorodokos* for all of Macedonia. But the enlargement of the kingdom necessitated the decentralisation of certain religious relationships so Macedonian *poleis* could continue to participate in the international religious life of the Aegean. This process was part of the development of inter-city relationships which were conducted outside the world of high politics. It can therefore tell us little about the internal institutional history of the Macedonian kingdom.

If this is the case, where are we left in our consideration of the institutional development of the Macedonian kingdom in this period? Can any other sources tell us about the relationship between city and king? We must now turn to the *asylia* decrees from Kos.

2.5 The *asylia* decrees

The decrees from Pella, Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi recognising the inviolability

[235] Perlman (2000) 18-34.

of the Asklepion of Kos are a crucial part of our evidence for the relationship between city and king in Hellenistic Macedonia.[236] In 242 BC, the city of Kos sent out ambassadors across the Greek world with the aim of having a large number of communities recognise the inviolability of their sanctuary of Asklepios. This trip is known to us from the relatively large archive recording their achievements.[237] One of the decrees mentions that this was done following an oracular utterance, and another makes mention of a decree favourable to the undertaking from the Delphic Amphiktyony.[238] Rigsby suggests that these indicate that the Koans petitioned Apollo of Delphi for the oracle in question and that the decree from the Amphiktyony was issued at the same time.[239] The decrees from Pella and Amphipolis record motions passed in Gorpiaios, and the Amphipolitan decree dates from the 41st year of the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. Therefore the embassy from Kos was in Macedonia around August 242 BC.[240]

These decrees were all independently enacted by the cities in question, but three of the four said they were acting in accordance with the policy of King Antigonos. These decrees have featured prominently in considerations of Macedonian civic autonomy. They show the operation of these Macedonian cities as independent institutional entities in the middle of the third century.[241] Opinions on the significance of these decrees have varied. Heuss saw them as further evidence of the exercise of significant autonomy by these cities.[242] Hatzopoulos, following Giovannini, took the reference to the king's will to indicate that the Macedonian

[236] *SEG* 12.373 (Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi, with a decree from Ainos in Thrace) and 374 (Pella, with the heading of a decree from another unknown city); Rigsby (1996) 134-40, nos. 23, 25-7; now *IG* XII 4 220-1.
[237] Rigsby (1996) 106-53, nos. 8-52; *IG* XII 4 208-45.
[238] The decree from Philippoi for the oracle; *SEG* 12.373, Rigsby (1996) 138-40, no. 27; *IG* XII 4 220a.35-55. From Ptolemy III for the Amphiktyony; *SEG* 12.369, Rigsby (1996) 112-14, no. 8; *IG* XII 4 212.
[239] Rigsby (1996) 107. Rigsby points to the decree from Ptolemy III (Rigsby (1996) no.8.9-10; *SEG* 12.369.9-10; *IG* XII 4 212.9-10) where is clear that the Amphiktyonic decree relates in particular to the new games of Asklepios and *asylia*. The Amphiktyonic decree was therefore recent at the time of the embassy in 242.
[240] *SEG* 12.373; Rigsby (1996) 134-8, nos. 23 and 26; *IG* XII 4 220-1.
[241] Giovannini (1977) 467; "La participation des cités macédoniennes aux fêtes panhelléniques nous apprend qu'elles étaient considérées comme des πόλεις et non comme de simples communes ou des districts adminstratifs."
[242] Heuss (1967) 279-81.

cities had no say in foreign policy at all.[243] Underlying these views has been the interpretation of a grant of *asylia* as 'a major decision of foreign policy'.[244] These decrees have therefore been seen as an apparently aberrant corrective to a picture of civic autonomy, or as interesting but ultimately not useful comparanda to the evidence of the *theorodokoi* lists. I wish to examine the position of the king and the civic bodies in these decrees anew.

Rigsby has collected and analysed the evidence for the decrees of *asylia* which emerged in the Hellenistic period.[245] Cities and their territories or, more commonly, temples and their precincts were recognised as "sacred and inviolable" by a foreign state, in honour of the relevant god.[246] At first glance, this may appear redundant. From time immemorial Greek temples and their precincts had been sacred, immune from war and acts of violence, and functionally inviolable. In truth this seems at times to have been a rule honoured as much in the breach as in the observance, but nonetheless it is a law that is attested multiple times by different ancient authors.[247] Why, then, did an increasing number of cities from the middle of the third century take the time, trouble and expense to request that foreign states recognise and declare this inviolability?

Rigsby rightly rejects the notion that these grants were genuine attempts to combat inter-state warfare or increased levels of piracy.[248] He points out the lack of evidence either in the grants themselves or in the historical record for the promise or deployment of military aid as a result of a recognition of inviolability, and emphasises the non-secular nature of the grants.[249] This

[243] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 365-6; Giovannini (1977) 465-72, (1993) 276.
[244] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 365.
[245] Rigsby (1996). Other important contributions: Rostovtzeff (1941) 845; Seyrig (1950) 20-2; Gauthier (1972) 209-84; Bickerman (1985) 149-55; Ducrey (1999) 304-11.
[246] Other uses of *asylia*, for example on civic coinages in the Seleukid kingdom towards the end of the second century BC, are discussed by Rigsby (1996) 25-9.
[247] Rigsby (1996) 1-29. *Asylia* was used in other contexts to denote the sacredness or inviolability of spaces and individuals: Sinn (1995) 90-1.
[248] Rigsby (1996) 16-17; contra Seyrig (1950).
[249] The decrees from Crete recognising Tean inviolability did promise to provide such military aid as possible, but there was no oath and no evidence that this was ever called upon; Rigsby (1996) 289-90.

interpretation is supported by the sheer number of *asylia* decrees passed by a wide variety of communities. These cannot have been documents which represented real promises of military aid, as many communities and individuals recognised the inviolability of sanctuaries and cities well beyond either their spheres of interest or the realistic extent of reactive military action. This is particularly true for the cities in Macedonia which recognised the inviolability of Kos in 242. Giovannini rightly expressed doubt over to what extent the Macedonian kings would have allowed the cities of their kingdom to make such declarations if it represented a potential concrete military commitment.[250] The Macedonian king retained sole control over the Macedonian armed forces, and the cities cannot have been empowered to promise military aid on their own. Nor can it be argued that the *theoroi* sent from Kos presented substantially different requests to different political bodies, requesting concrete military alliance from kings while settling for a more amorphous honorific recognition from subject cities. The close similarities in form and content between the decrees of the Kos archive belie such an interpretation. Not even the decrees issued by kings contained oaths promising military aid. Nor, as Rigsby rightly points out, can any of these grants be interpreted as an attempt to protect sanctuaries as traditional religious scruples were eroded and temples became the target of violence.[251] Were this the case, would those granting or seeking a recognition of *asylia* really expect those committing such violence to respect a new assertion of principles of sacred space?[252]

Instead, Rigsby convincingly argues that these decrees were designed first and foremost to bestow honour upon the city or sanctuary being granted the inviolability.[253] As two of the inscriptions granting *asylia* to the Asklepion at Kos recognise, the embassies from Kos were asking for nothing more than a stated recognition of a principle that had long been

[250] Giovannini (1977) 468-9.
[251] Ducrey (1999) 309.
[252] Gauthier (1972) 228-9; Rigsby (1996) 15-16.
[253] Rigsby (1996) 22-9.

recognised.[254] Reiterating a commonly accepted state of affairs represented no inconvenience for the city recognising inviolability. Even in those cases where the gesture was extended to a city, the lack of any expectation of concrete aid imposed no burdens upon the grantor. A public declaration of piety via a recognition of *asylia* for an appropriate body could also do no harm. As for the community or sanctuary that had its inviolability recognised, the resources expended were more than justified by publicly displaying the extent of their network of contacts throughout the Greek world. Furthermore, the grants of *asylia* represented an obligation-free way for the states involved to develop lines of communication and make friendly diplomatic exchanges.

The *asylia* decrees from the Macedonian cities should therefore be seen as another kind of inter-city exchange. These were symbolic, honorific exchanges which allowed for the expression of civic agency without treading on the toes of kings. To this extent, many of the *asylia* decrees could be understood alongside evidence like the *theorodokoi* lists as ways in which the Greek cities of the Aegean basin and the Black Sea developed alternative methods of interacting, away from the world of kings and federal states. Like the *theorodokoi* decrees, their symbolic nature means they cannot tell us about the political autonomy of the Macedonian cities.[255]

Kings also recognised the inviolability of sanctuaries.[256] They will have done this for some of the same reasons as did cities: the development of diplomatic relations which did not entail commitments or obligations, and to display piety. It is easy to see why the cities and sanctuaries seeking recognition would send envoys to kings, as having inviolability recognised by such powerful individuals could only bring further honour and prestige. The

[254] Rigsby (1996) nos. 18, 23.
[255] Giovannini (1977) 469; 'la décision qu'ont prise les cités macédoniennes de reconnaître l'asylie de Cos et un geste purement symbolique, dépourvu de toute signification politique ou juridique'; contra Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 365-6.
[256] Rigsby (1996) nos. 7-13, 68-72, 135, 164, 185.

fact that kings also recognised *asylia* inevitably led to interaction between cities recognising inviolability and the kings under whose sway those cities fell. We have such interaction in the *asylia* decrees for Kos from Macedonia. These decrees show how, at least in a context where material royal interests were not affected, the relationship between king and city in Macedonia could be portrayed as cooperative and harmonious.

2.5.1 '...as is also the wish of King Antigonos...' - a cooperative compact

Of our four grants of *asylia* to the Asklepion at Kos by Macedonian cities in 242, the decree from Pella was found on a stele with a fragmentary heading of another civic decree.[257] This may represent a decree from another Macedonian city. However, the organisation of the rest of the archive, where decrees from the same *theoric* mission seem to have been inscribed together but not always in strict cartographic sequence, along with the extremely fragmentary nature of this decree, makes this impossible to determine.[258] The decrees of Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi were found together on the same stele, along with a decree from Kerkyra and Leukas.[259] The decrees from the latter three Macedonian cities all make it clear that the enacting bodies are acting in accordance with the previously established wishes of King Antigonos in recognising the inviolability of the Asklepion. The decree from Pella, on the other hand, does not.

This recognition of inviolability for Kos by Antigonos is possibly recorded in another fragmentary decree from the Koan archive. Rigsby identifies six decrees in total from the archive which seem to be royal responses to the Koan embassy.[260] One is firmly attributable to Ziaelas of Bithynia. Another is clearly from another non-Greek king, possibly a Spartocid

[257] Rigsby (1996) 134-5, nos. 23-4; *SEG* 12.374; *IG* XII 4 221.
[258] Rigsby (1996) 111.
[259] Rigsby (1996) 136-40, 146-7, nos. 25-7, 45; *SEG* 12.373; *IG* XII 4 220.
[260] Rigsby (1996) 112-26, nos. 8-13; *SEG* 12.368, 369, 370; *IG* XII 4 208-10, 212-13, 249; Herzog (1930) 463-71.

king from the Cimmerian Bosporus. There are two other decrees which Rigsby assigns to Ptolemy III and Seleukos II, leaving two royal decrees. One is not clearly a recognition of *asylia*, though both the authorship and the substance of the decree must remain in doubt given its fragmentary nature. This leaves one decree attributed to an unknown king, and Rigsby suggests Antigonos Gonatas as a possibility, dismissing the Attalid Eumenes I on the grounds that he never took the title of king.[261] The decree undertakes to order the cities subject to the king to also recognise the inviolability. As we have seen, the decrees of Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi all make reference to a favourable response of the king to the recognition of Koan inviolability, which may imply their response to a general royal order. However, the decree itself does not contain much that can help us independently identify whether this is a letter from Gonatas or not. One would wish to compare the style and form of the decree to other letters of Gonatas. At the time of writing, Rigbsy had no other letter of Antigonos Gonatas for comparanda. We now have such a letter, in the form of an inscription from Dion recording a letter from King Antigonos to Agasikles (who was very probably the *epistates* at Dion[262]) regarding the estate of a certain Noumenios.[263] It is notable for its use of the "pluriel de majesté", the only example in the corpus of Macedonian royal inscriptions of what is a very common characteristic of the official correspondence of the Seleukid kings.[264] This is particularly interesting given that the *asylia* decree from Kos which may come from Gonatas mixes singular and plural, with the singular possibly representing the text of the original Koan request. However, this is hardly decisive. Nor can we assert that use of the plural for the royal person was characteristic of Gonatas' correspondence on the basis of one letter among a small extant corpus of Macedonian royal correspondence. The jury must remain out on the authorship of this *asylia* decree.

[261] Rigsby (1996) 117-18, no. 10; *IG* XII 4 208.
[262] Hatzopoulos (2009) 50-1.
[263] Pandermalis (1999) 53; Zannis (2000); Hatzopoulos (2000).
[264] Ma (1999) 141.

The lack of reference to the royal judgement in the decree of Pella must be accounted for somehow. There would seem to be little good reason for the king's decision to be left out if it were known to Pella. Rigsby's suggestion is the most probable: the *theoroi* simply had not yet obtained the king's response upon their arrival in Pella.[265] As already mentioned, the decrees in response to the different embassies of the Koans were not always recorded in strict cartographic order. But the arrangement Kassandreia – Amphipolis – Philippoi on the other stele represents a sensible itinerary for a delegation travelling west to east across the kingdom. The logical place for Pella in this sequence is before Kassandreia, doubly so if the *theoroi* were travelling from the south. Antigonos may well not have been present in the royal capital at the time. Though we know little enough of the details of the campaigns and movements of the Macedonian king and army at this time, Aratos' capture of Korinth in 243 and the resultant diplomatic realignments between Macedonia, the Aitolian League, and Epeiros provide plenty of scope for Antigonos' absence from Pella.[266] Perhaps the Koans in 242 were less willing to wait in Pella for Antigonos than the Athenians in 346 had been when they arrived to find Philip II absent.[267] The fact that the Koans were present in Pella sometime during Gorpiaios then in Amphipolis by the 19th day of that month attests to the speed with which the embassy moved through Macedonia.

The decree at Pella says that "it was resolved by the city" that the inviolability of the Asklepion be recognised. This was a decision of a civic deliberative body.[268] The fact that the city felt able to recognise this inviolability without consulting the king demonstrates that this was seen as an action within the city's capabilities. Rigsby sees surprise in line 13 of the

[265] Rigsby (1996) 135. Giovannini (1977) suggests that Pella's reference to all sanctuaries being inviolable is a tacit reference to such a decision by Antigonos, but this is unsatisfactory. The lack of reference to the king's will denotes no difference in status between Pella and the other cities: Papazoglou (1983) 202-10.
[266] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 310-12.
[267] Dem. 19.155.
[268] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 139-41, against Bengston (1955) 463 who concluded that Pella did not possess civic institutions as they are not mentioned in the *asylia* decree.

decree, where Pella recognises "inviolability for the temple as for other temples".[269] This was merely a reiteration of a status quo, one which the citizens of Pella were happy enough to make but which they perhaps saw as redundant. Therefore the lack of reference to royal approval was not a pointed lack of consultation by the city, and therefore an assertion of independence on the part of Pella.[270] As the language of the decree makes clear, this was simply not regarded as an action which was controversial in any way.

The Pella decree makes it clear that granting *asylia* was an action that could be undertaken independently of any royal edict, even by the citizens of the royal capital. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the citizen bodies of Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi likewise could have decided to recognise the inviolability of Kos independently. The fact that the decision accorded with the wishes of the king, as recognised in the decrees, does not detract from the cities' ability to make the decision independently. The language of the inscriptions makes it clear in each case that this is a decision made by the community.[271] Nor does the reference to the decision of the king necessarily imply that the cities were making this decision on royal orders. At both Amphipolis and Philippoi, the recognition of inviolability by the city is simply equated to the previous decision of the king - "καθάπερ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος προαιρεῖται".[272] At Kassandreia, the language is similar - "κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν".[273] These cities may in fact have been ordered by the king to recognise the inviolability of the Koan Asklepion. If Rigsby is correct in the attribution of the royal response discussed above to Antigonos Gonatas, then Gonatas did undertake to instruct his subjects to recognise the inviolability. We know of similar promises by other kings who undertook to order their subjects to recognise *asylia*, such as Seleukos II with Smyrna, or

[269] Rigsby (1996) 135.
[270] Giovannini (1977) 469, though attributing too much significance to Pella's recognition of inviolability for all temples.
[271] Rigsby (1996) nos. 23.9, "ἔδοξε τῆι πόλει" (Pella), no. 25.8, "δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι" (Kassandreia); no. 26.10, "δεδόχθαι τῆι πόλει" (Amphipolis); no. 27.9, "δεδόχθαι τῆι ἐκλησίαι" (Philippoi).
[272] Rigsby (1996) nos. 26.14, 27.14-15.
[273] Rigsby (1996) no. 25.10.

Attalos I and Antiochos III with Magnesia.[274] But the possibility of a royal order does not detract from the ability of the Macedonian cities to make this decision independently, and in none of the recorded cases of kings undertaking to direct their subjects to recognise *asylia* did they simply answer for their cities. In the decrees from Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi, their recognition of Koan *asylia* is not represented as a response to royal orders but as a civic decision which accorded with the king's wishes. The fact that these cities portrayed this independence of action implies that this was not an area they thought likely to bring them into conflict with the king.

Why do the decrees from Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi make mention of the king's decision at all? Perhaps we can detect the hand of the Koan embassy itself here, who might have cited the response of Antigonos at these three cities and asked that it be included in the decree. The repetition of the recognition by the king of inviolability in multiple inscriptions to be displayed in Kos would have highlighted the goodwill of this powerful individual and emphasised the honour thereby gained for the Asklepion. Furthermore, the inclusion of the goodwill of the king increased the impression of a widespread recognition of the *asylia* of the Asklepion. The decrees from all four cities record broadly similar oaths of loyalty made by the Koan embassy at each location, with the Koans swearing loyalty to the king and to the Macedonians.[275] By framing the individual civic recognitions in the same terms, the impression of widespread approval of the *asylia* of the Asklepion was enhanced, and the honour thereby derived further amplified. The Koan embassy may have encouraged cities to express their recognitions of inviolability in terms which would best increase the honour and prestige of the sanctuary.

[274] Rigsby (1996) nos. 7, 68-9.
[275] Rigsby (1996) nos. 23.6, 25.5-6, 26.7-8, 27.7-8. Rigsby (1996) 135 also notes the inclusion of a profession of loyalty from the Koans in these decrees further stresses the "nonpartisan character of recognizing inviolability".

But what about the significance of the reference to the king's decision for the city-king relationship? The *asylia* decrees from the Macedonian cities have been seen as an expression of the submission of these cities to the will of the king.[276] Because three of the four cities specify that they are acting in line with the will of the king, these cities were surmised to have checked their actions with Antigonos before proceeding. Only once the king had given his permission could the cities themselves act. I have demonstrated that this was not the case. The evidence from Pella makes it clear that a Macedonian city could recognise the inviolability of a foreign sanctuary without prior knowledge or approval of this action by the king. Like appointment of *theorodokoi*, this was an area in which the Macedonian cities could act independently because their actions in this context posed no threat to royal authority. The speed with which the Koan embassy moved through Macedonia does not allow time for any significant diplomatic exchange between the cities in question and the king. As for the expression of the will of the king in the decrees of the other three cities, this is represented as a consideration which accorded with the will of the city but which did not configure it.

One must consider these *asylia* decrees in terms of the benefits to both the Macedonian cities and to Antigonos in portraying their decisions in this way. The structural stability of a kingdom like Macedonia depended upon the establishment of good relationships between the central authorities (king and court) and local communities. Such relationships were performative and constantly renegotiated. The unity of policy between king and city expressed in these recognitions of inviolability represents one example of how this process could work. The cities were able to pass civic decrees in this matter and thereby represent themselves as independently operating political entities possessing civic agency and identity. Upon the declaration of a central royal response to the Koan embassy, the inclusion of a nod to the royal position in subsequent civic responses referenced and enhanced the authority of

[276] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 365-7.

the king. This would have been particularly true if Kassandreia, Amphipolis, and Philippoi had been responding to a royal order. But it also displayed such authority as operating sympathetically with regard to the cities of the kingdom. King and city were shown to agree, and the king's decision in this matter was shown to not be binding upon the cities. All of this was done in a diplomatic context in which material commitment between the Koans, the cities of Macedonia, and King Antigonos could not occur. This made it the perfect arena for such an expression of unity since matters of material, financial, or military weight were not at issue. It was through such presentations of operational decision making in the Macedonian kingdom that the compact between king and city could be expressed and renegotiated by both parties. Ultimately, the *asylia* decrees are evidence not for confrontation between king and city, but for one way in which this relationship could be portrayed and defined as a partnership.

2.6 Conclusion

It was once thought that the civic lives of the Greek *poleis* in and around the Aegean came to an end with the victory of Philip II over Athens and Thebes at Chaironeia in 338 BC.[277] Recent work on the post-classical *polis* has made this view untenable. Civic life was very much alive in the Hellenistic world. In the world of the Hellenistic kingdoms, the *poleis* of the Aegean basin developed networks of peer interaction which did not infringe upon the political and military preoccupations of the kings. Religious exchanges, of the kind represented by the *theorodokoi* lists and *asylia* decrees examined above, were the perfect arena for such activity. To once more borrow Giovannini's phrase, they were part of the "social relations" between Greek cities.[278] Such relations could continue without the objection or interference of larger powers, allowing for the successful integration of the civic

[277] Green (1990).
[278] Giovannini (1977), (1993).

vigour of the *polis* into the larger Hellenistic kingdoms. The "death of the *polis*" is a concept which we can firmly consign to the historiographical past.[279]

Macedonian cities were plugged into some of these networks, as shown by the increasing number of cities in Macedonia developing ties with foreign cities and sanctuaries from the latter part of the fourth century. Though these relationships did not entail any significant commitment of military or diplomatic import, they were an important way in which Macedonian cities came to represent themselves more and more as equal peers of cities outside the kingdom. Hellenistic Macedonia should now be a part of considerations of networks of interaction in the Hellenistic Aegean which were not dictated by the political boundaries of the large confederated or monarchic states.[280]

This view of the evidence for the international life of Macedonian cities in this period means largely abandoning the *theorodokoi* lists and *asylia* decrees as evidence for the question of Macedonian civic autonomy. We have evidence that Macedonian cities could interact with their *polis* peers through at least certain kinds of religious exchanges. But given that these exchanges took place outside of the world of kings, there was no question of their existence representing greater political freedom from the central authorities for the Macedonian cities. These relationships simply represented no challenge to the king's authority within his kingdom. More evidence may emerge to shed light on the extent of local self-government in Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia. The most we can construct right now is a 'weak' argument for Macedonian civic autonomy: the Macedonian cities developed the capacity for independent action in certain kinds of honorific and symbolic exchanges with other *poleis*. The *asylia* decrees also show that such exchanges, where appropriate, could in fact be used to

[279] A reference to Robert's famous dictum seems mandatory - "la cité grecque n'est past morte à Chéronée" (Robert (1969) 42).
[280] Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou (2009) for an approach to the Mediterranean through network interaction.

express the unity of the Macedonian kingdom by representing the relationship between city and king as harmonious and cooperative. This hardly amounts to a strong case for local political self-government in Macedonia.

There is a risk with the presentation of this model for the relationship between king and city that it will minimise the potentiality for conflict in its development. The *asylia* decrees show that the tone of this relationship could be presented as collaborative and harmonious in the mid-third century. This collaborative compact will have developed gradually and organically, and tracing the developments in the relationship between king and city with any precision is beyond our current abilities. However, much of the credit for the establishment or strengthening of such a relationship must surely go to Antigonos Gonatas. The reconstitution of the Macedonian monarchy as the strong central national authority after the chaos of the Gallic invasions of the early 270s must have included the establishment of the non-confrontational balance between king and city which we see fully developed later in the century. It may have been a return to the status quo established by the Antipatrid dynasty before the territorial fragmentation of Macedonia in the early third century. The *theorodokoi* lists in particular show a move towards such a state of affairs by the late fourth century. It nevertheless remains noteworthy that Antigonos and his successors could establish such a relationship with the cities of their kingdom after the years of chaos. In a recent reassessment of the reigns of Antigonos Gonatas and Demetrios II, Lane Fox, in commenting on the foundation of Antigoneia the Sandy, remarked that "Cassandreia's incorporation and this nearby foundation were Antigonos' main contributions to the structure of the Macedonian kingdom".[281] Perhaps we may also add the encouragement of the full realisation of a collaborative compact between king and city which began to develop in the late fourth century.

[281] Lane Fox (2011g) 502.

Beyond occasional expressions of harmonious relations, how else were the local communities in Macedonia tied to the king? We have already examined the formal structures defining the institutional positions of the constituent elements of the Macedonian state. In the rest of this thesis, I wish to explore the position of the cities within Macedonia through two other areas of study; the royal economy of the Macedonian kingdom, and the significance of royal building and urban development for the history of the Macedonian local communities.

SECTION 2: Macedonian finances

Any consideration of the relationship between king and city in Macedonia must consider the position of the cities within the royal economy. Whether the cities could command significant revenues and resources of their own, or whether their economic lives were significantly circumscribed and their revenues relatively small, will have directly impacted upon the extent of their scope for action independent of the central authorities. This chapter will therefore consider the evidence for the distribution and exploitation of the resources of the ancient Macedonian kingdom, and attempt to determine the framework of the Macedonian royal economy and the position of the cities of Macedonia within it. While this will necessarily expand the focus beyond the relative financial positions of king and city, a wider net must be cast and a more general picture of economic relationships in Macedonia reconstructed in order to better assess the relative economic freedom or subordination of the cities to the demands of the royal economy.

Establishing the relative financial positions of king and city will also form part of the interpretative framework for the third section of this thesis. In that section, I wish to consider what the spatial politics and urban development of Macedonian cities in this period can tell us about the relationship between king and city. Since it is impossible to tell from archaeological remains alone who initiated significant building projects, we must build up a picture of the distribution of economic power in Macedonia. From this, we will be able to make a reasonable guess about whether programmes of urban fortification and development were directed mainly by the crown, or whether civic communities commanded resources sufficient to undertake such projects themselves.

Chapter 3 - Royal finances

3.1 Royal revenues

3.1.1 Royal monopolies

Monopolies on two categories of important natural resources provided income for the king: precious metals and timber.[282] The precious metal mines within the kingdom were under the king's control.[283] Gold and silver could be exported, in bullion form, as precious objects, or as coinage.[284] They also provided the raw material to produce the coinage needed to finance the king's military operations. This included pay for both mercenary and Macedonian soldiers, as well as the provision of the multifarious supplies required to wage war.[285] The Macedonian kings could derive huge incomes from their mines. Alexander I is said to have extracted a talent a day from the silver mines near Lake Prasias.[286] Diodoros claims that Philip II extracted more than a thousand talents from the gold mines of Mt. Pangaion.[287] The acquisition of the mines around Mt. Pangaion allowed Philip II to inaugurate the first regular bimetallic coinage of Macedonia on a huge scale (see below ch. 3.2.1). One of Philip V's measures to increase revenues following defeat at Roman hands was to intensify mining throughout his kingdom by opening new mines and reopening closed sites.[288]

The abundant timber of Macedonia was also a crown monopoly.[289] Certain kinds of wood

[282] Kremydi (2011) 159-61. For the natural resources of Macedonia: Borza (1982).
[283] Mining sites in Herodotus: Lake Prasias (5.17.2), Skapte Hyle opposite Thasos (6.46.2-3), the Pangaion mountains (7.112), the Datos-Krenides area (9.75.9-11). Hammond and Griffith (1979) 69-73 for ancient and modern mining areas. Psoma (2006) 67-8 on mining areas in Thrace.
[284] Kroll (2011) 35-6 for coinage for export.
[285] A Macedonian soldier was paid around a drachm a day at the end of the fourth century: Sekunda (2010) 465-6. They were cheaper than mercenaries: Launey (1949-50) 738-46. Antigonid rates of pay are unknown.
[286] Hdt. 5.17.2.
[287] Diod. 16.8.6. Possibly measured in *silver* talents: Le Rider (1996) 75, so around 100 gold talents.
[288] Livy 39.24.2; Walbank (1967) 224.
[289] On timber in the ancient Mediterranean: Meiggs (1982).

were better than others for constructing the light, fast warships of ancient navies.[290] The silver fir grown in Macedonia was renowned for this purpose, and formed a key interest in the region for other powers.[291] Perdikkas II's alliance with Athens stipulated that Perdikkas could only export timber for oars to Athens, an Athenian attempt to restrict any rival's access to naval resources.[292] Andokides acquired oar-spars from Macedonia in 411 for the Athenian fleet at Samos.[293] In 407/6 BC Archelaos allowed Athenian shipwrights to travel to Macedonia to build ships there, where they must have used local timber.[294] Xenophon has Jason of Pherai call Macedonia '[the place] from where the Athenians get their timber'.[295] Other powers were also interested in Macedonian timber. Export conditions for Macedonian timber were restricted in Amyntas III's treaty with the Chalkidian League. The Chalkidians could export pitch, building timbers, and ship-building timbers except firs, but to export firs they needed to inform Amyntas and pay him dues.[296] A Boiotian federal decree from the 360s honours the Macedonian Damonikos, probably for facilitating the provision of Macedonian timber for Epaminondas' naval construction effort.[297] Polybios records significant amounts of timber in Antigonos Doson's contributions to Rhodes after the earthquake of 227/6 BC, and that Perseus provided timber for the Rhodian fleet sometime shortly before 177 BC.[298] It is clear that control of timber resources was both a significant source of revenue for the crown and a key resource in the arena of international politics.[299] The Romans recognised this in the settlement of 167, when the Macedonians were forbidden to cut timber for ships or to allow

[290] Theoph. *HP* 5.7.1-3.
[291] Theoph. *HP* 4.5.5. For fleets and timber supplies: Meiggs (1982) 116-53, with 119 for silver fur.
[292] *IG* I^3 89.31.
[293] Andok. 2.11-12. Naval supplies were critically low after the Sicilian Expedition: Thuc. 8.1.3, 4. The *proboulos* in Aristophanes' Lysistrata refers to acquiring wood for oars, probably from Macedonia: Aristoph. *Lys.* 421-2.
[294] *IG* I^3 117.15.
[295] Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.11.
[296] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 1.
[297] Roesch (1984).
[298] Polyb. 5.88.6, 25.4.10; Ameling, Bringmann, Steuben, and Schmidt-Dounas (1995) I nos. 199 and 200, 234-5.
[299] Hence Alexander III's insistence in his letter to Philippoi that the timber from Dysoron not be sold: Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 6; *SEG* 34 664.

others to do so.[300]

3.1.2 Royal land

The crown owned large tracts of land within Macedonian territory. The greatest growth in royal land came during the expansion of Macedonia under Philip II. Though many conquered communities survived and had Macedonians or other populations settled on their land, other communities were destroyed. Much of the land from destroyed communities became royal land.[301] This could be distributed to members of the Macedonian elite as gifts which became the private property of the recipient (see below ch. 3.1.5). Other royal land was retained to be exploited agriculturally. Some would have been leased out (see ch.3.1.6 below), though some may have been exploited directly by the crown, possibly with slave labour. The Greek mercenaries captured at the Granikos in 334 BC were marched off in chains to work in Macedonia, probably on royal estates.[302] The position of the bulk of the agricultural workforce in Macedonia, whether slave or free, must remain an open question due to lack of evidence. Suggestions regarding the extent of slavery in Macedonia, such as Hammond's free society lacking a slave class or Ellis' economically and socially exploited class of 'sub-citizens', cannot as of yet be substantiated.[303]

3.1.3 Tribute

Revenues from areas outside of the Macedonian kingdom proper were another important source of income. Philip II was appointed *tagos* of the Thessalian League in 352 BC,

[300] Livy 45.29.14.
[301] Diod. 16.53.3 for Philip II distributing land after the destruction of Olynthos; Hatzopoulos (1988) 45-7, (1996a) I 189-209.
[302] Arrian 1.16.6.
[303] Ellis (1976) 27; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 13; Hammond (1989a) 10, 159-60; Millett (2010) 477-9. Descat (2011) 207-12 for an overview of problems in assessing the importance of slavery before the rise of Rome, focusing on Asia Minor.

bringing Thessaly into the Macedonian orbit.[304] Control of Thessaly passed between various dynasts competing for the Macedonian throne in the period after Alexander III's death,[305] but Antigonos Gonatas regained and kept control of Thessaly for the Antigonids around 276 BC. Thessalian delegates disappeared from the delegate lists of the Delphic Amphiktyony at this time, probably indicating Thessaly's reintegration into a Macedonian sphere of influence.[306] Long-term Macedonian control of Thessaly was facilitated by the early development of life-long tenure of office for the *tagos* and the tendency to transmit the office within kinship groups, often father to son.[307] The revenues from Thessaly included harbour taxes and taxes from markets.[308] Though the *tagos* was supposed to use Thessalian revenues to defend Thessaly itself, it is probable that Macedonian kings were able to divert the funds to other purposes.[309] Demosthenes in the First Olynthiac (349/8 BC) claimed that the Thessalians refused to continue giving Philip II revenues because the money was not being used to defend Thessaly.[310] However, given Demosthenes' hostility to Philip II, and the fact that the revenues from Thessaly were apparently handed over without incident to Alexander III following his own election as *tagos*,[311] it is unlikely that the Thessalians actually withheld these funds.[312] Demosthenes again claimed in 344 that Philip II was appropriating Thessalian revenues.[313]

Another tribute-paying area was inland Thrace beyond the Strymon. After the conquest of the area by Philip II, it was placed under a *strategos* and a tribute imposed, though this tribute may have accrued to 'the Macedonians' and not the king (see section on the *koinon* below). Much of this area remained outside of the Macedonian national territory until the end of the

[304] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 220-4.
[305] Martin (1985) 132-52.
[306] *Syll*^{3} 399 (277), 405 (276); Hammond and Walbank (1988) 269.
[307] Martin (1985) 74-81.
[308] Dem. 1.22.
[309] The Thessalian confederacy lacked elaborate accounting procedures: Martin (1985) 76-7.
[310] Dem. 1.22.
[311] Just. 11.3.2.
[312] Martin (1985) 93-8.
[313] Dem. 6.22.

monarchy.[314]

3.1.4 Irregular revenues

Booty from war formed an irregular source of income for the crown.[315] The literary sources record the importance of gathering wealth on campaign for the Macedonian war effort. Efforts were made to sell booty as quickly as possible,[316] and regulations were laid down by at least the reign of Philip V for the division of the revenue between the king and the army.[317] Such regulatory measures were important. Perceived unfairness in division of booty could be a source of discontent, as seen during the army riots of 218 BC at Korinth.[318] For the Macedonian soldiers, booty provided immediate enrichment and increased morale. The royal portion was probably deployed immediately to support military operations at hand.

Fines for transgressing the law will also have provided some irregular revenue for the crown, though we have only a single example. In a manumission document from Beroia, a fine is prescribed for anybody who attempts to return a manumitted person to slavery. The offender must pay 100 gold staters to the victim and a further 100 to the crown.[319]

3.1.5 Taxes

Taxes on movement of goods probably accrued to the crown. These are known from a series of exemptions. They probably form the third part of the exemptions given to the families of

[314] Diod. 16.71.2; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 181-9; Loukopoulou (2011) 469.
[315] For booty: Pritchett (1974-91) V 68-541, esp. 505-41.
[316] Diod. 16.53.3 (Philip II selling booty after destroying Olynthos); Arr. *Anab*. 1.2.1 (Alexander III sending booty to the coast to be sold, appointing Lysanias and Philotas to oversee it); Polyb. 4.77.5, 80.16 (Philip V selling booty at Heraia); 4.86.4 (Philip V selling booty in Dyme); 5.16.5 (Philip V selling booty at Leucas); 5.24.10 (Philip V selling booty at Tegea).
[317] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 12.
[318] Polyb. 5.25.1-3.
[319] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 93.20-1.

the Granikos dead by Alexander III (see below).[320] Kassandros granted exemption on import and export taxes to one Chairephanes.[321] None of our evidence attests that these taxes accrued to the king, only that the king had the power to exempt Macedonians from these taxes. It is conceivable that the king could exempt people from taxes which did not accrue to the crown, as he had the power to exempt Macedonians from liturgies due in their cities.[322] However, Macedonian kings certainly derived revenues from harbours. Kallistratos was said to have doubled the harbour revenues of Perdikkas III,[323] while Livy attests that Philip V's attempts to increase his revenues included increasing income from harbours.[324] Harbours were one of the places where tolls on the movement of goods were collected. Therefore, given the king's ability to derive significant income from the kingdom's harbours, it is probable that all import and export taxes accrued to the king.

More controversial is whether the Macedonian kings levied a regular tax on all land in Macedonia. Arrian perhaps mentions such a tax in his description of the exemptions granted by Alexander III to the families of Macedonians who had died in battle at the river Granikos in 334 BC;

> 'γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἑκάστων εἰσφοραί.'[325]

The first exemption is clearly from a levy on land.[326] This has been interpreted as payment due to the king for the possession of royal land.[327] On this interpretation, 'χώραν', land, is short for 'βασιλικὴν χώραν', royal land. This shorthand way of referring to royal land was

[320] Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.6; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 437-40; see land tax section below.
[321] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 21; *SEG* 47 940.
[322] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 438-9, II no. 10; Mari (2006) 219.
[323] [Arist.] *Oec*. 2.22.
[324] Livy 39.24.2.
[325] Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.5.
[326] For the other exemptions, Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 437-40.
[327] Berve (1926) I 307; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 437.

common in Hellenistic Asia Minor, but need not be the case for fourth century Macedonia.[328] Hatzopoulos suggests that Arrian here means an exemption from a levy on royal land because most of the dead at the Granikos were cavalrymen, and therefore they probably held royal land grants.[329] However, it is unlikely that all the dead at the Granikos were in possession of royal land. Arrian records that 25 Companions died in the battle, along with more than sixty other cavalry and around thirty infantry.[330] Plutarch records that there were thirty four casualties, of whom nine were infantry.[331] The discrepancy is possibly because Plutarch's source has only recorded the Macedonian casualties.[332] Whatever has led to the discrepancy, the source tradition is clear that Macedonian infantrymen as well as cavalrymen died at the Granikos, and Arrian makes no distinction between the two when discussing Alexander's exemptions. It is unlikely that the infantrymen too held tracts of royal land. Therefore they could not be exempted from a tax upon royal land. Either Arrian records an exemption which was irrelevant for a large number of these families, or this passage refers to another kind of tax.

Lane Fox thought that this levy on land was perhaps a tax on all *non*-royal land in the kingdom, attributing the genesis of the financial system described by Arrian to Philip II and pointing to Philip's need for extensive revenues.[333] Bosworth, however, suggested that there was a tax on all land in the Macedonian kingdom, whether originally royal or not.[334] Bosworth is preferable here, as Lane Fox's non-royal interpretation of Arrian's 'χώραν', like Hatzopoulos' opposite view, assumes a distinction in the term not evident in the passage itself. Bosworth's suggestion also accommodates Lane Fox's point regarding Philip's need for revenues, as a tax on *all* land in the kingdom would provide more revenue than a tax on part

[328] Mileta (2002) 161.
[329] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 437.
[330] Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.4.
[331] Plut. *Alex*. 16.7.
[332] Arr. *Anab*. 14.6; Bosworth (1980) 125.
[333] Lane Fox (2011f) 378.
[334] Bosworth (1980) 126.

of that land. However, certainty from Arrian alone is not possible.

As it is the taxable or tax-free nature of royal land grants which is at issue here, can the extant royal land-grant documents from Macedonia shed any light on this issue? We have two such documents, both from the early Hellenistic period and both regarding land near Kassandreia. A grant by Kassandros dating from shortly after 316 BC confirmed a certain Perdikkas in possession of royal land in the Chalkidian peninsula.[335] Some he had inherited from his grandfather and father, while some he had bought from one Ptolemais. Confirmation by Kassandros of the grant was required due to the foundation of Kassandreia. The creation of the new metropolis altered the territorial arrangements of the Pallene peninsula, creating a large *chora* for Kassandreia from the civic territories of many previously independent communities (see below ch. 9.5). This required clarification of the ownership rights of the Macedonian elite who held lands within the new civic boundaries.[336] Another document records land granted for the first time by Lysimachos to Limnaios son of Harpalos in 285/4 BC.[337] Both documents record that the land was given as a 'patrimonial possession' which could be passed down to their descendants and held or sold at will.[338] They were outright gifts and rewards for services rendered.[339] Neither grant makes mention of φόρος due on the land. However, were a tax standard for holders of royal land grants in Macedonia, then we should only expect to see reference to it if the lands were made exempt (ἀφορολογησία). Since neither of these documents record such an exemption, our Macedonian land grants can neither prove nor disprove the existence of a tax on royal land.

[335] Hatzopoulos (1988) 22-3 (*SEG* 38 620). I do not accept Bresson (2008) I 117-21 on Perdikkas' land grant. Bresson sees the 'father' in line 9 as Kassandros' father Antipatros, rather than Perdikkas' unnamed father. This would make the document a record of the confirmation of these possessions' transmission within Perdikkas' family by the ruling monarch/regent, implying that though these lands were a 'patrimonial possession' they required the king's permission to actually be transmitted as such. I do not find this convincing.
[336] Hatzopoulos (1988) 45-9.
[337] Hatzopoulos (1988) 17-18; *SEG* 38 619.
[338] 'ἐμ πατρικοῖς': SEG 38 619.4-5; *SEG* 38 620.19.
[339] Hatzopoulos (1988); Thonemann (2009) 364-8.

Our other testimony for a possible land tax in Macedonia comes from Livy. A general tax, probably a tax on land, is mentioned several times in Livy's descriptions of the Roman settlement of 167 BC.[340] Among the terms of the settlement, the four Macedonian territories were to collectively pay the Romans half the tribute that they paid their kings.[341] Plutarch states that this was set at 100 talents.[342] The implication is that the Macedonian king amassed 200 talents annually in tax revenue from the Macedonian kingdom. Hatzopoulos has argued that Livy's presentation of the situation is incorrect, and that there was no annual general tax in Macedonia under the monarchy. He argues first that at no point is there attested such a general tax before 167 BC and the Roman settlement. He sees such a tax as incompatible with the Macedonians' status as free men. Furthermore, 100 talents for half of a 200 talent tax under the monarchy is perhaps a suspiciously round figure. Plutarch must draw on Polybios as Livy did, but he differs from Livy in one respect. Plutarch calls the tribute to Rome '*less than half* of what they had paid to the kings' (my emphasis), implying that the total paid by the Macedonians to the king was in fact something over 200 talents.[343] Hatzopoulos concludes that 100 talents is a round figure invented by the Roman commissioners at the time of the settlement. He suggests that the amount earned by the kings, which was something over double the 100-talent Roman levy, was the sum total of other royal income sources.[344]

There is, however, no compelling reason to reject Livy's straightforward statement that there was a general tax on the Macedonians under the monarchy. We only lack evidence for such a tax under the monarchy if we argue that Arrian's catalogue of exemptions granted to the families of the Granikos dead does *not* record an exemption from a general land tax. As I have already shown, it is possible, even probable, that just such a tax is recorded in this passage of Arrian. There is no *a priori* reason why the Macedonians *en masse* would have

[340] Livy 45.18.7, 29.4, 29.11; also Diod. 31.8.3.
[341] Livy 45.18.7, 29.11.
[342] Plut. *Aem*. 28.6. 100 talents was a heavy burden following the Roman settlement: Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 222.
[343] Plut. *Aem*. 28.3; 'ἑκατὸν δὲ τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελεῖν, οὗ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσέφερον'.
[344] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 226-7.

seen the payment of tax to the king as incompatible with their freedom, especially given that the *ethnos* could expect most of the royal revenues to be spent to their direct benefit in defence of the realm. The relevant passage of Plutarch is not decisive in disproving the existence of such a general tax. The most it shows is that, if Plutarch has here more faithfully transmitted Polybios than Livy, if Polybios was properly informed, and if there was a general tax, that the amount the king collected annually from this tax was somewhat more than exactly 200 talents. It does not disprove the existence of such a tax. The revenue from such a tax was likely to fluctuate slightly year on year if tax collection contracts were leased out for immediate revenue as with other royal income sources (see below ch. 3.1.6). This annual fluctuation, depending on what price the Macedonian fisc was able to get for the contracts in each year, could explain the lack of precision in Plutarch's description. If the mean amount year on year was just over 200 talents, then Plutarch's phrase 'less than half' would fit the bill for the Roman's subsequent 100 talents.

The most economical explanation for the passages of Arrian and Livy is that they both refer to a general land tax on both royal and non-royal land under the kings. In the absence of further information, we can add this general tax to the list of the king's financial resources.

3.1.6 Exploitation

The exploitation of royal mines, timber, much land, and the collection of harbour taxes was leased out to elite entrepreneurs, when not exploited directly by the crown.[345] This secured guaranteed and immediate income for the crown while transferring the expense of extraction and administration to others. The grantee of the contract could retain any profit extracted from sale of the resources beyond the contract price. While non-Macedonians could secure

[345] Harbours: [Arist.] *Oec*. 2.22. Mines: Livy 45.18.3. Timber: Livy 29.14. Royal land: Livy 45.18.4. Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 434-5.

these contracts,[346] many of them must have gone to members of the Macedonian elite.[347] Therefore when the Macedonians were forbidden from exploiting the precious metal mines, forests, or land in the Roman settlement of 167 BC, the Roman aim was to prevent locals from profiting from them.[348]

It is worth noting that a significant portion of the surplus extracted from Macedonia by the king is likely to have been in kind, rather than in cash.[349] It is plausible that part of the tax on land in Macedonia was payable in produce rather than cash. In 171 BC the Macedonian cities offered Perseus extra contributions of money and grain.[350] Possibly this combination was what they were used to paying the king. Royal land which was kept by the monarchy and exploited directly would have provided further stores of agricultural produce, while precious metals from the mines and timber from the forests could have been stored as well as sold. This can be seen from the details of the contributions made by Antigonos Doson and his wife Chryseis to the Rhodians in the wake of the earthquake of 227/6 BC.[351] Antigonos gave 10,000 pieces of timber for rafters, 5,000 wooden beams of 7 cubits in length, 3,000 talents of iron, 1,000 talents of pitch, another 1,000 amphorae of raw pitch, and 100 talents of silver. Chryseis gave a further 100,000 medimnoi of corn and 3,000 talents of lead.[352] The bulk of their donations were in materials, either for building or for sale to raise money. The 100 talents of silver was their only monetary contribution.[353]

3.1.7 Summary

[346] Livy 45.29.14.
[347] [Arist.] *Oec*. 2.22 seems to imply that Kallistratos reformed harbour revenues after seeing how the *local* wealthy men were reluctant to offer full sureties for the twenty-talent harbour dues up front.
[348] Livy 45.18.
[349] Bringmann (2001).
[350] Livy 42.53.2-3.
[351] Polyb. 5.88.6; Ameling, Bringmann, Steuben, and Schmidt-Dounas (1995) I 234-5 nos.199 and 200.
[352] Chryseis was mother of Philip V, so must have been the wife or mistress of Demetrios II. By c. 227/6 she had become the wife of Antigonos Doson: Carney (2000) 191.
[353] This collection in kind was true of other kingdoms: Le Rider and de Callataÿ (2006); Bresson (2008) 109.

It is clear from this overview that bulk of the revenues of Macedonia accrued directly to the king. From the royal monopolies on mines and timber, from harbour dues, from subject territories such as Thessaly, from the land tax, and from booty gathered in war, the Macedonian king collected significant annual incomes. As examined in chs. 1 and 8.1, a Macedonian king was expected to redistribute a certain amount of this wealth in gifts and public displays of generosity to the Macedonians. There was also a royal lifestyle to maintain, as a certain level of luxury was expected of a ruler.[354] The king's primary responsibility in disposing of these revenues, however, was to defend the kingdom. There is a tradition in the ancient material on Macedonia that the king was but a guardian of the state revenues, and expected to deploy them responsibly towards common defence rather than for personal enrichment.[355] As Demetrios Poliorketes discovered to his cost, a king who diverted the revenues of Macedonia to fund his own excesses would swiftly lose the support of the Macedonian citizenry-in-arms.[356]

3.2 Macedonian Coinage

The numismatic record can provide valuable insight into the royal economy. Production volumes, circulation patterns, administrative organisation, and the purity and fractional structure of precious and base metal coinages can all help to throw light on economic pressures and patterns of royal expenditure in this period. A consideration of the emergence of coinage struck by the cities and regions of Macedonia under the last Antigonids is also crucial to considering financial aspects of the king-city relationship.

[354] Bosworth (2002) 255-6.
[355] Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.9; Polyb. 4.87.7; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 433-4.
[356] Bosworth (2002) 256-9.

3.2.1 Philip II and Alexander III[357]

Philip II struck coinage of unprecedented scale and quality following his capture of Krenides and the Mt Pangaion area in 356.[358] Philip's silver tetradrachms (**fig. 1**) and fractions were struck on a 'Thraco-Macedonian' weight standard, the tetradrachm weighing c. 14.45g. The tetradrachms bore a bearded head of Zeus on the obverse. The tetradrachm reverse used during the first part of Philip's reign, a mature rider in military dress, gave way at an uncertain date to one of a young rider holding a palm.[359] Philip II was the first Macedonian king to issue a regular coinage in gold, in the form of gold staters on the Attic standard (8.6g) bearing head of Apollo/quadriga types (**fig. 2**). Multiple smaller denominations in both precious metals were also struck. The weight standard for the silver coinage may have been chosen because it had been the standard used by the coinages of the Chalkidian League and Amphipolis prior to their conquest by Philip II.[360] These coinages were the most significant currencies in the area, along with the coinage of Akanthos in the Chalkidian peninsula.

Two mints, possibly three, struck Philip's coinage.[361] The volume was huge. Including the posthumous issues (since it is difficult to tell which of the later series should be attributed to after Philip's death in 336) there are 544 obverse dies known for Philip II's silver tetradrachms alone.[362] Compared to, for instance, the 92 known obverses for Archelaos' (413-399 BC)

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[357] Earlier Macedonian coinage: Raymond (1953); Price (1974) 18-21; Psoma (1999), (2002); Dahmen (2010) 50-1; Kremydi (2011) 161-5.

[358] Le Rider (1977), (1996) are the standard works. There is significant dispute over the date of the inauguration of Philip's coinage; Le Rider (1977) 386-400, (1996) 44-7, 53-6; Price (1979) 240; Martin (1985) 271-92; Lorber (1990) 55-61.

[359] This type was used on the first silver hemidrachms of Philip II, which are contemporaneous with the first tetradrachms (Le Rider (1977) 5-15, 386). If the jockey with palm represents an Olympic victory by Philip's horse team, Plutarch (*Alex*. 3.8), in placing this in the same year as Philip's conquest of Potidaia, gives us a date no earlier than 356 for the appearance of this type and the start of Philip II's main coinage: Hammond (1983) 255-256; Price (1991) 85; Le Rider (1996) 46, revising Le Rider (1977) 386.

[360] Amphipolis: Lorber (1990). Chalkidian League: Robinson and Clement (1938); Westermark (1988); Psoma (2001).

[361] Two (Pella and Amphipolis): Le Rider (1977) 323-42, (1996) 43-4. Three (addition of Aigai): Price (1979) 234-41.

[362] de Callataÿ (2012) 176-7.

silver staters,[363] the new scale is clear even before taking into account Philip's voluminous gold coinage.[364] This gave Philip much greater financial resources than previous kings. Though the context is clearly hostile to Philip, Demosthenes' claim that Philip bribed his way to prominence in Greece reflects a contemporary Athenian perception of Philip's deployment of massive wealth.[365] Diodoros says that Philip himself claimed that his enlargement of Macedonia owed more to gold than to strength of arms.[366] Certainly Philip's use of his impressive financial resources should be seen as a key factor in his success.

Alexander III continued minting gold and silver, doing so in even greater quantities.[367] His silver coinage, of which the head of Herakles/enthroned Zeus type tetradrachm was the most common denomination, was inaugurated following the battle of Issos in 333 BC (**fig. 3**).[368] Alexander chose the Attic weight standard for his new coinage, abandoning the parochial 'Thraco-Macedonian' standard of his father's silver for a more generally accepted coinage. His gold coinage was also based on the Attic standard. Alexander's gold staters, the most common gold denomination, bore the types head of Athena/winged Nike holding wreath and trident (**fig. 4**). A date around the introduction of the silver coinage seems most sensible for the inauguration of Alexander's gold.[369] Alexander's coinage was minted throughout his empire in his lifetime at a total of 26 mints, with two located in Macedonia itself.[370] Particularly intense periods of production may have been stimulated by a need to provide backpay for discharged soldiers, both after the disbandment of the Greek mercenaries at

[363] Westermark (1992).
[364] Le Rider (1977) records 254 obverses for Philip's gold staters c. 348-328: de Callataÿ (2012) 176 gives c. 300.
[365] Hyp. 5.15.
[366] Diod. 16.53.3.
[367] de Callataÿ (2012) 177-9, Table 10.1: an estimated 1800 obverse dies for Alexander's silver tetradrachms c. 332-317. On Alexander's coinage generally: Price (1991); Le Rider (2003).
[368] Zervos (1982); de Callataÿ (1982); Troxell (1991) 56-57; Le Rider (2003) 26. Contra Price (1982), (1991) 28; Marchetti (2004).
[369] Kaiser (1986) 57; Price (1991) 29-31; Le Rider (2003) 182.
[370] Le Rider (2003).

