

THE PHILIPPEION AT OLYMPIA

THE PHILIPPEION AT OLYMPIA: THE TRUE IMAGE OF PHILIP?

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis has been to consider how Philip II of Macedonia presented himself to the Greek peoples after the Battle of Chaeronea in 336 BC. It examines the context and program of the Philippeion at Olympia in order to determine how Philip II negotiated his royal status in response to Greek opinion. This study takes into account the traditional role of the Macedonian kings, how they typically portrayed themselves, and to what purpose. It also explores Philip's propaganda specifically and the differing responses of various Greek peoples.

Although Philip's role as Hegemon of the League of Corinth seems to be at odds with the Philippeion's classification as a victory monument and a display of the king's authority, further examination reveals that the Philippeion conforms with Philip's program of propaganda. Its message is also adaptable to the various perceptions of the Greek peoples as well as any Macedonian viewers.

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Introduction

The Philippeion was built in the Altis of Olympia after the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC. It was a small, round building, the only one of its kind in the sanctuary at the time of its construction. It occupied a very conspicuous location next to the entrance of the sanctuary and it had very unusual architecture. Pausanias' description of the Philippeion is our only extant literary source. Most of the physical remains of the building have been recovered, including a large statue base which is unfortunately missing the five statues that once stood upon it. A comparison of the physical remains and Pausanias' description has given rise to a number of scholarly debates. Who was responsible for building the Philippeion, Philip II or Alexander III? Whom did the five statues held within the building represent? What were these statues made of?

Compared to the discussions surrounding the physical aspects of the Philippeion, the treatments of the building's purpose and significance have been rather limited. Most scholars describe the building as a military victory monument, constructed in thanksgiving to Zeus for Philip II's victory over the Greeks at Chaeronea. The Philippeion, in this view, symbolized the imposition of

the king's authority over the Greek world. Yet the role Philip assumed after Chaeronea was more complex and subtle: the position of Hegemon of the League of Corinth allowed him to exercise his newly won supremacy without appearing as a foreign conqueror. It would therefore appear contradictory for Philip to showcase his victory as a conqueror in a building like the Philippeion while simultaneously obfuscating his authority with the title of Hegemon. This study will explore how Philip negotiated his position in relation to the Greeks through his self-representation in the Philippeion, as Macedonian king and Greek Hegemon.

Chapter One: Macedonian Kingship

In order to understand how Philip II represented himself in the Philippeion at Olympia, it is necessary first to establish him in his socio-political and historical context. Before attempting a comprehensive examination of the Philippeion, we must first understand the nature of Philip's role as a Macedonian king and the political dynamics of that role.

Part A: The Constitutionalist

Since the 1940s the question of Macedonian kingship has been debated by two opposing camps.¹ First, the constitutionalists: these scholars subscribe to a theory first put forward by Friedrich Granier in 1931² and later developed by, among others, N.G.L. Hammond³ and M.B. Hatzopoulos.⁴ Granier compared the Macedonian monarchy to Germanic kingship as described in Tacitus' *Germania*, postulating that the Macedonian monarchy, like the German, had evolved a clearly defined constitution wherein the powers of the king were limited. While

1 While in the course of this study I shall refer to the prevailing theories of these two groups respectively, this should in no way imply to the reader that there exists complete agreement within each group. The choice to categorize the scholarship in this way was made in order to avoid burdening this study with minutiae and redundancy.

2 Granier 1931.

3 Hammond 1989.

4 Hatzopoulos 1996.

the Germanic comparison has been discredited in modern scholarship, constitutionalists argue that the historical evidence does support certain aspects of Granier's model. Granier argued that the Macedonian kings evolved from a Homeric society into a military state headed by the king and army, and that the army was responsible for checking the power of the king.⁵ In the constitutionalists' opinion the Macedonian state structure included three institutional bodies which acted within a system of checks and balances in order to limit the executive power of the king. These bodies are: 1) the People's Assembly, which becomes the Army Assembly if the king is at war, 2) the *Hetairoi*, and 3) the King's Council. In the constitutionalist model, most of the political decision-making is left to these three bodies, with the king exercising only executive authority.

The evidence for a People's or Army Assembly is derived from literary sources which describe gatherings *in contio*⁶ as well as epigraphic treaties which refer to “the king and the Macedons”, suggesting they were separate bodies of state.⁷ The assembly was made up of the Macedonian citizenry, which is defined

5 Granier 1931, 4-28.

6 Curt. 7. 1. 6.

7 Hammond 1989, 166.

as those men currently serving as soldiers and veterans.⁸ This conclusion is based on a few literary descriptions of men *in contio* expressing themselves by clashing arms.⁹ Thus the army was the body which maintained contact between the people and the king. Even if the king was away at war, or just away from the Macedonian capital, he was always accompanied by soldiers or veterans. It appears the Assembly did not require a minimum number of participants. The flexible nature of the Assembly meant that the king was constantly in contact with his people and subject to their will. The Assembly was hypothetically responsible for many decisions of state; however, the evidence describes clearly only two specific instances when the Assembly would act. First, in times of succession, the Assembly was responsible for acclaiming an Argead as king (since the succession did not follow a strict rule of primogeniture). Second, in case of a capital crime (treason or murder), the Assembly would meet as a judicial body.

There are three examples of Argead kings being acclaimed by an Assembly: the accessions of Philip II, Alexander III, and the joint acclamation of

⁸ Hammond 1989, 58. and Hatzopoulos 1996, 268.

⁹ Arr. *An.* 25. 2.; Curt. 7. 1. 6.

Philip III and Alexander IV. The argument in the case of Philip II is based on two passages. First, Diodorus reports that when the Athenians were supporting the efforts of Argaeus to seize the throne, Μαντίας δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καταπλεύσας εἰς Μεθώνην αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα κατέμεινε, τὸν Ἀργαῖον δὲ μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰγάς ἀπέστειλεν. οὗτος δὲ προσελθὼν τῇ πόλει παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς προσδέξασθαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀρχηγούς. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος ὁ μὲν ἀνέκαμπτεν εἰς τὴν Μεθώνην.¹⁰ The situation presented by Diodorus is an interesting one because it is the only time in which two rival claimants vie for the position of king. The nature of the Assembly meant that there could be an Assembly wherever there were soldiers or veterans and a king to call upon them. In this situation, with Philip in one location and Argaeus in another, there could easily have been civil war had both claimants been acclaimed. Luckily for Philip, even though Argaeus was in Aegae, the old Macedonian capital, he did not receive an acclamation of the people. Indeed, in Diodorus' description, the

10 Diod. XVI. 3. 5-6: Mantias, the Athenian general, who had sailed into Methone, stayed behind there himself but sent Argaeus with his mercenaries to Aegae. And Argaeus approached the city and invited the population of Aegae to welcome his return and become the founders of his own kingship. When no one paid any attention to him he turned back to Methone. Trans, Welles 1963.

people seem to have simply ignored him until he went away.

The second instance is the accession of Philip II as reported by Justin.

Philip acted as regent for his nephew Amyntas who was a child at the time,¹¹ *at*

ubi graviora bella imminebant serumque auxilium in expectatione infantis erat,

*compulsus a populo regnum suscepit.*¹² Facing war on multiple fronts, the Assembly

was able to depose their child-king, who would be of little help, in favour of his

more experienced uncle and regent, Philip. Both of these passages speak only in

general terms of the accession; there are no specific details regarding the

procedure that led up to or followed the acclamation. The descriptions of

Alexander III's succession are also extremely vague in terms of describing

procedure. The only detail we have is that Alexander Lynkestos was the first to

hail Alexander as king and was thus forgiven for his family's putative role in the

assassination of Philip II.¹³

The most detailed account of any succession available to us from the

sources is the dual succession of Alexander IV and Philip III. Curtius states that

11 Although this is debated, see, J.R. Ellis 1971.

12 Just. *Epit.* 7. 5. 10: But, when dangerous wars threatened, and it was too long to wait for the co-operation of a prince who was yet a child, he was forced by the people to take the government upon himself. Trans. Watson 1992.

13 Arr. *An.* 1. 25. 2.; Curt. 7. 16.

the “*contio*” shouted for Arrhidaeus with one voice, and *igitur non alium regem se quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros, pertinaci acclamatione declarant vocarique Arrhidaeum iubent*.¹⁴ The situation after the death of Alexander was, however, truly extraordinary since there was no strong Argead claimant. The nobility saw this situation as an opportunity to exploit the power vacuum left by Alexander's passing. They sought to empower a council formed by the leading Hetairoi to act as regents for Roxane's unborn son, but they did not seek the support of the Assembly in this decision. When the infantry discovered the plans of the nobility they immediately renamed Arrhidaeus and acclaimed him as their king. Hammond interprets these events as the Assembly defending its traditional right to control the succession from the overreaching nobles.¹⁵

The second power the constitutionalists attribute to the Assembly is described in a line of Curtius, which states: *de capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus – in pace erat vulgi – et nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas*.¹⁶ The context of this statement is the trial of Philotas, which

14 Curt. 10. 7. 3-7. “After hearing these words the assembly at first kept silence, as if ordered to do so, then they shouted with one voice that Arrhidaeus ought to be summoned . . .” Trans. Rolfe 1946.

15 Hammond 1989, 241.

16 Curt. 6. 8. 25. In accordance with the ancient custom of the Macedonians, the king conducted

episode is the most detailed account of a trial wherein a Macedonian is presented for judgement before other Macedonians. For the constitutionalists, Curtius' testimony is proof positive that Macedonians had the right to defend themselves and to be judged by the assembly and not the king in cases of treason.¹⁷ Borza suggests a middle ground and allows that this right may have existed but that, "the king announced the conditions of the trial including . . . who could attend. And one might suggest that he could also choose not to call a trial."¹⁸ This meant the king played a significant part in determining the outcome of the trial or could simply forgo a trial if he thought matters would not go his way.

In the trial of Philotas Alexander was faced with the danger of angering the army and their Hetairoi commanders by killing the conspirator. Therefore he had to ensure that the guilt of both parties was proven in order to avoid mutiny.

In the case of Philotas, Curtius remarks, *Magno non salutis, sed etiam invidiae*

periculo liberatus erat Alexander; quippe Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum, nisi

the inquiry into criminal cases, and the army passed judgement – in time of peace it was a duty of the common people – and the power of the king availed nothing, unless his influence had earlier had weight with them. Trans. Rolfe 1946.

¹⁷ Hammond 1989, 61.

¹⁸ Borza 1990, 247.

*palam sontes, sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari.*¹⁹ Alexander took similar precautions against inciting anger and retaliation from his men during the trial of the Pages. He called an assembly *cui patres propinquique eorum de quibus agebatur intererant* (“at which the fathers and relatives of those concerned were present”)²⁰ so that they might hear the Pages confess to their crimes. When the father of one of the Pages, Hermolaus, heard his son confess, he drew his sword and tried to kill him; however, the king stopped him so that they might hear Hermolaus' full confession and his reasons for his crime. Once Hermolaus had finished and the king made his reply, Alexander handed over the condemned Pages to their respective cohorts for punishment, who, *ut fidem suam saevitia regi approbarent, excruciatos necaverunt* (“put them to death with torments, in order by cruelty to show their loyalty to the king”).²¹ In this way Alexander presented himself as a fair ruler and, by sharing the responsibility for the verdict with the friends and families of the accused, he avoided exciting mutinous

19 Curt. 7. 11. 39. Alexander had been freed from great danger, not indeed of death, but of hatred; for Parmenion and Philotas, the chief men among his friends, unless clearly shown to be guilty, could not have been condemned without exciting the indignation of the whole army. Trans. Rolfe 1946.

20 Curt. 8. 7. 28. - 8. 8. 20. Trans. Rolfe 1946.

21 Curt. 8. 8. 20. Trans. Rolfe 1946.

feelings in the army.²²

While there is a lack of evidence for an aristocracy in Macedonia,²³ the existence of the king's Hetairoi does suggest that there was some kind of class division.²⁴ How these leading men interacted with the common people is difficult to determine. At best we may surmise that their relationship developed from ancient tribal ties of alliance or familial and military prestige.²⁵ The fact that the families of Hetairoi were extremely influential is evidenced by the care Alexander III took to orchestrate the trials of Philotas and the Pages.

Constitutionalists are not agreed as to whether the king was able to choose all of his Hetairoi or whether he could dismiss them whenever he wished.²⁶ There are numerous cases where non-Macedonians were made Hetairoi of the king: the prime examples being Euripides and Eumenes.²⁷ However, there are as many cases of antagonism between the king and his Hetairoi, and constitutionalists believe that the king was constrained by constitutional custom or law to tolerate

22 Anson 2008, 147.

23 Borza 1990, 237.

24 Errington 1990, 5.

25 Hammond 1989, 53.

26 Hammond 1989, 55; Hatzopoulos 1996, 333.

27 Eumenes: Arr. *Ind.* 18. 7; Euripides: for sources see Borza 1993, 239.

them as representatives of the People.²⁸

The Hetairoi were a corporate body, with an internal hierarchy; the king acted as “president.”²⁹ The Hetairoi and the king were tied by bonds of loyalty established by gift-exchange, reinforced during *symposia*, and formalized by religious rites.³⁰ The king bestowed gifts of royal land and in return received gifts of treasure and loans.³¹ According to Hatzopoulos, these gifts “offered to the King's *hetairoi* an economic and moral independence and consequently a freedom of judgement and speech.”³²

The Hetairoi were one of the groups included in the King's Council; the others were: the *somatophylakes* and the *hegemones*. The *somatophylakes*, or bodyguards, were appointed by the king, which appointment was then ratified

28 Hatzopoulos 1996, 333 (Alexandros son of Aeropos, Parmenion, and Philotas under Alexander III). Heckel 1992 suggests another interpretation for the presence of antagonistic Hetairoi. In the case of Alexander III especially he argues that it was politically expedient for the new king to keep these high-ranking and influential men close to him to prevent them from advocating Amyntas Perdikka as a candidate for the throne. Heckel asserts that the Macedonian king was employing a policy of keeping his enemies close in order to avoid mutiny. He also notes that most of these antagonistic Hetairoi were later disposed of by various means. See Heckel 1992, 3-56.

29 Hammond 1989, 55.

30 These rites are alluded to, but the sources offer very little description. For a comparison with Achilles and his *hetairoi* see Hammond 1989, 54; Athenaeus 13. 572d; Iliad 1.179

31 Alexander III and Eumenes, Plut. *Eum.* 2. 5-6; Philip II and the family of Koinos, Hatzopoulos 1996, no 20. Both these examples detail the exchange of land and/or money between the king and one of his hetairoi.

32 Hatzopoulos 1996, 336.

by the Assembly.³³ There were usually seven and their role was to accompany the king both for his protection, as his bodyguards, and supervision, as representatives of the people.³⁴ The *hegemones*, or military commanders, were elected by the Council and Assembly in conjunction and were only sometimes invited to attend the Council, as the situation demanded. However, they were frequently chosen from among the *Hetairoi* and so had a seat on the Council anyway. They were usually in command of men from their native areas and so enjoyed strong ties of common heredity with their soldiers, which made them essential to the effective operation of the army.

The Council as a constitutional body is described by Hatzopoulos as, “An inner and permanent core composed of the King's 'companions' or 'friends', theoretically freely selected by him, but essentially the most prominent persons of the realm, belonging to the leading families of the local political units and forming the army's high command.”³⁵ They conducted a preliminary investigations in capital cases,³⁶ and before declarations of war.³⁷ Similarly, they

33 Hatzopoulos 1996, 332.

34 Hatzopoulos 1996, 330.

35 Hatzopoulos 1996, 347.

36 The trial of Philotas, Curt. 6. 8. 25.

37 Against Eumenes, Just. 14.1.1; Against Cassander, Diod. 19.61.1-3; Against Perdiccas, Diod.

were responsible for presenting their choice of king to the Assembly for approval.³⁸ They were responsible for appointing minor magistrates and satraps.³⁹ In time of war, all decisions regarding treaties, strategy and military organization had to be discussed by the Council before the king could act. The descriptions in various sources of the king persuading his Council to embark on a certain course of action are further proofs of the great importance of this body. Alexander III is frequently described as influencing his Council with “proud words”⁴⁰ and “arousing their enthusiasm.”⁴¹ All decisions were made by majority vote and every vote was equal. After the death of Alexander III, Ptolemy suggested that the Council continue to operate in this way without a king⁴² and, in fact, Eumenes employed this same model later on.⁴³

Part B: The Non-constitutionalists

This reconstruction of a Macedonian constitution is contested by a second group of scholars, who – for lack of a better term – shall be referred to as non-

18.25.4-5

38 The situation at Babylon in 323 BC is the most used example.

39 Hatzopoulos 1996, 294.

40 Diod. 17.54.5

41 Diod. 17.16.3

42 Curt. 10.6.15

43 Diod. 18.61.2

constitutionalists. They contest the existence of any constitutional limits to the Macedonian kingship. Their views stem from the major challenge to Granier proposed in 1948 by Pietro de Francisci,⁴⁴ who saw Macedonian kingship as an informal rule wherein the king was limited by circumstantial practicality and not a formal constitution. A large number of scholars fall into this second grouping, including: Errington, Borza, Carney, Anson and Greenwalt.⁴⁵

These scholars point out that most of the evidence derives from the period of the Diadochoi and that the period of Alexander III saw many changes to the Macedonian political institutions, especially in regards to the Assembly and its judicial and elective powers. They argue, then, that evidence from the period of the Diadochoi does not necessarily indicate the traditional political practices of the Argead dynasty. As a result, the non-constitutionalist model of the Macedonian kingship focuses primarily on those circumstances and events prior to 323 BC, which, as they contend, do not support Granier's model of a king under strict and formal constitutional limitations.

The non-constitutionalists argue that no formal Assembly existed and that

⁴⁴De Francisci 1948.

⁴⁵Errington 1990; Borza 1990; Carney 2000; Anson 1985; Greenwalt 2010.

the examples of Macedonians *in contio* represent *ad hoc* gatherings in particular circumstances. This view is best summarized by Errington: “The sources offer . . . no grounds for the assumption that there was ever a formal assembly of the whole people. At the same time it would have been possible for chance groupings of, say, the inhabitants of the capital or those eligible for military service to exert pressure occasionally on the king or to express a group opinion.”⁴⁶ They also argue that the succession was determined by the nobility, not an assembly; the extraordinary circumstances of 323 BC provide the exception to the rule.⁴⁷ Similarly, neither the people nor the army held any formal role in the Macedonian judicial process.

First, the non-constitutionalists argue that the constitutionalists' picture of a Macedonian Assembly as a gathering of Macedonian citizens, defined as such by military participation, cannot hold in face of the evidence. They point to references that suggest people other than military men were present when the Macedonians were gathered. For example, Plutarch mentions a case in which Philip II is berated by an old woman for deferring too many petitions from his

⁴⁶Errington 1990, 5.

