

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano

**Dottorato di ricerca in Studi Umanistici. Tradizione e
Contemporaneità**

Ciclo XXX

S.S.D:
L-ANT/02

**King Philip V, the Macedonians and the Greek Leagues
(229-217 BC)**

Tesi di dottorato di D'Agostini Monica

Matricola: 4411562

Anno Accademico 2016/2017



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Coordinatore: Ch.ma Prof.ssa Cinzia Bearzot

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Fig. 4 Silver tetradrachm of Pyrrhos. from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, 297-272 BC. Photo courtesy of Roma Numismatics Limited: 119.

List of Abbreviations

Agora XV : Meritt, Benjamin D. and Traill, John (1974) *The Athenian Councillors*.
The Athenian Agora 15. Princeton.

BNJ: Brill's New Jacoby.

FGrHist: Jacoby, Felix (1923-62) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.
Berlin and Leiden.

I. Délos: Inscriptions de Délos. 7 vols. Paris. 2 [4]: Durrbach, Félix (1929) nos.
372-509. Paris.

I. Labraunda: Crampa, Jonas (1969-1972) *The Greek inscriptions*. Labraunda.
Swedish Excavations and Researches III. 2 Vols. «Skrifter utgivna av Svenska
Institutet i Athen » 4°. V. III. Lund and Stockholm.

I. Pergamon 246: Fränkel, Max (1890) *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. 1: nos. 1-
250, *Bis zum Ende der Königszeit*. Berlin.

I. Priene: Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich (1906) *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin.

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

IosPE I²: Latyshev, Basilius [Vasilii] (1885-1901) *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*. 3 Vols. St. Petersburg. 1: (1916) *Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae*.

OGIS: Dittenberger, Wilhelm (1903-1905) *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 Vols. Leipzig.

SEG: Hondius, Jacob E., Woodhead, Arthur G., Pleket, Henry W. , Stroud, Ronald S., Strubbe, Johan H.M., and Chaniotis, Angelos. (1923-) *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Vols. 1- . Leiden and Amsterdam.

Syll³: Dittenberger, Wilhelm (1915-1924) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*. 3rd edn. (by Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, Johannes Kirchner, Hans Rudolf Pomtow and Erich Ziebarth) 4 Vols. Leipzig.

Introduction

Although Philip V is one of the best epigraphically and literarily attested ancient monarchs, the structure, performance, and rationale of his kingship still elude modern scholarship, which has hitherto preferred to focus on the coeval Roman expansion in the Mediterranean. The following is the first political analysis of the ancient Macedonian *basileia* and its relation with the Greek Leagues at the end of the 3rd century.

State of the art

The past two decades have seen a new and growing interest towards the Hellenistic world. The publication of numerous studies has radically renovated the knowledge of 4th-2nd century Mediterranean history. The collection, reorganization, and new analysis of the documentary and literary heritage² has

² Among the epigraphic studies are to be mentioned Hatzopoulos 1996, specifically on Macedonia; Ma 1999 on the Seleucid reign of Antiochos III and Virgilio 2003 in general on Hellenistic monarchic institutions. Ager 1996 and Grainger 2016 on the Hellenistic diplomacy according to epigraphic documents and literary. With regard to the literary sources, noteworthy is the recent Brill's online edition of Felix Jacoby *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, which is inspiring a renovated interest in the Hellenistic fragmentary historiography. Moreover, Yardley and Heckel 1997 and Yardley, Wheatley and Heckel 2011

promoted a new understanding of the Hellenistic political and diplomatic world. Specifically, new discoveries have emerged relative to the exercise and the propaganda of Hellenistic kingship on the dynasty, the court, the role of the army,³ the territorial institutions, both local and royal,⁴ and on diplomatic protocols and monarchic procedures.⁵ With regard to Macedonia this “New Era” of Hellenistic research has mainly engaged the exploration of the Argead age, from Philip II to the early years after Alexander’s death.⁶ The new wave of studies has, however, only begun to invest energy in Antigonid Macedonia.⁷ In particular, the 40 years of reign of Philip V⁸ has yet to be a matter of a systematic analysis that takes into account the progress of Hellenistic historical, cultural, and political research.