Ekbatana in 330/329 and following the repatriation of 10,000 Macedonian veterans in 324.[371] Alexander's silver tetradrachms were struck in such massive volume that they dominated circulation, and Attic weight 'Alexanders' became the *de facto* international currency in the early Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean.[372]

Early in his reign, Alexander continued to strike coins of Philip II.[373] The reasons for this are not clear, but a political explanation seems most plausible. Before his great success in Asia, Alexander's position depended upon support from the Macedonian 'old guard' and his perception as Philip's preferred successor.[374] Continuing Philip's coinage at the beginning of his reign emphasised links to his father and expressed continuity. Coin types regularly played a role in Macedonian expressions of dynastic continuity. Perdikkas II and the various successors of Archelaos had done the same,[375] as did Demetrios II and Antigonos Doson in the third century (see below ch. 3.2.3). There may have been other reasons for Alexander to continue Philip's coinage, possibly linked to the popularity of Philip's coinage north of Macedon.[376] For reasons which are still not well understood, the types of Philip's gold coinage were widely imitated in temperate Europe from the late fourth century and provided the iconographic basis for the majority of the pre-Roman coinage of Iron Age Europe.[377] Alexander stopped striking Philip II coinage around 328.[378]

3.2.2 After Alexander

[371] Thompson (1984).
[372] de Callataÿ (2012) 178.
[373] Le Rider (1977). The 'Eagle tetradrachms' of Alexander III probably also belong to the period roughly 336-333 BC. These coins bore types head of Zeus/eagle and were struck on the weight standard for Philip II's silver. The apparently low production, their use of the 'Thraco-Macedonian' weight standard, and their presence in a hoard from Thessaly containing mainly mid-fourth century coins indicate that these should be placed in the first years of Alexander's reign: Pegan (1968); Wartenberg (1997); Le Rider (2003) 48-55.
[374] Badian (1964) 192-8; Bosworth (1988b) 28, 274.
[375] Kremydi (2011) 173-4.
[376] Psoma (2011a) for hoards with coins of Philip II in Thrace.
[377] Fischer (1991); de Jersey (1994) 40-1; Creighton (2000) 26-8; Sheers (2000); von Reden (2010) 59-60; Howgego (2013) 20.
[378] Alexander may have continued striking Philip's Attic weight gold coinage alongside his own for longer than the lighter weight silver Philips: Le Rider (1993) 492-4.

Following Alexander's death, precious metal coinage in Macedonia was initially limited to posthumous types of previous kings. The lighter weight silver coinage of Philip II was resurrected and was issued alongside continuing Attic weight Alexanders, as we can tell from shared symbols and monograms. This dual currency system continued down to the introduction of Demetrios Poliorketes' coinage in c. 294. This arrangement may have been instituted partly to recognise the unusual dual sovereignty of Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV. This cannot, however, explain the continued striking of lighter weight 'Philips' following Philip III's murder in 317 BC.[379] Le Rider has offered a persuasive interpretation of this system.[380] The lighter weight Philips acted as an overvalued internal coinage for use within Macedonia. The crown would then profit from a tax levied on any heavier Attic weight foreign currency which entered the kingdom and was exchanged for the lighter weight Philips. Meanwhile the Attic weight Alexanders were used for external payments. This kind of dual currency system is paralleled elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, such as Ptolemaic Egypt and the Attalid kingdom.[381] In these other examples, state profit again seems to be a driving factor.

Gold coinage of either Philip's or Alexander's types was not struck in significant quantity after around 315 BC.[382] This was the last time there was a regular gold coinage in Macedonia. None of the Antigonids minted gold coinage in quantity.[383] This reduction in gold minting may reflect waning economic strength after a high point of Macedonian power under Philip II and Alexander III. Perhaps local sources of gold produced increasingly low yields following the intensive exploitation of Philip II's and Alexander III's reigns. However, by the last years

[379] Diod. 19.11.5.
[380] Le Rider (1993).
[381] Ptolemies: Jenkins (1967) 57-60; Le Rider (1997-98) 789-92; de Callataÿ (2005); Lorber (2012). Attalids: Meadows (2013); de Callataÿ (2013); Ashton (2013).
[382] Le Rider (1977) 433-4, (1993) 492-3; Price (1991) 106-16.
[383] Only one hoard has been found with gold coinage of Antigonos Gonatas: *CH* VIII 276, from Potidaia.

of the fourth century there was a huge amount of gold coinage in the types of Philip and Alexander already in circulation. Hoard evidence indicates gold Philips and Alexanders, as well as significant numbers of Lysimachos staters, continued to circulate within Macedonia, further north, and throughout the Aegean well into the third century.[384] The huge numbers of gold 'Philippoi' present in the triumphs of Flamininus and Paullus attest to their continued presence in volume in Macedonia down to the end of the monarchy.[385] This gold coinage would have found its way back into the Macedonian royal treasury via taxation and booty. This may have negated the need for later rulers to strike gold coinage in volume. Mørkholm has also observed a general shift throughout the Mediterranean, except in the Black Sea area, towards a monometallic precious metal monetary system based on silver from the beginning of the third century.[386] This declining desirability of coined gold money can also help explain lower levels of minting in gold.

3.2.3 The Antigonids

Neither Antipatros nor Kassandros initiated precious metal coinage in their own names, though Kassandros did strike some bronzes bearing his name and utilising traditional Macedonian types.[387] In 294 BC Demetrios Poliorketes murdered Alexander V, the surviving son of Kassandros, to take control of Macedon.[388] Demetrios struck some Alexander-type gold staters and silver tetradrachms, but also introduced his own coinage into Macedonia.[389] His first tetradrachms bore the types Nike on prow/striding Poseidon, referring to Demetrios' naval success (**fig. 5**). These were soon replaced by tetradrachms with a portrait of Demetrios with bull's horns and a diadem on the obverse, and a seated Poseidon on the reverse (**fig. 6**).

[384] IGCH 121, 123, 134, 143, 146, 148, 395, 396, 399, 400, 408, 409, 410, 414, 427, 446, 465, 466, 467.
[385] Plut. *Flam.* 14.2; Plut. *Aem.* 33.4; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 461.
[386] Mørkholm (1982) 297-9, (1991) 4-6; also Le Rider (2001) 161.
[387] Mørkholm (1991) 60; Valassiades (2005); Gatzolis (2012).
[388] Plut. *Dem.* 36-7.
[389] Newell (1927); Mørkholm (1991) 77-81; Kremydi (2011) 170-1; Demetrios inaugurated his own coinage at Antigonid possessions in the eastern Aegean and Mediterranean after the battle of Ipsos in 301.

This portrait of Demetrios had appeared earlier on his drachms and hemidrachms from Ephesos. The reverse seated Poseidon changed in later issues to a standing Poseidon (**fig. 7**). Gold staters were later introduced, bearing Demetrios/Macedonian horseman types (**fig. 8**). The heaviest period of minting for Demetrios' silver and gold coinage can be linked to the massive preparations from c. 290 for his planned Asian expedition.[390] Once again, there was a link between increased coin production and military activity. During Demetrios' reign the lighter weight tetradrachms with Philip II's type stopped. From this point all coinage in Macedonia was Attic weight. During their periods of control in Macedon, both Lysimachos and Pyrrhos used the mints at Pella and Amphipolis to strike their own coinages alongside Alexander coinage.[391]

Upon gaining control of Macedon in the 270s, Antigonos Gonatas continued to strike Alexander type coinage in silver with some gold.[392] His own coinage began around the start of the Chremonidean War in 268/7 BC, again highlighting the link between military activity and changes in coin production. Unlike his father, he did not place his own portrait on his coins. His first tetradrachms bore the head of the god Pan within a Macedonian shield on the obverse, and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse (**fig. 9**). The Pan type possibly referenced this god's aid in Gonatas' his victory over the Gauls at Lysimachea, though no ancient source mentions Pan in relation to this battle.[393] His other tetradrachm type, bearing the head of Poseidon on the obverse and Apollo on a ship's prow on the reverse, was probably introduced towards the end of his reign (**fig. 10**). The oceanic iconography has been linked to his victory

[390] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 226-7; Mørkholm (1991) 80.
[391] Mørkholm (1991) 80-2. Ptolemy Keraunos may also have struck his own coinage in bronze during his short reign, though these two rare issues have also been attributed to Ptolemaic involvement in Thrace in the 250s BC: Kremydi (2011) 171.
[392] Mathisen (1981). Mathisen dates these to the early years of Gonatas' reign. Panagopoulou (2000) 272 points out that they were probably issued over a much longer period given the shared control marks between the posthumous Alexanders and several periods of the Pan tetradrachms. For Gonatas' coinage, see also Merker (1960); Mørkholm (1991) 132-5.
[393] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 255-8; Lane Fox (2011g) 500. Panagopoulou (2000) 13-16 suggests they may be a reference to Gonatas' participation in the defence of Delphi in 279. Kremydi (2011) 172 remains agnostic.

over Ptolemy II at the battle of Andros in 246 BC and subsequent naval aspirations, as well as harking back to the coinage of Gonatas' father Demetrios Poliorketes.[394]

Both Demetrios II and Antigonos Doson continued the types of Antigonos Gonatas.[395] In fact Demetrios seems to have struck no coinage in his own name. Doson introduced only a small issue of fractional silver (head of Zeus/Athena Alkidemos types) which has been linked to Doson's Karian expedition of 227-5 due to findspots mainly in the eastern Aegean.[396] The continuation of his types by Gonatas' successors was probably designed to highlight dynastic continuity.

The findspots of the Pan and Poseidon tetradrachms suggest they were struck for different purposes. During Antigonos Gonatas' reign, the Pan tetradrachms are found mainly on the Balkan mainland, and only very rarely in Asia Minor or further east. They began to circulate in Asia Minor and further east from the 220s, and continue to appear in hoards there until the middle of the second century. The Poseidon tetradrachms, on the other hand, are found mainly in Asia Minor and further east, though again these seem to appear from only around 220 onwards. The Pan tetradrachms are probably found mainly in the Balkans because they were used to fund military expeditions there from the Chremonidean War onwards. The presence of the later Poseidon tetradrachms, and indeed some of the Pan tetradrachms, should be related to Macedonian activities in the Aegean and in Karia.[397] Doson's Karian expedition of 227 BC, though brief, clearly enjoyed success, as Philip V inherited possessions there.[398] It is probable that Macedonian control in the area was maintained by soldiers and mercenaries paid from the Macedonian treasury. In this way Macedonian royal coinage entered local markets and circulated throughout Asia Minor and the Seleukid territories.

[394] Panagopoulou (2000) 21-4. Hammond and Walbank (1988) 587-95 for the battle of Andros campaign.
[395] Panagopoulou (2000) Periods III and IV, 187-90, 248-9.
[396] Panagopoulou (2000) 102-3.
[397] Panagopoulou (2000) 281-4.
[398] Crampa (1969-72) I no. 5; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 344.

The Pan and Poseidon tetradrachms minted from c. 268-221 were produced in relatively low volume: only 100 obverse dies are recorded by Panagopoulou for these coinages.[399] The roughly contemporary Alexander coinage was struck from around 101 obverse dies.[400] Furthermore, fractional coinage is extremely rare, represented only by a single known drachm sharing the Pan tetradrachm types and Doson's Zeus head drachms produced from 5 known dies.[401] The low level of new coin production is striking compared to Philip II or Alexander III. However, in hoards from Macedonia in this period, Macedonian royal coinages circulated alongside other Attic weight coinages from around the Aegean.[402] To take one example, IGCH 455, a mid third century BC hoard from near modern Serres, contained 386 silver coins. Most of the hoard consisted of tetradrachms and drachms with the types of Alexander III (lifetime and posthumous, mainly from Asia Minor), Philip III, Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas, and Lysimachos. There were also 114 Athenian tetradrachms from the 4th and 3rd centuries, as well as 4 tetradrachms of Seleukos I and a single tetradrachm of Antiochos I. Other hoards of the 3rd and 2nd centuries show this same pattern.[403] This suggests a system where other Attic weight coinage was acceptable tender alongside Macedonian royal issues. This is a circulation pattern mirrored in the Seleukid kingdom, where a multitude of different Attic weight coinages circulated concurrently and any high quality Attic weight silver coinage was acceptable as legal tender.[404] The same must have been true in Macedonia, and helps to explain the lower level of Antigonid royal minting. The royal fisc received taxes in cash in the form of different kinds of Attic weight coinage, all of which was usable both inside and outside the kingdom. The need to strike new coinage would therefore have been lessened. New coinage need only be minted in order to meet specific

[399] Panagopoulou (2000) 110-270.
[400] Mathisen (1981).
[401] Panagopoulou (2000) 272.
[402] Panagopoulou (2000) 285.
[403] IGCH 469, 471, 474, 476, 478, *CH* VIII 322, 356; Panagopoulou (2000) 44-56.
[404] Le Rider (1986); Le Rider and de Callataÿ (2006) 71-93.

obligations when funds stored within the royal treasury were insufficient, or when it was deemed politically astute to issue payment in coinage bearing types which advertised dynastic ideology. Therefore a permeable numismatic environment, where multiple different Attic weight coinages circulated together, was of direct benefit to the Antigonid kingdom. It simplified the collection of taxes in cash and negated the need to regularly produce a royal coinage in high volume. Such a model should also caution us against assuming that this low level of minting represents Macedonian economic weakness in this period.[405]

Antigonid bronze coinage was voluminous in this period.[406] In the absence of substantial new fractional silver coinage, the bronze coinage and certain popular silver fractional coinages from elsewhere in Greece (such as Histaian tetrobols) probably facilitated everyday transactions.[407] Bronze bore traditional Macedonian military types as well as newer Antigonid types, such as the issue with Corinthian helmet/Pan erecting a trophy types. These bronze issues circulated in southern Greece as well as Macedonia, some countermarked for local use.[408] This may be because the *sitarchia*, the daily payment made to many soldiers in the Hellenistic period in lieu of a grain ration, was paid in bronze coinage.[409] The presence of more or less permanent garrisons of Macedonian soldiers to whom these wages were paid may have introduced a certain pressure to local merchants to accept the Macedonian fiduciary coinage as legal tender.

3.2.4 Philip V

Philip V was the first of the Antigonids since Demetrios Poliorketes to strike coins bearing his

[405] As argued in Hammond and Walbank (1988) 314-15.
[406] Kremydi (2011) 173.
[407] Panagopoulou (2000) 26-7.
[408] Mørkholm (1991) 134.
[409] Psoma (2009b).

own portrait.[410] His first tetradrachm issues bore the types head of Philip V/Athena with thunderbolt (**fig. 11**). Given the resemblance of the obverse type to coins of Philip II, it is possible that Philip V used this type to reference the days of his glorious namesake and suggest a return to past prosperity for Macedon. A later larger issue of silver tetradrachms bore the types head of the hero Perseus on Macedonian shield/club of Herakles within wreath (**fig. 12**). This second silver issue also included silver didrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms bearing the same types. Philip V also struck small numbers of gold staters, again bearing the Perseus/club types.[411] The head of Perseus may have been a reference to the heir apparent, born c. 212, though the Phrygian cap worn by Perseus in this type may have been responding to the image of Roma (wearing the same cap) on the first denarii introduced by Rome c. 211 BC.[412]

The dating of Philip V's precious metal coinage remains uncertain. Dates early in Philip's reign have been suggested. The coinage bearing Philip V's portrait has been dated to c. 212, or associated with the Social War of 220-217 BC, or even earlier as a commemorative issue immediately following Philip V's accession.[413] The introduction of the Perseus type has been associated with a military campaign, namely the first war between Rome and Macedonia c. 214-197, or with Philip's connections with Rome following the treaty of Apameia.[414] However, a late date for the inauguration of Philip's coinage should perhaps be preferred, sometime around c. 187/6 BC.[415] This is the date given by Livy for the intensification of

[410] Philip V's coinage: Boehringer (1972) 104-7; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 460-8; Mørkholm (1991) 135-7, 163-6; Burrer (2009).
[411] Mørkholm (1991) 135-7, 163-4 divides the Perseus head coinage into two issues, dating one to the first war with Rome and the other to Philip V's reforms post c. 187. The first consists of the obverse types without beard on the silver tetradrachm, while he identifies the bearded Perseus as a portrait of Philip V and dates them and the silver fractions later. However, there is no way to know for certain whether the two Perseus types are separated in time. Hammond, following Mamroth (1930) 286, characterised speculation regarding whether the head of Perseus on these coins was made to look like either Philip V or his son Perseus as inconclusive: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 463 n. 1.
[412] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 463; Mørkholm (1991) 136; Woytek (2012) 315-18.
[413] Mamroth (1930) 292-3; Walbank (1967) 224; Price (1974) 28; Mørkholm (1991) 135.
[414] Price (1974) 29; Mørkholm (1991) 135.
[415] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 460-3.

mining activity in Philip V's kingdom as part of a general programme of economic recovery.[416] The presence of shared monograms between both types of tetradrachms, many of the silver fractions, regional and civic issues (see below) and bronzes of Perseus may indicate a relatively concentrated minting period late in Philip V's reign.[417] Many of Philip V's tetradrachms and didrachms found in the north of Greece bear the mark of the mint master Zoilos. This mint master was also at work in the early years of Perseus' reign, providing another argument for a late date for most of Philip V's silver. Philip V could have relied mainly upon bronze coinage (struck in quantity throughout Philip V's reign) and posthumous and non-royal Attic weight coinage collected via taxation to cover his expenses, as did his predecessors back to Gonatas. This need not indicate a lower level of precious metal resources available for coin production, at least not before the payment of the indemnity to Rome after 197.[418] Perhaps it only made sense to Philip V to convert substantial quantities of Macedonia's bullion reserves into new coinage after his mining reforms increased the resource flow from metal mines from c. 186. This would correlate with the loose connection already observed between increased production of Macedonian royal coinage and increased access to precious metal resources.

An important series of numismatic reforms date from Philip V's reign. These have generally been dated to 187/6 BC, as part of the new policies of internal reorganisation adopted by Philip in the latter part of his reign.[419] Again, however, dates earlier in the reign of Philip V have also been suggested.[420] Alongside royal issues, issues of the *koinon* of the Macedonians were struck for the first time, as were coins in the name of the first *meris*, and the

[416] Livy 39.24.2.
[417] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 461-2.
[418] Total of 1,200 talents: Polyb. 18.44.7.
[419] Gaebler (1897), (1926); Mamroth (1930), (1935); Walbank (1967) 224, 265-7. Robert (1951) 212-13 favoured 185 BC.
[420] Kremydi (2011) 174, (2012).

administrative districts of the Amphaxians and Botteatai.[421] These coinages were mainly restricted to small silver fractions. They have been found in significant numbers outside Macedonia, both to the north in Thrace and around the eastern Mediterranean. This suggests that they were used primarily to fund military activities, either in these areas or employing mercenaries who returned to these areas with their pay. During this same period, some tetradrachms and more numerous bronze coinages struck in the name of Pella, Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Aphytis, and Apollonia appeared. Philip V's reforms were the first time responsibilities for striking precious and base metal coinages were devolved below the level of the royal fisc.[422]

There may have been economic motives behind these reforms. Hammond suggested a desire by Philip V to further the monetisation of the economy and to encourage internal exchange.[423] We should, however, be cautious in assigning to Philip V a desire to accelerate the monetisation of the Macedonian economy. Le Rider and de Callataÿ could find no evidence for a push toward full monetisation in the Seleukid kingdom.[424] It seems unlikely that ancient rulers envisaged a fully monetised economy as a potential goal. As examined above, there remained significant exchange and tribute collection in kind in Macedonia and other kingdoms throughout the Hellenistic period.

Philip's numismatic innovations have also been interpreted as signaling greater autonomy for Macedonian cities. Walbank argued that Philip was required to make concessions to local communities in order to secure their cooperation in his policies of economic reconstruction. Allowing local communities and the Macedonians to strike their own coinage, a right

[421] Kremydi-Sicilianou (2007), (2009); Kremydi (2011) 174-5.
[422] Touratsoglou (1993) 31-42; Kremydi (2011) 171-5. Recent work has suggested downdating the bronze coinage of the Macedonian cities to after 168 BC: Kourembanas (2009), (2010), (2011a), (2011b), (2011c). Gatzolis has suggested a date in the second half of the fourth century for the coinage of Aphytis: Gatzolis (2011).
[423] Hammond (1989a) 384, (1991b) 196.
[424] Le Rider and de Callataÿ (2006) 261-83; Houghton (2004).

previously reserved for the kings, signified an increase in the political rights of these communities. To Walbank, these numismatic reforms represented 'a definite political readjustment' between central and local authorities.[425] For Mørkholm, too, these reforms 'must mark a radical change in the relationship between the Macedonian people and its ruler'.[426] Such interpretations take for granted that issuing coinage is a sign of political autonomy, but recent work has problematised that assumption. It has been established that the right to strike coinage and political sovereignty were not indissolubly linked in the Classical Greek world.[427] Philip II and Alexander III both allowed local coinages to continue in conquered areas, and their eventual disappearance was more likely due to restricted access to precious metal resources than to the king's assertion of his sovereignty.[428] While the link between a notion of sovereignty and the right to strike coinage may have begun to develop in the late Hellenistic period, an association we see fully formed in the Greek cities under the Roman principate, we cannot take it for granted.[429] Different cases must be treated individually.

With regard to the Antigonid coinage, recent study has rendered interpretations such as Walbank's and Mørkholm's untenable.[430] The royal bronze issues share monograms and a common iconographic repertoire with both the coinage of the administrative districts and the coinage of the Macedonian cities. This is clear evidence of a cohesive and centralised numismatic programme covering the issues of the king, the *koinon*, the districts, and the cities. Therefore even after the reforms the production of all these coinages remained under the control of the Macedonian central authority. Hoover has demonstrated that this was also

[425] Walbank (1967) 265-7.
[426] Mørkholm (1991) 165.
[427] Martin (1985); Lorber (1990).
[428] Martin (1985) on Thessaly; Lorber (1990) 57-78 on Amphipolis and other northern coinages; Le Rider (2003) on Alexander's non-suppression of existing coinages; Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2007) on Abdera; Psoma, Karadima, and Terzopoulou (2008) on Maroneia.
[429] Robert (1960b); Meadows (2001).
[430] Touratsoglou (1993); Le Rider (2003) 35-6.

the case in early second century Seleukid Koile-Syria, where coinage bearing civic types was in fact carefully controlled by the crown and served to emphasise royal control and power over expressions of local identity.[431] Ultimately connections between royal authority and local coin production defy generalised explanation and must be appreciated in their particular political contexts. Under Philip V, these reforms represent no concession of greater financial or political autonomy to the *koinon* or the cities.

We should instead see a political motivation behind these reforms. Philip's later years were focused on economic and military recovery.[432] He needed to reinforce the cohesion of a kingdom which had suffered a humiliating defeat and loss of power at the hands of Rome. By choosing to reform the coinage of Macedonia to reflect the three tiered nature of the state – king, *ethnos*, cities – and combine this administrative reform with traditional Macedonian types, he hoped to express and confirm the harmonious relationship between these three constituent parts of the kingdom. The message was one of renewed cohesion and cooperation in the defense of the kingdom.[433]

There may have been administrative benefits in transferring certain responsibilities away from the royal fisc and onto the localities. It may have allowed Philip V to free up manpower and resources at the court to focus on other aspects of his economic recovery programme. The creation of these minting authorities may also have served to encourage the *koinon* or the cities to contribute financially to the production of these coinages, according to their ability.[434] But the chief aim was political, and did not include the granting of greater financial or political autonomy to the local communities. Coinage remained firmly under the control of the king.

[431] Hoover (2004).
[432] Walbank (1967) 223-57.
[433] Touratsoglou (1993) 40-1.
[434] Kremydi (2011) 174.

3.2.5 The end of the royal coinage

Macedonian royal coinage had circulated alongside other Attic weight coinages throughout mainland Greece and the Peloponnese during the third century. However, from c. 200, they cease to appear in hoards outside of Thessaly and the Macedonian kingdom. Crawford has suggested that this was due to a combination of Philip V's monopolisation of silver from Macedonia to pay the Roman indemnity and the political and economic isolation that Rome was able to inflict upon Macedonia.[435]

Perseus' silver coinage (we have no gold for him) maintained the combination of royal portrait with traditionally Macedonian types. All his silver denominations bore a portrait of the king with diadem on the obverse. The tetradrachm reverses had an eagle standing on a thunderbolt all surrounded by oak wreath (**fig. 13**). The didrachms and drachms have as their reverses Perseus' *harpē* and Herakles' club respectively. These were accompanied by bronzes of many types.[436]

Perseus' later tetradrachm issues show the strain which the war with Rome placed on the kingdom's resources. While Perseus' first tetradrachms have a weight c. 16.8-17.0g, by the last years of the reign this had dropped to c.15.3-15.6g.[437] This must have been an emergency measure to eke out Macedonia's bullion reserves. It seems clear from Livy's account of the precious vessels and artworks in Aemilius Paullus' triumph that Macedonia was still a rich kingdom upon its conquest.[438] Yet upon its capture following the battle of Pydna, the royal

[435] Crawford (1985) 123-5.
[436] Mørkholm (1991) 163-6.
[437] On the basis of the Sitochoro hoard (IGCH 237): Price (1989); Mørkholm (1991) 164.
[438] Livy 45.33.5-6.

treasury at Pella contained only the 300 talents laid aside to pay Perseus' ally Genthios.[439] Plutarch records that Perseus lost the services of a large force of Bastarnae mercenaries as he was unable to pay them what they demanded.[440] Therefore, while the overall wealth of Macedonia may have been impressive, Perseus seems to have been starved for cash in hand during his final years. This is unsurprising, given that by 168 around 5,600 talents of official tribute, and perhaps as much again unofficially, had been removed to Rome.[441]

Macedonian royal coinage essentially came to an end following the defeat of Perseus and the dissolution of the monarchy, though the Andriskos who invaded Macedonia in 149 BC may have struck some drachms on which he claimed the regnal name Philip.[442] While coinage from the first and second districts continued, some of high quality, coin production in the republics and the later province of Macedon increasingly reflected the agendas of Roman magistrates.[443]

3.3 Royal finances – a summary

This overview of the revenues and coinage of the Macedonian kings has shown the ubiquity of royal control of the resources of Macedonia. The king received income from natural resources, booty, and a variety of indirect and direct taxes levied in cash and kind. From around the second quarter of the third century, an open numismatic environment allowed for the circulation of multiple coinages, simplifying the collection of taxes in cash. New coins were probably struck to provide extra funds during times of heavy expenditure during military campaigns. This description of a royal economy will sound familiar to scholars of the

[439] Livy 44.46.9. Hammond (1984) for the campaign and battle of Pydna.
[440] Plut. *Aem*. 12.6.
[441] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 222.
[442] de Callataÿ (2011) 58-9.
[443] Coinage in Macedonia after the Roman conquest: Crawford (1985) 128-32; Mørkholm (1991) 166-8; Kremydi (2011) 175-8.

Seleukid kingdom.[444] Recent work has stressed the substantial continuity with Achaemenid financial and administrative practices under the Seleukid monarchs.[445] It would now be worth considering, if not what aspects of the Seleukid royal economy had their roots in Macedonian practices, at least what Alexander III and the first Seleukid monarchs would have found familiar in the Achaemenid system.

3.4 The *koinon*

As described above in chapter 1, the Macedonian *koinon* was formed in the reign of Antigonos Gonatas as the institutional embodiment of the Macedonian *ethnos*. It probably possessed an assembly which gathered at the annual *panegyris* at Dion. This body is behind the epigraphic attestations of 'the Macedonians' acting as a corporate body. The Macedonians recognised the inviolability of Kyzikos in a document of the last quarter of the third century. Three dedicatory inscriptions from the *koinon* are also known to us. The first of these is a dedication of 'Τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων' to Philip V at Delos. The second is a dedication to the same king by 'Μακεδόνες' at Samothrace. A third dedication, whose inscription is highly fragmentary, to Perseus from Dion may also have been set up by the Macedonians.[446]

The dedications in particular imply that the *koinon* possessed financial resources of some sort. 'The Macedonians', rather than the king, may appear in receipt of certain incomes comparatively early.[447] Diodoros records that after Philip II defeated the forces of Kersebleptes, he made the Thracians pay an annual tribute to the Macedonians.[448] Arrian relates that Alexander III made Aspendos pay an annual tribute to the Macedonians following

[444] Aperghis (2004) 117-262; Capdetrey (2007) 395-425. For the direct and indirect taxes levied by the Seleukids, Bikerman (1938) 106-32; Ma (1999) 130-7.
[445] Aperghis (2004) 263-95.
[446] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 32-5.
[447] Hammond (1980) 461-5.
[448] Diod. 16.71.2.

their capitulation.[449] However, we should not read too much into these literary sources, as they or their sources were not concerned with transmitting the particularities of Macedonian fiscal administration. Epigraphic documents which record payments to the Macedonians at an early date would carry more weight. An inscription of 325/4 from Delphi records a contribution of 10,500 staters to the Amphiktyony from 'the Macedonians' ('[M]ακεδόνες'), rather than from Alexander III.[450] However, it is unclear whether the *koinon* existed as an institutional body at this time. As examined above, the presence of 'the Macedonians' as a minting authority on late Antigonid coinage does not imply any degree of financial or fiscal independence either, as the reformed coinage of the late Antigonid kingdom remained a royal initiative.

Le Rider suggests that, if 'the Macedonians' and 'the king' did in fact represent two distinct fiscal bodies, with different monies reserved for each, it was probably the royal fisc which collected and administered both monies in the public treasury.[451] This is certainly possible. It may also be that the Macedonian *koinon* possessed a separate treasury, perhaps at Dion where the assembly met, with its own magistrates to oversee it.

Ultimately it is impossible to be certain based on the current state of the evidence whether the Macedonian *koinon* had finances separate to those of the king, and if so, how they were administered. I am inclined to follow Le Rider in suggesting that, given the central position of the king in the Macedonian state, from a fiscal point of view the difference between 'the king' and 'the Macedonians' will have been largely theoretical.[452] Particularly if there was a single treasury administered by the royal fisc, there may have been a certain fluidity in any distinction between money for the Macedonians and money for the king.

[449] Arr. *Anab*. 1.27.4.
[450] *CID* II.100, col. 2.10-11.
[451] Le Rider (2003) 37-8.
[452] Le Rider (2003) 38.

Figures

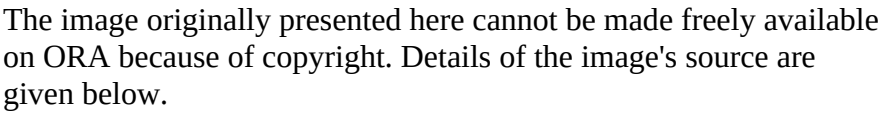


Fig. 1 – Silver tetradrachm of Philip II, Zeus/jockey with palm (© British Museum)

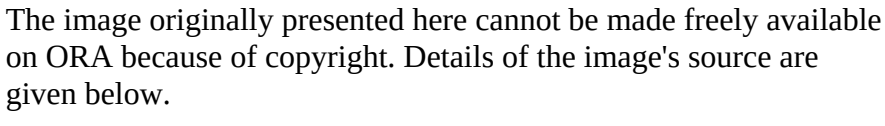


Fig. 2 – Gold stater of Philip II, Apollo/quadriga (© British Museum)

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Fig. 3 – Silver tetradrachm of Alexander III, Herakles/seated Zeus (© British Museum)

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Fig 4. - Gold stater of Alexander III, Athena/Nike (© British Museum)

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Fig. 5 – Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes, Nike on prow/striding Poseidon (© British Museum)

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Fig 6 – Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes, royal portrait/seated Poseidon (© British Museum).

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Fig. 7 – Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes, royal portrait/standing Poseidon (© British Museum)

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Fig. 8 – Gold stater of Demetrios Poliorketes, royal portrait/Macedonian horseman (© British Museum)

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Fig. 9 – Silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas, Pan in shield/Athena Alkidemos (© British Museum)

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Fig. 10 – Silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas, Poseidon/ Apollo on prow (© British Museum)

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Fig. 11 – Silver tetradrachm of Philip V, royal portrait/Athena with thunderbolt (from www.acsearch.info)

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Fig. 12 – Silver tetradrachm of Philip V, Perseus/club (from www.acsearch.info)

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Fig. 13 – Silver tetradrachm of Perseus, royal portrait/eagle on thunderbolt (© British Museum)

Chapter 4 -Civic finances

We must now turn to the financial resources of the Macedonian cities. Unfortunately, as Hatzopoulos has noted, the paucity of our evidence means that Macedonian civic finances are something of a mystery.[453] Clearly Macedonian cities had revenues. An unpublished decree from Dion from the second half of the fourth century mentions civic treasurers.[454] Cities were able to vote honors for citizens and foreigners, presumably funded from civic revenues.[455] Civic bodies and magistrates set up dedications to the gods and kings in their urban spaces.[456] The list of contributions gathered by Argive *theoroi* mentioned in chapter 2.4.4 suggests that Macedonian cities offered monetary contributions to panhellenic sanctuaries.[457] In Perseus' gathering of the army at Dion in spring 171 prior to the final war with Rome, embassies from the cities of Macedonia offered the king 'funds for the war, each according to its ability, and grain', though the king turned down their offer of help.[458]

These expenditures clearly show that Macedonian cities were able to fund common civic tasks from their own incomes. But how large were these expenditures? Did they require a significant income? It is difficult to judge the expense of the individual dedications. The contributions recorded in the fragmentary list from Argos are in the region of 20 or 30 drachmae. The standard honors for a civic benefactor were to be praised, awarded a crown of leaves, and to have a stele of the honorific decree set up in a conspicuous place. For foreigners the honors were more varied, but could include *isopoliteia*, *proedria* at games, statues, and crowns of leaves. Though such activities may have been more regular than our sparse evidence indicates, none of these imply any great outlay by the city. Nor did the

[453] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 441-2.
[454] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 129, II no. 57; *BullEpig* (1997) 341, (1999) 332.
[455] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 37-9, 44-6, 49-50, 53, 54-5, 57.
[456] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 29, 64-73, 75, 77.
[457] *IG* IV 617; Perlman (2000) 127-8.
[458] Livy 45.53.2-3.

Macedonian cities have to worry about military expenses beyond their contributions to the royal fisc, as defence of the realm was in the hands of the king.[459]

The fact that Perseus turned down the proffered contributions from the Macedonian cities is noteworthy. Perseus was preparing for what promised to be a lengthy and expensive war, and had expended considerable time and resources building up his supplies, finances, and military forces.[460] There may have been a political cost to accepting extra support from the Macedonian cities. A Macedonian king was expected to be able to protect the country, and an admission that Perseus did not expect to be able to do so utilising the monarch's ordinary revenues could have been seen as a sign of weakness. But it is difficult to imagine that he would have turned down the cities' contributions if they had offered him resources on a scale materially useful to the coming war. Therefore the cities' proffered contributions were probably relatively meagre. In my view this is not evidence that the Macedonian cities possessed, as Hatzopoulos argues, 'the capacity to contribute to the war effort of the nation on a practically equal footing with the King'.[461] The evidence seems to indicate quite the opposite.

It may be fruitful to consider what revenues a 'normal' Greek city collected, and consider whether or not Macedonian cities are likely to have differed substantially. Describing the revenues of a 'normal' Greek city is fraught with problems. The very concept of a 'normal' Greek city is problematic, and any generalisations, which by their nature ignore chronological and geographical variation, risk becoming reductive typologies.[462] There is the danger of Athenocentrism. Athens is the city for which we are best informed for financial matters, but it

[459] Military expenses were usually an ancient state's biggest outlay: de Callataÿ (2000); Bresson (2008) I 114.
[460] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 490-504.
[461] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 442.
[462] Migeotte (1995) 10-11, (1997) 192, (2009) 45, 173-8.

was hardly a representative *polis*.[463] We are everywhere poorly informed about the quotidian operation of civic finances, as our evidence usually represents moments of crisis.[464] Nonetheless, as a crude mirror against which to consider the paltry Macedonian evidence, some broad generalisations may illuminate more than they obscure.

For their ordinary revenues, Greek cities relied upon taxes. These were either indirect taxes on a variety of everyday activities (movement of goods, market taxes, harbour taxes) or direct taxes (irregular *eisphorai*, taxes on property, land, or the rich).[465] It had been thought that Greeks generally found direct and regular taxation unacceptably degrading, but recent research has revealed the surprising ubiquity of direct taxes in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world.[466] Some cities, such as Athens or Thasos, derived significant income from export of expensive materials like precious metals or marble. Irregular but often substantial revenue could be derived from piracy or warfare.[467] Some cities collected tribute from subject territories.[468] Finally, it is well attested that sanctuaries throughout the Greek world could act more or less as banks, lending sacred money to civic communities to be repaid later.[469] These revenues were never large, though they were probably enough to cover day-to-day expenditure.[470]

Did Macedonian cities have access to any of these revenues? As described above, certain sources of income were monopolised by the king. This is true of mines, timber, and booty. As for a tax on land within the civic territory, members of the Macedonian elite amassed

[463] Migeotte (1995) 9, 30-1.
[464] Migeotte (1997) 193.
[465] Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 121-3; Migeotte (1995) 23-5, (1997) 192, (2009) 49-51; Bresson (2008) I 108-10.
[466] Migeotte (1995) 10, (2003), (2009) 50; Bresson (2008) I 109-10; contra Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 121; Finley (1999) 163-4, 175.
[467] Migeotte (2009) 25-7.
[468] Bresson (2008) I 110-11; Migeotte (2009) 50-1.
[469] Bogaert (1968) 91-107, 288-94; Migeotte (1988); Linders (1992) 11-13; Archibald (2001) 65-7; Migeotte (2009) 127.
[470] Migeotte (1997) 191; Billows (2005) 211.

considerable estates of private land within the territories of Macedonian cities (see below ch. 5.1). It seems clear that the land exchanged in the lists of sale from Mieza was part of the civic territory.[471] As for royal land grants, it has been assumed that such royal gifts became part of the civic territories in which they lay. However, this is not mentioned in the land grant documents themselves.[472] It has been inferred from the fact that documents such as Kassandros' confirmation of Perdikkas' land and Lysimachos' grant to Limnaios, were found at Kassandreia, indicating the stelai may have been displayed in the nearest civic centre.[473] It should be noted that documents recording the private sale of land among Macedonian landowners were displayed on the land in question as proof of ownership.[474] We may therefore wonder whether or not royal land grant documents were displayed in the same way. Proof of ownership was as important in these cases as in cases of private sales. However, given the nature of the royal land grant as a gift that became the private property of the recipient, it seems reasonable to assume that such grants were absorbed into civic territories and brought in line with other private land in Macedonia.

It seems unlikely, however, that the civic communities profited from these landholdings within their territories in any way. As described above, the land tax in Macedonia accrued to the royal fisc. It is probable that the assessment and collection of this tax was administered via the civic territories. The civic magistrates would have used the copies of land grant, sales, and ownership records deposited in the city archives to assess and gather such taxes. But it seems probable that the cities did not gather substantial revenue, if any, from privately owned land in their civic territories, as this land was taxed instead by the crown.

Macedonia possessed several cities with flourishing ports, and magistrates in charge of the

[471] Hatzopoulos (2011a).
[472] Paschidis (2006) 257 n. 35.
[473] Hatzopoulos (1988) 46.
[474] Hatzopoulos (2011a) 59.

commercial harbour are attested at Amphipolis.[475] Hatzopoulos has suggested that these were civic magistrates, implying that the Macedonian cities may have accrued revenues from their city harbours.[476] As we have seen in the case of the *epistatai*, however, civic magistracies could exist whose *raison d'être* was to facilitate royal policies. As described above, harbour revenues formed part of the crown's income. Given the royal control over these taxes, it is probable that the overseers of the commercial harbour in Amphipolis existed to maintain the port facilities and collect revenues on behalf of the king. While the cities may well have gathered a percentage of the revenue thereby collected to channel towards maintenance of commercial facilities, it seems unlikely that harbour revenues accrued mainly to the city.

We have one example of an indirect tax from Philippoi, where a list of sales dated to the second half of the fourth century records an ἐπώνιον levied on these exchanges at approximately 2% of the transaction's value.[477] At this point, however, Philippoi was nominally an independent allied city of Macedonia, rather than a Macedonian city proper. Therefore different financial arrangements may have existed here than operated in cities within the Macedonian national territory.[478]

As for the funds of sanctuaries, these were not available to the cities. When Demetrios II was acting as regent for his father Antigonos Gonatas in 248 BC, while the latter was on campaign in Greece, he wrote a letter to Harpalos of Beroia urging him to restore the revenues of Herakles which had been diverted to civic funds.[479] The portion of Philip V's *diagramma* to Thessalonike (186 BC) concerning the Sarapeion in that city mandated that the property of the

[475] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 65 l. 4.
[476] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 442.
[477] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 441-2, II no. 83
[478] This is true of other evidence we have from Philippoi. The asylia decree from Kos (Rigsby (1996) no. 27; Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 36; *IG* XII 4 220) indicates that the ambassadors from Kos were escorted to their next destination by mercenaries. But we cannot use this as evidence that Macedonian cities employed mercenaries, given Philippoi's position outside the kingdom at the time.
[479] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 416-17, II no. 8; Mari (2006) 219-20.

god and the votive offerings there were inviolate. It also insisted that the treasury of the sanctuary should not be opened without the presence of the chief civic magistrates, the *epistatai* and the *dikastai*.[480] Philip V appears to have been protecting sacred property from civic interference, while using the civic magistrates to ensure that those sanctuary administrators did not use sacred monies for their own purposes. The king had a series of religious responsibilities towards the *ethnos*, and may have been ultimately responsible for the relationship of the Macedonians with the gods.[481] There was therefore a closer relationship between sanctuaries and the king than between sanctuaries and the cities in which they existed. These royal letters of intervention record Macedonian civic authorities attempting to utilise a financial resource available to many of their peers in the Greek world. The fact that the kings of Macedonia were keen to maintain a strict division between civic and sacred finances will have impoverished the potential financial resources of the Macedonian cities.

Despite the paucity of the evidence, overall it seems that the cities of Macedonia were not in a strong financial position. Most cities in the Greek world did not have substantial ordinary revenues. The Macedonian cities were even worse off, as revenues which might have accrued to them were instead controlled or safeguarded by the king. This will have increased the financial dependence of Macedonian civic communities on the king for large projects of urban development or fortification, skewing the power balance between local communities and central authorities in the king's favour. However, there remains once potential source of financial resources for both king and city to consider: the wealthy elite of Macedonia.

[480] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 406, II no. 15; Mari (2006) 220-21.
[481] Mari (2011b) 455.

Chapter 5 - Macedonian elites

For Greek cities, contributions from civic elites could help supplement other civic revenues for both regular outlays and extraordinary expenditures.[482] One way of organising this was a system of regular liturgies, where rich citizens took their turns financing particular expenses. However, we do not know whether liturgies were widespread outside of classical Athens.[483] Public subscriptions were another way of raising revenue, attested mainly from the Hellenistic period.[484] These were appeals organised to elicit contributions towards specific projects from both groups and individuals. While often theoretically open to the entire civic body and beyond (including women and resident foreigners), in practice civic elites tend to dominate subscription lists.[485] Finally there is the well-known phenomenon of civic euergetism.[486] Elites acted as benefactors towards their civic communities, providing funds in return for honours. Such contributions could fund a variety of civic activities, such as public buildings, festivals and games, or procuring grain during a food crisis. Elite euergetism could largely replace a city's ordinary revenues.[487] Elites could make such contributions in their capacities as magistrates, meeting some or all the expenses of their office themselves.[488] Increasingly in the Hellenistic period, however, elites gave as part of a small clique of the super-rich dominating political life, though the date at which such a dynamic developed is debated.[489]

We know of these acts via honorific decrees which publicised the deeds of the benefactor and the honours awarded. In these decrees, elite benefaction is presented as the subordination of

[482] Xen. *Oec.* 2.5-6.
[483] For liturgies: Veyne (1976) 190-200; Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 122; Finley (1999) 150-4; Engen (2010) 43-7, 66-7.
[484] Migeotte (1992); Chaniotis (2013); Ellis-Evans (2013).
[485] Migeotte (1992), (1997) 190.
[486] Veyne (1976); Gauthier (1985); Billows (1995) 70-80; Migeotte (1997); Shipley (2000) 96-102. Note that what benefactions constitute 'euergetism proper' is not easy to define: van Minnen (2000) 437-40.
[487] Migeotte (1997) 191-6; Harter-Uibopuu (2011) for the financial management of large donations.
[488] Veyne (1976) 214-17, 251-3.
[489] Veyne (1976) 209-28 dates the shift to the late Classical period. Gauthier (1985) 55-6, 66-74 saw no great change in patterns of elite benefaction until the late Hellenistic period c. 150 BC. Van der Vliet (2011) stresses the complexities of the 'oligarchisation' of the *polis*.

base self-interest to communitarian civic ideals: the honorand's deeds were portrayed as undertaken for the benefit of the community.[490] Yet there was significant self-interest at work in such acts. Euergetism was a competitive display of superiority, and elites competed with one another to give more and more conspicuously, and thereby attain more honors.[491] The honors received by the donor strengthened the social and political position of them and their family: donations bought 'social capital'.[492] But the ideals of civic service expressed by honorific inscriptions, though they paint an idealistic picture of disinterested elite motivation, speak to a real pressure upon wealthy citizens. The elite of a *polis* were expected to materially contribute to civic welfare and be seen to subordinate their own personal interests to the public good.[493] This moral imperative produced significant social pressure for elites to be generous to their civic communities. Euergetism was both elite self-aggrandisement and an expectation the civic community laid upon its wealthiest citizens.

Such a system depended upon the political and ideological investment of elites in their image and reputation within a civic body. All Macedonians were registered as members of a local civic community.[494] But were the elite of Macedonia sufficiently invested in their identities and reputations within these communities to experience significant pressure to support them with financial donations? Or did their ambitions and interests lie on the 'national' level, in the world of king and court? If the former was the case, then the elite of Macedonia could have formed a potential source of revenue for the Macedonian cities, enabling them to undertake significant public projects without royal support and thus liberating them to a degree from financial dependence upon the crown. In the latter scenario, however, the Macedonian elite would have deployed their resources pursuing goals other than recognition on a local level, lessening the ability of the cities of Macedonia to exert social pressure on the elite and

[490] Veyne (1976) 232-8;
[491] Veyne (1976) 196-7, 236-41, 261-71.
[492] Luraghi (2010); Chaniotis (2013).
[493] Veyne (1976) 230-41; Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 121-22.
[494] Hammond (1979) 647-8; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 167-8; Paschidis (2006) 256-7.

significantly curtailing their potential financial resources. So on what did the Macedonian elites spend their money? And how much money are we talking about?

5.1 Elite wealth and display

Livy's description of the immensely rich and well dressed Macedonian elites deported in the wake of the Roman settlement gives an impression of the wealth of this class at the end of the monarchy.[495] Direct references to the personal wealth of the Macedonian elite are exceedingly rare. Plutarch records that Eumenes kept more than 1,000 talents of personal wealth in his tent on Alexander III's campaign, though the historicity of this anecdote has been questioned.[496] We must use more indirect evidence to consider the wealth of the elite. Such evidence shows both the extreme wealth of late Classical and early Hellenistic Macedonian elites, and that much of this wealth was deployed to support a luxurious elite lifestyle.

The elite houses in late fourth-century Pella, most notably the 'house of Dionysos', the 'house of Helen', and the 'plasterwork house', are prime examples of an elite culture of display based on massive wealth.[497] The sheer size of these houses was an expression of elite wealth and dominance of space (**figs. 15-17**). The House of Dionysos occupies an entire city block to the south of Pella's agora, while the Helen house and the plasterwork house occupy large portions of city blocks some distance to the west (**fig. 14**). The interior decoration of these houses, for which they are named, attests to the importance of high quality art to the presentation of an elite lifestyle. The Dionysos house and the Helen house each possess multiple floor mosaics of outstanding quality (**figs. 19-21**). At the plasterwork house, a two storey interior façade with coloured plaster preserves some of what must have been impressive interior decoration

[495] Livy 45.32.41.
[496] Plut. *Eum.* 2.3; Berve (1926) II 157, n. 1.
[497] Makaronas and Giouré (1989); Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) 22-7; Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000b); Akamatis (2011) 398-9.

(**figs. 22-23**). This was architecture and interior space designed to impress and overawe with its sophistication and obvious expense.

The multiple banqueting rooms in these houses attest to the importance of hospitality and feasting to the elite Macedonian lifestyle. Like the larger banquets thrown by the king, these affairs were a chance for conspicuous consumption and acts of generosity which served to underline the wealth and beneficence of the host. Hippolochos' letter to Lynkeos transmitted in Athenaios can help us to imagine the scale of the luxury displayed at elite parties.[498] This records the wedding banquet of one Karanos the Macedonian. It is unknown where this banquet was held, though Lane Fox has plausibly suggested Pella.[499] Hippolochos is recorded as a contemporary of Lynkeos and Duris of Samos. Proteas, an intimate of Alexander III and son of that king's wet-nurse Lanike, was recorded as present at the banquet, described as drinking more than anyone else.[500] These details date the banquet to the late fourth or early third century. The letter gives a vivid and detailed account of elite Macedonian feasting. The multitude of exotic food and wines displayed Karanos' advanced tastes, not to mention the funds required to procure and prepare such delights in quantity. The quality and variety of the entertainments (women musicians, naked female acrobats, a 100 strong male chorus, dancing girls, the clown Mandrogenes) similarly displayed taste and wealth. Each guest received such gifts that when they left, they were looking to buy 'houses, land, and slaves' with their accumulated riches. These lavish gifts fulfilled similar expectations as were laid on the kings of Macedonia at feasts of this kind, as a good host redistributed his wealth to the enrichment of his guests. Though this is an isolated description, the fact that this letter was one of a series exchanged between Hippolochos and Lynkeos recording the details of impressive banquets

[498] Ath. 4.128A-130D.
[499] Lane Fox (2011g) 496.
[500] Berve (1926) II no. 664; Heckel (2006) 233.

suggests an early Hellenistic culture of high elite competitive banqueting.[501] Such events formed part of the competition for recognition and social status among Macedonian elites.

Such elite competition was also at work in the funerary monuments of the elite. The 'Macedonian tomb', a tomb type characterised by a barrel-vaulted interior and a covering mound, had emerged by the mid-fourth century in Macedonia.[502] Though they vary significantly in quality, examples of impressive interior decoration, and painted exterior façades reminiscent of temple and palace architecture, attest to substantial elite investment in funerary monuments (**figs. 24-27**).[503] Several were used as family tombs, with multiple chambers for separate burials or, like the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles near Mieza, with multiple burials in a single large chamber (**figs. 28-31**). The painted architectural façades call to mind the royal Macedonian palaces (see below ch. 8), and belong to the same genre of ostentatiously high quality and high cost construction designed to express superiority. The same attention was lavished on tomb interiors, which preserve some of the best surviving examples of ancient painting to date (**figs. 32-35**).[504] Sumptuous funerary couches and assemblages of expensive grave goods further indicate considerable investment in many of these tombs. Given that such tombs were ordinarily buried under a mound, the context for the display of these outlays of wealth was the funerary rites and games accompanying the burial.[505] For the deceased, these rituals will have fulfilled the spiritual and metaphysical requirements of the transition to the afterlife. But for the deceased's family they were an

[501] Ath. 4.128A.
[502] Borza and Palagia (2007) suggest that the 'Macedonian tomb' only entered Macedonia with eastern influences in the wake of Alexander III's campaign. However, the 'Tomb of Eurydike' at Aigai was sealed c. 340 BC: Lane Fox (2011b) 8.
[503] For an introduction: Miller (1993) 1-20. Also Ginouvès and Akamatis (1994); Huguenot (2008) I 37-51; Palagia (2011); Lane Fox (2011a) fig. 27. Tombs at Aigai: Andronikos (1984), (1987); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2004); Bourza and Palagia (2007); Lane Fox (2011b); Kottaridi (2011b). Dion: Pandermalis (1999) 268. Lefkadia: Petsas (1966a). Pella: Lilimbaki-Akamati (2007a) 33-62. Thessaloniki: Tsimpidou-Avloniti (2005); Palagia (2011) 487-9. Amphipolis: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 424-6. For monumental Hellenistic tombs in general, including Macedonian tombs: Fedak (1990).
[504] Brecoulaki (2006); Paspalas (2008); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2011) 288-90; Palagia (2011) 479-89; Lane Fox (2011a) figs. 26, 54-6.
[505] Funerary games are attested for non-royal Macedonians, and have been cautiously dubbed another 'homeric' feature of Macedonian society: Manakidou (1996); Mari (2008) 231-2.

opportunity to construct and advertise their social standing in a highly agonistic elite world through a display of wealth, piety, and familial continuity. These tombs were often placed along the main roads in and out of settlements, highlighting the role of such monuments in advertising the wealth and status of elite families. The quality of the contents, architecture, and decoration of these tombs attests to a competitive elite environment in which different families tried to outdo the grandeur of one another's memorial rites and monuments.