⁴⁷Errington 1990, 220.

subjects.⁴⁸ Also, they ask, if a constitutional framework existed wherein the assembly or a council was responsible for decision-making and the king was solely an executive figure, why would the Macedonians seek to petition the king directly? Would they not utilize the assembly and or council according to constitutional dictates? In addition, the role of the people in capital trials has been misinterpreted and the role of the king has been underplayed by constitutionalists. Both the trials of Philotas and the Pages were instances which the king chose to showcase in order to maintain the goodwill of his troops, to avoid further conspiracies arising from desire for revenge, and to present himself as a fair and just ruler.⁴⁹ Similarly, the passages cited by constitutionalists describing the election of kings by the people have been misunderstood. While the acclamation was part of the ceremonial accession of the king, it was not representative of a constitutional right of the Macedonian people.

Neither Diodorus' nor Justin's account of the succession of Philip II specifically mentions a formal assembly; by "the people" they may be referring only to public opinion, rather than to a popular vote. Both authors are concerned

⁴⁸Plut. *Mor.* 179C.

⁴⁹Anson 2008.

to characterize Philip in a positive light; highlighting popular acclaim for his accession serves to distinguish Philip, as a king, from a tyrant who rules by force and subjugates his people, as Demosthenes would have it.⁵⁰

In Diodorus, when the army presents Arrhidaeus as their choice for king, the immediate reaction of the Companions was to *πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα διέγνωσαν καὶ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τοὺς πεξοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξιώμα ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν, ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Μελέαγρος, ἀξιοῦντες πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς.*⁵¹ If the army had simply been exercising its constitutional role in selecting a new king, then we must believe that the Companions wished to overturn this constitutional right by their actions. What their reaction more likely suggests is that they were accustomed to this power being in the hands of the nobility or the king's family and were acting to quash an upstart movement of the phalanx. The fact that the army in this instance was in fact acting contrary to the normal procedure is supported by the testimony of Curtius who states,

⁵⁰Dem. 2.14-20.

⁵¹Diod. Sic. 18. 2. 2. The most influential of the Friends and of the Bodyguard, however, taking counsel together and joining themselves to the corps of horsemen known as the Companions, at first decided to take up arms against the phalanx and sent to the infantry envoys chosen from men of rank, of whom the most prominent was Meleager, demanding submission to their orders. Trans. Geer 1933.

*Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, utique si nova et brevi duratura libertate luxuriat.*⁵²

Indeed, the circumstances of this succession were entirely extraordinary; the Macedonian army and/or people were not accustomed to holding any power when it came to the succession of the king.

However, Anson provides an extremely plausible compromise between the two opposing views. He submits that while a formal assembly did not exist to select a king, the acclamation of the king was part of the ritual of accession: “If the king had died in Pella, the population of Pella might have been called on for the ceremonial acclamation; if in Aegae, the population of Aegae. Some populations would be more prestigious than others, especially if there were multiple claimants, but, in general, any group would probably do.”⁵³ Thus, the acclamation of the people was a purely ceremonial act. The Macedonians would gather much like the British would nowadays to watch a televised coronation; the cheers of the gathering symbolize the people's acceptance of the new king –

⁵²Curt. 10. 7. 11. No deep sea, no vast and storm-swept ocean rouses such great billows as the emotions of a multitude, especially if it is exulting in a liberty which is new and destined to be short-lived. Trans. Rolfe 1946.

⁵³Anson 1985, 308.

not that they had a choice in the matter.

As for the judicial powers of the Assembly, while historical evidence of events in Macedonia is notoriously scarce for the periods predating Alexander III, it is perhaps significant that there are no attestations of any trials before the death of Darius in 330 BC.⁵⁴ The closest piece of evidence we have that might indicate a trial for the assassins of Philip II is a one-line fragment⁵⁵ that has been heavily and inconclusively restored and the authorship and interpretation of which is uncertain.⁵⁶ The exceptional conditions of Alexander's expedition instigated the formation of a military assembly where none had formally existed. As his expedition progressed, Alexander needed repeatedly to test his *auctoritas* by addressing his army; he knew there was no point in advancing further with reluctant soldiers.⁵⁷ There are two versions of events in 326 BC: Curtius says that Alexander was confronted by an assembly of his soldiers wanting to return home,⁵⁸ but Arrian says it was the commanders.⁵⁹ The sources agree, however,

54 Anson 1991, 231.

55]ουσαπε[|]επεριθρο.[|]ιντοισ.[|].ρεδωκε.[| . *P Oxy.* 1798.

56 Anson 2008, 137. Hatzopoulos 1996, 273.

57 Anson 1991 232.

58 Curt. 9.2.12.

59 Arr. *An.* 5.25.2.

that Alexander summoned the meeting in response to the complaints of the soldiers, attempted to persuade them to march on, and was met with silence. In both accounts, the soldiers do not directly oppose Alexander – they only display their reluctance⁶⁰-- and Alexander gives in to the “lack of spirit” of the army, not the demands of a constitutional assembly.⁶¹

Errington asserts that the passage in Curtius upon which constitutionalists rely does not imply the existence of a formal judicial assembly.⁶² His interpretation focuses on the use of *auctoritas* and *potestas* in Curtius' sentence: *de capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus – in pace erat vulgi – et nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas.*⁶³ He suggests that there were instances wherein the authority of the king had to be tested by presenting his views to the people – whether that be a group of soldiers or civilians – in order to judge their willingness to accept his views.⁶⁴ This rings especially true in the case of Philotas, who came from a prestigious family that was well-liked and

⁶⁰ Curt. 9. 2. 10 – 11, 9.3.5; Arr. *An.* 5. 25. 3, 5.27.2.

⁶¹ Anson 1991, 234.

⁶² Curt. 6. 8. 25.

⁶³ Curt. 6. 8. 25. In accordance with the ancient custom of the Macedonians, the king conducted the inquiry into criminal cases, and the army passed judgement – in time of peace it was a duty of the common people – and the power of the king availed nothing, unless his influence had earlier had weight with them. Trans. Rolfe 1946.

⁶⁴ Errington 1978, 89.

respected by the army. It would make sense that Alexander should want to justify his exercise of *potestas* in this case in order to avoid feelings of resentment which could lead to a new conspiracy in the future. The same could be said for the trial of the Royal Pages. In that instance Alexander made certain that the fathers of the pages in question were present in order that they might witness their sons' guilt themselves. Indeed one, the father of Hermolaus, attempts to kill his son himself when he admits to his guilt and insults Alexander.⁶⁵ The transparency of such trials not only permitted the king to test his *auctoritas* before exercising his *potestas*, it also implicated the participation of the audience in the act of punishment.⁶⁶

Non-constitutionalists also view the king's interaction with his leading men in terms of testing *auctoritas*. The king was, they argue, free to chose or demote his Hetairoi, *somatophylakes* and *hegemones* as he saw fit with no constraints except diplomatic considerations.⁶⁷ The Hetairoi could also be assigned to fulfil special roles upon request of the king: for example, Alexander

65 Curt. 8. 7. 7.

66 Anson 2008, 147.

67 The Hetairoi were chosen by the king; he gave them royal land and in return they provided him with military support and service. Ashley 1998, 25.

choosing Antipater to govern affairs in Macedonia during his absence in Persia.⁶⁸

Non-constitutionalists do not recognize any formal institution that may be termed a King's Council. Rather, they suggest that the king was able to select individuals to form advisory committees at any time to provide advice on specific situations.⁶⁹ The king could choose those individuals based on their specific qualifications, the particular circumstances, or political and diplomatic considerations, which meant that the men whom the king chose as his *Hetairoi*, bodyguards and hegemon were frequently called upon for advice. And once such an advisory committee was struck, the king was not obligated to adhere to their decision.⁷⁰

Taking all of the available evidence into account, the non-constitutionalist approach to the interpretation of Macedonian kingship appears to be the more correct. How, then, did the Macedonian kings operate in the absence of a formalized constitutional model? What were the power dynamics and tensions in

68 Arr. *An.* 1. 11. 3.

69 Borza 1990, 242.

70 Diod. 17.16.1-3; 17.54.3-5. Both the examples given by Hatzopoulos 1996, 341 of a Council being obeyed (Diod. 18.25.4;55.1) come after the death of Alexander III during a period of time when Perdiccas was acting as regent for two weak kings. It is understandable that the *Hetairoi* would have more authority as a group than Perdiccas alone.

Macedonian society?

Part C: Macedonian kingship before Alexander III

Section C.1: The King's Power and his Family

Until the death of Alexander, the kings of Macedonia all belonged to the Argead dynasty. We are told by Herodotus that the dynasty originated with a Temenid from Argos named Perdiccas.⁷¹ Any attempt to determine how the Argeads first became the leading family of the Macedonian people is perforce based on these traditional accounts and comparisons with neighbouring *ethne*, such as the Thessalians, Mollosians or Epirotes.⁷² However they came to this position of power, there is evidence to suggest what powers and responsibilities the king held, and how family dynamics influenced the politics of the state.

Since there was no firm rule of primogeniture, there were a significant number of battles amongst the Argeads over the succession. In the fifth century the events surrounding the succession of Perdiccas II are unclear, but it would seem that he had to fight off his two brothers (Philip and Alcestas) in order to secure the throne.⁷³ According to Plato, Pediccas' son Archelaus came to the

71 Hdt. 8.137-39.

72 Hatzopoulos 1996, 463-486.

73 Borza 1990, 135.

throne by murdering all other claimants – including an uncle, cousin, and brother – and by marrying his father's widow.⁷⁴ Philip II had to dispose of his nephews and half-brothers before his place as king could be secured,⁷⁵ and Alexander put his cousin to death before setting out to conquer Persia.⁷⁶

In addition, the practice of polygamy without institutionalized primogeniture promoted power struggles between royal women.⁷⁷ Before the time of Amyntas III, the political influence of Macedonian women appears to be insignificant. The first mentions of royal women are in reference to various marriage contracts that were made in cases of political expediency: for example, the marriage of Alexander I's sister, Gygaea, to Bubares a high-ranking Persian official,⁷⁸ and the marriage of Perdiccas II's sister to Seuthes, a Thracian king.⁷⁹ However, the role for royal Macedonian women seems to have been redefined by Philip II's mother Eurydice. Although little is known regarding the specifics of Eurydice's life, at least two ancient sources imply that she was Illyrian:⁸⁰ a people

74 Plat. *Gorg.* 417a-c.

75 Ellis 1971.

76 Diod. 17. 2. 3-5.

77 Carney 2000, 25-27.

78 Hdt. 5.21

79 Thuc. 2.101.5

80 *Suda* s.v. "Karanos"; Lib. *Vit.Dem.*9

who had invaded Macedonia and possibly ousted Amyntas III from his throne for a short period of time.⁸¹ Her Illyrian heritage may account for her exceptional boldness and strength of character, which resulted in unprecedented political influence.⁸²

Her influence is best exemplified in an episode related by Aeschines in his speech to Philip when Eurydice pleads with the Athenian general Iphicrates to protect her two remaining sons (Perdiccas III and Philip II) from Pausanias until they should be old enough to fight for their right to the Macedonian kingship.⁸³ Although Macurdy insists that this episode, “does not indicate that any real political power belonged to her,”⁸⁴ Carney correctly clarifies that here Eurydice's power derives from her *influence* and not her *authority*.⁸⁵ Eurydice may not have had a role regulated and recognized in a formal constitution, but the influence she commanded by virtue of her position as queen mother to two under-aged

81 Diod. 19.15.19.

82 Audata, Philip II's first wife, was also Illyrian. Although there is no ancient testimony concerning Audata's character directly, it is said that her daughter Cynnane fought in battle and taught her daughter, Adea Eurydice, military skills (Ath. 560 f.; Polyæn. 8.60; Arr. *FgrH* 156 F. 9.22-23). Despite her paternal Macedonian heritage, Cynnane is referred to by Athenaeus (560 f.) as “the Illyrian,” this would suggest that her masculine characteristics were more closely identified with her maternal heritage.

83 Aeschin. 2.26-29.

84 Macurdy 1927, 208.

85 Carney 2000, 269. n. 9.

but eligible heirs was still significant.

Further evidence of Eurydice's influence as a Macedonian royal includes three statue bases and one statue uncovered at Vergina. The first consists of four marble blocks which supported an unknown dedication by Eurydice, whose name appears in the dedicatory inscription, which reads: *Euridika Sirra Eukleiai* "Eurydice, daughter of Sirras, to Eucleia."⁸⁶ The second is a single marble block with an identical inscription and a cavity on top which suggests it was meant to hold an approximately life-sized statue of a robed woman.⁸⁷ This base was found in a ditch at Aegae along with such a statue, but its size does not match the size of the cavity and the base; the two, then, are separate dedications.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, despite the fact that the statue is currently without an inscription to identify its subject, the fact that it is made of costly Pentelic marble and that it depicts a mature, mortal woman in "stylistically retrospective or heroic dress" supports its attribution as a statue of Eurydice.⁸⁹ The third statue base was found in a Christian basilica where it had been incorporated as a column base. Eurydice's

86 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli in Fox 2011, 277.

87 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli in Fox 2011, 278.

88 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli in Fox 2011, 281.

89 Schultz 2007, 217.

name and patronymic are inscribed on one lateral side, but not on the front. This and other details suggest that the block was originally meant to complete the right end of a larger monument with adjoining blocks and statues to its left.⁹⁰ This position in a statue group exactly mirrors the layout of the statues in the Philippeion. It is possible then, that there existed a replica – or a statue group similar in design and subject – to the Philippeion group in Aegae.⁹¹

It was originally suggested by Andronikos that the two dedications by Eurydice were made in connection with Philip's victory at Chaeronea.⁹² It is highly unlikely that Eurydice was still alive in 338 B.C. and it is not certain that the cult of Eucleia is appropriate for a military commemoration.⁹³ Although there is a dedication to Eucleia Eunomia in Athens commemorating the victory at Marathon, the goddess is more commonly found in the guise of Artemis Eucleia who is thought to be the virgin daughter of Heracles and whose temples are usually found close to a city's market place where she received sacrifices from those about to be married.⁹⁴ Therefore it is more likely that the dedications were

90 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli in Fox 2011, 281.

91 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli in Fox 2011, 281.

92 Andronikos 1984, 51.

93 Carney 2000, 45.

94 Borza 1990, 192. c.f. Plut. *Arist.* 20.6.

for Artemis Eucleia since the Argeads considered themselves to be descended from Heracles; also the dedications to Eucleia were found in or near a temple adjoining the Agora at Aegae.⁹⁵ The inspiration for Eurydice's dedications remains unclear, but Carney has suggested that Eurydice could have been responsible for the building of the temple itself.⁹⁶

Section C.2: The King, his Kingdom and his Army

The first power of the king that is well-attested is his dominion over the land and the resources on that land. When the first Argeads came to Macedonia they established dominion over the region by conquering the various tribes in the area. When the king conquered a new area, that place became “Macedonia.”⁹⁷ This tradition of spear-won territory is attested in the earliest history of Macedonia and the foundation myth of the Argead dynasty. The clever Perdiccas, so the story goes, accepted the payment of sunlight from the king of Lebaea by tracing a circle into the earthen floor with his knife, symbolizing his acquisition

95 Borza 1990, 193. The importance of the cult of Artemis is well-attested in Macedonia. Herodotus (4.33) mentions that Paionian women frequently sacrificed to Artemis Basileia; Philip II issued small coins with the head of Artemis (LeRider 1996, 510. f.D242-D244), Alexander III paid special attention to Artemis cults in Ephesus and Amphipolis (Arr. 1.17.10; Diod.18.4.5.), and she played a special role in initiation rites for young women (Hatzopoulos 1994, 41-53.)

96 Carney 2000, 45.

97 Hammond 1995.

of the land.⁹⁸ After this incident, he and his brothers went on to “settle near the place known as the Garden of Midas . . . Once they had gained control of this district, the three brothers expanded from there until they had conquered the rest of Macedonia too.”⁹⁹

Whether the king, in a similar fashion to Athens, contracted out the working of the land and resources or instead used some other means of production is unknown. There is plenty of literary evidence, however, suggesting that the king controlled mining resources.¹⁰⁰ There are also a number of inscriptions concerning the king's distribution of Macedonian timber.¹⁰¹ Since he controlled how and when the natural resources of the land were produced and exported, it is natural to assume that he also controlled the profits of this trade.¹⁰²

An example of the king's control of trade comes from an inscription found at

98 Greenwalt 1994.

99 Hdt. 8.138. Trans. Waterfield 1998.

100 According to Herodotus, Alexander I would receive a talent a day from his silver mine (Hdt. 5. 17.) and Arrian suggests Philip II's wealth derived from his control of the Pangaion gold mines (Arr. *An.* 7. 9. 3.).

101 *IG* i² 71 (Treaty of Athens with Perdiccas II); *IG* i² 105 (Athens honours Archelaus for supplying wood); *GHI* 12/Hatzopoulos 1996 no. 1/*SIG* 135 (Peace treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalcidians detailing the arrangements for the exportation of ship-building timber and pitch). See Borza in Adams and Borza (eds.) 1982.