Since Walbank’s *Philip V of Macedon* (London 1940) the personality of Philip V has not been the subject of a monograph-length study, with the partial exception of the chapters devoted to the sovereign in Hammond’s study on Macedonian history.⁹ These academic works favoured Polybios’ account and the Polybian historiographical tradition, and hence employed an anti-Macedonian and Romanocentric approach in exploring the Mediterranean history of the 3rd-2nd century.¹⁰ Rome is portrayed as the defender of Greek freedom threatened by Philip V, in order to enhance positively the intervention of the Romans in the Mediterranean east. Accordingly, the recent scholarship on the Mediterranean in the 3rd century has chosen Philip V as a paradigm of the tyrant-king enemy of

are crucial to the new understanding of the information on the Hellenistic age yielded by Justin’s *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*. Moreover, new numismatic works are finally providing precious and hitherto missing information on the economy and administration of the Hellenistic world: Houghton and Lorber 2002; Houghton, Lorber and Hoover 2008 and the forthcoming Ptolemaic catalogue by Cathrine Lorber.

³ See for instance Ogden 1999; Carney 2000; Chaniotis 2005; Ma 2013; Muccioli 2013; Sekunda 2013; Strootman 2014; Chrubasik 2016.

⁴ See in particular Cohen 1995; Erskine and Llewellyn-Jones 2011.

⁵ See in particular Capdetrey 2007; Virgilio 2011; Engels 2017.

⁶ See recently Roisman and Worthington 2010; Wheatley and Baynham 2015; Landucci and Bearzot 2016.

⁷ After Buraselis 1982 volume on the first three Antigonid kings the attention for the dynasty has been sporadic: Le Bohec 1993; Billows 1997 and Guimier-Sorbets, Hatzopoulos e Morizot 2006.

⁸ Philip V has received attention in a recent first military study on the navy by Michael Kleu 2015, and in Scherberich 2009 study on the Hellenic alliance under Doso and Philip. It was also examined in valuable, but rare and isolated contributions: Le Bohec 1981, 34-46; Longaretti 1989, 183-192; Scholten 2000; Scuderi 2005, 383-405; D’Agostini 2011, 99-121 and 2015, 121-144; McGing 2013, 181 – 199; Nicholson forthcoming.

⁹ Hammond (and Walbank) 1988.

¹⁰ On Polybios’ Romanocentric view above all Eckstein 1995.

Rome, inspired by his irrational desire for world dominion. Research has thus largely disregarded the king's political and military rationale.¹¹

Sources and Methodology

The change of approach to the Macedonian kingship is methodologically reflected in the change in the source analysis and the assumption of a new perspective towards the non-dominant narrative of the conqueror. In comparatively examining the source, the material evidence are reconciled with the literary text, especially with those dismissed in the past as of minor relevance because divergent from the dominant narrative.

There is indeed a peculiar abundance of evidence pertaining to Philip V compared to most of the Hellenistic kings after Alexander the Great. Among the literary sources, prominent are Polybios of Megalopolis (books 2-22), as the informant chronologically closest to the events, and Livy (31-39), who is particularly valuable for those instances where Polybios' account is no longer surviving. Consistent with the Polybian approach are the accounts of Diodoros Siculos (28-31) and Plutarchos (*Life of Aratos*; *Life of Philopemenes*; *Life of Aemilius Paulus*). Conversely, distant from the Polybian tradition are the *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus *Philippic Histories*, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum*, by Marcus Iunianus Iustinus (29 - 30) and the *Macedonian Wars* (fr. 1-10) by Appian.¹² The Polybian tradition has generally been preferred by academia. However, the documentary sources have recently challenged the knowledge of ancient Macedonia based primarily on the narrative of Polybios, Livy, and Plutarch. An increasing interest for the point of view of the defeated Macedonian party has spread after the game-changing publication of Hatzopoulos' collection of inscriptions and his subsequent selection of military documents. The evidence

¹¹ The Roman point of view is crucial in most of last century scholarship and in some valuable recent works: Gruen 1984; Green 1990; Walbank 1993; Eckstein 2008. See also the popularizing narrative by Waterfield 2014.

¹² D'Agostini 2011, 99-121 and 2015, 121-144. For Polybios and Livy instead the modern scholarship mainly relies on Walbank 1957-67, I and Thornton 2001, 2001a, 2002, 2002a, for the former, and Briscoe 1981, 1990 and 2007 for the latter.

from the epigraphic field has opened the discussion on the interpretative framework of the events delivered by the historiographical accounts.¹³ The study of local material culture is currently also engaging in the numismatic field with recent and upcoming contributions.¹⁴

Structure of the work

The research connects the first 12 years of rule of Philip V (229-217 BC.) to the Hellenistic political and institutional horizon, and distinguishes the political agency of the king into chronological stages: an early stage between Demetrios II's death in 229 and 222, mainly concerned with Philip's role during Antigonos Doson's rule and the ascension to the throne; a second phase between 222 and 220 exploring the beginning of the war with the Aitolians; a third section devoted to the opening of a naval front in 219 and the successful Aitolian campaign. Part four investigates Philip's 218 Peloponnesian engagement, while the last section expands on Philip's 217 diplomatic and military agency and the peace agreements in Naupactos.