Elites also possessed large estates in the *chora* of Macedonian cities. Lists of sales confirm that these estates could reach impressive sizes. A list of sales from Mieza reveals the accumulation by one Zopyros of large amounts of contiguous land in the north of the civic territory of Mieza some time in the Hellenistic period.[506] Through a series of cash purchases, indicating a substantial level of disposable wealth, Zopyros acquired estates totalling c. 100 hectares. Though large, this is by no means the largest elite estate attested in Hellenistic Macedonia. Limnaios son of Harpalos was granted estates by the king totaling 2480 plethra, around 217.25 hectares, though this was a gift from the king and not bought by Limnaios.[507] The fact that the two fragments of the plaque bearing Zopyros' sales were found in the antechamber of the 'Tomb of Judgement', which lay along the main road from Pella to Mieza, suggests a location of Zopyros' estate nearby, making it prime real estate for staying connected to the royal capital.[508]

Such large elite estates may have been a common feature of the Macedonian landscape from at least Hellenistic times, as the increasing number of known large elite rural 'villas' indicates. Most of these villas date from the Roman period, but several have been uncovered dating back to at least the early third century BC. As well as being productive centres, the estate

[506] Hatzopoulos (2011a).
[507] Hatzopoulos (1988) 17-18; *SEG* 38 619.
[508] For the Tomb of Judgement, Petsas (1966) 179-82; Lane Fox (2011f) 390-1.

houses generally possess the size and decoration which mark them out as elite residences. They are equipped with the same banqueting rooms needed to maintain an elite lifestyle in the *chora*, as well as the more defensive aspects (such as a central fortified tower) characteristic of exposed country residences.[509]

The above evidence indirectly confirms the wealth of the Macedonian elite in our period. It also attests that the elites of Macedonia chose to expend large amounts of their wealth pursuing luxurious competitive lifestyles. Ma has described the luxury lifestyle of the Macedonian kings as 'a technology of power', designed to exhibit monarchial and Macedonian sophistication and superiority to Greek cities and other dynasties.[510] The same could be said of elite lifestyle, though the intended recipients of such messages were other members of the Macedonian elite. Much of this competitive display occurred in urban settings. Macedonian tombs are mainly found on routes to and from settlements, where their messages could be transmitted to the maximum number of people. The audience for the grandeur of the townhouses in Pella will have been mainly other members of the elite, but also the general population of the city. But while these deployments of wealth occur in the context of the Macedonian towns, they are manifestations of elite competitive display and do not contribute to the financial well-being of the larger civic community. Indeed, such displays may in fact have served to heighten social tension by making explicit the vast wealth differentials among Macedonians.

5.2 Elite euergetism

Such tension could be ameliorated through elite donations to the city. There is some evidence for such elite benefaction on a local level in Macedonia under the kings. This takes the form

[509] Adam-Veleni (2009).
[510] Ma (2011) 538-9.

of honorary decrees from Macedonian cities for Macedonians who have provided some service to the city at their own expense. They have been collected by Hatzopoulos.[511] While such decrees are not numerous, they attest instances where wealthier Macedonians deployed their own resources to aid a civic community and offer an important contrast to the evidence of elite competitive consumption.

One example is highly fragmentary. It is a decree from Anthemous honouring one Iollas.[512] Unfortunately the decree does not preserve what service Iollas had performed for Anthemous. The honours granted – praise, a crown, a stele relating his acts – are known from our other decrees. The chief interest of this document is that it confirms that Anthemous represented itself as a *polis* in the Hellenistic period.[513]

Other examples are less fragmentary. A decree from Gazoros honoured a certain Plestis.[514] Gazoros was one of a 'Pentapolis' of smaller settlements which acted together for institutional purposes in an area east of the Strymon river.[515] It is probable that Plestis was the *epistates* of this sympolity.[516] The decree refers to benefactions undertaken in 'the sixth year' and the year before. These refer to the fifth and sixth regnal years of a Macedonian king, and based on the letter forms Hatzopoulos has convincingly argued for a date under Philip V (217/6-216/5 as the fifth and sixth years) or Perseus (176/5-175/4).[517] Plestis is honoured for selling wheat and barley to the citizens at a price below market value, an example of the well-known practice of *paraprasis*. In return, 'the Gazorians and the neighbouring villages' would elect a group to go to the king and discuss Plestis' actions and to set up a stele to Artemis in Gazoros 'wherever Plestis chooses'. Plestis was also to be crowned with a crown of leaves, 'so that the

[511] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II.
[512] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 49.
[513] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992) 41.
[514] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 39.
[515] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 51-72.
[516] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 74; Paschidis (2006) 263-4; contra Veligianni (1983) 109.
[517] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 51-6.

others, seeing the *euergesia* bestowed to him by the citizens, will take care to save their fellow-citizens'.[518] Here there are dynamics at work which are familiar from elite benefaction in civic communities across the Hellenistic Aegean. A rich citizen incurs a personal expense to aid the *polis* in a time of need. In return the *polis* grants him honours which increase his prestige. The 'hortatory formula' regarding rewards available for Plestis' fellow-citizens should they follow his example is a pointed reminder of their civic duty, and an attempt to communicate and reinforce the desirability of such honours as Plestis has received.

Very similar language is used in two honorary decrees from Morrylos, a small city in the region of Krestonia to the north of Thessalonike, from the reign of Philip V.[519] One is an honorary decree for Paramonos son of Samagoras.[520] Paramonos had given 'to the city and to Asklepios' a cow from his herd, which had produced other animals which were also probably dedicated to Asklepios. He had done this in 'the fifteenth year', the familiar regnal dating formula placing Paramonos' benefaction in 207/6 BC.[521] The document seems to be correcting an administrative oversight. It had previously been resolved by the city to crown Paramonos with a crown of leaves for this act of generosity, but the *archontes* at the time did not produce a document to record the decree. The new *archontes* here set that right, affirming that Paramonos 'acts towards them as a citizen without reproach and in all matters devotes himself to the common interest'. His crown is reaffirmed, he is to be praised, and he is to 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'. Once again, the emphasis is on Paramonos' fine behaviour as a citizen, and the other citizens are reminded to consider Paramonos' fine example and look to their

[518] The citizen body highlights *euergesia* granted to Plestis, probably the *epistates* and therefore probably a citizen of the Gazorian sympolity. If this *euergesia* amounted to the granting of the title *euergetes*, it would be a rare instance of a (probable) citizen receiving a title usually reserved for foreigners in the Greek world: Gauthier (1985).
[519] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989).
[520] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 17-19; Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 53; *SEG* 39 606.
[521] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 19-23.

own generosity towards the community.

The same is true of the decree from Morrylos for Alketas.[522] The beginning and ends of the text are lost, but the key details remain. They record Alketas' efforts for Morrylos in the seventeenth year of a king's reign. Once again, based on letter forms, the king is Philip V, dating this to 206/5 BC.[523] Alketas was probably the *epistates* for Morrylos at this time, as the latter part of the decree talks of when 'Alketas was elected to highest offices by the citizens'.[524] Alketas' benefactions were on a larger scale than Paramonos' earlier donation. Alketas accommodated and entertained visitors from his own funds, lifting this financial burden from the city 'in times of heavy expenditure'.[525] These are placed before the dating formula, indicating that this was perhaps a regular arrangement which Alketas undertook when the city could not afford it. In the seventeenth year itself, he 'agreed to fortify the city', 'had corn brought to the market', and, 'spending freely, gave pasturing cows to the citizens and the god'. The last of these recalls Paramonos' donation of a cow, and makes clear the importance of the local sanctuary of Asklepios as a locus of benefaction and a centre for elite display. The second indicates that Alketas intervened to solve a grain supply crisis. The agreement to fortify the settlement stands out, though it may mean that Alketas agreed to supervise the construction rather than fully fund the city wall. Even if Alketas did pay for a new wall, it should be noted that Morrylos itself was a comparatively minor settlement. Though fortifications have not yet been found at the site of Morrylos, it is probable that they were much smaller and cheaper than the huge constructions for the larger Macedonian settlements examined in section 3 of this thesis.

The honors awarded to Alketas reflect the larger scale of his benefactions. As in our other

[522] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 41-3; Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 54; *SEG* 39 605.
[523] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 50-6.
[524] Paschidis (2006) 264 n. 105.
[525] Similar to the activities for which Protogenes of Olbia was honoured in the late third/early second century: *Syll*^{3} 495; Gauthier (1985) 70-2.

decrees, he was praised, crowned, and the stele bearing the decree was to be set up in 'the most conspicuous place'. He was also to have a painted image of him set up 'in the most conspicuous place in the sanctuary of Asklepios'. Most notably, it was resolved 'to keep as a holiday this day of the month of Daisios when Alketas was elected to highest offices by the citizens'.[526] Once again, the reason given for the award of such honors is that they may act as an example to the other citizens – 'in order that the others too, seeing the liberality of the city may become more zealous'. The difference between the honors awarded to Alketas and the honors awarded to Paramonos reflect the different scale of their benefactions. The greater the inconvenience or sacrifice made by a citizen on behalf of the civic community, the greater the recognition gained. Therefore even though such decrees present a warm picture of communitarian sacrifice by the rich, acts which serve as an inspiration to those around them, such epigraphic language glosses over the importance of such acts of euergetism to a *polis* environment filled with competition and tension over differences in status and wealth.[527]

Such honorific decrees suggest that the civic communities of Macedonia experienced the same internal financial problems and social tensions as other civic communities elsewhere in the Hellenistic Mediterranean. We have already seen in chapter 1 that the Macedonian cities were part of inter-city networks of religious and social exchange. The international life of these cities is best understood as part of these networks of peer polity interaction. Despite the paucity of the evidence, these honorific decrees suggest that the internal civic life of Macedonian cities should also be considered alongside their peers in the rest of the Aegean world. It is only by bringing the civic communities in Macedonia into such Aegean-wide considerations of the life of the *polis* in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods that we can fully appreciate both their similarities and differences with their peers.

[526] Daisios was the traditional month during which festivals of kings and benefactors in Macedonia were celebrated: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 46-8.
[527] Veyne (1976) 298-327; Gauthier (1985); Ellis-Evans (2013).

5.3 Local vs. central aspirations

However, careful consideration of the decree for Plestis reveals that his chief aim was not to gain recognition locally, but nationally. As Paschidis has pointed out, the fact that the city's embassy to the king to discuss Plestis' actions is mentioned before the erection of the stele and the award of a crown reflects the priorities of the honorand.[528] If Plestis was the *epistates*, as seems probable, then he was a civic magistrate. Yet, in keeping with the role of the *epistates* as the conduit for royal orders, it was more important to Plestis that the king be made aware of his sound protection of the interests of Gazoros than that he gain recognition on a local level. As Paschidis says, "the decree was, in a sense, Plestis' *carte de visite* to the court". Therefore, though a civic official, the recognition of his local peers was less important to Plestis than recognition at the level of the royal court.

This accords with the conclusions of Paschidis' study of the interpenetration of civic and court elites in Macedonia.[529] His study of the (admittedly patchy) prosopographical evidence for Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia identified several examples families who move from local politics to court positions over several generations. The best attested links involve families for Beroia. This may be because Beroia is the only Macedonian city for which we possess a significant amount of local epigraphic material to draw links between members of the citizen body and members of the royal court attested in the literary evidence. It may also be due to the well known prominence of individuals from Beroia in the upper echelons of the Antigonid court, possibly because Beroia was the Antigonid dynasty's home city.[530] Paschidis' archetypal example is a family from Beroia who, over several generations, rose

[528] Paschidis (2006) 265.
[529] Paschidis (2006).
[530] On Beroia, see below ch. 9.9.

from importance on a civic level to service in the army and finally at the highest echelons of court. One Harpalos was the *epistates* of Beroia in 248.[531] His son, Polemaios, appears in a catalogue of Beroian officers from 223.[532] His grandson, another Harpalos, served Perseus as *hieromnemon* at Delphi in 178 then as ambassador to Rome in 172.[533] Another example from Beroia is the Pantau[chos] son of [Balak]ros, eponymous priest of Beroia sometime in the second half of the 3rd century,[534] and his grandson Pantauchos son of Balakros who was one of Perseus' 'first friends'.[535] Other examples display similar movement from civic to court elite. Paschidis emphasises the importance of the army for moving beyond local politics.[536]

Overall Paschidis concludes that, when we can be reasonably certain of a prosopographical link between individuals attested at court and at the level of the city, prominence at a civic level chronologically preceded their presence at court. There are some counter-examples. Paschidis suggests that Aphthonetos, a Royal Page of Philip II, may have been the Aphthonetos son of Pythodoros who appears as *theorodokos* for Allante in the Nemean list of c. 323-317 BC.[537] Bouplagos who appears as *theorodokos* for Pythion in the addenda to the Epidauran *theorodokoi* list of *theorodokoi* may have been related to the Derdas son of Bouplagos attested in a late fourth/early third century epigram at Pythion.[538] One might also add Aristonous the bodyguard of Alexander III who appears in the Nemean list of *theorodokoi*.[539] These examples remind us, as Paschidis acknowledges, that gaining prominence in the royal court did not sever all links with an individual's place of birth or residence.[540] But they do not seriously affect the overall impression that the desired career

[531] *EKM* I 3.
[532] *EKM* I 4.
[533] *Syll.*[3] 636; Livy 42.13; Diod. 29.34.
[534] *EKM* I 16.
[535] Polyb. 27.8; 29.3-4; Livy 42.39.7; 44.23, 27, 30, 35, 45.
[536] Paschidis (2006) 259-63.
[537] Ael. *VH* 14.48; Perlman (2000) 105-31, Ep. Cat. N.1 (*SEG* 36 331) col. II l. 15-16.
[538] Perlman (2000) 67-78, Ep. Cat. E.1 col. II l. 39; *SEG* 35 662.
[539] See above ch. 2.4.3.
[540] Paschidis (2006) 263.

trajectory for a member of the Macedonian elite was from local politics into court politics. This will have affected the willingness of the Macedonian elite to expend significant resources on a local level, as local recognition was not their primary concern. At the very least, as Plestis' decree demonstrates, they will have been keen to ensure that any major benefaction at a civic level should increase their standing with the king as well.

An association between local benefaction and influence at court may also be present in the Seleukid kingdom. Decrees from various cities under Seleukid influence record honors granted to royal officials, though as Ma has pointed out, these tend to offer thanks for 'general goodwill rather than specific favours'.[541] These acted to embed royal officials in local networks and were part of the constant engagement and negotiation by cities with imperial machinery. It seems that in royal cities more directly under Seleukid control, this dynamic could be actively encouraged by the king.[542] In the 'Theophilos Decree' of 186 BC from Seleukia Pieria, Seleukos IV expressed a wish that one Aristolochos, a *philos* of the king, have a bronze statue honouring him erected in the city. The *epistates* Theophilos and the archons published a decree confirming that this would be done and granting citizenship to Aristolochos, as he had 'both been of advantage to the city and voluntarily aided the citizens publicly and individuals privately'.[543] Here a *de facto* royal order was couched in the language of civic euergetism, yet it still reflects a series of (admittedly unspecified) local benefactions by a member of the royal court. A later document (29 AD) from Susa under Parthian rule is more specific. A letter of king Arsaces to the archons of Susa concerns the questionable reelection of Hestiaios son of Asios, one of the 'first and chief-honoured friends and of the bodyguards', to the officer of treasurer. It describes how Susa granted Hestiaios honors for using his own funds to meet the expenses of the office and for twice acting as an

[541] Ma (1999) 206-11.
[542] For typologies of differences in levels of subordination between cities within the Seleukid kingdom: Ma (1999) 150-74; Capdetrey (2007) 178-201.
[543] Welles (1934) no. 45.

ambassador for the city at his own expense.[544] Despite its late date, it may reflect dynamics which also existed under prior Seleukid rule. In both these cases we have instances of royal officials undertaking local benefactions. This goodwill towards the local communities in which they lived may have served to increase their reputation at court. However, the evidence for honors granted to royal officials in the Seleukid kingdom represents local benefaction by individuals *already* holding positions at court. Our Macedonian examples suggest that local benefaction could serve as a stepping stone to greater influence at court, but there is no indication that the benefactors already held royal appointments. Despite their role as executors of royal orders, Macedonian *epistatai* were civic magistrates rather than royal appointments. If local elites could use civic benefaction as a way of getting their foot in the door at the Seleukid court too, evidence is currently lacking.

The disparate pieces of evidence for the aspirations of the Macedonian elite are far more patchy than we would like. We should only expect the evidence available for elite activity at a civic level to increase as more epigraphic material emerges from the ancient cities of Macedonia. Furthermore it is necessary to bear in mind that 'court elite' and 'Macedonian elite' are not synonymous.[545] It is possible that there were members of the wider Macedonian elite who did not possess the financial, social, or political capital necessary to gain influence and be noticed at the level of the court. These could have formed a group whose ambitions were more focused on local politics. Nevertheless, the current evidence gives an impression of an elite whose aspirations were focused away from local politics, towards high elite competition and gaining access to the world of court politics – what Paschidis terms 'the field of real power'.[546] This will have lessened elite interest in expending resources for local political and social advancement, thereby lessening the ability of civic communities to benefit

[544] Welles (1934) no. 75.
[545] Le Bohec (1985); Paschidis (2006) 252; Ma (2011) 525-7.
[546] Paschidis (2006) 265.

from the wealth of resident elites in tough times. This may explain the notably effusive response of Morrylos to Alketas' benefactions. Morrylos' profusion of honors for Alketas, including the creation of a civic holiday in his honour, could have been the surprised but elated response of a civic community who did not expect this of their *epistates*.[547] This lack of expectation of euergetism from Macedonian elites sets them apart from elites in the civic communities throughout the Hellenistic Aegean, who were expected to expend at least some of their wealth in benefactions to the community. Nor do we have the evidence for the maintenance of large and elaborate patronage networks based on *fides* and personal connections expected of the Roman republican elite.[548] Without these obligations, Macedonian elites seem to have been free to expend their wealth pursuing competitive luxurious lifestyles and furthering the political ambitions of themselves and their families.

5.4 Elite loans to the king

However, there is some small evidence of the king calling upon the Macedonian elite for significant funds when required. Plutarch's anecdote regarding the more than 1,000 talents Eumenes kept in his tent has already been mentioned.[549] The context is Alexander's lack of funds to finance Nearchos' naval expedition. Alexander turned to his Companions. Eumenes was asked to give 300 talents. Eumenes gave 100 and professed this was all he could afford, at which point Alexander ordered his tent burned down and the value of the melted gold and silver was found to be more than 1,000 talents. Whatever the historical value of the specific anecdote, it records that Alexander could turn to the elite for emergency funds, and that the elites were expected to give.

[547] The consecration of a specific day as a reward for a citizen's efforts on behalf of the *polis* is known elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, but is a relatively rare honour: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 44-7.
[548] Gelzer (1969) 62-139.
[549] Plut. *Eum.* 2.2-3.

This is, of course, an isolated and potentially unreliable anecdote, which comes from circumstances wherein a great many of the Macedonian elite became fantastically wealthy through conquest. Yet it is well established that the uppermost elites of a kingdom (*hetairoi* in Argead Macedonia, the *philoi* of the Hellenistic kingdoms) were expected to support the king in return for the power and wealth he provided.[550] Taking this into account, it would be unusual if the Macedonian kings, whether Alexander during his expedition or the later Antigonids when at war with Rome, did not turn to the elite of the kingdom for aid in dire need. The lack of any mention of such measures in Polybios or Livy should not surprise us, since Polybios' basic or wilful ignorance and misinterpretation of the internal mechanisms of Macedonian politics is well established.[551] Crucially, as we have examined above, the careers of the Macedonian elite were shaped around a desire to gain recognition with the king. Lending money to the crown would have been a significant act of good will toward the king, with the potential to seriously advance a Macedonian's career. It would be surprising indeed if the embassies from the cities in 179 BC approached Perseus to offer supplies and money for the war, and no member of the Macedonian elite did the same. Therefore I suggest that, given the court-focused aspirations of wealthy Macedonians, and given the evidence from Alexander III's reign, that the Macedonian elite could form an important potential source of funds for the Macedonian kings. I must acknowledge, however, that given the lack of evidence this remains a tentative suggestion at best.

[550] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 334-6; Savalli-Lestrade (1998) esp. 289-394; Le Rider (2003) 46-7; Paschidis (2006) 252-4; Strootman (2011) 149-50.
[551] Paschidis (2006) 255 n. 26.

Figures



Fig. 14 – Plan of archaeological site of Pella (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 2).

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Fig. 15 – Plan of house of Dionysos, Pella. (Makaronas and Giourē (1989) fig. 142).

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Fig. 16 – Reconstruction of house of Dionysos, Pella (Makaronas and Giourē (1989) pl. 3).

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Fig. 17 – Reconstruction of house of Helen, Pella (Makaronas and Giourē (1989) pl. 2).

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Fig. 18 – Mosaic the house of Dionysos, Pella. God Dionysos seated on a panther. c. 325-300 BC (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 45).

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Fig. 19 – Mosaic floor from the house of Dionysos, Pella. Lion hunt. c. 325-300 BC (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 47).

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Fig. 20 – Mosaic floor from the house of Helen. Theseus abducting Helen. c. 325-300 BC (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 10).

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Fig. 21 – Mosaic from the house of Helen. Deer hunt. c. 325-300 BC (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 11).

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Fig. 22 – Wall decoration from the plasterwork house. Late 3rd – early 2nd century BC (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 12).

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Fig. 23 – Painted reconstruction of the interior decoration of the plasterwork house (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) fig. 13).

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Fig. 24 –Reconstruction of façade of Philip II's tomb at Vergina. c. 336 BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 26.2)

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Fig. 25 – Façade of the Prince's Tomb, Vergina. Last quarter of 4th century BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 47.1).


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Fig. 26 – A selection of Macedonian tomb façades (Miller (1993) plate 1).

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Fig. 27 – Reconstruction of façade of the Rhomaios tomb, Vergina. 1st half of 3rd century BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 58.1).

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Fig. 28 – North interior wall, tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, Lefkdia. Late 3rd/early 2nd century BC (Miller (1993) pl. IIb).

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Fig. 29 – South interior wall, tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, Lefkadia. Late 3rd/early 2nd century BC (Miller (1993) pl. IIa).

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Fig. 30 – East interior wall, tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, Lefkadia. Late 3rd/early 2nd century BC (Miller (1993) pl. IVb).

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Fig. 31 – West interior wall, tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, Lefkadia. Late 3rd/early 2nd century BC (Miller (1993) pl. IVa).

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Fig. 32 – Abduction of Persephone, from Vergina Tomb I. Mid 4th century BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 13).

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Fig. 33 – Interior decoration, Tomb of the Palmettes, Lefkadia. Early 3rd century BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 68.1).

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Fig. 34 – Macedonian infantrymen, Tomb of Agios Athanasios, Thessaloniki. c. 300 BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 94.2).

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Fig. 35 – Symposion scene, Tomb of Agios Athanasios, Thessaloniki. c. 300 BC (Brecoulaki (2006) pl. 93.1).

Section 2 Conclusions

The cities of Macedonia were not financially well endowed compared to the king. For the king, there were royal monopolies on key natural resources, taxes on land and the movement of goods, tribute, and booty from near constant warfare. There was a wealthy national elite whose focus lay not in parochial civic politics, but in imitating court lifestyle, and in trying to advance their position to become a part of the elite royal inner circle. They were perhaps willing to lend to the king in times of need to further that goal. Even efforts expended on a local level could be aimed at getting a foot in the door with the king. By comparison, the cities were not the main beneficiaries of tax revenues. They could not borrow from the sanctuaries in their cities without incurring the wrath of the king. While reputation on a local scale was perhaps a worthy goal for some among the elite, the lure of the royal court to the more ambitious made civic politics a stepping stone to the court.

The honorary decrees from the Macedonian cities highlight a difference between the civic lives of Macedonian cities and the civic lives of their peers elsewhere in the Aegean. The ideology of the Macedonian elite and the orientation of their ambitions offered less incentive to act as benefactors toward civic communities, although such benefactions still occurred. It is worth remembering that the wealthiest of the elite are most visible archaeologically and in literary sources. It is possible that groups of more minor elites throughout Macedonia had their sights set firmly on local, civic politics. However, such men were not potential sources of massive funds in the same way as the extremely wealthy, and the apparent lack of interest of the Macedonian super-rich in donating to their civic communities in acts of euergetism is a striking difference between the city communities of Hellenistic Macedonia and *poleis* elsewhere in the Aegean world.

This certainly contributed to the fact that in the Macedonian cities, civic life was run on a budget. This is not unusual for the Greek cities of the Hellenistic world, whose revenues were generally not large and who tended to rely upon royal or elite contributions for anything out of the ordinary. The Macedonian cities would naturally look to the Macedonian king for such projects. They clearly did not have the financial resources to finance the kind of grand building programmes which are evident in Macedonia from the middle of the fourth century, and to which we now turn. Such work was a job for a rich king.

SECTION 3: Macedonian urban development

The remainder of this thesis will consider the nature and extent of urban development during our period in a number of the best excavated Macedonian cities. Archaeological evidence for Macedonian urban sites has steadily accumulated in recent years. There is now sufficient material to attempt to characterise the nature of late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonian urban development, its features, important chronological moments, and purpose. I will attempt to show that this archaeological evidence must form a key part of any consideration of the relationship between king and city in our period. The fortification of Macedonian cities lent security to their populations, while the enlargement and regularisation of their cityscapes and the construction of new monumental public buildings greatly enhanced the quality of urban environments. Both fortifications and urban development will have benefited the populations of these cities, increasing their sense of safety and their sense of civic pride in their settlements, while visibly confirming that the king met his obligations of largesse and protection. But the most noteworthy feature of Macedonian urban development programmes is how they projected an image of royal power into the localities. Large construction programmes were royal performances, demonstrating the king's ability not only to mobilise significant resources but also to physically reshape the space of his kingdom. Macedonian royal palaces situated within key urban settlements advertised the sophistication and grandeur of the royal family. New fortifications physically expressed the role of the king as protector of the Macedonian *ethnos*. The ubiquity of certain urban features, such as enclosing fortifications and regular grid plans, standardised the Macedonian experience of urban space and emphasised the role of the king as the central unifying component in a diverse kingdom. Urban development was a crucial medium for the representation of the power of the king on a local level and the construction of Macedonia as a royal space.

As shall become clear, the most important period for the urban development of Macedonian cities was the late fourth century, under the reign of Kassandros. Given the importance of urban development to the diffusion of royal ideology, it is worth considering the particular political and military challenges confronting Kassandros in his reign. This will allow us to better focus considerations of the utility of urban development to this particular ruler's self-representation.

Chapter 6 - Kassandros

Kassandros probably remained in Macedonia with his father, Antipatros, during Alexander III's Asian campaign.[552] Antipatros was acting as regent in Macedonia during Alexander's absence,[553] but he found it increasingly difficult to cooperate with Alexander III's mother Olympias.[554] The latter withdrew to Epeiros and complained about Antipatros to Alexander, while Antipatros responded with letters of his own.[555] In 324 BC Alexander sent Krateros to Macedonia with 10,000 repatriated veterans to replace him, while Antipatros himself was to lead reinforcements to Babylon and perhaps defend his management of Macedonia in Alexander's absence.[556] Alexander's desire to replace Antipatros as regent may well have been motivated by the latter's disagreements with the queen mother.[557] This conflict between Antipatros and Olympias forms an important background to Kassandros' own problems with Olympias and the Argead legacy, especially since Antipatros sent Kassandros to Babylon in 324, probably to answer Olympias' accusations.[558] Evidence of a frosty reception may be the product of Successor-era propaganda, but would equally be consistent with a souring of relations between Alexander and Antipatros.[559] The traditions blaming Antipatros and his sons for planning and executing a plot to poison Alexander are certainly Successor-era propaganda, but are also suggestive of a problematic relationship between the Antipatrids and the Argead house in Alexander III's last years.[560]

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[552] Diod. 17.17.4 assigns command of 900 Thracian and Paeonian *prodromoi* to Kassandros at the time of Alexander III's embarkation in 334, but is probably corrupt. Heckel (2006) 79 suggests reading Asander son of Philotas or Asander son of Agathon. For Kassandros in general: Berve (1926) II no. 414; Fortina (1965); Adams (1983), (1985) 85-8; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 130-210; Heckel (2006) 79-91; Gattonini (2010).
[553] Arr. *Anab*. 1.11.3; Diod. 18.12.1; Curt. 4.1.39; Just. 11.7.1.
[554] Plut. *Alex*. 39.7; Diod. 17.118; Plut. *Mor.* 180D; Bosworth (1988b) 161-2.
[555] Diod. 18.49.4; Paus. 1.11.3; Plut. *Alex*. 68.4-5.
[556] Arr. *Anab*. 7.12.4; Just. 12.12.9.
[557] Curt. 10.10.15; Arr. *Anab*. 7.12.5-7; Diod. 17.118.1; Badian (1961) 24; Heckel (1988) 7; Bosworth (1988b) 161-2.
[558] Plut. *Alex*. 74.2; Heckel (1988) 10.
[559] Plut. *Alex*. 74.2-6.
[560] Bosworth (2000) on the *Liber de Morte Testamentumque Alexandri Magni*, which Bosworth concludes is propaganda produced in the court of Ptolemy c. 309/8 to serve his ambitions and besmirch his rivals, including Kassandros.

Kassandros was appointed commander of the Royal Bodyguard after Alexander's death in 323.[561] He next appears at Triparadeisos in 320, when he was installed as his father's agent in Antigonos Monophthalmos' retinue as the latter's *chiliarch*.[562] He returned to Macedonia shortly thereafter and remained in Macedonia until his father's death in early 319.[563] Antipatros appointed Polyperchon, a veteran commander popular in Macedonia, as the new regent, with Kassandros as his second in command.[564] But Kassandros had already been solidifying his own position in mainland Greece, installing his own men in charge of garrisons.[565] After Antipatros' death he appealed to Ptolemy and Antigonos for help, and began to solicit support from his friends in Macedonia.[566] He left Macedonia late in 319 for Asia Minor, where Antigonos assisted him in raising forces.[567]

Mainland Greece formed the main battleground for Kassandros and Polyperchon. Polyperchon had Philip III proclaim the 'freedom of the Greeks' and supported democracies in the cities of mainland Greece where Antipatros had installed pro-Macedonian oligarchies.[568] But he proved unable to successfully challenge Kassandros' position in Greece. Kassandros' garrison commander in Munychia, Nikanor, took control of the Peiraieus, and Polyperchon could not prevent Kassandros occupying the rest of Athens.[569] A disastrous campaign against Antipatrid strongholds in the Peloponnese saw many Greek cities begin to turn to Kassandros, as well as an increase in support in Macedonia for Kassandros.[570] Polyperchon's response to

[561] Just. 13.4.18.
[562] Diod. 18.39.7.
[563] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 130.
[564] Antipatros probably passed over Kassandros because of the latter's lack of experience: Diod. 18.48.4-5; Adams (1983) 18. Polyperchon had already been left in charge of Macedonia when Antipatros and Krateros marched against Perdikkas: Diod. 18.38.6, 48.4; Plut. *Phoc*. 31.1; Just. 13.4.
[565] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 131.
[566] Diod. 18.49.1-3, 54.1-2. He may have been able to count upon the loyalty of some of his father's supporters: Adams (1983) 18-19.
[567] Diod. 18.54.3; *FGrH* 239 F B 12 (Marmor Parium).
[568] Diod. 18.55.2-56; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 133-4.
[569] Diod. 18.64.1-4, 68.1-2.
[570] Diod. 18.70-2, 74.1, 75.1-2; Adams (1983) 20. Diod. 18.69.3-4 on Polyperchon's initial success encouraging the overthrow of Antipatrid supported oligarchies in the Peloponnese; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 136-7.

Kassandros' increasingly strong position was to appeal to Olympias, who had already turned down an alliance with him twice but was a natural ally against an Antipatrid.[571] Olympias suggested an alliance with Eumenes, which was duly concluded, but it availed Polyperchon little.[572] Eurydike, wife of Philip III, looked to strengthen her own position in 317 by having Philip III formally transfer the regency to Kassandros.[573] The kings were now split into two camps supporting two different regents: Philip III behind Kassandros, Alexander IV behind Polyperchon. Kassandros returned to Macedonia and gained new supporters, installed his brother Nikanor to take charge there, then moved south once more.[574]

Polyperchon, however, outmanoeuvred Kassandros. He and Olympias invaded Macedonia in autumn 317 at the head of an army made up of Polyperchon's forces, Epeirotes, and Aitolians. Unwilling to oppose the wife of Philip II and mother of Alexander III, Eurydike's soldiers deserted.[575] Olympias' next actions were brutal. She had Philip III killed, forced Eurydike to hang herself, killed 100 of Kassandros' leading supporters, and even desecrated the tomb of Kassandros' brother Iolaos on the grounds that, as Alexander III's cupbearer, he had poisoned her son. Such excesses significantly reduced her support within Macedonia.[576]

Kassandros responded with the rapidity the situation required. He advanced on Macedonia, brought many opposing troops over to his side through bribery, and pinned Olympias up in Pydna.[577] Olympias capitulated in spring 316 after Kassandros promised her personal safety, but Kassandros had no intention of leaving such a dangerous opponent alive.[578] He had

[571] Diod. 18.49.4, 18.57.2, 19.11.2.
[572] Plut. *Eum.* 13.1; Diod. 18.58.1-4.
[573] Just. 14.5.1-4.
[574] Diod. 18.75.
[575] Paus. 1.11.3; Just.14.5.9-10; Diod. 19.11.1-2, though Diodoros cannot be correct that Olympias and Alexander IV were restored to Macedonia before the meeting of the armies: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 140 n.2.
[576] Diod. 19.11.4-9; Just. 14.6.1; Adams (1983) 21.
[577] Diod. 19.35-6; Just. 14.6.4.
[578] Diod. 19.49-50.5; Just. 14.6.5. Anson (2006) has argued for a date in 315, not 316, for Olympias' capture and death. Given the lack of certainty over chronology in this period this is possible, but Diod. 19.36.6 and Just.

Olympias condemned to death by an assembly of Macedonians packed with relatives of those she had killed. When the Macedonian soldiers he sent to do the deed refused on the grounds of her stature, he gathered more such relatives and sent them instead. It was said he left her body unburied, though again this may be an anti-Kassandros fiction.[579] The sinister anecdotes related to Olympias in the source tradition (that she was responsible for the murder of Philip II, honoured that king's assassin, and roasted her rival Kleopatra and her newborn child to death) are probably products of Kassandros' subsequent attempts to blacken her memory.[580] He likewise treated the leaders of the surrendering Olympian strongholds harshly. He had Aristonous, Olympias' man at Amphipolis who had killed Kassandros' general Krateuas, killed by relatives of Krateuas.[581] Monimos, who had held Pella for Olympias, simply disappears. The fates of Olympias and Aristonous show how Kassandros shrewdly took advantage of existing enmities, using the settling of scores to gain supporters and eliminate rivals.[582] This harsh treatment of the leaders of the opposing faction contrasts with clemency offered to troops who surrendered to Kassandros during his takeover, another shrewd policy which won him further support among the soldiery.[583] Kassandros took control of Alexander IV and his mother Rhoxane, and confined them to Amphipolis.[584]

Kassandros' bold strategies had paid off: he was now master of Macedonia. His position there was far from secure, however. He had come to the position of regent via a highly questionable route. No matter how much her bloody reprisals in 317 might have dented Olympias' popularity, Kassandros was responsible for the murder of a highly respected member of the Argead royal house. He was keeping the remaining legitimate king of the

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14.6.1 indicate Olympias' control of Macedonia was brief. This does not seem compatible with Anson's chronology where Olympias is in Macedonia for more than a year.
[579] Diod. 19.51.1-5; Just. 14.6.6-12; Paus. 9.7.
[580] Just. 9.7; Plut. *Alex.* 10; Paus. 8.7.5; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 10 n. 1.
[581] Diod. 19.51.1.
[582] Adams (1983) 21-3.
[583] Diod. 19.50.1-3.
[584] Diod. 19.52.4.

Macedonian empire under lock and key. Olympias' purge had killed many of his leading supporters. It is clear that the balance of popular opinion in Macedonia had shifted toward Kassandros over the past three years, as Polyperchon's failures and Olympias' brutalities had weakened their support. Nevertheless, Kassandros had a lot of work to do to solidify his position. His policies to accomplish this were focused on constructing a convincing image of his personal power and authority, attending to the security of Macedonia's borders, and pursuing further territorial acquisition outside the Greek mainland.

His immediate actions borrowed methods from royal modes of behaviour. He gave Philip III and Eurydike a fine burial, as respect for the bodies and funerary rites of one's royal predecessors was itself a royal act.[585] He linked himself to the Argead royal house by marrying Thessalonike, a daughter of Philip II.[586] In 316 BC, he founded the cities of Kassandreia and Thessalonike (see chs. 9.5 and 9.6), royal acts *par excellence*. Kassandros was the first Diadoch to act like a king, a full 10 years before the assumption of the kingly title by Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes.[587] That he could do so in Macedonia itself with Alexander IV still alive is perhaps surprising. But royal modes of behaviour inspired by Argead precedents will have offered the most effective language of power for Kassandros in the Macedonian heartland, and he clearly felt the need to solidify his position as rapidly as possible. Perhaps following the last three years of chaos, and particularly in the wake of Olympias' actions of the previous year, the Macedonian elite and soldiery were willing to look past Kassandros portraying himself as an independent ruler if he offered stability and strong leadership.

Some of his actions, such as his marriage to Thessalonike, his burial of Philip III and

[585] Diod. 19.52.4; Athen. 4.155A.
[586] Diod. 19.52.1; Just. 14.6.13 (confusing Philip Arrhidaios for Philip II); Carney (2000) 155-8.
[587] Contra Hammond and Walbank (1988) 145 n.2, where it is argued that it was appropriate for Kassandros as newly appointed manager of the kings to arrange for the burials of Philip III, Eurydike, and Kynnane. But this ignores his other kingly acts, such as founding cities named for his family.

Eurydike, and the naming of his two of his sons Philip and Alexander, looked to strengthen his position with more conservative elements in Macedonia by showing respect for the Argead legacy.[588] His use of the coin types of Philip II and Alexander III for his precious metal coinage, with only his bronze coinage in his own name, will have served a similar purpose.[589] Yet Kassandros could not depend upon Argead connections for his whole authority. Given his family's history with Alexander III, his murder of Olympias, and his imprisonment of Alexander IV and Rhoxane, that would have been disingenuous in the extreme. Kassandros' dynastic foundations named for him and his wife show that he also tried to develop his own personal royal authority.[590] His refoundation of Thebes, while important in developing a counterweight to the Aitolian League in central Greece, also reversed an unpopular action of Alexander III.[591] This break with Argead traditions was recognised by Antigonos Monophthalmos, who in 315 in the proclamation at Tyre accused Kassandros of supporting the enemies of Macedonia in refounding Olynthos and Thebes. Antigonos also accused Kassandros of the murder of Olympias, the imprisonment of Alexander IV and Rhoxane, and of usurping the kingship.[592] These were effective propaganda volleys because they were largely true. They highlighted the risks of alienating Macedonian traditionalists which Kassandros ran in undertaking policies designed to secure his own personal power at the expense of Alexander IV and the Argead house. This must have been doubly true after Kassandros' murder of Alexander IV in c. 310.[593] When in summer 309 Polyperchon marched on Macedonia intending to place Herakles, the bastard son of Alexander III, on the throne, Kassandros feared that his troops would desert and support this Argead claimant.[594] It is

[588] Gattinoni (2010).
[589] See above ch. 3.2.2.
[590] See below for further discussion of the importance of the foundations of Kassandreia and Thessalonike for Kassandros' royal style.
[591] Diod. 19.53.2. Many communities and individuals contributed to the rebuilding over an extended period of time: Diod. 19.54.2; SEG 31 502; Buraselis (2014).
[592] Diod. 19.61.1-2.
[593] Diod. 19.105.1-2.
[594] Diod. 20.20.1, 28.1-3; Adams (1983) 28-9. Just. 15.2.3-5 mixes up Herakles and Barsine with Rhoxane and Alexander IV: Schachermeyr (1920).

possible that anti-Kassandros elements in Macedonia remained a significant problem late into Kassandros' period of rule. In 304 BC 6,000 Macedonians deserted to Demetrios Poliorketes following his defeat of Kassandros at Herakleia on the borders with Thessaly.[595] These may have been remnants of factions opposed to Kassandros' rule in Macedonia, though opportunism will doubtlessly have played a part as well.[596]

Kassandros' actions in the following years reflected his need to build support by both fulfilling the traditional responsibilities of a ruler in Macedonia to secure the kingdom's borders, and maintaining a strong position on the international stage in political and military competition with the other leading dynasts.[597] The former meant actions against Epeiros and Illyria to the north and west and campaigns in central and southern Greece. The latter meant expeditions to Asia. In 317 he installed his general Lykiskos as manager and general of the Epeirote League,[598] ensuring its compliance until the return of the exiled king Aiakides in 313.[599] Kassandros later concluded a treaty of friendship with Aiakides' brother Alketas, by then king, in 312.[600] He campaigned in 314 against the Illyrians under Glaukias, extending Macedonian influence to the Adriatic and garrisoning Epidamnos and Apollonia.[601] Success here was shortlived, as Glaukias expelled Kassandros' garrisons the next year with support from Kerkyra, and Kassandros' attempt to regain Apollonia in 312 ended in defeat.[602]

Mixed success to north and west was matched in other theatres. Kassandros aimed for territory in Asia Minor from an early date: his horizons always extended beyond his Balkan power base. In 316, Kassandros demanded Lykia and Kappadokia from Antigonos as part of

[595] Plut. *Dem.* 23.1.
[596] Adams (1983) 22-3.
[597] Adams (1983) 26-8; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 144-62.
[598] Diod.19.36.2-5; Paus.1.11.3-4.
[599] Diod. 19.74.3-6.
[600] Diod. 19.89.1.
[601] Diod. 19.67.6-7.
[602] Diod. 19.78.1, 89.1-2; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 154-5.

the division of the spoils from the war against Eumenes.[603] When this failed (as had surely been expected), he pursued his Asian policy with more aggressive means. He sent an army into Kappadokia in 316 which was turned back by Antigonos' forces.[604] A campaign in Karia under Kassandros' general Eupolemos in 314/13 was short-lived and unsuccessful but proves continued interest in Asian territories, even when pressed in other areas.[605] Indeed Diodoros reports that Kassandros' efforts in Asia in these years led Antigonos to believe that Kassandros was trying to 'lay hold of Asia', forcing Antigonos to personally attend to affairs in Asia Minor in late 314/13, though his losses in attempting to cross the Tauros range kept him in Kilikia.[606]

In central Greece Kassandros was opposed by the powerful Aitolian League, who aligned themselves with Antigonos in 314. Thebes and the Boiotian League stood with Kassandros following the refoundation of Thebes in 316, but his maintenance of a garrison on the Kadmeia was unpopular.[607] In spite of lack of support in Macedonia, Polyperchon and his son Alexander in the Peloponnese still represented a challenge to Kassandros' authority. Campaigns in the Peloponnese in 316 were ultimately ineffective in bringing Polyperchon and Alexander to a decisive engagement.[608] The stakes were raised in 315 when the coalition of Seleukos, Ptolemy, Lysimachos, and Kassandros formed to resist the growing power of Antigonos Monophthalmos.[609] To undermine Kassandros in Greece, Antigonos sent Aristodemos of Miletos to the Peloponnese with 1,000 talents and orders to make common cause against Kassandros with Polyperchon and Alexander.[610] In the subsequent war Kassandros was hampered strategically by his need to maintain multiple garrisons to support

[603] Diod. 19.57.1.
[604] Diod. 19.57.4, 60.2.
[605] Diod. 19.68.2-7. For more on Eupolemos: Billows (1989); Descat (1998); Psoma (2009b).
[606] Diod. 19.69.1-3.
[607] Knoepfler (2001b) 12.
[608] Diod. 19.54.3-4; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 146.
[609] Diod. 19.57.1-2; Just. 15.1.4.
[610] Diod. 19.57.5.

oligarchic governments in many cities.[611] Kassandros enjoyed some success, persuading Polyperchon's son Alexander to switch sides in 315,[612] but lost more and more ground to Antigonid forces.

This military commitment in multiple theatres clearly stretched Kassandros' resources. The overall impression is of a manpower shortage, possibly because Alexander III's constant demands for manpower in previous years had depopulated the homeland.[613] However, the problem may not have been depopulation *per se* as much as significant commitment and minimal success in multiple theatres. As a result, Kassandros' policies combined military action with negotiation and accommodation. In 312 he settled the Autariatae, an Illyrian tribe threatening invasion, on the northern borders of Macedonia, recalling Philip II's policies of exchanging land for alliance and military service.[614] This he did again in 310 when the Autariatae once more became restive, settling some 20,000 in the north of the kingdom and restoring the authority of the Paionian king Audoleon in the area.[615] At times Kassandros' position in one theatre suffered because he was forced to commit troops to another and did not have the manpower to commit to more than one substantial campaign at once. A planned invasion of Aitolia in 313 had to be called off as Macedonian troops were diverted to Epeiros.[616] In 313 and 312, with Kassandros' forces tied down in Epeiros and Illyria, Antigonos' forces first acquired most of the Peloponnese, then took Chalkis, Oropos, and Thebes.[617]

The complete collapse of Kassandros' position in central Greece was only prevented by the

[611] A policy inherited from Antipatros: Plut. *Alex.* 74.2; Just. 12.14.4; Diod. 18.57.1, 70-1; Adams (1985) 84.
[612] Diod. 19.64.3.
[613] On the debate over the depopulation of Macedonia: Bosworth (1986), (2002) 64-97 (arguing for significant depopulation); Hammond (1989b) (attacking Bosworth's thesis); Badian (1994) 261-8; Billows (1995) 183-212. Antipatros had been short of '*stratiotai politikoi*' in 323 to fight the Lamian War (Diod. 18.12.2), though at this point the bulk of the Macedonian armed forces were in Asia.
[614] Just. 15.2.1-2; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 156.
[615] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 164.
[616] Diod. 19.74.3-4.
[617] Diod. 19.74.1-2, 78.

crushing defeat of Demetrios Poliorketes by Ptolemy at Gaza in 312 and the subsequent peace treaty of 311 between Antigonos, Kassandros, Ptolemy, and Lysimachos.[618] Being part of this coalition was crucial to Kassandros' success in Macedonia, as this treaty gave him much needed breathing room. In the treaty he was recognised as general in Europe. This same treaty spelled doom for Alexander IV. The positions of the signatories were defined as temporary until Alexander came of age.[619] It was in nobody's interest to allow that to happen. One can imagine that all breathed a sigh of relief when Kassandros had Rhoxane and Alexander killed.[620] They were apparently killed in secret, but one has to wonder how long it was until somebody wondered where Alexander the Great's son had got to.[621] Polyperchon's invasion in 309 to install Alexander's bastard son Herakles on the throne of Macedonia makes little sense were that throne not thought to be vacant. Gattonini has suggested that Kassandros kept the murder a secret and that Alexander IV was not buried at Aigai until the reign of Demetrios Poliorketes.[622] But I follow Adams in thinking that the death's announcement must have preceded Polyperchon's invasion with Herakles. The murder of Alexander IV was too big a secret to keep for long.[623] Furthermore, if the occupant of Tomb III in Vergina is indeed Alexander IV, as is now generally thought, the contents (particularly the metalwork) of the tomb are characteristic of the late fourth century rather than the early third.624

Polyperchon's invasion gave Kassandros the opportunity to remove one rival. He persuaded Polyperchon to join him, restoring his estates in Macedonia and appointing him Kassandros'

[618] Plut. *Dem.* 5; Diod. 19.105; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 160-2.
[619] Goukowsky (1978-81) I 107 pointed out that Kassandros' position was particularly precarious, given that Alexander IV could have more easily stirred up affection for an Argead cause in the Macedonian homeland.
[620] Diod. 19.105.2-3; Just. 15.2.3-5; Paus. 9.7.2.
[621] Gattonini (2010) 118 on rumours in the wake of Alexander IV's murder. It had been thought that a lower limit for knowledge of Alexander IV's death was provided by the first regnal year of Seleukos I being 306/5 in the Babylonian Chronicle concerning the Diadochoi: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 168 n. 1; Adams (1993) 30. This is however based on a restoration which Grayson (1975) 119 considers impossible. For this chronicle, Grayson (1975) 25-6, 115-119, no. 10.
[622] Gattonini (2010) 120-1.
[623] Adams (1993) 30.
[624] Themelis and Touratsoglou (1997) 158-91; Lane Fox (2011b) 21.

general in the Peloponnese, in return for handing over Herakles and Barsine. Polyperchon cooperated, and Kassandros had Herakles and Barsine killed, eliminating the last possibility of an Argead challenging his position in Macedonia.[625] The 300s Kassandros again saw Kassandros challenged in multiple theatres.[626] The defection of Antigonos' nephew and general in the Peloponnese Polemaios in 310 was balanced by the same Polemaios defecting to Ptolemy in 309.[627] In 308 Ptolemy renewed his campaigns in Greece, taking Andros, Korinth and Sikyon.[628] A campaign by Demetrios Poliorketes in Greece in 307 saw Athens and Megara freed from Kassandros' garrisons.[629] Kassandros' position looked bleak, especially since he had lost the friendship of Epeiros when his inveterate enemy Glaukias invaded Epeiros and established an anti-Macedonian party in power under the rule of the 12-year-old Pyrrhos.[630] Once more the collapse of Kassandros' position in Greece was only averted by chance, as Demetrios left to challenge Ptolemy's forces in Cyprus.[631]

Antigonos and Demetrios proclaimed themselves kings in 306 following their victory over Ptolemy off Salamis.[632] Diodoros states the other dynasts followed suit, but Plutarch says that Kassandros did not use the kingly title in his correspondence but the others addressed him as king nonetheless.[633] This may be true, but it is clear that Kassandros adopted the royal title at some point. Kassandros' use of the royal title is attested on his bronze coinage and on a statue base from Dion.[634] Perhaps, given the tensions which Kassandros had to navigate in establishing his own authority in Macedonia, he delayed using the kingly title himself to

[625] Diod. 20.28.2-3; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 165-8; Adams (1993) 29-30; Gattonini (2010) 117-21. It is possible that Herakles' remains have been found in the area of the agora at Aigai: Paliadeli, Kyriakou, Mitsopoulou, and Tourtas (2008); Paliadeli, Papageorgiou, Maniatis, Triantaphylloy, Kyriakou, and Tourtas (2008).
[626] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 162-79.
[627] Diod. 20.19.2, 27.3.
[628] Diod. 20.37.1-3.
[629] Diod. 20.45-46.3; Plut. *Dem.* 8.3-10.4.
[630] Plut. *Pyrr.* 3; Just. 17.3.21; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 171.
[631] Diod. 20.46.5; Plut. *Dem.* 15.1.
[632] Plut. *Dem.* 18; Diod. 20.53.2-4; Just. 15.2.11-15, 3.10-11; Fortina (1965) 93-6; Gruen (1985); Hammond and Walbank (1988) 172-5.
[633] Plut. *Dem.* 18.2.
[634] Mørkholm (1991) 60; Valassiades (2005); Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 23.

avoid antagonising elements within Macedonia still harbouring affection for the memory of the Argeads.[635] He was also the only Successor who had a reputation for killing male Argeads. Possibly an enthusiastic adoption of the kingly title in 306/5 would have reminded his supporters of this uncomfortable fact. Yet he could not long delay for fear of appearing less prestigious than his rivals in a highly competitive political environment. He probably adopted the royal title sooner rather than later.[636] Dates after the battle of Ipsos seem too late.[637] Gruen suggested 303/2 while Kassandros was gathering support to resist the Antigonid invasion of Macedonia, a plausible date but perhaps still rather late.[638] Gatzolis' recent study of the hoard evidence for Kassandros' bronze coinage suggests the royal title was introduced on this coinage c. 305/4 BC: this date should be favoured.[639] There was no particular significance in Kassandros' use of the more elaborate title 'king of the Macedonians'.[640] This was no limited claim to sovereignty within Macedonia, out of some constitutional modesty. As Gruen points out, there were many Macedonians outside Macedonia in this period.[641] In adopting the royal title, Kassandros made the same claims to power and authority as his rivals.

His position in Greece, however, continued to deteriorate. Athens, now allied to Antigonos and Demetrios, withstood an attack by Kassandros in 306.[642] Then in 305 Athens concluded an alliance with Boiotia and forced Kassandros to withdraw entirely from central Greece south of Thermopylai. Once more Kassandros turned things around. Winning back Boiotia, he marched south in 304, defeated the Athenian fleet and laid siege to Athens, while an army

[635] Adams (1983) 25-6.
[636] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 174 n.1.
[637] Adams (1983) 26.
[638] Gruen (1985) 259.
[639] Gatzolis (2012) 384-95.
[640] On this title, Aymard (1967) 100-122; Errington (1974) 23-5; Walbank (1981) 56-7; Gruen (1985) 259-61.
[641] Gruen (1985) 261.
[642] Paus. 1.26.3; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 175.

under Polyperchon overran the Peloponnese.[643] This was enough to bring Demetrios back to Greece from his siege of Rhodes. He detached Boiotia from Kassandros, allied with the Aitolian League, and defeated Kassandros at Herakleia on the borders of Macedonia.[644] Demetrios spent 303 driving Kassandros' garrisons out of the Peloponnese, and at the Isthmian festival in 302 he formed an alliance of Greek states opposed to Kassandros.[645] Once again, Kassandros' position looked bleak.