102 Borza 1990, 238.

Olynthus:¹⁰³*Front*

συνθηῆκαι πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἐρριδαίου.
 συνθηῆκαι Ἀμύνται τῶι Ἐρριδαίου,
 καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι. Συμμάχους εἶν
 ἀλλήλοισι κατὰ πάντα ἀνθρώποθ[ς]
 ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. Ἐάν τις ἐπ' Ἀμυν-
 ταν ἴη ἐς τῆ[ν χώραν ἐπὶ π]ολέμοι
 [ῆ] ἐπὶ Χα[λκιδέας, βοηθ]εῖν Χαλκιδέ-
 [ας] Ἀμύ[νται καὶ Ἀμύνταν
 Χαλκιδεῦσιν]

Back

ἐ(ξ)αγωγή δ' ἔστω καὶ πίσεως καὶ
 ξύλων
 οἰκοδομιστηρίωμ πῶτωι, ναυπηγη-
 σίμων δὲ πλήν ἐλατίνων, ὅ τι ἄμ μὴ τὸ
 κοινὸν δέηται, τῶι δὲ κοινῶι καὶ
 τούτων
 εἶν ἐξαγωγήν, εἰπόντας Ἀμύνται πρὶν
 ἐξ-
 ἀγειν, τελέοντας τὰ τέλεα τὰ
 γεγραμμέν[α].
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαγωγήν δὲ εἶν καὶ
 δια-
 {α}γωγήν τελέουσιν τέλεα καὶ
 Χαλκιδεῦ-
 σι ἐκ Μακεδονίης καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐκ
 Χαλκιδέων. Πρὸς Ἀμφιπολίτας,
 Βοττ[ι]-
 αῖους, Ἀκανθίους, Μενδαίους μὴ

Front

Agreement with Amyntas son of
 Arrhidaeus.
 Agreement between Amyntas son of
 Arrhidaeus and the Chalcidians. They
 shall be allies
 of one another in respect of all men
 for fifty years. If any one goes against
 Amyn-
 tas, into his land for war, or against the
 Chalcidians, the Chalcidians shall go to
 support Amyntas and Amyntas the
 Chalcidians - - -

Back

There shall be export of pitch and of all
 building timbers, and of shipbuilding
 timbers except firs, whatever is not
 needed by the
koinon, and for the *koinon* there shall be
 export even of these, on telling Amyntas
 before
 exporting them and paying the dues
 that have been written.
 There shall be export and transport of
 the other things on paying dues, both
 for the Chalcidians from Macedon and
 for the Macedonians from the
 Chalcidians. With the Amphipolitans,
 Bottiaeans, Acanthians, and

103 GHI n.12

π[οιεῖ]-
 [σ]θαί φιλίην Ἀμύνταμ μηδὲ
 Χαλκιδ[έας]
 [χωρὶς ἐκατέρους δοκῆι, κοιν[ῆι]
 προσθέσθαι ἐκε]ίνους. Ὀρκος
 συμμ[αχί]-
 [ης · φυλάξω τὰ συγκεί]μενα
 Χαλκιδ[εῦ]-
 [σι, καὶ ἐάν τις ἦι ἐπ' Ἀ]μύνταν [ές]
 [τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ πολέμοι βοηθήσω
 Ἀμ]ύν[ται]

Mendaeans friendship shall not be made
 by Amyntas nor by the Chalcidians
 apart from the others; but with a single
 opinion, if it is resolved by both, they
 shall attach them jointly. Oath of the
 alliance: I shall guard what has been
 established by the Chalcidians; and if
 any one goes against Amyntas, into his
 land for war, I shall go to support
 Amyntas - - -

This inscription is dated to the reign of Amyntas III and is therefore among the earliest extant inscription. The sources indicates that sometime in the 380s, Amyntas was expelled from Macedonia and either lost the kingdom to the Illyrians or the Olynthians, or both.¹⁰⁴ Whatever the true circumstances, what is certain is that Amyntas did leave Macedonia for a time, and either when he left or when he came back, made the gift of the use of the land to the Olynthians that this inscription details. The inscription stipulates that military aid is expected from each side should the other be attacked, but it also stipulates the arrangements for the exportation of pitch and ship-building lumber. Even though the terms are advantageous to the Chalcidians, it is Amyntas who

104 Diod. 14.37; 6.84-89; 14.92.2-3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.12-14.

appears to be in control of the agreement. It is he who holds the power to decide what exactly the Chalchidians can do with the lumber and how because it is his prerogative as king.

A second example is provided by an inscription that was discovered in 1936 at Philippi and dates to 335-334 BC.¹⁰⁵ In it, Alexander III reaffirms the distribution of land given by Philip II, presumably in 356 BC when he changed the name of the city of Crenides to Philippi.¹⁰⁶ Philippi presents a special case since the local Greek population willingly fell under Philip's control in return for protection from nearby Thracian tribes.¹⁰⁷ The inscription is important for two reasons: first, it shows *what* fell under the king's authority, and second, it shows *how* he dealt with the different peoples within his borders. It is clear that the king had control over the land, how it was cultivated and how the produce could be used (lines 18-21 and 25-26). In the second case, there is a clear differentiation between how Philip deals with the Phillipians and how he deals with the Thracians. From the wording of the inscription it would appear that Philippi retained control over the lands it possessed before Philip expanded its borders,

105 Hammond 1988 and 1990. See also, Badian 1993.

106 Diod. 16.8.6.

107 Steph. Byz. s.v. Philippoi.

“Philippi is to possess the land . . . Philippi is to cultivate the land around Seiraike and Dainaros, as Philip gave,”¹⁰⁸ whereas the Thracians were only allowed to cultivate the land, “Of all things [...] which have been given to the Thracians by Philip the produce is to be enjoyed by the Thracians, as Alexander too has enjoined.”¹⁰⁹ This differentiation derived from the fact that the Thracians were defeated by Philip in battle and so were now considered his subjects whereas the Philippians should be considered voluntary subjects and so acted “as a free Greek city.”¹¹⁰

Associated with control of the land and its resources is the control of the people living on that land. That the king held absolute power when acting as the head of the Macedonian army is well attested by the military careers of both Philip II and Alexander III. In addition to the command of the army, the king also possessed the right to levy troops from the constituent parts of the kingdom and newly conquered territory as they saw fit. Alexander III levied a great proportion

108 Hammond, 1988, 384. Lines 21-25: [-----, ἦ]ς οἱ λόφοι ἐκατέρωθεν ἔχου- / [σι -----]η[....πε]ρὶ Σεираϊκὴν γῆν καὶ / Δαίνηρον νέμεσθ[αι Φιλίππους, καθάπερ ἔδω- / κε Φίλιππος

109 Hammond, 1988, 385. Lines 18-21: ν[-----]ς ὅσα δὲ τοῖς Θραξιῶν [ὑπὸ] / [Φιλίππου δέδο]ται, κα[ρ]πίζεσθαι τοὺς θρ[ᾶ]ι- / [κας καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλεξαν]δρος περὶ αὐτῶν δια- / τέταχεν

110 Ibid. 387.

of troops from the tribes of Upper Macedonia who were more recently conquered and so more likely to be restless and cause trouble in his absence.¹¹¹

Section C.3: The King and Religion

The second important role of the king is his religious responsibility. The Macedonians had a strong connection to mystery cults, as evidenced by: the popularity of cults like that of the Kabiroi in Samothrace,¹¹² the cult of Dionysus,¹¹³ and the importance of oracles.¹¹⁴ This religious atmosphere played a major role in legitimizing the Argead dynasty. The Macedonians believed that the royal family benefited from the favour of the gods because they were descendents of Zeus via Heracles.¹¹⁵ Therefore they, and the king especially, were

111 Ellis 1971, 23-24. See also, P.A. Brunt "Alexander's Macedonian Cavalry." and R.D. Milns "Alexander's Macedonian Cavalry and Diodorus xvii 17.4"

112 In addition to Philip II being responsible for patronizing a large building program at Samothrace (Christesen in Roisman 2010, 441) see: Plut. *Alex.* 2.1 (Philip II and Olympias met while undergoing the initiation rites at Samothrace); Just. 24.3.9. (Arsinoe builds the Arsineum); McCredie 1968, 220. (Philip III and Alexander IV build a monumental dedication).

113 Eurypides' *Bacchae* is thought to have been written while the playwright was living in the Macedonian court: Hammond 1989, 98. Each year the king made a special sacrifice to the god: Arr. 4.8.1. Olympias especially was an active participant in Bacchic rituals: Plut. *Alex.* 2; Ath. 12.560 f.

114 Philip II: Val. Max. 1.8.9 (the prophecy from Delphi warning Philip to avoid chariots); Plut. *Alex.* 3 (oracle regarding Alexander's birth); Diod. 16.92.4 (Philip and the chariot again). Amyntas IV: *IG.* 7. 3055 (an inscription that simply records Amyntas' visit to the oracle at Delphi). Activity at Dodona: Hyp. *Eux.* 32; Arr. *An.* 3.4.5. Not to mention the numerous oracles reported in relation to Alexander III: Arr. 2.3, 3.3-4; Plut. *Alex.* 18.1-2, 26.11-28; Diod. 17.49-51; Curt. 3.1.11-17, 4.7.5-32; Just. 11.11, 7.3-16.

115 Hdt. 8.139.

perceived as conduits to the gods for the benefit of the Macedonian people.¹¹⁶

In addition to daily rites,¹¹⁷ the primary religious duties for which the king was responsible are outlined in a letter from Olympias to Alexander¹¹⁸ as reported by Athenaeus:

Ἐπεί γιναν τὸν μάγειρον λαβὲ παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς.
 Οὗτος γὰρ οἶδε τὰ ἱερά σου τὰ πατρῶα πάντα ὄν
 τρόπον θύεται καὶ τὰ ἀργαδιστικά καὶ τὰ Βακχικά,
 ὅσα τε Ὀλυμπιάς προθύεται οὗτος οἶδεν. μὴ οὖν
 ἀμελήσης, ἀλλὰ λαβέ· καὶ ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἐμὲ
 τὴν ταχίστην.'

Buy the sacrificer-cook Pelignas from your mother.
 For this man knows all your ancestral rites, how they
 are performed, both the Argeadic and the Bacchic
 ones, and all the sacrifices which Olympias performs
 (for you) he knows. Therefore, do not neglect this, but
 buy him. And send me your reply as soon as
 possible.¹¹⁹

116 Hammond 1989, 22. It is important to note that this religious authority extended to the whole Argead family with the king acting as a kind of “head priest.” He could, as needed, delegate his religious responsibilities to family members, even the women. Arrhidaeus (Curt. 10.7.2), Olympias (Arr. 1.11.3; Hyp. 3.31, 32, 35, 36; Diod. 17.108.7) and Cleopatra (Plut. *Alex.* 68.3; *SEG* XXIII 198; IX 2) were each responsible at different times for performing religious rites while Alexander was campaigning even though Antipater was acting as regent.

117 The king was responsible for: sacrificing on a daily basis (Arr. 7.25.2; Curt. 4.6.10), libations upon entering city (Marysas *FgrH* 135-136 F 21), participation in both local and national festivals (Diod. 17.16.3-4; Arr. 1.11.1), purification of the army (Curt. 10.9.11-12), consulting seers and oracles (*IG* 7.3055; Arr. 7.26.2).

118 Although the letter is known as “the letter from Olympias to Alexander” the wording of the letter suggests that it was written by an unknown third party and not Olympias herself. Fredricksmeier 1966, 179.

119 Fredricksmeier 1966, 180.

Therefore the king's responsibilities fell under two major categories: the Argeadic rites and the Bacchic rites.

The Argeadic rites were centred around the cults of Zeus and Heracles from whom the family was believed to be descended. These religious rituals were “deemed essential for the productivity of their realm's land and people.”¹²⁰ Fredricksmeier suggests that the Argeadic rites are those which the conquering Macedonians imposed on their conquered neighbours.¹²¹ He does not go into further detail to describe what these rites specifically consisted of, except to say that they were “Hellenic” in nature and that the sources provide only one reference to them.¹²² However, he neglects to consider the foundation myth provided by Herodotus.¹²³

In Herodotus' account, three Temenid brothers came from Argos to work for the king of Lebaea. When the king's wife noticed strange portents concerning

120 Greenwalt 1994, 3.

121 Fredricksmeier 1966, 181. See also Greenwalt 1985 (a), 253.

122 Fredricksmeier 1966, 181. c.f. Curt. 10.7.2. *Arrhidaeus, Philippo genitus, Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, praeteritus a vobis.*

(Arrhidaeus, son of Philip, brother of Alexander, who was shortly before the king, recntly his associate in sacrifices and ceremonies, and now his sole heir, is passed over by you.)

123 Hdt. 8.137-138.

the youngest of the three brothers, Perdiccas, the king decided to send the brothers from his kingdom. He called the brothers to his house and told him of his decision. They agreed to leave only after the king had given them their wages. At this point the king was possessed with madness and pointed to a shaft of sunlight coming in from the roof saying that they may have that as their wages. Perdiccas drew his knife and cut out three sections of the earth where the sun had fallen. The brothers thanked the king and departed. When the king had recovered from his madness and realized what Perdiccas had done, he and his army set out in pursuit of the brothers to kill them. However, the brothers were saved by a river which flooded to keep the king's riders from reaching them. The brothers eventually settled in the Gardens of Midas where there were roses with sixty petals.

In this myth there is one important feature which could possibly point to evidence of a Argeadic cult: Herodotus states that the Argeads continued to offer sacrifices to the river that saved their ancestors.¹²⁴ It is clear when Herodotus mentions the river responsible for saving Perdiccas that he is referring to an

124 Hdt. 8.137.

actual practice of the Macedonian royal family. The sacrifices the family made at this river must belong to the category of Argeadic rites. Also, a dedication to Heracles Patroios was found in a circular room at the Aigai palace which could possibly be associated with an Argeadic cult.¹²⁵

Compared to the Argeadic rites, there is plentiful evidence for the Bacchic rites in Macedonia. It is well-known that Euripides wrote the *Bacchae* while he was living in Macedonia, and Olympias' role as a Bacchant is recorded by Plutarch.¹²⁶ Dionysus was revered in many aspects, but it is a solar Dionysus who legitimized the Argead dynasty. In the foundation myth provided by Herodotus, solar Dionysus induced a temporary madness in the king of Lebaea and subsequently gave the kingdom to Perdiccas by illuminating a circle of earth in the king's house.¹²⁷ The association with the solar Dionysus is reinforced when Herodotus describes the Gardens of Midas where the brothers eventually settle. He describes the gardens as being full of roses (a flower closely associated with

125 Hatzopoulos 1996, n. 30. Although the inscription is dated to the 2nd century BC, the palace itself is believed to have been built by Philip II and so the inscription could indicate the continued practice of the dynastic cult.

126 Plut. *Alex.* 2.

127 After his victory over Porus in India Alexander, "sacrificed to Helios who had given him the eastern regions to conquer." (Trans. Diod. 17. 89. 3). This episode reinforces the idea that the sun-god could be responsible for placing territory under the king's rule.

the sun), situated under Mount Bermion,¹²⁸ and the home of Silenus who is closely associated with Dionysus. The significance of the sun and roses in the story find their parallels in the gold larnaxes found in Tomb II at Vergina.¹²⁹ Both of these golden boxes have representations of sun-bursts and rosettes. While both of these decorative features have precedents that are unrelated to any kind of Argeadic cult,¹³⁰ their association with the Argead male in Tomb II (whoever he may be) and their prominence in the Argead myth related by Herodotus may imply a special significance for the royal house.

Section C.4: The Social Game in Macedonia

Although Dionysus perhaps had a special significance for the royal family, he also played a prominent role in Macedonian society. The Macedonians lived in “a world in which excellence was not so much an absolute as a series of demonstrations of superiority to specific individuals or groups”.¹³¹

128 Greenwalt 1994, 6. Shrines related to solar cults in Macedonia and Thrace are typically found on or near mountain tops.

129 Drougou 2008, 45-46. A gold pectoral belonged to the female occupant is also covered in rosettes. Although it is easy to dismiss floral motifs as decorative, it may be significant that comparable pectorals from nearby areas also have floral motifs, but none of them have roses (see Archibald 1985, 170). Of course, there is not a large enough sample of pectorals to support any definitive argument.

130 See Mitropoulou 1993.

131 Carney 1992, 177.

Archaeological evidence as well as archaeological testimony suggests that *symposia* were the main arena for power plays, competition for the king's favour and attention, and the forum at which the king tested his *auctoritas* and proposals.¹³² The atmosphere at these *symposia* was extremely competitive. In addition to athletic contests, dramatic presentations and drinking games, the very equipment of the *symposia* was designed to showcase how the individuals measured up: for example, the king's wine cup was always the largest.¹³³

The first floor of palace at Aegae, which is believed to have been built by Philip II, is comprised nearly entirely of a series of androns, the largest of which can hold up to 60 banqueters.¹³⁴ There are a total of 16 androns in the palace surrounding a peristyled courtyard which was 1600m² in area and could seat more than 3000 people.¹³⁵ Following in the same tradition is Alexander's famous "Tent of a Hundred Couches" which he took with him on campaign and where he held the mass marriage at Susa.¹³⁶ Bergquist has remarked that the androns in Aegae are "unpleasantly large" since their size and shape forced some

132 Borza 1983, 55.

133 Pownall 2010, 64.

134 Kottaridi in Fox 2011, 325.

135 Ibid. 321.

136 Diod. 17.16.4; Curt. 9.7.15; Athen. 12.537D-540A.

symposiasts to be isolated from the others based on their seating arrangements.¹³⁷

Such large dimensions would have posed a problem for the traditional Greek symposium, where the participation of the symposiasts as equals was an essential component.¹³⁸ However, in the Macedonian symposium, it was essential to distinguish the king as host as well as different groups and their social standing. The large size of the androns would allow the king to assign differential honour to groups and individuals based on a variety of factors, such as their proximity to the king. The king could also provide extravagant spectacles for the entertainment of his guests within the large space these rooms provided.¹³⁹

Non-constitutionalists consider the *symposia* to be another testing ground of sorts, wherein, the king could test his *auctoritas* in an atmosphere of camaraderie and see how a decision would be received. During the campaign of Alexander III, *symposia* also provided a respite from the hardships of the expedition. Many rivalries and competitions were played out at the *symposia* under the eyes of the king: an excellent example being the conflict between

137 Bergquist in Murray (ed.) 1990, 54.

138 Bergquist in Murray (ed.) 1990, 53.

139 Borza 1983, 50.

Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, showing that it was not only military men present at these events and that others were able to exercise influence in the court.¹⁴⁰ This is also the arena where Alexander first introduced the topic of incorporating the *proskynesis* in his court. In the accounts of Curtius and Arrian it is explicitly stated that the king decided to introduce the issue in the setting of the *symposium* first, and that he based his actions on the responses of the symposiasts.¹⁴¹

Conclusion

In determining the purpose of the Philippeion, it is important to understand how the Argead kings traditionally ruled over their kingdom in order to determine whether the Philippeion can be seen as a typical royal monument. The Macedonian king relied on his personal history and relationships as the foundations of his authority. Macedonia was ruled as if it were the spear-won land of the king. Indeed, the dynastic myth of the Argeads describes them as foreign invaders who conquered Macedonia, rather than natives of the land. Thus, an essential premise of the king's authority was his status as a member of the Argead family. Since the Argeads had conquered

140 Borza, 1981.

141 Curt. 8.5.9-22; Arr. *Alex.* 4.10.5-11.5.

Macedonia they had the right to rule it, and this right was concentrated in the person of the king as the leading male Argead. However, there was not a strict rule of primogeniture, any Argead male could take the place at the head of the family as long as he had their support.

Although the Argeads were originally foreign invaders according to myth, their story also implies that it was divine will that this family should rule in Macedonia. Not only were they said to be descendants of Zeus through Heracles, the kingdom was actually endowed by solar Dionysus, a divinity especially prevalent in the region. In this way the Argeads were also believed to be the chosen and favoured family of the gods. This belief was manifested in the role of the king as the head religious official in Macedonia and the important tradition that only an Argead should perform certain rites.

The Macedonian king was an absolute monarch over his people, his rule best conceived as limited not by constitutional but practical constraints. He was dependent on the support and cooperation of his *hetairoi* to safeguard his position. These men typically owed their loyalty to the king who provided them with wealth, land, and status. The relationship between the king and his *hetairoi*

is best characterized by the Macedonian symposia where the king was both host and companion. He would provide gifts of food, wine, and entertainment to his guests, but at the same time he would also be sharing the bounty with them.

Now we must consider the imagery used by the Macedonian kings when representing themselves in order to determine if this iconographic history may have influenced the design of the Philippeion.