Five main fields of inquiry, which have hitherto remained partially or completely unexplored by scholars, have been object of the work.

The work explores the dynastic origins of the king: as demonstrated in recent works concerning Hellenistic royal families,¹⁵ kinship was a major motivator of political events. Considering that Hellenistic society perceived no frontier between family and public spheres, monarchs expressed their royal agenda in a considerable way through their dynastic ties.¹⁶ The Antigonids were no exception:

¹³ Hatzopoulos 1996 and 2001; Mari 2006, 209-224. Among the collection of local inscriptions milestones for the study of the Hellenistic world and of Philip's kingdom, is Crampa's *I. Labraunda*.

¹⁴ The silver coinage of Philip has been recently studied by Burrer 2009, 1-70. On the Macedonian regions see recently Prokopov 2012.

¹⁵ Above all the two aforementioned Ogden 1999 and Carney 2000. See also the D'Agostini 2013a, 87-106 and my PhD thesis on the Seleucid dynastic policies.

¹⁶ The term 'dynastic politics' should be understood as embracing the alliances – and ruptures – created through marriage and all that royal marriage implies: inheritance, legitimation, regency, inter-dynastic blood relationships, and dynastic continuity.

Philip V was the heir of the Macedonian king Demetrios II, but also of the Epirote princess Phthia. The impact of the disappearance of the Molossian dynasty on Philip's ambitions is a topic that has never been investigated before. Specifically, the work explores the connection between Philip's lineage and his legitimacy claim to the Greek northwest.

Moreover, the research investigates Philip's relation with his advisors, mentors, and Philoi. Many political and military personalities contributed to the education and training of the Hellenistic crown prince, since he was supposed to begin building his administrative and diplomatic network from childhood.¹⁷ Dason assigned Philip's training to the representative of the Macedonian landowner establishment, Apelles, and to the greatest opponent of the Macedonian occupation in the Peloponnese, the Greek strategos Aratos of Sycion. The relation with these two men, their influence in the council, and their conflicting ideas on the Macedonian kingship are the pivotal element of the early reign of Philip. They thus provide to the modern historian precious evidence for understanding the functioning of the king's court.

The innovation of Macedonian war strategy, the change in the organization of the army, and the consequent conflicts and tensions among the military units are distinctive features of the first years of Philip's reign. At the core of the strategic change was Demetrios of Pharos, the dynast expelled from the Adriatic by the Romans. However, the actual relation between these innovations and the political agenda of Philip had yet to be object of an academic investigation.¹⁸

The research additionally engages the investigation of the diplomatic relations between Philip and the Greek world. Hitherto the study of Philip's diplomatic relations has mainly focused on the two conflicts with Rome, applying a polarizing approach to the complex network of Mediterranean international relations.¹⁹ By considering the single cases specifically, the aim is to emphasize the

¹⁷ The king develops from childhood the relation with those Philoi who would have assisted him in the rule. See Le Bohec-Bouhet 2005, 57-70; Anson 2009, 276-286. On the king's Council of Friends see in particular Savalli 1998.

¹⁸ On Demetrios and the new strategy Coppola 1993.

¹⁹ Only recent and relevant exception is Scherberich 2009. The almost 15 years of conflicts involving all the major Mediterranean powers have been approached as a two-front war divided by competing ideological positions. Following Walbank 1940 the bipolar approach is adopted by Badian 1958; Harris 1979; Gruen 1984; and Eckstein 2008.

complexity and fluidity of the international relations of Hellenistic Macedonia with the Greek world, in particular the Achaian League, the Aitolians, the Epirote Alliance and the Acarnanians.

As one of the most literary attested and the best epigraphically documented Macedonian kings, Philip V offers a unique case-study to redefine the meaning and interpretation of Hellenistic kingship. Considering his dynastic ties, court politics, military innovations, diplomatic relations and administrative reforms before the Roman intervention in the East, the work attempts to provide a source-based first description and analysis of the mature Macedonian monarchy and its relation with the Greek world. It tries to establish the features of the Mediterranean kingship encountered by the Roman expansion, in the attempt to distinguish those attested in 3rd century Macedonia from those erroneously inferred from Alexander's age evidence, and from the Roman biased propaganda.