In 302, Kassandros faced the invasion of Macedonia by Demetrios. Against Demetrios' 57,500 men, he could muster 31,000.[646] However, the fact that none of Kassandros' army deserted to Demetrios, despite being heavily outnumbered, attests to the loyalty that Kassandros had cultivated during his rule.[647] Kassandros seems to have successfully navigated the tensions and conflicting loyalties in Macedonia to establish himself as a secure ruler. In 302 his position in a coalition against Antigonos once again proved critical.[648] While he held down Demetrios in Greece, Lysimachos and Seleukos marched against Antigonos in Asia. When Demetrios was recalled to face this threat, Kassandros marched south, regained control of Thessaly, and sent his brother Pleistarchos with 12,000 foot and 500 horse to aid Lysimachos.[649] In 301, the decisive battle at Ipsos saw Lysimachos' and Seleukos' combined armies decisively defeat Antigonos and Demetrios, with Antigonos left dead on the field.[650]

Kassandros must have profited from the victory by having his allies recognise his position in Macedonia. Kassandros' brother Pleistarchos received territory in Asia Minor in Kilikia.[651] He may have ruled this as an effectively independent dynast, but it is probable that he

[643] Plut. *Dem.* 23.1; Diod. 20.100.6; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 175-6.
[644] Plut. *Dem.* 23.1-2.
[645] Plut. *Dem.* 25; Diod. 20.102-103; Schmitt (1969) no. 446.
[646] Diod. 20.110.4.
[647] Adams (1983) 29-30, (1985) 87-8, (2010) 215.
[648] Diod. 20.106.2-5.
[649] Diod. 20.112.1.
[650] Plut. *Dem.* 29.
[651] Gregory (1995) 20-8.

remained subordinate to his brother in some fashion and that his territory represents an attempt at a permanent extension of Antipatrid control into Asia Minor, finally realising Kassandros' long-held ambitions east of the Aegean. For Kassandros himself, his remaining years were spent attempting to expand his position in Greece in the wake of the Antigonid defeat.[652] In 300 he took Elatea in Phokis, though he was blocked from further expansion south by an alliance between the Aitolian League and Boiotia.[653] He may have tried to gain support in Thebes by a contribution to the continued rebuilding, if Holleaux was correct that the two unidentified kings in the Theban record of contributions to the rebuilding are Kassandros and Lysimachos.[654] He was active behind the scenes at Athens, where a supporter of his, Lachares, engaged in a struggle for power in the years following Ipsos which saw him become tyrant of Athens.[655] His last expedition seems to have been to Kerkyra, where his forces were repulsed by an army of Agathokles from Syracuse.[656] He died of a wasting illness in spring 297 BC, his crown passing to his eldest son Philip IV.[657]

Kassandros' period of rule in Macedonia was shrewd and effective. Though he suffered many reverses in his activities outside the kingdom's heartland, Macedonia itself was not invaded after 316. His navigation of the web of changing alliances of the period saved him from disaster at critical moments. His policies to consolidate his personal power within the kingdom balanced attention to Macedonian tradition with the development of his own dynastic image. He was successful in creating a secure and loyal power base for himself, as demonstrated by the cohesion and loyalty of his army in the face of Demetrios' overwhelming invasion force of 302. Yet in spite of the clear shrewdness of his policies, his accomplishments in strengthening the kingdom of Macedonia did not long outlive him, as the

[652] Fortina (1965) 111-23; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 199-210.
[653] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 202 n. 7.
[654] Holleaux (1938-68) I 1-40; Buraselis (2014).
[655] Paus. 1.25.7. The chronology of Lachares' rise to power is difficult; Ferguson (1929); Hammond and Walbank (1988) 204-7; Dreyer (1999) 17-76.
[656] Diod. 21.2.1-3.
[657] Paus. 9.7.2; Carney (1999) 209.

rules of his sons were short and chaotic.[658] Carney has suggested that loyalty to the Antipatrid dynasty in Macedonia rapidly evaporated after Kassandros' death, as his house's role in the elimination of the Argeads was remembered.[659] However, Kassandros' lasting legacy to Macedonia was not a long-lived dynasty, but the result of a sustained programme of urban development. The late fourth century stands out in the archaeological record as an important period for the development of urban sites across Macedonia. Alongside the policies sketched above, this programme formed a key aspect of Kassandros' consolidation of power. This is best exemplified in his redevelopment of the royal capital of Pella.

[658] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 210-18.
[659] Carney (1999) 213-16.

Chapter 7 - Pella

Excavations at Pella have brought to light substantial portions of the Hellenistic city, as well as some material from earlier and later settlement phases (**fig. 36**). Despite the progress that has been made since systematic excavation was first undertaken in 1957, much of the proposed extent of the ancient city remains uninvestigated. As a result, the state of affairs is a little contradictory. There is a comparative abundance of material to interpret from the portions of the site already excavated. On the other hand, much work remains to be done, especially for periods other than the Hellenistic city. Even for the Hellenistic city, excavations have been largely limited to public areas, the royal palace, and a few elite houses. Nonetheless, we can begin to interpret the character and extent of the city following a substantial redevelopment in the late fourth century. The site of Pella gives us an excellent opportunity to study the urban fabric of an early Hellenistic royal capital. Through careful consideration of the material culture and urban characteristics of Pella, we can consider how tensions between king and city were mediated and manifested through building programmes and urban development in the heart of Hellenistic Macedonia.

7.1 Historical overview

The tradition survives in Stephanus of Byzantium that the name of Pella's site was Bounomos before its integration into the Macedonian territory.[660] Thucydides records that the Macedonians acquired Pella upon the conquest of a portion of Paionia adjoining the river Axios, but offers no chronological framework for his different stages of Macedonian expansion.[661] This area may have been added to Macedonia during its time as a Persian

[660] Steph. Byz. s.v. Pella.
[661] Thuc. 2.99.3 with Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 169-70. Here Thucydides places Pella in Paionia but at 2.100.4-5 implicitly places Pella in Bottiaea, as does Hdt 7.123.3 explicitly. Hammond (1972) 153-4 attributes the

satrapy.[662] If not, it must have been absorbed into Alexander I's territories during his expansion of the kingdom in the wake of the Persian retreat of 479.[663] Hatzopoulos has suggested that the cities of this area remained formally independent allies of the Macedonian king throughout the fifth century.[664] He argues that Perdikkas II's offer in early 432 to cede Mygdonian lands around Lake Bolbe to the Chalkidians would not have been made had the land been settled by Macedonians, and therefore that the "New Lands" remained the property of the crown.[665] But this need not be true for the lands west of the river not mentioned in Perdikkas' offer. We surely have to envisage heavier settlement of at least the Macedonian elite in Pella and the surrounding territory from Pella's assumption of a greater role in the administration of the kingdom.

The date when Pella began to play an increased role in the administration of the kingdom is debated. Already for Xenophon in the 380s it was "μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων".[666] In the mid-fourth century Pseudo-Skylax lists Pella as a city with a royal seat.[667] Philip II was said by Demosthenes to have grown up in Pella, indicating the possible presence of a royal residence there in the 370s.[668] It seems clear therefore that Pella was an important city in Macedonia by the beginning of the fourth century. This growth in Pella's visibility is usually taken to indicate that at some time in this period a Macedonian king transferred the

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difference to shifting regional identifications in the wake of Macedonian expansion.

[662] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 64-5 places it c. 510-505. Price and Waggoner (1975) 29-30 argued that the coinage of Ichnai (to the east of Pella) continued to c. 480. This has been taken as evidence that this area cannot have been added to the Macedonian kingdom this early: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992) 15-31; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 106-7, 171-9. However it has recently been argued that the area remained a kind of 'Crown property' down to the time of Philip II, the coinage of Ichnai cannot serve as evidence that this area was not in some way integrated into the kingdom at this time: Psoma and Zannis (2011).

[663] Hammond (1972) 62-9; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992); Mari (2011a) 82-7.

[664] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 171-9. For the continued presence of the former population of the area: Hatzopoulos (1987); Lilimbaki-Akamati (1987-8), no. 1 with *BullEpig*. (1990) 464; Despoini (1994); Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 107 n. 2; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 805.

[665] Thuc. 1.58.2.

[666] Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.3.

[667] Ps. Skylax 66.

[668] Dem. 18.68, with Wankel (1976) 401 and Lane Fox (2011c) 229-30.

administrative and royal capital of the kingdom from Aigai to Pella.[669] There are divergent views as to under which Macedonian king this realignment took place. Some scholars prefer a late date during the reign of Amyntas III (393-370/69).[670] However recent finds at Pella make the more traditional date of sometime during the reign of Archelaos (414/3-399) more probable.[671] Lane Fox suggests that Euripides' *Bacchae* was first performed at Pella, which might further strengthen a case for an early date for Pella's increased importance.[672] Furthermore, any link between Procopius' "βασιλικόν" of Amyntas and the establishment by Amyntas III of a royal residence at Pella (upon which arguments for a late date largely rest) remains pure conjecture.[673]

This was probably not simply a transfer of the 'capital' of the kingdom from Aigai to Pella. Aigai retained many important functions. The kings continued to be buried there, and it was at Aigai that Philip II decided to build his monumental palace-theatre complex.[674] It was towards Aigai that the Athenian-backed claimant for the throne Argaios made his expedition in late 360, aiming for the 'spiritual capital' of the kingdom and those that had gathered there to approve a new king.[675] Thus when Amyntas lost Pella to the Chalkidian League in c. 383, it was not the unmitigated disaster it might have been.[676] Despite its increased importance from the reign of Archelaos, Pella remained second to Aigai at least in ideological terms at this time. In any case, Pella quickly returned to Macedonian hands.[677]

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[669] Though note Hammond's sensible caution: Hammond and Griffith (1979) 6, 139-40.
[670] Hatzopoulos (1987) 42-4; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 172 n.3, 293.
[671] P. Chrysostomou (2008) 139-40; Akamatis (2011) 394.
[672] Based on reference to the River Loudias: Eur. *Bacch*. 571; Lane Fox (2011c) 209-10.
[673] Procopius *Aed*. 4.43; Lane Fox (2011c) 229-30.
[674] Drougou (2011); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2011); Kottaridi (2011a). The Macedonian soldiers turned against Pyrrhos after he allowed his Gallic mercenaries to plunder the tombs at Aigai during his invasion of 274: Plut. *Pyrr*. 26.11-13.
[675] Diod. 16.3.5-6; Price (1979) 241, Postscript; Lane Fox (2011e) 337-40.
[676] Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.13, on the appeals from Akanthos and Apollonia for Sparta to intervene against Olynthos and the Chalkidian League. Diod. 15.18.3 records a request for help directly from Amyntas. Diodoros' account has recently been preferred (Parker (2003)), though see also Lane Fox (2011c) 225.
[677] Psoma (2011b) 122.

Whenever Pella became a royal residence, its importance within the kingdom further increased in the reign of Philip II.[678] Pella appears in our literary sources for his reign as the usual city in which Philip received diplomatic visitors and concluded matters of state. Philip II received the Athenian embassy sent to negotiate a peace in 346 at Pella.[679] Though he did not live to make the journey, it was to Pella that Langaros the king of the Illyrian Autariatae was invited by Alexander III to wed his sister Kynnane.[680] For both Philip II and Alexander III it was the site of one of the royal mints.[681] Among the leading Macedonians of Alexander's army and court, while other cities and territories are also well represented, the preponderance of men from Pella is noticeable.[682] Philip II made several leading men of his reign citizens of Pella, presumably with land grants to settle them in the vicinity. We know of two individuals from this period hailing from Upper Macedonian territories described as "Pellaios", as well as one famous non-Macedonian: the later king Lysimachos.[683] The settling of such men in and around Pella tied them physically and symbolically to the king, and reminded them of to whom they owed their status and wealth. This reflected the centrality of Pella within the kingdom and its importance to the royal house.[684]

It seems that Pella lost its status as one of the main Macedonian mints under Kassandros, as minting activities were concentrated in Amphipolis, whose mint had enjoyed increasing output under Alexander III.[685] It has been suggested that this reflects a general move by Kassandros away from Pella as his chief administrative centre towards new foundations such

[678] Strabo 7 f. 23 (ed. Jones (1917-32)) says that Pella was a small town before the time of Philip II, who enlarged it.
[679] Aesch. 2.108.
[680] Arrian *Anab*. 1.5.4-5.
[681] See above ch. 3.2.1.
[682] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 402-4. Bosworth (1971) suggests that the dominance of Pella and lowland Macedonians led to Philip II's assassination for ignoring the concerns of Upper Macedonians.
[683] Upper Macedonians; Leonnatos was a member of the Lynkestian royal house (Curt. 10.7.8; Bosworth (1971) 99-101; Heckel (2006) 147) and included among the men from Pella in Arrian's list of trierarchs Arrian *Ind*. 18.5); Aristonous has already been discussed (see section 1). For Lysimachos: Heckel (2006) 153-5.
[684] Pella was not the only place where Philip settled talented foreigners. Nearchos, Alexander III's admiral was a Cretan (Diod. 19.69.1; Arrian *Ind*. 18.4; Heckel (2006) 171) settled by Philip II in Amphipolis (Arrian *Ind*. 18.10).
[685] Moore (1984) 47-8; Price (1991) 85-109; Le Rider (2003) 74-85.

as Thessalonike and Kassandreia.[686] However, the material evidence surveyed below does not support a view of Pella as a comparatively neglected city during Kassandros' reign.

Pella remained a key centre for Demetrios Poliorketes during his kingship in Macedonia. According to Plutarch it was a major centre for Demetrios' shipbuilding, alongside the Peiraieus, Korinth, and Chalkis, during his preparations for a huge eastern expedition from c.290.[687] Demetrios lay sick at Pella when Pyrrhos invaded that same year, attesting to its continued role as a royal residence.[688] It was also the site of one of Demetrios' main mints.[689] Pella's role as an important strategic and symbolic centre may have been complicated by the division of the kingdom between Pyrrhos and Lysimachos after Demetrios' defeat.[690] Plutarch records that Lysimachos found Pyrrhos encamped at Edessa during his invasion of Macedonia from the east in 285.[691] Hammond suggests an unrecorded battle east of Pella and the Axios which Pyrrhos lost to explain his presence at Edessa, since he cannot accept that Pyrrhos would have yielded Pella without a fight.[692] But while Pella had been the capital of Macedonia, Pyrrhos at this point ruled over an Epeirote empire which extended from the Axios to the Adriatic. In such a territory, Pella was in a relatively peripheral position. A westward focus from Pyrrhos is perfectly understandable, as is the position of his main military force at Edessa, where they were more suited to counter problems to the west.

Pella returned to prominence as administrative and symbolic capital of the restored Antigonid kingdom.[693] Pella was the centre of royal court life and an habitual royal residence. It was

[686] Tarn (1913) 199; Moore (1984) 48.
[687] Plut. *Dem.* 43.4-7. Hammond and Walbank (1988) 226 notes the absence of Demetrias from this list, but suggests that Demetrios' new royal foundation was not developed enough by 288 to undertake large-scale shipbuilding.
[688] Plut. *Dem.* 43.4.1.
[689] Mørkholm (1991) 79-80.
[690] Just. 16.2; Plut. *Pyrr.* 11-12; Plut. *Dem.* 44; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 227-38.
[691] Plut. *Pyrr.* 12.
[692] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 234-5.
[693] Ma (2011) 537-9.

there that Antigonos Gonatas gathered around him an impressive and varied array of intellectuals and celebrities, most notably the poet Aratos.[694] Justin records that after Antigonos Doson made himself king, an insurrection by his troops occurred, during which he was shut up in the palace for a time.[695] The palace here must surely be the royal palace at Pella.[696] Pella was strategically important during Philip V's campaigns of 219. It was to Pella that Philip V marched upon hearing of the potential invasion of the Dardani. Pella represented both the most important stronghold to defend against foreign invaders, and a suitable staging point for a military action to resist invasion from the north-west.[697] It was while in winter quarters at Pella in 211 that Philip V heard of the Roman alliance with Aitolia, and he returned to Pella after his campaigns that year.[698] Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus found Philip V at Pella (albeit somewhat drunk) when he was sent to test Philip's attitude to a Roman army crossing his territory in 190.[699] Perseus held a Council of his friends at Pella upon hearing of the Roman conditional declaration of war in early 171.[700] Pella was the natural first stop for Perseus in his flight from the defeat at Pydna in 168, where he collected money and valuables before fleeing further.[701] Pella was the main treasury of the kingdom under the late Antigonids, though it was clearly not the only one.[702] Pella acted as the capital of the region of Bottia under Philip V's regional division of Macedonia, and acted as mint for the region.[703] Pella and the royal palace were looted in the aftermath of the battle of Pydna.[704] It served as administrative centre for the third *meris* of Macedonia after the settlement of

[694] Lane Fox (2011g) 506-9, with bibliography.
[695] Just. 28.3.10-16. For the date: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 344-5.
[696] Errington (1978) 93 n.4, 98, 103. There is disagreement over where these events took place: Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 307-8.
[697] Polyb. 4.66.6; Walbank (1940) 39-40; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 375-6.
[698] Livy 26.25-6. 26.25 is a problematic passage: Walbank (1940) 303; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 401 n. 3.
[699] Livy 37.7.8-14; Walbank (1940) 210 n. 2.
[700] Livy 42.51.
[701] Livy 44.43; Plut. *Aem.* 23; Walbank (1957-79) III 392.
[702] Livy 44.6.2; Plut. *Aem*. 23.6. Pella was where Genthios' money was stored for safekeeping in 168: Livy 44.27.8-9; Polyb. 29.4.7. There were also royal funds at Amphipolis: Livy 45.29.1. Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 256 suggests the capitals of the Roman Macedonian *merides* had been royal treasuries.
[703] Walbank (1940) 265-7; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 474-7; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 231-60. On the regional coinages, see above ch. 3.2.4.
[704] Livy 44.46, 45.33.5-6; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 559. Hammond (1984) for the battle itself.

167.[705]

7.2 Classical Pella

The extent and location of pre-Hellenistic Pella remains uncertain. Excavations on the site of Phakos, in antiquity an islet to the south of the site of the Hellenistic city of Pella, have established uninterrupted settlement of the island from the Neolithic era to the Classical period.[706] The volume and quality of small finds, mainly pottery of the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age, attests to the presence of a successful settlement in this area long before the interest of the Macedonian kings.

Some material for the fortifications, residential area, and agricultural activity of the city in the Classical period has emerged. It is probable that a portion of the north wall of the Classical city has been found. This section of wall runs SE-NW across the southern portion of the known Hellenistic settlement area (**fig. 37**).[707] The wall was constructed using two courses of large, relatively regular polygonal stone blocks filled with rubble. A gateway and square and semicircular towers have also been found. These are the same construction methods known from the excavation of the fortification wall to the north of the Hellenistic royal palace.[708] This led to the suggestion that they formed part of the same fortification system, with the southern SE-NW wall marking the southern boundary of the city around the end of the fourth century.[709] However, this form of wall construction was common throughout the fourth century. Construction techniques alone are in general a poor guide to dating the remains of walls from antiquity, given the lack of a uniform progression of styles across large areas and the possibility for greatly different styles of construction to be employed at the same time in

[705] For Roman Pella: Papazoglou (1988) 135-9.
[706] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2003), (2009) 169.
[707] Siganidou (1987) 765-771; Akamatis (2011) 394.
[708] Akamatis (2011) 396.
[709] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2007a) 593-4.

the same region.[710]

There have been few finds to help date the wall. The large numbers of coins bearing the types of Philip II and Alexander III found during excavations are of limited use given the lengthy circulation of both these coinages.[711] However, the overwhelming preponderance of the coinages of these two kings, and the fact that the wall must have been demolished during the redevelopment of the urban plan by Kassandros, is compatible with the wall being in use during the latter half of the fourth century. A potsherd found in the foundation layer of the excavated gate in the south wall led to a suggested construction date within the third quarter of the fourth century.[712] This would place construction of the wall within the reign of Philip II, whose programs of urban development and fortification throughout his enlarged kingdom are well known.[713] This would disassociate this wall from the wall to the north of the palace, which (as we shall see below) must be downdated to after the death of Alexander the Great and probably to the reign of Kassandros. Therefore this wall running SE-NW was probably the north city wall in the mid-late fourth century, before the redevelopment of the city under Kassandros.[714] Its course therefore gives us an indication of the formal northern extent of the Classical city.

This tallies with the location of the Classical cemetery. This has been located under the Hellenistic agora and areas to the east, south, and south-west, and consists mainly of shaft and cist graves.[715] Finds here have been dated from the end of the fifth century to the third quarter of the fourth century. It seems that there was a gradual expansion of the cemetery from north

[710] McNicoll (1997).
[711] Siganidou (1987) 776; for the circulation down into the third century of Philip II and Alexander III's coins: Le Rider (1977), (1996), (2003); Price (1991).
[712] Siganidou (1987) 777, with the observation that the regularity of construction displayed between the gate and the rest of the excavated remains indicates they were constructed as one project. Chronological deductions about the gate are therefore relevant for the whole wall. Lilimbaki-Akamati (2007a) 594 questions the sherd's date.
[713] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 647-674; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 476-486.
[714] Sigandiou (1987) 770-1; Akamatis (2011) 394.
[715] Akamatis (1990) 146-49.

to south and south-east during its period of use.[716] Certain finds have attested to trade links between Pella and Attica and the Aegean islands during the classical period.[717] The discovery of a lead curse tablet from the first half of the fourth century written by a woman named Phila has been important for information regarding the Macedonian dialect.[718]

Unfortunately, very little is known about the location or extent of manufacturing or commercial areas of the city during this period. Some information has been gleaned regarding agricultural production, however. Remains attesting to the cultivation of vineyards have been found in the area to the north of the classical city's walls, to the south-east and the west of the Hellenistic agora. Similar remains have also been found on a series of terraces on the palace hill.[719]

Finally, a little has been learned regarding the residential buildings of the Classical city. Trenches in the south-west section of the later Hellenistic *polis* have yielded some information.[720] These were taken near the remains of the later sanctuary of Darron and the large circular building with smaller *tholoi* around the perimeter, which has been associated with a local healing god (**fig. 41**). Though the data gathered were relatively poor, from the results excavators are certain that the city was laid out on a regular grid plan with a N-S orientation, as was the later Hellenistic city.[721] An interesting feature of these remains is the destruction layer containing black-glazed and red-figure pottery from the end of the fifth to the third quarter of the fourth century. This destruction layer bears traces of damage from fire.[722] A similarly dated layer of destruction has been found in the 'House of the

[716] Voutiras (1998) 4.
[717] Akamatis (2011) 395, noting a hydria from the workshop of the Pronomos Painter (Akamatis (1999) 23 n. 3) and the funerary stele of Xanthos (Akamatis (1987); Paspalas (2011)).
[718] Voutiras (1998), esp. 20-34.
[719] Lilimbaki-Akamati (1988).
[720] Lilimbaki-Akamati (1996).
[721] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 169-70; Akamatis (2011) 394-5.
[722] Lilimbaki-Akamati (1987) 141.

plasterworks', in an urban block to the north east, with pottery remains also bearing traces of fire.[723] Any attempt to explain this destruction layer is necessarily highly speculative. There is no trace in the historical record of any attack on the Macedonian capital within the required time frame, roughly the third quarter of the fourth century. If the destruction layers in both the area of the sanctuary of Darron and the 'House of the Plasterworks' should be linked together to one event (which is by no means certain), they may simply represent a substantial fire in this portion of the city.

Hopefully more substantial information regarding Classical Pella will come to light in future excavations. Unfortunately the water table in the area in question makes deep excavation in certain places very difficult. For the moment, it seems clear that Classical Pella occupied a site in the south-west section of the later Hellenistic city. It was laid out on a regular grid plan, and the finds in the cemetery of this period attest to the links Pella enjoyed with the rest of the Greek world. Assuming the proposed dating of the wall discussed above is correct, from at least the reign of Philip II it possessed fortifications. Any more complex conclusions must await further archaeological investigation.

However, we can already see in the physical history of Classical Pella an important theme. The city building activities of early Hellenistic kings were expressions of royal power, powerful ideological statements regarding the ability of the king to reshape the landscape.[724] But civic communities could benefit as well. In the case of Classical Pella, this took the form of a large city wall which provided both the sense and the reality of security.[725] Expressions of royal ideology could concretely benefit civic communities. This is even more evident in Hellenistic Pella.

[723] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 170.
[724] Of course in the frontier areas of Philip II's kingdom such activity cannot be separated from his policy of fortification – Hammond and Griffith (1979) 652-71.
[725] As a regular rallying point for the national army, extra troops would have often been present to potentially assist in the manning of the walls (see Historical Overview).

7.3 Hellenistic Pella

During the reign of Kassandros, Pella underwent massive expansion.[726] The centre of the new city lay to the north-east of the known remains of the classical city, in the area of the classical cemetery (**fig. 36**). The approximate area of the city at its height at the beginning of the third century was 400 hectares.[727] This was an order of magnitude above other cities in Macedonia, and even larger than roughly contemporary Seleukid royal foundations in Syria.[728] Based upon the area of the city excavated thus far, the city was laid out on a 'Hippodamian' grid plan. City blocks were around 46-47 m wide, and of varying lengths between roughly 112-132m. They were separated by streets approximately 6m wide running N-S, and streets approximately 9-10m wide running E-W.[729] The largest of the city streets, running E-W, is a full 15m across and runs through the agora. There are also a pair of broad avenues, 10m wide, running N-S.[730] To compare a well excavated, modest-sized Greek city of roughly contemporary construction, Priene's city blocks measured 8.82 x 23.5m, while the widest street from the West Gate to the agora was just over 7m wide.[731] The dimensions of Hellenistic Pella's grid plan were designed to impress. Size clearly mattered to Kassandros.

The known remains of Hellenistic Pella can throw light on a different aspect of the relationships between the king and city in the early Hellenistic period. The extensive fortifications and impressive palace, not to mention the sheer size and ambition of Kassandros' new showpiece royal capital, were physical expressions of royal dominance. Yet

[726] For the date of expansion: Akamatis (1993b); Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 171.
[727] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13.
[728] See below section 3 for other Macedonian cities. Seleukid foundations in Syria (from Grainger (1990) 91-2): Seleukeia-in-Pieria c. 300 hectares; Antioch c. 225 hectares; Laodikeia c. 220 hectares; Apamea c. 205 hectares.
[729] Siganidou (1990) 167-70. The width of the westernmost city block is less than usual, only 29m, and the westernmost city street running S-N is 7m: Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 178.
[730] Akamatis (2011) 397.
[731] 24 attic feet=7.07m: Ferla (2005) 52.

the wide, spacious courtyards, mosaic and marble floors, frescoed walls, and numerous fountains of Pella's public spaces express the material benefits derived from being a member of the civic community of the royal capital. The wide range of items manufactured throughout the city and sold around the wings of the largest square agora in the Greek world bear witness to the material prosperity of the mercantile and manufacturing sectors of the city. As the grandest of the townhouses in Pella shows, life in the royal capital could be extremely comfortable for the elite. While an outwardly prosperous and well appointed royal capital certainly reflected well on the king, there were benefits for residents as well. Most importantly, archaeological finds attest to the importance of Pella's civic authorities in the public and commercial life of the city. Therefore the physical remains of Pella give us further insight into the relationship between king and city in the Hellenistic period.

7.3.1 Fortifications

At present only limited portions of the Hellenistic fortifications have been excavated. Nevertheless it is now possible to trace the outlines of the north, east, and west wall.[732] The north wall runs in a line roughly W-N-W past the palace hill. It directly abuts the northernmost sections of the palace. Sections of the east and west walls have been found on the fringes of the Hellenistic cemeteries on the respective sides of the city. They follow a line slightly SE-NW, not quite parallel with the axis of the city. The location of the south wall of the city is as yet unknown, but excavators expect to find it somewhere in the region of Phakos, along with the harbour facilities of the town.[733] Livy described Phakos itself as a relatively self-contained citadel immediately south of the rest of Pella;

"[Pella] is situated on a hill sloping to the south-west; swamps of a depth impenetrable

[732] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 176; Akamatis (2011) 396.
[733] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 176.

> in summer or winter surround it, formed by the pooling of rivers. The citadel Phacus projects like an island from the swamp itself, where it comes nearest to the city, and is set on an embankment, a huge construction designed to bear the weight of a wall and remain undamaged by the water of the surrounding swamp. At a distance it appears to be joined to the city wall, but it is separated by a river within the walls and likewise connected by a bridge, so that there is no approach for a besieger from without nor is there any escape for anyone imprisoned by the king within, except over a very easily guarded bridge. The royal treasury was located there;..."[734]

Assuming that this description is accurate, the south city wall may well come to light in the region of Phakos. Livy's description makes it clear that the islet of Phakos was an excellent natural point for a citadel, and the Macedonian kings must have used it long before Aemilius Paulus saw the city in 167. This has been confirmed by the discovery of a large fourth century building complex in the area. These buildings have been identified as a military complex after the discovery of the fortification wall which seemed to encircle the entire island.[735] Though the use of the island may have changed over time, it is now reasonable to suggest that Phakos formed a royal citadel from at least the fourth century.

Excavations of the north city wall have given us one of our few pieces of evidence with which to date the fortifications. The north city wall ran for approximately 500m, had square towers roughly every 33m, and was 3.30m thick. A section of this wall has been excavated to the north-east of building IV of the palace remains, revealing a large, monumental gate (**fig. 39**).[736] This large gate complex, with three successive gates leading into three interior courtyards, has been identified as a private entrance for the king and his entourage into the royal apartments. A bronze coin of Alexander III was found in the foundations of the west

[734] Livy 44.46; Sita est in tumulo vergente in occidentem hibernum; cingunt paludes inexsuperabilis altitudinis aestate et hieme, quas restagnantes faciunt amnes. Arx Phacus in ipsa palude, qua proxima urbi est, velut insula eminet, aggeri operis ingentis imposita, qui et murum sustineat et umore circumfusae paludis nihil laedatur. Muro urbis coniuncta procul videtur; divisa est intermurali amni et eadem ponte iuncta, ut nec oppugnante externo aditum ab ulla parte habeat, nec, si quem ibi rex includat, ullum nisi per facillimae custodiae pontem effugium. Et gaza regia in eo loco erat.
[735] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2003); (2005) 400-402; (2009).
[736] P. Chrysostomou (2001), (2002).

wall of the interior courtyard. The coin bears the types Macedonian shield with thunderbolt/laureate Macedonian helmet. The reverse bears the legend B-A. Coins of this type date to some time early in Alexander's reign, according to Gatzolis' arrangement of Alexander III's bronze coinage.[737] However, the 'B' of the legend on this bronze coin from Pella is probably short for *basileōs*. Troxell has argued convincingly that the royal title was not introduced on silver tetradrachms with Alexander III's types until after his death, perhaps sometime in 322-21.[738] Le Rider makes a strong case for extending this rule to other mints in Alexander's empire.[739] There would have been no good reason for Alexander to introduce the royal title on his lifetime bronze coinage and not his silver. It seems more likely that the title was introduced onto both coinages simultaneously. Such a date is incompatible with the suggested early dates for the production of the shield with thunderbolt/helmet given by Liampi and Gatzolis, or with the dates of other Alexander bronzes bearing the legend B-A.740 Clearly there are still some issues to be worked out in the arrangement of Alexander III's bronze coinage. For now, I favour a late date for this coin, sometime after Alexander III's death in 323, due to the presence of the abbreviated royal title and following the arguments of Troxell and Le Rider. This therefore brings the date for the construction of the gate in the north city wall down to after 323. The other bronze coin uncovered during excavations of the gate complex, a bronze coin of Alexander IV dated to between 323 and 311, is compatible with such a date.[741] This evidence supports the excavator's suggestion of a construction date for the wall in the reign of Kassandros.[742]

Given the regularity in the course of the wall and the building techniques shared by this gate and other excavated sections of the north wall, it seems reasonable to apply chronological data

[737] Gatzolis (2012) 381-5. Liampi (1998), 254-5, nos. 11-40 dates them c. 334.
[738] Troxell (1997) 96-8.
[739] Le Rider (2003) 130, 160, 189, 298.
[740] Liampi (1998) 250-5; Gatzolis (2012) 381-5.
[741] Gaebler (1906-35) pl. XXXI, no. 31.
[742] P. Chrysostomou (2001) 447.

from the gate to the rest of the wall. Therefore the fortifications seem to date from the general program of urban development of Pella under Kassandros. The fortifications and enlarged urban plan can be conceived of as part of one integrated city construction project, which included impressive fortifications to completely enclose Kassandros' new royal capital. To the south lay Phakos, a fortified complex which was probably under royal control and garrisoned by royal troops from the fourth century. Meanwhile, to the north, the impressive royal palace complex sat atop a hill, directly backing onto the city wall which crosses this hill at its highest point.[743] This royal complex, among its many functions (see below), held quarters for troops.[744] Thus at both the northernmost and southernmost extents of the city there lay highly visible, fortified, and monumental reminders of the presence and power of the king as military leader.

7.3.2 The palace

As already mentioned, the royal palace sat on a hill in the northernmost portion of the city. Seven groups of buildings have been identified, while two more are beginning to appear in excavations on the east side of the hill (**fig. 38**).[745] In total the palace covered an area of more than 70,000 square metres, though additions and reconstructions of various elements will have caused this to vary over time.[746] Due to the relief of the hill in different areas, the rooms and building complexes within the palace sit at a variety of heights.[747] This was achieved through the levelling of the ground in some areas and the construction of large platforms with retaining walls in others. These methods for monumental construction in areas with varying

[743] A common feature of Hellenistic fortifications, designed to deny any attackers the advantage of the high ground: McNicoll (1997).
[744] For the palace in general, see P. Chrysostomou (1996), (1999), (2001), (2002), (2008); Akamatis (2011) 399-401.
[745] Akamatis (2011) 400.
[746] P. Chrysostomou (1996), (2008).
[747] Each of the palace building complexes referred to in the literature as 'Building I', 'Building II' etc. was in fact a group of buildings. Different building complexes date from different periods of the palace's construction. For simplicity's sake, I will refer to these complexes as they are labelled in the literature, simply 'Building …'.

height are also known from the Macedonian palaces at Aigai and Demetrias (see below chapter 8).[748] The different areas of the palace were connected with a series of colonnades, staircases, and walkways. Buildings I and II formed the public area of the palace, while Building V was a huge *palaestra*. Building IV has been poorly preserved but seems to have housed the private royal apartments and the royal mint. This is the area of the palace into which the large gate in the north wall discussed above leads. Building III was never finished, but after being started in the early part of the fourth century was covered over after only reaching the height of the stylobate for the peristyle.[749] Buildings VIα-β, containing a small set of baths and directly adjacent to an excavated section of the north city wall, have been tentatively associated with the housing and education of the Royal Pages and the other youths of the court.[750] Buildings VII and VIII, on the west and east parts of the hill respectively, after trial excavations have been thought to house workshops, stables, and storerooms, thougn excavations in this area are not yet well advanced..

The date of the construction of the core area of the palace cannot be considered settled. A *communis opinio* has emerged that places the initial phase of construction (Buildings I, II, IV, V, and possibly VIα) at some point in the reign of Philip II.[751] This is based upon the dating of a number of small finds, and on arguments regarding architectural details. First, the coins found during the excavations of buildings I and II include mid-fourth-century bronze coins of Larissa, Boiotia, Amyntas III, Perdikkas III, Philip II and Alexander III.[752] The seals on potsherds found in the same area have been interpreted as dating back to the middle of the

[748] Kottaridi (2011a) 307-9; Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 19-29.
[749] P. Chrysostomou (1996) 109-10 dates the abortive Building III to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. I find more compelling the suggestion of Hatzopoulos (2001a) 194 that Building III was the work of Demetrios Poliorketes, its ostentatiously huge size a reflection of the nature of his kingship and the fact it was never finished a reflection of his unpopularity.
[750] P. Chrysostomou (2008) 138.
[751] P. Chrysostomou (1996) 128-32, (2008) 138; Hatzopoulos (2001a) 191; Akamatis (2011) 401.
[752] P. Chrysostomou (1996) 128.

fourth century.[753] 'Corinthian' style roof tiles have been associated with the third quarter of the fourth century thanks to the matching rooftiles known from the Tholos of Epidauros. A final consideration is the form of the Doric capitals used for the entrances of Buildings I and II, and for the peristyle of the courtyard of Building II.[754] It is argued that they should be dated to around the mid-fourth century due to their similarity to the capitals found in the stoa of the Amphiareion of Oropos and the temple of Athena Aleos at Tegea, both of which are known to have been built in the first half of the fourth century.[755] On the other hand, the Doric capitals used in a variety of buildings in Macedonia itself from later in the fourth century show different characteristics.

These arguments are not very convincing. The hoard evidence from Macedonia reveals that coins, whether of Macedonian kings or from other areas of the Greek world, could circulate alongside coins from much earlier periods.[756] In particular coins of Larissa are cited as proof that the palace must date to the reign of Philip II, but it has been shown that Larissa continued to mint for a significant time after Philip II took control of Thessaly.[757] They could also have continued to circulate well after Larissa had ceased minting, so provide only a *terminus post quem*. If anything the presence of a large number of bronze coins of the types of Alexander III found during excavations argues for a significant downdating away from the reign of Philip II.[758] The seals on pottery sherds, assuming current interpretations are correct, at best provide a *terminus post quem* of the third quarter of the fourth century for an initial phase of construction. The type of roof tile used, especially when the comparanda are roof tiles used in the Peloponnese, cannot be regarded as chronologically decisive. On a similar note, I remain unconvinced that the Amphiareion of Oropos and the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea are

[753] Misanêlidou-Despotidou (1993), esp. 976-7.
[754] P. Chrysostomou (1996) 128-30, (2008) 138.
[755] Coulton (1968).
[756] Eg. IGCH 365, 383, 384, 386, 410, 444, 445, 448, 454, 455, 458, 460, 469. Note that not all of these hoards necessarily reflect circulation patterns.
[757] Martin (1985).
[758] P. Chrysostomou (1996) 128.

useful comparanda for dating the progression of architectural forms in Macedonia. The Macedonian examples commonly cited (the palace at Aigai, the tombs there of Philip II and the Macedonian 'tomb Δ', the Helen House in Pella) actually demonstrate the variety of the forms of Doric capitals employed within a relatively short time period in funerary, private, and public architecture in late fourth century Macedonia.[759] Overall, the evidence suggests an initial phase of construction sometime *after* the third quarter of the fourth century. If the *communis opinio* is to be revised, the only way is downwards.

When the chronological evidence from the north wall is taken into account, a later date seems even more likely. As already established, a posthumous Alexander III bronze coin and a bronze coin of Alexander IV uncovered during excavation of the gate in the north wall indicate that it dates from after 323. I argued for a date coinciding with the development of the rest of the Hellenistic city plan under Kassandros. The north wall need not necessarily be of the same date as the initial phase of construction for the palace complex. However, the alignment of certain northern sections of Buildings IV, V, and VI would seem to indicate that they were constructed with knowledge of the line of the fortifications. This cannot be conclusive given the difficulty of dating the relative building phases of the palace, but it is suggestive. Furthermore, if the palace's initial construction predated the construction of the late fourth century north fortification wall, the complex would be left very exposed, standing approximately 1250m from the north city wall of Classical Pella. This cannot be easily reconciled with the evidence from other Macedonian royal residences, which are safely contained within city walls (see below ch. 8).

Further excavations may provide more concrete evidence for the date of construction of the

[759] The 'Helen House': Makaronas and Giourê (1989). The palace of Aigai: Kottaridi (2011a). The tomb of Philip II at Aigai: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2004). Macedonian Tomb 'Δ' at Pella: P. Chrysostomou (1994) 56-60. Note that the Doric capitals of the temple of Athena Alea are also taken by Kottaridi (2011a) 301 as similar to the palace at Aigai, one of the contrasting examples in P. Chrysostomou (2008) 138. This further reflects the difficulties in making chronological deductions from small variations in architectural features.

palace. Nevertheless, I tentatively suggest that we should downdate the initial phase of construction of the palace to the period of the redevelopment of the rest of Pella under Kassandros. This way the palace would be part of a planned, fortified, integrated urban unit, like the other known Macedonian palaces at Aigai and Demetrias.[760]

Whenever the palace was constructed, considering the complex alongside the rest of Hellenistic Pella's urban plan reveals much about the role of the palace in articulating royal power. The entire palace complex lies at a significant remove from the rest of the city, 370m north of the northernmost Hellenistic city block.[761] This distance and the palace's position on a hill was itself a demonstration of the privileged position of the royal family. This was further emphasised through a combination of monumental architecture and careful control of approaches to the palace. To move from the city to the palace, any visitor or petitioner would have had to ascend the south face of the hill towards the front of the palace. During all 370m of the walk from the northernmost city block, the approaching individual would have been confronted with the imposing palace façade.[762] This long, single colonnade stretched across the south face of palace Buildings I and II, with Doric columns. It ran for a length of roughly 160m, and was interrupted only by the monumental entrance to the palace standing slightly off-centre. This entrance was a large portico, 16m wide, with a double pedimental façade with four Doric columns at ground level and Ionic columns above, like the royal palace at Aigai.[763] Crossing the space to the south of this colonnade and portico was the only way to approach the palace, as through a combination of site choice and fortification access to the palace was strictly controlled. The palace was unapproachable from the east and west due to the steep slopes of the hill. The city wall restricted access from the north. Through a combination of fortification, a well chosen site, and monumental architecture, any visitor to

[760] See chapter 8 on Macedonian palaces below.
[761] P. Chrysostomou (2008) 129.
[762] P. Chrysostomou (1996) 120-30, (2008) 132; Akamatis (2011) 400.
[763] Kottaridi (2011a) 312-15, Fig 34b; see below chapter 8.

the palace was unavoidably confronted with an imposing sight designed to impress upon them the grandeur and power of the king. Following recent work the excavators are confident that two roads lead from the central area with agora towards the palace.764 The southern approach was therefore not limited to, say, one monumentalised processional walkway, but the fact remains that visitors could only approach the palace from the south. This approach was designed to emphasise a physical and psychological movement from a civic to a royal space.

This control over routes of approach to the palace allowed the king to guarantee maximum exposure to the message of power and sophistication conveyed by the imposing monumental architecture and topographical situation of the palace. In turn, the gate complex in the northern city wall created the possibility of circumventing this humbling route of approach. This gate opened directly into the palace's residential area and represented immediate and direct access to a close level of intimacy with the royal person. It is a general feature of royal courts that access to the king was closely controlled, and positions within court hierarchies were highly contingent upon levels of intimacy with the royal person.[765] Therefore I suggest that use of the north wall gate to directly access the palace's royal apartments would have been strictly controlled by the king. This gate's use would have been granted as a privilege and sign of distinct favour, allowing the grantee to enter royal space without experiencing the southern approach's grandiose display of royal monumental architecture.

Therefore control of movement in and around the palace of Pella space was crucial to maximising the usefulness of the palace as an articulation of royal power. Most visitors were forced to approach the palace from the south, exposed for hundreds of metres to an imposing message of royal power. But the new urban plan of Pella also allowed for the integration of the politics of movement into the royal court's dossier of rights and privileges. The king could

764 R. Lane Fox, correspondence November 2014.
765 Royal courts in the ancient world: Herman (1997); Spawforth (2007); Ma (2011).

allow circumvention of this humbling, supplicatory approach and grant direct access through the north wall gate complex. Consideration of the palace complex in relation to the rest of the city therefore reveals the palace complex not as a static monument to royal grandeur, but as a dynamic articulation of royal control which operated in concert with the rest of the urban unit. We will see this pattern repeated with the palaces at Aigai and Demetrias in ch. 8.

7.3.3 Public spaces

The huge square agora formed the manufacturing and commercial centre of the ancient city (**fig. 40**).[766] The central plaza is surrounded by four colonnaded wings with Doric columns. The central space itself measures 200.15m by 181.76m, measured at the level of the stylobate: including the buildings, shops, and workshops around the edge the agora complex covers an area 261.7 by 238m. The agora occupied a total of ten city blocks, and the buildings occupying the five small city blocks immediately to the south were probably public buildings associated with its administration. It is crossed by roads running N-S 6m wide, and one huge road running E-W 15m wide, which is the largest road on this orientation in the urban plan and divides the agora in two. The remains of staircases on the north side of the agora suggest a second storey on at least this wing. The entire agora area is supplied with water by an extensive system of water pipes, drains, and deep wells. The agora was used from its construction at the end of the fourth century BC until its destruction and abandonment in the wake of an earthquake in the first decade of the first century BC. The remains found in the destruction layer left by this event (Roman silver plated *denarii*, a hoard of 100 'New Style' Athenian tetradrachms, and amphorae from Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, and the Italian peninsula,) allow for relatively precise dating of this destructive event.[767]

[766] For the agora, with bibliographical overviews, see Akamatis (1996) esp. 23 n. 1, (2006), (2011); Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) esp. 172 n. 17.
[767] Akamatis (1993a) 318-23.

Over the course of the agora's use, manufacturing and commercial activity became specialised, with different industries localised in different areas.[768] The chronological breadth of the finds attests to this specialisation over a long period of time. Proceeding 'clockwise' from the north side of the east wing of the agora, here were located manufacturers of terracotta figurines. In the south part of the east wing were potters and pottery merchants. In the east end of the south wing, many finds of moulds and slag show the presence of metal workshops. A large number of furnaces have also been around the outskirts of the agora, attesting further to a lively metalwork industry. Much of the south wing seems to have specialised in edible goods, as evidence of vendors selling fish, meat, and liquid goods has been found here. In the south part of the west wing were more metal workshops, here producing lead goods. Also in this section were vendors selling imported goods and lamps. Much of the rest of the west wing was occupied by grain and flour merchants, as large quantities of these products have been found in amphorae and other storage jars in this area.[769]

In contrast to the manufacturing and commercial roles of the east, south, and west wings, the northern wing of the agora seems to have had a more official character.[770] On this wing, just outside the stylobate, a row of foundations for monuments has been found. At least some of these monuments were made of bronze, larger than life-size, and of high artistic quality (**fig. 50**). This can be seen from the remains of a left front leg of a galloping horse, and the large male right hand recovered in this area.[771] Fragments of other sculptures have also been found in this general area. These alone would give the impression that this area of the agora had a different character. This is confirmed by the findings in and around the large hall with a Doric

[768] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 172; Akamatis (2011) 402.
[769] Akamatis (2011) 402 n. 22.
[770] Akamatis (2011) 403. The division of commercial and official functions of the *agora*, even into two separate complexes, became a common feature of Hellenistic cities: Billows (2005).
[771] Akamatis (1988) 79, pls. 4-6.

colonnade behind the centre of the north stoa. In this area fragments of statues, inscriptions, and seals from papyrus documents bearing the symbols of a club and an eight-pointed star have been found. Seals have also been found bearing the legend ΠΕΛΛΗΣ/ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧΩΝ (**fig. 48**).[772] All of this evidence indicates that this was the seat of the city's civic authorities, though it should be noted that the specific seals with the legends including ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧΩΝ should be dated to after the Macedonia-wide introduction of this office some time during or after the reign of Philip V.[773] The same building complex contains rooms for the conduct of official business and cultic rituals. These public buildings, with their size, high quality of construction, and impressive facilities for monuments and statues both inside and outside, advertised the health and vibrancy of the civic authorities of Pella. These same civic authorities seem to have exercised some control over the commercial functions of the city. A seal has been found in a building in the SW corner of the agora, identified as a public archive, which bears the image of a cow and the legend ΠΕΛΛΗΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΝ (**fig. 49**).[774] This must have been produced by some branch of the civic administration, acting here as overseers of the agora as commercial centre. Therefore the excavations in the agora have provided much evidence for viewing the civic authorities as an important and visible element in the day to day administrative and commercial life of Pella.

The roof tiles found in the agora complex probably attest to some royal patronage for the construction of the agora complex (**fig. 47**). The buildings of the agora were roofed with 'Lakonian' style tiles, many of which include stamps. While a large variety of names and initials have been found on the different tiles, most of them are stamped with the words ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ or ΠΕΛΛΗΣ.[775] I think it most likely that these legends indicate who paid for the tile in question. The two most common legends attest to the fact that the king and the

[772] Akamatis (1999) 39 pl. 13.
[773] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 428-9, 486.
[774] Akamatis (1988) 81, pl. 13; Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1996) 19; Akamatis (1999) 30.
[775] Akamatis (1999) 25, (2011) 402; Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1996) 17, fig. 3.

civic authorities were the two financial bodies involved in providing the construction costs for the new agora. The other names and initials possibly record tiles made using individual donations by wealthy individuals.

This kind of labelling would have been very useful when tiles paid for by different parties were being produced in the same workshop as a way of keeping track of the correct numbers from each being produced. This was a form of financial transparency: a way of making sure the civic authorities were not taking credit for the king's contributions and vice versa. But it is also worth considering that, although these were roofing tiles and therefore the legends they bear would not have been visible from the ground, there may be an element of self-promotion to these legends. Ancient sources attest that the roofs of buildings in the ancient world were spaces used by the inhabitants for a variety of activities during everyday life.[776] While it is impossible to quantify this activity, there is perhaps the impression that it is worth conceiving of roofs as part of the public space of a city in antiquity. It is therefore possible that the legends on the roof tiles of the agora would have been on public display, after a fashion. Therefore for anyone who financed the provision of roof tiles, whether the king, the civic authorities, or perhaps individual donors, the stamping of legends on these tiles may have been a way of increasing prestige and social capital. It was worth advertising this activity in the way it was worth advertising any euergetistic behaviour. After all, roof tiles were not cheap.[777] This is why guidance for the movement of roof tiles was included in the in-depth provisions of the royal guidelines for the synoikism of Teos and Lebedos.[778] The expense was of an order of magnitude that merited specific mention. Therefore it may have been

[776] From Barry (1996) 61; "In addition to watching and participating in urban violence, people on roofs slept (*Od*. 10.558), kept guard (Aesch *Ag*. 1ff), conducted festivals (Ar. *Lys*. 387-98), spied on lovers (Plaut. *Mil*. 156-60), watched processions through the city (Dio 62.4.2), and even participated in political assemblies (Plut. *C. Gracch*. 3.1)". Note also a fifth century Thasian text, the 'stèle du port', which demanded that no women go up onto the roofs of certain buildings, possibly brothels, implying that some had been accustomed to do so (possibly to advertise the delights on offer in these buildings); Duchène (1992); *BullEpig* (1993) no. 395; Graham (1998); Henry (2002).
[777] Barry (1996) 60 n. 10.
[778] Welles (1934) nos. 3-4.

particularly worthwhile to the funding bodies in Pella to advertise that they had undergone this significant expense for benefit of the civic community. A study of the relative proportions of currently known roof tiles stamped with different legends could be revealing. It could suggest the general size of the financial contributions made by the different parties to this element of the construction of the new agora. This would be useful for considering the economic dimension of the relationship between king and city: how much of the building of the agora did the civic authorities of Pella take financial responsibility for? Unfortunately the size of the contribution of the civic authorities cannot be guessed at present. Given the financial position of the cities of Macedonia compared to the king (see above section 2) one would expect the king to have supplied the bulk of the funds, especially in the royal capital. Nonetheless, it seems that memorialising monetary contributions via legends on the tiles may have been a way in which the king and civic authorities could both derive prestige from this building project.

The excavated public buildings in Pella outside the agora possess common features which further attest to significant investment in the urban fabric. Like the agora and the fortifications, the construction of a large circular building in the area of the classical city has been dated to the end of the fourth century (**fig. 41**).[779] This building, with three smaller *tholoi* around the perimeter of the main circular space, was in use from the end of the fourth to the end of the third century. It has been associated with the cult of a local healing god. This is partially because of its proximity to the sanctuary of Darron in the city block to the north. This sanctuary has been associated with Darron thanks to an inscription on a plinth of the 2nd century BC which came to light in 1991.[780] This confirmed the existence of this local Macedonian healing god, previously only attested in Hesychios.[781] Similarities have been

[779] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 171 n. 8.
[780] Lilimbaki-Akamati (1996) 96-7.
[781] Hesychios 406 D74 s.v. Darrôn.

noted between these two building complexes and the temple of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite north of the agora.[782] Therefore we have in these building complexes areas of the Hellenistic city dedicated to religious functions. Excavations have uncovered that both these building complexes possessed large outdoor spaces with stoas, banqueting halls with mosaic floors, colourfully plastered walls, and substantial water storage and supply systems.[783] Such features are also present in two circular buildings with an apparently public character to the north-west of the temple of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite.[784] These buildings have been dated to the late fourth century, and here again we find floors carefully paved with marble and colourfully decorated plastered walls.

Very similar features have been uncovered during excavations in an area to the SE of the archaeological site, in the region of the Hellenistic baths. Here, too, buildings with large outdoor spaces with stoas, fountains, wells, and water tanks, and decorated floors have been discovered. These may well have been public buildings.[785] The Hellenistic bath complex in this area certainly served the citizens of Pella, and was in use from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century.[786] This building is noteworthy for its extensive underfloor heating system, though this was probably not built until after the Roman conquest, perhaps some time late in the second century.[787] Nonetheless, with the original building phase dating from the end of the fourth century, it is one of the oldest known bath complexes in the north of Greece (**fig. 43**). While the bath building stands on its own as an impressive example of the attention paid to the health of the citizens of Pella, the omnipresence of fountains, water conduits and drains throughout the Hellenistic city remains only confirms that the provision of fresh water was a key concern in the planning of the city. The runoff of the water was

[782] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000a).
[783] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 171.
[784] Lilimbaki-Akamati (1996).
[785] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 175.
[786] Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2007).
[787] Akamatis (2011) 399.

facilitated both by the natural hill of the city site and the slope of the street pavements from north to south and east to west.[788] Such concern for water management is known from other sites, as the provision of water was a key concern of urban planning in the ancient world.[789] When Priene was rebuilt in the mid-fourth century BC, the choice of site may have been influenced by the presence of a spring behind the acropolis, ensuring a good water supply. Water was stored in a reservoir then distributed throughout the city via a comprehensive system of pipes and public fountains.[790] The 2nd century *astynomoi* law from Pergamon contains detailed provisions for the maintenance and proper use of water conduits, cisterns, and fountains.[791]

The streets which separated the city blocks have already been mentioned above. Beyond their impressive width, the main arterial roads and some of the other main streets were paved with stone and possessed wide stone walkways on either side.[792] Excavations in some of the city streets, such as those in the area of the sanctuary of Darron, have found columns at a regular distance from the building line, as well as raised walkways of uniform width. These strongly suggest that these streets of the city were flanked by colonnaded stoas, though this may have been limited to important public areas (**fig. 46**).