Chapter Two: The Self-Presentation of the Argead kings

Part A: Alexander I to Amyntas III

Herodotus reports that Alexander dedicated a golden statue of himself at Delphi in commemoration of his role at the Battle of Plataea.¹⁴² This is the first attested representation of a Macedonian king. Alexander's dedication was one of many that were erected at Delphi following the Persian defeat. Some scholars believe that the Delphic Amphictyony had medised and that the subsequent plethora of victory dedications following the Persian defeat was an attempt “to assert their anti-Persian credentials and . . . to stress their allegiance to the victors.”¹⁴³ Alexander's statue corresponds well to this interpretation, especially in light of the other decidedly philhellene sentiments Herodotus attributes to Alexander.¹⁴⁴ However, even though the golden statue could have been intended

142 Hdt. 8.121.2: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληΐην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δωδέκαπηχέων: ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περὶ ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

After that, they divided the spoils and sent the first-fruits of it to Delphi; of this was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figurehead of a ship. This stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian. Trans. Waterfield 1998.

Dem. 12.21: Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προγόνου πρώτου κατασχόντος τὸν τόπον, ὅθεν καὶ τῶν ναϊχμαλώτων Μήδων ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελφούς

It was my ancestor, Alexander, who first occupied the site, and, as the first-fruits of the Persian captives taken there, set up a gold statue at Delphi. Trans. MacDowell 2009.

143 Scott, 2010, pg. 82.

144 The main episodes in Herodotus which portray Alexander I as a philhellene character are: 1)

as a symbol of the Macedonian king's allegiance to Hellenic society, it was a markedly non-Greek dedication. Never before had an individual dedicated a statue of himself in the sanctuary.¹⁴⁵ Alexander's statue thus would have distinguished him as king of the Macedonians and at the same time integrated him into the Hellenic community.

This same dual-image of Alexander I is also seen in a fragmentary *enkomion* by Bacchylides, possibly commissioned for the occasion of Alexander's succession:¹⁴⁶

Ὡ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον
φυλάσ[σων]
ἑπτάτονον λ[ι]γυρᾶν κάππαυε γᾶρυν·
δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμᾶς χέρας· ὀρμαίνω τι
πέμπ[ειν]
χρύσειον Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πτερόν
καὶ συμποσ[ίαι]σιν
ἄγαλμ' [ἐν] εἰκάδεσ[σιν,]5
εὔτε νέων ἀ[παλόν] [γλυκεῖ ἄ]νάγκα
σευομενᾶν κ[υλίκων θάλη]σι

Lyre, keep to your peg no longer,
withholding the clear voice of your
seven tones.
Here, to my hands! I am stirred to send
some
golden feather of the Muses to
Alexander,
to adorn his banquets on festal days,

the massacre of the Persian envoys [Hdt. 5.17-21], 2) Alexander's warning to the Athenians the night before the battle of Plataea [Hdt. 9.44-45], and 3) Alexander's participation at the Olympic Games [Hdt. 5.20]. For a detailed discussion see Borza, 1990, pg.98-133 wherein he concludes: "There can be little doubt that Alexander hoped for acceptance into the Greek world, whether out of some personal philhellenic predilection or a pragmatic recognition of what was in Macedon's economic and political self-interest."

145 Scott, 2010, 87. However, Hieron, as tyrant of Syracuse and Gela, appears to have followed Alexander's example and dedicated a statue of himself about four years later. Plut. *Mor.* 397E.

146 Pindar, fr. 120; Bacchylides, fr.20B. Trans. Fearn 2007, 34-36.

[~]ατᾶι τῶσα[~ ~ - -]	...
[.]ε[~]ον θέμεθ[λ~ ~ - -]	... foundation
θυ[~ ~ -] ποτε τρω[~ -]	... once
θα[~ ~]αν ζαθεο[~ ~ - ~]	... hallowed
μν[~ ~]ατε δη κα[~ - -] 30	...
[~ ~ ἦ]μίθεοι π[~ ~ - -]	... demigods
[~]ν συνβ[~]ηκ. .ου[~]	...

The Greekness of Alexander I is implied in the style and *topoi* of the poem in addition to the commissioning of the poem from a renowned Greek poet. It is also possible that the Argive ancestry of the Argead family is explicitly referred to in lines 27, 29 and 31. The word θέμεθ[λ in line 27 is a rare poetic word used by Pindar, Apollonios and Kallimakhos to refer to the foundations of a sacred building.¹⁴⁷ Lines 29 and 31 have references to something divine and to demigods. While it is impossible to make a conclusive argument, it is possible that this part of the poem detailed the Argeads' semi-divine ancestor, Heracles, and the Argeadic cult practices.¹⁴⁸

However, there are other parts of the enkomion which indicate the non-Greek characteristics of Alexander I and his court. The moralizing message of this enkomion for Alexander is not the same as it would be for a Greek man.

147 Fearn 2007, 73. cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.16; 4.180; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.118; Kall. *Hymn.* 2.15.

148 Fearn 2007, 73.

Whereas the Greek poem would warn the symposiasts against being carried away by the impossible and illusory fantasies brought on by drinking, for Alexander, in his position as king, these are not impossible fantasies. In fact, sacking cities,¹⁴⁹ ruling over other men,¹⁵⁰ and enjoying conquered spoils,¹⁵¹ are necessary requirements for the position of the Macedonian king.¹⁵² The moral is not for Alexander to avoid these things but to pursue them cautiously since “(No) man (kept) happiness throughout (his whole life-time.)”¹⁵³

In addition to the moral of the enkomion, the non-Greek characteristics of the Macedonian court are also highlighted by the many references to Eastern influences. In the opening lines of the poem, the poet addresses himself to the *βάσβιτος*, an instrument closely associated with lavish Eastern sympotic practices.¹⁵⁴ Also, the phrase *πᾶσ[ι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσ]* in line 12 clearly refers to Alexander as the subject of the poem, but it also shares resonances with descriptions of the Persian king as, “the great king, king of kings, king of

149 Line 11.

150 Line 12.

151 Lines 13-16.

152 Fearn 2007, 29.

153 Lines 23-25.

154 Fearn 2007, 41-42.

countries containing all kinds of men, king on this earth far and wide.”¹⁵⁵ Finally, the reference to wealth from Egypt in line 15 calls to mind the close relationship between Macedonia and Persia. Since Egypt was under Persian control, a ship carrying goods from Egypt to Macedonia at the time the *enkômion* was written could have been a result of the Argeads medizing.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, while the fact of the *enkômion* implies that Alexander and his father wished to associate themselves with the Greeks through similar cultural practices, its content suggests that the Macedonians' affiliation with the Persians and the nature of the Macedonian monarchy clearly set the Argeads apart from the panhellenic circle.

The double-image of Alexander also appears in his coinage. He established his authority in the region between the Axios and the Strymon in the wake of the retreating Persian army. For the first time a Macedonian king had control over lucrative mines. Previously the Macedonians did not have a coinage of their own, but many of the surrounding tribes – from Lete, Paeonia, Ichnae, Siris, etc. - had produced coins as early as the sixth century. Now able to mint his own coins, Alexander I at first simply adopted the “goat type” staters and

155 See Badian 1994.

156 Fearn 2007, 69.

“Rhesus type” octobols of the Bisaltae substituting his name in the genitive for the tribal designation.¹⁵⁷ Hammond observes that “The coinage was evidently the possession of Alexander as king, for no coin is inscribed MAKEΔONON.”¹⁵⁸

Later Alexander kept the Rhesus octobols but changed the image of a goat for that of a rider, carrying two spears, sometimes accompanied by a hunting dog, with a Macedonian *chlamys*, and with the ribbons of a diadem hanging behind his head.¹⁵⁹ According to some interpretations this figure is meant to be the king.¹⁶⁰ However, there are no distinguishing characteristics that set this rider apart from many others found in surrounding areas. Identical or similar dual-spear-wielding horsemen are found on coins of Larissa, Thracian Chersonesos, the Orrescii, Mosses, on black and red figure vase paintings, as well as on reliefs of Darius in Persia and in paintings of the Thracian goddess Bendis.¹⁶¹ Rather than representing Alexander, the rider represents an important aspect of Macedonian kingship: the royal hunt, an activity which, like the Macedonian

157 See Figure 1.

158 Hammond, 1983, 251.

159 See Figure 2.

160 Hammond, 1983, 251.

161 See Dimitrova (2002) on the iconography of the Thracian rider as a generic representation of kings and divinized heroes. See Taceva (1992) for a detailed discussion of the historical evolution of the hunter-rider and the dating of Alexander I's coinage.

symposium, provided an arena for the king and his *hetairoi* to reestablish the hierarchy of the Macedonian court.¹⁶²

Perhaps Alexander's reasoning behind choosing the rider, in addition to the obvious Macedonian connotation, was that the image had different meanings to different peoples. The mounted huntsman was familiar to the Greeks, Thracians and Persians alike and with this ambiguous iconography Alexander could appeal to all three cultures simultaneously. This interpretation is substantiated by the fact that he also abandoned the Babylonian Standard used by the Bisaltae and adopted the Graeco-Asiatic system instead.¹⁶³ Having a system of coinage that fit easily into the markets of both his Persian and Greek neighbours made it that much easier for Alexander to play both sides to his advantage.¹⁶⁴

It would appear that Alexander's attempts to represent himself as an intermediary between the Persians and Greeks were somewhat successful since Herodotus reports that he was named *proxenos* of Athens. The practice of

162 Briant, 1991, 227.

163 Head, 1963, xlviii.

164 It is also important to note that, except for Philip II, Alexander I's coinage had the widest geographical circulation (see Greenwalt 1993, 510.)

bestowing the title of *proxenos* on foreign nobility was common in Athens. A study of Athenian decrees shows that honours, awards and honorary citizenship were routinely given in gratitude for services rendered to the city as well as for general recognition of virtuous men.¹⁶⁵ The data collected demonstrates that such awards were given as frequently to barbarians as to other Greeks. The decrees also imply that, although the Athenians may not have agreed with the political practices of other peoples, this attitude did not prevent positive diplomatic relations.¹⁶⁶ In this instance, it is likely that Alexander I's father, Amyntas, may have received the title of *proxenos* because he had given aid to Peisistratus while he was in exile.¹⁶⁷ This title could then have been inherited by Alexander I. Another possibility is that the Athenians bestowed the title on Alexander after the Persian defeat and Herodotus has included it anachronistically in this passage. In this scenario, either the Athenians were recognizing Alexander's contributions of timber to their fleet, or they wanted to secure him as an ally should the Persians return, thus ensuring a buffer zone between them and the

165 Allen, 2003, 199-246.

166 Allen 2003, 245.

167 Wallace 1970, 199.

Persians.¹⁶⁸ The title of *proxenos* was also an acknowledgement of Alexander's double-image as a Hellenized barbarian king who could serve as an important strategic ally in Athens' subsequent relationship with Persia.

However, the good relationship between the Macedonian king and the Greeks did not last more than a couple generations when Perdiccas II earned the reputation of oath-breaker in his dealings with both the Athenians and Spartans.¹⁶⁹ During the first half of his reign, Perdiccas II was only able to control the western half of the kingdom. He was constantly challenged by his brothers for the kingship and he also had to contend with hostile Thracians, Illyrians and Paeonians. The only coinage safely attributable to him as king are tetrobols. These were silver-plated copper, indicating the hardship Perdiccas faced at the time. He marked his coins with Π or ΠΕΡ and ΠΕΡΔΙΚ only at the end of his reign. His iconography imitates that of Alexander I's in most respects. He continued to display the royal rider holding two spears, but he also adopted some new images as well.

He is the first Macedonian king to make use of Heracles iconography in

168 Wallace 1970, 200.

169 Thuc. 4.78-142.

his coinage: the head of Heracles, a club and a bow all appear on different coins dated to his reign. One interpretation for the use of Heraklean imagery is that Perdiccas II was attempting to emphasize his relationship with the Greek states after the Battle of Mantinea.¹⁷⁰ After this battle in 418 B.C., Sparta and Argos formed a new alliance. Thucydides reports that, when they asked Perdiccas to join them, his Argive ancestry was one of the motivating factors.¹⁷¹ However, Perdiccas' alliance with the Spartans and Argives in 418 B.C. lasted less than a year. When the Athenians discovered that Perdiccas had abandoned them and their plans to invade the Chalcidice, they immediately blockaded his territory and came to an agreement with his enemies.¹⁷² This would have given Perdiccas a very small window in which to issue a special coinage. Also, it was the Argives and Spartans who approached Perdiccas in this instance for an alliance, and he would have wanted to keep the new alliance a secret from the Athenians. Thus he would have no reason to alter his coinage, either in a bid to woo the Argives or to advertise the new alliance.

The scarcity of Perdiccas' coinage makes it difficult to hypothesize an

¹⁷⁰ Hammond, 1983, 252.

¹⁷¹ Thuc. 5.80.2.

¹⁷² Roisman, in Roisman (ed.) 2010, 154.

accurate timeline. However, certain political tensions that were prevalent throughout the course of his reign correspond well with a different interpretation of the Heraclian motif of his coinage. Perdiccas frequently found his territory to be threatened by the Athenians. First, when they joined his brother Philip and Dardas, king of the Elimiotis, and again when they formed an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Thracian Odrysian kingdom.¹⁷³ In this context then, the Heraclian iconography of his coinage can be read in a couple of ways. First, it could be seen as a reminder to the Athenians that he was of Greek ancestry and that it would be inappropriate for them to choose an alliance with non-Greek kings like Dardas and Sitalces over an alliance with himself. Alternatively, Perdiccas could be appealing to the Spartans whose kings were also descended from Heracles and who had originally set out at the start of the Peloponnesian War to free all of Greece from Athenian domination. Finally, it would serve to remind those in his kingdom of his special status as being of divine descent and strengthen his contested claim to the kingship while continuing to project a Hellenizing association of the Macedonian kingship with the rest of the Greek

173 Thuc. 1.57.3; 2.95.1.

world.

Perdiccas II's son, Archelaus, succeeded his father in 413 BC. According to Plato he was a bastard son who inherited the throne by murdering all other potential heirs.¹⁷⁴ Thucydides gives an account of Archelaus' legacy:

Καὶ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι ἐπιόντος πολλοῦ
στρατοῦ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι ἕς τε τὰ
καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,
ἐσεκομίσθησαν. ἀλλὰ ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαος ὁ
Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν
τῇ χώρᾳ ὠκοδόμησε καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ
τᾶλλα διεκόσμησε τὰ [τε] κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις
καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσοι ἢ
ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτώ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
γενόμενοι.

Unable to defend themselves against a large attacking army, these Macedonians moved to all the strong locations and forts in the country. These were few, but later when Archelaos son of Perdiccas became king, he built those that there are now in the country, made straight roads, and in other ways mustered resources for war with greater strength in horses, weapons, and general preparation than all the eight kings who had come before him.¹⁷⁵

As part of his program to improve Macedonia, Archelaus also moved the capital from its ancient site at Aigai further North to Pella. The king's motives for

¹⁷⁴ Plato. *Gorgias*. 471.a-d.

¹⁷⁵ Thuc. 2.100.1-3. Trans. Lattimore 1998.

moving the capital were both economical and cultural.¹⁷⁶ The new site was situated on the main north-south and east-west passages through the Balkans. It was also much closer to the coastline in the fifth century BC and so had access to an easily defended port.¹⁷⁷

The cultural changes instigated by Archelaus were also reflected in the palace at Pella where he commissioned the famous panel painter Zeuxis,¹⁷⁸ and entertained Greek poets, playwrights and musicians at his court including: Agathon, Euripides, Timotheus of Miletus, and Choerilus of Samos.¹⁷⁹ Archelaus also instituted a festival in honour of Zeus at Dion which included games and dramatic contests.¹⁸⁰ However, despite these Hellenizing changes to Macedonia's elite culture and despite Thucydides' endorsement, Archelaus does not seem to have been above criticism from the Greek world, particularly the philosophers. In addition to Plato's cutting remarks, we are informed that Socrates refused to join the other prominent Greeks at Archelaus' court.¹⁸¹ In one of Aristophanes' plays,

176 Borza 1990, 171.

177 Greenwalt 1999, 162.

178 Ael. 14.17; Plin. *HN*. 35.62.

179 See Roisman in Roisman and Worthington 2010, p. 157 for a complete list of poets, playwrights and their references.

180 Diod. 17.16.3; Arr. 1.11.1.

181 Arist. *Rhet.* 1398a.24

those who had joined the Macedonian court are mocked.¹⁸² As Borza observes, “Archelaus' patronage may have become a philosophical and literary issue in Athens . . . The moralists in Athens had a field day, portraying Archelaus as the ideally bad man, as contrasted with the ideally good Socrates who had refused to become a client at the Macedonian court.”¹⁸³

Archelaus also made changes to the Macedonian coinage, which reflected his economic interests. He changed the weight standard from the Graeco-Asiatic to the Persic,¹⁸⁴ which made his coins more competitive in an international market because they required less silver.¹⁸⁵ By reducing the number of obverse dies he improved the efficiency of coin production.¹⁸⁶ Archelaus also introduced more denominations; most importantly, he was the first Argead to issue copper coins. These coins were meant to circulate locally and so would help to stimulate Macedonia's domestic economy by replacing the old barter system and making the markets more accessible.¹⁸⁷

182 Aristophanes. *Frogs*. 85.

183 Borza 1993, 241.

184 Head 1963, 163.

185 Greenwalt 1993, 513.

186 Greenwalt 1994, 106.

187 Greenwalt 1994, 108-109. The use of small silver fractions is attested to in Macedonia prior to this period.

Most notable among the new types of coins developed by Archelaus are the silver staters which figure a beardless male bust wearing a taenia.¹⁸⁸ Originally this figure was identified as Apollo¹⁸⁹ but, considering that it is Dionysus who in the north is principally associated with the sun,¹⁹⁰ the suggestion put forward by Kraay, that this figure is meant to represent the founder of the Argead line, seems more plausible.¹⁹¹ This theory is especially interesting since it is during this period that Euripides wrote the *Archelaus*, in which the name of the founder of the Argead dynasty is changed to Archelaus.¹⁹² Archelaus may have had the name of the founder changed in response to the allegations of his illegitimacy.¹⁹³ If this is the case, it is not unlikely that the beardless male wearing a taenia representing the dynasty founder is also a portrait of Archelaus himself.

Archelaus was followed by a series of unsuccessful heirs: Orestes, Aeropos II, Amyntas II and Pausanias. The last of these was murdered by Amyntas III

188 See Figure 3.

189 Westermark in Le Rider *et al.* 1989, 303.

190 Hdt. 7.111.

191 Kraay 1976, 144.

192 Greenwalt 1985(b).

193 Greenwalt in Worthington (ed.) 1994, 129. cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 471.

around 394.¹⁹⁴ Although this Amyntas fared somewhat better than his four predecessors, his reign was replete with difficulty. Almost immediately after assuming the throne, Amyntas lost it when he was driven out of the country by invading Illyrians.¹⁹⁵ The Aleuads in Thessaly helped him to regain his kingdom three months later.¹⁹⁶

His struggles are reflected in his coinage, which is markedly different from his predecessors'. The obverse presents a rider similar to the previous mounted huntsman, except that this rider has only one spear, pointed downwards, and the horse he is riding is in a full gallop. On the reverse is a lion gnawing and pawing a broken spear.¹⁹⁷ Presumably the spear held by the lion is meant to be the second spear of the rider. Therefore, unlike almost any other coin of the period, the composition is meant to be read as a whole from one side to the other as indicated by the two images sharing the same axis.¹⁹⁸ The care that went into designing these coins, with the obvious allusion to the legitimacy of the king as represented by the royal hunt, suggests, as Greenwalt observes, that "Amyntas

194 Diod. 14.89.2.

195 Borza 1990, 182. cf. Diod. 14.92.3-4.

196 Diod. 15.19.2-3; Iso. 6.46.

197 See Figure 4.

198 Greenwalt 1993, 515.

carefully chose the heroic portrayal of a traditional motif so as to associate himself strongly with the qualities it represented, thereby attempting to compensate for the initial weakness of his claim.¹⁹⁹ It is also possible that these coins were meant to represent Amyntas having overcome the conditions of extreme adversity at the beginning of his reign.