Overall the remains of the public buildings of Pella attest to the high quality of the built environment. Citizens could move through the city on wide, colonnaded streets, enjoying the commercial, sanitation, and religious facilities provided in large public buildings with impressive decoration, all the while with regular and easy access to fresh water.

[788] Akamatis (2011) 397.
[789] Owens (1991) 158-63.
[790] Owens (1991) 66; Ferla (2005) 50.
[791] Saba (2012) 69-86, col. II.72-90, col. IV. The law should probably be linked with the urban development of Pergamon under Eumenes II, which included a new system of water supply; E. V. Hansen (1971) 246-50. For *astynomoi* and water management: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 50.2; Plato *Leg.* 763C; Cox (2007); Saba (2012) 87-113.
[792] Akamatis (2006c) 632-6; Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 171-2.

7.3.4 Private housing

These high construction standards are also reflected in the private housing of Pella. The most well-known of these houses, mentioned above in ch. 5.1, are the 'House of Dionysos' and the 'House of Helen'.[793] Both houses span the width of an entire city block, and are located in the section of full city blocks directly to the south of the agora complex. They date from the last quarter of the fourth century. They elaborate upon a basic form of elite house, with rooms surrounding a large peristyle court, which had already emerged elsewhere in the fourth century BC, such as at Eretria in 'la maison aux mosaïques'.[794] However, the houses from Pella are on a completely different scale.[795] 'La maison aux mosaïques' had a single peristyle courtyard and covered roughly 650 m², while a fourth century house excavated at Maroneia in Thrace with two courtyards was of similar size, c. 640 m². However, in Pella the House of Helen is around 2,350 m², while the House of Dionysos had two peristyle courtyards and covered around 3,000 m². As discussed above, their multiple *androne*s attest to an elite lifestyle of feasting, and the mosaics adorning these rooms are among the most artistically impressive from early Hellenistic Greece. These houses attest to the presence in early Hellenistic Pella of a wealthy elite accustomed to a lifestyle of the highest luxury.

As others have commented, these elite houses are exceptional in their scale, both within Pella and compared to other houses in the contemporary Greek world.[796] More revealing of the general standard of residential building in Pella are the houses excavated in other sections of the city. To the south of the city block with the House of Helen, a number of smaller houses have been excavated (**fig. 42**).[797] These include the 'plasterwork house', one of the largest

[793] Makaronas and Giourê (1989); Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (1997) 22-27; Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000b); Akamatis (2011) 398-9.
[794] Ducrey and Metzger (1979).
[795] Walter-Karydi (1998) 12-26.
[796] Walter Karydi (1998) 12; Nevett (1999) 114-16.
[797] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000b), (2009) 177-8.

buildings in the city block. The other houses, while smaller, still have areas from 500 to 1125 m². Some of the smaller houses to the south of the plasterwork house have inner courtyards with pilasters on three or four sides, while others are of the type with a *pastas* familiar from Olynthos.[798] G. Oikonomos excavated a house of this latter type in 1913-14 in the area west of the south part of the agora.[799] This attests to some more residential remains in this area of the ancient city, though more recent excavations have been focused elsewhere. Though the remains in the area of the plasterwork house are less impressive than those of the large luxury houses to the north and north-east, they still attest to the relatively high standard of living to be found in Pella at this time. Other houses apart from the plasterwork house possess colourful wall decoration. Throughout there are both floors paved with stone and decorated with *opus sectile*, and again facilities for the provision of water, including wells, fountains, and water tanks.[800] The remains here, though more modest than the famous elite houses, are a more potent testament to the generally high standard of living enjoyed by a larger part of the city's population. At Priene, for the earliest phases of housing in that city there seems to have been a fairly standard house design.[801] There were eight to a city block, covering 208.3 m². Decoration of their interiors is difficult to reconstruct, though there are some indications of fine painted stucco walls from later periods in larger houses which may have reused earlier elements.[802] Two houses excavated at Halos in Epeiros, 'house A' and 'the house of the coroplast', are on a similar scale, with areas around 225 m² and 200 m² respectively.[803] A series of third century houses at Florina, a settlement possibly initially established by Philip II, have been excavated, none of whose areas exceeds c. 120 m².[804] We have no way of knowing how representative of the wider residential housing of Pella our current evidence is. But it does seem that at least a substantial number of the citizens of late fourth century Pella

[798] Zahrnt (1971).
[799] Akamatis (2011) 399 n. 18.
[800] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000b) 412-413, n. 21-23.
[801] Ferla (2005) 180-95.
[802] Rumscheid and Koenigs (1998) 86-105.
[803] Nevett (1999) 117-19.
[804] Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (1990); Nevett (1999) 119-20.

lived in much larger and better decorated houses than citizens of other cities of the late fourth and early third centuries. There were definite benefits to living in a newly rebuilt royal capital.

7.3.5 Manufacturing

Finally, the city was also a significant manufacturing centre. The description of the agora above will leave no doubt as to the scale and breadth of manufacturing activities undertaken alongside commercial exchange in the agora complex. But substantial remains of manufacturing facilities have been found in other areas of the city. A large pottery workshop has been found to the north-west of the temple of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite.[805] Finds in this area include a wide variety of moulds, vases, figures, seals, bronze and iron tools, and a number of large kilns. A similar complex was excavated in the south of the archaeological site, south-east of the new museum buildings.[806] Finds here include evidence for both pottery production and metalwork, including pottery kilns, metalwork furnaces, moulds, figurines, bronze artefacts, storage spaces, as well as the necessary and ubiquitous facilities for the provision of water. However, both of these complexes date from the late second century BC, as do the fragmentary remains on the island of Phakos which have been associated with manufacturing activities on the islet after the Roman conquest.[807] Indeed it seems that the period after the Roman conquest of Macedonia was a thriving time for the pottery and metalwork industries in Pella, no doubt fuelled by an influx of Roman settlers.[808]

Until recently we lacked evidence for much manufacturing beyond the agora in the pre-Roman period of the city. However, in the last few years a large pottery workshop in the

[805] Lilimbaki-Akamati (1996).
[806] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000a) 410-8.
[807] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2003).
[808] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 174.

north of the city block occupied by the Hellenistic baths has been identified (**fig. 44)**.[809] Like the workshop complexes found elsewhere in the city, it possesses multiple rooms, storage areas for clay and for finished products, kilns, and a well (**fig. 45**). A combination of pottery evidence and the large number of bronze coins of Philip II and Alexander III found in the earliest construction layers have led the excavators to conclude that this workshop was in use from the end of the fourth century. Since the orientation of its exterior walls clearly shows that it was part of the same urban plan as the rest of the late fourth century remains, we should associate this workshop with the expansion of the city under Kassandros. We therefore now have evidence for manufacturing comparable with the later workshop remains from the earliest phase of the life of the Hellenistic city. It seems clear, then, that from its expansion under Kassandros until the contraction of the city after the 1st century BC earthquake, Pella possessed a significant manufacturing industry, producing different types of goods for both the citizens of Pella and for export.[810]

7.4 Conclusions

As befitted the royal capital of the Macedonian kingdom, Pella clearly had attention lavished upon it by kings. The classical city gained a new city wall under the reign of Philip II. After the first few years of Philip II's reign, the threat of overland attack must have dropped dramatically. However, it is easy to forget how long it took Philip II to cow the Thracian tribes to the north and east of Macedonia. Philip's defeat of Kersebleptes and Teres, the last major Thracian kings opposing him, and marriage alliance with Cothelas the king of the Getae, only occurred in 341.[811] Invasion from the north-west, north, and east had been a fact of life for generations in the Macedonian kingdom, and would continue to be a factor in

[809] Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2008).
[810] Lilimbaki-Akamati (2009) 174.
[811] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 554-66.

Macedonian history long after the death of Philip II.[812] The citizens of Pella, then, are likely to have been only too glad of the sense of security brought by new fortifications. As examined above, this hints at the benefits to be derived for a city through a close relationship with the king.

Yet the fullest expression of this kind of mutually beneficial arrangement was to be found during the reign of Kassandros. At the end of the fourth century the urban fabric of Pella was transformed. The city grew to be the largest in the Hellenistic Macedonian kingdom.[813] As the archaeological evidence shows, Pella possessed public and private buildings of high quality. The agora, and the manufacturing facilities in other areas of the city, produced a range of goods for local consumption and for export. Movement around the urban space along wide, paved roads was easy, and fresh water was readily accessible. In short, Pella was an impressive city in which to live.

A noteworthy aspect of the archaeological record is the attested vitality of the city's public authorities. The buildings which housed the civic administration were large and expansive. They were situated along the north side of the agora, at the very heart of the city, with their importance emphasised and monumentalised through high quality bronze and stone statues and sculptures. The position of the seat of the public authorities is worth emphasising. The agora lay at the meeting point of both the two main N-S arterial roads from the harbour and the main E-W highway running through the city. This arrangement made the huge agora the focal point of city life. Within this space, the importance of the north side of the agora was emphasised through impressive and monumental buildings. The number of seals found both in these buildings and the public archive in the SW of the agora attest to the substantial responsibilities of the civic authorities. The specialisation of different manufacturing and

[812] Hammond (1972); Hammond and Griffith (1979); Hammond and Walbank (1988).
[813] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13; see below ch. 9.2.

commercial sections of the agora, along with the seal bearing the legend ΠΕΛΛΗΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΝ from the public archive, bear witness to the part played by the civic authorities in the administration of the agora. Meanwhile stamped roof tiles suggest that the city contributed in a substantial manner to funding construction of the new agora. We would obviously wish to know more about the responsibilities or financial wherewithal of Pella's civic administration. For now, the archaeological record clearly attests to the intra-urban importance of Pella's citizen body organised through its institutions.

But to Kassandros, the city was his royal capital, and the new urban plan of Pella also expressed the dominance of the king. The city was bracketed north and south by fortified royal complexes, and entirely enclosed by royal fortification walls. The royal residence of the palace in the north, in its position above and overlooking the city, gave physical expression to the elevated position of the king. Meanwhile a combination of monumental palace architecture and restriction of approaches allowed Kassandros to present a carefully crafted image of the grandeur and power of the monarch to any visitor to the palace. If following the main N-S or E-W arterials towards the palace, a visitor would first see the centre of Pella's civic authority, then the royal palace. In the natural comparison of the importance and power of the civic authorities and the king that would follow, the civic authorities could only come off worse. Meanwhile, the presence of a private entrance to the royal apartments in the north wall of the city provided the king and his chosen intimates with the facility to circumvent this palace approach. Therefore expressions of royal ideology dictated patterns of movement through an urban space which was itself encircled by royal military architecture. Viewed in such a light, even the high quality public buildings, the wide colonnaded roads, and the abundant water supply represent in part an exercise in royal self-aggrandisement. They were a powerful statement of the benefit to be had from living in the king's royal capital.

Why did Kassandros redevelop Pella on such a scale? It was doubtless part of Kassandros' policy of consolidating and reinforcing his authority in the Macedonian kingdom. As examined above, Kassandros' route to power in Macedonia meant that he lacked traditional legitimacy. Macedonia was 'spear-won land' for him, gained through his own personal success. As important an element of a ruler's power as this was in the Successor period, other methods of cultivating the loyalty of one's soldiers and subjects were necessary to survive for long.[814] This was particularly true in the Macedonian heartland, where traditional expectations of rulership were more pressing. City-founding had been an integral part of successful royal style since Philip II. By becoming refounder of Pella, Kassandros was advertising his worthiness to assume to reins of power in the Macedonian kingdom.

But why choose Pella and not Aigai to develop?[815] Philip's construction of his impressive palace-theatre complex at Aigai clearly signalled the primacy of this city in his eyes.[816] Herein lay the attraction of redeveloping Pella, and not Aigai, as a royal capital for Kassandros. It did not come with the burden of previous Argead links. Kassandros did marry a daughter of Philip II, bury Philip III and Eurydike, and name two of his sons Philip and Alexander: such messages of continuity were powerful after Alexander III's death.[817] But, as discussed above, this was not a card which Kassandros could play too heavily without seeming disingenuous. Too many of Kassandros' actions had been taken against the Argead house and their representatives for him to rely upon connections with an Argead past for his legitimacy. Thus, developing Pella and not Aigai as a new royal capital gave the opportunity for a fresh start. Aigai could remain a link to the Argead past: a new Pella would be Kassandros' own centre of royal power and legitimacy. As we shall see later, this was part of

[814] Bosworth (2002) 246-78.
[815] See Historical Overview.
[816] Kottaridi (2011a) 329. There remains the problem of locating a pre-Hellenistic royal residence in the region of Pella: none has yet come to light. Excavators have speculated that remains of such a building may lie in the region of Phakos: Akamatis (2011) 401.
[817] See above ch. 6. On symbols of continuity, see also the increased importance of Argead royal women in this period: Carney (2000) 114-52.

a general policy of urban foundation and development throughout the Macedonian kingdom. Kassandros pursued a policy of urban development with energy and commitment as a key proof of his right to rule.

Yet the benefit Kassandros gained from Pella's redevelopment was not the whole story. For all that the palace, royal fortifications, and royal patronage express, Pella was not simply built as a straightforward testament to royal power. There was space in the urban fabric for the advertisement of the civic community as a crucial and central part of Pella. This juxtaposition of civic vitality and royal power gives voice yet again to that central tension in the Macedonian state: how to integrate proud civic communities within a strong monarchy? In the spatial politics of new Pella, we once again see this tension being resolved with respect to both sides. The civic authorities took pride of place in the urban fabric of the city, overseeing and administering the day to day running of a large, wealthy, and impressive urban space. Meanwhile the centres of royal power, on a hill to the north and an islet to south, pointedly reminded the citizens that their civic life was conducted under the watchful eye of the king and his army, in an urban space redeveloped by the will and the funds of the king. A citizen moving from the agora to the palace, from civic space to royal space, underwent a very real and substantial physical and psychological journey. Both omnipresent and removed, the king was to Pella what he was to the state: a guardian and benefactor, but one with financial, military, and political power far beyond the reach of a civic community.

Horden and Purcell argued that the city or town should be seen as an arena or address where the wider tensions in the power structure of the state were played out.[818] While I do not advocate taking this as far as removing the city or town from our analyses, this seems a useful way to regard the dynamics revealed by the urban remains of Pella. In the late fourth and

[818] Horden and Purcell (2000) 89-122.

early third century development of Pella's urban space, civic life and royal power interacted in ways which reinforced the mutually beneficial but ultimately uneven relationship between king and city. This is the same tension we have already seen played out in a different context in the *theorodokoi* lists and *asylia* decrees. Bearing this dynamic in mind will be a fruitful way to approach the more fragmentary evidence available to us for the development of other urban communities in late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia.

Figures

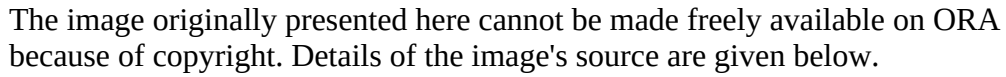


Fig. 36 – Plan of archaeological site at Pella (Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2009) fig. 1).

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Fig. 37 – Detail of south of archaeological site at Pella (Lane Fox (2011a) fig. 38).

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Fig. 38 – Plan of the palace at Pella (Lane Fox (2011a) fig. 39).

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Fig. 39 – Plan of palace gate in north city wall at Pella (P. Chrysostomou (2002) fig. 1).

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Fig. 40 – Plan of the agora at Pella (Akamatis (2006b) fig. 1).

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Fig. 41 – Area of the sanctuary of Darron (Akamatis (2006c) fig. 3).

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Fig. 42 – Residential city block with the ‘house of the plasterworks’ (Lilimbaki-Akamati (2000b) fig. 2).

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Fig. 43 – Plan of first phase of construction of Hellenistic baths (end 4th century BC) (Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2007) fig. 2).

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Fig. 44 – City block with Hellenistic pottery workshop and baths (Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2007) fig. 1).

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Fig. 45 – First phase of construction of Hellenistic pottery workshop (end 4th century BC) (Lilimbaki-Akamati and Akamatis (2008) fig. 2).

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Fig. 46 – Reconstruction of streets near sanctuary of Darron (Akamatis (2006c) fig. 4).

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Fig. 47 – Roof tiles from agora (Siganidou and Lilimbaki-Akamati (2006) pl. 3).

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Fig. 48 – Seal of the politarch (Akamatis (1999) pl. 13).

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available on ORA because of copyright. Details of the image's source are given below.

Fig. 49 – Seal with cow (Akamatis (1988) pl. 13).

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Fig. 50 – Fragments of bronze statues from agora (Akamatis (1988) pl. 4-6).

Chapter 8 - Macedonian palaces

As the case study of Pella has shown, the physical space of a town was an arena in which the relationship between king and city could be defined and expressed. The physical arrangement of the royal and civic elements of Kassandros' royal capital, and the careful control of the ability to move among and between these spaces, emphasised both the vitality of Pella's civic authorities and the elevated position of the king. The palace and its relation to the rest of Pella's urban space formed a key component in the king's expressions of dominance. Was the same true of other Macedonian palaces? Were the strategies deployed in the palace of Pella also utilised at other sites? Can we devise a general model for how Macedonian kings used palaces to construct their royal image?

Once more, in order to investigate these aspects of royal representation in the cities we are reliant upon archaeological evidence. Available information is unevenly distributed, and incomplete even at the best excavated sites. Nevertheless, the Macedonian palaces at Aigai and Demetrias have now been sufficiently well excavated to allow us to analyse certain aspects of their function in Macedonian royal ideology, though all discussion below should be considered tentative and subject to revision following full publication of material from recent excavations.

The Macedonian royal palaces have been described as "where king and city meet" by M. B. Hatzopoulos.[819] In a physical sense, palaces were often the settings for interactions between the king and his subjects. It has been held that the designs of the Macedonian palaces, and their positions within Macedonian cities, are symptomatic of the expectations of accessibility

[819] Hatzopoulos (2001a).

and generosity which governed the conduct of the Macedonian king.[820] In contrast to other late Classical and Hellenistic royal palaces, and their earlier models in the east, such features have been taken as characteristic of the uniquely 'national' style of kingship in the Macedonian kingdom.[821] Yet the Macedonian palaces also demonstrate how royal architecture could be used to emphasise royal power and distinction in spite of these expectations. The Macedonian palace in the end appears mainly as a site of royal display, a forceful and domineering projection of royal authority into an urban space.

8.1 The Palace at Aigai

The true importance of the palace near the modern village of Vergina was long obscured by misidentification of the ancient site. The ancient Macedonian royal capital of Aigai used to be associated with the modern city of Edessa, due to a mistake either made by or transmitted by Justin in his Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus.[822] This led the initial excavators of the palace, charged with explaining the presence of such a large and impressive royal monument far from any known ancient city, to identify the site as the poorly attested Macedonian town of Balla, and to date the palace to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.[823] Other excavators, unwilling to accept that such an unimportant city held such an impressive royal palace, thought the site a summer residence of the king.[824] However, in the 1970s the location of Aigai at the site near Vergina was suggested independently by Hammond and Lane Fox.[825] Their suggestions were vindicated in spectacular fashion by the discovery by M. Andronikos

[820] Hatzopoulos (2001a) 193-4; Kottaridi (2011a) 329-30; see above ch. 1.
[821] Nielsen (1996) 209. For Hellenistic palace architecture in general: Nielsen (1994), (2001); Brands and Hoepfner (1996); Kutbay (1998).
[822] Just. 7.1.7.
[823] Heuzey and Daument (1876) 182, 211-12. For Balla: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996b) 232-3.
[824] Andronikos, Bakalakis, Makaronas and Moutsopoulos (1961).
[825] Hammond (1970) 65; Lane Fox (1973) 504. On the location of Aigai: Hammond (1972) 156-8, (1997); Hatzopoulos (1996b), with bibliography.

of royal tombs beneath the 'Great Tumulus' at Vergina.[826] Further excavations in the area of the ancient city have revealed an acropolis, an agora, a large cemetery with further royal and elite tombs, a theatre just below the palace, sanctuaries, and remains of a fourth century fortification wall (**fig. 51**).[827] It is now beyond any doubt that the palace at Vergina was a royal palace for the Macedonian kings at the first capital of the kingdom, Aigai.

Aigai was in some ways a unique city. As the first royal capital, it held a special symbolic status, as the many funerary monuments for the monarchy and the elite reveal.[828] Furthermore, the increasing importance of Pella from the fourth century may have somewhat reduced the overall importance of Aigai as a political, diplomatic, and military centre.[829] It has been suggested to me that Aigai was to the Argead kings rather like Windsor is to the modern British royal family.[830] However, one should not overemphasise Aigai's differences from other Macedonian cities. It may have held a special status for the Argead royal house, but it was still an urban settlement. Evidence of buildings from the fifth century BC to the Roman period has been uncovered, showing continual inhabitation of the site over a long period.[831] Excavations have revealed that, although the population of the area may have been relatively dispersed, there were fortifications creating a walled urban unit from before the middle of the fourth century.[832] It has been estimated that the area enclosed by these walls was in the region of 46-50 hectares, comparable to or larger than other non-coastal sites in Macedonia.[833] We have no reason to suspect that Aigai did not possess the civic institutions

[826] There exists a huge bibliography on these tombs, gathered by Hatzopoulos (2008). See also Borza and Palagia (2007); Gill (2008); Errington (2010); Lane Fox (2011e).
[827] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2009); Drougou (2011).
[828] For the tombs at the site, see Rhomaios (1951); Andronikos (1984), (1994); Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2004); Kottaridi (1996), (2009).
[829] Though see discussion below: it was at Aigai, not Pella, that Philip II focused his monumental building efforts. Arrian 1.11.1-3 records Alexander conducting sacrifices in 335 in both Dion and Aigai after the campaign against Thebes (Diod. 17.16.3-4 records only Dion, but as ever the absence of an event in Diodoros is not evidence that it did not happen).
[830] M. B. Hatzopoulos, in conversation, October 2012.
[831] Kottaridi (1992), (1993), (2004), (2006a); Drougou (2011) 249-50.
[832] Note too that Aigai is plural, further suggesting a relatively dispersed settlement pattern.
[833] Faklaris (1996) 70; Kottaridi (2006a); Adam-Veleni (2008) 12-13 estimates as much as 70 hectares.

attested in other Macedonian cities.[834] Therefore Aigai had more in common with the other cities of Macedonia than it differed. An analysis of the palace at Aigai will be a useful addition to a consideration of the presentation of Macedonian royalty within local communities.

There has been significant debate over the date of the palace's construction. Initially a date of some time in the reign of Antigonos Gonatas was tentatively suggested on stylistic grounds.[835] A coin of Lysimachos had been thought to confirm a third century date, but the pit in which it was found has now been dated to the destruction of the palace rather than its construction.[836] Attempts to date the Doric features of the architecture are not entirely convincing.[837] However, a date under Philip II for the palace's construction now seems extremely likely. Pottery sherds uncovered in recent excavations provide a *terminus post quem* of the beginning of the second half of the fourth century.[838] Kottaridi has compared the mosaic in 'room E' of the palace at Aigai with other examples of Macedonian art, and found strong stylistic similarities to the gold and ivory shield and the elaborate funerary couch of Tomb II at Aigai.[839] If this is the tomb of Philip II, as seems likely, this would suggest a date during the reign of this king for the mosaic and therefore for the palace.[840] Kottaridi has also suggested that the Ionic capitals of the palace's upper storey match those of the façade of the 'Tomb of Eurydike' so closely that they may well have been crafted by the same workshop.[841] The Tomb of Eurydike can be dated rather precisely to c. 342 thanks to the pottery evidence from

[834] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 127-216.
[835] Heuzey and Daumet (1876).
[836] Andronikos, Bakalakis, Makaronas and Moutsopoulos (1961); Kottaridi (2011a) 301.
[837] Hoepfner (1996) 17; Kottaridi (2011a) 301.
[838] Kottaridi (2011a) 301 n. 16. Though pottery from the foundation wall remains unpublished, I am told it dates from the mid-fourth century to c. 330 (R. Lane Fox, in correspondence, 2014).
[839] Kottaridi (2011a) 302, n. 20. Salzmann (1982) no. 130 dates the Aigai mosaic, and thus the palace, to the end of the fourth century, based upon similarities he sees to the mosaics in the elite houses of Pella, but more recent work makes an earlier date far more likely.
[840] Note that there is still debate Tomb II at Aigai, but the arguments for this being Philip II's tomb rather than Philip III's are stronger: Lane Fox (2011b).
[841] Kottaridi (2011a) 302.

the tomb's contents.[842] Evidence to date the palace later is lacking. I follow the current excavators and date the palace of Aigai to the reign of Philip II.[843] This makes the palace another example of the building works of Philip II in this area of Aigai, which included the building of a new theatre and development of the agora's sanctuaries.[844]

The characteristic of the palace of Aigai most commented upon has been its public character. The building, with its many rooms, banquet halls, and huge courtyard, was a space in which the king could host a great many of his subjects (**figs. 52 and 53**). The main peristyle courtyard, with sixteen Doric columns on each side, was huge, covering an area of over 1600 square metres with space for more than three thousand people.[845] One room leading off the courtyard stands out: the *tholos* on the east side. This room has been variously identified as a banqueting room, a bath, a throne hall, a shrine, or a room with multiple functions.[846] The discovery of marble pieces bearing dedications to Herakles Patroos, a tutelary deity of the Macedonian royal house, makes a religious function for this room most probable. This was the palace's shrine to a tutelary deity of the monarchy, or perhaps it held dynastic statues.[847] Most of the other rooms surrounding the courtyard were banqueting rooms of differing sizes. They were arranged in three configurations. The smaller, square banqueting rooms were mainly reached by first passing through a rectangular antechamber. The larger square banqueting rooms were arranged either side of a large square antechamber. Finally there were several medium sized banqueting rooms which opened directly onto the courtyard. In total the banqueting rooms had space to hold around 230 couches.[848] The smaller peristyle

[842] For the Tomb of Eurydike: Andronikos (1987); Kottaridi (2006b), (2009), (2011a) 302; Lane Fox (2011b) 8.
[843] Hoepfner (1996) 17; Drougou (2011); Kottaridi (2011a) 303-4; Lane Fox (2011b).
[844] Drogou (2011) 247-9. For the theatre: Borza (1990) 256; Hoepfner (1996) 17; Drougou (1999), (2000). For the sanctuary of Eukleia and the agora, see Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1987), (1996a), (1999).
[845] Kottaridi (2011a) 321.
[846] Andronikos, Bakalakis, Makaronas and Moutsopoulos (1961) 16; Lawrence (1967) 312, n. 4; Miller (1972) 78; Andronikos (1984) 42; Cooper and Morris (1990); Nielsen (1994) 83; Hoepfner (1996) 15, n. 59-60; Kunze (1996) 120, n. 87.
[847] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001) 204; Kottaridi (2011a) 326. The date of the inscriptions is uncertain: Iliadou (1998) 205-6, no. 91 suggests a date under Kassandros.
[848] Kottaridi (2011a) 327.

courtyard on the west of the palace will have housed service areas for the palace: kitchens, storage rooms, living areas for staff, etc.[849]

The palace doubtless could serve multiple functions. Residential facilities for the royal family may have been in an upper storey, though perhaps some of the non-banquet rooms along the same courtyard side as the *tholos* may have served such purposes.[850] The palace may well have also been a space for military parades and displays: it is notable that the courtyard had space to hold c. 3000 people, the number of the elite *hypaspist* corps, at least by Alexander's reign.851 Perhaps the large central courtyard acted as a parade ground for Philip to inspect and address this important section of his army.

Providing banquets must have been an important function of the palace: large parts of the ground floor of the palace were given over to banqueting facilities. We know of some mass banquets held for the Macedonians by their leaders. Alexander III's mass marriages at Susa in 324 included feasts attended by large numbers of the common infantry,[852] as did the festivities before his death in Babylon in 323.[853] Peukestas attempted to gain the loyalty of Alexander III's veterans in 317 by throwing them a large banquet.[854] Such displays of generosity were seen by Greek thinkers as the proper way for a king to behave, and kings who were free with their gifts are spoken of well in ancient literature on the subject.[855] The enrichment of his followers in return for their service was a basic obligation of the king.[856] Any Macedonian

[849] The smaller courtyard shares foundations with the larger and so was built at the same time: Kottaridi (2011a) 304; contra Nielsen (1994) 82. The wide covered corridor in the south of the palace was a later addition; Kottaridi (2011a) 305.
[850] Remains of staircases to an upper storey have been found in rooms off the south-east and south-west corners of the main courtyard: Andronikos, Bakalakis, Makaronas and Moutsopoulos (1961); Kottaridi (2011a) 327-8.
[851] Arr. *Anab*. 5.23.7. On the hypaspists: Anson (1985); Sekunda (2010) 449-52, 454-6.
[852] Athen. 12.539D-540A; Polyain. 4.3.24.
[853] Arr. *Anab*. 7.24.4.
[854] Diod. 19.22; Plut. *Eum*. 14.5.
[855] Braund (2001) 15-21.
[856] Austin (1986); Bosworth (2002) 255-78, note esp. 278 - "The regal mystique had to be balanced by continued euergetism".

king or leader not fulfilling this obligation could expect unrest.[857] Banquets in the palace were not only in and of themselves an act of royal largesse, but presented an opportunity for the giving of gifts in further displays of generosity.[858] This public aspect of the palace has been attributed to the 'national' nature of the Macedonian kingship.[859] As leader of the Macedonian *ethnos*, rather than a more distant kind of personal monarch, there were more expectations of accessibility for the Macedonian king.[860] Philip II, in particular, would have found it wise to respect these traditions. His success was based in large part upon his skills as a military leader, which required the active cultivation of the loyalty of his troops as he put them into considerable danger year after year. Philip had expanded and reformed the Macedonian infantry, and he needed to develop a close and positive relationship with this enlarged phalanx.[861] While military success inevitably bred loyalty, it still behoved Philip to pay attention to the customary rights and wrongs of Macedonian kingship in the eyes of this mass of common Macedonians. The public aspect of his palace at Aigai, and its capacity to serve as a gathering and banqueting space for large numbers of Macedonians, reflect this facet of Philip's kingship and his relationship with his realm.[862] The location of Philip's palace within the boundaries of a city, rather than in an isolated citadel far from his subjects, has been explained in similar terms.[863]

Such analyses are fine as far as they go. Macedonian kings were certainly expected to show largesse, and to be accessible to a certain degree. But more interesting are those aspects of Philip's palace which served to glorify the royal house and highlight the elevation of the king above the rest of the Macedonians. As at Pella, the position of the palace in relation to the rest

[857] Antipatros' problems at Triparadeisos in 321/0 (Arr. *Succ*. F1.32-3; Polyain. 4.6.4); the desertion of Demetrios' troops to Pyrrhos because, according to Plutarch, they were alienated by his monopolisation of the spoils of war (Plut. *Dem*. 44.8).
[858] For the general importance of banquets in Macedonian life: Carney (2007).
[859] Nielsen (1994) 94-9; Hoepfner (1996) 17; Hatzopoulos (2001a).
[860] See above ch. 1.
[861] Greenwalt (2008).
[862] According to Aeschines Philip II was “extremely adept at drinking-parties”; Aesch. 2.47.
[863] Nielsen (1994) 94-9; Hatzopoulos (2001a) 191-2.

of the urban unit was a key element in advertising royal grandeur. The palace at Aigai was situated in the far west of the city, closely abutting the city wall.[864] The very act of constructing the palace in this area was a potent display of royal power. Because of the slope of the site, large artificial terraces were constructed to erect the buildings of this area: the palace, the theatre, and the buildings in and around the agora.[865] The terrace for the palace itself was huge, covering an area of more than 15,000 m².[866] This required the movement of a huge amount of earth, particularly in the south part of the palace terrace where the platform had to be dug into the hill and soil removed to a height of 4-5 m. Such a drastic physical reshaping of an area within Aigai's city walls was a powerful statement regarding the power that the king held over the fate of the communities of his kingdom. Even at the very centre of the territory of a civic community, Philip had the ability to undertake vast royal projects. The act of construction would have required the mobilisation of a large amount of both skilled and unskilled labour, a demonstration of the resources available to the king. Some of the labour required was probably provided by slaves captured through war, and their visible mobilisation would have been a further demonstration of Philip's success and the resources it provided. Thus the construction of the palace was itself an act of royal display, which demonstrated both the wealth of the king and the power he held over the community of Aigai.

The position chosen for the palace was a further expression of the elevation of the king above his subjects.[867] Excavations on the site have not yet proceeded far enough to give us a full idea of the urban plan of Aigai. Nor have there been any excavations which have revealed the extent of construction in the area south and east of the palace, towards the acropolis hill. Nevertheless, given the slope of the hill downwards from the palace to the east and north, it seems clear that the terrace and the palace were placed at a higher level than most of the city.

[864] Kottaridi (2011a) 307. The full course of the walls remains unclear, especially in the north, given the limited data: Faklaris (1996); Kottaridi (2004), (2006a); Drougou (2011) 246-7.
[865] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996a); (1999) 541-7.
[866] Kottaridi (2011a) 307-9, figs. 31-34b.
[867] Hatzopoulos (2001a) 193.

This would have included the public buildings around the agora, directly to the north past the theatre, and the residential remains of the fifth and fourth centuries near the Metroon to the east.[868] As at Pella, this height above the civic areas of the surrounding town was a physical expression of the elevation of the king over ordinary Macedonians.

It seems that Philip II was also aware of the importance of controlling how anyone could approach his palace. It is clear that nobody was able to approach the palace directly from the west or south. To the west, the steep ridge and the city wall made this impossible. To the south, while a route linking the palace and the acropolis hill has been suggested,[869] the terracing of the steep hill to the south of the palace would have made any direct approach from this angle hazardous at best. There were also no entrances into the palace building itself from either of these directions. The main ways to approach the palace were from either the north or the east.

Considering the manner of these approaches is complicated by the fact that the road system of Aigai remains almost entirely unknown.[870] From the north, it seems that there was a road leading from the sanctuary of Eukleia to the theatre. It is clear from excavations of the theatre that it and the palace formed one architectural unit. They were therefore probably joined by a road, very possibly an extension of the one leading from the sanctuary of Eukleia. Therefore it seems that one approach to the palace was from the north, climbing from the agora past the theatre. A ramp for such an approach has been included in some reconstructions of the palace area.[871] Such a route would have provided an opportunity for highly visible conspicuous royal processions to and from the palace and the theatre. Such 'descents' could exploit the topography of the site to further stress royal elevation above the common throng. However, it

[868] Drougou (2011) 250.
[869] Drougou (2011) 252.
[870] Drougou (2011) 252.
[871] Nielsen (1994) 83 fig. 42; originally Pandermalis (1987) fig. 17.

is clear from the orientation of the monumental façade of the palace that the main approach was intended to be from the east (see below for the façade's reconstruction and **fig. 54**). Perhaps we may envisage a road from a gate in the eastern city wall running through the city to the palace. Again, this would have involved climbing a hill to the height of the palace.

In approaching from either the north or east, one had to pass through the city in order to reach the palace. This emphasised the monumentality of the palace by extending the time needed to approach it, and thus giving any visitor longer to be impressed by its aspect. It also encouraged a comparison between the palace and the buildings of the city, in which the palace would probably have fared better. From the north, the sight of the large theatre and raised palace terrace impressed upon the viewer the ability of the royal house to raise huge monuments. During an approach from the east, the façade, with its long stoas, monumental aspect, and high quality architectural features and decoration presented an imposing image of royal sophistication and wealth. Therefore, whether from the east or the north, anyone approaching the palace walked a path which fully exploited the monumentality and elevated position of the palace complex. Philip clearly knew how to maximise the psychological effect of his impressive palace on visitors from foreign states and, no less effectively, on the citizens of Aigai itself.[872]

Access to the king within the palace may also have been strictly controlled, as suggested by the new reconstruction of the propylon and façade stoas. It is worth considering these in detail, as recent excavations allow for reconstruction with much greater detail and certainty (**figs. 53 and 54**).[873] The impressive east-facing monumental façade had a propylon flanked

[872] Note that the eastern approach towards the palace façade would have been taken by foreigners arriving from the port of Methone. Philip's palace was therefore particularly well designed to display its grandeur to foreign visitors and diplomats.

[873] Lane Fox (2011b) 33-4; Kottaridi (2011a) 312-19. For previous reconstructions: Heuzey and Daumet (1876); Hoepfner (1996) 16, fig. 12; Brands (1996) 65, fig. 5; Pfrommer (1996) 102.

by stoas with Doric columns to the north and south.[874] The stoas each had a second storey with Ionic columns. The long rooms behind the stoas of the façade were accessible from the stoas themselves, rather than only opening into the propylon as was previously thought.[875] The room behind the south stoa was reached through two large doors in the stoa's rear wall. Evidence has been found in the south stoa itself, in the form of rectangular plaques on a stone foundation, for a stone or wooden bench along its walls. The north stoa, on the other hand, seems to have been a double stoa. The room behind the front north stoa was linked to the front stoa through a stylobate of Ionic columns. This room, like the south stoa façade, shows evidence of a long bench around its walls. It has been calculated that the two benches in the stoas of the façade could together seat more than 130 people.[876]

The huge monumental entrance had two large Ionic columns *in antis* on the ground floor, while the upper storey possessed an Ionic epistyle matching the Ionic columns of the upper storeys of the façade stoas. To access the main courtyard of the palace, a visitor passed through a total of three chambers. The threshold between the first and second possessed another two Ionic columns *in antis* which matched the ones of the façade. The second threshold, opening onto the large third chamber of the propylon, possessed a huge, monumental double door. It had been thought this was flanked by two smaller doors,[877] but new evidence of benches along the walls of this chamber rule this out. Passing through the double doors, the visitor would have entered a large final chamber. Again this room has benches along the walls, here capable of seating up to 40 people. This room may have been the regular audience chamber of the palace.[878] If so, it certainly possessed enough seating to allow the leading men of the king's council to attend audiences to advise and support the king.

[874] Nielsen (1994) 81-3, fig. 42; Kottaridi (2011a) 312-15, fig. 34a.
[875] Nielsen (1994) 82; Hoepfner (1996) 8; Brands (1996) 64.
[876] Kottaridi (2011a) 314-17.
[877] Heuzey and Daumet (1876) 186-8; Nielsen (1994) 82, fig. 41; Hoepfner (1996) 8, fig. 5; Brands (1996) 64-6, figs. 3-7.
[878] Nielsen (1994) 83.

Finally, the last threshold, crossed to enter the main courtyard, once again has two large Ionic columns *in antis*.[879]

It seems reasonable to envisage some control was exercised over access to the palace, since Philip cannot have wished simply anyone wandering in and out of his residence.[880] I therefore suggest that the stoas and propylon chambers with benches were used as controlled waiting areas denoting different levels of access to the palace. First, perhaps, a visitor would be seated in the stoas, blocked from the antechamber by doors and by guards at the open main entrance at the propylon's front. Then, if appropriate, they were led into the next space, the smaller antechamber of the propylon, where there were also benches for waiting. Finally, if and when the individual merited such attention, they were allowed through the main doors of the palace for an audience with the king or his representatives. This process would have been overseen by officials, perhaps with similar function to the *rhabdouchoi* attested later in the Antigonid kingdom, who prevented the senior courtier Apelles from accessing the king's residence when he had fallen from favour.[881] This is only a tentative reconstruction, as interpreting the use of rooms from a ground plan is a hazardous affair. Perhaps the façade stoas and propylon were more public spaces, with the people of Aigai able to use the benches to sit and socialise. But it seems to me that the exterior and entrance of the palace were constructed so that it was at least possible to carefully control access to and levels of intimacy with the king. If this reconstruction is accurate, the palace presents a far less open and public face than a simple floor plan would suggest.

We can therefore see that the design of the palace at Aigai, its place within the city, and the ways in which it could be approached, combined to highlight the position and power of the

[879] Kottaridi (2011a) 317-21.
[880] Lane Fox (2011e) 365 rightly draws attention to the single entrance, useful for controlling access. He plausibly suggests an awareness of the number of Macedonian kings who had been assassinated before Philip might have inspired such control.
[881] Polyb. 5.26.10.

king. These elements of the palace's role in Philip's self-presentation have not been focused upon thanks to the emphasis placed upon the accessibility and public aspect presented by the palace's many banqueting rooms.[882] Though reconstructions of Philip's royal style from disparate and often hostile sources have always been difficult, he was evidently extremely popular with the Macedonians. He used largesse and huge banquets to increase and solidify loyalty among his subjects, as did other successful Macedonian and Hellenistic kings. It is clear that the palace at Aigai was capable of being used for some truly spectacular parties alongside its other functions (audiences, military displays), at which the king would have dined with potentially thousands of Macedonians. The construction of such extensive space for entertainment probably reflected Philip's need to gather together and create bonds with and among the now much larger social and military elite of his expanded kingdom. But these were not banquets thrown by a leader presenting himself as just 'one of the boys'. During his reign Philip's royal style developed beyond that of a *primus inter pares*, if he had ever been this in the first place.[883] This was the king who had overseen Macedonia's meteoric rise to power, apparently invincible and all-conquering. This was the king who invited embassies from all over the Greek world for his daughter's wedding festival, then showed them a statue of himself enthroned alongside the twelve Olympians.[884] Philip's achievements made the Macedonian monarch into the pre-eminent political leader in the Balkan peninsula. His foreign policy was calculated to demonstrate that power to the rest of the Aegean world. The strategies of royal distinction deployed in the palace at Aigai were part of a similar policy. They emphasised his power, wealth, and position to his own subjects.

8.2 The palace at Demetrias

[882] Though note Hatzopoulos (2001a) 191-4, stressing the national aspect of Macedonian kingship while also (at 191) recognising the elevated position of the king implied by the elevated positions of the palaces at Aigai and Pella.
[883] Lane Fox (2011e) 359-66.
[884] Diodorus 16.92.5. This anecdote should not be discarded as fiction: Lane Fox (2011e) 362, contra Hatzopoulos (2005).

Once we move beyond Aigai and Pella, the amount of evidence available for other Macedonian palaces drops off sharply. The Antigonid kings moved between several cities, maintaining residences at Aigai, Pella, Thessalonike, Demetrias, Kassandreia, Pydna, and Mieza. Only one of these, Demetrias, has been identified with certainty and excavated.[885] Demetrias, known as one of the 'fetters of Greece', was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes shortly after he became king of Macedonia in 294 BC by the *synoikismos* of almost all the towns of Magnesia.[886] This has been confirmed by archaeological findings, which have revealed finds associated with 5th and 4th century towns in the area, with occupation of these sites seemingly coming to an end in the early 3rd century BC.[887] Used as a military centre, naval base, and royal residence, Demetrias became one of the most important cities under Antigonid rule. When initially founded, it possessed fortifications totalling 11.25 km in length, enclosing a large city laid out in a Hippodamian grid plan (**fig. 55**).[888] The city underwent substantial redevelopment at several points in its history, including refortification and reorganisation under Antigonos Gonatas.[889] Though Demetrias may have been technically an allied city, the presence of a royal residence and constant military occupation will have made the city a *de facto* outpost of the Macedonian kingdom.

The palace of Demetrias dates from the foundation of the city sometime early in the third century.[890] The palace which now exists on the site dates from a substantial reconstruction under Philip V (**figs. 56 and 57**).[891] Very few remains of the earlier palace have been found. Like the palaces of Aigai and Pella, it stood on artificial terraces. In Demetrias, however, the

[885] It has been suggested that a royal residence from late fourth century Thessaloniki has been found, but the attribution in far from certain: see below ch. 9.6.1.
[886] Plut. *Dem.* 53.3.
[887] Intzesiloglou (1996) 91-7; Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 9-11.
[888] Marzolff (1996a) 51-2; Batziou-Efstathiou (1996)16-27, (2002) 17.
[889] Marzolff (1996a) 54-8, map 2; Batziou-Efstathiou (1996) 11-14, (2002) 17.
[890] Marzolff (1996b) 70-1 suggests Antigonos Gonatas, but construction probably at least began under Demetrios Poliorketes.
[891] For the palace: Nielsen (1994) 93-4; Marzolff (1996a), (1996b); Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 19-29.

chosen site was a prominent hill right in the middle of the ancient city. This raised it approximately 7m in total over the agora, with the south terrace of the palace overlooking the agora. Elements of decoration from the first phase, such as Doric column capitals, were reused in subsequent rebuilding phases of the palace, and have been compared to those found at Pella and Aigai.[892] This suggests that these palaces in the Macedonian heartland were used as models for at least the decoration of the palace of Demetrias. Some of the foundations for the initial palace buildings were found underneath the eastern courtyard of the current remains, but little can be learned from them.[893] This first phase of construction seems not to have stood for long, and was perhaps damaged by fire.[894] The first reconstruction has been dated to the time of Antigonos Gonatas. He extended the building into two large courtyards, though the courtyard to the west has not yet been fully investigated.[895] There were many rooms around the courtyards, though many have been only incompletely excavated and we cannot discern their functions. Sockets for wooden beams to support an upper storey found in the uppermost surviving course of one of the palace walls shows that at least some of the palace had two storeys.[896] A large space at least 41m long to the west of the west courtyard has been identified as an area for athletic training.[897] The east courtyard measured 50m by 40m, and had a peristyle of Doric half-columns.

This construction phase lasted until about 200 BC, when the palace was fortified by Philip V (**fig. 58**).[898] This is the best-preserved phase of the palace, the '*tetrapyrgion*', a building with a peristyle courtyard and with 4 square towers measuring approximately 12.60 by 12.80 m at each corner. This building, at least on the excavated south and east sides, had 2 storeys, with the staircase to the upper floor in the south-east corner. A room on the west side of the

[892] Marzolff (1996a) 53.
[893] Marzolff (1996b) 152, fig. 6.
[894] Marzolff (1996a) 54; Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 19-20.
[895] Marzolff (1996a) 54, 72, (1996b) 152-6; Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 19-22.
[896] Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 22, fig. 21.
[897] Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 21.
[898] Marzolff (1996a) 58-64, (1996b) 156-61; Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 21-8.

courtyard, with red and white plaster decorations and two columns *in antis* in the entrance, may be an audience room.[899] The remains of the northern wing are extremely fragmentary due to the use of the area as a pottery workshop after the Roman conquest.[900] The stylobate for this phase of construction reused a significant amount of material from previous palaces on the site. The palace appears to have been abandoned after the end of Macedonian control in 168 BC.

The general impression of the palace of Demetrias is less impressive than that of the palaces of Pella and of Aigai. This is perhaps unsurprising, as the resources available to the Macedonian king never again reached the levels which they reached during the reigns of Philip II, Alexander III, and the period after Alexander III's death. Demetrias was also not part of Macedonia, making this at best an occasional royal residence and therefore not worth adorning to the same extent as the palaces of Macedonia proper. The final palace was clearly quite different to those at Aigai and Pella. It was a fortification in essence, and its construction can be associated with Philip V's wars with Rome.[901] The first phase of construction seems to have possessed architectural details and decoration which were a match for the earlier palaces. It is therefore possible that earlier in the third century the palace would have made as decent a display of the grandeur and wealth of the Macedonian king as the complexes at Aigai and Pella, though on a smaller scale.

However, we can see some of the same strategies to elevate the monarchy at work with the palace of Demetrias. Once more we can see the placement of the palace at a physical elevation over the surrounding city. This again required the construction of large terraces to

[899] Though Nielsen (1994) 93 suggests a comparable room in the east wing may have served this purpose instead, seeing the room with the entrance with the columns *in antis* as an *exedra* for the rooms to the north and south.
[900] Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 28.
[901] Marzolff (1996b) 161-3 compares this fortified aspect with palaces further east, concluding "Demetrias steht auf der Schwelle zwischen Ost und West".

support the palace buildings. These measures would have had the same effect as they had at Aigai and Pella, making eminently clear the position of the king with regards to the city. However, it should be noted that the effect would not have been as drastic as at Aigai or Pella, given that other important monuments like the *heroon* were built at a greater height on surrounding hills.[902] The remains of a road linking the palace and the agora have been found near the south-west tower.[903] The main palace entrance has not yet been identified, so we cannot make any firm assessments regarding the effect of managing the physical approaches to the palace. However, the ground plan of the palace seems to indicate that there were no entrances in the north or east side. We may perhaps infer from the palaces at Aigai and Pella that the palace at Demetrias also had limited avenues of approach, probably from the agora to the south. If this was so, once again the route to the palace passed first through the public spaces of the city, and only then to the palace. This would have served the same purpose as in Aigai and Pella. It forced a comparison between the main public space of the city and the royal palace by ensuring the visitor to the palace had seen both up close. The palace was inevitably more impressive, leaving the visitor in no doubt as to who commanded more wealth and power.

8.3 Public palaces for a 'national' kingship?

Previous treatments of Macedonian palaces have focused upon their more public, accessible character when compared to their counterparts elsewhere in the Mediterranean world and further east.[904] The palaces of Aigai, Pella, and Demetrias were built in the heart of towns housing civic communities. Before the palace of Philip V in Demetrias, they were not royal spaces pointedly separated from these communities with imposing fortifications. The change

[902] Marzolff (1996b) 157, fig. 13.
[903] Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 22.
[904] Nielsen (1994) 94-99; Hatzopoulos (2001a) 193-4.

seen in Philip V's palace at Demetrias has been attributed to an increasing autocracy in the later Macedonian monarchy.[905] Within the palaces themselves, the social responsibilities of a king to interact with his people and entertain them at his own expense have loomed large in analyses. This is most obvious at Aigai, but the palace at Pella had two huge courtyards seemingly dedicated to public functions, and many of the rooms in the earlier phases of the palace at Demetrias may well have been used for banqueting. As we have seen, these elements are attributed to the more 'national' character of the Macedonian monarchy, where the king was chief of a community above which he was not greatly elevated, as opposed to the more personal or despotic kingships of other kingdoms.[906] Philip II was remembered fondly for his accessibility.[907] Many of the charges levelled against Alexander III regarding the increasing despotism of his reign seem to have been rooted in Macedonian revulsion at the increasing Achaemenid-style pomp, ceremony, and inaccessibility adopted by Alexander.[908] As a Macedonian leading the Macedonian *ethnos*, a Macedonian king had expectations placed upon him that other monarchs did not.

These observations certainly have merit, and such customary obligations of the Macedonian king may well lie at the root of the public aspects of their palaces. Yet this contrast between the Macedonian kings and palaces on the one hand, and those of other kingdoms on the other, is not so great as is often made out. The 'national' aspects of Macedonian kingship have perhaps been overemphasised.[909] Elements such as royal titulature, the existence of assemblies of Macedonians, and the preponderance of Macedonians in the Argead and Antigonid courts have been seen as differentiating the Macedonian king as first and foremost

[905] Nielsen (1994) 97, (1996) 209; contra. Hatzopoulos (2001a) 192; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001) 201-2.
[906] Nielsen (1994) 94-99, (1996) 209; Hatzopoulos (2001a) 193-4.
[907] Plut. *Dem.* 42.6.
[908] Plut. *Alex*. 51; Bosworth (1988) 278-90
[909] Aymard (1950b) 119-22; Schachermayer (1973) 323; Borza (1999) 14-16; Carney (2000) 6-8; Hatzopoulos (2001a) 192.

leader of an *ethnos*.[910] Yet as Lane Fox as recently shown, the differences in titulature are not so great as has been said.[911] As for Macedonians at court, it is clear that Philip V, like the other Hellenistic kings, valued ability above ethnicity, recruiting his Friends from all over the Aegean world.[912] Even in Philip II's time, when the more cohesive and nationally grounded institution of the Companions still existed, some powerful men of the kingdom originated from outside Macedonia.[913] This conception of a 'national kingship' in Macedonia vs. 'personal kingship' elsewhere seems increasingly unhelpful for considering the practical and performative aspects of kingship.