Amyntas also abandoned the beardless male type previously used by Archelaus and replaced it with coins depicting Heracles.²⁰⁰ Though for a Greek there was a great distinction between Heracles and Dionysus,²⁰¹ in the north the figure of the mounted huntsman hero shared aspects of both these gods.²⁰² This was especially true for the Macedonian kings. A solar-Dionysus played an important role in the mythology of the dynastic foundation, but the kings were also believed to be descendants of Heracles. Therefore it can be said that Amyntas was simply repackaging the same propaganda used by Archelaus. He represented the mythical ancestor of the Argead dynasty in an attempt to assert his own legitimacy, but he chose a different iconography from Archelaus in order

199 Greenwalt 1993, 516.

200 Greenwalt in Worthington (ed.) 1994, 130.

201 Greenwalt in Worthington (ed.) 1994, 130.

202 Mazarov in Fol and Mazarov (eds.) 1977, 37-59.

to show that he had the power to do so. The previous four kings were not alive long enough to firmly establish their rule and make any changes, Amyntas was showing that he had established control and dominance of his kingdom.

Part B: Philip II's Self-Presentation to 338 BC

Philip's first issue featured the head of Zeus on one side and on the other Philip himself, dressed in a kausia and chlamys, riding a horse, and saluting with his right hand.²⁰³ Although there is ample evidence of Zeus being worshipped by previous Macedonian kings,²⁰⁴ this is the first time the god had been featured so prominently on the Macedonian coinage.²⁰⁵ Previous kings had sometimes shown the symbols of Zeus on their coinage, such as the thunderbolt or eagle, but never the god himself.²⁰⁶

The motif of a rider was, as we have seen, common on previous coinage, but in those issues the rider was clearly identifiable as a huntsman. The image on Philip's coins, however, is missing the characteristic twin spears and *petasos*. Instead, the measured gait of the horse and the raised hand of the rider suggest

203 LeRider 1977, 364. See Figure 5.

204 Christesen and Murray in Roisman and Worthington (eds.) 2010, 430.

205 LeRider 1977, 363.

206 LeRider 1977, 363.

that this is a processional or acclamation scene.²⁰⁷ Whether one believes that the acclamation of a king was a constitutional right of the Macedonians or simply a cultural tradition, it must have been an expected and important part of a king's accession. Philip's coinage also differs from that of his predecessors in as much as the rider is more obviously a representation of the king. Also, Philip's first issue of coinage may refer to the Argead foundation myth related by Herodotus. Although it does not appear on all of Philip's early coins, a large number of his tetradrachms and didrachms feature a small sun-burst under the belly or fore-hooves of the parading horse.²⁰⁸ It is possible to argue that this sun-burst could be intended as a reference to the role of Solar Dionysus in bestowing the first Argead kings with the kingdom of Macedonia. The symbol of the accession of the first Argead corresponds well to the event of Philip's acclamation. Also, like his progenitor, Perdiccas I, Philip II was the third and youngest brother in his family. It is not unreasonable to conclude that his coinage was meant to draw a connection from the founder of the Argead dynasty to Philip, as both Archelaus and Perdiccas II had done before, in order to lend weight to Philip's claim as the

207 LeRider 1977, 366.

208 See Figure 6.

next legitimate Argead heir.

The acclamation scene remained on Philip's coinage until 348-346 BC when the king replaced the parading figure with a naked boy jockey holding a palm and wearing a victory crown.²⁰⁹ This type was previously found on Philip's hemidrachms and drachmas from the time of his Olympic victory in 356 BC, but was not included on the tetradrachms and didrachms until after the fall of Olynthus and the subsequent Peace of Philocrates. At this point Philip had two main types of coins: gold coins showing the head of Apollo on obverse and a biga on the reverse, and silver coins showing Zeus on the obverse and the boy jockey on the reverse.²¹⁰

The significance of Zeus for the Argead dynasty has already been mentioned, but the god's presence on Philip's post-346 coins lends added weight to the import of the image of his Olympic victory. Since Archaic times, Olympic victory had heroic connotations. Herodotus tells of a certain Philippos of Croton who had a heroön erected in his honour after his victory at the 520 Olympiad.²¹¹

The boxer Euthymos of Locri received heroic honours and sacrifices during his

209 LeRider 1977, 366.

210 Ellis 1976, 236.

211 Hdt. 5.47.

lifetime.²¹² Another boxer received heroic honours after his death and it was believed that his statue at Olympia could cure illnesses.²¹³ However, the victory of these athletes and their commemorative statues were meant to glorify the victor's *polis* as much if not more than the victory themselves;²¹⁴ Philip's coins were meant to glorify him alone, as was proper for a king.

Philip began minting gold coins in 346 BC, two years after the fall of Olynthus.²¹⁵ The mint at Olynthus was responsible for producing the Chalcidian gold coinage, when the city fell to Philip it provided an opportunity for him to mint his own gold.²¹⁶ The old Chalcidian gold coins depicted a laureate head of Apollo; it is likely that Philip chose a similar design in part to insure the recognition of his new currency.²¹⁷ However, the addition of the *biga* on the reverse differentiated the god depicted on these coins from the Chalcidian Apollo.²¹⁸ After Philip's defeat of Onomarchus, the Amphictyonic Council elected

212 Paus. 6.6.4f; Calli. fr. 98; Plin. *NH.* 7.152. See also Currie 2002.

213 Paus. 6.11.8-9.

214 Raschke in Raschke (ed.) 1988, 41.

215 There is some debate regarding the exact date of Philip's gold coinage. See LeRider 1996. 57-59.

216 Ellis 1976, 237.

217 LeRider 1996, 57.

218 See Figure 7.

the king to preside at the Pythian games in 346.²¹⁹ The *biga* is described by Plutarch as a commemoration of Philip's victory.²²⁰

Philip frequently represented himself as saviour of Apollo's sanctuary in his propaganda. During the Battle of the Crocus Field it is said he gave laurel crowns to his army to distinguish them as the champions of Apollo and:

The Phocians, seeing these symbols of the deity, and frightened with the knowledge of guilt, threw down their arms and fled, receiving punishment for their violation of religion by the bloodshed and slaughter that they suffered. This affair brought incredibly great glory to Philip in the opinion of all the people, who called him “the avenger of the god, and the defender of religion,” and said that “he alone had arisen to require satisfaction for what ought to have been punished by the combined force of the world, and was consequently worthy to be ranked next to the gods, as by him the majesty of the gods had been vindicated.

*Phocenses insignibus dei conspectis conscientia delictorum territi abiectis armis fugam capessunt, poenasque violatae religionis sanguine et caedibus suis pendunt. Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriae dedit; illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum; quod orbis viribus expiari debuit, solum qui piacula exigeret extitisse. Dignum itaque qui a diis proximus habeatur, per quem deorum maiestas vindicata sit.*²²¹

219 Diod. 16.60.2f.

220 Plut. *Alex.* 4.5.

221 Just. 8.2.3-7. Trans. Watson 1992.

It was this reputation for piety and reverence for the gods that was Philip's greatest asset in his relations with the Greeks.²²² Diodorus attributes his position on the Amphictyonic Council and eventually the “acquisition of the largest kingdom in Europe” to these virtues.²²³ Philip himself made use of his reputation for piety when he justified his attacks on Olynthus²²⁴ and in the Fourth Sacred War.²²⁵

Philip was honoured as a “saviour” by many cities for his actions in the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars as well as other contexts. After his success in the Sacred Wars the Amphictyonic Council dedicated a gold statue in the king's honour at Delphi.²²⁶ In Ephesos, a statue was erected to Zeus Philippos²²⁷ and in Philippi he was worshipped as the hero and saviour of the city.²²⁸ This was not

222 Squillace in Carney and Ogden (eds.) 2010, 71.

223 Diod. 16.60.4; 61.3. Trans. Welles 1963.

224 Philip had the peace treaty with the Olynthians prominently displayed at the Temple of Zeus at Dion, the Temple of Artemis at Olynthus, and at Delphi (*GHI* 50). The treaty was sanctioned by the Delphic oracle and it stipulated that “much ill” (lines 5-6) would come to those who broke it. When the Olynthians broke the treaty by sheltering Philip's half-brothers, Philip was able to justify his attack on the city by claiming they had contravened their oath to the gods. See Worthington 2008, 42-43, 74 and Miller 2000, 267.

225 The Amphictyony called upon Philip for help saving Apollo and the Amphictyons from the sacrilege of the Amphisseaans. Squillace in Carney and Ogden (eds.) 2010, 75; Dem. 18.155; Worthington 2008, 140-147.

226 Plut. *Mor.* 401d, 753f; Athen. *Deip.* 13.591b-c; Paus. 10.15.1.

227 *GHI* 83.

228 Fox in Fox (ed.) 2011, 363 cf. Steph. Byz. *sv.* Philippi.

the first time an individual was honoured as a hero by a city they had saved. Brasidas had a hero-cult in Amphipolis,²²⁹ and Dion received heroic honours in Syracuse.²³⁰

Conclusion

In their self-presentation the Argead kings employed common motifs and themes, such as the figure of a mounted huntsman. Alexander I appears to have chosen the figure of a huntsman originally because it was familiar to many different cultures: Greeks, Thracians, and Persians, as well as the Macedonians. The ambiguous nature of this iconography – as open to different interpretations by these different audiences – was in keeping with Alexander I's overall propaganda program representing himself as a Greek victor and as a natural intermediary between the Greek world and the East.

The Heraclid imagery of the Argead coinages is another staple of Macedonian royal iconography. Although there is some Heraclean imagery on Alexander I's coins, in the form of clubs or bows and arrows, the first Argead to place the head of Heracles on his coinage was Perdiccas II. The iconography

229 Fox in Fox (ed.) 2011, 363 cf. Thuc. 5.11.1.

230 Diod. 16.20.6; Plut. *Dion.* 29.1-2.

obviously refers to Argead ancestry, but it also represents the apparent Argead desire to Hellenize. The participation of the Alexander I in the Olympics was predicated on the mythical heritage of the dynasty, subsequent Argeads made frequent recourse to the dynastic myth whenever they felt the need to court the good opinion of the Greeks.

While each of the kings personalized their respective coinages with slight variations on these motifs, Philip II, more than any of his predecessors, used his coinage as personal propaganda. Philip's iconography is far less ambiguous than that of his predecessors owing to his choice of specific events and circumstances. Rather than using a mounted huntsman, Philip represented himself during his acclamation in order to highlight his legitimate succession. Although he did use Heraclean imagery on his smaller denominations, on the larger coins he chose to focus on his Olympic victory and his role in the Third Sacred War as the defender of Apollo's sanctuary. Philip's self-representation is most similar to that of Alexander I: both kings represented themselves as Greek victors and champions.

Part C: Greek Perceptions of Philip II

Different states' perceptions of Philip were specific to the situation of each. Philip's reception in Greece differed not only between the various states but also within each state. For example, the Thessalians seem to have favoured an alliance with Philip, possibly because their geographical locations, the apparent lack of a strong democratic element in either region's political administration, and the respective claim of each state to legitimacy based on Heracleian ancestry, meant that the Thessalian and Macedonian dynasts shared common goals. In the Peloponnese, Philip's reception differed greatly from *polis* to *polis*. Philip frequently defended the smaller *poleis* from Sparta in order to prevent that city from regaining significant power. As a result, many of those *poleis* which were defended by Philip were more kindly disposed towards him while the Spartans considered him a hindrance and an enemy. Even within a single *polis*, opinions regarding Philip were divided, Athens being the prime example. Athenian opinion was divided between the more democratically-minded citizens, like Demosthenes, and the more oligarchic, like Isocrates.

Section C.1. : Athens

In Athens, citizens desired to see their *polis* reclaim a hegemonic role amongst the other Greek *poleis*. The rhetoric of both Demosthenes and Isocrates frequently recalls the glorious past of Athens, with a special emphasis on their involvement in the Persian War. Demosthenes describes the Athenian exploits of the Persian War as, “great beyond any man's power of speech.”²³¹ Isocrates, as a climax to a large enumeration of mythological and historical Athenian feats, declares:

When that most important war occurred and the greatest dangers fell upon us all at the same time, when our enemies thought they were unstoppable because of their numbers and our allies thought they themselves had unsurpassable courage, we bested both the Persians and our allies with respect to each claim.²³²

Both rhetors use these examples of a glorious past as proof of general Athenian superiority. For while other states were willing to disregard common safety in the pursuit of their own private interests, the Athenians were willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of all the other *poleis*.²³³ They were also “preeminent and

231 Dem. 6.11. Trans. MacDowell 2009.

232 Iso. 4.71-2. Trans. Papillon 2004.

233 Dem. 14.5-6; 6.11-12.

superior to the rest of the world . . . not in [their] application to the business of war . . . but in those qualities by which the nature of man rises above the other animals, and the race of the Hellenes above the barbarians namely, in the fact that you have been educated as have been no other people in wisdom and in speech.”²³⁴

The result of this superiority is, for Demosthenes, a duty for the Athenians to unite and defend all Greece, and for Isocrates, the right of Athens to be the hegemon *polis*. Demosthenes in his orations frequently exhorts the Athenians to adhere to their duty to protect Greece.²³⁵ It is a common *topos* of his to either shame the Athenians into action against Philip,²³⁶ or to bolster their confidence and civic pride.²³⁷ The circumstances for Isocrates were different. Whereas Demosthenes was catering to an Athenian audience, Isocrates' works were frequently distributed to a larger audience and had to justify the Athenian claim to hegemony. This he did on grounds not only of their past exploits and superior education, but also of their favour from the gods,²³⁸ expansion of the Greek

234 Iso. 15.293-4. Trans. Papillon 2004.

235 Dem. 3.16; 6.9-10; 9.73-74; 10.46; 60.23-7.

236 Dem. 3.16; 10.46.

237 Dem. 6.9-10; 9.73-74; 60.23-7.

238 Iso. 4.28-32.

world by colonization,²³⁹ and their exemplary laws and constitution.²⁴⁰ The arguments of both men are, however, essentially similar as regards to their perception and portrayal of Athens.

However, the two statesmen differed in political ideology. Whereas Demosthenes espoused the democratic ideals of freedom and political equality, Isocrates advocated the values of oligarchy (albeit often in covert forms) and prioritized factors such as education over democratic equality.²⁴¹ The ideological differences of these two rhetoricians influenced how they perceived Philip and their subsequent portrayals of him.

Isocrates had long aspired to create unity in Greece by instigating an Athenian-led crusade against Persia.²⁴² After the Social War, Isocrates came to realize that they would not be able to gain the hegemony by themselves.²⁴³ At this point he began to seek the aid of individual leaders who would be better suited to taking decisive military action. Philip, King of Macedonia, was the last in a

239 Iso. 4.34-37.

240 Iso. 4.39-50.

241 Saïd 2001, 285.

242 Iso. 4.6, 15, 17, 19.

243 De Romilly 1958, 96.

long list of potential military leaders including, Jason of Pherae,²⁴⁴ Dionysius of Syracuse,²⁴⁵ and Archidamus of Sparta.²⁴⁶ However, at no point does Isocrates despair of Athens. All the individuals to whom he made appeal were meant to work in conjunction with Athens, Philip included.²⁴⁷

Isocrates' appeal to Philip was very specific. By no means was Athens to be subjected to Philip, as Isocrates emphasizes repeatedly, "I say that you (Philip) should be a benefactor for the Greeks, a king for the Macedonians, and master over as many barbarians as possible."²⁴⁸ It is also important to note that while Isocrates had to encourage other individuals to act as hegemon in the Greek efforts against Persia, he never uses this word to refer to Philip.²⁴⁹ Instead he says Philip ought to be the *prostates*²⁵⁰ of a Greek army; it may be a subtle distinction but it is clear that Isocrates wants Philip to lead the unified Greeks, not to rule

244 Iso. 5.119-120; *Ep.* 6.1; Markle III 1976, 80. cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.12.

245 Iso. 5.65, 81; *Ep.* 1.7.

246 Iso. 4.16, 17, 19, 185, 188; *Ep.* 9.17-19.

247 De Romilly 1958, 99.

248 Iso. 5.154. cf. 5.107, "Others arouse factions and turmoil and assassinations in their own cities to gain this status, but he (Perdiccas, the Argead progenitor) kept away from Greek territory and set his heart on taking control of the kinship in Macedon. He knew that the Greeks were not used to allowing a monarchy, while other people could not manage their own lives without such a form of government." Trans. Papillon 2004. See also, 15.64 and 8.67.

249 Perlman 1983, 225.

250 Iso. 5.127.

them or to fight against them.²⁵¹ Isocrates was proposing a mutually beneficial arrangement, one that would see Athens reclaim a hegemonic role in Greece and Philip realize his imperial ambitions, with Persia being a far richer prize than Greece.²⁵²

It has been convincingly argued that Philip's ambitions had been focused on the richer lands of Persia since the late 350s BC.²⁵³ In order for a Persian expedition to be successful the king first had to secure his borders from a possible attack from the Greek city-states. The biggest danger was the possibility of an alliance forming between Athens and Thebes, and in order to prevent this from happening it was in Philip's best interest to form an alliance with Athens. Despite various recent misfortunes, Athens was at the time still the strongest *polis* in terms of annual revenue and considering that she controlled a fleet of three hundred triremes.²⁵⁴ Ideally Philip would ensure the security of his southern border by supporting an Athenian hegemony amongst the Greek *poleis*. Athens could regain naval superiority by supplying Philip's army in the east and

251 Perlman 1983, 227.

252 Perlman 1969, 372.

253 Ellis 1976, 11.

254 Markle III 1976, 83.

Philip could support Athens by insuring the security of her grain supply from the Black Sea as well as offering military and diplomatic aid as needed.²⁵⁵ This was the type of relationship which Isocrates advocated in his *To Philip*, a pamphlet meant for the Athenians as much as for Philip himself.²⁵⁶

Isocrates was born to a wealthy family and despite some severe financial losses after the Peloponnesian War²⁵⁷ he quickly regained his wealth and was later enrolled among the wealthiest twelve hundred Athenian citizens.²⁵⁸ Momigliano observed long ago that only the oligarchs stood to benefit from Philip's interventions in Greece.²⁵⁹ Philip would have been inclined to defend the interests of the propertied classes in Athens because it would be easier to maintain accord with a few oligarchs than an entire city of democrats.²⁶⁰ Isocrates thus also saw in Philip the opportunity to find support for a new system of government in Athens.