Were the palaces of other ancient monarchies so different from Macedonian palaces? Other ancient monarchies certainly used the architecture, fortification, and positioning of their palaces to create a royal space separated from its surroundings. Achaemenid palaces were often sited a considerable elevation above the surrounding territory.[914] This often required the construction of monumental terraces to support the palace (or part of the palace) at this extra height.[915] The palace at Babylon, occupied a strongly fortified hill in the north of city. It was constructed straddling a section of the city walls, enhancing its fortified aspect.[916] The palace at Susa sat high on a mound which was levelled at the centre and raised at the edges to create a large platform spanning 12 hectares.[917] The entire palace at Persepolis was raised on a large stone platform which must have taken years to build. Here the 'Apadana' and the 'Palace of Darius' buildings were even granted their own individual stone platforms.[918] The façades of these palaces were also impressive. Long portals with thick columns are known from the royal palaces at Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa. These sites were also almost invariably

[910] Ma (2003a) 192-3; Lane Fox (2011g) 358-61.
[911] Lane Fox (2011g) 359-60.
[912] Paschidis (2006); Ma (2011) 525-35.
[913] Lane Fox (2011g) 361.
[914] Though note Stronach (2001) for problems in generalising about Achaemenid palaces.
[915] Nielsen (1994) 39-40.
[916] Nielsen (1994) 31-5; Kuhrt (2001).
[917] Perrot (1981) 85; Boucharlat (2001) 118.
[918] Schmidt (1953) fig. 22; Stronach (2001) 103.

fortified, which restricted access to the palaces.[919] The obvious exception was Pasargadae, but even here there was a monumental free standing gateway.[920] The Achaemenid palaces for which we have relatively detailed ground plans show that they were constructed to create and facilitate control of different levels of intimacy with the king. The Palace of Darius at Susa possessed three separate courtyards, joined by a multitude of narrow and winding corridors, separating the royal apartments from the entrance to the building.[921] The process of moving between these spaces was artificially lengthened through the use of these narrow winding corridors, to emphasise the import and ceremony of moving closer to the royal person. We can see similar designs serving similar purposes in the Südburg of the palace at Babylon and in the various phases of construction of the palace at Persepolis.[922] Hierarchies were expressed spatially through position within the palace, either closer to or further from the king, and access to the king was strictly controlled.

Similar separation seems to have been at work in the palaces of the Ptolemaic and Seleukid kingdoms, though we lack decent archaeological evidence. In Ptolemaic Alexandria, the Lochias peninsula and the area around the harbour formed the 'inner palaces', which are mentioned by Strabo and described in detail by Polybius.[923] The complex had a monumental façade with a large gate, several peristyle buildings including one “Great Peristyle”, a citadel, and a theatre linked to the palace by a vaulted corridor. Polybios gives us a vivid description of the relative inaccessibility of the heart of the palace complex.[924] No fewer than three separate gates and a number of galleries separated the public area of the palace complex from the royal residences of the inner palaces. Indeed, the palace in Alexandria was referred to as

[919] Nielsen (1994) 35-72.
[920] Boucharlat (2001); Stronach (2001) 96.
[921] Perrot (1981) pl. 36; Stronach (2001) 102.
[922] Nielsen (1994) 31-51; Stronach (2001) 103-5; Kuhrt (2001).
[923] Strabo 17.1.9; Polyb. 15.25-34; Nielsen (1994) 130-1.
[924] Polyb. 15.30.6-8. Also Hatzopoulos (2001a) 194.

"a city to itself", emphasising its separation from the rest of the city.[925] We learn from literary sources that in 147 BC during the revolt in Antioch against the Seleukid Demetrios II that the king was able to successfully resist the rioters by blockading himself in the royal residence.[926] This implies some level of fortification for the second century BC Seleukid royal residence in Antioch. Kropp has investigated a number of more or less well preserved later royal palaces from other dynasties, such as the Hasmonean and Herodian. He has identified features which are paralleled in earlier palaces, such as separation from the surroundings by elevation and careful control of access within the palace.[927]

How do such royal strategies of distinction compare with Macedonian practice? First it is worth noting that some of the features which are taken to mark the peculiarly public nature of Macedonian palaces are found in the palaces of other dynasties. Banqueting was as important a part of Persian royal style as it was in Macedonia, and the large hypostyle halls of Pasargadae, Susa, and Ecbatana were as suited to this function as they were to audiences.[928] The palace complex in Ptolemaic Alexandria certainly had spaces for banqueting.[929] Even the apparent contrast between the non-fortified Macedonian palaces within cities and the separated fortified enclaves of other kingdoms can be overemphasised. The large, semi-public part of the palace complex in Alexandria seems to have been an important, integrated part of the city, containing several of the city's important public buildings.

But Macedonian palaces also show clear parallels with the strategies of royal self-aggrandisement used by dynasties usually described as more personal or autocratic in their style. Macedonian palaces were placed at elevation on huge terraces requiring significant effort to construct. This was a powerful physical expression of the resources at the king's

[925] Ach. Tat. *Leuc*. 5.1.88.
[926] The sources for this revolt are Diod. 33.4; I. Macc. 11; Joseph. 13.129-142.
[927] Kropp (2013) 93-173.
[928] Nielsen (1994) 35-51; Stronach (2001).
[929] Nielsen (1994) 130.

command and of the king's higher status. Monumental façades were designed to overawe all who viewed them with their grandeur. The routes by which anyone could approach the palace were carefully controlled, itself an expression of the king's power over the built environment and their subjects' freedom of movement. The message of the power of the king expressed in these monumental buildings would be reinforced over the length of the long, controlled approach. All these elements are familiar from non-Macedonian royal palaces. Even the creation of spaces with differing levels of intimacy may now be seen in the new reconstruction of the stoas and propylon of Philip II's palace at Aigai. For all their public elements, anyone viewing or approaching the palaces at Aigai, Pella, or Demetrias would be left in no doubt that the king possessed material resources and political power far beyond those of the cities in which the palaces stood.

Most importantly of all, the fact that the palaces of the Macedonian kings were placed within civic communities, and were not fortified, did not preclude them from using their palaces to contrast the huge wealth and power of the king with the city in question. Indeed, the very fact that they stood within cities, so often regarded as a sign of the Macedonian king's accessibility, would in fact have made the contrast between king and city *all the more* immediate, obvious, and effective. This would be doubly true at Pella and Demetrias, situated in relatively large and prosperous cities. Even the best-looking settlement couldn't match the king for architectural magnificence. In the light of this reconsideration of Macedonian palaces, we would be justified in asking whether the Macedonian kings who built these palaces were so very different to their peers in the use of palaces in their self-representation.[930]

[930] Note Ma (2011) 543 on the Antigonid dynasty - "for all its being installed in Macedonia, [it] was also a Hellenistic kingship, with the same problems and opportunities: those of interacting with powerful constituencies".

Ultimately, it should perhaps be conceded that the lack of fortifications around Macedonian palaces reflects that the Macedonian king's relationship with the communities of his kingdom had a somewhat less aloof aspect than in other kingdoms. The exception, Philip V's palace at Demetrias, I attribute less to any significant change in the nature of this relationship than to immediate military concerns in the war with Rome.[931] That said, this does not mean that the Macedonian king was any less concerned than other kings with creating strategies to emphasise the gulf in military, financial, and political power between himself and his subject communities. The Macedonian palaces first and foremost served this purpose. Though we have seen that a civic community could find ways to express its relationship with the king as a partnership, no community in whose town a Macedonian royal residence stood could forget who was in charge.

[931] Walbank (1940); Hammond and Walbank (1988) 411-47.

Figures

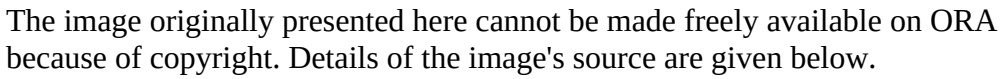


Fig. 51 – Plan of archaeological site at Aigai (Kontogoulidou (2007) fig. 1).

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Fig. 52 – Plan of excavations of the palace at Aigai (Lane Fox (2011a) fig. 32a).

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Fig. 53 – Reconstructed floor plan of the palace at Aigai (Lane Fox (2011a) fig. 32b).

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Fig. 54 – Reconstruction of the facade of the palace at Aigai (Lane Fox (2011a) fig. 34a).

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Fig. 55 – Map of Hellenistic Demetrias (Marzolff (1996) fig. 1).

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Fig. 56 – Plan of archaeological remains of the palace at Demetrias (Marzolff (1996) fig. 2).

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Fig. 57 – Detail of eastern courtyard of the palace of Demetrias (Nielsen (1994) fig. 48).

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Fig. 58 – Reconstruction of Philip V's 'tetrapyrgion' at Demetrias (Marzolff (1996) fig. 19).

Chapter 9 - Royal city foundation and urban development

As we have seen, at the end of the fourth century, Kassandros constructed a new, high quality urban environment for his royal capital at Pella. Archaeological work has uncovered similar urban development at other cities in Macedonia both before and after the end of the fourth century. What follows is an overview of the urban development in our period of seven relatively well-excavated Macedonian cities. For each city, discussion of the historical background will be integrated with analysis of urban development in order to better illuminate the particular historically contingent significance of acts of royal city foundation or intervention in the urban fabric of cities. Finally I will consider city foundation and urban development in Macedonia more generally, and its implications for the relationship between king and city.

The available data indicate that a number of urban sites in lowland Macedonia underwent significant growth and development in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. These included older cities of the Macedonian kingdom, such as Dion, Edessa, and Beroia; cities which came under Macedonian control during the kingdom's expansion, such as Philippoi or Amphipolis; and new foundations, such as Kassandreia and Thessalonike. Such development usually seems to have included both the development of residential areas and public buildings and the construction of new fortifications. Urban foundation and fortification had been part of royal policy at least from the time of Philip II, who refounded or reorganised existing cities and constructed fortified sites to secure his expanding kingdom.[932] However, as at Pella, the late fourth century stands out as the most important period for urban development in Macedonia, with much of the evidence uncovered by excavation dated to this period. Literary sources confirm that a significant Macedonia-wide programme of city fortification was

[932] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 652-7; Hatzopoulos and Loukoupoulou (1980) 78-127.

complete by the end of the 280s, when the cities of Macedonia served as defensible refuges during the chaos of the Gallic invasions.[933] Such a concerted effort must have been the work of a strong central authority, and should be attributed to Kassandros. Kassandros' urban policy formed a key element of his royal self-representation. The foundation of new cities and the development of existing urban centres were kingly acts, with connotations of benefaction and largesse. They demonstrated the power of the king to physically order and reshape his territory. The fortification and urban development of Macedonia, as well as serving practical military purposes, visibly and concretely defined a royal space by physically expressing in public and military architecture the unifying role of the king as benefactor and protector.

9.1 Routes of communication through Macedonia

The cities examined in this chapter lay on the two main axes of communication through Macedonia. These formed part of the main N-S and E-W routes of movement across the Balkan peninsula, linking southern and central Greece to the Danube basin, and the Adriatic coast to eastern Thrace and the Hellespont.[934] Some details of these routes within Macedonia are disputed, but their overall courses can be traced in outline. These routes helped to lend cohesion to the ancient Macedonian state, which following its expansion under Philip II incorporated areas of greatly varied topography between and among which movement was not easy. Borza divided the area of historical Macedonia into three basic regions: mountainous western Macedonia around the middle and upper Haliakmon river; central Macedonia around the central and coastal plains, containing the lower Haliakmon and Axios rivers; and the topographically varied eastern Macedonia, including the area around the river Strymon, the

[933] Just. 24.5.8, 6.2; Lane Fox (2011g) 496.
[934] Hatzopoulos (2011b) 46.

marshy plain around Philippoi, and the area further east towards the Nestos river.[935] To these one should add the Chalkidice peninsula, which, though historically more oriented toward the Aegean than Macedonia, became a key part of the kingdom following Philip II's reign.[936] Communication between and within these rough geographical regions was complicated by various topographical features, including the mountain ranges encircling lowland Macedonia to the west and north and the major river systems of the Haliakmon, Axios, and Strymon. Therefore the main routes of communication through such regions were strategically extremely valuable to Macedonian rulers looking to extend and secure their territories.

The N-S route entered Macedonia from Thessaly through the Vale of Tempe.[937] It ran north via Herakleion and Dion to Pydna, before turning westward to cross the Haliakmon further inland south of Beroia.[938] After moving to Beroia it turned N-E towards Pella, running along the south and east shores of Lake Loudiake. From here it briefly followed the main E-W route to Thessalonike, before turning north along the Axios valley. It followed the valley north and west, through the defile of Demir Kapu (at whose north-west exit Antigoneia was founded in 276) into ancient Paionia, up to Stobi, Bylazora, and further north.[939]

The E-W route formed the main arterial road of the Macedonian kingdom, and has been dubbed the 'royal road'.[940] Its route was later followed by the Via Egnatia.[941] From Herakleia in Lynkestis near Lake Ochrid, it ran south-east through Lynkestis and entered Eordaia through the Kirli Derven pass. Then it ran to Cellae in the area south of Lakes Petres and

[935] Borza (1990) 30-50.
[936] Hammond (1972) 192.
[937] Jireček (1877); Edson (1955) 173-182; Hatzopoulos (1987) 19-53.
[938] This turn inland was avoidable in high summer when the Haliakmon was fordable nearer the coast: Hatzopoulos (1987) 48-52, (1991a) 64-6.
[939] Hammond (1972) 78-9.
[940] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001) 56.
[941] Edson (1951); Hammond (1972) 19-92, (1974); Mackay (1977); Makaronas (1977); Hammond and Hatzopoulos (1982), (1983); Gounaroupoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985); Hatzopoulos (1997); Vanderspoel (2010) 264-7.

Ostrovo, before turning north-east and east. It descended to the lowlands via Edessa, than ran east across the central plain via Pella to Thessalonike. From here it ran further east along the shores of Lake Koroneia and Lake Bolbe to Apollonia in Mygdonia, before turning north-east to the Strymon crossing at Amphipolis. Passing north of Mt Pangaion, it passed through Philippoi, on to Neapolis, before crossing the Nestos and running further east through coastal Thrace.

Late Classical and Hellenistic milestones show that Macedonian kings built and maintained roads along these and other routes of communication to facilitate troop movement and lend structural cohesion to a geographically diverse kingdom.[942] Three Hellenistic milestones are known, recording distances from Bokeria, between Idomene and Doberos, and from Pella.[943] The area around Philippoi has yielded several similar finds. A stone bearing the inscription 'ΟΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΔΟΥ' is thought to belong to a road between Philippoi and Neapolis and has been dated to the fourth century BC.[944] Another inscription found near Philippoi mentions the distance between Amphipolis and Philippoi and has been taken as evidence for the repair of the road between these two cities during the reign of Philip V.[945] Thucydides credits Archelaos with a road building programme, and doubtless such activities were continued by his successors.[946] We should envisage some responsibilities for road building and maintenance devolved to the local communities.[947] However, alongside development of urban sites, a comprehensive royal road system will have stressed the central role of the king in unifying the constituent communities of his kingdom, and helped to define the extent of royal space.

[942] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001).
[943] *EAM* 109; *SEG* 35 (1982) 752; *SEG* 43 (1993) 442.
[944] Collart (1933) 363-5, no. 23; contra Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001) 56.
[945] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001) 55.
[946] Thuc. 2.100.2; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 170; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001) 54-6.
[947] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 437-9.

9.2 The cities

The cities examined in this thesis demonstrate the diversity in size of urban sites in late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia. Two are noteworthy for their sheer size. The city walls of Pella and Kassandreia each enclosed an area of c. 400 hectares.[948] These large metropoleis were founded or refounded by Kassandros, and their size was a potent expression of the resources available to the king. Other cities were more modest in size. Aigai occupied approximately 46-50 hectares.[949] The later Roman wall circuit of Philippoi encloses an area of approximately 70 hectares, and is thought to preserve many elements of the city's first wall circuit (see below ch. 9.3).[950] Amphipolis' walls enclosed around 60 hectares.[951] Though its extent at its foundation is not well-known (see below ch. 9.6), early Hellenistic Thessalonike's area is estimated at around 60 hectares, though it grew substantially throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[952] When it became a walled urban settlement at the end of the fourth century, Dion occupied around 43 hectares.[953] Though the course of Beroia's walls is poorly known, the city's area has been estimated as around 70 hectares.[954] Edessa was rather smaller at around 26 hectares.[955] Adam-Veleni provides other figures for cities not considered here: Apollonia 40 hectares, Petres 15.[956]

The size of areas within city walls can tell us little on its own.[957] Excavation has nowhere yet reached the point where the whole space within city walls can be confidently filled. Estimating population from city plans is extremely hazardous, especially given the potential at

[948] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13-14.
[949] Droguou (2011) 246.
[950] Sève (1996) 91.
[951] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13.
[952] Adam-Veleni (2011) 548-9.
[953] Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1987), (1988), (1998) 96-137.
[954] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13.
[955] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 57.
[956] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13.
[957] Horden and Purcell (2000) 101-5 on problems involved in 'ranking' cities by size or population.

certain sites like Dion for the population to vary immensely.[958] Nor can a settlement be considered in full without consideration of the numerous tributary settlements and rural areas of its hinterland, a task for which there is unfortunately not space here.[959] Nevertheless, these figures (far from an exhaustive sample) do broadly suggest that the relative administrative uniformity of the late Classical and Hellenistic Macedonian kingdom outlined in chapter 1 was not matched on the ground. Macedonian cities differed in size, with a very few 'metropoleis', and more medium to small sized cities. While factors other than size will have influenced the relationships between Macedonian cities, such as location, connecting routes, and administrative arrangements, a future study which considered Macedonian cities in a particular period using central-place theory or rank-size analysis might be illuminating.[960] For present purposes, it is enough to note the variety of settlement sizes, which alongside other factors will have produced a variety of quotidian urban experiences for Macedonians resident in different urban centres. As we shall see, one of the goals of royal urban development programmes seems to have been to reduce this variety by standardising certain aspects of the urban plans of Macedonian cities. This lent a coherence to the Macedonian experience of living in a city: a coherence which depended upon the programmes of the king.

[958] See below ch. 9.7, above ch. 1 on the *panegyris* at Dion.
[959] Civic territories in Macedonia: Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 105-23; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (2004).
[960] Marzano (2011) for an overview of such approaches, esp. 198-201.

9.3 Philippoi

Macedonian Philippoi was not a new foundation, but a refoundation.[961] Its forerunner was the town of Krenides, a Thasian foundation established in c.360 as part of Thasos' mainland territory.[962] It was located in a strategically important area, as it both controlled the route into the Thracian interior from Neapolis, and was close to the rich mineral wealth of Mt. Pangaion.[963] From c. 360-356, it struck gold, silver, and bronze coins bearing the legend ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ.[964] This clearly attests to the full integration of Krenides and its territory into the Thasian *polis*. Krenides appealed to Philip II in 356 to aid them against an invasion by the Thracian king Kersebleptes.[965] Upon forcing the Thasians to withdraw, Philip took possession of Krenides and refounded the city as Philippoi.[966] The use in the refounded city of a calendar with months named for the twelve Olympians, indicating a 'Platonic' constitution, has been attributed to Philip II's reorganisation.[967]

The colonists for the refoundation and enlargement of the city seem to have come not from Macedonia but from the surrounding area, as suggested by the rarity of traditionally Macedonian names in inscriptions from Philippoi.[968] It is probable that the Timandros recorded as the *theorodokos* of Datos in the list from Epidauros in 360/59 was the father of five citizens of Philippoi appointed *proxenoi* of Delphi in the late fourth century.[969] This attests to both to the survival of the pre-Macedonian population of the area, and to the

[961] On Philippoi in general: Collart (1937); Papazoglou (1988) 405-13; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b). On Krenides and Datos, see above ch. 2 on Pseudo-Skylax.
[962] Diod. 16.3.7.
[963] Papazoglou (1988) 406; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 438.
[964] Bellinger (1964) 29-31; Picard (1994b). The types were retained for Philippoi's coinage in gold, silver, and bronze, but with the new legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ: Le Rider (1977) 438-9.
[965] Steph. Byz. s.v. *Philippoi*; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 247; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 439.
[966] See Hammond and Griffith (1979) 360 and Lane Fox (2011e) 353, 360 for the novelty of a Macedonian king founding a city bearing his own name. Malkin (1985) for precedents in Greek colonial foundations.
[967] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 158-60, noting the commonality of twelve-god calendars throughout Macedonia.
[968] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 439-40.
[969] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 359-60. Theorodokoi list: *IG* IV^2 1 94; Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E.1. Proxeny decree: *Syll.*^{3} 267A.

continued high social standing of at least one of the area's leading families in the new foundation.

The city seems to have remained a nominally independent ally of Macedonia, perhaps remaining so as late as the reign of Philip V.[970] However, it is hardly credible that Philip II should have risked losing control of the area, given the importance of Mt Pangaion's mineral wealth to the crown's income, and the city's location on the main route further east. It was to the Macedonian king, Alexander III, that Philippoi appealed to resolve a boundary dispute with the local Thracian population, as recorded in a fragmentary inscription of c. 330 recording Alexander's solution.[971] Philip V sent a letter to Philippoi regarding the administration of the Mt Pangaion area.[972] Philippoi's civic community included themselves among 'the Macedonians and other Greeks' when replying to the *asylia* embassy from Kos of 242.[973] The presence of *epistatai*, who probably fulfilled the same role here as the link between city and king as in the cities of Macedonia proper, is attested by a partial inscription found at the base of one of the towers of the east wall.[974] It seems clear that whatever the legal relationship between the Macedonian king and the citizens of Philippoi, the city was from the beginning envisaged as extending Macedonian control into this key area. The maintenance of roads to and from Philippoi helped to integrate the town into the Macedonian sphere of influence (see above ch. 9.1). After the battle of Philippoi in 42 BC the city was refounded as a Roman colony and significantly expanded.[975]

9.3.1 Philip II and the archaeology of Philippoi

[970] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 358-61; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 186-9. Note that it also continued to strike its own coinage: Bellinger (1964) 29-52.
[971] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 6.
[972] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 18.
[973] *SEG* 12.373; Rigsby (1996) 138-40, no. 27.
[974] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 441; see above ch. 1.
[975] On Roman Philippoi: Collart (1937) 191-523; Papazoglou (1988) 405-13; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 446-52.

The site of Philippoi is well known and well excavated (**fig. 59**).[976] No remains which predate the refoundation of the city by Philip II have been found, suggesting that Philip II may have moved the population to a new site. Unfortunately, given the continuous habitation and development of the city through the Roman and Byzantine periods, few traces of the late Classical and early Hellenistic city remain. It is thought that the walls of the Roman city, as well as the Byzantine fortress, preserve multiple sections of the original fortification walls.[977] They are of local marble quarried from the acropolis hill, and have been dated to the original fortification of the city by Philip. Their pseudo-isodomic style is typical of the mid to late fourth century. The inscription of the *epistatai* refers to a programme of public fortification, and while the letter forms cannot confirm a date in the time of Philip II, they do not exclude one.[978] There are also four gates in the fortification circuit which have been attributed to the first phase of fortification. These are the 'Neapolis Gate', the 'Gate of Krenides', the 'Gate of the Marshes',[979] and a fourth gate in the area of the theatre.[980] These gates formed the starting point for the major arterial roads and indicate a regular Hippodamian plan.[981] The 'Neapolis Gate' and the 'Gate of Krenides' stand at either end of the major E-W road through the city, which was part of the route from Neapolis to the interior and later became part of the *Decumanus Maximus* of the Roman city. Another E-W road passing through the gate near the theatre has been found to the north of this main road. The N-S streets ran at right angles to the E-W routes.[982] It is not known whether the presence of two different orientations in different parts of the city was part of the original plan or a result of rebuilding efforts after the foundation of the Roman colony.

[976] Collart (1934); Gounaris and Gounari (2004); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis (2009).
[977] Doucoux and Lemerle (1938); Roger (1938) 20-37; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 440.
[978] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2008b).
[979] Roger (1938) 26-36.
[980] Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001) 85-6.
[981] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 441.
[982] *ADelt* 45 (1990) B2 386-8.

The area in the NE of the city, just north of the central road, seems to have contained public and religious buildings.[983] Certain parts of the theatre in this area, namely the supporting walls of the *cavea* and the *parodoi*, have been dated to the time of Philip II. The marble ramp leading up to the *proscenium* also seems to date from the Late Classical period. The rest of this building dates to extensive rebuilding during the Roman period.[984] The earliest phases of the so-called 'Heroon' of the city, in the same area as the theatre, may also date from the time of Philip II.[985] It was during the excavation of this building that the fragmentary boundary settlement of Alexander III and the deeds of sale of *hierokyrekeia*,[986] dated to the late fourth century, were found, suggesting this was an important public building. Though a cult of Philip II is attested in the city thanks to an inscription of the second half of the fourth century found near Basilica A,[987] there has been no archaeological evidence yet uncovered to support the suggestion that the 'Heroon' was dedicated to the cult of the city's founder.[988] The location of the Hellenistic agora remains a matter of debate. Limited excavation in the Roman agora revealed an earlier Hellenistic building phase, but did not provide enough data to attempt identification of these buildings.[989] It has also been suggested that the agora was in the area east of the forum where the remains of a 2nd century BC funerary building and 'temple-like' structure have been found.[990] Certainty remains impossible, however.

Despite the paucity of evidence for the early city, it seems that when Philip II founded the city he furnished it with strong fortifications, a regular grid plan, and appropriate public buildings. The care to refound Krenides as a well-fortified, well-laid out city was a reflection not of the importance of the community, but of the importance of the Pangaion area to Philip's

[983] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 442.
[984] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos (2006); Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2006).
[985] Séve and Weber (1986).
[986] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 158.
[987] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 83.
[988] Habicht (1970) 200-5.
[989] *ADelt* 23 (1968) B2 352-3.
[990] The occupant of this tomb was a child in a cist grave, buried with gold grave goods. The slab covering his grave identifies him as 'Euephenes grandson of Exekestos': Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 443-4.

ambitions. Though he cannot have known how truly lucrative the Pangaion mines would come to be, the area was already known for its wealth in precious metals, hence Thasos' interest in this area of the mainland. Furthermore, Philippoi's position on the route into the Thracian interior made it a perfect staging post for Philip's subsequent military efforts in the region against Kersebleptes, Ketriporis, and other rivals inland.[991] It would also need to be held when Philip's efforts were directed elsewhere in order to preserve the income from Pangaion and prevent free access by Thracian armies into Macedonia. A strongly fortified position was therefore required.

But strategic imperatives are not the whole story, as Philip did not simply create a fort but refounded a civic community. This may have been partly due to the nature of Philip's intervention. In entering the area he was responding to a request from a Greek community for protection from Thracian barbarian invaders. Philip was aware of the benefits of improving his reputation in the Greek world when opportunities to do so arose.[992] In his settlement of Greece after Chaironeia he chose, whatever the political reality, to portray himself not as conqueror but as leader of a pan-Hellenic war of revenge against Persia.[993] Philip was aware of the benefits to be had from a good reputation in the courts of Greek public opinion. He may therefore have been wary of appearing to respond to Krenides' request for protection by acting as a barbarian occupier himself. He could not abolish a community he had been called in to protect without suffering a blow to his reputation. Such considerations may be why Philippoi remained an allied city, rather than simply a Macedonian outpost.

However, the explanation is probably much simpler. As examined in chapter 1, Philip and subsequent Macedonian kings relied upon local institutional structures for administration.

[991] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 249-54; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 438-40.
[992] See Lane Fox (2011e) 357 on Philip's adept use of 'spin' in advertising his actions.
[993] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 623-46; Lane Fox (2011e) 352, 357.

There was no point in abolishing a civic community when its institutional structures could facilitate Philip's control of the area. The primary motivations behind Philip's refounding of Krenides, naming it after himself, and constructing a new strongly fortified urban site were to solidify his control in this hostile frontier region. Philippoi's new urban environment was the physical expression of this control. New fortifications stood as testament to the fact that Philippoi's citizens now relied upon Philip for their protection. Their city's new name similarly advertised the primacy of the king's will in the city's life, and the civic community's newly subordinate status. Such a status clearly had its benefits, and did not entail a complete loss of civic identity. Their new fortifications offered protection, and public buildings facilitated the continuance of civic life on a local level. But more than anything else, the construction of a new, strongly fortified city named for the king defined Philippoi and its territory as royal space where Philip had significant latitude in determining the fate of its inhabitants. Philippoi became in effect an extension of the kingdom, with all the material and strategic benefits that provided for Philip II.[994]

Philippoi was the oldest city foundation by a Macedonian king, and thus served as a model for future rulers. Though it would be surpassed in size and physical grandeur by many subsequent foundations, Philip's model of using urban development to express and monumentalise a local image of royal control would have a longevity far in excess of the importance of the town of Philippoi itself. Philip II's actions at Philippoi would help inspire models of behaviour and urban foundation for many subsequent Macedonian and Hellenistic kings.

[994] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 360-1.

9.4 Amphipolis

The first recorded name for a settlement on the site of Amphipolis was 'Nine Ways', a reference to its strategic location on key routes in the area.[995] This settlement should possibly be identified with the one found on 'Hill 133' near Amphipolis.[996] Interest in the site forms part of the wider Greek involvement in the lower Strymon valley due to the precious metals from nearby Mt Pangaion, as well as the fertility of the Strymon plain itself.[997] Macedonian interest in this region dates from at least the first half of the fifth century when Alexander I was able to expand the eastern territories of his kingdom to at least the Strymon valley.[998]

The foundation of Amphipolis by Hagnon in 437/6 was preceded by at least two failed attempts to settle the site.[999] The city was then lost to Brasidas in 424.[1000] The Macedonian king, Perdikkas II, aided the Spartans in their efforts to control the Strymon basin after the capture of Amphipolis, though Macedonia itself seems not to have gained anything.[1001] Amphipolis was an important presence in the area in the early fourth century.[1002] Amphipolis may have begun striking its high quality series of civic coinage c. 370.[1003] However, during excavations in the cemetery of ancient Gazoros, a tomb was discovered containing a hoard of 7 Thasian and Amphipolitan coins found at Gazoros has been dated to the end of the fifth century, suggesting a possibly earlier date for the inauguration of the Amphipolitan civic

[995] *Anadraimos* in the local Thracian dialect, *Ennea Hodoi* in Greek: Steph Byz 9.12; Mihailov (1986) 382-3; Lorber (1990) 1; Flensted-Jensen (2004) 819.
[996] Vanderpool (1965); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 409.
[997] Isaac (1986) 1-71; Lorber (1990) 1-7; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 409.
[998] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 102; Mari (2011a). See also [Dem] 12.21 with Hammond and Griffith (1979) 102; Mari (2011a) 86; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 410; Hdt 5.17 with Faraguna (1998) on Alexander's mining at Mt. Dysoron and its possible location east of the Strymon. Alexander's control of the area along the west bank of the Strymon may not have immediately followed the Persian withdrawal in 480/79 but only from c. 465, based on evidence from the 'Decadrachm Hoard': Kagan (1987).
[999] Thuc. 1.100, 4.102-3, 106; Diod.12.32, 68; Schol. Aeschines 2.34; Asheri (1967) 1-24; Isaac (1986) 38; Lorber (1990) 1-2.
[1000] Thuc. 4.103-106; Lorber (1990) 2.
[1001] Thuc. 4.107.3; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 130.
[1002] Lorber (1990) 3-4. Amyntas III and the Chalkidian League agreed not to make separate treaties with Amphipolis in c. 393-1; Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 12.
[1003] Lorber (1990).

coinage.[1004] Whether or not any Athenian claim to Amphipolis was formally recognised by Amyntas III's representative at the conference in Sparta of 372/1, as later claimed by Aeschines, Amphipolis' recovery certainly formed a key element of Athenian efforts in the north at this time.[1005] Iphikrates' and Timotheos' attempts to regain Amphipolis in the 360s are well known, and do not need recapping here.[1006] It was during these campaigns that Amphipolis was again brought within a Macedonian sphere of interest, as shifting allegiances in the north brought Macedonia and Amphipolis into alliance on occasion.[1007]

When Perdikkas III's relationship with Athens broke down in 363/2, he garrisoned Amphipolis.[1008] Athenaios records that Karystios of Pergamum said that Perdikkas III had allotted some territory to Philip II where he quartered troops.[1009] It has been suggested that Philip II governed an area in eastern Macedonia, possibly commanding the garrison at Amphipolis.[1010] An early association with Amphipolis as its protector would certainly make the divine honours attested for Philip II at Amphipolis, if they were not a late fabrication, more plausible.[1011] Diodoros relates that Philip II, shortly after his accession in late 360, 'seeing that the Athenians were focusing all their ambition on retaking Amphipolis, and were for this reason restoring Argaios to the kingdom, voluntarily withdrew from the city, leaving it autonomous'.[1012] The withdrawal from Amphipolis represents Philip's need to scrape together troops to resist his rival Argaios' invasion. As Lane Fox has ably shown, the 'pronouncement' of Amphipolis' autonomy by Philip II to gain Athenian goodwill is an invention of the

[1004] Poulios (1995) 416-17; *CH* IX 18.
[1005] Aesch. 2.32; Lorber (1990) 4; Jehne (1992); Heskel (1997) 39; Psoma (2011b) 125. Dilts (1992) 64 on previous Athenian attempts in the 370s to reclaim Amphipolis. Cargill (1981) 168 and Psoma (2011b) 126-7 on the Chalkidian League abandoning its Athenian alliance due to their own interest in Amphipolis.
[1006] Lorber (1990) 4-6; Heskel (1997) 1-52; Lane Fox (2011d).
[1007] Aesch. 2.29; Dem. 23.149; Lorber (1990) 4-5; Hatzopoulos (1991a) 63; Lane Fox (2011d) 260-3.
[1008] Heskel (1997) 35-6.
[1009] Athen. 11.506E.
[1010] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 177-9; Psoma (2001) 240 n. 432; Lane Fox (2011e) 336.
[1011] Badian (1981) 39-40 dismisses these honours, as well as a temple for Amyntas III at Pydna, as inventions; Lane Fox (2011e) 345 urges their being taken seriously.
[1012] Diod. 16.3.3; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 236; Lorber (1990) 6.

scholarly literature.[1013] If Philip II made any such announcement, it will have been to garner goodwill in Amphipolis itself.

Philip recaptured the city in 357 BC.[1014] This was the first time that a sizeable independent Greek city with a long history had been absorbed into the Macedonian kingdom. A democratic government persisted at least briefly, as it banished the leaders of the pro-Athenian party Philon and Stratokles.[1015] However, as Lorber has pointed out, this can be taken either as a sign of the survival of Amphipolitan civic autonomy or an indication of the Philip II's strong influence in the city.[1016] The evidence regarding the Amphipolitan *epistatai* around this time suggests we should think in terms of the latter. The *epistates* remained in place as one of Amphipolis' civic magistracies, and appears in a number of deeds of sale from around the time of Amphipolis' capture.[1017] The *epistates* Sparges appears in six of the deeds of sale. In five, he is named alongside four different priests of Asklepios, who are well attested as the eponymous annual magistrate in subsequent Amphipolitan documents.[1018] In the sixth, Sparges appears on his own. Another *epistates*, Kallipos, also appears without a priest of Asklepios. I agree with Errington's reconstruction of these documents' chronology: the *epistates* was the eponymous magistrate before the conquest of Amphipolis by Philip II, with Kallipos serving before Sparges and Sparges the incumbent upon Philip II's capture of the city.[1019] Sparges then remained in this office for at least four years, and the priest of Asklepios was introduced as eponymous magistrate. Since Sparges' successors are not known to have served with more than one priest of Asklepios, it seems that after this period the

[1013] Lane Fox (2011e) 338. For the pronouncement: Ellis (1976) 49-50; Hammond (1994) 24-5.
[1014] Dem. 2.6-7; Theopompos 115 *FGrH* F 30 on talks between Athens and Philip. There was probably no pact to exchange Pydna for Amphipolis; de Ste-Croix (1963); Lane Fox (2011e) 345.
[1015] Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 49.
[1016] Lorber (1990) 61, with n. 18.
[1017] Hatzopoulos (1991b), texts at 14-54.
[1018] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 383-5.
[1019] Errington (2007) 278-82.

epistates reverted to an annual magistracy.[1020] Sparges was presumably retained for his compliant attitude toward the Macedonian conquerers, and was probably a pro-Macedonian puppet ruler during a period of consolidation. These documents do not disprove the annual or local nature of *epistatai* elsewhere in later Argead or Antigonid Macedonia.[1021] These were very particular circumstances. This was the first time Philip II had absorbed an independent city into his kingdom, and he had to learn by doing. It seems his initial decision was to keep in place the existing *epistates* as his representative in the city by extraordinarily extending the tenure of his office.

The numismatic evidence also shows signs of a period of transition. Philip II did not generally end the coinages of conquered cities right away, and the Amphipolitan civic coinage survived for some time after the Macedonian conquest.[1022] Lorber dates the end of the Amphipolitan silver civic coinage to c. 354/3, and suggests that it was continued to provide Philip II with a high quality silver coinage before he struck own royal silver in quantity.[1023] Two emissions of bronze coinage found during excavations on Thasos have been dated by Picard to the period immediately after the Macedonian conquest, though Psoma has argued they were struck to pay the Macedonian garrison at Amphipolis in the reign of Perdikkas III.[1024] Their types (head of Herakles/boar with club underneath, and head of Herakles/lion with club underneath) certainly reference a Macedonian alignment, but they bear the legend 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ'. If they do date from after 357, they show that, as with the *epistates*, Philip did not eliminate existing Amphipolitan structures if they could be turned to his benefit.

[1020] Though one eponymous priest of Asklepios, Hermagoras, did serve with two different *epistatai*, suggesting that the *epistates* was not elected using the same electoral year as the eponymous priest: Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 88, 89; Errington (2007) 279.
[1021] Hatzopoulos (1991a).
[1022] Lorber (1990) 61-78. It had once been assumed that Philip II stopped the coinages of conquered cities to exercise his prerogatives: Müller (1855). For other northern cities whose coinages survived after Philip II's conquests: Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2007) on Abdera; Psoma, Karadima, and Terzopoulou (2008) on Maroneia. For a similar phenomenon in Thessaly: Martin (1985).
[1023] Lorber (1990) 51-6, 61-3; see above ch. 3.2.1. Psoma (2001) 187 has the Amphipolitan coinage come to an end upon the city's conquest, but Lorber's arrangement is to be preferred.
[1024] Picard (1994a) 207-10; Psoma, Karadima, and Terzopoulou (2008) 206.

Errington stressed the importance of the 'mental model' for the relationship between Macedonian king and Greek city revealed in the Amphipolitan arrangements.[1025] Errington argues that the balance between local self-governance and ultimate royal control which characterised relationships between city and king in later Macedonia can first be seen in Philip's solutions at Amphipolis. But the Amphipolitan arrangements also set a precedent for royal interference in civic structures. Sparges' extended term as *epistates* shows that the ordinary institutional operation of Amphipolis was suspended for years. Therefore in the first instance of a Macedonian king integrating an independent Greek city into the kingdom, Philip II established the principle that control by the citizens over their internal affairs was secondary to the sovereignty of the king. This sovereignty was exercised in Amphipolis itself not only to suspend normal institutional arrangements, but also to make permanent changes. The priest of Asklepios was introduced almost immediately as the new eponymous magistrate, and the Macedonian calendar was adopted shortly thereafter while Sparges was still *epistates*.[1026] There are also several indications dating from the years following the conquest of Amphipolis that the citizen body may have lost a substantial amount of its land and revenue in Philip II's final settlement. Aeschines, writing in 343, made a contrast between the state of the Amphipolitans in 343 and their state in 368/7, when they controlled their own land and its revenues.[1027] It is entirely possible that he is exaggerating for effect. However, a passage of Isokrates also implies that Philip extracted significant revenue from Amphipolis.[1028] The example of Amphipolis must have had a fundamental effect in forming a cooperative but ultimately asymmetric relationship between king and city.

Land confiscated by the crown after the settlement went to the Macedonian elite. We know

[1025] Errington (2007) 281.
[1026] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 181-4; Errington (2007) 279-80.
[1027] Aesch. 2.27.
[1028] Isok. 5.5.

from Arrian the names of several Companions of Alexander who held property around Amphipolis, probably as a result of such royal grants.[1029] The famous 'Lion of Amphipolis', a funerary sculpture recovered in pieces in the first half of the twentieth century, was possibly an elite funerary monument.[1030] Amphipolis provided a full squadron of Companion cavalry for Alexander's expedition to Asia.[1031] This implies the settlement of at least two hundred wealthy Macedonians, on plots large enough to provide income sufficient to maintain the horses and armament required of the Companion cavalry.[1032] However, Amphipolis' *chora* was probably enlarged following the conquest and destruction of some small Greek cities in the area, such as Galepsos and Apollonia.[1033] This may have helped Amphipolis offset the losses of civic land to the Macedonian settlers.

Amphipolis became an important city within Macedonia. It was one of Philip II's and Alexander III's primary royal mints.[1034] Alexander's 'last plans' were said to include the building of six large temples in Greece, one of which was to be a temple of Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis.[1035] As befitted its strategic location and the importance it had developed under Philip II and Alexander III, Amphipolis remained important throughout the wars of the Successors. It was one of Olympias' strongholds in 316 during her war with Kassandros.[1036] Amphipolis was where Kassandros chose to confine Alexander IV and his mother Rhoxane.[1037] During Demetrios Poliorketes' control of Macedonia, the royal mint at Amphipolis was his most prolific.[1038] Lysimachos captured Amphipolis in 287 BC during his

[1029] Arr. *Ind*. 18.4, 10. These were Androsthenes, son of Kallistratos (Heckel (2006) 29), Erigyos and Laomedon, sons of Larichos (Heckel (2006) 119, 146), and Nearchos, son of Androtimos (Heckel (2006) 171-3).
[1030] Lazaridis (1997) 74-5, suggesting the Companion Laomedon.
[1031] Arrian *Anab* 1.2.5.
[1032] On numbers in the cavalry squadrons of Alexander's army, see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 411; Bosworth (1988b) 261-3.
[1033] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 353.
[1034] Le Rider (1977) 337-9; Price (1990); Kremydi (2011) 165.
[1035] Diod. 18.4.
[1036] Held by Aristonous; Diod. 19.50.8.
[1037] Diod. 19.52.4; above ch. 3.1.
[1038] Newell (1927) 101-24, nos. 93-138; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 226-8; Mørkholm (1991) 77-80.

invasion of eastern Macedonia.[1039] Pausanias records that Demetrios Poliorketes severely defeated Lysimachos at Amphipolis in this campaign, though this is not accepted by all scholars as it makes the subsequent desertion of Demetrios' troops to Lysimachos much harder to explain.[1040]

There is little information on Amphipolis under the Antigonids.[1041] After the numismatic reforms of Philip V, Amphipolis issued its own bronze coinage along with several other Macedonian cities.[1042] Philip V was at Amphipolis when he died in 179 BC.[1043] Amphipolis was one of a succession of places to which Perseus fled after the battle of Pydna before taking sanctuary on Samothrace.[1044] It was made capital of the first *meris* in the settlement of 167, and later a 'free city' of the Roman province.[1045]

9.4.1 The archaeology of Amphipolis

One of the primary aims of excavations at Amphipolis to date has been to discover the city walls mentioned by Thucydides. Extensive portions of the city walls and the acropolis walls have been uncovered.[1046] The impression given in plans of the archaeological site is usually that it is possible to trace with confidence the full extent of the walls of the city (**fig. 60**). The estimated overall dimensions of the outer and acropolis walls – 7450 m and 2200 m respectively – are impressive, and enclose an urban area of approximately 60 hectares.[1047] However, excavations have also revealed the extent of repair and rebuilding which the walls

[1039] Polyain. 4.12.2.
[1040] Paus. 1.10.2. Accepted by Edson (1934) 237; rejected by Walbank in Hammond and Walbank (1988) 228. Plut. *Dem*. 44.3 for the desertion of Demetrios' troops.
[1041] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 418-20.
[1042] Touratsoglou (1993). See above ch. 3.2.4, however, for the possibility that the bronze coinages of the Macedonian cities postdate the Roman conquest.
[1043] Livy 40.56.
[1044] Livy 44.45.1, 8-15; Plut. *Aem.* 23.5-6. Hammond (1984) for the battle of Pydna.
[1045] Livy 45.29.9; Pliny 4.38 – '*Amphipolis liberum*'. For Roman Amphipolis, see Papazoglou (1988) 392-7.
[1046] Lazaridis (1977b), (1986), (1997) 21-43; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 412-15, 420.
[1047] Adam-Veleni (2008) 13; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 412.

underwent at various stages, which necessarily makes tracing the line of the walls for any one period more complex.[1048]

9.4.2 Philip II's building programme

There are several indications that Philip II initiated a substantial building programme in Amphipolis. This probably included extension of the existing fortifications. Pritchett has suggested that the southern acropolis wall marked the southernmost fortification of the city in the fifth century, while the outer fortification wall south of the acropolis was constructed after Philip's capture of Amphipolis. He thought that the exterior wall's large facing blocks were characteristic of Macedonian construction.[1049] It would have made sense for Philip II to strengthen the fortifications of Amphipolis, given its strategic location. His separate arguments that the southern acropolis wall marked the southernmost extent of the fifth century fortifications are also persuasive.[1050] An outer wall which enclosed the full loop of the Strymon, a huge area for the period, is unlikely in the fifth century and would be difficult to defend due to its size. The southern acropolis wall runs along a ridge north-east of the highest point on the plateau, taking advantage of the most defensible point in the area. It was therefore suitable for an exterior wall. The strength of these arguments strengthens a case for a later date for the exterior wall south of the acropolis.

[1048] Lazaridis (1997) 21-43. It is not even clear whether Hagnon's original fortifications extended down to the river. Thuc. 4.102.4 ('διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν τείχει μακρῷ ἀπολαβὼν ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμὸν') expresses Hagnon's aim to encircle the city with long walls, but not that he accomplished it. Remains of some 1200 wooden pilings, the supports of a Classical bridge over the Strymon, have been found running from the river to Gate Γ: Lazaridis (1977), (1978), (1997) 32-6; Pritchett (1980) 299-300. These remains are dated to the fifth century by small finds, a date recently supported with C14 analysis: Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (2002) 62; Maniatis, Fakorellis, Malamidou, and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2010) no.1. If this was the bridge used by Brasidas to cross the Strymon, which Thucydides 4.103.4 relates was located some distance from the walls and not fortified, then the section of wall near it must date to Brasidas' subsequent extension of the fortifications to control the bridge: Pritchett (1980) 309-16. However, the excavator has dated the lower parts of this section of wall to Hagnon's fortifications: Lazaridis (1997) 31-6.

[1049] Pritchett (1980) 304.

[1050] Pritchett (1965) 32-3.

There is other evidence for the reinforcement of the fortifications of Amphipolis following Philip II's capture of the city. Repairs in sections of the north circuit wall could date to Philip's time.[1051] Gate F in the eastern city wall was filled in with masonry and protected by earthworks in the mid-fourth century, while the wall in the area also underwent significant repairs.[1052] Again this was probably the work of Philip II. Any invasion from Thrace would have to attempt to cross the Strymon at Amphipolis. Fortifying the city against attack from the east would therefore have been a priority for Philip II. Gate F represented a weak spot in the fortifications facing in this direction, and was probably blocked up for this reason.

Other areas of the city were also developed following the Macedonian conquest. The earliest substantial building phase within the excavated sections of the acropolis is dated to the second half of the fourth century.[1053] If there were a significant number of buildings on the acropolis before the Macedonian capture of the city, they have not yet been found. It therefore seems that a new programme of building was undertaken on the acropolis after the city's integration into the Macedonian kingdom. These buildings have generally been seen as residential in character, but given the fragmentary nature of preservation and the partial state of excavation, some of them could well form part of larger, public complexes.[1054]

One important building dating from this period was uncovered in the westernmost area of the acropolis, the 'Classical House' (**fig. 61**).[1055] This building was partially explored, and a number of rooms and a corridor were uncovered. In the south-east corner of the corridor, fragments of a bath and a drainage conduit were found, indicating a supply of water to the house. In the north-west corner of room α a thick layer of wall plaster was found, painted in

[1051] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 420.
[1052] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) 60, (2011a) 420
[1053] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 420. A very small number of remains found on the acropolis may pre-date the middle of the fourth century, including an inscription dated to the fifth century and the partially excavated remains of two buildings: Lazaridis (1982) 50, pl. 33b, (1983) 39-40, pls. 50b and 51b.
[1054] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 420-1, n. 104 and 105.
[1055] Lazaridis (1971) 54-6, fig. 2, pls. 71-4, (1982) 49-51, pl. 32c.

white, red, yellow, and grey. This plaster also bore traces of fire, and a layer of plaster and charcoal found in the same room further indicates the destruction of the building by fire, possibly in fighting over Amphipolis during the wars of the Successors (see above). A gold stater of Alexander III was found in a deposit in room β. If this was a foundation deposit, it gives a *terminus post quem* of c. 336-3 BC for the building.[1056] Though not quite comparable with the grand elite townhouses found in Pella, the solid construction and painted walls indicate the elevated social status of the occupant of this building. Further excavation around the Classical House indicates the presence of a significant late Classical residential quarter, in use throughout the Hellenistic period, which contained high quality buildings.[1057] The imprisonment of Alexander IV and Rhoxane in Amphipolis for some years suggests the existence of a residence befitting their status the town, possibly on the acropolis. Given the lack of substantial building in the acropolis prior to Philip II's conquest of the city, one could speculate that a high quality residential area developed on the acropolis of Macedonian Amphipolis to house elite Macedonian settlers.

The slopes outside the north acropolis wall may also have first been developed as a residential area under Philip II, as the earliest phase of building here seems to date from the middle of the fourth century. Traces of multiple buildings have been uncovered with dates from the latter half of the fourth century through the Hellenistic period.[1058] Particularly noteworthy is the building in the 'plot of D. Kyprianidi' (**fig. 62**), whose total estimated size was around 960 m², putting it on a par with the larger houses uncovered in the city block with the 'House of the plasterworks' at Pella.[1059] This building was uncovered almost in contact with the north acropolis wall. Small finds date its earliest phase to the middle of the fourth century. These include multiple statuettes from the classical to the Roman periods, the earliest of which are

[1056] See above ch. 3.2.1 for dates of Alexander's gold coinage.
[1057] Lazaridis (1997) 48; Malama and Salonikios (2002) 145.
[1058] *ADelt* 43 (1988) B2 427; *ADelt* 45 (1990) B2 375; *ADelt* 52 (1997) B3 839-40.
[1059] Malama and Salonikios (2002) 147-55; see above ch. 7.3.4.

characteristic of the fourth century BC. The coin evidence also indicates use of the building from the mid-fourth century: coins of Philip II, Alexander III, Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas, Philip V, and Perseus have been found, along with autonomous issues of Amphipolis, Thessalonike, and Pella from the second century BC and coins of Maroneia and Rhodes. A total of 17 rooms arranged around two courtyards have been fully or partially excavated. The larger courtyard possessed mosiac flooring and a well, and probably formed the main public area of the house. Other rooms in the house possessed mosaic floors, and fragments of coloured wall plaster in red, yellow, green, white, and black were found throughout the building, as were water channels. Though it is impossible to date the decoration, the impression is one of a luxurious elite house. This strengthens the impression that the acropolis hill and surrounding areas formed an elite Macedonian space in the period following Philip II's conquest.

Were this the case, it would be an interesting parallel to the strategies of distinction employed in the Macedonian royal palaces. These palaces were placed on hills dominating the cities in which stood, a physical expression of the elevation of the monarch above the citizens (see above ch. 8). Routes of access to those royal spaces were controlled through site choice and fortification. It is possible that similar strategies were at work on the acropolis of Amphipolis, if it was a space for the Macedonian elite. The steep hill and acropolis walls would have ably served to limit routes of access. The choice of the acropolis for a Macedonian enclave would have emphasised the power and exclusivity of the elite. Not only did the physical elevation express the social, military, and political dominance of a Macedonian ruling class, but their occupation of the space which had served as a last refuge of the citizens of free Amphipolis against acts of conquest would have been a pointed reminder of the new order.

This is, however, substantially speculation. While such a model correlates with what we

know of Macedonian strategies of distinction elsewhere, there is nothing to confirm such a model in the archaeology of the acropolis (though nothing to contradict it either). Note, too, that a fragmentary inscription found on the acropolis referring to the cult of Asklepios indicates that a sanctuary to this god may have been on the acropolis. Therefore the character of the buildings there may not have been entirely residential.[1060] This may represent some continuity in the use of the acropolis after Philip II's conquest, as the fragmentary inscription of the fifth century BC found on the acropolis which mentions a number of gods most probably indicates that there were sanctuaries there earlier.[1061] However, the priest of Asklepios became the eponymous magistrate in the institutional rearrangements following Philip II's conquest.[1062] Reorganised as a public cult, it would have been seen as a mark of the new Macedonian control. Therefore the presence of a sanctuary of Asklepios upon the acropolis would not detract from it being an essentially Macedonian space.

The area around Gate F revealed further evidence of development in this period (**fig. 63**). In this area, part of the eastern city wall with gate F was uncovered along with the remains of roads and two building complexes with several building phases.[1063] The earliest phase of the eastern wall has been dated to the foundation of the city, as it is similar in construction to the part of the west wall of the acropolis unanimously dated to the fortifications of Hagnon. The earliest phase of the adjacent buildings was contemporary with the earliest phase of the walls.[1064] In the middle of the fourth century the area underwent significant change. Gate F was filled in and the wall repaired (see above). In the north building complex, the heroon was

[1060] Lazaridis (1965) 47; Veligianni (1994).
[1061] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011b) 413.
[1062] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 182; Errington (2007).
[1063] *ADelt* 31 (1976) B2 305; *ADelt* 32 (1977) B2 253; *ADelt* 33 (1978) B2 294; *ADelt* 41 (1986) B2 177; *ADelt* 49 (1994) B2 601; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002). Gate F is another possible candidate for Thucydides' Thracian Gates: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) 62-6.
[1064] The earliest traces of construction under the north building complex have been identified as a funerary heroon. Here a cist grave was found within a two roomed building; *ADelt* 31 (1976) B2 305-7. A silver larnax was found within the tomb containing the cremated bones a man and a gold olive wreath. It has been suggested that this may be the heroon of Brasidas mentioned at Thuc. 5.11.4: Lazaridis (1997) 21; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) 60-1.

demolished and a new building complex with a courtyard and a well was built in its place. In the south building complex, a large building was constructed with several rooms around a central courtyard. These lie to the north and south of a road running E-W, which intersects with another road running N-S to the west of the building complexes. Therefore, in the middle of the fourth century both the buildings and the wall in this area seem to have been dramatically rebuilt to a new plan. These buildings continued in use throughout the third and second centuries with multiple repairs, though there is no evidence to identify their use.

Combined with the evidence from the north slopes of the acropolis hill discussed above, the area around Gate F suggests Philip II's redevelopment of Amphipolis included a regular grid plan. Some of the buildings on the acropolis slopes were aligned with a central street which shared the alignment of the road running E-W near Gate F.[1065] This would indicate that, at least in the north-east area of the city, Philip II's building programmes were arranged in a regular grid plan, though we cannot know whether it matched an earlier urban plan or was used in other areas of the city.

Philip's building programme included public buildings. The gymnasium has been located in the south-east section of the ancient city, south of the acropolis wall.[1066] This site may have been used for an extra-mural theatre complex before Philip II's capture of the city.[1067] The remains of the gymnasium itself present an impressive public building complex (**fig. 64**). Excavation has uncovered a palaestra with a monumental staircase. The open area in the middle of the palaestra was surrounded by Doric stoas, with four rooms on each of the north and south sides. Two at least of these were used for bathing, as bathtubs have been found in two of the north rooms. North of the palaestra was a building with extra bathing facilities and

[1065] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 420.
[1066] Lazaridis (1982) 43-7; Lazaridi (1987), (1988), (1989), (1990); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 422.
[1067] Lazaridi (1989) 549-50; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 422.

a courtyard with a stone altar, probably an area for sacrifice to the protector gods of the gymnasium, Herakles and Hermes. Parts of the xystos and paradromis have also been uncovered.

The construction of the gymnasium can be dated fairly securely to the middle of the fourth century BC and Philip II's building programme. Fragments of vessels, possibly votive offerings by athletes, found in the north-east section of the palaestra and the south section of the xystos were dated to the second half of the fourth century BC.[1068] A section of a red figure hydria which can be dated to the middle of the fourth century BC was also found on the site.[1069] The general type of the palaestra with a courtyard with stoas surrounded by rooms for bathing and preparation is known at multiple sites throughout the Greek world dating from the fourth to the second centuries BC.[1070] Bronze coins (of Macedonian kings, Augustus, and other city and federal coinages) from the level of the Hellenistic building phase range from the mid fourth century BC to the end of the first century BC.[1071] A building programme at this time in this area south of the acropolis would make particular sense if the southern circuit wall does post-date the Macedonian conquest. The area between the new wall and the acropolis would be an obvious space for new building.

Finally, Philip's new building work may have included new water supply systems for the city. A large clay water pipe which brought water into the city from nearby has been dated to the middle of the fourth century.[1072]

Philip II's fortification and building activities in Amphipolis complemented his institutional

[1068] Lazaridi (1987) 319.
[1069] Lazaridi (1990) 255.
[1070] Lazaridi (1987) 315 cites the similar configurations at Delphi, Olympia, Eretria, Epidauros, Nemea, Delos, Priene, Pergamon, and Miletos.
[1071] Lazaridi (1990) 254-5.
[1072] *ADelt* (1976) B2 305; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) 60-2, (2011a) 420 n. 102.

arrangements to integrate this strategically important city into the Macedonian kingdom. On a practical level, repairs and extensions of the fortifications ensured that the garrisoned city could control the important crossing of the Strymon. As at Philippoi, fortifications also represented the military power of the king. They emphasised that Amphipolis now relied upon Philip for protection, and no doubt served as a reminder in the wake of conquest of the consequences of inciting unrest against such a powerful military leader. If the acropolis was indeed taken over by elite Macedonian settlers, this too will have made clear the privileged position of the incoming Macedonians and the subordination of civic concerns to the will of the king as leader of the Macedonians. Therefore much of the building at post-conquest Amphipolis, like the suspension of ordinary institutional arrangements, was designed to securely integrate Amphipolis into Macedonia by emphasising the city's new subordinate status and the primacy of the king's will.[1073]

Yet Philip also had to engender loyalty among the population of any conquered cities, particularly those that were crucial to hold for strategic or economic reasons. The infringement of Amphipolis' autonomy and the settlement of Macedonians in a privileged position in the city's social and physical landscape must have created ill will among sections of the population. New high quality public building, like the gymnasium complex, was designed to mollify elements among the civic elite at Amphipolis by showing that the king would also provide for the public life of Amphipolis' civic community. A regular urban plan, a new water supply, and even newly repaired and extended fortifications represented this same promise by Philip to act as Amphipolis' benefactor and protector. Philip's building programme, then, emerges as a key element of his policy at Amphipolis, designed to physically express the transition from independent city to subject community while also indicating the benefits to be had for the civic community through integration into the territory

[1073] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 351-6.

of a powerful and generous king. As at Philippoi, he had integrated a policy of urban development into his response to the political exigencies of the moment.

9.4.3 After Philip

The city received further attention under later rulers. The north of the city seems to have been the focus of substantial building in the late fourth and early third centuries, which should perhaps be attributed to Kassandros.[1074] Repairs to the north wall near Gate A date from this period and were prompted by flooding in the Strymon valley. The deposits from these floods required the construction of a new gate at a higher level to replace the classical gate, which had silted up. This rebuilding also involved raising the drainage channels of the north wall in this area. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki has suggested that the large section of wall which lies between Gates A and B, with a different orientation to the rest of the northern wall, may also be related to these floods.[1075] Its relatively poor construction techniques may reflect hasty building. Perhaps this section of wall was thrown up quickly to reinforce or patch a gap in the northern walls during this period of flooding and rebuilding. This would make some sense of the fact that it was built over a building with stoas of the late fourth century. This would represent a rapid construction of fortifications over a previously built-up area in order to maintain the integrity of the city wall. As we shall see, Kassandros' building programme elsewhere in Macedonia involved maintaining strong fortifications around strategically important cities. These repairs may represent part of the same programme.

There may also have been further building in the area immediately within the walls at this time. Remains of various small buildings have been found in this area.[1076] Most of these

[1074] Lazaridis (1973) 43-50, (1974) 58-63, (1976) 92-3, (1997) 21-41, ; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 422.
[1075] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 423.
[1076] Lazaridis (1974) 61-2, pls. 45a, 45b, 46a; id. (1975) 66-8, fig. 3, pls. 58-60, 61b; id. (1976b) 94, pl. 66;

buildings cannot be dated with any precision. Their construction techniques are similar, and the foundation level of one has been dated by the excavators to the same period as the repairs to the section of the north wall mentioned above.[1077] The walls of these buildings run parallel to the line of this section of the north wall. Given that this orientation differs slightly from those buildings around Gate F which date from the time after Philip II's conquest, different sections of the city in the late fourth century may have been constructed on different urban orientations. This may have been determined by topographical considerations as well as the course of the city walls. Based on small finds, this area of the city seems to have been in use until at least the late Hellenistic period.[1078] If the development of this area does date to the same time as the repair of the walls, then Kassandros may have concertedly redeveloped this entire area of the city in response to flood damage. The late Classical building under the section of wall between gates A and B indicates that the refortification of the northern wall involved the demolition of previous buildings. Some new construction in this area may then simply be to restore living space damaged or destroyed during the course of the wall repairs. However, urban development in Amphipolis under Kassandros will also have formed part of Kassandros' wider royal presentation. Philip II had already set the model in terms of new building and benefaction as part of the relationship between Amphipolis and the king. Kassandros could hardly do less for such a strategically important city.

Building activity continued throughout the Antigonid period, though our evidence is so fragmentary that characterising the extent or nature of these building works is impossible. The building complexes near Gate F continued in use throughout the third and second centuries BC.[1079] Remains of a building phase from some time in the third or second

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Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 422.
[1077] Lazaridis (1974) 61.
[1078] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2011a) 422. Particularly noteworthy were the multiple images of Kybele found within and near the building complex within which was found the mid-fourth century deed of sale recording the sale of Lykophron's house to Menandros for 20 drachmae: Lazaridis (1975) 67-8; Hatzopoulos (1991b) no. 2.
[1079] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) 60-2.

centuries BC have been found, including pebbled floors and column bases.[1080] Recent rescue excavations to the north-west of the modern town uncovered further Hellenistic remains.[1081] These included the remains of walls and paved floors at several points in the area, as well as a cistern. The ceramic evidence found in the backfill of these buildings dates from the third and (at sites 3 and 4 of this excavation) second centuries BC. A bronze coin of Antigonos Gonatas and one of Philip V further help to date these buildings to the Antigonid period. The 'Hellenistic House' to the south of the acropolis has been dated to around the end of the Antigonid period or the beginning of the Roman period.[1082] It is a house of a fairly standard design, with a peristyle courtyard surrounded by a number of rooms. In two rooms on the north side of the courtyard, traces of the house's decoration have survived. These include colourful mural paintings and stucco decoration which resembles the First Pompeian Style. This was probably a house belonging to a member of the mid-late second century civic elite.

Therefore urban development at Amphipolis continued throughout the period of the monarchy. Given the initial settlement of members of the Macedonian elite on confiscated land upon the city's capture, some of this building activity may be the work of rich Macedonians investing in townhouses and the like. However, as the constant attention paid to the fortifications of Amphipolis attests, the site was of great value to the Macedonian kings. Regular investment in the city walls ensured that this strategically valuable site remained a strong bastion from which to control the crossing of the Strymon. Accompanying urban development programmes may have occasionally been dictated by the demands of work on the fortifications, as seen by Kassandros' repairs of the north wall. But by and large, such investment in the urban fabric of Amphipolis will have sprung from the example set by Philip II. For Philip, the development of Amphipolis' urban environment physically expressed the

[1080] *ADelt* 52 B3 840.
[1081] Peristeri, Zographou, and Darakis (2006).
[1082] Lazaridis (1982) 48-9, pls. 29-32, (1983) 35-7 pl. 39-44a, (1997) 50-1.

king's dominance but also helped to mollify any elements in the civic leadership who resented Philip's takeover. They demonstrated to those civic leaders that integration into the Macedonian kingdom could be very beneficial to the city. Similar dynamics will have been at work in any future building activity with royal sponsorship.

9.5 Kassandreia

Kassandreia was founded by Kassandros in 316 on the south-western promontory of the Chalkidian peninsula, Pallene.[1083] It absorbed numerous smaller settlements, and its *chora* seems to have included the entirety of Pallene.[1084] Diodoros records that Kassandros drew part of its population from the remaining Olynthians, refugees since the destruction of their city by Philip in 348.[1085] This fact formed part of Antigonos Monophthalmos' attack on Kassandros in his proclamation of Tyre, where he accused him of refounding hated Olynthos.[1086] Diodoros does make it plain that Kassandreia was not Macedonian at its foundation.[1087] It was perhaps this non-Macedonian character which Antigonos recognised as an opportunity to defame Kassandros' loyalty.[1088] Interestingly, this may also have been recognised by the compilers of the Epidauran list of *theorodokoi*. In the *addenda* added at the end of the fourth century (see above ch. 2.4.4), Kassandreia was added on the stone next to Olynthos rather than Potidaia, though there was room for its placement in either position.[1089]

Kassandreia was at its foundation not a part of the Macedonian national territory, but technically an independent allied city.[1090] A change in the city's calendar in the early third century has been linked to its full incorporation into the Macedonian kingdom by Antigonos Gonatas.[1091] This probably occurred after Antigonos captured the city from the tyrant Apollodoros.[1092] However, it is probable that Kassandros installed a government sympathetic

[1083] Diod. 19.52.2. For Kassandreia in general: Meyer (1965) 628-39; Alexander (1970); Papazoglou (1988) 424-6; Hatzopoulos (1993).
[1084] Hatzopoulos (1988) 45-7, (1993) 576-7, (1996a) I 199-206.
[1085] Diod. 19.52.2.
[1086] Diod. 19.61.2; see above ch. 6.
[1087] Hatzopoulos (1993) 576.
[1088] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 200-1.
[1089] Perlman (2000) Ep. Cat. E. 1 l. 40.
[1090] Hatzopoulos (1993) 578-84.
[1091] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 164-5, 202-5; Lane Fox (2011g) 502.
[1092] It is not clear how Apollodoros gained control of the city from Eurydike, daughter of Antipatros and mother of Ptolemy Keraunos, whom Keraunos had left in charge of the city: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 257-8; Lane Fox (2011g) 501. The city had been under the control of another Macedonian royal woman prior to this.

to his interests in order to guarantee cooperation. The eponymous magistrate of the city was the priest of the king, enshrining in the institutional structure of the city a privileged place for the image of the king.[1093] There is also evidence that he retained some important control over some aspects of the city's economic life. A grant of exemptions to taxes on the movement of goods to one Chairephanes dates to the reign of Kassandros.[1094] This kind of direct control of economic privileges demonstrates Kassandros' ability to exert control within the territory of this nominally independent ally.[1095] The confirmation of land grants linked to the foundation of the city (see above ch. 3.1.5) and the subsequent reorganisation of territory in the peninsula are reminiscent of the situation at Philippoi. At Kassandreia too, the king formed the ultimate authority to settle contentious matters. The fact that Demetrios chose it as a safe place of refuge after his army deserted to Pyrrhos in 287 BC demonstrates that under normal circumstances Kassandreia was effectively a holding of the Macedonian king.[1096] With its incorporation into the kingdom, this control would have been formalised with the usual institutional structures.[1097]

Kassandreia's position made it perfect for harbour facilities, and the city acted as a military dockyard for the later Antigonids. In 208 BC, Philip V laid down the keels for one hundred ships at Kassandreia, in an attempt to capitalise upon recent successes at sea.[1098] It was from Kassandreia that Perseus dispatched a fleet to Tenedos in early 168 BC to protect trading ships, and that fleet fled back to the city later in the year following the battle of Pydna.[1099] Its position also left it vulnerable to attack from the sea, however, leading Perseus to strongly

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Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenike and second wife to Lysimachos, had fled there from Ephesos after hearing of Lysimachos' defeat at Korupedion in 281 BC: Polyain. 8.57; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 242. She was later ousted by Ptolemy Keraunos: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 247-9.

[1093] Sherk (1990) 231-2; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 154-6. Many Seleukid cities used the dynastic cult as eponym, again emphasising the centrality of the king in a subordinate city: Sherk (1992) 253-9.

[1094] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 21.

[1095] Hatzopoulos (1988) 53-4.

[1096] Plut. *Dem.* 45.1

[1097] Alexander (1970) 130 n. 4.

[1098] Livy 28.8.14; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 405.

[1099] Livy 44.27.3; 45.10.1.

garrison the city in 169 for fear of a Roman offensive.[1100] This allowed it to resist a substantial attack by a Roman force the following year.[1101] Following the Roman conquest Kassandreia belonged to the second *meris*.[1102] It was made a Roman colony in 43 or 42 BC.[1103]

9.5.1 The archaeology of Hellenistic Kassandreia

Unfortunately we know very little about the urban layout of Kassandreia in any period thanks to the modern habitation of the site and the resultant difficulty of excavation there. Some small sections of the Hellenistic walls have been excavated, and their lines roughly traced (**fig. 65**).[1104] The north and south walls lay approximately 400m north and 2km south of the isthmus respectively, with roughly E-W orientations. They enclosed an area of approximately 400 hectares, making Kassandreia as large as Pella.[1105]

We are very poorly informed about the city within these walls. Remains of buildings with Hellenistic phases have come to light at times, but the evidence has been so fragmentary as to reveal nothing about Kassandreia's overall urban character or plan.[1106] Recently, however, excavations have brought to light some more enlightening remains of the Hellenistic city in the south-west and the east of the modern settlement.[1107] The excavated area to the south-west was the smaller of the two, and remains from 6 separate phases of building were detected there. The Hellenistic phase preserved traces of 4 rooms of a single building, with the date established from the pottery at the level of these remains. Given that the Hellenistic phase lay

[1100] Livy 43.23.7.
[1101] Livy 44.11-12.
[1102] Livy 45.30.4.
[1103] For Roman Kassandreia: Papazoglou (1988) 424-6.
[1104] Sisimandis (1989) 359-60.
[1105] Adam-Veleni (2008) 14.
[1106] Sisimandis (1989) 360-5, fig. 4; Sisimandis and Karaiskou (1992); Kousoulakou (1993), (1994) 305-9.
[1107] Kousoulakou and Missailidou-Despotidou (2006).

above three earlier phases of building from the classical and archaic periods, this area of the ancient city seems to have been in use as far back as the foundation of Potidaia.[1108]

The remains in the east of the modern settlement were more revealing (**fig. 66**).[1109] They consisted of two building complexes with N-S and E-W walls, separated by a road running N-S. To the north of the area were found remains of another road running E-W. Fragments of water pipes have been found in the western section of this road. A small section of building was also uncovered to the north of the road running E-W. These remains indicate that at least this area of the city possessed an axial grid plan.

The western complex consists of rooms arranged around a central courtyard, and possesses a well and water channels. Excavators found a mosaic floor in the northern of two rooms in the west of the complex. The interior surfaces of the walls of the building were covered in plaster. A female figurine wearing a *peplos* but lacking a head was found in the courtyard, as were black-glazed oil lamps, and pottery fragments of the early Hellenistic period. The eastern complex was divided into several distinct spaces. The large space in the west of the building extends south beyond the excavated area. The north-west section of the building was a large rectangular space, with three separate rooms along its south wall which possessed marble thresholds. In the eastern part of the complex, there were two areas thought to be outdoor spaces with pebbled flooring, though the floors are imperfectly preserved. These areas possessed a stone pipe for water. In the east part of this building complex, excavators uncovered another mosaic floor similar to that in one room of the western building complex, though it was probably added sometime after initial construction as it stands on an older backfill framed by two walls at the lowest level of construction. Pottery of the first half of the 3rd century found below the pebbled floor gives a rough *terminus post quem* for its laying.

[1108] Kousoulakou and Missailidou-Despotidou (2006) 507-9.
[1109] For all the following see Kousoulakou and Missailidou-Despotidou (2006) 503-7.

The earliest pottery found in the area dated from the end of the fourth century BC, and the excavators found no earlier backfill. The excavators are therefore certain that construction of these buildings dates from the foundation of Kassandreia or very shortly afterwards. Coins found included those of Alexander III, Kassandros, Antigonos Gonatas, Philip V, and Perseus, indicating the use of this area throughout the period of the monarchy.

These excavations indicate that Kassandros' new city possessed an axial grid plan and at least some buildings with fine mosaic floors. The well and the water pipes throughout the area attest to the importance of water provision in another Macedonian foundation of this period. Unfortunately, in spite of the prominence and importance of the city, this is as much as we can say about the site of Kassandreia itself at the moment. We are better informed, however, about the distribution of smaller sites within Kassandreia's *chora* during the Hellenistic period, thanks to a multitude of smaller excavations undertaken throughout the peninsula in recent years.

It appears that a number of small fortified sites with a variety of characters were spread throughout the Pallene peninsula.[1110] These have been found both on the coasts and in the more mountainous interior. The site found at Solenas, south of modern Kallithea, was located on a hill on the eastern coast of the peninsula. A strongly walled area indicates that this was a fortified site, possibly a small garrison. The similar site at Lekane, on a plateau on the opposite side of the peninsula, has been seen as a counterpart to Solenas, and excavators suggest that between them these two sites helped to control the two coasts of the peninsula in the north. A site has been found near Polychrono in a mountainous area of the peninsula. This site possessed strong fortifications and large buildings with well-built walls, with surface pottery dating from the second half of the fourth century to the third century, indicating use of

[1110] Tsigarida and Papadimitriou (2009); Tsigarida, Vasileiou, and Naoum (2009).

the site from the period of Macedonian control of Chalkidice. A second site near Chaniotis, also in the mountains, possessed similar remains, with strong walls and a large amount of surface pottery. The large number of stamped amphorae fragments and other vessels found at this site perhaps suggests the presence of a pottery workshop. Other sites, though small in size, indicate the dispersal of manufacturing activity throughout the peninsula. Sites thought to have possessed workshops include the small sites near Koutsoupia, the two north of Siviris, one south of Phourkas, and one in the area of Pelkochoriou. These small sites with workshops, producing amphorae and other vessels, may well have served the needs of farms and villages nearby. They also probably produced vessels to support the trade in wine from Kassandreia.[1111] There is a notable build up of these smaller sites in the west of the peninsula over the course of the late classical and Hellenistic periods, which has been attributed to increased trade and communication with the Macedonian heartland on the other side of the Thermaic Gulf.[1112] At Kallithea, a religious site has been found with a sanctuary of Dionysos and a temple of Zeus Ammon.[1113] The initial phases of construction have been dated to the first half of the fourth century, with a building phase under the later temple and a fountain house dating to this period. Towards the end of the fourth century, a large new temple was built over the earlier buildings. The existence of the site suggests that as well as fortified settlements and small manufacturing sites, there were religious sites dispersed throughout the peninsula to cater to the needs of the residents of the Kassandreian *chora*.

9.5.2 Kassandros and Kassandreia

It seems that a single large urban unit, Kassandreia, was founded as the main political, economic, and population centre of the Pallene peninsula. The countryside this metropolis

[1111] Tsigarida and Vasileiou (2008) 433-4.
[1112] Tsigarida and Papadimitriou (2009).
[1113] Giouri (1976); Tsigarida and Vasileiou (2005); Tsigarida, Vasileiou, and Patis (2007).

controlled absorbed the former territory of multiple older settlements. This countryside was split up among smaller settlements, at least some of which served the everyday manufacturing and religious needs of nearby communities. Fortifications were also established at points throughout the peninsula. Alongside both the fortifications and the small settlements will have been the large estates of the Macedonian elite, as attested in the land grant inscriptions from the area.[1114] Some of these will have had the fortified aspect known from similar large farms found elsewhere in Macedonia.[1115] Others will have perhaps looked more like the smaller agricultural installations with defensive characteristics found in the neighbouring peninsula of Sithonia.[1116]

Why did Kassandros found Kassandreia? Economic and administrative considerations must have been important. Kassandros could expect Kassandreia to become a thriving commercial centre, like its predecessor Potidaia. Most of the cities of Pallene had survived the defeat of the Chalkidian League and the absorption of the area into Macedonia.[1117] These communities each had individual relationships with the Macedonian crown, regulated via their individual *epistatai*, and each conducted their own local economic and political affairs. When these communities were absorbed into Kassandreia, the benefit to the Macedonian crown was twofold. A multitude of relationships between centre and locality was replaced with just one, significantly simplifying the administration and extraction of surplus from Pallene. Consolidation of this sort suited the administrative apparatus of the Macedonian kings, who never developed a significant bureaucracy but relied upon Friends or Companions to undertake special political, military, and diplomatic missions. Furthermore, through the creation of a much larger urban centre, controlling a much larger territory, economic activity would naturally have intensified and larger markets for more varied transactions created.

[1114] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 20, 22: see above ch. 3.1.5.
[1115] Adam-Veleni (2009).
[1116] Asouchidou (2009).
[1117] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1991) 35-9; Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 189-199; Tsigarida (2011) 152-4.

Therefore, not only were multiple points of surplus extraction replaced with one, but the overall economic potential of the peninsula increased, and so too the surplus available for extraction. Our evidence suggests that Kassandros arranged to retain certain powers within the territory of Kassandreia after its foundation. The confirmation of Perdikkas' land grants show that Kassandros remained the ultimate source of authority for disputes within the territory of Kassandreia, at least where elite Macedonian landholders were concerned. One is put in mind of Alexander III's boundary settlement in Philippoi, another nominally independent state. The grant to Chairephanes of immunity from import and export taxes shows that Kassandros could exempt Macedonians from certain taxes within Kassandreia's territory.[1118] Kassandros clearly established means by which he could influence aspects of Kassandreia's economy to his profit.

But why found such a city so close to the Macedonian heartland, bearing his own name, and yet not integrate it into the Macedonian national territory? I believe the answer lies in the particular messages which Kassandros wished to propagate regarding the difference between the hegemony in the Greek peninsula to which he laid claim, and the hegemony of his Argead predecessors. Kassandros' efforts to link himself to the Argead past and gain some traditional legitimacy (his marriage to Thessalonike, the reburial of Philip III Arrhaidaios and Eurydike, the names of his sons) have already been discussed.[1119] These were necessary to solidify his position with the more conservative elements of the Macedonian elite. Yet, as also discussed, he also sought to construct a new legitimacy for himself which was not tied to an Argead past, due to his chequered history with the Argead house. His urban development programme formed part of this attempt. This included the redevelopment of Pella, rather than investment in the traditional capital of Aigai. At Aigai, Philip's palace and the royal tombs ensured that monuments to the Argead past dominated the area. It was therefore not a good arena for

[1118] Hatzopoulous (1996) II no. 21.
[1119] See above ch. 6.

Kassandros to display messages about his own sovereignty.

The foundation of Kassandreia as a nominally free and independent state, inhabited at least in part with the refugees from Philip II's acts of city destruction in the area, represents part of the same policy of the repudiation of an Argead past. Philip II had defeated the Chalkidian League, the most successful federal state in northern Greece, and destroyed its capital Olynthos.[1120] In creating a new, powerful, and independent Greek *polis* in the Chalkidian peninsula, Kassandros was undoing the work of Philip II. He implicitly condemned the destruction of Olynthos, disassociated himself from an Argead past of violence against free Greek states, and portrayed himself as a benefactor and a healer of rifts between the Macedonian kingdom and the rest of the peninsula.

Much the same policy was at work in Kassandros' refoundation of Thebes (see chapter 6).[1121] By refounding the historically powerful Greek city which had been foremost among the enemies of Macedon and destroyed by Alexander, Kassandros condemned the actions of the Argeads, made reparations for their crimes against the Greeks, and signalled that as king he would establish a different relationship with the *poleis* of the Greek mainland. Antigonos Monophthalmos was astute to characterise the foundation of Kassandreia as the recreation of Olynthos, and to associate it with the refoundation of Thebes. He accused Kassandros of refounding Macedonia's enemies, in the hope of undermining Kassandros' position. Ironically, refounding Macedonia's enemies, and by doing so disassociating himself from Argead actions and advertising his own generosity, was exactly how Kassandros wished these actions to be seen. Like his contemporary rivals, he was looking to establish a lasting dynasty. He decided that a prop for this would be an attempted rehabilitation of the reputation

[1120] Hammond and Griffith (1979) 321-8.
[1121] Diod. 19.53.2, 54.2; SEG 31.502; Buraselis (2014) on a new fragment which includes some probably Macedonian individual donors, no doubt encouraged to contribute by Kassandros.

of the Macedonian ruler among the independent Greek *poleis*.[1122]

The fact that Kassandros' power in Greece was secured by supporting oligarchies must have undermined to some extent his attempts to rehabilitate Macedonian reputation in the Greek peninsula. Yet it seems clear that, as part of his repudiation of an Argead past, Kassandros wished the foundation of Kassandreia to be politically as well as economically profitable.

[1122] Note Buraselis (2014) 163 on the contributions from Greek cities to this rebuilding: 'Especially the extensive role undertaken by the Athenians in this revival of Thebes and its fortifications...cannot fail to give the impression of the pre-Chaeronean solidarity being reactivated.' If correct, this would have been an unfortunate side-effect of Kassandros' attempts to develop his reputation.

9.6 Thessalonike

Unlike Kassandreia, the site of Thessalonike had not been previously inhabited. However, the area around the Thermaic Gulf was heavily settled. Several sites in this area have been investigated archaeologically, and show inhabitation from the Archaic and Classical periods.[1123] According to Strabo, when Thessalonike was founded in 316 BC it drew upon the populations of 26 of these surrounding townships to create its own citizen body.[1124] The city was named for the daughter of Philip II and Philip's Thessalian wife Nikesipolis, whom Kassandros had married that same year. Its site seems to have been chosen for both defensibility and possible further development. The natural barriers of the sea to the south and the steep foothills of the Kissos mountains to the north offered significant protection to the site, protection which was enhanced by fortification walls. Its position at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, with easy access to the Aegean and good communication routes with Macedonian territory to both east and west, caused Thessalonike to eventually develop into a major urban centre.[1125]

The literary record gives some indication of Thessalonike's importance as a naval centre for the Antigonid monarchy. There seem to have been major military dockyards at Thessalonike by at least the reign of Perseus, which Perseus ordered burned in 169 BC when he panicked at the advance of the Roman consul Q. Marcus Philippus.[1126] Apparently the *philos* sent to relay this order, one Andronikos, anticipated the king's subsequent change of mind and did not act

[1123] Moschonisioti (1988); Despoini, Tiverios, Vokotopoulou, and Misailidou (1990); Tzanavari and Lioutas (1993); Despoini (1994); Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou (1996); Tiverios (1996); Skarlatidou (2009); Soueref (2009); Tiverios (2009); Gimatzidis (2010); Adam-Veleni (2011).
[1124] Strabo 7 fr. 21 and 24 (ed. Jones (1917-32)) Papazoglou (1988) 189-205. Remains from a late archaic temple have been used to suggest that ancient Thermi occupied the same site as Thessalonike: Tasia, Lola, and Peltekis (2000).
[1125] Adam-Veleni (2011) 548.
[1126] Livy 44.6.2.

on the order.[1127] Thessalonike's position at the head of the Thermaic Gulf made it a natural choice for one of the Antigonid dockyards.

Thessalonike is included in this discussion because of its importance as Kassandros' other major new foundation. However, the archaeological evidence to date for the city of Kassandros' time remains extremely limited, with the majority of excavated remains dating from the Roman and Byzantine city. Hellenistic Thessalonike seems to not have been as important or as large under the monarchy as it was to become in the Roman period or Late Antiquity. Its later growth was due to political developments which gradually increased its importance. Thessalonike was made capital of the second Macedonian *meris* in the Roman settlement which followed the battle of Pydna.[1128] It was later the seat of the governor of the province of Macedonia, formed in 148 BC following the repression of the revolt of Andriskos.[1129] The importance of the city grew again following Galerius' selection of the city for his primary residence after the formation of the Tetrarchy in 293 AD.[1130]

9.6.1 The archaeology of Hellenistic Thessalonike

Uncovering Hellenistic Thessalonike has proved difficult.[1131] Assessing early phases of construction is complicated by the fact that these earlier phases were often used as foundations or included wholesale in later buildings.[1132] Even the size, extent, and precise location of the core of the city at the time of its foundation remain open to debate. It now seems reasonably clear that the original core of the city occupied an area within the north-east section of the later city. It had been suggested that the original area of habitation was in the

[1127] Livy 44.10.2.
[1128] Livy 45.30; Papazoglou (1988) 205; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 564-5.
[1129] Adam-Veleni (2011) 553.
[1130] For Roman Thessalonike: Papazoglou (1988) 189-212; Adam-Veleni (2011) 552-62.
[1131] Vickers (1972).
[1132] For example, see Marki (2006) for the difficulty of interpreting remains found at excavations of a building plot at 57 Egnatia Street, given the small size of the excavation area and the jumbled nature of the remains.

western area of the later city, with expansion eastwards undertaken during the period of the Tetrarchy.[1133] However, a section of the exterior face of the city wall dating to the city's foundation has been excavated almost directly under the later 15th century 'Chain Tower' in the area to the north-east of the Byzantine Heptapyrgion.[1134] It was constructed using large blocks of local stone, with a levelling foundation of mixed clay and gravel. A section from the same phase of fortifications was recently excavated south of the modern Church of St Demetrios, and has been identified as a section of the south wall of the city in this period. This wall seems to have roughly followed the line of the modern St. Demetrios street.[1135] Unfortunately excavation of this period of the city's walls remains so limited that only very vague conclusions can be drawn. However, it seems safe to surmise that the section of wall excavated near the Chain Tower roughly represents the north-eastern-most extent of the city at its foundation, as this area did in later periods.[1136]

Significant debate remains, however, over the westward extent of the city in this period, as we lack information on the course of the western city wall at this time. It had been argued that an extension of the city westwards should be dated to the later Hellenistic period due to the fact that only sites within the north-eastern area of the ancient city seemed to possess building phases dating to the end of the fourth century.[1137] The excavations at Kyprion Agoniston square, however, have been used as evidence for the city extending a significant distance to the west from its foundation (**fig. 68**). Here a large public building of the later Hellenistic and early Roman periods was uncovered. Under this building, a wall from an earlier phase of construction has been found, dated by finds and stratigraphy to the end of the fourth century (**fig. 69**). Coins of Pyrrhos and Antigonos Gonatas, pottery dated to the late fourth century, and a 'Lakonian' style roof tile bearing the inscription 'ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ' were found at the depth

[1133] Velenis (1996) 491 n. 4.
[1134] Adam-Veleni (1989) 228-9.
[1135] Adam-Veleni (2011) 548-9.
[1136] Velenis (1996).
[1137] Adam-Veleni (1989) 234-6.

of this wall.[1138] These have led to the suggestion that these remains are traces of a royal palace dating from the foundation of the city and subsequently used by the Antigonids. This is then used to suggest that the city extended a significant distance to the west at its foundation, and that the original line of the western city wall followed the later Roman-era fortifications.[1139]

The presence of a royal palace in the city is possible. However, the similar roof tiles from the agora of Pella which bear the royal title show that the presence of such a tile cannot be firmly associated with a royal residence. At present, the excavated remains of the earlier Hellenistic building at the square are so slight as to make any firm identification of its use impossible. Whatever its use, there is no convincing reason to date its construction to the foundation of the city. The pottery dating from the end of the fourth century at best provides a *terminus post quem*. The presence of coins of Pyrrhos and Antigonos Gonatas, but the absence of coins of Kassandros, can only encourage us to downdate the construction of the building. It is not clear that any of this evidence can be associated with the construction of the building, as opposed to its later use, particularly at a site which was in continual use from antiquity to the present day. Most suggestively, the remains of this building seem to be built on the same roughly NE-SW urban alignment as the later Roman-era building, an alignment which has been preserved in this area to the present day. What limited remains we have of the earliest building phases of the city, dated to its foundation, display instead a N-S alignment.[1140] It seems that Kassandros' Thessalonike possessed a grid plan aligned N-S at its foundation. The different alignment displayed by later building phases seems to have been a product of significant expansion of the city in the mid and late Hellenistic period (**fig. 67**).[1141] The fact that the early building at Kyprion Agoniston square was built using the latter alignment

[1138] For these excavations: Tasia (1993), (1997), (1999); Tasia, Lola, Bachlas, and Stangos (1996).
[1139] Veleni (1996) 491-2; Tasia et al (1996) 546; Tasia (1999) 1106.
[1140] Adam-Veleni (1989) 229-36.
[1141] For the urban alignment from the mid Hellenistic period onwards: Velenis (1996); Karydas (2002).

suggests it was a product of expansion sometime after the foundation of the city, perhaps some time in the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. It is therefore not evidence for the extension of the city westwards at its foundation. If the recently excavated section of wall near the Church of St Demetrios formed part of the southern city wall, then the original nucleus for Kassandros' Thessalonike lay in the north-east section of the later city, towards the acropolis. The total size of the city enclosed by the walls at its foundation has been estimated as roughly 60 hectares.[1142] Though this is a rough guess, and although this would make Thessalonike at its foundation significantly smaller than the city would become in later periods, such an area would have been of the same order of magnitude as most other major cities in late fourth century Macedonia (see above ch. 9.2). Some further reinforcement for this interpretation is given by the western and eastern cemeteries of the city. Excavations of both cemeteries have mainly consisted of sporadic rescue excavations, so the evidence uncovered thus far may not be representative. However, in the western cemetery of the ancient city, the earliest graves seem to date from the third century BC.[1143] Meanwhile in the eastern cemetery several graves have been uncovered which have been dated to the end of the fourth century and are associated with the foundation of the city.[1144] This further indicates that the eastern section of the later city was the earliest inhabited area.

Some of the fragmentary evidence for early Thessalonike gives us some indication of extra-mural manufacturing or commercial activity. Evidence of Hellenistic metal-working and pottery workshops has been found by excavations in the area of the later palace of Galerius.[1145] In the Hellenistic period this area lay outside the city walls to the south-east. Small finds, including fragments of Knidian and Thasian amphorae from the fourth to the second centuries and coins of Antigonos Gonatas, Demetrios Poliorketes, and fourth century

[1142] Adam-Veleni (2011) 549.
[1143] Acheilara (2007) 215 n. 2 for bibliography on the western cemetery.
[1144] Tsimpidou-Avloniti, Galiniki, and Anagnostopoulou (2001); Tsimpidou-Avloniti (2007).
[1145] Karamberi (2003).

coins of Thasos, indicate that the area was in use from the end of the fourth century BC. This therefore may very well have represented an extra-mural manufacturing zone from the city's foundation. The character of the area changed in the first century AD, when the workshops were replaced with luxurious houses possessing marble and mosaic floors. Recent excavation has also uncovered what may represent fragmentary remains of an early Hellenistic coastal complex.[1146] Digging in the area of the old Thessaloniki YMCA, near the White Tower and modern sea front, has revealed two pits, two stone wells, and a fragmentarily preserved building located in the area adjacent to the ancient coastline. As well as finds of Hellenistic pottery and small metal items, a bronze coin of Demetrios Poliorketes was found in the foundation level of the east wall of the building. This gives us an approximate date of construction of the early third century for this building. Though the remains are scanty, they suggest the existence of a coastal complex outside the city's walls, possibly commercial, from early in its history. This evidence for extra-mural Thessalonike is a reminder that we cannot only consider that area within the circuit of fortification walls when discussing the size and character of ancient urban centres.

Limited evidence has emerged for the fate of settlements which contributed citizens to the new metropolis. Some survived being institutionally absorbed into Thessalonike, though they declined in size and importance. Rescue excavations at the site of modern Thermi (formerly called Sedes), to the south-east of modern Thessaloniki, have revealed an extensive cemetery which must have been related to a significant settlement in the area.[1147] The cemetery was first used in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, and reached its highest density in the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries. After the 4th century, its use diminished significantly. The presence of many graves containing bronze coins of Kassandros and later Hellenistic rulers shows that the settlement associated with the cemetery was not completely abandoned, and limited use continued down

[1146] Tsimpidou-Avloniti and Theodoridis (2002).
[1147] Moschonisiotou (1988); Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou (1996); Skarlatidou (2009).

to the 1st century AD. Given the dates of the cemetery's usage patterns, the ancient settlement must have contributed citizens to the foundation of Thessalonike. A similar pattern can be seen at the 'double trapeza' at Anchialos, near the modern village of Sindos to the north-west of Thessaloniki.[1148] This settlement seems to have been occupied from at least the late Neolithic period. The settlement underwent a significant expansion at the beginning of the sixth century, and the extensive cemetery of the Archaic and Classical periods attests to the significant size of the settlement in this period. Like the cemetery at Thermi, there is a visible decline in use and density from the end of the fourth century. Once more, however, finds demonstrate the continued use of the site with diminished intensity throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This settlement was probably also drawn upon for the foundation of Thessalonike. Given that the new metropolis acted as the focus of political and economic activity, this pattern of limited abandonment of sites which found themselves subordinated to the new civic centre would be expected.

In spite of the paucity of the evidence, it appears that at its foundation Thessalonike shared some characteristics with other Macedonian towns founded or developed towards the end of the fourth century. The common N-S urban alignment shared by the earliest remains imply the existence of a regular town plan. From what small fragments of the earliest walls have been excavated, they seem to have been constructed along similar lines as other contemporary fortifications: roughly-fitting oblong blocks with a rubble fill. The archaic and classical settlements which had thrived around the Thermaic Gulf before Thessalonike's foundation suffered a decline in importance and size as a result of the new foundation. Given the broad similarities to other contemporary sites, it is justifiable to suggest other features which are present elsewhere but which have not yet been uncovered for Hellenistic Thessalonike. We would expect the city to possess the same wide, straight roads and comprehensive water

[1148] Tiverios (1992), (1996), (2009).

supply systems which characterised better known sites developed around this time, such as Pella and Edessa. We may also justifiably envisage the city walls as comprehensive and fully encircling, like those at Pella, Edessa, and Dion.

9.6.2 Kassandros and Thessalonike

There were several advantages to the site chosen for the city.[1149] Its proximity to the Thermaic Gulf and the Kissos mountain range provided natural fortification against attack from either north or south. The proximity of the coast also gave potential for the significant commercial development which occurred in later periods. The site dominated the main routes through Macedonia from east to west, and the later Via Egnatia either ran through or very near Thessalonike.[1150] By situating his new city at a natural choke point, Kassandros established a fortified position controlling communications between the heartland of the kingdom to the west and the Strymon valley to the east. Given these obvious strategic advantages, combined with the evidence for the role of Thessalonike as a military centre under the later Antigonids, one of the major considerations in the foundation of Thessalonike was probably Kassandros' desire to fortify this main route of east-west communication in his kingdom.

However, as with Kassandreia, there were also political motivations in Thessalonike's foundation. The choice of his own name and his queen's name for these two cities at first suggests a straightforward act of dynastic advertisement, not unlike other dynastically named cities in this period.[1151] However, marrying a daughter of Philip II was designed to conciliate Macedonian traditionalists. The city named for this daughter was from the outset a part of the Macedonian kingdom, possessing the same institutions as other cities within Macedonia and

[1149] Adam-Veleni (2011) 548.
[1150] Hatzopoulos (1997).
[1151] Eg. the cities of Seleukos I: Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993) 20-1. Note that Thessalonike was the first city named for a royal woman: Carney (2000) 157. Kassandros' attempts in 316 to emphasise a connection with the Argead past broke new ground here.

overseen by an *epistates*.[1152] Fellow Macedonians would find nothing to complain about in the foundation of Thessalonike. This befitted the role of its namesake, as a conciliatory link to Macedonian tradition. Kassandreia, on the other hand, represented a refoundation of Olynthos and a repudiation of the often destructive Argead relationship with independent Greek communities. Along with the refoundation of Thebes, it advertised what was going to be new and different about Kassandros' primacy in the Greek peninsula compared to his predecessors. Therefore in the contrast between Thessalonike and Kassandreia – one uncontroversial and Macedonian from the outset, the other a controversial resurrection of a Macedonian national enemy – we can see the inherent tension in Kassandros' political self-representation. He had to balance the sensibilities of traditionalists and affection for the Argead past with a desire to establish a dynasty distinct from an Argead legacy. Kassandros' urban programme at Thessalonike thus appears as an integral and nuanced aspect of his royal style.

[1152] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 375-80.

9.7 Dion

Dion stood at the north-eastern foot of Mt. Olympus in the Pierian plain, according to Strabo at a distance of seven stades (c. 1.5 km) from the sea.[1153] There may have been an earlier Bronze Age settlement at the site, occupied from the 13th century to the 8th century BC.[1154] Dion was said to have been named after its patron diety, Zeus.[1155] Archelaos had established the festival of Zeus and the Muses here sometime during his reign, and Dion had probably functioned as the religious centre of the Macedonian kingdom from much earlier.[1156] This annual *panegyris* was held in the month of Dios, lasted nine days, and was the most important point in both the Macedonian religious and political year.[1157] It probably occurred at the same time as one of the two annual meetings of the Macedonian *ethnos* at Dion.[1158] It is therefore no surprise that Dion was an important centre for honouring the achievements of individual Macedonians. It was at Dion that Alexander III dedicated a statue group, carved by Lysippos, of the 25 members of the Companion cavalry who had fallen in the battle at the Granikos.[1159] Statues of the Macedonian kings were also erected in the sacred *temenos* of Zeus Olympios at Dion.[1160] As one of the traditional roles of the Macedonian king was to represent the Macedonian *ethnos* in performing important sacrifices to the gods, it is hardly surprising to find Macedonian monarchs honoured in this manner at the most important religious site in Macedonia. These statues, important symbols of the commitment of the Macedonian king to the traditional responsibilities of his office, could find themselves the target of vandalism by Macedonia's enemies. The Aitolian general Skopas 'threw out' the statues of the Macedonian

[1153] Strabo 7 fr. 17 (ed. Jones (1917-32)).
[1154] Poulaki-Pandermali (1989).
[1155] Just. 24.2.8.
[1156] Diod. 17.16.3.
[1157] Diod. 17.16.4; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 800-1. Note too the evidence of Philip II celebrating the Olympia at Dion after the sack of Olynthos in 348: Dem. 19.192.
[1158] Ginouvès and Akamatis (1994) 106.
[1159] Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.4. This group was later removed to Rome by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus after the defeat of Andriskos in 148 BC: Pliny *NH* 34.64; Vell. Pat. 1.11.3-4; Bosworth (1972) 173.
[1160] Possibly at the time of their coronation: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 174.

kings (presumably out of the sacred *temenos*) during his raid on Dion in 219 BC.[1161] Perseus removed the statues of the kings (restored or rebuilt after 219) from Dion in 169 BC upon Q. Marcius Philippus' invasion of Macedonia, a precautionary measure to prevent them from potentially suffering such indignities once more.[1162] A reused statue base was found at Dion in 1979, bearing the following inscription;[1163]

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόν[ων]
Κάσσανδρος Ἀντιπ[άτρου]
Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι

This is thought to have been the base which bore the statue of Kassandros as king of the Macedonians.[1164] Another marble base bearing a similar, more fragmentary inscription has been found as well. Hatzopoulos has restored this as;[1165]

[Βα]σι[λέ]α [Π]ερσ[έα]
[Β]ασιλέως Φιλίππ[ου]
---------Γ----------

Previous restorations had put Perseus' name and title in the nominative, which would have made this a direct counterpart to the inscription of Kassandros on the other base.[1166] However, Hatzopoulos restores the accusative and suggests a dedication by the Macedonian *ethnos*.

Dion sat in a key strategic location near the frontier of the kingdom.[1167] It controlled both the road from Tempe north through Pieria, and the mountain passes between Perrhaebia and Pella.

[1161] Polyb. 4.62.2.
[1162] Livy 44.6.3.
[1163] Pandermalis (1984) 271-2; *SEG* 34 620; *BullEpigr* 1987, 675; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 173-4; Hatzopoulos (1996a) II no. 23.
[1164] Hammond and Walbank (1988) 174.
[1165] Hatzopoulos (1996a) II 35.
[1166] Pandermalis (1981) 286, (1984) 272; *SEG* 34 619; *BullEpigr* 1987, 675; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 529 n. 1.
[1167] Note the importance of sanctuaries in frontier areas to Greek polities and communities: de Polignac (1995).

Due to its strategic position, Dion more than once played a part in the wars fought in and around Macedonia. It was at Dion that Demetrios Poliorketes met and murdered Alexander V to take control of Macedonia.[1168] Dion and its temples were thoroughly sacked during Skopas' advance into Macedonia during 219 BC.[1169] Dion was the main base for Philip V's army during the Kynoskephalai campaign in 197 BC.[1170] The city was again the base for the Macedonian army under Perseus in 169, during the initial phases of that year's campaigning before Q. Marcius Philippus' descent into the coastal plain north of Herakleion.[1171] The city performed a similar role as supply dump and base in the following year, when Perseus fortified the line of the River Elpeios to resist the advance of L. Aemilius Paullus's army.[1172] It was to Dion that Perseus withdrew from his position on the Elpeios to meet with the Illyrian king Genthios when the latter, after careful negotiation, arrived to support Perseus against Rome.[1173] Under Roman rule, the Olympia at Dion continued, and the city was later made a Roman colony.[1174]

9.7.1 The archaeology of Dion

After initial identification of the site during the 19th century,[1175] Dion has been relatively extensively excavated (**fig. 70**). We can now roughly trace the important stages in the development of the walled city of Dion, and begin to make tentative conclusions regarding its urban plan and the arrangement of its public and residential spaces.

The earliest remains at Dion come from the area to the south-east of the modern

[1168] Plut. *Dem* 36-7.
[1169] Polyb. 4.62.2. Philip V's later sack of Thermon was seen as retaliation for the Aitolian's sacrilegious plundering of Dion and Dodona: Polyb. 5.8-10; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 379-80.
[1170] Livy 33.3.5.
[1171] Livy 44.2.12.
[1172] Livy 44.8.4-7, 35.8-10.
[1173] Polyb. 29.4.4-5; Livy 44.23.7-9.
[1174] For Roman Dion: Papazoglou (1988) 108-11.
[1175] Leake (1835) III 408; Heuzey (1860) 113. See also Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 17-23.

archaeological site, where the main temples were located in Antiquity. The earliest construction phase of the temple of Demeter dates from the late sixth or the early fifth century BC.[1176] Other early remains include the late sixth century *stadion* and a fifth century temple of Asklepios.[1177] Remains of an archaic or classical settlement to accompany these early religious monuments have not yet been uncovered. However, cemeteries and settlements from the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age have been excavated in the area around Olympus, attesting to earlier settlement in this region.[1178] Thucydides' description of Dion as a *polisma* indicates some sort of permanent settlement in the latter half of the fifth century.[1179] Given the Bronze and Iron Age remains, the archaic and classical remains from the sanctuary area, and the testimony of Thucydides, the presence of a settlement at Dion in the Archaic and Classical periods seems very likely.

A walled city at Dion was first constructed at the end of the fourth century BC. Substantial sections of the earliest phase of the walls have been excavated. The early Hellenistic fortifications of Dion enclosed a rectangular space of roughly 43 hectares immediately north-west of the sanctuary area.[1180] They were constructed using methods familiar to us from other sites like Pella and Edessa: two courses of roughly shaped local stone were filled with rubble. The slight gradient from east to west in the area required the careful construction of a levelling course of rubble. The initial course above the foundations consisted of blocks of roughly equal height fitting slightly irregularly in a pseudo-isodomic arrangement. Above this height, surviving masonry of this phase indicates a less regular construction, with stones

[1176] Pandermalis (1977) 335; Pingiatoglou (1990), (1991), (1992), (1996); Ginouvès and Akamatis (1994) 97 fig. 83; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 801.
[1177] Pandermalis (1999); Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 801.
[1178] Poulaki-Pandermali (1989); Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 36.
[1179] Thuc. 4.79.1. See Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129-31 for Thucydides' use of the term *polisma*. Flensted-Jensen argues for Thucydides' use of *polisma* rather than *polis* in certain cases indicating a comparable urban fabric but with the former lacking an identity as an independent political community. This may justly be questioned in the case of Dion, as this city had its own civic magistrates – *archontes* and *tamiai* – from at least the middle of the fourth century: Hatzopoulos (1996a) II nos. 56, 57. Dion may, however, have acquired civic institutions in the period between the composition of Thucydides' work and the middle of the fourth century.
[1180] Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1987), (1988), (1998) 96-137.

of quite different heights and shapes laid in very rough courses. Square towers were spaced every c. 33 metres (100 Doric feet). The line of the east wall in the initial phase of fortification is not known at present.[1181] The later Roman east wall is better known and included an enceinte outwards to the east in its southern section, but was further west than the original early Hellenistic east wall. It was probably moved because of the shifting course of the river. As a result the Roman walls enclosed a smaller area of approximately 37 hectares. Given our lack of knowledge about the original course of the east wall, reconstructions of the initial fortifications in the east are somewhat speculative. However, based upon what limited data we have from the early east wall, and given the general regularity of the early Hellenistic fortifications, a straight wall running parallel to the west wall is very probable. This is now the standard reconstruction.[1182]

The initial phase of the fortifications are relatively easy to date thanks to multiple bronze coins bearing the legend 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ' which have been found at the layer of the foundations of the wall. Three of the coins found during excavations were found within the lowest layer of the euthynteria, leading the excavators to conclude that they formed a foundation deposit.[1183] As discussed in ch. 6, Kassandros probably adopted the kingly title c. 306-2, and died in 298. Therefore the earliest phase of the fortifications of Dion has a *terminus post quem* of c. 306-298, and their initial construction can be fairly safely attributed to Kassandros. Such a date is compatible with the fortification's characteristics. The square towers with thick walls were designed to house torsion-powered siege engines, and are characteristic of city fortifications in and around the Aegean around the end of the fourth and beginning of the third centuries BC.[1184]

[1181] The east wall may have possessed fewer towers, as it closely abutted the river and was not easily assailable: Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 98.
[1182] Pandermalis (1988) 149 for the excavations which indicated the east wall was relocated westward during the Roman fortification phase; also Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 157-97.
[1183] Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 133-4, Num. Cat. Nos. 19, 20, 24.
[1184] Winter (1971); McNicoll (1997) 46-105, 211-13; Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 134-6.

Reconstructing the city's street plan in this period has its problems. The standard reconstruction shows two main roads running N-S, and two running E-W (**fig. 71**).[1185] These roads run from two gates in the north, south, east, and west walls, with each pair placed at roughly equal distance from each wall's centre. But evidence for such a layout is slightly lacking. Two gates for the early Hellenistic phase have been found in the north wall. The ground plan of one of these is very well preserved, revealing a strong fortified gate with two courtyards flanked by two towers (**fig. 72**). These two gates were arranged symmetrically around the centre of the northern wall, a quarter and three-quarters of the way along its length. Remains of another gate from the same fortification phase have been found in the southern section of the western wall. Based upon the essential symmetry of the fortification plan, the presence of a second gate in the northern section of the western wall has been assumed. However, excavations have not revealed its remains in its expected position in the northern half of the western city wall. This has led the excavators to speculate that the position of the gate was shifted for defensive reasons. Only one gate in the southern wall has been found, however, and we have next to no excavation data for the east wall. In fact the excavators suggest that, due to the proximity of the harbour, we might expect to see more gates in the eastern wall than in the others.[1186]

The presence of the gates which have not been revealed by excavation is based upon extrapolation from data from the north wall, and from the few deductions we can make regarding the street plan of the city from limited excavations within the walls. The use of data from the north wall to reconstruct the other walls is not unreasonable, given the general regularity displayed by the known fortifications. The little evidence we have regarding the street plan of the city in this period (see below) also seems to indicate the presence of main

[1185] Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 218-33.
[1186] Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 122-4.

arterial roads. It is therefore probable that Dion at its refoundation possessed a Hippodamian grid plan with a roughly N-S alignment.