In an attempt to help legitimize Philip's role as leader of the Greek army

255 Ellis 1976, 12.

256 Markle III 1976, 85. See also, Perlman 1969, 372.

257 Iso. 15.161.

258 Papillon, T. L. 2004, 4. cf. Iso. 15.145. Isocrates claims he and his son were voluntarily responsible for three trierarchies.

259 Momigliano 1934, 131.

260 Markle III 1976, 98. cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1310b 9-12, 40-1311a 2.

against Persia, Isocrates frequently recalls the king's Heracleian ancestry. He describes Heracles not only as a panhellenic hero worshipped and admired throughout Greece,²⁶¹ but also as a panhellenic leader.²⁶² He encourages Philip to use Heracles as a model for his own actions, and in his description of Philip as Heracles put this advice into effect. At the same time, Isocrates details all the reasons why the descendants of Heracles should be grateful for the favours bestowed upon them by the Greek *poleis*, none more so than the Athenians, who freed Heracles' children from Eurystheus.²⁶³ The mythological argument here legitimizes Isocrates' proposal for a panhellenic crusade against Persia, under the supervision of Philip, with Athens acting as hegemon of the Greek *poleis*.²⁶⁴

For Demosthenes and other democrats, however, cooperation with Philip could not possibly exist without the dissolution of Athenian democracy which they held sacred. Philip's position as King of Macedonia, in Demosthenes' mind, meant that Isocrates' plan for a co-hegemony between Athens and Philip was fundamentally impossible: "to be ruled by a man of alien race and to be robbed

261 Iso. 5.32.

262 Iso. 5.111.

263 Iso. 5.34.

264 Perlman 1967, 341.

by him of that hegemony is unworthy both of the reputation of the Greeks and of the merits of their ancestors.”²⁶⁵ Demosthenes defines kingship and tyranny as “lawless and violent self-aggrandizement, the pursuit of personal power at the expense of the unity and order of the community as a whole”²⁶⁶; “every king, every despot is the sworn foe of freedom and of law.”²⁶⁷ Demosthenes shares Isocrates' view that Athens should lead Greece, but at the expense of Philip rather than with his support.

The concept of a tyrant, his vices, and the subsequent dangers posed to freedom was a familiar one to the Athenians. Plato and Xenophon both described the character of tyrants as being prone to appetitive excess in all areas of life,²⁶⁸ and as associating with degenerate men for fear that good men will overthrow them.²⁶⁹ Demosthenes portrays Philip with the same terms:

For indeed Philip by all that might be deemed to constitute his greatness, by his wars and his campaigns, has only reduced his country below its natural level of insecurity. You must not imagine, men of Athens, that his subjects share his tastes. No: glory is

265 Dem. 10.185-186. Trans. MacDowell 2009.

266 Leopold 1981, 228.

267 Dem. 6.25. Trans. MacDowell 2009.

268 Plato. *Resp.* 571a-571d.

269 Plato. *Resp.* 576a; Xen. *Hiero.* 5.1-2.

his sole object and ambition . . . As for his household troops and footguards . . . If there is anyone among them who can be described as experienced in war and battle, I was told that Philip from jealousy keeps all such in the background, because he wants to have the credit himself of every action, among his many faults being an insatiable ambition. Any fairly decent or honest man, who cannot stomach the licentiousness of his daily life, the drunkenness and the lewd dancing, is pushed aside as of no account. All the rest about his court, he said, are robbers and toadies, men capable of getting drunk and performing such dances as I hesitate to name to you here.²⁷⁰

Demosthenes characterizes Philip as the worst form of tyrant, one who is set on the destruction of democratic constitutions everywhere, and Athens' especially, for his own personal aggrandizement.²⁷¹

Section C.2. : The League of Corinth

An inscription found on the Athenian Acropolis records the oath sworn by the *poleis* in 338 when Philip formed the League of Corinth.²⁷² All the states of mainland Greece, except Sparta, swore to uphold the common peace.²⁷³ The member *poleis* were represented in a synedrion and Philip was elected as

270 Dem. 2.14-20. Trans. MacDowell 2009.

271 Dem. 8.40-43.

272 *GHI* 76.

273 Just. 9.5.3; Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 18.18; Diod. 17.3.4-5.

hegemon and eventually the commander of a Persian campaign.²⁷⁴ Not every *polis* held a single vote on the synedrion. For example, it would appear that Samothrace and Thasos shared a vote.²⁷⁵

During his previous diplomatic relations with Greece, Philip frequently tried not to appear as a king and instead made efforts to adhere to Greek diplomatic customs. For example, at the end of the Third Sacred War, Philip carefully avoided imposing his authority and allowed the Amphictyony to have the final word in all decisions regarding the punishment of the Phocians and others.²⁷⁶ Similarly, when structuring the League of Corinth, Philip was careful to maintain Greek diplomatic practices. The apparatus of hegemon and synedrion previously existed in the Second Athenian League and proportional representation was used in the Boeotian federation during the early fourth century.²⁷⁷

While evidence is scarce and it is impossible to reconstruct a complete picture of how the League under Philip was meant to function or how Philip

274 Dem. 17.15; 18.201; Poly. 9.33.7; Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 240a; Aesch. 3.132.

275 Rhodes and Osbourne (eds.) 2004, 378 cf. line b.5. The last lines of the inscription are extremely garbled.

276 Perlman 1985, 165.

277 Rhodes and Osbourne (eds.) 2004, 378; Perlman 1985, 171.

acted as hegemon, there are some clues as to a program of propaganda associated with the League. First, the location of the League's inception, at Corinth, corresponds with the Hellenic Alliance of 481/80 BC when the Greeks united under a common cause to seek retribution against Persia.²⁷⁸ The action that the League then determined to take against Persia must have been a part of the discussions that contributed to the League's formation. Second, Sparta's choice not to participate in the League could be seen as an opportunity for Philip to maintain the illusion that participation was voluntary.²⁷⁹

Finally, there is evidence to support the possibility that Philip intended to have the synedrion meet at the major panhellenic festivals at Delphi, Olympia, Nemea and Isthmia. It is well-known that one of Philip's responsibilities after the Third Sacred War was the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi,²⁸⁰ but some evidence also states that the Macedonian building program included more than just the reconstruction of the temple.²⁸¹ There was also a flurry of Macedonian building activity at Nemea in the late fourth century.²⁸² Also, the

278 Fox in Fox (ed.) 2011, 357.

279 Hamilton 1982, 81.

280 Diod. 16.60.2.

281 Miller 2000, 270.

282 See Miller 1988.

revived League under Antigonos and Demetrius was organized to meet at a rotation of these four panhellenic sites; it is possible that they revived Philip's previous practice.²⁸³

²⁸³ Walbank 1992, 57.

Chapter Three: The Philippeion

Part A: The Building

The only extant description of the Philippeion comes from Pausanias who states:

ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τό τε Μητροῶν καὶ οἴκημα περιφερὲς ὀνομαζόμενον Φιλιππεῖον· ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δὲ ἔστι τοῦ Φιλιππείου μήκων χαλκῆ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς. τοῦτο τὸ οἴκημα ἔστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἕξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πεποιήται δὲ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, κίονες δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστήκασιν· Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν. κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φίλιππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ· ἔργα δὲ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες.

The Metroon is within the Altis, and so is a round building called the Philippeion. On the roof of the Philippeion is a bronze poppy which binds the beams together. This building is on the left of the exit over against the Prytaneion. It is made of burnt brick and is surrounded by columns. It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeroneia. Here are set statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares, and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydice.²⁸⁴

284 Paus. 5.20.9. Trans. Jones 1918.

The archaeological record supports some parts of Pausanias' description and contradicts others. The Philippeion is indeed a tholos structure found at the entrance of the Altis, next to the Pelopeion, beyond which there is the Temple of Zeus and a large monument dedicated by the Apollonians which sits in front of the Bouleuterion.²⁸⁵ Eighteen Ionic columns form a peristyle around the interior chamber, the wall of which was not made of burnt brick but of conglomerate rock, limestone, and marble. The interior wall had a single, east-facing doorway and there were nine half-engaged Corinthian columns lining the interior. Inside the building stood five statues of Philip's family on a semicircular marble base.

Three of the Philippeion's Ionic columns have been restored as well as the foundations.²⁸⁶ Although it has not been fully restored, the majority of the building has been recovered. The cella, the Ionic columns, most of the half-engaged Corinthian columns, the entablature, and a good portion of the roof and the floor have all been preserved. Those parts that are missing from the Philippeion are primarily the embellishments, such as the doors, the bronze

285 Curtius 1876 – 1890. See Figure 8.

The building was 15.24m in diameter and the cella was 7m in diameter. It would have reached just over 10m in height, depending on the size of the bronze poppy which adorned the roof.

286 See Figure 9.

poppy reported by Pausanias, the bases of the Corinthian columns, and the statues of the royal family.

In the first major study of the Philippeion, Schleif and Zschietzschmann concluded that the building primarily incorporated elements of Attic architecture, despite a few peculiarities.²⁸⁷ This remained the prominent view until Miller's study in 1973 which proposed that the Philippeion was designed by a Macedonian architect and that it incorporated multiple architectural influences including Attic.²⁸⁸ Miller identifies the Ionic columns, which have twenty-four flutes, as Attic, but argues that the plinths and capitals of the Ionic columns should be designated as Atticising rather than actually Attic;²⁸⁹ although the plinths and capitals share some similarities with their Attic cousins, better parallels can be found in the palaces in Aigai and Pella.²⁹⁰ Miller attributes the epistyle and dentil frieze to a Macedonian provenance; the epistyle is divided into two fascias of equal height, which does not correspond to other examples of Greek architectural styles, which usually either have three fascias or two fascias

287 Schleif and Zschietzschmann 1944, 50.

288 Miller 1973, 207.

289 Miller 1973, 197-200.

290 Miller 1973, 196.

of unequal height.²⁹¹ The Philippeion is generally credited as the first building to combine dentils with a plain frieze. However, the frieze shows some signs of Argolid influence since the profile of the frieze is not vertically straight.²⁹² The Corinthian columns have been described as Peloponnesian because they have twenty flutes (or would if they were not half-engaged) and because of the style of the capitals.²⁹³ The use of half-engaged columns is also normally considered a Peloponnesian practice, although they are also frequently found in the elaborate facades of Macedonian tombs.²⁹⁴ The Philippeion combines elements from all over the Greek world, including Macedonia, making it a panhellenic monument in a panhellenic sanctuary..

Part B: Pausanias

Pausanias' description has given rise to a number of debates about the date and patronage of the building and the resulting statue program. Some scholars believe that the Philippeion was not finished within Philip's lifetime and that the final decisions regarding the statue program lay with Alexander.²⁹⁵ First,

291 Miller 1973, 202-203.

292 Miller 1973, 205.

293 Miller 1973, 211-212. See Figure 10.

294 Miller 1973, 213.

295 Borza 1990. Ellis 1976. Errington 1990. Lapatin 2001.

they argue that the two years between the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 and the death of Philip in 336 simply was not enough time to see the project finished. Second, they argue that the statue program, since it includes Olympias and Alexander, who had fallen out of favour with Philip, must in fact have been commissioned by Alexander, who wished to reinstate his mother in the dynasty as queen mother. In this scenario, Alexander would then take the prominent central position on the statue base with his parents on his right and his grandparents on his left.²⁹⁶

However, Schultz argues that there is no reason to believe that such a small building, made predominantly with materials such as conglomerate and limestone, could not have been finished in under two years.²⁹⁷ It is very likely that Philip would have been pressuring the construction team to have the building finished in 336 because that was the year of the first Olympic Games after the Battle of Chaeronea. Given how prominent a role the games had played

²⁹⁶ Huwendiek, 1997. Huwendiek's theory is that Philip originally meant for there to be four statues: himself and his new wife Kleopatra standing beside his father and mother. In this scenario Amyntas and Eurydice would be in the guise of Cronus and Rhea and Philip and Kleopatra would resemble Zeus and Hera. See also Lapatin, 2001. However, as will be discussed, there is no evidence to show that the statue base was altered at any time (See Schultz 2009).
²⁹⁷ Schultz, 2009, 132.

in Philip's public representation of himself throughout his career, it is reasonable to assume that he would want the building which stood in commemoration of his greatest victory to be finished and on display in 336.²⁹⁸ The majority of the materials were softer than marble and therefore easier to carve. The few marble elements – the statue base, the gutters, and the floor of the Philippeion – are made from the same marble and carved with the same tools: most notably a claw chisel.²⁹⁹ Moreover, the cuttings for the pi-shaped clamps used in both the statue base and other parts of the Philippeion's architecture are identical. This suggests a hasty construction and it means that the statue base was most likely made in conjunction with the building.³⁰⁰ Therefore, the Philippeion was probably finished before Philip's death, and even if it was finished posthumously, there is no evidence that Alexander did anything to alter the original design. In fact, since Philip's death was seen by a number of peoples as an opportunity to rebel from Macedonian influence, it would be astonishing if Alexander had the time to occupy himself with a statue program.

298 Schultz, 2009. 133.

299 Schultz, 2009. 131 and 166 n. 17.

300 Schultz, 2009. 131.

Part C: The Statues

As for the statue program itself and the objections raised about the inclusion of Olympias, it is not certain that the conflict described by Pausanias created a serious breach between Philip, Olympias and Alexander. Also, it is likely that Philip would have included Olympias in the dynastic monument whether or not the conflict was serious enough to divide the family. The argument has been that shortly after the Battle of Chaeronea, Philip set Olympias and Alexander aside in favour of his new wife, Kleopatra, in favour of the hope that she would bear him a legitimate Macedonian heir. This led to the well-known episode when Alexander threw his cup at Kleopatra's uncle on her wedding night, and was thus exiled along with his mother.³⁰¹ Plutarch blames Olympias for this incident saying that the usual politicking and disorders instigated in the women's quarters were made worse by Olympias, "who was a jealous and sullen woman . . . [and who] spurred Alexander on."³⁰² Many scholars point to this episode as a reason for Philip to exclude Olympias from the Philippeion statue group.³⁰³

301 Plut. *Alex.* 9.4-5.

302 Plut. *Alex.* 9.3. Trans. Perrin 1915.

303 Huwendiek 1997; Palagia in Carney and Ogden (eds.) 2010.

Carney's close examination of the political tensions within the royal family clearly reveals how both modern and ancient stereotypes have lent more significance to these events than they probably warrant. While a new wife was always cause for some anxiety in a unstructured polygamous family like the 'Argeads', it is improbable that Olympias would be any more jealous of Kleopatra than she was of Philip's other five wives. Regardless of the number or gender of Kleopatra's future children, Olympias' son would always have a full nineteen years of experience to his advantage and therefore his position was unlikely to be threatened by any half-brothers borne by Kleopatra.³⁰⁴

As for the suggestion that Olympias was somehow responsible for instigating the quarrel between Attalus and Alexander, this seems highly unlikely since, as far as the sources indicate, Macedonian royal women did not attend symposia. Also, according to Plutarch, it was Attalus who first insulted Alexander by questioning the legitimacy of his mother's heritage. It would give too much credit to Olympias to assume that she would have been able to manipulate Attalus into a quarrel with Alexander. During the confrontation

³⁰⁴ Carney, 1992, 174.

between Attalus and Alexander at the symposium, in a highly public arena, the dictates of an honour-based system determined the reactions of Philip and Alexander.³⁰⁵

As we have seen, the Macedonian king maintained the legitimacy of his position in part through the cultivation of his personal image. The divine ancestry of the dynasty, the king's military and athletic prowess, and his role as host during symposia all contributed to the confidence of the Macedonian people in the king's superiority. For this reason, the Macedonian kingship operated within a kind of honour-system, similar to that described in the Homeric epics, where it was important for the king to appear superior and in control.³⁰⁶ As a king-to-be, Alexander could not have let Attalus' insult pass without losing face. At the same time, Philip, as king and host of the symposium where the incident took place, could not allow his future father-in-law to be harassed, especially while he was the guest of the king. However, it would be a mistake to characterize this one clash between father and son as evidence of a permanent rift.³⁰⁷ Although Alexander may have overstepped his bounds by attacking a

305 Carney, 1992, 177.

306 Carlier in Brock and Hodkinson (eds.) 2000, 168.

307 Carney 2000, 202.

guest of the king, Philip would not have wanted his only heir to appear weak.

Alexander's prominent role in the Battle of Chaeronea was clearly a distinguishing moment for him because it affirmed his fitness as Philip's successor.³⁰⁸ Philip showed no signs of displeasure or jealousy in reaction to Alexander's military successes, in fact, as Plutarch reports, ὥστε καὶ χαίρειν τῶν Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν βασιλέα, Φίλιππον δὲ στρατηγὸν καλοῦντων.³⁰⁹ In light of the fact that there were no other viable candidates, that Alexander was doing an excellent job in performing his role as heir, and especially that he played such a crucial role at Chaeronea, it would be shocking if Philip did not include him in his monument. It would be even more shocking for Philip to set aside his only viable heir with nothing but the hope that Kleopatra would provide him another.

Even if Alexander and Olympias had seriously crossed Philip, it would not have been wise for him to advertise these grievances to the Greek world. Any sign of weakness might tempt the Greeks to rise, as was the case on Philip's death. Demaratus, a Corinthian, who came to visit Philip after Alexander had

308 Diod. 16.86.1-4.

309 Plut. *Alex.* 9.3. [Philip] even rejoiced to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king and Philip their general. Trans. Perrin 1915.

gone into exile, had implied as much to the king:

μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρώτας δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας
ἐπερωτῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου, πῶς ἔχουσιν ὁμονοίας
πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἕλληνες, „πάνυ γοῦν“ ἔφη „σοὶ
προσῆκει Φίλιππε κήδεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅς τὸν
οἶκον τὸν σεαυτοῦ στάσεως τοσαύτης καὶ κακῶν
ἐμπέπληκας.“ οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος
ἔπεμψε καὶ κατήγαγε πείσας διὰ τοῦ Δημαράτου τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον.