Recent excavations have revealed more information regarding the earlier phases of construction in the south-east section of the city, in the area of the later Roman forum.[1187] In the west area of the forum, under the floor of the building used for imperial cult, a refuse pit was found containing vessel fragments from the fourth and third centuries as well as bronze coins of Pausanias and Philip II. These have been interpreted as waste from workshops, possibly indicating manufacturing in the area.[1188] The main road running N-S along the western edge of the forum has been excavated. Along its western edge were found remains of three long walls of Hellenistic date running parallel to the road. The easternmost seems to have framed the western edge of the main road, while the other two have been interpreted as belonging to arcades or galleries enclosing an area south of the Roman forum. Further investigation has revealed Hellenistic phases underlying several buildings to the south and west of the Roman forum.[1189] A frieze with armour and shield, reused in a building of the Roman forum, has been dated to the end of the fourth century.[1190] Given its size, it possibly originally adorned a Hellenistic public building in the same area. These finds do not as yet amount to much. However, they suggest that the area which formed the public and commercial centre of the later Roman city may well have served a similar function in the Hellenistic period.

9.7.2 Kassandros and Dion

Dion emerges from the archaeological record as another well-planned, impressively fortified

[1187] Pingiatoglou (2006) 578-83; Pingiatoglou, Vasteli, Paulopoulou, and Tsiaphis (2009).
[1188] Pingiatoglou (1985), (2006) 581-2.
[1189] Pingiatoglou, Vasteli, Paulopoulou, and Tsiaphis (2009) 141-4.
[1190] Pingiatoglou (2006) 580.

city refounded by Kassandros. The reasons for Kassandros' considerable investment in Dion are, once again, probably a combination of strategic considerations and royal self-aggrandisement.

As discussed above, Dion appears several times as a base for the late Antigonid army in the wars against Rome. This was because of its strategic position. Dion's position meant an army based there could control both the coastal route from Herakleion and the mountain passes from Perrhaebia. This was the goal of both Philip V and Perseus when they based their armies there to resist Rome: to block land access to the Macedonian heartland. Dion will have held similar strategic importance during Kassandros' reign, given his operations in central and southern Greece (see above ch. 6). By extending and fortifying Dion, Kassandros made the town a more useful supply base for any campaign in the area.

However, the fortifications at Dion do not seem to have created a fortress capable of withstanding a siege. A strong wall with towers would have acted as sufficient protection against smaller raiding parties or armies lacking siege equipment. But Dion itself was not used as a main point of resistance during campaigns in the region. During Skopas' raid into Macedonia in 219 BC, Dion was sacked in spite of its fortifications (see above). This may have been because the majority of the Macedonian army was with Philip V in and around Aitolia, and there were not enough troops to hold Dion against a sizeable force. However, in both 169 and 168 BC Dion again acted as a base rather than a point of resistance. In 169, Perseus' forces were outmanoeuvred when Quintus Marcius Philippus' army circumvented the Macedonian forces holding the Tempe passes by descending to the coastal plain over rough ground. He was forced to withdraw northward, and removed the population and gilded statues of the kings from Dion in anticipation of its capture.[1191] Philippus took the city

[1191] Livy 44.6.3.

without resistance, though he was forced to withdraw soon thereafter due to a lack of supplies. The following year, Perseus chose to fortify the river Elpeios south of Dion to prevent the northward advance of Paullus' army. Dion acted only as a supply base. When his position at the Elpeios was turned, it was not to Dion that Perseus fell back, but to a position south of Pydna.[1192] Perseus' aim was to find a position for a decisive field engagement where the terrain was suited to the powerful but inflexible phalanx: dividing the army among the fortified cities in the area would have passed the strategic initiative to the Romans.[1193] Aemilius Paulus advanced past Dion to meet the Macedonian army without incident. It seems clear that Dion, in spite of its impressive fortifications, could not be used as a fortified stronghold to resist a major invasion. This is evident in the design of the fortifications themselves. Though the many towers would have allowed for interlocking fields of artillery fire, the length of the total wall circuit and its position in the middle of a relatively flat plain would have made it difficult to defend. Dion's military value was instead as a strategic and logistical base for field forces.

The fortifications and urban development at Dion instead acted primarily as a tool of Kassandros' royal representation. Investment in the religious centre of Macedonia represented Kassandros' commitment to honour the traditional religious role of the Macedonian king as 'chief priest' of the *ethnos*. As at Thessalonike, Kassandros used a programme of urban development to further his attempts to win over more conservative Macedonians. The creation of a large and fortified urban unit at a site where, as far as we can tell, no significant urban development had occurred previously was another demonstration of Kassandros' vast resources. At Dion, as many Macedonians as could manage the trip gathered each year for the national festival. Investment in Dion was therefore a shrewd choice, as it ensured that as

[1192] Hammond (1984) for the Pydna campaign and battle.
[1193] Plut. *Aem*. 16.3-4 for Perseus' strategic deliberations.

many Macedonians as possible were exposed to such a display of royal power and resources. The new urban environment no doubt provided more permanent and higher quality facilities to cater for this biennial increase in the local population. This showed Kassandros' ability to improve upon previous kings' efforts to provide for his subjects. Finally, the large and imposing fortifications of the new urban unit would have dominated the flat landscape of the plain as a striking symbol of Kassandros' military and financial might. Therefore once again at Dion we see that urban development was a key element of Kassandros' wider royal representation. Kassandros' personal propaganda involved a careful balancing act between respect for the traditional roles of the Macedonian king and the creation of a new legitimacy based upon his personal power and achievements. Investment in a new urban centre at the traditional Macedonian religious centre furthered both of these aims.

9.8 Edessa

Edessa appears in one version of the mythological foundation of the Macedonian kingdom, where the founder hero Karanos seized the town of Edessa and used it as a base from which to expand his realm and found the Macedonian kingdom.[1194] The site seems to have been inhabited from at least the Bronze Age.[1195] Its importance throughout the life of the Macedonian kingdom was guaranteed by its strategic location. It controlled the two exits of the main pass descending from Upper Macedonia into the lowland plains.[1196] It has been suggested that this 'nodal' position encouraged the consolidation and fortification of the site relatively early, perhaps under Archelaos.[1197]

Edessa continued to play a key strategic role in the kingdom's turbulent history. It acted as base for Pyrrhos' army in 285.[1198] Polyainos records a siege of Edessa by Kleonymos the Spartan, which must have been in 274 during Pyrrhos' invasion of Macedonia.[1199] Kleonymos was Pyrrhos' subordinate at the time, and defeated forces loyal to Antigonos Gonatas at Edessa. It remained militarily important to the later Antigonids. Edessa was used at least once as a mustering point for the national Macedonian levy by Philip V,[1200] and supplied senior army commanders, such as the commander of Perseus' light infantry in 171, Antiphilos.[1201] It became part of the third Macedonian *meris* following the Roman conquest, and Livy mentions it as one of the *urbes nobiles* of Macedonia in his description of the Roman settlement.[1202]

[1194] Just. 7.1.7-12.
[1195] A. Chrysostomou (1996) 180-2.
[1196] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 112.
[1197] A. Chrysostomou (2008a) 51.
[1198] Plut. *Pyrr.* 12.6.
[1199] Polyain. 2.29.2; Lane Fox (2011g) 503-4.
[1200] Polyb. 5.96.4.
[1201] Livy 42.51.5; Tataki (1994) 33 no. 30.
[1202] Livy 45.30.5. For Roman Edessa: Papazoglou (1988) 127-31; Papaefthymiou (2002).

9.8.1 The archaeology of Edessa

The city walls of Edessa are among the best preserved in Macedonia.[1203] The acropolis wall circuit measured nearly 450m in length (**fig. 73**), while the circuit wall of the lower city was 1200m (**fig. 74**). The walls were 2-3m thick, and constructed of two courses of large blocks arranged in pseudo-isodomic fashion and filled with rubble. The acropolis walls formed a rough open triangle (with the steep acropolis slope making a wall in the south unnecessary), while the lower city circuit wall was constructed in long straight sections. Both the acropolis and the city walls possessed gates and square towers. The city and acropolis walls together enclosed an area of approximately 26 hectares.[1204]

The course of the wall circuit integrates the natural advantages of the local topography into the fortification scheme. The river Edessos flowed just outside the walls of the acropolis, providing a natural moat. Though no evidence has emerged yet, the excavators expect to uncover traces of gates and bridges over the river to provide access from the acropolis to the city.[1205] It seems that the course of the river was altered in front of the north and south sections of the lower city wall to create a moat in front of these sections. In the east section, the steepness of the slope outside the walls made a moat for this stretch of the wall unnecessary. There was clearly a skilled hand at work in the fortification of Edessa, as the high quality of construction and the adaptation of the fortifications to take advantage of the local topography show.

Pottery found in the interior of the walls has been dated from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third centuries BC, and no evidence for an earlier phase of fortification along

[1203] A. Chrysostomou (1987), (1988), (1990), (1996), (2008b) 57-60.
[1204] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 57.
[1205] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 58.

the same circuit has been found. Construction of the walls therefore seems to have begun sometime around the end of the fourth century BC.[1206] Construction must have been completed by 274, when Edessa was able to resist Kleonymos' siege for a time. Excavations of a new section of the acropolis wall in 2008 suggest repairs of the acropolis fortifications were undertaken some time in the early third century BC.[1207] The coins of Demetrios Poliorketes found during excavations provide a *terminus post quem* for those repairs. Kleonymos' siege is an obvious candidate for an event which damaged Edessa's walls, though given its strategic position it is probable that more fighting occurred around Edessa during the chaotic early third century than is now recorded.

Who during this time fortified Edessa? The candidates in the time frame are Kassandros, Demetrios Poliorketes, and Pyrrhos. We know that Pyrrhos used Edessa as a base for his forces at least once, and with territory running from the Adriatic to the Aegean, a concern to fortify a key city on the main route between Epeiros and the Macedonian heartland would be expected. Similar strategic reasons could well have governed an interest in the site by Demetrios. However, though certainty is beyond our reach, I favour Kassandros, given the evidence we have for his fortification programmes elsewhere. Kassandros would have had good reason to fortify Edessa, as Epeiros and Illyria were an important theatre of operations for him (see above ch. 6). In order to move his armies back and forth over successive campaigning seasons, control of the routes through the mountains would have been a priority. Providing Edessa with strong fortifications would have been part of a policy to keep the passes open and secure during these years.

Unfortunately, we are much less well informed about the interior of the city. The remains now standing at the entrance to the archaeological site, around the south gate of the city wall,

[1206] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 60.
[1207] A. Chrysostomou (2008a) 86-7.

date from the rebuilding of this area of the city in Late Antiquity. However, excavations have found some evidence relating to Hellenistic and Roman phases of construction in this area which provide some initial indications about the Hellenistic city's layout (**fig. 75**).[1208] Traces of a main road have been uncovered. It ran north into the city from the south gate of the city wall along roughly the same line as the later road, but seems to have been a little wider than the Late Antique road now visible. There are also traces of a number of narrower roads branching off this main thoroughfare at right angles to west and east. Therefore it seems clear that the Hellenistic city was laid out on an axial grid plan.

Some fragmentary building remains adjoining these roads have also been found. Between two roads running west from the main thoroughfare, traces of at least two buildings have been uncovered with pits for *pithoi* and traces of water pipes. To the south of the first side road running east, close to the city walls, the walls of buildings with gravel floors were found under the Late Antique building phase. The foundations of these walls yielded fragments of vessel bases (black-glazed pinakoi and kantharoi) dating from the fourth century BC. Coins of kings from the fourth century BC and later were also found scattered in this area, as were coins of the Macedonian cities from the later Hellenistic era. To the north of this same road, fragmentary remains of a large building complex were uncovered, with small finds indicating pottery and ironworking workshops.

The buildings excavated on the acropolis can help to fill out this picture a little more.[1209] Due to the slope of the hill, the buildings on the acropolis were constructed on terraces. The buildings' walls share a rough N-S alignment. The remains of clay pipes show that the buildings were supplied with fresh water, no doubt facilitated by the proximity of the river. Storage rooms with pits for *pithoi*, circular ovens, and vessels for storing and preparing food

[1208] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 61-9.
[1209] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 60.

attest to the residential character of at least some of the buildings on the acropolis, possibly for a garrison. Clay furnaces and bases for holding ceramic vessels also attest to the presence of some manufacturing activity. The portable finds of the area include jewelry, strigils, and coins of Amyntas III, Philip II, Alexander III, Philip V, and Pella.

Despite the limited information we can make some conclusions regarding Hellenistic Edessa's urban plan. At least near the gate, the city roads ran N-S and E-W, suggesting a Hippodamian grid plan. Despite the disruption of this scheme on the fortified acropolis, the buildings near the south gate and on the acropolis share a N-S alignment. The traces of water pipes attest to a concern for water supply. Ceramic and metalworking industries were clearly present inside the city wall at more than one location. Therefore, despite the paucity of the evidence, Edessa presents the impression of a well-ordered, well-built, and productive urban centre in this period. The total of 20 Hellenistic farm complexes found within 2000m of the city walls, and generally situated along the main roads running south, also suggest an extensive extra-urban population.

It is difficult to date Edessa's scanty Hellenistic remains. The coins found on the acropolis indicate that the hill was probably in use from the mid-fourth century. In the excavated section near the southern gate, finds of fourth century pottery provide a rough *terminus post quem* for the Hellenistic remains here. However, given that the date for the wall is relatively well established as the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century, excavators and scholars have generally linked the Hellenistic phase in the southern city with the construction of the city walls as part of a large programme of urban development.[1210] Given the lack of finds in the area around the south gate which date to earlier than the fourth century, this is a reasonable inference. At other sites such as Pella, Amphipolis, and Dion, the construction of

[1210] A. Chrysostomou (2008b) 60.

new fortifications included development or redevelopment of the urban plan. Overall, it seems most likely that both the city walls of Edessa and the traces of the urban plan in the south of the city represent a new phase of development for the city during the reign of Kassandros.

The development of the city's urban environment was the natural complement to the construction of new fortifications. As discussed above, there were significant strategic benefits for Kassandros in fortifying Edessa. Meanwhile the enlargement and development of the urban environment with wide, straight roads and a good water supply had concrete benefits for the civic community of Edessa and demonstrated Kassandros' largesse. Given Edessa's strategic importance, Kassandros no doubt hoped this would ensure the city's loyalty and willing compliance if military concerns demanded he inconvenience the citizens of Edessa by garrisoning troops in their city. Therefore once again, as at Philippoi and Amphipolis, we can see in Edessa's urban development a king's need to balance practical military concerns with establishing a good working relationship with local communities.

9.9 Beroia

The area of Beroia seems to have been inhabited from at least the late Bronze Age.[1211] Various *pithos* burials have been found in the area, and bronze objects from tombs have also been reported.[1212] This early habitation of the site was due to its obvious natural advantages. Beyond the natural fertility of the eastern slopes of Mt. Bermion, Beroia controlled key routes. One was the passage descending from the west between Mt Bermion and the gorge of the Haliakmon river.[1213] However, Edessa was the more strategically important site in antiquity for controlling entry into lower Macedonia from the west, as the route near that city was easier. Beroia's main importance lay in its ability to control the crossing of the Haliakmon river, which ran near the city to the south, and thus control a crossing point on the main north-south route from Thessaly.[1214]

The earliest literary reference to Beroia is perhaps during Thucydides' account of Kallias' Athenian expedition to the north in 432 BC.[1215] After concluding a truce with the Macedonian king Perdikkas II and abandoning the siege of Pydna, Kallias proceeded back towards Potidaia, passing Beroia on the way. However, there are significant problems with this passage, and it is not clear that Beroia should be mentioned here.[1216] Beroia was definitely occupied in the fifth century. Imported pottery of this period has been found at the site.[1217] Two Beroians are known to have served in the higher echelons of Alexander's army

[1211] A foundation myth of Beroia composed by Theagenes records that Beroia was named for one of the daughters of Beres, son of Macedon (*FGrH* 774 F7=Steph. Byz. s.v. *Mieza*.). This is probably a second century BC composition: Hammond and Griffith (1979) 31-4. Hammond took the river Beres to be the river which Herodotus said the descendants of Perdikkas worshipped as a god (Hdt. 8.138), given its later integration into a royal genealogy: Hammond (1972) 434.
[1212] Hammond (1972) 340.
[1213] Remains of ancient bridgeheads, possibly lying on a road from Beroia to Edessa, have been found in the vicinity of Mieza: Hammond (1972) 164.
[1214] Edson (1955) 173-85; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 177-8.
[1215] Thuc. 1.61.3-4.
[1216] Gomme (1945) 215-218; Woodhead (1952); Edson (1955) 169-70; Alexander (1962); Psoma (2009), esp. 275-9.
[1217] *ADelt* 20 B3 424.

during the campaign.[1218]

Beroia was the site of one of the more embarrassing episodes of Demetrios Poliorketes' career. In 287 BC, Demetrios had been preparing a large force for an invasion of Asia, the largest assembled since Alexander III's campaigns according to Plutarch.[1219] This had prompted an alliance between Lysimachos, Seleukos, and Ptolemy, who persuaded Pyrrhos of Epeiros to break a previously established truce with Demetrios and invade Macedonia. Pyrrhos duly did so in the spring of 287 BC, advancing directly on Beroia from the west while Demetrios was distracted by an invasion by Lysimachos from Thrace. When he heard that Pyrrhos had taken Beroia, he hurried back westwards only to be deserted *en masse* by his men and forced to flee Macedonia. Bosworth attributes this largely to the Macedonian troops' preference for the dashing Epeirote king over the extravagant and haughty Besieger.[1220] This is close to Plutarch's opinion, who relates that the Macedonians were 'tired of waging war in support of [Demetrios'] luxury'.[1221] It seems that Demetrios was not sharing the wealth of his conquests with his troops, and a tradition of aloofness surrounds him in the source tradition. Both of these went against accepted Macedonian practice.

Edson argued that Beroia may have been the ancestral home of the Antigonid dynasty. Therefore a large part of the sudden desire of the Macedonians to find a replacement for Demetrios may have sprung from the loss of prestige Demetrios suffered in losing Beroia to a rival dynast.[1222] Though he had suffered no glaring military setback, what use was a king

[1218] Berve (1926) II 445, index b. One was Koiranos (Berve (1926) II 219, no. 441; Heckel (2006) 93), who was appointed to collect taxes in Phoenicia prior to Alexander's marching east in 331 BC: Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.4 with Bosworth (1980) 281-2. The other was Mylleas, son of Zoilos (Berve (1926) II 266-7, no. 540; Heckel (2006) 170), one of Alexander's trierarchs at the Hydaspes in 326 BC (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6).
[1219] Plut. *Dem.* 43.2-4, *Pyrr.* 10.5. On the numbers: Hammond and Walbank (1988) 226-7; Bosworth (2002) 252-3.
[1220] Bosworth (2002) 253-9. Pyrrhos may have actively cultivated an association with another dashing royal figure, Alexander III, at this time with a huge 'shield monument' at Beroia commemorating his victories of 287, upon which Markle has suggested stood a statue of Alexander on horseback: Markle (1999).
[1221] Plut. *Dem.* 44.6; ἀπειρηκέναι γὰρ ἤδη Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου τρυφῆς πολεμοῦντας.
[1222] Edson (1934) 236-46.

who could not even protect his home? There is no concrete proof for the association of the Antigonid house with Beroia, as the provenance of Antigonos Monophthalmos' parents is unknown.[1223] Edson's arguments are compelling, however. It does make sense of the phrase the 'Beroian lord of Emathia' in an epigram by Samos, a *syntrophos* to Philip V.[1224] The obvious explanation is that Samos was making a straightforward reference to the origins of either Philip V or the founder of the dynasty, Antigonos Monophthalmos.[1225] Though neither Briant nor Billows agreed with Edson in their monographs on Antigonos Monophthalmos, Tataki defended Edson's conclusions when re-examining the epigraphic and literary evidence.[1226]

Beroia certainly grew in importance during the Antigonid period. For the late Antigonid period, Beroia is the best represented city amongst the higher echelons of the Macedonian royal court. We know of seven men from Beroia of significant standing during the reign of Philip V.[1227] Three of these were probably the most powerful men in the kingdom besides Philip himself. Hippias, Midon, and Pantauchos, who appear as highly active royal servants and are called by Livy *principes amicorum regis*, were all Beroians.[1228] Tataki has also shown it is possible that important roles at the Antigonid court were disproportionately dominated by aristocratic families from Beroia over several generations.[1229] If Beroia was the original home city of the Antigonid dynasty, it would help to explain the importance of Beroians under the Antigonids. This possibility also throws interesting light on a grave stele recently uncovered at Beroia for one 'Adea Kassandrou', possibly a daughter of

[1223] Berve (1926) II 42-4, no. 87; Heckel (2006) 32-4.
[1224] *Anth. Gr.* VI 116 l. 5-6: 'ὁ φθόνος αὐαίνοιτο, τεὸν δ'ἔτι κῦδος ἀέξοι ῥίζα Βεροιαίου κράντορος Ἡμαθίας'. Edson (1934) 214 gives the date as soon after Philip's capture of Bylazora in 217 BC, and also attributes *Anth. Gr.* VI 114 and 115, attributed to Simmias and Antipatros respectively, to Samos. On Samos: Polyb. 5.9.4-5.
[1225] Though Edson acknowledges that an allusory reference whereby 'Beroian' is used for 'Macedonian' more generally is possible: Edson (1934) 226-7, 241.
[1226] Briant (1973) 17-19; Tataki (1988) 420; Billows (1990) 18 n. 1. See also Léveque (1957) 156-7.
[1227] Tataki (1988) 74-5 with references, updating Edson (1934) 233, ns. 2-5.
[1228] Livy 44.45.2.
[1229] Tataki (1988) 419-24.

Kassandros.[1230] If Beroia was the home city of his chief rival in those years, and if this daughter died during Kassandros' reign, then Kassandros may have attempted to undermine the position of Antigonos Monophthalmos within Macedonia itself by setting up his own family's monuments there. It should be noted, however, that the father of this dead woman could be a different Kassandros.

Livy records that Beroia was the first major Macedonian city to surrender following the battle of Pydna in 168 BC.[1231] While discussing the division of Macedonian in 167 BC, Livy names Beroia as one of the *nobilis urbes* in the third *meris*, alongside Pella and Edessa.[1232] It served as a military base for Pompey in 49-8 BC, and later as the seat of the Macedonian *koinon*.[1233]

9.9.1 The archaeology of Beroia

The site of Beroia has been constantly inhabited from antiquity to the present day. As a result, systematic excavation has been impossible, and archaeological data is very limited. Hatzopoulos has said 'Béroia est une cité perdue'.[1234] Nevertheless, successive rescue excavations have revealed enough material to begin to reconstruct certain aspects of Beroia's urban plan in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (**fig. 76**).[1235]

Some remains of Beroia's walls are visible today.[1236] A relatively contiguous section of remains to the south-west of the modern city centre allow us to trace a straight section of the ancient wall in this area. Remains have also been found of the north and north-east sections of the perimeter wall. Three gates have also been located in the north, south-west, and south-

[1230] Palagia (2008), (2011) 492-3.
[1231] Livy 44.45.5
[1232] Livy 45.30.5.
[1233] For Roman Beroia: Papazoglou (1988) 141-8.
[1234] Foreword to Brocas-Deflassieux (1999).
[1235] Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) is the fullest attempt. See also Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004).
[1236] For the walls: Petkos (1997); Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 35-43.

east, giving some idea of where the main roads of the area entered the city. While the line of the wall can be traced with some certainty in the north, east, and south of the circuit, nothing has been uncovered regarding the western limit of the walls. Delacoulonche reported some remains of an ancient fortification wall near the Tripotamos river running through modern Veroia.[1237] One might expect the western perimeter wall to use the natural barrier of the Tripotamos to reinforce the fortifications, a technique known from Edessa and Aigai. Any remains in this area, however, may have been destroyed by the modern expansion of the town since Delacoulonche's time.[1238]

The foundations of these wall remains have been dated to the late fourth century.[1239] Current evidence suggests that the course of the walls did not change drastically in antiquity.[1240] The early Hellenistic wall foundations display construction techniques familiar from contemporary fortifications at other sites such as Dion and Pella: large blocks of stone arranged in a relatively regular pseudo-isodomic pattern. Some foundations of square towers have also been found. Brocas-Deflassieux concluded that these protected the walls at vulnerable or important points such as the gates.[1241] Above the base of pseudo-isodomic masonry, the wall was more irregular, consisting of reused material held together with brick and mortar. As we have seen, such construction is paralleled at Dion. The wall underwent extensive repairs and reconstructions, particularly in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, and in 1007 when the Byzantine emperor Basil II refortified the town to act as a strongpoint against Slavic invasions.[1242]

Therefore it seems as though the walls of Beroia were initially constructed in the late fourth century BC. We can tentatively attribute them to Kassandros' fortification policy. Given the

[1237] Delacoulonche (1859) 107.
[1238] Brocas-Deflassieux (1997) 41-2.
[1239] *ADelt* 17 B2 218-21; *ADelt* 25 B2 385; Petkos (1997) 272; Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 35.
[1240] Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 42.
[1241] Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 35.
[1242] Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 36.

strategic significance of Beroia, it was particularly important that the town be able to offer resistance to any enemy attempting to approach from the south over the Haliakmon or descend from the uplands to the west. As we have discussed, Kassandros fought against enemies in both these directions. This would have made securing the main routes into the Macedonian heartland crucial for resisting counter-invasion.

If Beroia was the home of the Antigonid dynasty, Kassandros' fortification program may have had a further symbolic function. Fortifications were a double-edged expression of the role of the king in relation to his subject communities. They were a physical and permanent statement of the king's intention to fulfil his duty to defend his subjects against the enemies of Macedon. Given their expense and their overtly military purpose, however, they also reinforced the impression of the king's power at a local level and highlighted the dependence of a city upon the protection of their king. Fortifications thus served as a reminder to local communities that it behoved them to remain loyal to the crown. Kassandros might have been particularly aware of these associations when fortifying a strategically important town from whose elite had sprung one of his major opposing dynasties. If there was a grave stele for a daughter of Kassandros at Beroia (see above), it could perhaps represent a similar attempt to emphasise the power of the Antipatrid dynasty in the home city of a rival royal house by setting up a dynastic monument.

As at other sites, this fortification program may have been accompanied by investment within the city itself. Excavations in roughly the centre of the area defined by the remaining walls, mainly either side of Venizelou street south of St. Antoine square, have brought to light an increasing number of building remains from the ancient city.[1243] Many of these have multiple building phases, and often earlier material was reused in subsequent periods, complicating

[1243] *ADelt* 19 B2 353-4; *ADelt* 20 B3 423-7, 429; *ADelt* 21 B2 350; *ADelt* 24 B2 320; *ADelt* 25 B2 379-80; *ADelt* 29 B3 701; *ADelt* 32 226; *ADelt* 34 B2 303-4, 306, 309; *ADelt* 36 B2 324; Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 62.

dating and interpretation.[1244] Nonetheless, a substantial number of Hellenistic building remains of high quality and impressive dimensions were found in this area. This has lead Brocas-Deflassieux to locate the civic centre of the city here, and the agora itself is tentatively placed just south of St. Antoine square. While the size and quality of some the Hellenistic building remains uncovered in the wider area does suggest the presence of multiple public buildings, specifics remain beyond our reach. What is notable, however, is how during excavations of several of the buildings in this area, coins of Philip II,[1245] Alexander III and Alexander IV,[1246] and Kassandros[1247] provided a *terminus post quem* of the latter half of the fourth century for the beginning of their use. This suggests that the general area was in use from the mid-fourth century. We currently lack the evidence to discern any particularly important moments for urban development in Beroia, however.

It should be noted that the multiple water pipes found during these excavations once again attest to the comprehensive provision of water made for the city.[1248] Brocas-Deflassieux traced the water pipes running alongside exterior walls of excavated buildings and found that they generally ran either perpendicular or parallel to one another. As main water conduits usually followed a city's roads, they concluded that Beroia probably possessed a Hippodamian street plan in the Hellenistic period.[1249] Once more, this conclusion must be regarded as tentative. Even if the city possessed a regular grid plan in excavated areas, other urban orientations, perhaps dictated by the terrain, may have existed in other parts of the city.

Unfortunately, the state of the evidence precludes us from making solid conclusions regarding the urban development of Beroia alongside its fortification by Kassandros. Given what we

[1244] Eg. *ADelt* 34 B2 303-4.
[1245] *ADelt* 20 B3 425-7.
[1246] *BCH* 1957, 598-600; *ADelt* 20 B2 429.
[1247] *ADelt* 20 B3 425, 427, 429.
[1248] *ADelt* 22 B3 411; *ADelt* 29 B3 701; *ADelt* 32 B2 226; *ADelt* 33 B2 263-6.
[1249] Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 45-6.

know of other sites, however, and the coins of the mid-to-late fourth century found in excavations around the centre of the ancient city, it would be reasonable to suggest that Kassandros' fortifications were accompanied by at least some intra-mural building. As at other sites, the development of public and residential areas to demonstrate Kassandros' generosity would have been the natural complement to messages of military power conveyed by imposing fortifications.

9.10 Building cities, building a kingdom

I have now examined the archaeological evidence for urban development and fortification at seven major urban sites in northern Greece. The major periods of development at each of these sites have been explained with reference to particular military and political circumstances. It is worth recapping these, before considering the phenomenon of royal urban development in Macedonia in this period more generally.

At Philippoi, Philip II needed to secure an economically and militarily important region rapidly. He refounded and invested in the town in order to advertise his military dominance while ensuring the population's loyalty. At Amphipolis, he fully integrated an independent Greek city into the Macedonian kingdom in order to secure the key crossing of the Strymon. Here, he fortified the town, but also improved the urban environment in order to offset any ill feeling among the city's elite for their loss of independence. Philip II's urban programmes at Philippoi and Amphipolis were therefore partly a facet of his wider aims to expand his kingdom and integrate or secure the loyalty of conquered and tributary territories.[1250]

This model of the king developing well planned and fortified civic spaces for the communities of his kingdom in order to strengthen the bond between centre and locality was expanded to cover towns across Macedonia by Kassandros. Kassandros had to use every means available to strengthen his grasp on Macedonia and create his own legitimacy. His urban programme was a key component of his policies.[1251] His city development and urban fortification activities were so extensive that it is worth considering whether these formed the central policies in developing his royal reputation. In Kassandreia and Thessalonike, he founded two

[1250] On Philip II's conquests: Ellis (1976); Cawkwell (1978); Hammond and Griffith (1979) 203-698, esp. 652-7; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1980) 78-127; Hammond (1994); Worthington (2008) 23-151.
[1251] For previous discussion of Kassandros' urban programme: Mikrogiannakis (1977), though the late dating of Thessalonike's foundation proposed at 229 cannot be correct.

new cities which absorbed many of the smaller settlements of their areas. The former not only offered the promise of intensifying the economic activity of the peninsula of Pallene, but also advertised to the world at large that his relationship with the Greek cities would be different to that of his Argead predecessors. The latter represented a counterpoint to that message. It was from the outset a fully Macedonian city named for Kassandros' Argead wife, and represented a promise to the traditionalists in Macedonia that their new ruler had not forgotten the proud Argead past. At Dion, the creation of an entirely new walled city represented a promise to respect the religious traditions of the Macedonians and provided a permanent and strategically located base of operations to resist any attempt to enter Macedonia from the south. At Edessa and Beroia, strong fortifications secured the towns which respectively controlled the descent into the lowland of the main route from Upper Macedonia and the main crossing of the Haliakmon river. At both these sites, urban development probably accompanied the fortifications, signifying that the king was interested not just in his own military affairs, but in the welfare of his subjects as well.

One of the major aims of these urban programmes was to solidify control over the physical territory of the Macedonian kingdom. The sites examined above lay on key routes of communication through Macedonia. Control of these main routes was key to physical and political control of the kingdom. Any Macedonian king in the late Classical and Hellenistic period faced potential invasion of lowland Macedonia from all four points of the compass. Therefore the straightforward military advantages of establishing large fortified strongpoints along main routes of communication should not be overlooked. But this policy of establishing fortified positions along the main routes of communication in Macedonia also had symbolic advantages. Such a network of fortified sites represented a powerful statement of the king's power to project control over his territory and to reshape the physical environment of communities throughout the kingdom according to his military needs. If a

king could found or invest in a city in an area, it was a statement by that king that the territory was his. They permanently and physically articulated royal control of territory. These physical embodiments of the king's right to act, and the routes that joined them, were the most obvious and permanent ways in which the Macedonian king's ability to exercise power and agency within his kingdom were visible. Founding and developing cities was therefore a performative act of state-making. In a very real sense, the connected fortified sites physically defined the extent of the Macedonian king's control, and travelling through Macedonia became an experience of the ubiquity of the king's power.[1252]

The utility of fortifications for militarily and symbolically constructing control made them a suitable medium for articulating Antipatrid power outside of Macedonia too. As discussed above in chapter 6, Kassandros' brother Pleistarchos controlled territory in Asia Minor after the battle of Ipsos in 301, including Kilikia and Karia. Stephanus of Byzantium records that a city named Herakleia was renamed Pleistarcheia for a time.[1253] This has been identified as Herakleia under Latmos, east of Miletos, and the huge defensive circuit there has been dated to the early Hellenistic period. These fortifications were imposing, and constructed in a regular isodomic pattern with 65 square towers.[1254] These were most likely a project of Pleistarchos.[1255] He was faced with a similar challenge in his Asian territories after 301 as Kassandros had been in Macedonia after 316: rapidly and emphatically securing his authority in newly acquired territory in a murderously competitive political and military environment. Part of his strategy seems to have been to take a leaf out of his brother's book and use urban fortification to stamp his will on the landscape. He was not the only brother of Kassandros to do so: another, by the name of Alexarchos, founded a city on Mt. Athos called

[1252] Bickerman (1938) 133-210.
[1253] Steph. Byz. s.v. Πλειστάρχεια.
[1254] Krischen (1922); Winter (1971) 245-6; Peschlow-Bindokat (1996) 22-42; McNicoll (1997) 75-81.
[1255] Lawrence (1979) 150; Hornblower (1982) 320; Gregory (1995) 26-7; McNicoll (1997) 76-7.

Uranopolis.[1256] Strabo tells us that the wall circuit has a length of thirty stades, while Athenaeus records an unintelligible letter in the dialect Alexarchos invented for his new city.[1257] Uranopolis struck its own coinage and some Alexanders.[1258] Though the city location is not known, Pliny's list of the towns of the peninsula suggests it was somewhere in the northwest.[1259] Despite the apparent eccentricity of Alexarchos' project, Uranopolis is further evidence that urban foundation became part of the Antipatrids' rulership style and an effective way of articulating Antipatrid control. It is possible that Uranopolis was seen by Kassandros as solidifying his control over the eastern Chalcidikian peninsula.

More scattered evidence gives occasional glimpses of Kassandros' activities beyond the main routes in Macedonia. The large public building complex uncovered at Mieza, which lay on a road linking Beroia and Edessa but had no special strategic importance, has been dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century.[1260] A small section of Lete's city wall has been excavated and dated to Kassandros' reign.[1261] Such activity may have extended into Upper Macedonia, as shown by the fortified acropolis complex found at Kastri Polyneriou in ancient Tymphaia.[1262] This site was in use from the second half of the fourth century to the middle of the second century, and the temple and building complex there have been dated to the last years of the fourth century.

Philip II's activities seem to have focused on the periphery of his territories, while the evidence for Kassandros' urban programme comes mainly from the Macedonian interior. This

[1256] Strab. 7 fr. 35; Cohen (1995) 105-6.
[1257] Strab. 7. fr. 35; Athen. 3.98d-f.
[1258] Price (1991) I 139-41: Cohen (1995) 106.
[1259] Pliny *NH* 4.37.
[1260] Allamani and Misaelidou (1992) 203-8; Allamani and Koukounou (1995) 84-8, (1998); Psarra (2009); Allamani, Koukounou and Psarra (2002), (2009). This may not have been funded by the king but by a wealthy local elite, attested by the multiple lavish elite tombs of the area. However, given that the Macedonian elite did not rate investment in their local communities as a priority (see above ch. 5.3), I find this unlikely. For other remains at Mieza: Kinch (1920); Petsas (1966a), (1966b); Allamani and Koukounou (1995); Rhomiopoulou (1997); Psarra (2003); Brecoulaki (2006); Allamani, Koukounou, and Psarra (2009).
[1261] Tzanavara and Filis (2009) 377.
[1262] Drougou, Kallini, and Trakatelli (2009a), (2009b).

appearance may be due to the current state of evidence, but it may also reflect the differing political needs of Philip II and Kassandros. For Philip, popular with the Macedonians but always expanding outwards, the territories in which it was important to articulate royal control were on the periphery of the kingdom. Sites like Philippoi and Amphipolis were a way of creating and expressing royal control in contested border areas. In Kassandros' position, it was more important to establish his control over the core Macedonian territories than to attempt to expand. Therefore his focus was on physically expressing his control in the interior communities of the kingdom via a comprehensive urban programme.

The Macedonian sites examined above share many common characteristics in their urban development in the mid-to late fourth century. The cities were generally laid out according to a regular grid plan, though at sites such as Edessa or Beroia multiple orientations may have existed as dictated by the topography. Different areas of the cities were linked with wide straight roads. Water provision was a key concern, with major pipes following main arterial roads and smaller channels supplying individual buildings. At sites where we have sufficient evidence, we can also see that large public buildings were constructed or improved. Finally the entire urban unit was surrounded with fortifications.

Much of this is familiar from the better excavated site of Pella. The level of uniformity found in the physical development of the Macedonian cities in Kassandros' time is striking. This represented another royal act of state-making. The king was the common point of authority in which were tied together a variety of local political units. Increasing uniformity across the breadth of the kingdom – in civic institutions, in administrative practice, and in the physical appearance of the Macedonian cities – worked to strengthen the unity of the Macedonian kingdom. To quote Ma, 'royal state ideology subsumed the local into the unitary'.[1263] Though

[1263] Ma (2003b) 185.

it doubtless simplified administration, the ideological usefulness of a royal drive to uniformity must have motivated Philip II's institutional reforms.[1264] By increasing the physical uniformity of important local communities in a concerted royal programme, and standardising to some extent the experience of living in a Macedonian city, Kassandros could achieve a similar effect. He emphasised his centrality in the kingdom by visually and physically expressing the unifying role of the monarch at sites throughout his territory.

The new development of these urban sites had practical and concrete benefits for the civic communities which inhabited them. The presence of impressive public buildings encouraged pride and cohesion in the civic community, and enhanced the reputation of the public authorities with their own citizens. Fortifications lent a sense of permanency and importance to the settlement. A regular grid plan with wide paved roads made movement within the city easy. Comprehensive provision of water will have improved the health of the citizen body. Overall, these cities were pleasant urban spaces in which to live. Furthermore, the civic communities will no doubt have appreciated strong fortifications in the turbulent times of either Philip II's reign or, in particular, the wars of the Successors. As explored above in the discussion on Dion, sometimes the security offered by such fortifications was more notional than concrete. Nonetheless, the fortifications will have provided a welcome sense of security. They also represented the king's promise to protect the community. Generally the building programmes within the cities themselves seem to date to the same period as the development of the fortifications. Therefore the two together represent coherent urban policies for multiple sites, attributable to royal endowment. They were physical monuments to the king's fulfilment of his obligations to protect and provide for his people.[1265]

Urban development will also have enhanced the relative position of the Macedonian *poleis*

[1264] Hatzopoulos (1996a) I 463-96.
[1265] On city foundation as benefaction, see Bringmann (1993).

with their competitors in Aegean networks of peer-polity interaction. I have examined in a previous chapter how the Macedonian cities became, from at least the end of the fourth century, more and more integrated into the networks of peer interaction which characterised the life of a Hellenistic Greek *polis*. These networks were naturally competitive, with communities competing for reputation and honour with both immediate neighbours and cities further afield.[1266] This competition will have included the development of a city's urban environments to impress foreign dignitaries and travellers, so that they would carry away stories of the city's grandeur. The more impressive a city's monuments, public buildings, fortifications, and general urban environment, the more such stories would spread. Its reputation and the ability of its citizen body to claim a position of influence and honour within its network of peer *poleis* would thereby increase as well. Therefore the urban development of the cities of Macedonia will have allowed them to compete on a better footing in the development of their reputations in these inter-city networks. It is surely no coincidence that the period during which the Macedonian cities experienced the greatest surge of urban development, around the late fourth century under the rule of Kassandros, is the same period when they begin to become more visible in the 'social' networks of the Greek *poleis*.

I have argued that the Macedonian king allowed such interactions to develop without interference, as they operated in a different political sphere to his own concerns. Therefore it was probably not an aim of Kassandros' programme of fortification and urban development to develop the reputation of the Macedonian *poleis* among the other *poleis* of the Aegean world. Yet, in a reflection of the mutual benefits which both king and city derived from the activities of the Macedonian *poleis* in these inter-city networks, both king and city gained from the betterment of the position of those *poleis* in these networks. The local communities enjoyed an enhanced reputation among other *poleis*, doubtlessly providing for more and better

[1266] Ma (2003a).

opportunities for local politicians to further their careers. The king, ever in competition with other dynasts and kings, gained a reputation for city endowment and foundation.[1267] Meanwhile the relationship between king and city was once again strengthened through mutually beneficial activity. Yet this activity, substantial urban development, sprung from the king's policy and purse. It therefore once again expressed the uneven distribution of political, financial, and military power between the king and the local communities. Once again, an activity which built connections and good will between the king and the local communities was also used to enhance the king's authority. Therefore, urban development was a powerful way of reinforcing ties between king and city while reiterating the power imbalance between them. It was a crucial tool for the king in constructing an image of royal authority within his kingdom.

[1267] On the importance of founding cities for kings: Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993) 20-1, 141-87; Fraser (1996) 171-90.

Figures

Fig. 59 – Plan of Philippoi (Lane Fox (2011a) fig 53).

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Fig. 60 – Plan of archaeological site at Amphipolis (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) fig. 1).

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Fig. 61 – ‘Classical House’ at Amphipolis (Lazaridis (1971) fig. 2).

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Fig 62 – Building in the plot of D. Kyprianidi (Malama and Salonikios (2002) fig. 2).

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Fig. 63 – Area around Gate F, Amphipolis (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2002) fig. 2).

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Fig. 64 – Gymnasium at Amphipolis (Lazaridis (1989) fig. 1).

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Fig. 65 – Area of modern Nea Potidaia, showing walls of Kassandreia (Sisimandis (1989) fig. 1).

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Fig. 66 – Early Hellenistic building phase at Kassandreia (Kousoulakou and Missailidou-Despotidou (2006) fig. 1).

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Fig. 67 – Speculative plan of mid-Hellenistic Thessalonike (Vickers (1972) fig. 4).

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Fig. 68 – Excavations at Kyprion Agoniston square, Thessaloniki (Tasia, Lola, Bachlas, and Stangos (1996) fig. 2).

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Fig. 69 – Building phases at Kyprion Agoniston square, Thessaloniki, showing early Hellenistic wall at lowest (Tasia, Lola, Bachlas, and Stangos (1996) fig. 1).

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Fig. 70 – Archaeological site at Dion (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) fig. 4).

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Fig. 71 – Reconstruction of early Hellenistic Dion’s street plan (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) fig. 86).

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Fig. 72 – Gate B II at Dion (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) fig. 37).

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Fig 73 – Acropolis walls at Edessa (A. Chrysostomou (2008b) fig. 20).

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Fig. 74 – Lower city walls at Edessa (A. Chrysostomou (2008b) fig. 35).

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Fig. 75 – Area around south gate at Edessa (A. Chrysostomou (2008b) fig. 43).

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Fig. 76 – Remains of ancient Beroia (Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) fig. 44).

Conclusion

One of the goals of the above analysis of Macedonian cities as communities has been to consider them alongside their peers in the wider Aegean world. In the post-classical eastern Mediterranean, many Greek *poleis* had to conduct their political lives in the shadow of the authority of the new Hellenistic monarchies. At one point, this was considered the end of the political life of the Greek autonomous city-state.[1268] They were henceforth deprived of agency and represented only passive cells within the bodies of larger political powers. This view of the polis after Chaironeia has been convincingly overturned.[1269] Post-classical Greek *poleis* were important historical actors, powerful constituencies who were courted by monarchs (and, later, Rome) and found new ways to exercise agency within this discourse with larger, imperialist powers. But agency was not only exercised in negotiations with larger powers, but also in networks of relationships between *poleis*. Diplomatic exchanges, religious relationships, even warfare between *poleis* formed an alternative current of political life outside of the world of kings.

In this thesis I have argued for seeing the progressive appearance of the Macedonian cities in fourth- and third-century *theorodokoi* lists as part of this political world. These *polis* communities in Macedonia had to contend with the same issue of finding meaningful avenues for political activity while being part of a larger political structure ruled by a monarch as did their peers in other kingdoms. It should therefore come as no surprise that they engaged in these relationships, and indeed this has been long acknowledged. I have advocated, however, that these exchanges are not good evidence for relationships between king and city in Macedonia. There is no evidence that the existence of such relationships between Hellenistic *poleis* constituted any challenge to the kings who claimed suzerainty over them. Monarchs

[1268] Green (1990).
[1269] Ma (2000), (2003a); Billows (2005); Martzavou and Papazarkadas (2013).

were content to let these relationships develop, as they did not inconvenience them and there was no profit to disrupting such exchanges. Such interference would doubtless only create resentment at a local level, and it was in the interests of monarchs to maintain good relationships with local communities to ensure a minimum of regional secession and the free flow of tribute. Indeed, the existence of such networks could be beneficial to both king and city. As the *asylia* decrees for the Macedonian cities show, they could provide a commitment-free arena for the presentation of an harmonious relationship between king and city. But the engagement of the Macedonian cities in such networks of inter-city exchange cannot be used to discuss the internal power structure of Macedonia, as it has been in the past, since these were relationships which operated in a different political sphere to the king and constituted no challenge to his authority.

This brings consideration of the Macedonian evidence in line with the more abundant evidence for a thriving culture of inter-state relations for Hellenistic *poleis*. The evidence of the *theorodokoi* lists shows that the Macedonian cities were part of at least some of these networks. This suggests that, as evidence continues to emerge and our appreciation of the civic lives of the Macedonian cities becomes more variegated, it will be useful to take a broader view and include these communities in wider discussions of the life of the post-classical *polis*.

The analysis of the Macedonian royal economy in Section 2, and the place of Macedonian cities within it, shows that such comparison will not always reveal similarities. Certainly elements of the royal economy in Macedonia (a variety of taxes, monopolies on important natural resources, an open numismatic environment, centralised control of new coinage) find close parallels in other kingdoms. As noted above, it would be interesting to compare the Macedonian economy to other kingdoms, and consider what elements of the Seleukid or

Ptolemaic royal economies were inspired by the Macedonian experiences of the founders of those dynasties. The evidence for the position of the Macedonian cities within the kingdom's economy is admittedly slim. But one intriguing feature has emerged: the comparative lack of evidence for a wealthy elite who expended significant resources for the benefit of their communities. It may be that this is due to the current state of our evidence: the epigraphic record for Macedonia is still not so abundant as to shine significant light into all areas of study. But set against the evidence for the expenditure of Macedonian elites in private contexts and on lavish funerary monuments and goods, the small number and unimpressive size of attested incidences of Macedonian elite euergetism is suggestive. The lack of an elite who could be pressured into euergetistic behaviour, such a notable feature of the social and economic landscape of many other cities of the Hellenistic Aegean world, sets the Macedonian cities apart from their peers in other kingdoms.[1270] Therefore while the presence of Macedonian cities in inter-city networks must be interpreted alongside the operation of such networks across the Aegean, the absence of significant euergetism in the Macedonian cities highlights the need for continued awareness of regional particularism. The elites of Macedonia had different priorities and different expectations laid upon them than civic elites elsewhere. The post-classical *polis* was a varied and contingent beast, and it did not form a focal point for the social and political lives of elites in every region of the eastern Mediterranean world.

The economic position of the Macedonian cities also reflects subordination to the king. Unable to command significant financial resources of their own, or convince local elites to provide funds, Macedonian cities had to look to the king for substantial projects. Such subordination is further illustrated when considering the Macedonian city as a physical settlement. Hellenistic kings had to constantly assert and perform their dominance and

[1270] Veyne (1976); Gauthier (1985).

authority in order to maintain their positions as head of state and ultimate source of all patronage and power.[1271] In his court, with his army, and among the kingdom's local communities, the primacy of the king's will largely depended upon propagating a convincing image of the resources, grandeur, and military strength of the king. The methods various Macedonian kings used in order to maintain the loyalty of the citizenry-in-arms and to balance the fractious personalities of powerful court elites has formed a key theme in Macedonian scholarship.[1272]

This thesis has argued that the physical fabric of Macedonian city settlements was developed by Macedonian kings for such purposes. It has been noted that urbanism elsewhere in the Greek world could serve the needs of the powerful, with interventions in the urban fabric representing not a 'natural' evolution of urban form but reflecting the ideological needs of the powerful.[1273] This seems a particularly appropriate way to regard Macedonian royal urbanism. The construction of royal palaces within urban centres presented an imposing image of the king's power to the residents of these cities. The relationship of Macedonian royal palaces with their surrounding built environments demonstrates that control of movement through and within urban space was an important tool in emphasising the palace as an interlocutor of royal ideology. Via widespread urban development and fortification programmes, the king's command of the Macedonian landscape was emphatically demonstrated, and the extent of the financial and military resources of the monarch projected at a local level. Fortifications, palaces, and royally funded cityscapes stood as physical monuments to the benefits to be had from the king's leadership. They helped ensure that urban life for the populations of these settlements was relatively uniformly dominated by the presence of the king. These constant reminders of who was in charge are a more telling

[1271] Austin (1986); Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1994) 114-40; Herman (1997); Bosworth (2002) 246-78; Ma (2005).
[1272] Eg. Paschidis (2006); King (2010).
[1273] Purcell (2005).

reflection of the status of the Macedonian cities than limited expressions of civic agency in peer-polity networks. While royal investment doubtless benefited civic communities, providing protection and a high quality urban living environment, it also propagated royal ideology and created a long-lasting physical and conceptual landscape where local agency was subordinate to that of the king. It is a commonplace of scholarship on Hellenistic kings that city foundation was a fundamental royal act, expressing ownership of territory, vast resources, and an ability to reshape the landscape. The evidence of Macedonian urban development shows that extensive redevelopment of existing settlement sites could accompany royal foundation projects and served much the same purpose.

From this perspective, that Kassandros should stand out as the most active monarch of our period in utilising such strategies of royal aggrandisement makes sense. The permanence and stability invoked by large fortifications and regular cityscapes answered his particular need to quickly and decisively establish a sense of authority and legitimacy in his newly conquered kingdom. Kassandros did lack some traits which various studies have identified as key elements for success in the high politics of the eastern Mediterranean following Alexander III's death, such as prestige derived from service under Alexander, or conspicuous and large-scale military success. As a result, previous analyses of the success of Kassandros within Macedonia can feel somewhat deficient. I propose that the urban development and fortification programmes discussed in this thesis can help to fill that gap, and that they must form a central element in explaining Kassandros' successful consolidation of power.

The fuller engagement of Macedonian *polis* communities with their peers in the Aegean world and the urban development of settlements in lowland and coastal Macedonia appear to be roughly contemporary developments. Macedonian cities begin to appear in *theorodokoi* lists towards the end of the fourth century, and the end of the fourth century stands out as a period

of unprecedented building and fortification at a number of Macedonia's important settlements. Yet these are two essentially separate phenomena. The former reflects a 'horizontal' association, the development of relationships between communities of the Aegean world of roughly equal standing. The latter reflects a 'vertical' association, part of the management of the dynamics between centre and locality in the Macedonian kingdom. The two are not entirely unrelated: there can be little doubt that a high quality urban environment helped a *polis* community impress its peers. The two should also not be considered in isolation, as taken together they demonstrate how late-Classical and Hellenistic *polis* communities could be both emphatically tied to a powerful king and maintain meaningful relationships outside of that king's political sphere and territorial control. The need to utilise multiple perspectives and to not over-privilege any one form of evidence when considering the status and experiences of communities within an ancient kingdom is clear.

To conclude: Hatzopoulos has rightly noted that the epigraphic harvest from ancient Macedonia has 'revealed a rich and intense civic life in the cities of Macedonia'.[1274] In this period, this civic life came to include the engagement by Macedonian city-communities in international panhellenic networks of peer-polity interaction. Yet from the mid-fourth century this civic life took place in a Macedonia where multiple large and impressive urban settlements stood as monuments to the extent and ubiquity of royal authority. Late-Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia was a kingdom of *poleis*, but that kingdom was first and foremost a royal space.

[1274] Hatzopoulos (2011c) 240.

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