After the first greetings and welcomes were over,
Philip asked him how the Greeks were agreeing with
one another, and Demaratus replied: “It is surely very
fitting, Philip, that you should be concerned about
Greece, when you have filled your own house with
such great dissension and calamities.” Thus brought to
his senses, Philip sent and fetched Alexander home,
having persuaded him to come through the agency of
Demaratus.³¹⁰

Indeed, the betrothal of Philip's daughter, Kleopatra, to Olympias' brother

Alexander, King of the Mollossians, can be interpreted as an act of

reconciliation.³¹¹

Based on this evidence, we should accept Pausanias' list of the individuals
included in the statue program of the Philippeion. Contrary to Pausanias'

account, however, the plinth cuttings on the statue base are clearly not meant to

310 Plut. *Alex.* 9.6. Trans. Perrin 1915.

311 Carney 2000, 204.

hold chryselephantine statuary.³¹² The statues must have been carved stone, most likely made from the same marble as the base itself. They may, however, have been of gilded marble, which would have a chryselephantine appearance. As in some other cases of Argead portraits, however, they may have been gilded much later.³¹³

One thing that can be determined, based on the size and shape of the beddings cut into the plinths, is the arrangement of the five statues. The bedding, which must have been situated on the end, is in the shape of a trapezoid.³¹⁴ This base shape is typically found in statues of heavily draped females, therefore we may assume that one of the two females in question stood at one end of the statue base. Pausanias' report of the female statues being removed to the Heraion is corroborated by a pry mark cut into the back of this bedding.³¹⁵ What is interesting is that the dimensions of this trapezoid bedding shares almost identical dimensions with a statue of Eurydice found at Vergina.³¹⁶ The plinth

312 Scultz, 2007, 220. See Figure 11.

313 Plin. *HN*. 34.63.

314 See figure 11.

315 Paus. 5.17.4.

316 Scultz, 2007, 213. The plinth bedding from the Philippeion is consistently around 0.32m wide, 0.53m long at the front and 0.46m long at the rear. The base of Eurydice's statue from Vergina is around 0.32m x 0.59m x 0.46m.

from the opposite end of the statue base is missing, but since we can expect the statue of Olympias to match the trapezoidal bedding of Eurydice's statue, and since none of the remaining three plinths are trapezoids, we may assume that the missing plinth would have been where Olympias stood.

As for the male statues, two of the plinth beddings are significantly larger than the third. These sizes correspond well to the interpretation of two adult male figures and a youth. Obviously, Alexander would be represented as a youth next to his father and grandfather (he was 18 at the battle of Chaeronea), therefore his is the smallest bedding. Of the remaining two, one bedding is slightly larger than the other and it would make sense that this one belonged to Philip since he was the main figure of the group. He would naturally reside in the middle with Alexander to his right, beside his mother, and Amyntas to his left, beside his wife.

Part D: The Location

Although the Philippeion's statues are lost, the location, orientation and shape of the building allow us to grasp some of its significance. The Philippeion was situated beside the ancient entrance of the sanctuary, but its own doorway

faced the opposite direction. Therefore, the building would be one of the first things any visitor would see upon entering the sanctuary but the visitor would have to walk around the building in order to find the entrance and see what was inside.³¹⁷ The building was positioned and oriented not only to grab viewers' attention, but to hold it for as long as possible. Being an enclosed structure also set the Philippeion apart from all the other monuments in the Altis, which were left exposed to the elements.³¹⁸ In this way Philip's monument was simultaneously conspicuous and yet hidden from view.

The Philippeion's proximity to the Temple of Zeus should also be considered because of the importance of Zeus, in general, to all the Greeks, and particularly to the Macedonian kings.³¹⁹ Indeed, the Philippeion appears to purposefully reflect the Temple of Zeus because the Argead statues are in the same disposition as the figures in the East pediment of the Temple.³²⁰ In the East pediment, Zeus is flanked by an older couple, Oinamaos and Sterope, and a younger couple, Pelops and Hippodameia, just as Philip is flanked by his parents

317 Miller 1973, 191.

318 Scott 2010, 211. The Philippeion was the first round building in the Altis as well as the first to use the Ionic order.

319 It is possible Philip was worshipped in a temple of Zeus at Eleusis. *IG XII 2 526*.

320 Schultz 2007, 151.

on one side and his wife and son on the other; both statue groups are also representing families.³²¹ Zeus is represented as the arbiter and judge of the chariot race that is about to take place between Pelops and Oinamos. Similarly, in the Apollonian dedication, Zeus is represented listening to the pleas of Eos and Thetis, and deciding the outcome of the contests between the five pairs of heroes facing off to either side of him. Zeus' representation in this monument as an Olympic judge is given added weight by the proximity of the statues to the Bouleterion, where the Olympic judges met and where athletes swore their oaths to Zeus before competing.³²² Therefore, Philip could be identifying himself with Olympian Zeus as an arbiter of the Greeks.

Part E: The Shape

Tholoi are rare in Greece and, as a result, their functions are frequently debated. For example, it has been hypothesized that the two best-known tholoi, those at Epidauros and Delphi,³²³ functioned as treasuries,³²⁴ spaces for music and

321 See Figure 12.

322 Scott 2010, 160. This monument will be discussed in greater detail.

323 The Athenian Tholos will not be considered here since its function is so unique to its specific situation and context. See, Charbonneaux 1925.

324 See DeVries 1972.

dancing,³²⁵ and dining rooms.³²⁶ It is outside the purview of this study to explore each of these theories in detail. The important characteristic that these two buildings share with the Philippeion by virtue of their shape is that they are well-suited to the display of art.³²⁷ Pausanias reports viewing paintings in the tholos at Epidaurous³²⁸ and the tholos at Delphi housed statues.³²⁹

In Macedonia there are two tholoi, at Pella and Vergina, which could possibly be seen as precursors to the Philippeion. To the south-west of the palace at Pella there is a large circular room with three smaller adjoining tholoi at the north-east, north-west and south-west. A channel that was possibly used for sacrifice ran through the south end of the large tholos. An altar was found in one of the smaller tholoi, and more than one dedication to Heracles was found in the near vicinity.³³⁰ It is possible that the complex also housed the hero cult of Darron, a local healing deity.³³¹ In the fourth-century palace at Vergina, there is a round room immediately to the viewer's left upon entering through the

325 See Schultz and Wickkiser 2010 and Roux 1988.

326 See Cooper and Morris in Murray 1990, 74.

327 Schultz in Schultz 2007, 221-225.

328 Paus. 2.27.3.

329 Roux 1988, 294.

330 Price 1973, 67-69.

331 Akamatis in Fox (ed.) 2011, 405.

propylaia. A small altar and an inscription to Heracles Patroos was found inside and it is possible that Corinthian half-columns were attached to the circumference of the room.³³² Even though the inscription is dated to the second century BC it is possible that it represents cult activity that dates back to the construction of the palace under Philip II.

The Macedonian tholos tombs, which also have heroic connotations, should also be mentioned as possible comparanda. These tombs are extremely similar to examples from Thrace both in their construction and accompanying artifacts.³³³ The Thracians had a tradition of heroizing their kings and the evidence found at both the Thracian and Macedonian tombs confirms this practice³³⁴ Some of these tombs have tholos structures built within, on top, or nearby, while the rest are polygonal in shape. Those tholoi which do appear in close association with these tombs invariably contain evidence of cult activity, and most are dated to the fourth century B.C.³³⁵ Since all the tholoi buildings

332 Hatzopoulos 1996, no. 30. Kottaridi in Fox (ed.) 2011, 326.

333 See Tsetschladze 1988 and Theodossiev 2000, 445.

334 Hdt. 4.94-96; Hellanicus *Barb. Nom. fr.* 73 Jacoby; Theodossiev 2000, 436 (see pg. 442, n. 12 for further resources); Fol and Mazarov 1977, 57.

335 See those tombs described by Theodossiev 2000, 436, 439, 440, 441.

previously considered are associated with hero-gods,³³⁶ it is possible to consider that the shape of the Philippeion may have had heroic connotations.

Part F: Interpretations

The first major study of the Philippeion hypothesized that the function of the building was related to its proximity to the sanctuary's prytaneion³³⁷ and that the building was meant to be a new prytaneion for a united Greece under Philip's dominion. This theory was predicated on the mistaken belief that the Athenian tholos was that city's prytaneion.³³⁸ However, this theory would have required the hearth of Hestia to be moved from the already existing prytaneion at Olympia into the Philippeion. There is no evidence that the Philippeion ever contained a hearth, and it has since been determined that there is no precedent for moving the hearth of Hestia from one prytaneion to another.³³⁹

As an alternative, Miller has proposed that Philip chose the location of his monument, not in relation to the sanctuary's prytaneion, but in relation to the

336 Asklepios at Epidauros cf. Price 1973, 68. Phylakos at Delphi, cf. Price 1973, 69. Hdt. 8.39. Paus. 10.8.7. Heracles/Darron at Pella, and Heracles at Vergina.

337 Schleif and Zschietzschmann 1944, 2.

338 Miller 1978.

339 Miller 1973, 192. cf. Aristeides Aelius 103, 6.

Pelopeion.³⁴⁰ The diameter of the Philippeion is exactly half that of the Pelopeion.³⁴¹ Pelops was celebrated at the Olympics as the founder of the games; he was also related to Heracles.³⁴² Miller's proposal gains strong support from the tendency we have observed of the Macedonian kings to display their Heraclid ancestry.

A possible reference to Philip's mythical ancestry in the Philippeion could have been interpreted by the Greeks in different ways. It accords with the opinion presented in Isocrates' pamphlets which compared Philip to Heracles as a natural protector and leader of the Greeks.³⁴³ The Peloponnesians, on the other hand, would remember Philip's Argive ancestry and his recent help to them in defence against the Spartans.³⁴⁴ Also, if the location of the Philippeion is meant to reference the Heracleian ancestry of Philip's family, it would be similar in this respect to the Achaian dedication on the other side of the Temple of Zeus which flanks the walkway leading to the temple's eastern entrance.³⁴⁵

340 Miller 1973.

341 Scott 2010, 213.

342 Paus. 5.7.9;13.2.

343 Iso. 5.32, 111.

344 Poly. 19.14.

345 Paus. 5.25.8-10.

The Achaian monument leading into the Temple of Zeus consists of two parts. On one side of the walkway stands Nestor, holding an upturned helmet. Facing Nestor were nine Achaian heroes preparing to draw lots from the helmet to see who would fight Hector.³⁴⁶ These statues were made of bronze and were over life-sized, on a semi-circular base. According to Pausanias, an inscription on the base read, "To Zeus, these images were dedicated by the Achaians, descendants of Pelops, the godlike descendant of Tantalus."³⁴⁷ Thus Philip's relationship to Pelops, a relationship claimed by other groups in Greece, gives Philip and the Greeks a common ancestry and it also gives Philip a legitimate basis upon which to style himself as a panhellenic leader.

Pausanias places the construction of the building immediately after the Battle of Chaeronea, which has led to the conclusion that the Philippeion is a military victory monument proclaiming Philip's power in Greece.³⁴⁸ Obviously the Philippeion cannot be disassociated from the Battle of Chaeronea; however, when compared to other military victory monuments at Olympia, Philip's tholos appears atypical not only due to its shape and location, but also due to its subject

346 cf. *Il.* 7.161.

347 Paus. 5.25.10. Trans. Jones 1918.

348 Worthington 2008, 165. Townsend in Palagia (ed.) 2003, 93.

matter.

Up until the mid-fifth century BC, the military victory monuments in Olympia were *tropaia*.³⁴⁹ The most famous of these are two inscribed helmets from the battles of Marathon and Plataia, the former dedicated by Miltiades³⁵⁰, the latter dedicated by the Athenians.³⁵¹ Around 450 BC *tropaia* as military victory dedications no longer appear at Olympia except for a couple ornamental shields: a large golden one dedicated by the Spartans and hung on the Temple of Zeus,³⁵² and three shields decorating the triangular column of the Messenians.³⁵³ With the decline of *tropaia* in the mid-fifth century, statues became the most common form of military victory dedications. These predominantly consisted of life-sized or over life-sized bronze statues of Zeus³⁵⁴ but also included bronze, stone, and terracotta statue groups of divine or heroic subjects.³⁵⁵ Some of these dedications were very large and elaborate, such as the Apollonians' dedication to the south of the Temple of Zeus, and they did not typically reference the victory for which

349 Scott 2010, 169.

350 IG I3 1472.

351 IG I3 1467.

352 Paus. 5.10.4.

353 Scott 2010, 195-196.

354 For examples: Paus. 5.22.5, 7; 23.6, 7; 24.1.

355 Scott 2010, 171; Barringer in Bremmer and Erskine (eds.) 2010, 166.

they had been dedicated except in their inscriptions.³⁵⁶

The Apollonian monument is the most comparable to the Philippeion. This exceptionally large dedication consisted of thirteen bronze statues on a large semi-circular base. Pausanias describes a statue of Zeus standing in the centre with Thetis and Eos kneeling on either side of the god; Achilles and Memnon appeared at either end of the statue base and between them and their mothers appeared their descendants in full military gear.³⁵⁷ Pausanias reports an inscription on the statue base, which reads, “As memorials of Apollonia have we been dedicated, which on the Ionian sea Phoebus founded, he of the unshorn locks. The Apollonians, after taking the land of Abantis, set up here these images with heaven's help, tithe from Thronium.”³⁵⁸ This monument shares characteristics with the statue group in the Philippeion. Both groups mirror the Eastern pediment in the Temple of Zeus and both groups represent families. However, a key distinction between the statues of the Philippeion and other military victory dedications, including the Apollonians', is that the former

356 Paus. 5.22.2-4.

357 Scott 2010, 195.

358 Paus. 5.22.3. Trans. Jones 1918.

represents human individuals while the latter represent gods and heroes.³⁵⁹

Although the Philippeion has been classified by most scholars as a military victory monument, it departs from the type in a number of respects. It does not appear that the building was meant to hold *tropaia* like a treasury, it did not hold a statue of Zeus, and even though some military dedications were comprised of statue groups, all of these examples depicted heroes and gods, not mortals like the Philippeion. Also, military victory monuments were typically dedicated by *poleis* or other groups, not individuals. In these respects the Philippeion is more like athletic victory monuments, which were set up by individuals (as well as *poleis*) and represented mortals.

Also, even though athletic monuments were not typically dedicated as statue groups, families frequently placed their athletic victory statues together. Some notable family groups include Demaretos of Heraia with his son and grandson,³⁶⁰ and Diagoras of Rhodes who appeared with his four sons.³⁶¹ The

359 There are a few exceptions to the rule, for example, the Marathon Base at Delphi showed the victorious general Miltiades standing next to Theseus and the gods (Paus. 10.10.1-2). It is possible that the helmet inscribed with Miltiades' name that was found at Olympia (IG I3 1472) belonged to a similar dedication distinguishing Miltiades above all other Athenians (Neer 2004, 81).

360 Paus. 6.10.4.

361 Paus. 6.7.1.

Philippeion statues, however, differ from these other family groups in as much as the Philippeion group includes two women. Although women could potentially win in the Olympic games by competing in the horse and chariot racing they did not receive statues that represented them as individuals. The one exception to the rule was the Spartan queen Kyniska whose statue appeared beside that of her chariot and charioteer.³⁶² There are also no records naming Alexander or Amyntas as Olympic victors. In this respect, then, the Philippeion is distinctly a dynastic monument.

If athletic dedications depicted mortals, rather than the gods and heroes of the military monuments, they were nevertheless heroizing. It was believed that victorious athletes had reached a high level of accomplishment that was comparable to the deeds of heroes. In fact, the representation of this belief was on display on the Temple of Zeus, where Heracles is depicted on the metopes performing his labours. The various images of the hero mirror the movements of the athletes during their competitions.³⁶³ Some athletes even received hero cults

362 The Spartan Queen Kyniska won the chariot race in 396 cf. Paus. 3.8.1; 6.1.6.

363 For example, Heracles holds a wrestler's stance in his contest with the Cretan bull, and Pausanias (6.5.5-6) states that the *pankration* was inspired by Heracles' encounter with the Nemean lion. Barringer 2005, 237.

after their death.³⁶⁴ On the other hand, the size of athletic victory monuments was strictly controlled so that athletes' statues were not over life-sized, the reason being that over life-sized stature had divine connotations and so this sizing was reserved for the statues of gods and heroes (as on the Achaean and Apollonian monuments).³⁶⁵ It is likely that the statues of the Philippeion were consistent with the shape of the building, that is to say, heroizing. The statues were life-sized, but Schultz has theorized that the shape of the plinth settings in the Philippeion statue base suggests that the women were dressed in archaic, or heroizing, peploi, and that Alexander's statue may have been a doryphoros.³⁶⁶

Therefore the Philippeion was neither a military nor an athletic victory monument. Its construction immediately after the Battle of Chaeronea gave it a

364 Philippos of Croton (Hdt. 5.47), Euthymos of Lokri (Paus. 6.6.4), Theogenes of Thasos (Paus. 6.11.8), Kleomedes of Astypalaia (Paus. 6.9.6-7).

365 Smith, R. R. R. in Hornblower and Morgan (eds.) 2007, 97. cf. Lucian *Pro Imag.* 11. Fredricksmeier (1979) argues that the Philippeion was meant to deify Philip and that it should be regarded as a temple. Fredricksmeier's arguments are founded on the description of the Philippeion statues as being chryselephantine, which has been shown to be false, and Diodorus' account of Philip including a statue of himself amongst the twelve gods in the procession which ended with his assassination (Diod. 16.92.5 – 95.1). Diodorus describes Philip's statue in this procession as being *enthroned* (*sunthronon*) with the gods. However, he also describes the statue as an *eikon*, not an *agalma*, the usual word for a cult statue (Worthington 2008, 229). Moreover, this was a Macedonian gathering and it was not uncommon for the king to be placed in close association with the gods (Hammond 1994, 184).

366 Schultz 2009, 144-151.

military connotation but it elided this military aspect by incorporating the heroizing aspects of the athletic monuments. Unlike both of these dedication types, however, the Philippeion appears to have been a distinctly Macedonian monument inasmuch as it exalted and heroized a royal dynasty.

Conclusion

The Philippeion is a unique building in almost every respect. Its architecture is an amalgamation of different styles from all over the Greek world, but it also includes some innovative and unprecedented elements such as the use of Ionic columns in a circular peristyle and the dentil-frieze combination. The architecture incorporates multiple influences from all over the Greek world and so the building cannot be classified as Ionic, Peloponnesian, Argolid, or even Macedonian. It is also the only tholos in the Altis, and the only dedication which is enclosed, dominating an extremely conspicuous location near the entrance to the sanctuary.

The brief description of the building by Pausanias has given rise to a number of debates for scholars attempting to reconstruct the Philippeion. While some pieces of Pausanias' description are easily identified as misinformation –

the building has stone walls, not mud-brick, and the statues were not chryselephantine – other questions are more difficult to answer. It seems most likely that the building was finished within Philip's lifetime, that statues of Olympias, Alexander, Amyntas, and Eurydice framed the central figure of Philip, and that these statues were most likely arranged to mirror the figures in the Eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus, and echoed the Apollonian monument in front of the Bouleterion. It was also located next to the Pelopeion, calling to mind the Argead family's relationship with Heracles.

The Philippeion is a military victory monument which closely resembles athletic victory monuments. Like other military monuments the Philippeion was built in commemoration of an important victory, but it elided this representation of Philip's victory by incorporating certain heroizing aspects of the athletic victory monuments.³⁶⁷ It was also a tholos, a shape which appears to have carried heroic connotations in Macedonia.

This combination of styles and elements was completely unique in the

³⁶⁷ The Lysikrates monument was built in 336 BC. This dedication closely emulated the form and architecture of the Philippeion. Lysikrates' monument honoured a choregic victory. It is not likely that Lysikrates would have chosen to glorify his choregic victory by emulating a building that was immediately recognizable as a military victory monument.

Greek world when the Philippeion was built. How were these disparate elements interpreted? What did they communicate about Philip and how did they negotiate his conflicting roles as Macedonian king and Greek Hegemon?

Conclusion

The Macedonian king's authority was absolute; he ruled over the territory of Macedonia as a war-lord would spear-won land. The king maintained his power through his personal relationships. The *hetairoi* were the king's bodyguards, generals, and constant companions. He associated with them as a *primus inter pares*, and their relationship was reinforced by the social practices of the Macedonian symposium and the royal hunt. The king's legitimacy depended on his status as an Argead and that family's mythical history. Herodotus records the myth of the Argead founder who had won the right to rule Macedonia as a conqueror.³⁶⁸ The family was also the chosen and favoured family of the gods due to their descent from Zeus through Heracles and the fact that the kingdom was endowed to them by the local solar Dionysus.

The king's succession was usually fraught with intrigue and battles because there was no strict rule of primogeniture. Brothers, cousins, uncles, and nephews in the Argead family could all be potential rivals for the throne when a king died. As a result, dynastic imagery was frequently featured on the royal

368 Hdt. 8.137-138.

coinage in order to advertise the king's legitimacy as the rightful Argead heir.

Philip II was no exception to this rule and his first coinage displays a proclamation scene with the king receiving the acclamation of the Macedonians. This image of Philip is typical in that it affirmed his title to the throne; however, it was unlike previous royal coinage because it portrayed Zeus and not just the god's insignia. Philip's subsequent coinage began to deviate even more from what was typical as he extended his hegemony over Greece.

Relations between the Macedonian kings and the Greek world were always fraught with tension. Macedonia was both geographically and culturally a buffer zone caught between Greece, the Balkans and the East, and the Greeks considered the Macedonians only little better than barbarians.³⁶⁹ It is not until the sixth century BC that the archaeological record begins to show evidence for the Hellenization of Macedonian society.³⁷⁰ Starting in the fifth century, the Macedonian kings, such as Archelaus, began to participate more in Greek culture but were still considered outsiders by the Greeks. Philip's position in relation to the Greeks differed from his predecessors when he started planning a war

369 Thuc. 2.95-101.

370 Morris in Fisher and van Wees (eds.) 1998, 50-52.

against Persia. He styled himself as a philhellene by making the traditional enemy of the Greeks his enemy, and by building up his reputation as an athletic victor and defender of the great panhellenic sanctuaries.

In his second coin issue, Philip chose to illustrate his Olympic horse-racing victory. These coins show the king as an Olympic victor and associate him with the image of Olympic Zeus, whose head appears on the reverse. After his success in the Third Sacred War, Philip capitalized on his image as a victor by again showcasing his victory in the chariot races at the Pythian games. The reference to the Pythian games, which Philip was made responsible for hosting, and the changing of Zeus' head for that of Apollo's on the reverse, emphasized Philip's role as the saviour of the sanctuary; a trope that frequently reoccurs in Philip's propaganda. Philip's reputation as a pious champion and saviour resulted in many honours. The Amphictyonic council dedicated a gold statue in his honour at Delphi,³⁷¹ the Ephesians erected a statue to Zeus Philippos,³⁷² and inscriptions from Philippi show that he was worshipped as their hero and saviour.³⁷³ After the Battle of Chaeronea, when Philip II became Hegemon of the

371 Plut. *Mor.* 401D, 753f; Athen. *Deip.* 13.591b-c; Paus. 10.15.1.

372 *GHI* 83.

373 Fox in Fox (ed.) 2011, 363 cf. Steph. Byz. *sv.* Philippi.

League of Corinth, there appears to have been a flurry of building activity at the four major panhellenic sites.³⁷⁴ It is possible that Philip intended for the synedrion of the League of Corinth to rotate their meetings between the major sanctuaries; whether or not this was the case, his sponsorship of these building programs supported his self-representation as a panhellenic champion.

At Olympia, the king built the Philippeion in the Altis. This building has been classified as a military victory monument because its construction began after Philip's victory in 338. It appears contradictory for the Hegemon of a Hellenic alliance whose members had sworn to uphold a common peace³⁷⁵ to construct a monument glorifying his victory and their defeat. However, the Philippeion is unlike any other military victory monument. Indeed, it is a hybrid and singular building, and it is in this that its meaning is to be found.

The building asserts Philip's domination over the Greek world, but it does so subtly and in an equivocal way. The Philippeion does showcase the statues of Philip and his family, and elevates them to a heroic grandeur, but it also hides these statues from view. The Greek passerby would have to enter the building in

³⁷⁴ Diod. 16.60.2; Miller 2000, 270.

³⁷⁵ *GHI* 76, lines 1-22.

order to see the statues; they were almost hidden from view. At the same time, the building itself was especially prominent. Its position near the entrance and in the Altis, its shape, and its architecture made it different from all the other dedications and buildings in the sanctuary at the time. The building was intended to glorify Philip, but not necessarily at the expense of the vanquished Greeks. The fact that the dedication more closely resembled athletic rather than the military victory monuments, and because it was so unusual in other respects, meant that the Philippeion did not boldly confront Greek viewers with their defeat.

Construction of the Philippeion must have started almost immediately after Philip's victory at Chaeronea and it must be seen as marking that victory. However, the military victory aspects of the dedication are elided by similarities the statues shared with the athletic victory monuments found in the Altis. In place of the gods and heroes found in the other military dedications, statues of Philip and his family stood in a kind of quasi-heroon, but, like the athletic statues, the family's statues remained life-sized in order not to actually appear as heroes or gods. Thus the Philippeion was a heroizing but not a heroic

monument. This representation of Philip was in keeping with his activity at the four major sanctuaries and his self-representation as a panhellenic champion. The very architecture of the Philippeion reflects the panhellenic nature of the king's propaganda since it borrows elements from many different Greek styles.

Like other forms of Macedonian royal imagery, the Philippeion displayed the importance of the Argead dynasty as the central foundation for the king's authority and legitimacy. The showcasing of the family clearly designates the Philippeion as first and foremost a typical Macedonian dynastic and royal monument. It may have even had a predecessor or replica in Aegae, as the excavation of Eurydice's statue there suggests.³⁷⁶ The representation of the family group was meant to indicate the security of the Argead family line which was just as important to Philip's grip on the Greeks as it was in Macedonia.³⁷⁷

However, unlike typical Macedonian royal imagery, the Philippeion does not appear to have asserted the Macedonian kingship as being spear-won. This aspect of the Macedonian kingship appears to have been completely ignored.

Instead, the close proximity of the building to the Pelopeion, an ancestor of

³⁷⁶ Saatsoglou-Paliadeli in Fox 2011, 281.

³⁷⁷ In the oath sworn by the members of the League of Corinth, the *poleis* swear not to overthrow the kingdom of Philip and his descendants. *GHI* 76, line 12.

Heracles, gives the Argead family an ancestral tie to Greece. In this way the Philippeion corresponded to Isocrates' description of Philip as Heracles in his pamphlets.

Another aspect of the Philippeion which was consistent with the representation of Philip as a Macedonian king was the association it created between him and Zeus. The arrangement of the Philippeion's statues mirrored that of the Eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus. The Macedonian kings almost always associated themselves with the king of the gods in their imagery, but none more than Philip himself who was the first to represent the head of the god on his coinage. However, the association with Zeus at Olympia held different connotations than those typically seen in Macedonian royal imagery. On the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the god is represented as an Olympic judge. This image of Zeus as arbiter is replicated in other monuments such as the Apollonian dedication in front of the Bouleterion.

In his letter to Philip, Isocrates encouraged the king to lead the Greeks against Persia as a *prostates* rather than as a king.³⁷⁸ After the Third Sacred War,

378 Iso. 5.127.

Philip was responsible for the execution of the sentences decreed against the Phocians, and he organized the Pythian games of the following year. The king's self-representation as panhellenic saviour was continued in his promulgation of a common peace and assumption of the role of Hegemon of the League of Corinth. All of these events and circumstances meant that an association with Zeus at Olympia as a judge and arbiter was entirely appropriate to Philip's position in the Greek world.

The Philippeion, then, represented Philip in a panhellenic sanctuary as an arbiter and judge of Greek affairs. It marked Philip's supremacy as victor of Chaeronea, but rather than glorify his defeat of the Greeks, it heroized him as panhellenic champion. The monument showcased central tenets of Macedonian royal legitimacy – the dynastic privilege of the Argeads, their relationship to Heracles and Zeus, and the central figure of the king – but it also represented the Macedonian king as a Greek Hegemon.

Abbreviations

GHI = *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*. Osborne, R. and P.J. Rhodes (eds.)
Oxford University Press, 2004.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*

ISE = Moretti. *Inscrizione storiche ellenistiche*. (Florence 1967 -)

SIG = *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarum*

FgrH = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 1-3 (Berlin 1926-59)

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Appendix: Figures



Figure 1: On the left, “British Museum. Stater of the Bisaltai before 478. Kneeling goat with back-turned head and symbol.” Hammond1983, 249. On the right, “British Museum. Stater of Alexander I from 478 onward. Kneeling goat with back-turned head and symbol.” Hammond 1983, 251.



Figure 2: “Alexander I, octodrachm, 29.06 g, 31 mm, about 475 BC, Berlin 18200785.” Roisman and Worthington (eds.) 2010, Plate 1.



Figure 3: Young, beardless male head with *taenia*. Archelaus. Grose 1979, 120 fig. 18.

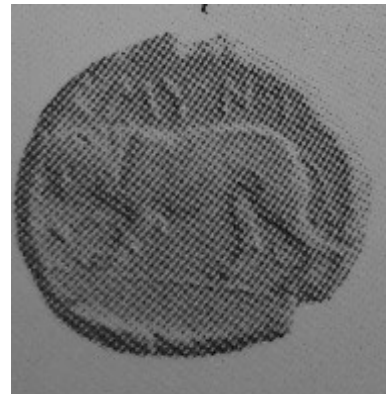
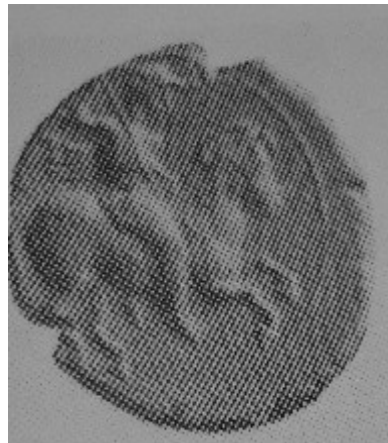


Figure 4: A hunter spearing a lion. Amyntas II. Grose 1979, 121 fig. 4.



Figure 5: Philip II, Head of Zeus, Acclamation Scene. LeRider 1977, 130.



Figure 6: Philip II, Head of Zeus, Young Jockey. LeRider 1977, 46.18.



Figure 7: Philip II, Head of Apollo, biga. LeRider 1977, 189.

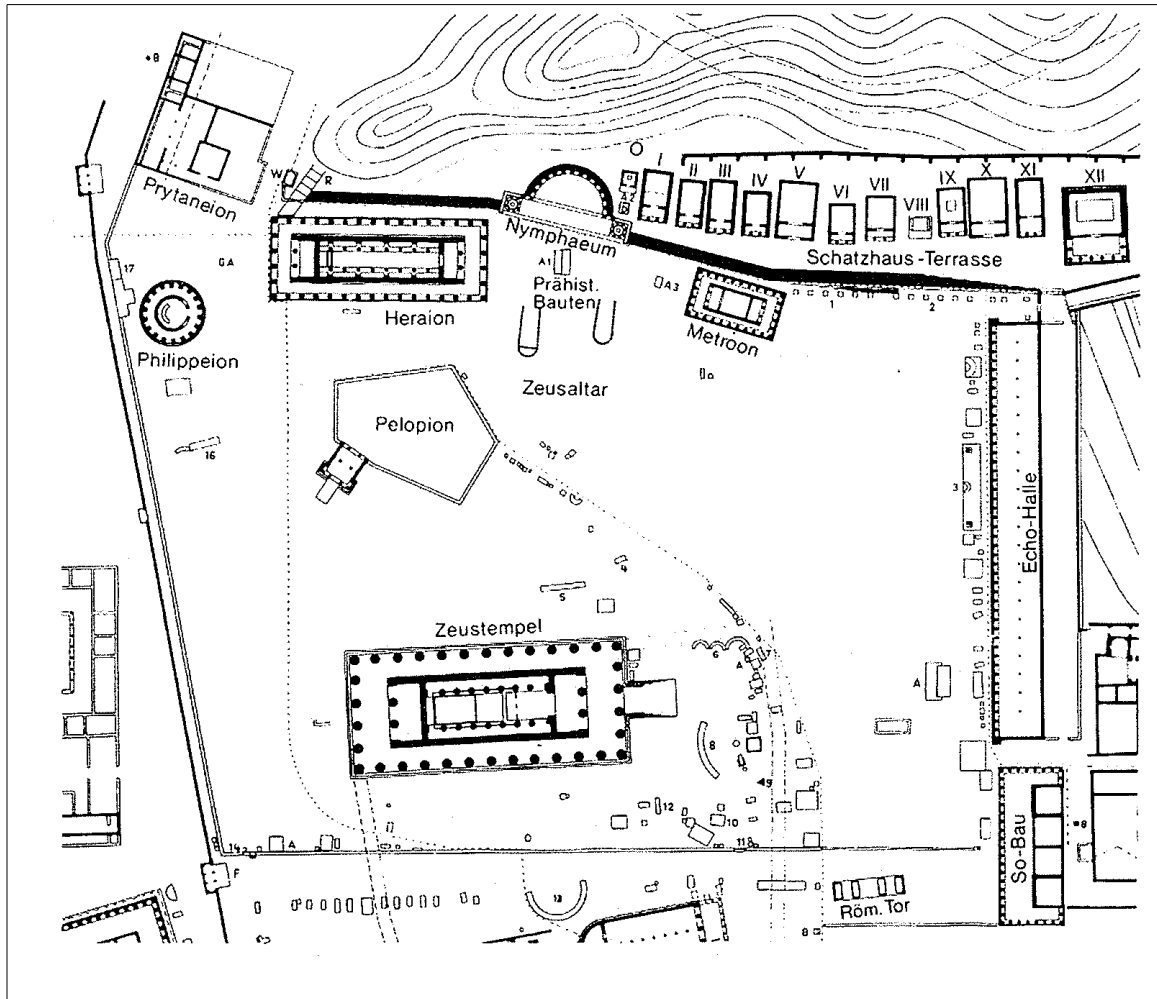


Figure 8: Olympia. Plan of the Altis. Drawing: Public Domain. Scultz 2009.



Figure 9: Picture taken by author. Summer 2011.



Figure 10: The capital of a half-engaged Corinthian column from the Philippeion. Picture taken by author. Olympia Museum. Summer 2011.

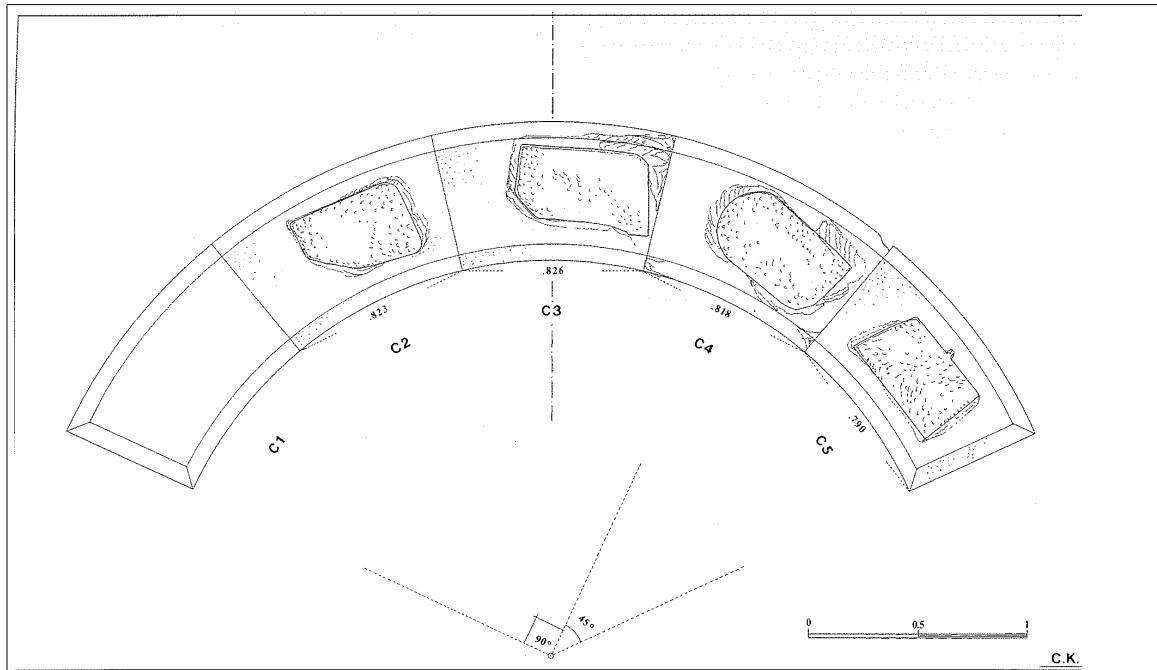


Figure 11: Plan of the reassembled crown of the statue base from the Philippeion. Drawing by: Chrys Kanellopoulos. Scultz 2009.

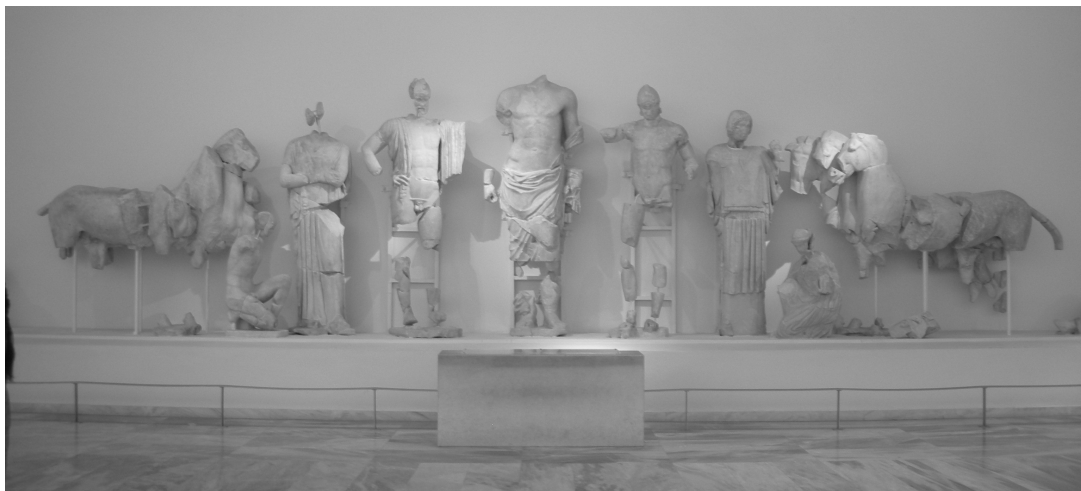


Figure 12: Reassembled figures from the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus. Picture taken by author. Olympia Museum. Summer 2011.